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FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: THURSDAY, December 18, 2008

Reviewing the Bush Years and the Public's Final Verdict
BUSH AND PUBLIC OPINION

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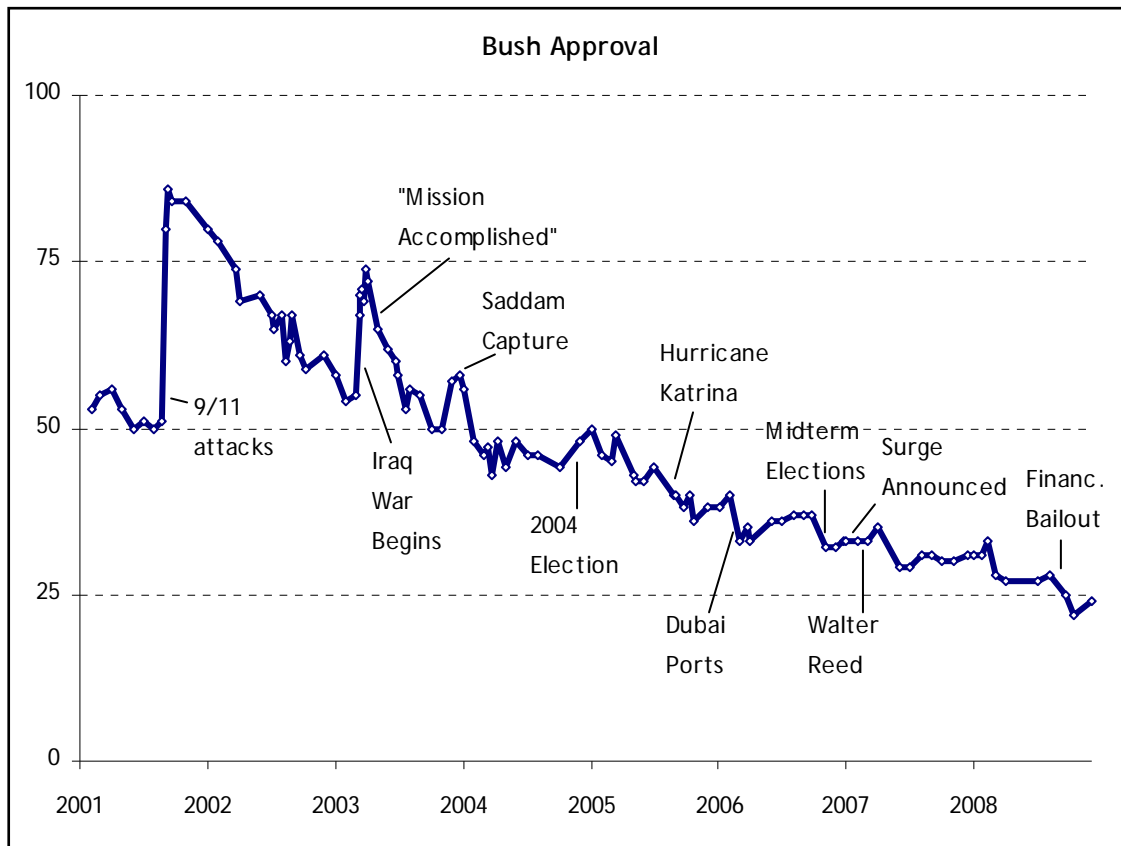
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BUSH AND PUBLIC OPINION

As George W. Bush prepares to leave the White House, the United States is in many ways dramatically different from when he took the oath of office in 2001. His first few months as president were largely unremarkable, despite the contentious 2000 election. But the horrific terror attacks of Sept. 11, 2001 greatly altered the course forward.

The attacks transformed American public opinion and fundamentally reshaped Bush's image. His job approval rating reached 86% by late September. The public expressed broad willingness to use military force to combat terrorism. But then controversies over the build-up to war in Iraq and other Bush policies started to take their toll – at home and abroad.

U.S. forces quickly ousted Saddam Hussein in 2003, but could not create a lasting peace. As the fighting dragged on, Bush won re-election by a narrow margin. In his second term, he failed in his bid to build support for a partial privatization of Social Security. American deaths continued in Iraq, the government bungled the response to the devastating Hurricane Katrina in late 2005 and political scandal reached directly into the White House.



Soon, economic troubles started to mount, and in 2008, the economy went into a dangerous free fall that led to controversial and expensive government intervention in financial markets. The president’s approval ratings slid over time to historic lows. His approval last hit 50% as he started his second term. It stood at just 24% in early December.

Not surprisingly, the public’s verdict on the Bush presidency is overwhelmingly negative. In a December 2008 Pew Research Center survey, just 11% said Bush will be remembered as an outstanding or above average president – by far the lowest positive end-of-term rating for any of the past four presidents. Yet Bush’s impact on public opinion over the past eight years is seen in ways that go well beyond his personal unpopularity.

He helped shape the post-9/11 climate of opinion that was broadly accepting of a muscular approach to U.S. national security. And even after much of the public came to oppose the war in Iraq, there continued to be considerable support for the Bush doctrine of preemptive military action. In spite of the public’s shock over pictures of abuse of detainees at the U.S.-run Abu Ghraib prison, nearly half of Americans consistently said that the torture of terrorists to gain key information was at least sometimes justified.

In the final year of his presidency, even as his approval rating steadily declined to historic lows, most Americans continued to say Bush’s anti-terror policies deserve at least a fair amount of credit for preventing more terror attacks.

A Bush Success: Preventing Terror Attacks after 9/11				
<i>Bush policies' role in preventing attacks?</i>	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
Great deal	28	49	14	33
Fair amount	34	41	33	29
Not too much	22	6	30	24
Not at all	13	2	20	14
Don't know	3	2	3	*
	100	100	100	100

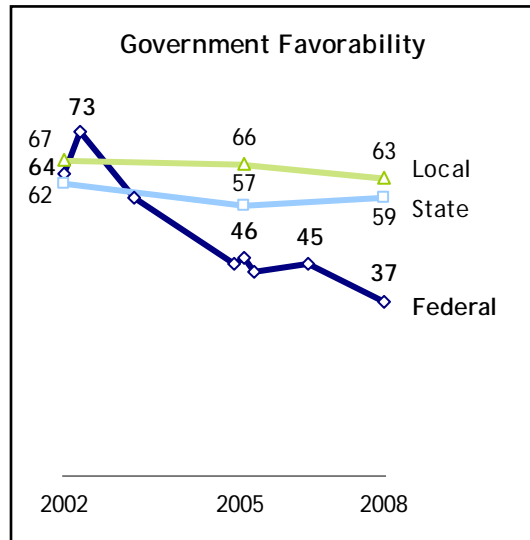
Survey conducted Feb. 20-24, 2008.

In his first term, Bush scored several early legislative successes on domestic issues – such as the No Child Left Behind education reform, two rounds of tax cuts and the launch of a significant Medicare drug plan.

But after those successes, the instances when Bush was able to mobilize – and maintain – public support for his agenda were rare. Even in the realm of national security, the public increasingly rejected the idea that a large military presence overseas would reduce the threat of terror at home.

Public backing for what was to have been Bush’s signature second-term achievement – reforming the Social Security system – withered within months of his reelection. His immigration reform proposal faced opposition within his own party, even though it was an issue – like Social Security – where Americans recognized major change was needed.

What might have damaged Bush’s legacy most was his administration’s mixed record of competent governance. Between Iraq, the government’s flawed relief effort in the aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, and more minor missteps over the Dubai ports issue and other matters, the government “brand” deteriorated badly during the Bush years. In late April 2008, just 37% expressed a favorable view of the federal government, about half of the percentage of five years earlier (73%).



Final Judgments

In a Pew survey conducted Dec. 3-7 among 1,489 adults, the American public paints a harshly negative picture of Bush’s tenure. Nearly two-thirds (64%) say his administration will be remembered more for its failures than its accomplishments, and a plurality (34%) says Bush will go down in history as a poor president. Fully 68% say they disapprove of Bush’s performance and most of those – 53% of the public – say they disapprove strongly. That is the highest rate of strong disapproval measured by Pew surveys in Bush’s eight years in office.

	Ronald Reagan Jan 89	George H.W. Bush Jan 93	Bill Clinton Jan 01	George W. Bush Dec 08
<i>Will go down in history as ...</i>				
Outstanding	17	6	12	3
Above average	42	30	32	8
Average	25	51	32	28
Below average	9	8	10	24
Poor	5	4	11	34
Don't know	2	1	3	3
	100	100	100	100
<i>Presidential approval...</i>				
Approve	64	56	61	24
Disapprove	32	37	30	68
Don't know	4	7	9	8
	100	100	100	100

As his second term ends, only 13% say Bush has made progress toward solving the major issues facing the country; 37% say

he has made those problems worse and 34% say he has tried but failed in his efforts. Another 11% say he has not addressed the major problems facing the country.

More than three times as many people say Bush will go down in history as a poor president (34%) than said the same of Bill Clinton at the end of his presidency (11%). About a quarter (24%) say Bush will be seen as below average and close to three-in-ten (28%) say he will be seen as average. Just 11% say he will go down in history as above average or outstanding.

Not surprisingly, the most critical assessments come from Democrats. More than half (53%) say Bush will go down in history as a poor president, while 25% say he will be remembered as below average. More than four-in-ten Republicans (44%) say he will be remembered as an average president; 21% say below average and 6% say poor. Two-in-ten say he will be remembered as above average, while 7% say outstanding.

Americans by a wide margin (64% to 24%) also say that in the long run the failures of the Bush administration will outweigh its accomplishments. The assessment of Clinton in 2001, despite controversy over how he had conducted himself in office, was virtually a mirror image. Six-in-ten said the accomplishments would outweigh the failures, and 27% said the failures would outweigh the accomplishments.

Just over half (52%) of Republicans say the Bush administration will be best known for its accomplishments. That number is significantly smaller for independents (20%) and Democrats (8%). When Clinton was leaving office, his own party (77%) and independents (60%) were much more convinced he would be remembered for his accomplishments.

	<i>Clinton</i> Jan 2001	<i>Bush</i> Dec 2008
<i>Administration will be best known for...</i>	%	%
Accomplishments	60	24
Failures	27	64
<i>Republicans</i>		
Accomplishments	41	52
Failures	43	33
<i>Independents</i>		
Accomplishments	60	20
Failures	27	68
<i>Democrats</i>		
Accomplishments	77	8
Failures	13	83

Second Term Approval Slide

Between the start of his second term and December 2008, Bush's approval rating dropped from 50% to 24%, a level that rivals the historic lows recorded by Gallup for Harry S Truman as he left office in 1952. Declines came across demographic and political groups, though significant divides still exist among those with differing political ideologies.

Approval among moderate and liberal Republicans saw one of the sharpest drops – from 82% to 50%. Conservative Republican approval dropped from 94% to 66%. Independent approval started at below

	<i>Jan 2005</i>		<i>Dec 2008</i>		<i>App change</i>
	<u>App</u>	<u>Disapp</u>	<u>App</u>	<u>Disapp</u>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	50	43	24	68	-26
Conserv Rep	94	3	66	25	-28
Mod/Lib Rep	82	14	50	42	-32
Independent	47	44	18	74	-29
Cons/Mod Dem	22	71	8	87	-14
Liberal Dem	7	88	2	95	-5
Men	53	41	28	65	-25
Women	47	46	21	70	-26
White	56	38	28	64	-28
Black	18	72	8	83	-10
18-29	50	44	19	73	-31
30-49	51	44	25	66	-26
50-64	51	40	27	67	-24
65+	47	45	26	64	-21
College grad+	50	46	25	67	-25
Some college	50	45	26	66	-24
HS or less	50	41	22	70	-28

half in 2005 – 47% – but dropped to 18% by December 2008. The change among Democratic groups, already highly critical of Bush, proved less dramatic. Approval among conservative and moderate Democrats dropped from 22% to 8%, while approval among liberal Democrats dropped from 7% to 2%.

Bush’s approval dropped significantly among all education levels. In terms of age groups, the largest decline came among the youngest voters – those age 18-29. Within that group, approval dropped from 50% to 19%. The oldest group – age 65 and up – experienced a smaller decline, dropping from 47% to 26%.

A Legacy of War

When people are asked what they think Bush will be most remembered for after he leaves office, the most frequent responses volunteered are tied to the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan and the fight against terrorism. More than half (51%) of responses mention facets of the Global War on Terror, with close to three-in-ten (29%) specifically mentioning Iraq.

About 17% include specific negative assessments of Bush and his performance. Small percentages within that group refer to his competence (2%), his negative impact on the country (2%) or label him the “worst president” (2%). Another 13% refer to the impact of the Sept. 11 terror attacks, with 9% mentioning the attacks specifically and 3% noting that Bush had kept the country safe from major attack since that day. Another 12% mentions economic issues, including 7% who refer to the economy specifically, 4% who mention the current crisis and 3% referring to the recession. Another 4% offer positive assessments of Bush’s performance in office.

Meanwhile, concerns about Bush's effectiveness are also seen in the one-word answers people give to describe their impressions of the president. In mid-2005, positive one-word descriptions outnumbered negative ones, but in more recent lists, the responses have been more negative. The most frequently mentioned description in the latest survey was “incompetent,” just as it was in February 2007 and March 2006. Many of the terms

	2004	2008	Change
Incompetent	21	56	+35
Idiot	12	27	+15
Ignorant	2	14	+12
Honor/Honorable	5	16	+11
Selfish	5	13	+8
Stupid	12	16	+4
Ass	6	9	+3
Dedicated	7	8	+1
OK	5	5	0
Patriot/Patriotic	6	5	-1
Sincere	5	4	-1
Arrogant	25	23	-2
Determined	10	7	-3
Great	7	3	-4
Confident	7	3	-4
Honest	35	31	-4
Good	26	20	-6
Integrity	16	9	-7
Dishonest	9	1	-8
Excellent	11	0	-11
Fair	18	5	-13
Christian	14	0	-14
Liar	18	4	-14
Strong	18	4	-14
Leader	30	8	-22

Standardized numbers out of 1,000 respondents. Figures show number of respondents; these are NOT percentages.

offered by respondents in the December 2008 survey are negative, though the second most frequently mentioned description was honest. Good and honorable also make the list.

The Global Outlook

On the foreign stage, a solid majority of Americans say the country is significantly less respected than in the past – and many of those people see that as a major problem. Many Americans are eager to turn inward to deal with this nation’s problems: fully 60% said in September 2008 that domestic policy should be the primary focus of the new president. And a greater percentage than before the Iraq war now say the best way to reduce the threat of terror is to reduce America’s military presence overseas, not increase it.

Meanwhile, a 2008 survey by the Pew Global Attitudes Project showed that majorities in 19 of the 24 nations – including several strong U.S. allies – had little confidence in Bush as he neared the end of his presidency. A 2007 survey of 45 nations found anti-American sentiment extensive as well as increasing disapproval for key elements of U.S. foreign policy.

And the image of the U.S. in the Muslim world remained abysmal. Iraq, the war on terrorism and American support for Israel continued to generate animosity in the Middle East, Asia and elsewhere. In many nations considered central to the war on terror, the general public deeply distrusted the United States. Even in countries like Kuwait that have long been considered relatively pro-American, the U.S. image had declined.

Among the few bright spots for Bush in the Global Attitudes surveys were the African nations that had benefited from administration programs to boost economic growth and reduce the spread of AIDS. In 2008, majorities in Tanzania and Nigeria expressed confidence in the president.

Still, Bush has had some success at home building support for tough tactics – including harsh interrogation policies for foreign detainees and government monitoring of phone calls or e-mails without warrants – to gather information about possible terrorists and stop potential attacks. On balance, more Americans say they worry that anti-terror policies have not gone far enough in protecting the United States than say they feel the anti-terror policies have “gone too far in restricting civil liberties.”

The Political Legacy

When Bush took office, Republicans controlled both Congress and the White House. But voter party preferences shifted significantly during Bush’s second term as missteps, bad news and scandals took their toll on Bush and GOP congressional leaders. In the 2006 midterm

elections, more independents and moderates aligned themselves with the party out of power and Democrats took control of the House and the Senate.

In 2008, Bush was barely seen during the presidential campaign. Both Barack Obama and John McCain persistently criticized his administration, vowing to bring “change” to Washington. Obama’s significant win and additional Democratic gains in Congress signaled a continuing decline of the Republican Party under Bush.

In surveys conducted in the fall of 2008, 51% of all voters said they thought of themselves as Democrats or leaned toward the Democratic Party. That was up five points from 46% during the same period in 2004. Meanwhile, the number identifying with or leaning toward the Republican Party fell from 45% to 41%.

The greatest gains came among younger voters. Only among voters age 65 and older did the percentage identifying with the Democratic Party decrease – from 49% in 2004 to 47% in 2008. The percentage of voters age 18 to 29 identifying with the Democratic Party increased from 48% in the fall of 2004 to 61% in the fall of 2008. Democrats now outnumber Republicans by a margin of nearly two-to-one (61% to 32%) in this age group, up from only a seven-point advantage in 2004.

PART 1: DIVIDED NATION

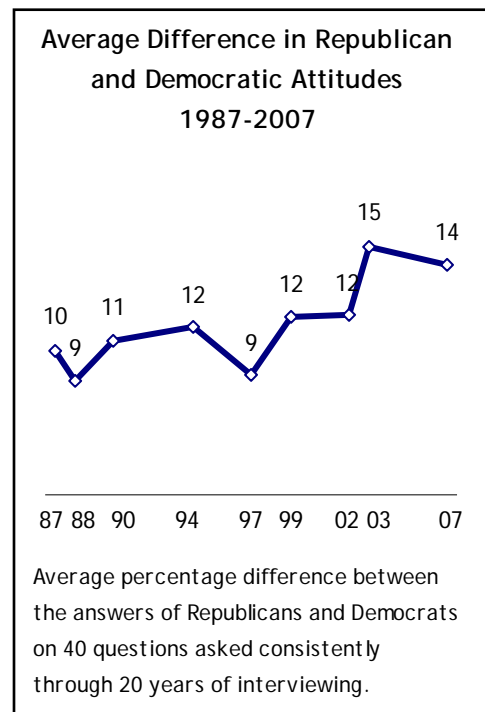
In the 2000 presidential campaign, George W. Bush famously pledged that if elected he would be a “uniter, not a divider.” He cited his record as governor of Texas and vowed he would work with Democrats in Washington to get the people’s business done. But the nation was about to enter a period of great upheaval – first came the partisan battles over the election results, then a slowing economy and a wave of business scandals. But the devastating terror attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, the wars that followed and the tradeoffs made to protect the country from future attack had the greatest impact on the persistent partisan divide.

The initial response to the horrific attacks had been national unity, exemplified by the near-universal support for taking on Al Qaeda in Afghanistan. But that spirit soon dissolved amid rising political polarization and anger, largely over the strategy and rationale for launching a pre-emptive war to oust Saddam Hussein in Iraq. Following Sept. 11, members of both parties, but especially Republicans, grew more supportive of an assertive national security policy – as seen in attitudes on the use of force and other issues. But in the following years, many Democrats shifted away from that approach, frustrated by the war in Iraq and worried about whether it would actually help eliminate terror groups like Al Qaeda.

More than a year before the 2004 election, Pew’s longitudinal study of the public’s political values showed that partisan polarization had reached a new high, as both Republicans and Democrats had become more intense in their political beliefs. The 2007 wave of the same study found that this increase in the size of the partisan gap persisted into Bush’s second term.

The Iraq war started in March 2003 and Baghdad quickly fell to U.S. forces. But the war proved far from over, as the American military and its allies faced a long and deadly struggle to establish peace and order. U.S. forces found no weapons of mass destruction, though administration officials had argued their presence was the primary reason for the push to war.

That July, perceptions of the situation proved highly partisan. Nearly twice as many Republicans as Democrats said the military effort was going well (34% vs. 18%). Roughly nine-in-ten Republicans (88%) at that time backed the decision to go to war, compared with fewer than half (48%) of Democrats.



The Bush Gap

A May 2004 poll showed the great level of partisanship in evaluations of the president's performance. As had been the case since Bush took office, Republicans were solidly behind him, with 85% approving and just 11% disapproving of his job performance. But, for the first time, Democrats were nearly as unified in opposition to Bush. Just 13% of Democrats approved of the president's job performance, while 79% disapproved.

As the election approached, Bush was in a tight contest against Massachusetts Sen. John Kerry. Despite the deep partisan divisions, enough swing voters apparently had doubts about changing leaders at wartime or putting Kerry in charge of the fight against terrorism. Bush won a second term with 51% of the vote and Republicans held on to their congressional majorities.

Pew's post-election survey showed that the divisions so apparent in the election showed no signs of narrowing. The public remained deeply split over the president's job performance, the situation in Iraq and the state of the national economy. Bush voters were upbeat on all three questions – 92% approved of the president's job performance; 79% said the war effort was going well, and 58% said the economy was excellent or good. Those who voted for Kerry, meanwhile, offered dramatically different answers. Only 7% approved of the president's job performance; 75% said the war was not going well and 81% described the economy as only fair or poor.

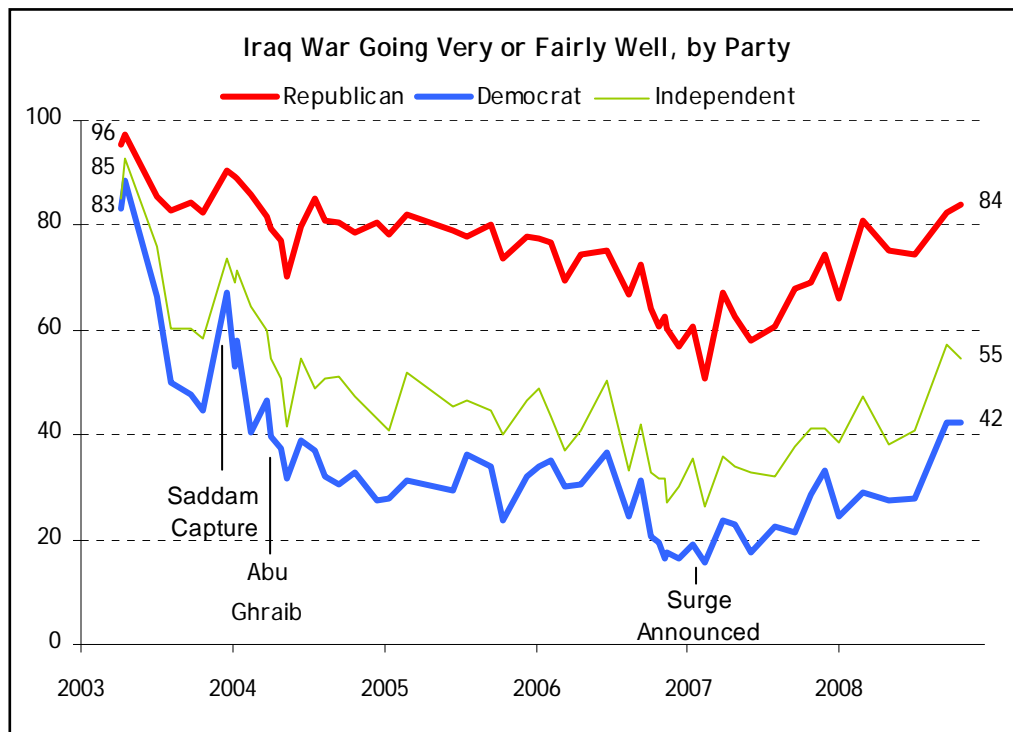
	Total	Voted for	
	%	Bush	Kerry
	%	%	%
<i>Bush job...</i>			
Approve	48	92	7
Disapprove	44	4	87
Don't know	8	4	6
	100	100	100
<i>Military effort in Iraq is ...</i>			
Going well	50	79	22
Not going well	46	18	75
Don't know	4	3	3
	100	100	100
<i>National economy</i>			
Excellent/good	36	58	19
Only fair/poor	63	42	81
Don't know	1	*	*
	100	100	100

Survey conducted Dec. 1-16, 2004.

Divided Over the War ...

The war would continue to be a major reason for the divide between Republicans and Democrats. In December 2005, Republicans were more than twice as likely as Democrats to believe that the U.S. military effort in Iraq was going at least "fairly well" (78% for Republicans, 32% for Democrats). Independents (47%) were closer to Democrats in their assessment. Similar gaps showed up in more specific questions: 74% of Republicans said progress was being made on stopping the use of Iraq as a terrorist base for attacks; only 31% of Democrats agreed.

The wide partisan gap in views of the situation in Iraq continued even after the U.S. troop surge reduced the level of violence in the country. In 2008, increasing proportions of Republicans, Democrats and independents expressed positive opinions about the military situation in Iraq. But the partisan differences in perceptions remained sizable and the public remained deeply split over whether to bring U.S. forces home from Iraq as soon as possible, or keep them there until the situation stabilizes.

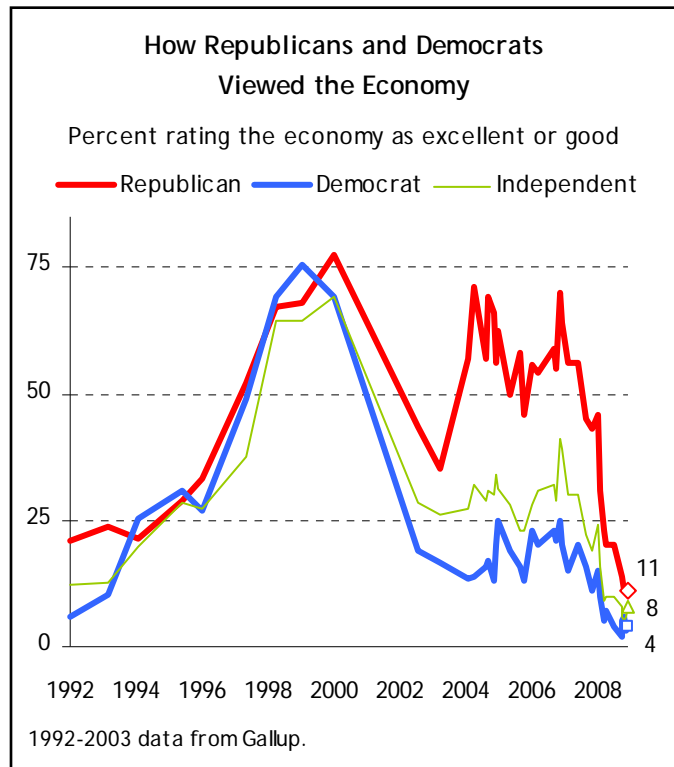


And the Economy

In a stark contrast to the Clinton years, public perceptions of the economy were also deeply split along political lines for much of Bush's presidency. In January 2006, about a third of Americans (34%) rated economic conditions as excellent or good, while nearly twice that number said they were fair or poor (64%). Republicans generally saw an economy that was thriving; 56% judged it as excellent or good. Democrats and independents, meanwhile, were more negative; just 23% of Democrats and 28% of independents said the economy was doing well.

Republicans have long had significantly higher incomes than independents or Democrats. But across every income category, Republicans were substantially more likely than Democrats to view the economy positively.

It was only after the nation's economy deteriorated in Bush's final year in office, and Republicans' opinions of the economy turned much more negative, that the partisan divide narrowed. By December 2008, just 11% of Republicans viewed the economy as excellent or good, compared with 8% of independents and 4% of Democrats.



Darkening Clouds for the GOP

In the 2006 midterm elections, growing negative perceptions of Bush and the GOP-controlled Congress turned into trouble for the Republicans. Democrats took control of both the House and the Senate. Democrats held a small turnout advantage (38% to 36%, according to the National Exit polls), but what determined the outcome was the shifting sentiments of independents and moderates.

These voters showed a strong preference for Democratic candidates. For example, by 57%-39%, independent voters cast ballots for Democrats, according to exit polls. Two years earlier, independent voters were more evenly divided (50% Democrat-46% Republican).

Exit polls showed that Bush was more of a drag on GOP candidates than former President Clinton was on Democratic candidates in 1994, when Republicans were able to take

control of Congress. More than a third (36%) said they voted to oppose Bush; that compares with 27% who voted to oppose Clinton in 1994, and 21% in 1998, the year Congress voted to impeach the president.

Views of Congress also were extremely negative. About four-in-ten voters (41%) said that Congress had accomplished less than usual, while just 6% said it had accomplished more than usual. By a 62%-to-10% margin, voters said that Republicans, not Democrats, were to blame. High-profile scandals also had an impact. But the war remained the central issue. By Election Day, 42% of the public approved of the war, compared with 56% who disapproved.

As the Democratic Congress convened in January 2007, a Pew survey showed that a large majority (66%) continued to say that the country was more politically divided than it had been in the past. The perception that America had become more polarized was shared across partisan and ideological groups, although Democrats (72%) were especially likely to say the country had become more divided.

At that time, Americans overwhelmingly thought there were important differences between the Democratic and Republican parties. More than a third (35%) said there was a great deal of difference between the two major parties, while another 40% said they saw a fair amount of difference. Only 20% said there was hardly any difference between the parties.

Are We More Politically Divided These Days?			
	Dec	Sept	Jan
	2004	2006	2007
<i>Country more divided?</i>	%	%	%
Yes	66	70	66
No	26	24	28
Don't know	8	6	6
	100	100	100
<i>People you know more divided?</i>			
Yes	53	--	51
No	40	--	41
Don't know	7	--	8
	100	--	100
Survey conducted Jan. 10-15, 2007.			

PART 2: BUSH AND THE ISSUES

Shortly after President Bush took office in February 2001, no single issue stood out as the top national problem, though morality and ethics were mentioned most frequently (at just 12%); fewer than 1% cited terrorism. There was no clear public consensus about the nettlesome issue that was confronting policymakers – how to spend the federal government’s budget surplus.

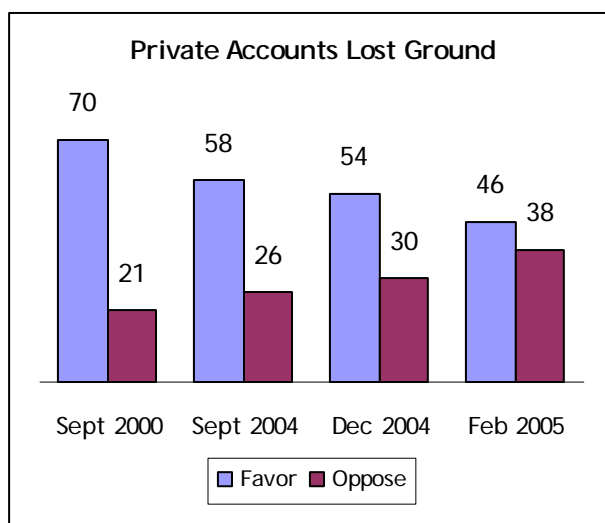
With the Sept. 11 terror attacks a few months later, the nation’s policy agenda was irreversibly altered. Terrorism and the struggling economy dominated the public’s concerns. Bush’s decision to go to war in Afghanistan won overwhelming public support, while his subsequent decision to take military action in Iraq proved to be the most fateful of his presidency. At home, Bush struggled to sway public opinion his way to enact legislation furthering his agenda.

Bush succeeded in winning significant support for his position on some issues. On balance, the public saw the need for certain actions to reduce the risk of terror at home, even though some argued those steps infringed on basic civil liberties. On others, the task proved more difficult. For example, he could not muster strong support for making his signature tax cuts permanent or for privatizing a portion of the Social Security system. His signature immigration reform proposal drew tepid support even from his fellow Republicans. Here is how the public reacted to four top issues on Bush’s policy agenda:

Social Security

Bush first promoted the idea of private Social Security accounts during his 2000 run for the White House. He established a commission to study potential changes once in office. The plan would have allowed many workers to allocate a portion of the payroll taxes that would regularly go into Social Security into accounts with investments for their retirement that they could control. But the president had trouble building broad support for the idea.

As Bush started his second term in 2005, a Pew survey asked about the proposal. Despite an intensive campaign to promote the idea, the percentage of Americans who said they favored private accounts in Social Security fell from 58% in September 2004 to just 46% in March 2005. During the 2000 campaign, 70% said they supported the concept.



There was broad public awareness that Social Security faced a financial shortfall. In February 2005, two-thirds (67%) said they thought the Social Security program would run out of money in the future. But of those opposed to private accounts, nearly half (48%) said they worried about the impact of potentially risky investments. Nearly three-in-ten (28%) of those people cited the possibility that benefits would have to be cut.

Bush continued to promote the idea later in his presidency, but faced with broader budget concerns and stiff opposition from senior citizens groups and others, it gained little traction.

Tax Cuts

Bush ran for election in 2000 pledging to cut taxes as a way to boost a slowing economy. From the start, the public was divided over the idea. In February 2001, a modest plurality (43%-34%) backed the tax cut idea, though when people were asked how they would like to see the then-surplus used, a plurality (37%) said they would first shore up Social Security and Medicare.

Moreover, most Americans (65%) believed that the tax cuts would benefit some people more than others. Among those who expressed this view, the prevailing belief was that the tax reductions would benefit the wealthy rather than the poor or the middle class.

Still, Congress quickly approved a first round of tax cuts in mid-2001. The climate would soon change dramatically, first with the devastating Sept. 11 terror attacks and then with the start of wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.

In March 2003, Pew asked people how they thought the administration should pay for large increases in spending on defense and homeland security. When offered a choice of three alternatives, a 40% plurality said that the tax cuts should be postponed or reduced; 20% favored adding to the budget deficit; and just 16% supported scaling back spending on domestic programs.

With hopes that that the Iraq war would end quickly, Bush sought a second round of tax cuts that year, but the public remained skeptical. In a May 2003 survey, a majority (56%) said

Views of Bush's Tax Cuts: Before ...		
	Feb 2001	May 2003
<i>Bush's tax cuts will ...</i>	%	%
Be fair to all	26	21
Benefit some more than others	65	70
<i>Who will benefit?*</i>		
Wealthy	51	56
Middle class	8	8
Poor	2	3
And After		
	Dec 2004	Oct 2008
<i>What should happen to Bush's tax cuts?</i>	%	%
Repeal cuts for wealthy, keep others in place	35	34
Repeal all cuts	25	27
Keep all in place	28	23
Don't know	12	16
	100	100

* Asked of those who said tax cuts would benefit some more than others.

the tax cuts would mainly benefit wealthy people, compared with just 21% who believed they would be fair to everyone. About half (51%) believed they would increase the federal budget deficit. But about four-in-ten believed the tax cut would boost the economy and create jobs (44%).

Congress and the president enacted a plan that spring, though the tax cuts still engendered mixed support. In January 2006, half of Americans approved of the major cuts in federal income tax rates, while 38% disapproved.

Since then, Bush and congressional Republicans have repeatedly called for making the tax cuts permanent. Support for that proposal, though, has consistently been at 30% or less. In late October 2008, only 23% said all the tax cuts should remain in place; about a third (34%) said tax cuts for the wealthy should be repealed while others remain in place; and 27% said all the tax cuts should be repealed. Those numbers have changed little in four years.

Anti-Terrorism Policies

The terror attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, led many Americans to support steps that Bush said were needed to protect the country, including some vigorously opposed by those worried about limits on civil liberties.

In a February 2008 survey, more people (47%) said their greater concern about U.S. anti-terrorism policies was that they had not gone far enough to adequately protect the country than said the policies had gone too far in restricting civil liberties (36%). In August 2006, 55% said their greater concern was that the policies had not gone far enough, compared to 26% who worried about restrictions on civil liberties.

The 2008 survey showed increasing worries about civil liberties, particularly among Democrats. Half had said in 2006 that the policies had not gone far enough in protecting the United States, while a

third said they went too far in restricting civil liberties. In 2008, the balance shifted to concerns about civil liberties (47% said they were concerned about civil liberties; 39% worried that the United States had not done enough).

Civil Liberties Concerns Rose, But Were Outweighed by Terror Fears				
<i>Greater concern w/ anti-terror policies...</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
February 2008	%	%	%	%
Have not gone far enough in protecting U.S.	47	56	39	51
Have gone too far in restricting civil liberties	36	23	47	32
Other/DK	<u>17</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100
August 2006				
Have not gone far enough in protecting U.S.	55	62	50	53
Have gone too far in restricting civil liberties	26	15	33	31
Other/DK	<u>19</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>
	100	100	100	100

In the August 2006 survey, Bush had made headway with his defense of the government's authority to conduct warrantless wiretaps of suspected terrorists. By 54%-43%, the public said it is generally right for the government to monitor communications of Americans suspected of having terrorist ties without first obtaining permission from the courts. In January 2006, the public was evenly divided over this issue (48% generally right/47% generally wrong).

Meanwhile, public attitudes regarding other anti-terrorism policies remained divided and highly partisan. In February 2008, a narrow majority (52%) said it is right for the government to monitor the communications of Americans suspected of having ties to terrorists, without first getting court permission; 44% said this practice is generally wrong.

In that survey, more than half of Americans (52%) said that the government's policies toward the prisoners housed in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba, are fair, while a third said they are unfair. Again, the views were highly partisan. Nearly three-quarters of Republicans (73%) believed that U.S. policies toward these prisoners were fair, and only 13% said the policies were unfair. By contrast, nearly half of Democrats (47%) said the policies were unfair, while 39% said these policies are fair.

The overall willingness to balance priorities when dealing with terror threats could be tied to widespread perceptions that terrorists are still capable of striking within the United States. In February 2008, 57% said the ability to pull off such a strike is the same or greater than on Sept. 11. In August 2002, about six-in-ten (61%) said that capability was either the same or greater than in 2001.

Immigration

President Bush pushed for comprehensive immigration changes without success, though many Americans agreed with principles behind the legislation. In 2004, Bush laid out a proposal to allow certain workers in the country illegally to join a temporary labor program and apply for permanent U.S. residency. The president stressed that he opposed amnesty, but wanted to revamp the system to help immigrants and employers – and to boost national security.

In December 2005, the GOP-led House passed a significantly less forgiving measure, which died in the Senate. A March 2006 survey showed a divided public. A narrow majority (53%) believed that illegal immigrants should be required to go home, compared with 40% who said they should be granted some kind of legal status allowing them to stay in this country. When the option of a temporary worker program was introduced, the fissures became even more evident.

As proposed by Bush, such a program would allow illegal immigrants to remain in the U.S. for a fixed amount of time on the condition they eventually go home. Opinion was almost evenly divided between those who favored allowing some illegal immigrants to remain in the U.S. under a temporary work program (32%); those who said illegal immigrants should be allowed to stay permanently (32%); and those who said they should go home (27%).

In June 2007, when the Senate was considering an immigration bill, 41% of those who had heard at least a little about the legislation said they opposed it, compared to 33% who said they supported it. Bush failed to rally Republicans behind the legislation. Fewer than four-in-ten Republicans (36%) said they favored the bill then before Congress; 43% opposed the bill and 21% offered no opinion.

Nonetheless, there was bipartisan support for one of the bill’s primary goals – to provide a way for people who are in the country illegally to gain legal citizenship under certain conditions. Overall, 63% – and nearly identical numbers of Republicans, Democrats and independents – favored such an approach if illegal immigrants “pass background checks, pay fines and have jobs.”

In general, the public was less supportive of providing “amnesty” for illegal immigrants than of providing a way for illegal immigrants to gain citizenship. The way that the issue was characterized had a significant effect on Republican views; while 62% of Republicans favored a way to grant citizenship to illegal immigrants if they met certain conditions; 47% supported “providing amnesty” for illegal immigrants under the same conditions.

Bush-Backed Immigration Bill Drew Tepid GOP Support				
June 2007				
<i>Opinion of current immigration bill*:</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Favor	33	36	33	31
Oppose	41	43	37	46
Don't know	<u>26</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>30</u>	<u>23</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>In dealing w/illegal immigrants already here... Provide a way to gain legal citizenship if they meet certain conditions**</i>				
Favor	63	62	64	64
Oppose	30	33	28	31
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Provide amnesty if they meet certain conditions**</i>				
Favor	54	47	60	56
Oppose	39	48	35	38
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
* Based on those who have heard a lot/little about the bill.				
** "if they pass background checks, pay fines and have jobs." Half of respondents asked about "providing amnesty;" half about "providing a way... to gain legal citizenship."				

PART 3: BUSH AND AMERICA'S PLACE IN THE WORLD

Faced with a long-running and difficult war in Iraq, continued worries about terror attacks and growing economic uncertainty at home, the public became less supportive of global engagement during the final years of the Bush presidency. That marked a significant change from the period immediately after the terror attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, when there was a sharp rise in internationalist sentiment.

Following the attacks, the United States benefited from a significant measure of goodwill around the world. Much of that would not last. Surveys by the Pew Global Attitudes Project found that Western Europeans were already skeptical of Bush in the summer of 2001, seeing him as more eager than his predecessor, Bill Clinton, to make decisions based entirely on U.S. interests. Then, the build-up to the war in Iraq, the administration's largely unilateral approach, and the execution of the war led to higher disapproval ratings for Bush and his policies in many corners of the world.

Most Americans believe that global respect for the United States has eroded. In a September 2008 survey, seven-in-ten voters said the nation is less respected than in the past, and nearly half (48%) said they saw that as a major problem. Fully 81% of Democratic voters said the United States is less respected, compared with a much smaller majority of Republican voters (55%).

	Jul 2004	Oct 2005	Aug 2006	May 2008	Sept 2008
<i>Compared to past the U.S. is...</i>	%	%	%	%	%
Less respected	68	66	66	72	70
<i>Major problem</i>	45	44	49	58	48
<i>Minor/No problem</i>	22	21	17	13	21
<i>Don't know</i>	1	1	*	1	1
As respected as in past	21	22	23	18	22
More respected	8	9	7	7	5
Don't know	3	3	4	3	3
	100	100	100	100	100

Based on registered voters. Survey conducted Sept. 9-14, 2008.

As war in Iraq continued, Americans also appear to have had second thoughts about the best way to reduce the risks of terror attacks. In the summer of 2002, before serious public discussion of removing Saddam Hussein from power had begun, nearly half of Americans (48%) said that the best way to reduce terrorism was to increase our military involvement overseas. Just 29% said less involvement would make the nation safer. Four years later, as the war dragged on, fully 45% said the best way to reduce the threat of terrorist attacks on the U.S. was to decrease America's military presence overseas. In the fall of 2008, that number stood at 48%.

The public – both Democrats and Republicans – also saw a Bush administration misstep in early 2006 in the handling of a bid by an Arab-owned company, Dubai Ports World, to buy a company that controlled operations at several major U.S. seaports. An administration panel

initially approved the deal, but faced a great backlash in Congress once the decision was made public.

Most Americans (58%) said Congress acted appropriately in strenuously opposing the deal, while just 24% said lawmakers made too much of the situation. There was broad opposition to the proposed deal from across the political spectrum, including two-to-one disapproval among conservative Republicans (56%-27%).

Dubai Ports never took control of the American ports, but the skirmish highlighted Americans' unease about potential points of U.S. vulnerability. Still, a majority (53%) at the time said foreign companies investing in the U.S. was good for the U.S.

An Inward Focus

In the September 2008 survey, the public's top long-term foreign policy goals were decidedly America-centric. Defending the country against terrorism, protecting U.S. jobs, and weaning the country from imported energy all drew extensive bipartisan support. As in the past, there were substantial political disagreements over most other international priorities: about twice as many Democrats as Republicans rated reducing U.S. military commitments as a top priority, and nearly three times as many attached great importance to dealing with global climate change.

Though the public was feeling better about how the war in Iraq was going, it also showed a sharply diminished appetite for U.S. efforts to deal with an array of global problems. Fewer people than at any point in this decade assigned high priority to such foreign policy goals as preventing genocide, strengthening the United Nations, promoting and defending human rights, and reducing the global spread of AIDS and other infectious diseases.

With widespread economic uncertainty at home, the public clearly wants the next president to devote most of his attention to domestic concerns. Six-in-

ten Americans said in September that it is more important for the new president to focus on domestic policy rather than foreign policy, compared with just 21% who say foreign policy

<i>Percent rating each a top foreign policy goal for the U.S.</i>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2008</u>	<u>Change</u>
	%	%	
Reducing spread of AIDS/disease	72	53	-19
Strengthening the UN	48	32	-16
Stopping genocide	47	36	-11
Preventing spread of WMD	71	62	-9
Promoting human rights	33	25	-8
Protecting against terror attacks	88	82	-6
Solving Mideast conflict	28	25	-3
Protecting US jobs	84	82	-2
Improving relations with allies	54	54	0
Dealing with global climate change*	36	43	+7
Reducing US military commitments	35	45	+10
Reducing energy dependence**	63	76	+13

* In 2004, item was "dealing with global warming."
 ** In 2004, item was "reducing our dependence on imported oil sources."
 Survey conducted Sept. 9-14, 2008.

should be the primary focus. Opinion about this issue was more evenly divided in January 2007, shortly after Bush announced plans for the military surge in Iraq; at that time, 40% said the president should focus on foreign policy, while 39% said he should focus on domestic policy.

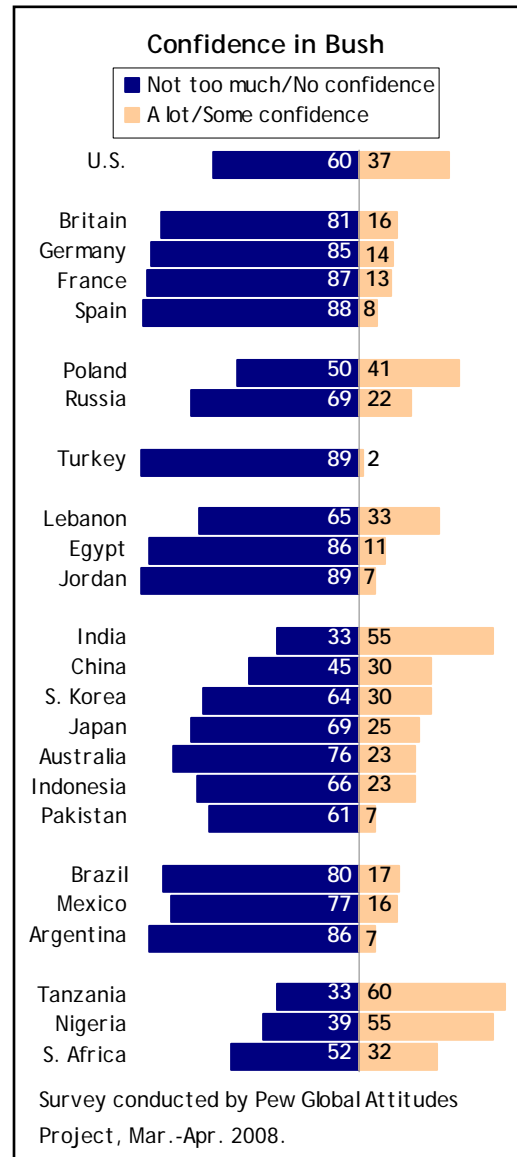
Little Confidence in Bush Abroad

As President Bush’s second term neared its final months, people in many nations were keeping an eye on the American election. Many were looking forward to change in the United States. In 2008, the Pew Global Attitudes Project asked citizens of 24 countries whether they could count on Bush to do the right thing regarding foreign affairs. Majorities in only three (India, Nigeria, and Tanzania) said they had a lot or some confidence. Both African nations have benefited from Bush’s efforts to tackle AIDS around the globe.

On the other side of the ledger, majorities in 19 of the 24 countries in the survey had little or no confidence in the American president. In the four Western European countries surveyed, majorities without much confidence ranged from 81% in Great Britain to 88% in Spain. In the Middle East, majorities rose as high as 89% in Turkey and Jordan.

The survey also found a widespread belief that U.S. foreign policy “will change for the better” after the inauguration of a new American president next year. Among people who had been following the election, large majorities in France (68%), Spain (67%) and Germany (64%) said they believed that U.S. foreign policy would improve after the election.

But that belief was far from universal. In Jordan and Egypt, more people who were following the election said they expected new leadership to change U.S. foreign policy for the worse than said they expected a change for the better. Two-thirds of the Japanese (67%) following the election said it would not bring about much change in U.S. foreign policy. That was the plurality opinion in Russia and Turkey as well.



In nearly every country surveyed, greater numbers expressed confidence in the ultimate winner in the presidential race – Barack Obama – than in John McCain.

ABOUT THE SURVEY

Results for this survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,489 adults, 18 years of age or older, from December 3-7, 2008 (1,126 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 363 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 138 who had no landline telephone). Both the landline and cell phone samples were provided by Survey Sampling International.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race/ethnicity, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2007 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample is also 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 2007 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 sample.

The following table shows the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

Group	Sample Size	Plus or minus...
Total sample	1,489	3.0 percentage points
Form 1 sample	766	4.0 percentage points
Form 2 sample	723	4.5 percentage points

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.

ABOUT THE CENTER

The Pew Research Center for the People & the Press is an independent opinion research group that studies attitudes toward the press, politics and public policy issues. We are sponsored by The Pew Charitable Trusts and are one of seven projects that make up the Pew Research Center, a nonpartisan "fact tank" that provides information on the issues, attitudes and trends shaping America and the world.

The Center's purpose is to serve as a forum for ideas on the media and public policy through public opinion research. In this role it serves as an important information resource for political leaders, journalists, scholars, and public interest organizations. All of our current survey results are made available free of charge.

All of the Center's research and reports are collaborative products based on the input and analysis of the entire Center staff consisting of:

Andrew Kohut, Director
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors
Michael Remez, Senior Writer
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PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
DECEMBER 2008 POLITICAL & ECONOMIC SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
December 3-7, 2008
N=1,489

ROTATE Q.1 WITH Q.2/2a

ASK ALL:

Q.1 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	No <u>Opinion</u>		Satis- <u>fied</u>	Dis- <u>satisfied</u>	No <u>Opinion</u>
December, 2008	13	83	4=100	Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100
Early October, 2008	11	86	3=100	June, 2001	43	52	5=100
Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6=100	March, 2001	47	45	8=100
August, 2008	21	74	5=100	February, 2001	46	43	11=100
July, 2008	19	74	7=100	January, 2001	55	41	4=100
June, 2008	19	76	5=100	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7=100
Late May, 2008	18	76	6=100	September, 2000	51	41	8=100
March, 2008	22	72	6=100	June, 2000	47	45	8=100
Early February, 2008	24	70	6=100	April, 2000	48	43	9=100
Late December, 2007	27	66	7=100	August, 1999	56	39	5=100
October, 2007	28	66	6=100	January, 1999	53	41	6=100
February, 2007	30	61	9=100	November, 1998	46	44	10=100
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7=100	Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
Early January, 2007	30	63	7=100	Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
December, 2006	28	65	7=100	Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8=100	February, 1998	59	37	4=100
Early October, 2006	30	63	7=100	January, 1998	46	50	4=100
July, 2006	30	65	5=100	September, 1997	45	49	6=100
May, 2006	29	65	6=100	August, 1997	49	46	5=100
March, 2006	32	63	5=100	January, 1997	38	58	4=100
January, 2006	34	61	5=100	July, 1996	29	67	4=100
Late November, 2005	34	59	7=100	March, 1996	28	70	2=100
Early October, 2005	29	65	6=100	October, 1995	23	73	4=100
July, 2005	35	58	7=100	June, 1995	25	73	2=100
Late May, 2005	39	57	4=100	April, 1995	23	74	3=100
February, 2005	38	56	6=100	July, 1994	24	73	3=100
January, 2005	40	54	6=100	March, 1994	24	71	5=100
December, 2004	39	54	7=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6=100	September, 1993	20	75	5=100
July, 2004	38	55	7=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
May, 2004	33	61	6=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	Late February, 1991 (Gallup)	66	31	3=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
April 8, 2003	50	41	9=100	January, 1989	45	50	5=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
November, 2002	41	48	11=100	May, 1988	41	54	5=100
September, 2002	41	55	4=100	January, 1988	39	55	6=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100				
May, 2002	44	44	12=100				
March, 2002	50	40	10=100				
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100				

ROTATE Q.1 WITH Q.2/2a

ASK ALL:

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President? **[IF DK ENTER AS DK. IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as President? IF STILL DEPENDS ENTER AS DK]**

	App-rove	Dis-approve	Don't know		App-rove	Dis-approve	Don't know
December, 2008	24	68	8=100	December, 2004	48	44	8=100
Late October, 2008	22	70	8=100	Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100
Early October, 2008	25	67	8=100	August, 2004	46	45	9=100
August, 2008	28	66	6=100	July, 2004	46	46	8=100
July, 2008	27	68	5=100	June, 2004	48	43	9=100
April, 2008	27	65	8=100	May, 2004	44	48	8=100
March, 2008	28	63	9=100	Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100
Late February, 2008	33	59	8=100	Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100
Early February, 2008	31	62	7=100	Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100
January, 2008	31	59	10=100	Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100
Late December, 2007	31	60	9=100	February, 2004	48	44	8=100
November, 2007	30	59	11=100	Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100
October, 2007	30	63	7=100	Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100
September, 2007	31	59	10=100	December, 2003	57	34	9=100
August, 2007	31	59	10=100	November, 2003	50	40	10=100
July, 2007	29	61	10=100	October, 2003	50	42	8=100
June, 2007	29	61	10=100	September, 2003	55	36	9=100
April, 2007	35	57	8=100	Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
March, 2007	33	58	9=100	Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100
February, 2007	33	56	11=100	Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
Mid-January, 2007	33	59	8=100	Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
Early January, 2007	33	57	10=100	June, 2003	62	27	11=100
December, 2006	32	57	11=100	May, 2003	65	27	8=100
Mid-November, 2006	32	58	10=100	<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	72	22	6=100
Early October, 2006	37	53	10=100	<i>April 9, 2003</i>	74	20	6=100
September, 2006	37	53	10=100	<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	69	25	6=100
August, 2006	37	54	9=100	<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	71	23	6=100
July, 2006	36	57	7=100	<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	70	24	6=100
June, 2006	36	54	10=100	<i>March 20-24, 2003</i>	67	26	7=100
April, 2006	33	56	11=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
Early April, 2006	35	55	10=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
March, 2006	33	57	10=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
February, 2006	40	52	8=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
January, 2006	38	54	8=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
December, 2005	38	54	8=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Early November, 2005	36	55	9=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Late October, 2005	40	52	8=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100

Q.2 CONTINUED ...

	App- <u>rove</u>	Dis- <u>approve</u>	Don't <u>know</u>
Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
August, 2001	50	32	18=100
July, 2001	51	32	17=100
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
May, 2001	53	32	15=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
March, 2001	55	25	20=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

IF APPROVE OR DISAPPROVE (1,2 IN Q.2), ASK:

Q.2a Do you [approve/disapprove] very strongly, or not so strongly?

		Early									
		Jan	Oct	April	Dec	March	Dec	Nov	Sept	June	April
		<u>2007</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>
24	Approve	33	37	35	38	49	48	50	55	70	56
	12 Very strongly	20	23	23	26	32	34	34	35	46	34
	11 Not so strongly	12	13	11	11	16	12	14	18	21	20
	1 Don't know (VOL.)	1	1	1	1	1	2	2	2	3	2
68	Disapprove	57	53	55	54	46	44	40	36	20	27
	53 Very strongly	45	43	45	42	36	35	30	27	8	18
	14 Not so strongly	11	9	10	11	10	8	9	9	12	9
	1 Don't know (VOL.)	1	1	*	1	*	1	1	*	0	*
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>17</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

NO QUESTIONS 3-7

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=766]:

Q.8F1 Please tell me what one word best describes your impression of George W. Bush. Tell me just the ONE best word that describes him. **[OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS “DON’T KNOW”. ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE].**

NOTE: The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages

<u>December 2008</u>	<u>February 2007</u>	<u>March 2006</u>	<u>July 2005</u>	<u>February 2005¹</u>
43 Incompetent	34 Incompetent	29 Incompetent	31 Honest	38 Honest
24 Honest	25 Arrogant	23 Good	26 Incompetent	20 Good
21 Idiot	25 Honest	21 Idiot	24 Arrogant	15 Integrity
18 Arrogant	19 Good	17 Liar	18 Good	15 Arrogant
15 Good	19 Idiot	14 Christian	18 Integrity	14 Incompetent
12 Failure	13 Integrity	14 Honest	15 Determined	13 Leader
12 Honorable	13 Leader	13 Arrogant	13 Liar	11 Fair
12 Stupid	11 Strong	13 Strong	12 Stupid	11 Idiot
11 Ignorant	11 Stupid	10 Integrity	11 Idiot	9 Strong
10 Selfish	10 Ignorant	8 Ass	11 Strong	9 Liar
9 Mediocre	8 Determined	8 Leader	10 Leader	8 Excellent
7 Ass	8 Fair	7 Jerk	9 Christian	8 Trustworthy
7 Ineffective	7 Ass	7 OK	9 Great	8 Dishonest
7 Inept	7 Selfish	7 Sincere	9 Okay	8 Poor
7 Integrity	6 Confused	7 S.tupid	8 Fair	7 Conservative
6 Dedicated	6 Dishonest	6 President	8 Sincere	7 Great
6 Disappoint	6 Persistent	6 Selfish	7 Aggressive	7 Sucks
6 Leader	6 Sincere	5 Bad	6 Inept	7 Honorable
5 Adequate	6 Trying	5 Conservative	5 Adequate	6 Dedicated
5 Committed	5 Committed	5 Consistent	5 Ass	6 Determined
5 Determined	5 Great	5 Dedicated	4 Persistent	6 President
5 Dumb	5 Hypocrite	5 Determined	4 Egotistical	6 Selfish
5 Loser	5 Liar	5 Dumb	4 Greedy	5 Trying
5 Moron	5 Steadfast	5 Egotistical	4 Jerk	5 Warmonger
5 Overwhelmed	5 Stubborn	5 Stubborn	4 Patriotic	5 Ignorant
5 Stubborn	5 Trustworthy	4 Confident	4 Terrible	5 Terrible
5 Tried/Tries	4 Compassionate	4 Disappointment	(N=751)	4 Diligent
4 Bad	4 Conservative	4 Dishonest		4 Consistent
4 Brave	4 Courage	4 Great		4 Sincere
4 Fair	4 Irresponsible	4 Honorable		4 Ineffective
4 Inadequate	4 Unconfident	4 Steadfast		4 Inept
4 Irresponsible	(N=740)	4 Tough		(N=761)
4 Lame duck		(N=710)		
4 Lazy				
4 No good				
4 OK				
4 Patriot/Patriotic				
4 Puppet				
4 Unqualified				

¹

Trends from May 2004, Early February 2004, May 2003, March 2000, September 1999 and March 1999 are not shown.

ASK ALL:

Q.9 How do you think President George W. Bush will go down in history... as an outstanding president, above average, average, below average, or poor?

		----- Gallup -----			
		Clinton	Clinton	Bush	Reagan
		Jan	Feb	Jan	Jan
		<u>2001</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1989</u>
3	Outstanding	12	11	6	17
8	Above average	32	29	30	42
28	Average	32	27	51	25
24	Below average	10	13	8	9
34	Poor	11	18	4	5
<u>3</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=723]:

Q.10F2 Thinking ahead, what do you think George W. Bush will be most remembered for after he has left office?
(ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES; PROBE FOR CLARITY BUT NOT FOR ADDITIONAL RESPONSES)

51 WAR [NET]

- 29 War in Iraq/Iraq
- 20 War/Wars (general mentions)
- 2 War in Afghanistan/Afghanistan
- 1 War on Terror/Dealing with terrorists

17 NEGATIVE ASSESSMENTS OF PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH [NET]

- 2 Stupid/Incompetent/Idiot
- 2 Ruining the country/Destroying America
- 2 Worst president
- 1 Bad speaker/vocabulary
- 1 Lying to the American people
- 1 Will be remembered for nothing
- 8 Other negative assessments

13 SEPTEMBER 11/FOREIGN POLICY [NET]

- 9 September 11/Handling of September 11 terrorist attacks
- 3 Keeping the country safe after September 11
- 1 Other foreign policy

12 ECONOMIC ISSUES [NET]

- 7 The economy (general mentions)
- 4 Current economic crisis/mortgage crisis and related bailout/debts
- 3 Recession
- 1 Gas prices

4 POSITIVE ASSESSMENTS OF PRESIDENT GEORGE W. BUSH [NET]

- 1 Hurricane Katrina/Handling of Hurricane Katrina
- 4 Other mentions with unclear/neutral tone
- 11 Don't know/Refused

Q.10F2 TRENDS FOR COMPARISON:

Thinking ahead, what do you think Bill Clinton will be most remembered for after he has left office?

	Jan <u>2001</u>	March <u>1998</u>
SCANDALS (NET)	74	57
Lewinsky/Impeachment	43	6
Other Personal/Sex Scandals	18	38
Scandals	14	18
Lack of integrity/morals	1	1
Corrupting/disgracing/cheapening the White House	*	1
Whitewater	*	1
ECONOMY/BUDGET DEFICIT (NET)	14	14
Economy (Sub-Net)	13	11
The economy/Good management of the economy	12	9
Decrease in unemployment	1	3
Stock market	*	*
Inflation	*	*
Balancing the budget/Handling the deficit/Decrease in national debt (Sub-Net)	1	5
FOREIGN POLICY (NET)	6	4
Middle East peace process	2	--
Efforts for peace	2	--
Improvements in foreign policy/world affairs	1	1
Iraq situation/No loss of life/Ensuring peace	*	3
OTHER POSITIVE COMMENTS (NET)	5	8
Good job he has done/Accomplishments	2	6
Good/Great president	2	--
His concern for the common man/working people/poor/less fortunate	1	2
Good communicator	*	--
OTHER NEGATIVE COMMENTS (NET)	3	3
Lying/Lack of honesty/Ability to spin the truth	2	3
Negative personal comment	1	--
DOMESTIC POLICY (NET)	1	5
Don't Know/Can't think of anything	3	13

ASK ALL:

Q.11 In the long run, do you think the accomplishments of the Bush Administration will outweigh its failures, or will the failures outweigh the accomplishments?

		----- Clinton -----							Reagan		
									Early	<i>Newsweek</i>	
		Jan	Jan	Jan	Jan	Jan	Aug	Jan	Sept	May	Feb
		<u>2008</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1987</u>	<u>1987</u>
24	Accomplishments will outweigh failures	28	31	49	60	51	56	50	52	46	52
64	Failures will outweigh accomplishments	59	53	36	27	37	38	34	35	41	38
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>13</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>12</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>10</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.12 Thinking about the major problems facing the country, would you say President Bush has made progress toward solving these problems, tried but failed to solve these problems, not addressed these problems, or made these problems even worse?

		-----Clinton-----		
		Early		
		Jan	Sept	Oct
		<u>2001</u>	<u>1998</u>	<u>1995</u>
13	Made progress	52	45	24
34	Tried but failed	27	34	50
11	Not addressed	9	9	11
37	Made problems worse	6	9	12
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>
100		100	100	100

QUESTIONS 13 AND 14 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

QUESTION 15 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED

QUESTIONS 16 AND 17 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE

NO QUESTION 18

QUESTIONS 19 THROUGH END PREVIOUSLY RELEASED