



**THE PEW RESEARCH CENTER**  
**For The People & The Press**

*NEWS Release*  
1615 L Street, N.W., Suite 700  
Washington, D.C. 20036  
Tel (202) 419-4350  
Fax (202) 419-4399

FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE: THURSDAY, January 15, 2009

**America's Pre-Inauguration Mood**

**STRONG CONFIDENCE IN OBAMA - COUNTRY SEEN AS LESS POLITICALLY DIVIDED**

**Also inside...**

- Obama tops Bush and Clinton's early ratings
- 57% like stimulus plan
- Iraq seen as in better shape than Afghanistan
- Laura Bush's comeback

***FOR FURTHER INFORMATION CONTACT:***

Andrew Kohut, Director  
Carroll Doherty and Michael Dimock, Associate Directors  
Scott Keeter, Director of Survey Research  
Pew Research Center for the People & the Press  
202/419-4350

<http://www.people-press.org>

## America's Pre-Inauguration Mood

### STRONG CONFIDENCE IN OBAMA - COUNTRY SEEN AS LESS POLITICALLY DIVIDED

Public confidence in Barack Obama to deal with the nation's most pressing problems is quite high, with about seven-in-ten saying they have at least a fair amount of confidence that he will do the right thing when it comes to mending the economy, preventing terrorism, and in dealing with Iraq. Notably, many Americans not only see the president-elect as a problem-solver, but as a "uniter" as well.

For the first time in several years, there has been a sharp decline in the proportion of Americans who say the country is more politically divided than in the past. Fewer than half (46%) now see the country as more divided, down 20 points from January 2007 (66%).

Moreover, the percentage saying that Republicans and Democrats in Washington will work together more to solve problems, rather than bicker and oppose each other, is markedly higher than it was at the start of

either of President Bush's two terms. Currently, 50% say the two parties will work together more to solve problems, while 39% expect more partisan bickering. Four years ago, just 30% said the two parties would work cooperatively while nearly twice as many (59%) said they anticipated more partisan bickering. Public expectations for partisan cooperation are now as great as in January 2002, amid the mood of national unity that prevailed after the Sept. 11 attacks.

Democrats are particularly optimistic about prospects for partisan cooperation: 59% of Democrats say they expect the two parties to work together more, compared with 49% of independents and 40% of Republicans.

On Inaugural Eve, Fewer See a Politically Divided Nation				
	Dec	Sept	Jan	Jan
<i>Compared with the past, country is...</i>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2009</u>
	%	%	%	%
More politically divided	66	70	66	46
Not more divided	26	24	28	45
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100
	Jan	Jan	Jan	Jan
<i>This year, Republicans and Democrats will...</i>	<u>2001</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2009</u>
	%	%	%	%
Work together more	41	53	30	50
Bicker more than usual	50	39	59	39
No diff/DK (Vol)	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100

These trends may well reflect strikingly different perceptions of the partisan influences on President-elect Obama and President Bush. A 44% plurality says that when it comes to matters of national policy, Obama listens more to moderate members of his party, while 34% believe he listens more to liberals in his party. This is in sharp contrast to how President Bush has been viewed. Throughout most of his presidency, but particularly in his second term, Bush has been viewed as listening more to conservatives than moderates in his party.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Jan. 7-11 among 1,503 adults on cell phones and landlines, finds that Americans are enthusiastic about Obama and broadly approve of his handling of the presidential transition. Fully 79% of Americans – including 59% of Republicans – say they have a favorable impression of Obama. That is far higher than Bush’s personal favorability shortly before he took office in 2001 (60%).

Seven-in-ten (70%) approve of the job Obama has done in explaining his plans and policies for the future. This rating tops those achieved by both George W. Bush and Bill Clinton as they were taking office.

About two-thirds of Americans (66%) approve of Obama’s choices for his cabinet and other high-level posts. While that is slightly lower than the proportion saying this in December (71%), it exceeds positive ratings for the cabinet selections of both George W. Bush (58%) and his father (59%), and is on par with approval of Bill Clinton’s cabinet picks in January 1993 (64%).

	Bush Sr. Jan 1989	Clinton GW Jan 1993	Bush Jan 2001	Obama Jan 2009
<i>Job explaining his policies?</i>	%	%	%	%
Approve	--	62	50	70
Disapprove	--	24	36	18
Don't know	--	14	14	12
		100	100	100
<i>Cabinet choices*</i>				
Approve	59	64	58	66
Disapprove	15	15	16	17
Don't know	26	21	26	17
	100	100	100	100

\* 1989 figures are from ABC News; 1993 figures are from U.S. News & World Report.

As is typically the case at this stage, most Americans think it is too early to tell whether Obama will be a successful or unsuccessful president. Yet optimists far outnumber pessimists (30% successful vs. 4% unsuccessful). At a comparable point in 2001, 26% said they expected Bush to be successful, compared with 15% who said he would be unsuccessful.

Large majorities say they have at least some confidence in Obama’s judgment on the big issues facing the country – including 75% who say they have a great deal (33%) or a fair amount (42%) of confidence in Obama to do the right thing to fix the economy. His economic stimulus package, which has not been finalized but may total about \$800 billion, is viewed as a good idea by 57% of those who have heard something about the plan. However, a small plurality of Republicans who have heard about the plan (43%) view the emerging proposal as a bad idea – perhaps an indication that the anticipated era of partisan cooperation may be short-lived.

Despite the troubled economy, Americans are about as optimistic about the coming year as they were at about this point a year ago. Currently, 52% say they expect that 2009 will be better than 2008, which is about the same as the percentage saying that about a year ago (50% in December 2007). Two years ago, in looking ahead to 2007, 57% expected that year to be an improvement from 2006.

The survey also finds continuing concern about the situation in Afghanistan. Far more people now believe that the military effort in Iraq is going very or fairly well than say the same about the U.S. operation in Afghanistan (59% vs. 45%).

The public’s views on other aspects of the two wars also are in sharp contrast: while a large majority (69%) favors decreasing the number of U.S. troops in Iraq, there is no consensus regarding troop levels in Afghanistan. Nearly four-in-ten (39%) say the number of U.S. troops there should be decreased, while 33% say the number of forces should be increased and 20% favors keeping the number of troops the same as it is now.

<i>Confidence in Obama to do right thing in fixing economy...</i>	Jan 2009
	%
Great deal	33
Fair amount	42
Not too much	14
None at all	7
Don't know	<u>4</u>
	100
<i>Obama's \$800 billion economic stimulus plan*...</i>	
Good idea	57
Bad idea	22
Don't know	<u>21</u>
	100

\* Based on those who say they have heard "a lot" or "a little" about the plan.

	Iraq	Afghanistan
	%	%
<i>Military effort is going...</i>		
Very/fairly well	59	45
Not too/at all well	36	45
Don't know	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100
<i>Number of troops should be...</i>		
Increased	6	33
Decreased	69	39
Kept same as now	17	20
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100
<i>Military force was the...</i>		
Right decision	43	64
Wrong decision	49	25
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100

## Winners and Losers in New Era

The public's belief that Washington will change dramatically under the new president is seen in the groups that are expected to gain and lose influence during Obama's presidency. The list of perceived winners and losers is very different than for Bush's administration in January 2001 and more closely resembles the predicted winners and losers for Clinton's presidency in 1993.

Fully 73% say that poor people will gain influence, while just

8% say they will lose influence. Prior to both of Bush's terms, pluralities said that poor people would lose influence (40% in January 2001, 49% in January 2005). Before Clinton took office, 61% said poor people would gain influence.

Other predicted winners under Obama's presidency are younger people (71% gain influence), blacks (67%), children (64%), environmentalists (60%) and women (58%). Nearly half (47%) say that "people like yourself" will gain influence; that is greater than the percentages saying average people would gain influence under Bush's presidency in 2001 (35%) and 2005 (22%).

More than four-in-ten say that wealthy people (44%) and business corporations (42%) will lose influence under Obama's administration, the highest percentages for any group tested. A 38% plurality also says that Washington lobbyists will lose influence under the new president.

<i>With Obama taking office, _____ will...</i>	Gain influence %	Lose influence %	Not be affected %	DK %
Poor people	73	8	15	4=100
Younger people	71	4	20	5=100
Blacks	67	2	27	4=100
Children	64	6	22	8=100
Environmentalists	60	7	26	7=100
Women	58	6	30	6=100
People like yourself	47	18	29	6=100
Hispanics	46	9	37	8=100
Union leaders	46	18	24	12=100
Gays and lesbians	40	11	39	10=100
Older people	39	19	36	6=100
The military	37	26	29	8=100
Business corporations	29	42	22	7=100
Conservative Christians	21	36	35	8=100
Washington lobbyists	21	38	29	12=100
Wealthy people	17	44	34	5=100

## SECTION 1: OBAMA AND HIS ADMINISTRATION

Public opinion about President-elect Obama's transition continues to be very positive. Seven-in-ten approve of the job Obama has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future, while just 18% disapprove. These numbers have changed little since December (72% approve) and are significantly higher than opinions about George W. Bush (50%) and Bill Clinton (62%) before they took office.

An overwhelming majority of Democrats approve (92%) of the way Obama has explained his policies and plans. Democrats' views have not changed since December and are considerably higher than those for Clinton in 1993 (77% of Democrats approved). In contrast, Republicans' opinions are more evenly divided (44% approve, 41% disapprove), which is similar to Republicans' views in December. In January

1993, 43% of Republicans approved of Clinton's performance in explaining his policies. Two-thirds of independents (67%) approve of the job Obama has done explaining his future plans, down slightly from December when 76% approved. This is comparable to independents' ratings of Clinton in 1993 (63% approve).

As is typically the case at the beginning of a new administration, a majority of Americans (65%) say that it is too early to tell whether Obama will be a successful or unsuccessful president. The balance of opinion among those who offer an opinion is much more positive than negative; 30% of the public says Obama will be a successful president while only 4% say he will be unsuccessful.

A comparable proportion said that Bush would be successful in January 2001 (26%), but slightly more said he would be unsuccessful (15%); 58% said it was too early to tell. In the summer of 1993, after Clinton had been in office six months, 60% said it was too early to tell; 13% said Clinton would be a successful president; and 25% thought he would be unsuccessful.

	Clinton Jan 1993	Bush Jan 2001	Obama Jan 2009
<i>Job explaining his policies?*</i>	%	%	%
Approve	62	50	70
Disapprove	24	36	18
Don't know	14	14	12
	100	100	100
<i>% approve</i>			
Republican	43	80	44
Democrat	77	30	92
Independent	63	48	67

	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
<i>Will Obama be...</i>	%	%	%	%
Successful	30	13	47	24
Unsuccessful	4	10	1	3
Too early to tell	65	77	51	73
Don't know	1	*	1	0
	100	100	100	100

Nearly half of Democrats (47%) say Obama will be successful compared with only 24% of independents and 13% of Republicans. Large majorities of Republicans (77%) and independents (73%), as well as about half of Democrats (51%), say that it is too early to tell whether Obama will be a successful president.

### Confidence in Obama

Substantial majorities of Americans express confidence in Obama to do the right thing when it comes to fixing the economy, preventing terrorist attacks and handling the war in Iraq. Three-quarters of the public (75%) says they have at least a fair amount of confidence in Obama to do the right thing when it comes to fixing the economy. Similarly, 71% say they have at least a fair amount of confidence in Obama to prevent future terrorist attacks and 69% say the same about Iraq.

There are substantial partisan differences in how much confidence people have in Obama to handle these issues. Democrats are overwhelmingly confident in Obama; 91% have at least a fair amount of confidence in Obama to do the right thing when it comes to the economy, 89% in preventing terrorist attacks and 88% in Iraq. Similarly, about seven-in-ten independents have at least a fair amount of confidence in Obama to do the right thing when it comes to terrorism (74%), the economy (73%) and Iraq (69%).

A narrow majority of Republicans (52%) say they have at least a fair amount of confidence in Obama to do the right thing in fixing the economy; 44% of Republicans say they have at least a fair amount of confidence in him to do the right thing in dealing with Iraq, while 39% have confidence in him to prevent terrorist attacks.

Confidence in Obama on the Economy, Terrorism and Iraq				
<i>Confidence Obama will do the right thing in...</i>				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
<b>Fixing economy</b>				
A great deal	33	12	50	29
A fair amount	42	40	41	44
Not too much	14	28	6	16
None at all	7	14	1	8
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>Preventing terrorist attacks</b>				
A great deal	31	9	47	28
A fair amount	40	30	42	46
Not too much	16	33	6	15
None at all	9	22	3	7
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100
<b>Iraq</b>				
A great deal	30	8	49	25
A fair amount	39	36	39	44
Not too much	17	30	8	17
None at all	8	19	2	9
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

## Obama's Economic Stimulus Plan

More than eight-in-ten Americans have heard a lot (33%) or a little (53%) about Obama's proposed \$800 billion economic stimulus package. Only 13% have heard nothing at all about his stimulus plan. Of those who have heard about the plan, a majority (57%) thinks the proposal is a good idea, while 22% think it is a bad idea.

Three-fourths of Democrats (75%) who have heard at least a little about Obama's proposal say it is a good idea, compared with 53% of independents and only 37% of Republicans. Conservative Republicans are particularly negative: half of conservative Republicans (50%) who have heard at least a little about the the plan say it is a bad idea, compared with 32% of moderate and liberal Republicans. Comparable majorities of liberal Democrats (79%), and moderate and conservative Democrats (73%), who have heard at least a little about the plan view it positively.

Overall, those who have heard more about the stimulus package are somewhat more likely to favor it; 63% who have heard a lot about the proposal think it is a good idea, compared with 53% who have heard a little. Democrats who have heard a lot about the proposal are particularly positive about it. Nearly nine-in-ten Democrats (87%) who have heard a lot about the proposal say it is a good idea, compared with 67% who have heard a little about it. The pattern is reversed for Republicans; those who have heard a lot about the plan are more likely to say it is a bad idea. More than half of Republicans (53%) who have heard a lot about the plan say it is a bad idea compared with only 36% who have heard a little.

	Good idea %	Bad idea %	DK %	N
<b>Total*</b>	57	22	21=100	1315
Heard a lot	63	25	12=100	542
<b>Republican*</b>	37	43	20=100	353
Heard a lot	37	53	10=100	143
<b>Democrat*</b>	75	8	17=100	480
Heard a lot	87	3	10=100	213
<b>Independent*</b>	53	24	23=100	420
Heard a lot	57	30	13=100	170

\* Based on those who heard "a lot" or "a little" about Obama's proposed economic stimulus package.



## Obama's Influences and Appointments

A plurality of the public (44%) says that when it comes to national policy, Obama is listening more to moderates in his party while about a third (34%) says he listens more to liberals in his party. Shortly before George W. Bush took office in 2001, more people said he was listening to conservatives in his party than to GOP moderates (48% vs. 37%). As Bush began his second term in January 2005, 54% said he listened more to conservatives in his party and only 27% said he listened more to the party's moderates.

	GW Bush 2001 %	Obama 2009 %
<i>Within his party, listening more to...*</i>		
Liberals/Conservatives	48	34
Moderates	37	44
Don't Know	<u>15</u>	<u>22</u>
	100	100

\* 2001 question asked if Bush was listening more to conservatives in his party; 2009 asks if Obama is listening more to liberals in his party.

Currently, half of Democrats say Obama is listening more to the party's moderates while 27% say he is listening more to liberal Democrats. Independents, by a slightly smaller margin (46% to 34%) also say that Obama listens more to his party's moderates. By comparison, nearly half of Republicans (48%) say Obama listens more to liberals in his party, while 37% say he listens more to moderate Democrats.

In general, Obama's choices for cabinet positions and other high-level posts get positive marks and most people say it is a good thing that many of his appointees worked in the Clinton administration. Two-thirds (66%) say they approve of Obama's choices for his cabinet and other high level appointments. That is down slightly from 71% in early December as he started to make his appointments, but is still higher than the percentages giving positive ratings to George W. Bush's top appointees in January 2001 (58%), and George H.W. Bush's in January 1989 (59%). It is comparable to the 64% approval mark for Bill Clinton's choices in January 1993.

	Bush Sr. Jan 1989 %	Clinton Jan 1993 %	GW Bush Jan 2001 %	Obama Jan 2009 %
<i>Cabinet choices*</i>				
Approve	59	64	58	66
Disapprove	15	15	16	17
Don't know	<u>26</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>17</u>
	100	100	100	100

\* 1989 figures are from ABC News; 1993 figures are from U.S. News & World Report.

Nearly nine-in-ten Democrats (87%) say they approve of Obama's cabinet choices, as do 63% of independents and 45% of Republicans. In January 2001, George W. Bush's choices for the cabinet and other senior positions received about the same approval rating from Democrats that Obama's choices currently receive from Republicans (44%).

Public views of Obama’s advisors’ ties with the Clinton administration are comparable to opinions expressed in 2001 about the ties that George W. Bush’s advisors had to his father’s administration. Currently, 59% say it is a “good thing” that many of Obama’s top advisors served in the previous Democratic administration, down slightly from 63% in early December. In 2001 as Bush took office, 56% said it was a good thing that so many of his top advisors had served in his father’s administration.

Nearly eight-in-ten Democrats (79%) say it is a good thing that many Obama appointees also served under Clinton; just 4% see the ties to the Clinton administration as a bad thing. Independents, by 59% to 22%, also view the associations with the Clinton administration positively. Republicans, on balance, say it is a bad thing rather than a good thing that many of Obama’s advisors served in the Clinton administration (47% to 36%).

Partisan Reactions to Transition				
	Total	Rep	Dem	Ind
	%	%	%	%
<i>Within his party, listening more to...</i>				
Liberals	34	48	27	34
Moderates	44	37	50	46
Don't know	<u>22</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>23</u>	<u>20</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Obama cabinet choices</i>				
Approve	66	45	87	63
Disapprove	17	37	3	16
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>18</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>21</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Many top advisors from Clinton administration...</i>				
Good thing	59	36	79	59
Bad thing	21	47	4	22
Neither/Don't know	<u>20</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>17</u>	<u>19</u>
	100	100	100	100

## Most Plan to Watch the Inauguration

Two-thirds of Americans (67%) say they plan to watch Obama's inauguration on Jan. 20. Not surprisingly, even higher percentages of Democrats, Obama voters and African Americans say they plan to tune in.

Fully 85% of Democrats say they plan to watch Obama's inauguration, compared with 62% of independents and 49% of Republicans. Similarly, 89% of Obama voters say they plan to watch, while just 46% of McCain voters say the same. More than nine-in-ten (92%) African Americans plan to watch the historic inauguration, which is significantly more than the 63% of white respondents who expect to tune in.

Slightly more than four-in-ten (43%) say they would attend the inauguration if offered a ticket, while 56% say they would not attend. These results mirror a Fox Opinion Dynamics poll conducted in January 2005 in which 42% said they would attend that year's Bush inaugural if offered a ticket and 57% said they would not attend.

As expected, far more Democrats (54%) and independents (46%) than Republicans (23%) say they would attend the inauguration if they were offered a ticket. Nearly two-thirds of those younger than 30 (65%) say they would attend the inauguration if they were offered a ticket, the greatest share of any age group. Just 19% of those ages 65 and older say they would attend the ceremony.

	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	67	28	5=100
Republican	49	44	7=100
Democrat	85	11	4=100
Independent	62	34	4=100
Obama voter	89	8	3=100
McCain voter	46	47	7=100
White	63	32	5=100
Black	92	5	3=100
18-29	73	24	3=100
30-49	68	27	5=100
50-64	60	34	6=100
65+	68	26	6=100

## SECTION 2: A NEW ERA IN THE CAPITAL

### Public's Forecast: Reduced Partisanship

As Barack Obama prepares to take office, half of the public (50%) thinks that Republicans and Democrats in Washington will work together more to solve problems in the coming year, while 39% say they will bicker and oppose each other more than usual.

The public is more optimistic on this measure than it was eight years ago – at the start of George W. Bush's first term in office – when 41% said the two parties would work together while 50% predicted more partisan bickering. Forecasts were even more downbeat at the start of Bush's

second term. In January 2005, just 30% said they thought party leaders would work together more, while a 59% majority expected increased opposition. Optimism for bipartisan cooperation has not topped 50% since January 2002 – shortly after the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks – when 53% of the country thought Republicans and Democrats would work together more cooperatively in the coming year.

Democrats are much more likely than Republicans to predict increased cooperation between the parties in the coming year. Nearly six-in-ten Democrats (59%) say partisans will work together more, compared with 40% of Republicans. In January 2001, more Republicans (51%) than Democrats (34%) anticipated improved partisan relations in Washington. In 2005, Republicans, Democrats and independents were all about equally skeptical that the two parties would work together more.

#### Hopes for Partisan Cooperation Run High

	<i>This year, Reps and Dems will...</i>			
	Work together more	Bicker and oppose more	(Vol.) Same as in past	DK
	%	%	%	%
January 2009	50	39	6	5=100
May 2005	13	64	8	15=100
January 2005	30	59	4	7=100
June 2004	21	60	7	12=100
October 2003	21	55	10	14=100
May 2002	44	31	8	17=100
January 2002	53	39	5	3=100
July 2001	30	46	10	14=100
May 2001	34	41	9	16=100
January 2001	41	50	4	5=100

In surveys that were *not* conducted in January, the question was worded: "This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?"

#### More See Increased Partisan Cooperation

<i>% saying Reps and Dems will work together more in coming year</i>	Jan 2001	Jan 2005	Jan 2009	05-09 Change
	%	%	%	
Total	41	30	50	+20
Democrat	34	30	59	+29
Independent	39	28	49	+21
Republican	51	32	40	+8

## Fewer See Country as Politically Divided

In addition to greater optimism about bipartisan cooperation in Washington, fewer now describe the country as a whole as more politically divided than in the past. In the current survey, 46% say the country is more politically divided these days than in the past; about as many (45%) say the country is not more divided. The share of the public calling the country more politically divided has fallen 20 points since January 2007, when two-thirds (66%) saw greater political divisiveness.

Democrats and independents, in particular, are much less likely to say the country is politically divided than they were in January 2007. Currently, 36% of Democrats see the country as more

politically divided than in the past – half the level of two years ago (72%). The proportion of independents who say the country is more politically divided has fallen by 18 points in the same period (from 67% to 49%). But 57% of Republicans say the country is more politically divided, which is little changed from two years ago (62%).

While the public senses less division at the national level, there has been only a modest shift in their own personal interactions. Currently, 47% of Americans say the *people they know* are more politically divided than in the past, down only slightly from 51% in 2007 and 53% in 2004. More Republicans (56%) than Democrats (42%) say the people they know are more politically divided than they used to be.

Country Less Divided				
	Dec	Jan	Jan	07-09
<i>Compared to the past...</i>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2007</u>	<u>2009</u>	<u>Change</u>
<i>Country is...</i>	%	%	%	
More politically divided	66	66	46	-20
Not more divided	26	28	45	+17
Don't know	8	6	9	
	100	100	100	
<i>People you know are...</i>				
More divided over politics	53	51	47	-4
Not more divided	40	41	47	+6
Don't know	7	8	6	
	100	100	100	

## Most Are Optimistic About 2009

Not since Ronald Reagan in 1981 has a newly inaugurated president faced a public more dissatisfied with national conditions. Just 20% are satisfied with the way things are going in the country today, while 73% say they are dissatisfied. The measure of national satisfaction, while low historically, is higher than it was in October, when just 11% expressed a positive view of national conditions.

Despite the negative national mood, most Americans say that 2009 will be a better year than 2008. More than half (52%) say they think the current year will be an improvement on the one just passed, while 37% think 2009 will be worse than last year. Nearly two-thirds of Democrats (64%) say things will be better compared with 38% of Republicans. This is a reversal from the outlooks for the past two years, when Republicans were more optimistic than Democrats. More independents say 2009 will be better than say it will be worse (54% to 38%), which is comparable to independents' expectations for 2008 and 2007.

Democrats, Independents See a Better Year Ahead			
	Dec <u>2006</u>	Dec <u>2007</u>	Jan <u>2009</u>
<i>Coming year will be...</i>	%	%	%
<b>Republicans</b>			
Better	67	57	38
Worse	19	29	49
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>13</u>
	100	100	100
<b>Democrats</b>			
Better	54	49	64
Worse	33	36	27
Don't know	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100
<b>Independents</b>			
Better	54	49	54
Worse	29	35	38
Don't know	<u>17</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100

When asked an open-ended question on why they think 2009 will be better or worse than 2008, respondents focused on two major themes: the economy and the transfer of power to a new administration. Among those who think 2009 will be a better year, fully 56% mentioned political change or the new administration as a reason for their optimism. While politics was by far the most common response, 14% cited optimism about the economy as a reason why 2009 will be better than 2008.

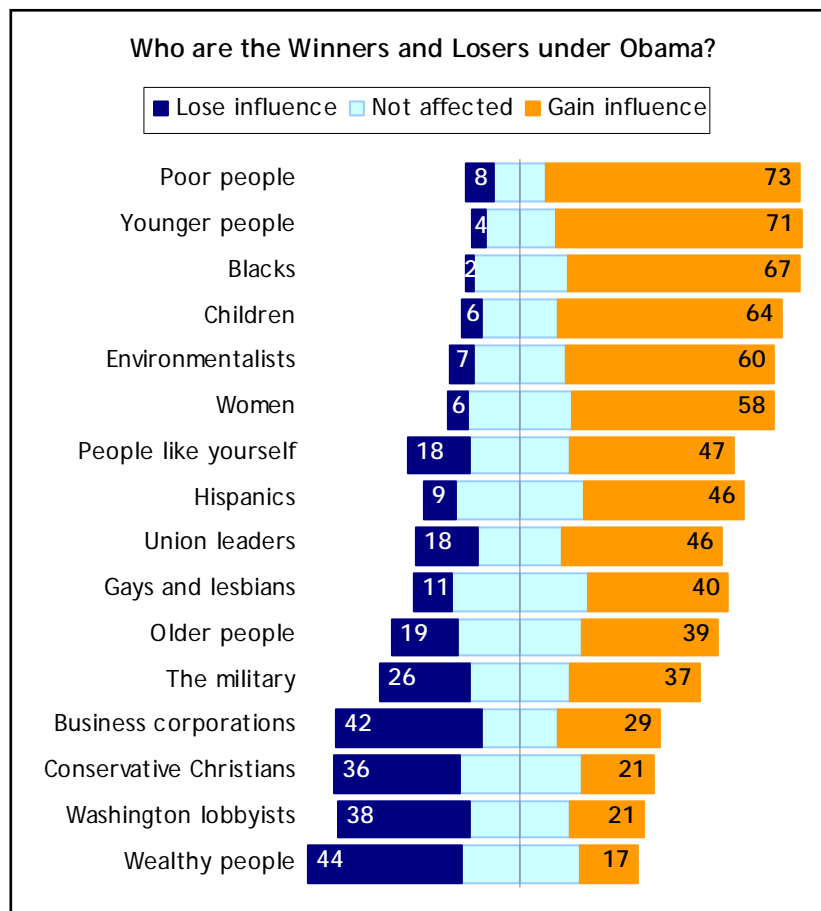
Those who think the coming year will be worse than 2008 mentioned the economy most often to explain why they feel that way. Nearly six-in-ten (59%) said the economy is the reason they think 2009 will be worse than 2008; Obama replacing Bush in the White House was mentioned by 17% of those who have a negative outlook for 2009.

## Winners and Losers

The public has clear ideas about which groups will gain and lose influence under Barack Obama's administration, and its assessment of likely winners and losers is vastly different than the list for the Bush administration eight years ago.

In the public's mind, poor people, young people and blacks will gain influence under the Obama administration. Nearly three-quarters (73%) say that poor people will gain influence with Obama taking office, and 71% say the same about younger people.

Two-thirds (67%) believe blacks will gain influence; in January 1993, virtually the same percentage (66%) said they expected blacks to gain influence during Bill Clinton's administration. Women are also seen as big winners with the Obama administration – 58% say they will gain influence in the coming years. Nearly half (46%) say that Hispanics will gain influence under Obama – just 9% say they will lose influence. And by a margin of 40% to 11%, more say gays and lesbians will also gain, rather than lose, influence.

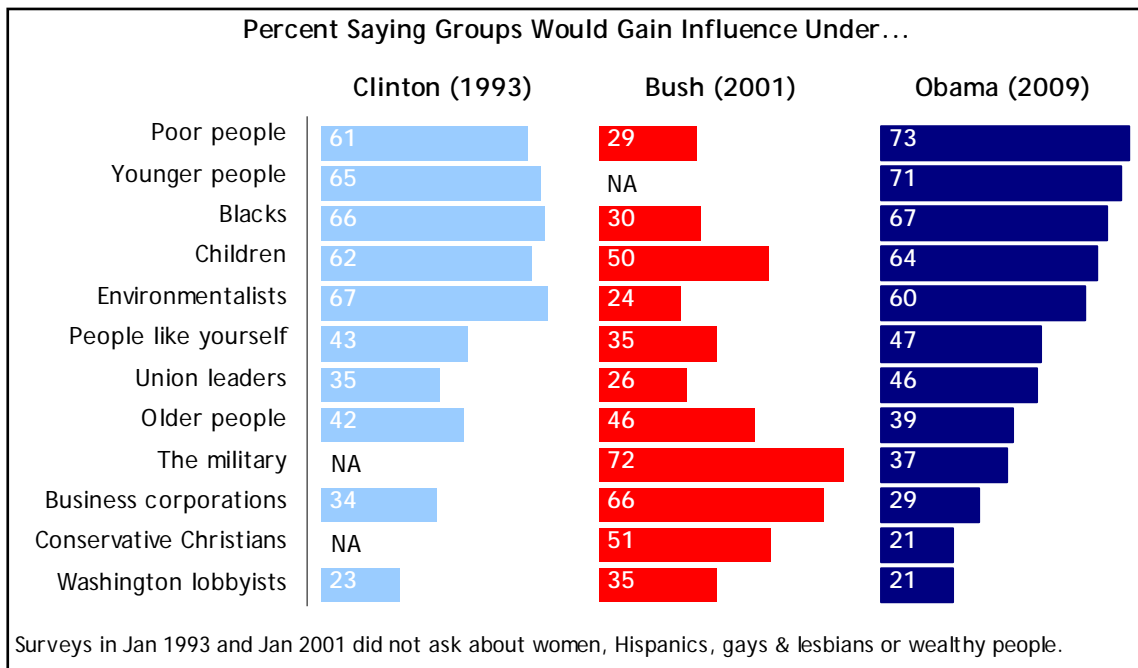


In terms of organized interests, both environmentalists and union leaders are seen as gaining influence with the transition of power. Six-in-ten (60%) say environmentalists will gain influence by Obama taking office, while just 7% say they will lose influence. Somewhat fewer (46%) say that the influence of union leaders will increase; 18% say union leaders will lose influence under the new president.

With poor people topping the list of groups that will gain influence in the coming years, it may be no surprise that wealthy people are seen as the biggest losers. Just 17% of Americans say that wealthy people will gain influence with Obama in office, while a plurality (44%) says they will lose influence. Other groups seen as more likely to lose than gain influence in the coming years are: business corporations (42% lose, 29% gain); Washington lobbyists (38% lose, 21% gain); and conservative Christians (36% lose, 21% gain).

### Comparing Administrations

Public perceptions of who would win and lose were starkly different as George W. Bush was taking office in January 2001. The military and business corporations were widely viewed as gaining influence, while a majority (51%) also said that conservative Christians would gain. The public again sees the military gaining, rather than losing, influence under Obama (37% gain vs. 26% lose), but by a much smaller margin than under Bush (72% gain vs. 4% lose).





In many cases, expectations for winners and losers under Obama mirror those expressed in January 1993 on the eve of Bill Clinton's first inauguration. Blacks are widely expected to gain influence under Obama, but virtually the same percentage said that just before Clinton took office in 1993 (67% Obama, 66% Clinton). By contrast, in January 2001 about as many thought blacks would lose influence (29%) as gain influence (30%) with Bush taking office.

Poor people and younger people also were predicted to be winners as Clinton took office in 1993, and expectations that these groups will gain influence are even more pronounced today. Environmentalists were predicted to gain influence under Clinton, as they are with Obama; a plurality thought environmentalists would lose influence under Bush. More people expected union leaders to gain rather than lose influence under Clinton (35% vs. 24%), but that view is more widely shared today (46% vs. 18%).

In January 1993, 34% predicted business corporations would gain influence under Clinton while a comparable percentage (33%) said they would lose influence. As Bush prepared to take office in 2001, 66% thought business corporations would gain influence and just 9% predicted they would lose influence. Today, a 42% plurality thinks that business corporations will lose influence, while 29% see their influence growing.

Opinions about whether children and older people will gain or lose influence have remained fairly stable across the past three presidential transitions. On balance, these groups have been seen as likely to gain influence under Clinton, Bush and Obama.

## Obama Benefits 'People Like Yourself'

Perhaps the most critical question is how people see the new administration affecting people like themselves, and by this measure Obama is viewed quite favorably. Nearly half of Americans (47%) say that people like themselves will gain influence as he takes office, while just 18% say people like themselves will lose influence (29% say they will not be affected).

Public views were more mixed as Bush took office eight years ago – 35% felt people like themselves would gain influence, but 26% thought they would lose influence. During Clinton's 1993 transition, 43% felt people like themselves would gain influence, and 22% though they would lose influence.

African Americans and young people are among the most upbeat about their influence in the coming years. Nearly eight-in-ten blacks (79%) say that people like themselves will gain influence, more than said this as Clinton (67%) prepared to take office, and far more than said this during Bush's transition (30%). And 62% of people age 18-29 believe people like themselves will gain influence in the coming years. In 1993, 49% of young people said this, as did just 40% in 2001.

Influence of "People Like Yourself"			
	Clinton	Bush	Obama
	Jan	Jan	Jan
	1993	2001	2009
<i>People like yourself will...</i>	%	%	%
Gain influence	43	35	47
Lose influence	22	26	18
Not affected	27	33	29
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<hr/>			
<i>Percent saying people like themselves will 'gain influence' among...</i>			
White	41	35	41
Black	67	30	79
18-29	49	40	62
30-49	45	35	50
50-64	44	34	41
65+	29	33	32
<i>Household income*</i>			
\$75k+	37	37	39
\$30k-74,999	45	36	53
Less than \$30,000	47	31	53
Republican	22	60	24
Democrat	62	18	66
Independent	40	32	45
* 1993 income categories are \$50k+, \$20-49,999 and less than \$20,000 for comparison.			

### SECTION 3: OPINIONS ABOUT IRAQ AND AFGHANISTAN

Positive views of the situation in Iraq have risen dramatically since the beginning of 2007. Currently, 59% say the U.S. military effort in Iraq is going very well (16%) or fairly well (43%); 36% say things in Iraq are going not too well (26%) or not at all well (10%). These opinions have changed little since the fall, but roughly a year ago, in February 2008, only about half (48%) said the military effort was going very or fairly well. In January 2007, just 35% expressed a positive opinion about how things were going in Iraq.

By contrast, opinions about the situation in Afghanistan have changed little over the past year and are much less positive than views of Iraq. Currently, 45% say the U.S. military effort there is going very well (7%) or fairly well (38%), while an equal percentage (45%) says things are going not too well (34%) or not at all well (11%). In February 2008, 48% said things were going well in Afghanistan.

Despite the contrast in perceptions of the situations in Iraq and Afghanistan, nearly identical majorities say the United States will definitely or probably succeed in achieving its goals in each country. Roughly six-in-ten (61%)

say they believe United States will succeed in Iraq – the highest percentage in Pew Research surveys since the question was first asked in 2006 – and 62% say that the United States will definitely or probably succeed in Afghanistan.

For all of the positive signs in public attitudes about Iraq, however, a large majority of Americans (69%) say that the number of U.S. troops there should be decreased over the next year; just 6% say the number of troops should be increased while 17% support keeping troop levels as they are now. By contrast, the public is divided over whether troop levels should be increased (33%) or decreased (39%) in Afghanistan.

Another major difference between opinions about Iraq and Afghanistan is in how people view the original decision to use military force. Only about four-in-ten (43%) say the decision to go to war in Iraq was right. By comparison, nearly two-thirds (64%) endorse the decision to use



force in Afghanistan. Public opinion about both wars has remained fairly stable over the past three years.

### Iraq Troop Withdrawals and Obama

Sizable majorities of Democrats (83%) and independents (69%) say that the number of U.S. troops should be decreased over the next year. A majority of Republicans share this view – 53% say that the number of troops should be decreased, while 28% say troop levels should be kept as they are.

Americans are optimistic that Barack Obama will handle the withdrawal of troops from Iraq about right. Fully two-thirds (67%) share this view, while about one-in-five (19%) say the president-elect will remove troops from Iraq too quickly just 6% think he will wait too long.

Democrats and independents are especially likely to say Obama will handle the removal of troops from Iraq about right (82% and 68%, respectively), while Republicans are more divided. Nearly half of Republicans (47%) are confident that Obama will handle it right, while 39% express concern that he will remove troops from Iraq too quickly.

<i>Number of US troops should be ...</i>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>	<u>Ind</u>
	%	%	%	%
Increased	6	9	5	6
Decreased	69	53	83	69
Kept the same	17	28	9	18
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>7</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Obama will ...</i>				
Remove troops too quickly	19	39	8	19
Wait too long	6	5	7	5
Handle it about right	67	47	82	68
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100

### No Consensus on Afghanistan

The public is more evenly divided when it comes to opinions about U.S. troop levels in Afghanistan. Nearly four-in-ten (39%) would like to see the number of troops decreased over the next year, but fully one-third of Americans think the number of troops in Afghanistan should be increased and one-in-five think troop levels should be kept the same as now.

Obama, who has pledged to send more troops to Afghanistan, has yet to convince most Democrats that a troop increase is a good idea. Nearly half of Democrats (48%) would like to see fewer troops in Afghanistan over the next year,

	<u>In-creased</u>	<u>De-creased</u>	<u>Kept the same</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%
Total	33	39	20	8=100
Men	43	33	19	5=100
Women	24	44	22	10=100
White	35	37	20	8=100
Black	20	52	22	6=100
18-29	23	52	19	6=100
30-49	29	43	22	6=100
50-64	45	28	19	8=100
65+	38	29	20	13=100
Republican	38	28	25	9=100
Democrat	29	48	17	6=100
Independent	37	37	20	6=100

while 29% favor a troop increase and 17% support keeping the current troop level. Notably, more Republicans (38%) and independents (37%) than Democrats (29%) say that the number of troops in Afghanistan should be increased.

There also are large gender, racial and age differences in views about U.S. troops in Afghanistan. Far more men than women favor increasing the number of U.S. troops over the next year (43% vs. 24%); whites also are more likely than African Americans to say the number of troops should be increased (35% vs. 20%). By more than two-to-one, people younger than 30 say that the number of U.S. troops in Afghanistan should be decreased rather than increased, and a plurality of those ages 30 to 49 agree. The balance of opinion among those 50 and older, by contrast, is in favor of increasing, not decreasing, the number of U.S. troops.

## SECTION 4: FAVORABILITY OF POLITICAL FIGURES AND PARTIES

Barack Obama's favorability rating is much higher than those of his predecessors just before they were sworn in. While both Bill Clinton and George W. Bush enjoyed robust favorability ratings on the eve of their inaugurations, neither of their measures matches Obama's current mark.

Nearly eight-in-ten Americans (79%) view the president-elect favorably; that compares with Bush's 60% favorability rating in January 2001 and Clinton's 69% rating in January 1993. Moreover, 40% now say they have a "very favorable" opinion of Obama, compared with 24% each for Bush and Clinton shortly before they took office.

Opinion of the president-elect is much less politically divided than were opinions of Bush and Clinton on the eve of their inaugurations. Obama is overwhelmingly popular with members of his own party (95% favorable), as were Bush (91%) and Clinton (91%), yet Obama also is viewed favorably by a majority of Republicans. Nearly six-in-ten Republicans (59%) say they have a favorable opinion of Obama, while 33% express an unfavorable opinion. By contrast, just 36% of Democrats had a favorable impression of Bush in 2001, while 56% held unfavorable views.

Similarly, 40% of Republicans felt favorably toward Clinton in early 1993, compared with 50% who expressed a negative view.

	<i>Clinton</i> Jan 1993*	<i>Bush</i> Jan 2001	<i>Obama</i> Jan 2009
<b>Favorable</b>	<b>69</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>79</b>
Very	24	24	40
Mostly	45	36	39
<b>Unfavorable</b>	<b>25</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>15</b>
Very	10	12	4
Mostly	15	21	11
DK/Can't rate	6	7	6
	100	100	100

\* From U.S. News & World Report

	<i>Clinton</i> Jan 1993*	<i>Bush</i> Jan 2001	<i>Obama</i> Jan 2009
<i>% Favorable</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>%</i>
Total	69	60	79
Republican	40	91	59
Democrat	91	36	95
Independent	67	62	78
<i>R-D gap</i>	<i>-51</i>	<i>+55</i>	<i>-36</i>

\* From U.S. News & World Report

Obama enjoyed high favorability ratings throughout the fall, but his popularity with the public has increased 13 points since mid-October, with much of the change coming among Republicans and independents. In October, just 34% of Republicans expressed a favorable opinion of Obama; that has increased 25 points, to 59%. More than three-quarters of independents (78%) now have a favorable impression of Obama, up from 68% in October. Obama remains overwhelmingly popular among Democrats; 95% now view him favorably, which is little changed from October (93%).

	Mid-Oct 2008		Jan 2009		Fav change
	Fav %	Unfav %	Fav %	Unfav %	
Total	66	28	79	15	+13
Republican	34	60	59	33	+25
Democrat	93	5	95	3	+2
Independent	68	28	78	14	+10
18-34	76	22	76	20	0
35-49	67	28	78	13	+11
50-64	60	35	83	13	+23
65+	60	30	81	8	+21

While Obama remains popular with people younger than 35, his favorability ratings among older age groups have increased since October. More than eight-in-ten (83%) of those 50 to 64 now view Obama favorably, up from 60% in October. Since October, there also has been a 21-point increase in positive views of Obama among those 65 and older, and an 11-point increase among those 35 to 49. Opinion of Obama those younger than 35 has remained stable, at 76% favorable. As a consequence, the age gap in positive opinions of Obama, which was sizable in October, has narrowed considerably.

### Biden Favorability On Par With Incoming VPs

Opinions of Joe Biden also have improved since the election, although the improvement has been more modest than Obama's. More than six-in-ten (63%) Americans now view the incoming vice president positively, up eight points since October. Overall opinion of Biden today mirrors that of both Dick Cheney and Al Gore just before they first took the oath of office.

However, Biden has much lower favorability among Republicans (36%) than Cheney had among Democrats in 2001 (50%); Gore also was more popular with Republicans (42%) than Biden is today. Biden's positive ratings among independents (59%) and Democrats (87%) are roughly comparable to the ratings Cheney and Gore received among independents and members of their own parties.

	Gore Jan 1993*	Cheney Jan 2001	Biden Jan 2009
Favorable	63	62	63
Very	21	20	22
Mostly	42	42	41
Unfavorable	21	18	20
Very	7	5	7
Mostly	14	13	13
DK/Can't rate	16	18	17
	100	100	100

\* From U.S. News and World Report

## Views of Incoming First Ladies

The balance of opinion about Michelle Obama is about the same as it was for Laura Bush shortly before she became first lady in 2001, but Obama is better known than Bush was then. About two-thirds (68%) say they have a favorable opinion of Michelle Obama; 15% say they have an unfavorable opinion. In January 2001, a majority (56%) held a favorable opinion of Laura Bush, while just 11% held an unfavorable opinion. A third of the public did not rate Laura Bush in January 2001, almost twice the percentage who did offer an opinion Michelle Obama (17%).

	<i>Hillary Clinton</i> Jan 1993*	<i>Laura Bush</i> Jan 2001^	<i>Michelle Obama</i> Jan 2009
Favorable	63	56	68
Very	19	--	28
Mostly	44	--	40
Unfavorable	22	11	15
Very	8	--	4
Mostly	14	--	11
DK/Can't rate	15	33	17
	100	100	100

\* From U.S. News and World Report  
^ From Gallup

Michelle Obama's rating now is a little higher than Hillary Clinton's in the days just before Bill Clinton's inauguration (63% favorable in January 1993). And, like her husband, Michelle Obama is now more popular than she was during the presidential campaign. In September, 56% expressed a favorable opinion of Michelle Obama while 25% held an unfavorable opinion.

## Laura Bush's Popularity Rebounds

Laura Bush's image also has improved. Nearly two-thirds (66%) of the public now holds a positive opinion of the first lady, reflecting a considerable rebound in public opinion of Laura Bush since December 2007, when a much smaller majority viewed her positively (54%).

Laura Bush's ratings have improved across the board, but the greatest shift is seen among younger people and Democrats. In December 2007, the balance of opinion about the first lady was negative among those younger than 30 (39% favorable, 46% unfavorable); today, more than six-in-ten (62%) of those younger than 30 hold a positive opinion of the first lady. In addition, a majority of Democrats (55%) now say they have a favorable impression of the first lady, up from 39% in December 2007.

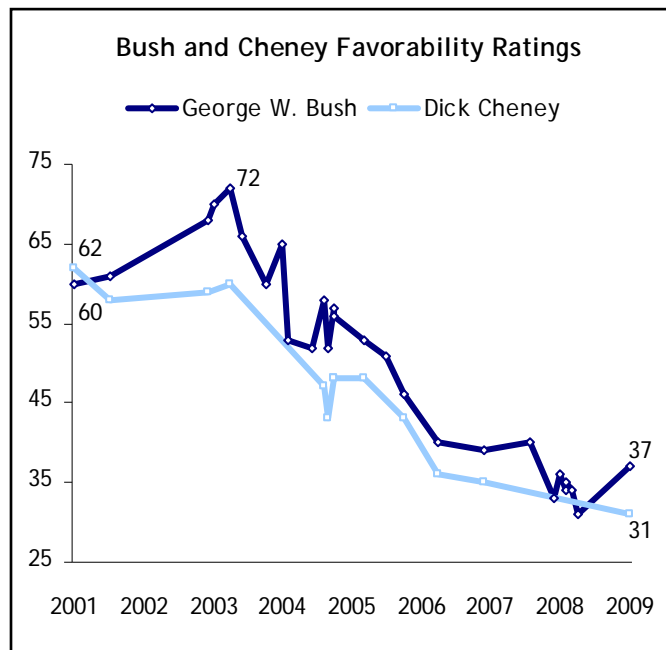
	Dec 2007		Jan 2009		<i>Fav Change</i>
	<i>Fav</i>	<i>Unfav</i>	<i>Fav</i>	<i>Unfav</i>	
	%	%	%	%	
Total	54	29	66	22	+12
18-29	39	46	62	27	+23
30-49	53	26	60	25	+7
50-64	64	25	75	18	+11
65+	63	21	72	13	+9
Republican	82	11	89	6	+7
Democrat	39	44	55	33	+16
Independent	51	30	63	22	+12



## Final Impressions of Bush and Cheney

As George W. Bush prepares to leave office, 37% say they have a favorable opinion of him, up from 31% last April. However, Bush will leave office with a job approval rating of 24%, up just two points from his all-time low of 22% measured in late October.

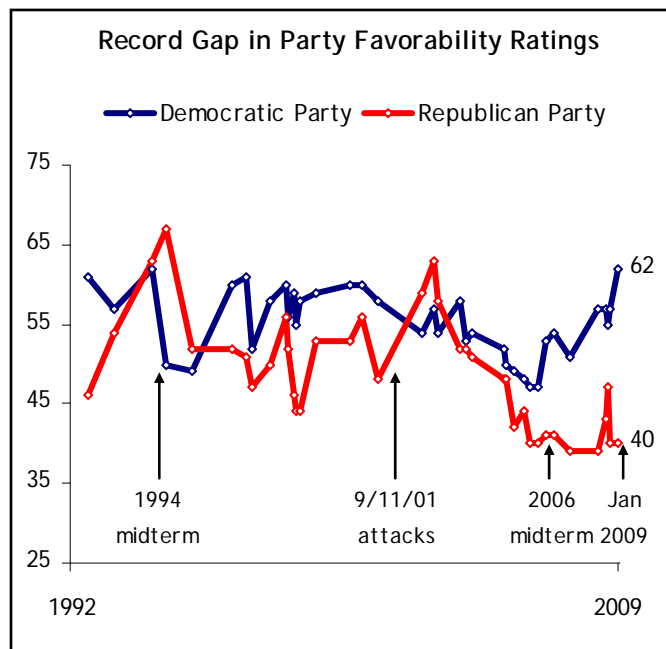
Positive ratings of Dick Cheney continue to trail those of Bush, as they have throughout the administration. Slightly more than three-in-ten (31%) give Dick Cheney a favorable rating. Views of Cheney among Democrats and independents have not changed significantly since December 2006. Over this period, positive ratings of Cheney among Republicans have slipped from 65% to 56%.



## Democrats' Growing Favorability Advantage

The Democratic Party has held a substantial favorability advantage over the GOP for more than two years, but the gap has never been as large as it is currently. More than six-in-ten (62%) say they have a positive opinion of the Democratic Party, while just 40% say they have a favorable opinion of the Republican Party.

The current favorability rating for the Democratic Party matches the highest measured in a Pew Research survey (62% in July 1994). Positive views of the Republican Party have stayed at around 40% for most of the past three years – with the exception of the period just after last year's GOP convention, when 47% said they had a favorable opinion of the party.



Democrats overwhelmingly express favorable opinions of their own party (90%), while fewer Republicans hold a positive opinion of the GOP (74%). Nearly six-in-ten independents (58%) express positive opinions of the Democratic Party, compared with 38% who say they have a favorable impression of the Republican Party.

### **Congress Viewed Unfavorably**

While the Democratic Party enjoys high favorability, the public continues to express negative opinions of the Democratic-led Congress. Just 40% say they have a favorable opinion of Congress, while 52% have an unfavorable opinion. Views of Congress have changed little since last May (41% favorable), but the current favorability measure is the lowest recorded in a Pew Research survey.

Opinions of Congress have become increasingly polarized. Six-in-ten Democrats (60%) express a favorable opinion of Congress, up from 54% last May. Positive views of Congress among Republicans have declined by 11 points over this period (from 34% to 23%). About a third of independents view Congress favorably (32%), which is little changed from last May (35%).

## 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 1,503 adults, 18 years of age or older, from January 7-11, 2009 (1,128 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 375 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 112 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:

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus...</b>
Total sample	1,503	3.0 percentage points
Form 1 sample	769	4.0 percentage points
Form 2 sample	734	4.0 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  
Juliana Menasce Horowitz, Robert Suls, Shawn Neidorf, Leah Christian, Jocelyn Kiley and Neha Sahgal, Research Associates  
Kathleen Holzward and Alec Tyson, Research Analysts

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**JANUARY 2009 POLITICAL SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
 January 7-11, 2009  
 N=1,503

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.1F1 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>
January, 2009	20	73	7=100	Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100
December, 2008	13	83	4=100	June, 2001	43	52	5=100
Early October, 2008	11	86	3=100	March, 2001	47	45	8=100
Mid-September, 2008	25	69	6=100	February, 2001	46	43	11=100
August, 2008	21	74	5=100	January, 2001	55	41	4=100
July, 2008	19	74	7=100	October, 2000 (RVs)	54	39	7=100
June, 2008	19	76	5=100	September, 2000	51	41	8=100
Late May, 2008	18	76	6=100	June, 2000	47	45	8=100
March, 2008	22	72	6=100	April, 2000	48	43	9=100
Early February, 2008	24	70	6=100	August, 1999	56	39	5=100
Late December, 2007	27	66	7=100	January, 1999	53	41	6=100
October, 2007	28	66	6=100	November, 1998	46	44	10=100
February, 2007	30	61	9=100	Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100
Mid-January, 2007	32	61	7=100	Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
Early January, 2007	30	63	7=100	Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100
December, 2006	28	65	7=100	February, 1998	59	37	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	28	64	8=100	January, 1998	46	50	4=100
Early October, 2006	30	63	7=100	September, 1997	45	49	6=100
July, 2006	30	65	5=100	August, 1997	49	46	5=100
May, 2006	29	65	6=100	January, 1997	38	58	4=100
March, 2006	32	63	5=100	July, 1996	29	67	4=100
January, 2006	34	61	5=100	March, 1996	28	70	2=100
Late November, 2005	34	59	7=100	October, 1995	23	73	4=100
Early October, 2005	29	65	6=100	June, 1995	25	73	2=100
July, 2005	35	58	7=100	April, 1995	23	74	3=100
Late May, 2005	39	57	4=100	July, 1994	24	73	3=100
February, 2005	38	56	6=100	March, 1994	24	71	5=100
January, 2005	40	54	6=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
December, 2004	39	54	7=100	September, 1993	20	75	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
July, 2004	38	55	7=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
May, 2004	33	61	6=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	Late February, 1991 (Gallup)	66	31	3=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	January, 1989	45	50	5=100
April 8, 2003	50	41	9=100	September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	May, 1988	41	54	5=100
November, 2002	41	48	11=100	January, 1988	39	55	6=100
September, 2002	41	55	4=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				

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:**

Q.2F2 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
January, 2009	24	66	10=100	December, 2004	48	44	8=100
December, 2008	24	68	8=100	Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100
Late October, 2008	22	70	8=100	August, 2004	46	45	9=100
Early October, 2008	25	67	8=100	July, 2004	46	46	8=100
August, 2008	28	66	6=100	June, 2004	48	43	9=100
July, 2008	27	68	5=100	May, 2004	44	48	8=100
April, 2008	27	65	8=100	Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100
March, 2008	28	63	9=100	Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100
Late February, 2008	33	59	8=100	Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100
Early February, 2008	31	62	7=100	Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100
January, 2008	31	59	10=100	February, 2004	48	44	8=100
Late December, 2007	31	60	9=100	Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100
November, 2007	30	59	11=100	Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100
October, 2007	30	63	7=100	December, 2003	57	34	9=100
September, 2007	31	59	10=100	November, 2003	50	40	10=100
August, 2007	31	59	10=100	October, 2003	50	42	8=100
July, 2007	29	61	10=100	September, 2003	55	36	9=100
June, 2007	29	61	10=100	Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100
April, 2007	35	57	8=100	Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100
March, 2007	33	58	9=100	Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100
February, 2007	33	56	11=100	Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100
Mid-January, 2007	33	59	8=100	June, 2003	62	27	11=100
Early January, 2007	33	57	10=100	May, 2003	65	27	8=100
December, 2006	32	57	11=100	<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	72	22	6=100
Mid-November, 2006	32	58	10=100	<i>April 9, 2003</i>	74	20	6=100
Early October, 2006	37	53	10=100	<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	69	25	6=100
September, 2006	37	53	10=100	<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	71	23	6=100
August, 2006	37	54	9=100	<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	70	24	6=100
July, 2006	36	57	7=100	<i>March 20-24, 2003</i>	67	26	7=100
June, 2006	36	54	10=100	March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
April, 2006	33	56	11=100	February, 2003	54	36	10=100
Early April, 2006	35	55	10=100	January, 2003	58	32	10=100
March, 2006	33	57	10=100	December, 2002	61	28	11=100
February, 2006	40	52	8=100	Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
January, 2006	38	54	8=100	Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
December, 2005	38	54	8=100	Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early November, 2005	36	55	9=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late October, 2005	40	52	8=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
Early October, 2005	38	56	6=100	August, 2002	67	21	12=100
September 8-11, 2005	40	52	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
September 6-7, 2005	40	52	8=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
July, 2005	44	48	8=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
June, 2005	42	49	9=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Late May, 2005	42	48	10=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
Mid-May, 2005	43	50	7=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Late March, 2005	49	46	5=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-March, 2005	45	46	9=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100				

**Q.2F2 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

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.3F1 Looking ahead, so far as you are concerned, do you think that 2009 will be better or worse than 2008?  
**[PROMPT IF NECESSARY: "Just in general..."]**

	<u>Better</u>	<u>Worse</u>	(VOL.) Don't <u>know</u>
January, 2009	52	37	11=100
December, 2007	50	34	16=100
December, 2006	57	28	15=100
December, 1999	66	19	15=100
December, 1998	59	25	16=100
December, 1994	59	28	13=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1993	64	20	16=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1992	61	11	28=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1991	61	31	8=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1990	48	42	10=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1986	53	25	22=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1985	64	20	17=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1984	61	20	19=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1982	50	32	18=100
<b>Gallup</b> December, 1981	41	44	15=100

**IF 'BETTER' OR 'WORSE' in Q.3F1 (Q3F1=1,2), ASK:**

**Q.4F1 Why do you think 2009 will be [INSERT ANSWER FROM Q. 3F1] than 2008? (OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW." ACCEPT UP TO THREE RESPONSES)**

**BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID 2009 WILL BE BETTER [N=392]:**

56	Political change/New administration
14	Optimism about the economy
12	"Things can't get any worse"
7	General optimism
5	Learned from past mistakes
2	Personal reasons
1	Optimism about Iraq/Afghanistan
5	Other
4	Don't know

**BASED ON THOSE WHO SAID 2009 WILL BE WORSE [N=290]:**

59	Pessimism about the economy
18	General pessimism
17	Political change/New administration
5	General distrust of government/politicians
4	Pessimism about Iraq/Afghanistan
	Too many problems left from Bush
3	administration
1	Decline of morals/spirituality
7	Other
1	Don't know

**NO QUESTIONS 5-8**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.9 Do you plan to watch Barack Obama's inauguration later this month?

		<i>US News (Clinton)</i>	
		Jan	
		<u>1993</u>	
67	Yes	57	
28	No	32	
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>11</u>	
100		100	

**NO QUESTIONS 10-11**

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:**

Q.12F2 If you were offered a ticket to the inauguration ceremony, would you attend?

		<i>Fox News (G.W. Bush)</i>	
		Jan	
		<u>2005</u>	
43	Yes	42	
56	No	57	
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	
100		100	

**QUESTION 13 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.14F1 Do you approve or disapprove of the job President-elect Obama has done so far in explaining his policies and plans for the future to the American people?

		<i>Gallup</i>			
		<b>Bush</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Bush, Sr.</b>	
		Dec	Jan	Jan	March
		<u>2008</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1989</u>
70	Approve	72	50	62	65
18	Disapprove	18	36	24	28
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>10</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>14</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100	100	100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.15F1 In the long run, do you think Barack Obama will be a successful or unsuccessful president, or do you think it is too early to tell?

		<u>Successful</u>	<u>Unsuccessful</u>	Too early <u>to tell</u>	(VOL.) <u>Don't know</u>
<b>Obama</b>	January, 2009	30	4	65	1=100
<b>Bush</b>	January, 2007	24	45	27	4=100
<b>Bush</b>	January, 2006	27	37	32	4=100
<b>Bush</b>	Early October, 2005	26	41	30	3=100
<b>Bush</b>	January, 2005	36	27	35	2=100
<b>Bush</b>	December, 2003	39	20	38	3=100
<b>Bush</b>	Early October, 2002	40	15	44	1=100
<b>Bush</b>	January, 2001	26	15	58	1=100
<b>Clinton</b>	January, 1999	44	24	29	3=100
<b>Clinton</b>	Early September, 1998	38	24	35	3=100
<b>Clinton</b>	February, 1995	18	34	43	5=100



**Q.15F1 CONTINUED...**

		<u>Successful</u>	<u>Unsuccessful</u>	Too early <u>to tell</u>	(VOL.) <u>Don't know</u>
Clinton	October, 1994	14	35	48	3=100
Clinton	May, 1994	21	26	52	1=100
Clinton	January, 1994	21	19	57	3=100
Clinton	October, 1993	18	25	56	1=100
Clinton	September, 1993	22	22	54	2=100
Clinton	August, 1993	13	25	60	2=100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.16F1 So far, would you say you approve or disapprove of Barack Obama's cabinet choices and other high level appointments?

		<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b>					
		<i>U.S. News &amp; World Report</i>		<i>ABC</i>	<i>Harris</i>		
		<b>Bush</b>	<b>Clinton</b>	<b>Bush, Sr.</b>	<b>Reagan</b>		
		Dec	Jan	Jan	Jan	Jan	
		<u>2008</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1989</u>	<u>1981<sup>1</sup></u>	
66	Approve	71	58	64	59	52	<i>Excellent/Good</i>
17	Disapprove	17	16	15	15	34	<i>Only fair/Poor</i>
<u>17</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>12</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>26</u>	<u>14</u>	<i>Don't know</i>
100		100	100	100	100	100	

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:**

Q.17F2 How much confidence do you have in Barack Obama to do the right thing when it comes to [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]—a great deal of confidence, a fair amount of confidence, not too much confidence, or no confidence at all?

		A great	A fair	Not too	No	(VOL.)
		<u>deal</u>	<u>amount</u>	<u>much</u>	<u>confidence</u>	<u>Don't</u>
					<u>at all</u>	<u>know</u>
a.F2	Fixing the economy	33	42	14	7	4=100
b.F2	Iraq	30	39	17	8	6=100
c.F2	Preventing terrorist attacks	31	40	16	9	4=100

**NO QUESTIONS 18-21**

<sup>1</sup>

In 1981, the question was worded: "Now let me ask you about President-elect Reagan's Cabinet appointments. How would you rate his appointment of... the cabinet as a whole? Would you say it was an excellent, pretty good, only fair or poor appointment?"

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.22F1 Do you think it's a good thing or a bad thing that many of Barack Obama's top advisors worked in the Clinton administration?

		Dec <u>2008</u>	<b>Bush</b> <u>Jan 2001</u> <sup>2</sup>
59	Good thing	63	56
21	Bad thing	22	29
8	Neither/Doesn't matter (VOL.)	7	n/a
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>15</u>
100		100	100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:**

Q.23F2 This coming year, do you think Republicans and Democrats in Washington will work together more to solve problems OR do you think they will bicker and oppose one another more than usual?

	Work <u>together more</u>	Bicker and oppose one another <u>more than usual</u>	Same as in past (VOL)	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
<b>January, 2009</b> <sup>3</sup>	<b>50</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>6</b>	<b>5=100</b>
May, 2005	13	64	8	15=100
<b>January, 2005</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>7=100</b>
June, 2004	21	60	7	12=100
October, 2003	21	55	10	14=100
May, 2002	44	31	8	17=100
<b>January, 2002</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>5</b>	<b>3=100</b>
July, 2001	30	46	10	14=100
May, 2001	34	41	9	16=100
<b>January, 2001</b>	<b>41</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>4</b>	<b>5=100</b>
July, 2000	21	54	10	15=100
August, 1999	20	68	4	8=100
August, 1998	27	51	8	14=100
November, 1997	38	45	7	10=100
August, 1997	43	46	3	8=100
June, 1997	34	49	6	11=100
October, 1995	21	72	3	4=100
August, 1993	20	57	13	10=100

<sup>2</sup> In 2001, the question was worded: "Do you think it's a good thing or a bad thing that many of George W. Bush's top advisors worked in his father's administration?"

<sup>3</sup> In surveys that were not conducted in January of a given year the question was worded: "This year, have Republicans and Democrats in Washington been working together more to solve problems OR have they been bickering and opposing one another more than usual?"

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:**

Q.24F2 When it comes to national policy, who do you think Barack Obama is listening to more... **[READ, ROTATE]**

34 Liberal members of his party OR  
 44 Moderate members of his party  
22 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
 100

**Q.24F2 TREND FOR COMPARISON**

When it comes to national policy, who do you think George W. Bush is listening to more...

	Mar	Early Oct	July	Jan	May	Jan	Jan	Jan
	<u>2006</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2005</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2002</u>	<u>2001</u>
Conservative members of his party OR	51	57	53	54	49	41	38	48
Moderate members of his party	25	27	23	27	32	35	40	37
Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>24</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>19</u>	<u>24</u>	<u>22</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

**NO QUESTIONS 25-26**

**QUESTION 27 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.A1 How much, if anything, have you heard about the economic stimulus package being proposed by President-elect Obama that may cost about \$800 billion? **[READ]**

33 A lot  
 53 A little  
 13 Nothing at all  
1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
 100

**IF HEARD 'A LOT' OR 'A LITTLE' (Q.A1=1,2), ASK [N=1,315]:**

Q.A2 From what you've read and heard, do you think this proposal is a good idea or a bad idea?

57 Good idea  
 22 Bad idea  
21 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
 100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.28F1 What's your view... Do you think the country is more politically divided these days than in the past, or not?

	Jan	Sept	Dec
	<u>2007</u>	<u>2006</u>	<u>2004</u>
46 More politically divided	66	70	66
45 Not more divided	28	24	26
<u>9</u> Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>
100	100	100	100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:**

Q.29F2 Thinking about the people you know, are they more divided over politics these days than in the past, or not?

		Jan <u>2007</u>	Dec <u>2004</u>
47	More divided over politics	51	53
47	Not more divided	41	40
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

Q.30F1 Now I'd like your views on some people. As I read some names, please tell me if you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of each person. (First, **INSERT NAME; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS**) would you say your overall opinion of... [**INSERT ITEM**] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly Unfavorable, or very unfavorable?

		-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.) Never heard of	(VOL.) Can't rate/Ref
		Total	Very	Mostly	Total	Very	Mostly		
a.F1	Barack Obama								
	January, 2009	79	40	39	15	4	11	0	6=100
	Mid-October, 2008	66	33	33	28	13	15	*	6=100
	Late September, 2008	65	33	32	30	11	19	*	5=100
	Mid-September, 2008	62	28	34	34	15	19	*	4=100
	Late May, 2008	51	23	28	40	21	19	*	9=100
	April, 2008	52	21	31	42	21	21	*	6=100
	March, 2008	56	21	35	34	18	16	1	9=100
	Late February, 2008	57	24	33	34	16	18	1	8=100
	Early February, 2008	58	19	39	30	13	17	2	10=100
	January, 2008	56	20	36	33	13	20	3	8=100
	Late December, 2007	54	16	38	30	12	18	5	11=100
	August, 2007	48	14	34	26	10	16	13	13=100
b.F1	Joe Biden								
	January, 2009	63	22	41	20	7	13	6	11=100
	Mid-October, 2008	55	20	34	35	10	19	6	10=100
	Early Oct., 2008 (callback)	61	20	41	30	10	20	1	8=100
	Late September, 2008	49	15	34	30	10	20	8	13=100
	Mid-September, 2008	48	14	34	30	11	19	8	14=100
	April, 2006	28	7	21	20	5	15	38	14=100
	Late October, 2005	21	4	17	20	6	14	43	16=100
	September, 1987	22	4	18	15	4	11	25	38=100
c.F1	Michelle Obama								
	January, 2009	68	28	40	15	4	11	2	15=100
	September, 2008	56	23	33	25	11	14	2	17=100
	Late May, 2008	43	14	29	21	8	13	4	32=100
<b>NO ITEM d.</b>									
e.F1	George W. Bush								
	January, 2009	37	9	28	60	35	25	0	3=100
	April, 2008	31	9	22	65	42	23	*	4=100
	March, 2008	34	8	26	61	37	24	0	5=100
	Late February, 2008	35	10	25	60	39	21	0	5=100

**Q.30F1 CONTINUED ...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
Early February, 2008	34	9	25	61	39	22	*	5=100
January, 2008	36	11	25	60	37	23	0	4=100
Late December, 2007	33	10	23	63	41	22	0	4=100
August, 2007	40	12	28	57	34	23	*	3=100
December, 2006	39	12	27	57	34	23	*	4=100
April, 2006	40	15	25	57	35	22	*	3=100
Late October, 2005	46	17	29	51	29	22	*	3=100
July, 2005	51	22	29	46	25	21	0	3=100
Late March, 2005	53	23	30	45	27	18	0	2=100
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	56	26	30	42	23	19	*	2=100
Early October, 2004 (RVs)	57	27	30	40	20	20	0	3=100
September, 2004	52	25	27	43	24	19	*	5=100
August, 2004	58	27	31	39	22	17	0	3=100
June, 2004	52	19	33	45	22	23	*	3=100
Early February, 2004	53	21	32	44	25	19	0	3=100
Gallup: January 29-February 1, 2004	52	--	--	47	--	--	--	1=100
Gallup: January 2-5, 2004	65	--	--	35	--	--	--	*=100
Gallup: October 6-8, 2003	60	--	--	39	--	--	--	1=100
Gallup: June 9-10, 2003	66	--	--	33	--	--	--	1=100
April, 2003	72	37	35	25	11	14	0	3=100
January, 2003	70	28	42	28	10	18	0	2=100
December, 2002	68	35	33	27	11	16	0	5=100
July, 2001	61	22	39	35	14	21	*	4=100
January, 2001	60	24	36	33	12	21	0	7=100
May, 2000	58	18	40	31	12	19	1	10=100
March, 1999 <sup>4</sup>	61	21	40	21	7	14	4	14=100
November, 1997	54	13	41	18	6	12	9	19=100
<b>f.F1 Dick Cheney</b>								
January, 2009	31	6	25	57	30	27	2	10=100
December, 2006	35	10	25	55	28	27	2	8=100
April, 2006	36	11	25	55	29	26	3	6=100
Late October, 2005	43	12	31	46	22	24	2	9=100
Late March, 2005	48	15	33	42	20	22	2	8=100
Mid-October, 2004 (RVs)	48	17	31	46	25	21	*	6=100
Early October, 2004 (RVs)	48	14	34	41	20	21	*	11=100
Early September, 2004	43	13	30	42	23	19	2	13=100
August, 2004	47	13	34	41	20	21	2	10=100
April, 2003	60	21	39	27	12	15	3	10=100
December, 2002	59	20	39	26	10	16	5	10=100
July, 2001	58	19	39	26	6	20	6	10=100
January, 2001	62	20	42	18	5	13	2	18=100
December, 1994	42	10	32	19	5	14	21	18=100
March, 1991 <sup>5</sup>	68	33	35	6	2	4	10	16=100
May, 1990	20	3	17	11	3	8	44	25=100
<b>g.F1 Laura Bush</b>								
January, 2009	66	26	41	22	9	13	1	12=100
December, 2007	54	19	35	29	13	16	3	14=100
August, 2004	70	35	35	18	8	11	2	10=100

<sup>4</sup> In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

<sup>5</sup> In March 1991 and May 1990 the category was listed: "Richard Cheney."

**Q.30F1 CONTINUED ...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never heard of	Can't rate/Ref
December, 2002	71	33	38	12	5	7	2	15=100
July, 2001	64	21	43	17	5	12	1	18=100
May 2000 <sup>6</sup>	41	10	31	11	4	7	16	32=100

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:**

Q.31F2 On another subject ... Would you say your overall opinion of [INSERT ITEM, RANDOMIZE] is very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable?

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
a.F2 The Democratic Party								
January, 2009	62	19	43	32	12	20	*	6=100
Late October, 2008	57	19	38	33	15	18	*	10=100
Mid-September, 2008	55	18	37	39	14	25	*	6=100
August, 2008	57	16	41	37	13	24	*	6=100
Late May, 2008	57	14	43	37	14	23	*	6=100
July, 2007	51	13	38	41	14	27	0	8=100
Early January, 2007	54	15	39	35	12	23	*	11=100
Late October, 2006	53	13	40	36	11	25	*	11=100
July, 2006	47	13	34	44	13	31	2	7=100
April, 2006	47	12	35	42	14	28	*	11=100
February, 2006	48	14	34	44	17	27	0	8=100
Late October, 2005	49	14	35	41	15	26	*	10=100
July, 2005	50	15	35	41	14	27	*	9=100
June, 2005	52	12	40	39	13	26	*	9=100
December, 2004	53	13	40	41	14	27	*	6=100
June, 2004	54	12	42	36	11	25	0	10=100
Early February, 2004	58	14	44	37	9	28	*	5=100
June, 2003	54	11	43	38	10	28	0	8=100
April, 2003	57	13	44	36	11	25	*	7=100
December, 2002	54	15	39	37	10	27	*	9=100
July, 2001	58	18	40	34	10	24	*	8=100
January, 2001	60	18	42	30	9	21	1	9=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	60	16	44	35	12	23	*	5=100
August, 1999	59	14	45	37	9	28	*	4=100
February, 1999	58	11	47	37	11	26	0	5=100
January, 1999	55	14	41	38	12	26	0	7=100
Early December, 1998	59	18	41	34	10	24	0	7=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	56	11	45	38	9	29	*	6=100
Early September, 1998	60	13	47	33	8	25	*	7=100
March, 1998	58	15	43	36	10	26	*	6=100
August, 1997	52	11	41	42	10	32	0	6=100
June, 1997	61	10	51	33	8	25	*	6=100
January, 1997	60	13	47	35	7	28	*	5=100
October, 1995	49	9	40	48	11	37	0	3=100

6

In May 2000, the category was listed as "George W. Bush's wife, Laura Bush."

**Q.31F2 CONTINUED...**

	-----Favorable-----			-----Unfavorable-----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
December, 1994	50	13	37	44	13	31	*	6=100
July, 1994	62	13	49	34	7	27	*	4=100
May, 1993	57	14	43	34	9	25	0	9=100
July, 1992	61	17	44	33	9	24	*	6=100
<b>b.F2 The Republican Party</b>								
January, 2009	40	5	35	55	21	34	*	5=100
Late October, 2008	40	10	30	50	23	27	*	10=100
Mid-September, 2008	47	11	36	46	22	24	*	7=100
August, 2008	43	9	34	49	18	31	1	7=100
Late May, 2008	39	7	32	53	20	33	*	8=100
July, 2007	39	7	32	53	22	31	0	8=100
Early January, 2007	41	9	32	48	21	27	1	10=100
Late October, 2006	41	9	32	50	20	30	*	9=100
July, 2006	40	10	30	52	23	29	1	7=100
April, 2006	40	10	30	50	21	29	*	10=100
February, 2006	44	11	33	50	24	26	*	6=100
Late October, 2005	42	12	30	49	24	25	*	9=100
July, 2005	48	13	35	43	18	25	*	9=100
June, 2005	48	11	37	44	20	24	0	8=100
December, 2004	52	15	37	42	17	25	0	6=100
June, 2004	51	12	39	40	14	26	0	9=100
Early February, 2004	52	14	38	42	16	26	*	6=100
June, 2003	58	14	44	33	10	23	0	9=100
April, 2003	63	14	49	31	10	21	*	6=100
December, 2002	59	18	41	33	11	22	*	8=100
July, 2001	48	11	37	42	15	27	*	10=100
January, 2001	56	13	43	35	13	22	*	9=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	53	11	42	40	12	28	0	7=100
August, 1999	53	8	45	43	12	31	*	4=100
February, 1999	44	7	37	51	15	36	0	5=100
January, 1999	44	10	34	50	23	27	0	6=100
Early December, 1998	46	11	35	47	20	27	*	7=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	52	9	43	42	14	28	0	6=100
Early September, 1998	56	9	47	37	11	26	*	7=100
March, 1998	50	10	40	43	12	31	*	7=100
August, 1997	47	9	38	47	11	36	*	6=100
June, 1997	51	8	43	42	11	31	1	6=100
January, 1997	52	8	44	43	10	33	*	5=100
October, 1995	52	10	42	44	16	28	*	4=100
December, 1994	67	21	46	27	8	19	*	6=100
July, 1994	63	12	51	33	8	25	*	4=100
May, 1993	54	12	42	35	10	25	0	11=100
July, 1992	46	9	37	48	17	31	*	6=100

**Q.31F2 CONTINUED ...**

	----- Favorable -----			---- Unfavorable ----			(VOL.)	(VOL.)
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Mostly</u>	Never Heard of	Can't Rate
c.F2 Congress								
January, 2009	40	5	35	52	20	32	*	8=100
Late May, 2008	41	6	35	51	17	34	0	8=100
July, 2007	41	6	35	51	16	35	0	8=100
Early January, 2007	53	11	42	38	9	29	1	8=100
Late October, 2006	41	5	36	46	15	31	*	13=100
February, 2006	44	6	38	47	14	33	0	9=100
Late October, 2005	45	7	38	45	13	32	*	10=100
July, 2005	49	6	43	40	11	29	*	11=100
June, 2005	49	6	43	40	10	30	*	11=100
June, 2004	56	7	49	33	7	26	*	11=100
July, 2001	57	7	50	32	8	24	*	11=100
March, 2001	56	6	50	36	10	26	1	7=100
January, 2001	64	10	54	23	5	18	1	12=100
September, 2000 (RVs)	61	8	53	32	5	27	*	7=100
August, 1999	63	8	55	34	7	27	*	3=100
June, 1999	56	9	47	39	9	30	*	5=100
February, 1999	52	4	48	44	8	36	0	4=100
January, 1999	48	7	41	45	15	30	0	7=100
Early December, 1998	52	11	41	41	12	29	0	7=100
Early October, 1998 (RVs)	62	7	55	33	8	25	0	5=100
Early September, 1998	66	7	59	27	5	22	0	7=100
October, 1997	53	5	48	44	11	33	0	3=100
August, 1997	50	6	44	44	11	33	0	6=100
June, 1997	52	4	48	42	8	34	0	6=100
May, 1997	49	5	44	42	10	32	*	9=100
February, 1997	52	6	46	40	9	31	*	8=100
January, 1997	56	6	50	40	8	32	*	4=100
June, 1996	45	6	39	50	12	38	*	5=100
April, 1996	45	6	39	50	13	37	0	5=100
January, 1996	42	4	38	54	16	38	*	4=100
October, 1995	42	4	38	55	13	42	0	3=100
August, 1995	45	5	40	47	13	34	*	7=100
June, 1995	53	8	45	42	11	31	*	5=100
February, 1995	54	10	44	37	10	27	0	9=100
July, 1994	53	7	46	43	9	34	*	4=100
May, 1993	43	8	35	48	13	35	0	9=100
November, 1991	51	7	44	43	9	34	0	6=100
March, 1991	66	16	50	26	7	19	0	8=100
May, 1990	59	6	53	34	9	25	1	6=100
May, 1988	64	8	56	28	5	23	0	8=100
January, 1988	64	6	58	29	4	25	0	7=100
May, 1987	74	10	64	20	4	16	*	6=100
January, 1987	59	7	52	31	8	23	0	10=100
July, 1985	67	9	58	26	5	21	*	7=100

**NO QUESTION 32**



**QUESTIONS 33 AND Q.A3 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

Now thinking about Iraq...

**ASK ALL:**

Q.34 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
January, 2009	43	49	8=100
November, 2008	39	50	11=100
Late October, 2008	38	56	6=100
Mid-October, 2008	40	54	6=100
Mid-September, 2008	43	50	7=100
June, 2008	39	55	6=100
April, 2008	37	57	6=100
Late February, 2008	38	54	8=100
Late December, 2007	36	56	8=100
October, 2007	39	54	7=100
September, 2007	42	50	8=100
July, 2007	41	53	6=100
June, 2007	40	51	9=100
April, 2007	45	47	8=100
March, 2007	43	49	8=100
February, 2007	40	54	6=100
Mid-January, 2007	40	51	9=100
Early January, 2007	40	53	7=100
December, 2006	42	51	7=100
Mid-November, 2006	41	51	8=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	45	48	7=100
Late October, 2006	43	47	10=100
Early October, 2006	45	47	8=100
Early September, 2006	49	43	8=100
August, 2006	45	46	9=100
July, 2006	44	50	6=100
June, 2006	49	44	7=100
April, 2006	47	46	7=100
March, 2006	45	49	6=100
February, 2006	51	44	5=100
January, 2006	45	47	8=100
December, 2005	47	48	5=100
Late October, 2005	48	45	7=100
Early October, 2005	44	50	6=100
Mid-September, 2005	49	44	7=100
July, 2005	49	44	7=100
June, 2005	47	45	8=100
February, 2005	47	47	6=100
January, 2005	51	44	5=100
December, 2004	49	44	7=100
November, 2004 (RVs)	48	41	11=100
Mid-October, 2004	46	42	12=100
Early October, 2004	50	39	11=100
September, 2004	53	39	8=100
August, 2004	53	41	6=100
July, 2004	52	43	5=100
June, 2004	55	38	7=100
May, 2004	51	42	7=100

**Q.34 CONTINUED...**

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<b>(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u></b>
Late April, 2004	54	37	9=100
Early April, 2004	57	35	8=100
Mid-March, 2004	55	39	6=100
Late February, 2004	60	32	8=100
Early February, 2004	56	39	5=100
Mid-January, 2004	65	30	5=100
Early January, 2004	62	28	10=100
December, 2003	67	26	7=100
October, 2003	60	33	7=100
September, 2003	63	31	6=100
August, 2003	63	30	7=100
Early July, 2003	67	24	9=100
May, 2003	74	20	6=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	74	19	7=100
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	72	20	8=100
<i>March 28-April 1, 2003</i>	69	25	6=100
<i>March 25-27, 2003</i>	74	21	5=100
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	74	21	5=100
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	71	22	7=100
Late January, 1991	77	15	8=100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.35 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<b>(VOL.) <u>DK/ Refused</u></b>
January, 2009	16	43	26	10	5=100
Mid-October, 2008	17	40	26	12	5=100
September, 2008	19	39	24	13	5=100
June, 2008	10	34	31	21	4=100
April, 2008	10	34	28	24	4=100
Late February, 2008	12	36	25	23	4=100
Late December, 2007	11	30	31	23	5=100
November, 2007	11	37	29	19	4=100
October, 2007	10	34	29	22	5=100
September, 2007	9	32	30	24	5=100
July, 2007	8	28	34	25	5=100
June, 2007	7	27	33	28	5=100
April, 2007	7	31	34	25	3=100
March, 2007	10	30	32	24	4=100
February, 2007	5	25	38	29	3=100
Mid-January, 2007	7	28	32	30	3=100
December, 2006	4	28	37	27	4=100
Mid-November, 2006	6	26	34	30	4=100
Early November, 2006 (RVs)	7	30	32	27	4=100
Late October, 2006	5	30	34	25	6=100
Early October, 2006	8	29	33	25	5=100
Early September, 2006	8	39	28	20	5=100
August, 2006	8	33	32	23	4=100
June, 2006	16	37	25	18	4=100
April, 2006	13	34	29	21	3=100
March, 2006	9	34	30	21	6=100

**Q.35 CONTINUED...**

	Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not too <u>well</u>	Not at all <u>well</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Refused</u>
February, 2006	13	38	29	17	3=100
January, 2006	12	39	27	17	5=100
December, 2005	14	37	29	17	3=100
Early October, 2005	9	35	31	22	3=100
Mid-September, 2005	12	41	26	18	3=100
July, 2005	14	38	27	17	4=100
June, 2005	9	41	27	19	4=100
February, 2005	14	40	25	17	4=100
January, 2005	9	39	29	20	3=100
December, 2004	10	40	28	18	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	13	38	26	17	6=100
September, 2004	12	40	26	18	4=100
August, 2004	12	41	28	16	3=100
July, 2004	13	42	26	16	3=100
June, 2004	16	41	25	14	4=100
May, 2004	10	36	32	19	3=100
Late April, 2004	12	43	26	15	4=100
Early April, 2004	14	43	26	13	4=100
Mid-March, 2004	16	45	26	11	2=100
Early February, 2004	17	46	23	11	3=100
Mid-January, 2004	22	51	18	6	3=100
Early January, 2004	23	47	18	7	5=100
December, 2003	28	47	16	6	3=100
October, 2003	16	44	25	11	4=100
September, 2003	15	47	26	9	3=100
August, 2003	19	43	24	11	3=100
Early July, 2003	23	52	16	5	4=100
<i>April 10-16, 2003</i>	<i>61</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	<i>60</i>	<i>32</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2=100</i>
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	<i>55</i>	<i>37</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3=100</i>
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>46</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5=100</i>
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	<i>45</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>6=100</i>
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	<i>65</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7=100</i>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.36 Over the next year, do you think the number of troops in Iraq should be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is now?

- 6 Increased
- 69 Decreased
- 17 Kept the same as it is now
- 8 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
- 100

**NO QUESTION 37**

**ASK ALL:**

Q. 38 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Iraq, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Iraq?

	Definitely <u>succeed</u>	Probably <u>succeed</u>	Probably <u>fail</u>	Definitely <u>fail</u>	(VOL.) DK/ <u>Refused</u>
January, 2009	15	46	22	7	10=100
September, 2008	18	40	24	10	8=100
June, 2008	12	38	31	11	8=100
April, 2008	12	35	30	16	7=100
Late February, 2008	13	40	26	13	8=100
Late December, 2007	10	35	31	14	10=100
November, 2007	11	37	33	13	6=100
October, 2007	11	35	31	13	10=100
September, 2007	8	34	32	15	11=100
July, 2007	9	34	32	17	8=100
April, 2007	9	36	30	16	9=100
February, 2007	7	40	34	12	7=100
November, 2006	12	41	28	13	6=100
Mid-September, 2006	13	44	26	9	8=100
August, 2006	14	40	28	12	6=100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.39 Do you think Barack Obama will remove troops from Iraq TOO QUICKLY, that he will wait TOO LONG, or do you think he will handle it about right?

19	Remove troops from Iraq too quickly
6	Wait too long
67	Handle it about right
8	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

**NO QUESTIONS 40-41**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.42 Usually, when there is a new president, certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence... For each of the following, tell me if you think they will gain influence, lose influence or not be affected by Barack Obama's taking office? First, will... (INSERT ITEM; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS; RANDOMIZE a. THROUGH o. — ITEM p. SHOULD ALWAYS COME LAST) gain influence, lose influence or not be affected by Barack Obama's taking office? How about [NEXT ITEM]?

**ASK ITEMS a THRU h OF  
FORM 1 ONLY [N=769]:**

	<u>Gain</u>	<u>Lose</u>	<u>Not be affected</u>	(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.F1 Older people				
January, 2009	39	19	36	6=100
January, 2005	29	40	26	5=100
January, 2001	46	26	22	6=100
January, 1993	42	25	26	7=100
b.F1 Younger people				
January, 2009	71	4	20	5=100
January, 1993	65	8	19	8=100

**Q.42 CONTINUED ...**

		<u>Gain</u>	<u>Lose</u>	<u>Not be affected</u>	<b>(VOL.) <u>DK/Ref</u></b>
c.F1	Blacks				
	January, 2009	67	2	27	4=100
	January, 2005	26	31	35	8=100
	January, 2001	30	29	31	10=100
	January, 1993	66	6	19	9=100
d.F1	Hispanics				
	January, 2009	46	9	37	8=100
	January, 2005	39	24	29	8=100
e.F1	Union leaders				
	January, 2009	46	18	24	12=100
	January, 2005	18	38	32	12=100
	January, 2001	26	38	24	12=100
	January, 1993	35	24	28	13=100
f.F1	Business corporations				
	January, 2009	29	42	22	7=100
	January, 2005	56	9	28	7=100
	January, 2001	66	9	17	8=100
	January, 1993	34	33	21	12=100
g.F1	Environmentalists				
	January, 2009	60	7	26	7=100
	January, 2005	18	44	30	8=100
	January, 2001	24	40	25	11=100
	January, 1993	67	7	16	10=100
h.F1	The military				
	January, 2009	37	26	29	8=100
	January, 2005	63	13	18	6=100
	January, 2001	72	4	16	8=100
<b>ASK ITEMS i THRU o OF FORM 2 ONLY [N=734]:</b>					
i.F2	Conservative Christians				
	January, 2009	21	36	35	8=100
	January, 2005	54	11	26	9=100
	January, 2001	51	11	27	11=100
j.F2	Women				
	January, 2009	58	6	30	6=100
k.F2	Gays and lesbians				
	January, 2009	40	11	39	10=100
l.F2	Washington lobbyists				
	January, 2009	21	38	29	12=100
	January, 2005	40	14	30	16=100
	January, 2001	35	17	28	20=100
	January, 1993	23	31	29	17=100

**Q.42 CONTINUED ...**

	<u>Gain</u>	<u>Lose</u>	<u>Not be affected</u>	<u>(VOL.) DK/Ref</u>
m.F2 Poor people				
January, 2009	73	8	15	4=100
January, 2005	20	49	26	5=100
January, 2001	29	40	23	8=100
January, 1993	61	12	19	8=100
n.F2 Children				
January, 2009	64	6	22	8=100
January, 2001	50	18	24	8=100
January, 1993	62	6	22	10=100
o.F2 Wealthy people				
January, 2009	17	44	34	5=100

**ASK ALL:**

p. People like yourself				
January, 2009	47	18	29	6=100
January, 2005	22	34	40	4=100
January, 2001	35	26	33	6=100
January, 1993	43	22	27	8=100

**NO QUESTIONS 43-48**

**ASK ALL:**

Now I have a few questions about Afghanistan...

Q.49 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

	<u>Feb 2008</u>	<u>Dec 2006</u>	<u>Jan 2006</u>
64 Right decision	65	61	69
25 Wrong decision	24	29	20
<u>11</u> Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>11</u>
100	100	100	100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.50 How well is the U.S. military effort in Afghanistan going? **[READ IN ORDER]**

	<u>Feb 2008</u>
7 Very well	10
38 Fairly well	38
34 Not too well	31
11 Not at all well	10
<u>10</u> Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>11</u>
100	100

**ASK ALL:**

Q.51 Over the next year, do you think the number of troops in Afghanistan should be increased, decreased, or kept the same as it is now?

33	Increased
39	Decreased
20	Kept the same as it is now
8	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )
100	

**NO QUESTION 52**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.53 Regardless of what you think about the original decision to use military force in Afghanistan, do you now believe that the United States will definitely succeed, probably succeed, probably fail, or definitely fail in achieving its goals in Afghanistan?

13	Definitely succeed
49	Probably succeed
23	Probably fail
6	Definitely fail
9	Don't know/Refused ( <b>VOL.</b> )
100	

**NO QUESTIONS 54-55**

**QUESTIONS 56 THROUGH 62 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or Independent?

**IF ANSWERED 3, 4, 5 OR 9 IN PARTY, ASK:**

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>	<u>Independent</u>	(VOL.) No Preference	(VOL.) Other Party	(VOL.) DK/ Ref	<i>Lean Rep</i>	<i>Lean Dem</i>
January, 2009	25	37	33	3	*	2=100	11	16
December, 2008	26	39	30	2	*	3=100	8	15
Late October, 2008	24	39	32	2	*	3=100	11	15
Mid-October, 2008	27	35	31	4	*	3=100	9	16
Early October, 2008	26	36	31	4	*	3=100	11	15
Late September, 2008	25	35	34	3	1	2=100	13	15
Mid-September, 2008	28	35	32	3	*	2=100	12	14
August, 2008	26	34	34	4	*	2=100	12	17
July, 2008	24	36	34	3	*	3=100	12	15
June, 2008	26	37	32	3	*	2=100	11	16
Late May, 2008	25	35	35	2	*	3=100	13	15
April, 2008	24	37	31	5	1	2=100	11	15
March, 2008	24	38	29	5	*	4=100	9	14
Late February, 2008	24	38	32	3	*	3=100	10	17
Early February, 2008	26	35	31	5	*	3=100	11	14
January, 2008	24	33	37	4	*	2=100	12	18
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
2008	25.3	35.8	31.7	3.8	.3	3.1=100	10.5	15.4
2007	25.4	32.9	33.7	4.6	.4	3.1=100	10.7	16.7
2006	27.6	32.8	30.3	5.0	.4	3.9=100	10.2	14.5
2005	29.2	32.8	30.3	4.5	.3	2.8=100	10.2	14.9
2004	29.7	33.4	29.8	3.9	.4	2.9=100	11.7	13.4
2003	29.8	31.4	31.2	4.7	.5	2.5=100	12.1	13.0
2002	30.3	31.2	30.1	5.1	.7	2.7=100	12.6	11.6
2001	29.2	33.6	28.9	5.1	.5	2.7=100	11.7	11.4
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6=100	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	28.2	34.6	29.5	5.0	.5	2.1=100	11.7	12.5
2000	27.5	32.5	29.5	5.9	.5	4.0=100	11.6	11.6
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9=100	13.0	14.5
1998	27.5	33.2	31.9	4.6	.4	2.4=100	11.8	13.5
1997	28.2	33.3	31.9	4.0	.4	2.3=100	12.3	13.8
1996	29.2	32.7	33.0	5.2=100			12.7	15.6
1995	31.4	29.7	33.4	5.4=100			14.4	12.9
1994	29.8	31.8	33.8	4.6=100			14.3	12.6
1993	27.4	33.8	34.0	4.8=100			11.8	14.7
1992	27.7	32.7	35.7	3.9=100			13.8	15.8
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	4.5=100			14.6	10.8
1990	31.0	33.1	29.1	6.8=100			12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34=100					
1987	26	35	39=100					