

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
FEBRUARY 2005 NII/SOCIAL SECURITY SURVEY
FINAL TOPLINE
February 16-21, 2005
N=1,502

ON FORM ONE Q.1 PRECEDES Q.2 --- ON FORM TWO, Q.2 PRECEDES Q.1

Q.1 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]**

	<u>Approve</u>	Dis- approve	Don't know		<u>Approve</u>	Dis- approve	Don't know
February, 2005	46	47	7=100	Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
January, 2005	50	43	7=100	Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
2004				August, 2002	67	21	12=100
December, 2004	48	44	8=100	Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
Mid-October, 2004	44	48	8=100	July, 2002	67	21	12=100
August, 2004	46	45	9=100	June, 2002	70	20	10=100
July, 2004	46	46	8=100	April, 2002	69	18	13=100
June, 2004	48	43	9=100	Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
May, 2004	44	48	8=100	February, 2002	78	13	9=100
Late April, 2004	48	43	9=100	January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Early April, 2004	43	47	10=100	2001			
Late March, 2004	47	44	9=100	Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Mid-March, 2004	46	47	7=100	Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
February, 2004	48	44	8=100	Late September, 2001	86	7	7=100
Mid-January, 2004	56	34	10=100	Mid-September, 2001	80	9	11=100
Early January, 2004	58	35	7=100	Early September, 2001	51	34	15=100
2003				August, 2001	50	32	18=100
December, 2003	57	34	9=100	July, 2001	51	32	17=100
November, 2003	50	40	10=100	June, 2001	50	33	17=100
October, 2003	50	42	8=100	May, 2001	53	32	15=100
September, 2003	55	36	9=100	April, 2001	56	27	17=100
Mid-August, 2003	56	32	12=100	March, 2001	55	25	20=100
Early August, 2003	53	37	10=100	February, 2001	53	21	26=100
Mid-July, 2003	58	32	10=100				
Early July, 2003	60	29	11=100				
June, 2003	62	27	11=100				
May, 2003	65	27	8=100				
April 10-16, 2003	72	22	6=100				
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100				
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100				
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100				
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100				
March 20-24, 2003	67	26	7=100				
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100				
February, 2003	54	36	10=100				
January, 2003	58	32	10=100				
2002							
December, 2002	61	28	11=100				
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100				
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100				
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100				

Q.2 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

	<u>Sat- isfied</u>	<u>Dis- satisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>		<u>Sat- isfied</u>	<u>Dis- satisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
February, 2005	38	56	6=100	April, 1995	23	74	3=100
January, 2005	40	54	6=100	July, 1994	24	73	3=100
December, 2004	39	54	7=100	March, 1994	24	71	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	36	58	6=100	October, 1993	22	73	5=100
July, 2004	38	55	7=100	September, 1993	20	75	4=100
May, 2004	33	61	6=100	May, 1993	22	71	7=100
Late February, 2004	39	55	6=100	January, 1993	39	50	11=100
Early January, 2004	45	48	7=100	January, 1992	28	68	4=100
December, 2003	44	47	9=100	November, 1991	34	61	5=100
October, 2003	38	56	6=100	Late Feb, 1991 (<i>Gallup</i>)	66	31	3=100
August, 2003	40	53	7=100	August, 1990	47	48	5=100
April, 2003 ¹	50	41	9=100	May, 1990	41	54	5=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100	January, 1989	45	50	5=100
November, 2002	41	48	11=100	September, 1988 (<i>RVs</i>)	50	45	5=100
September, 2002 ²	41	55	4=100	May, 1988	41	54	5=100
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100	January, 1988	39	55	6=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100				
March, 2002	50	40	10=100				
Late September, 2001	57	34	9=100				
Early September, 2001	41	53	6=100				
June, 2001	43	52	5=100				
March, 2001	47	45	8=100				
February, 2001	46	43	11=100				
January, 2001	55	41	4=100				
October, 2000 (<i>RVs</i>)	54	39	7=100				
September, 2000	51	41	8=100				
June, 2000	47	45	8=100				
April, 2000	48	43	9=100				
August, 1999	56	39	5=100				
January, 1999	53	41	6=100				
November, 1998	46	44	10=100				
Early September, 1998	54	42	4=100				
Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100				
Early August, 1998	50	44	6=100				
February, 1998	59	37	4=100				
January, 1998	46	50	4=100				
September, 1997	45	49	6=100				
August, 1997	49	46	5=100				
January, 1997	38	58	4=100				
July, 1996	29	67	4=100				
March, 1996	28	70	2=100				
October, 1995	23	73	4=100				
June, 1995	25	73	2=100				

¹ Asked April 8, 2003 only; N=395.

² The September 2002 trend is from a Pew Global Attitudes Project survey, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q.3F1 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).**

<u>February 2005*</u>		<u>May 2004</u>	<u>Early Feb 2004³</u>	<u>May 2003</u>	<i>(Registered Voters)</i> <u>Mid-Oct 2000</u>				
38	Honest	30	Honest	27	Honest	29	Honest	47	Honest
20	Good	29	Good	24	Fair	21	Good	28	Good
15	Integrity	26	Incompetent	24	Leader	20	Arrogant	19	OK/Okay
15	Arrogant	26	Leader	21	Liar	16	Leader	17	Sincere
14	Incompetent	24	Arrogant	17	Arrogant	13	Great	13	Arrogant
13	Leader	16	Strong	14	Strong	12	Confident	13	Fair
11	Fair	15	Integrity	13	Excellent	12	Courageous	13	Alright
11	Idiot	13	Idiot	13	Good	11	Aggressive	12	Dislike
9	Strong	11	Christian	12	Christian	11	Christian	12	Leader
9	Liar	10	Determined	12	Integrity	11	Determined	12	Untrustworthy
8	Excellent	10	Stupid	9	Stupid	11	Integrity	11	Trustworthy
8	Trustworthy	9	Liar	9	Incompetent	10	Patriot/Patriotic	11	President
8	Dishonest	8	Trustworthy	8	Dishonest	9	Cowboy	11	Inexperienced
8	Poor	7	Aggressive	7	Confident	8	Competent	10	Conservative
7	Conservative	7	Committed	7	Determined	8	Decisive	9	Refer to Father
7	Great	7	Dishonest	7	Idiot	8	Idiot	9	Republican
7	Sucks	7	Okay	7	Patriotic	8	President	9	Liar
7	Christian	6	Dedicated	7	Ass	8	Strong	9	Boring
7	Honorable	6	Fair	6	Character	7	Adequate	8	I like him
6	Dedicated	6	President	6	Poor	7	Excellent	8	Good man/guy
6	Determined	6	War/warrior	6	Selfish	7	Fair	8	Stupid
6	President	5	Brave	(N=748)		(N=602)		(N=997)	
6	Selfish	5	Confident						
5	Trying	5	Courageous						
5	Warmonger	5	Decisive						
5	Ignorant	5	Dumb						
5	Terrible	5	Excellent						
4	Diligent	5	Great						
4	Consistent	5	Honorable						
4	Sincere	5	Straight-forward						
4	Ineffective	(N=897)							
4	Inept								

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

³ In Early February 2004, these “one word” questions were not asked toward the beginning of the questionnaire. For George W. Bush, trends from March 1999, September 1999 and March 2000 are also available.

ASK ALL:

More specifically...

Q.4 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE; OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
a. The economy	43	50	7=100
January, 2005	45	50	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	38	55	7=100
Early September, 2004	44	49	7=100
August, 2004	42	52	6=100
July, 2004	42	52	6=100
June, 2004	43	50	7=100
Early April, 2004	39	53	8=100
Mid-January, 2004	47	47	6=100
September, 2003	43	48	9=100
February, 2003	43	48	9=100
January, 2003	47	45	8=100
Early October, 2002	49	40	11=100
June, 2002	53	36	11=100
January, 2002	60	28	12=100
Early September, 2001	47	44	9=100
February, 2001	50	22	28=100
b. The situation in Iraq	40	53	7=100
January, 2005	45	50	5=100
Mid-October, 2004	37	56	7=100
Early September, 2004	47	45	8=100
August, 2004	43	52	5=100
July, 2004	42	53	5=100
June, 2004	42	51	7=100
Late April, 2004	44	48	8=100
Early April, 2004	40	53	7=100
Mid-January, 2004	59	37	4=100
September, 2003	52	40	8=100
April 10-16, 2003 ⁴	77	17	6=100
April 8-9, 2003	71	23	6=100
--April 9, 2003	76	18	6=100
--April 8, 2003	65	28	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	73	21	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	26	5=100
March 25-27, 2003	73	23	4=100
March 23-24, 2003	72	22	6=100
March 20-22, 2003	70	23	7=100
February, 2003	56	37	7=100
January, 2003	56	36	8=100
Early October, 2002	56	34	10=100

⁴ From March to April 2003 the item was worded: "... dealing with the war in Iraq?" The 1991 Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

Q.4 CONTINUED...		<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
c.	Social Security	29	55	16=100
	June, 2002	36	42	22=100
	<i>Gallup</i> : March, 2002	47	40	13=100
	<i>Gallup</i> : March, 2001	49	31	20=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:				
d.F2	Terrorist threats	59	34	7=100
	January, 2005	62	33	5=100
	Mid-October, 2004	49	40	11=100
	Early September, 2004	62	32	6=100
	August, 2004	58	37	5=100
	July, 2004	54	40	6=100
	June, 2004	56	35	9=100
	Late April, 2004	55	36	9=100
	Early April, 2004	53	38	9=100
	<i>Gallup</i> : December, 2003	65	33	2=100
	September, 2003	64	28	8=100
	February, 2003	67	25	8=100
	January, 2003	69	23	8=100
	Early October, 2002	71	22	7=100
	June, 2002	74	18	8=100
	Mid-September, 2001 ⁵	85	6	9=100
	Clinton : Early September, 1998	72	20	8=100
e.F2	The nation's foreign policy	43	46	11=100
	January, 2005	48	43	9=100
	Mid-October, 2004	37	49	14=100
	Early September, 2004	47	42	11=100
	August, 2004	42	49	9=100
	July, 2004	40	48	12=100
	Mid-January, 2004	53	36	11=100
	March, 2003	53	36	11=100
	Early April, 2002	69	20	11=100
	<i>Gallup</i> : October, 2001	81	14	5=100
	Early September, 2001	46	34	20=100
	August, 2001 ⁶	45	32	23=100
	Clinton : September, 1997	54	34	12=100
	Bush, Sr : May, 1990	58	30	12=100

⁵ In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded: "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington." In Early September 1998 the question was worded: "Do you approve or disapprove of the way Bill Clinton is handling current threats from international terrorist groups?"

⁶ In August 2001 roughly half of the U.S. sample was asked about Bush's handling of international policy, while the other half was asked about the handling of the nation's foreign policy. Results did not differ between question wordings.

Q.4 CONTINUED...

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
f.F2 The federal budget deficit	41	46	13=100
<i>Gallup</i> : December, 2003	32	60	8=100
<i>Gallup</i> : August, 2003	39	55	6=100
<i>Gallup</i> : January, 2003 ⁷	43	47	10=100
<i>Gallup</i> : March, 2002	51	37	12=100
<i>Gallup</i> : April, 2001	52	37	11=100
Clinton : July, 1994	31	58	11=100
Bush, Sr : May, 1990	22	64	14=100
g.F2 Health care policy	36	51	13=100
<i>Gallup</i> : November, 2004	37	57	6=100
<i>Gallup</i> : January, 2004	43	49	8=100
September, 2003	33	46	21=100
<i>Gallup</i> : January, 2003	41	44	15=100
June, 2002	37	46	17=100
Clinton : July, 1994	39	54	7=100
Bush, Sr : May, 1990	30	59	11=100
h.F2 Education	44	42	14=100
<i>Gallup</i> : August, 2004	47	47	6=100
<i>Gallup</i> : January, 2004	56	35	9=100
<i>Gallup</i> : January, 2003	57	30	13=100
June, 2002	56	31	13=100
<i>Gallup</i> : March, 2001	65	22	13=100
Bush, Sr : May, 1990	45	45	10=100
i.F2 The environment	42	43	15=100
<i>Gallup</i> : January, 2003	53	37	10=100
June, 2002	50	38	12=100
Early September, 2001	42	42	16=100
Bush, Sr : May, 1990	44	45	11=100

Q.5 Now I will read a list of some stories covered by news organizations this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE. OBSERVE FORM SPLITS]

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:		<u>Very</u>	<u>Fairly</u>	<u>Not too</u>	<u>Not at all</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
		<u>Closely</u>	<u>Closely</u>	<u>Closely</u>	<u>Closely</u>	
a.F1	News about the current situation in Iraq	38	45	13	4	*=100
	January, 2005	48	37	11	4	*=100
	December, 2004	34	44	15	6	1=100
	Mid-October, 2004	42	38	11	8	1=100
	Early September, 2004	47	37	9	6	1=100
	August, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100
	July, 2004	43	40	11	6	*=100
	June, 2004	39	42	12	6	1=100
	April, 2004	54	33	8	5	*=100
	Mid-March, 2004	47	36	12	4	1=100
	Early February, 2004	47	38	10	4	1=100

⁷

Between April 2001 and January 2003 the Gallup item was worded "the federal budget."

Q.5 CONTINUED...

		Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
	Mid-January, 2004	48	39	9	4	*=100
	December, 2003	44	38	11	6	1=100
	November, 2003	52	33	9	5	1=100
	October, 2003	38	40	14	7	1=100
	September, 2003	50	33	10	6	1=100
	Mid-August, 2003	45	39	10	5	1=100
	Early July, 2003	37	41	13	8	1=100
	June, 2003	46	35	13	6	*=100
	May, 2003	63	29	6	2	*=100
	April 11-16, 2003 ⁸	47	40	10	2	1=100
	April 2-7, 2003	54	34	9	2	1=100
	March 20-24, 2003	57	33	7	2	1=100
	March 13-16, 2003 ⁹	62	27	6	4	1=100
	February, 2003	62	25	8	4	1=100
	January, 2003	55	29	10	4	2=100
	December, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100
	Late October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100
	Early October, 2002	60	28	6	5	1=100
	Early September, 2002	48	29	15	6	2=100
b.F1	George W. Bush's proposal to deal with the Social Security system	31	36	20	13	*=100
	Clinton: February, 1998 ¹⁰	24	38	26	12	*=100
	January, 1997	29	35	22	13	1=100
c.F1	The Michael Jackson trial	8	17	30	44	1=100
	November, 2003 ¹¹	29	27	22	20	2=100
	January, 1994	19	30	30	20	1=100
	December, 1993	15	25	27	32	1=100
ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:						
d.F2	The recent election in Iraq	27	39	18	16	*=100
e.F2	Discussion of how to deal with the Social Security system	32	38	16	14	*=100
	January, 1998 ¹²	18	27	29	25	1=100
	February, 1997	23	26	22	28	1=100
f.F2	North Korea's nuclear weapons program	22	34	22	22	*=100
	September, 2003	19	32	27	21	1=100

⁸ From March 20 to April 16, 2003 the story was listed: "News about the war in Iraq."

⁹ From October 2002 to March 13-16, 2003 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq." In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will invade Iraq."

¹⁰ In February 1998, the story was listed as "Clinton's proposal to deal with the problem with Social Security." In January 1997 the story was listed as "Proposals to reform the Social Security System."

¹¹ In November 2003 the story was listed as "Recent charges of child molestation against Michael Jackson." In January 1994 and December 1993 the story was listed as "Michael Jackson's personal problems."

¹² In January 1998 and February 1997 the story was listed as "The debate about how to reform the Social Security system."

Q.5 CONTINUED...

	Very <u>Closely</u>	Fairly <u>Closely</u>	Not too <u>Closely</u>	Not at all <u>Closely</u>	DK/Ref
May, 2003	27	40	22	11	*=100
March, 2003	34	34	19	12	1=100
February, 2003	33	34	18	13	2=100
January, 2003	33	34	18	14	1=100
Late October, 2002 ¹³	25	31	23	20	1=100
June, 1994	27	33	26	14	*=100

ASK ALL:

Thinking about Social Security...

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q.6F1 Over the years, do you think the Social Security system has been very good, good, bad, or very bad for the country?

18	Very good
61	Good
12	Bad
3	Very bad
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

Q.7F2 Please tell me what one word comes to mind when you think about the Social Security program in America... just the first word or thought that comes to mind. **(OPEN-END. PROBE ONCE IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW". ACCEPT UP TO TWO RESPONSES, BUT DO NOT PROBE FOR SECOND RESPONSE).***

22	Bankrupt	6	Inadequate
19	In trouble	6	Not enough
17	Not/Unfair	6	Poor
16	Retirement	6	Unstable
14	Broken	6	Working
13	Good	5	Adequate
13	Scared/Scary	5	Disaster
12	Will it be there?	5	Joke
10	Money	5	Needs help
9	Leave it alone	5	Needs improvement
9	OK	5	Sad
8	Messy	5	Stinks
7	All right	5	Unstable
7	Bad		
7	Elderly		
7	Failing		
7	Hope it lasts/Hoping		
7	Security		

** The numbers listed represent the number of respondents who offered each response; the numbers are not percentages. Only words or phrases mentioned five or more times are shown here.*

¹³ In Late October 2002 the story was listed as "North Korea's admission that it has been secretly developing nuclear weapons." In June 1994 the story was listed as "Reports about North Korea's building of nuclear weapons and refusal to allow UN inspections."

NO QUESTIONS 8-10

ASK ALL:

Q.11 How much, if anything, have you heard about a proposal which would allow younger workers to invest a portion of their Social Security taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds — have you heard a lot, a little or nothing at all?

		Dec	Early ¹⁴	(RVs)
		2004	Sept	Sept
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2000</u>
43	A lot	23	19	26
35	A little	43	41	43
21	Nothing at all	33	39	30
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100

Q.12 Generally, do you favor or oppose this proposal?

Heard about ¹⁵			-- Dec 2004 --		Early Sept 2004		-- Sept 2000 --	
Total	Proposal		Total	Heard About	Total	Heard About	RV's	Heard About
<u>Total</u>	<u>Proposal</u>		<u>Total</u>	<u>About</u>	<u>Total</u>	<u>About</u>	<u>RV's</u>	<u>About</u>
46	45	Favor	54	54	58	61	70	71
38	42	Oppose	30	35	26	28	21	23
<u>16</u>	<u>13</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>16</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>
100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

(N=1,241)

IF 'FAVOR' (1 IN Q.12):

Q.13FAV Do you feel strongly about this, or do you think you could change your mind?

24	Feel strongly / won't change mind
21	Could change mind / don't feel strongly
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
46%	

IF 'OPPOSE' (2 IN Q.12):

Q.13OPP Do you feel strongly about this, or do you think you could change your mind?

26	Feel strongly / won't change mind
12	Could change mind / don't feel strongly
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused
38%	

¹⁴ In Early September 2004 and 2000 the question was worded "... portion of their payroll taxes in private retirement accounts, which might include stocks or mutual funds, rather than having all of it go toward Social Security."

¹⁵ Based on the percent who heard "A lot" or "A little" in Q.11.

IF 'FAVOR' (1 IN Q.12) ASK [N=662]:

Q.14 What is it that you like most about the idea of private accounts as part of Social Security? [OPEN END;
**CODE UP TO THREE RESPONSES, PROBE FOR CLARITY ONLY. PROBE DK'S ONCE
BEFORE ENTERING AS DK]**

- 38 Control/Responsibility/Freedom [NET]**
- 30 Gives people control/say
- 5 Options/freedom of choice/can opt in or out
- 3 Accountability/responsibility
- 13 Private vs. Government [NET]**
- 6 Gets government out/reduces government
- 5 Money is yours, not governments
- 3 Private vs. public
- 12 Makes more money/more for retirement
- 9 Assures I will get some/Social Security will be there
- 7 Good (unspecified)
- 4 Will save Social Security/system is currently failing
- 3 Good (other)
- 3 Mentions of younger people
- 3 People will learn to invest and save
- 2 Can leave to heirs/family can inherit
- 15 Don't know/No answer

IF 'OPPOSE' (2 IN Q.12) ASK [N=609]:

Q.15 What is it that you don't like about the idea of private accounts as part of Social Security? [OPEN END;
**CODE UP TO THREE RESPONSES, PROBE FOR CLARITY ONLY. PROBE DK'S ONCE
BEFORE ENTERING AS DK]**

- 34 Risk/Stock market [NET]**
- 22 Risk/gamble/uncertainty/potential for loss
- 12 Stock market reference (specific)
- 16 Public unprepared [NET]**
- 12 People don't know how to invest/won't save
- 4 Mentions of younger people
- 1 Mentions of low education/income
- 14 Harm to Social Security system [NET]**
- 7 Will hurt or kill Social Security/won't fix it
- 4 Not broken/Already have options
- 4 Not the intent of Social Security
- 13 Negative (unspecified)
- 4 Cost/Borrowing/deficit/transition cost
- 4 Not everyone will benefit [NET]**
- 3 Good for rich not poor/Others will make money
- 1 Good for young not old/Not good for me
- 4 Negative (other)
- 2 Mentions of anti-government
- 12 Don't know/No answer

NO QUESTION 16

ASK ALL:

Q.17 Some have said the Social Security program in its present form will run short of money at some point to pay all of the promised benefits. Do you agree or disagree?

IF 'AGREE' (1 IN Q.17):

Q.18 Do you think Social Security will run short of money **[READ]**

- 67 Agree
- 11 In the next 10 years
- 28 In the next 20 years
- 12 In the next 30 years –OR–
- 11 In more than 30 years
- 5 Don't know/Refused
- 26 Disagree
- 7 Don't know/Refused
- 100

ASK ALL:

Q.19 I am going to read you a list of some ways that have been suggested to address concerns about the Social Security program. Please tell me if you would favor or oppose each one. First, **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Increasing Social Security payroll taxes for all workers	38	56	6=100
b. Raising the retirement age	25	72	3=100
c. Limiting benefits for wealthy retirees	58	36	6=100
d. Lowering the amount that Social Security benefits go up each year for changes in the cost of living	30	64	6=100
e. Collecting Social Security taxes on ALL of a worker's wages, rather than just the first \$90,000 they earn per year	60	33	7=100

Q.20 If the Social Security program needs changes, when do you think those changes need to be made **[READ]**?

- 41 Right away
- 32 Within the next few years
- 16 Within the next decade
- 8 Or can changes be made further in the future
- 1 **(VOL. DO NOT READ)** No changes needed
- 2 **(VOL. DO NOT READ)** Don't know/Refused
- 100

IF 'FAVOR' (1 IN Q.12) ASK [N=662]:

Q.21 Earlier, you said you favored the idea of private accounts as part of Social Security. Is that MOSTLY because...**[READ AND RANDOMIZE; READ NUMBERS (1,2,3) WITH RESPONSE OPTIONS SO RESPONDENT CAN ANSWER BY GIVING A NUMBER]**

52 Individuals will have more control
20 The Social Security program will be more financially secure
23 Peoples' Social Security accounts can earn a higher rate of return
2 Other/None (VOL.)
3 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

IF 'OPPOSE' (2 IN Q.12) ASK [N=609]:

Q.22 Earlier, you said you opposed the idea of private accounts as part of Social Security. Is that MOSTLY because...**[READ AND RANDOMIZE; READ NUMBERS (1,2,3) WITH RESPONSE OPTIONS SO RESPONDENT CAN ANSWER BY GIVING A NUMBER]**

28 The guaranteed benefits for future retirees will be cut
15 Setting up the program will increase the deficit
48 Social Security money will be put in riskier investments
5 Other/None (VOL.)
4 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

ASK ALL:

Thinking about yourself...

Q.23 If Social Security changes into a system where individuals could choose to invest some of their own payroll tax contributions themselves, do you think YOU would choose to invest some Social Security money in stocks or mutual funds, or would you choose to stay within the current system?

45 Invest some in stocks or mutual funds
49 Stay within the current system
6 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q.24F1 Do you think this change would increase, decrease, or have no impact on your retirement savings benefits?

		<i>Bloomberg</i> ¹⁶
		<u>May 2002</u>
44	Increase	41
13	Decrease	16
32	Have no impact	31
<u>11</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>
100		100

¹⁶ Bloomberg question began with Q.23's introduction.

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

Q.25F2 How well do you think you would do making these investment decisions and managing your own retirement account? Do you think you would do an excellent job, good, only fair, or poor job with these investments?

		<i>Americans Discuss Soc. Security</i> ¹⁷		
		May	Feb	Aug
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>
16	Excellent	18	17	18
41	Good	40	34	37
25	Only fair	25	27	28
13	Poor	13	18	13
<u>5</u>	Don't know/Ref./Can't answer	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK ALL:

Q.26 When decisions about Social Security's future are being made, which do you think is MORE important...
[READ AND ROTATE]

		<i>Americans Discuss Soc. Security</i> ¹⁸		
		May	Feb	Aug
		<u>1999</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1998</u>
30	AVOIDING any tax INCREASES for workers and employers? OR...	34	32	33
60	AVOIDING any future CUTS in Social Security benefit amounts?	53	59	55
4	Both/Neither/Other (VOL.)	8	5	7
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused/Can't answer	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q.27F1 From what you've seen, heard and read, are news organizations doing an excellent, good, only fair, or poor job of explaining the pros and cons of George W. Bush's Social Security plan?

4	Excellent
24	Good
33	Only fair
31	Poor
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

¹⁷ ADSS question began with: "If Social Security changes into a system where individuals invest some of their own payroll tax contributions THEMSELVES, how well do you think YOU could make these investments and manage your own retirement account?"

¹⁸ ADSS question was asked as part of a list and began with: "People have different opinions about how the Social Security system might be changed for the future. We'd like your opinion on what policymakers' priorities should be when they are making decisions about Social Security's future."

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

Q.28F2 Would you say the press has been too critical, not critical enough, or fair in the way it has covered George W. Bush's proposals for reforming Social Security?

27	Too critical
24	Not critical enough
39	Fair
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

Q.29 How often, if ever, does the topic of problems with Social Security come up in your conversations with family and friends ... frequently, occasionally, hardly ever or never?

		Early Oct ¹⁹ <u>2002</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Early Sept <u>1998</u>
24	Frequently	22	33	31
37	Occasionally	31	31	33
28	Hardly ever	31	23	26
11	Never	15	13	10
<u>*</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>*</u>
100		100	100	100

NO QUESTION 30

Q.31 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly his plans for reforming Social Security, or do you think he has not explained his plans clearly enough?

25	Explained clearly
65	Not clearly
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.32 Do you think Democrats in Congress have explained clearly why they oppose Bush's plans for reforming Social Security, or have they not explained their position clearly enough?

26	Explained clearly
60	Not clearly
<u>14</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

¹⁹ In Early October 2002 and earlier, this question was asked as part of a list of topics.

Q.33 As I read the names of some people and groups, tell me if you would mostly trust what they have to say about Social Security, or mostly DIStrust what they have to say. If you're not familiar with a name, just let me know. First, would you mostly trust or mostly DIStrust what [INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE] has/have to say about Social Security?

	(VOL)				
	Mostly <u>Trust</u>	Mostly <u>Distrust</u>	Neither/Wouldn't influence <u>either way</u>	(VOL) Haven't <u>Heard of</u>	Don't Know/ <u>Refused</u>
a. George W. Bush	42	52	1	0	5=100
b. The AARP	53	23	2	11	11=100
c. Republican leaders in Congress	35	53	3	1	8=100
d. Democratic leaders in Congress	41	46	3	1	9=100

ITEM e. ASKED FEBRUARY 18-21 ONLY [N=977]:

e. Alan Greenspan	49	20	2	17	12=100
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NO QUESTIONS 34-35

ASK ALL:

Turning to the subject of Iraq ...

Q.36 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>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
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
Early 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
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
April 10-16, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 8-9, 2003	74	19	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	72	20	8=100

Q.36 CONTINUED...

	<u>Right decision</u>	<u>Wrong decision</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
<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	9=100

Q.37 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>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
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
Early 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>	61	32	3	1	3=100
<i>April 8-9, 2003</i>	60	32	3	3	2=100
<i>April 2-7, 2003</i>	55	37	3	2	3=100
<i>March 25-April 1, 2003</i>	39	46	8	2	5=100
<i>March 23-24, 2003</i>	45	41	6	2	6=100
<i>March 20-22, 2003</i>	65	25	2	1	7=100

Q.38 Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until the situation has stabilized, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?

	<u>Keep troops in Iraq</u>	<u>Bring troops home</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
February, 2005	55	42	3=100
January, 2005	54	41	5=100
December, 2004	56	40	4=100
Mid-October, 2004	57	36	7=100
Early September, 2004	54	40	6=100
August, 2004	54	42	4=100
July, 2004	53	43	4=100

Q.38 CONTINUED...	Keep troops in Iraq	Bring troops home	Don't know/ Refused
June, 2004 ²⁰	51	44	5=100
May, 2004	53	42	5=100
Late April, 2004	53	40	7=100
Early April, 2004	50	44	6=100
Early January, 2004	63	32	5=100
October, 2003	58	39	3=100
September, 2003	64	32	4=100

Q.39 Do you think George W. Bush has a clear plan for bringing the situation in Iraq to a successful conclusion, or don't you think so?

	Has a clear plan	Doesn't have a clear plan	Don't know/ Refused
February, 2005	32	61	7=100
Early October, 2004	35	55	10=100
Early September, 2004	36	55	9=100
August, 2004	36	58	6=100
July, 2004	34	59	7=100
June, 2004	37	55	8=100
Late April, 2004	36	54	10=100
Early April, 2004	32	57	11=100
December, 2003	44	45	11=100
October, 2003	35	54	11=100
September, 2003	32	58	10=100

Q.40 Do you think the war in Iraq has helped the war on terrorism, or has it hurt the war on terrorism?

	Helped	Hurt	(VOL) No effect	Don't know/ Refused
February, 2005	44	41	7	8=100
Mid-October, 2004	45	40	6	9=100
Early September, 2004	46	40	6	8=100
August, 2004	45	44	4	7=100
July, 2004	43	45	5	7=100
June, 2004	43	44	4	9=100
Mid-March, 2004	50	37	5	8=100
Late February, 2004	62	28	3	7=100
Early February, 2004	55	32	7	6=100
December, 2003	59	26	6	9=100
September, 2003	54	31	7	8=100
May, 2003	65	22	6	7=100
April, 2003 ²¹	63	22	--	15=100
Early October, 2002	52	34	--	14=100

²⁰ In June 2004 and earlier, the question was worded: "Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?"

²¹ In April 2003, the question was worded: "Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?" In Early October 2002 the question was worded: "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

Q.41 Iraq recently held its first nationwide elections. How much have you heard about this... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?

		<i>Before Jan 30th</i>	
		<i>Elections</i>	
		Jan	June
		<u>2005</u> ²²	<u>2004</u>
52	A lot	46	42
41	A little	40	40
7	Nothing at all	13	17
*	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>
<u>100</u>		100	100

Q.42 All in all, do you think the recent elections in Iraq will lead to a MORE stable situation, a LESS stable situation, or will the situation in Iraq not change much?

		<i>Before Jan 30th</i>	
		<i>Elections</i>	
		Jan	
		<u>2005</u>	
47	More stable	29	
7	Less stable	14	
40	Situation will not change much	49	
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	
<u>100</u>		100	

Q.43 How much longer do you think United States troops will have to remain in Iraq – for less than a year, one to two years, two to five years, or will the U.S. troops have to stay in Iraq for longer than five years?

		----- CBS/New York Times -----					
		July	June	April	March	Dec	July
		<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2004</u>	<u>2003</u>	<u>2003</u>
11	Less than a year	17	17	8	8	15	13
27	One to two years	31	33	27	22	34	31
32	Two to five years	27	26	33	35	31	31
22	Longer than five years	17	16	25	26	12	18
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
<u>100</u>		100	100	100	100	100	100

ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=761]:

Q.44F1 Do you think democracy can succeed if the Iraqi people elect Islamic religious leaders to positions of power, or not?

37	Yes, can succeed
40	No
<u>23</u>	Don't know/Refused
<u>100</u>	

²² In January 2005 the question was worded "On January 30th, Iraq is scheduled to have its first nationwide elections. How much have you heard about this..." In June 2004 the question was worded: "On June 30th, the U.S. is planning to hand over civilian authority to Iraqi leaders. How much have you heard about this... a lot, a little, or nothing at all?"

ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=741]:

Q.45F2 Now that Iraq has held its first democratic election, do you think other countries in the Middle East region are more likely to become more democratic, or not?

36	Yes, more likely become more democratic
52	No
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK ALL:

On a different subject...

Q.46 How closely do you follow the stock market – closely or not closely?

		<i>L.A. Times</i>
		May
		<u>2000</u>
25	Closely	<u>37</u>
74	Not closely	62
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>
100		100

Q.47 Would you say that the stock market is a relatively safe place, or a relatively dangerous place to invest money?

		— <i>L.A. Times</i> —	
		Aug	May
		<u>2002</u>	<u>2000</u>
39	Safe	28	38
41	Dangerous	58	38
12	Depends (VOL.)	11	15
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>9</u>
100		100	100

Q.48 What's more important in our society – that everyone be free to pursue their life's goals without interference from the government OR that the government play an active role in society so as to guarantee that nobody is in need?

		Sept	July
		<u>2002</u>	<u>1991</u>
53	Free to pursue their life's goals without interference from the government	58	52
38	Government guarantees nobody in need	34	36
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>8</u>	<u>12</u>
100		100	100

NO QUESTION 49

NOTE: G.1 THROUGH G.3 ASKED FEBRUARY 17-21 ONLY. FORM A, B, C IS A THREE-WAY RANDOM ASSIGNMENT, UNRELATED TO FORM 1 AND 2 IN OTHER PARTS OF THE QUESTIONNAIRE

ASK FORM A ONLY [N=437]:

G.1 Right now, the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world. In the future, should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only superpower, or would it be OK if Europe, China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.?

54 U.S. policies should keep U.S. as the only superpower
35 OK if another country became as powerful
11 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK FORM B ONLY [N=434]:

G.2 Right now, the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world. In the future, should the U.S. do whatever is necessary to make sure America remains the world's only superpower, or would it be OK if Europe, China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.

54 U.S. should do whatever is necessary to remain world's only superpower
34 OK if another country became as powerful
12 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK FORM C ONLY [N=444]:

G.3 Right now, the U.S. has the most powerful military capability in the world. In the future, should U.S. policies try to keep it so America is the only military superpower, or would it be OK if Europe, China or another country became as powerful as the U.S.?

59 U.S. policies should keep the U.S. as the only military superpower
31 OK if another country became as powerful
10 Don't know/Refused
100

ASK ALL:

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.

MARITAL Are you married, divorced, separated, widowed, or never been married?

55 Married
10 Divorced
3 Separated
9 Widowed
22 Never been married
1 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100

EMPLOY Are you now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

		June	June	Jan	Late	Aug	Early	Nov	May	June	Feb	July	Mar
		2002	2001	2001	Sept	1999	Sept	1997	1997	1996	1995	1994	1994
53	Full-time	55	54	52	56	58	55	55	53	57	55	55	53
12	Part-time	10	11	12	13	11	12	12	12	13	11	12	14
35	Not employed	35	35	35	31	30	33	33	35	30	34	33	32
*	Don't know/Refused	*	*	1	*	1	*	*	*	*	*	*	1
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

IF "NOT EMPLOYED" (3 IN EMPLOY) ASK:

EMPLOY2 Is that because you are a student, because you are retired, because you choose not to work, or because you've lost or quit a job?

		June	June
		2002	2001
3	Student	2	n/a
17	Retired	19	17
6	Choose not to work	4	4
2	Lost or quit a job	4	4
7	Other reason (VOL)	6	10
0	Don't know/Refused	*	*
35%		35%	35%

IF MARRIED (1 IN MARITAL) ASK:

EMPLOYSP Is your (husband/wife) now employed full-time, part-time or not employed?

61	Full-time
11	Part-time
28	Not employed
*	Don't know/Refused
100	

IF "NOT EMPLOYED" (3 IN EMPLOYSP) ASK:

EMPLOYSP2 Is that because (he/she) is a student, because (he/she) is retired, because (he/she) chooses not to work, or because (he/she) has lost or quit a job?

1	Student
14	Retired
6	Choose not to work
2	Lost or quit a job
5	Other reason [VOL.]
0	Don't know/Refused
28%	

ASK IF NOT RETIRED (1,2,9 IN EMPLOY OR 1,3,4,5,9 IN EMPLOY2) [N=1197]:

Q.50 As far as you know, have you made any contributions to Social Security in your lifetime, or not?

89	Yes
8	No
3	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK IF NOT RETIRED (1,2,9 IN EMPLOY OR 1,3,4,5,9 IN EMPLOY2) [N=1197]:

Q.51 **[IF 1 IN Q.50 READ: Aside from Social Security...]** Do you have a retirement plan or any savings set aside for retirement, or not?

IF 'YES' (1 IN Q.51) ASK:

Q.52 Is any of your retirement money in the stock market through stocks, mutual funds or a 401k plan?

69	Yes, have retirement plan
58	Retirement plan in the stock market
10	Not in stock market
1	Don't know
30	No, no retirement plan
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK IF NOT RETIRED (1,2,9 IN EMPLOY OR 1,3,4,5,9 IN EMPLOY2) [N=1197]:

Q.53 Looking ahead to your retirement, what do you expect to be your biggest source of income – Social Security, an employer-sponsored pension plan, or your own retirement savings?

		<i>CBS News/NY Times</i> ²³
		<u>Jan 2005</u>
20	Social Security	17
19	Pension plan	22
53	Retirement savings	55
4	Other (VOL.)	4
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>
100		100

ASK IF RETIRED (2 IN EMPLOY2) [N=305]:

Q.54 Are you (or is your spouse) currently collecting Social Security retirement benefits, or not?

89	Yes
11	No
*	Don't know/Refused
100	

ASK IF RETIRED (2 IN EMPLOY2) [N=305]:

Q.55 **[IF 1 IN Q.54 READ: Aside from Social Security...]** Do you have a retirement plan or other savings which supplement your income?

IF 'YES' (1 IN Q.55):

Q.56 Is any of your retirement money in the stock market through stocks, mutual funds or a 401k plan?

75	Yes, have retirement plan
47	Retirement plan in the stock market
27	Not in stock market
1	Don't know/Refused
24	No
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

²³

The CBS News/NY Times question was worded "Looking ahead to your retirement, what do you expect to be your major source of income..."

ASK IF RETIRED (2 IN EMPLOY2) [N=305]:

Q.57 What is your biggest source of income – Social Security, an employer-sponsored pension plan, or your own retirement savings?

*CBS News/NY Times*²⁴

		<u>Jan 2005</u>
46	Social Security	45
25	Pension plan	23
17	Retirement savings	24
6	Other (VOL.)	5
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>3</u>
100		100

²⁴

The CBS News/NY Times question was worded “What is your major source of income...”