

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: U.S. Public Beliefs and Attitudes About Iraq

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: August 5–11, 2004
Sample Size: 733

Margin of Error: +/- 3.7 % [full sample]

Q1a. Compared to a year ago, do you think that the nation's economy has:

Gotten much better.....	6%
Gotten somewhat better	24
Is about the same.....	29
Gotten somewhat worse.....	28
Gotten much worse	11
(No answer).....	1

Q1-29. How confident are you that the US intervention in Iraq will succeed. Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being not at all confident and 10 being extremely confident.

10.....	7%
9.....	4
8.....	9
7.....	10
6.....	6
5.....	17
4.....	9
3.....	9
2.....	10
1.....	5
0.....	13
(No answer).....	2
Confident (6-10).....	36
Neutral (5).....	17
Not Confident (4-0).....	46
Mean	4.63
Median	5

Q2-30. How do you think the way that President Bush has dealt with the situation in Iraq will affect whether you vote for him? Please answer on a scale of with +5 meaning that it will greatly increase the likelihood you will vote for him, -5 meaning that it will greatly decrease the likelihood you will vote for him and 0 meaning that it will have no effect either way.

	8/04	3/04	11/03	9/03	7/03
5.....	14%	14	14	16	11
4.....	5	5	6	2	5
3.....	7	7	8	7	8
2.....	5	5	4	5	6
1.....	3	4	3	5	7
0.....	19	24	21	31	30
-1.....	2	2	4	4	3
-2.....	4	3	3	3	3
-3.....	3	5	3	3	3
-4.....	3	5	4	1	3
-5.....	32	27	28	20	16
(No answer).....	3	1	3	3	4
Increase likelihood (1 to 5).....	34	34	35	35	37
No effect either way (0).....	19	24	21	31	30
Decrease likelihood (-5 to -1).....	44	41	42	30	29
Mean.....	-0.64	-0.52	-0.5	0.03	
Median.....	0				

Q3. Do you think the US made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

	8/04	3/04	12/03	11/03	9/03	7/03
Right decision.....	46%	55	55	57	62	63
Wrong decision.....	49	44	41	38	33	32
(No answer).....	5	1	4	5	5	5

[IF “right decision”]

Q3a. Which comes closer to your view? [ORDER RANDOMIZED]:

	8/04	3/04	12/03	11/03	9/03	7/03
I support having gone to war, because I think it was the best thing for the US to do.....	33%*	40%	42	42	47	45

* Percentage of full sample.

I am not sure if going to war was the best thing to do, but I support Bush's decision, because he is the president	13	14	13	15	14	17
(No answer).....	0	0	0	1	1	1

Q4. As you may know, NATO recently agreed to send military officers to Iraq to help train the new Iraqi army's officers. Do you think this training mission should be under:

US command.....	26%
NATO command.....	71
(No answer).....	4

Q5. There is some discussion about how many troops the US should have in Iraq now. Do you think the number of US troops in Iraq should be:

	8/04	11/03	9/03	7/03
Increased a lot	6%	11	9	6
Increased some.....	12	16	22	18
Maintained at the current level	26	33	33	37
Decreased some	17	15	13	17
Decreased a lot.....	12	9	7	8
Withdrawn completely	24	15	12	9
(No answer).....	3	2	4	5

Q6. Thinking back, for the war on terrorism, do you think the better use of US resources would have been:

a. To invade Iraq and overthrow Saddam Hussein, as the US did	39%
b. To use those same resources instead for pursuing al-Qaeda and stabilizing Afghanistan	52
(No answer).....	10

Q7. Is it your belief that, just before the war, Iraq: [ARO]

Had actual weapons of mass destruction	8/04 35%	3/04 38
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Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them	19	22
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	34	31
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction	10	8
(No answer).....	4	1

Q8. Is it your impression that the US has or has not found clear evidence in Iraq that Saddam Hussein was working closely with the al-Qaeda terrorist organization?

	8/04	3/04	12/03	11/03	9/03
US has	41%	45	43	52	49
US has not.....	54	53	51	46	45
(No answer).....	5	3	6	2	6

Q9. Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq, do you think:

	8/04	3/04	11/03	9/03	7/03
The majority of people favor the US having gone to war.....	16%	21	21	27	24
The majority of people oppose the US having gone to war	50	41	45	38	42
Views are evenly balanced.....	33	38	33	33	30
(No answer).....	2	0	1	2	4

Q10. Please select what you think is the best description of the relationship between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda. [ARO]

	8/04	3/04	9/03	7/03	6/03
There was no connection at all.....	10%	11	7	7	7
A few al-Qaeda individuals					

visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials, but Iraq did not provide substantial support to al-Qaeda.....	32	29	31	35	26
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks	35	37	35	33	36
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11 th attacks	15	20	21	20	25
(No answer).....	9	3	6	6	6

Q11. Is it your impression the Bush administration has or has not been saying that the US has found clear evidence Saddam Hussein was working closely with the al Qaeda terrorist organization?

		8/04	3/04
Has	55%	56	
Has not	36	41	
(No answer).....	9	3	

Q12. At this point do you think the majority of the Iraqi people want the US to:

	8/04	3/04	11/03	9/03	7/03
Stay for now	45%	47	58	47	53
Leave.....	51	51	39	50	42
(No answer).....	4	2	3	3	5

Q13. When do you think US should remove its troops from Iraq?

	8/04	12/03	4/03
Immediately	20%	26	12
Once a government is established that is friendly to the US, though there have not been elections.....	9	9	6
Once a government has been elected, though there are not yet laws that protect human rights	11	7	6
Once a government has been elected and there are laws that protect human rights	56	54	72

Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them.....	20
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	15
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction	1
(No answer).....	4

Q19. Which of the following comes closest to your impression of what the Bush administration is currently saying the relationship was, just before the war, between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda. [ARO]

There was no connection at all.....	3%
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials, but Iraq did not give substantial support to al-Qaeda.....	18
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks	43
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11 th attacks	27
(No answer).....	9

Q20. Do you think President Bush decided to go to war on the basis of assumptions about Iraq that were--

	8/04	11/03
Correct.....	27%	40
Incorrect, but the President believed they were correct.....	39	30
Incorrect, and the President knew they were incorrect.....	30	25
(No answer).....	4	5

[THOSE WHO SAY either “incorrect” response in Q20]

Q20a. Do you think that some key people in US intelligence agencies knew these assumptions were incorrect or do you think none of the key people knew?

	8/04	11/03
Some key people knew	59%	48
None of the key people knew.....	9	6
(No answer).....	1	1

Q21. How do you think the war with Iraq has affected the United States' image in the world? Has the war made the U.S. image in the world better, made it worse, or has the war had no effect on the U.S. image in the world?

Better.....	10%
Worse	69
Had no effect.....	17
(No answer).....	3

Q22: For US foreign policy, how important do you think it is for the United States to have a positive image in the world?

Very important	62
Somewhat important	29
Not very important.....	4
Not at all important	3
(No answer).....	2

Q23. Right now, is the U.S. involvement in Iraq creating more terrorists who are planning to attack the U.S., or eliminating terrorists who were planning to attack the U.S., or is the U.S. involvement in Iraq not affecting the number of terrorists planning to attack the U.S.?

	8/04	CBS/NYT 6/04
Creating more terrorists	49%	55
Eliminating more terrorists	25	17
Not affecting the number of terrorists.....	22	21
(No answer).....	4	

Q24. On the question of what Iraq had just before the war, is it your impression experts

	8/04	3/04
Mostly agree Iraq DID have weapons of mass destruction.....	31%	30
Mostly agree Iraq DID NOT have weapons of mass destruction, though it may have had some programs for developing them.....	43	34

Are evenly divided on the question	21	35
(No answer).....	5	0

Q25. On the question of the relationship between Iraq and al Qaeda is it your impression experts

	8/04	3/04
Mostly agree Iraq WAS providing substantial support to al Qaeda	40%	47
Mostly agree Iraq WAS NOT providing substantial support to al Qaeda	29	15
Are evenly divided on the question	24	35
(No answer).....	7	3

Q26. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement about the war with Iraq: The war will result in greater peace and stability in the Middle East.

	8/04	3/04	12/03	Gallup** 5/03
Agree.....	40%	40	39	56
Disagree	55	59	56	32
(No answer).....	6	1	5	12

Q27. As you may know, recently the Senate Intelligence Committee issued a report on US intelligence agencies' performance in gathering intelligence on Iraq before the war. Is it your impression that the Committee concluded that, just before the war, Iraq: [ARO]

Had actual weapons of mass destruction	22%
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them	22
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	37
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction	7
(No answer).....	12

** Taken from the Gallup International "Post War Iraq 2003 Poll" conducted April 16-May 18, 2003.

Q28. As you may know, a special government commission—called the “9/11 Commission,” investigated the circumstances surrounding the September 11 attacks and recently issued its final report. Is it your impression that the Commission concluded that, just before the war, the status between Iraq and al Qaeda was: [ARO]

Had no connection at all	12%
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials, but Iraq did not give substantial support to al-Qaeda.....	35
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks	30
Iraq was directly involved in carrying out the September 11 th attacks	10
(No answer).....	14

Q28a. All in all, do you think the war with Iraq was or was not necessary?

Was	47%
Was not	49
(No answer).....	5

Q31. Do you think that President George Bush is honest and frank or do you sometimes have doubts about things he says:

	8/04	3/04	11/03
Honest and frank	36%	36	42
Sometimes have doubts about things he says	60	63	56
(No answer).....	3	1	2

Q32. If the upcoming election for president were held today for whom would you vote:

George W. Bush.....	41%
John F. Kerry	49
(No answer).....	10

[IF ANSWER “BUSH OR “KERRY”]

Q32a. How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush.....	33%
Somewhat sure Bush.....	8
Not very sure Bush.....	1
Very sure Kerry.....	37%
Somewhat sure Kerry.....	9
Not very sure Kerry	3
(No answer).....	10

[ARO REPUBLICANS AND DEMOCRATS IN QUESTION]

Q33. If the election for U.S. (United States) Congress were being held today, would you vote for...the [Republican/Democratic] Party's candidate or the [Democratic/Republican] Party's candidate for Congress in your district?

Republican	37%
Democrat.....	49
(No answer).....	15

Demographic Data:

D1. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Strongly Republican	14%
Leaning toward Republican.....	14
Independent.....	30
Leaning toward Democrat	17
Strongly Democrat.....	16
Other	6

D2. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes	59%
No.....	37

D3. What is your religious preference? Do you consider yourself:

Christian.....	69%
Jewish.....	1
Muslim	0
Buddhist	1

Hindu.....	1
Other religion.....	7
No religious preference.....	13
Agnostic.....	3
Atheist.....	2
(No answer).....	3

[IF “CHRISTIAN”]

D3a. Would you describe yourself as

Protestant.....	38%
Catholic.....	19
Mormon.....	2
Orthodox.....	1
(No answer).....	10

[IF “CHRISTIAN”]

D3b. Would you describe yourself as a 'born-again' or evangelical?

Yes.....	22%
No.....	30
No opinion.....	17
(No answer).....	0

[IF ANSWER “CHRISTIAN,” “JEWISH,” “MUSLIM,” “BUDDHIST,” “HINDU,” OR “OTHER RELIGION” IN D3]

D4. How often do you attend church or attend religious services--at least once a week, almost every week, about once a month, seldom, or never?

Once a week.....	26%
Almost every week.....	13
About once a month.....	7
Seldom.....	29
Never.....	4
(No answer).....	1

D5. Age

18-29.....	22%
30-44.....	31
45-59.....	26
60+.....	22

D6. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	16%
High School Graduate.....	32
Some College	28
College Graduate	24

D7. Race/Ethnicity

White, Non-Hispanic	73%
Black, Non-Hispanic.....	12
Other, Non-Hispanic	5
Hispanic	11

D8. Gender

Male	48%
Female.....	52

D9. Region

Northeast.....	19%
Midwest.....	23
South.....	36
West	23