

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: Americans on Terrorism: Two Years After 9/11

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Aug 26 - Sep 3, 2003
Sample Size: 1217

Margin of Error: +/- 2.9% [full sample]
+/-3.4% [3/4 sample]
+/-4% [1/2 sample]

Q1.-Q9. *To be released.*

Q10: How well would you say you know what the perpetrators of the September 11th attacks hoped to achieve by attacking the US? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 meaning that you have no idea at all and 10 meaning that you feel you understand completely.

0.....	12%
1.....	2
2.....	3
3.....	4
4.....	5
5.....	14
6.....	6
7.....	7
8.....	8
9.....	6
10.....	8
(No answer)	2
Do Not Understand (0-4).....	34
Neutral (5)	18
Understand (6-10).....	47
(No answer)	2
Mean.....	5.29
Median	5

Q11.-Q16. *To be released.*

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: Please give your impression of what people in Middle Eastern countries think about the following questions.

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q17. Do you think a majority of people in the Islamic world think US policies in the Middle East make the region

More stable.....	35%
Less stable.....	60
(No answer).....	6

Q18. Do you think a majority of people in the Islamic world favor or oppose US led efforts to fight terrorism?

Favor	48%
Oppose	46
(No answer).....	6

[3/4 SAMPLE D,A,B]

Q19: How do you think a majority of people in the Islamic world feel toward Osama bin Laden’s terrorist group al Qaeda: *[RANDOMIZE PRESENTATION OF RESPONSE OPTION]*

They are supportive of al Qaeda’s terrorist methods and share many of its feelings toward the US	16%
They are opposed to al Qaeda’s terrorist methods and do not share its feelings toward the US	21
They are opposed to al Qaeda’s terrorist methods but share many of its feelings toward the US.....	57
(No answer).....	7

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q20: Please tell me which of the following statements is closer to your own view:

11/01

Because Islamic religious and social traditions are intolerant and fundamentally incompatible with Western culture, violent conflict is bound to keep happening	36%	26
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Though there are some fanatics in the Islamic world, most people there have needs and wants like those of people everywhere, so it is possible for us to find common ground60 68

(No answer).....4 6

Q21: What do you think is the more important lesson of September 11th ?

	CCFR*
	6/02
The US needs to work more closely with other countries to fight terrorism 81%	61
The US needs to act on its own more to fight terrorism16	34
Not sure/decline3	5

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q22: How important is it for the war on terrorism to be seen by the world as an effort of many countries working together, not just a US effort? Is it very important, somewhat important, not too important, or not at all important?

	11/01
Very important..... 67%	82
Somewhat important24	13
Not too important.....5	2
Not at all important1	3
(No answer).....3	*

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q23: Do you think that US military presence in the Middle East increases or decreases the likelihood of terrorist attacks against the US?

Increases..... 64%

Decreases32

Has no effect here **2

(No answer).....2

* Chicago Council on Foreign Relations

** This option was presented to respondents if they declined to choose among the other options presented.

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q24: Thinking about the next 5-10 years, in the Middle East, do you think the US should:

- Increase its military presence 31%
- Decrease its military presence64
- Keep its military presence
about the same*4
- (No answer).....2

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q25: Thinking about how the Bush administration has been acting in relation to other countries over the last two years, overall would you say that the Bush administration has tended to be:

- Much too assertive 20%
- Somewhat too assertive.....17
- A little too assertive17
- Has the balance just right.....28
- A little too cooperative.....10
- Somewhat too cooperative2
- Much too cooperative2
- (No answer).....5

Q26: Thinking about the various efforts the Bush administration has made over the past two years that it has said were aimed at reducing the risk of terrorist attacks would you say that these efforts have made you feel:

- Much safer 9%
- A little safer.....37
- Neither safer nor less safe.....45
- A little less safe.....4
- Much less safe.....4

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q27: In its relations with other countries do you think the Bush administration should or should not be more cooperative?

- Should 66%
- Should not27
- (No answer).....8

* This option was presented to respondents if they declined to choose among the other options presented.

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q28: How concerned are you about the possibility there will be more major terrorist attacks in the United States? Is that something that worries you:

	ABC/Washington Post		
	3/03	9/02	10/01
A great deal.....	25%	29	22
Somewhat.....	48	47	52
Not too much.....	22	16	19
Not at all.....	4	8	7
(No answer).....	1	1	*
			1

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q29: In terms of the threat of terrorist attacks, over the last two years would you say you have come to feel:

Much safer	5%
A little safer.....	19
Neither safer nor less safe	48
A little less safe.....	19
Much less safe.....	9
(No answer).....	1

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q30: Do you think that Osama bin Laden’s group al-Qaeda: [rotate]

Needs money and weapons from governments hostile to the US to operate.....	36%
Can operate with just the money and weapons it gets through its private support network	60
(No answer).....	4

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q31: Do you think that when there are widespread negative feelings in the Islamic world toward US foreign policy: [rotate]

This creates a climate in which

it is easier for terrorist groups to
 recruit new members and raise
 funds..... 77%

OR

This does not have much effect on
 the ability of terrorist groups to
 recruit new members and raise
 funds.....16

(No answer).....7

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q32. Thinking now about the people in the Islamic world, on average, how do you think they would rate how they feel about US policies in the Middle East? Please answer on a scale of 0 to 10, with 0 being very bad and 10 being very good.

0..... 10%
 1..... 5
 2..... 12
 3..... 13
 4..... 11
 5..... 28
 6..... 9
 7..... 3
 8..... 2
 9..... 0
 10..... 2
 (No answer) 4

Bad (0-4) 52
 Neither bad nor good (5) 28
 Good (6-10) 17
 (No answer) 4

Mean..... 3.83
 Median..... 4

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q33: Is it your perception that over the last two years throughout the Islamic world, feelings toward US foreign policy have:

Gotten better..... 27%
 Gotten worse66

Stayed about the same*4
 (No answer).....3

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: As you know there is much discussion about how much priority the US government should give to various approaches to the problem of terrorism. Here is a list of some approaches that the US government is trying at least to some extent. For each one please indicate how high a priority the US government should give to each of these approaches AS COMPARED TO HOW HIGH A PRIORITY IT IS PRESENTLY BEING GIVEN. Please answer on a scale of +5 to -5, with +5 meaning that you think it should be given a much higher priority than it has now, -5 meaning that it should be given a much lower priority than it has now, and 0 meaning that it should be given the same priority it has now. *[ORDER RANDOMIZED AND ALTERNATE WITH HALF SAMPLES FOR A,B and C,D]*

Q34: Increasing airport security

-5..... 2%
 -4..... 1
 -3..... 2
 -2..... 2
 -1..... 2
 0..... 20
 1..... 10
 2..... 13
 3..... 12
 4..... 11
 5..... 24
 (No answer) 2

Lower priority (-5- -1)9
 Same priority it is given now (0) ...20
 Higher priority (1-5)70
 (No answer) 2

Mean..... 2.14
 Median..... 2

Q35: Initiatives to help fight global HIV/AIDS and help poor countries develop their economies

-5..... 5%
 -4..... 2
 -3..... 5
 -2..... 6
 -1..... 3

*This option was presented to respondents if they declined to choose among the other options presented.

0.....	26
1.....	10
2.....	12
3.....	10
4.....	5
5.....	14
(No answer)	2
Lower priority (-5- -1)	20
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	26
Higher priority (1-5)	52
(No answer)	2
Mean.....	0.97
Median.....	1

Q36: Putting more government functions under the Department of Homeland Security

-5.....	9%
-4.....	1
-3.....	4
-2.....	6
-1.....	8
0.....	33
1.....	7
2.....	9
3.....	10
4.....	5
5.....	5
(No answer)	3
Lower priority (-5- -1)	28
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	33
Higher priority (1-5)	37
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	0.24
Median.....	0

Q37: Putting more pressure on the Saudi government to shut down funding and other support for terrorist groups

-5.....	2%
-4.....	0
-3.....	1
-2.....	1
-1.....	2
0.....	16
1.....	5

2.....	11
3.....	13
4.....	10
5.....	36
(No answer)	3
Lower priority (-5- -1)	6
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	16
Higher priority (1-5)	75
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	2.74
Median.....	3

Q38: Putting greater pressure on both Israel and the Palestinians to reduce their level of conflict

-5.....	5%
-4.....	1
-3.....	2
-2.....	4
-1.....	4
0.....	22
1.....	7
2.....	12
3.....	15
4.....	9
5.....	18
(No answer)	2
Lower priority (-5- -1)	16
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	22
Higher priority (1-5)	60
(No answer)	2
Mean.....	1.52
Median.....	2

Q39: Making a stronger effort to stabilize and rebuild Afghanistan

-5.....	7%
-4.....	0
-3.....	4
-2.....	5
-1.....	5
0.....	34
1.....	13
2.....	9
3.....	10

4.....	5
5.....	4
(No answer)	3
Lower priority (-5- -1)	22
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	34
Higher priority (1-5)	42
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	0.41
Median.....	0

Q40: Increasing the monitoring of goods entering the US

-5.....	1%
-4.....	1
-3.....	1
-2.....	1
-1.....	1
0.....	18
1.....	8
2.....	11
3.....	17
4.....	10
5.....	30
(No answer)	2
Lower priority (-5- -1)	5
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	18
Higher priority (1-5)	75
(No answer)	2
Mean.....	2.58
Median.....	3

Q41: Increasing security at buildings and locations that have political, economic and cultural importance.

-5.....	1%
-4.....	0
-3.....	1
-2.....	2
-1.....	2
0.....	26
1.....	13
2.....	13
3.....	16
4.....	9
5.....	16

(No answer)	3
Lower priority (-5- -1)	6
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	26
Higher priority (1-5)	66
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	1.91
Median.....	2

Q42: More extensive checks on people entering the US

-5.....	2%
-4.....	0
-3.....	1
-2.....	1
-1.....	1
0.....	14
1.....	3
2.....	7
3.....	13
4.....	11
5.....	47
(No answer)	2
Lower priority (-5- -1)	5
Same priority it is given now (0) ...	14
Higher priority (1-5)	79
(No answer)	2
Mean.....	3.18
Median.....	4

[FULL SAMPLE]

STATEMENT: Here is a list of some approaches that have been proposed for the US government to try. For each one, please indicate how high a priority the US government should give to each of these approaches. Please answer on a scale of +5 to -5, with +5 meaning that you think that trying this approach should be given a very high priority, -5 meaning that you think this approach should definitely not be tried, and 0 meaning that you think that it should just continue to be considered. *[ORDER RANDOMIZED AND ALTERNATED WITH HALF SAMPLES A,B and C,D]*

Q43: Promoting and helping fund public education in Muslim countries as alternatives to Islamic fundamentalist schools

-5.....	11%
-4.....	1

-3.....	5
-2.....	6
-1.....	6
0.....	32
1.....	12
2.....	6
3.....	9
4.....	2
5.....	7
(No answer)	4
Low priority (-5- -1).....	29
Continue to be considered(0)	32
High priority (1-5).....	36
(No answer)	4
Mean.....	0.02
Median.....	0

Q44: Reducing US dependence on oil

-5.....	3%
-4.....	0
-3.....	1
-2.....	1
-1.....	2
0.....	15
1.....	6
2.....	9
3.....	12
4.....	12
5.....	35
(No answer)	3
Low priority (-5- -1).....	7
Continue to be considered (0).....	15
High priority (1-5).....	75
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	2.69
Median.....	3

Q45: Setting up a UN database of terrorists to which all countries would contribute

-5.....	3%
-4.....	1
-3.....	1
-2.....	2
-1.....	1

0.....	13
1.....	8
2.....	12
3.....	10
4.....	12
5.....	34
(No answer)	3
Low priority (-5- -1).....	7
Continue to be considered (0).....	13
High priority (1-5).....	76
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	2.66
Median.....	3

Q46: Working through the UN to strengthen international laws against terrorism and to make sure UN members cooperate in enforcing them

-5.....	3%
-4.....	1
-3.....	2
-2.....	2
-1.....	2
0.....	14
1.....	6
2.....	9
3.....	10
4.....	13
5.....	35
(No answer)	4
Low priority (-5- -1).....	9
Continue to be considered (0).....	14
High priority (1-5).....	73
(No answer)	4
Mean.....	2.61
Median.....	3

Q47: Setting up an international system to cut off funding for terrorism

-5.....	2%
-4.....	0
-3.....	2
-2.....	1
-1.....	1
0.....	13
1.....	8

2.....	12
3.....	13
4.....	13
5.....	34
(No answer)	3
Low priority (-5- -1).....	5
Continue to be considered (0).....	13
High priority (1-5).....	79
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	2.82
Median.....	3

Q48: Overthrowing the government of Iran

-5.....	19%
-4.....	1
-3.....	5
-2.....	4
-1.....	4
0.....	33
1.....	6
2.....	6
3.....	7
4.....	4
5.....	8
(No answer)	4
Low priority (-5- -1).....	33
Continue to be considered (0).....	33
High priority (1-5).....	30
(No answer)	4
Mean.....	-0.35
Median.....	0

Q49: Removing more limits on the government’s power to read emails and listen in on telephone conversations

-5.....	17%
-4.....	4
-3.....	5
-2.....	6
-1.....	5
0.....	30
1.....	7
2.....	7
3.....	6

4.....	3
5.....	6
(No answer)	4
Low priority (-5- -1).....	37
Continue to be considered (0).....	30
High priority (1-5).....	28
(No answer)	4
Mean.....	-0.56
Median.....	0

Q50: Overthrowing the government of Syria

-5.....	16%
-4.....	3
-3.....	4
-2.....	9
-1.....	6
0.....	39
1.....	6
2.....	5
3.....	4
4.....	3
5.....	3
(No answer)	3
Low priority (-5- -1).....	37
Continue to be considered (0).....	39
High priority (1-5).....	21
(No answer)	3
Mean.....	-0.70
Median.....	0

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q51: In the effort to fight terrorism, do you think that in the future, compared with what it has been doing, the Bush administration:

Should put more emphasis on military methods	35%
Should put more emphasis on diplomatic and economic methods.....	58
Has the balance about right*	4

* This option was presented to respondents if they declined to choose among the other options presented.

(No answer).....3

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q52: Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: The US is playing the role of world policeman in the Middle East more than it should be.

Agree	58%
Disagree	39
(No answer).....	4

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q53: Do you think that when there are widespread negative feelings in the Islamic world toward US foreign policy:

This makes it less likely that people there will want their governments to cooperate with US efforts to deal with the problem of terrorism 68%

This does not have much effect on whether people there will want their governments to cooperate with US efforts to deal with the problem of terrorism26

(No answer).....7

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q54: Do you think the fact that the US overthrew the government of Saddam Hussein has made people in the Islamic world:

More likely to support US efforts to deal with the problem of terrorism 35%

Less likely to support US efforts to deal with the problem of terrorism 22

Has made no difference either way 39

(No answer)4

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q55: Do you think that the US should or should not make greater efforts to improve relations with people in the Islamic world?

Should 78%
Should not18
(No answer).....4

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q56: Do you think that most people in the Middle East want US military presence in the Middle East maintained at its present level, or do you think most people want it reduced?

Maintained at its present level 29%
Reduced68
(No answer).....3

Q57: If most people in the Middle East want the US to reduce its military presence in the Middle East, do you think that it should or should not do so?

Should 51%
Should not45
(No answer).....4

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q58: In regard to the US role in the Middle East, do you think that most of the people in the Middle East want the US:

To play a less prominent
and influential role 66%

To continue to play as prominent
and influential role as it has30

(No answer).....5

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q59: If the majority of the people in the Middle East want the US to play a less prominent and influential role there do you think the US:

Should play a less prominent and
influential role..... 63%

Should not play a less prominent
and influential role31

(No answer).....6

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q60: Do you think President Bush is ready to commit the resources necessary to transform the Middle East region the way that the US committed resources to transforming Germany after World War II, or do you think that he is not ready to commit the resources necessary for this?

President Bush is ready to
commit the resources 39%

President Bush is not ready to
commit the resources50

(No answer).....11

Q61: Do you think the US should or should not be ready to commit the resources necessary to transform the Middle East region the way that the US committed resources to transforming Germany after World War II?

Should 45%

Should not45

(No answer).....10

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q62: As you may know, shortly after September 11th Congress passed new legislation, called the USA Patriot Act, which removes certain limitations on the government's ability to monitor and detain individuals. How well do you feel you understand what is in that legislation?

Very well 7%

Somewhat.....32

Not very well39

Not at all20

(No answer).....3

Q63: Is it your impression that American citizens have or have not been detained by the US under suspicion of being involved with a terrorist group?

Have 75%

Have not20

(No answer).....6

Q64: If American citizens are detained by the US under suspicion of being involved with a terrorist group, is it your impression that they do or do not have the right to meet with a lawyer in their defense?

Do..... 74%
Do not.....23
(No answer).....3

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q65: Do you think that American citizens who the government has detained under suspicion of being involved with a terrorist group should or should not have the right to meet with a lawyer in their defense?

Should 80%
Should not16
(No answer).....3

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q66: How concerned are you that removing limitations on the government’s ability to monitor and detain individuals may, in some cases, lead the government to go too far?

Very..... 27%
Somewhat.....39
Not very23
Not at all.....8
(No answer)3

[HALF SAMPLE A,B]

Q67: As you may know, there is a major controversy about the USA Patriot Act legislation. On one hand, a few states and over 150 communities have passed resolutions saying that this legislation goes too far in compromising constitutional rights. On the other hand, Attorney General John Ashcroft supports further expansion of government powers to monitor and detain individuals. Are you more inclined to think that:

The removal of limitations on the government has already gone too far 52%

The removal of limitations on the government has not gone far enough38

(No answer).....11

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q68: Currently there is some debate about whether the US should reduce the number of visas for entrance into the US as a way of trying to prevent terrorists from entering the US. Which of the following positions is closest to yours?

The US should greatly reduce the number of visas. Even if this keeps some innocent people out, if it keeps one terrorist out it will be worth it 43%

Trying to stop terrorists by reducing the number of visas is pointless. Determined terrorists will find a way in and the economic and diplomatic costs of denying visas are great13

The US should not reduce visas across the board, but should make greater efforts to screen out potential terrorists, by for example, working with other nations to build a database of suspected terrorists39

(No answer).....4

Q70-Q71. *To be released.*

[HALF SAMPLE C,D]

Q72: How do you think the way that President Bush has dealt with the problem of terrorism /the terrorist group al Qaeda will affect whether you vote for him in the 2004 election? 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.

-5..... 18%
-4..... 2
-3..... 2
-2..... 1
-1..... 3
0..... 31
1..... 7
2..... 8

3.....	8
4.....	4
5.....	14
(No answer)	2
Increase likelihood (1 to 5).....	41
No effect either way (0).....	31
Decrease likelihood (-5 to -1).....	26
(No answer)	2
Mean.....	0.26
Median.....	0

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q73. If the upcoming election for president were held today and the candidates were Republican George W. Bush and the Democratic nominee for President -- for whom would you vote -- Republican George W. Bush or the Democratic nominee for President?

Vote for President George Bush ...	46%
Vote for Democratic nominee.....	43
(No answer).....	11

Demographics

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

Republican.....	30%
Democrat	31
Independent	27
Other.....	8
(No answer)	4

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

Yes.....	54%
No	41
(No answer)	5

D3. Gender

Male.....	48%
Female	52

D4. Age (calculated from birth date)

18-29.....	21%
30-44.....	31
45-59.....	26
60+.....	22

D5. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School.....	16%
High School Graduate	33
Some College	28
College Graduate.....	24

D7. Race/Ethnicity

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

D8. Region

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