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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION:
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BUT GUARDED CONFIDENCE IN MILITARY SUCCESS
MILITARY ACTION A HIGHER PRIORITY THAN HOMELAND DEFENSE

The public's strong commitment to the use of military force in retaliation for the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks is predicated at least in part on the idea that a good offense represents the best defense. By 44%-33%, Americans think that taking military action abroad to destroy global terrorist networks is more important than building up defenses at home to prevent future attacks.

At the same time, the public's reliance on force as a deterrent is greater than its desire for revenge. A solid majority (57%) believes that engaging in military action to stop future attacks is a more important motivation than avenging the attacks in New York and Washington, D.C. Still, nearly eight-in-ten think that punishing terrorists is an important reason for using military force.

These are the findings of the latest nationwide survey by the Pew Research Center, conducted Sept. 21-25, which shows broad public confidence in the success of a military operation, but also a fair degree of uncertainty about the mission. The vast majority of Americans have at least some confidence that the United States can destroy terrorist networks around the world -- but only 39% are very confident this can be achieved, while nearly as many (37%) are somewhat confident. This compares with 61% who felt very confident in the success of the U.S. military action against Iraq, shortly before the Persian Gulf War in January 1991.

Views on the Use of Force			
<i>More important priority</i>	<u>Total</u> %	<u>Men</u> %	<u>Women</u> %
Take military action	44	51	37
Build defenses at home	33	25	40
Both (VOL.)	16	19	14
DK/Ref.	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Confident mission will succeed</i>			
Very	39	46	33
Somewhat	37	33	42
Not	20	18	21
DK/Ref.	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Most important objective</i>			
Prevent terrorism	57	54	60
Punish terrorists	22	24	20
Both (VOL.)	14	16	11
Neither	5	4	6
DK/Ref.	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>3</u>
	100	100	100

Men, whites, and Southerners are much more likely than others to express strong confidence that military action will succeed. These historically hawkish groups also tend to give higher priority to taking military action abroad than to bolstering anti-terrorist defenses at home.

Public uncertainty is also voiced over the timing of military action. While the public is largely resigned to the fact that a long campaign will be needed to defeat terrorism, there are mixed views as to whether it is more risky to strike too quickly, or too slowly. Nearly half the public (49%) says the larger concern is that the administration will delay taking military action, while 34% worry that the administration will move too quickly. Those most confident of victory -- conservatives and men -- are more concerned about waiting too long.

The poll continues to find extraordinary levels of national unity and support for President Bush. Satisfaction with the state of the nation has climbed in spite of the attacks and the continuing economic downturn. However, a sizable minority (33%) says that U.S. mistakes in dealing with other nations may have motivated the attacks. When that line of thinking was further examined using alternative question wording, 21% of respondents cited U.S. unfairness to other countries as a motivating factor for the attacks, while as many as 48% say that insufficient toughness in U.S. foreign policy may have contributed to the attacks.

Fewer Very Confident than Before Gulf War

Overall, there are many signs that Americans are ready to see the U.S. strike back against terrorist organizations. Polls show solid support for military action, including the use of ground troops, to retaliate against whoever is responsible for the terrorist attacks (see the Pew Research Center’s “American Psyche Reeling from Terror Attacks,” Sept. 19, 2001). And the vast majority of Americans (76%) are at least somewhat confident that U.S. forces will be able to complete their mission to destroy terrorist networks around the world.

But there are differences among groups in the strength of that confidence. And far fewer Americans express a great deal of confidence in the struggle against terrorism than did so a decade ago in the war against Iraq.

Just before that war began, 61% said they were very confident in the “capabilities of the American military forces in the Persian Gulf” to prevail in the war against Iraq. Today, just 39% express a high degree of confidence in the ability of U.S. forces to destroy terrorist networks around the world.

Tempered Optimism		
<i>Confidence in military success</i>	<u>Jan 1991</u>	<u>Sept 2001</u>
	%	%
Very	61	39
Somewhat	29	37
Not too	5	15
Not at all	2	5
DK/Ref.	<u>3</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100

Republicans are far more confident in the nation's ability to destroy terrorist networks than Democrats. Fully 89% of Republicans have at least some assurance that U.S. forces will prevail, with 50% very sure of victory. Seven-in-ten Democrats feel at least somewhat confident that terrorism can be defeated, and just 30% are highly confident of victory. About one-quarter of Democrats are doubtful that this is a battle that can be won, compared with one-in-ten Republicans.

Men are more firmly confident in the effectiveness of military action (46% very confident) than women (33%). Education is also a factor in people's confidence about the military mission. More than four-in-ten (42%) of those who never attended college feel confident that U.S. forces will be able to complete their mission, compared with 33% of college graduates.

There is more confidence about the effectiveness of military action in the South than any other region. Fully 47% of Southerners feel very confident that terrorism can be eliminated, with another 34% somewhat confident. By comparison, fewer than four-in-ten respondents in other regions feel very confident about victory.

Those who are the most worried about becoming the victim of a terrorist attack are the least optimistic about the effectiveness of military action. Among those who have little or no fear of terrorism affecting them directly or indirectly, 44% have full confidence that military action will succeed in eliminating terrorism. By comparison, just 32% of those who are very worried that they or someone in their family might become a victim of a terrorist attack agree.

Minorities are more skeptical than whites about the possible success of military action. Fully 39% of African-Americans are doubtful that U.S. forces can destroy terrorist networks, though 57% have at least some confidence. Just 17% of whites have doubts, while 80% express at least some confidence.

	<i>Confident in military action?</i>			
	<u>Very</u>	<u>what</u>	<u>at all</u>	<u>DK/</u>
	%	%	%	%
Republican	50	39	10	1=100
Democrat	30	40	26	4=100
Independent	38	36	22	4=100
White	41	39	17	3=100
Black	26	31	39	4=100
Hispanic	31	41	24	4=100
College Grad.	33	38	26	3=100
Some College	37	44	18	1=100
H.S. or less	42	35	18	5=100
East	35	41	20	4=100
South	47	34	16	3=100
Midwest	39	36	21	4=100
West	30	43	24	3=100

Offensive Action Favored

Perhaps not surprisingly, confidence in the eventual success of the anti-terrorism effort is strongly linked to feelings about whether America's first priority ought to be military action or building up homeland defenses. Among those who are very confident that a war on terrorism can be won, military action is favored over building defenses at home by a 56% to 20% margin. But among those who have little or no confidence in such a mission, defensive action is favored by an equally striking 58% to 25% margin.

Consequently, the same groups who are most certain of the nation's ability to defeat terrorism overseas place the highest priority on taking military action. For example, men support taking action to destroy terrorist networks by two-to-one (51% to 25%), while women -- who are less optimistic about a successful outcome -- are evenly divided on their priorities (39% say defense should be the priority, 37% military action).

	<i>Confidence in military action</i>			
	<u>Total</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Some</u>	<u>Not</u>
	%	%	%	%
Taking military action	44	56	43	25
Building our defenses	33	20	33	58
Both (VOL.)	16	18	18	8
Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>9</u>
	100	100	100	100

Too Slow or Too Quick to Act?

More Americans are concerned the administration will wait too long to respond to the terrorist attacks (49%) than worry that it might take action against the terrorists too quickly (34%). Concern about delaying action is highest among men (54%), conservative Republicans (52%) and respondents who did not go to college (53%). Liberal Democrats (55%) and college graduates (44%) express the most concern about taking action too quickly.

Again, this view is strongly linked to a person's confidence in the effectiveness of military action. Those who are very confident we can win a war on terrorism are more worried that the administration will wait too long to get started (57%) than act too quickly (24%). Those who doubt the nation's ability to defeat terrorism feel the opposite (53% fear acting too quickly, 35% fear waiting too long).

	<i>--- Bigger risk ---</i>		
	<u>Act too Quickly</u>	<u>Wait too long</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
	%	%	%
Total	34	49	17=100
Conservative Republican	29	52	19=100
Moderate/Liberal Rep.	35	46	19=100
Independent	34	53	13=100
Conserv./Moderate Dem.	34	51	15=100
Liberal Democrat	55	35	10=100

Prevention Over Punishment

The public sees military action as necessary both to punish those responsible for the attacks and to prevent future terrorism. But when asked to choose which of these motivations is *most* important, prevention is clearly favored.

By a wide margin (57% to 22%), Americans feel that the most important reason to take military actions against the terrorists is to prevent them from mounting future attacks against the U.S., not to punish them for the actions already committed. However, most Americans feel that both of these goals are very important. Nearly nine-in-ten (88%) say preventing future attacks against the U.S. is a very important objective of military action, and 79% feel that retribution is a very important objective.

Goals of Military Action				
	To Prevent	To Punish	Both/Neither	DK/Ref.
	%	%	%	%
Total	57	22	19	2=100
College Grad.	68	15	16	1=100
Some College	63	16	19	2=100
H.S. or less	50	27	20	3=100
18-29	57	24	17	2=100
30-49	61	18	20	1=100
50-64	59	20	19	2=100
65+	46	31	17	6=100
Wh. Evangelical	52	27	19	2=100
Wh. Mainline	58	19	21	2=100
Wh. Catholic	61	23	14	2=100
Secular	64	14	20	2=100

While pursuing a policy of prevention receives nearly unanimous support, attitudes toward punishment varies depending on a person’s gender, education, religion and partisanship. Women feel that preventing future attacks is more important than retribution by three-to-one (60% to 20%), while there is a narrower gap among men (54% to 23%).

But the most striking divisions on this issue fall along educational, religious and generational lines. About two-thirds (68%) of respondents who finished college say prevention is more important than punishment, compared with half of those who never attended. And while 27% of white evangelical Christians say punishment is the *most* important motivation for our military response, 19% of white mainline Christians agree. The strongest support for retribution as the primary reason to take military action comes from Americans 65 years of age and older, nearly a third of whom (31%) favor punishment over prevention.

For the most part, Americans are satisfied with the support traditional allies are providing to the U.S. anti-terrorism effort. About three-fourths of Americans (74%) feel we are getting the support that we need from our traditional allies around the world for our plans to take action against terrorist organizations.

Concern Over New Attacks

Two weeks after the terrorist attack that shook the country, a majority of Americans are worried about being victimized by another attack. Women, minorities, and Americans in the Northeast are especially worried. More than half of Americans (53%) have at least some concern that they or someone in their family might become the victim of a terrorist attack, up from 32% who felt such fears in 1998 and 39% in 1996, about a year after the Oklahoma City bombing.

Women are particularly concerned about renewed terrorism (64% compared with 41% of men). That is consistent with the most recent Center poll (“American Psyche Reeling from Terror Attacks,” Sept. 19), which found that women were more likely than men to feel depressed and distracted by the terrorist attacks. Fully two-thirds of mothers with children at home worry about the threat of renewed terrorism, with 22% very worried. Again, men -- including the fathers of young children -- are much less worried.

Those closest to the tragedy worry much more than those with some physical distance from the recent attacks: 60% of Americans in the Northeast worry about becoming a victim, compared with 51% of Americans in all other regions.

Racial and ethnic minorities feel more vulnerable than do whites in the survey. While 51% of whites are worried about becoming a victim, 61% of African-Americans, and 68% of Hispanics have that worry.

A sizable minority (28%) says that they have become more suspicious of people who appear to be of Middle Eastern descent. African-Americans (32%) are as likely as whites (29%) to say that this is the case. Although women are significantly more likely than men to worry about future terrorist attacks hurting their family, women are no more likely to feel more suspicious of people who appear to be Middle Eastern.

Where Terrorism Hits Home			
	<i>Worry you or your family will be a victim?</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>Other/</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>DK</u>
			<u>%</u>
Total	53	46	1=100
Male	41	58	1=100
Female	64	35	1=100
White	51	48	1=100
Non-White	63	37	*=100
Black	61	39	0=100
Hispanic	68	32	0=100
East	60	38	2=100
Midwest	48	51	1=100
South	53	46	1=100
West	52	47	1=100

Economic Attitudes: No Dramatic Change

The terror attacks and slumping economy have done little to alter people's perceptions of their personal finances, although future optimism has slipped since the summer. In June 44% of all Americans rated their personal financial situation as "excellent" or "good," now 47% do. But the proportion of Americans who expect their financial situation to improve during the coming year has declined from 63% to 55% in the same period.

Just as women are more worried than men that a future terrorist attack will affect someone in their own family, women also have become less optimistic about their family's financial future. Nearly half of women (49%) expect their personal or family's finances to improve, compared with 62% of men.

	<u>June 2001</u>	<u>Sept 2001</u>
<i>Personal finances</i>	%	%
Excellent	6	7
Good	38	40
Only Fair	39	37
Poor	16	14
DK/Ref.	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100
<i>Financial outlook</i>		
Improve	63	55
Get worse	19	20
Stay the same	14	17
DK/Ref.	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100

In June, there was virtually no gender gap on this issue (64% of men were optimistic, 61% of women). Since then, women have shown a 12-percentage point drop in confidence about their financial future, while men's confidence has been unchanged. Financial optimism among African-Americans, those age 30-49, and Americans in every region except the Midwest also has declined since June.

Rising Satisfaction

Americans have been unified since the attacks, rallying behind the president and in support of military action. Despite fears of new terror strikes and concerns over the economy, they are also generally more upbeat about the state of the nation than they were before the events of Sept. 11.

Nearly six-in-ten (57%) people say they are satisfied with the way things are going in the country today, compared to just 41% who felt that way in early September. These feelings are not universal, however, as there are deep partisan and racial differences over the state of the nation.

Seven-in-ten Republicans are satisfied, compared to only half of Democrats and 54% of independents. Still, Democrats are more positive than they were before the attacks, when just 30% were pleased with national conditions.

There is a striking disparity in satisfaction between whites and blacks. Many more whites than African-Americans are satisfied with the way things are going in the country (59% compared with 39%).

U.S. Partly to Blame?

A third of Americans think that there are things that the United States has done wrong in its dealings with other nations that may have motivated the attacks, although a majority (55%) disagrees with this notion. Democrats are somewhat more likely than Republicans to say that past U.S. wrongdoing may have motivated the attacks -- 40% of Democrats hold this view, compared with 27% of Republicans.

But the prevailing view is that, if anything, the United States has been insufficiently tough in its dealings with other nations. Nearly half (48%) say the United States not being tough enough may have motivated the attacks, with Democrats, Republicans and independents all about as likely to voice that opinion.

Finally, respondents were asked if the United States has been *unfair* to other nations, and if that unfairness may have contributed to the attacks. Fewer than a quarter (21%) believes that past U.S. unfairness may have motivated the attacks, while seven-in-ten say no.

Contributing Factors to Terrorism	
<i>Attacks motivated by:</i>	
<i>Things U.S. has done wrong in dealings with other countries</i>	
Yes	33
No	55
DK/Ref.	<u>12</u>
	100
<i>Unfair dealings with other countries</i>	
Yes	21
No	70
DK/Ref.	<u>9</u>
	100
<i>Lack of toughness in dealing with other countries</i>	
Yes	48
No	43
DK/Ref.	<u>9</u>
	100

Many See Foreign Hostility

Most Americans think that people in the Middle East and other non-Western nations blame the United States, at least in part, for fueling the hatred that led to the terrorist attacks. About six-in-ten (59%) say that people in these regions feel that the United States bears some responsibility for the assaults. College graduates are more likely than those with less education to see those in the Middle East and elsewhere blaming the United States.

The public perceives less hostility from people in Europe and other Western nations. A plurality (47%) thinks that people in those countries feel the United States bears no responsibility for the attacks, while 38% believe they do partly blame the United States.

More African-Americans Back Bush

Fully 86% of Americans approve of the job the president is doing, up six points from the previous Pew survey Sept. 13-17. While African-Americans are gloomy about the state of the nation, they are solidly behind the president. Currently, 70% of African-Americans approve of Bush's job performance, up from 49% in the previous survey and 32% in early September, before the attacks occurred.

In addition to historically high job approval ratings, Bush gets positive marks for leadership. Better than four-in-ten (45%) see Bush as a stronger leader than they anticipated -- more than twice as many who held that view in April (21%). An equal number (45%) say Bush has been about as strong as they expected, with only a small number (4%) viewing him as weaker than they expected.

African-Americans generally support Bush, but they are less favorably impressed than whites with his leadership abilities. Just 31% think he is a stronger leader than they expected, compared with 48% of whites. A plurality of blacks (49%) say Bush has been about as strong a leader as they expected.

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,488 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period September 21-25, 2001. For results based on the total sample, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 3 percentage points. For questions asked only during the field period of September 21-23 (N=666), the sampling error is plus or minus 4.5 percentage points. For questions asked only during the field period of September 24-25 (N=822), the sampling error is plus or minus 4 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.

**FOR COMPLETE RESULTS AND QUESTIONNAIRE, PLEASE GO TO
OUR WEBSITE AT WWW.PEOPLE-PRESS.ORG**

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS
RESPONSE TO TERRORISM TRACKING POLL
FINAL TOPLINE
September 21-25, 2001
N=1,488

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>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>Don't 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

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

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
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
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
April, 1995	23	74	3=100
July, 1994	24	73	3=100
March, 1994	24	71	5=100
October, 1993	22	73	5=100
September, 1993	20	75	4=100

Q.2 CONTINUED ...

	<u>Satisfied</u>	<u>Dissatisfied</u>	<u>No Opinion</u>
May, 1993	22	71	7=100
January, 1993	39	50	11=100
January, 1992	28	68	4=100
November, 1991	34	61	5=100
Late February, 1991 (Gallup)	66	31	3=100
August, 1990	47	48	5=100
May, 1990	41	54	5=100
January, 1989	45	50	5=100
September, 1988 (RVs)	50	45	5=100
May, 1988	41	54	5=100
January, 1988	39	55	6=100

And thinking about your own personal finances...

E.1 How would you rate your own personal financial situation? Would you say you are in excellent shape, good shape, only fair shape or poor shape?

		<i>(RVs)</i>								<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>				
		June	June	Aug	May	Sept	Feb	Mar	Dec	Jan	Oct	Aug	May	Jan
		<u>2001</u>	<u>2000</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1996</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1993</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
7	Excellent shape	6	9	6	7	8	8	5	5	4	6	5	4	4
40	Good shape	38	43	43	43	47	39	41	34	33	34	30	35	32
37	Only fair shape	39	35	41	38	34	38	40	45	46	40	47	45	45
14	OR poor shape	16	11	9	11	10	14	13	15	16	19	17	15	18
<u>2</u>	DK/Ref	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>						
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

E.2 Over the course of the next year, do you think the financial situation of you and your family will improve a lot, improve some, get a little worse or get a lot worse?

		June	Jan	Jan	May	Feb	March	<i>U.S. News & World Report</i>			
		<u>2001</u>	<u>2001</u>	<u>1999</u>	<u>1997</u>	<u>1995</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>Oct</u>	<u>Aug</u>	<u>May</u>	<u>Jan</u>
		<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1994</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>	<u>1992</u>
9	Improve a lot	11	11	17	12	11	10	9	6	8	9
46	Improve some	52	46	55	56	53	57	51	50	49	46
17	Stay the same (VOL)	14	12	14	17	17	16	15	14	13	16
16	Get a little worse	15	18	7	10	13	11	14	20	22	19
4	Get a lot worse	4	9	3	2	3	3	3	5	4	5
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.3 So far, does George W. Bush seem to be a stronger leader than you expected, a weaker leader, or is he about as strong as you expected?

		<i>Gallup/CNN/USA Today</i>	
		April	Clinton
		<u>2001</u>	<u>Jan 1993</u>
45	Stronger leader than expected	21	13
4	Weaker leader than expected	13	12
45	About as strong as expected	59	68
<u>6</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>7</u>
100		100	100

Now a few questions about the terrorist attacks...

Q.4 If you had to choose, what should get a higher priority now **[READ AND ROTATE]**...?

33	Building our defenses at home to prevent future terrorist attacks
	--OR--
44	Taking military action to destroy terrorist networks around the world
16	Both (VOL.)
<u>7</u>	Don't Know/Refused
100	

Q.4a How confident are you that U.S. forces will be able to complete their mission to destroy terrorist networks around the world? Are you ... **[READ]**

39	Very confident
37	Somewhat confident
15	Not too confident
5	Not at all confident
<u>4</u>	Don't Know/Refused
100	

Q.5 Which is your greater concern ... that we will take military action against the terrorists TOO QUICKLY, or that we will wait TOO LONG to take military action?

34	Take action too quickly
49	Wait too long
<u>17</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

ROTATE Q.6A AND Q.6B

Q.6a How important to you is it that our military actions against the terrorists PUNISH them for their attacks against the U.S.? **[READ]**

79	Very important
11	Fairly important
4	Not very important
2	Not at all important
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.6b How important to you is it that our military actions against the terrorists PREVENT them from making future attacks against the U.S.? **[READ]**

88 Very important
 7 Fairly important
 1 Not very important
 1 Not at all important
3 Don't know/Refused
 100

IF "VERY IMPORTANT" IN BOTH Q.6A AND Q.6B ASK [N=1,070]:

Q.6c Which is MORE important to you? **[READ AND ROTATE]**

22 That our military actions PUNISH terrorists for their attacks against the U.S.
 --OR--
 58 That our military actions PREVENT future terrorist attacks against the U.S.
 18 Both **[VOL.]**
2 Don't know/Refused
 100

ASK ALL:

Q.7 Do you think we are getting the support that we need from our traditional allies around the world for our plans to take action against terrorist organizations, or not?

74 Yes, we are getting the support we need
 15 No, we are not getting the support that we need
11 Don't know/Refused
 100

Q.8 All in all, how worried are you that you or someone in your family might become a victim of a terrorist attack? Would you say you are **[READ]**

		-----Gallup-----				
		Sept 14-15 2001 ¹	Sept 11 2001 ²	Aug 1998	July 1996	April 1995 ³
17	Very worried	18	23	10	13	14
36	Somewhat worried	33	35	22	26	28
31	Not too worried	35	24	38	34	33
15	Not at all worried	13	16	29	27	24
*	Already victim (VOL)	*	1	--	--	--
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>
100		100	100	100	100	100

¹ For the September 14-15 Gallup trend the question started with, "I'd like to ask you a few questions about the events that occurred this past Tuesday in New York City and Washington, DC..."

² For the September 11 Gallup trend the question started with, "I'd like to ask you a few questions about the events that occurred today in New York City and Washington, DC..."

³ For the April 1995 Gallup trend the question was, "How worried are you that you or someone in your family will become a victim of a terrorist attack similar to the bombing in Oklahoma City?"

Q.9 Since the terrorist attacks, have you yourself become more suspicious of people who you think are of Middle-Eastern descent, or not?

28 Yes, more suspicious
70 No, not more suspicious
2 Don't know/Refused
100

ROTATE Q.10A AND Q.10B

Q.10a What's your impression, do you think that many people in Europe and other western nations believe the U.S. itself bears some responsibility for the hatred that lead to the terrorist attacks, or don't you think many of them feel this way?

38 Yes, many believe U.S. bears some responsibility
47 No, don't think may feel this way
15 Don't know/Refused
100

Q.10b What's your impression, do you think that many people in the Middle-East and other non-western nations believe the U.S. itself bears some responsibility for the hatred that lead to the terrorist attacks, or don't you think many of them feel this way?

59 Yes, many believe U.S. bears some responsibility
27 No, don't think may feel this way
14 Don't know/Refused
100

On a related topic,

Q.11 President Bush promised not to spend the Social Security surplus except in times of economic distress or war. What about now after the terrorist attacks? Do you think President Bush still should not spend the Social Security surplus or should Bush spend the surplus in response to the attacks?

53 No, should not spend surplus
37 Yes, should spend surplus
10 Don't know/Refused [VOL.]
100

Q.12 ASKED SEPTEMBER 21-23 ONLY [N=666]:

Q.12 And finally, do you think there is anything the US has done wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?

33	Yes, dealings may have motivated attacks
55	No
<u>12</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.13 AND Q.14 ASKED SEPTEMBER 24-25 ONLY [N=822]:

Q.13 And finally just two more questions. Do you think there is any way that the U.S. has been unfair in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?

21	Yes, unfair dealings may have motivated attacks
70	No
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

Q.14 Do you think the U.S. not being tough enough in its dealing with other countries might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?

48	Yes, not being tough enough may have motivated attacks
43	No
<u>9</u>	Don't know/Refused
100	

PUBLIC PRIORITIES AND CONCERNS

	<i>What should get higher priority?</i>				<i>Worried that you or family member might become victim of terrorist attack</i>			
	<u>Building Defenses</u>	<u>Military Action</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Already victim/DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	33	44	16	7=100	17	36	46	1=100
Sex								
Male	25	51	19	5	13	28	58	1
Female	40	37	14	9	22	42	35	1
Race								
White	29	47	17	7	14	37	48	1
Non-white	48	31	13	8	32	31	37	*
Black	52	23	15	10	38	23	39	0
Hispanic*	32	47	13	8	32	36	32	0
Race and Sex								
White Men	20	56	19	5	10	28	61	1
White Women	37	39	16	8	18	45	36	1
Age								
Under 30	35	48	13	4	14	39	46	1
30-49	35	42	19	4	17	37	45	1
50-64	31	47	16	6	21	29	48	2
65+	28	38	15	19	17	37	44	2
Sex and Age								
Men under 50	28	49	20	3	12	30	57	1
Women under 50	42	40	14	4	20	45	34	1
Men 50+	21	55	16	8	14	26	59	1
Women 50+	36	34	15	15	24	38	36	2
Education								
College Graduate	39	41	16	4	14	34	51	1
Some College	36	45	15	4	15	36	49	*
High School Graduate	29	47	17	7	17	36	45	2
Less than High School	30	38	18	14	27	37	35	1
Family Income								
\$75,000+	33	50	15	2	12	36	52	0
\$50,000-\$74,999	34	48	17	1	11	40	48	1
\$30,000-\$49,999	31	50	16	3	15	37	48	*
\$20,000-\$29,999	42	37	15	6	18	37	44	1
< \$20,000	36	39	13	12	28	33	36	3

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: If you had to choose, what should get a higher priority now – Building our defenses at home to prevent future terrorist attacks, OR taking military action to destroy terrorist networks around the world?

All in all, how worried are you that you or someone in your family might become a victim of a terrorist attack? Would you say you are very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?

Continued...

	<i>What should get higher priority?</i>				<i>Worried that you or family member might become victim of terrorist attack</i>			
	<u>Building Defenses</u>	<u>Military Action</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>Already victim/DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	33	44	16	7=100	17	36	46	1=100
Region								
East	34	41	18	7	20	40	38	2
Midwest	34	43	15	8	12	36	51	1
South	31	46	15	8	20	33	46	1
West	35	43	18	4	15	37	47	1
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	27	47	18	8	14	36	48	2
White Protestant Evangelical	28	43	19	10	17	32	49	2
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	26	50	18	6	11	39	48	2
White Catholic	29	51	16	4	13	40	47	*
Secular	33	50	14	3	13	34	53	*
Community Size								
Large City	40	41	12	7	21	33	45	1
Suburb	32	46	19	3	15	39	45	1
Small City/Town	33	43	16	8	16	37	46	1
Rural Area	27	45	18	10	18	33	47	2
Party ID								
Republican	25	53	18	4	11	34	54	1
Democrat	38	40	15	7	24	38	37	1
Independent	38	40	16	6	15	37	47	1
Party and Ideology								
Conservative Republican	21	57	20	2	6	33	60	1
Moderate/Liberal Republican	29	51	15	5	17	37	46	*
Conservative/Moderate Dem.	38	41	15	6	22	39	37	1
Liberal Democrat	37	42	13	8	27	41	32	0
Bush Approval								
Approve	30	46	18	6	16	37	46	1
Disapprove	51	36	4	9	26	30	43	1
Parental Status								
Parent	34	43	18	5	17	38	44	1
Non-Parent	33	44	15	8	18	34	47	1

PUBLIC VIEWS ON MILITARY ACTION

	<i>Confidence in U.S. to destroy terrorist networks around world</i>				<i>Which is more important?</i>			
	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Punish</u>	<u>Prevent</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	terrorists	attacks	%	%
Total	39	37	20	4=100	22	57	19	2=100
Sex								
Male	46	33	18	3	23	54	21	2
Female	33	42	21	4	20	60	17	3
Race								
White	41	39	17	3	22	58	18	2
Non-white	31	33	32	4	24	54	20	2
Black	26	31	39	4	26	52	20	2
Hispanic*	31	41	24	4	24	58	17	1
Race and Sex								
White Men	48	33	16	3	23	56	19	2
White Women	35	44	17	4	21	59	18	2
Age								
Under 30	38	43	17	2	24	57	18	1
30-49	39	40	19	2	18	61	20	1
50-64	38	32	24	6	20	59	19	2
65+	41	32	21	6	31	46	17	6
Sex and Age								
Men under 50	45	36	17	2	21	56	22	1
Women under 50	33	46	19	2	20	63	16	1
Men 50+	47	27	21	5	29	50	18	3
Women 50+	32	36	25	7	22	57	17	4
Education								
College Graduate	33	38	26	3	15	68	16	1
Some College	37	44	18	1	16	63	19	2
High School Graduate	41	39	16	4	26	52	19	3
Less than High School	46	24	23	7	31	45	22	2
Family Income								
\$75,000+	38	39	22	1	17	64	17	2
\$50,000-\$74,999	34	40	22	4	20	67	12	1
\$30,000-\$49,999	45	38	16	1	21	58	20	1
\$20,000-\$29,999	40	38	20	2	21	53	25	1
< \$20,000	39	33	22	6	30	50	17	3

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: How confident are you that U.S. forces will be able to complete their mission to destroy terrorist networks around the world?

Which is MORE important to you – That our military actions PUNISH terrorists for their attacks against the U.S., OR that our military actions PREVENT future terrorist attacks against the U.S.?

Continued...

	<i>Confidence in U.S. to destroy terrorist networks around world</i>				<i>Which is more important?</i>			
	<u>Very</u>	<u>Somewhat</u>	<u>Not</u>	<u>DK</u>	<u>Punish</u>	<u>Prevent</u>	<u>Both</u>	<u>DK</u>
	%	%	%	%	%	%	%	%
Total	39	37	20	4=100	22	57	19	2=100
Region								
East	35	41	20	4	19	56	22	3
Midwest	39	36	21	4	20	59	18	3
South	47	34	16	3	25	56	17	2
West	30	43	24	3	22	57	19	2
Religious Affiliation								
Total White Protestant	45	38	13	4	23	55	20	2
White Protestant Evangelical	49	36	10	5	27	52	19	2
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	42	39	15	4	19	58	21	2
White Catholic	39	41	17	3	23	61	14	2
Secular	33	39	27	1	14	64	20	2
Community Size								
Large City	32	36	29	3	27	53	17	3
Suburb	36	44	18	2	17	62	20	1
Small City/Town	43	36	18	3	22	59	17	2
Rural Area	41	36	18	5	21	53	22	4
Party ID								
Republican	50	39	10	1	24	57	17	2
Democrat	30	40	26	4	25	60	14	1
Independent	38	36	22	4	19	56	23	2
Party and Ideology								
Conservative Republican	52	37	9	2	24	57	18	1
Moderate/Liberal Republican	48	41	10	1	25	58	16	1
Conservative/Moderate Dem.	32	41	23	4	26	59	13	2
Liberal Democrat	25	40	33	2	21	67	11	1
Bush Approval								
Approve	43	39	15	3	22	57	19	2
Disapprove	11	32	54	3	23	57	17	3
Parental Status								
Parent	39	40	18	3	20	59	20	1
Non-Parent	39	36	21	4	23	56	18	3

POSSIBLE MOTIVATIONS BEHIND ATTACKS

	<i>U.S. wrongdoing motivated terrorist attacks</i>			<i>U.S. unfairness motivated terrorist attacks</i>			<i>U.S. failure to be tough motivated terrorist attacks</i>		
	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	33	55	12=100	21	70	9=100	48	43	9=100
Sex									
Male	33	59	8	24	68	8	49	43	8
Female	33	52	15	19	71	10	47	43	10
Race									
White	31	59	10	20	72	8	49	43	8
Non-white	43	42	15	26	63	11	46	43	11
Race and Sex									
White Men	31	60	9	23	69	8	51	41	8
White Women	30	58	12	18	74	8	47	44	9
Age									
Under 30	28	61	11	26	66	8	42	53	5
30-49	37	55	8	20	73	7	47	46	7
50-64	34	57	9	24	67	9	61	31	8
65+	32	49	19	16	72	12	43	37	20
Sex and Age									
Men under 50	33	60	7	23	71	6	46	48	6
Women under 50	34	54	12	21	70	9	44	49	7
Men 50+	33	56	11	28	62	10	56	32	12
Women 50+	33	51	16	15	75	10	52	35	13
Education									
College Graduate	48	48	4	31	63	6	45	48	7
Some College	34	52	14	25	62	13	49	44	7
H.S. Graduate or Less	26	60	14	15	77	8	50	40	10
Family Income									
\$75,000+	41	49	10	33	62	5	42	51	7
\$50,000-\$74,999	38	55	7	23	69	8	51	45	4
\$30,000-\$49,999	35	55	10	17	73	10	47	45	8
\$20,000-\$29,999	26	62	12	23	70	7	52	43	5
< \$20,000	25	61	14	19	75	6	43	42	15

* The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question:

Do you think there is anything the U.S. has done wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?

Do you think there is any way that the U.S. has been unfair in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?

Do you think the U.S. not being tough enough in its dealings with other countries might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?

Continued...

	<i>U.S. wrongdoing motivated terrorist attacks</i>			<i>U.S. unfairness motivated terrorist attacks</i>			<i>U.S. failure to be tough motivated terrorist attacks</i>		
	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Yes</u> %	<u>No</u> %	<u>DK</u> %
Total	33	55	12=100	21	70	9=100	48	43	9=100
Region									
East	41	40	19	22	67	11	48	44	8
Midwest	34	56	10	21	73	6	46	43	11
South	27	63	10	19	73	8	53	37	10
West	35	56	9	26	63	11	42	53	5
Religious Affiliation									
Total White Protestant	26	63	11	15	76	9	52	39	9
White Protestant Evangelical	22	67	11	12	81	7	52	38	10
White Prot. Non-Evangelical	29	60	11	19	71	10	51	41	8
White Catholic	31	57	12	21	74	5	50	42	8
Secular	41	45	14	27	62	11	49	49	2
Community Size									
Large City	34	55	11	26	61	13	44	47	9
Suburb	47	45	8	20	74	6	51	40	9
Small City/Town	27	62	11	22	69	9	47	44	9
Rural Area	26	57	17	16	76	8	54	39	7
Party ID									
Republican	27	65	8	18	75	7	50	43	7
Democrat	40	48	12	21	70	9	50	43	7
Independent	34	59	7	26	66	8	48	43	9
Bush Approval									
Approve	30	59	11	19	73	8	49	43	8
Disapprove	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a	n/a
Parental Status									
Parent	34	55	11	19	73	8	46	46	8
Non-Parent	32	56	12	23	68	9	50	41	9