**September 11, 2001**

**First Shock**

**Question:**
Which one of the following emotions do you feel the most strongly in response to these terrorist attacks [on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington, D.C., September 11, 2001]?... Anger, sadness, disbelief, vulnerability, fear?

- Anger: 37%
- Sadness: 24%
- Disbelief: 21%
- Vulnerability: 11%
- Fear: 6%


**It Hits Home**

**Question:**
Do you or any of your friends or relatives know someone who is missing, hurt or killed in the attacks on the World Trade Center, the Pentagon, or the plane crash outside of Pittsburgh?

- Yes: 20%
- No: 79%
- Don't know: 1%


**It Sinks In**

**Question:**
Have you yourself felt depressed by the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?

- Yes: 71%
- No: 27%
- Don't know/Refused: 2%


**Question:**
Have you had any difficulty concentrating on your job or your normal activities because of the way you feel about the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?

- Yes: 49%


**Question:**
Have you had any trouble sleeping because of the way you feel about the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?

- Yes: 33%

**Strike Back in Anger**

**Question:**
Do you think the United States should or should not take military action in retaliation for Tuesday's attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon?

- **Should:** 88%
- **Should not:** 0%


**Question:**
If the United States can identify the groups or nations responsible for the attacks, would you support or oppose taking military action against them?

- **Support:** 93%
- **Oppose:** 5%


**Question:**
[If the United States can identify the groups or nations responsible for the attacks, would you support or oppose taking military action against them]...

...if that meant getting into a war in that case would you support or oppose taking military action?...

- **Support:** 86%
- **Oppose:** 11%
- **No opinion:** 3%


**Damned If You Don’t**

**Question:**
... if the US takes military action against the terrorists, do you think this will increase or decrease the chances that additional terrorist attacks against the US will occur in the future?

- **Increase:** 43%
- **Decrease:** 49%
- **No opinion:** 4%


**Question:**
... if the US does not take military action against the terrorists, do you think this will increase or decrease the chances that additional terrorist attacks against the US will occur in the future?

- **Increase:** 89%
- **Decrease:** 7%
- **No difference (vol.)** 2%


**Go Too Far**

**Question:**
Are you more concerned that the United States will overreact and go too far in its response to these attacks, or that the United States will underreact and not be strong enough in its response?

- **Underreact and not be strong enough:** 50%
- **Overreact and go too far:** 18%
- **Neither/Depends (vol.)** 25%

Less Visceral

**Question:**
I'd like to read you several possible responses by the United States to Tuesday's attacks. For each one, please tell me whether you would strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that response by the United States...

**Percent responding strongly favor**
...Work with our allies to combat and, over time, eliminate the terrorists responsible for these attacks.

84%

...Launch air strikes against terrorists when they are identified and proven responsible for these attacks.

77%

...Build a case against the people who are specifically responsible and seek justice in the world court.

62%

...Take military action against any nation that allows the terrorists who are responsible for this attack to live and work in their country, even if that country was not involved in the attacks.

57%

...Launch immediate air strikes against the strongholds of terrorists who are believed to be the most likely responsible for these attacks.

51%


**Question:**
Would you prefer that the United States retaliate for these attacks immediately, even if we are not completely sure who is specifically responsible, or do you think that the United States should not retaliate until we are completely sure who is specifically responsible even if that means we have to wait?

Retaliate immediately: 15%
Wait to be sure: 81%
Not sure: 4%


**Question:**
Which statement comes closer to your view? The United States has a responsibility to fight violations of international law and aggression around the world even without the cooperation of its allies, or the United States should work only in a coordinated effort with its allies to fight violations of international law and aggression around the world.

Fight with allies: 59%
Fight alone: 34%
Don't know: 6%
1% Shouldn't be involved at all (vol.)

Source: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.

Rally 'Round the President

**Question:**
Do you approve or disapprove of the way [the president] is handling his job...

**Franklin Roosevelt**

**Jimmy Carter**

**George W. Bush**

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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>Approve</th>
<th>Disapprove</th>
<th>No opinion</th>
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<td>1941 September 19-24</td>
<td>70%</td>
<td>24%</td>
<td>5%</td>
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<tr>
<td>November 27-December 2</td>
<td>73</td>
<td>20</td>
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<td>1942 January 8-13</td>
<td>84</td>
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<td>1979 October 5-8</td>
<td>29</td>
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<td>1980 January 4-7</td>
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<td>September 7-10</td>
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<td>September 21-22</td>
<td>90</td>
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**Hindsight**

**Question:**
Do you think the terrorist attack [on the World Trade Center in New York and the Pentagon in Washington D.C.] last Tuesday was a direct result of the United States’ policy of intervention around the world or not?

- Yes: 47%
- No: 36%
- Don’t know: 8%

**Source:** Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.

**Question:**
Specifically, do you think the terrorist attack was a direct result of the United States’ policy in the Middle East or not?

- Yes: 58%
- No: 23%
- Partially (vol.): 7%
- Don’t know: 12%

**Source:** Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.

**Defenses Were Down**

**Question:**
Do you think the United States government did all it reasonably could do to try to prevent these attacks, or do you think it could have done more?

- Us could have done more: 65%
- US did all it could: 31%
- No opinion: 4%

**Source:** Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, September 13, 2001.

**Question:**
Based on what you have heard or read, do you think that the country’s intelligence gathering agencies failed in their responsibilities to obtain information about these terrorist attacks?

- Yes, agencies failed: 55%
- No, agencies did not fail: 38%
- Not sure: 7%

**Source:** Survey by Harris Interactive/Time/CNN, September 13, 2001.

**Question:**
Do you believe that these attacks represent a failure of the American intelligence and security systems, or do you believe that these attacks were beyond what is reasonable to expect the American intelligence and security systems to uncover?

- Beyond what is reasonable to expect: 47%
- Failure of intelligence system: 45%
- Not sure: 8%


**Question:**
Do you think it is possible to prevent all future terrorist attacks here in the United States, or most of them, or only a few of them, or is it not possible to prevent attacks in the United States?

- All: 7%
- Most: 45%
- Few: 26%
- None: 19%

**Source:** Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.

**Question:**
How much confidence do you have in the US government to protect its citizens from future terrorist attacks—a great deal, fair amount, not very much, or none at all?

- A great deal: 41%
- A fair amount: 47%
- Not very much: 9%
- None at all: 2%

**Source:** Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, September 14-15, 2001.
Neighbors Under a Cloud

**Question:**
...Would you say that you now have less trust in Arabs living in this country than you did before the terrorist attacks on Tuesday, or has your trust in Arabs living in this country not changed?

- **Have less trust:** 35%
- **Trust has not changed:** 63%
- **No opinion:** 2%

**Source:** Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, September 14-15, 2001.

**Question:**
Do you think Arab Americans are more sympathetic to terrorists than other American citizens are, or not?

- **Are more sympathetic:** 28%
- **Are not more sympathetic:** 51%
- **Don’t know/No answer:** 21%


**Question:**
How likely do you think it is now that Arab Americans, Muslims and immigrants from the Middle East will be singled out unfairly by people in this country—very likely, somewhat likely, not too likely or not at all likely?

- **Very likely/Somewhat likely:** 87%
- **Not too likely/Not at all likely:** 11%


**Question:**
...Have you, personally, heard any of your friends, neighbors, fellow workers, or acquaintances make negative comments about Arabs living in this country since the terrorist attacks on Tuesday, or not?

- **Yes, have heard comments:** 31%
- **No, have not:** 68%

**Source:** Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, September 14-15, 2001.

**Question:**
Do you think the United States should put Arabs and Arab Americans in this country under special surveillance, or that it would be a mistake to target a nationality group, as was done with Japanese Americans after Pearl Harbor?

- **Should increase surveillance:** 32%
- **Would be a mistake:** 62%
- **Don’t know:** 6%

**Source:** Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates for Newsweek, September 13-14, 2001.

**Question:**
Please tell me if you would favor or oppose each of the following as a means of preventing terrorist attacks in the United States. How about...

**Percent responding favor**
...requiring Arabs, including those who are US citizens, to carry a special ID?

- **Favor:** 49%

...requiring Arabs, including those who are US citizens, to undergo special, more intensive security checks before boarding airplanes in the US?

- **Favor:** 58%

**Source:** Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, September 14-15, 2001.
Do you think Americans will have to give up some of their personal freedoms in order to make the country safe from terrorist attacks, or not?


Would you support new laws to strengthen security measures against terrorism, even if that meant reducing privacy protections such as limits on government searches and wiretapping?


[I'm going to read some things that might be done to improve security and protect against terrorism in the United States. For each one, tell me if you strongly favor it, would accept it if necessary, or think it would go too far.] What about...

...ID checks at all workplaces and public buildings?

Favor 51% Accept 34% Too far 14%

...random ID checks on the streets and highways?

Favor 23% Accept 32% Too far 44%

...making it easier for intelligence and law enforcement agents to monitor people's private telephone conversations and emails?

Favor 15% Accept 32% Too far 51%


In order to reduce the threat of terrorism, would you be willing or not willing to allow government agencies to monitor the telephone calls and emails of ordinary Americans on a regular basis?

Favor 39% Accept 53% Too far 5%

Don't know/No answer 3%


How concerned are you that new measures enacted to fight terrorism in this country could end up restricting some of our civil liberties? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned, or not concerned at all about that?

Very concerned 20%
Somewhat concerned 36%
Not too concerned 26%
Not at all concerned 17%

Source: Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.
**Question:**
How much, if any, has the attack on the World Trade Center buildings and the Pentagon shaken your own personal sense of safety and security? Has it shaken it a great deal, a good amount, not too much or not at all?

- Great deal: 31%
- A good amount: 32%
- Not too much: 26%
- Not at all: 10%

**Source:** Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.

**Question:**
As a result of Tuesday’s attacks do you personally feel a lot less safe where you live and work, somewhat less safe, only a little less safe, or not at all less safe than you did before?

- A lot less safe: 12%
- Somewhat less safe: 24%
- A little less safe: 27%
- Not at all less safe: 36%

**Source:** Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek, September 13-14, 2001.

**Question:**
Do you think that the terrorist attack last Tuesday will result in a fundamental change in the way Americans live their daily lives, or do you think that Americans will soon go back to business as usual?

- Fundamental change: 57%
- Business as usual: 39%
- Don’t know: 4%

**Source:** Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.

**Question:**
Will you change any aspect of your personal life in order to reduce the chances of becoming a victim of terrorism, or aren’t you likely to make any such changes?

- Yes, will change life: 34%
- No, will not change: 64%
- Not sure: 2%

**Source:** Survey by Harris Interactive/Time/CNN, September 13, 2001.

**Question:**
In the future, do you expect attempts at terrorist acts like the ones we just experienced in New York and Washington D.C. will be very common, somewhat common, not too common or not at all common in this country?

- Very common: 8%
- Somewhat common: 31%
- Not too common: 39%
- Not at all common: 14%

**Source:** Survey by the Los Angeles Times, September 13-14, 2001.

**Question:**
Which comes closer to your view? These terrorist events will permanently make things worse in the U.S. The U.S. will recover and move on from these events.

- Terrorist events will make things worse: 11%
- US will recover and move on: 87%

**Source:** Survey by Harris Interactive/Time/CNN, September 13, 2001.