Everything seemed to unfold so quickly that morning—the planes crashing, the people running, the buildings burning, the towers falling, the thousands dying. There was no time then to reflect on what was happening to us, and little enough in the days and weeks to follow as the mostly futile rescue efforts began, the United States went to war, and deadly white powder started showing up in people's mailboxes.

But it has been months since the terrorist attacks on our country, and there is time now to contemplate both where we have been and where we have arrived, and to reflect a little on what one awful day last September has done to us.

On the day of the attacks, the principal actors in the tragedy—the victims, the rescuers, the officials, the newspeople, in New York, in Washington, in Pennsylvania—struggled desperately to deal with disaster of a magnitude far beyond anything any of them had probably ever witnessed. With what tools, with what plan, does one approach 220 stories' worth of burning rubble? What steps can one possibly take to remove oneself and one's loved ones from dangers that have come out of nowhere and seem to be striking everywhere?

Months later, some of this helplessness and uncertainty seems to linger in the opinions and attitudes of the entire American public. Did we feel considerably safer from further attack in June than we did in September? Yes, but over three-quarters of us didn't think the government was exaggerating when it warned of continuing danger. Are we less afraid of another attack because preventative measures seem to be working? Yes, but the percentage worried that one would happen soon, which had declined in the months after 9/11, has since risen to its highest level yet.

We continue to support the war against terrorism but lately have been less and less confident we are winning. We condone using torture against prisoners to obtain information about future attacks but for the most part refuse to envision a scenario in which we would support doing so. A little over half of us thinks the government is doing all it reasonably can to prevent further attacks, while nearly half says there's no way to prevent them.

As of the summer of 2002, the majority of Americans didn't believe that life in the United States would ever return to "normal," to the way it was before September 11, 2001. But never is a long time, and Americans have a way of bouncing back from even the worst adversity. Already we say we are more worried about the economy than the threat of another terrorist attack.

The day may come when we feel much more confident and certain of ourselves again, and the horror and helplessness of 9/11 will have lessened when we pause to reflect on the events of that darkest of late summer mornings.

But that day is not here yet.

— Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, Editor
It Has Been Months...

Question:

It has been months since the terrorist attacks. Does that make you feel more afraid because that means another attack may happen soon, or less afraid because that means preventative measures are stopping additional attacks?

Less afraid, measures working 51%
Combination, neither more nor less afraid (vol.) 23%
More afraid, another attack soon 16%

Note: Asked of registered voters.

Question:

In their warnings to Americans about possible terrorist attacks, do you think the government is exaggerating the dangers, are they not taking the dangers seriously enough, or are the warnings about right?

Don’t know/No answer 9%
Exaggerating dangers 66%
Not taking dangers seriously 16%


Question:

As you may know, the Office of Homeland Security has established a system for warning the country of possible terrorist attacks. I am going to read you the Office of Homeland Security’s list from the highest risk to the lowest. Please tell me where you think the US stands today—severe risk of terrorist attack, a high risk, a significant risk, a general risk, or a low risk of terrorist attack.

Low risk of terrorist attack 5%
A general risk 18%
A significant risk 29%
A high risk 39%
Severe risk of terrorist attack 8%

Source: Survey by Harris Interactive/Time/CNN, June 19-20, 2002.

Questions:

How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States?... 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?

Percent responding very or somewhat worried

In order to curb terrorism, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>April 1995</td>
<td>43%</td>
<td>49%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>March 1996</td>
<td>65%</td>
<td>30%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>April 1997</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>September 2001</td>
<td>32%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>January 2002</td>
<td>39%</td>
<td>55%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>June 2002</td>
<td>46%</td>
<td>46%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


Question: Which of these two statements comes closer to your opinion on investigating terrorism— I worry that the United States will go too far in its investigation of terrorism and will infringe on people's civil liberties and rights, or I worry that the United States will go too far in protecting people's rights and civil liberties and will not be aggressive enough in investigating terrorism?

- Will go too far: 53%
- Will not be aggressive enough: 33%
- Not sure: 4%
- Neither: 8%
- Some of both: 8%


Question: Would you be willing to give up some of your personal freedom in order to reduce the threat of terrorism?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Month</th>
<th>No (%)</th>
<th>Yes (%)</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>June 2002</td>
<td>21%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>October 2001</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>71%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>May 2001</td>
<td>40%</td>
<td>33%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: Asked of registered voters.

Source: Surveys by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, latest that of June 4-5, 2002.

Questions: We'd like your opinion of some things that have been done—or might be done—to improve security and protect against terrorism in the United States. For each one, tell me if you strongly favor it, are willing to accept it if necessary, or think it goes too far. What about...?

- ...Detaining people at airports solely because of their religion
  - Goes too far: 43%
  - Willing to accept: 15%
  - Strongly favor: 76%

- ...Making it easier for intelligence and law enforcement agents to monitor people's private telephone conversations and email
  - Goes too far: 28%
  - Willing to accept: 26%
  - Strongly favor: 57%

- ...Giving government the power to detain American citizens suspected of crimes indefinitely without review by a judge
  - Goes too far: 26%
  - Willing to accept: 26%
  - Strongly favor: 52%

- ...Using race, religion, or ethnicity as a factor in determining who is a suspected terrorist
  - Goes too far: 24%
  - Willing to accept: 34%
  - Strongly favor: 48%

- ...Random ID checks on the streets and highways
  - Goes too far: 35%
  - Willing to accept: 14%
  - Strongly favor: 42%

- ...Giving government the power to detain legal immigrants suspected of crimes indefinitely, without review by a judge
  - Goes too far: 38%
  - Willing to accept: 18%
  - Strongly favor: 42%

- ...Public libraries giving intelligence and law enforcement agents access to the names of people who have borrowed books or other materials that might be used in planning a terrorist attack
  - Goes too far: 18%
  - Willing to accept: 11%
  - Strongly favor: 38%

- ...ID checks at all workplace and public buildings
  - Goes too far: 48%
  - Willing to accept: 44%
  - Strongly favor: 43%

Which of the following comes closest to your view about the actions the United States should take to deal with terrorism—the US should mount a long-term war to defeat global terrorist networks, the US should take military action only to punish specific terrorist groups responsible for the attacks on the World Trade Center, or the US should not take military action but should rely only on economic and diplomatic efforts to deal with terrorism?

**Question:**

- **Punish specific terrorists involved:** 35%
- **Mount long-term war:** 51%
- **No opinion:** 4%

Source: Surveys by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, October 5-6, 2001 and June 21-23, 2002.

Who do you think is currently winning the war against terrorism—the US and its allies, neither side, or the terrorists?

**US and its allies** | **Neither side** | **The terrorists**
--- | --- | ---
2001 | 44% | 43% | 11% | 42% | 43% | 11% | 44% | 43% | 11% |
October 11-14 | November 8-11 | December 6-9 | November 8-11 | December 6-9 | November 8-11 | December 6-9 | November 8-11 | December 6-9 | November 8-11 | December 6-9 |
| 42% | 53% | 64 | 65 | 69 | 72 | 74 | 76 | 78 | 80 | 82 | 84 | 86 | 88 | 90 | 92 | 94 | 96 | 98 | 100 |


Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the [war/campaign] against terrorism?

**Approve** | **Disapprove**
--- | ---
2001 | 2002
October 25-28 | January 15-17 | February 24-26 | April 1-2 | May 19-20 | June 18-20
79% | 87 | 88 | 80 | 74 | 72
16% | 10 | 13 | 17 | 19 | 21

Note: Question wording changed from “war” to “campaign” after November 13-14 asking.
Questions:

Do you think the United States has to capture or kill Osama bin Laden for the war on terrorism to be a success, or do you think the war on terrorism can be a success without Osama bin Laden being killed or captured?


Questions:

From what you've seen or heard, do you think Osama bin Laden is probably alive or probably dead?


Questions:

...Would you be willing or not willing to have the US government do each of the following, if the government thought it were necessary to combat terrorism? How about...?


Questions:

Do you support or oppose allowing the government to use any means necessary, including physical torture, to obtain information from prisoners that would protect the United States from future terrorist attacks?

What if innocent lives could be saved, then would you support or oppose the government to use physical torture to obtain information that would protect the US from a terrorist attack?

Questions:

Going Down?

Do you think the United States has to capture or kill Osama bin Laden for the war on terrorism to be a success, or do you think the war on terrorism can be a success without Osama bin Laden being killed or captured?


Question:

From what you've seen or heard, do you think Osama bin Laden is probably alive or probably dead?


Question:

Do you think Bill Clinton did enough in attempting to capture or kill terrorist Osama bin Laden while he was president, or not?

Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, October 5-6, 2001.
**Question:** Since the terrorist attacks have you yourself become more suspicious of people who you think are of Middle Eastern descent, or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>June 2002</th>
<th>September 2001</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>No, not more suspicious</td>
<td>62%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Yes, more suspicious</td>
<td>36%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


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

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Are more sympathetic</th>
<th>Are not more sympathetic</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>33%</td>
<td>58%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know/No answer</td>
<td>9%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Question:** Do you agree or disagree that most Arab Americans and immigrants from the Middle East are loyal to the United States?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Agree</th>
<th>Disagree</th>
<th>Don’t know</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>62%</td>
<td>27%</td>
<td>11%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Survey by National Public Radio/Kaiser Family Foundation/Kennedy School of Government, October 31-November 12, 2001.

**Question:** Do you think American Muslims support the United States in the war on terror, or not?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>No</th>
<th>Yes</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>49%</td>
<td>29%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>22%</td>
<td>Refused/Not sure</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Question:** In response to the terrorist attacks 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?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Should increase surveillance</th>
<th>Would be a mistake</th>
<th>Refused/Not sure</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>30%</td>
<td>62%</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>


**Question:** Overall, do you think Americans are more likely to feel sympathy for Muslims or are Americans more likely to be fearful of Muslims?

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Sympathy</th>
<th>Fear</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>12%</td>
<td>63%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Both (vol.)</td>
<td>8%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not sure</td>
<td>10%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Note:** Asked of registered voters.

**Source:** Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, June 18-19, 2002.

**Question:** Please tell me which of the following statements is closer to your own view—because Islamic religious and social traditions are intolerant and fundamentally incompatible with western culture, violent conflict is bound to keep happening, [or] 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 ground.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Violent conflict</th>
<th>Common ground</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>26%</td>
<td>68%</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Don’t know</td>
<td>6%</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Source:** Survey by Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, November 1-4, 2001.
Question:
Do you think the United States has made it too easy for people from other countries to enter the US, or not?


Questions:
During the war on terrorism, do you favor or oppose each of the following measures?...

Percent responding favor:
- ...imposing stricter penalties on illegal immigrants: 70%
- ...canceling all immigration from countries thought to be connected to terrorists: 65%
- ...making it more difficult for all foreigners, regardless of country, to enter the United States: 61%
- ...sealing US borders and stopping all immigration of young Arab men while the search for terrorists is conducted: 53%
- ...sealing US borders and stopping all immigration for up to two years while the search for terrorists is conducted: 48%
- ...canceling all foreign student visas: 36%

Note: Asked of registered voters.

Question:
If the US were to restrict immigration of certain ethnic or religious groups as a result of the terrorist attacks, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose doing so?


Question:
Should legal immigration into the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?


Question:
Do you favor or oppose temporarily sealing US borders and stopping all immigration into the US during the war on terrorism?


Note: Asked of registered voters.

Question:
Which comes closest to your view about the number of immigrants from Muslim countries that should be allowed into the US—the US should not allow any immigrants from Muslim countries at all, the US should reduce the number of immigrants from Muslim countries, or the US should continue to allow the same number of immigrants from Muslim countries as now?

Some people have said that the September 11 terrorist attacks represent the biggest failure for American intelligence operations since Pearl Harbor. Do you think that these attacks were something that government intelligence agencies should have been able to discover in advance?

Based on what you know now, do you believe that the attacks of September 11 represented a failure of the American intelligence and security systems, or do you believe that these attacks were beyond what was reasonable to expect the American intelligence and security systems to uncover?

Do you think the intelligence agencies—the FBI and the CIA—had information before September 11 that could have prevented the terrorist attacks, or didn’t they have that information?

It's also been reported that an FBI agent last July proposed an investigation of Arab taking flight school training in the United States. The FBI did not follow up on this proposal. Do you regard this more as a missed opportunity, or more as negligence on the part of the FBI?

Which comes closer to your view—no one could have predicted the attacks of September 11, or the government should have been able to predict the attacks of September 11 given the information available to it?

Some people think that the United States has had special protection from God for most of its history. Other people think the United States has had no special protection from God. Which comes closer to your view? [If yes, US has special protection] Do other nations have special protection from God in the same way, or not?

Some people think the terrorist attacks... were a signal that God is no longer protecting the United States as much as in the past. Do you think this is true, or not?
**How much confidence do you have in the ability of the United States’ intelligence agencies to anticipate future terrorist attacks— a great deal of confidence, quite a bit, just some, or very little confidence?**


**How much confidence do you have in the ability of the US government to prevent further terrorist attacks against Americans in this country— a great deal, a good amount, only a fair amount, or none at all?**


**Do you think the United States is doing all it reasonably can do to try to prevent further terrorist attacks, or do you think it should do more?**


**Which one of the following statements is closest to your own view— if the United States had a better intelligence system, we could identify and help prevent future terrorist attacks, [or] even if the United States had a better intelligence system, there is no way to identify and prevent most future terrorist attacks?**

Adjustments

Question:
Which of the following best describes your situation after September 11—your priorities in life have essentially remained the same, or you feel this was a life-altering experience and you have changed your priorities in life as a result?

Priorities changed
33%

Priorities the same
66%

No opinion
1%


Rally

Question:
Do you think Americans are more patriotic today than they were before September 11?

Yes
85%

No
12%

3% Don't know/Refused

Note: Asked of registered voters.

Really?

Question:
How patriotic are you? Would you say extremely patriotic, very patriotic, somewhat patriotic, or not especially patriotic?

January 2002

Extremely
24%

Very
47%

Somewhat
24%

January 1999

Extremely
21%

Very
44%

Somewhat
28%

June 1999

Extremely
21%

Very
44%

Somewhat
28%

Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of January 4-9, 2002.

Moving On

Question:
These days, do you worry more about the economy and the job situation, or the threat of another terrorist attack?

The economy and the job situation
60%

The threat of another terrorist attack
16%

Both equally (vol.)
12%

Neither (vol.)
11%


Never the Same

Question:
Do you think life in the United States will ever completely return to normal, that is, the way it was before 9/11?

Yes, already
25%

Yes, it will eventually
62%

Refused/3%

Not sure
10%


Note: Asked of registered voters.