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**For The People & The Press**

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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, DECEMBER 12, 2002, 4:00 P.M.

**Terrorism Worries Spike, War Support Steady**  
**PUBLIC MORE INTERNATIONALIST THAN IN 1990s**

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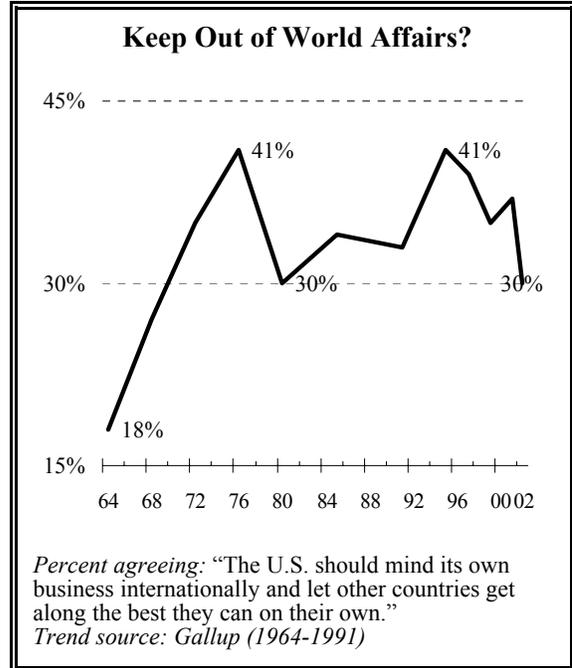
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202/293-3126  
<http://www.people-press.org>

**Terrorism Worries Spike, War Support Steady**  
**PUBLIC MORE INTERNATIONALIST THAN IN 1990s**

Americans continue to hold more internationalist views than they did prior to the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. The public favors cooperation with the United Nations and taking into account the views of U.S. allies to a greater extent than in the 1990s. Most notably, there has been a decline in the percentage of Americans holding the hardcore isolationist view that the U.S. should mind its own business internationally. Just three-in-ten agree with that statement today, compared with 41% in 1995 and 37% in early September 2001, just prior to the terrorist attacks.



These trends may help explain the public’s strong and consistent insistence that the United States get allied support for a war with Iraq. In that regard, the Pew Research Center’s latest survey finds continued *general* support for possible military action against Iraq. However, a plurality of Americans (44%) also believes that there has been too little discussion of ways to deal with Saddam Hussein other than using military force. And the public remains closely divided over whether President Bush has made his case for war.

Amid talk of war with Iraq and government warnings of the continuing threat from al Qaeda, public concerns over a new terrorist attack are at their highest level since summer. More than seven-in-ten Americans (73%) say they are at least somewhat worried there will soon be another attack in the U.S., with three-in-ten (31%) *very* concerned about such an attack. Fears of terrorism are now as high as last June, following the arrest of an American accused of planning a “dirty bomb” attack.

	Very worried %	Some-what %	Total %
Dec 2002	31	42	73
Oct 2002	20	46	66
Aug 2002	16	46	62
June 2002	32	44	76
Jan 2002	20	42	62
Dec 2001	13	39	52
Oct 2001	28	45	73

The Pew Research Center's latest national survey, conducted Dec. 4-8 among 1,205 adults, finds 65% supporting potential military action against Iraq. That is virtually unchanged from November, when 62% backed military action, but higher than in October when 55% favored the use of force to remove Saddam Hussein from power.

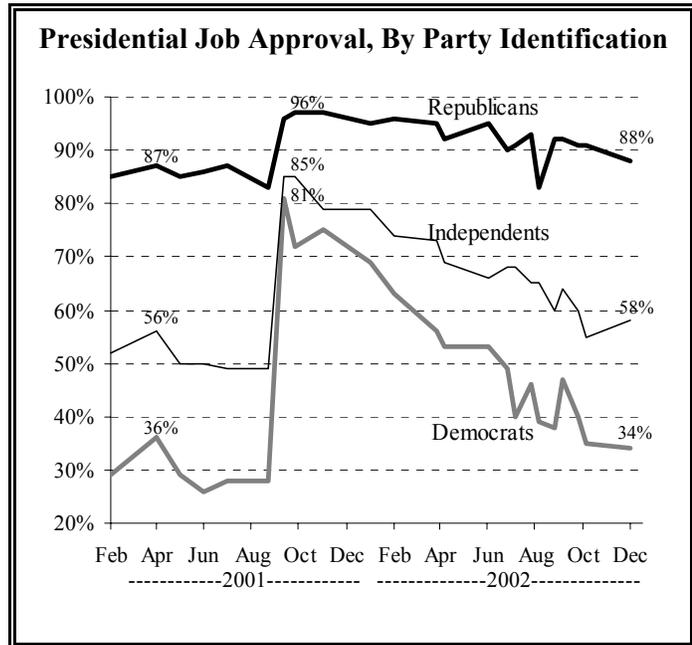
Fears that an attack on Iraq could increase the threat of terrorism in this country are much greater than they were during the Persian Gulf War. After the war began in January 1991, just a third expressed a great deal of concern that war might result in domestic terrorism. But in October of this year, half (51%) expressed a high level of concern there would be increased terrorism.

Yet there are no signs that these concerns are dampening support for military action against Iraq. In fact, Americans who are most worried about the threat of terrorism are even more supportive of military action against Iraq than those who express little or no concern. In the current survey, roughly seven-in-ten (71%) of those who are very worried about another terrorist attack in the U.S. favor the use of force in Iraq. By comparison, 54% who voice relatively little concern over a new terrorist attack back military action.

### ***Bush's Ratings Steady, Partisanship Resurgent***

After a brief spike around the one-year anniversary of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks, public approval of President Bush's job performance has remained steady over the fall and early winter. Currently, 61% approve of his performance while 28% disapprove. That is largely unchanged since late October (59% approval).

But partisan divisions over President Bush's performance, which diminished dramatically following the terrorist attacks, are once again as large as they were during his first days in office. While 88% of Republicans are happy with the president's job performance, 58% of political independents and just 34% of Democrats agree. This is comparable to an April 2001 Pew Research Center survey in which Bush won the approval of 87% of Republicans, 56% of independents, and 36% of Democrats.



This partisan divide also is evident in personal evaluations of the president. Currently, 68% of Americans say they have a favorable impression of Bush, up slightly from 61% in July 2001. The president is viewed favorably by 94% of Republicans, 68% of independents, and just 42% of Democrats. As was the case before Sept. 11, more Democrats feel unfavorably toward the president (53%) than feel favorably (42%).

Despite these modest ratings from Democrats, there is no question that Bush has rallied the intense support of his partisans. Not only do 94% of Republicans rate the president favorably, fully 61% give him *very* favorable reviews, up from 45% in July 2001. At no time in his eight years in office did President Clinton receive comparably strong ratings from Democrats.

***Election Reaction: Nothing Like '94***

On balance, the public is pleased that the Republican Party gained control of the Senate on Nov. 5. But the public's overall reaction to the election result is no more enthusiastic than it was in 1998, when the GOP lost seats and narrowly maintained control over Capitol Hill.

Just under half (48%) say they are happy that the Republican Party won control of the Senate; 34% say they are unhappy. This is distinctly less than the level of enthusiasm following the 1994 Republican sweep of the House and Senate, when 57% expressed satisfaction with the outcome. Republicans and Democrats, not surprisingly, hold opposing views on the election outcome, while the opinions of political independents match the overall trend.

	Dec <u>1994</u> %	Nov <u>1998</u> %	Dec <u>2002</u> %
Happy	57	47	48
Unhappy	31	32	34
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>21</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100

Nearly six-in-ten Americans (59%) rate the Republican Party favorably, while 54% say the same about the Democratic Party. This represents the first time in seven years that the GOP has been the higher rated party; in the late 1990s, the Democrats often held a double-digit edge over Republicans in favorability. This shift has occurred gradually: Republican favorability is up only slightly from two years ago (56% in January of 2001, 59% today), while Democratic favorability has slipped six points (from 60% to 54%).

The political environment was much more favorable to Republicans following their huge victory in 1994. In December of that year, favorability ratings for the Republican Party surged 21 points from their 1992 level (from 46% to 67%) while ratings of the Democratic Party dropped 11 points (from 61% to 50%). Following that year's GOP landslide, 34% of Democrats felt favorably toward the Republican Party; today, 28% of Democrats have a favorable view of the GOP.

### ***Government Ratings Fall***

Governments at all levels continue to receive favorable ratings from a majority of the public, although views are somewhat less positive than they were in the months just after the 9/11 terrorist attacks. But even with the downturn, the federal government – at 64% favorable – remains much more popular than it was prior to 9/11. State and local governments have returned to roughly the same level of favorability seen before the terrorist attacks.

<b>Government Ratings: Down But Still Positive</b>			
<i>Favorable opinion of...</i>	Oct 1997	Nov 2001	Dec 2002
	%	%	%
Your local govt.	68	78	67
Your state govt.	66	77	62
<b>The federal govt.</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>82</b>	<b>64</b>
Republican	32	91	78
Independent	32	79	57
Democrat	50	79	59

Two-thirds (67%) have a favorable view of their local government, while ratings of state government are slightly lower (62%). Favorable ratings for local government are down 11 percentage points since November 2001. Ratings of state governments – most of which are now confronting serious financial problems – are down 15 points since November 2001 and stand four points below their 1997 level.

Ratings of the federal government have suffered a larger decline than ratings of state and local governments, falling 18 percentage points from their high of 82% last fall. But the current 64% favorable rating still stands considerably higher than the 1997 rating of 38%.

Opinions about the federal government are a mix of feelings about government in general and views of current public officials. Republicans today are much more positive toward the federal government (78% favorable) than are Democrats or independents (59% and 57%, respectively). In 1997, the pattern was reversed: Democrats had the most positive attitudes toward the federal government (50% favorable), while Republicans were less favorable (33%).

Republicans have similar views about state government. Among Republicans living in states with Republican governors, views of state government are very positive (73% favorable). In states with Democratic governors, Republicans are less positive: 56% have a favorable opinion of their state government. But the same pattern is not seen among Democrats, roughly two-thirds of whom view their state government favorably whether they have a Democratic or a Republican governor.

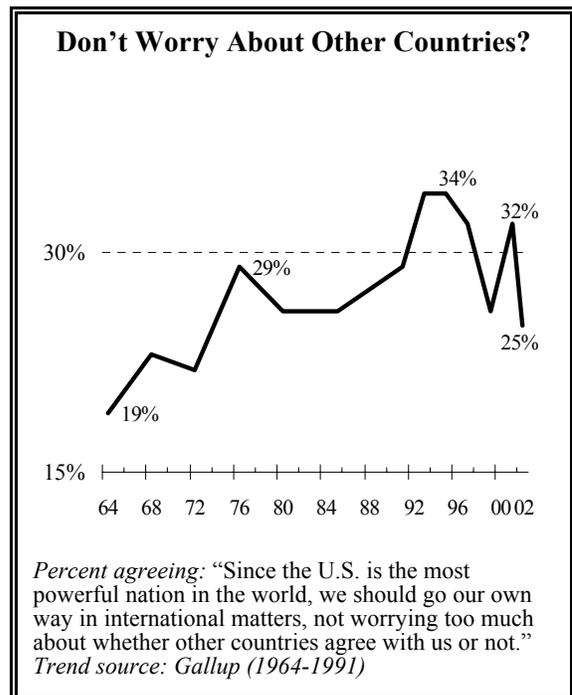
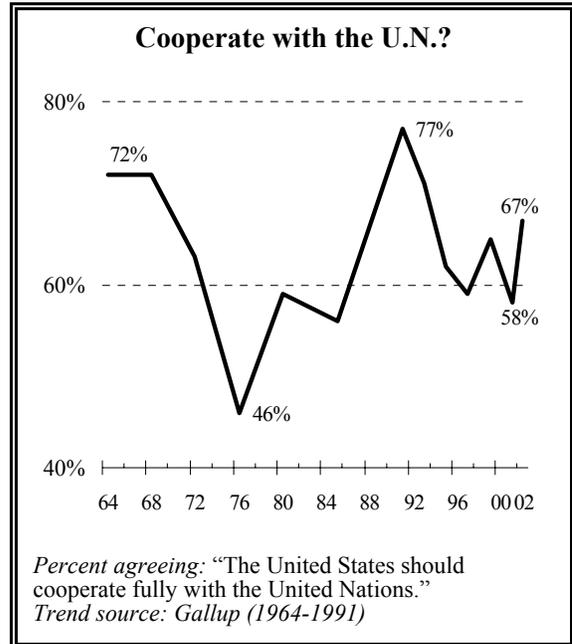
### ***Increased Backing for the U.N.***

The survey shows that, in general, public support for a cooperative approach with the U.N. and major U.S. allies has risen since the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. Two-thirds say the U.S. should cooperate fully with the U.N., up from 58% in early September of last year. Similarly, 85% believe the United States should take into account the views of its major allies, compared with 80% in September 2001.

Americans also reject the notion that the U.S. should go its own way in international affairs: 72% disagree with that statement, up 10 points since early September 2001. And while most Americans (65%) continue to believe that the United States should focus less on international issues and more on building prosperity at home, a greater proportion disagrees with that view (31%) than any point since the mid-1980s. In the 1990s, after the Cold War ended, there was much less dissent from the notion that the U.S. should concentrate more on domestic problems.

Significantly, much of the shift in the direction of greater internationalism has come among Republicans. For example, in the summer of 2001, 38% of both Republicans and Democrats said the U.S. should mind its own business and not get involved in other nations' problems. Far fewer Republicans say that today (22%), while Democrats have shown little change on this question (40%).

Interestingly, at the same time that Republicans have become more internationalist, they have also become more multilateralist. Prior to the terrorist attacks, Republicans were



significantly more likely than Democrats (40% to 29%, respectively) to say America should pursue its own interests internationally and not worry about whether other countries agree with us. Again, Democrats have not changed their view on this question, but far fewer Republicans (22%) say we should not be concerned about gaining cooperation from other countries.

Both parties have become more supportive of the idea that the United States should cooperate with the U.N. Before the terrorist attacks, fewer than half of Republicans (47%) felt the U.S. should cooperate fully with the United Nations; today, 58% subscribe to that view. There have been comparable increases among Democrats, but overall Democrats remain much more supportive than Republicans of the U.N. (79% vs. 58%).

### ***Most Want U.N. Inspectors to Get Tougher***

Most Americans want the United States to closely cooperate with the U.N., but when it comes to Iraq, they want the U.N. to take a more aggressive stance in investigating Iraq's weapons program. A solid majority (55%) believes that U.N. inspectors are not going far enough in ensuring that weapons will be discovered, while about half as many (28%) believe the inspectors have gone far enough.

Supporters of military action, in particular, believe that the inspectors have not been aggressive enough. More than six-in-ten of those who favor the use of force against Saddam Hussein's regime say the inspection team is not going far enough; just a quarter are satisfied with the level of scrutiny. Opponents of military action, by comparison, are divided: 42% say the inspectors are not going far enough while 40% believe they are.

For the most part, public attitudes on Iraq have changed little over the past few months. Roughly six-in-ten are paying a great deal of attention to the debate over whether to use force to oust Saddam from power. That is slightly more than the number who closely followed the debate in early October and mid-September (54%, 55%).

Americans remain divided over whether the president has offered a clear rationale for why the United States should take military action against Iraq. Fewer than half (48%) say Bush has made such a case, while nearly as many (45%) say he has not. If anything, the president has lost ground on this issue since mid-September, following his widely praised speech on Iraq before the United Nations, when 52% felt he was clearly explaining the stakes in Iraq, while 37% did not.

***Force Favored, But Interest in Alternatives***

Public support for military action is not only broad, but it remains strong as well. While 65% favor the use of force to remove Saddam from power, fully half (51%) say they feel strongly about this, while just 13% say they could change their minds. Overall, a quarter oppose military action, but just 16% are strong opponents and 9% say they still could change their minds.

Support for military action has risen only slightly since last month (62%), but has increased by 10 points since late October. Since then, there has been a sizable increase in support for the use of force among Democrats (13 points) and independents (12 points). Democrats, who opposed military action by 40%-51% in late October, now support it by 53%-36%.

	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
<i>Military action in Iraq</i>	%	%	%	%
Favor	69	67	66	<b>53</b>
Oppose	20	24	25	32
Don't know	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>15</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Discussion of alternatives</i>				
Too little	<b>56</b>	42	40	42
Right amount	26	33	28	25
Too much	11	21	24	15
Don't know	<u>7</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>18</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Has Bush clearly explained</i>				
Yes	43	53	53	37
No	<b>49</b>	40	42	<b>53</b>
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>10</u>
	100	100	100	100

As in previous surveys, older Americans are clearly the most wary about going to war. Just over half of those age 65 and older favor the use of force against Iraq, the lowest proportion of any age group. By comparison, nearly seven-in-ten (69%) of those under age 30 favor military action against Iraq. Similar age patterns on the use of force have been evident for decades, including during the Vietnam War. (See “Generations Divide Over Military Action in Iraq,” Pew Research Center Commentary, Oct. 17, 2002).

Yet young people also are the most likely to say there has been too little discussion of alternatives to using force. A solid majority of those under age 30 (56%) believe nonmilitary options have received too little attention. Among other age categories, only about four-in-ten hold that view. That is the case for those age 65 and older, despite their reservations about military action.

There is greater agreement between the young and old that the president has not explained clearly the stakes involved for the U.S. in Iraq. Roughly half of those under age 30 and age 65 and older believe Bush has not clearly explained what’s at stake in Iraq. Those age 30-64 are more likely to say that the president has offered a clear rationale for why force may be needed in Iraq.

### ***Iraq Debate Tops News Interest***

The public is paying more attention to the ongoing debate over the possibility of war with Iraq than to any other news story this month, with fully half (51%) saying they are following the story very closely.

Interest is on par with earlier measures in September and October, and this remains among the top news stories of the year. More than eight-in-ten Americans are following this story at least fairly closely. Proponents and opponents of military action express the same level of interest in the story, as was the case during the fall.

<b>News Stories Followed “Very Closely” in December</b>	
	<u>%</u>
Possible military action in Iraq	51
Condition of U.S. economy	38
U.N. weapons inspectors in Iraq	35
Middle East violence	29
Terrorist attacks in Kenya	21
Oil spill in Spain	15

Fewer Americans are following reports about the work of United Nations weapons inspectors in Iraq. About a third of the public (35%) says they are following this story very closely, with another 39% following it fairly closely. Interest is as high as it was in February 1998, when President Clinton was threatening air strikes over weapons inspections in Iraq.

About three-in-ten (29%) are following very closely news about the continued violence between the Palestinians and the Israelis. Interest in this continuing news story has dropped significantly since the spring. In early April, fully 44% were following news about the Passover suicide bombing and Israeli forces entering the West Bank and Gaza Strip.

Terrorist attacks in Kenya against Israeli citizens garnered the close attention of only about one-in-five Americans (21%), with another 34% following fairly closely. This is almost identical to American news interest in the terrorist bombing in Bali, Indonesia earlier this fall (20% very closely, 34% fairly closely).

A large oil spill polluting the coast of Spain was closely followed by only 15% of the public, considerably lower than the 52% who reported following the Exxon-Valdez oil spill off the coast of Alaska in 1989.

Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy attracted the close attention of about four-in-ten Americans (38%). As is generally the case, people with household incomes above \$50,000 were more likely to follow this story very closely than those with lower incomes (47% compared

with 32%). At the same time, more Democrats than Republicans are following this story very closely (48% vs. 32%).

In terms of public awareness, roughly half of the public (49%) knew that legislation had been enacted creating the new Department of Homeland Security. Majorities of Republicans and independents (55%) were aware of the establishment of the new department, compared with 41% of Democrats. Far more Americans knew this than were aware of the enactment of accounting reform legislation earlier this year; just 28% knew that bill had become law.

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#### **ABOUT THIS SURVEY**

Results for the *December News Interest Index* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 1,205 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period December 4-8, 2002. 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 3.5 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.

**PERCENT FOLLOWING EACH NEWS STORY "VERY CLOSELY"**

	Possible U.S. military <u>action in Iraq</u> %	Reports about U.S. <u>economy</u> %	U.N. Weapons <u>Inspectors</u> %	Violence in the <u>Middle East</u> %	Terrorist attacks in <u>Kenya</u> %	Oil Spill off the Coast <u>of Spain</u> %	(N)
<b>Total</b>	51	38	35	29	21	15	(1205)
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	55	41	39	31	22	15	(591)
Female	48	35	31	27	21	14	(614)
<b>Race</b>							
White	52	38	35	29	20	14	(1033)
Non-white	49	41	35	31	26	20	(152)
Black	54	43	35	34	27	21	(96)
Hispanic <sup>^</sup>	44	34	29	26	26	16	(75)
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	37	22	22	17	12	7	(203)
30-49	54	38	36	27	21	14	(494)
50+	57	48	42	37	27	20	(496)
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	61	48	44	33	24	15	(384)
Some College	51	37	32	31	20	13	(292)
High School Grad.	49	37	33	26	21	14	(419)
<H.S. Grad.	43	27	31	25	20	19	(106)
<b>Region</b>							
East	54	47	38	32	24	20	(220)
Midwest	47	36	29	24	13	10	(309)
South	55	37	38	30	25	15	(418)
West	49	34	35	30	23	16	(258)
<b>Party ID</b>							
Republican	54	32	35	28	20	11	(438)
Democrat	57	48	39	32	25	19	(344)
Independent	50	40	34	30	21	16	(335)
<b>Internet User</b>							
Yes	55	40	37	29	21	13	(831)
No	45	35	32	28	21	18	(374)

<sup>^</sup> The designation, Hispanic, is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Now I will read a list of some things that have been in the news this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely?

## TREND IN OPINION OF U.S. COOPERATING WITH UNITED NATIONS

	--- Early September 2001 ---			--- December 2002 ---			Change in Agree
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	58	31	11=100	67	28	5=100	+9
<b>Sex</b>	57	35	8	63	34	3	+6
Male	59	27	14	70	23	7	+11
Female							
<b>Race</b>							
White	56	33	11	65	30	5	+9
Non-white	65	22	13	75	20	5	+10
Black	63	21	16	71	23	4	+8
Hispanic <sup>^</sup>	77	16	7	73	20	7	-4
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	65	30	5	72	25	3	+7
30-49	61	31	8	63	33	4	+2
50-64	53	33	14	65	30	5	+12
65+	47	33	20	72	19	9	+25
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	57	35	8	64	35	1	+7
Some College	52	39	9	64	33	3	+12
High School Grad.	59	30	11	69	25	6	+10
<H.S. Grad.	65	17	18	71	16	13	+6
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	59	33	8	65	33	2	+6
\$50,000-\$74,999	50	45	5	69	27	4	+19
\$30,000-\$49,999	63	29	8	60	34	6	-3
\$20,000-\$29,999	63	23	14	72	25	3	+9
<\$20,000	63	25	12	77	18	5	+14
<b>Region</b>							
East	64	27	9	68	29	3	+4
Midwest	57	29	14	66	27	7	+9
South	53	35	12	65	30	5	+12
West	60	31	9	68	26	6	+8
<b>Party ID</b>							
Republican	47	45	8	58	38	4	+11
Democrat	65	24	11	79	15	6	+14
Independent	63	28	9	65	32	3	+2

<sup>^</sup> The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements... the United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations.

**TREND IN OPINION OF U.S. MINDING  
ITS OWN BUSINESS INTERNATIONALLY**

	--- <i>Early September 2001</i> ---			--- <i>December 2002</i> ---			Change in <u>Disagree</u>
	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	<u>Agree</u> %	<u>Disagree</u> %	<u>DK</u> %	
<b>Total</b>	37	55	8=100	30	65	5=100	+10
<b>Sex</b>							
Male	37	56	7	27	69	4	+13
Female	37	55	8	33	61	6	+6
<b>Race</b>							
White	35	58	7	28	67	5	+9
Non-white	45	45	10	43	54	3	+9
Black	46	48	6	49	50	1	+2
Hispanic <sup>^</sup>	52	32	16	39	58	3	+26
<b>Age</b>							
Under 30	44	52	4	32	64	4	+12
30-49	35	59	6	29	67	4	+8
50-64	34	58	8	27	68	5	+10
65+	39	49	12	35	57	8	+8
<b>Education</b>							
College Grad.	22	73	5	16	81	3	+8
Some College	31	60	9	25	70	5	+10
High School Grad.	44	49	7	35	60	5	+11
<H.S. Grad.	53	36	11	50	40	10	+4
<b>Family Income</b>							
\$75,000+	20	76	4	17	81	2	+5
\$50,000-\$74,999	35	63	2	25	72	3	+9
\$30,000-\$49,999	41	51	8	25	70	5	-19
\$20,000-\$29,999	39	56	5	38	58	4	+2
<\$20,000	51	43	6	47	46	7	+3
<b>Region</b>							
East	42	52	6	28	67	5	+15
Midwest	36	56	8	35	61	4	+5
South	37	54	9	31	64	5	+10
West	33	60	7	26	69	5	+9
<b>Party ID</b>							
Republican	38	56	6	22	73	5	+17
Democrat	38	55	7	40	56	4	+1
Independent	36	59	5	27	68	5	+9

<sup>^</sup> The designation Hispanic is unrelated to the white-black categorization.

Question: Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements... the U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE AND THE PRESS**  
**DECEMBER 2002 NEWS INTEREST INDEX**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**December 4-8, 2002**  
**N=1205**

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>
December, 2002	61	28	11=100
Late October, 2002	59	29	12=100
Early October, 2002	61	30	9=100
Mid-September, 2002	67	22	11=100
Early September, 2002	63	26	11=100
Late August, 2002	60	27	13=100
August, 2002	67	21	12=100
Late July, 2002	65	25	10=100
July, 2002	67	21	12=100
June, 2002	70	20	10=100
April, 2002	69	18	13=100
Early April, 2002	74	16	10=100
February, 2002	78	13	9=100
January, 2002	80	11	9=100
Mid-November, 2001	84	9	7=100
Early October, 2001	84	8	8=100
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 Now I will read a list of some things that have been in the news this past month. As I read each item, tell me if you happened to follow this news story very closely, fairly closely, not too closely, or not at all closely. **[INSERT ITEM; ROTATE]**

	<u>Very Closely</u>	<u>Fairly Closely</u>	<u>Not too Closely</u>	<u>Not at all Closely</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
a. Reports about the condition of the U.S. economy	38	34	17	10	1=100
February, 2002	35	40	15	9	1=100
January, 2002	30	44	16	9	1=100
December, 2001	37	40	13	8	2=100
Mid-November, 2001	41	36	15	7	1=100
June, 2001	24	41	18	16	1=100
May, 2001	34	36	15	15	0=100
April, 2001	36	34	16	13	1=100
February, 2001	30	39	18	12	1=100
January, 2001	32	38	17	11	2=100
June, 1995	26	41	22	11	*=100
March, 1995	27	45	19	9	*=100
February, 1995	23	41	22	13	1=100
December, 1994	28	43	20	9	*=100
October, 1994	27	40	20	12	1=100
June, 1994	25	42	23	10	*=100

Q.2 CONTINUED...

	Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
May, 1994	33	40	16	10	1=100
January, 1994	34	39	16	10	1=100
Early January, 1994	36	44	13	7	*=100
December, 1993	35	41	15	8	1=100
October, 1993	33	38	20	9	*=100
September, 1993	37	40	14	8	1=100
Early September, 1993	39	39	14	9	*=100
August, 1993	41	36	14	9	*=100
May, 1993	37	38	18	6	1=100
February, 1993	49	36	10	5	*=100
January, 1993	42	39	12	7	*=100
September, 1992	43	37	13	6	*=100
May, 1992	39	39	15	6	1=100
March, 1992	47	38	11	4	*=100
February, 1992	47	37	10	6	*=100
January, 1992	44	40	11	5	*=100
October, 1991	36	38	16	9	1=100
b. Debate over the possibility that the U.S. will take military action in Iraq					
Late October, 2002	51	32	10	6	1=100
Early October, 2002	53	33	8	5	1=100
Early October, 2002	60	28	6	5	1=100
Early September, 2002 <sup>1</sup>	48	29	15	6	2=100
c. Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis					
Early October, 2002	29	36	22	12	1=100
Early October, 2002	32	39	20	8	1=100
June, 2002	38	33	18	10	1=100
April, 2002	38	37	14	10	1=100
Early April, 2002	44	33	13	9	1=100
December, 2001	31	40	19	9	1=100
Early September, 2001	21	33	25	20	1=100
April, 2001 <sup>2</sup>	22	34	24	19	1=100
Mid-October, 2000	30	38	18	13	1=100
Early October, 2000	21	30	27	21	1=100
January, 1997	12	23	29	35	1=100
October, 1996	17	34	26	23	*=100
May, 1988	18	37	34	9	2=100
d. The work of United Nations weapons inspectors in Iraq					
August, 1998 <sup>3</sup>	35	39	15	10	1=100
August, 1998 <sup>3</sup>	18	31	23	27	1=100
February, 1998	36	40	16	8	*=100
January, 1998	32	35	18	15	*=100
December, 1997	34	33	15	17	1=100
November, 1997	44	32	10	13	1=100
October, 1991	35	38	15	11	1=100

<sup>1</sup> In Early September 2002 the story was listed as "...U.S. will invade Iraq."

<sup>2</sup> In April 2001 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East." In Mid-October 2000 the story was listed as "Continued violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In Early October 2000 the story was listed as "Renewed violence in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis." In January 1997 the story was listed as "Renewed tensions between Israelis and Palestinians over Hebron." In October 1996 the story was listed as "Renewed violence between Israelis & Palestinians on the West Bank and in Jerusalem." In May 1988 the story was listed as "The conflict in the Middle East between the Palestinians and the Israelis in the occupied territories."

<sup>3</sup> In August 1998 the story was listed as "The current dispute with Iraq over U.N. weapons inspections." In February 1998 the story was listed as "The conflict in Iraq over U.N. weapons inspectors and U.S. threats to retaliate with air strikes." In January 1998 the story was listed as "The conflict in Iraq over U.N. weapons inspectors." In November and December 1997 the story was listed as "(the conflict over) Iraq's refusal to let Americans participate in weapons inspections." In October 1991 the story was listed as "The standoff in Baghdad between the Iraqis and U.N. weapons inspectors."

**Q.2 CONTINUED...**

		Very Closely	Fairly Closely	Not too Closely	Not at all Closely	DK/Ref
e.	Terrorist attacks in Kenya against Israeli citizens August, 1998 <sup>4</sup>	21 27	34 37	26 18	17 18	2=100 *=100
f.	The large oil spill polluting the coast of Spain	15	29	28	27	1=100

Q.3 Do you happen to know whether a new Department of Homeland Security has been created in Washington, or is it still being considered?

49	Has been created (Correct Answer)
17	Still being considered
34	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

Q.4 In general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Senate?

		May 2001 <sup>5</sup>	Nov 1998	Jan 1996	Aug 1995	June 1995	April 1995	March 1995	Dec 1994
48	Happy	44	47	47	50	46	52	55	57
34	Unhappy	38	32	43	39	41	36	31	31
18	Don't know/Refused	18	21	10	11	13	12	14	12
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.5 I'd like your views of some people and organizations. As I read from a list, please tell me which category best describes your overall opinion of who or what I name. First, would you describe your opinion of [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE] as very favorable, mostly favorable, mostly UNfavorable, or very unfavorable? (INTERVIEWERS: PROBE TO DISTINGUISH BETWEEN "NEVER HEARD OF" AND "CAN'T RATE")

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
a.	The federal government in Washington	11	53	20	7	*	9=100
	Mid-November, 2001	17	65	12	3	0	3=100
	Late October, 2000 (RVs)	7	47	30	10	*	6=100
	October, 1997	4	34	41	18	0	3=100
b.	Your state government	15	47	21	10	1	7=100
	Mid-November, 2001	15	62	14	4	*	5=100
	October, 1997	10	56	22	7	*	5=100
c.	Your local government	16	51	16	9	*	7=100
	Mid-November, 2001	15	63	13	4	*	5=100
	October, 1997	12	56	18	7	*	7=100

<sup>4</sup> In August 1998 the story was listed as "The bombings at U.S. embassies in Kenya and Tanzania."

<sup>5</sup> From December 1994 to August 1995 the question was worded: "In general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Congress?" In January 1996, the question was worded: "Generally, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party won control of the U.S. Congress in November 1994?" In November 1998 and May 2001 the question was worded: "In general, are you happy or unhappy that the Republican Party maintained control of the U.S. Congress (last year)?"

Q.5 CONTINUED...

		Very Favorable	Mostly Favorable	Mostly Unfavorable	Very Unfavorable	Never Heard Of	Can't Rate
d.	The Republican Party	18	41	22	11	*	8=100
	July, 2001	11	37	27	15	*	10=100
	January, 2001	13	43	22	13	*	9=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	11	42	28	12	0	7=100
	August, 1999	8	45	31	12	*	4=100
	February, 1999	7	37	36	15	0	5=100
	January, 1999	10	34	27	23	0	6=100
	Early December, 1998	11	35	27	20	*	7=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	9	43	28	14	0	6=100
	Early September, 1998	9	47	26	11	*	7=100
	March, 1998	10	40	31	12	*	7=100
	August, 1997	9	38	36	11	*	6=100
	June, 1997	8	43	31	11	1	6=100
	January, 1997	8	44	33	10	*	5=100
	October, 1995	10	42	28	16	*	4=100
	December, 1994	21	46	19	8	*	6=100
	July, 1994	12	51	25	8	*	4=100
	May, 1993	12	42	25	10	0	11=100
	July, 1992	9	37	31	17	*	6=100
e.	The Democratic Party	15	39	27	10	*	9=100
	July, 2001	18	40	24	10	*	8=100
	January, 2001	18	42	21	9	1	9=100
	September, 2000 (RVs)	16	44	23	12	*	5=100
	August, 1999	14	45	28	9	*	4=100
	February, 1999	11	47	26	11	0	5=100
	January, 1999	14	41	26	12	0	7=100
	Early December, 1998	18	41	24	10	0	7=100
	Early October, 1998 (RVs)	11	45	29	9	*	6=100
	Early September, 1998	13	47	25	8	*	7=100
	March, 1998	15	43	26	10	*	6=100
	August, 1997	11	41	32	10	0	6=100
	June, 1997	10	51	25	8	*	6=100
	January, 1997	13	47	28	7	*	5=100
	October, 1995	9	40	37	11	0	3=100
	December, 1994	13	37	31	13	*	6=100
	July, 1994	13	49	27	7	*	4=100
	May, 1993	14	43	25	9	0	9=100
	July, 1992	17	44	24	9	*	6=100
f.	George W. Bush	35	33	16	11	0	5=100
	July, 2001	22	39	21	14	*	4=100
	January, 2001	24	36	21	12	0	7=100
	May, 2000	18	40	19	12	1	10=100
	March, 1999 <sup>6</sup>	21	40	14	7	4	14=100
	November, 1997	13	41	12	6	9	19=100

<sup>6</sup>

In March 1999 and November 1997 the category was listed: "Texas Governor George W. Bush."

We have just a few questions about America's place in the world.

Q.6 Please tell me whether you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. **(ROTATE LIST)**

a. The United States should cooperate fully with the United Nations

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991 <sup>7</sup>	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
67	Agree	58	65	59	62	65	64	71	77	56	59	46	63	72	72
28	Disagree	31	26	30	30	29	28	22	17	35	28	41	28	21	16
5	DK/Ref	11	9	11	8	6	8	7	6	9	13	13	9	7	12
100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

b. In deciding on its foreign policies, the U.S. should take into account the views of its major allies

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
85	Agree	80	82	72	74	--	--	80	86	82	79	72	80	84	81
10	Disagree	11	12	18	18	--	--	13	10	12	13	18	12	9	7
5	DK/Ref	9	6	10	8	--	--	7	4	6	8	10	8	7	12
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

c. Since the U.S. is the most powerful nation in the world, we should go our own way in international matters, not worrying too much about whether other countries agree with us or not

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
25	Agree	32	26	32	34	--	--	34	29	26	26	29	22	23	19
72	Disagree	62	69	62	60	--	--	63	66	70	66	62	72	72	70
3	DK/Ref	6	5	6	6	--	--	3	5	4	8	9	6	5	11
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

d. The U.S. should mind its own business internationally and let other countries get along the best they can on their own

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
30	Agree	37	35	39	41	--	--	37	33	34	30	41	35	27	18
65	Disagree	55	57	54	51	--	--	58	60	59	61	49	56	66	70
5	DK/Ref	8	8	7	8	--	--	5	7	7	9	10	9	7	12
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

e. We should not think so much in international terms but concentrate more on our own national problems and building up our strength and prosperity here at home

		Early													
		Sept	March	Sept	June	Feb	Oct	April							
		2001	1999	1997	1995	1995	1993	1993	1991	1985	1980	1976	1972	1968	1964
65	Agree	68	68	72	78	--	--	79	78	60	61	73	73	60	55
31	Disagree	25	27	24	18	--	--	18	16	34	30	22	20	31	32
4	DK/Ref	7	5	4	4	--	--	3	6	6	9	5	7	9	13
100		100	100	100	100			100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

<sup>7</sup> All data from 1991 and earlier are from public opinion surveys conducted by Potomac Associates, The Gallup Organization and the Institute for International Social Research.

Now a few questions about the situation in Iraq.

Q.7 How much have you yourself thought about whether the U.S. should use military force to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq? [READ]

		Early Oct <u>2002</u>	Mid-Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	Jan 1991 <sup>8</sup>
58	A Great deal	54	55	46	66
29	Some	32	27	35	24
8	Only a little – OR –	8	9	11	6
4	Not at all	5	6	6	2
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.8 Would you favor or oppose taking military action in Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule?

**ASK IF FAVOR OR OPPOSE ("1" OR "2" IN Q.8):**

Q.9 Do you feel strongly about this, or do you think you might change your mind?

		Nov <u>2002</u>	Late Oct <u>2002</u>	Early Oct <u>2002</u>	Mid-Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	----- Gallup <sup>9</sup> -----				
							June <u>2002</u>	Nov <u>2001</u>	Feb <u>2001</u>	June <u>1993</u>	March <u>1992</u>
65	Favor	62	55	62	64	64	59	74	52	70	55
	51 Feel Strongly			49							
	13 Might Change mind			12							
	1 Don't know/Refused			1							
25	Oppose	26	34	28	23	21	34	20	42	27	40
	16 Feel Strongly			17							
	9 Might Change mind			11							
	* Don't know/Refused			*							
<u>10</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>12</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>10</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.10 Do you think George W. Bush has explained clearly what's at stake as to why the U.S. might use military force to end the rule of Saddam Hussein, or do you think he has not explained the reasons clearly enough?

		Late Oct <u>2002</u>	Mid-Sept <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	New York Times <u>Aug 1990</u> <sup>10</sup>
48	Explained clearly	48	52	37	50
45	Not clearly	45	37	52	41
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>7</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>9</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Q.11 In your view, has there been too much, too little, or the right amount of discussion of ways to deal with Saddam Hussein other than using military force?

		Late Oct <u>2002</u>
19	Too much	16
44	Too little	50
29	Right amount	25
<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>9</u>
<u>100</u>		<u>100</u>

<sup>8</sup> In January 1991 the question was worded "How much thought have you given to the question of whether the U.S. should use military force against Iraq if it does not withdraw its forces from Kuwait?"

<sup>9</sup> Gallup trend was worded "Would you favor or oppose sending American troops back to the Persian Gulf in order to remove Saddam Hussein from power in Iraq?"

<sup>10</sup> New York Times trend was worded "Do you think George Bush has explained clearly what's at stake and why the U.S. is sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or do you think ..."

Q.12 In conducting their inspections in Iraq, do you think the U.N. weapons inspection team is going far enough to ensure that any Iraqi weapons will be discovered, or do you think they aren't going far enough?

28 Going far enough  
 55 Aren't going far enough  
 17 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)  
 100

Thinking more generally,

Q.13 How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States? [READ]

	Early Oct <u>2002</u>	Late Aug <u>2002</u>	June <u>2002</u>	Jan <u>2002</u>	Dec <u>2001</u>	Oct 15-21 <u>2001</u>	Oct 10-14 <u>2001</u>	Early Oct <u>2001</u>
31 Very worried	20	16	32	20	13	29	27	28
42 Somewhat worried	46	46	44	42	39	42	40	45
18 Not too worried	22	25	17	28	27	18	19	15
8 Not at all worried	11	12	7	9	19	10	12	11
1 Don't know/Refused	1	1	*	1	2	1	2	1
<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>	<u>100</u>

Now, just a few questions for statistical purposes only.

Q.14 Do you use a computer at your workplace, at school, at home or anywhere else on at least an occasional basis?

**IF "1, YES" (USE A COMPUTER) IN Q.14, ASK:**

Q.15 Do you ever go online to access the Internet or World Wide Web or to send and receive email?

	<i>Computer User</i>			<b>Based on Total Respondents:</b> <i>Goes Online</i>		
	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<u>DK/Ref</u>
December, 2002	76	24	*=100	67	33	*=100
Early October, 2002	75	25	*=100	63	37	*=100
June, 2002	74	26	*=100	66	34	*=100
May, 2002	75	25	*=100	66	34	*=100
April, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
February, 2002	71	29	*=100	62	38	0=100
January, 2002	73	27	0=100	62	38	0=100
June, 2001	72	28	*=100	62	38	0=100
January, 2001	71	29	*=100	61	39	0=100
July, 2000	68	31	1=100	55	45	*=100
January, 2000	68	32	*=100	52	48	*=100
July, 1999	68	32	*=100	49	51	0=100
January, 1999	69	31	*=100	47	53	*=100
Early August, 1998	66	34	*=100	41	59	*=100
January, 1998	65	35	*=100	37	63	0=100
June, 1997	60	40	0=100	--	--	--
July, 1996	56	44	*=100	23	77	0=100
January, 1996	59	41	0=100	21	79	0=100
June, 1995 <sup>11</sup>	--	--	--	14	86	*=100

<sup>11</sup> The 1995 figure combines responses from two separate questions: (1) Do you or anyone in your household ever use a modem to connect to any computer bulletin boards, information services such as CompuServe or Prodigy, or other computers at other locations? (IF YES, PROBE: Is that you, someone else or both?) (2) Do you, yourself, ever use a computer at (work) (school) (work or school) to connect with computer bulletin boards, information services such as America Online or Prodigy, or other computers over the Internet?

**ASK ALL:**

R.1 How important would you say religion is in your own life — very important, fairly important, or not very important?

	<u>Very Important</u>	<u>Fairly Important</u>	<u>Not very Important</u>	<u>Don't know/ Refused</u>
December, 2002	60	27	12	1=100
March, 2002	63	24	12	1=100
Mid-November, 2001	61	24	14	1=100
March, 2001	64	23	12	1=100
March, 2000 ( <i>Gallup</i> )	61	27	12	*=100
June, 1998 ( <i>Gallup</i> )	62	25	12	1=100
June, 1996	59	26	15	*=100
March, 1994 ( <i>Gallup</i> )	59	29	11	1=100
March, 1988 ( <i>Gallup</i> )	54	31	14	1=100
March, 1984 ( <i>Gallup</i> )	56	30	13	1=100
April, 1978 ( <i>Gallup</i> )	52	32	14	2=100
November, 1965 ( <i>Gallup</i> )	70	22	7	1=100

R.2 People practice their religion in different ways... Outside of attending religious services, do you pray several times a day, once a day, a few times a week, once a week or less, or never?

		<u>March 2002</u>	<u>March 2001</u>	<u>June 1996</u>
38	Several times a day	35	37	29
22	Once a day	24	22	22
15	A few times a week	15	17	19
15	Once a week or less	16	14	18
7	Never	8	8	10
3	Don't know/Refused	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100	100