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For The People & The Press

NEWS Release
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FOR RELEASE: THURSDAY, APRIL 10, 2003, 4:00 P.M.

Bush's Ratings Rose Last Night
60% WAR'S GOING VERY WELL – 69% WE HAVEN'T WON YET

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Bush's Ratings Rose Last Night
60% WAR'S GOING VERY WELL – 69% WE HAVEN'T WON YET

Pictures of cheering Baghdad crowds greeting U.S. forces notwithstanding, Americans are not popping champagne bottles quite yet. A Pew Research Center tracking survey over the past two nights finds a modest increase in the percentage believing that the military effort is going *very well*, compared to earlier this week. And most Americans (69%) continue to believe that it is too early to tell if the war has been won.

Further, by a 51% to 42% margin, Americans believe that it is necessary to kill or capture Saddam Hussein in order to win the war. The new poll also finds that optimism about the war's outcome is tempered by the prevailing view that the U.S. and its allies will face a tough job in stabilizing Iraq. Fully 73% believe it will be a difficult job install a stable democratic government in the country.

In that regard, the public is divided over whether the United States or the United Nations should take the lead in establishing a government in Iraq after the war. By 62%-31%, Americans believe the U.N. should play a significant role in post-war Iraq. But the public is divided over the issue of who should have the *most* say in this process: 38% believe the U.N. should take the lead in establishing a stable government in Iraq, compared with 49% who either believe the U.S. and its allies should have the most say (18%), or reject the U.N. having any role at all in the process (31%).

Not unexpectedly, there is a huge partisan gap in opinion on this issue. Far more Democrats than Republicans favor a role for the U.N. (72% vs. 57%). And roughly half of Democrats (47%) think the U.N. should have the most say in establishing an Iraqi government, compared with just a third of Republicans (32%).

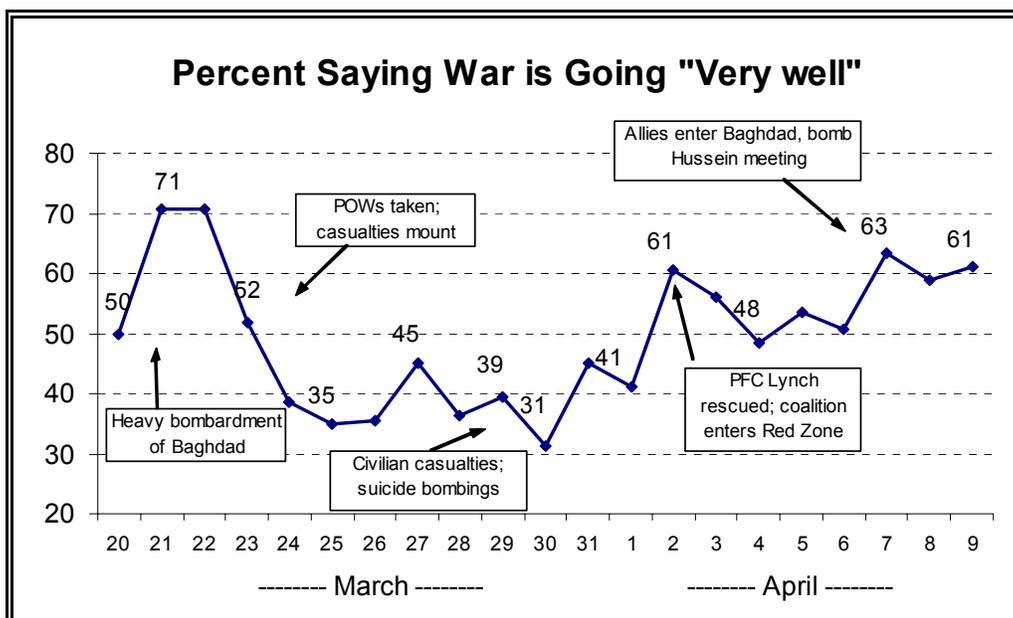
A Modest Response			
	---- April ----		
	2-7	8	9
	%	%	%
<i>War is going...</i>			
Very well	55	59	61
Fairly well	37	32	32
Not well	5	7	6
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
War has been won*	24	27	29
Too early to tell	74	69	69
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Bush handling of war</i>			
Approve	73	65	76
Disapprove	21	28	18
Don't know	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Military action was...</i>			
Right decision	72	70	76
Wrong decision	20	22	18
Don't know	<u>8</u>	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100
Number of cases	(912)	(395)	(414)
*asked April 4-7 only (N=595)			

The poll also finds deep divisions in opinion about preemptive war, even in light of the positive turn in events in Iraq. Just 15% believe that using military force to remove dictators who threaten but have not attacked the United States is *usually* the right thing to do. About half (51%) say it is *sometimes* the right thing, while 30% say it is *rarely* or *never* right. Again, political point of view matters. Eight-in-ten Republicans think using military force to remove dictators is sometimes the right thing to do, compared with 55% of Democrats.

The new Pew Research center survey, conducted April 8-9 among 809 Americans, is the latest installment in a war tracking survey that began on March 20. With the collapse of Saddam Hussein's regime, the percentage thinking the U.S. made the right decision in going to war rose from 70% on Tuesday to 76% last night. Somewhat fewer (65%) think President Bush was right to use force when he did, rather than waiting to get more major allies to join the coalition.

Success in Iraq has lifted the president's overall approval rating and his rating for handling the war jumped 11% points overnight (from 65% to 76%), as Americans viewed Baghdad crowds celebrating the toppling of Saddam Hussein.

	Total %	Rep %	Dem %	Ind %
Favor UN role	62	57	72	61
Oppose UN role	31	37	21	30
Don't know	7	6	7	9
	100	100	100	100
UN should lead	38	32	47	39
US should lead/ No UN role	49	58	39	45
Other/DK	13	10	14	16
	100	100	100	100
<i>Preemption is...</i>				
Usually right	15	24	11	12
Sometimes right	51	56	44	52
Rarely right	20	10	26	25
Never right	10	6	16	7
Don't know	4	4	3	4
	100	100	100	100
Number of cases	(809)	(252)	(222)	(280)



War Cost Top Concern

The public views the high cost of the war as the biggest post-war concern. Roughly a third (34%) say they worry a great deal that it will be difficult to afford the military operation. Smaller minorities voice a great deal of concern over the possibility of increased hatred of the U.S. in the Middle East, an ongoing guerrilla war in Iraq, or that the war will provoke a rift with U.S. allies.

As might be expected, Americans express much less concern over these issues than they did prior to the war over such dangers as chemical and biological attacks

against U.S. troops, significant military casualties or an increased risk of terrorism in the U.S. In a February survey, majorities expressed a great deal of concern over each of these threats (see “U.S. Needs More International Backing,” Feb. 20, 2003).

	Great deal %	Fair amount %	Not much %	DK/ Ref %
High cost of war	34	32	32	2=100
More hatred in Mideast	28	29	40	3=100
Guerrilla warfare	19	39	39	3=100
Major rift with allies	15	29	52	4=100

War opponents have much higher levels of concern over all possible consequences of war than do supporters of the war. Seven-in-ten war opponents worry a great deal that the conflict will inspire more hatred of the United States in the Middle East; just 15% of those who thought the U.S. made the right decision to attack Iraq agree. Similarly, 44% of war opponents and just 11% of war supporters worry a lot about the cost of the military operation.

War Will Aid Terror Fight, Not Mideast Peace

By nearly three-to-one (63%-22%), Americans think the war in Iraq will help, not hurt, the struggle against terrorism. Since the fall, there has been a significant rise in the percentage who think the war in Iraq will aid in the terrorism fight, from 52% in October to 63% in the current survey.

Opinion on this issue also is highly polarized between war supporter and opponents. By a huge margin (77% to 11%), respondents who favor the decision to go to war believe it will help in the terrorism campaign. By a somewhat smaller margin (59% to 23%), war opponents believe it will undermine that campaign.

There is limited optimism that the war in Iraq will make it easier to achieve peace between Israelis and Palestinians. A 40% plurality says it will have no effect on the peace process, while 28%

think it will help the peace process and 19% believe it will make peace more difficult to achieve.

High Marks for Military's Tasks

Coalition military forces get good marks from the public for how they have handled a wide range of responsibilities, including balancing the competing objectives of minimizing civilian deaths while trying to win a military victory.

The public gives its highest marks for the military's central task, defeating the Iraqi forces. Nine-in-ten rate the military's performance in this area favorably, with 58% saying they have done an excellent job. The public gives lower, but still positive, ratings for the military in avoiding civilian casualties

	<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	<u>Fair/</u>	<u>DK/</u>
	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>	<u>%</u>
Defeating Iraqi forces	58	32	8	2=100
Avoiding civilian casualties	39	34	23	4=100
Aiding Iraqi people	37	37	19	7=100
Saving Iraqi infrastructure	35	41	17	7=100
Avoiding "friendly fire"	22	38	35	5=100

and damage to the Iraqi infrastructure, and for providing aid to the Iraqi people. Only on the question of avoiding "friendly fire" incidents do as many as one third (35%) give the coalition forces a negative rating. However, a majority of war opponents are critical of the military's handling of friendly fire incidents (56% fair or poor) and half give the military a negative rating on avoiding civilian casualties (49%).

Satisfaction With the Nation Grows

The number of Americans who are satisfied with the way things are going in the nation jumped from 44% in January to 50% now. Dissatisfaction dropped from 50% to 41%. Opinions are strongly related to feelings about the war: nearly two-thirds (64%) of war supporters are satisfied, while three-quarters (76%) of opponents are dissatisfied. Optimism about the state of the nation often surges when the public is focused on critical national events or crises, having risen during the first Persian Gulf War and even during the Clinton-Lewinsky scandal.

The president's overall approval rating rose in the wake of the fall of Baghdad. His approval mark is 74% in polling conducted on April 9. From April 2-April 7, Bush's job rating stood at 69%.

Children and the War

The majority (55%) of parents with children ages 5-12 report that their kids have been following news about the war in Iraq. However, this is significantly lower than in January 1991, when 69% of parents reported that their children were following war news. Overall, fewer parents report that children are expressing fears about the war than was the case in 1991 (34% today, 43% twelve years ago). But parents are restricting how much coverage of the war their child watches. Half (51%) have been limiting TV news time, up from 30% in 1991.

Mothers and fathers report the same level of child interest and concern about the war. However, it is mothers who are more concerned about what their kids are seeing on TV.

A majority of mothers (58%) say they are restricting how much their children watch the war, compared with 44% of fathers. In fact, a number of parents in focus group interviews mentioned that they were making an effort to get their own news about the war when the children were not around, such as on the radio when driving to work or over the Internet, rather than watching TV news when the kids were home.

As Victoria, a 38-year-old mother of children ages 8 and 11 said, “I’m out all day in my job, on the road, and I listen to the radio. I can get the information I need when I’m by myself. That way when I go home, I don’t need to put it on. I am trying to give [my children] a normal life.” And while kids are clearly interested in the war, parents say that it is not to the point that they are giving up their regular shows and interests to watch more TV news.

Kids and the War			
	Jan 1991	Sept 2001	April 2003
	%	%	%
<i>Has child been following?</i>			
Yes	69	48	55
No	29	51	43
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100
<i>Has child expressed fears?</i>			
Yes	43	46	34
No	57	54	66
Don't know	*	0	*
	100	100	100
<i>Parent restricted news viewing</i>			
Yes	30	54	51
No	69	46	48
Don't know	<u>1</u>	*	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100

Asked of parents of children age 5-12

Children of both supporters and opponents of the war are following the news at about the same levels, and parents on both sides of the issue are equally likely to place limits on how much they watch. But the children of people who think military action in Iraq was the wrong decision are significantly more likely to say their kids have expressed fears about the war than are those who think war was the right decision. Fully half (51%) of war opponents say their children have expressed concerns, compared with just 30% of war supporters.

Interviews with parents of children age 13-17 suggest that teenagers are somewhat more interested in news about the war than are children age 5-12, and are about as likely to express fears about the war. Relatively few parents of teenagers report taking steps to limit how much TV coverage their children watch.

Parents of both kids and teens have been talking about the war with their children at least from time to time, and more often than not these conversations are being initiated by the child, not the parent. Why the U.S. went to war with Iraq is one of the more widespread topics of conversation, but many report talking with their children about casualties, the impact of the war on the Iraqi people, and why some people oppose the war. Among the kids' questions reported by participants in the focus groups:

- “How long will the war last?”
- “Are there kids there? What happens to them now?”
- “If the buildings are destroyed, where will the people go?”
- “How come Saddam Hussein has all that money while people don't have clothes?”
- “How long is Uncle Joe going to be in the war? How long until he comes home [to his 7-year-old son]?”
- “If Saddam Hussein is bad for killing, why are we killing?”

Most parents say that teachers at their children's schools have discussed the war in class as well. Kathy, a 34-year-old mother of a 7-year old, said he came home agitated and excited, reporting “Mom, the war is starting tomorrow and I'll have to stay at school and I'm not coming home and did you pack my stuff?” Another child came home, worried about her parents: “Will you have a cell phone? Will Daddy be able to get us if you're not here?”

ABOUT THIS SURVEY

Results for the *Early April 2003 Iraq* survey are based on telephone interviews conducted under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates among a nationwide sample of 809 adults, 18 years of age or older, during the period April 8-9, 2003. 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 4 percentage points. For results based on April 8 (N=395) and April 9 (N=414) separately, the sampling error is plus or minus 5.5 percentage points.

Questions about parents and their children were asked on the *March-April War Tracking* survey during the period March 28 to April 7. Based on the subsample of 381 parents reported here, one can say with 95% confidence that the error attributable to sampling and other random effects is plus or minus 5.5 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.

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
EARLY APRIL 2003 IRAQ POLL
FINAL TOPLINE
April 8-9, 2003
Total N=809

ASK APRIL 8, 2003 ONLY [N=395]:

Q.1 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>
April 8, 2003	50	41	9=100
January, 2003	44	50	6=100
September, 2002 ¹ 41	55	4=100	
Late August, 2002	47	44	9=100
May, 2002	44	44	12=100
March, 2002	50	40	10=100
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
January, 2001	55	41	4=100
April, 2000	48	43	9=100
August, 1999	56	39	5=100
Late August, 1998	55	41	4=100
August, 1997	49	46	5=100
March, 1996	28	70	2=100
April, 1995	23	74	3=100
March, 1994	24	71	5=100
May, 1993	22	71	7=100
January, 1992	28	68	4=100
November, 1991	34	61	5=100
<i>Late February, 1991 (Gallup)</i>	<i>66</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>3=100</i>
May, 1990	41	54	5=100
May, 1988	41	54	5=100

¹ The September 2002 trend is from the Global Attitudes Report, fielded August 19 to September 8, 2002 and released December 4, 2002.

ASK APRIL 9, 2003 ONLY [N=414]:

Q.1a 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>
April 9, 2003	74	20	6=100
April 2-7, 2003	69	25	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	71	23	6=100
March 25-27, 2003	70	24	6=100
March 23-24, 2003	68	25	7=100
March 20-22, 2003	67	26	7=100
March 13-16, 2003	55	34	11=100
February, 2003	54	36	10=100
January, 2003	58	32	10=100
December, 2002	61	28	11=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
June, 2002	70	20	10=100
April, 2002	69	18	13=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
June, 2001	50	33	17=100
April, 2001	56	27	17=100
February, 2001	53	21	26=100

ASK ALL:

Q.2 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is dealing with the war in Iraq?

	<u>Approve</u>	<u>Disapprove</u>	<u>DK/Ref.</u>
April 8-9, 2003	71	23	6=100
--April 9, 2003	76	18	6=100
--April 8, 2003	65	28	7=100
April 2-7, 2003	73	21	6=100
March 28-April 1, 2003	69	26	5=100
March 25-27, 2003	73	23	4=100
March 23-24, 2003	72	22	6=100
March 20-22, 2003	70	23	7=100
February, 2003 ²	56	37	7=100
January, 2003	56	36	8=100
Early October, 2002	56	34	10=100
Mid-September, 2001	85	6	9=100
Gallup: Late January, 1991 ³	84	11	5=100

² In February, 2003 and earlier the question was worded "...handling the situation with Iraq." In Mid-September, 2001 the question was worded "...dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington."

³ Gallup trend was worded "...George Bush is handling the situation in the Persian Gulf region."

Q.3 Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force against Iraq?

IF 1 'RIGHT DECISION' IN Q.3 ASK:

Q.3a Which comes closer to your view [ROTATE]: You support going to war because you think it was the best thing for the U.S. to do; OR you are not sure if going to war was the best thing to do, but you support Bush's decision because he is president?

----- April -----				April ----- March 2003 -----					Late Jan
<u>8-9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>		<u>2-7</u>	<u>28-4/1</u>	<u>25-27</u>	<u>23-24</u>	<u>20-22</u>	<u>1991</u>
74	76	70	Right decision	72	69	74	74	71	77
54	55	52	Support because best thing for U.S. to do	53	48	51	49	52	--
16	17	13	Support because Bush is president	16	18	20	22	15	--
4	4	5	Don't know/Refused	3	3	3	3	4	--
19	18	22	Wrong decision	20	25	21	21	22	15
<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>8</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>8</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>
100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.4 How well is the U.S. military effort in Iraq going? [READ]

----- April -----				April ----- March 2003 -----					---- 2001 ----		
<u>8-9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>		<u>2-7</u>	<u>28-4/1</u>	<u>25-27</u>	<u>23-24</u>	<u>20-22</u>	Early Nov ⁴	Oct 15-21	Oct 10-14
60	61	59	Very well	55	39	39	45	65	30	38	45
32	32	32	Fairly well	37	46	46	41	25	45	45	35
3	3	4	Not too well	3	8	8	6	2	12	9	6
3	3	3	Not at all well	2	2	2	2	1	4	2	4
<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>3</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>10</u>
100	100	100		100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

Q.5 Do you think the U.S. and its allies have won the war in Iraq, or is it too early to tell?

----- April -----				April 4-7	
<u>8-9</u>	<u>9</u>	<u>8</u>		<u>2003</u>	
28	29	27	Have won	24	
69	69	69	Too early to tell	74	
<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)	<u>2</u>	
100	100	100		100	

ASK APRIL 9, 2003 ONLY [N=414]:

Q.5a Do you think it is necessary to kill or capture Saddam Hussein in order to win the war, or do you think removing him and his party from power is enough to consider the war a success?

51	Necessary to kill or capture
42	Enough to remove him from power
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

⁴ In 2001 the question was worded "How well is the MILITARY effort to destroy the terrorist groups going?"

ASK ALL:

Q.6 Do you think President Bush should have waited to get more of our major allies to join us before taking military action in Iraq, or do you think he was right to use military force when he did?

28 Should have waited
 65 Right to use force when he did
 2 Should not have done it at all (VOL.)
5 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

Q.7 In general, how would you rate the job that coalition military forces have done in [ALWAYS ASK ITEM "A" FIRST, THEN ROTATE OTHER ITEMS; READ RESPONSE CATEGORIES]? And how would you rate the job coalition military forces have done in [NEXT ITEM]?

		<u>Excellent</u>	<u>Good</u>	Only <u>Fair</u>	<u>Poor</u>	Don't Know <u>Refused</u>
a.	Defeating Iraqi forces	58	32	7	1	2=100
b.	Avoiding civilian casualties	39	34	17	6	4=100
c.	Avoiding the destruction of Iraq utilities, water supplies and non-military communications centers	35	41	14	3	7=100
d.	Avoiding "friendly fire" incidents where coalition forces accidentally attack one another	22	38	25	10	5=100
e.	Providing aid to the Iraqi people	37	37	14	5	7=100

Q.8 Do you think the war in Iraq will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?

		<u>Early Oct 2002⁵</u>
63	Help	52
22	Hurt	34
<u>15</u>	Don't know/Refused	<u>14</u>
100		100

Q.9 Do you think that the war in Iraq will make a peace settlement between Israelis and the Palestinians easier to achieve, more difficult to achieve, or will it have no effect on the peace process?

28 Easier to achieve
 19 More difficult
 40 No effect
13 Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
 100

⁵ In Early October 2002 the question was worded "If the U.S. uses military force in Iraq, do you think this will help the war on terrorism, or will it hurt the war on terrorism?"

Q.10 Thinking about the end of the war with Iraq, how worried are you that [INSERT ITEM; ROTATE] – a great deal, a fair amount, or not much? ... How worried are you that [INSERT NEXT ITEM, REPEAT RESPONSE CATEGORIES FOR EACH ITEM]?

		A Great Deal	A Fair Amount	Not Much	Don't Know
a.	There will be an ongoing campaign of guerrilla warfare against U.S. forces after the war comes to an end	19	39	39	3=100
b.	The war will cause more hatred of the U.S. in the Middle East	28	29	40	3=100
c.	The war will cause a major rift between the U.S. and its allies	15	29	52	4=100
d.	The cost of the war in Iraq will be difficult for us to afford	34	32	32	2=100

Q.11 Would you favor or oppose the United Nations playing a significant role in establishing a stable government in Iraq after the war?

IF FAVOR UN ROLE – “1” IN Q.11, ASK:

Q.12 Who should have the most say in establishing a stable government in Iraq... the United States and its military allies or the United Nations?

62	Favor
18	United States and its allies
38	United Nations
2	Both (VOL.)
2	Neither (VOL.)
2	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
31	Oppose
<u>7</u>	Don't know/Refused (VOL.)
100	

ASK APRIL 9, 2003 ONLY [N=414]:

Q.SG How easy do you think it will be for the U.S. and its allies to install a stable democratic government in Iraq? Will it be [READ OPTIONS]

		<i>Time-CNN</i> <u>Feb 2003</u>
5	Very easy	5
20	Somewhat easy	16
57	Somewhat difficult, or	48
16	Very difficult	28
<u>2</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)	<u>3</u>
100		100

ASK ALL:

Q.13 Finally, do you think that using military force to remove dictators of countries that may threaten the United States, but have not attacked us, is [READ OPTIONS]

15	Usually the right thing to do,
51	Sometimes the right thing to do,
20	Rarely the right thing to do, OR
10	Never the right thing to do?
<u>4</u>	Don't know/Refused (DO NOT READ)
100	

PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS
MARCH-APRIL 2003 WAR TRACKING
FINAL TOPLINE
March 28-April 7, 2003 N=1,586

KIDS How many children between and including the ages of five and twelve, if any, are living in your household?

		Mid-Sept <u>2001</u>	Late Jan <u>1991</u>
71	None	71	73
13	One	14	14
15	More than one	15	13
<u>1</u>	Don't know/Refused	*	<u>0</u>
100		100	100

IF HAVE CHILD BETWEEN FIVE AND TWELVE IN THE HOUSEHOLD [N=381]:

Thinking about your (child/children) between five and twelve...

KID1 (Has/have) your (child/children) been following news about the war in Iraq?

		Mid-Sept <u>2001</u> ⁶	Late Jan <u>1991</u>
56	Yes	48	69
43	No	51	29
<u>2</u>	Don't Know/Refused	<u>1</u>	<u>2</u>
100		100	100

KID2 Have you been trying to restrict how much coverage of the war in Iraq your (child/children) (watch/watches)?

		Mid-Sept <u>2001</u>	Late Jan <u>1991</u>
51	Yes	54	30
48	No	46	69
<u>1</u>	Don't Know/Refused	*	<u>1</u>
100		100	100

KID3 (Has/have) your (child/children) expressed any fears about the war in Iraq?

		Mid-Sept <u>2001</u>	Late Jan <u>1991</u>
34	Yes	46	43
66	No	54	57
*	Don't Know/Refused	<u>0</u>	*
100		100	100

⁶ In Mid-September 2001 the question asked about "the terrorist attacks."