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Ten Years after 9/11

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## United in Remembrance, Divided over Policies

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## Ten Years after 9/11

# United in Remembrance, Divided over Policies

Ten years after the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11, 2001, the events of that day retain a powerful hold on the public's collective consciousness.

Virtually every American remembers what they were doing at the moment the attacks occurred. Substantial majorities say that 9/11 had a profound personal impact and that the attacks changed the country in a major way.

Yet the public continues to be divided over many of the anti-terrorism policies that arose in the wake of Sept. 11, and these differences extend to opinions about whether U.S. wrongdoing prior to 9/11 may have motivated the attacks: 43% say yes, while 45% disagree. In late September 2001, 33% said U.S. wrongdoing might have motivated the attacks, compared with 55% who said it did not.

The latest national survey by the Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, conducted Aug. 17-21 among 1,509 adults, finds that the public offers generally positive ratings of the government's response to the terrorist threat. Yet when asked why there has not been another major attack on the U.S., 43% credit government policies while only somewhat fewer (35%) say it is because the country has been lucky so far.

Overall, most think terrorists have either the same (39%) or an even greater (23%) ability to launch another major attack on the U.S. today as they did ten years ago. Just 35% think it is

## Ten Years after the 9/11 Attacks

	Right after	1 year	5 years	10 years
	Sept-Oct 2001	Aug 2002	Aug 2006	Aug 2011
	%	%	%	%
<i>Recollections and reactions to the attacks...</i>				
Remember where you were	--	97	95	97
Attacks affected you a great deal	--	67	--	75
Country has changed in a major way	--	50	51	61
<i>Necessary to give up civil liberties in order to curb terrorism?</i>				
Yes	55	49	43	40
No	35	45	50	54
Don't know	<u>10</u>	<u>6</u>	<u>7</u>	<u>6</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>U.S. wrongdoing might have motivated attacks?</i>				
Yes	33	38	--	43
No	55	49	--	45
Don't know	<u>12</u>	<u>13</u>	--	<u>13</u>
	100	100		100
<i>How well is gov't doing reducing threat of terrorism?</i>				
Very/Fairly well	88	76	74	76
Not too/Not at all well	8	20	24	22
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Main reason U.S. hasn't experienced another attack</i>				
Gov't doing good job	--	--	39	43
Been lucky so far	--	--	40	35
U.S. is difficult target	--	--	13	16
Don't know	--	--	<u>8</u>	<u>7</u>
			100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. For 2002 & 2006, not all questions asked in August, closest dates were used.

harder for terrorists to reach us today. Despite the killing of Osama bin Laden, as many say the U.S. has not captured or killed most of those responsible for the 9/11 attacks as say it has (47% vs. 45%).

Moreover, only about a quarter say the wars in Iraq (26%) and Afghanistan (25%) have lessened the chances of terrorist attacks in the United States. In both cases majorities say the wars either have increased the risk of terrorism in this country or made no difference.

A decade after 9/11, most Americans reject the argument that the attacks triggered a “clash of civilizations” between the West and the Muslim world. Nearly six-in-ten (57%) say the Sept. 11 attacks led to a conflict with a small, radical group, while 35% say they began a major conflict between people in the West and the people of Islam.

Yet Americans’ concerns about Islamic extremism, both in the United States and around the world, remain extensive. Two-thirds (67%) say they are very or somewhat concerned about the possible rise of Islamic extremism in this country, while 73% are at least somewhat concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism around the world.

Notably, these concerns are generally shared by Muslim Americans. A comprehensive survey of U.S. Muslims, released Aug. 30, 2011, found that large majorities express concern about the possible rise of Islamic extremism here, and its rise around the world. However, the general public and Muslim Americans differ over the amount of support for extremism among Muslims in the U.S.: 40% of the public says there is a great deal or fair amount of support for extremism compared with just 21% of Muslim Americans. (*For more, see [“Muslim Americans: No Sign of Growth in Alienation or Support for Extremism.”](#)*)

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## Broad Concern About Islamic Extremism

<i>Concerned about rise of Islamic extremism ...</i>	<b>Around the world</b>	<b>Within the U.S.*</b>
	%	%
Very/Somewhat	73	67
Not too/Not at all	24	30
Don't know	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>
	100	100

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### *Support for extremism among Muslims in the U.S. ...*

A great deal	15
A fair amount	25
Not too much	33
None at all	12
Don't know	<u>14</u>
	100

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### *Do U.S. policies single out Muslims for increased surveillance/monitoring?*

Yes	44
<i>Does this bother you?</i>	
A lot/Some	25
Not much/None	19
No	46
Don't know	<u>11</u>
	100

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PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 21-24, 2011 Omnibus, July 20-24, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding. \* Concern about possible rise of Islamic extremism.

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## Vivid Memories of a Terrible Day

Virtually every adult today remembers exactly where they were or what they were doing the moment they heard the news of the Sept. 11 terrorist attacks. This recall is as high among those younger than 30 – who were only eight to 19 years old when the attacks occurred – as it is among older Americans.

Among eight other historic events tested, only one – the assassination of John F. Kennedy in 1963 – is a vivid memory for virtually all of those old enough to remember the tragedy: 95% of Americans who were born in 1955 or earlier, and who would have been eight or older in 1963, say they can recall exactly where they were or what they were doing. That is virtually unchanged from 1999 (96%).

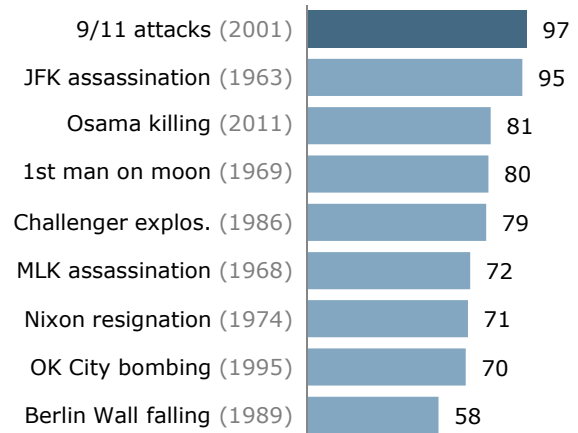
Both 9/11 and Kennedy's assassination stand apart from other developments, including some recent events. For instance, 81% of adults recall where they were in May when President Obama announced that Osama bin Laden had been killed by U.S. forces.

The other national event that resonated as widely as 9/11 and Kennedy's death among those old enough to recall is Japan's attack on Pearl Harbor. The Pew Research Center's 1999 study found that 89% of those who were eight or older at the time of Pearl Harbor were able to recall exactly where they were or what they were doing when they first heard of the attack.

The clear memories that nearly all Americans have of Sept. 11 reflects the emotional toll the events of that day took at the time. In a Pew Research Center survey conducted shortly after the attacks (Sept. 13-17, 2001), 71% said they felt depressed, 63% said they simply couldn't stop watching news about the attacks, 49% said they had had difficulty concentrating, and a third reported having trouble sleeping in the days following the tragedy. (For more, see [“American Psyche Reeling From Terror Attacks,” Sept. 19, 2001.](#))

### Remember Exactly Where You Were at the Time of ...

Based on those age eight or older at time of event\*



From 1999 Pew Research Center survey ...

Pearl Harbor (1941) 89

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011. Q9.  
\* Except 2011 Osama bin Laden killing based on age 18+.

Even today, 75% of Americans say the attacks affected them emotionally a great deal, and this feeling crosses regional, political and demographic lines, with one exception: 55% of those currently younger than 30 say the event moved them or affected them a great deal. That compares with 81% of people who are today ages 30 and older.

Six-in-ten (61%) Americans say the terrorist attacks changed life in America in a major way, while just one-in-ten (10%) say life in America is basically the same as it was before the attacks (28% say life changed “only a little bit”). Again, this impression spans all segments of the country, including both young and old.

### Looking Back at Bush’s Handling of 9/11

When George W. Bush left office in Jan. 2009, his job approval rating stood at just 24%. But retrospective evaluations of how Bush dealt with the 9/11 attacks in the time right after 9/11 are generally positive: 56% today say they approve and 38% disapprove

Nonetheless, this is a substantially lower rating than Bush enjoyed at the time, when 86% approved of his job performance, including 96% of Republicans, 85% of independents, and 81% of Democrats.

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#### Bush’s Handling of 9/11, A Decade Later

	Overall job approval		Thinking back to how Bush dealt with the situation right after 9/11
	Sept 2001	Jan 2009	Aug 2011
<i>% approve</i>	%	%	%
Total	86	24	56
Republican	96	60	84
Democrat	81	9	39
Independent	85	20	55

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011. Q70.

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In September 2001, a majority of Americans (55%) rejected the idea that there were things the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorists to attack us, while 33% agreed with this idea. Public views are more evenly divided today: 43% say U.S. wrongdoing may have motivated the attacks while 45% say it did not.

Republicans overwhelmingly reject this idea (65%), just as they did ten years ago, but the views of Democrats and independents have shifted. In fact, today half of independents (50%) believe U.S. actions may have been a motivating factor in the attacks, up from 34% ten years ago.

Younger Americans are also more likely to say U.S. actions might have motivated the attacks: 52% of 18 to 29 year-olds, and 47% of 30 to 49 year olds express this view. This compares with just 39% of 50 to 64 year olds and 20% of those 65 and older.

## National Security, Wars in Iraq, Afghanistan

Three-quarters (76%) of Americans say the government is doing very (27%) or fairly (49%) well in reducing the threat of terrorism, and for most of the past ten years, at least two-thirds of the American public, including majorities across party lines, have offered this generally positive assessment.

The one notable exception was in January 2007, as George W. Bush announced his “surge” strategy for the war in Iraq. Positive assessments of government performance on terrorism fell to a ten-year low of 54%, due mostly to the negative assessments of Democrats.

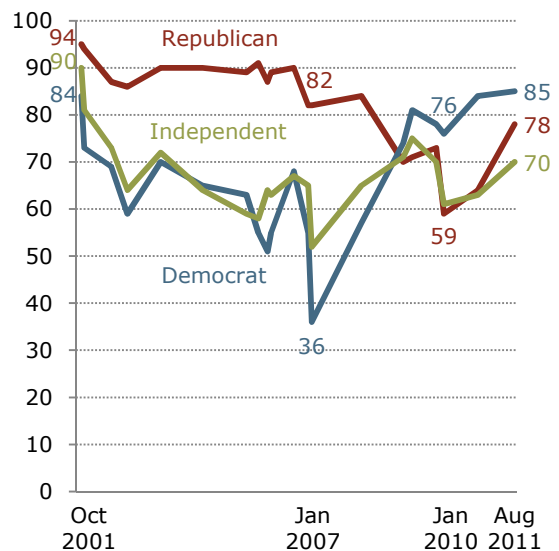
## Attacks Motivated by U.S. Actions?

<i>Anything the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the attacks?</i>	Sept 2001	Aug 2011	Change
	%	%	
Total	33	43	+10
Republican	27	27	0
Democrat	40	48	+8
Independent	34	50	+16

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011. Q78.

## Partisan Differences in Views of Government Anti-Terror Efforts

*Percent saying the government is doing very or fairly well in reducing the threat of terrorism*



PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011 Q65.

While 2007 was an extreme, there has been a partisan divide in assessments of government performance on terrorism from the very beginning. The direction of this gap switched when Barack Obama took office. From 2001 through 2008 Democrats offered decidedly more critical views of government performance on terrorism. But by October 2010, Democrats expressed more positive views of the government's anti-terrorism efforts than did Republicans.

When asked why the U.S. has not suffered another major attack since 9/11, fewer than half (43%) say the main reason is that the government is doing a good job protecting the country; 35% say America has been lucky so far, while 16% say the main reason is that America is a difficult target for terrorists.

Throughout much of the past decade, there has been substantial skepticism that the war in Iraq has improved America's security.

Currently, 31% say U.S. involvement in Iraq increased the chances of another terrorist attack here, and 39% say it made no difference. Just 26% say the war in Iraq has lessened the chances of another attack.

Evaluations of the war in Afghanistan are similar – 37% say it has increased chances of another terrorist attack in the U.S., 25% say it has lessened the chances of an attack, and 34% say it has not made a difference. Democrats are more likely than Republicans to say the war in Afghanistan has increased the chances of another attack on U.S. soil (42% vs. 29%). Independents tend to share the views of Democrats, with 41% saying the U.S. is more at risk because of the war in Afghanistan.

One of the largest gender gaps in the survey is over Afghanistan's effect on our national security. Women are far more likely than men

### Why No Major Attacks Since 9/11?

	Total	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+
Govt is doing a good job protecting the country	43	45	44	41	42
America has been lucky so far	35	22	35	42	42
America is a difficult target for terrorists	16	23	17	11	9
Don't know	7	11	5	5	6
	100	100	100	100	100

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### War in Afghanistan's Impact on Likelihood of Another U.S. Attack

	Increased chances	Lessened chances	No diff	DK
	%	%	%	%
Total	37	25	34	3=100
Men	28	32	38	2=100
Women	47	18	31	4=100
18-29	49	22	27	2=100
30-49	34	30	34	2=100
50-64	35	24	36	5=100
65+	33	20	43	5=100
Republican	29	29	37	5=100
Democrat	42	24	32	2=100
Independent	41	21	36	2=100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011 Q87. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

to say that the war in Afghanistan has increased the chances of another terrorist attack against the United States (47% vs. 28%). Men are far more likely than women to say it has made us more secure (32% vs. 18%).

## National ID Card Favored

As time has passed since 9/11, fewer Americans think it will be necessary to give up civil liberties in order to curb terrorism in this country. Currently, 40% say the average person will have to give up some civil liberties, compared with 43% five years ago, 49% one year after the attacks, and 55% in the weeks following the 2001 attacks.

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### Civil Liberties and Anti-Terrorism Policies

	Sept 2001	Aug 2002	Dec 2006	Aug 2011
<i>Percent who favor each as a measure to curb terrorism</i>	%	%	%	%
Requiring that all citizens carry a national ID card at all times	70	59	57	57
Extra airport checks on passengers who appear to be of Middle-Eastern descent	--	59	57	53
Government monitoring credit card purchases	--	43	42	42
Government monitoring personal phone calls and emails	--	33	34	29

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug 17-21, 2011 Q77.

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And for the most part, there has been little change in the public's view of specific policies and policy proposals. A 57% majority is in favor of requiring all citizens to carry a national identity card at all times to show to a police officer. Support for this idea was as high as 70% in the weeks following the attacks in 2001, but fell to 59% by August of 2002 and has remained steady since. Just over half (53%) support allowing airport personnel to do extra checks on passengers who appear to be of Middle Eastern descent, while 43% are opposed to this. Again, the balance of opinion is largely unchanged.



Americans have more qualms about government monitoring and data collection efforts. More oppose (55%) than favor (42%) the U.S. government monitoring credit card purchases as a means of reducing the terrorist threat, and by an even larger 68% to 29% margin, most oppose the U.S. government monitoring personal telephone calls and emails.

There also has been little change over the years in opinions about the use of torture against suspected terrorists. Currently, a majority (53%) says the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can be often (19%) or sometimes (34%) justified; fewer say the use of torture under these circumstances can be rarely (18%) or never (24%) justified.

### Few Continue to Rule Out Torture of Suspected Terrorists

<i>Torture to gain important information from suspected terrorists can be justified ...</i>	<b>July 2004</b>	<b>Oct 2006</b>	<b>Jan 2007</b>	<b>Feb 2008</b>	<b>Nov 2009</b>	<b>Aug 2011</b>
	%	%	%	%	%	%
Often	15	18	12	17	19	19
Sometimes	28	28	31	31	35	34
Rarely	21	19	25	20	16	18
Never	32	32	29	30	25	24
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>3</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>5</u>	<u>4</u>
	100	100	100	100	100	100

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When the Pew Research Center first asked this question in July 2004, a majority (53%) said the use of torture could be only rarely or never justified. But in November 2009 and in the current survey, narrow majorities have said torture can at least sometimes be justified.

As in the past, there are wide partisan differences in views of whether torture can be justified to gain important information from suspected terrorists. A substantial majority of Republicans (71%) say torture can be at least sometimes justified, compared with 51% of independents and 45% of Democrats.

## Concern about Islamic Extremism

Two-thirds of Americans (67%) say they are at least somewhat concerned about the possible rise of Islamic extremism in the U.S., with roughly half of those (36% overall) saying they are *very* concerned. Concerns about the possible rise of Islamic extremism have declined since April 2007. At that time, 78% were at least somewhat concerned, while 46% were *very* concerned.

Concerns about possible domestic Islamic extremism are particularly acute among Republicans 54% are very concerned about this, compared with 36% of independents and 24% of Democrats.

Republicans also are likely to say there is at least a fair amount of support for extremism among Muslims in the U.S., as well as to say that support for extremism is growing. Overall, the public is divided over how much support for extremism exists in the U.S. – 40% say there is a great deal or a fair amount, while 45% say there is little or none.

More than half of Republicans (55%) say there is a great deal or fair amount of support for extremism among Muslims in this country; that compares with 39% of independents and 33% of Democrats. And Republicans are also more likely to think Islamic extremism is already rising in this country – 35% are of this view, compared with 18% of Democrats and 25% of independents.

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### Republicans More Concerned by Rise of Islamic Extremism in U.S.

<i>Concerned about possible rise of Islamic extremism in the United States ...</i>	<b>Total</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Ind</b>
	%	%	%	%
Very/Somewhat	67	83	59	67
<i>Very concerned</i>	36	54	24	36
Not too/Not at all	30	17	38	32
Don't know	<u>2</u>	<u>0</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>1</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Support for extremism among Muslims in the U.S.:</i>				
A great deal/Fair amount	40	55	33	39
Not too much/None	45	34	52	50
Don't know	<u>14</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>15</u>	<u>11</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>Support for extremism among U.S. Muslims is...</i>				
Increasing	24	35	18	25
Decreasing/No change	45	47	50	45
There is none	26	16	29	25
Don't know	<u>4</u>	<u>2</u>	<u>4</u>	<u>5</u>
	100	100	100	100

PEW RESEARCH CENTER July 21-24, 2011 Omnibus, July 20-24, 2011. Figures may not add to 100% because of rounding.

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For the most part, the public does not see the Sept. 11 attacks as the start of a major conflict between the people of America and Europe, and the people of Islam. But more see such a major clash between Islam and the West than did so in October 2001, a month after the attacks.

Currently, 57% say the 9/11 attacks were the start of a conflict with a small, radical group while 35% think the attacks began a broader

conflict between the people in the West and the people of Islam. In October 2001, Americans rejected, by a two-to-one margin (63% to 28%), the idea that the attacks signified the start of a major conflict between the people of the West and the people of Islam.

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### Clash of Civilizations?

	<b>Right after</b>	<b>1 year</b>	<b>5 years</b>	<b>10 years</b>
	Oct 2001	Aug 2002	Aug 2006	Aug 2011
	%	%	%	%
<i>Do you see the September 11 terrorist attacks as...</i>				
Start of a major conflict between the people of America and Europe vs. the people of Islam	28	35	40	35
Only a conflict with a small radical group	63	52	49	57
Don't know	<u>9</u>	<u>13</u>	<u>11</u>	<u>8</u>
	100	100	100	100
<i>% saying "major conflict" among...</i>				
Republican	30	32	38	40
Democrat	28	35	44	32
Independent	27	37	39	35

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug 17-21, 2011 Q58.

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## Generational Divides in Views of 9/11

People who are currently younger than 30 are far less likely than older Americans to say that the Sept. 11 attacks affected them a great deal emotionally.

There also are large age differences in post-Sept. 11 attitudes related to Islam and Muslim Americans.

Americans age 65 and older are about twice as likely as those under age 30 to say they are very concerned about Islamic extremism in the U.S. Conversely, the young are roughly twice as likely as seniors to be bothered by their belief that

Muslims are singled out for increased government surveillance and monitoring. Younger Americans also are less supportive of extra airport checks on people who appear to be of Middle Eastern descent.

At the same time, younger Americans are the most concerned that the war in Afghanistan has increased the chance of another attack in the United States. And while about half of those younger than 30 and those 30 to 49 say there are things the U.S. did prior to 9/11 that may have motivated the attacks, far fewer older Americans express this view.

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### Age and 9/11 Attitudes

	Total	18-29	30-49	50-64	65+	Young-old gap
<b>General Views</b>						
Attacks affected you emotionally "a great deal"	75	55	79	80	84	-29
U.S. wrongdoing might have motivated attacks	43	52	47	39	29	+23
Most of those responsible for 9/11 have been killed or captured	45	50	49	43	32	+18
War in Afghanistan has <i>increased</i> the chances of attack on U.S.	37	49	34	35	33	+16
<b>Opinions about Islamic extremism, Muslim Americans</b>						
Very concerned about the rise of Islamic extremism in the U.S.	36	24	33	42	47	-23
Allow extra airport checks on passengers who appear to be of Middle Eastern descent	53	48	49	54	65	-17
Bothered that Muslims in U.S. are singled out for surveillance	24	37	24	20	18	+19

PEW RESEARCH CENTER Aug. 17-21, 2011; July 20-24, 2011; July 21-24, 2011 Omnibus.

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## About the Surveys

Most of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted August 17-21, 2011, among a national sample of 1,509 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (905 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 604 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 268 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older. For detailed information about our survey methodology, see <http://people-press.org/methodology/>

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status and relative usage of landline and cell phones (for those with both), based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	1,509	3.5 percentage points
Form 1	777	4.5 percentage points
Form 2	732	4.5 percentage points
Republicans	399	6.0 percentage points
Democrats	444	6.0 percentage points
Independents	589	5.0 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

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.

Some of the analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted July 20-24, 2011 among a national sample of 1,501 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (916 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 585 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 254 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English and Spanish. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older.

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<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	1,501	3.5 percentage points
Republicans	389	6.0 percentage points
Democrats	464	5.5 percentage points
Independents	575	5.0 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

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.

Additional analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted July 21-24, 2011, among a national sample of 999 adults 18 years of age or older living in the continental United States (602 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone, and 397 were interviewed on a cell phone, including 169 who had no landline telephone). The survey was conducted by interviewers at Princeton Data Source under the direction of Princeton Survey Research Associates International. A combination of landline and cell phone random digit dial samples were used; both samples were provided by Survey Sampling International. Interviews were conducted in English. Respondents in the landline sample were selected by randomly asking for the youngest adult male or female who is now at home. Interviews in the cell sample were conducted with the person who answered the phone, if that person was an adult 18 years of age or older.

The combined landline and cell phone sample are weighted using an iterative technique that matches gender, age, education, race, Hispanic origin, region, and population density to parameters from the March 2010 Census Bureau's Current Population Survey. The sample also is weighted to match current patterns of telephone status, based on extrapolations from the 2010 National Health Interview Survey. The weighting procedure also accounts for the fact that respondents with both landline and cell phones have a greater probability of being included in the combined sample and adjusts for household size within the landline sample. Sampling errors and statistical tests of significance take into account the effect of weighting. The following table shows the sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey:

<b>Group</b>	<b>Sample Size</b>	<b>Plus or minus ...</b>
Total sample	999	4.0 percentage points
Republicans	252	7.5 percentage points
Democrats	305	7.0 percentage points
Independents	349	6.5 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request.

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**  
**AUGUST 2011 POLITICAL SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**August 17-21, 2011**  
**N=1509**

**QUESTIONS 2-3, 5-8, 16-18, 25-30, 35-37, 39-40, 44 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**NO QUESTIONS 1, 4, 10-15, 19-24, 31-34, 38, 41, 43, 45-54**

**QUESTION 42 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.9 Now I'm going to ask you about some things that have happened in the U.S. and around the world over the last 50 years or so. For each event, please tell me if you happen to remember EXACTLY where you were OR EXACTLY what you were doing the MOMENT you heard the news. Just tell me "yes" if you do remember this and "no" if you do not. If you were not old enough at the time to remember, just say so and we'll move on. First, do you happen to remember exactly where you were OR exactly what you were doing the MOMENT you heard about... **[READ IN ORDER; IF RESPONDENT VOLUNTEERS THAT HE OR SHE WASN'T BORN OR WASN'T OLD ENOUGH TO REMEMBER AN EVENT, END THE SERIES AND GO TO THE NEXT QUESTION. IF RESPONDENT ANSWERS "DON'T KNOW" GO TO THE NEXT ITEM IN THE SERIES.]** How about... **[NEXT ITEM] [REPEAT AS NECESSARY BUT AT LEAST EVERY THREE ITEMS: do you happen to remember exactly where you were or what you were doing the moment you heard about [ITEM]?**

	<i>Based on total respondents</i>					<i>Based on those eight or older at time of event<sup>1</sup></i>		
	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>(VOL.) Not old enough</i>	<i>(VOL.) Not born yet</i>	<i>(VOL.) DK/Ref</i>	<i>Yes</i>	<i>No</i>	<i>(VOL.) DK/Ref</i>
a. The killing of Osama bin Laden (2011) Aug 17-21, 2011	81	19	0	--	*	81	19	*
b. The September 11 <sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks (2001) Aug 17-21, 2011	97	3	0	--	0	97	3	0
<b>TREND FOR COMPARISON</b> August, 2006 <sup>2</sup>	95	5	--	--	*	95	5	*
Late August, 2002	97	3	--	--	*	97	3	*
c. The Oklahoma City bombing (1995) Aug 17-21, 2011	63	34	2	--	1	70	30	*
May, 1999	86	14	*	--	*	86	14	*
d. The fall of the Berlin Wall (1989) Aug 17-21, 2011	44	38	9	8	*	58	41	1
May, 1999	59	39	2	--	*1	60	39	1
e. The Challenger explosion (1986) Aug 17-21, 2011	59	20	7	13	1	79	20	1
May, 1999	78	17	4	--	1	83	16	1

**NO ITEM f.**

<sup>1</sup> Based on those who were age eight or older at time of event and did not volunteer that they were not old enough. Presented on this filter for comparison with recollections of the Sept. 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks measured in the current survey. For the killing of Osama bin Laden, based on those 18 or older at time of event.

<sup>2</sup> In 2006 & 2002, the question was asked as a stand-alone question and was worded: "Do you happen to remember exactly where you were or what you were doing the moment you heard the news about the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks?"



**Q.9 CONTINUED**

	Based on total respondents					Based on those eight or older at time of event		
	Yes	No	(VOL.) Not old enough	Not born yet	(VOL.) DK/Ref	Yes	No	(VOL.) DK/Ref
g. Richard Nixon's resignation (1974)								
Aug 17-21, 2011	36	20	8	35	*	71	29	*
May, 1999	52	25	10	13	1	74	25	1
h. Neil Armstrong walking on the moon (1969)								
Aug 17-21, 2011	37	13	6	43	*	80	19	1
May, 1999	53	13	10	24	*	85	14	1
i. Martin Luther King's assassination (1968)								
Aug 17-21, 2011	30	16	8	45	*	72	27	1
May, 1999	42	21	15	22	*	72	27	1
j. John F. Kennedy's assassination (1963)								
Aug 17-21, 2011	37	6	5	51	*	95	5	0
May, 1999	51	5	8	35	*	96	3	1
September, 1988 (AP/Media General) <sup>3</sup>	77	7	15	--	1	--	--	--

**ASK ALL:**

On a different subject, I have a few questions about the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon...

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=777]:**

Q.55F1 Thinking back to that time, how much did the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks move you or affect you emotionally? **[READ]**

Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u>		Aug <u>2002</u> <sup>4</sup>
75	A great deal	67
18	Some	25
4	Not much	5
2	Not at all	3
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	*

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=732]:**

Q.56F2 As a result of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, has life in America changed in a major way, changed only a little bit, or is life in America basically the same as it was before the attacks?

Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u>		Aug <u>2006</u> <sup>5</sup>	Aug <u>2002</u>
61	Changed in a major way	51	50
28	Changed only a little bit	35	35
10	Basically the same	13	14
*	Other <b>(VOL.)</b>	*	*
1	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	1	1

**NO QUESTION 57**

<sup>3</sup> In September 1998, the question was worded: "If you were old enough at the time, do you remember where you were when you learned that President Kennedy had been assassinated?"

<sup>4</sup> In August 2002, question began "How much did the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks..."

<sup>5</sup> In 2002 and 2006, question began "As a result of the attacks..."

**ASK ALL:**

Q.58 Do you think that the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks were the start of a major conflict between the people of America and Europe versus the people of Islam, or is it only a conflict with a small, radical group?

Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u>		Aug <u>2006</u>	Aug <u>2002</u>	Oct <u>2001</u>
35	Major conflict	40	35	28
57	Conflict with a small radical group	49	52	63
8	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	11	13	9

**NO QUESTIONS 59-62****ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=777]:**

Q.63F1 Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. is greater, the same, or less than it was at the time of the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks?

	<u>Greater</u>	<u>The same</u>	<u>Less</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Aug 17-21, 2011	23	39	35	3
Oct 13-18, 2010	30	41	25	4
Jan 6-10, 2010	33	35	29	3
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	29	38	29	4
Feb 4-8, 2009	17	44	35	4
Mid-September, 2008	18	43	36	3
Late-February, 2008	16	41	39	4
December, 2006	23	41	31	5
August, 2006	25	37	33	5
January, 2006	17	39	39	5
Late-October, 2005	26	41	29	4
July, 2005	28	40	29	3
July, 2004	24	39	34	3
Late-August, 2002	22	39	34	5

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=777]:**

Q.64F1 So far, there has not been another terrorist attack in America since 2001. Is this mostly because  
**[READ AND RANDOMIZE]**

Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u>		Oct 13-18 <u>2010</u>	Oct 28- Nov 8 <u>2009</u>	Aug <u>2006</u>	Late Oct <u>2005</u>
43	The government is doing a good job protecting the country	37	44	39	33
16	America is a difficult target for terrorists	13	11	13	17
35	America has been lucky so far	43	35	40	45
7	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	8	9	8	5

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=732]:**

Q.65F2 In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism?  
**[READ]**

	<u>Very well</u>	<u>Fairly well</u>	<u>Not too well</u>	<u>Not at all well</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Aug 17-21, 2011	27	49	16	6	2
Oct 13-18, 2010	15	54	17	10	4
Jan 6-10, 2010	15	50	21	12	2
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	20	53	14	8	4
Mar 31-Apr 21, 2009	19	56	15	5	5
Feb 4-8, 2009	22	49	16	6	7
Late February, 2008	21	45	19	12	3
January, 2007	17	37	27	17	2
December, 2006	17	48	21	11	3
August, 2006	22	52	16	8	2

**Q.65F2 CONTINUED...**

	Very <u>well</u>	Fairly <u>well</u>	Not <u>too well</u>	Not at <u>all well</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
February, 2006	16	52	20	10	2
January, 2006	16	50	20	9	5
Late October, 2005	17	50	22	9	2
July, 2005	17	53	19	8	3
July, 2004	18	53	17	8	4
August, 2003	19	56	16	7	2
Early November, 2002 (RVs)	15	54	19	8	4
June, 2002	16	60	16	4	4
Early November, 2001	35	46	9	5	5
October 15-21, 2001	38	46	9	4	3
October 10-14, 2001	48	40	6	2	4

**NO QUESTIONS 66-69****ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=777]:**

Q.70F1 Thinking back to the time right after the September 11<sup>th</sup> attacks, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush dealt with the attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington?

Aug 17-21

2011

56	Approve
38	Disapprove
5	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**TREND FOR COMPARISON...**

*Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is dealing with the terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center in New York City and the Pentagon in Washington?*

Mid-Sep

2001

85	Approve
6	Disapprove
9	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTIONS 71-75****ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=732]:**

Q.76F2 In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it will be necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?

	<u>Yes</u>	<u>No</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Aug 17-21, 2011	40	54	6
April, 2009	27	65	8
January, 2007	40	54	6
September, 2006 <sup>6</sup>	43	50	7
July, 2005	40	53	7
July, 2004	38	56	6
August, 2003	44	50	6
June, 2002	49	45	6
January, 2002	55	39	6
Mid-September, 2001	55	35	10
April, 1997	29	62	9
March, 1996	30	65	5
LA Times: April, 1995	49	43	8

<sup>6</sup> In September 2006, July 2005 and July 2004 the question was worded: "In order to curb terrorism in this country, do you think it is necessary for the average person to give up some civil liberties, or not?"

**ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=777]:**

Q.77F1 Do you favor or oppose the following measures to curb terrorism. First, **[INSERT ITEM; RANDOMIZE]** What about **[NEXT ITEM]? [IF NECESSARY: Do you favor or oppose [ITEM] to curb terrorism?]**

	<u>Favor</u>	<u>Oppose</u>	<u>(VOL.)</u> <u>DK/Ref</u>
a.F1 Requiring that all citizens carry a national identity card at all times to show to a police officer on request			
Aug 17-21, 2011	57	41	2
December, 2006	57	39	4
January, 2006	57	38	5
August, 2003 <sup>7</sup>	56	40	4
Late August, 2002	59	38	3
Mid-September, 2001	70	26	4
b.F1 The U.S. government monitoring personal telephone calls and emails			
Aug 17-21, 2011	29	68	3
December, 2006 <sup>8</sup>	34	61	5
Late August, 2002	33	61	6

**NO ITEM c.**

d.F1 Allowing airport personnel to do extra checks on passengers who appear to be of Middle-Eastern descent			
Aug 17-21, 2011	53	43	4
December, 2006	57	38	5
January, 2006	57	38	5
Late August, 2002	59	38	3
e.F1 The U.S. government monitoring credit card purchases			
Aug 17-21, 2011	42	55	3
December, 2006 <sup>9</sup>	42	53	5
Late August, 2002	43	51	6

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=732]:**

Q.78F2 Thinking back, do you think there is anything that the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, or not?

Aug 17-21 <u>2011</u>		<u>Jul</u> <u>2004</u> <sup>10</sup>	<u>Late Aug</u> <u>2002</u>	<u>Late Sep</u> <u>2001</u>
43	Yes, U.S. wrongdoing may have motivated attacks	38	38	33
45	No	51	49	55
13	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	11	13	12

<sup>7</sup> In August 2003, the item was asked as a stand-alone question.

<sup>8</sup> In 2006 and 2002, item was worded "Allowing the U.S. government to monitor personal telephone calls and emails."

<sup>9</sup> In 2006 and 2002, item was worded "Allowing the U.S. government to monitor credit card purchases."

<sup>10</sup> In 2004, question read "...motivated the 9/11 terrorist attacks..." In 2002 and 2001, the question read "Do you think there is anything that the U.S. did wrong in its dealings with other countries that might have motivated the terrorist attacks, or not?"

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=732]:**

Q.79F2 Do you think the U.S. has killed or captured most of those responsible for the September 11<sup>th</sup> terrorist attacks, or don't you think so?

Aug 17-21

2011

45	Yes, has
47	No, has not
8	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**NO QUESTION 80****ASK ALL:**

Q.81 Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

	<u>Often</u> <u>justified</u>	<u>Sometimes</u> <u>justified</u>	<u>Rarely</u> <u>justified</u>	<u>Never</u> <u>justified</u>	<b>(VOL.)</b> <u>DK/Ref</u>
Aug 17-21, 2011	19	34	18	24	4
Oct 28-Nov 8, 2009	19	35	16	25	5
Apr 14-21, 2009	15	34	22	25	4
Feb 4-8, 2009	16	28	20	31	5
Late February, 2008	17	31	20	30	2
November, 2007	18	30	21	27	4
January, 2007	12	31	25	29	3
Early October, 2006	18	28	19	32	3
Late October 2005	15	31	17	32	5
Late March, 2005	15	30	24	27	4
July, 2004	15	28	21	32	4

**NO QUESTIONS 82-85****ASK FORM 1 ONLY [N=777]:**

And finally thinking about the war in Iraq,

Q.86F1 In the long run, do you think the war in Iraq has increased the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessened the chances, or has it made no difference?

Aug 17-21		<u>Apr</u> <u>2006</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>Oct</u> <u>2005</u>	<u>Jul</u> <u>2005</u>	<u>Mid-Oct</u> <u>2004</u>	<u>Early</u> <u>Sep</u> <u>2004</u>	<u>Nov</u> <u>2002</u> <sup>11</sup>
<u>2011</u>							
31	Increased	37	41	45	36	34	45
26	Lessened	27	25	22	32	32	18
39	No difference	33	32	30	28	31	30
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	3	2	3	4	3	7

**ASK FORM 2 ONLY [N=732]:**

And finally thinking about the war in Afghanistan,

Q.87F2 In the long run, do you think the war in Afghanistan has increased the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessened the chances, or has it made no difference?

Aug 17-21

2011

37	Increased
25	Lessened
34	No difference
3	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

<sup>11</sup>

The question from the November 2002 Global Attitudes survey was worded: "In the long run, do you think a war with Iraq to end Saddam Hussein's rule is likely to increase the chances of terrorist attacks in the U.S., lessen the chances, or will it make no difference?"

**ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, or independent?

**ASK IF INDEP/NO PREF/OTHER/DK/REF (PARTY=3,4,5,9):**

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

				(VOL.)	(VOL.)	(VOL.)	Lean	Lean
	Republican	Democrat	Independent	No preference	Other party	DK/Ref	Rep	Dem
Aug 17-21, 2011	24	30	40	3	*	3	17	18
Jul 20-24, 2011	24	32	38	4	*	2	16	14
Jun 15-19, 2011	26	34	32	4	*	4	13	13
May 25-30, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	15	17
Mar 30-Apr 3, 2011	25	32	37	3	*	3	17	16
Mar 8-14, 2011	24	33	38	3	*	2	17	15
Feb 22-Mar 1, 2011	24	33	37	3	*	3	15	16
Feb 2-7, 2011	24	31	39	3	*	2	16	16
Jan 5-9, 2011	27	32	35	4	*	2	15	14
Dec 1-5, 2010	25	33	34	5	1	2	13	14
Nov 4-7, 2010	26	30	37	4	*	2	17	13
Oct 27-30, 2010	25	34	31	6	1	4	13	11
Oct 13-18, 2010	25	31	36	4	*	3	16	13
Aug 25-Sep 6, 2010	24	32	39	2	*	2	15	17
<b>Yearly Totals</b>								
2010	25.2	32.7	35.2	3.6	.4	2.8	14.5	14.1
2009	23.9	34.4	35.1	3.4	.4	2.8	13.1	15.7
2008	25.7	36.0	31.5	3.6	.3	3.0	10.6	15.2
2007	25.3	32.9	34.1	4.3	.4	2.9	10.9	17.0
2006	27.8	33.1	30.9	4.4	.3	3.4	10.5	15.1
2005	29.3	32.8	30.2	4.5	.3	2.8	10.3	14.9
2004	30.0	33.5	29.5	3.8	.4	3.0	11.7	13.4
2003	30.3	31.5	30.5	4.8	.5	2.5	12.0	12.6
2002	30.4	31.4	29.8	5.0	.7	2.7	12.4	11.6
2001	29.0	33.2	29.5	5.2	.6	2.6	11.9	11.6
2001 Post-Sept 11	30.9	31.8	27.9	5.2	.6	3.6	11.7	9.4
2001 Pre-Sept 11	27.3	34.4	30.9	5.1	.6	1.7	12.1	13.5
2000	28.0	33.4	29.1	5.5	.5	3.6	11.6	11.7
1999	26.6	33.5	33.7	3.9	.5	1.9	13.0	14.5
1998	27.9	33.7	31.1	4.6	.4	2.3	11.6	13.1
1997	28.0	33.4	32.0	4.0	.4	2.3	12.2	14.1
1996	28.9	33.9	31.8	3.0	.4	2.0	12.1	14.9
1995	31.6	30.0	33.7	2.4	.6	1.3	15.1	13.5
1994	30.1	31.5	33.5	1.3	--	3.6	13.7	12.2
1993	27.4	33.6	34.2	4.4	1.5	2.9	11.5	14.9
1992	27.6	33.7	34.7	1.5	0	2.5	12.6	16.5
1991	30.9	31.4	33.2	0	1.4	3.0	14.7	10.8
1990	30.9	33.2	29.3	1.2	1.9	3.4	12.4	11.3
1989	33	33	34	--	--	--	--	--
1987	26	35	39	--	--	--	--	--

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER FOR THE PEOPLE & THE PRESS**  
**JULY 2011 POLITICAL AND MEDIA SURVEY**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**July 20-24, 2011**  
**N=1,501**

**QUESTION 1-5, 7-9, 18-21, 24-28, 31-36, 56-57 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

**QUESTIONS 3, 8-9, 12-16, 37-42, 45-49, 52-54 HELD FOR FUTURE RELEASE**

**NO QUESTIONS 6, 10-11, 17, 22-23, 29-30, 43-44, 50-51, 55, 58-59**

**ASK ALL:**

Q.60 In your opinion, how much support for extremism, if any, is there among Muslims living in the U.S.?  
**[READ]**

Jul 20-24	
<u>2011</u>	
15	A great deal
25	A fair amount
33	Not too much
12	None at all
14	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.60 In your opinion, how much support for extremism, if any, is there among Muslims living in the U.S.?  
**[READ]**

**ASK IF Q.60=1,2,3:**

Q.61 Do you think support for extremism in the Muslim American community is [**RANDOMIZE:** increasing, decreasing] or staying about the same?

Jul 20-24	
<u>2011</u>	
24	Increasing
7	Decreasing
38	Staying about the same
4	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>
26	<i>No support at all for extremism/Don't know</i>

**ASK ALL:**

Q.62 Thinking about the U.S., do you think that the government's anti-terrorism policies single out Muslims in the U.S. for increased surveillance and monitoring, or don't you think so?

**ASK IF THINK MUSLIMS ARE SINGLED OUT (Q.62=1):**

Q.63 And how much, if at all, does it bother you that Muslims in the U.S. are singled out for increased surveillance and monitoring? Would you say it bothers you **[READ]**

Jul 20-24		Apr
<u>2011</u>		<u>2007</u> <sup>12</sup>
44	Yes, think government singles out Muslims	45
11	Bothers you a lot	8
14	Bothers you some	16
8	Bothers you not much	9
11	Bothers you not at all	13
*	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	*
46	No, don't think so	43
11	Don't know/Refused <b>(VOL.)</b>	12

<sup>12</sup> The 2007 question began, "Do you think that the government's anti-terrorism policies..."

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER**  
**July 21-24, 2011 OMNIBUS**  
**FINAL TOPLINE**  
**N=999**

**PEW.1-PEW.5 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****NO PEW.6-PEW.8****PEW.9-PEW.14 PREVIOUSLY RELEASED****ASK ALL:**

On another subject...

PEW.15 How concerned, if at all, are you about the rise of Islamic extremism around the WORLD these days? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?

	<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not at all concerned</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Jul 21-24, 2011	37	36	16	8	3
Nov 12-15, 2009	49	29	12	8	2
April, 2007	48	33	11	5	3

**ASK ALL:**

PEW.16 How concerned, if at all, are you about the possible rise of Islamic extremism in the U.S.? Are you very concerned, somewhat concerned, not too concerned or not at all concerned?

	<u>Very concerned</u>	<u>Somewhat concerned</u>	<u>Not too concerned</u>	<u>Not at all concerned</u>	<b>(VOL.) DK/Ref</b>
Jul 21-24, 2011	36	31	19	11	2
Nov 12-15, 2009	52	27	11	7	3
April, 2007	46	32	13	5	4