

Reflections

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

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

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

Months later, some of this helplessness and uncertainty seems to linger in the opinions and attitudes of the entire American public. Did we feel considerably safer from further attack in June than we did in September? Yes, but over three-quarters of us didn't think the government was exaggerating when it warned of continuing danger. Are we less afraid of another

attack because preventative measures seem to be working? Yes, but the percentage worried that one would happen soon, which had declined in the months after 9/11, has since risen to its highest level yet.

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

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

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

But that day is not here yet.

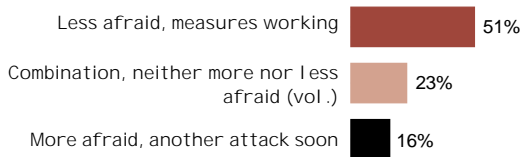
—Lisa Ferraro Parmelee, Editor



It Has Been Months...

Question:

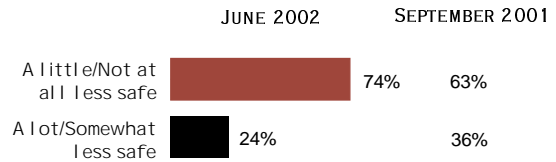
It has been months since the terrorist attacks. Does that make you feel more afraid because that means another attack may happen soon, or less afraid because that means preventative measures are stopping additional attacks?



Note: Asked of registered voters.
Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, June 26-27, 2002.

Question:

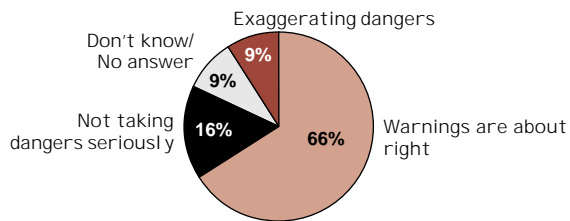
Since the September 11 terrorist attacks, do you personally feel a lot less safe where you live and work, somewhat less safe, only a little less safe, or not at all less safe than you did before?



Source: Surveys by Princeton Survey Research Associates/*Newsweek*, September 13-14, 2001 and June 27-28, 2002.

Question:

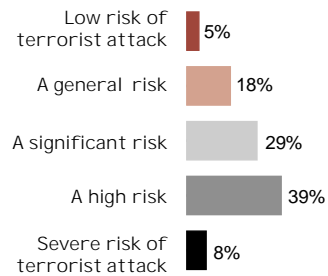
In their warnings to Americans about possible terrorist attacks, do you think the government is exaggerating the dangers, are they not taking the dangers seriously enough, or are the warnings about right?



Source: Survey by CBS News, June 18-20, 2002.

Question:

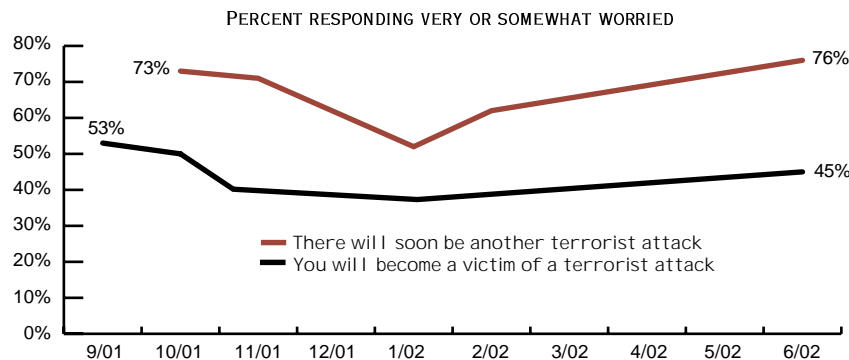
As you may know, the Office of Homeland Security has established a system for warning the country of possible terrorist attacks. I am going to read you the Office of Homeland Security's list from the highest risk to the lowest. Please tell me where you think the US stands today—severe risk of terrorist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



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

Questions:

How worried are you that there will soon be another terrorist attack in the United States?... All in all, how worried are you that you or someone in your family might become a victim of a terrorist attack? Would you say you are very worried, somewhat worried, not too worried, or not at all worried?



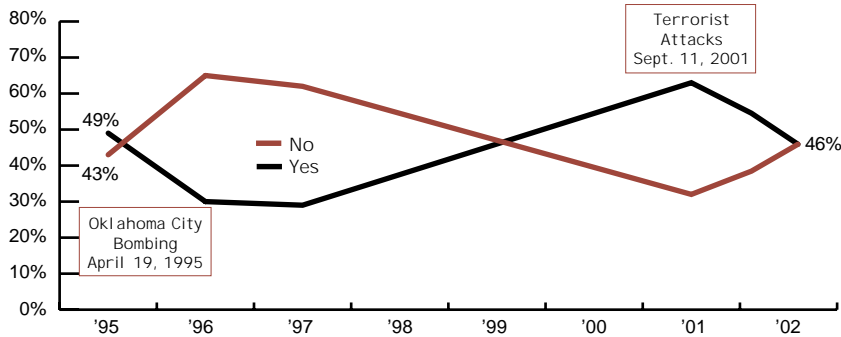
	Another attack	Victim
2001		
September 21-25	—	53%
October 1-3	73%	—
October 10-14	—	50
October 15-21	71	—
October 31-November 7	—	40
December 10-16	52	—
2002		
January 9-13	62	38
June 19-23	76	45

Source: Surveys by Princeton Survey Research Associates/Pew Research Center, latest that of June 19-23, 2002.

Freedom Under Fire

Question:

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

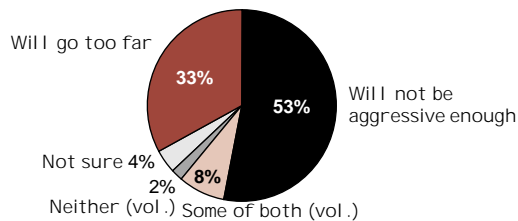


	No	Yes
April 1995	43%	49%
March 1996	65%	30%
April 1997	62%	29%
September 2001	32%	63%
January 2002	39%	55%
June 2002	46%	46%

Source: Surveys by *Los Angeles Times*, April 1995 and Princeton Survey Research Associates/*Newsweek*, latest that of June 27-28, 2002.

Question:

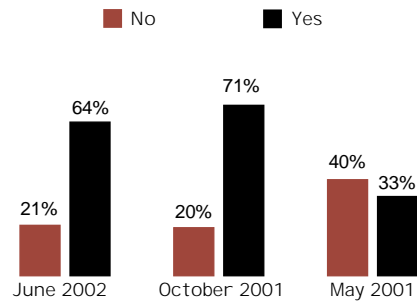
Which of these two statements comes closer to your opinion on investigating terrorism—I worry that the United States will go too far in its investigation of terrorism and will infringe on people's civil liberties and rights, [or] I worry that the United States will go too far in protecting people's rights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



Source: Survey by NBC News/*Wall Street Journal*, December 8-10, 2001.

Question:

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



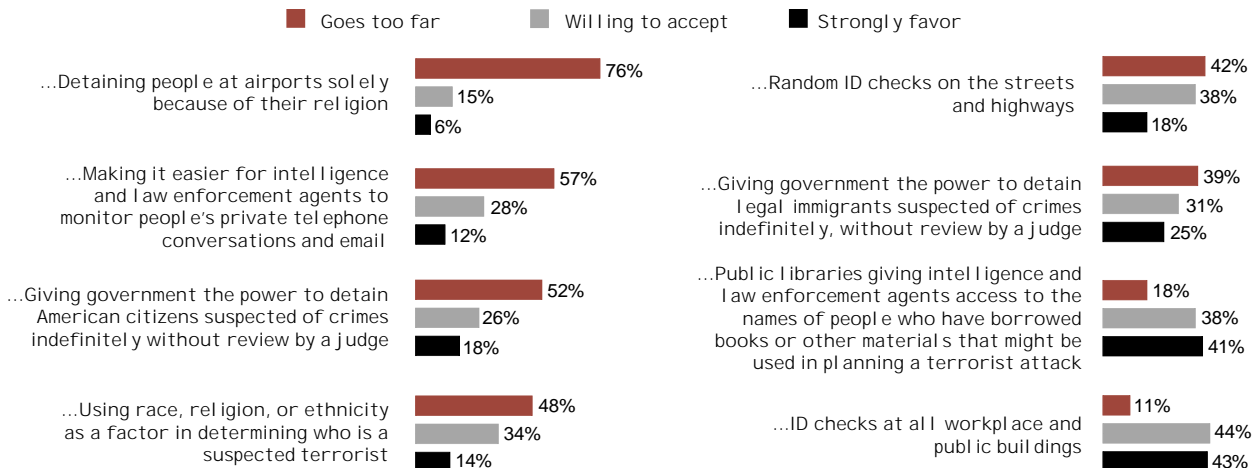
Note: Asked of registered voters.

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

Protection or Persecution?

Questions:

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

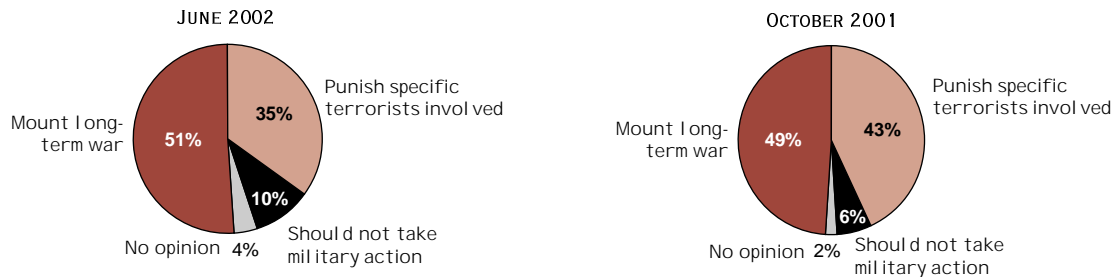


Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/*Newsweek*, June 27-28, 2002.

Still Committed to War

Question:

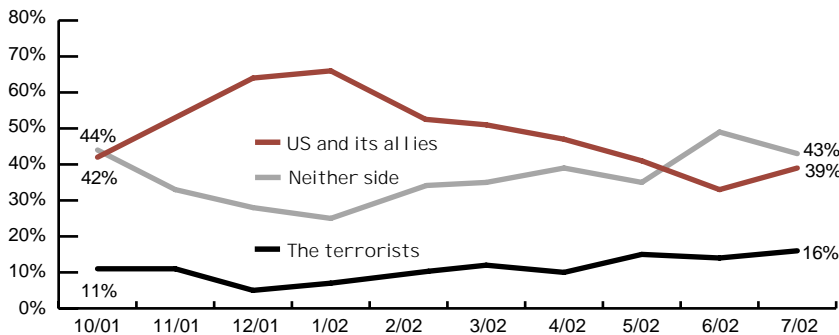
Which of the following comes closest to your view about the actions the United States should take to deal with terrorism—the US should mount a long-term war to defeat global terrorist networks, the US should take military action only to punish specific terrorist groups responsible for the attacks on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



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

Question:

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



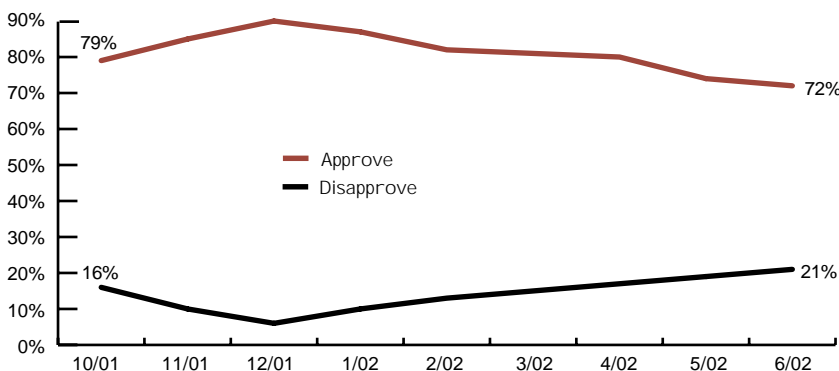
	US and its allies	Neither side	The terrorists
2001			
October 11-14	42%	44%	11%
November 8-11	53	33	11
December 6-9	64	28	5
2002			
January 7-9	66	25	7
March 4-7	53	34	10
March 22-24	51	35	12
April 22-24	47	39	10
May 28-29	41	35	15
June 21-23	33	49	14
July 5-8	39	43	16

Source: Surveys by Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, latest that of June 21-23, 2002.

Command Performance

Question:

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



	Approve	Disapprove
2001		
October 25-28	79%	16%
November 13-14	85	10
December 7-10	90	6
2002		
January 15-17	87	10
February 24-26	82	13
April 1-2	80	17
May 19-20	74	19
June 18-20	72	21

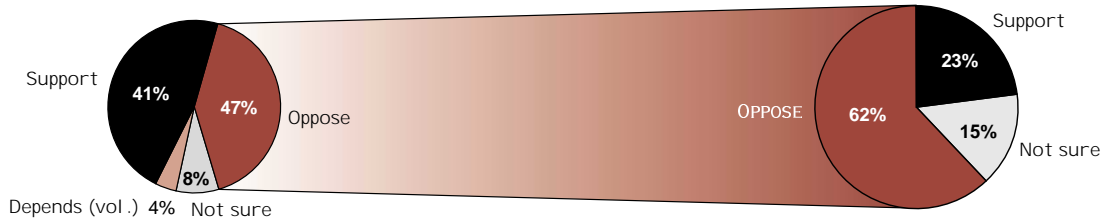
Note: Question wording changed from "war" to "campaign" after November 13-14 asking.
Source: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times*, latest that of June 18-20, 2002.

Any Means Necessary

Questions:

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

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

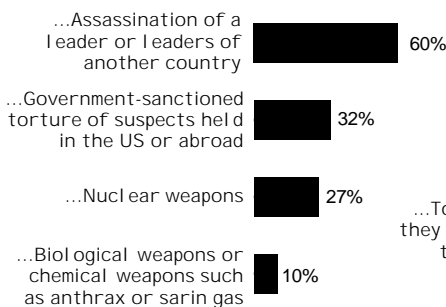


Note: Asked of registered voters.
Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, March 12-13, 2002.

Questions:

Could you envision a scenario in which you would support... or not?

PERCENT RESPONDING YES

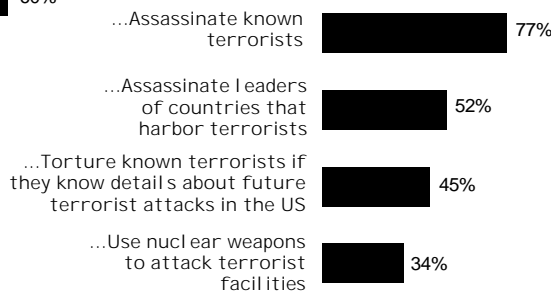


Source: Survey by TechnoMetrica Institute of Policy and Politics/*Investor's Business Daily Christian Science Monitor*, November 7-11, 2001.

Questions:

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

PERCENT RESPONDING WILLING

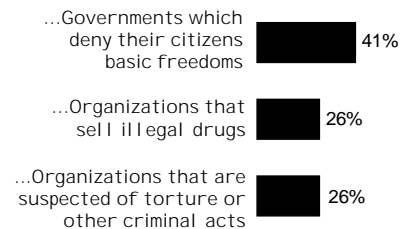


Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, October 5-6, 2001.

Questions:

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

PERCENT RESPONDING WILLING

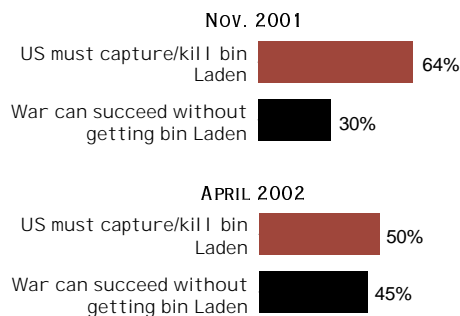


Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, October 5-6, 2001.

Going Down?

Question:

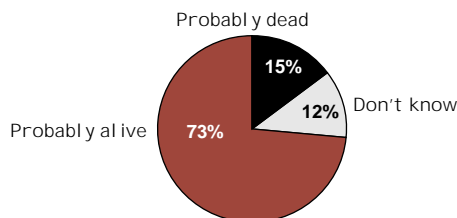
Do you think the United States has to capture or kill Osama bin Laden for the war on terrorism to be a success, or do you think the war on terrorism can be a success without Osama bin Laden being killed or captured?



Source: Surveys by ABC News/*Washington Post*, November 5-6, 2001 and April 18-21, 2002.

Question:

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

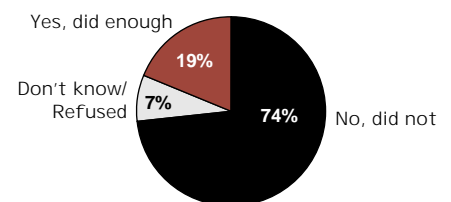


Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/*Newsweek*, July 18-19, 2002.

20/20 Hindsight

Question:

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

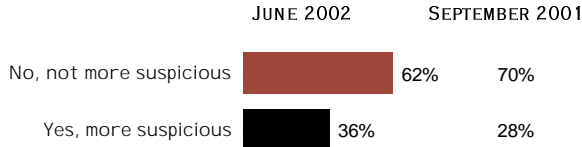


Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, October 5-6, 2001.

Shadow Between Us

Question:

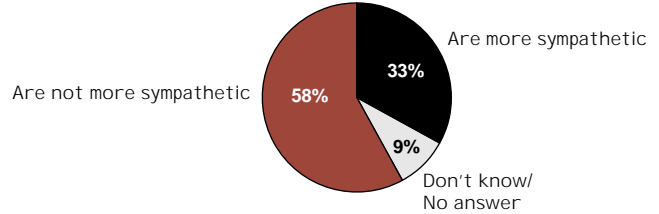
Since the terrorist attacks have you yourself become more suspicious of people who you think are of Middle Eastern descent, or not?



Source: Surveys by Princeton Survey Research Associates/Pew Research Center, September 21-25, 2001 and June 19-23, 2002.

Question:

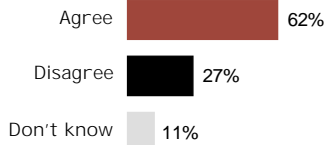
Do you think Arab Americans are more sympathetic to terrorists than other American citizens are, or not?



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, December 7-10, 2001.

Question:

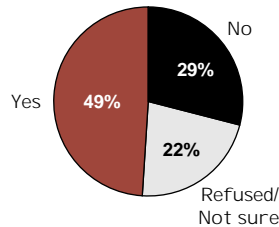
Do you agree or disagree that most Arab Americans and immigrants from the Middle East are loyal to the United States?



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

Question:

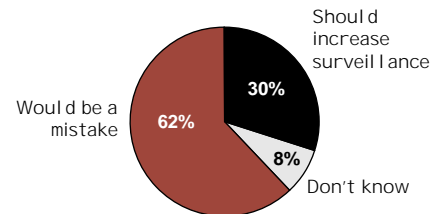
Do you think American Muslims support the United States in the war on terror, or not?



Note: Asked of registered voters.
Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, June 26-27, 2002.

Question:

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

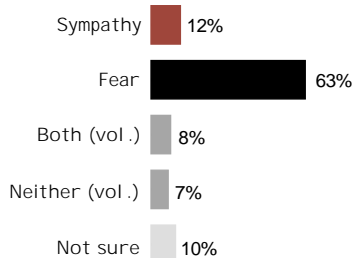


Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/*Newsweek*, November 29-30, 2001.

Fear is Foremost

Question:

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

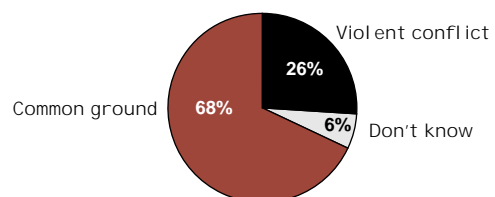


Note: Asked of registered voters.
Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, June 18-19, 2002.

Common Ground

Question:

Please tell me which of the following statements is closer to your own view—because Islamic religious and social traditions are intolerant and fundamentally incompatible with western culture, violent conflict is bound to keep happening, [or] though there are some fanatics in the Islamic world, most people there have needs and wants like those of people everywhere, so it is possible for us to find common ground.

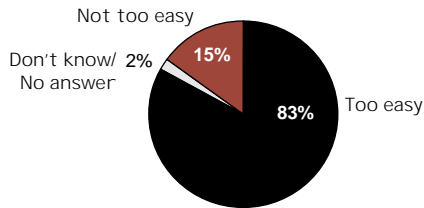


Source: Survey by Program on International Policy Attitudes, University of Maryland, November 1-4, 2001.

The Golden Door

Question:

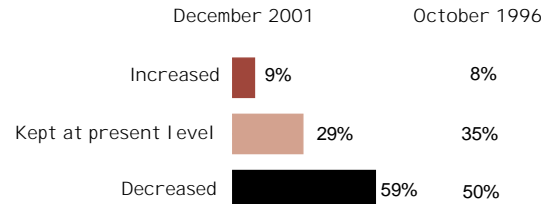
Do you think the United States has made it too easy for people from other countries to enter the US, or not?



Source: Survey by CBS News/*New York Times*, September 20-23, 2001.

Question:

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

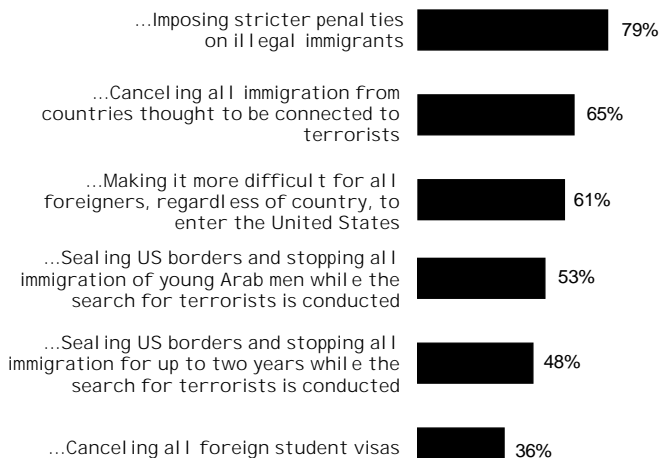


Source: Surveys by CBS News/*New York Times*, October 22-27, 1996 and December 7-10, 2001.

Questions:

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

PERCENT RESPONDING FAVOR

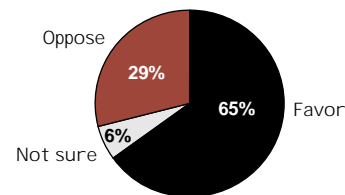


Note: Asked of registered voters.

Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, May 14-15, 2002.

Question:

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

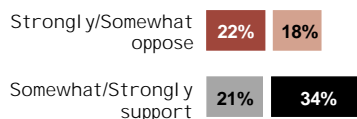


Note: Asked of registered voters.

Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, October 31-November 1, 2001.

Question:

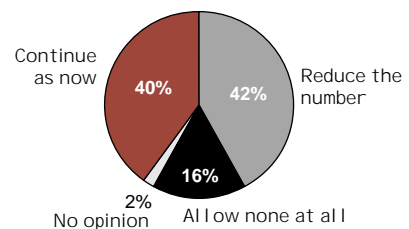
If the US were to restrict immigration of certain ethnic or religious groups as a result of the terrorist attacks, would you strongly support, somewhat support, somewhat oppose or strongly oppose doing so?



Source: Survey by Zogby International, November 6-8, 2001.

Question:

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

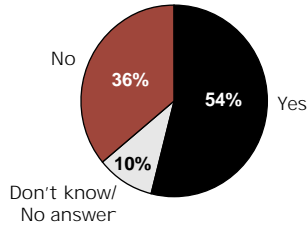


Source: Surveys by Gallup/CNN/*USA Today*, March 1-3, 2002.

What If's and If Only's

Question:

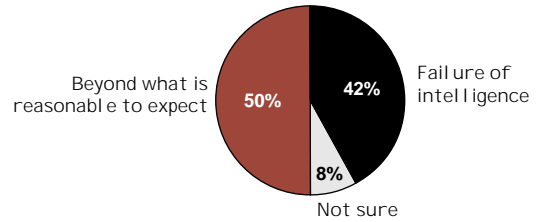
Some people have said that the September 11 terrorist attacks... represent the biggest failure for American intelligence operations since Pearl Harbor. Do you think that these attacks were something that government intelligence agencies should have been able to discover in advance?



Source: Survey by CBS News, May 19-20, 2002.

Question:

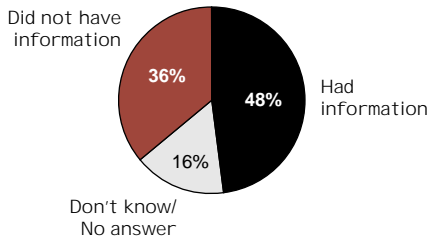
Based on what you know now, do you believe that the attacks of September 11 represented a failure of the American intelligence and security systems, or do you believe that these attacks were beyond what was reasonable to expect the American intelligence and security systems to uncover?



Source: Survey by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, May 18, 2002.

Question:

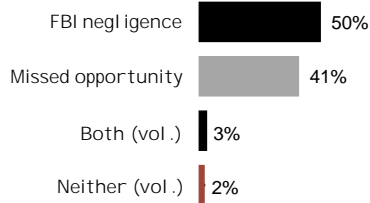
Do you think the intelligence agencies—the FBI and the CIA—had information before September 11 that could have prevented the terrorist attacks..., or didn't they have that information?



Source: Survey by CBS News, May 19-20, 2002.

Question:

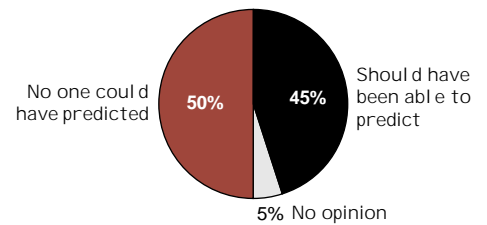
It's also been reported that an FBI agent last July proposed an investigation of Arabs taking flight school training in the United States. The FBI did not follow up on this proposal. Do you regard this more as a missed opportunity, or more as negligence on the part of the FBI?



Source: Survey by ABC News/Washington Post, May 18-19, 2002.

Question:

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

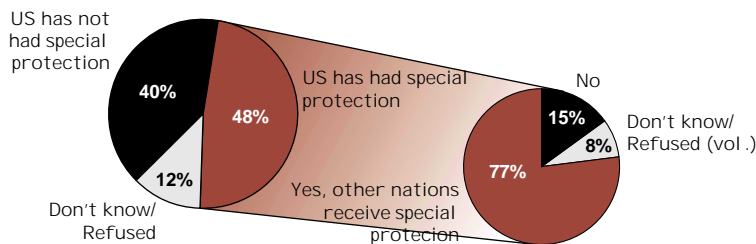


Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, June 7-8, 2002.

One Nation Under God

Questions:

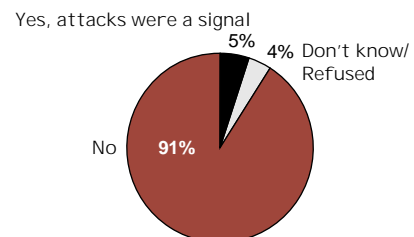
Some people think that the United States has had special protection from God for most of its history. Other people think the United States has had no special protection from God. Which comes closer to your view? [If yes, US has special protection] Do other nations have special protection from God in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



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/Pew Research Center/Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life, February 25-March 10, 2002.

Question:

Some people think the terrorist attacks... were a signal that God is no longer protecting the United States as much as in the past. Do you think this is true, or not?

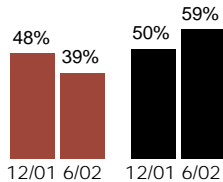


Not Out of Danger

Question:

How much confidence do you have in the ability of the United States' intelligence agencies to anticipate future terrorist attacks—a great deal of confidence, quite a bit, just some, or very little confidence?

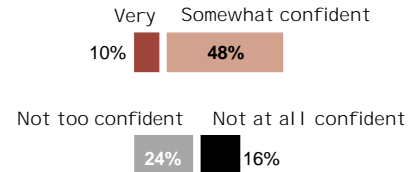
■ Great deal/Quite a bit of confidence
■ Just some/Very little confidence



Source: Surveys by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, December 8-10, 2001 and June 8-10, 2002.

Question:

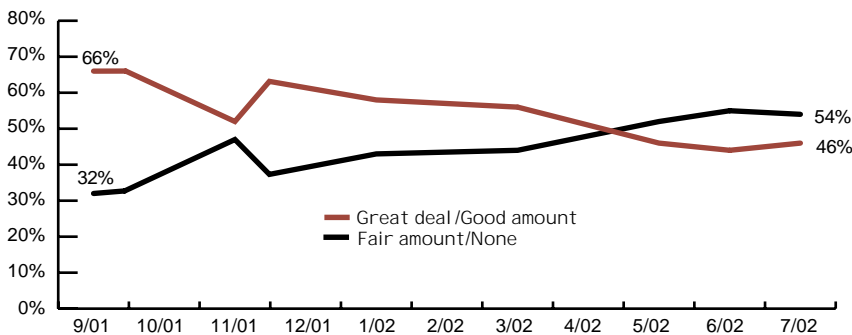
...How confident are you that the US intelligence and law enforcement agencies will be able to prevent future terrorist attacks in the United States in which large numbers of Americans are killed? Are you very confident, somewhat confident, not too confident, [or] not at all confident?



Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek, June 27-28, 2002.

Question:

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

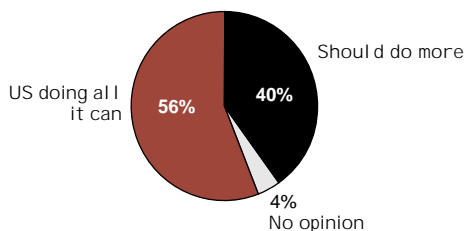


	Great deal/Good amount	Fair amount/None
2001		
September 11	66%	32%
September 25-27	66	33
November 5-6	52	47
November 27	63	37
2002		
January 24-27	58	43
March 7-10	56	44
May 18-19	46	52
June 7-9	44	55
July 11-15	46	54

Source: Surveys by ABC News/Washington Post, latest that of July 11-15, 2002.

Question:

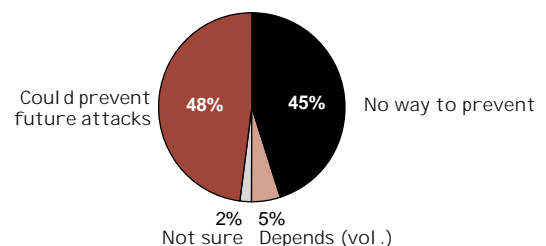
Do you think the United States is doing all it reasonably can do to try to prevent further terrorist attacks, or do you think it should do more?



Source: Survey by ABC News, June 12-16, 2002.

Question:

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

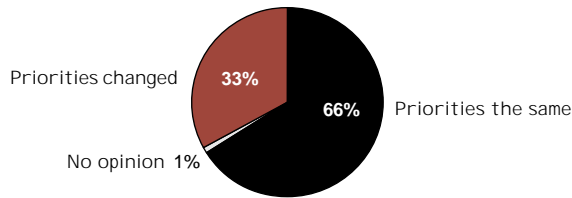


Source: Survey by NBC News/Wall Street Journal, June 8-10, 2002.

Adjustments

Question:

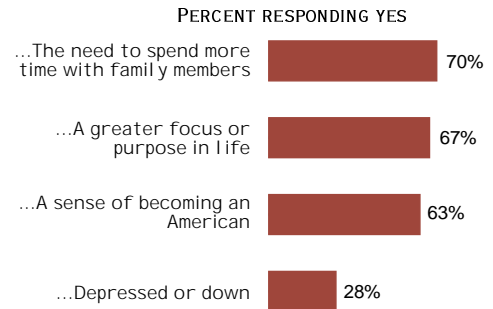
Which of the following best describes your situation after September 11—your priorities in life have essentially remained the same, or you feel this was a life-altering experience and you have changed your priorities in life as a result?



Source: Survey by Gallup/CNN/USA Today, December 14-16, 2001.

Questions:

Please tell me whether you have or have not felt each of the following as a result of the terrorist attacks of September 11....

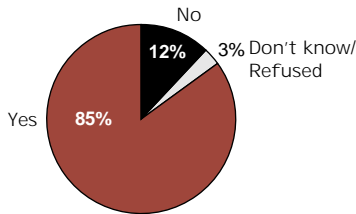


Source: Survey by Harris/Time/CNN, May 22-23, 2002.

Rally

Question:

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

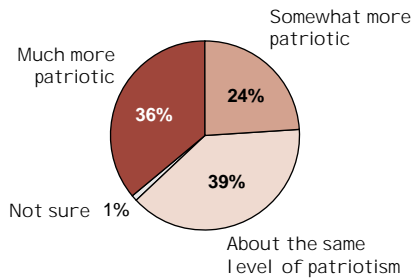


Note: Asked of registered voters.

Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, June 26-27, 2002.

Question:

Would you say you feel much more patriotic, somewhat more patriotic, or do you have about the same level of patriotism as before September 11?

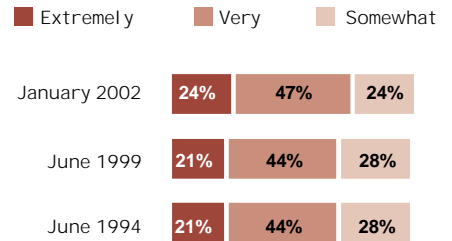


Source: Survey by TechnoMetrica Institute of Policy and Politics/Investor's Business Daily/Christian Science Monitor, January 9-13, 2002.

Really?

Question:

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

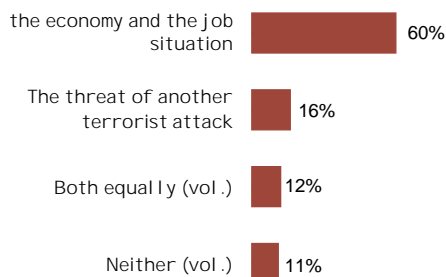


Source: Surveys by the Gallup Organization, latest that of January 4-20, 2002.

Moving On

Question:

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



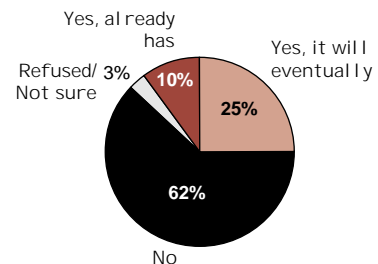
Source: Survey by Princeton Survey Research Associates/Newsweek, June 27-28, 2002.

Never

the Same

Question:

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



Note: Asked of registered voters.

Source: Survey by Opinion Dynamics/Fox News, June 26-27, 2002.