THREAT AND NATIONAL SECURITY SURVEY

CODEBOOK

STONY BROOK UNIVERSITY
CENTER FOR SURVEY RESEARCH

PANEL VARIABLES

id_num Respondent identification number. Numbers greater than 10,000 indicate respondents interviewed by Schulman; numbers < 10,000 interviewed by Stony Brook in wave 1

wavestat Panel participation

1. Wave 1 only
2. Wave 2 only
3. Wave 1 and Wave 2
4. Wave 1, Wave 2 and Wave 3A
5. Wave 1, Wave 2 and Wave 3B
6. Wave 2 and Wave 3A
7. Wave 2 and Wave 3B

wave1 Wave 1 participation status

0. Not in Wave 1
1. Wave 1

w1svyorg Survey organization that conducted the wave 1 interview

1. Schulman
2. Center for Survey Research, SBU

wave2 Wave 2 participation status

0. Not in Wave 2
1. Wave 2

wave2new Batch in which sample released

0. First Interview in First Wave (not wave 2 new sample)
1. First Interview in Second Wave (wave 2 new sample)

wave3 Wave 3 participation status

0. Not in Wave 3
1. Wave 3A
2. Wave 3B

Wave 3 was split up in two halves. Half the sample (wave 3a) was interviewed during the invasion of Iraq. The interviews started on the day after the war began (3/20/03) and continued to 4/10/03. The other half (wave 3b) was interviewed during the post-invasion period (5/20/03 -- 6/18/03). The questionnaires differed somewhat.

Questions only given to wave 3a participants: w3q17, w3q39, w3q42, w3q52, w3q53, w3q55, w3q60a, w3q60, w3q60b, w3q95
Questions only given to wave 3b participants: w3q15c, w3q16a, w3q17d, w3q17e, w3q42a, w3q42b, w3q42c, w3q42d, w3q42e, w3q42f, w3q60c, w3q60c_o, w3q60d, w3q60d_o

Wave 1

Schulman (10/15/01-11/1/2/01); Stony Brook University
Hello, my name is _____ and I am calling from the State University of New York at Stony Brook. We are conducting a survey of Americans regarding <u>their reactions to the terrorist attacks</u> of September 11. To make sure we obtain an accurate cross-section of all Americans, we need to speak to the person in your household who is 18 years of age or older and who had the most recent birthday. Is that you?

1. Yes
2. No

Stony Brook University
Hello, my name is _____ and I am calling from the State University of New York at Stony Brook. We are conducting a survey of Americans regarding their reactions to <u>the events</u> of September 11. To make sure we obtain an accurate cross-section of all Americans, we need to speak to the person in your household who is 18 years of age or older and who had the most recent birthday. Is that you?

1. Yes
2. No

This survey is funded by the National Science Foundation and only takes about 10 to 15 minutes. We will skip over any questions you don't want to answer, and all answers will be kept confidential. You do not have to participate in this study if you do not want to.

w1q1 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?
[IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?]

DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q2 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?

DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q3 Would you say that the level of U.S. military action in response to the terrorist attacks is:

1. Too little	**Ask w1q4**
2. Just about right	**Ask w1q4**
3. Or too much?	**Skip to w1q5**
DO NOT READ:	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w1q5**

9. No Answer **Skip to w1q5**

w1q4 **Ask only if too little or just about right:**
How strongly do you favor or oppose increasing the level of military action even if it means that U.S. armed forces might suffer a substantial number of casualties? Do you:

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose [increasing the level of military action]?

DO NOT READ:
7. Don't believe there will be casualties
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q5 Would you say that the level of U.S. ECONOMIC and DIPLOMATIC action in response to the terrorist attacks is too little, just about right, or too much?

[IF NECESSARY: By economic action, I mean tracking and freezing the assets of terrorist groups. By diplomatic action, I mean working with other countries in the fight against terrorism.]

1. Too little
2. Just about right
3. Too much

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q6 In your view, how important is it that any U.S. military action be supported by an international coalition against terrorism? Is it:

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Or not at all important?

DO NOT READ:
7. Depends on which countries are in the coalition
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q7 Do you think it will be best for the future of the United States if the country takes an active part in world affairs, or if the country stays out of world affairs?

DO NOT READ:
1. Take an active part in world affairs
2. Stay out of world affairs
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q8 How much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. government to win the war on terrorism? Are you:

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident

3. Not too confident
4. Or not at all confident?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know, not sure
9. No Answer

w1q9 Do you think the U.S. should limit its military action to Osama bin Laden and the Taliban or should it broaden its action to include other countries that harbor and support terrorists?

1. Osama bin Laden and the Taliban
2. Other countries that harbor and support terrorists

DO NOT READ:

7. Depends on which countries are targeted
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q10 Do you think the United States should or should not take the leading role among all other countries in the world in trying to solve international problems?

DO NOT READ:

1. Should take the leading role
2. Should NOT take the leading role
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q11 To curb terrorism, how strongly do you favor or oppose requiring that everyone in the United States carry a national identification card that would have detailed information about each person? Do you:
[IF NECESSARY: The information on this card would be coded electronically and could include your name, address, and social security number.]

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose [requiring a national identity card]?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q12 To curb terrorism, how strongly do you favor or oppose allowing the U.S. government to regularly monitor the personal telephone calls and e-mails of ordinary Americans? Do you:

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose [monitoring telephone calls and e-mails]?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q13 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 would it be a mistake to target a specific nationality or religious group?

DO NOT READ

1. Put under surveillance
2. A mistake to target a specific group
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q14 What concerns you more right now? That the government will fail to enact strong, new anti-terrorism laws, or that the government will enact new anti-terrorism laws which excessively restrict the average person's civil liberties?

DO NOT READ:
1. Government will fail to enact anti-terrorism laws
2. Government will excessively restrict civil liberties
8. Don't know
9. No answer

A RANDOMLY SELECTED HALF OF ALL RESPONDENTS RECEIVE w1q15a AND w1q16a AND HALF RECEIVE w1q15b AND w1q16b.

w1q15form From 11/14/01 onward (SBU), respondents were randomized separately on w1q15 and w1q21. Questions concern either worrying about civil liberties or national security. Values on xform are folded into w1q15form.

1. Pro civil liberties
2. Pro national security

w1q15 w1q15a and w1q15b combined
w1q16 w1q16a and w1q16b combined

VERSION A:
[PLEASE READ SLOWLY]

w1q15a Some people are very worried that we might go too far in restricting the democratic liberties that make our country great. They believe that new rules on wiretapping, detaining suspects, and ID cards may be more of a danger to our democracy than terrorism.

Putting aside whether you agree or disagree with this position, how weak or strong do you think the argument is?

1. Very weak
2. Fairly weak
3. Fairly strong
4. Or very strong?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q16a How interested are you in hearing more about this position?
[IF NECESSARY: We're interested in the kinds of arguments and information Americans would like to hear more about in the news.]

1. Very interested **Skip to w1q17**
2. Somewhat interested **Skip to w1q17**

3. Not very interested **Skip to w1q17**
4. Or not at all interested **Skip to w1q17**

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know **Skip to w1q17**
9. No answer **Skip to w1q17**

VERSION B:
[PLEASE READ SLOWLY]

w1q15b Some people are very worried that we may fail to protect our national security in this time of emergency because of a misguided concern for civil liberties. They believe that new rules on wiretapping, detaining suspects, and ID cards are necessary if we are to track down terrorists.

Putting aside whether you agree or disagree with this position, how weak or strong do you think the argument is?

1. Very weak
2. Fairly weak
3. Fairly strong
4. Or very strong?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q16b How interested are you in hearing more about this position?
[IF NECESSARY: We're interested in the kinds of arguments and information Americans would like to hear more about in the news.]

1. Very interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Not very interested
4. Or not at all interested

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q17 In light of the September 11 terrorist attack, should the United States toughen restrictions on visas for foreign students and other visitors to the United States?

DO NOT READ:

1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

A RANDOMLY SELECTED HALF OF ALL RESPONDENTS RECEIVE w1q18 FIRST AND HALF RECEIVE q19 FIRST
This item was not randomized by Schulman (10/15/01-11/12/01) and was asked with w1q18 first.

w1seq There were initial problems in the order in which these questions were asked by SBU. From 11/14-12/4 only w1q18 or w1q19 was asked. From 12/5 onward both were asked in random order. This variable summarizes the way in which w1q18 and w1q19 were asked.

1. Only w1q18 asked
2. Only w1q19 asked
3. w1q18 asked first
4. w1q19 asked first

w1ord From 11/14/01 onward (SBU), respondents were randomized to get either w1q18 or w1q19 first. Values for Schulman are all coded with w1q18 first.

1. w1q18 asked first (Arab countries)
2. w1q19 asked first (non-Arab countries)

w1q18 Should legal immigration from ARAB countries to the United States be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?

DO NOT READ:
1. Be kept at its present level
2. Increased
3. Or decreased?
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q19 How about legal immigration from NON-ARAB countries to the United States, should it be kept at its present level, increased, or decreased?

DO NOT READ:
1. Be kept at its present level
2. Increased
3. Or decreased?
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q20 Do you think that Arabs who apply for entry to the U.S. should undergo more intensive security checks than people from other countries, or not?

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

A RANDOMLY SELECTED HALF OF ALL RESPONDENTS RECEIVE w1q21a AND w1q22a AND HALF RECEIVE w1q21b AND w1q22b.

w1q21form From 11/14/01 onward (SBU), respondents were randomized separately on q15 and q21. Questions concern either unfairly targeting immigrants or tightening borders.

1. Unfair to immigrants
2. Tighten borders

w1q21 w1q21a and w1q21b combined

w1q22	w1q22a and w1q22b combined

VERSION A:
[PLEASE READ SLOWLY]

w1q21a Some people are very worried that immigrants to our country will be unfairly targeted in new regulations on immigration. They believe it would be very dangerous to our immigrant society to single out Arabs just because of their ethnic or religious heritage.

Putting aside whether you agree or disagree with this position, how weak or strong do you think the argument is?

1. Very weak
2. Fairly weak
3. Fairly strong
4. Or very strong?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q22a How interested are you in hearing more about this position?
[IF NECESSARY: We're interested in the kinds of arguments and information Americans would like to hear more about in the news.]

1. Very interested **Skip to w1q23**
2. Somewhat interested **Skip to w1q23**
3. Not very interested **Skip to w1q23**
4. Or not at all interested **Skip to w1q23**

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know **Skip to w1q23**
9. No answer **Skip to w1q23**

VERSION B:
[PLEASE READ SLOWLY]

w1q21b Some people are very worried that terrorists will be able to enter our country undetected and hide out in certain immigrant communities by taking advantage of our easy laws on immigration. They believe that we need to tighten our borders and keep much closer tabs on Arabs.

Putting aside whether you agree or disagree with this position, how strong do you think the argument is?

1. Very weak
2. Fairly weak
3. Fairly strong
4. Or very strong?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

Note: Response options were reverse ordered from 1=very strong to 4=very weak from 10/15/01 till 10/22/01 (Schulman data collection). The order was reversed to its current form on 10/23/01. The data was corrected so that w1q21b reflects the order of response options listed above.

w1q22b How interested are you in hearing more about this position?

[IF NECESSARY: We're interested in the kinds of arguments and information Americans would like to hear more about in the news.]

1. Very interested
2. Somewhat interested
3. Not very interested
4. Or not at all interested

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q23 How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right:

1. Just about always
2. Most of the time
3. Or only some of the time

DO NOT READ:

4. Never [VOLUNTEERED]
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q24 Which of the following TWO statements comes closest to your point of view: ONE, the less government, the better; OR TWO, there are more things that government should be doing?
[IF NECESSARY: Probe "which is closer"]

DO NOT READ:

1. The less government the better
2. More things government should be doing
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q25 How concerned are you that there will be another terrorist attack on U.S. soil in the NEAR FUTURE?

1. Very concerned
2. Somewhat concerned
3. Not very concerned
4. Or, not at all concerned?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q26 How concerned are you that terrorists will attack the U.S. with biological, or chemical weapons?
[IF NECESSARY: By biological weapons, I mean diseases like anthrax. By chemical weapons, I mean nerve gases such as sarin used in the attack on the Tokyo subway several years ago.]

1. Very concerned
2. Somewhat concerned
3. Not very concerned
4. Or, not at all concerned?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q27 How confident are you in the ability of the U.S. government to prevent a future terrorist attack on U.S. soil?

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not very confident
4. Or, not at all confident?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q28 How worried are you that the financial effects of the attacks will SERIOUSLY hurt the U.S. ECONOMY over the next few years?

1. Very worried
2. Somewhat worried
3. Not very worried
4. Or, not at all worried?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q29 How worried are you that the financial effects of the attacks will SERIOUSLY hurt YOUR PERSONAL FINANCIAL SITUATION over the next few years?

1. Very worried
2. Somewhat worried
3. Not very worried
4. Or, not at all worried?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q30 In the NEXT 12 MONTHS, do you expect the economy, in the country as a whole, to get:

1. Much better
2. Somewhat better
3. Somewhat worse
4. Much worse
5. Or stay about the same?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q31 How much of a threat do you believe the terrorist attacks pose to Western culture and civilization? [By Western culture, I mean culture in the United States, Europe, and other democracies]

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. Or none

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q32 Will the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response to the attacks:

1. Increase American power and influence overseas
2. Decrease it
3. Or will it stay the same?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q33 Do you think that people in Islamic and western cultures are so different that they will always be in conflict, or do you think that they can overcome their differences and get along?

DO NOT READ:
1. Always in conflict
2. Can overcome differences and get along
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q34 Have you displayed an American flag outside your home, in your car, or at work at any time since the September 11 attacks?

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q35 How angry does it make you feel, if at all, when you hear someone criticizing the United States:

1. Extremely angry
2. Very angry
3. Somewhat angry
4. Not very angry
5. Or, not at all angry

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q36 How proud are you to be an American:

1. Extremely proud
2. Very proud
3. Somewhat proud
4. Or not very proud

DO NOT READ:
7. NOT AMERICAN **ADDED 10/16/01**
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q37 How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying?

1. Extremely good

2. Very good
3. Somewhat good
4. Or not very good

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q38 Would you say that Americans have more in common with each other than do people in other countries, less in common, or about the same?

DO NOT READ

1. More in common
2. Less in common
3. About the same
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q39 How angry does it make you feel, if at all, when someone says that the U.S. is partly to blame for the terrorist attacks?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Or Not at all angry?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q40 How concerned are you PERSONALLY about you yourself, a friend, or a relative being the victim of a future terrorist attack in the United States?

1. Very concerned
2. Somewhat concerned
3. Not very concerned
4. Or, not at all concerned?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q41 How much, if any, have the terrorist attacks shaken your own sense of personal safety and security?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. Or, not at all?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q42 Do YOU, any of your FRIENDS, or RELATIVES know someone who is missing, hurt, or killed in the terrorist attacks of September 11?

DO NOT READ:

1. Yes

2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q43 In the past week, how depressed have you felt, if at all, about the terrorist attacks and the events since then?

1. Very depressed
2. Somewhat depressed
3. Not very depressed
4. Not at all depressed

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q44 In the past week, how difficult has it been, if at all, for you to concentrate on your job or your normal activities because of the way you feel about the terrorist attacks and the events since then?

1. Very difficult
2. Somewhat difficult
3. Not very difficult
4. Not at all difficult

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q45 In the past week, how much trouble, if any, have you had sleeping because of the way you feel about the terrorist attacks and the events since then?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q46 As you think about the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response, how often have you felt ANXIOUS?

1. Very often
2. Sometimes
3. Not very often
4. Or, never?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q47 As you think about the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response, how often have you felt SCARED?

1. Very often
2. Sometimes
3. Not very often
4. Or, never?

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q48 As you think about the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response, how often have you felt SECURE?

READ ONLY IF NECESSARY:
1. Very often
2. Sometimes
3. Not very often
4. Or, never?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q49 [As you think about the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response,] how often have you felt WORRIED?

READ ONLY IF NECESSARY:
1. Very often
2. Sometimes
3. Not very often
4. Or, never?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q50 [As you think about the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response,] how often have you felt FRIGHTENED?

READ ONLY IF NECESSARY:
1. Very often
2. Sometimes
3. Not very often
4. Or, never?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q51 [As you think about the terrorist attacks and the U.S. response,] how often have you felt CONFIDENT?

READ ONLY IF NECESSARY:
1. Very often
2. Sometimes
3. Not very often
4. Or, never?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q52 Not everyone has had the time or money to help out the victims of the Sept 11 attacks? What about you, were you able to donate any money to the attack victims, or not?

DO NOT READ:

1. Yes
2. No
8. Don’t know
9. No answer

w1q53 In the LAST MONTH, have you donated money to a charitable cause other than the terrorist attacks?

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don’t know
9. No answer

w1q54 Many people say they have less time these days to do volunteer work. What about you, were you able to devote any time to volunteer work in the LAST MONTH, or not?

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don’t know
9. No answer

w1q55 Generally speaking, would you say that most Americans can be trusted, OR do you believe that you can't be too careful in dealing with other people?

DO NOT READ:
1. Americans can be trusted
2. Can’t be too careful
8. Don’t know
9. No answer

w1q56 Would you say that most of the time Americans try to be helpful, OR that they are just looking out for themselves?

DO NOT READ:
1. Try to be helpful
2. Just looking out for themselves
8. Don’t know
9. No answer

w1q57 How closely would you say you have been following news stories about events following the September 11 terrorist attacks?

1. Very closely
2. Somewhat closely
3. Not very closely
4. Or not at all?

w1q58 How many days in the past week did you watch the national TV news on ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, or NBC?

DO NOT READ:
0. None
1. One day

2. Two days
3. Three days
4. Four days
5. Five days
6. Six days
7. Every day
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w1q59 How many days in the past week did you read about national events in a daily newspaper?

DO NOT READ:
0. None
1. One day
2. Two days
3. Three days
4. Four days
5. Five days
6. Six days
7. Every day
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q60 We are interested in what people have learned about the individuals and countries implicated in the attacks. Can you tell me the name of ONE country that shares a border with Afghanistan?

DO NOT READ:
1. Pakistan
2. Iran
3. Uzbekistan
4. Turkmenistan
5. Tajikistan
6. India, Kashmir
7. China
8. Turkey
9. Saudi Arabia
10. Iraq
11. Russia
12. Other _____
98. Don't know
99. No answer

w1q60_o Other from q60 above

w1q61 Is Afghanistan an Arab country?

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q62 Can you name the country that Osama Bin Laden is originally from?

DO NOT READ:
0. Palestine
1. Saudi Arabia
2. Afghanistan
3. Iraq
4. Libya
5. Lebanon
6. Egypt
7. Other _____
8. Don't know
9. No answer
10. Pakistan (added 10/19; not in Schulman data)

w1q62_o Other from q62 above

w1q63 Can you tell me the name of the Muslim holy book?

DO NOT READ:
1. Qur'an
2. Bible
3. Torah
4. Other _____
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q63_o Other from q63 above

w1q64 Roughly how many ARAB-AMERICANS, do you think, support the actions of the terrorists?

1. Most
2. Some
3. A very few
4. Or none?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q65 Roughly how many people living in ARAB COUNTRIES, do you think, support the actions of the terrorists?

1. Most
2. Some
3. A very few
4. Or none?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q66 How much respect do you think most people living in ARAB COUNTRIES have for Americans?

1. A great deal

2. Some
3. A little
4. Or none at all?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q67 How important is it to understand WHY the terrorists attacked the United States?

1. Very important
2. Somewhat important
3. Not very important
4. Or not at all important?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q68 How well do the following words describe most ARABS?
TRUSTWORTHY. Does this describe most ARABS?

1. Very well
2. Somewhat well
3. Not very well
4. Or not at all well?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q69 VIOLENT. Does this describe most ARABS?

1. Very well
2. Somewhat well
3. Not very well
4. Or not at all well?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q70 HONEST. Does this describe most ARABS?

1. Very well
2. Somewhat well
3. Not very well
4. Or not at all well?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q71 EXTREMIST. Does this describe most ARABS?

1. Very well
2. Somewhat well
3. Not very well
4. Or not at all well?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q72 In general, when it comes to politics, do you think of yourself as a:

1. Liberal	**Ask w1q73a**
2. Moderate	**Skip to w1q73c**
3. Or conservative	**Skip to w1q73b**
DO NOT READ	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w1q74**
9. No answer	**Skip to w1q74**

w1q73a **IF LIBERAL:**
Would you call yourself a strong liberal, or a not very strong liberal?

DO NOT READ:

1. Strong	**Skip to w1q74**
2. Not very strong	**Skip to w1q74**
8. Don't know	**Skip to w1q74**
9. No answer	**Skip to w1q74**

w1q73b **IF CONSERVATIVE:**
Would you call yourself a strong conservative, or a not very strong conservative?

DO NOT READ:

1. Strong	**Skip to w1q74**
2. Not very strong	**Skip to w1q74**
8. Don't know	**Skip to w1q74**
9. No answer	**Skip to w1q74**

w1q73c **IF MODERATE:**
If you had to choose, would you consider yourself more of a liberal or more of a conservative?

DO NOT READ:
1. Liberal
2. Conservative
3. Neither
4. Both
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q74 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, Democrat, an Independent, or what?

DO NOT READ:

1. Republican	**Ask w1q75a**
2. Democrat	**Skip to w1q75b**
3. Independent	**Skip to w1q75c**
4. Other party	**Skip to w1q76**
8. Don't know	**Skip to w1q76**
9. No answer	**Skip to w1q76**

w1q75a **IF REPUBLICAN:**

Would you call yourself a strong Republican, or a not very strong Republican?

DO NOT READ:
1. Strong **Skip to w1q76**
2. Not very strong **Skip to w1q76**
8. Don't know **Skip to w1q76**
9. No answer **Skip to w1q76**

w1q75b **IF DEMOCRAT:**
Would you call yourself a strong Democrat, or a not very strong Democrat?

DO NOT READ:
1. Strong **Skip to w1q76**
2. Not very strong **Skip to w1q76**
8. Don't know **Skip to w1q76**
9. No answer **Skip to w1q76**

w1q75c **IF INDEPENDENT:**
Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

DO NOT READ:
1. Closer to Republican
2. Closer to Democratic
3. Not closer to one or the other
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q76 Are you, your spouse or partner, or any of your children currently in the military or in the military reserves?

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q77 What is the highest grade of school, year of college or highest degree that you have received?

DO NOT READ:
1. No grades
2. 1st, 2nd, 3rd or 4th grade
3. 5th, 6th, 7th or 8th grade
4. 9th grade
5. 10th grade
6. 11th grade
7. 12th grade, no diploma
8. High school graduate
9. Some college, no degree
10. Associate degree(occupational/academic)
11. Bachelor's degree (BA, AB, BS)
12. Master's degree
13. Professional school degree (J.D.,M.D.)
14. Doctorate (Ph.D., Ed.D., Sc.D.)
98. Don't know

99. No answer

w1q79 Which of the following income categories best describes the total 2000 household income of all members of your family living there before taxes. Stop me when I reach your income group. Was it:

1. less than $10,000
2. $10,000 - 15,000
3. $15,000 - 20,000
4. $20,000-25,000
5. $25,000-30,000
6. $30,000-35,000
7. $35,000-40,000
8. $40,000-50,000
9. $50,000-70,000
10. $70,000-90,000
11. $90,000-110,000
12. $110,000- $130,000
13. $130,000 and up

DON'T READ
98. Don't know
99. No answer

w1q80 Are you a citizen of the United States?

DON'T READ:
1. Yes **Go to w1q81b**
2. No **Skip to w1q81a**
8. Don't know
9. No answer

IF NO to w1q80:

w1q81a Of what country are you a citizen?

_____

8. Don't Know
9. No answer

IF YES to w1q80:

w1q81b In addition to being American, what do you consider your main ethnic group or nationality group?

_____

8. Don't Know
9. No answer

w1q82 Were both of your parents born in this country?

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes
2. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q83 Although there are a number of qualities that people feel children should have, every person thinks that some are MORE IMPORTANT than others.

Would you say that it is MORE IMPORTANT for a child to be INDEPENDENT or RESPECTFUL OF THEIR ELDERS?

DO NOT READ:
1. Independent
2. Respectful of their elders
3. Can't choose (VOLUNTEERED)
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q84 Would you say that it is MORE IMPORTANT for a child to be CURIOUS or GOOD MANNERED?

DO NOT READ:
1. Curious
2. Good mannered
3. Can't choose (VOLUNTEERED)
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q85 Would you say that it is MORE IMPORTANT for a child to be OBEDIENT or SELF-RELIANT?

DO NOT READ:
1. Obedient
2. Self-reliant
3. Can't choose (VOLUNTEERED)
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q86 Do you consider yourself Protestant, Roman Catholic, Jewish, Islamic, another religion, or are you not religious?

0. Protestant
1. Catholic
2. Jewish
3. Islamic
4. Buddhist
5. Hindu
6. Another religion _____
7. No religion
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q86_o Other from q86 above

w1q87 How often in the last month did you attend religious services?
[USE CATEGORIES AS PROBES, IF NECESSARY]

1. Several times a week (more than 4 times)
2. Once a week (4 times)
3. 2-3 times
4. Once
5. None
8. Don't know

9. No answer

w1q88 Which of the following statements comes closest to describing your feelings about the Bible?

1. The Bible is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word
2. The Bible is the inspired word of God, but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word
3. The Bible is an ancient book of fables, legends, history, and moral precepts recorded by men
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q89 Do you consider yourself white, black, Hispanic, Asian or something else?

DO NOT READ:
1. White
2. Black/African-American
3. Hispanic/Latino
4. Asian
5. Pacific Islander
6. Native American or Alaskan native
7. Black and another category
8. Hispanic and another category
9. Don't know
10. No answer
11. Other _____

w1q89_a Other from q86 above

w1q90 How many people 18 years or older currently live in your household?

_____

98. Don't know
99. No answer

w1q91 How many different telephone lines do you have in your house, excluding cell phones?
[IF NECESSARY: By telephone line I mean different telephone numbers, excluding cell phones]

_____

8. Don't know
9. No answer

IF MORE THAN ONE:

w1q92 How many telephone lines in your home cannot accept incoming calls because they are used exclusively as a fax or data line?

_____

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w1q93_o I have one last question, could I have your first name or initials. My supervisor may want to call you back to make sure everything went OK.

_____

Thank you for your cooperation. For further information on the survey, you can call

Professor Leonie Huddy at 631-632-7639, or
Dr. Robert Schneider, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects
at Stony Brook (631) 632-9036 about your rights as a participant.

Thanks again.

VARIABLES BY SURVEY ORGANIZATIONS

w1gender INTERVIEWER: What is the respondent's gender?

1. Female
2. Male
3. Couldn't tell

w1lang Language of interview
1. English
2. Spanish

w1age Respondent's age in years. Calculated based on year of birth and interview year. From the question "In what year were you born?" [not included in data]

w1date Date on which interview finished

w1week Week of interview; date is Monday, first day of data collection each week

w1state State of residence (from area code and prefix information)

Wave 2

ATTITUDES TOWARDS OVERSEAS MILITARY INTERVENTION IN IRAQ

RE-INTERVIEWS
Hello, my name is _____ and I am calling from the State University of New York at Stony Brook. I need to speak with _____. You were interviewed by a member of our staff after the events of September 11. I would like to ask you some additional questions about your views on possible U.S. military action in Iraq.

This survey is funded by the National Science Foundation and only takes about 10 to 15 minutes. We will skip over any questions you don't want to answer, and all answers will be kept confidential. You do not have to participate in this study if you do not want to.

NEW RANDOM-DIGIT-DIAL
Hello, my name is _____ and I am calling from the State University of New York at Stony Brook. We are conducting a survey of Americans regarding their reactions to possible U.S. military action in Iraq. To make sure we obtain an accurate cross-section of all Americans, we need to speak to the person in your household who is 18 years of age or older and who had the most recent birthday. Is that you?

1. Yes
2. No

This survey is funded by the National Science Foundation and only takes about 10 to 15 minutes. We will skip over any questions you don't want to answer, and all answers will be kept confidential. You do not have to participate in this study if you do not want to.

w2q1 How many days in the past week did you watch the national TV news on ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, or NBC?

DO NOT READ:
0. None
1. One day
2. Two days
3. Three days
4. Four days
5. Five days
6. Six days
7. Every day
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q2 How many days in the past week did you read about national events in a daily newspaper?

DO NOT READ:
0. None
1. One day
2. Two days

3. Three days
4. Four days
5. Five days
6. Six days
7. Every day
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q3 Over the last week or two, how much thought have you given to a possible war with Iraq?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q4 Over the last week or two, how often, if at all, have you talked to friends, family, co-workers, or neighbors about a possible war with Iraq?

1. Very often
2. Somewhat often
3. Not very often
4. Not at all
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q5 People often have very different feelings about political leaders and events. How ENTHUSIASTIC does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very enthusiastic
2. Somewhat enthusiastic
3. Not very enthusiastic
4. Not at all enthusiastic
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q6 How NERVOUS does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q7 How SCARED does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared

3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q8 How HOPEFUL does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very hopeful
2. Somewhat hopeful
3. Not very hopeful
4. Not at all hopeful
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q9 How ANGRY does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q10 How HOSTILE does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q11 How PROUD does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very proud
2. Somewhat proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q12 How AFRAID does President George Bush make you feel?

[PROMPT: I know this seems like something you just told me, but could you please answer this question again. We ask this question to make sure that we get an accurate view of your feelings]

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid

4. Not at all afraid
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q13 How DISGUSTED does President George Bush make you feel?
[IF NECESSARY: I will be asking you the same question later about other world leaders.]

READ IF NECESSARY:
1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q14 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president?
[IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH - Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling his job as president?]

DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q15 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the economy?

DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q16 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George Bush is handling the situation with Iraq?

DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q17 Do you think that President Bush has ADEQUATELY explained his reasons for taking military action against Iraq, or would you like more information?

DO NOT READ:
1. President Bush has ADEQUATELY explained his reasons for military action
2. Need more information
3. Both
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w2q17a To what extent do you think President Bush's position on Iraq is shaped by his concern for NATIONAL SECURITY?

1. A great deal
2. Somewhat
3. A little
4. Not at all
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w2q17b To what extent do you think President Bush's position on Iraq is shaped by PERSONAL CONCERNS, such as the election, or revenge against Saddam Hussein?

1. A great deal
2. Somewhat
3. A little
4. Not at all
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. Refused

Date of Interview with respect to Election

w2elect 1=before 11/05/02
2=on 11/5/02
3=after 11/5/02

Questions w2q18, w2q18a, and w2q19 were asked with different wording and in different sequence before, during and after the elections on 11/5/02 (wording see below)

Before 11/5/02:	w2q18, w2q18a, w2q19
On 11/5/02:	w2q19, w2q18, w2q18a
After 11/5/02:	w2q19, w2q18, w2q18a

w2q18:

Before 11/5/02: (asked first) If the election for the U.S. (United States) House of Representatives were being held today, would you **vote** for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your congressional district?

On 11/5/02: (asked second) Did you or are you planning to vote today for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your congressional district?

After 11/5/02: (asked second) Did you vote for the Democratic candidate or the Republican candidate in your congressional district?

1. Democrat **Skip to w2q19**
2. Republican **Skip to w2q19**

DO NOT READ
3. Someone else
4. Neither
7. Neither, does not plan to vote
8. Don't know
9. Refused

IF OTHER, NEITHER, NEITHER DOES NOT PLAN TO VOTE, DON'T KNOW, REFUSED ask:

w2q18a (wording was the same before 11/5/02 (asked third), on 11/5/02 (asked second), and after 11/5/02 (asked second))
Would you lean toward the Democratic candidate or toward the Republican candidate?

1. Democrat
2. Republican
DO NOT READ
4. Neither
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w2q19

Before 11/5/02: (asked last) How likely are you to **vote** in the elections this November (2002) for Congress and other offices? [IF ALREADY SAYS DOES NOT PLAN TO VOTE: I know you already mentioned this, but I have to ask you the following question anyway]

On 11/5/02: (asked first) Have you or are you still planning to vote in today's election for Congress and other offices?

After 11/5/02: (asked first) Did you vote in the elections on November 5 for Congress and other offices?

Before 11/5/02	**On 11/5/02**	**After 11/5/02**
	DO NOT READ:	DO NOT READ:
1. Very likely	1. Yes, voted	1. Yes, voted
2. Somewhat likely	2. Still planning to vote today	
3. Not very likely	3. Did not vote, not planning to vote	3. Did not vote, not planning to vote
4. Or, not at all likely?		
DO NOT READ:		
8. Don't know	8. Don't know	8. Don't know
9. No Answer	9. No Answer	9. No Answer
	[IF not 1 or 2 SKIP TO w2q18a]	[IF not 1 SKIP TO w2q18a]

w2q20 Do you think it will be best for the future of the United States if the country takes an active part in world affairs, or if the country stays out of world affairs?

DO NOT READ:
1. Take an active part in world affairs
2. Stay out of world affairs
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q21 Do you think the United States should or should not take the leading role among all other countries in the world in trying to solve international problems?

DO NOT READ:
1. Should take the leading role
2. Should **NOT** take the leading role
8. Don't know
9. No answer

The order of the following sections is split half. Half the sample receives the affect items first (w2q22-w2q27). The other half receives the risk items first (w2q28-w2q32).

w2ord_te 1. Affect questions first
2. Risk questions first

w2q22 Now we would like to know how you feel about ANTI-AMERICAN terrorists, including Al Qaeda. How NERVOUS do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q23 How SCARED do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q24 How ANGRY do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q25 How HOSTILE do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q26 How AFRAID do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q27 How DISGUSTED do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q28 In your view, how likely is it that there will be another terrorist attack on U.S. soil in the NEAR FUTURE?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q29 In your view, how likely is it that terrorists will attack the U.S. with biological or chemical weapons? [IF NECESSARY: By biological weapons, I mean diseases like anthrax. By chemical weapons, I mean nerve gases such as sarin used in the attack on the Tokyo subway several years ago.]

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q30 In your view, how likely is it that you yourself, a friend, or a relative will be the victim of a future terrorist attack in the United States?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q31 In your view, how likely is it that you yourself, a friend, or a relative will be the victim of a terrorist attack using biological or chemical weapons?
[IF NECESSARY: By biological weapons, I mean diseases like anthrax. By chemical weapons, I mean nerve gases such as sarin used in the attack on the Tokyo subway several years ago.]

1. Very likely

2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q32 How much, if any, have the 9/11 terrorist attacks shaken your own sense of personal safety and security?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. Or, not at all?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q33 How much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. government to win the war on terrorism? Are you:

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not too confident
4. Or not at all confident?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know, not sure
9. No Answer

w2q34 How confident are you in the ability of the U.S. government to prevent a future terrorist attack on U.S. soil?

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not very confident
4. Or, not at all confident?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q35 How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right:

1. Just about always
2. Most of the time
3. Or only some of the time
DO NOT READ:
4. Never [VOLUNTEERED]
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q36 How favorable is your opinion of the federal government in Washington?

1. Very favorable
2. Somewhat favorable
3. Somewhat unfavorable

4. Very unfavorable
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q37 How favorable or unfavorable do you feel about current U.S. Senators and members of the House of Representatives?

1. Very favorable
2. Somewhat favorable
3. Somewhat unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q38 How strongly do you favor or oppose U.S. military action against Iraq?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Strongly oppose [SKIP TO w2q41]
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q39 How strongly do you favor or oppose U.S. military action against Iraq EVEN if it means that U.S. armed forces might suffer a substantial number of casualties?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose
DO NOT READ:
7. Don't believe there will be casualties
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q40 How strongly do you favor or oppose U.S. military action against Iraq WITHOUT the support of the UNITED NATIONS?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q41 Should the U.S. take military action against Iraq some time soon, or should the U.S. wait for U.N. weapons inspectors to complete their work in Iraq?

DO NOT READ:
1. Take military action against Iraq some time soon

2. Wait for U.N. weapons inspectors to complete their work
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q42 How strongly do you favor or oppose sending large numbers of U.S. ground troops into Iraq?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose
DO NOT READ:
7. Don't believe there will be casualties
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

The order of the following sections is split half. Half the sample receives the affect items first (w2q43-w2q51). The other half receives the risk items first (w2q52-w2q60).

w2ord_wa 1. Affect questions first
2. Risk questions first

w2q43 How NERVOUS does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q44 How SCARED does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q45 How HOPEFUL does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very hopeful
2. Somewhat hopeful
3. Not very hopeful
4. Not at all hopeful
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q46 How ANGRY does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q47 How HOSTILE does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q48 How PROUD does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very proud
2. Somewhat proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q49 How AFRAID does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q50 How DISGUSTED does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q51 How ENTHUSIASTIC does a POSSIBLE WAR WITH IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very enthusiastic
2. Somewhat enthusiastic
3. Not very enthusiastic
4. Not at all enthusiastic

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q52 If the U.S. DOES NOT take military action in Iraq, how likely is it that Saddam Hussein would attack the U.S. with biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons in the near future?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q53 If the U.S. DOES NOT take military action in Iraq, how likely is it that Saddam Hussein would use biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons against countries in the middle-east including Israel, in the near future?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q54 How likely is it that Saddam Hussein is actively supporting anti-U.S. terrorist groups at present?
[IF NECESSARY: By actively supporting I mean providing funds, weapons, information, or advice]

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q55 In your view, how likely is it that the Iraqi military could put up a prolonged defense against U.S. military action?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q56a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on the U.S. ECONOMY?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little

4. None
DO NOT READ:
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

w2q56 If the U.S. DOES take military action in Iraq, do you think it will hurt the U.S. economy, help the economy, or have no effect [on the economy]?

DO NOT READ:
1. Hurt the economy
2. Help the economy
3. No effect
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q57a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on the THREAT OF TERRORISM to the United States?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ:
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

w2q57 If the U.S. DOES take military action in Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United States will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

DO NOT READ:
1. Increase
2. Decrease
3. Stay about the same
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q58a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE -EAST?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ:
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

w2q58 If the U.S. DOES take military action in Iraq, do you think the situation in the Middle-East will be more stable, less stable, or stay about the same?

DO NOT READ:
1. More stable
2. Less stable
3. Stay about the same

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q59a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on the help we would get from U.S. ALLIES in the war on terrorism?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ:
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

w2q59 If the U.S. DOES take military action in Iraq, do you think help from U.S. allies in the war on terrorism will increase, decrease, or stay about the same?

DO NOT READ:
1. Increase
2. Decrease
3. Stay about the same
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q60a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on Saddam Hussein's willingness to use weapons of mass destruction against U.S. troops?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ:
8. Don’t know
9. Refused

w2q60 If the U.S. DOES take military action in Iraq, how likely is it that Saddam Hussein would use biological, chemical or nuclear weapons against U.S. troops?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w2q61 We are interested in what people have learned about the Iraq situation. Can you tell me the name of ONE country that shares a border with Iraq?

DO NOT READ:
1. Iran **Skip to w2q62**
2. Turkey **Skip to w2q62**
3. Syria **Skip to w2q62**

4. Jordan **Skip to w2q62**
5. Saudi Arabia **Skip to w2q62**
6. Kuwait **Skip to w2q62**
7. Other
8. Don't know **Skip to w2q62**
9. No answer **Skip to w2q62**

w2q61_o What country is that? Please specify:

w2q62 What is the capital city of Iraq?

DO NOT READ:
1. Baghdad **Skip to w2q63a**
2. Other
8. Don't know **Skip to w2q63a**
9. No answer **Skip to w2q63a**

w2q62_o What city is the capital of Iraq? Please specify:

w2q63a What is the name of the middle-eastern TV network that has broadcast statements by Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda?

DO NOT READ:
1. Al Jazeera **Skip w2q63b**
2. Other
8. Don't know **Skip w2q63b**
9. No answer **Skip w2q63b**

w2q63a_o What network is that? Please specify:

w2q63b What is the name of the ruling political party in Iraq?

DO NOT READ:
1. Baath party **Skip to w2q64**
2. Other
8. Don't know **Skip to w2q64**
9. No answer **Skip to w2q64**

w2q63b_o What party is that? Please specify:

w2q64 What is the name of the major ethnic group that lives in the north of Iraq?

DO NOT READ:
1. The Kurds **Skip to w2q65**
2. Other
8. Don't know **Skip to w2q65**
9. No answer **Skip to w2q65**

w2q64_o What major ethnic group is that? Please specify:

w2q65 Now we would like to ask about your feelings about Saddam Hussein. How NERVOUS does Saddam Hussein make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q66 How SCARED does Saddam Hussein make you feel?

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q67 How ANGRY does Saddam Hussein make you feel?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q68 How HOSTILE does Saddam Hussein make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q69 How AFRAID does Saddam Hussein make you feel?

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q70 How DISGUSTED does Saddam Hussein make you feel?

1. Very disgusted

2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q71 In general, how satisfied are you with the direction that the U.S. is going in at this time?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q72 How angry does it make you feel, if at all, when you hear someone criticizing the United States:

1. Extremely angry
2. Very angry
3. Somewhat angry
4. Not very angry
5. Or, not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q73 How proud are you to be an American:

1. Extremely proud
2. Very proud
3. Somewhat proud
4. Or not very proud
DO NOT READ:
7. NOT AMERICAN
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w2q74 How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying?

1. Extremely good
2. Very good
3. Somewhat good
4. Or not very good
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

Thank you for your cooperation. For further information on the survey, you can call

Professor Leonie Huddy at 631-632-7639, or

Dr. Robert Schneider, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects at Stony Brook (631) 632-9036 about your rights as a participant.

Thanks again.

VARIABLES BY SURVEY ORGANIZATIONS

w2lang Language of interview

1. English
2. Spanish

w2date Date interview started in Second Terrorism Study (yyyymmdd)

w2state State of residence in Second Terrorism Study – SBU

w2zip Zip code in Second Terrorism Study – SBU

Wave 3

ATTITUDES TOWARDS OVERSEAS MILITARY INTERVENTION IN IRAQ

RE-INTERVIEWS
Hello, my name is _____ and I am calling from the State University of New York at Stony Brook. I need to speak with _____. You were interviewed recently by a member of our staff. This is the LAST TIME that we will contact you. I would like to ask you some questions about your views on the war with Iraq.

This survey is funded by the National Science Foundation and only takes about 10 to 15 minutes. We will skip over any questions you don't want to answer, and all answers will be kept confidential. You do not have to participate in this study if you do not want to.

w3q1 How many days in the past week did you watch the national TV news on ABC, CBS, CNN, FOX, or NBC?
[Prompt; or other networks such as PBS]

DO NOT READ:
0. None
1. One day
2. Two days
3. Three days
4. Four days
5. Five days
6. Six days
7. Every day
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q2 How many days in the past week did you read about national events in a daily newspaper?

DO NOT READ:
0. None
1. One day
2. Two days
3. Three days
4. Four days
5. Five days
6. Six days
7. Every day
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q3 How much thought have you given to <u>the current</u> [war with/situation in] Iraq?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q4 How often, if at all, have you talked to friends, family, co-workers, or neighbors about the current [war with/situation in] Iraq?

1. Very often
2. Somewhat often
3. Not very often
4. Not at all
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q5 People often have very different feelings about political leaders and events.
How ENTHUSIASTIC does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very enthusiastic
2. Somewhat enthusiastic
3. Not very enthusiastic
4. Not at all enthusiastic
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q6 How NERVOUS does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q7 How SCARED does President Bush make you feel:
[Prompt: I have to ask you this question because we ask similar questions about other international leaders]

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q8 How HOPEFUL does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very hopeful
2. Somewhat hopeful
3. Not very hopeful
4. Not at all hopeful

DO NOT READ

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q9 How ANGRY does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q10 How HOSTILE does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q11 How PROUD does President George Bush make you feel?

1. Very proud
2. Somewhat proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q12 How AFRAID does President George Bush make you feel?

[PROMPT: I know this seems like something you just told me, but could you please answer this question again. We ask this question to make sure that we get an accurate view of your feelings]

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid

DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q13 How DISGUSTED does President George Bush make you feel?
[IF NECESSARY: I will be asking you the same question later about other world leaders.]

[READ IF NECESSARY]
1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q14 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?
[IF DEPENDS PROBE ONCE WITH: Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling his job as president?]

DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q15 Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the economy?
DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q15c **Wave 3B only:**
Do you think President Bush is paying too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention to the economy right now?

DO NOT READ
1. Too much
2. Too little
3. Right amount
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q16. Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the [war with/the situation in] Iraq?
DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q16a **Wave 3B only:**
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is handling the war on terrorism?

DO NOT READ:
1. Approve
2. Disapprove
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q17 **Wave 3A only:**
Do you think that President Bush has ADEQUATELY explained his reasons for taking military action against Iraq, or would you like more information?

DO NOT READ
1. Adequately explained reasons for military action
2. Need more information
3. Both
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q17a To what extent do you think President Bush's decision to go to war with Iraq was shaped by his concern for NATIONAL SECURITY?

1. a great deal
2. somewhat
3. a little
4. not at all
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q17b To what extent do you think President Bush's decision to go to war with Iraq is shaped by POLITICAL CONCERNS, such as shifting attention away from the economy?

1. a great deal
2. somewhat
3. a little
4. not at all
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q17c To what extent do you think President Bush's decision to go to war with Iraq is shaped by ECONOMIC CONCERNS, such as a desire to control Iraqi oil?
1. a great deal
2. somewhat
3. a little
4. not at all
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q17d **Wave 3B only:**
To what extent do you think President Bush's decision to go to war with Iraq was to show other countries what might happen to them if they develop weapons of mass destruction or threaten the United States?

1. a great deal
2. somewhat
3. a little
4. not at all
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q17e **Wave 3B only:**
To what extent do you think President Bush's decision to go to war with Iraq was to promote democracy and freedom among the Iraqis?

1. a great deal
2. somewhat
3. a little
4. not at all
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q20 Do you think it will be best for the future of the United States if the country takes an active part in world affairs, or if the country stays out of world affairs?

DO NOT READ:
1. Take an active part in world affairs
2. Stay out of world affairs
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q21 Do you think the United States should or should not take the leading role among all other countries in the world in trying to solve international problems?

DO NOT READ:
1. Should take the leading role
2. Should NOT take the leading role
8. Don't know
9. No answer

The order of the following sections is split half. Half the sample receives the affect items first (w3q22-w3q27). The other half receives the risk items first (w3q28-w3q32).

w3ord_te **1. Affect questions first**
2. Risk questions first

w3q22 Now we would like to know how you feel about ANTI-AMERICAN terrorists, including Al Qaeda. How NERVOUS do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q23 How SCARED do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared

4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q24 How ANGRY do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q25 How HOSTILE do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q26 How AFRAID do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel??

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q27 How DISGUSTED do ANTI-AMERICAN TERRORISTS make you feel?

1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q28 In your view, how likely is it that there will be another terrorist attack on U.S. soil <u>in the NEAR FUTURE</u>?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q29 In your view, how likely is it that terrorists will attack the U.S. with biological or chemical weapons? [IF NECESSARY: By biological weapons, I mean diseases like anthrax. By chemical weapons, I mean nerve gases such as sarin used in the attack on the Tokyo subway several years ago.]

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q30 In your view, how likely is it that you yourself, a friend, or a relative will be the victim of a future terrorist attack in the United States?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q31 In your view, how likely is it that you yourself, a friend, or a relative will be the victim of a terrorist attack using biological or chemical weapons?
[IF NECESSARY: By biological weapons, I mean diseases like anthrax. By chemical weapons, I mean nerve gases such as sarin used in the attack on the Tokyo subway several years ago.]

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q32 How much, if any, have the 9/11 terrorist attacks shaken your own sense of personal safety and security?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. Or, not at all?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q33 How much confidence do you have in the ability of the U.S. government to win the war on terrorism? Are you:

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not too confident
4. Or not at all confident?

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know, not sure
9. No Answer

w3q34 How confident are you in the ability of the U.S. government to prevent a future terrorist attack on U.S. soil?

1. Very confident
2. Somewhat confident
3. Not very confident
4. Or, not at all confident?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q35 How much of the time do you think you can trust the government in Washington to do what is right?

1. Just about always
2. Most of the time
3. Or only some of the time
[DO NOT READ]
4. Never [VOLUNTEERED]
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q36 How favorable is your opinion of the federal government in Washington?

1. Very favorable
2. Somewhat favorable
3. Somewhat unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q37 How favorable or unfavorable do you feel about current U.S. senators and members of the House of Representatives?

1. Very favorable
2. Somewhat favorable
3. Somewhat unfavorable
4. Very unfavorable
[DO NOT READ]
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q38 How strongly do you favor or oppose [the current U.S. military action against/the U.S. having gone to war with] Iraq? Do you:

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Strongly oppose **If wave3a, skip to w3q40**
[DO NOT READ]

8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q39 **Wave 3A only:**
How strongly do you favor or oppose the current U.S. military action against Iraq, even if it means that U.S. armed forces might suffer a substantial number of casualties?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose
DO NOT READ:
7. Don't believe there will be casualties
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q40 Should the U.S. have attacked Iraq without the support of the United Nations Security Council, or should it only have attacked Iraq with the support of the UN Security Council?

DO NOT READ:
1. Should have attacked on own
2. Should have waited for U.N. and other nations
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q41 Should the U.S. have attacked Iraq [now/when it did], or should the U.S. have given the U.N. weapons inspectors more time?

DO NOT READ:
1. Should have attacked now
2. Should have given U.N. weapons inspectors more time
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q41a In your view, how serious are the divisions that have emerged between the United States and some of its major allies, such as France and Germany, over the war in Iraq?

1. Very serious
2. Somewhat serious
3. Not very serious
4. Not at all serious
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q42 **Wave 3A only:**
How strongly do you favor or oppose sending large numbers of U.S. ground troops into Iraq?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Or strongly oppose
DO NOT READ:
7. Don't believe there will be casualties

8. Don’t know
9. No Answer

w3q42a **Wave 3B only:**
To what extent can the war with Iraq be considered a victory in the war against terrorism?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q42b **Wave 3B only:**
To what extent can the war with Iraq be considered a victory for democracy and freedom in the world?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q42c **Wave 3B only:**
Do you think the MAJOR reason no significant amounts of biological or chemical weapons have yet been found in Iraq is because:

1. they were destroyed several years before the war started
2. they were destroyed just before the war
3. they were shipped to another country
4. they remain very well hidden in Iraq?
DO NOT READ
5. All of the above
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q42d **Wave 3B only:**
If the U.S. and its allies NEVER find significant amounts of biological or chemical weapons in Iraq, do you think the U.S. should have attacked Iraq, or not?

1. Should have attacked
2. Should not have attacked
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q42e **Wave 3B only:**
If the U.S. and its allies NEVER uncover a significant link between Saddam Hussein and Al Qaeda or other terrorist groups do you think the U.S. should have attacked Iraq, or not?

1. Should have attacked

2. Should not have attacked
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q42f **Wave 3B only:**
When given the chance to vote, how likely is it that Iraqis will elect a government that is hostile toward the United States?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

The order of the following sections is split half. Half the sample receives the affect items first (w3q43-w3q51). The other half receives the risk items first (w3q54-w3q59).

w3ord_wa 1. Affect questions first
2. Risk questions first

w3q43 How NERVOUS does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q44 How SCARED does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q45 How HOPEFUL does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very hopeful
2. Somewhat hopeful
3. Not very hopeful
4. Not at all hopeful
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q46 How ANGRY does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

READ IF NECESSARY:
1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q47 How HOSTILE does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q48 How PROUD does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very proud
2. Somewhat proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q49 How AFRAID does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q50 How DISGUSTED does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q51 How ENTHUSIASTIC does THE CURRENT [WAR WITH/SITUATION IN] IRAQ make you feel?

1. Very enthusiastic

2. Somewhat enthusiastic
3. Not very enthusiastic
4. Not at all enthusiastic
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q52 **Wave 3A only:**
How likely is it that Saddam Hussein will attack the U.S. with biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons in the near future?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q53 **Wave 3A only:**
How likely is it that Saddam Hussein will use biological, chemical, or nuclear weapons against countries in the middle-east including Israel, in the near future?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q54 How likely is it that Saddam Hussein [is/was] actively supporting anti-U.S. terrorist groups [at present/before the war]?
[IF NECESSARY: By actively supporting I mean providing funds, weapons, information, or advice]

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q55 **Wave 3A only:**
In your view, how likely is it that the Iraqi military will put up a prolonged defense against U.S. military action?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very unlikely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q55a How long do you think U.S. troops WILL stay in Iraq?

1. Less than Two months
2. 2-6 months
3. 6-12 Months
4. 1-2 years
5. Or longer than that?
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q55b How long do you think U.S. troops SHOULD stay in Iraq?

1. Less than Two months
2. 2-6 months
3. 6-12 Months
4. 1-2 years
5. Or longer than that?
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q55c What is your impression of how the [war in Iraq is going for the United States/United States reconstruction efforts are going in Iraq] right now?

1. very well
2. somewhat well
3. somewhat badly
4. or very badly
DO NOT READ:
8. Don’t know
9. No Answer

w3q55d To what extent do you favor or oppose U.S. troops helping to rebuild Iraq [after the war]?

1. Strongly favor
2. Somewhat favor
3. Somewhat oppose
4. Strongly oppose
DO NOT READ
8. Don’t know
9. No Answer

w3q55e How likely is it that there will be a democratic regime in Iraq a year [after the war ends/from now]?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Somewhat unlikely
4. Very unlikely
DO NOT READ
8. Don’t know
9. No Answer

w3q56a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on the U.S. ECONOMY?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

Questions w3q56, w3q57, w3q58, w3q59 have alternate wording. Half the sample is asked: "Do you <u>think</u>…" and the other half "Do you <u>feel</u>…. ". The questions are asked in the same order.

w3ord_fe 1. Think
2. Feel

w3q56 Do you think/feel the war in Iraq think will hurt the U.S. economy, help the economy, or have no effect [on the economy]?

DO NOT READ:
1. Hurt the economy
2. Help the economy
3. No effect
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q57a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on the THREAT OF TERRORISM to the United States?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q57 Do you think/feel the war in Iraq will increase the threat of terrorism against the United States, decrease it, or will it stay about the same?

DO NOT READ:
1. Increase
2. Decrease
3. Stay about the same
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q58a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on THE SITUATION IN THE MIDDLE -EAST?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little

4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q58 Do you think/feel the war in Iraq will make the situation in the Middle-East more stable, less stable, or will it stay about the same?

DO NOT READ:
1. More stable
2. Less stable
3. Stay about the same
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q59a How much thought have you given to the effects of U.S. military action in Iraq on the help we would get from U.S. ALLIES in the war on terrorism?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q59 Do you think/feel the war in Iraq will increase help from U.S. allies in the war on terrorism, decrease it, or will it stay about the same?

DO NOT READ:
1. Increase
2. Decrease
3. Stay about the same
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

END OF ROTATED ITEM EXPERIMENT

w3q60a **Wave 3A only:**
How much thought have you given to the effects of US military action in Iraq on Saddam Hussein's willingness to use weapons of mass destruction against US troops?

1. A great deal
2. Some
3. A little
4. None
DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q60 **Wave 3A only:**
How likely is it that Saddam Hussein will use biological, chemical or nuclear weapons against U.S. troops?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Not at all likely
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q60b **Wave 3A only:**
How likely is it that the war with Iraq will lead to oil shortages in the United States?

1. Very likely
2. Somewhat likely
3. Not very likely
4. Or, not at all likely?
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No Answer

w3q60c **Wave 3B only:**
Do you think North Korea's development of nuclear weapons is a threat to the United States that requires military action, can it be resolved diplomatically, or should the U.S. take no action at this time?

DO NOT READ

1. Requires military action	**Skip to w3q60d**
2. Can be resolved diplomatically	**Skip to w3q60d**
3. Take no action	**Skip to w3q60d**
4. Another solution; none of the above (specify)	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w3q60d**
9. Refused	**Skip to w3q60d**

w3q60c_o **Wave 3B only:**
Another solution, please specify:

w3q60d **Wave 3B only:**
Syria has been accused by the Bush administration of developing weapons of mass destruction and sheltering former Iraqi officials. Do you think the situation in Syria requires military action, can it be resolved diplomatically, or should the U. S. take no action at this time?

DO NOT READ

1. Requires military action	**Skip to w3q61**
2. Can be resolved diplomatically	**Skip to w3q61**
3. Take no action	**Skip to w3q61**
4. Another solution; none of the above (specify)	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w3q61**
9. Refused	**Skip to w3q61**

w3q60d_o **Wave 3B only:**
Another solution, please specify:

w3q61 We are interested in what people have learned about the Iraq situation. Can you tell me the name of ONE country that shares a border with Iraq?

DO NOT READ

1. Iran	**Skip to w3q62**
2. Turkey	**Skip to w3q62**
3. Syria	**Skip to w3q62**
4. Jordan	**Skip to w3q62**
5. Saudi Arabia	**Skip to w3q62**
6. Kuwait	**Skip to w3q62**
7. Other	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w3q62**
9. No answer	**Skip to w3q62**

w3q61_o What country is that? Please specify:

w3q62 What is the capital city of Iraq?

DO NOT READ

1. Baghdad	**Skip to w3q63a**
2. Other	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w3q63a**
9. No answer	**Skip to w3q63a**

w3q62_o What city is the capital of Iraq? Please specify:

w3q63a What is the name of the middle-eastern TV network that has broadcast statements by Osama bin Laden and Al Qaeda?

DO NOT READ

1. Al Jazeera	**Skip to w3q63b**
2. Other	
8. don't know	**Skip to w3q63b**
9. no answer	**Skip to w3q63b**

w3q63a_o What network is that? Please specify:

w3q63b What WAS the name of the ruling political party in Iraq before the war?

DO NOT READ

1. Baath party	**Skip to w3q64**
2. Other	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w3q64**
9. No answer	**Skip to w3q64**

w3q63b_o What party is that? Please specify:

w3q64 What is the name of the major ethnic group that lives in the north of Iraq?

DO NOT READ

1. The Kurds	**Skip to w3q65**
2. Other	
8. Don't know	**Skip to w3q65**

9. No answer **Skip to w3q65**

w3q64_o What major ethnic group is that? Please specify:

w3q65 [Assuming that Saddam Hussein is alive] How NERVOUS does [Saddam Hussein/he] make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous
DO NOT READ:
5. Believe he is dead, will not answer **[option only in wave 3b] Skip to w3q71**
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q66 [Assuming that Saddam Hussein is alive] How SCARED does [Saddam Hussein/he] make you feel?

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q67 [Assuming that Saddam Hussein is alive] How ANGRY does [Saddam Hussein/he] make you feel?

READ IF NECESSARY:
1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q68 [Assuming that Saddam Hussein is alive] How HOSTILE does [Saddam Hussein/he] make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q69 [Assuming that Saddam Hussein is alive] How AFRAID does [Saddam Hussein/he] make you feel?

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid
DO NOT READ:

8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q70 [Assuming that Saddam Hussein is alive] How DISGUSTED does [Saddam Hussein/he] make you feel?

1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted
3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q71 In general, how satisfied are you with the direction that the country is going in at this time?

1. Very satisfied
2. Somewhat satisfied
3. Not very satisfied
4. Not at all satisfied
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q72 How angry does it make you feel, if at all, when you hear someone criticizing the United States?

1. Extremely angry
2. Very angry
3. Somewhat angry
4. Not very angry
5. Or, not at all angry
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q73 How proud are you to be an American?

1. Extremely proud
2. Very proud
3. Somewhat proud
4. Or not very proud
DO NOT READ:
7. NOT AMERICAN
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q74 How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying?

1. Extremely good
2. Very good
3. Somewhat good
4. Or not very good
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q76 Was there anyone in your family including your spouse, partner, children, or someone else who WAS or COULD HAVE BEEN sent to Iraq to fight in the war?

[IF NECESSARY: By could have been, I mean someone who was currently in the military or military reserves]

DO NOT READ:
1. Yes, was sent
2. Yes, could have been
3. No
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q95 **Wave 3A only:**
Do you think Americans who oppose a war with Iraq should be able to hold protest marches and rallies or does that hurt the war effort?

DO NOT READ:
1. Hold protest marches
2. Hurts the war effort
3. Both
8. Don't know
9. Refused

w3q96 How ENTHUSIASTIC do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very enthusiastic
2. Somewhat enthusiastic
3. Not very enthusiastic
4. Not at all enthusiastic

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q97 How NERVOUS do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very nervous
2. Somewhat nervous
3. Not very nervous
4. Not at all nervous

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q98 How SCARED do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel:

1. Very scared
2. Somewhat scared
3. Not very scared
4. Not at all scared

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q99 How HOPEFUL do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very hopeful
2. Somewhat hopeful
3. Not very hopeful
4. Not at all hopeful

DO NOT READ
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q100 How ANGRY do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very angry
2. Somewhat angry
3. Not very angry
4. Not at all angry

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q101 How HOSTILE do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very hostile
2. Somewhat hostile
3. Not very hostile
4. Not at all hostile

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q102 How PROUD do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very proud
2. Somewhat proud
3. Not very proud
4. Not at all proud

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q103 How AFRAID do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very afraid
2. Somewhat afraid
3. Not very afraid
4. Not at all afraid

DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

w3q104 How DISGUSTED do AMERICAN ANTI-WAR PROTESTERS make you feel?

1. Very disgusted
2. Somewhat disgusted

3. Not very disgusted
4. Not at all disgusted
DO NOT READ:
8. Don't know
9. No answer

Thank you for your cooperation. For further information on the survey, you can call

Professor Leonie Huddy at 631-632-7639, or
Judy Matuk, Committee on Research Involving Human Subjects
at Stony Brook (631) 632-9036 about your rights as a participant.

Thanks again.

VARIABLES BY SURVEY ORGANIZATIONS

w3lang Language of the interview, wave 3

1. English
2. Spanish

w3zip Respondent's zip code, wave 3

w3date Date interview started, wave 3