Our first questions are about international affairs and foreign policy.

Thinking back on the terrorist attacks of Sept. 11th, 2001, how would you say America has changed as a result? Would you say it has changed...

(1) a lot for the better,
(2) somewhat for the better,
(3) somewhat for the worse,
(4) a lot for the worse, or
(5) not much in either direction? @

Next I'm going to read you several possible long range foreign policy goals the U.S. might have. Please tell me how high a priority you feel we should give to each one by using a number from 0 to 10, where 0 is no priority at all, 5 is average priority, and 10 is the top priority.

How about protecting the global environment? On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal? @a (0-10)

How about ensuring adequate energy supplies for the U.S.? (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?) @b (0-10)

(How about) promoting democracy in other countries? (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?) @c (0-10)
(How about) preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0a (0-10)

(How about) aiding the interests of U.S. business abroad?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0b (0-10)

(How about) fighting terrorism?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0c (0-10)

(How about) providing food & medical help to poor countries?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0d (0-10)

(How about) protecting the U.S. from attack?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0a (0-10)

(How about) protecting human rights in other countries?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0b (0-10)

(How about) protecting weaker nations against foreign aggression?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0c (0-10)

(How about) reducing world poverty?  (On a scale from 0-10, how high a priority should this be as a long range foreign policy goal?)  0d (0-10)
For each of the following statements, please tell me whether you agree, disagree, are in between, or haven't thought much about it.

"This country would be better off if we just stayed home and did not concern ourselves with problems in other areas of the world."

Do you... (1) agree, (2) disagree, (3) fall somewhere in between, (4) or haven't you thought much about this? @a

IF AGREES:

Do you agree strongly or somewhat? @b

(1) Agree strongly
(5) Agree somewhat

IF DISAGREES:

Do you disagree strongly or somewhat? @c

(1) Disagree strongly
(5) Disagree somewhat

"It is the job of the U.S. as a global leader to protect the world from countries that are likely to use weapons of mass destruction."

Do you... (1) agree, (2) disagree, (3) fall somewhere in between, (4) or haven't you thought much about this? @a

IF AGREES:

Do you agree strongly or somewhat? @b

(1) Agree strongly
(5) Agree somewhat

IF DISAGREES:

Do you disagree strongly or somewhat? @c

(1) Disagree strongly
(5) Disagree somewhat
"It is the job of the U.S. as a global leader to protect the world from countries that are likely to assist terrorists."

Do you... (1) agree, (2) disagree, (3) fall somewhere in between, (4) or haven't you thought much about this?  @a

IF AGREES:

Do you agree strongly or somewhat?  @b

(1) Agree strongly
(5) Agree somewhat

IF DISAGREES:

Do you disagree strongly or somewhat?  @c

(1) Disagree strongly
(5) Disagree somewhat

"The U.S. should intervene to protect the world from countries that are likely to use weapons of mass destruction ONLY if we have support from our key allies or the United Nations."

Do you... (1) agree, (2) disagree, (3) fall somewhere in between, (4) or haven't you thought much about this?  @a

IF AGREES:

Do you agree strongly or somewhat?  @b

(1) Agree strongly
(5) Agree somewhat

IF DISAGREES:

Do you disagree strongly or somewhat?  @c

(1) Disagree strongly
(5) Disagree somewhat
If the U.S. succeeds in changing a government like Iraq's by military intervention, how important is it that we work to do each of the following.

How about "Build the Country's economy" -

Is it... (1) very important,
(2) somewhat important,
(3) not very important,
(4) not important at all, or
(5) haven't you thought much about this? @a

How about "Make the new government friendly to U.S. interests" -

Is it... (1) very important,
(2) somewhat important,
(3) not very important,
(4) not important at all, or
(5) haven't you thought much about this? @b

(How about) "Make the new government democratic" -

(Is it... (1) very important,
(2) somewhat important,
(3) not very important,
(4) not important at all, or
(5) haven't you thought much about this?) @a

(How about) "Involve international organizations like the United Nations in accomplishing these goals" -

(Is it... (1) very important,
(2) somewhat important,
(3) not very important,
(4) not important at all, or
(5) haven't you thought much about this?) @b
As far as you know, does President Bush want to increase foreign aid, decrease foreign aid, or keep it the same, OR haven't you heard anything about this?

Enter your selection @

(1) Increase
(2) Decrease
(3) Keep it the same
(4) Haven't heard anything about this

Now I'm going to describe some situations in which the U.S. might take military action in other countries. For each one, please tell me if you would support military action, oppose it, OR neither support nor oppose it.

How about..

"American military action WITH UNITED NATIONS SUPPORT to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction to countries that might use them."

Do you... (1) support,
(2) oppose, or
(3) neither support nor oppose this? @a

IF SUPPORTS:

Do you support it strongly or somewhat? @b

(1) Support strongly (5) Support somewhat

IF OPPOSES:

Do you oppose it strongly or somewhat? @c

(1) Oppose strongly (5) Oppose somewhat
(How about...)  
"American military action WITH UNITED NATIONS SUPPORT to disrupt networks of international terrorists."

Do you... (1) support,  
(2) oppose, or  
(3) neither support nor oppose this? @a  

IF SUPPORTS:  
Do you support it strongly or somewhat? @b  
(1) Support strongly (5) Support somewhat  

IF OPPOSES:  
Do you oppose it strongly or somewhat? @c  
(1) Oppose strongly (5) Oppose somewhat  

SKIP TO >trd1< IF OPPOSES >mact1< - >mact3<

(How about...)  
"American military action ACTING ALONE to prevent the spread of weapons of mass destruction to countries that might use them."

Do you... (1) support,  
(2) oppose, or  
(3) neither support nor oppose this? @a  

IF SUPPORTS:  
Do you support it strongly or somewhat? @b  
(1) Support strongly (5) Support somewhat  

IF OPPOSES:  
Do you oppose it strongly or somewhat? @c  
(1) Oppose strongly (5) Oppose somewhat
(How about...) "American military action ACTING ALONE to disrupt networks of international terrorists."

Do you... (1) support,
(2) oppose, or
(3) neither support nor oppose this?  @a

IF SUPPORTS:

Do you support it strongly or somewhat?  @b

(1) Support strongly  (5) Support somewhat

IF OPPOSES:

Do you oppose it strongly or somewhat?  @c

(1) Oppose strongly  (5) Oppose somewhat

Now I'd like you to think about reducing terrorism. Again using a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 is no importance at all, 10 is the most importance, and 5 is midway between, how much importance should the U.S. place on each of the following as ways of reducing FUTURE terrorism directed against the U.S.?

How about encouraging more democracy in Middle East countries like Egypt & Saudi Arabia? On a scale from 0-10 how much importance should the U.S. place on this as a way of reducing future terrorism against the U.S.?  @a  (0-10)

How about increasing foreign aid to countries that may be breeding grounds for terrorism? On a scale from 0-10 how much importance should the U.S. place on this as a way of reducing future terrorism against the U.S.?  @b  (0-10)

>intlb<

(How about) adopting policies more favorable to the
Palestinians? (On a scale from 0-10 how much importance should the U.S. place on this as a way of reducing future terrorism against the U.S.?)

(How about) building up our military capabilities? (On a scale from 0-10 how much importance should the U.S. place on this as a way of reducing future terrorism against the U.S.?)

(How about) working with other countries to identify & combat terrorism? (On a scale from 0-10 how much importance should the U.S. place on this as a way of reducing future terrorism against the U.S.?)

(How about) building up our intelligence capabilities? (On a scale from 0-10 how much importance should the U.S. place on this as a way of reducing future terrorism against the U.S.?)

Generally speaking, who do you think should take the lead in trying to resolve international conflicts? Should...

(1) the U.S. take the lead acting by itself,

(2) should the U.S. take the lead acting with close allies like NATO,

(3) should the U.S. & its close allies take the lead acting through the United Nations,

(4) should the United Nations take the lead,

(5) or should nobody take the lead? @

Generally speaking, who do you think should take the lead in providing foreign assistance to other countries? Should...

(1) the U.S. take the lead acting by itself,

(2) should the U.S. take the lead acting with close allies like NATO,

(3) should the U.S. & its close allies take the lead acting through international organizations like the United Nations & the World Bank,

(4) should the United Nations & the World Bank take the lead,

(5) or should nobody take the lead? @

How important is the cooperation of other countries with the
U.S. in the fight against terrorism?

Would you say -

(1) very important,  
(2) somewhat important,  
(3) not too important, or  
(4) not important at all? @

>knol<

Now I'm going to ask you some difficult factual questions. If you don't know the answer, please just say you don't know and we'll move on to the next one.

Out of every $100 in the federal budget, about how many dollars would you say goes to MILITARY SPENDING -

(1) 1 dollar,  
(2) 5 dollars,  
(3) 10 dollars,  
(4) 20 dollars,  
(5) 30 dollars or more, or  
(6) don't you have much idea about that? @a

Out of every $100 in the federal budget, about how many dollars would you say goes go to FOREIGN AID -

(1) 1 dollar,  
(2) 5 dollars,  
(3) 10 dollars,  
(4) 20 dollars,  
(5) 30 dollars or more, or  
(6) don't you have much idea about that? @b

>kno2<

For every $100 of goods & services produced by the U.S., how many dollars worth would you say are sold to customers abroad -

(1) 4 dollars worth,  
(2) 8 dollars,  
(3) 12 dollars,  
(4) 24 dollars or more, or  
(5) don't you have much idea about that? @a

In those African countries with the highest rates of infection with the AIDS virus, roughly how many adults out of every 100 would you say have AIDS or the AIDS virus -

(1) fewer than 5 out of 100,  
(2) about 10 of 100,  
(3) about 20 of 100,  
(4) 30 or more out of 100, or  
(5) don't you have much idea about that? @b
Please tell me whether you think the following statements are true or false.

"The U.S. has a veto on World Trade Organization decisions."

Enter your selection @a

(1) True
(5) False

"The U.S. has a veto on the United Nations Security Council."

Enter your selection @b

(1) True
(5) False

If the US invades Iraq, what importance should we place on each of the following goals? Please rate each on a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 represents no importance at all, 10 represents the greatest possible importance, and 5 is average importance.

1a. Preventing Saddam Hussein from having any weapons of mass destruction 0-10

1b. Removing Saddam Hussein from power. 0-10

1c. Making Iraq a democracy. 0-10

How strongly would you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

2a. The US should invade Iraq if the UN inspectors find evidence that convinces both the US and the UN Security Council that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction. Would you ...
Strongly Agree
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
Don't know

2b. The US should invade Iraq if the UN inspectors find evidence that convinces the US but not the UN Security Council that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction.

Strongly Agree
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
Don't know

3c. The US should invade Iraq if the US has reason to believe that Iraq has weapons of mass destruction, even though the UN inspectors have found no evidence establishing that.

Strongly Agree
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
Don't know

3d. The US should not invade Iraq under any circumstances but should rely on diplomacy and economic sanctions instead.

Strongly Agree
Agree
Neither Agree nor Disagree
Disagree
Strongly Disagree
Don't Know

4. On a scale from 0 to 10, where 0 means no threat at all, 10 means the most serious possible threat, and 5 means an average threat, how would you rate the threat posed to the U.S. by:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Country</th>
<th>Rating</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Iran</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Russia</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iraq</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>North Korea</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>China</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Terrorists like those responsible for 9/11</td>
<td>0-10</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

5. If the US successfully invades Iraq, how much would you say that will help or hurt the war against terrorists like those responsible for 9/11? Will it ...
Help a lot
help a little
neither help nor hurt
hurt a little
hurt a lot
don't know

And how strongly would you agree or disagree with the following statements?

6a. The U.S. should focus less on Iraq and more on the war on terror.
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly
Don’t know

6b. The U.S. should focus less on Iraq and more on North Korea.
Agree strongly
Agree
Neither agree nor disagree
Disagree
Disagree strongly
Don’t know

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

Enter your selection @a

(1) Democrat
(3) Republican
(5) Independent
(6) No preference
(7) Other (SPECIFY)

IF DEMOCRAT:

Would you call yourself a strong Democrat or a not very
strong Democrat?
Enter your selection @b

(1) Strong  
(5) Not very strong

IF REPUBLICAN:

Would you call yourself a strong Republican or a not very strong Republican?
Enter your selection @c

(1) Strong  
(5) Not very strong

IF INDEPENDENT, NO PREFERENCE, OR OTHER:

Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican party or to the Democratic party?
Enter your selection @d

(1) Democratic  
(5) Republican  
(7) VOLUNTEERED: Neither

>ideo<

Please think about political views as a whole.

On a scale from 0-10, where 0 is about as conservative as they come, 10 is about as liberal as they come and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you place yourself? @a (0-10)

On the same scale, where 0 is about as conservative as they come, 10 is about as liberal as they come and 5 is exactly in the middle, where would you place Democrats? @b (0-10)

(On the same scale, where 0 is about as conservative as they come, 10 is about as liberal as they come and 5 is exactly in the middle,) where would you place Republicans? @c (0-10)
Now before we finish up, we just need some background information about you.

In what year were you born? ENTER YEAR @ (1880-1987)

IF >yearborn< CALCULATES TO A POSSIBLE AGE UNDER 18, ASK >ager<.

INTERVIEWER:
According to the year you just entered ([fill yearborn]), this makes R about [fill age] years old.
Please confirm the respondent's age.

Enter your selection @
(12-98) Age
(z) Age refused but confirms 18 or over
(r) Refused

IF >ager< REFUSED ASK >ager2<.

I'm sorry but I have to make sure that I'm speaking with an adult age 18 or over in order to continue. Thank you for your time.

TERMINATE AS APPROPRIATE
(1) Terminate interview
(3) R confirms age 18 or older, proceed w/interview

What is the highest grade of school or year of college you have completed?

Enter your selection  @a

(0) Less than 1st grade or no formal schooling
(1-8) Elementary school (grades 1-8)
(9-11) Some high school (grades 9-11)
(12) Completed H.S./H.S. Graduate/GED
(13-15) Some college but no undergraduate degree from 4yr school
(16) Undergraduate degree from a 4 year institution
(17) Some post-graduate work or graduate degree

IF GRADE 0-11 GIVEN:

ASK IF UNCLEAR, OTHERWISE JUST CODE:

Did you get a high school diploma or pass the GED or a high school equivalency test?  @b

(1) Yes  (5) No

Are you married now and living with your spouse, or are you widowed, divorced, separated, or have you never married?

Enter your selection  @a

(1) Married and living with spouse (or spouse in service)
(2) Never married
(3) Divorced
(4) Separated
(5) Widowed
(7) VOLUNTEERED: Partnered but not married

Do you have children under 18 living at home?  @b

(1) Yes  (5) No

IF HAS CHILDREN AT HOME:

How many children under 18 are currently living at home?  @c (1-10)
Is your ethnic origin Hispanic, that is, are you Mexican-American or Chicano, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Hispanic origin?

Enter your selection @

(1) Yes, Mexican-American/Chicano
(2) Yes, Puerto Rican
(3) Yes, Cuban
(4) Yes, Other Hispanic
(5) No (none of the above)

Would you please tell us your race. Are you white, black, American Indian or Alaskan native, Asian or Pacific Islander, or some other race?

Enter your selection @

(1) White
(2) Black
(3) American Indian or Alaskan Native
(4) Asian or Pacific Islander
(5) Other (SPECIFY)

(6) VOLUNTEERED: Mixed race (SPECIFY)

(7) VOLUNTEERED: Self-identifies as Hispanic/Latino

Were both of your parents born in the United States? @a

(1) Yes      (5) No

IF NO:

In what country was your mother born? @b

In what country was your father born? @c

(1) United States    (7) Vietnam
(2) Mexico          (8) Philippines
(3) El Salvador     (9) India
(4) Guatemala      (10) Iran (Persian)
(5) Taiwan          (11) Palestine
(6) China           (97) Other (SPECIFY)
We'd like to know if you are working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, a homemaker, a student, or what?

Enter your selection  @

(1) Working now
(2) Temporarily laid off
(3) Unemployed
(4) Retired
(5) Disabled
(6) Homemaker (not working)
(7) Student
(8) Other (SPECIFY)

(97) VOLUNTEERED: Student who is working now (part or full-time)

CODES (1) (2) (97) SKIP TO >etyp<

VERSION IF RETIRED:
When was the last time you worked at a REGULAR job for pay?

VERSION FOR ALL OTHERS:
When was the last time you worked at a REGULAR job for pay or haven't you ever had that kind of job?

Enter your selection  @

(1) In the last 12 months
(2) More than 12 months ago, but within the last 2 years
(3) More than 2 years ago
(4) Never worked at a regular job
VERSION IF WORKING OR TEMP LAID OFF:
Are you self employed, in private employment, do you work for federal, state, or local government, or do you work in a family business or farm?

VERSION FOR OTHERS THAT HAVE WORKED IN THE PAST:
At the last job you worked at, were you self employed, in private employment, did you work for federal, state, or local government, or did you work in a family business or farm?

Enter your selection @

(1) Self-employed
(2) Work for private employer
(3) Work for federal government
(4) Work for state government
(5) Work for a local government
(6) Work in a family business or farm

VERSION IF WORKING OR TEMP LAID OFF:
I'm going to read a list of general occupation categories. When I'm done, please tell me the one that best describes your current job. (READ LIST).

VERSION FOR OTHERS THAT HAVE WORKED IN THE PAST:
I'm going to read a list of general occupation categories. When I'm done, please tell me the one that best describes the job you last worked at. (READ LIST).

(1) professional or technical,
(2) manager or administrator,
(3) sales worker,
(4) clerical worker,
(5) skilled worker or craftsman,
(6) machine operator,
(7) laborer,
(8) farmer or farm manager,
(9) farm laborer,
(10) service worker, or
(11) something else? (SPECIFY) @
Have you ever served in the military of the United States?  @a

(1) Yes     (5) No

IF YES:

How long did you serve? Was it...

(1) less than 6 months,
(2) 6 months to a year,
(3) 1 to 2 years,
(4) 3 to 5 years, or
(5) more than 5 years?   @b

In your life, have you spent a total of more than 6 months in other countries? Keep in mind that that could be either over 6 months at one time or many different times adding up to over 6 months.

Enter your selection   @a

(1) Yes     (5) No

IF YES:

Have you spent a total of more than 2 years in other countries?

Enter your selection   @b

(1) Yes     (5) No

Which of the following best describes the place where you now live. Is it...

(1) a large city,
(2) a suburb near a large city,
(3) a small city or town, or
(4) a rural area?             @

IF NECESSARY: Are you male or female?  @

(1) Male
(5) Female