



# **CIVIL LIBERTIES AND SECURITY: TEN YEARS AFTER 9/11**

**Conducted by The Associated Press-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research**

*Interview dates: July 28 – August 15, 2011*

*Interviews: 1,087 adults*

*Margin of error: +/- 4.1 percentage points at the 95% confidence level*

*NOTE: All results show percentages among all respondents, unless otherwise labeled.*

*All results shown are percentages unless otherwise labeled.*

**Q1. Generally speaking, would you say that things in this country are headed in the right direction or in the wrong direction?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Right direction	20
Wrong direction	76
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	4
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

**Q2. I am going to name some institutions in this country. As far as the people running these institutions are concerned, would you say you have a great deal of confidence, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence at all in them?**

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	A great deal of confidence	Only some confidence	Hardly any confidence at all	Don't know	Refused
a. Major companies	12	60	27	2	*
b. Organized religion	23	46	28	3	1
c. Executive branch of the federal government	14	37	48	1	*
d. Congress	5	34	60	1	1
e. Military	65	28	7	*	*
f. Banks and financial institutions	9	50	40	1	*

Q2. TREND

**a. Major companies**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	General Social Survey 2/6-6/26/2002
A great deal of confidence	12	17
Only some confidence	60	63
Hardly any confidence at all	27	18
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-

**b. Organized religion**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	General Social Survey 2/6-6/26/2002
A great deal of confidence	23	19
Only some confidence	46	56
Hardly any confidence at all	28	24
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	3	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1	-

**c. Executive branch of the federal government**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	General Social Survey 2/6-6/26/2002
A great deal of confidence	14	27
Only some confidence	37	59
Hardly any confidence at all	48	21
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-

**d. Congress**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	General Social Survey 2/6-6/26/2002
A great deal of confidence	5	13
Only some confidence	34	61
Hardly any confidence at all	60	24
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1	-

**e. Military**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	General Social Survey 2/6-6/26/2002
A great deal of confidence	65	54
Only some confidence	28	38
Hardly any confidence at all	7	7
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	*

**f. Banks and financial institutions**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	General Social Survey 2/6-6/26/2002
A great deal of confidence	9	22
Only some confidence	50	58
Hardly any confidence at all	40	18
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-

Q3. **Generally speaking, would you say that most people can be trusted or that you can't be too careful in dealing with people?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	General Social Survey 2/6-6/26/2002
Most people can be trusted	45	34
Can't be too careful	53	58
OTHER, DEPENDS (DO NOT READ)	2	8
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-	-

Q4. **Compared with 10 years ago, would you say that when it comes to [INSERT ITEM], things in this country have generally gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same? BRANCHING: Is that a lot (better/worse) or a little (better/worse)? [RANDOMIZE]**

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	Total Better	Gotten a lot better	Gotten a little better	Stayed about the same	Total Worse	Gotten a little worse	Gotten a lot worse	DK	Ref.
The patriotism of the American people	26	11	15	37	36	17	19	1	*
The willingness of people to help each other	22	8	14	45	33	15	18	*	-
The amount of bipartisanship and cooperation in government	4	2	2	21	71	15	56	3	1

Q5. **If someone from another country were to ask you to make a list of the specific rights and freedoms you have as a resident of the United States, what would be the first thing you would put on the list? (Open-ended: CODED)**

*Multiple responses possible, percentages sum to greater than 100%.*

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011
Freedom of speech/expression/opinions/1 <sup>st</sup> Amendment	48
Freedom of religion/to worship	12
Right to vote/Democracy/Elect the government	6
Freedom/Liberty - general mentions	6
Right to bear arms/own guns/firearms/2 <sup>nd</sup> Amendment	5
Self-determination/choice/live as choose/do as please	5
Travel/move between states	1
Right to own property	1
Pursuit of happiness/Ability to be happy	1
Right to work/have a job	1
Equal protection/Civil rights/Civil liberties	1
Freedom of the press	1
Freedom to assemble/associate	1
Taxes	1
Bill of Rights/Constitution mentions	1
Do not have any freedoms/Freedoms declining	1
Education	*
Miranda Rights - attorney/remain silent	*
Right to privacy	*
Right to be successful/make money/economic freedom	*
Right to address the government	-
Trial by jury/serve on a jury	-
Other/Misc.	4
Don't know	6
Missing / no response	*
No particular rights /no further rights to mention	*
Refused	1

Q6. **What other things would you add to the list? PROBE: Anything else? (Open-ended: CODED)**

*Multiple responses possible, percentages sum to greater than 100%.*

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011
Freedom of religion/to worship	23
Freedom of speech/expression/opinions/1 <sup>st</sup> Amendment	19
Right to bear arms/own guns/firearms/2 <sup>nd</sup> Amendment	17
Right to vote/Democracy/Elect the government	11
Self-determination/choice/live as choose/do as please	11
Freedom to assemble/associate	6
Travel/move between states	4
Equal protection/Civil rights/Civil liberties	4
Freedom of the press	4
Right to work/have a job	3
Freedom/Liberty - general mentions	3
Bill of Rights/Constitution mentions	3
Right to be successful/make money/economic freedom	2
Pursuit of happiness/Ability to be happy	2
Trial by jury/serve on a jury	2
Education	2
Right to address the government	1
Miranda Rights - attorney/remain silent	1
Right to own property	1
Right to privacy	1
Taxes	*
Do not have any freedoms/Freedoms declining	*
Other/Misc.	8
Don't know	11
Missing / no response	8
No particular rights /no further rights to mention	5
Refused	1

Q5/Q6 combined

**Multiple responses possible, percentages sum to greater than 100%.**

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011
Freedom of speech/expression/opinions/1 <sup>st</sup> Amendment	67
Freedom of religion/to worship	35
Right to bear arms/own guns/firearms/2 <sup>nd</sup> Amendment	22
Right to vote/Democracy/Elect the government	17
Self-determination/choice/live as choose/do as please	16
Freedom/Liberty - general mentions	9
Freedom to assemble/associate	6
Equal protection/Civil rights/Civil liberties	5
Freedom of the press	5
Travel/move between states	5
Bill of Rights/Constitution mentions	4
Pursuit of happiness/Ability to be happy	3
Right to work/have a job	3
Right to own property	2
Do not have any freedoms/Freedoms declining	2
Education	2
Right to be successful/make money/economic freedom	2
Trial by jury/serve on a jury	2
Taxes	1
Miranda Rights - attorney/remain silent	1
Right to privacy	1
Right to address the government	1
Other/Misc.	11
Don't know	17
Missing / no response	8
No particular rights /no further rights to mention	5
Refused	3



Q7. The following are some examples of rights and freedoms listed in the Bill of Rights or that are protected under various American laws and court rulings. For each one, please tell me if you think the U.S. government is doing a good job, poor job, or neither a good nor poor job of protecting that particular right or freedom.

How about (INSERT ITEM). [RANDOMIZE]

READ AS NECESSARY: Is the U.S. government doing a good job, poor job, or neither a good nor poor job of protecting this (right/freedom)?

BRANCHING: Is that a very (good/poor) job or a somewhat (good/poor) job?

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	Total Good Job	Very good job	Somewhat good job	Neither a good nor poor job	Total Poor Job	Somewhat poor job	Very poor job	DK	Ref.
The right to vote	84	60	24	5	11	6	5	*	-
The freedom of religion	75	45	30	9	16	8	9	*	*
The right of the people to assemble peacefully	75	38	36	13	12	7	5	*	-
The freedom of speech	71	39	32	10	19	10	9	*	-
The right to trial by an impartial jury	67	35	33	13	19	12	7	2	*
The freedom of the press	63	36	28	13	22	10	11	2	*
The freedom from cruel and unusual punishment	60	32	28	16	22	13	9	2	*
The right to keep and bear arms	57	28	30	12	27	14	14	3	*
The freedom from punishment without a trial	56	28	27	17	22	10	12	5	1
The right of everyone to equal protection under the law	48	18	30	13	37	19	18	2	1
The freedom from unreasonable search and seizure	45	19	26	19	32	16	17	4	*
The right to privacy	40	13	27	16	44	18	26	1	-

Q8. Government officials often have to make choices among many important goals. If you had to choose, which do you think is the *more important* goal for the government...

*IF DON'T KNOW/BOTH EQUAL/CAN'T CHOOSE, PROBE ONCE:*

We realize that many people feel that both of these goals are important, but we're interested in which one you think might be slightly more important than the other.

*RANDOMIZED*

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Protecting the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens, (or)	54
Making sure that U.S. citizens are safe from being harmed by terrorists	35
Both equally/can't choose (DO NOT READ)	10
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

Q9. I recorded that you said “[FILL RESPONSE FROM Q8]” was the more important goal. How sure are you about that? Are you...

*Those who said “protecting the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens,” in Q8*

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<b>Total sure</b>	<b>60</b>
Extremely sure	31
Very sure	28
<b>Moderately sure</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Total unsure</b>	<b>8</b>
Slightly sure	7
Not sure at all	1
Don't know	-
Refused	-

N=

484

Q9. (continued)

*Those who said “making sure that the U.S. citizens are safe from being harmed by terrorists,” in Q8*

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<b>Total sure</b>	<b>68</b>
Extremely sure	32
Very sure	36
<b>Moderately sure</b>	<b>25</b>
<b>Total unsure</b>	<b>6</b>
Slightly sure	4
Not sure at all	3
Don't know	*
Refused	-

N=

483

Q10. **As it conducts the war on terrorism, do you think the U.S. government is or is not doing enough to protect the rights and freedoms of U.S. citizens?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Is doing enough	60
Is not doing enough	36
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	4
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

Q11. **Do you think it is sometimes necessary for the government to sacrifice some rights and freedoms to fight terrorism, or is it never necessary to sacrifice rights and freedoms to prevent against terrorism?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Sometimes necessary to sacrifice some rights and freedoms	64
Never necessary to sacrifice rights and freedoms	33
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

Q12. How concerned are you about the chance that you or your family might be the victim of a terrorist attack? Would you say a great deal, somewhat, not too much, or not at all?

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011	AP-GfK 5/5- 9/2011	AP-GfK 1/12- 17/2011	AP-GfK 5/28- 6/1/2009	AP-Ipsos 7/11-13/ 2005	AP-Ipsos 8/27- 29/2004
<b>Total a great deal/somewhat</b>	<b>32</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>35</b>	<b>37</b>	<b>38</b>
A great deal	9	6	9	10	9	7
Somewhat	23	27	29	25	29	31
<b>Total not too much/not at all</b>	<b>68</b>	<b>67</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>65</b>	<b>62</b>	<b>62</b>
Not too much	38	41	38	35	36	34
Not at all	31	27	23	29	26	28
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-	*	1	*	-	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	*	*	*	-	-

**ASK IF "GREAT DEAL" OR "SOMEWHAT" to Q12**

Q13. How much does this concern affect how you live your life? Would you say a great deal, somewhat, not too much, or not at all?

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011	AP-Ipsos 7/11-13/ 2005	AP-Ipsos 8/27- 29/2004
<b>Total a great deal/somewhat</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>48</b>
A great deal	14	17	10
Somewhat	35	39	38
<b>Total not too much/not at all</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>52</b>
Not too much	35	25	33
Not at all	15	19	19
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	-	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-	-	-

N=

352

358

366

Q14. Do you think the region where you live is at a high, moderate or low risk of being attacked by terrorists in the future? BRANCHING: Is that extremely (high/low) risk, very (high/low) risk, or somewhat (high/low) risk?

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011
<b>Total high risk</b>	<b>15</b>
Extremely high risk	5
Very high risk	6
Somewhat high risk	5
<b>Moderate risk</b>	<b>22</b>
<b>Total low risk</b>	<b>62</b>
Somewhat low risk	25
Very low risk	20
Extremely low risk	18
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-

Q15. Now I'm going to read you a list of specific policy measures about phone calls and e-mails that some people have suggested the government should take on in response to *terrorist* threats against the United States. For each one, please tell me if you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose that particular policy.

(READ ITEM). Do you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose this policy as a way of responding to terrorist threats? BRANCHING: Is that strongly (favor/oppose) or just moderately (favor/oppose)?

RANDOMIZED:

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	Total favor	Strongly favor	Moderately favor	Neither favor nor oppose	Total oppose	Moderately oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	Ref.
Government reading without a warrant of any e-mails sent from countries known for terrorist activities to people inside the United States	65	44	22	13	21	14	7	1	*
Government listening without a warrant to any telephone calls made in countries outside the United States	49	24	25	17	34	19	14	1	*
Government monitoring without a warrant of searches on the Internet, including those by U.S. citizens, to watch for suspicious activities	48	23	25	14	37	17	21	1	*
Government reading without a warrant of any e-mails sent between people outside the United States	47	22	26	21	30	15	15	1	*
Government reading without a warrant of any e-mails sent in the United States	30	14	17	13	55	21	34	1	*
Government listening without a warrant to any telephone calls made in the United States	23	9	14	11	65	22	43	1	*

Q16. Now I'm going to read you a list of specific policy measures about things happening in public places that some people have suggested the government should take on in response to *terrorist* threats against the United States. For each one, please tell me if you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose that particular policy.

(READ ITEM). Do you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose this policy as a way of responding to terrorist threats? BRANCHING: Is that strongly (favor/oppose) or just moderately (favor/oppose)?

RANDOMIZED:

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	Total favor	Strongly favor	Moderately favor	Neither favor nor oppose	Total oppose	Moderately oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	Ref.
The installation of surveillance cameras in public places to capture and track the license plates of cars in areas at risk of a terrorist attack	73	47	26	12	14	5	9	1	-
The installation of surveillance cameras in public places to watch for suspicious activity	71	41	30	9	20	8	12	*	*
Requiring random searches involving full-body scans or pat-downs of people boarding commercial airline flights in the U.S.	58	31	27	11	21	15	17	*	*
Limiting the amount of liquids and gels that can be carried onto airplanes	48	28	21	21	29	13	16	1	*
Government monitoring of public library records, including those of U.S. citizens, without a warrant, to watch for suspicious activity	40	19	20	19	41	16	25	1	*
Requiring random searches of people riding public transit trains and buses in the U.S.	39	17	22	16	45	21	24	1	*
Using racial and ethnic profiling to decide who should get tougher screening at airports	35	18	17	11	53	14	39	1	1

Q17. Now I'm going to read you a list of specific policy measures that people have suggested the government should take on in response to *terrorist* threats against the United States. For each one, please tell me if you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose that particular policy.

(READ ITEM). Do you favor, oppose or neither favor nor oppose this policy as a way of responding to terrorist threats? BRANCHING: Is that strongly (favor/oppose) or just moderately (favor/oppose)?

RANDOMIZED:

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	Total favor	Strongly favor	Moderately favor	Neither favor nor oppose	Total oppose	Moderately oppose	Strongly oppose	DK	Ref.
Government analysis of the financial transactions processed by U.S. banks (including those by Americans) without a warrant, to watch for suspicious activity that might be connected to terrorism	55	27	29	13	30	16	14	1	*
Using harsh interrogation techniques against suspected terrorists to seek information about terrorist activities	51	26	25	15	33	14	19	1	1
The arrest and detention of suspected terrorists who are <u>not</u> U.S. citizens for extended periods without being formally charged in a court of law	49	28	22	14	35	18	17	1	*
Requiring all people in the United States, including citizens, to carry a national ID card and produce it to authorities upon demand	47	31	17	10	42	11	31	1	*
The arrest and detention of suspected terrorists who <u>are</u> U.S. citizens for extended periods without being formally charged in a court of law	34	16	18	14	51	22	29	1	*



Q18. I'm going to read some ways people have been feeling about the war on terrorism. For each one, please tell me whether the statement represents your very deepest feeling, a feeling that was somewhat deep, whether the statement had crossed your mind, or whether it never occurred to you.

(READ ITEM.) Does this statement represent your very deepest feeling, a feeling that was somewhat deep, a statement that has crossed your mind, or a statement that has never occurred to you?

RANDOMIZED:

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	Total deep	Very deepest feeling	Feeling that was somewhat deep	Total crossed mind/ never occurred	Statement had crossed my mind	Never occurred to you	DK	Ref.
Feel proud of the members of the armed forces and the police officers who are fighting the war on terrorism	90	71	20	10	6	4	-	*
Feel angry we should have a war on terrorism	57	35	23	42	20	22	*	*
Feel that you have some personal responsibility to help protect against terrorist attacks	56	32	24	43	26	18	*	*
Feel that strengthening the freedoms of all people around the world would help defeat terrorism	54	31	23	45	22	23	1	*
You feel the cost of fighting terrorism may be too high	53	32	22	46	25	20	1	*
Worried about how the war on terrorism affects our relationships with other countries	50	26	25	49	32	18	*	*
You feel embarrassed about our country's image in the world	44	25	20	55	23	31	1	*
Worried about how the war on terrorism might affect your own life, job and future	43	20	22	57	29	28	*	*
You have less faith in the government's ability to protect you than you did before	40	18	22	59	26	33	1	*
Feel that we finally might be winning the war on terrorism	40	13	28	58	35	24	1	*
Feel that the war on terrorism has helped unite the country	40	12	28	58	32	27	1	*
You feel the terrorists might be winning the war on terrorism	28	10	18	71	35	36	1	*

Q18. TREND

a. You feel the cost of fighting terrorism may be too high

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	AP-Ipsos 8/15-17/2006	AP-Ipsos 8/7-9/2006
<b>Total deep feeling</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>49</b>
Very deepest feeling	32	30	29
Feeling that was somewhat deep	22	20	20
<b>Total crossed mind/never occurred</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>49</b>
Statement had crossed your mind	25	24	25
Never occurred to you	20	25	24
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	1	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-	-

b. You have less faith in the government's ability to protect you than you did before

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	AP-Ipsos 8/15-17/2006	AP-Ipsos 8/7-9/2006
<b>Total deep feeling</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>40</b>
Very deepest feeling	18	25	17
Feeling that was somewhat deep	22	20	23
<b>Total crossed mind/never occurred</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>53</b>	<b>59</b>
Statement had crossed your mind	26	24	26
Never occurred to you	33	29	33
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	2	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-	-

**c. You feel the terrorists might be winning the war on terrorism**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	AP-Ipsos 8/15-17/2006	AP-Ipsos 8/7-9/2006
<b>Total deep feeling</b>	<b>28</b>	<b>24</b>	<b>31</b>
Very deepest feeling	10	14	10
Feeling that was somewhat deep	18	20	21
<b>Total crossed mind/never occurred</b>	<b>71</b>	<b>64</b>	<b>67</b>
Statement had crossed your mind	35	30	30
Never occurred to you	36	34	34
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	2	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-	-

**d. You feel embarrassed about our country's image in the world**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	AP-Ipsos 8/15-17/2006	AP-Ipsos 8/7-9/2006
<b>Total deep feeling</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>47</b>
Very deepest feeling	25	27	28
Feeling that was somewhat deep	20	16	19
<b>Total crossed mind/never occurred</b>	<b>55</b>	<b>56</b>	<b>56</b>
Statement had crossed your mind	23	17	17
Never occurred to you	31	39	39
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	1	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-	*

**e. Worried about how the war on terrorism affects our relations with other countries**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	NORC 12/18-2/20/2002
<b>Total deep feeling</b>	<b>50</b>	<b>50</b>
Very deepest feeling	26	23
Feeling that was somewhat deep	25	27
<b>Total crossed mind/never occurred</b>	<b>49</b>	<b>51</b>
Statement had crossed your mind	32	39
Never occurred to you	18	12
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-

*\*Note: 2002 NORC survey used “feeling that was quite deep” option rather than “feeling that was somewhat deep” in 2011.*

**f. Worried about how the war on terrorism might affect your own life, job and future**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	NORC 12/18-2/20/2002
<b>Total deep feeling</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>50</b>
Very deepest feeling	20	28
Feeling that was somewhat deep	22	22
<b>Total crossed mind/never occurred</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>50</b>
Statement had crossed your mind	29	32
Never occurred to you	28	18
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-

*\*Note: 2002 NORC survey used “feeling that was quite deep” option rather than “feeling that was somewhat deep” in 2011.*

**g. Feel angry that we should have to have a war on terrorism**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	NORC 12/18-2/20/2002
<b>Total deep feeling</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>67</b>
Very deepest feeling	35	43
Feeling that was somewhat deep	23	24
<b>Total crossed mind/never occurred</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>34</b>
Statement had crossed your mind	20	17
Never occurred to you	22	17
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-

*\*Note: 2002 NORC survey used “feeling that was quite deep” option rather than “feeling that was somewhat deep” in 2011.*

**Q19. Would you say that the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001 have had an impact on [INSERT ITEM], or not? BRANCHING, IF YES: Has it had a great deal of impact or just some impact?**

*RANDOMIZED:*

AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	Total Yes	Yes, great deal of impact	Yes, some impact	No impact	Don't know	Refused
The policy decisions made by the nation's leaders	<b>94</b>	70	24	<b>4</b>	2	*
The spending decisions made by the nation's leaders	<b>90</b>	70	21	<b>8</b>	2	*
The condition of the nation's economy	<b>89</b>	61	28	<b>10</b>	1	*
The unity of the American people	<b>88</b>	51	37	<b>11</b>	*	-
Americans' individual rights and freedoms	<b>86</b>	50	36	<b>13</b>	1	*
The amount of political conflict in the United States	<b>84</b>	53	31	<b>14</b>	1	*
The way you live your life today	<b>57</b>	23	34	<b>43</b>	-	-
The condition of your own personal finances	<b>51</b>	22	29	<b>49</b>	1	-

**Q19. TREND - The way you live your life today**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	AP-Ipsos 8/7-9/2006
<b>Total Yes</b>	<b>57</b>	<b>50</b>
Yes, great deal of impact	23	NA
Yes, some impact	34	NA
<b>No impact</b>	<b>43</b>	<b>50</b>
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-	-

*\*Note: Respondents only given Yes or No options in 2006.*

**BLOCKS Q20-21 AND Q22-23 RANDOMIZED**

**Q20. As a result of steps taken by the government to fight terrorism, do you feel you lost some of your own personal freedoms, or not?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011	AP-Ipsos 8/15-17/2006	AP-Ipsos 8/7-9/2006
Yes	51	46	45
No	48	53	54
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1	1	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*	-	-

**IF "YES" TO Q20, ASK Q21, ELSE SKIP TO NEXT BLOCK**

**Q21. Do you think this loss of freedoms was necessary, or not necessary?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Necessary	53
Not necessary	44
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

N=

551

Q22. As a result of steps taken by the government to fight terrorism, do you feel you have been seriously inconvenienced, or not?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	26
No	73
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

**IF "YES" TO Q22, ASK Q23, ELSE SKIP TO NEXT BLOCK**

Q23. Do you think this inconvenience was necessary, or not necessary?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Necessary	49
Not necessary	48
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	3
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*
N=	276

Q24. Looking ahead 10 years from now, which comes closest to your view of how the rights and liberties you have will have changed? Would you say...

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<i>FIRST TWO ITEMS RANDOMIZED</i>	
On balance you will probably lose more freedoms than you will gain	52
On balance you will probably gain more freedoms than you will lose	8
Or, ten years from now, there won't really have been any net loss or gain in the amount of freedoms compared with what you have today	37
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	3
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**IF ANSWERED 1 OR 2 TO Q24, ASK 25, ELSE SKIP TO NEXT ITEM**

**Q25. You said you (FILL: expect to lose more freedoms than you will gain/you expect to gain more freedoms than you lose). How much of this (gain/loss) do you think will come because of government actions to prevent terrorism? Would you say...**

**Asked of those who said “On balance you will probably lose more freedoms than you will gain,” in Q24.**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<b>Total all/a great deal</b>	<b>49</b>
All of it	14
A great deal but not all	35
<b>Only some of it</b>	<b>37</b>
<b>Total a little/none</b>	<b>13</b>
A little of it	11
None of it	3
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-
<i>N=</i>	<i>576</i>

**Asked of those who said “On balance you will probably gain more freedoms than you will lose,” in Q24.**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<b>Total all/a great deal</b>	<b>21</b>
All of it	6
A great deal but not all	14
<b>Only some of it</b>	<b>35</b>
<b>Total a little/none</b>	<b>45</b>
A little of it	34
None of it	11
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-
<i>N=</i>	<i>65</i>



- Q26. Looking ahead 10 years from now, as a result of steps taken by the government to fight terrorism, do you expect that you will experience more inconveniences than you do today, fewer inconveniences than you do today, or do you think there will be no change in the amount of inconveniences that you face as a result of steps taken by the government to fight terrorism?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
More inconveniences	56
Fewer inconveniences	13
No change	30
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

- Q27. Overall, would you say the U.S. war against terrorism has been extremely effective, very effective, somewhat effective, not too effective or not at all effective at preventing terrorist attacks?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<b>Total effective</b>	<b>36</b>
Extremely effective	7
Very effective	28
<b>Somewhat effective</b>	<b>49</b>
<b>Total not effective</b>	<b>15</b>
Not too effective	10
Not at all effective	5
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

- Q28. When it comes to the war on terrorism, do you think the U.S. government has a clear plan for its policy, or do you think the U.S. government is just reacting to events as they occur?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Has a clear plan	31
Is reacting to events as they occur	65
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	4
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

Q29. Do you think the U.S. has won the war on terrorism, or do you think the war has not yet been won?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Has won the war	6
Has not won the war	92
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**ASK IF "HAS NOT WON THE WAR" IN Q29, ELSE SKIP TO NEXT ITEM.**

Q30. How likely do you think it is that the U.S. can win the war on terrorism in the next 10 years?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<b>Total likely</b>	<b>18</b>
Extremely likely	7
Very likely	11
<b>Moderately likely</b>	<b>33</b>
<b>Total not likely</b>	<b>49</b>
Not too likely	29
Not likely at all	20
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

N=

1,011

Q31. Do you think the increased government spending on national security programs over the past 10 years has been worth the cost, or has not been worth the cost?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Worth the cost	53
Not worth the cost	44
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	3
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

Q32. How do you feel about the use of torture against suspected terrorists to obtain information about terrorism activities? Can that...

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011	AP-GfK 5/5-9/2011	AP-GfK 1/12- 17/2011	AP-GfK 5/28- 6/1/2009	AP-Ipsos 11/15- 28/2005
<b>Total justified</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>60</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>38</b>
Often be justified	20	25	23	20	11
Sometimes be justified	32	35	29	32	27
<b>Total rarely/never justified</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>46</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>59</b>
Rarely be justified	19	14	19	18	23
Never be justified	27	25	27	29	36
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2	2	2	1	3
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1	*	1	*	-

\*Note: AP-GfK trend reverses order of scale read to respondents for half the sample.

Profile Questions

D1. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, a Republican, an Independent or none of these?

	AP-NORC 7/28- 8/15/2011
Democrat	31
Republican	22
Independent	26
None of these	19
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

- D2d. IF “Democrat,” ASK: Do you consider yourself a strong or moderate Democrat?  
 D2r. IF “Republican,” ASK: Do you consider yourself a strong or moderate Republican?  
 D2i. IF “INDEPENDENT” OR “NONE,” DK OR REFUSED ASK: Do you lean more toward the Democrats or the Republicans?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
<b>Total Democrat</b>	<b>49</b>
Democrat - strong	13
Democrat - moderate	18
Independent - lean Democratic	11
None - lean Democratic	7
<b>Total Republican</b>	<b>38</b>
Republican - strong	9
Republican - moderate	13
Independent - lean Republican	10
None - lean Republican	7
[VOL] Independent - don't lean	8
[VOL] None - don't lean	3
[VOL] Other	1
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

D3. **Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a liberal, moderate, or conservative?**

**IF "Liberal," ASK: Would you say you are strongly or somewhat liberal?**

**IF "Conservative," ASK: Would you say you are strongly or somewhat conservative?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Liberal - strongly	10
Liberal - somewhat	16
Conservative - strongly	19
Conservative - somewhat	18
Moderate	34
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	3
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**The following questions are for classification purposes only. Be assured that your responses will be aggregated with those of other participants to this survey.**

D4. **Are you, yourself, currently employed...**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Full-time	44
Part-time	12
Not employed	44
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**IF "NOT EMPLOYED" IN D4, ASK D5, ELSE SKIP TO NEXT ITEM**

**D5. Are you...**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Retired	42
Homemaker	21
Student	13
Temporarily unemployed	22
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-
<i>N=</i>	476

**D6. What is your marital status? Are you...**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Married/Living as married/Co-habiting	60
Separated	1
Divorced	8
Widowed, or	7
Never married	24
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**D7. What is the last grade of school you completed?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Less than high school graduate	8
High school graduate	29
Technical/trade school	7
Some college	28
College graduate	14
Some college graduate school	2
Graduate school	11
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

D8. **Age**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
18-29	22
30-49	35
50-64	24
65+	16
Refused	3

D9. **Which one of the following best describes where you live?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Urban area	24
Suburban area	42
Rural area	32
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

D10. **Do you currently own your home, rent it, or have some other arrangement?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Own	58
Rent	27
Other arrangement	14
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

D11. **Are you the parent or guardian of one or more children under the age of 18, or not?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	33
No	67
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**IF "YES" TO D11 ASK D12, ELSE SKIP TO D14**

D12. Are any of your children age 10 or under?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	61
No	39
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

N= 294

**IF "YES" TO D12 ASK D13, ELSE SKIP TO D14**

D13. Have you ever talked with your children about what happened on September 11, 2001, or is that something that hasn't come up?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes, have talked with them	55
No, it hasn't come up	45
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-

N= 172

D14. And on how many different cell-phone numbers, if any, could I have reached you for this call?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
None	8
One line	68
Two lines	15
Three or more	8
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1



- D15. **How many different landline telephone numbers, if any, are there in your home that I could have reached you on for this call? This includes listed or unlisted numbers. To answer this question, please don't count cell phones or landlines used ONLY for faxes or modems.**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
None	28
One line	67
Two lines	3
Three or more lines	1
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**IF D14>0 AND D15>0 ASK D16, ELSE SKIP TO D17:**

- D16. **Generally speaking, would you say you use your landline phone most of the time, your cell phone most of the time, or would you say you use both about equally?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Landline	23
Cell phone	38
Both equally	39

**ASK OF CELL PHONE FRAME ONLY**

- D17. **How many adults, in addition to you, carry and use this cell phone at least once a week or more?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
None	65
One line	26
Two lines	6
Three or more	3
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

D18. **Do you consider yourself a born-again or evangelical Christian, or not?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes, born-again/evangelical	39
No	58
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	2

D19. **What is your religious preference? Is it Protestant, Catholic, Mormon, Jewish, Muslim, some other religion, or don't you belong to any religious denomination?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Protestant	37
Catholic	21
Mormon	3
Jewish	1
Muslim	1
Christian	4
Other religion	3
Don't belong to religious denomination	28
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	2

**IF "OTHER RELIGION" in D19 ASK D20, ELSE SKIP TO D21:**

D20. **Do you consider yourself a Christian, or not?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes, a Christian	40
No, not a Christian	60
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-

N=

29

- D21. **Aside from weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services? Would you say more than once a week, once a week, once or twice a month, a few times a year, less often than a few times a year, or never?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
More than once a week	13
Once a week	22
Once or twice a month	13
A few times a year	19
Less often than a few times a year	16
Never	17
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

- D22. **Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	14
No	85
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

**IF Hispanic, Latin or Spanish origin (D22), ASK:**

D23. In addition to being of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin what race or races do you consider yourself to be? [DO NOT READ. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.]

**IF NOT HISPANIC/LATINO/SPANISH IN D22, ASK:**

D24. What race or races do you consider yourself to be? [DO NOT READ. ACCEPT MULTIPLE RESPONSES.]

**ONLY IF RESPONDENT NEEDS "PROMPTING," INTERVIEWER SHOULD READ: Are you White, Black, Asian or some other race? BUT THE RESPONSE ARE STILL CODED INTO THE MATRIX BELOW.**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
White, Caucasian	68
Black, African-American, Negro	11
American Indian, Alaska Native	3
Asian Indian	1
Native Hawaiian	*
Chinese	*
Guamanian or Chamorro	-
Filipino	*
Samoan	-
Japanese	*
Korean	-
Vietnamese	-
Other Asian	1
Other Pacific Islander	*
[VOL] Spanish, Hispanic, or Latino	4
Some other race [SPECIFY]	9
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	2
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

D25. In what country were you born?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
United States	89
Another country (specify)	11
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

SPECIAL PROFILE ITEMS

D26. **How many air trips, if any, have you taken on a commercial airliner in the past 12 months - counting each round trip as one trip?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
None	53
One trip	16
Two trips	11
3 or more	19
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	1

D27. **Are you on active military duty or living in a household with someone on active duty, or not?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	3
No	97
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

D28. **Are you a military veteran or living in a household with a military veteran, or not?**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	25
No	75
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

D29. Including yourself, are there any current or former police officers, fire fighters or paramedics living in your household, or not?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	7
No	92
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*

D30. Do you personally know someone who was a victim of the terrorist attacks on September 11th, or not?

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Yes	13
No	87
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	*
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-

**IF "YES" TO D30, ASK D31; OTHERWISE, SKIP TO D25**

D31. Is that person you, a family member, a friend, or just someone you knew?

**Multiple responses possible, percentages may sum to greater than 100%.**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Self	2
Family member	24
Friend	37
Someone you know	46
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	-

N=

150

- D32. Does your total household [IF SINGLE: "PERSONAL"] income fall below \$50,000 dollars, or is it \$50,000 or higher?

*INTERVIEWER NOTE: If asked, this is 'yearly' household income*

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Below \$50,000	44
\$50,000	49
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	3
Refused (DO NOT READ)	4

**ASK IF "BELOW \$50K IN D32"**

- D33. And in which group does your total household [IF SINGLE: "PERSONAL"] income fall?  
**READ LIST**

**ASK IF "\$50K OR HIGHER IN D32"**

- D34. And in which group does your total household [IF SINGLE: "PERSONAL"] income fall?  
**READ LIST**

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Under \$10,000	7
\$10,000 to under \$20,000	9
\$20,000 to under \$30,000	10
\$30,000 to under \$40,000	11
\$40,000 to under \$50,000	9
\$50,000 to under \$75,000	19
\$75,000 to under \$100,000	11
\$100,000 to under \$150,000	13
\$150,000 or more	8
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	1
Refused (DO NOT READ)	3

D36. [INTERVIEWER RECORD] Respondent's Gender:

	AP-NORC 7/28-8/15/2011
Male	49
Female	51
Don't know (DO NOT READ)	-
Refused (DO NOT READ)	*



## **AP-NORC Poll - Civil Liberties and Security: Ten Years After 9/11 Methodology**

The **AP-NORC Poll** was conducted from July 28 through August 15, 2011, by NORC at the University of Chicago. AP and NORC staff collaborated on all aspects of the study. Telephone interviews were conducted with 1,087 adults age 18 or older by professional interviewers, who were carefully trained on the specific survey for this study.

Interviews were conducted with 773 respondents on landlines and 314 respondents on cellular telephones, and the sample included the contiguous 48 states, Alaska and Hawaii. Cellular telephone respondents were offered a small monetary incentive for participating as compensation for telephone usage charges. Interviews were conducted in both English and Spanish, depending on the respondent preference. Cognitive testing was performed on a draft version of the questionnaire instrument to ensure understandability and validity of survey questions.

The combined landline and cell phone data were weighted to account for probabilities of selection, as well as age, sex, education and race, using targets from the Current Population Survey released in July, 2011 and from Census population estimates from July 2010 to December 2010. In addition to these factors, the weighting takes into account the patterns of telephone status and usage by region from the National Health Interview Survey and the American Community Survey.

The final response rate was 20 percent, based on the widely accepted Council of American Survey Research Organizations (CASRO) method. Under this method, our response rate is calculated as the product of the resolution rate (71 percent), the screener rate (64 percent), and the interview completion rate (44 percent). The overall margin of error was +/- 4.1 percentage points.

Trend data are displayed for selected questions from previous AP polling. Details about the AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research can be found at <http://www.apnorc.org>.