



9/11 Survey

METHODOLOGY

Change Research surveyed 1638 registered voters nationwide from August 31-September 4. We used some or all of the following sources to recruit respondents:

- targeted advertisements on Facebook and Instagram
- text messages sent, via the echo19 platform, to cell phone numbers listed on the voter file for individuals who qualified for the survey's sample universe, based on their voter file data

Regardless of which of these sources a respondent came from, they were directed to a survey hosted on SurveyMonkey's website.

Ads placed on social media targeted all adults nationwide. Those who indicated that they were not registered to vote were terminated. As the survey fielded, Change Research used dynamic online sampling: adjusting ad budgets, lowering budgets for ads targeting groups that were overrepresented and raising budgets for ads targeting groups that were underrepresented, so that the final sample was roughly representative of the population across different groups. The survey was conducted in English.

The survey was funded, administered and conducted online by Change Research. Post-stratification was performed on age, gender, race/ethnicity, 2020 presidential vote, education, and region. Weighting parameters were based on demographic breakdowns from the voter file. That is, if a given age bracket or gender group represented x% of all registered voters, then that same group would be weighted to x% in this survey. 2020 presidential results were based on publicly released numbers.

The modeled margin of error* for this survey is 3.1%, which uses effective sample sizes** that adjust for the design effect of weighting.

* We adopt The Pew Research Center's convention for the term "modeled margin of error"⁽¹⁾ (mMOE) to indicate that our surveys are not simple random samples in the pure sense, similar to any survey that has either non-response bias or for which the general population was not invited at random. A common, if imperfect, convention for reporting survey results is to use a single, survey-level mMOE based on a normal approximation. This is a poor approximation for proportion estimates close to 0 or 1. However, it is a useful communication tool in many settings and is reasonable in places where the proportion of interest is close to 50%. We report this normal approximation for our surveys assuming a proportion estimate of 50%.

** The effective sample size adjusts for the weighting applied to respondents, and is calculated using Kish's approximation ⁽²⁾.

(1) <https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2018/01/26/for-weighting-online-opt-in-samples-what-matters-most/>

(2) Kish, Leslie. Survey Sampling, 1965.

For more information, contact press@changeresearch.com.

REPORTED QUESTIONS

1. Are you male or female?

- Male
- Female

2. In what year were you born?

3. In what ZIP code do you currently live?

4. What is your race? [multi-select]

- White/Caucasian
- Black or African American
- Hispanic or Latino/a
- Asian / Pacific Islander
- American Indian or Alaska Native
- Something else (please specify)

4. Are you from a Hispanic, Latino/a or Spanish-speaking background?

- Yes
- No

5. What is the highest level of education you have completed?

- High school diploma or less
- Some college, but no degree
- Associate's degree, or two-year college degree
- Bachelor's degree, or four-year college degree
- Graduate degree

6a. Are you registered to vote?

- Yes
- No [Terminate]
- Not sure [Terminate]

6b. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: [**Randomize**]

- Democrat
- Republican
- Independent/Other

[If independent/ no party affiliation]

6c. Do you consider yourself closer to:

- The Democrats
- The Republicans
- Neither

[If Democrat/Republican]

6d. Do you consider yourself a:

- Strong [Democrat/Republican]

- Not so strong [Democrat/Republican]

7. How did you vote in the 2020 election for President or for some reason were you unable to vote?

- Joe Biden, the Democrat
- Donald Trump, the Republican
- Jo Jorgensen, the Libertarian
- Not registered/Too young/Ineligible
- Did not vote

8. Thinking about major events in the last two decades, which of the following do you think has had the greatest impact on the U.S.?

- The September 11th attacks
- The COVID-19 pandemic
- The 2008 financial crisis
- The decision to go to war in Iraq
- The election of Donald Trump

9. In general, how well do you think the U.S. government is doing in reducing the threat of terrorism?

- Very well
- Fairly well
- Not too well
- Not at all well
- Not sure

10. What concerns you more about the U.S. government's anti-terrorism policies: that they have gone too far in restricting the average person's civil liberties, or that they have not gone far enough to protect the country?

- Too far
- Not far enough
- Not sure

11. All in all, how worried are you that you or someone in your family might become a victim of a terrorist attack?

- Very worried
- Somewhat worried
- Not too worried
- Not at all worried
- Not sure

12. Overall, do you think the ability of terrorists to launch another major attack on the U.S. today is greater than, less than, or the same as at the time of the September 11th attacks?

- Greater than at the time of the September 11th attacks
- Less than at the time of the September 11th attacks
- The same
- Not sure

[Asked if born before 1996]

13. Do you remember exactly where you were the moment you heard news about the September 11th attacks?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

14. Thinking back, how much did the September 11th attacks move you or affect you emotionally?

- A great deal
- Some
- Not much
- Not at all

15. [If remember] In your own words, what do you remember about the moment you heard news about the September 11 attacks? [open-ended]

16. As a result of the September 11th attacks, has your own personal life changed in a major way, changed only a little bit, or is your life basically the same as it was before the attacks?

- Changed in a major way
- Changed only a little bit
- Basically the same
- Not sure

17. As a result of the September 11th attacks, has life in the U.S. changed in a major way, changed only a little bit, or is life in the U.S. basically the same as it was before the attacks?

- Changed in a major way
- Changed only a little bit
- Basically the same
- Not sure

18. As a result of the attacks, has U.S. foreign policy changed in a major way, changed only a little bit, or is it basically the same as it was before the September 11th attacks?

- Changed in a major way
- Changed only a little bit
- Basically the same
- Not sure

19. What, if anything, did you feel the most pride about in the aftermath of 9/11 in the U.S.?

20. What, if anything, did you feel the most shame about in the aftermath of 9/11 in the U.S.?

21. How unified do you think the U.S. was after September 11th?

- Very unified
- Somewhat unified
- Not too unified
- Not at all unified

21b. [If unified] Do you think the U.S. could be that unified again if something similar happened today?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

22. To the best of your knowledge, what countries were the 9/11 hijackers from? Please check all that apply.

- Afghanistan
- Egypt
- Iran
- Iraq

- Lebanon
- Pakistan
- Saudi Arabia
- The United Arab Emirates
- The United States of America
- None of the above

23. Do you think Saddam Hussein, the former Iraqi leader, was personally involved in the September 11th attacks?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

24. What do you think has happened to Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, who has been described as the “principal architect” of the September 11th attacks? [Randomize]

- He was tried and convicted and is in a supermax prison
- He was tried, convicted, and put to death
- He is in Guantanamo Bay awaiting trial
- He was returned to the Middle East and set free
- Not sure

25. Below are some statements about the attacks. How likely do you think these are to be true? [Very likely | Somewhat likely | Not too likely | Not at all likely | Not sure] [Randomize]

- Some people in the federal government had specific warnings about the September 11th attacks but chose to ignore those warnings.
- The collapse of the Twin Towers in New York was aided by explosives planted in the two buildings.
- Federal officials either assisted in the 9/11 attacks or took no action to prevent them because they wanted the United States to go to war in the Middle East

26. Have you ever visited a 9/11 memorial or museum?

- Yes
- No

27. In your view, why did the terrorists attack the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11th? [Randomize first two]

- Mostly because of their religious beliefs
- Mostly because of their political beliefs
- Both equally
- Not sure

28. There have been no major terrorist attacks since 9/11 in the U.S. Do you think this is mostly because: [Randomize]

- The government is doing a good job protecting the country
- America has been lucky so far
- America is a difficult target for terrorists
- Not sure

29. Has each of the following made the U.S. safer, less safe, or made no difference? [Safer | Less safe | No difference | Not sure] [Randomize]

- Increased screening measures at airports
- The war in Iraq
- The war in Afghanistan

- Killing Osama Bin Laden
- Capturing Saddam Hussein
- Creating the prison camp at Guantanamo Bay
- Creating the Department of Homeland Security
- The use of military drones on targets in countries such as Pakistan, Yemen and Somalia
- Withdrawing the U.S. from the Iran nuclear weapons agreement
- Government phone and internet surveillance within the U.S. without warrants
- Increasing annual defense spending by 121% to over \$700 billion

30. Do you feel like you gave up some of your personal freedoms over the last two decades to make the country safe from terrorist attacks, or not?

- Yes
- No
- Not sure

[If gave up freedoms]

31. Do you think giving up these personal freedoms has made the country safer or less safe?

- Safer
- Less safe
- No difference
- Not sure

32. Considering the costs to the U.S. versus the benefits to the U.S., do you think the war in Iraq was:

- Worth fighting
- Not worth fighting
- Not sure

33. Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Iraq?

- Right decision
- Wrong decision
- Not sure

34. Considering the costs to the U.S. versus the benefits to the U.S., do you think the war in Afghanistan was:

- Worth fighting
- Not worth fighting
- Not sure

35. Do you think the U.S. made the right decision or the wrong decision in using military force in Afghanistan?

- Right decision
- Wrong decision
- Not sure

36. Do you approve or disapprove of the way each of the following handled concerns around terrorism? [Strongly approve | Somewhat approve | Somewhat disapprove | Strongly disapprove | Not sure]

- George W. Bush
- Barack Obama
- Donald Trump
- Joe Biden

37. Should the U.S. have spent more or less money on actions to fight terrorism over the past 20 years?

38. In the long run, what is the best way for the U.S. to avoid problems like terrorism? Should the U.S.: [Randomize]

- Be very much involved in solving international problems
- Not get too involved with international problems
- Not sure

39. Specifically, how important do you think each of the following actions is for the U.S. to avoid problems like terrorism? [Very important | Somewhat important | Not too important | Not important at all]

- Promoting democracy
- Actively trying to attack terrorist groups
- Giving foreign aid to allies
- Engaging in diplomatic efforts
- Promoting education in foreign countries
- Providing financial assistance to impoverished countries

40. What do you worry about more when the U.S. uses military force? [Randomize]

- That the U.S. doesn't do enough to avoid civilian casualties
- That the U.S. doesn't go far enough to achieve military victory
- Not sure

41. Which do you think would have a greater effect in reducing the threat of terrorist attacks on the U.S.: [Randomize]

- Increasing America's military presence overseas
- Decreasing America's military presence overseas
- Not sure

42. All in all, how should the U.S. determine its foreign policy? Should it be based mostly on the national interests of the U.S., or should it strongly take into account the interests of its allies?

- U.S. interests
- Allied interests
- Not sure

43. How often do you think that using military force against countries that may seriously threaten our country, but have not attacked us, can be justified?

- Often
- Sometimes
- Rarely
- Never

44. Which of the following comes closer to your view, even if neither is exactly right?

- Using overwhelming military force is the best way to defeat terrorism around the world
- Relying too much on military force creates hatred that leads to more terrorism
- Not sure