

THE PIPA/KNOWLEDGE NETWORKS POLL

THE AMERICAN PUBLIC ON INTERNATIONAL ISSUES

PIPA-Knowledge Networks Poll: US Public Beliefs on Iraq and the Presidential Election

Questionnaire

Dates of Survey: Mar 16–22, 2004
Sample Size: 1311

Margin of Error: +/- 2.8% [full sample]
+/-3.5% [3/5 sample]
+/-4.5% [2/5 sample]

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q1. Which is the more important principle for US foreign policy?

The US should use its power to make the world be the way that best serves US interests and values 16%

The US should coordinate its power together with Other countries according to shared ideas of what is best for the world as a whole83

(No answer).....2

Q2a-d-Q3a-d. *Released separately.*

[3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q4. Do you think the US made the right decision or the wrong decision in going to war against Iraq?

	3/04	12/03	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03
Right decision	55%	55	57	62	63	65
Wrong decision	44	41	38	33	32	29
(No answer).....	1	4	5	5	5	6

[IF “right decision”]

Q4a. Which comes closer to your view? [ORDER RANDOMIZED]:

	3/04	12/03	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03
I support having gone to war, because I think it was the best						

thing for the US to do.....40%*	42	42	47	45	46
I am not sure if going to war was The best thing to do, but I support Bush's decision, because he is the president.....14	13	15	14	17	18
(No answer).....0	0	1	1	1	1

[REGRESSION: 3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q5. Is it your belief that, just before the war, Iraq:

Had actual weapons of mass destruction	38%
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them	22
Had some limited activities that could be used to help Develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	31
Did not have any activities related to weapons of Mass destruction	8
(No answer).....	1

[IF "Had Actual Weapons"]

Q5a. Is it your impression that these weapons of mass destruction were:

Nuclear weapons.....	1%
Chemical and biological weapons	16
Both	21
(No answer).....	0

[2/5 SAMPLE C,E]

Q6. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statements about the war with Iraq:
The war will result in greater peace and stability in the Middle East.

			Gallup**
	3/04	12/03	5/03

* Percentage of full sample.

** Taken from the Gallup International "Post War Iraq 2003 Poll" conducted April 16-May 18, 2003.

Agree.....	40%	39	56
Disagree	59	56	32
(No answer).....	1	5	12

[REGRESSION: 3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q7-Q8. *Released separately.*

[REGRESSION: 3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q9. On the question of what Iraq had just before the war, is it your impression experts

Mostly agree Iraq DID have weapons of mass destruction	30%
Mostly agree Iraq DID NOT have weapons of mass destruction, though it may have had some programs for developing them	34
Are evenly divided on the question	35
(No answer).....	0

Q10. On the question of the relationship between Iraq and al Qaeda is it your impression experts

Mostly agree Iraq WAS providing substantial support to al Qaeda	47%
Mostly agree Iraq WAS NOT providing substantial support to al Qaeda	15
Are evenly divided on the question	35
(No answer).....	3

Q37, Q12-Q17. *Released separately.*

[REGRESSION: 3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q18. Is it your impression that the US has or has not found clear evidence in Iraq that Saddam Hussein was working closely with the al-Qaeda terrorist organization?

	3/04	12/03	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03
US has	45%	43	52	49	45	52

US has not.....	53	51	46	45	49	43
(No answer).....	3	6	2	6	6	5

[2/5 SAMPLE D,E]

Q19. Thinking about how all the people in the world feel about the US having gone to war with Iraq, do you think:

	3/04	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03
The majority of people favor the US having gone to war.....	21%	21	27	24	25
The majority of people oppose the US having gone to war.....	41	45	38	42	41
Views are evenly balanced.....	38	33	33	30	32
(No answer).....	0	1	2	4	2

[2/5 SAMPLE D,E]

Q20. Since the war with Iraq ended, is it your impression that the US has or has not found Iraqi weapons of mass destruction?

	3/04	11/03	9/03	7/03	6/03	5/03
US has	15%	15	24	21	23	34
US has not.....	83	84	73	76	73	59
(No answer).....	3	1	3	3	4	7

[REGRESSION: 3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q21. Please select what you think is the best description of the relationship between the Iraqi government under Saddam Hussein and the terrorist group al-Qaeda. [ARO]

	3/04	9/03	7/03	6/03	2/03
There was no connection at all.....	11%	7	7	7	7
A few al-Qaeda individuals visited Iraq or had contact with Iraqi officials.....	29	31	35	26	29
Iraq gave substantial support to al-Qaeda, but was not involved in the September 11th attacks	37	35	33	36	36
Iraq was directly involved in					

carrying out the September 11 th attacks	20	21	20	25	20
(No answer).....	3	6	6	6	8

[2/5 SAMPLE C,E]

Q22. At this point do you think the majority of the Iraqi people want the US to:

	3/04	11/03	9/03	7/03
Stay for now	47%	58	47	53
Leave.....	51	39	50	42
(No answer).....	2	3	3	5

[2/5 SAMPLE C,D]

Q23. If, before the war, US intelligence services had told President Bush there was no reliable evidence that Iraq possessed or was building weapons of mass destruction or was providing substantial support to al Qaeda, do you think:

	3/04	11/03
He would still have gone to war with Iraq for other reasons	64%	63
He would not have gone to war with Iraq	35	34
(No answer).....	1	4

[REGRESSION: 3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q24. Is it your impression the Bush administration has or has not been saying that the US has found clear evidence Saddam Hussein was working closely with the al Qaeda terrorist organization?

Has	56%
Has not	41
(No answer).....	3

Q25. Is it your impression the Bush administration has or has not been saying that the US has found clear evidence that Iraq had WMD?

Has	38%
Has not	57
(No answer).....	6

Q26-Q36, Q11. *Released separately.*

Q38a-Q43. *Released separately.*

[3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q52c. Please just give your impression. About how many American soldiers do you think have been killed by hostile fire in Iraq since the US went to war with Iraq in March 2003? [Give number]

Median500

Q44a-Q49. *Released separately.*

Q50. How do you think the way that President Bush has dealt with the situation in Iraq will affect whether you vote for him? Please answer on a scale of with +5 meaning that it will greatly increase the likelihood you will vote for him, -5 meaning that it will greatly decrease the likelihood you will vote for him and 0 meaning that it will have no effect either way.

	3/04	11/03	9/03	7/03
5.....	14%	14	16	11
4.....	5	6	2	5
3.....	7	8	7	8
2.....	5	4	5	6
1.....	4	3	5	7
0.....	24	21	31	30
-1.....	2	4	4	3
-2.....	3	3	3	3
-3.....	5	3	3	3
-4.....	5	4	1	3
-5.....	27	28	20	16
(No answer).....	1	3	3	4
Increase likelihood (1 to 5).....	34	35	35	37
No effect either way (0).....	24	21	31	30
Decrease likelihood (-5 to -1).....	41	42	30	29
Mean	-0.52	-0.5	0.03	

Q51. Do you think that President George Bush is honest and frank or do you sometimes have doubts about things he says:

	3/04	11/03
Honest and frank	36%	42
Sometimes have doubts about things he says .63		56
(No answer).....	1	2

Q52a. As you may know, David Kay, who led the US government team that searched for weapons of mass destruction in Iraq, recently presented his conclusions to a Congressional committee. Is it your impression that he concluded that, just before the war, Iraq

Had actual weapons of mass destruction	21%
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them	27
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	37
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction	11
(No answer).....	5

Q52b. In fact, David Kay concluded Iraq did not have actual weapons of mass destruction, but did have some minor activities for developing weapons of mass destruction. Is it your belief that in fact Iraq:

Had actual weapons of mass destruction	23%
Had no weapons of mass destruction but had a major program for developing them	28
Had some limited activities that could be used to help develop weapons of mass destruction, but not an active program	41
Did not have any activities related to weapons of mass destruction	6
(No answer).....	3

[3/5 SAMPLE C,D,E]

Q43a. Please just give your impression. About how many Iraqi civilians do you think were killed in the war in Iraq during March and April 2003? [Give number]

Median800

[FULL SAMPLE]

Q53. If the upcoming election for president were held today for whom would you vote:

George W. Bush..... 45%
 John F. Kerry49
 (No answer).....6

Q53a. How sure are you that you will vote this way?

Very sure Bush..... 33%
 Somewhat sure Bush.....9
 Not very sure Bush.....3
 Very sure Kerry.....34
 Somewhat sure Kerry.....11
 Not very sure Kerry4
 (No answer).....6

Demographic Data:

D1. In politics today, do you think of yourself as:

Strongly Republican 14%
 Leaning toward Republican13
 Independent.....27
 Leaning toward Democrat15
 Strongly Democrat.....20
 Other8
 (No answer).....3

D2. How would place your views on the following scale [“Middle of the Road” AS THE MIDDLE POSITION AND “Far left” AND “Far right” AS THE TWO ENDPOINTS ON 9 POINT UNNUMBERED SCALE]

Far left (1) 2%
 2.....2

3.....	4
4.....	6
Middle of the road (5).....	58
6.....	10
7.....	9
8.....	4
Far right (9).....	2
(No answer).....	4

D3. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a 7-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

Extremely liberal.....	2%
Liberal.....	9
Slightly liberal.....	11
Moderate or middle of the road	22
Slightly conservative.....	12
Conservative	14
Extremely conservative.....	3
Haven't thought about it.....	26
(No answer).....	1

D4. Did you vote for a candidate for the House of Representatives or the Senate in the election in November 2002?

Yes	51%
No.....	47
(No answer).....	2

D4. Age (calculated from birth date)

18-29	22%
30-44	31
45-59	26
60+	22

D5. Education level (categorical)

Less than High School	16%
High School Graduate.....	33
Some College	27

College Graduate24

D6. Race/Ethnicity

White, non-Hispanic 73%
Black12
Hispanic11
Other5

D7. Gender

Male 48%
Female.....52

D8. Region

Northeast..... 19%
Midwest.....23
South36
West23