SURVEY ON THE MILITARY IN THE POST COLD WAR ERA

-- PRELIMINARY QUESTIONNAIRE --

April 29, 2003

N= approximately 1,000 adults 18+
Fieldwork dates:

INTRODUCTION: Hello, my name is _________________ and I'm calling for __________ about some important national issues...

N1. I would like to interview someone in your household. To determine who that should be, could you please tell me how many adults 18 or older currently live in your household?

0 None — TERMINATE
1-98 RECORD NUMBER — CONTINUE TO N2
99 Refused — TERMINATE

N2. (IF 1 PERSON IN HOUSEHOLD:) May I please speak with that person?
(IF 2 PEOPLE:) May I please speak with the (SELECT RANDOMLY: younger | older) of the two adults?
(IF 3:) May I please speak with the (SELECT RANDOMLY: youngest adult | oldest adult | adult whose age is in the middle)?
(IF 4 OR MORE:) May I please speak with the adult who (SELECT RANDOMLY: has had the most recent | will have the next) birthday?

1 Selected respondent already on phone — CONTINUE TO Q1
2 New respondent being brought to phone — REPEAT INTRODUCTION, CONTINUE TO Q1
3 Selected respondent unavailable — SCHEDULE CALLBACK
9 Refused — TERMINATE
Q1. First, I would like you to evaluate the seriousness of the following possible threats to American national security. Please tell me how serious you think each possible threat is. (First/Next) (INSERT: READ IN ORDER) would you say this is a very serious, moderately serious, slightly serious or not at all a serious threat.

a. The emergence of China as a great military power
b. The collapse of foreign governments into civil wars
c. Terrorist attacks on the United States
d. The spread of weapons of mass destruction
e. Ethnic cleansing and the spread of nationalist or ethnic conflicts

CATEGORIES:
1 Very serious
2 Moderately serious
3 Slightly serious
4 Not at all serious
9 No opinion/Don’t know/Refused

Q2. Next, I would like your opinion on the kinds of foreign policy goals that the United States should have. Please tell me if you think each goal is very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important (INSERT -- DO NOT ROTATE) (READ CATEGORIES IF NECESSARY)

a. Helping to bring a democratic form of government to other nations
b. Combating global terrorism
c. Promoting and defending human rights in other countries
d. Maintaining superior military power worldwide
e. Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction
f. Helping to improve the standard of living in less developed countries
g. Fostering international cooperation through institutions such as the United Nations
Q3. Now I would like your opinion on the use of American military forces for various different missions. For each, please tell me if you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove with the use of American military forces for each mission (INSERT -- DO NOT ROTATE) (READ CATEGORIES IF NECESSARY)

a. Preventing the spread of weapons of mass destruction
b. Combating global terrorist organizations
c. Preventing ethnic cleansing
d. Peacekeeping operations to prevent the spread of civil wars
e. Defending American allies if they are attacked
f. Overthrowing tyrannical governments and spreading democracy

Q4. Next, I would like to ask you some questions about how you think America should use its military forces in combat situations. Please tell me if you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree with the following statements:

a. Military rules of engagement should be determined by the political and diplomatic requirements of the mission.
b. When force is used, military rather than political goals should determine its application.
c. Military rather than political leaders should determine what kinds of military units will be employed to accomplish missions.
CATEGORIES:
1 Strongly agree
2 Somewhat agree
3 Somewhat disagree
4 Strongly disagree
9 No opinion/Don’t know/Refused

Q5. Now I’d like your opinion on a number of statements concerning military professionalism and relations with civilian society. For each, please tell me whether you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree or strongly disagree. (First/Next) (INSERT--DO NOT ROTATE). (READ CATEGORIES IF NECESSARY)

a. In general, high ranking civilian officials rather than high ranking military officers should have the final say on WHETHER OR NOT to use military force.

b. In general, high ranking civilian officials rather than high ranking military officers should have the final say on WHAT TYPE of military force to use.

Q6. Now I am going to read you two different statements about how military operations should be planned. Please tell me whether you agree much more strongly with the first statement, somewhat more strongly with the first statement, somewhat more strongly with the second statement, or much more strongly with the second statement.

First Statement: The best military operations occur when civilian leaders take a central role in the planning and implementation of military operations.

Second Statement: The best military operations occur when civilian leaders delegate responsibility for the planning and implementation of the operation to senior military officers.

CATEGORIES:
1 Agree much more with the first statement
2 Agree somewhat more with the first statement
3 Agree somewhat more with the second statement
4 Agree much more with the second statement
9 No opinion/Don’t know/Refused

Q7. I’m going to read a list of some institutions in this country. For each tell me if you have a great deal of confidence in the people running these institutions, only some confidence, or hardly any confidence in them? (First/Next) (INSERT -- DO NOT ROTATE) (READ ANSWER CATEGORIES IF NECESSARY)
a. The executive branch of the federal government

b. The Media

c. Congress

d. The military

e. The Presidency

CATEGORIES:
1 Great deal of confidence
2 Only some
3 Hardly any
4 None (Volunteered)
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

(NOTE: Respondents will be randomly assigned to differing frames for question 8. Frame 1 is the base category and does not mention U.S. casualties or foreign civilian casualties.)

Q.8.1 Now I am going to ask you about your views of possible American military operations in different countries. Would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of the United States taking military action to eliminate North Korea’s nuclear weapons program.

Q.8.2 Now I am going to ask you about your views of possible American military operations in different countries. Would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of the United States taking military action to eliminate North Korea’s nuclear weapons program if the United States military suffered thousands of casualties?

Q.8.3 Now I am going to ask you about your views of possible American military operations in different countries. Would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of the United States taking military action to eliminate North Korea’s nuclear weapons program if the United States inflicted thousands of casualties on the Korean civilian population?

Q.8.4 Now I am going to ask you about your views of possible American military operations in different countries. Would you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of the United States taking military action to eliminate North Korea’s nuclear weapons program if U.S. action provoked a North Korean missile retaliation that caused thousands of American casualties?
CATEGORIES:
1  Strongly approve
2  Somewhat approve
3  Somewhat disapprove
4  Strongly disapprove
9  No opinion/Don’t know/Refused

Q9. Despite the best efforts of our civilian and military leaders, when American troops are sent overseas, there are almost always casualties. ### Americans were killed in the recent war in Iraq, 383 in the Gulf War, roughly 36,000 in Korea, 58,000 in Vietnam and 400,000 in World War II. Imagine for a moment that a President decided to send military troops (INSERT--DO NOT ROTATE). In your opinion, what would be the HIGHEST number of American deaths such that if the mission was accomplished successfully you would still consider it to be worth the human cost?

a. To prevent a return of genocide in Rwanda
b. To eliminate Iran’s nuclear weapons program
c. To defend South Korea against an invasion by North Korea.
d. To prevent another terrorist attack on the United States
e. To defend Taiwan against an invasion by China
f. To stop genocide and slavery in Sudan

CATEGORIES:

0  I would not support the use of force to accomplish this mission
1  1-50 casualties
2  51-500 casualties
3  501-5,000 casualties
4  5,001-50,000 casualties
5  50,001 or more casualties
9  No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

Q.10. When the United States engages in combat missions abroad our leaders must balance the risks of suffering American military casualties against the risks of inflicting casualties on foreign civilian populations. How would you rate the importance of limiting American military casualties as compared to limiting foreign civilian casualties? Is limiting U.S. military casualties much more important, somewhat more important, about equally important, somewhat less
important, or much less important than limiting foreign civilian casualties?

**CATEGORIES:**
1. Much more important
2. Somewhat more important
3. About equally important
4. Somewhat less important
5. Much less important
9. No opinion/Don’t know/Refused

Q.11 Before launching a military operation, the President may consider how much support he has for conducting a particular mission. How important to you think support of the following groups should be in deciding whether or not the United States should launch a military operation? Please tell me if you think support from each group is very important, moderately important, slightly important, or not at all important (INSERT -- DO NOT ROTATE) (READ CATEGORIES IF NECESSARY)

a. The United Nations
b. NATO
c. American allies
d. Congress
e. The American public

**CATEGORIES:**
1. Very important
2. Moderately important
3. Slightly important
4. Not at all important
9. No opinion/Don’t know/Refused

Q12. Some people seem to believe that the American public generally is not willing to tolerate U.S. casualties in military operations. Others disagree with this view. Would you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the view that the American public generally is not willing to tolerate U.S. casualties in military operations.

**CATEGORIES:**
1. Strongly agree
2. Somewhat agree
3. Somewhat disagree

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4 Strongly disagree
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

Q13. How closely did you follow events surrounding the recent war in Iraq? Please think about how much attention to paid to coverage of the war each day. Would you say you pay a great deal of attention each day, some attention, a little attention or almost no attention?

1 A great deal of attention
2 Some
3 A little
4 Almost none
9 No opinion/Don’t know/Refused

Q14. Think of the three adult friends you most enjoy spending time with. How many of these friends currently serve or have previously served in the military?

CATEGORIES:
0 Zero
1 One
2 Two
3 Three
4 Uncertain
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

Q15. Now consider the people you come into contact with in social or community groups to which you belong. Are they all civilians, mostly civilians with some military, about equally civilians and military, mostly military with some civilians, or all military?

CATEGORIES:
1 All civilian
2 Mostly civilian
3 Equally civilian and military
4 Mostly military
5 All military
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

Q16. When planning military options our leaders need to make tradeoffs between important goals. Please tell me which one of the following two options you would choose for U.S. military action, if it were up to you? Would you choose more aggressive military action that would increase the risk of enemy civilian casualties but might lead to a shorter war? Or would you choose more safeguards that would reduce the risk of enemy civilian casualties but might lead to a longer war.
Q17. In its effort to try to avoid civilian casualties in Iraq, do you think the United States is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount?

CATEGORIES:

1 Too much
2 Too little
3 Right amount
9 No opinion

D1. RECORD RESPONDENT SEX

1 male
2 female

D2. In what year were you born?

RECORD YEAR OF BIRTH
9999 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

D3. What is the last grade or class that you completed in school? (DO NOT READ)

1 None, or grade 1-8
2 High school incomplete (grades 9-11)
3 High school graduate (grade 12 or GED certificate)
4 Business, technical, or vocational school AFTER high school
5 Some college, no 4-year degree
6 College graduate (B.S., B.A. or other 4-year degree)
7 Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college (e.g., toward a master's degree or Ph.D.; law or medical school)
9 Don't Know/Refused
D4. What is your religious preference -- are you Protestant, Catholic, Jewish, Muslim, Mormon or some other religion, or don’t you have a religious preference?

1  Protestant
2  Catholic
3  Jewish
4  Muslim
5  Mormon
6  Other (SPECIFY: ___)
7  None
9  Don’t know/Refused

ASK IF RESPONDENT IS PROTESTANT (D4=1)
D4a. What denomination are you specifically? (READ LIST ONLY IF NECESSARY)
(PROBE TO GET SPECIFIC DENOMINATION)

1  Southern Baptist
2  Other Baptist
3  Lutheran
4  Evangelical Lutheran Church
5  Pentecostal
6  Episcopalian
7  Congregational or United Church of Christ
8  Non-denominational or Independent Church
9  Presbyterian
10 Presbyterian Church USA
11 Christian Reformed Church
12 Methodist
13 Or is it something else (Specify________)?
98 Don’t know (DO NOT READ)
99 Refused (DO NOT READ)

D5. Have you ever served, or are you currently serving on active Duty in the US military?

1  Yes
2  No
9  No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

D6. Have you ever served, or are you currently serving in the National Guard or military reserves?

1  Yes
2  No
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

(If yes to D5 or D6. If no to both D5 and D6, skip to D9.)

D7. Have you ever served during wartime?

1 Yes
2 No
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

(If yes to D7. If no to D7, skip to D9.)

D8. Have you ever served during wartime?

1 Yes
2 No
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

ASK ALL

D9. Has a member of your immediate family -- such as a parent, spouse, brother, sister, or child -- served, or do they currently serve, in the military?

1 Yes
2 No
8 Uncertain/Don’t know
9 Refused

D10. How would you describe your views on political matters? (READ)

1 Far left
2 Very liberal,
3 Somewhat liberal,
4 Moderate,
5 Somewhat conservative,
6 Very conservative, OR
7 Far right
8 Other (VOL. -- DO NOT READ -- SPECIFY: )
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

D11. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or what?

1 Republican

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2 Democrat
3 Independent
4 Other (VOL. -- DO NOT READ -- SPECIFY:     )
5 No preference (VOL.)
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

D12. In what part of the country did you live most of the time when you were growing up?
(READ LIST IF NECESSARY)

1 New England
2 Mid Atlantic
3 South
4 Midwest
5 Mountain States
6 Southwest
7 Pacific Coast
8 Other (please specify) (DO NOT READ)
9 Don’t know/Refused (DO NOT READ)

D13. What is the highest level of education you have obtained?

CATEGORIES:
1. High School
2. Some College
3. College Graduate
4. Some Graduate Work
5. Graduate Degree

D14. Are you, yourself, of Hispanic or Latino background, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Spanish background?

1 Yes
2 No
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

D15. What is your race? (IF HISPANIC:) Are you white Hispanic, black Hispanic, or some other race? (ELSE:) Are you white, black or African American, Asian or some other race?

1 White
2 Black
3 Asian
4 Other or Mixed race (SPECIFY:     )
9 No opinion/ Don’t know/ Refused

**READ:** Thank you very much for taking the time to answer the questions on this survey. We really appreciate it. Have a nice day/evening.