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THE PERSIAN GULF:
VIEWPOINT OF THE AMERICAN PEOPLE
DECEMBER, 1990
- A PILOT STUDY -

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RESEARCH PURPOSE:

In order to gain a greater depth of understanding and insight into how and why Americans think and feel the way they do about the Persian Gulf situation. Specific areas of inquiry included:

- o Definition of the problem.**
 - Why are we there?**
 - Should we be there?**
 - What should happen?**
- o Nature of fears.**
 - What are they afraid of?**
 - What consequences are they anticipating?**
- o Perceptions of Possible Resolution.**
 - What must be done to resolve this situation in a satisfactory way?**
 - What are the costs of any possible resolution?**
- o The U.S. Role.**
 - How is America acting?**
 - How is America perceived?**
- o Evaluation of President Bush's Actions.**
- o Specific Reactions to Current Issues and Events.**

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY:

- o Eleven group discussions (2 hours in length)**
- o 8 - 10 people in each group**
- o Four areas of the United States:**
 - New York City**
 - San Francisco**
 - Dallas**
 - Kansas City**
- o Broad coverage of respondent types segmented by psychographic type and age in each area:**
 - "Mainstreamers" (25 - 60)**
 - "Succeeders" (25 - 60)**
 - "Reformers" (25 - 60)**
 - College Students (18 - 24)**
 - Young Non-College (18 - 24)**
- o All groups were conducted on December 5th, 6th, 7th, 12th, and 13th, 1990.**

***Groups composed entirely of African-American respondents were scheduled in the original, full proposal. While African-American respondents were included, they were under-represented in this study.**

GENERAL OBSERVATION:

A wide range of perceptions, reactions, and opinions were expressed concerning the Persian Gulf situation, reflecting varying levels of information and understanding, and different "value" systems. However, in spite of these differences, we were most impressed by the consistency across the groups of several key fundamental themes which serve as the strong underpinning of public opinion on this national crisis.

PART I. FUNDAMENTAL THEMES

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING

THEME II. THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY

THEME III. LEARNING FROM HISTORY

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL

- **THE IMAGE OF AMERICAN TROOPS**
- **AMERICA'S VULNERABILITY**
- **AMERICA'S POOR SELF-IMAGE**

THEME V. WINNABILITY

THEME VI. TIME AS A WEAPON

THEME VII. LEADERSHIP AND WAR

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT.

People need and want clear, unambiguous articulation from President Bush on "why we are there" and "why it is worth the great sacrifice" that is the inevitable consequence of our involvement. People seem to be quite informed about the reasons for our interest and involvement, but, in many cases, they have not embraced the cause.

The most critical issue concerning "why we are there" relates to understanding goals and principles rather than learning about and simply agreeing or disagreeing with the administration's reactions to contributing circumstances and precipitating events. People want to understand and embrace the goals and principles. While some do, many feel caught up in and confused by the tactics, maneuvers, and everchanging events. Their heartfelt support depends on "buy in" to the intent, the goals, the principles that guide individual decisions.

In order for most Americans to embrace this cause, it must be viewed as ethical as well as pragmatic. It must be consistent with and serve American principles and traditions:

"We'll do whatever it takes once we understand 'why' it's important and what is at stake."

"I need to feel that, if we go to war, that we're doing it for some reason that really matters. Otherwise, it's just not worth the cost."

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT (cont'd).

o THE MOST PLAUSIBLE REASON FOR OUR INVOLVEMENT -- SADDAM HUSSEIN

There is strong sentiment regarding the practical and moral imperative of free nations to stop Hussein and remove him from a position of power. He is perceived as having little or no respect for human rights, as a despot, and a "madman." His views and actions are perceived as anathema to democratic ideals:

"He's a terrorist and would wage a terrorist war."

"He's a real dictator. He would have gone into Saudi Arabia if nobody had stopped him. He has to be stopped one way or another."

"Saddam Hussein is a madman who is trying to take over the world. Go in there and blow him up."

"We should assassinate him. It's the only way."

He is perceived by almost all Americans as an aggressor against innocent people, an international outlaw, and as a threat to the world's oil supply. Perhaps most alarmingly, he is perceived as someone who could soon control a nuclear capability, and therefore, exceptionally dangerous:

"We have to get him before he is able to try and get us . . . because he'll never stop if we don't stop him."

In a more personal way, Hussein is perceived as insidiously clever, manipulative, and ruthless. People are wary of his ostensibly conciliatory gestures:

"We can't let him fool us."

"He's only trying to buy time for himself and his army."

However, it is harder for many to think of him as a madman when he dresses in a suit and releases hostages.

Furthermore, many Americans feel that it is necessary to "make an example" of Saddam Hussein so that "others like him" do not try this again.

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT (cont'd).

o A RATIONALE WITHOUT CONSENSUS -- THE "OIL WAR"

Many people feel that, if there is war, it must not be about oil or economic interests, exclusively. "Oil is not enough of a reason to go to war." While it rationalizes our initial involvement, it does not justify the cost in human terms for most people. It calls attention to our greed, incompetence, and lack of foresight at failing to develop alternative oil/energy resources.

These people already refer to this conflict disparagingly as "the oil war," "the Texaco war" and bemoan this as a sad commentary on the U.S.'s overdependence on Middle East oil and on the frightening thought that a dispute over oil (which is, by definition, largely economic) could cost us human lives. They understand the contributing role of oil in the conflict, but don't want oil to be the reason we lose lives.

There are others who do feel that our national security is indeed threatened when our economic interests are under attack and who consequently feel that, while regrettable, war may be necessary for essentially pragmatic, economic reasons. These people view themselves as "realists" and feel that they are themselves, in many cases, economically affected by what happens on the world oil market.

THEME I. NEED FOR CLEAR MEANING OF MILITARY INVOLVEMENT (cont'd).

o OTHER RATIONALES

There are a number of other issues that, by themselves, are not seen as sufficient reasons to go to war:

- Returning Kuwait to its former rulers**
- Protecting Israel**
- U.S. as "world policeman" (some see this as a positive, necessary task while others say, "Why does it always have to be us?")**
- Hostages: The emotional power and disgust at people being held hostage by a madman is evident through all the comments heard. But while "getting them back" was perceived by some to have been an important goal, it was not seen as the primary issue. There is also perception that the release of the hostages was a ploy on Hussein's part to buy time and keep us off guard.**

THEME II. THE NATURE OF THE ENEMY.

Many of the people we talked with are terrified at the prospect of engaging in a war with Hussein and "an Islamic enemy." The Iraqi population is perceived as so culturally different from ourselves that they would be capable of fighting with a ferocity and cruelty that most Americans find disturbingly alien:

"They think with their hearts, not with their heads, and they'll just do whatever it takes to kill somebody, and kill them horribly. You're talking about people who still cut off people's hands in public if they steal something, so you could just imagine what they'd do to the enemy. It will be real horrible, bloody . . . it will be a mess."

"They don't put the same value on human life that we do."

"They use suicide missions -- they know they're going to die and they strap themselves to a bomb. They have a different attitude towards human life."

"They have a real hatred of westerners, particularly Americans."

It is important for public confidence to acknowledge this enemy's differences -- our understanding of them -- and to express belief in our ability to "master" them if necessary . . . also, to point out the vulnerabilities of these differences for "the enemy." Many people currently view the Iraqis as a military enemy that may be just as difficult, or even more difficult to fight as the North Vietnamese were in the not-so-distant past.

THEME III. LEARNING FROM HISTORY.

No matter how different the conditions may be in the Middle East, and how different this political situation may be, these people's perceptions of modern warfare seem to have been shaped by their memories and images of Vietnam. War seems "messy," "horrible," and "bloody" and less of a glorious struggle of heroes on a picturesque battlefield, now that most Americans have lived through night after night of news footage from Southeast Asia.

While those people who are old enough to remember World War II or Korea have some associations of victory, morality, and necessity with modern warfare, most of the people we spoke with think of wars as politically, pragmatically, and morally suspect. They are concerned about ambiguous political motives and about whether the government is "telling them the truth or not." Most of all, they fear that this war, "like Vietnam," could be a mistake:

"I think our government, just as with Vietnam, gave us a reason. It wasn't good enough for us, it never was good enough for us . . . No matter what they tell us, I don't think I'm going to believe it, I really don't."

The lasting legacy of Vietnam in America also created considerable concern about support for the troops. No one wants to be in the position of withholding emotional support from "the boys" and many people are concerned that if fighting takes place, that these soldiers must not be ignored or devalued:

"I grew up with the generation of the Vietnam War, and the boys didn't know how to fight there, and we're paying the price for it now, the damage that it did to them. And I don't want to see another generation like that."

People may not unequivocally support the government and/or the President's actions, but there is unanimous support for "the boys."

HOT BUTTON:

"We may not support the policy, but we won't abandon our boys this time."

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL.

As a result of this legacy of the Vietnam War, there is considerable insecurity and skepticism regarding the U.S.'s ability to master this situation -- to come out a winner. This tenuousness confounds people's sentiment and support. People don't want to lose, to look either "weak" or desperate. when people claim support for the need to use force, most of them really mean:

"Don't weaken."

"Keep the pressure on."

"Don't back down."

"Stay in control."

"Keep the upper hand."

None of these mean the same thing as, "Attack."

People want to see evidence of pressure and progress. Now that we are there, it is important not to back down. In the meantime, we desperately need to "feel good" about what we are doing.

In terms of pressure and progress, the hostage release was received in a positive but guarded manner. People don't know how to think about it: as a victory for U.S. pressure/embargo, sanctions, military presence -- or -- as a manipulative strategy on the part of Saddam Hussein. Whose victory is it? What happens next? People see advantages for Hussein and it scares them.

"He's bought time."

"What's the next move?"

Now that the hostages are freed, the question of why we should remain raises itself for some people, but for most it does not change why we are there. They know "it's not over" until Hussein is not only out of Kuwait, but "contained" or "removed from power."

"He won't stop."

THEME III. LEARNING FROM HISTORY (cont'd).

The most dramatic and pervasive theme we encountered centered around the necessity of avoiding "another Vietnam." People believe that we have not yet come to terms with this war and are not at all ready to go through "it" again. Importantly, they stress that it is imperative for them to know "what we learned," not so much how this situation is different."

It is illuminating to consider what those concerns revolve around, i.e., questions about:

- Prolonged conflict (the "impact of protracted war")
- Ambiguous motives
- The deleterious role of lack of support "at home"
 - "We abandoned our boys."
 - "The conflict at home fueled the war."
 - "Dissent and protest eroded our leadership."
 - "The enemy used our internal conflict for their advantage."
- Psychological scarring
 - "We still haven't recovered."
- An "unfamiliar" enemy (who plays by different rules)
- A war we had to watch -- night after night.
- Isolation, despair, and fall from international respectability.
- U.S. bears the burden . . . alone.

The Vietnam War is an inescapable factor in these people's perception of the current situation.

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL (cont'd).

o THE IMAGE OF AMERICAN TROOPS:

Through a combination of a decade of negative stereotypes (movies and television), unattractive current media portrayals, and personal experiences ("It's my neighbor out there . . . what does he know about war?"), many people's view of the military is quite disparaging. This view shakes their confidence in the military's competence. Others empathize with "the boys" and want to do whatever it takes to bring them home in one piece. You hear phrases like:

**"over their heads," "unprepared," "unskilled,"
"lonely and disoriented," "already suffering from the desert"**

Even those with a more positive image see the troops more as human beings with families, lives, and fears than as "the world's best fighting machine." As one "hawkish" woman in Dallas put it:

"They should stop their whining and do their job."

The public is divided on the image of the American soldier. While some feel that our soldiers are weak and unprepared for real war, others are confident that they are strong and more than ready for an armed conflict with Iraq. But all worry about how long they can last if time allows the waiting, the desert, political disunity, and bloody losses to take their toll.

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL (cont'd).

o AMERICA'S VULNERABILITY -- HOW THE WORLD VIEWS US:

The general perception is that America is perceived by many abroad and by many Americans as well as a "faltering leader," beset with domestic and international problems. Is this fragility the best platform for war? People question the "winnability" of this conflict, a sentiment which mitigates against their support and endorsement.

No one wants to look bad -- to themselves or the rest of the world. They need and want to believe that the U.S. can win before they can support more proactive or offensive tactics/action. Furthermore, the people we spoke to do not want our involvement in Kuwait to supersede other national priorities such that our other problems are ignored or relegated to secondary status.

"We can't afford war."

o AMERICA'S POOR SELF-IMAGE -- "IT'S A BAD TIME FOR WAR"

America is perceived as tired, and possibly "over the hill." It is a very bad time economically and many respondents were concerned that a prolonged war or continued state of military preparedness will demand a heavy cost, both economically and emotionally.

While some saw a quick victory in Kuwait as an opportunity for a "morale boost," most seemed to feel that they couldn't "handle this now" -- "it's a bad time":

"We should exhaust all avenues in trying to make a peaceful solution before we make a commitment to go to combat . . . I was in Vietnam . . . I don't think the country is ready for that again."

Congress is described as "confused and divided" and it was felt that this was a reflection of "the real mood of the American people -- there's a real division."

THEME IV. ISSUES OF CONFIDENCE AND CONTROL (cont'd).

o AMERICA'S POOR SELF-IMAGE -- "IT'S A BAD TIME FOR WAR" (cont'd).

Taking hostages was perceived as "playing by different rules that make us feel helpless and angry." And while exasperated with Saddam Hussein, few seem to see any end to that sort of terrorism. As a result they feel impotent and frustrated:

"The Arab world holds us hostage. We've made ourselves victims."

Some people are so pessimistic about our current fortunes that they ascribe Goliath-like characteristics to the once-mighty United States and perceive Saddam Hussein as a small "bully" who is actually "pushing us around." From this vantage point, they feel that it is imperative for the United States to "do whatever it takes" to "draw the line" and "take a stand on this aggression" since "this is just the beginning." They appear firmly convinced that we must not "back down" as that would demonstrate to ourselves and the rest of the world that "we won't be bullied."

This precarious "self-image" affects how these people talked about the United States's role in this conflict. They want the U.S. to be a leader -- the leader of the free world. However, they don't want to be left out there alone, abandoned by our allies (which they believe is happening and will probably continue to happen). They don't want to "be wrong."

"We can handle a crisis, but not a protracted, economically and humanly draining conflict, that ends up debilitating us even more."

The fact that the United Nations and several allies concurred with the U.S. position is important, and not so much as an endorsement of policy but as a boost to self-esteem:

"We won't be viewed negatively again by the world."

THEME V. WINNABILITY.

Many people do not believe that the kind of war they anticipate in this situation is ultimately winnable. They think of Vietnam, or Afghanistan, and imagine a bloody, horrible conflict that drags on interminably at great cost to America and Iraq.

While most all do believe that the U.S. could conceivably win an all-out, short-term, military battle, and some do imagine that "if we use all our resources" (which in their minds often includes tactical nuclear weapons) the military action may end more quickly, they feel that there would be a very heavy cost:

"I'd feel pretty lousy. That's a horrible thing to happen."

"Still too many lives, too many lives."

"It would be tragic."

For many, short of using nuclear weapons/atomic bomb (a tactic that almost no one is in favor of -- as they see it as too drastic with far too many undesirable ramifications), there is a fear that we will become entangled in a complex, extended war. These people do not believe we will "win" -- easily or quickly. Their fear is influenced by a number of beliefs:

- U.S. citizens have a shaken confidence in our ability to win wars given our perceived outright defeat in Vietnam (our most recent "real war")
- The Arab version of "guerilla warfare" will make it difficult "to win" (a function of their religious "fanaticism": "they will die for their religion")
- The Iranian/Ayatollah situation shows how they can persevere
- "This part of the world really hates us."
- Some are afraid that they could win (we as a nation are being held hostage, we feel helpless and victimized, uneasy, uncertain, and fearful)
- "We could win if we don't hold back. But we will hold back."

THEME V. WINNABILITY (cont'd).

Some believe that we might be able to win -- over the long haul, but no one wants to drag this out for too long. Too many lives will be lost and those at home will find it difficult to live through. For others, no one ever "wins" in these situations -- when people die, no one wins.

On the other hand, people abstractly love the idea of going in quickly and winning decisively -- the U.S. seems to need this kind of "shot in the arm" right now (in terms of both international respect and the depressing domestic economy) -- but worry about "what is really won?":

- Control of oil fields?
- Command of our economic destiny?
- For how long?
- Won't there just be someone else to replace Hussein?

Few feel comfortable talking about this, but many seem to feel that the best way to "win" seems to be to take Saddam Hussein out of the picture, not to go to war with the Iraqi nation. He is perceived as the problem and this "solution" would seem to minimize the number of lives needlessly lost.

THEME VI. TIME AS A WEAPON

Everyone seems to want this "situation" over fast (assuming success):

"Make it quick."

"Get it over with."

"The faster the better."

"The boys are tired of waiting. Act now or pull out."

The prospect of living through another war is so painful that they want it, if it has to happen, to just happen all at once and "go away" as fast as possible. There is a great deal of fear engendered by any suggestions of a long, drawn-out military engagement or even a prolonged state of military preparedness:

"Keeping troops there kills us economically."

There is little patience for continuing action of any kind and an almost universal desire for some kind of immediate termination to the situation. Even those who are most positive about the advisability of military action see time as a potential problem:

"Time is crucial. Time only allows Hussein to get more weapons."

Besides,

"We'd have to see the body bags come home -- night after night."

People are afraid that if it is not quick, all sort of disastrous complications could result -- Iraq's development of nuclear capabilities, Iraqi attacks against Israel escalating the scope of the conflict to the status of a World War III, a bogged-down American military in the desert, etc.

The irony in this time pressure is the need to balance it with people's desire to **"exhaust all options"** before undertaking military action. We may want to move fast, but we do not want to **"fail"** or be **"wrong."**

THEME VII. LEADERSHIP AND WAR

When it comes to war, Americans have impossibly high standards and dishearteningly low expectations for their leaders. They want their elected representatives (the President and Congress) to:

Represent them	---	yet know more than they do
Consider all sides	---	yet act decisively
Respect life	---	yet have the courage to know when to make sacrifices for a "greater good"

More than anything else, they want leadership to operate with a sense of responsibility. They mostly fear strictly retaliatory or "posturing" aggressiveness. They fear that President Bush may be "posturing" and will react "as a man" instead of "as a leader." They prefer reason and principles to passion and mere expedience.

Some noted that this may be an opportunity for President Bush to finally overcome the "wimp" label and they fear that this motive may obscure the President's objectivity as well as his responsibility to the populace. However, it is not to President Bush's advantage to go overboard about Hussein being a "madman" and "creating paranoia." The President then appears to be less "in control."

In addition, the responsibility of both the President and Congress, as well as the relationship between the President and Congress, was mentioned in every group. It is unconscionable to these people that the President could ever declare war unilaterally. This is not "one man's war." The President should be free to act quickly in a crisis, but not to single-handedly commit us to all-out war.

These people want "honesty" from their leader -- not just earnestness or a patronizing "keep them informed attitude." While they respect the need for confidentiality of tactics, they want "full disclosure" of goals and intentions. They demand full knowledge of intent, objectives, and principles. They also want to be fully informed of the implications of potential action:

"We have a right to know what's at stake."

They want President Bush to set the parameters and articulate the principles. "All the lieutenants" can handle the pragmatics.

Most importantly, they want to feel that President Bush has "done everything possible" before our troops are sent in to a "shooting war." Everyone wants to know that every effort was made to negotiate a peaceful settlement. The greatest loss of confidence in their leadership would result from a perception that they were somehow "dragged into an unnecessary war" for the second time in recent memory.

PART II. THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION

"TELLING PHRASES"

"He's a madman, a lunatic, a terrorist."

"We must support the boys."

"We won't abandon them . . . again."

"Avoid another Vietnam."

"Keep the pressure on."

"We're not ready for another war."

"We can't go through this again."

"We can't watch boys die -- night after night."

"Just tell us the truth."

"Just get it done -- fast -- do what it takes."

"He must be stopped."

"Tell us why we're there."

"Is it worth the cost, in economic and human terms?"

". . . the Oil War."

THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION.

General observations:

While there were striking similarities in terms of the overall public stance on the Persian Gulf issues, there were also ways in which the diversity of public opinion became evident. The dimensions on which their opinions diverged included the following:

- o gender**

- o age**

THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION (cont'd).

GENDER DIFFERENCES:

Women and, in particular, younger women (18-24 years), are less in favor of going to war than are men. They are both vocally and emotionally expressive about the idea of going to war, they are "mad," "angry" and "very sad" that young men will be fighting and dying.

They tend to think about war in terms of the "loss of life." They are more likely than men to question the reason for being there and to ask, "at what cost?"

They are more likely than men to personalize the war. The soldiers are their husbands, fathers of their young children, boyfriends, brothers, or their children. They imagine and deeply feel for "the boys" and the hardships they are experiencing but, more importantly, live in fear of being widowed or having their children experience fatherlessness.

They have been told by their fathers or friends and have seen for themselves that Vietnam inflicted terrible injury and pain on the men and their families. They commented that "even the heroes came back wasted."

THE BREADTH OF PUBLIC OPINION (cont'd).

AGE AND WAR AS A POINT OF REFERENCE:

The war that each most closely identifies with seems to shape (to a certain extent) how they feel about the winnability of this war.

Many who are 55 years or older and thus at an impressionable age during World War II and the Korean War seem to have a better understanding for the potential danger of a "Hitler"-type of aggressor and they also seem to be more optimistic of being able to win this war.

Those of an impressionable age during the Vietnam War (35-45 years) seem to reference that war and thus are unsure of our ability to win. As with Vietnam, they are not sure why we are really there and if the government is telling them everything. They imagine this war could also be a painfully protracted with the loss of tens of thousands of lives.

This is also somewhat true of the younger people (18-24 years) whose parents were old enough to experience the Vietnam War. These younger people question why we are there, whether the U.S. can win militarily and anticipate the loss of many lives.

There is, however, a group of young people who are very much in favor of going to war. They support the President and their idealized, almost naive vision of war as represented by movies fills them with hope that we can win this war.

CONCLUSIONS

CONCLUSIONS.

Conclusion I:

There is strong evidence that if President Bush had to initiate a major military offensive, he would not have the overwhelming support of the American people.

This reflects a crisis of confidence and conviction.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Crisis of Confidence:

Considering the U.S.'s recent history (most notably Vietnam), poor regard for the military, prevailing self-consciousness about our "diminished position" in the world, the overwhelming burden of domestic problems, and American's lack of understanding and/or dissatisfaction with the expressed motives for "why we're there" . . . these people have little confidence in the ability of the United States to win (which means achieving worthwhile objectives as opposed to simply prevailing militarily).

The graphic, horrific, appalling visual images of war that have permeated people's mental landscape over the last decade have left strong "repellent" impression of war on most people. People do not feel that they can sit and watch the horror again -- night after night. They are not confident in their own ability to cope with seeing the realities of war . . . that they must watch if the U.S. goes to war again.

The Baby Boom generation has never seen the U.S. "win" a war. This fact coupled with the urgency of unprecedented economic, political, and sociological challenges, shatters people's confidence in American competence.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Crisis of Conviction:

If lives are to be lost, people must feel satisfied that they both understand and agree with the goals, principles and objectives which define U.S. involvement.

Qualified endorsement may be the only support that Americans can muster given the fundamental skepticism that has become endemic in America.

Without having an overriding sense of purpose, the everchanging, conflicting, and often contradictory information, expert opinions, and pronouncements seriously undermine sustained conviction. People need a "beacon" to clear the way.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

To satisfy these people -- the purpose and meaning for U.S. involvement must make a clear link between:

Causes

The facts, defining events, and characteristics of the Gulf situation.

Pragmatics

The real and anticipated consequences of these characteristics.

Principles

The serious implications of these consequences.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Conclusion II:

The precise nature of the THREAT -- to well-being, security and values -- has not been communicated convincingly, clearly, or consistently.

To warrant a loss of lives, the threat must be perceived as real, close-in, and very serious.

It is especially critical that people feel we have exhausted all viable alternatives before initiating offensive military action.

There must be a logical, credible link made between the nature of the threat and the need for a specific response.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

Conclusion III:

People express widespread support "for the troops" in spite of confusion, ambivalence, or even outright rejection of policy.

There is great empathy "for the troops" and a strong underlying sentiment that they must not be abandoned . . . "again." Perceptions of troop morale, conditions, and competence have a profound and disproportionate influence on attitudes and beliefs concerning advisable activities in the Gulf. The more "the boys" are perceived as fragile, vulnerable, unprepared, or victimized, the less likely Americans will be to support either "an offensive action" or a sustained military involvement.

CONCLUSIONS (cont'd).

CONCLUSION IV:

At the root of people's ("Baby Boomers") resistance to "war" is a powerful, underlying aversion to and ambivalence about personal sacrifice.

- "Me generation" legacy
- Grown accustomed to immediate gratification, indulgence, and quick fixes
- Not used to major trade-offs and compromises ("want it all")

However, coming into a more mature phase in their lives is causing these "Baby Boomers" to reconsider their values and priorities.

APPENDICES

"Telegrams" to President Bush

At the start of each group, respondents were asked to write a brief "telegram" to George Bush, expressing their personal feelings about the Persian Gulf situation.

SUCCEEDERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Enough of your rhetoric! Please stop trying to convince the general public that our interest in this particular Middle East crisis is idealistic. We all know it is economic. If the U.S. succeeds in defeating Iraq, the U.S. will then control the world's oil supply, thus making it the richest country (by far) in the world.

Dear President Bush,

Go slow. War is costly in many ways. U.N. should lead, not U.S.A. Stress conservation and oil substitutes -- better too late than not at all. No more Vietnams. You have never made clear why we are in the Middle East. Set a clear policy.

Dear President Bush,

End it now with little, or preferably, no more bloodshed!

Dear President Bush,

My family and I are very frightened about the possibility of an impending war in the Middle East and we are hoping and praying that you will be able to negotiate a truce with Saddam Hussein. We cannot afford to have another "Vietnam" where so many young men lost their lives.

Dear President Bush,

I think that it is very important to exhaust all avenues of peaceful intervention before troops are used in a combat role.

Dear President Bush,

Our boys are getting very tired of waiting in the Middle East and Hussein has now been given too much time to think. I feel we should act now or pull out before Hussein does so much damage the world will be in a very serious situation. Thank you for reading my letter.

SUCCEEDERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

The situation in the Middle east concerns me greatly because I believe that geographic region to be the lifeline of America's oil resources. The situation should not be allowed to escalate into full scale war. More strong attempts at achieving peace in the Middle East must be made today! Procrastination can only serve to allow Hussein to manipulate the U.S. further.

SUCCEEDERS -- KANSAS CITY

President Bush:

The issue of Saddam Hussein must be settled sooner or later. He has never met a weapon he doesn't like, -- this he will not be reluctant to use nuclear or advanced genetic warfare against some country some time. Unless we stop him (specifically) and all others so disposed, we can expect the "new world order" to fail. A lesson by example must be issued to all like-minded dictators/governments -- behave yourselves or you will be desposed from power. Now is better than later. This is more important than his control of 30% of world oil.

Dear President Bush:

I support the strong stance that you have taken against Saddam Hussein. Although public opinion may at times be for softening your approach. I urge you to continue to show Mr. Hussein that you will be relentless in your approach until he completely pulls out of Kuwait. If he has not pulled back by the Security Council's approved date of January 15, 1991, I approve of whatever force is necessary in order to enforce this proposal from the U.N. Security Council.

Dear President Bush:

I think we should let the people solve their own problems without involving American lives. They have a different feeling about religion and Americans do not understand their beliefs well enough to become involved.

Dear President Bush:

Defend our freedom and the world's by getting the world involved in depressing the aggression from Hussein now and in the future. I realize the issue is not oil just for us but protecting our future by not allowing it to be governed by one individual like Hussein.

SUCCEEDERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

Don't kill our kids so that big oil can make money. The U.S. is not the world's policeman. We never seem to learn our lesson on this. Send congressmen over 60 to fight. No big loss. Probably nothing will happen if they are in charge. The press has blown this deal out of proportion, just like Vietnam. If there really is danger, tell us and quit playing games. How can Iraq be supported by anyone if there really is danger. We need facts, not silly TV appearances.

Dear President Bush:

I support your efforts in the Middle East as long as they lead to a peaceful settlement without loss of life. It's important to show that Saddam Hussein can't bully his way into another country yet we should diplomatically try to solve the crisis without using military force -- if at all possible. I hope this is resolved as soon as possible and that the crisis doesn't go on too much longer.

Dear President Bush:

If you're going to be there get going and get it over with. While you're doing that, let's get a domestic energy policy so this will not happen again. If you do get Hussein out, there will be some other nut to take his place. Also let's get the Saudis to pay the bill. We're protecting them so that they can make billions on oil profits from the world.

Dear President Bush:

Just a note that I back you fully and admire your leadership in taking this stand against a regime that threatens the stability of the Middle East which in turn could affect our way of life. It's very important to dictate to other nations which try to control other countries that this will not be tolerated.

SUCCEEDERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

I am writing out of deep concern for our soldiers and the possibility of war, death and destruction. I am concerned we could be entering into a situation that could escalate to include many countries in the conflict and result in the use of atomic weapons. You have to know when to hold them and know when to fold them as the song by Kenny Rogers says. Now is the time to sit back and examine the ramifications before proceeding.

Dear President Bush:

I am in complete agreement with you that the aggressors must leave Kuwait. All Americans are pleased that our hostages have been freed. We view this as a positive step toward peaceful negotiations. We are most hopeful these are only the initial moves that will eventually lead to a peaceful settlement. I ask that you seriously consider every possible avenue to end the conflict peacefully without the loss of life and bloodshed.

SUCCEEDERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

If we, as a country, decide to enter into hostilities with Iraq -- I am in favor of using all of our military assets!! Including those that are nuclear!

Dear President Bush,

I'm happy with the way (aggression) you are handling what's going on in the Middle East. Although I don't understand why so many of our people need to be over there. It also seems as though we are taking the responsibilities for a lot of what's happening.

Dear President Bush,

To date, I believe you have done a good job in handling the situation in the Middle East, specifically the release of the hostages. The concern of their nuclear capability, we have to trust you have all the information and your judgment and actions have considered this. Keep a firm position.

Dear President Bush,

If current sanctions prove ineffective, I encourage you to use the U.N. directive to immediately return Kuwait to its proper sovereignty. I hope you will use all military strength to rapidly gain complete control, thereby avoiding a Vietnam-type scenario.

Dear President Bush,

Thank you for not letting a dictator like Hussein remove the sovereignty of a neighboring nation. Your firmness is beginning to show signs of impressing upon Hussein that you mean business. He must realize by now that his position is hopeless.

Dear President Bush,

I feel that what you are doing is good to a certain extent. Coming to aid at Saudi's request. Please don't let this get down to an oil issue. Get done what we went for, diplomatically if possible, militarily only as a last resort, then get our guys home. Don't drag it out. Remember Nam.

SUCCEEDERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

I know that public opinion polls indicate that you are losing popularity and support for your stance on the Middle East, but I, for one, am pleased with your actions thus far. We must stand up against this so-called man named Saddam Hussein, even if no one else will.

Dear President Bush,

Don't do anything hasty as being offensive on January 16th. Let the Congress in on making a final decision with you and therefore you can't take all the blame. We certainly don't want another Vietnam. There is no need for any American lives to be sacrificed. Nuclear force should not be ruled out.

Dear President Bush,

The Middle East crisis is taking too long. If we get all the hostages out why not end it one way or another. Do what you must but do it swiftly. To delay only causes more pain. We need a straightforward leader, not a "wait and see" again like Nixon.

MAINSTREAMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Take a few more weeks time. If nothing happens, there is no other way to deal with a ruthless dictator then take military action.

Hussein is a dangerous man and has all the weapons of destruction and is working on the atomic bomb. Any kind of deal is no good.

When it comes to war, all-out action is required.

Dear President Bush,

As a Korean war combat veteran I would say that our President should exercise great caution before we're plunged into another war. The cost in lives in the two prior wars in Korea and Vietnam have marked our national psyche and you may wind up without popular support, an all important factor in winning any war.

Dear President Bush,

First of all, please bring home the hostages. Second, bring home all our boys and third of all bring down the oil prices. Now let's have peace out there. We want this done yesterday.

Dear President Bush,

I think there should not be a war to where people have to get hurt. I think we shouldn't be involved in what Kuwait and the other countries are fighting for. I think we should stand by and let Kuwait and Iraq handle it themselves if we are then needed then the U.S. should go to war to help if help is needed, because too many people and families are going to be affected by it.

Dear President Bush,

In my opinion I support the U.S. military actions and economic restrictions placed on Kuwait by the U.S. government. I feel that Hussein is a madman and he will acquire the ways and means to build an atomic bomb to use against the United States and the rest of the Middle East.

MAINSTREAMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Do not enter into a war. Try to stop it, please! Human life is precious. Let's try to end this mess now and get our soldiers home. God be with them all.

Dear President Bush,

This is a very hard time for our country and the world. I have tried to keep up with the news every night. I know everyone is trying to get everyone home safely. But if this is not possible we cannot let bullies run the world. Everyone must respect each other's rights, U.N. and otherwise.

Dear President Bush,

I would hope that you and all the world leaders involved would come together and resolve this situation without any war and loss of life.

MAINSTREAMERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush,

I would first like to say I fully support the position you have taken in the Middle East. There is a difficult decision to make, and Mr. President, you are the one who has to make it. We must protect our interests in the Persian Gulf and I believe you will make the right moves.

Dear President Bush,

I think it's outrageous what you're doing over there. What do you want, another Vietnam? I have a 17-1/2 year old son who is thinking of joining the armed forces and it worries me to death to think I could lose him to something like this. Please bring our troops back home where they belong and don't start another war.

Dear President Bush,

I represent a portion of our society in the mid-West concerning my views involving the Middle East crisis. I am a strong believer in peace and will do whatever I can to work for it. It is part of my soul as well as my religious beliefs. My main concern involving the Middle East crisis is that you, as well as all others involved in "speaking the American voice" relay this. We are working toward peace and prosperity and not war in these times.

Dear President Bush,

I think that the situation in the Middle East should be resolved quickly instead of spending billions of dollars waiting around for something to happen, we should push the issue and take immediate action.

Dear President Bush,

I am for whatever measures are necessary to protect the people of the United States. I only wish that protecting our country will not cause anyone to die for our freedom. As a President, I feel you are well informed and will take whatever steps necessary to protect our country, without the loss of U.S. soldiers and citizens.

MAINSTREAMERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush,

I am concerned. I know the U.S. is a world power and the rest of the world looks at our every move. I am frightened of war -- not only because I have a 21 year old son but for the lives of the "human race." We live in troubled times. It makes me sad to see a world sitting around on a powder keg. We have seen great strides in Eastern Europe -- why can't this situation be resolved?

Dear President Bush,

I think that we should overturn the laws on CIA assassination and then we wouldn't have to worry about Saddam or Colonel Quaddafi or any other right wing radical factions trying to start global warfare. If we, as U.S. citizens, are going to support this "Operation Desert Shield" then we should be kept abreast by you through television appearances and no false or negative television media reporting. Let's go over and kick ass or get out.

Dear President Bush,

I think you're doing a good job and hope that the crisis can be solved soon and peacefully but if it cannot I, for one, will support any decision that you or Congress make. My feelings are that we need to interview and get Iraq out of Kuwait immediately and not let this situation go on like Vietnam did.

Dear President Bush,

I really don't understand why we're trying to defend this country when, to my knowledge, they haven't requested our presence -- don't most countries overseas usually defend themselves? When Russia went to Poland, Afghanistan, etc. we didn't lift a finger to help them -- why now? I do value our soldiers -- please don't waste their lives in a power struggle -- all for oil -- we have enough oil here.

MAINSTREAMERS -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush,

I am very concerned about the situation in the Middle East as a citizen of the U.S. I realize that I should have complete faith in what my elected representatives are doing but I feel that the United States has almost always been the watch dog of the U.N. and feel that other countries should be equally responsible for what is to come as to participation and input.

MAINSTREAMERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

So far so good. Do not let the situation become bogged down. If combat is engaged, follow through and finish it. Do not waste American soldiers trying to minimize Iraqi casualties.

Dear President Bush,

It is time to get our people out and end this standoff. Our forces need to come home. We have what it takes to beat Hussein, do it and get it over with!

Dear President Bush,

Please explore all avenues in this matter in order to avoid a hasty decision but I will support your final decision if it is for the good of all in the long run.

Dear President Bush,

You've spent a tremendous amount of money to send people and convince Hussein we can conquer him. I think he knew that. Jump off the fence and do it or don't. There are thousands of more productive ways to spend our money and occupy our time and military.

Dear President Bush,

What is the real reason we are over there? How come we have the largest build up of troops and the Saudis don't seem to be giving us the backing of troops? Also how could this have happened (the invasion) with the intelligence we have?

Dear President Bush,

Why are we paying so much of the bill? We need more support from other countries (troops, money, etc.) now that our people (who want to come out) are out do we need to send troops into a country that would rather let everybody else do the fighting.

MAINSTREAMERS -- DALLAS

Dear President Bush,

I feel that Operation Desert Shield is too costly for the U.S. to be involved in. Both monetarily as well as in the loss of lives and family units. We need so much to be done right here in the U.S. Let's do whatever it takes to bring this to a swift conclusion and get home.

REFORMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

If we are to negotiate with Hussein we must not only think of now -- but the future. Because he's pulling out, it doesn't mean a thing if he has chemical weapons to threaten us with next year or five years from now. He must be made to disarm all missiles -- there has to be U.N. control over that. He also cannot be allowed to draw Israel into his negotiations regarding the Palestine situation. After all, we put him in power.

Dear President Bush,

The Middle East crisis apparently is much more involved than the public will ever know for right now. However given the deadline of January 15, 1991 in terms of war Every effort possible should be made to negotiate a peaceful solution. The American oil-interest (considering we glut the world market) should take second place to American and world lives. However, if we must go to war make it quick and efficient. The effects of germ warfare are too unknown and far reaching to play with.

Dear President Bush,

I'd like to take a moment to express my sincere feelings on our relationship with (for a lack of better words) with Middle East. First off, perhaps our country is in a dubious position concerning our economy. I do not think that war is the solution. I don't think that our country is ready for war. We are strong but have not planned out a more organized system.

Dear President Bush,

Do not rush into war. Give the sanctions time to work This said, be sure that Iraq conforms to all U.N. resolutions when negotiations are in progress.

REFORMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

Hussein cannot get away with what he is doing. American must take a strong stand against him. However, we should do everything possible to avoid an all-out war. We, as Americans, value life too highly to have people killed in another war.

Dear President Bush,

Do anything in your power to keep the Middle East Crisis from becoming another Vietnam. The loss of lives which occurred during the Vietnam War should never happen again. Take whatever steps you feel are necessary to try to maintain world peace. Should peace not be possible an expeditious war must be fought.

Dear President Bush,

I am strongly opposed to U.S. entry into military action in Middle East. Whatever one thinks of Saddam Hussein, it is not worth the potential cost in lives. No reason to fight primarily to keep oil costs down. Nor do I think that fighting would be in defense of democracy, but rather in defense of a theoretically controlled country.

Dear President Bush,

This is to let you know that in regards to the Middle East Crisis I feel it is more important to consider the needs of the world as a whole rather than specifically as an interested American -- both economically and politically a peaceful solution must be negotiated.

Dear President Bush,

I wholeheartedly support your decision to give Mr. Hussein a choice of either all-out war or a peaceful retreat. Please stick to your decision, the world is counting on you.

REFORMERS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

I feel your reactions to Saddam Hussein's invasion of Kuwait was rather drastic and hypocritical -- the thought of hundreds of thousands of innocent people -- Americans and Arabs who could perish because of the selfishness and greed of oil companies and this maniacal dictator (who we just recently supported during the war with Iran) is just horrifying. It just goes to show how strong the hold on government by the large corporation of this country.

REFORMERS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

I wish I could trust you. Please do not go to war over oil. There are always alternatives. Things will only get worse if you do.

Dear President Bush,

It's important that you not cloud the issue of why we are in the Middle East. We are there to protect our oil supply in order to guarantee a steady, inexpensive flow of oil to the U.S. We are not there to preserve a democracy, Kuwait never was one.

Dear President Bush,

Do not plunge us into war without exhausting every other means of settling this conflict. It's not worth the thousands of lives that would be lost.

Dear President Bush,

My concerns involve the possibility of continued trauma (psychological, physical, emotional) of all involved in the Middle East crisis. I am no expert, however, PTSD traumatic experiences many veterans suffer each day due to the Vietnam war must be considered a tragedy in this country. The possibility of similar dissociative disorders resulting from a war in the Middle East must be taken into consideration. War may cause much more harm than good. Oil is just not worth it.

Dear President Bush,

I have so far been very pleased with your stand in the Middle East. I am glad that this country has been firm and not backed down in confronting Hussein. There are such grave issues at stake: the proliferation of nuclear power, the instigation of further terrorism and use of banner weapons. I feel we should stay but not start conflict on a certain date.

REFORMERS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

Assuring that Americans have cheap oil to waste is not a compelling enough reason to risk 10-20,000 American lives in a war. You have not provided a legitimate reason to initiate an offensive war.

Saddam, while an ogre, is not Hitler. Hostages can no longer be a reason. The nuclear/chemical threat is not proven. What is certain is hostility of the Arab world in years to come.

Dear President Bush,

I appreciate the dilemma the world is in because of the crisis in the Middle East. I share with you on the long range concerns regarding what a maniac with chemicals and possibly nuclear power can do if not controlled now. However, please be aware of the value of our blood. Do not frivolously launch into battle. Limit the loss of life, pursue all other options. And, then ensure long range change.

Dear President Bush,

Remember that New World Order you talked about? When were we elected World Police? Don't be so eager to kill our young men. Economic Sanctions do work.

Dear President Bush,

I believe your goals are correct (i.e., Iraq's withdrawal from Kuwait, restoration of the legitimate government). However, your methods of achieving these goals are not correct. First, I would recommend putting less emphasis on the use of military force. Second, I would recommend giving the sanctions much more opportunity to work. Although military force is needed as a deterrent, the level is not needed.

REFORMERS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

I know it is more "fun" to be running around Europe convincing world leaders to give you the right to launch a first strike against Iraq, but really, who the "bejeezus" do you think you are? Why must the U.S. be the one nation chomping at the bit to sacrifice hundreds of thousands of lives and billions of dollars (which will have to be borrowed) when we have a wonderful international community to act?

Dear President Bush,

Good job so far. Saddam Hussein is a wily character who is not to be trusted. You are always reasserting the issue of his aggressive act and not to mix issues with Palestinians is wise. You should always beware though that the Saudi regime is a very fragile government and should not be tinkered or bothered with American troops too long. Also don't give Assad too much recognition.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

I realize it must be hard for you to make such large decisions about the Middle East crisis. Sometimes I, along with others, wonder why we are there. Is it because we're protecting Americans - Kuwaitis; is it so we can drive our cars or is it something for you to do to get re-elected. I just wanted to say that when things get bad I hope you are smart in your decision making. A lot is at stake a lot of lives, the future of the country and the future of the world. Please choose correctly.

Dear President Bush,

I believe that you are doing a fine job with the crisis in the Middle East. I feel that you are using the perfect amount of strength and restraint to hopefully bring about a peaceful resolution to this situation.

Dear President Bush,

I believe that taking action at this point would be wise. Being that the more time that elapses more nuclear weapons are being made, time is crucial. There is no appeasing Hussein and I believe taking the offensive side is necessary rather than the defensive. Another important point is following through with the threat of war. If the world, especially the Middle East (Iraq), doesn't take your words seriously there will be a consistent flow of attacks throughout the Middle East countries.

Dear President Bush,

We cannot let Saddam get any further. War should be avoided!! Unless there is not other way to stop him. U.S. should continue to play an active part in the crisis i.e. troops. Other tactics should be used as well -- economic sanctions? Thank you.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- NEW YORK CITY

Dear President Bush,

I am not fooled. I find your change of reasoning frightening. Consistently, inconsistent. Do you represent the American people. We are misinformed. Will there be a draft? Why couldn't this have been foreseen? I fear your propagandizing as much as I fear Hussein. It is immoral to rationalize economic goals through human lives. When and how will we learn the consistent truth. Will future school children study this mistake the way we studied Vietnam? Let it end.

Dear President Bush,

I feel from what I see and hear on T.V., newspaper and radio that many people are getting hurt from both sides. In the Middle East there are many people dying. People hear and say that there might be war. Hussein.

Dear President Bush,

I hope that Saddam Hussein pulls out of Kuwait before January 15th. However, if he doesn't, please don't be hesitant. Don't listen to some of the Democrats in Congress. I think you should move him out by force, as quickly as possible without many casualties. However, I believe he is scared right now and if you keep up the pressure, he will leave. Also, take a new approach on the war in Palestine. The Arabs there are being persecuted also.

Dear President Bush,

Due to the present crisis in the Persian Gulf and Iraq's refusal to exit Kuwait, it seems certain that you plan to use military force. I am aware of the reasons why we must force Saddam Hussein to exit, however, I believe that you are hiding the real reasons to our intervention. The Persian Gulf crisis is not based on the freedom of Kuwait, but rather the vast amounts of oil present there. I agree Hussein must leave Kuwait, but please stop beating around the bush. Also give the trade embargo some time before wasting American lives.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

Do you realize that each day we maintain troops in the Middle East, you are taxing the American economy? A show of political force will only prove that Americans are willing to be "sitting ducks" out in the desert at this point. Since Hussein is willing to talk and is releasing all hostages, I think it would be a better idea to allow the U.N. to take more responsibility in this affair.

Dear President Bush,

I am in support of your current position concerning the invasions of Kuwait. While I sincerely hope the crisis can be resolved without conflict, I appreciate your strong stand against the illegal aggression by Iraq.

Dear President Bush,

I am gravely concerned about your recent decision to employ massive numbers of U.S. troops to the Persian Gulf. I feel that the initial deployment of 200,000 soldiers was a clear demonstration of U.S. resolve to our allies in the region. What has happened to Kuwait is undeniably regrettable, however, Iraqi actions are not in direct contradiction to U.S. interest in the region and I feel that the U.S. should not be the part to initiate a war.

Dear President Bush,

I would like to urge you to pull the forces out of the Middle East and allow time for sanctions to work to cause Saddam to pull out of Kuwait. There needs to be more negotiations and the U.N. should have more power than it does right now to come to a peaceful solution. Also if any action is to take place, Congress should declare war, not just the President.

Dear President Bush,

As we head down the path to a costly and potentially devastating war, I hope you will consider the consequences of your foreign policy. I believe there are huge problems to be dealt with at home before we blindly enter into a conflict. Let's consider what we can do to decrease our dependence on foreign oil.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

I support you in dealing with the problems in the Middle East even though I find a number of things wrong with your procedures. It appears that the only advantage the U.S. will receive from a war in the Middle East is that we will avoid a recession. Even though I do not believe in war or violence, Iraq must be controlled because we cannot let another "Hitler" take charge.

Dear President Bush,

Regarding the situation in the Middle East. I support your stand against Hussein and I feel it is important to stand up for sovereignty throughout the world. I hope you realize, however, that there are a number of options open to the U.S./the international force which should be looked at -- and exercised before you use significant military force against Iraq.

Dear President Bush,

The current situation in the Persian Gulf is of great concern to me. I feel that the United States has acted too quickly and without careful thought. Our military presence in the Middle East at this time is only contributing to the very frightening prospect of war and this is something I believe we should avoid until we can convincingly judge the impact of worldwide imposed sanctions against Iraq. Furthermore, attempts at negotiation with Iraq must be made, as we begin dialogue with the Arab League and all constituencies involved.

Dear President Bush,

Currently the situation in the Middle East makes me feel terribly unsettled. I think something must be done in one extreme or another. I tend to lean heavily to the extreme that favors going in and invading the country. It is the only way this dilemma can end. I know this is the most extreme solution, but really what else can be done? Sitting stagnant in Saudi Arabia is doing nothing for us, except draining us dry.

COLLEGE STUDENTS -- SAN FRANCISCO

Dear President Bush,

Why are you still sending troops over to the Middle East? Saddam Hussein said he would begin releasing the foreign hostages, wouldn't that be wasting money and time to send soldiers over when there could possibly be a peaceful negotiation coming on? Can't we just let those soldiers stay without bringing more troops in? Or can we send some of those soldiers that have been there for so long and send new ones to take their place?

18-24 NON-COLLEGE -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

I hope if we go to war I think the best thing to do would be take force fast and definite. It is them or taking our young men and fathers. I do not think it should be drawn out. Too many people are killed or left maimed. Just do the best we can.

Dear President Bush:

I have to say that I support your occupation of Saudi Arabia. I feel for the soldiers and civilians involved. I wish there were some instant solution for the situation. But until there is I can only hope that nothing drastic will happen before this solution comes around. Overall, I don't believe that today's world situation will product another Korean conflict.

Dear President Bush:

I have total trust in that you will do the right thing. My strongest feeling is that we do our best to prevent war. But if not, I don't really know how a war could help the people. I guess I'm really just for saving lives of innocent men, women and children. Peace.

Dear President Bush:

I think what the United States is standing for is good. I also feel as though it is being dragged out extremely too long. And as you know, time is money. If we are going to be there -- isn't there something we could do to be a bit more productive instead of having our men over there just practicing. I realize the more you practice the better you become but what have they been doing all these years we have paid them. I feel if you keep your head on straight and continue to think logically that all things will work for the best.

18-24 NON-COLLEGE -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

We, in the United States, would like to see more involvement from Germany in the Middle East. If you're thinking about pulling out, -- stop. If you're thinking of involving Dan Quayle -- STOP! Just kidding. The possibility of war may be inevitable but we've gotta keep thinking that we're representing not only the U.S. but the United Nations and the Arab Nations and Iraq.

Dear President Bush:

I think we are doing the right thing by being present in the Middle East. However, now that ours and other nation's hostages, are being released or are already released, we should put an end to the affair by showing any necessary force that is needed. Simply because we and other nations alike have offered several chances to end this peaceably, to no avail.

Dear President Bush:

I think that the situation in the Middle East is confusing. Some say that there will be no war, but yet they keep sending troops over there. I think there should be peace between countries. Wars kill too many innocent people.

Dear President Bush:

I believe you are doing a fine job with this situation. I believe you are in a very tough situation and can't please everyone. But you must do what you feel is right for our country as well as Kuwait. You to me have showed patience with Hussein and I believe it's beginning to pay off with the release of hostages. Hang in there and keep up the good work. I also believe this is helping bring other world powers together such as the USSR and USA for example. Something I think both countries have longed for but have shied away from in the past.

18-24 NON-COLLEGE -- KANSAS CITY

Dear President Bush:

I agree with having troops in Kuwait, but I also believe that other countries which supported the UN decision should bear the cost in some way. How? I don't know. I think the U.S. government should support the research to find products to replace oil so the U.S. is not so dependent on it.

Dear President Bush:

I believe that the way in which you have handled the Kuwait situation has been very poor. I believe that U.S. troops should have been sent into Kuwait immediately after being invaded. You have been throwing a lot of threats around, but no action has followed these threats. The U.S. is labeled as a "superpower," yet we are allowing Iraq to damage not only our image and strength, but also our economy. I believe that now is the time to rectify the situation President Bush.

DISCUSSION GUIDE/CONFIDENTIAL
RS#
PROJECT AK

INTRODUCTION: General introduction

WARM-UP: Name, live, family, occupation

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ABOUT THIS PROJECT:

Today we are going to be talking about the situation which is currently going on in the Middle East. But before we do, there are just a few things I would like to mention. We have been and will be talking to people all across the country. We have found that in every group some people know a lot about this situation and some know very little. This is all ok. What we are really interested in talking to you about are your opinions about this situation. This is not about a command of the facts or recall of the facts, but about your opinions and impressions.

We have selected you to help us understand all of the different ways people in this region think and feel about this situation. Because this is such a small group, it is imperative that we somehow hear from everyone so that we can understand and incorporate all of the different perspectives. Even though it may be difficult to get a word in edgewise, it is very important that I hear from everyone. So with that, let's just get started.

I. PERSIAN GULF SITUATION

To just get you started thinking about this situation, I am going to hand out a blank piece of paper and ask you to just spend the next few (three) minutes writing a telegram to President Bush that represents what you would like to say to him about the situation in the Middle East.

(only allow three minutes and use this as a beginning point for discussion)

- o Let's discuss. What does your telegram say or what is the essence of the message you would like to convey to him?

- Why that?
- (Invite those to agree to join in the discussion)

- o (This discussion should indicate how they "see" the Middle East, why we are there and how they feel about the U.S. involvement.) If it does not, then ask:

- Why are we in the Middle East?
 - . What makes the most sense to you for why we are there? Why?
 - . What do you feel is the strongest reason for justifying our being there? Why that?
 - . How would you describe our involvement?

(Those that have been suggested: stop aggression, ensure international law and order, protect access to oil, separate Hussein from nuclear bomb, hostages, jobs)

- How do you feel about our involvement, today?

- o (Quote checklist) Here are a list of things that have been said about this situation. Which two statements (labelled "1" and "2" come closest to the way you feel about this situation?)

- Why those?

- o When, in the whole scheme of things, did this situation really "hit home" or become "personal" for you?

- Please describe the situation (where you were, how you felt and why then)
- (A similar kind of question) Of the "tons of information" that is being provided about this situation, what one piece of information is really relevant or stands out for you? Why?
- or Is there a key quote that really stands out to you? Why that?
- For those that are parents, how do you feel about this situation? Why?

- o In response to what is happening, what kinds of things could you image yourself doing--even the smallest little things?

- Why that?

- o How does the way you feel about this situation compare to the way you feel about Vietnam?

- How is it similar?
- How is it different?

I. PRESIDENT BUSH

- o Please describe what President Bush is currently doing/
or his role?
 - Explain
 - What are your feelings about him now?
 - How do feel about how he has handled the situation thus far?
- o What do you think he should be doing? or If you could talk to him directly, what would you tell him to do? (This may have already been discussed in the telegram exercise)
 - Why?
- o Who are the other people and names that you are hearing most from/about?
 - What are they doing? What is their role?
 - How do you feel about them?
- o (If not mentioned, then ask) What is Congress doing relative to what the President is doing?
 - How do you feel about that?
 - What should they be doing?

What should the U.S. role be vis-a-vis the U.N. resolutions that have been passed?

- Why?
- What should we be doing/have done?

In relation to what our allies are doing, how do you feel about the U.S. response in this situation?

- Why?
- What should we be doing?
- What would you like them to be doing? Why?

- o Who is in charge? How are all of these people/organizations involved?
 - Why?
 - How do you feel about that?
- o Have your feelings changed about any of these people/organizations over the course of the past few months?
 - Describe the change, now vs. then
 - Why the change?

III. MEDIA

- o What are you reading or who are you listening to the most in terms of this situation?
 - Why that?
 - What do you like about that source?
 - What other "non-traditional" sources of information are you relying on? (e.g., friends, cab drivers, etc.)
- o What things in the media have "influenced" you most?
 - Why those?

IV. WHAT IF SCENARIOS

I would like to pose some possible future scenarios and I am interested in your thoughts and feelings about each. (Ask why for each and try to understand how strongly they feel about each)

- o First, ideally, what would you like to see happen or how would you like to see this be resolved?
 - Why?
 - Realistically, what do you think will happen? Why? How do you feel about that? Is this wise?
- o Do we have to do something on January 15th?
 - Why or why not?

WHAT IF . . .

- o Your thoughts and feelings if we continued to use sanctions,
 - for 12-18 months
- o Your thoughts and feelings if we went to war,
 - a 10 day war vs. a prolonged war?
 - with minimal casualties vs. heavy casualties?
 - should it be selected or extensive?
 - Some have said this is "winnable?" Do you agree or disagree? Why?

- o Your thoughts and feelings if we continued to negotiate,
 - with territorial compromise vs. without
- o Your thoughts and feelings if Hussein and Iraq pull out peacefully
 - Should we stay in Saudi Arabia or Kuwait?

- o How do you feel about the (news of yesterday) about the release of all of the hostages before Christmas?

- Why?

- o How do you feel about President Bush's response:

- "We've got to continue to keep the pressure on. The release of all hostages would be a very good thing, but the problem is the aggression against Kuwait and the man must leave Kuwait without reservation, without condition."

- Why that?

- a) "The way you find out if sanctions are going to work is to give them enough time to work."
- b) "Saddam Hussein is the Arab Hitler. We need to make sure that he is never in a position to do these things again."
- c) "How can the American people support a war, especially after our experience in Vietnam?"
- d) "Going to war is one of those things you just have to do sometimes in order to protect freedom."
- e) "This is the biggest blunder George Bush has made. I hope he has the courage to get out of it."
- f) "There are no partial solutions. The only way to make the area stable is to get rid of Iraq's missiles and chemical and nuclear capabilities and to reduce its armed forces."
- g) "There has been a major mobilization without an underlying rationale at a time when people are concerned about education, about the environment, the homeless, and how they are going to pay the bills this month."
- h) "Oil is worth shedding American lives for because oil is the blood that flows through the veins of the American economy. Without economic freedom, our political freedom is in serious trouble."
- i) "I would certainly support the troops, but I question whether they should be there in the first place."
- j) "Why do we have to be the only ones stepping forward? Nobody else really seems to want to fight the Iraqis?"
- k) "I am proud to serve my country. The President thinks we should be there and that's good enough for me."
- l) "If they're fighting for oil, then it's not worth it."
- m) "There are so many different reasons being thrown around. I'm not sure why we are there."

This image shows a single sheet of white paper with horizontal ruling lines. The lines are evenly spaced and run across the width of the page. There are approximately 20 lines visible. The paper appears slightly aged or off-white. There is no handwriting or other markings on the page.

I. PERSIAN GULF SITUATION

To just get you started thinking about this situation, I am going to hand out a blank piece of paper and ask you to just spend the next few (three) minutes writing a telegram to President Bush that represents what you would like to say to him about the situation in the Middle East.

- (on the back) Write down the best reason for going to war.
 - The best reason not to go to war.
- Let's discuss. What does your telegram say or what is the essence of the message you would like to convey to him?
 - Why?
- (This discussion should indicate how their "see" the Middle East, why we are there and how they feel about the U.S. involvement.) If it does not, then ask:
 - Why are we in the Middle East?
 - How would you describe our involvement?
 - How do you feel about our involvement, today?
 - What is the best reason? Why?
 - Best reason not to be there? Why?
 - Is there a feeling that you don't understand why we are there? Explain.
- (Quote checklist) Here are a list of things that have been said about this situation. Which two statements (labelled "1" and "2" come closest to the way you feel about this situation?)
- What specific events during the past few months have shaped your opinion of what we should be doing? Why?
- What are your fears? Why?
- What are your hopes? Why those?
- Can we win? Why or why not?
 - How would we do this?

DISCUSSION GUIDE/CONFIDENTIAL
RS# 5138
PROJECT AK

INTRODUCTION: General Introduction

WARM-UP: Name, live, family, occupation

ADDITIONAL COMMENTS ABOUT THIS PROJECT:

Today we are going to be talking about the situation which is currently going on in the Middle East. But before we do, there are just a few things I would like to mention. We have been and will be talking to people all across the country. We have found that in every group some people know a lot about this situation and some know very little. This is all ok. What we are really interested in talking to you about are your opinions about this situation. This is not about a command of the facts or recall of the facts, but about your opinions and impressions.

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III. HUSSEIN

- Hussein... (jot down)
 - What thoughts, feelings, images, associations do you have with him?
- Show pictures.
 - Any other associations come to mind?
 - How does he make you feel?

IV. PRESIDENT BUSH

- President Bush...
 - What thoughts, images, feelings, associations?
 - Why?
- Show pictures
 - Any other associations? Why?
- How would you describe his role? His approach? What kind of leader has he been?
 - In the beginning? Why?
 - And now? Why?
- What do you think he should be doing? If you could talk to him directly, what would you tell him to do? What do you want him to do?
 - Why?
- Who are the other people and names that you are hearing most from/about?
 - What are they doing? What is their role?
 - How do you feel about them?

- How would you label this war?
 - (Cold War, Economic War) Why?
- How do you feel about this in relation to our current economic domestic situation? Why?
- Some mention a male/female difference in reaction to this situation.
 - What is it?
 - Why?
- If mention Vietnam, how is this situation (real or imaged/fear) like Vietnam? Explain.

II. **HOSTAGE RELEASE**

- How do you feel about the release of the hostages? Why?
- How did this make you feel about Hussein? Why?
- How did this make you feel about Bush? Why?
- What is next? Why?
- How do you feel about President Bush's response? Why?

"We've got to continue to keep the pressure on. The release of all hostages would be a very good thing, but the problem is the aggression against Kuwait and the man must leave Kuwait without reservation, without condition."

VI. MEDIA

- What are you reading or who are you listening to the most in terms of this situation?
 - Why that?
 - What do you like about that source?
 - What things in the media have influenced you the most?
 - Why those?
- Over time, have your sources changed?
 - Why?

VII. "WHAT IF" SCENARIOS

I would like to pose some possible future scenarios and I am interested in your thoughts and feelings about each.

- What do you hope will happen? Why?
 - What do you fear will happen?
 - Why?
- Do you feel we have to do something on January 16th?
 - Why or why not?

- (If not mentioned, then ask) What is Congress doing relative to what the President is doing?
 - How do you feel about that?
 - What should they be doing?
- What should the U.S. role be vis-a-vis the U.N. resolutions that have been passed?
 - Why?
 - What should we be doing/have done?
- In relation to what our allies are doing, how do you feel about the U.S. response in this situation?
 - Why?
 - What should we be doing?
 - What would you like them to be doing? Why?
- What is the image of the U.S. during the past few months? In the beginning? Now? What kind of a world leader have we been?
- Who is in charge?
 - Why?

V. TROOPS

- What images, thoughts, feelings, associations do you have with our troops?
 - Why?
 - How do you view them?
 - Our hopes, our fears?

- a) "The way you find out if sanctions are going to work is to give them enough time to work."
- b) "Saddam Hussein is the Arab Hitler. We need to make sure that he is never in a position to do these things again."
- c) "How can the American people support a war, especially after our experience in Vietnam?"
- d) "Going to war is one of those things you just have to do sometimes in order to protect freedom."
- e) "This is the biggest blunder George Bush has made. I hope he has the courage to get out of it."
- f) "There are no partial solutions. The only way to make the area stable is to get rid of Iraq's missiles and chemical and nuclear capabilities and to reduce its armed forces."
- g) "There has been a major mobilization without an underlying rationale at a time when people are concerned about education, about the environment, the homeless, and how they are going to pay the bills this month."
- h) "Oil is worth shedding American lives for because oil is the blood that flows through the veins of the American economy. Without economic freedom, our political freedom is in serious trouble."
- i) "I would certainly support the troops, but I question whether they should be there in the first place."
- j) "Why do we have to be the only ones stepping forward? Nobody else really seems to want to fight the Iraqis?"
- k) "I am proud to serve my country. The President thinks we should be there and that's good enough for me."
- l) "If they're fighting for oil, then it's not worth it."
- m) "There are so many different reasons being thrown around. I'm not sure why we are there."

WHAT IF . . .

- On January 16th, what if we went to war and resolved this situation in 10 days?
 - How do you feel about this scenario?
 - How likely?
 - What do you imagine this would be like?
 - What do you fear?
 - How will you feel during it? Why?
 - How will you feel after?
 - Why this scenario?
 - What if we win?
 - What if we lose?
- Imagine a prolonged war/combat situation.
 - How likely?
 - How do you feel about that?
 - What would this be like?
 - What are your greatest fears?
 - How will you feel during and after and why?
- What if the U.S. continued use of sanctions with current troop levels for 12-18 months?
 - How likely?
 - How do you feel about it?
 - What are the advantages/disadvantages?
 - If this is too long, then how long and why?
- What if Iraq pulled out completely?
 - How likely?
 - How would you feel about this?
 - How would this happen?
 - What are the advantages/disadvantages and why?
- Domino concept
 - How do you feel about that?

VALUE SYSTEMS:

We interviewed three different types of people who represent divergent goals, motivations and values. In general,

- o Succeeders**
 - higher incomes**
 - college graduates**
 - white collar managerial/professionals**
 - achievement, recognition and control oriented**

- o Mainstreamers**
 - middle income**
 - high school graduates**
 - blue collar professions**
 - social acceptability, family and security are main orientations**

- o Reformers**
 - middle to higher incomes**
 - college graduates**
 - academic, artistic, societally oriented professions**
 - social betterment and social consciousness are main orientations**

Screenener

RS# 5138/MRS

Name_____

- 1) Have you ever attended a panel discussion for marketing research purposes?

Yes () Ask #2

No () Skip to #3

- 2) When?_____What was the topic discussed?_____

- 3) Are you, or is any member of your immediate family, currently employed in:

Advertising

()

Marketing

() Term.

Market Research

() Term.

Journalism

() Term.

Government

() Term.

- 4) Which of the following best describes your age?

Under 25

() Term.

25-29

()

30-34

()

35-39

()

40-60

()

Over 60

() Term.

(ALL GROUPS - 1/2 MEN AND 1/2 WOMEN AGED 25-60; MUST GET A SPREAD)

- 4a) Where do you currently reside? (CITY AND STATE)

(MAINSTREAMER GROUP -- NO MANHATTAN)
(SUCCEEDERS AND REFORMERS - NO REQUIREMENT)

- 5) Which of the following best describes the last level of education you completed?

Some high school	() Term.
High school grad	()
Some college	()
College graduate	()
Post graduate	()

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST BE HIGH SCHOOL GRADS OR HAVE SOME COLLEGE ONLY)

(SUCCEEDERS - MUST BE COLLEGE GRADUATES+)

(REFORMERS - MUST BE COLLEGE GRADUATES OR POST GRADUATES ONLY)

- 6) Are you currently:

Married	()
Single	() Term. for Mainstreamers
Divorced	()
Widowed	()

(MAINSTREAMERS - ALL MUST BE MARRIED, DIVORCED OR WIDOWED)

(SUCCEEDERS AND REFORMERS - SOME MUST BE MARRIED)

- 7) Do you have any children currently living at home?

Yes () No ()

(ALL GROUPS - SOME MUST HAVE CHILDREN)

- 8) Are you currently employed:

Full time	()
Part time	()
Not at all	()

(MAINSTREAMERS - FEMALES MUST BE PART TIME OR NON-WORKING ONLY. ALL MEN MUST BE PART TIME OR FULL TIME)

(SUCCEEDERS - MUST BE FULL TIME ONLY)

(REFORMERS - MALES MUST BE FULL TIME ONLY. FEMALES MUST BE FULL TIME, PART TIME OR NOT AT ALL ONLY)

- 11) Now I'd like to read you some mini profiles of people. As I read each description, please tell me how closely it describes you. These are only general descriptions of people so we wouldn't expect any of them to fit you perfectly. But, please tell me how well each profile describes you, in a general sense, using the following scale:

- 1 - Describes me very well
- 2 - Describes me pretty well
- 3 - Describe me a little
- 4 - Doesn't describe me at all

- | | 1 | 2 | 3 | 4 |
|--|-----|-----|-----|-----|
| a) I consider myself to be a conventional type person. I believe in traditional values that have stood the test of time -- such as family, religion and patriotism. Saving money is important to me in order to secure my future. (Mainstreamer) | () | () | () | () |
| b) I have a strong desire to achieve and to succeed in many areas of my life. I consider myself to be a competitive person and am proud of my ability to manage my life through a combination of ability, hard work and self reliance. As a result, I enjoy a relatively high standard of living. For me there will always be new things to accomplish. (Succeeder) | () | () | () | () |
| c) I really want to make it to the top and I think I'm on my way. I want what successful people have -- money, status and respect. Having a good life doesn't only mean having a lot of money. It also means having a lot of fun. One thing I do is pay attention to what makes people winners. It helps me figure out some of the things I can do to make it. (Aspirer) | () | () | () | () |
| d) I feel we have a responsibility to make the world a better place. We have a responsibility to those who are less well off than we are and to future generations. It is also important to me to understand myself and to grow as an individual, so that my actions grow out of personal conviction rather than what's expected of me by others. (Reformer) | () | () | () | () |
| e) I'm unconventional and experimental. My views may seem different to many people and they may not understand my lifestyle, but that's okay with me. I believe the way to get the most from life is to understand yourself and to continually experience whatever you can. (Transitional) | () | () | () | () |

(IF RESPONDENT RATES "DESIRED" PROFILE HIGHER (I.E. "1") THAN ANY OTHER, CONTINUE; IF RATES LOWER (I.E. "4") THAN ANY OTHER, TERMINATE)

(IF "DESIRED" PROFILE TIES WITH ANOTHER, ASK #11a)

- 11a) You have said that statement _____ and _____ describe you to the same degree. (I'm going to read you both of those statements again. Please tell me which one comes closer to describing you?)

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST SAY "a" MAINSTREAMER)
(SUCCEEDERS - MUST SAY "b" SUCCEEDER)
(REFORMERS - MUST SAY "d" REFORMER)

RS#5138 MRS

9) If working, what is your occupation? _____

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST BE GREY OR BLUE COLLAR ONLY)
(SUCCEEDERS - MUST BE WHITE COLLAR PROFESSIONAL ONLY)
(REFORMERS - MUST BE GREY OR WHITE COLLAR ONLY)

ASK MAINSTREAMERS AND REFORMERS ONLY -- AND THEN SKIP TO Q. #11:

10) Which of the following best describes your household income?

Under \$20,000	() Term.
\$20,000-\$29,999	()
\$30,000-\$39,999	()
\$40,000-\$49,999	()
\$50,000-\$59,999	()
\$60,000-\$69,999	()
\$70,000-\$79,999	()
\$80,000-\$89,999	()
\$90,000-\$99,999	()
\$100,000 & Over	()

(MAINSTREAMERS - MUST HAVE A HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF \$30,000-\$69,999)
(REFORMERS - MUST HAVE A HOUSEHOLD INCOME OF \$20,000+)

ASK SUCCEEDERS ONLY:

10a) Which of the following best describes your personal income?

Under \$40,000	() Term.
\$40,000-\$49,999	() Term.
\$50,000-\$74,999	()
\$75,000-\$99,999	()
\$100,000 & Over	()

(SUCCEEDERS - MUST HAVE A PERSONAL INCOME OF \$50,000+)

11) SEE NEXT PAGE

- 14) Including yourself, who in your immediate family ever volunteered for or is currently volunteering for: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
Red Cross	()	()	()	()	()
Green Peace/ Environmental Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Homeless Causes	()	()	()	()	()
AIDS Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Child Abuse Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Other _____	()	()	()	()	()

(ALL GROUPS -- NO REQUIREMENT)

- 15) If you could go anywhere on vacation, where would you go and why?

(LOOKING FOR CREATIVE, ARTICULATE RESPONSES)

11b) **ASK REFORMERS ONLY:**

Do you currently volunteer your time to any organizations or causes?

Yes ()

No () Term.

(REFORMERS -- MUST CURRENTLY BE INVOLVED IN A CAUSE OR ORGANIZATION)

11c) If yes, what is/are the name(s) of the organizationS or causes you are currently involved in? _____

12) Which of the following do you do at least once a week?

Read Newspapers	()
Read magazines such as "Time" or "Newsweek"	()
Watch local TV news	()
Watch national TV news	()
Watch CNN	()
Listen to all news radio stations	()

(ALL GROUPS MUST SELECT AT LEAST TWO FROM ABOVE)

13) Including yourself, who in your immediate family, ever served or is planning to serve or is currently serving in: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parent</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
World War II	()	()	()	()	()
Korean War	()	()	()	()	()
Vietnam War	()	()	(*)	(*)	(*)
Middle East	()	(T.)	(*)	(*)	(*)

(ALL GROUPS -- NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SERVED OR HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY THAT HAS SERVED IN VIETNAM AND NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY SERVING OR WILL BE SERVING IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- NO RESPONDENT SHOULD BE PLANNING TO SERVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST)

6) Are you currently attending a 4 year undergraduate college program?

Yes ()

No () Term.

6a) Are you currently attending college: (READ LIST)

Full time ()

Part time () Term.

Not at all () Term.

(COLLEGE STUDENTS -- MUST BE FULL TIME ONLY)

6b) What year of college are you currently in?

Freshman ()

Sophomore ()

Junior () Get a mix

Senior ()

Graduate Student () Term.

(COLLEGE STUDENTS -- GET A MIX OF STUDENTS WHO ARE CURRENTLY FRESHMEN, SOPHOMORES, JUNIORS AND SENIORS)

6c) What is the name of the college or university you are currently attending? _____

(GET A GOOD MIX OF COLLEGES, UNIVERSITIES, NO COMMUNITY OR JUNIOR COLLEGES)

6d) What is your major or intended major? _____

(GET A VARIETY OF MAJORS)

7) Are you currently:

Married () Term.

Single ()

Divorced () Term.

Widowed () Term.

(ALL MUST BE SINGLE ONLY)

Screenener
RS# 5138/STUDENTS

Name_____

- 1) Have you ever attended a panel discussion for marketing research purposes?

Yes () Ask #2

No () Skip to #3

- 2) When?_____What was the topic discussed?_____

(MUST HAVE BEEN OVER 1 YEAR AGO)

- 3) Are you, or is any member of your immediate family, currently employed in:

Advertising	() Term.
Market Research	() Term.
Marketing	() Term.
Journalism	() Term.
Government	() Term.

(Check Sex:)

Female ()

Male ()

(RECRUIT 1/2 FEMALES AND 1/2 MALES)
(RECRUIT 10 FOR 8 TO SHOW)

- 4a) What is your age?_____

(MUST BE 18-24 YEARS OLD -- GET A SPREAD OF AGES)

- 5) Did you graduate from high school?

Yes () No () Term.

(ALL MUST HAVE GRADUATED FROM HIGH SCHOOL)

11) If you could go anywhere on vacation, where would you go and why?

(LOOKING FOR CREATIVE, ARTICULATE RESPONSES)

- 8) Which of the following do you do at least once a week?

Read Newspapers	()
Read magazines such as "Time" or "Newsweek"	()
Watch local TV news	()
Watch national TV news	()
Watch CNN	()
Listen to all news radio stations	()

(MUST SELECT AT LEAST TWO ITEMS FROM ABOVE LIST)

- 9) Including yourself, who in your immediate family, ever served, is planning to serve or is currently serving in: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parent</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
World War II	()	()	()	()	()
Korean War	()	()	()	()	()
Vietnam War	()	()	(*)	(*)	(*)
Middle East	()	(T.)	(*)	(*)	(*)

(ALL GROUPS -- NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE SERVED OR HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY THAT HAS SERVED IN VIETNAM AND NO MORE AND NO LESS THAN TWO RESPONDENTS WHO HAVE IMMEDIATE FAMILY SERVING OR WILL BE SERVING IN THE MIDDLE EAST -- NO RESPONDENT SHOULD BE PLANNING TO SERVE IN THE MIDDLE EAST)

- 10) Including yourself, who in your immediate family ever volunteered or is currently volunteering for: (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

	<u>No One</u>	<u>Self</u>	<u>Parents</u>	<u>Spouse</u>	<u>Sibling</u>
Red Cross	()	()	()	()	()
Green Peace/					
Environmental					
Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Homeless Causes	()	()	()	()	()
AIDS Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Child Abuse Causes	()	()	()	()	()
Other_____	()	()	()	()	()

(ALL GROUPS -- NO REQUIREMENT)