

Val Burris, "From Vietnam to Iraq: Continuity and Change in Between-Group Differences in Support for Military Action," *Social Problems*, Vol. 55, No. 4 (2008).

Appendix • Wording of Survey Questions on Support for Military Action

Vietnam

Approve intervention (ANES 1964-68): Do you think we did the right thing in getting involved in the fighting in Vietnam or should we have stayed out?

Favor escalation (ANES 1964-68): Which of the following do you think we should do now in Vietnam? Pull out of Vietnam entirely? Keep our soldiers in Vietnam but try to end the fighting? Take a stronger stand even if it means invading North Vietnam? (% "stronger stand")

El Salvador

Approve military advisors (ABC 3/82): As you may know, the United States has sent about 55 military advisors to El Salvador to help the government there fight a war against the rebels. Would you say you approve or disapprove of the United States sending those advisors?

Favor more military aid (ABC 3/82, 5/83): The Reagan Administration wants to send an increased amount of military equipment and weapons to the government of El Salvador. Do you approve or disapprove of that?

Favor sending troops (ABC 3/82, 5/83): Would you approve or disapprove of the United States sending troops to fight in El Salvador?

Favor more military aid (CBS 6/83): If the communists were about to overthrow the government of El Salvador, would you support giving the present government three times as much U.S. military aid to try to stop the rebels?

Favor more military aid (CBS 2/85): If the communists were about to overthrow the government of El Salvador, would you support giving the present government much more U.S. military aid to try to stop the rebels?

Favor more military advisors (CBS 6/83, 2/85): And if that did not stop them, would you support sending hundreds of U.S. military advisors to help the government troops?

Favor sending troops (CBS 6/83, 2/85): And if that did not stop them, would you support sending U.S. combat troops to fight the rebels?

Nicaragua

Favor overthrowing government (ABC 5/83): Do you think the United States should secretly try to overthrow the government in Nicaragua or not?

Favor overthrowing government (ABC 2/85, 3/85, 3/86, 1/87, 5/87, 8/87): Should the United States be involved in trying to overthrow the government in Nicaragua, or not?

Favor overthrowing government (CBS 6/83, 10/83, 5/85): The Reagan administration says the U.S. should help people in Nicaragua who are trying to overthrow the pro-Soviet government. Other people say that even if our government doesn't like the government in Nicaragua, we should not help overthrow it. Do you think we should help the people trying to overthrow the government of Nicaragua or not?

Approve contra aid (ABC 3/86): The House of Representatives has refused Reagan's request for \$100 million in military aid to the contras in Nicaragua. Do you approve or disapprove of the action by the House? (% "disapprove")

Approve contra aid (ABC 4/86): Do you generally favor or oppose the U.S. granting \$100 million in military and other aid to the Nicaraguan rebels known as the contras?

Approve contra aid (ABC 6/86): Do you generally favor or oppose the U.S. granting military and other aid to the Nicaraguan rebels known as the contras?

Approve contra aid (ABC 1/87, 5/87, 8/87, 3/83): Do you generally favor or oppose the U.S. Congress granting military aid to the Nicaraguan rebels known as the contras?

Approve contra aid (CBS 1/87, 1/88): Do you approve or disapprove of the United States government giving military and other aid to the contras who are fighting against the government of Nicaragua?

Approve contra aid (CBS 3/88): Should the United States government give military aid to the contras who are fighting against the government of Nicaragua, or shouldn't it?

Grenada

Approve invasion (CBS 10/83): U.S. troops have been sent to Grenada. Do you approve or disapprove of sending troops there?

Panama

Approve invasion (ABC 1/90): Do you approve or disapprove of the United States having sent its military forces into Panama to overthrow Noriega?

Approve invasion (CBS 1/90): Do you approve strongly, approve somewhat, disapprove somewhat, or disapprove strongly of the U.S. sending troops to Panama to remove Manuel Noriega from power? (% "approve strongly" or "approve somewhat")

Persian Gulf

Approve sending US troops (ABC 8/90, 9/90): Do you approve or disapprove of Bush's decision to send U.S. military forces to Saudi Arabia and the Persian Gulf?

Approve sending US troops (ABC 11/90): Do you approve of the U.S. sending troops to the Persian Gulf, or do you think we should have stayed out?

Approve sending US troops (CBS 8/90): Do you think the United States did the right thing in sending troops to Saudi Arabia or not?

Approve sending US troops (CBS 10/90, 11/90, 12/90, 1/91): Do you think the United States did the right thing in sending troops to Saudi Arabia, or should we have stayed out?

Approve sending US troops (ANES 1990): Do you think we did the right thing in sending U.S. military forces to the Persian Gulf or should we have stayed out?

Favor stronger military action (ABC 8/90, 9/90): Would you favor or oppose invading Kuwait to force out Iraq even if it meant risking war with Iraq?

Favor stronger military action (ABC 10/90): If the economic embargo does not make Iraq withdraw from Kuwait, should the United States attack Iraq militarily to force it out of Kuwait, or not?

Favor stronger military action (ABC 11/90): If Iraq does not withdraw from Kuwait, should the United States go to war with Iraq to force it out of Kuwait at some point after January 15th, or not?

Favor stronger military action (CBS 10/90): Do you think the United States should take stronger military action against Iraq now, or not?

Favor stronger military action (CBS 11/90): Do you think the United States troops in the Persian Gulf should start military actions against Iraq soon, or should they wait to see what Iraq does?

Favor stronger military action (CBS 12/90, 1/91): The United Nations has passed a resolution authorizing the use of military force against Iraq if they do not withdraw their troops from Kuwait by January 15. If Iraq does not withdraw from Kuwait by then, do you think the United States should start military actions against Iraq, or should the United States wait longer to see if the trade embargo and other economic sanctions work?

Favor stronger military action (ANES 1990): Which of the following do you think we should do now in the Persian Gulf: pull out U.S. forces entirely; try harder to find a diplomatic solution; tighten the economic embargo; or take tougher military action? (% "tougher military action")

Approve going to war (ABC 1-2/91): Do you approve or disapprove of the United States having gone to war with Iraq?

Approve going to war (CBS 1-2/91): Do you think the United States did the right thing in starting military actions against Iraq, or should the United States have waited longer to see if the trade embargo and other economic sanctions worked?

War not a mistake (CBS 1-2/91): Do you think the United States made a mistake getting involved in the war against Iraq or not?

Somalia

Approve sending US troops (CBS 12/92 #1): Do you think the United States should be sending U.S. troops to Somalia to try and make sure shipments of food get through to the people there, or should U.S. troops stay out?

Approve sending US troops (CBS 12/92 #2): Do you think the United States is doing the right thing to send U.S. troops to Somalia to try and make sure shipments of food get through to the people there, or should U.S. troops have stayed out?

Approve sending US troops (CBS 1/93): Given the possible loss of American lives and the other costs involved, do you think sending U.S. troops to make sure food gets through to the people of Somalia is worth the cost, or not?

Approve sending US troops (CBS 10/93, 12/93): Do you think the United States did the right thing to send U.S. troops to Somalia last December to try and make sure shipments of food got through to the people there, or should the U.S. troops have stayed out?

Bosnia

Favor US military action (ABC 1/93): I have a question about the troubles between the former Yugoslavian republics of Serbia and Bosnia. Do you think the United States should take military action against Serbia to stop it from supporting Serbian fighters in neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina, or not?

Favor US military action (ABC 2/93): Do you think the United States should take military action against Serbia to stop it from supporting Serbian fighters in neighboring Bosnia and Herzegovina, or not?

Favor US military action (CBS 12/92): What should the United States do about the situation in what used to be Yugoslavia — in order to help stop the fighting in what used to be Yugoslavia, would you favor or oppose the United States using its military to keep Serbia from violating the United Nations ban on Serbian flights over Bosnia?

Favor US military action (CBS 1/93): What should the United States do about the fighting between Serbs and Bosnians in what used to be Yugoslavia? Would you favor or oppose the United States using its military to enforce the United Nations ban on Serbian flights over Bosnia?

Favor air strikes on Serbs (ABC 8/93): Would you support or oppose the United States, along with its allies in Europe, carrying out air strikes against Bosnian Serb forces who are attacking the Bosnian capital of Sarajevo?

Favor air strikes on Serbs (CBS 4/94): Several towns in Bosnia, which have been declared ‘safe havens’ for Bosnian Muslims, are under attack by Bosnian Serbs. In order to protect those ‘safe havens,’ would you favor or oppose the United States and NATO using their air forces to bomb Serbian targets around those towns?

Approve air strikes on Serbs (CBS 9/95): Do you approve or disapprove of the United States and NATO conducting air strikes on Bosnian Serb positions in response to Serb shelling of the market place in Sarajevo last week?

Favor sending US troops (CBS 5/93): If the United Nations sent a peace-keeping force to Bosnia to enforce a cease fire agreement, would you favor or oppose the U.S. sending ground troops as part of the peace-keeping force?

Favor sending US troops (CBS 11/94): In order to try and end the fighting in Bosnia, would you favor or oppose the United States sending ground troops as part of the United Nations peace-keeping force?

Favor sending US troops (CBS 6/95): In order to try and end the fighting in Bosnia, would you favor or oppose the United States sending in ground troops?

Favor sending US troops (ABC 11/95): Would you support or oppose sending 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of an international peacekeeping force after the opposing sides there sign a peace agreement and stop fighting?

Favor sending US troops (CBS 12/95): Do you favor or oppose sending up to 20 thousand U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of a NATO peace-keeping force, to enforce this peace agreement between Bosnia, Serbia and Croatia?

Approve sending US troops (ABC 1/96): Now that a Bosnian peace treaty has been signed, Clinton is sending 20,000 U.S. troops there as part of an international peacekeeping force. Do you support or oppose sending 20,000 U.S. troops to Bosnia as part of an international peacekeeping force?

Haiti

Favor use of military force (ABC 5/94): Would you agree or disagree that the United States should take all action necessary, including the use of military force, to restore a democratic government to Haiti?

Favor use of military force (ABC 6/94, 8/94): Would you agree or disagree that the United States and its allies should take all action necessary, including the use of military force, to restore a democratic government to Haiti?

Favor sending US troops (CBS 6/94): In order to remove the military and restore the democratically elected President Aristide to power in Haiti, would you favor or oppose the United States sending in ground troops?

Favor sending US troops (CBS 7/94, 8/94): In order to remove the military and restore the elected president of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide to his position, would you favor or oppose the United States sending in ground troops?

Favor sending US troops (CBS 9/94): The elected president of Haiti, Jean-Bertrand Aristide, was overthrown by the Haitian military in 1991. In order to remove the military and restore President Aristide to his position, would you favor or oppose the United States sending in ground troops?

Kosovo

Favor bombing Serbia (ABC 3/99): The United States has said it may bomb Serbia unless Serbia agrees to a peace plan for Kosovo. If Serbia does not agree to the peace plan, should the United States bomb Serbia or not?

Favor bombing Serbia (CBS 3/99): Do you favor or oppose of the United States and NATO conducting air strikes against Yugoslavia?

Approve bombing Serbia (ABC 4/99, 5/99): Do you support or oppose the United States and its European allies conducting air strikes against Serbia?

Approve bombing Serbia (CBS 4/99, 5/99): Do you favor or oppose of the United States and NATO conducting air strikes against Yugoslavia?

Peace worth the loss of US lives (CBS 3/99): Do you think peace in Yugoslavia is worth the loss of American life and the other costs of attacking Yugoslavia, or not?

Favor sending ground troops (ABC 3/99): Would you support or oppose the United States, along with its allies in Europe, sending in ground forces to try to enforce a peace treaty in Kosovo?

Favor sending ground troops (ABC 4/99): Suppose the bombing does not stop Serbia's military action in Kosovo. Would you support or oppose the United States and its European allies sending in ground troops to try to end the conflict in Kosovo?

Favor sending ground troops (ABC 5/99): Suppose the bombing does not stop Serbia's military action in Kosovo. Would you support or oppose the United States and its European allies sending in ground troops to try to end the conflict in Kosovo?

Favor sending ground troops (ABC 6/99): As you may know, the United States plans to send 7,000 ground troops into Kosovo as part of a larger NATO peacekeeping force after a peace agreement is finalized and Serbian troops withdraw from Kosovo. Do you favor or oppose this plan?

Favor sending ground troops (CBS 4/99, 5/99): In order to try and end the fighting in Kosovo, would you favor or oppose the United States sending in ground troops as part of a NATO peacekeeping force?

Favor sending ground troops (CBS 6/99): If there is a cease-fire in Kosovo, would you favor or oppose the United States sending ground troops as part of a NATO peacekeeping force? (59% "favor")

Getting involved the right thing (CBS 4/99, 6/99): Do you think the United States did the right thing in getting involved in Kosovo, or should we have stayed out?

Afghanistan

Approve US air strikes (ABC 10/01): Do you support or oppose the U.S.-led air strikes on Afghanistan that began this week?

Favor sending US troops (ABC 10/01): Would you support or oppose sending a significant number of U.S. ground troops into Afghanistan to overthrow the Taliban government?

Favor sending US troops (ABC 10/01): Would you support or oppose sending a significant number of U.S. ground troops into Afghanistan?

Approve US military action (ABC 11/01): Do you support or oppose the U.S. military action in Afghanistan?

Approve US military action (CBS 10/01, 11/01, 12/01, 1/02, 2/02, 4/02): Do you approve or disapprove of the military attacks led by the United States against targets in Afghanistan?

War worth the cost (ANES 2002-04): Taking everything into account, do you think the U.S. war against the Taliban government in Afghanistan was worth the cost or not?

Iraq

Favor US military action (ABC 12/01, 1/02, 2/02, 3/02, 9/02, 12/02, 1/03, 2/03): Would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq to force Saddam Hussein from power?

Favor US military action (CBS 9/02, 10/02, 11/02, 1/03, 2/03, 3/03): Do you approve or disapprove of the United States taking military action against Iraq to try to remove Saddam Hussein from power?

Favor unilateral military action (ABC 3/02, 9/02): What if U.S. allies opposed such military action; in that case would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq?

Favor unilateral military action (ABC 12/02): Would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq, even if U.S. allies oppose such action?

Favor unilateral military action (ABC 1/03, 2/03): What if the United Nations opposes such military action; in that case would you favor or oppose having U.S. forces take military action against Iraq?

Favor unilateral military action (CBS 9/02, 10/02): Which statement do you agree with more? Iraq presents such a clear danger to American interests that the United States needs to act now, even without the support of its allies, or the U.S. needs to wait for its allies before taking any action against Iraq?

Favor unilateral military action (CBS 2/03, 3/03): Which statement do you agree with more? Iraq presents such a clear danger to American interests that the United States needs to act now, even without the support of the United Nations, or the U.S. needs to wait for approval of the United Nations before taking any action against Iraq?

Approve US military action (CBS 3/03, 4/03): Do you approve or disapprove of the United States taking military action against Iraq to try to remove Saddam Hussein from power?

Approve US occupation of Iraq (ABC 7/03, 8/03): Do you support or oppose the current U.S. military presence in Iraq?

Approve US occupation of Iraq (CBS 10/03, 12/03): Do you approve or disapprove of the United States' current occupation of Iraq?"

Removing Saddam worth costs (CBS 2/03, 3/03): Do you think removing Saddam Hussein from power is worth the potential loss of American life and other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

Removing Saddam worth costs (CBS 4/03, 5/03, 6/03, 10/03, 11/03, 12/03, 3/04, 7/05): Do you think removing Saddam Hussein from power is/was worth the loss of American life and other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

War worth the costs (ABC 04/03, 9/03, 10/03, 12/03, 1/04, 2/04, 3/04, 4/04, 5/04, 6/04, 7/04, 8/04, 9/04, 12/04, 1/05, 3/05, 4/05, 6/05, 8/05, 10/05, 12/05, 3/06): All in all, considering the costs to the United States versus the benefits to the United States, do you think the war with Iraq was worth fighting, or not?

War worth the costs (ANES 2004): Taking everything into account, do you think the war in Iraq has been worth the cost or not?

War worth costs in US lives (CBS 8/03, 9/03, 10/03, 11/03, 12/03, 1/04, 2/04, 3/04, 4/04, 5/05, 6/04, 7/04, 8/04): Do you think the result of the war with Iraq was worth the loss of American life and other costs of attacking Iraq, or not?

War the right thing (CBS 3/03): Do you think the United States did the right thing in getting involved in a military conflict with Iraq or should the United States have stayed out?

War the right thing thing (CBS 12/03, 2/04, 3/04, 4/04, 5/04, 6/04, 7/04, 8/04, 9/04, 10/04, 11/04, 1/05, 2/05, 4/05, 5/05, 6/05, 7/05, 8/05): Looking back, do you think the United States did the right thing in taking military action against Iraq, or should the U.S. have stayed out?

War not a mistake (CBS 3/04, 4/03, 12/03, 4/04, 5/04): Do you think the United States made a mistake getting involved in the current war with Iraq, or not?

Favor keeping forces in Iraq (ABC 7/03, 4/04, 5/04, 6/04, 12/04, 6/05, 8/05, 10/05): Do you think the United States should keep its military forces in Iraq until civil order is restored there, even if that means continued U.S. military casualties; or do you think the United States should withdraw its military forces from Iraq in order to avoid further U.S. military casualties, even if that means civil order is not restored there?

Favor keeping forces in Iraq (CBS 4/04, 5/05, 6/04, 9/04, 1/05, 2/05): Should the United States troops stay in Iraq as long as it takes to make sure Iraq is a stable democracy, even if that takes a long time, or should U.S. troops turn over control to Iraqis as soon as possible, even if Iraq is not completely stable?

Favor increasing troops (ABC 4/04): The U.S. military commander in Iraq says he needs more forces to deal the current unrest there. Given that, do you support or oppose increasing the number of U.S. military forces in Iraq?

Favor increasing troops (ABC 3/05, 6/05, 8/05, 10/05, 12/05, 3/06): Do you think the number of U.S. military forces in Iraq should be increased, decreased, or kept about the same?

Favor increasing troops (CBS 7/05, 8/05, 9/05): From what you have seen or heard about the situation in Iraq, what should the United States do: should the U.S. increase the number of U.S. troops in Iraq, keep the same number of troops in Iraq as there are now, or decrease the number of U.S. troops in Iraq?