



FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE

DATE: October 16, 2004

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**Service Members, Families Say Pentagon Sent Too Few Troops
To Iraq, Stressed National Guard and Reserves, Should Allow
Photos of Coffins at Dover, Annenberg Data Show**

Even though they support George W. Bush's handling of the situation in Iraq in general, America's military service members and their families are convinced that the Administration underestimated the number of troops it needed in Iraq and put too much of a burden on inadequately trained and equipped National Guard and reserve forces, the University of Pennsylvania's National Annenberg Election Survey shows.

From September 22 through October 5, Annenberg polled 655 adults who have either served on active duty between February and October or who were family members of those who served but were not available to be interviewed. Their answers were compared to the responses of 2,436 adults polled nationally from September 27 through October 3.

The survey also showed that 42 percent of the military sample think gays and lesbians should be allowed to serve openly in the armed forces, while 50 percent said they should not. In the general population, 67 percent said they should be allowed to serve openly, while 27 percent agree with current Pentagon policy and say they should not.

The military sample also overwhelmingly disagreed with the Pentagon policy of barring photographs of flag-draped coffins being returned to Dover Air Force Base in Delaware. Fifty-one percent of the sample said allowing photographs would increase respect for the sacrifices made by the military, and only 8 percent said it would reduce respect.

"The military clearly likes President George W. Bush better than Senator John Kerry, and strongly believes in its mission in Iraq and his handling of it," said Adam Clymer, political director of the survey. "Sixty-three percent of the military sample, compared to only 41 percent of the public generally, approves of Bush's handling of Iraq."

"But the military, without focusing on Bush himself, also has serious doubts about how the war has been managed," he said. "This is hardly surprising; there is a long tradition, going back at least to the Trojan War, of griping about the brass."

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On these issues and many others, there were no meaningful differences between regular military respondents and those who served in the guard and reserves. But family members of both categories were more critical of the Administration.

For example, 68 percent of the service members but only 55 percent of the family members approve of Bush's handling of the war in Iraq.

Similarly, 62 percent of the military sample said the Administration had underestimated the number of troops needed in Iraq, a view held by 58 percent of the actual service members and 66 percent of the family members.

Fifty-nine percent of the military sample said too much of a burden had been put on the guard and the reserves when regular forces should have been expanded instead. Fifty-six percent of service members and 64 percent of family members held that opinion. So did 60 percent of the general population.

Forty-seven percent of the actual service members and 56 percent of the family members said photographs at Dover would increase respect. Among the junior enlisted personnel (ranked E-4 and below) and their families, a category that has suffered 57 percent of the U.S. military deaths in Iraq, 60 percent said it would increase respect.

And while the service members divided 57 to 34 percent against allowing gays and lesbians to serve openly, family members supported the idea by 51 to 41 percent.

Among the service members themselves, the two greatest satisfactions of being in the military were service to the country, cited by 31 percent, and the camaraderie experienced on duty, cited by 23 percent. Growing as an individual was mentioned by 8 percent. Benefits, such as earning college tuition, were cited by 6 percent, as was travel. Among the family member, service was cited by 32 percent, growing by 13 percent and benefits by 13 percent. Camaraderie was picked by only 6 percent.

When the service members were asked what was the main reason they joined the military, 36 percent said service, 28 percent said benefits, 4 percent cited getting a job or learning job skills, 6 percent said to find direction in life, and 3 percent said travel.

Fifteen percent of the service members said the most unsatisfactory thing about military life was being away from family, and another 4 percent cited frequent deployments. Eleven percent said low pay was the worst problem, 6 percent said the public's attitude toward the military was, 5 percent cited the military bureaucracy, 4 percent cited too heavy a work schedule, and 4 percent cited being in Iraq or risking death.

Among family members, the service member's being away from home was cited by 23 percent, and another 5 percent cited frequent deployments. Next came being in Iraq and the risk of death at 16 percent. Low pay was cited by 11 percent.

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While it ranked relatively low when the military sample was asked to identify the most unsatisfactory thing about service, health care appeared to be a significant concern. Just 57 percent of the sample (71 percent of the service members but only 37 percent of the family members) said they were getting the health care they had been promised as a military family. Among the family members, 12 percent said that while the service member was getting promised health care, the family was not.

And only 30 percent said they thought veterans were getting the health care they had been promised, though that figure was higher than the 21 percent of the general population who said veterans were getting promised care.

Even though 39 percent of the military sample said that Pentagon-ordered extensions of service beyond enlistment dates were not proper (57 percent said they were proper) and solid majorities thought expansion of the regular army would have been better than stressing the guard and reserves, an overwhelming majority rejected the idea of reinstating the draft. Seventy-three percent opposed the idea, as did 71 percent of the general population.

Fifty-three percent of the enlisted personnel said they planned to re-enlist, 35 percent said they would not, and 11 percent said they did not know if they would continue in the service. The planned re-enlistment rate was higher for non-commissioned officers than for junior enlisted personnel (ranks E-4 and below).

While there was general satisfaction that the regular forces had been properly trained and equipped for their mission in Iraq, there was no similar appraisal of the guard and the reserves.

Sixty-two percent of the entire military sample said the regulars had been properly trained and equipped for their mission, while 21 percent said they had not been properly prepared. Another 9 percent said they had been properly trained but not adequately equipped. In the general population, 48 percent said the regular forces had been properly trained and equipped, but 38 percent said they had not. Four percent said they had not been properly equipped.

But when it came to guard and reserve forces on the same question, only 38 percent of the military sample said they had been properly trained and equipped. Forty-two percent said they had not been adequately trained and equipped and 7 percent said they had been properly trained but not adequately equipped. In the general population, 40 percent said they had been properly trained and equipped and 48 percent said they had not. Two percent said they had been properly trained but not properly equipped.

Members of the regular forces and their families were especially critical of guard and reserve preparation. Thirty-two percent of them said the Guard and reserve forces had been properly trained and equipped, but 48 percent said they had not. Three percent said they had been properly trained but not properly equipped. Among service members from the guard and reserves and their families, 46 percent said they had been properly trained and equipped, 35 percent said they had not, and 11 percent said they had been properly trained but not properly equipped.

Among Guard and reserve members and their families, 15 percent said their callup had come as a surprise, while 69 percent it had been expected. Twenty-two percent said when they had joined up, they did not believe it could happen, while 71 percent knew it could.

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Eighteen percent of Guard and reserve respondents and their family members said the callup had caused them major problems, such as loss of a job, general financial hardship and problems with children.

The findings on gays in the military showed a striking difference by rank. Commissioned officers and their families opposed their inclusion by 53 to 39 percent. Non-commissioned officers and their families were also clearly opposed, by a 57 to 35 percent margin. But 50 percent of junior enlisted personnel junior said gays and lesbians should be allowed to serve openly, while 43 percent said they should not. Respondents were asked their reason for support or opposition.

Among those who opposed inclusion of gays and lesbians, 20 percent said inclusion would be a distraction and cause problems, 13 percent said it would be bad for morale, and 12 percent said it would disrupt teamwork. Another 15 percent said that homosexuality was wrong, and 8 percent said they felt uncomfortable with homosexuals. Six percent said homosexuality was incompatible with military service and 5 percent cited close quarters as the reason for opposition.

Among supporters, 41 percent said homosexuals should have equal rights, 27 percent said sexual orientation had nothing to do with job performance, 10 percent said it did not bother them, and six percents said it was a free country.

On another issue that had once divided the armed forces, the military sample resoundingly approved the work of women in the service. Seventy-four percent said they performed as well as the men they served with, 10 percent said they did worse than men, and 7 percent said they did better than men.

The military sample was also insistent on punishment for those involved with abuse of prisoners at the Abu Ghraib. Eighty percent said the soldiers who did it should be punished, and 79 percent said their immediate commanders should be punished.

But many wanted the consequences to be shared at higher levels, too. Fifty percent said higher level commanders in Iraq should be punished, and 29 percent said civilians in the Pentagon should be punished.

The National Annenberg Election Survey is a project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania (www.AnnenbergPublicPolicyCenter.org). Dr. Kathleen Hall Jamieson is the director of the survey. Ken Winneg is the managing director of the survey. Adam Clymer is the political director of the survey.

Another major election project of the Annenberg Public Policy Center is FactCheck.org, a project that tries to hold politicians accountable by exposing false or misleading campaign statements. It is available online at www.FactCheck.Org.

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Table A

%	Total military sample	Regulars and guard reserve members themselves	All family members	Regulars and their families	Guard and reserves and their families
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is currently handling the situation in Iraq?					
Approve	63%	68%	55%	62%	64%
disapprove	33%	26%	41%	32%	33%
Do you think the regular forces sent to Iraq were properly trained and equipped for service there?					
Yes	62%	67%	56%	61%	64%
No	21%	17%	27%	23%	19%
Do you think the National Guard and Reserve forces sent to Iraq were properly trained and equipped for service there?					
Yes	38%	42%	33%	32%	46%
No	42%	37%	49%	48%	35%
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: the Pentagon has put too much of a burden on the National Guard and Reserves when it should have expanded the regular forces instead?					
Agree	59%	56%	64%	59%	60%
Disagree	34%	39%	29%	34%	35%
Do you think the Bush Administration underestimated or made a reasonable judgment about how many troops would be needed to establish peace in Iraq?					
Underestimated number of troops	62%	58%	66%	61%	62%
Made a reasonable estimate	33%	37%	29%	33%	34%
Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?					
Keep troops in Iraq	73%	79%	65%	72%	73%
Bring troops home	23%	17%	30%	22%	24%
The Pentagon has ordered some people in the military to stay on active duty beyond the time their enlistment expired. Do you think that was the proper thing for the Pentagon to do, or don't you think so?					
Yes, proper	57%	63%	48%	55%	59%
No, not proper	39%	33%	48%	39%	39%
Do you think the United States should put the military draft back into operation?					
Yes	24%	20%	29%	25%	22%
No	73%	78%	67%	73%	74%
The media is not allowed to show pictures of flag-draped coffins being returned to Dover Air Force Base. If the media were allowed to show those pictures without using any names, do you think that would increase respect for the troops, decrease respect for the troops, or wouldn't it make any difference?					
Increase	51%	47%	56%	55%	45%
Decrease	8%	9%	8%	7%	10%
Who do you think should be held accountable for the abuses of prisoners that happened in Abu Ghraib. For each group, say whether or not you think they should be punished:					
The soldiers who abused the prisoners					
Yes, should be punished	80%	86%	73%	79%	82%
No, should not be punished	16%	9%	25%	17%	15%
The officers with immediate authority over those soldiers					
Yes, should be punished	79%	83%	74%	77%	82%
No, should not be punished	16%	12%	21%	17%	15%
Higher level commanders in Iraq					
Yes, should be punished	50%	47%	53%	52%	47%
No, should not be punished	42%	46%	38%	40%	45%
Civilians who set policy in the Pentagon					
Yes, should be punished	29%	27%	33%	28%	31%
No, should not be punished	62%	66%	57%	62%	63%

%	Total military sample	Regulars and guard reserve members themselves	All family members	Regulars and their families	Guard and reserves and their families
Do you think military veterans are getting the health care they were promised, or not?					
Yes	30%	37%	21%	29%	32%
No	49%	46%	52%	51%	45%
Do you think you and your family are getting the health care you were promised as a military family, or not?					
Yes	57%	71%	37%	58%	56%
No	23%	19%	28%	21%	25%
Should gays and lesbians be allowed to serve openly in the military, or shouldn't they be allowed to serve openly?					
Yes	42%	34%	51%	44%	39%
No	50%	57%	41%	48%	54%
Reasons why they should					
Equal Rights	41%	34%	47%	43%	39%
Orientation unrelated to job performance	27%	28%	26%	24%	31%
Free country	6%	9%	4%	6%	7%
Does not bother me	10%	12%	8%	10%	9%
Reasons why they should not					
Distraction	20%	20%	19%	23%	16%
Homosexuality is wrong	15%	11%	21%	16%	13%
Bad for moral	13%	15%	9%	11%	15%
Bad for teamwork	12%	15%	6%	10%	15%
Do not like it	8%	8%	9%	9%	8%
Think about the women you or the person in your household on active duty has served with. Would you say in general they have performed better than the men they served with, worse than the men they served with, or about the same as the men they served with?					
Women better	7%	7%	7%	7%	6%
Women worse	10%	11%	8%	10%	10%
Women same as men	74%	77%	69%	72%	77%
What was your primary reason for joining the military [asked only of service members]					
College Tuition Benefits	*	28%	*	*	*
Serve the country	*	36%	*	*	*
Fight against terrorism	*	1%	*	*	*
Learn job training skills	*	4%	*	*	*
In your experience, what is the most satisfying thing about military service?					
Serving the country	31%	31%	32%	34%	29%
Camaraderie	15%	23%	6%	11%	21%
Benefits	9%	6%	13%	10%	7%
Individual Growth	10%	8%	13%	11%	9%
Travel	5%	6%	3%	5%	5%
In your experience what is the most unsatisfactory thing about military service?					
Away from family/ frequent deployments	23%	19%	28%	25%	20%
Low Pay	11%	11%	11%	11%	10%
Iraq/ risking life	9%	4%	16%	10%	7%
Public attitudes on military	4%	6%	1%	4%	4%

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Table B

%	Commissioned officers and families	Non-commissioned officers and families	Junior enlisted personnel and families	Military who served in Iraq or theater and families
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is currently handling the situation in Iraq?				
Approve	68%	64%	58%	53%
disapprove	30%	32%	36%	43%
Do you think the regular forces sent to Iraq were properly trained and equipped for service there				
Yes	66%	65%	56%	64%
No	18%	18%	26%	18%
Do you think the National Guard and Reserve forces sent to Iraq were properly trained and equipped for service there				
Yes	35%	39%	38%	35%
No	43%	41%	44%	40%
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: the Pentagon has put too much of a burden on the National Guard and Reserves when it should have expanded the regular forces instead?				
Agree	63%	55%	62%	60%
Disagree	31%	41%	31%	34%
Do you think the Bush Administration underestimated or made a reasonable judgment about how many troops would be needed to establish peace in Iraq?				
Underestimated number of troops	63%	60%	63%	65%
Made a reasonable estimate	32%	37%	31%	31%
Do you think the U.S. should keep military troops in Iraq until a stable government is established there, or do you think the U.S. should bring its troops home as soon as possible?				
Keep troops in Iraq	85%	76%	63%	74%
Bring troops home	12%	20%	31%	22%
The Pentagon has ordered some people in the military to stay on active duty beyond the time their enlistment expired. Do you think that was the proper thing for the Pentagon to do, or don't you think so?				
Yes, proper	62%	62%	50%	50%
No, not proper	34%	34%	47%	47%
Do you think the United States should put the military draft back into operation?				
Yes	18%	22%	28%	23%
No	79%	75%	69%	74%
The media is not allowed to show pictures of flag-draped coffins being returned to Dover Air Force Base. If the media were allowed to show those pictures without using any names, do you think that would increase respect for the troops, decrease respect for the troops, or wouldn't it make any difference?				
Increase	46%	49%	60%	54%
Decrease	9%	9%	7%	6%
Who do you think should be held accountable for the abuses of prisoners that happened in Abu Ghraib. For each group, say whether or not you think they should be punished:				
The soldiers who abused the prisoners				
Yes, should be punished	84%	83%	74%	74%
No, should not be punished	11%	14%	23%	23%
The officers with immediate authority over those soldiers				
Yes, should be punished	83%	80%	77%	76%
No, should not be punished	11%	15%	21%	19%
Higher level commanders in Iraq				
Yes, should be punished	50%	46%	53%	46%
No, should not be punished	39%	48%	40%	46%

%	Commissioned officers and families	Non-commissioned officers and families	Junior enlisted personnel and families	Military who served in Iraq or theater and families
Civilians who set policy in the Pentagon				
Yes, should be punished	29%	31%	29%	27%
No, should not be punished	61%	62%	63%	63%
Do you think military veterans are getting the health care they were promised, or not?				
Yes	32%	30%	30%	28%
No	48%	52%	44%	50%
Do you think you and your family are getting the health care you were promised as a military family, or not?				
Yes	62%	62%	51%	52%
No	20%	25%	21%	22%
Should gays and lesbians be allowed to serve openly in the military, or shouldn't they be allowed to serve openly?				
Yes	39%	35%	50%	47%
No	53%	57%	43%	44%
Reasons why they should				
Equal Rights	29%	42%	43%	39%
Orientation unrelated to job performance	37%	29%	22%	36%
Free country	3%	5%	10%	6%
Does not bother me	13%	11%	8%	7%
Reasons why they should not				
Distraction	16%	19%	25%	30%
Homosexuality is wrong	19%	11%	16%	16%
Bad for moral	16%	14%	10%	9%
Bad for teamwork	12%	16%	5%	13%
Do not like it	8%	6%	13%	10%
Think about the women you or the person in your household on active duty has served with. Would you say in general they have performed better than the men they served with, worse than the men they served with, or about the same as the men they served with?				
Women better	5%	7%	8%	8%
Women worse	8%	8%	13%	13%
Women same as men	78%	75%	68%	68%
What was your primary reason for joining the military?				
College Tuition Benefits	28%	27%	29%	23%
Serve the country	46%	37%	26%	39%
Fight against terrorism	1%	0%	2%	3%
Learn job training skills	6%	4%	2%	3%
In your experience, what is the most satisfying thing about military service?				
Serving the country	40%	35%	22%	34%
Camaraderie	24%	18%	8%	12%
Benefits	6%	9%	12%	11%
Individual Growth	6%	6%	15%	11%
Travel	2%	8%	4%	4%
In your experience what is the most unsatisfactory thing about military service?				
Away from family/ frequent deployments	24%	25%	22%	27%
Low Pay	7%	14%	11%	9%
Iraq/ risking life	4%	7%	13%	17%
Public attitudes on military	4%	7%	1%	3%

Table C

%	Military sample	All adults
Do you approve or disapprove of the way George W. Bush is currently handling the situation in Iraq?		
Approve	63%	41%
disapprove	33%	56%
Do you think the regular forces sent to Iraq were properly trained and equipped for service there?		
Yes	62%	48%
No	21%	38%
Do you think the National Guard and Reserve forces sent to Iraq were properly trained and equipped for service there?		
Yes	38%	40%
No	42%	48%
Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: the Pentagon has put too much of a burden on the National Guard and Reserves when it should have expanded the regular forces instead?		
Agree	59%	60%
Disagree	34%	28%
Do you think military veterans are getting the health care they were promised, or not?		
Yes	30%	21%
No	49%	62%
Should gays and lesbians be allowed to serve openly in the military, or shouldn't they be allowed to serve openly?		
Yes	42%	67%
No	50%	27%
Do you think the United States should put the military draft back into operation?		
Yes	24%	22%
No	73%	71%

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Survey Methodology

The National Annenberg Election Survey (NAES) is a survey conducted each presidential election by the Annenberg Public Policy Center of the University of Pennsylvania.

The 2004 National Annenberg Election Survey is based on telephone interviews which began October 7, 2003 and will continue past Election Day.

The sample of telephone exchanges called was randomly selected by a computer from a complete list of thousands of active residential exchanges across the country. Within each exchange, random digits were added to form a complete telephone number, thus permitting access to both listed and unlisted numbers. Within each household, one adult was designated by a random procedure to be the respondent for the survey. The interviewing is conducted by Schulman, Ronca, Bucuvalas, Inc.

This report is based on interviews among active military members, including those in the regular military, National Guard and Reserves, as well as interviews among family members in military households. From September 22, 2004 through October 5, 2004, 655 military or their family members were interviewed. Telephone sample for this survey was derived from households that completed the National Annenberg Election Rolling Cross Section Survey (NAES04) from February 13, 2004 through September 29, 2004. A NAES04 household qualified for the military study if it was determined through survey questioning that a household member was currently serving in the military at the time. From this sample of military households, interviews were completed with 172 active regular military, 199 Guard/Reserve members, 200 regular military family members 79 Guard/Reserve family members and 5 military family members, unspecified. Only one military interview was completed per household. The margin of error for the entire completed military sample is plus or minus 4 percentage points.

The military data was compared with data from a national sample 2,436 adults interviewed from September 27 through October 3, 2004. In theory, in 19 out of 20 cases, results for all adults will differ by no more than 2 percentage points, up or down, from what would have been obtained by interviewing all American adults. For smaller subgroups, the margin of sampling error would be higher, and some questions were not asked of all respondents, which would also lead to a higher potential sampling error.

In addition to sampling error, the practical difficulties of conducting any survey of public opinion may introduce other sources of error into the poll. Variations in the wording and order of questions, for example, may lead to somewhat different results.

The results from the non-military household sample have been weighted to take account of household size and number of telephone lines into the residence and to adjust for variation in the sample relating to geographic region, sex, race, age and education. The military sample data have not been weighted.

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