U.S. MILITARY COMMERCIALS: MONEY WELL SPENT?

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U.S. MILITARY COMMERCIALS:

MONEY WELL SPENT?

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ABSTRACT

U.S. MILITARY COMMERCIALS:

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by

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This paper explores the effects of increased U.S. Military enlistment commercials on youths' attitudes about war, military propensity levels, and levels of political efficacy and cynicism. The definition and purpose of military advertising and trends in military advertising after conversion from a draft to an All-Volunteer Force are also examined—particularly the question of whether generic or branch specific advertising campaigns are more effective and efficient. Current military enlistment commercials, the success or failures of certain taglines, advertising budgets, and cost per recruit are also investigated. Political media and advertising theories are applied to military commercials to gauge their effects on youth political efficacy and cynicism levels. While this study found no evidence that military commercials influence youths' level of political efficacy and cynicism, results do indicate increased exposure to military commercials promote anti-war sentiment in youths, and they simultaneously failed to increase enlistment numbers.

Keywords: military advertising, youth trends, political efficacy and cynicism, All-Volunteer Force, propensity.

I. INTRODUCTION

According to research conducted by the RAND Corporation, the Congressional Budget Office, and the National Academies Press, the U.S. Armed Forces first began to experience notable difficulties in reaching recruitment quotas in the 1990s. ¹ The branches suffered an accession shortfall in 1998 and 1999, leaving military planners uneasy about the future vitality of the All-Volunteer Force (AVF). Factors including increased deployments with farther-reaching scopes, increased college attendance, higher aptitudes of American youths, and fewer youth cohorts contributed to the recruiting deficit. ² Recruitment was also curbed due to a lack of information regarding who the potential recruits were in the 1990s. ³ At that time, the Department of Defense (DoD) used the results of the Youth Attitude Tracking Study (YATS) to determine prospective targets for recruiting. The YATS study identified which factors caused individuals to have a higher propensity to serve in the military. ⁴ Unfortunately, the DoD used information gathered by YATS from the 1980s; needless to say, the

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¹ Paul R. Sackett and Anne S. Mavor, *Evaluating Military Advertising and Recruiting: Theory and Methodology*, (Washington D.C.: National Academies Press, 2004), 9.

³ M. Rebecca Kilburn and Jacob A. Klerman, *Enlistment Decisions in the 1990s: Evidence from Individual-Level Data*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp, 1999), ix.

⁴ Bruce R. Orvis and Beth J. Asch, *Military Recruiting: Trends, Outlook, and Implications*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp, 2001), 19.

information was outdated and thereby ineffective.⁵ By the close of the twentieth century, the DoD had requested enough research to accurately identify the shortcomings of its recruitment efforts, which were ultimately identified as simply not being aligned with emerging trends in recruiting.

As new plans for the U.S. Armed Forces' advertising campaigns began to evolve, America and the DoD were hit with the dramatic world-changing events of September 11, 2001 (9/11). This tragedy vanquished any time for growing pains in the military's research and development process of creating new military advertising plans. As a result of 9/11, the U.S. raised military recruitment quotas and high-quality recruits became essential; the 30-year-span of relative peace was brought to a halt. In the face of a stark new reality, the U.S. Military launched into action by revamping taglines, logos, Cades, television commercials, and websites. The military's advertising strategy of the past thirty years, which emphasized individual opportunity, was replaced with eloquent idioms including duty and honor, service and sacrifice. Now at war, the military had no room for error in executing the President's command—gather the troops.

Background

Anyone old enough to remember Richard Nixon's pre-election speech on national radio on October 17, 1968, when he pledged to terminate the use of a military draft, would probably agree his campaign promise changed the shape of America's future dramatically. Despite full engagement in the Vietnam War, the people of the

⁵ Kilburn and Klerman, Enlistment Decisions in the 1990s: Evidence from Individual-Level Data, ix.

⁶ Baily, "The Army in the Marketplace: Recruiting an All-Volunteer Force," 48.

U.S. had spoken; they deemed the draft to be an infringement on their personal liberty and freedom. Before definitively committing to an All-Volunteer Force, President Nixon created the Gates Commission, comprised of top-ranking military personnel, famed economists, and captains of industry, whose task was to debate the pros and cons of such a decision. The discussion on whether or not to change to an All-Volunteer Force inspired committee members to widely debate the ethics of military tactics to increase enlistment. For example, commission member Crawford Greenwalt, former president of DuPont, was recorded in meetings commenting, "I have serious reservations about paying people to die for their country," and "there is something immoral in seducing people to die for their country."

Most preliminary arguments in favor of an All-Volunteer Force focused on the belief that individuals use rational choice in making decisions based on their best economic interest. Therefore, as long as the military is a better paying career choice than jobs they could obtain in the private sector, then some individuals will enlist. In contrast, the U.S. Military argued that better pay was far from being the deciding factor when choosing to enlist and strongly objected to ending the draft. Economists were able to convince President Nixon that an All-Volunteer Force controlled by economic rules of supply and demand would be superior to the draft and as a bonus, would help promote a political shift to the right. As a result, President Nixon signed the bill into

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⁷ Ibid.

⁸ Ibid., 51.

⁹ Beth Bailey, "The Army in the Marketplace: Recruiting an All-Volunteer Force," *The Journal of American History*, 94.1 (Jun 2007): 51.

law by late September 1971; Congress widely favored the bill and the All-Volunteer Force was born. 10

Without the draft in place, the U.S. Military's first task was to switch from using public service announcements (PSAs) to more sophisticated commercial advertising to reach potential enlistees. Research had already determined the majority of enlistees would be from rural areas and low socio-economic backgrounds, in addition to being less educated and young. Even more specific research illuminated the fact these enlistees watched television and read magazines more than individuals from different demographics. Hence, television commercials aired on prime-time networks were perfect to target ideal prospects. Prior to the military, no federal agency had employed the use of television commercial broadcast advertising. At the time, clearly drawn rules and regulations pertaining to the limits of the government's usage of broadcast media were not defined.

Advertising alone did not generate enough recruits to meet quotas, making "military reform" toward a more civilian appealing lifestyle a necessity. As newly hired advertising companies collected research and data from the potential "customers" of the U.S. Military, the gradual shift from the "brown-shoe army" to the more-relaxed army of the future commenced. Among the many military lifestyle changes geared to attract new volunteers, beer in the barracks, dormitory dividers, and freedom to decorate living spaces were some of the most popular. The All-Volunteer Force was successful at

¹⁰ Bernard Rostker, I Want You! The Evolution of the All-Volunteer Force (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp., 2006), 4.

¹¹ Bailey, "The Army in the Marketplace: Recruiting an All-Volunteer Force," 59.

¹² Ibid.

¹³ Ibid., 53.

¹⁴ Ibid., 60.

recruiting, mainly due to high quality advertising campaigns, well-liked changes to the military lifestyle, and a relatively peaceful period from 1973 up until the turn of the century. 15

Summary of Design

This study was conducted at Texas State University-San Marcos, using three sample groups consisting of undergraduate students enrolled in a mandatory introductory General Education Core Curriculum course. This study employed the cognitive-response approach, which is used far and wide in advertising research by practitioners and academics alike. Cognitive response approach studies generally introduce stimuli to participants and immediately collect responses using a survey. In this study, each sample group was first asked to answer a survey consisting of questions regarding their own attitudes about war, military propensity level, level of political efficacy and cynicism, and demographics; the survey can be found in Appendix C and D. Next, study participants not in the control group viewed current military advertisements and immediately took a written survey designed to reveal their reactions to and the effects of the messages in the commercials. The responses to the survey were analyzed to determine what effects, if any, were statistically significant between the groups as a result of increased exposure to military commercials.

Purpose of Research and Research Questions

The purpose of this research was to identify any changes that occur to individuals'

¹⁵ Ibid.

attitudes about war, their likelihood of enlistment into the U.S. Military (aka level of propensity), and their level of political efficacy and cynicism as a result of increased exposure to military television advertising. The U.S.'s decision to switch to an All-Volunteer Force led to a new breed of military advertising that targets possible enlistees with sophisticated, expensive campaigns that may be sending unintended messages to target audiences. The majority of prior research conducted by political scientists concluded that mass media does not influence public opinion; instead, it merely presents the news to the public in a passive nature. In contrast, comments about the Iraq War made by political elites like Congressman James Marshall, claiming the media was painting a "falsely bleak picture" and that in turn "weakens our national resolve," clearly shows that political leaders do not doubt the media's influence on public opinion. ¹⁶ In 2008, Baum and Potter, published in the Annual Review of Political Science, emphatically state that mass media does in fact impact public opinion; specifically, "mass media...plays a critical role alongside citizens and elites in shaping public attitudes about, and influence upon, foreign policy." In addition, research conducted in 1994, by Majorkeck and Mueller, revealed that military commercials were transmitting not only intended but also unintended messages, some of which were negative. 18 To better understand this phenomenon, the first research question asked in this study is: Do U.S. Military commercials influence youth's attitudes about war?

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¹⁶ Matthew Baum and Philip B. K. Potter, "The Relationship Between Mass Media, Public Opinion and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis," *Annual Review of Political Science*, (2008): 2. ¹⁷ Ibid., 1.

¹⁸ Major Gary Lee Keck and Barabara Mueller, "Observations of Intended and Unintended Messages: Viewer Perceptions of United States Army Television Commercials," Journal of Advertising Research (March/April 1994): 73.

The goal of U.S. Military commercials is to increase the propensity of youth to enlist in any branch of the U.S. Armed Forces. Each year Congress and the DoD approve rising annual advertising budgets for each respective military branch as recruiting today's youth becomes more and more complex—not to mention more expensive. Today's youth have higher aptitudes, shorter attention spans, and more opportunities for higher education than ever before. These elements have created a multifaceted U.S. Military recruiting market that requires conglomerate style advertising spending to supply our All-Volunteer Force. To evaluate the effectiveness of military advertising, the second research question is: Do military commercials influence youths' likelihood of enlistment into the U.S. Military?

There is a startling lack of research on the effects of military advertising, which is unsettling when considering the substantial amount of money and resources dedicated to creating advertising campaigns. Cost-effectiveness and effects on recruiting numbers are the only focus of the relatively small amount of available research. Due to lack of prior theories regarding effects of military advertising and the similarities between political and military advertising, this study used theories established to evaluate media framing and political advertising. Sources consulted include "Introduction: Political Information Efficacy and Young Voters," published May 2007, written by Kaid, McKinney, and Tedesco; "The Effects of Political Advertising on Young Voters," also published May 2007, written by Kaid, Moica Postelnicu, Landreville, Yun, and LeGrange; and "News Frames, Political Cynicism, and Media Cynicism," published in 1997, written by Cappella and Jamison.

In, "Introduction: Political Information Efficacy and Young Voters," Kaid, McKinney, and Tedesco define political information efficacy as a "voter's perception of his or her knowledge competence to engage in the political process." Research they conducted in the early 2000s compares levels of political information efficacy between younger and older voters and reveals young voters are significantly less confident in their political abilities. Furthermore, they discovered a positive correlation between a youth's level of political information efficacy and the likelihood they will vote. To further investigate this correlation, they further analyzed if television campaign advertising could increase youths' political information and efficacy levels. The results of their analysis revealed "exposure to substantive campaign messages resulted in significantly higher levels of political information efficacy among young citizens."

The relationship between exposure to political advertising and youth levels of political cynicism is analyzed in, "The Effects of Political Advertising on Young Voters." A person is deemed to have high political cynicism if they have extreme distrust of the government and believe politicians' only motivations are to fulfill personal needs. There are various factors that influence an individual's political cynicism level, such as age, socio-economic status, party affiliation, and personality. The results of Kaid's study revealed young women have more cynical attitudes than young men; however, exposure to political ads did not change or affect their cynicism

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¹⁹ Lynda Lee Kaid, Mitchell S. MicKinney, and John C. Tedesco, "Introduction: Political Information Efficacy and Young Voters," *American Behavioral Scientist* (May 2007), 1097.

²⁰ Ibid., 1103.

²¹ Ibid.

²² Ibid., 1104.

level.²⁴ Past research of Cappella and Jamison illuminated the connection between increasing political cynicism levels and the media's use of conflict/issue-oriented frames and strategic media coverage. These types of media coverage tell the viewer a narrative perceived as self-motivated, resulting in viewer mistrust and increased political cynicism.²⁵ The modern U.S. Military uses conflict-oriented framing in the majority of its commercials. This indicates exposure to military advertising might increase political cynicism levels, and thus negatively affects attitudes about war and defense spending. To better understand the trends that affect numbers of voting youth, this paper poses the third research question: Do military commercials contribute to the increasing levels of political cynicism and efficacy in today's youth?

²⁴ Lynda Lee Kaid, Moica Postelnicu, Kristen Landreville, Huyn Jung Yun, and Abby Gail LeGrange, "The Effects of Political Advertising on Young Voters," American Behavioral Scientist (May 2007), 1143.

²⁵ Zoe M. Oxley, "Strategic News Frames, Learning and Political Cynicism," Paper prepared for delivery at the Western Political Science Association Meeting, Portland, Oregon (March 2012), http://wpsa.research.pdx.edu/meet/2012/oxley.pdf (accessed March 28, 2012): 4.

II. LITERATURE REVIEW

Definition of Military Ads

Military advertisements are defined as promotional material designed to increase propensity to seek military employment and or to encourage others to seek military employment.²⁶ For the purpose of this research, the only military advertising analyzed was created for the purpose of television broadcasting and internet exposure via respective military branch homepages. Each commercial analyzed in this research was created and sponsored by its corresponding military branch.

Purpose of Military Ads

In 2004, Sackett and Mavor wrote *Evaluating Military Advertising and Recruiting: Theory and Methodology* to advise the DoD on how to improve military advertising strategies. Using a straightforward approach, Sackett and Mavor describe the purpose of military ads as twofold: "to increase propensity to choose military service and to increase the likelihood of an individual choosing to join one Service over another." Sackett and Mavor distinguish between the two separate competitive frames in which the U.S. Armed Forces perpetually exists. In the first competitive frame, the youth must choose to seek military employment instead of the other two options—

²⁶ Sackett and Mavor, Evaluating Military Advertising and Recruiting: Theory and Methodology, 4.

seeking higher education or civilian employment.²⁸ Competitive frame one is depicted in Figure 1.

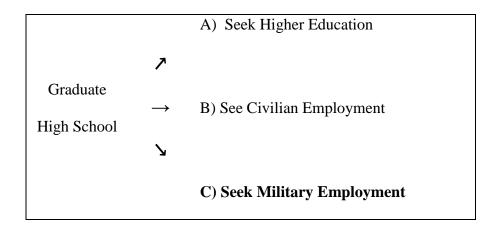


Figure 1: Competitive Frame 1

The second competitive frame, depicted in Figure 2, demonstrates the rivalry between the different military branches as they vie for the best and brightest youths seeking military employment. Competitive frame two exemplifies the need for each military branch to focus heavily on advertising campaigns that promote "branding."²⁹ "Branding" advertisements inform consumers about specific brands' value and differentiation over competitors, urging consumers to choose their brand instead. 30 In the case of the military, brand choice means an individual choosing one branch of the military over of another.

²⁸ Ibid., 75.

³⁰ Frank M. Bass, Anand Krishnamoorthy, and Ashutosh Prasas, "Generic and Brand Advertising Strategies in "Dynamic Duopoly," Marketing Science Vol 24, No 4 (Fall 2005): 556.

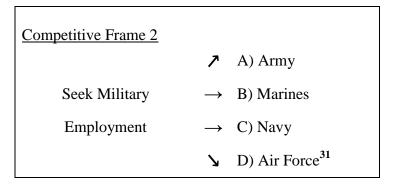


Figure 2: Competitive Frame 2

The next section gives a description of a contemporary military commercial, which was one of the advertisements used in this research as stimuli. Remember the difference between Competitive Frames 1 and 2 while reading the following descriptions of current U.S. Military commercials.

Example of a Current Military Commercial-- Army Strong: The Way They See You

Transcript:

Some see them as defenders..., leaders..., friends..., a helping hand. No matter how you see a U.S. Army soldier, you can't help but look up. Get the strength to change the way people see you. There's strong, and then there's Army Strong. See what it's like at goarmy.com.

The first commercial analyzed was sponsored by the Army and uses the tagline "Army Strong," which was launched October 9, 2006.³² Multiple ads were made using the tagline "Army Strong" with an additional personalized part-two tagline, which in this commercial's case is "The Way They See You." This commercial uses repetitive

³¹ Sackett and Mavor, *Evaluating Military Advertising and Recruiting: Theory and Methodology*, 74. ³² "Army Recruiting Messages Help Keep Army Rolling Along," *U.S. Department of Defense Information*, (Oct. 9, 2006): 1.

Most U.S. Military television commercials attempt to touch on issues from both Competitive Frames 1 and 2. The ad, "The Way They See You," easily fits into this model. The ad suggests seeking military employment will teach you how become a "defender," "friend," and "a helping hand." Furthermore, the commercial imprints the idea the Army can teach you these characteristics better than the other military branches. The tagline, "Army Strong," reinforces this point and successfully brands the viewer. The closing scene is very important because it sends the message that soldiers always come home after serving their country. This is obviously a promise the Army, or any military branch, cannot realistically keep to enlistees. The last shot repeats the tagline "Army Strong" and advises viewers to visit www.goarmy.com.

The Army was the most successful and the fastest military branch to revamp their website and internet sales tactics.³³ This conclusion is strengthened by the fact that every single Army advertisement ends with instructions to visit www.goarmy.com; the other branches that do not follow this tactic as rule. The Army hired Leo Burnett Ad Agency to design a website that could "close the deal" with potential Generation Y enlistees. The new website hosts numerous short story "webisodes" that highlight and interview various soldiers about his or her personal choice to join the Army and their experiences thus far.³⁴ The website is where the "hard selling" begins, ultimately leading to the final step, which is to persuade the individual to actually contact a recruiter.

Past Research of the Effects of Military Advertising

Most of the research available regarding the effectiveness of military advertising has been conducted by the nonpartisan think tank, RAND Corporation, based out of Santa Monica, California. RAND is a nonprofit organization that earns contracts to research various topics for the government, private corporations, and charitable foundations. The Air Force originally created RAND in the 1940s as a research-anddevelopment project. Today, RAND has offices spanning the nation and declares its mission to be the use of research and development to guide improvements in decision making and policymaking. Since the 1980s, James Dertouzos has excelled as RAND's

³³ Johnathan Point, "New Army Model," Potentials 36.1 (Nov 2003): 14. ³⁴ Ibid., 16-17.

top authority on military advertising and recruiting trends, holding the title of both Director of "Law, Business, and Regulation," and "Institute for Civil Justice."³⁵

In January 1989, James Dertouzos's article "Recruiting Effects of Army

Advertising," was prepared for the Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for the

Force Management and Personnel. By this point, researchers had agreed upon three
factors which could be manipulated to positively influence recruiting numbers: (1)
increase military advertising; (2) increase the number of military recruiters; and (3)
increase the initial monetary bonus paid to the enlistee. The DoD's main task for RAND

was to determine which of these three options to boost recruiting was most cost-effective.

Dertouzos determined that the "marginal cost of recruiting a high quality person through
advertising was between \$5,000 and \$6,000." If instead recruiting personnel was
increased, the same marginal cost per high quality recruit is \$5,700. Last, if increasing
initial monetary bonuses to enlistees are given, then the marginal cost was \$16,000. In
addition, Dertouzos's data suggested after reaching high volumes of advertising, marginal
cost per recruit would decrease. Thus, advertising became the DoD's most costeffective choice to boost recruitment.

Just three months after receiving the article discussed above, the Assistant

Secretary of Defense requested additional research from Dertouzos on a field experiment
performed five years prior. The field experiment was designed to inform the DoD

whether it was more efficient to grant each military branch a separate advertising budget

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^{35 &}quot;RAND Corporation," Britannica Online,

http://www.britannica.com/EBchecked/topic/490995/RAND-Corporation, (accessed March 23, 2012)

36 James Dertouzos et al. Recruiting Effects of Army Advertising (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp.

³⁶ James Dertouzos, et al., *Recruiting Effects of Army Advertising*, (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corp, 1989), v.

³⁷ Ibid., vi.

or whether to combine budgets in joint advertising campaigns—"joint" meaning advertising that serves all branches simultaneously. The original research conducted on the field experiment was inconclusive and Dertouzos claimed it employed highly questionable methodologies. In Dertouzos's follow-up study in 1989, his main conclusions were that advertising was clearly effective at boosting numbers of enlistments and that advertisements for one specific military branch did not appear to "come at the expense" of other branches. After this study gave, each branch began to pursue advertising campaigns promoting individualized "branding" for each Service. Over time the military has moved almost completely away from producing advertising that represents the U.S. Armed Forces as one unit.

Dertouzos went further in his examination of the 1984 Mix-Test study to argue that military advertising had a significant correlation to short-term enlistment behavior, yet effects could still be detected for as long as six months after the advertisement. He quantified the diminishing effect of the military advertisement to 40% each month after the campaign. These finding encouraged the branches to participate in continual advertising, never letting one month experience greatly less advertising than the next. This can still be seen today, as all branches of the U.S. Military advertise year round with a media mix focused on television and internet.

Over a decade later in 2003, Dertouzos again visited the topic of military advertising in his report, "Is Military Advertising Effective? An Estimation Methodology and Applications to Recruiting in the 1980s and 90s." The Office of the Secretary of

³⁹ Ibid 3

³⁸ James N. Dertouzos, *The Effects of Military Advertising: Evidence from the Advertising Mix Test* (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1989), vi.

Defense requested the report and published it two years after 9/11. The goal of the report was to illuminate the past in hopes of guiding recruitment for the future. The DoD exhibited obvious folly by requesting research about recruiting trends two years after the tragedy of 9/11. Dertouzos's first report in January 1989, estimated annual military advertising cost to be between \$40 and \$45 million. In his report about the 1984 Advertising Mix-Test, only three months later, his estimate jumped to \$80 million. In this third report, he ascribes a value of \$100 million per year throughout the 1990s for military advertising. With the Iraq War already two years underway at the time Dertouzos published his report on 1980s and 90s, the DoD was clearly grappling with the uncertainty of appropriate recruiting advertising budgets per military branch.

Finally, in 2009, Dertouzos prepared a report addressing the issue of appropriate, advertising budgets and analyzed <u>current</u> military cost-effectiveness. The quantitative analysis in his report examined the Army branch from 2002 to 2004, determining that the benefits of advertising plateau for the Army at an annual budget of \$200 million.

Additional funds spent on similar advertising over \$200 million would not have yielded any change, negative or positive, to recruiting numbers. The actual Army branch advertising budget for 2001-2002 was approximately \$35 million. Dertouzos confirmed his earlier speculation from his 1989 report, that high volumes of military advertising improve cost-effectiveness. However, he recanted his previous supposition that increased

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 ^{40 ----} and Steven Garber, Is Military Advertising Effective? An Estimation Methodology and Applications to Recruiting in the 1980's and 90's (Santa Monica, CA: RAND Corporation, 1989), iii.
 41 Dertouzos, et al., Recruiting Effects of Army Advertising, v.

⁴² Dertouzos, *The Effects of Military Advertising: Evidence from the Advertising Mix Test*, v. ⁴³ ---- and Steven Garber, *Is Military Advertising Effective? An Estimation Methodology and Applications to Recruiting in the 1980s and 90s*, xi.

⁴⁴ James Dertouzos, *The Cost Effectiveness of Military Advertising: Evidence from 2002-2004* (Santa Monica, CA: 2003), 29.

advertising did not "come at the expense" of other branches. His more recent research reveals that at Army spending levels for advertising in 2001-2002, the Army actually lost 50% of the would-be gains to competing branches of the military. Dertouzos asserts that if the Army spent more on advertising, then the loss of enlistees to rival branches would lessen. However, at higher levels of Army advertising, competing branches lose more recruits and thus, must increase their advertising level. The system of branch specific advertising seems to be creating a vicious cycle that is anything but cost-effective.

The Unique Market of Military Recruiting

In 2004, Scholars Bass, Krishnamoorthy, Prasad, and Sethi published "Generic and Brand Advertising Strategies in a Dynamic Duopoly" in the journal *Marketing*Science. Their article begins with a straightforward math equation, depicted in Figure 3, describing the relationship between sales and marketing decisions:



Figure 3: Sales equation

Using this equation, to increase Product Sales either Category Sales or Percent of Market Share must increase. The term Product Sales indicates the sales numbers for a company over a certain period of time. The term Category Sales means total product sales

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⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Ibid

available in the market in that same time period. Last, Market Share refers to the percentage of the total Category Sales that a company will obtain.⁴⁷

Now, try to apply this thought pattern to the market of military recruiting. See Figure 4 which depicts this equation applied to the Army branch.

Figure 4: Army example

Bass and his co-authors maintain that "category sales" are increased through generic advertising; in military terms, this means advertising that promotes joining the military in general and is not branch specific. ⁴⁹ Bass further asserts that brand advertising increases "market share," which was described earlier as differentiation from competitors. ⁵⁰ In converting this theory to the military recruiting market, "branding" translates into advertising campaigns that focus on branch superiority. Without boosting the U.S. Military's Category Sales, brand advertising is really only attempting to steal would-be enlistees from competing branches. Read the following descriptions of two additional military commercials while keeping the difference of generic advertising and brand advertising in mind.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

⁴⁷ Frank Bass, et al., "Generic and Brand Advertising Strategies in a Dynamic Duopoly," *Marketing Science*, Vol. 4, No. 24 (2004): 556.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁵⁰ Ibid.

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial -- U.S. Marine Corp: For Us All

Transcript:

Your Marine Corps way of life..., is to defend the American way of life. Every day..., no matter where we serve..., we take a stand..., for our nation..., for each other..., for us all. The Few, the Proud, the Marines.

This ad was sponsored by the U.S. Marine Corps and describes Marines as constantly and vigilantly "defending the American way of life." The commercial uses long, slow-paced shots of the U.S. Flag and scenes of the American Midwest to create emotionally appeal to viewers. The emotional appeal of the ad is enhanced by the use of music that invokes a spiritual sentiment. The commercial moves back and forth from combat scenes to "American way of life" scenes, suggesting they are interconnected. The ad leaves the viewer with the impression that without combat, the familiar "American way of life" would be in jeopardy. About three-quarters into the commercial, different U.S. Embassies are shown with a uniformed Marine guarding the front gates, as a reminder to the viewer that safety requires the U.S. to be present in other nations. The climax of the ad is an overview shot of Marines in the Middle East traveling on foot and the camera focuses in on a letter that one Marine is reading. The letter has a child's drawing of the American Flag and in big print letters it says, "For You Daddy." The commercial ends with a white, American woman holding a baby and looking at the Marine Corps War Memorial statue. The last shot is a black screen with the well-known Marine tagline in print and narration, "The Few. The Proud. The Marines." In fact, this tagline is so acclaimed that in 2007 it was voted to be inducted

into the Madison Avenue's Advertising Walk of Fame, which is quite an honor in the advertising world.⁵¹

This ad, "For Us All," touches on generic advertising by stating that choosing to seek military employment will protect the American way of life. It also strongly emphasizes branch superiority by implying that one should choose the Marines over the other branches, because the Marines protect the American way of life best.

Furthermore, the ad insinuates that the Marines have more pride and honor than members of other military branches.

There are two distinct differences in this commercial compared to the previously discussed commercial, "The Way They See You." First, the last scene of the Marine commercial acknowledges that some soldiers die for their country by showing the memorial statue. Second, the Marines ad gives no mention of a website or phone number. The differences in how the Marines and the Army brand their name in these television commercials directly speaks to the advertising research that pinpoints which personality types are more likely to seek which branch of the armed forces.

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial -- Air Force: Above All

Transcript:

No one is better suited and more prepared to guard America in the century ahead than the U.S. Air Force. Above All we defend America. Above All we defend freedom. Above All we are warriors who dominate air, space, and cyber space. Above All we are brothers and sisters who proudly stand together. Above All we ensure victory before the battle even begins. Above All there is nothing our friends respect more, and our enemies fear more, than the power of the U.S. Air Force. Above All we stand ready as the decisive force for the 21^{st} century. Above All we are the U.S. Air Force.

⁵¹ Headquarters Marine Corp. "The Few, The Proud, The Marines Slogan Wins," www.Marines.mil, http://www.marines.mil/unit/hqmc/Pages/2007/PRESS25.aspx, (accessed March 16, 2012).

The Air Force sponsored ad uses the tagline "Above All" to differentiate itself from the other military branches. This motto was introduced in February 2008 to replace the motto from 2006, "Do Something Amazing," which Senior Airman Seth Eastman criticized stating it "could be for any Service." According to Staff Sergeant Randy Johnson, the new motto "Above All," hit on the core values of the Air Force—namely excellence. This commercial begins by showing a row of fighter jets preparing to take off into combat, then progresses through a sequence of shots including Air Force pilots jumping from planes, American flags blowing in the wind, helicopters in action, and even a satellite orbiting in space. The climax of the commercial shows a plane flying over a sandy desert dropping a bomb while the narrator says, "Above All we ensure victory before the battle even begins." Finally, the Air Force attests to its superiority as the "decisive force" in U.S. combat in the 21st century.

Plenty of brand adverting can be found in this commercial, while generic advertising is barely present. Focusing on brand over generic is a consistent pattern in Air Force advertising. The Air Force focuses the most on differentiation from the other branches, which is easily identified by its ads and slogans. In October 2010, the Air Force revisited an old 1980's motto, "Aim High," adding the words Fly-Fight-Win" to the end of the recycled creed. Chief Master Sergeant of the Air Force James Roy was quoted saying, "slogans and ad phrases come and go, but a motto is meant to be passed

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⁵² Lisa Burgess and et al, "Mixed Reviews for New Air Force Slogan," www.military.com, February 29, 2008; http://www.military.com/features/0,15240,163068,00.html (accessed April 3, 2012).

from one generation of airmen to another."⁵³ This sentiment has value, but the vast majority of the public is unaware of the differences between mottos and slogans, meaning that both probably serve as advertising taglines. Additionally, both taglines focus on the Air Force being higher and above the other branches and is reinforced by visual images of planes flying high and above.

The importance of creeds and mottos in each branch of the U.S. Military is well known; therefore, some commercials use these as another form of branding. The Army commercial titled, "The Creeds," is described in the following section.

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial -- Army: The Creeds

Transcript:

This Ad has no narration, only showing combinations of scenes with soldiers and crests depicting ten Army creeds. The following is a sequential list of the mottos shown in typing instead of narrated:

- -Speed, Courage, Power.
- -Not For Ourselves Alone.
- -Semper Paratus {Always Ready}.
- -No Task, Too Tough.
- -The Will To Succeed.
- -Ducit Amor Partriae {Led By Love of Country}.
- -Honor and Courage.
- -Vigilans Et Celer {Vigilant and Swift}
- -Can, and Will.
- -We Will, Always Will.

After the last mottos, the screen goes black and the words "An Army of One" come up in big, white typesetting. The following in final clip is of the Army logo (star) and the website address of goarmy.com.

⁵³ Scott Fontaine, "Air Force Adopts New Motto," www.AirForceTimes.com, Oct. 7, 2010; http://www.airforcetimes.com/news/2010/10/air-force-picks-new-motto-100710w/ (accessed April 3, 2012).

This commercial debuted during the NCAA Tournament March 22, 2004 and received grand reviews from those already enlisted in the military and weaker responses from potential recruits. Paul Boyce, Army Public Affairs Specialist, commented about the new ad, "It's very much a commercial that demonstrates the Army's ongoing mission around the world."54At the time of this commercial's release, the event of 9/11 was fresh on people's minds, causing recruiting challenges never before experienced by the U.S. Armed Forces. With the exception of the brief Gulf War, America had not found itself in wartime without a draft in place. No Branch escaped this expensive learning curve. Successful commercial advertising is decisive according to the testament of Recruiting Sergeant Pacheco, "probably only 5 to 6 percent actually walk into the office and say, 'Hey I want to join the Marine Corps.' That means the other 95 percent needs to be recruited."55

Generic Advertising, Branch/Brand Specific Adverting or a Perfect Combination of the Two?

In 2004, in an independent academic journal, Brockett, Cooper, Kumbhakar, Kwinn Jr., and. McCarthy, responded to disputing articles from Wharton Center for Applied Research (WCAR) and RAND, regarding the 1984 Mix-Test experiment. Again the Mix-Test was conducted to determine if branch specific ads should be replaced with joint advertising campaigns.⁵⁶ In 1985, WCAR used a regression statistics model and

⁵⁴ Catherine Valenti, "Army, Marines Revamp Ads, But Recruits Slow," www.abcnews.go.com (April

^{7, 2004)} http://abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=86654&page=1 (accessed on April 5, 2012).

⁵⁶ P. L. Brockett, et al., "Alternative Statistical Regression Studies of the Effects of Joint and Service Specific Advertising on Military Recruitment", The Journal of Operational Research Society, Vol 55, No 10 (Oct 2004): 1039.

concluded that brand advertising would negatively affect other branches. ⁵⁷ In 1989, Dertouzos responded to this study with, "The Effects of Military Advertising: Evidence from the Advertising Mix Test," in which he used a different regression model and arrived at a contradictory conclusion. ⁵⁸ Finally, in 2004, Brockett and fellow authors responded to these opposing studies by using the same data from the 1984 advertising Mix-Test field experiment, but employed a newer and more advanced statistical regression model. Brockett and his fellow authors concluded that branch specific advertising is "less effective for Army recruiting and it also resulted in negative effects on Army recruitment."

In general, firms in duopolistic or oligopolistic markets try to find the perfect balance in allocating funds from its budget to each, *generic advertising* and *brand advertising*. The All-Volunteer Force market is unquestionably one-of-a-kind, making that perfect balance difficult to pinpoint. The U.S. Armed Forces exist in a very unique type of "monopoly/oligopoly," because there is only one military on the market. Yet, inside that military market is an oligopoly, with four competitors—Army, Navy, Marines, and Air Force. This market becomes increasingly unique when one considers that all four rivals are "owned" by the same U.S. government. Once the mind can grasp this distinctive type of market situation, it is easy to see the cannibalistic nature of each military branch's advertising campaigns. As each branch scrambles to meet its recruitment quotas, they plead with Congress to approve higher and higher advertising budgets in order to develop the most sophisticated and effective commercials and

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⁵⁷ Ibid.

⁵⁸ Ibid., 1040.

⁵⁹ Ibid. 1047.

websites available today. These factors contribute greatly to the uncertainty of what balance between generic and brand advertising is optimal.

Are Military Ads Conveying Unintended Messages?

If any conclusion can be agreed upon from the research available on military advertising, it is that more research is needed. Of the research available, the most prominent challenges are: (1) the vast time gaps between studies; (2) the obvious slant of information only being requested by the government and produced by RAND Corporation, namely James N. Dertouzos; and (3) the only research done is focused on the advertising effects on recruiting numbers and cost-effectiveness, not viewer effects. The RAND Corporation is highly esteemed and tremendously reputable, as is Dertouzos; however, for a worthy understanding of this topic, more research must be conducted by independent academics not sponsored by the DoD. Furthermore, the bottom-dollar may not be the most important factor when considering the possible influences military ads may be having on public opinion.

Currently, only one notable independent academic journal exits dedicated to the topic of military advertising effects on viewers, *Observations of Intended vs. Unintended Messages: Viewer Perceptions of United States Army Television Commercials*, written by Major Keck and Mueller in 1994. This study's methodology consisted of gathering survey data from sample groups, which consisted of males between the ages of 18 and 24.⁶⁰ Military commercials were used as stimuli, with the research goal being to determine if intended messages were being successfully transmitted, and also, were

⁶⁰ Keck and Mueller, "Observations of Intended and Unintended Messages: Viewer Perceptions of United States Army Television Commercials," 71.

unintended messages being transmitted. The results yielded that in fact viewers did receive intended and unintended messages. Keck and Mueller advised commercial producers to remember that unintended messages can be positive, negative, or neutral in nature. 61 Furthermore, the demographics of viewers play a large role in determining which connotation the unintended messages assume. If some U.S. Military commercials are conveying unintended, negative messages, then the expensive advertising campaigns inadvertently cause harmful effects not of the Services' intentions. 62

Should Government's Use of Advertising Be Constrained?

In 1979, Mullen and Bowers visited the topic of government advertising in "Government Advertising: A Runaway Engine?" in which they argue that regulatory constraints are needed for the common greater-good.⁶³ Mullen and Bowers state three basic problems that arise from allowing the government to use advertising for its gain. First, tax dollars used to pay for advertising come from all taxpayers, yet at least some of those taxpayers do not agree with the purpose the advertisements are designed to achieve. Second, controls used to "insure truth or discourage fraud" are not enforced and/or present for the government as they are for private businesses. ⁶⁴ And third, "government advertising is not subject to stringent criteria of economic efficiency,"65 thus more advertising dollars are wasted than in comparison to other advertisers. "Taxpayers pay

⁶¹ Ibid.

⁶² Ibid., 73.

⁶³ James J. Mullen and Thomas A. Bowers, "Government Advertising: A Runaway Engine?, Journal of Advertising, Vo. 8 No. 1 (Winter, 1979), p. 39. ⁶⁴ Ibid.

⁶⁵ Ibid.

the consequences" for these inefficiencies and wasted money, whether they support the cause or not, and whether the advertising is truthful or not. ⁶⁶

All three of these dilemmas regarding government advertising are clearly present in today's military recruiting market, especially the inefficient use of advertising dollars which would surely bankrupt a non-government business. While reading the following descriptions of three current military commercials, look for examples of the problems Mullen and Thomas describe in their article.

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial -- Navy: A Global Force for Good

Transcript:

The call to serve, it has not sound, yet I have heard it, in the whispered retelling of the honorable sacrifices made by those who have served before me. The call to serve has no form, yet I have clearly seen it, in the eyes of women and men infinitely more courageous and more driven than most. The call to serve has no weight, yet I have held it in my hands, I will commit to carry it close to my heart, until my country is safe, and the anguish of those less fortunate has been soothed. The call to serve is at once invisible and always present, and for those who choose to answer the call, for their country, for their fellow man, for themselves, it is the most powerful force on earth. America's Navy: A Global Force for Good. To answer The Call...go to Navy.com or call 1-800-USA-NAVY.

To View: http://www.navy.mil/navydata/featurePlay.asp?id=49

This Navy sponsored commercial was released October 1, 2009, along with the new tagline, "The Call the Serve," to celebrate its 234th Birthday. "The Call to Serve" would be phasing out the previous tagline, "Accelerate Your Life," which had experienced a successful run since 2001.⁶⁷ Captain Phil Altizer, director of Marketing and Advertising for Navy Recruiting Command, was quoted in a press release saying,

⁶⁶ Ibid., 41.

⁶⁷ Specialist 3rd Class Jared Hill, "Navy Recruiting Command Releases New Advertising Campaign," U.S. Department of Defense Information; Federal Information & News Dispatch: October 2, 2009.

"The current trend in society is people wanting to give back to their country"; the new tagline is more of a call to duty. ⁶⁸ The numerous photos and video clip of Navy soldiers from wars past conjure strong feelings of duty, nostalgia, and legacy. The sentimental background music plays while the commercial moves from scene to scene depicting the Navy transporting soldiers and pilots to combat areas, current and past. The commercial visually demonstrates that the Navy helps all branches of the military and travels all over the world for combat and humanitarian missions. The culminating moment of the commercial reminds viewers of the humanitarian aspects of the Navy as a sailor reaches for a small, thin, black child who appears to be a flood victim. The commercial's finale is a blue screen displaying the new tagline, "America's Navy. A Global Force for Good," accompanied with a strong, booming narrator voice.

Since World War I, America has moved away from isolationist foreign policy and toward hegemonic rule. This shift has been of great debate for over a century; proponents of isolationist foreign policies still today quote from George Washington's Farwell Address, "It is our true policy to steer clear of permanent alliances with any portion of the foreign world." This is even a hot topic in the upcoming 2012 Presidential Election! The Associated Press released an article on February 26, 2012, "Paul: U.S. Military Not World's Police Force," recapping Ron Paul's campaign speech from the night before the Arizona and Michigan primaries. The use and promotion of the Navy as a "global force" reflects a specific foreign policy agenda of

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⁵⁸ Ibid

⁶⁹ George Washington, "Farwell Address," United States: September 19, 1796.

Associated Press; Paul: U.S. Military Not World's Police Force; www.nbcdfw.com; February 26, 2012; http://www.nbcdfw.com/news/politics/Paul-US-Military-Not-Worlds-Police-Force-140478953.html (accessed on April 4, 2012).

anti-isolationist. The fact this ad advocates the Navy being used globally in foreign affairs beyond war and defense, makes a clear statement about the current administration's foreign policy position, thus fueling the argument that military commercials are pushing elite agenda.

Another Service using its tagline to push the hegemonic power foreign policy agenda is the U.S. Marine Corps, who in March 2012 released its new tagline, "Toward the Sound of Chaos." Narration in the commercial, "towards the sound of tyranny, injustice, and despair," plays while the screen shows Marines running in a desert toward an explosion. Brigadier General Joseph L. Osterman, head of the Marine Corps Recruiting Command, was asked in a recent interview about the meaning behind the new tagline, "Toward the Sound of Chaos." He responded that since the U.S. Military exists in uncertain times, Marines "need to be ready to engage in whatever activity our country needs us to engage in." It would be difficult to argue that "tyranny, injustice, and despair" did not cover just about "whatever activity."

The Marine Corps estimates the full "Toward the Sound of Chaos" marketing campaign, to cost approximately \$3 million, which would indicate they do not think the political debate between isolationists and hegemony supporters is still viable.⁷⁴ - Apparently, neither does the Air Force, since it is also launching a media campaign titled, "It's Not Science Fiction. It's What We Do Every Day," filled with

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⁷¹ Pauline Jelinek and Associated Press, "New ads pitch Marine Corps' kinder, gentler side," www.kansascity.com, March 8, 2012; http://www.kansascity.com/2012/03/08/3477512/new-ads-pitch-marine-corps-kinder.html?storylink=digger-topic (accessed on March 12, 2012).

⁷³ Ibid.

⁷⁴ James Dao, "Ad Campaign for Marines Cites Chaos as a Job Perk," www.nytimes.com, March 9, 2012, http://www.nytimes.com/2012/03/10/us/marines-marketing-campaign-uses-chaos-as-a-selling-point.html (accessed on March 12, 2012).

"humanitarian themes woven into commercials depicting a vaguely dystopian future." Regardless of the *correct* path for U.S. foreign policy, at least some American taxpayers do not agree with this global, humanitarian, whenever, wherever, whatever agenda the three Services are centering their millions of dollars ad campaigns around. Using taxpayer money to fund government advertising that some do not agree with was the first problem listed by Mullen and Bowers of government advertising.

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial – U.S. Marine Corp: LEAP

Transcript:

I face one of the toughest challenges of my life right here. I couldn't swim, but I can still hear my drill instructor today, "Don't quit. If you quit now, you'll always quit in life, go for it." So I jumped in, unsure, apprehensive, and scared out of my mind. But I came up a Marine. The few, the proud, the Marines. Marines.com

This commercial begins with a lone, black, teenager standing on a diving board above a swimming pool and a narrator explaining the young man's feelings of uncertainty regarding himself and his future. Then the boy jumps into the pool, but when his head rises above the water he has transformed into a muscled, face-painted Marine. As this commercial changes from only narration to a loud Marine anthem, a group of Marines in a motor boat arrive on the scene to pull the transformed Marine out of the water. Then the comrades speed off toward the horizon. This commercial suffers from what Mullen and Bowers call a problem of government advertising—lack of controls to "insure truth or discourage fraud." The commercial sends a strong message to youths without a clear future: the Marines can take away your fear and make

⁷⁶ Mullen and Bowers, "Government Advertising: A Runaway Engine?, 39.

⁷⁵ Ibid

you a warrior. This may happen for some young men and women who join the Marines, but it is not a guarantee. Furthermore, apprehension about a career path does not default to needing to join the Marines, another misleading theme throughout this commercial.

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial – Navy: Accelerate Your Life

Transcript:

This ad has no narration and consists of loud, exciting music and action/adventure scenes. The scenes range from jumping from planes into the ocean, deep sea diving with weapons in hand, sniper shooting while in the water, rescuing people while dangling from ropes hanging from helicopters, to racing speedboats toward danger. The closing screen says "NAVY: Accelerate Your Life." Gonavy.com

This commercial is extremely exciting as most of the scenes mimick extreme sports and daredevil tricks. The fast-paced shots, music, and tagline, "Accelerate Your Life," all suggest that upon joining the Navy an individual's life becomes action packed. The fact that certain times in the Navy are very exciting and active is not disputed, but the indication that every day will be an adventure is probably an exaggeration of the truth. The Navy's dedication to maintaining an adventurous image is also exemplified by their sponsorship of the ESPN XGames, which "showcases the talents of thrill-seeking extreme sports athletes." The expensive advertising venue leaves audiences with the impression the risk-taking values of the XGames and the Navy are aligned.

⁷⁷ "Advertising – How to Select the Right Sponsorship Opportunities," www.promowithpurpose.com; 2010; http://pwptoday.com/advertising-how-to-select-the-right-sponsorship-opportunities/ (accessed on April 16, 2012).

III. APPLYING MEDIA FRAMING AND POLITICAL CAMPAIGN AD THEORIES TO MILITARY ADS

Similarities of Political Advertising and Military Advertising

This research will apply theories established for media framing and political advertising to military advertising due to their similarities. The most obvious similarity between these types of media is the perception that the message is coming from a self-serving entity. The weakness of advertising perceived as self-serving is viewers think the message is one-sided and possibly even untruthful. Another similarity between these types of media is their emphatic call to action, media framing to choose a side, political ads to vote, and military ads to enlist. In addition, each attempts to engage the viewers' patriotism using music, iconic symbols, and scenes depicting American culture.

Past Research of Effects of Televised Political Advertising

Many people mark the beginning of America's televised political era with the Great Debates of 1960, four pre-election debates between Senator John F. Kennedy and Vice-President Richard Nixon. Before television, campaign research revealed little to no

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⁷⁸ Barbara J. Coe, "The Effectiveness Challenge in Issue Advertising Campaigns," *Journal of Advertising*, Vol. 12, No. 2 (1983): 28.

connection between mass media and voter behavior. ⁷⁹ However, by the 1970s media and political advertising effects was a hot topic among communications scholars.

McClure and Patterson's study of the 1972 Presidential election attempted to "assess the effectiveness of campaign persuasion efforts" on voter belief change. Data was collected through multiple surveys leading up to the election, separating the information survey respondents had obtained from television news versus political commercials. 81 Their results revealed a strong, consistent correlation between exposure to political advertising and voter belief change, especially if the medium of exposure was television. 82 Furthermore, their study indicated that political television commercials have the "unique capacity" to effectively communicate to low-interest voters or those who generally avoid seeking political information.⁸³ In fact, their study showed high-interest voters were less influenced by the commercials, probably due to their "multiple information channels." Conversely, data collected assessing only news media effects uncovered no direct or independent impact on voter beliefs. 85

If McClure and Patterson's findings of political advertising's success in the ability to influence or even change voter beliefs are applied to military advertising, then enlistment commercials also have the power to influence and or change behaviors of viewers. Reiterating Recruiting Sergeant Pacheco's comment, "probably only 5 to 6 percent actually walk into the office and say, 'Hey I want to join the Marine Corps.' That

⁷⁹ Robert D. McClure and Thomas E. Patterson, "Television News and Political Advertising: The Impact of Exposure on Voter Belief," Communication Research, Vol. 1, No. 1 (January 1974): 3. ⁸⁰ Ibid., 5.

⁸¹ Ibid., 4.

⁸² Ibid., 6.

⁸³ Ibid., 17.

⁸⁴ Ibid., 18.

⁸⁵ Ibid., 19.

means the other 95 percent needs to be recruited,"⁸⁶ makes it clear that the vast majority of military advertising's target audience has low propensity. This percentage does not appear to fluctuate, according to records from a 1985 Youth Attitude Tracking Study, which reported only 4% of its study participants were pre-inclined to enlist.⁸⁷ Replacing low political efficacy and low propensity to enlist while applying McClure and Patterson's findings, indicates that military advertising is most successful at influencing viewers with the <u>least</u> interest in joining the Armed Forces.

Effects of Increased Exposure to Political Advertising

In 1976, Atkin and Heald conducted research in Michigan on the 1974 mid-term elections, using knowledge of candidate names, issue agenda priorities, interest in the campaign, and others as criterion variables for measuring the effects of political campaign advertising. Their research found the use of political advertising improved viewer's knowledge of candidate names and issue positions. Applying these findings to the effects of military advertising indicates that increased exposure would translate into increased viewer knowledge of how to enlist and what to expect from a military lifestyle. Atkin and Heald also identified a strong functional relationship between campaign knowledge and broadcast advertising exposure, with the frequency of viewing commercials correlated at +.34 with knowledge." The strong correlation between campaign knowledge and frequency of viewing commercials illustrates that increased

⁸⁶ Catherine Valenti, "Army, Marines Revamp Ads, But Recruits Slow," www.abcnews.go.com (April 7, 2004) http://abcnews.go.com/Business/story?id=86654&page=1 (accessed on April 5, 2012).

⁸⁷ Orvis and Asch, Military Recruiting: Trends, Outlooks, and Implications: 21.

⁸⁸ Charles Atkin and Gary Heald, "Effects of Political Advertising," *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 2 (Summer, 1976): 221.

⁸⁹ Ibid., 222.

quantities of military advertising will in turn amplify the effects of increased product knowledge.

In 1989, Berger and Mitchell further investigated the impacts of advertising repetition through the use of the Fazio Model. 90 This model illustrates that prior attitudes strongly formed in memory are highly accessible and in contrast, weak prior attitudes have low accessibility. Furthermore, prior attitudes formed from direct experiences are more accessible than prior attitudes from indirect experiences.⁹¹ Please see Figure 5.

90 Ida E. Berger and Andrew A. Mitchell, "The Effect of Advertisng on Attitude Accessibility, Attitude Confidence, and the Attitude-Behavior Relationship," Journal of Consumer Research, Vol. 16 (December 1989), 270. ⁹¹ Ibid.

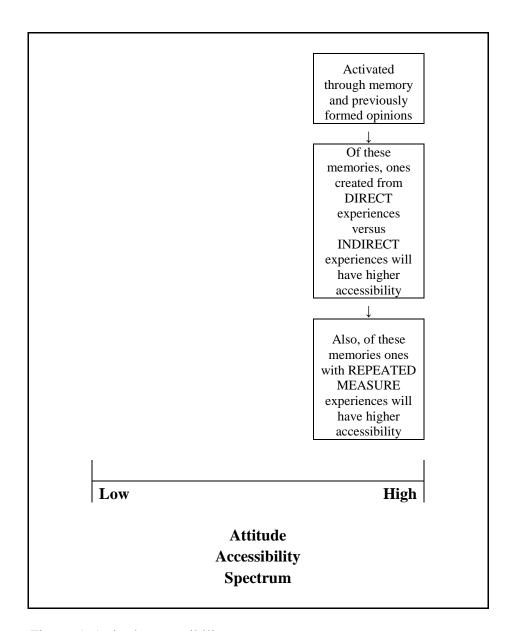


Figure 5: Attitude accessibility spectrum

Numerous previous studies of military propensity indicators have revealed that individuals with family members already enlisted in the U.S. Armed Forces are more likely to join themselves. 92 This phenomenon is partly because of these individuals having direct experiences of the military and thus, highly accessible attitudes regarding

92 Ulysses J. Brown, III and Dharam S. Rana, "Generalized Exchange and Propensity for Military Service: The Moderating Effect of Prior Military Exposure," Journal of Applied Statistics, Vol. 32 No. 3 (April 2005): 260.

the military lifestyle. Individuals without family members in the Service must develop their prior attitudes from indirect experiences, such as military advertising.

Typically, research on the relationship between increased message exposure and attitude reveals an "inverted U-shaped relationship." Initially, a moderately complex commercial will increase the strength of the viewer's attitude, however with further repetition the strength of the individual's attitude declines. After the individual has fully comprehended the message, if repetition of the message continues "individuals become inattentive to the message and eventually have negative reactions to it, causing a downturn in attitudes." U.S. Military commercials are moderately complex and opportunities for exposure to these commercials via television and the internet are increasing. Thus, applying the "inverted U-shaped relationship" theory to the effects of increased exposure to military commercials is theoretically valid.

Past Research on Effects of Advertising on Youth Political Efficacy and Cynicism Levels

The main goal of "Introduction: Political Information Efficacy and Young Voters," written by Kaid, McKinney, and Tedesco in 2007, was to determine if specific campaign messages play a role in enhancing young voters' political information efficacy. Their preliminary findings from the 2004 elections suggested that exposure to televised political ads can "increase young voters' feelings of political efficacy." Further into their research, a regression analysis revealed low political information efficacy has a

⁹³ Berger and Mitchell, "The Effect of Advertisng on Attitude Accessibility, Attitude Confidence, and the Attitude-Behavior Relationship," 271.

⁹⁵ Kaid et al., "Introduction: Political Information Efficacy and Young Voters," 1098.

significant relationship to the act of not voting. As political ads attempt to influence voting behavior there is a potential these ads could increase efficacy and in turn, voter turnout. In two separate experiments, a sample group was given a pre survey, then exposed to 2004 Presidential election televised political commercials, and then given a post survey. Both experiments revealed "exposure to substantive campaign messages resulted in significantly higher levels of political information efficacy among young citizens." The similarities of political and military advertising implies that exposure to military enlistment commercials may increase levels of political efficacy.

Also published May 2007, "The Effects of Political Advertising on Young Voters," written by Kaid, Postelnicu, Landreville, Yun, and LeGrange, investigated the relationship between political advertising exposure and youths' levels of political cynicism. ⁹⁸ Their article cited previous studies claiming that only attack ads and strategic campaign coverage ads would increase youths' political cynicism. Because televised political campaign ads are a mixture of positive, negative, strategic, and image orientation, audiences are exposed to a relatively even distribution of advertizing styles. This fact led researchers to hypothesize that exposure to political television commercials would not result in a "significant change in political cynicism levels for young citizens." A composite cynicism scale was used, which revealed respondents' pre and post scores cynicism levels to be identical, by way confirming the hypothesis.

At first glance, it appears military advertising would not significantly alter youth cynicism levels, similarly to political advertising. Yet, that conclusion can only be

⁹⁶ Ibid., 1103.

⁹⁷ Ibid 1104

⁹⁸ Kaid et al, "The Effects of Political Advertising on Young Voters," 1137.

⁹⁹ Ibid 1040

reached by assuming that military commercials are also presented in a legitimately even distribution of positive, negative, strategic, and image orientations. This supposition is debatable, especially when considering how a negative military commercial would boost recruitment. If military commercials are primarily strategic, heavy laden with issues and policy stances, then audiences may experience heightened levels of cynicism after exposure. The following section applies theories created to distinguish the orientation of political ads to military ads.

U.S. Military Commercials: A Hybrid of Image and Issue Ads

Cappella and Jamieson explain the difference between issue framing and strategic framing of political campaigns by media in their 1996 publication "News Frames, Political Cynicism, and Media Cynicism." Positions and preferences of candidates on policy issues and problems of public concern are the focuses of issue-framed media. Issue-framed media is also referred to as conflict-oriented media due to the controversy over the policy issue or public concern, for example abortion, taxes, and health care. In contrast, strategic framing spotlights the plan or *strategy* implemented by the candidate to win the election and commonly uses "the language of war, games, and competition." ¹⁰⁰ Cappella and Jamieson's research explored the effects of issue versus strategic framing on political cynicism. They conclude that "strategic frames for election coverage activate audience cynicism in both print and broadcast media" and "issue frames in political campaigns do not consistently depress cynicism, although neither do they elevate it."101

¹⁰⁰ Cabella and Jamieson, "News Frames, Political Cynicism, and Media Cynicism," 74.
¹⁰¹ Ibid.,76.

In content, U.S. Military commercials seem to contain both issue and strategic framing. The most prominent issues explored in current enlistment commercials are terrorism, nuclear proliferation, tyranny, human rights violations, humanitarian efforts, and personal improvement. The U.S. Military commercials advocate humanitarian efforts and personal improvement through the use of military power while rejecting terrorism, nuclear proliferation, tyranny, and human rights violations. Since almost all U.S. Military commercials contain controversial issues presented as having one sole solution—military force, it is plausible audiences are experiencing increased political cynicism.

In 2001, Lynda Lee Kaid and Anne Johnston's *Videostyle in Presidential*Campaigns: Style and Content of Televised Political Advertising, they note the main area of focuses in political campaign ads are: (1) issue versus image content; and (2) negative versus positive content. Kaid and Johnston statistically analyzed over 1,200 televised Presidential campaign ads spanning from 1952 to 2000 exploring the "differences in techniques, strategies, narratives, and symbols used in…issue and image ads." The methodology of their research included using an extensive video style code sheet, which allowed them to conclude certain styles were distinctly issue oriented while others were image oriented. Image oriented political ads generally have the candidate speaking directly to the viewer using emotional language while highlighting personal qualities or

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¹⁰² Lynda Lee Kaid and Anna Johnston, Videostyle in Presidential Campaigns: Style and Content of Televised Political Advertising, Praeger Publishers. (U.S.A.: Westport, CT, 2001), 16.

Anne Johnston and Lynda Lee Kaid, "Image Ads and Issue Ads in U.S. Presidential Advertising: Using Videostyle to Explore Stylistic Differences in Televised Political Ads From 1952-2000," Journal of Communication, Vol. 52, No. 2 (June 2002): 281.

characteristics. In contrast, issue oriented ads exhibit an anonymous narrator and highlight specific policy stands, especially common citizens' concerns. 104

In the early 1990s, Kaid, Johnston, and fellow scholar West, concluded that negative ads tend to be more issue oriented than positive ads. 105 Using Kaid and Johnston's classifications for image and issue content, U.S. Military commercials appear to be a hybrid. Read the following transcripts and descriptions of two current U.S. Military commercials while attempting to identify elements that are: (1) issue framed versus strategy framed; and (2) issue oriented versus image oriented.

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial – Army: Army of One

Transcript:

I am a soldier. An Army of One. Even though I am part of the strongest army in the world, I am my own force. With the latest technology, training, and support...who I am..., has become better than who I was. And I will be the first to tell you, the might of the U.S. Army doesn't lie in numbers, it lies in soldiers like me, Specialist Mark Decarly. I am an Army of One and You Can See My Strength. Goarmy.com

This commercial begins with fast moving action scenes of helicopters, tanks, and soldiers on a sandy desert. One soldier, the main character, makes eye contact with the viewer on several occasions throughout the commercial. Close-up shots of the main soldier's face coincide with the words "I am a soldier. An Army of One." appearing in print on the screen and narrated. The ad gives the impression that the narrator is the main character, however his lips never move with the dialog. This ad is different than other

¹⁰⁴ Kaid and Johnston, Videostyle in Presidential Campaigns: Style and Content of Televised Political Advertising: 18. ¹⁰⁵ Ibid.

military ads because it personalizes the narration with a specific soldier's name, Specialist Mark DeCarly. See Table 1.

Table 1: Video style Army of One commercial

	Army of One Commercial		
Issue/Conflict Oriented	the subject of military engagement in the Middle East		
Strategic	use of military power as a solution		
	use language of war, games, competition		
Issue	use of a 3rd party narrator		
Issue	use of a 3rd party narrator policy stand of military engagement in the Middle East		
Issue			
	policy stand of military engagement in the Middle East main character appears to be speaking directly to the viewer, even		

This ad displays strong characteristics of each categorical definition for political ads. Kaid and Johnston also note that for an issue ad to be successful, the information must be perceived as having source credibility. Most viewers assume the U.S. Military has expertise and is trustworthy; therefore, its source credibility is should be extremely high.

In 2001, the Army dropped their 20-year running slogan, "Be All You Can Be," and hired Leo Burnett Ad Agency, who also holds accounts such as McDonalds, Nintendo, and Coca-Cola. 107 The new \$150 million 108 advertising campaign revolved

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¹⁰⁶ Ibid., 16.

^{107 &}quot;Uncle Sam Wants You to Be 'An Army of One'," www.abcnews.go.com (January, 10, 2001) http://abcnews.go.com/US/story?id=94441&page=1 (accessed on March 12, 2012).

around the tagline, "An Army of One," which was design to target Generation Y and focus on the individual. 109 It also had a double meaning: "emphasizing personal growth and individual opportunity while continuing a 20-year emphasis on teamwork and service to country" The Army used the tagline until approximately 2007, when it was phased out by the next one—"Army Strong." The difficult decision to switch taglines while engaged in the Iraq War put the Army at risk of damaging morale and the newly formed relationship with Generation Y. The problem lay in the fact the "Army of One" campaign had been created pre-9/11 and focused too much on "job skills and war gadgetry" making it "out of touch with the reality of war." 111

By the end of 2005, the Army felt moving forward with a different advertising campaign was crucial, having missed its recruitment quota "by the widest margin in two decades." However, the release of the new "Army Strong" slogan and ad campaign was not until Veterans' Day Weekend 2006. What is the price of this new two-word slogan? It *only* cost taxpayers \$1 billion for a five-year contract. 113 McCann WorldGroup was the Army's new advertising agency and "Army Strong" was designed to "convey the idea that if you join the Army you will gain physical and emotional strength, as well as strength of character and purpose." ¹¹⁴ In 2008, McCann Group added another tagline, "Strength Like No Other." Later, in 2011, "Symbol of Strength"

¹⁰⁸ Ibid.

¹⁰⁹ Point, "New Army Model": 13.

Paul Boyce and Matthew Jones, "The New Army Slogan," *Soldiers*, Vol. 56, No. 2 (February 2001):

¹¹¹ Richard Linnett, "Army Fails to Battle New Recruit Reality," Advertising Age, Vol. 75, No. 30

¹¹² Associated Press, "Army Launching 'Army Strong' Ad Campaign, www.usatoday.com (October 9, 2006) . http://www.usatoday.com/news/washington/2006-10-09-army-slogan_x.htm (accessed on March 12, 2012).

¹¹³ Ibid.

¹¹⁴ Associated Press, "New Army Recruiting Slogan Unvieled," www.military.com (October 9, 2006) http://www.military.com/NewsContent/0,13319,116399,00.html (accessed on March 12, 2012).

appeared, building on an obvious theme.¹¹⁵ Yet, even with five years dedicated to making the words "strength" and "Army" synonymous, the Army may follow in the footsteps of the Marines, Navy, and Air Force by adopting a slogan rich with humanitarian themes.¹¹⁶

Example of a Current U.S. Military Commercial – Army: Army Strong

Transcript:

I am an American soldier. I'm a warrior and a member of a team. I serve the people of the United States and live the Army values, I will always place the mission first, I will never accept defeat, I will never quit, I will never leave a fallen comrade. I am disciplined; I am disciplined, physically and mentally tough. Trained and proficient in my warrior tasks and drills. I always take my arms, my equipment, and myself. I am an expert and I am a professional. I stand ready to the core, engage and destroy the enemies of the United States of America in close combat. I am a defender of freedom and the American way of life. I am an American soldier. I at a farmy Strong. There's strong, and then there's Army strong. See what it takes at goarmy.com.

This Army commercial has a little more text than usual, yet it moves quickly from scene to scene with a different soldier reciting the text in each clip. The soldiers showcased in each clip include both men and women of different ages from a variety of ethnic backgrounds. The fact that actors say the text instead of a 3rd party narrator is another differentiating feature of this commercial. About halfway through the ad, the text changes to a battle cry from a large group of Army soldiers in training. Even though this

Julia Bobick, "New Advertising Showcasing Army's 'Symbol of Strength', www.army.mil (May 25, 2011) http://www.army.mil/article/58147/New_advertising_showcasing _Army_s__Symbol_ of_Strength_/ (accessed on April 5, 2012).

¹¹⁶Dao, "Ad Campaign for Marines Cite Chaos as a Job Perk."

commercial is different than the previously discussed ad, "Army of One," "Army Strong" is clearly a hybrid. See Table 2.

Table 2: Video style: Army Strong commercial

	Army Strong		
Issue/Conflict Oriented	the subject of military engagement in the Middle East		
Strategic	use of military power as a solution		
	use language of war, games, competition		
Issue	policy stand of military engagement in the Middle East		
Image	each character speaks directly to the viewer		
	highlights personal characteristics and qualities		
	uses emotional language		

IV. HYPOTHESES

Hypothesis 1: An increase in the volume of advertising for U.S. Military enlistment will result in increased negative public attitudes about war.

Hypothesis 2: An increase in the volume of advertising for U.S. Military enlistment will result in individuals' increased military propensity.

Hypothesis 3: As the volume of advertising for U.S. Military enlistment increases, individuals' level of political information efficacy will increase.

Hypothesis 4: As the volume of advertising for U.S. Military enlistment increases, individuals' level of political cynicism will increase.

V. METHODOLOGY

Research Design

Table 3: Research design

	Pre- Observation	Treatment	Post- Observation
Group 1 (G1)			Survey
Group 2 (G2)	Survey	3 Military Enlistment Advertisements	Survey
Group 3 (G3)	Survey	9 Military Enlistment Advertisements	Survey

A copy of the surveys used in this research can be found in the Appendix A and B.

Experiment Stimuli

This research endeavored to analyze an area of advertising that has received little attention in the past: effects of increased exposure to military commercials on youth's attitudes about war, military propensity, and political efficacy and cynicism levels. This research only analyzed advertisements made for television and paid for by their respective U.S. Military branch, which included the Army, Marine Corps, Navy, and Air Force. This research exhaustively covered these U.S. Military branches and considered them all as one unit, in effort to determine the effects of increased exposure to enlistment

advertisements on current attitudes about war and other related factors. The advertisements selected as the visual stimuli for this experiment covered the Army, Navy, Marine Corps, and Air Force.

In addition, the advertisements selected were a combination of different video styles typically used in current U.S. Military advertising. To ensure this diversity, a video style code sheet was created and completed for each ad by a small test-group of colleagues. A copy of the video style code sheet and responses given by the small-test group can be found in the Appendix C. The code sheet was adapted from Kaid and Johnston's video style code sheet which they created for their research on Presidential campaign ads.¹¹⁷

Group 1 (G1) was not shown any ad stimuli and only completed the survey, facilitating the role of control group.

Group 2 (G2) was shown only three advertisements, one ad the Army, the U.S.

Marine Core, and the Navy. The list of commercials shown to G2 in sequence is shown in Table 4.

Table 4: Stimuli list for Group 2

	Group 2 - Three Ads Stimuli		
Order of Sequence	Ad Title	Ad Length	
1	U.S. Army Army of One	1 min 3 secs	
2	America's Navy A Global Force for Good	1 min 3 secs	
3	U.S.M.C For Us All	1 min 2 secs	

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¹¹⁷ Kaid and Johnston, Videostyle in Presidential Campaigns, 193.

Group 3 (G3) was shown nine of advertisements and they are listed in Table 3 in the sequence they were shown.

<u>Table 5: Stimuli list for Group 3</u>

Group 3 - Nine Ads Stimuli				
Order of Sequence	Ad Title A			
1	U.S. Army - The Way They See You	1 min		
2	U.S.M.C For Us All	1 min		
3	3 America's Navy A Global Force for Good 1 m			
4	U.S. Army – The Creeds	1 min 2 secs		
5	U.S. Air Force Above All 52 s			
6	U.S. Army Army of One	1 min 3 secs		
7	U.S. Navy Accelerate Your Life	Accelerate Your Life 37 secs		
8	8 U.S.M.C Leap 1 mi			
9	U.S. Army Army Strong	1 min 4 secs		

Measures

Specific questions were asked on the survey to measure and quantify attitude about war, military propensity, and political efficacy and cynicism level. Additional questions on the questionnaire identified demographic factors of the sample. See Appendixes A and B for the survey.

The first variable, attitude about war index, was created by combining respondents' answers to five statements: (1) I support the current Afghanistan War.; (2) The 2012 U.S. Defense Budget of approximately \$675 billion is an appropriate

amount of money to spend.; (3) The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 should be cut in half.; (4) I am satisfied with the U.S. performance in the current Afghanistan War.; and (5) I am satisfied with the Obama Presidential Administration's performance in the current Afghanistan War. The variables ranged from the scale of 5 from disagree/dissatisfied to agree/satisfied. Due to the positive versus negative direction of the answer choices, a reverse code was used for statement: The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 should be cut in half. The average scores of each respondent's answers to these five questions was used as the index of war attitude. The scale of this index is 1-5; a score of 1 is a very anti-war attitude, a score of 3 is neutral or middle-ground, and a score of 5 is a very pro-war attitude. The index achieved a Cronback's Alpha reliability score of .715.

Military propensity or a person's likelihood of enlistment into the Service was used to measure the second variable of this study. This was measured by the question: How likely is the possibility that you will enlist into any branch of the U.S. Military? The scaled used was a score of 1 for very low propensity, a score of 3 for moderate propensity, and 5 for very high propensity. Individuals already enlisted in the military were identified and not included in the analysis for propensity.

The third variable was an index created to measure political efficacy, which was evaluated from three statements: 1) Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.; 2) I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.; and 3) I understand the political issues facing our country very well. A score of 1 indicated the individual had very low political information efficacy, meaning minimal

confidence in their ability to participate in the political process. A score of 3 indicated a moderate level of efficacy. Finally, a score of 5 denoted an individual has very high political efficacy and believes them self to be extremely competent to engage in political activity. Due to positive versus negative direction of the answer choice, answers to statement: 'Sometimes, politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on,' were coded in reverse. The average score of each respondent's answers was used as the political efficacy index. The index achieved a Cronback's Alpha reliability score of .81.

The fourth variable was an index created to measure political cynicism, which using two statements: 1) Public officials don't care much what people like me think, and 2) People like me don't have any say about what the government does. A score of 1 indicated an individual with very low political cynicism, meaning they have an exceptionally optimistic or positive view of the political process. A score of 3 indicated a moderate level of cynicism. Finally, a score of 5 denoted an individual with very high political cynicism, meaning their outlook on the political process is extremely pessimistic or negative. The average score of each respondents answers was used as the political cynicism index. The index achieved a Cronback's Alpha reliability score of .35. Even though the reliability score is not as high as preferred, the index was still used because the index statements address external and internal cynicism. The statement: "Public officials don't care much what people like me think,' measures external cynicism levels. While in contrast the statement: 'People like me don't have any say about what the government does,' measures internal cynicism levels. The

average of these two types of cynicism was used because this study asserts that the true measure of political cynicism includes both internal and external.

Sample

All three groups were comprised of Texas State University-San Marcos undergraduate students enrolled in a course required under the university's General Education Core Curriculum; passing the course is mandatory for all undergraduate students seeking all majors. The General Education Core Curriculum is a pre-requisite to receiving any and all Bachelor s'degrees offered at Texas State University-San Marcos. Even though the classes used for the sample of this experiment are in the Political Science department, there is no bias from subjects because General Education Core Curriculum courses are comprised of undergraduates seeking a wide variety of degrees. This experiment was conducted for all three groups on March 26, 2012 between the hours of 9:00 am and 1:30 pm. For more detailed information about the three classes used as sample groups, please refer to Table 6.

Table 6: Sample information

	# of Survey Takers	Time of Class	Location of Class	Class Name and #
G1	81	9:00 AM	ELA 118	POSI 2320: Functions of American Government
G2	65	12:30 PM	ELA 118	POSI 2320: Functions of American Government
G3	225	9:00 AM	CENT 157	POSI 2310: Principles of American Government

G1, G2, and G3 together totaled 371 survey respondents, with the only difference between the groups being exposure to military commercial stimuli. All three groups were normal, expected representations of undergraduate university students in Southeast Texas. The following description of the survey respondents' demographics references all three groups as one unit.

Of the 371 study participants, the average age was twenty years old with 86% between the ages of eighteen and twenty-one. The distribution of gender was 49% female and 51% male. The racial distribution was 60% White participants, 9% African American, and 24% Hispanic. Half of the participants were from middle socio-economic backgrounds with even distribution above and below. Democrats represented 24% of the survey respondents, Republicans 30%, and Independents 29%. Further party group identification revealed that 10% relate to the Occupy Wall Street movement, 9% relate to the Tea Partiers, and a staggering 31% feel that the Libertarian political group represents them most closely. Refer to Figure 1.

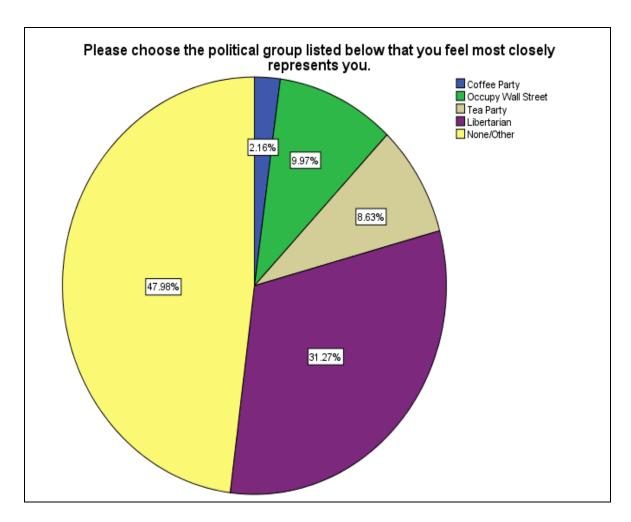


Figure 6: Sample political group distribution

About half of study participants watch, read, or listen to news between 0-2 hours per week, 27% dedicate an average of 2-4 hours, and 11% spend 6-8 hours weekly. When asked to rank the source of their news media consumption based on quantity, the Internet was the number one source of news information for survey respondents, television was ranked second, radio third, and newspaper last. Almost 75% stated they had a moderate to extreme interest in news relating to foreign relations between the U.S. and other countries. To determine respondents' level of political participation, participants were asked if they voted in the last general/midterm election. Examining

only participants who were age eligible to vote last general/midterm election, 49% responded yes and 51% no.

After grouping respondents with political information efficacy index scores of 0 to 2.49 and respondents with scores of 2.5 to 5, the distribution individuals with low versus high level efficacy was 33.4% low and 66.6% high.

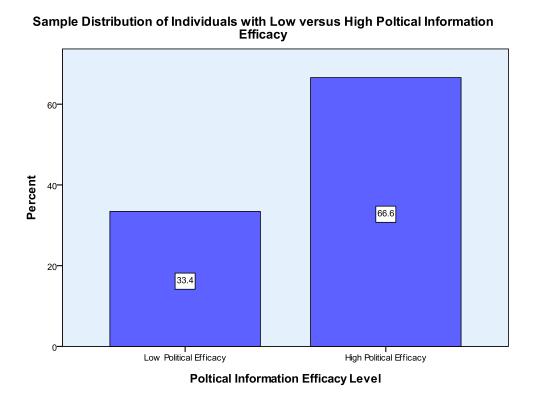


Figure 7: Sample efficacy distribution

By grouping respondents with political cynicism index scores of 0 to 2.49 and respondents with scores of 2.5 to 5, the distribution of low versus high level cynics in this sample is 27.4% low and 72.6% high level cynics.

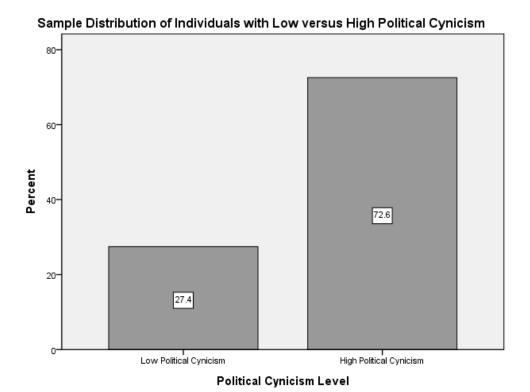


Figure 8: Sample cynicism distribution

VI. RESULTS

<u>Table 7: Regression analysis of demographic factors' influence on an individual's war attitudes</u>

Demographic Factors	В	t	Р
Age	20	-3.82	.00**
Gender	13	-2.57	.01**
Race, White	.04	.77	.44
Socio-Economic Status	.06	1.20	.23
Republican	.31	5.67	.00**
Democrat	.10	1.61	.11
Number of family members who have served in the U.S. Military	.04	.87	.39
Level of Political Efficacy	02	41	.69
Level of Political Cynicism	14	-2.87	.00**
Weekly News Media Consumption	.10	1.75	.08
F = 7.23	P = 0.00**	$R^2 = 0.15$	

Even though Age is shown as a significant demographic variable in determining the change effect of increased exposure to U.S. Military commercials, in this research

deemed age was insignificant. The ages of the study participants is so similar, with 85% between the age of eighteen and twenty-one, that any changes in opinion were most likely not because of one or two year differences in age (t = -3.82, p \leq .05, β = -.20). According to the regression model controlling for other demographic factors, political cynicism, weekly news media consumption, and gender were significant determinants of war attitudes. Results showed females' attitudes about were more negative than males (t = -2.57, p \leq .01, β = -.13). The coefficient of -.13 indicated females' attitudes about war tended to be lower than males by .13 on a 5-point-scale; lower scores reflected an antiwar attitude and higher scores a pro-war attitude. The same regression model indicated being Republican was also statistically significant and individuals affiliated with the Republican Party had a .31 more positive attitude regarding war on a scale of 5 (t = 5.67, $p \le .01$, $\beta = .31$). After controlling for demographic factors, an individual's level of political cynicism was also a significant indicator of war attitude. The more politically cynical an individual felt, the less supportive of war the individual became. For every point higher on a 5-point-politcal-cynicism-scale a person scores, the individual's attitude about war tended to be more negative by .14 out of a total point 5 (t = 2.87, $p \le .01$, $\beta = .14$).

Table 8: ANOVA: War Attitude

Group	Mean (Std. Deviation)
Control Group (G1)	2.89 (.79)
3 Ads Shown (G2)	2.91 (.74)
9 Ads Shown (G3)	2.63 (.87)
	F = 3.28 P = .039

The ANOVA test was used to examine differences in the effects of different exposure volumes of military ads between the groups. There were significant differences in the attitudes about war between the three groups exposed to different levels of military ads (F [2, 368] = 3.28, p \leq .039). According to post-hoc test, study participants that received the treatment of watching nine U.S. military commercials (G3) had a significantly more negative attitudes about war than participants that only received the treatment of watching three advertisements (G2) (p \leq .046). There were no significant differences in war attitudes between G1 and G2 or G1 and G3.

This experiment confirmed Hypothesis—increasing the volume of advertising did in fact significantly increase negative youth attitudes about war. Hypothesis 2, which predicted increased exposure to military commercials would increase youth propensity to enlist, was not confirmed. There was not a significant difference regarding propensity to

enlist in the U.S. Military between the groups. Refer to Table 9 to see distribution of responses to the question: How likely is the possibility that you will enlist into any branch of the U.S. Military?

Score	Likelihood Individual Will Enlist	% Distribution of Responses for Sample as a Whole		
1	Not Likely at All	61.2%		82.2%
2	Not Very Likely	21.0%	=	82.2%
3	Moderately Likely	9.4%		
4	Very Likely	1.9%		4.3%
5	Extremely Likely	2.4%	=	4.3%
6	I am already enlisted in the U.S. Military.	3.2%		

Table 9: Percentage distribution of propensity levels

One possible theory as to why increased exposure to military ads was an insignificant factor in increasing propensity is because the sample was of college students who have already chosen "higher education" in Sackett and Mavor's competitive Frame 1 (Figure 1: p. 11). In 2007, according to Defense Manpower Data Center, only 6.8% of enlistees had at least "some college" education, while 91.8% had a High School Diploma or a GED. To prove or disprove this insignificance, a similar study should be conducted of three sample groups from high schools located in close proximity to Texas

¹¹⁸ Shanea Watkins and James Sherk, "Who Serves in the U.S. Military? The Demographics of Enlisted Troops and Officers," The Heritage Foundation, August 21, 2008, http://www.heritage.org/research/reports/2008/08/ who-serves-in-the-us-military-the-demographics-of-enlisted-troops-and-officers (accessed on April 22, 2012).

State University-San Marcos. If high school student's likelihood of enlistment does not increase after more exposure to military commercials, then the conclusion that military ads fail to increase youth propensity can be generalized.

Hypothesis 3, increased volume of advertising for U.S. Military enlistment would increase individuals' level of political information—was not confirmed.

Respondents' level of political information efficacy did not significantly change, regardless of increases in the volume of exposure to military commercials. Political ads focus on government, the legislative process, and current agendas or issues. In contrast, military commercials only focus on military power and role in global affairs. It is possible that military commercials are increasing viewer knowledge of how to enlist, elements of a military lifestyle, and differing roles of each branch. To determine this, further research that includes survey questions pertaining to military knowledge is needed. With the additional military knowledge questions, an index measuring military knowledge could be created and compared between groups at different levels of exposure to military ads. This would reveal increased exposure to military ads increases military "product" knowledge, similar to political ads increasing viewers knowledge of candidate names and issue stances.

Hypothesis 4, increased volume of advertising for U.S. Military enlistment would increase individuals' level of political cynicism—was not confirmed.

Respondents' level of political cynicism did not significantly change, regardless of increases in the volume of exposure to military commercials. The first explanation for the statistical insignificance was most likely because such a large percentage (72.6%) of the sample scored as "highly cynical." If 72.6% of the sample were high political

cynics, how much more cynicism could exposure to military ads produce? The second theory is that military ads are a mixture of issue and image content, similar to the mixture of image and issue content produced political ads. Exposure to a mixture of issue and image does not influence cynicism levels. Therefore, exposure to military and or political ads do not influence youth cynicism and more research is needed to determine what is causing the youth to be overwhelmingly cynical.

VII. DISCUSSION

U.S. Military ads are increasing anti-war attitudes among their target audience—American youth. Youths' support for the Afghanistan War, current defense spending, and their overall perception of U.S. Military performance are being negatively influenced by constantly increasing military advertising. Furthermore, the high level of cynicism in the youth population is a key demographic factor that enhances the negative effects of military commercials. Even if the phenomenon of increasing anti-war attitudes in youth could be overlooked, denying military commercials' ineffectiveness at increasing youths' likelihood of enlistment cannot.

Inconsistencies in media messages focused on the military could account for the ineffectiveness of military commercials to increase propensity. *Joining Forces*, the "Support the Troops" initiative created in 2011 by First Lady Michelle Obama and Dr. Jill Biden, wife of Vice President Joe Biden, exemplifies media and military advertising message conflict. *Joining Forces* is "a national initiative that mobilizes all sectors of society to give our service members and their families the opportunities and support they have earned." On the one-year anniversary of the initiative, marked on April 11, 2012, Michelle Obama celebrated by embarking on a two-day tour of four states to make

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¹¹⁹ "Joining Forces: Taking Action to Serve America's Military Families," www.whitehouse.gov/joiningforces (accessed on April 19, 2012).

media appearances to evaluate and promote the accomplishments of the initiative. ¹²⁰ In an effort to promote military awareness to the youth, Michelle Obama appeared on popular late-night satirical television program, "The Colbert Report," staring political humorist Stephen Colbert. 121 The main themes of this episode were to bring attention to the plight of U.S. Military families and promote employment of returning Veterans and their spouses. The show began with Colbert discussing DoD reports quoted in the article "Military Families Face Financial Hurdles," from MoneyCNN.com; "the unemployment rate for [military] spouses...[is] over 3 times the national unemployment rate" and one major factor is that "military families move 10 times more often than civilian families." ¹²² In the closing interview, Michelle Obama concedes that above national average unemployment rates for Veterans and spouses is indeed a problem. She goes even further to address the issue that U.S. Military "children change schools 9 and 10 times more [than civilian children] in their education careers." 123 As a result, the failure of military commercials to increase propensity could be a due to inconsistencies in the messages from military enlistment commercials and the comments from government officials, such as First Lady Michelle Obama, when discussing "Support the Troops" initiatives.

Another example of contradictory representations of the U.S. Military in the media stems from commercials designed to promote services available to returning

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¹²⁰ Nancy Benac, "First Lady Marks 1st Year of Joining Forces," www.navytimes.com (April 11, 2012) http://www.navytimes.com/news/2012/04/ap-first-lady-marks-one-year-joining-forces-041112/ (accessed on April 19, 2012).

¹²¹ Ibid.

The Colbert Report, "Joining Forces: Michelle Obama" April 12, 2012 (originally aired on April 11, 2012). http://www.colbertnation.com/full-episodes/wed-april-11-2012-michelle-obama.html

Veterans through the Department of Veterans Affairs (V.A.). ¹²⁴ The V.A. advertising campaign began in 2010 and "encourages Veterans to take full advantage of the V.A. benefits and services they have earned." ¹²⁵ These commercials highlight V.A. services that help returning soldiers achieve "a seamless transition between [being a] military Service member to a civilian again" they also "address possible health issues, going to college, finding employment, and buying a home." ¹²⁶ During primetime evening programs, U.S. Military sponsored commercials promote enlistment while U.S. V.A. sponsored commercials promoting available help to overcome the terrifying challenges of being a Veteran. These messages are contradictory. The obvious disconnect in these commercials invalidates the trustworthiness of the message sponsor—thus reducing the effectiveness of commercials with a military focus..

Some of the mixed messages young citizens today are trying to process include: (1) information from military commercials that promise personal improvement and job stability to enlistees; (2) Veterans and spouses suffer from above national average unemployment; (3) military children experience tremulous educational careers; (4) as a Veteran you may experience a rocky transition back to civilian life, and 5) as a Veteran you may experience military related health issues. With help like that, it is much easier to understand why McCann WorldGroup's five-year advertising contract with the Army may cost upwards of \$1 billion.

Military commercials do not appear to be increasing youth political efficacy or cynicism. One explanation why military commercials are not altering these attitudes in

¹²⁴ "VA Video Outreach Message Aimed at New Veterans," Veterans Affairs Department Documents and Publications. (October 12, 2010).

¹²³ Ibid

¹²⁶ Ibid.

Generation Y is because these sentiments were already engrained at a very young age; meaning individuals' levels of cynicism are determined by factors that occurred before the individual was old enough to consider joining the military. These factors may include bureaucratic, inflexible public education systems; less family stability; the economy; pop culture; and more. A deeper understanding of youths 'attitudes and perceptions regarding the military and the government is fundamental to increasing political participation.

In summary, the future of the U.S.'s All-Volunteer Force is called into question by the evident effects of military commercials on youth. As the cynical, non-voting, anti-war Generation Y ages, the future of the U.S. Military becomes increasingly unclear. Over time, as convincing youths to enlist becomes more challenging and expensive, political debate over the proper balance of enjoying personal liberties while fulfilling patriotic duty as sure to arise. These types of questions are particular hot topics in American politics because America has always prided itself on being home to the *most free* democracy on the globe.

Proposal for Future Research

As of 2008, Texas held the fifth highest military recruitment rate at 2.31% of its total population. Considering Texas is a largely pro-military state, the findings of this study that military commercials are promoting anti-war sentiment in youths is even more valid. To determine if this study's finding can be generalized to the national population, a similar (if not identical) study should be conducted in Blue and Purple states, such as

¹²⁷ Tim Murphey and Bill Bishop, "U.S. Army Recruits by State, 2008," www.dailyyonder.com, (March 1, 2009) http://www.dailyyonder.com/us-army-recruits-state-2008/2009/03/01/1965 (accessed on April 19, 2012).

California and Florida. Data from this study conducted in Texas, a Red state, should be compared to a Democrat (a Blues state) and swing state (a Purple state) to determine if increased exposure to military commercials is promoting anti-war attitudes of youths on a national level.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Questionnaire Version for Group 1

Please, circle which option below best describes your opinion for questions 1-10.

1) 'I support the current Afghanistan War.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree
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2) 'The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 billion is an appropriate amount of money to spend.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

3) 'The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 billion should be cut in half.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

4) 'I am satisfied with the U.S.'s performance in the current Afghanistan War.'

-					
	Dissatisfied	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Satisfied
	215540151104	Dissatisfied	110001111	Satisfied	
		Dissaustieu		Saustieu	

5) 'I am satisfied with the Obama Presidential Administration's performance in the current Afghanistan War.'

Dissatisfied	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Satisfied
	Dissatisfied		Satisfied	

6)	'Over the last decade,	the U.S.	has grea	itly reduced	the threat	of homeland	terrorist
	attacks.'						

Disagree	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Agree
	Disagree		Agree	

7) 'Military recruiters should be allowed on high school grounds to inform the youth of the benefits of joining the military.'

Disagree	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Agree
	Disagree		Agree	

8) How likely is the possibility that you will enlist into any branch of the U.S. Military?

Extremely Likely	Very Likely	Moderately Likely	Not Very Likely	Not Likely at All	I am Already Enlisted in the U.S. Military.
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9) Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops to install democratic governments in states where dictators rule?

Favor	Oppose

10) Please choose the political group listed below that you feel most closely represents you.

Coffee Party	Occupy Wall Street	Tea Party	Libertarian	Other:(Please specify)
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Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the statements in numbers 11 through 15.

11) 'Sometimes, politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

12) 'I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.'

Disagree	Somewhat	Neither	Somewhat	Agree
	Disagree	Agree or	Agree	

13) 'I understand the political issues facing our country very well.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

14) 'Public officials don't care much what people like me think.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

15) 'People like me don't have any say about what the government does.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree
	•		•	

Please, choose the answer that is most true or respond in the blank space provided for questions 16-25.

16) When you follow the news, how interested are you in news about the relations of the U.S. with other countries?

Extremely	Very	Moderately	Slightly	Not
Interested	Interested	Interested	Interested	Interested

17) On average, how many hours per week do you dedicate to watching, reading, or listening to the news?

0-2 Hours 2-4 Hours per Week per Week	6-8 Hours per Week	8-10 Hours per Week	10+ Hours per Week
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- 18) Please numerically rank in order from MOST (4) to LEAST (1) the sources of news media from which you get most of your information.
 - a) TV _____
 - b) Radio _____
 - c) Internet
 - d) Newspaper _____
- 19) What is your age?

20) What is your gender?

Male	Female
------	--------

21) What is your race/ethnicity?

African/	Asian	Caucasian/	Hispanic	Other
Black		White		

22) Which political party best applies to you?

Democrat	Republican	Independent	Other

23) Which socio-economic status listed below best applies to you?

Low	Lower-	Middle	Upper-	Upper
Socio-	Middle	Socio-	Middle	Socio-
Economic	Socio-	Economic	Socio-	Economic
Status	Economic Status	Status.	Economic Status	Status

24) How many people in your immediate family have ever served in any faction of the U.S. Military?

0	1	2	3	4+

25) Did you vote in the last general/mid-term elections?

Yes	No

Appendix B: Questionnaire Version for Group 2 and Group 3

Please, circle which option below best describes your opinion for questions 1-10.

1) 'I support the current Afghanistan War.'

Disagree Somewhat Neither Somewhat Agree Disagree Agree or Agree Disagree

2) 'The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 billion is an appropriate amount of money to spend.'

	mewhat Agree Agree
--	-----------------------

3) 'The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 billion should be cut in half.'

Disagree Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree
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4) 'I am satisfied with the U.S.'s performance in the current Afghanistan War.'

Dissatisfied Somewh Dissatisfi		Somewhat Satisfied	Satisfied
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5) 'I am satisfied with the Obama Presidential Administration's performance in the current Afghanistan War.'

Dissatisfied Somewhat Neutral Somewhat S Satisfied	sfied	
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6) 'Over the last decade, the U.S. has greatly reduced the threat of homeland terrorist attacks.'

Disagree	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Agree
	Disagree		Agree	

7) 'Military recruiters should be allowed on high school grounds to inform the youth of the benefits of joining the military.'

Disagree Somewhat Neutral Somewhat Agree Agree	Disagree		Neutral		Agree
--	----------	--	---------	--	-------

8) How likely is the possibility that you will enlist into any branch of the U.S. Military?

Extremely Likely	Very Likely	Moderately Likely	Not Very Likely	Not Likely at All	I am Already Enlisted in the U.S. Military.
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9) Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops to install democratic governments in states where dictators rule?

Favor	Oppose

10) Please choose the political group listed below that you feel most closely represents you.

Coffee	Occupy	Tea	Libertarian	Other:
Party	Wall Street	Party		(Please Specify)

STOP

Please Wait

DO NOT
TURN PAGE
UNTIL
ASKED

Please, circle which option below best describes your opinion for questions 1-10.

1) 'I support the current Afghanistan War.'

Disagree Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree
----------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------	-------

2) 'The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 billion is an appropriate amount of money to spend.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

3) 'The 2012 U.S. Defense budget of approximately \$675 billion should be cut in half.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree
----------	----------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------	-------

4) 'I am satisfied with the U.S.'s performance in the current Afghanistan War.'

Dissatisfied	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Satisfied
	Dissatisfied		Satisfied	

5) 'I am satisfied with the Obama Presidential Administration's performance in the current Afghanistan War.'

Dissatisfied	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Satisfied
	Dissatisfied		Satisfied	

6) 'Over the last decade, the U.S. has greatly reduced the threat of homeland terrorist attacks.'

Disagree	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Agree
Disagree	Disagree	recutat	Agree	Agice

7) 'Military recruiters should be allowed on high school grounds to inform the youth of the benefits of joining the military.'

Disagree	Somewhat	Neutral	Somewhat	Agree
	Disagree		Agree	

8) How likely is the possibility that you will enlist into any branch of the U.S. Military?

	Extremely Likely	Very Likely	Moderately Likely	Not Very Likely	Not Likely at All	I am Already Enlisted in the U.S. Military.
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9) Would you favor or oppose the use of U.S. troops to install democratic governments in states where dictators rule?

Favor	Oppose

10) Please choose the political group listed below that you feel most closely represents you.

Party Wall Party (Please Specify)	(Please Specify)
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Please tell me how strongly you agree or disagree with the statements in numbers 11 through 15.

11) 'Sometimes, politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.'

Disagree Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree
----------------------------	---------------------------------	-------------------	-------

12) 'I feel that I have a pretty good understanding of the important political issues facing our country.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

13) 'I understand the political issues facing our country very well.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
		Disagree		

14) 'Public officials don't care much what people like me think.'

Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or	Somewhat Agree	Agree
	Disagree	Disagree	Agice	

15) 'People like me don't have any say about what the government does.'

	Disagree	Somewhat Disagree	Neither Agree or Disagree	Somewhat Agree	Agree
L		I	<u> </u>		

Please, choose the answer that is most true or respond in the blank space provided for questions 16-25.

16) When you follow the news, how interested are you in news about the relations of the U.S. with other countries?

Extremely	Very	Moderately	Slightly	Not
Interested	Interested	Interested	Interested	Interested

17) On average, how many hours per week do you dedicate to watching, reading, or listening to the news?

0-2 Hours per Week	2-4 Hours per Week	6-8 Hours per Week	8-10 Hours per Week	10+ Hours per Week
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18) Please numerically rank in order from MOST (4) to LEAST (1) the so	ources of
news media from which you get most of your information.	

- e) TV _____
- f) Radio _____
- g) Internet _____
- h) Newspaper _____
- 19) What is your age?
- 20) What is your gender?

Male Female

21) What is your race/ethnicity?

African/	Asian	Caucasian/	Hispanic	Other
Black		White		

22) Which political party best applies to you?

Democrat Republican	Independent	Other
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23) Which socio-economic status listed below best applies to you?

Low Socio-	Lower- Middle	Middle Socio-	Upper- Middle	Upper Socio-
Economic	Socio-	Economic	Socio-	Economic
Status	Economic	Status.	Economic	Status
	Status		Status	

24) How many people in your immediate family have ever served in any faction of the U.S. Military?

0	1	2	3	4+
	1	2	5	T 1

25) Did you vote in the last general/mid-term elections?

Yes	No

Appendix C: Video Style Code Sheet: Adapted Version for Military Enlistment Commercials and Reponses

1)	Which sector of the military is the ad representing/sponsoring the ad?
	(1) Army(2) Air Force(3) Marines(4) Navy
2)	What is the length of the ad?
	 (1) Less than 30 seconds (2) 30 seconds to 1 minute (3) 1 minute to 2 minutes (4) Longer than 2 minutes
3)	What is the arrangement of the ad?
4)	If music is present, what is the style of music?
	 (0) Not present (1) Classical (2) Modern (pop, rock, jazz) (3) Instrumental (background but cannot be defined as classical or modern) (4) Marching music (5) Trumpet or announcing music (6) Fold music/country/western (7) National anthem (8) Official military sector "logo/branding" anthem/song (9) Other

- 5) What is the relationship between the music and the text?
 - (1) More music than text
 - (2) More text than music
 - (3) Balance between text and music
- 6) Which category of emotion listed below does the music mostly produce?

(1)	cheerful, gay, happy	(6)	dark, depressing
(2)	fanciful, light	(7)	sacred, spiritual
(3)	delicate, graceful	(8)	triumphant, exciting, dramatic
(4)	sentimental, nostalgic	(9)	agitated, angry
(5)	longing, pathetic		

- 7) Who is the main narrator of the text in the ad?
 - (1) Individual(s) already actively enlisted in the military
 - (2) Prospective military enlisters
 - (3) Anonymous third party
 - (4) No narration in the ad
- 8) Does the narrator have eye contact directly with the viewer?
 - (1) Almost always
 - (2) Sometimes
 - (3) Almost never
 - (4) N/A
- 9) What is the main setting of the ad?
 - (1) Active duty scenarios
 - (2) Scenes of family
 - (3) American culture iconic scenes
 - (4) Combination
 - (5) Other (specify)

10) Which benefit of joining the military does the ad mostly highlight or focus on?
(1) Adventure
(2) Education
(3) Personal Legacy
(4) Patriotic Duty
(5) Becoming a member of a group
(6) Superiority
(7) Other (specify)
11) How is the staging of the ad?
(1) All obviously staged
(2) Natural appearing
(3) Cannot be determined
(4) Other (specify)
12) Which type of shot is used for the majority of the ad?
(1) Long slow paced shots pieced together
(2) Short fast paced shots pieced together
(3) Combination of fast and slow paced shots
(4) Other (specify)
13) Are computer graphics used to enhance the ad?
(0) No
(1) Yes
(1) 165
14) What is the tone of the ad?
(1) Negative Dark
(2) Negative Bright
(3) Positive Dark
(4) Positive Bright
(1) I dollare Bright
15) Which type of appeal do the effects of the ad produce?
(1) Emotional Appeal
(2) Logical (Issue-Oriented) Appeal
(3) Both
(4) Other (specify)

Reponses to Video Style Code Sheet

Ad Sequence # for G3	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Video Style Code sheet Questio n#			sequence # 2 for G2			sequence # 1 for G2		sequence # 3 for G2	
1	Army	U.S. M.C.	Navy	Army	Air Force	Army	Navy	U.S. M.C.	Army
2	1	2	2	1	2	2	1	2,3	2,3
3	refer to text	refer to text	refer to text	refer to text	refer to text	refer to text	refer to text	refer to text	refer to text
4	5, 8	5, 8	5, 8	3	2	2, 3, 5	2	3, 5, 8	8
5	3	1	3	1	3	3	1	3	3
6	8	7, 8	4, 7, 8	4	8	8	8	1, 8	4, 8
7	3	3	3	4	3	1	4	1, 3	1
8	1	3, 4	4	4	4	4	4	3	1
9	5	4	1	3, 5	1	1	1	1	1
10	3, 5	4, 7	1, 3, 4	3, 4	6	1, 7	1	1, 6	3
11	2	2	2, 3	1	2	1, 2	2	1, 2	1
12	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3
13	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0	0
14	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1
15	1, 2, 3	1, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 3	1, 2, 3	1, 2, 3	1	1	1, 2

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