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February 2002

MODERATOR GUIDE

Terrorism

What Should We Do Now?

September 11, 2001, is now engraved in the hearts and minds of people all over the world. The most contentious questions for American citizens are how to respond to the attacks on this nation, and what actions can be taken to minimize the likelihood of continued terrorism. We now face tough questions about how to proceed over the longer term. The nation's overall strategy for containing such violent acts should not, of course, be limited to any single approach, whether military strikes, or humanitarian gestures, the tightening of domestic security or the launch of a "Marshall Plan" for the Middle East. This book is designed to facilitate public deliberation about how we, as a society, should respond to the events and causes of the terrorist attacks. It provides an overview of the issue and outlines three different approaches, using ideas drawn from across the political spectrum. Choices have to be made about principles and priorities, about the value of each of these approaches, as well as the costs and trade-offs associated with each of them.

APPROACH 1: The Sword of All-Out War

We will never be secure unless the necessity of using every means at our disposal is recognized – including the nation's formidable intelligence and military capabilities. We must use our military and strategic capabilities to find and destroy terrorist organizations and to enforce severe sanctions against nations who harbor terrorists.

APPROACH 2: The Shield of Homeland Security

The United States will not be secure until we become a more attentive and alert society and take our own domestic security more seriously. We have to be willing to accept far-reaching changes in our day-to-day lives to make security our greatest objective.

APPROACH 3: The Battle for Hearts and Minds

We will never know security unless we acknowledge deep-seated grievances that much of the Muslim world feels toward the United States. We should reassess and make adjustments in how our nation wields its power and influence in political, military, and economic contexts.

Approaches and Choices; Choice Work, and NIF

If you're preparing to moderate a National Issues Forum, then you've become familiar with the structure of deliberative dialogue that NIF supports. Discussion guides, starter tapes, and deliberative forums focus on approaches, sometimes also called "choices" in NIF material.

And you know that each approach represents a distinctly different way of approaching an issue, with its own set of benefits, drawbacks, and tradeoffs.

This structure undergirds the basic premise of public deliberation — that citizens in a democracy have a responsibility, and need opportunities, to make choices about how they want to live together, how they want to act together, how they want their government to function.

Sometimes, forum participants find these uses of the word "choice" confusing. Some assume that they are being asked to choose one of the approaches. And, of course, they are not.

Many moderators find it helpful to clarify, at the beginning of the forum, that the work of the forum is to weigh each approach, to "work through" consequences and tradeoffs, and to form a shared sense of what's at stake in the issue. They make it clear that by developing shared directions for public action, forum participants are laying the foundation for making public choices together.

If this is your first experience as a moderator:

You don't have to be an expert on the issue.

Reading the issue book thoroughly, considering questions that get to the heart of the issue, and thinking through the essence of each choice is the critical part of preparation.

Stay focused on what the forum is about — deliberation.

Your natural curiosity and your interest in understanding diverse views will be your greatest assets; they're probably what got you here in the first place. So use them to ask questions that probe the underlying motivations of each choice, the tradeoffs it might require, and the willingness of the participants to recognize them.

Keep the discussion moving and focused on the issue.

No matter the level of experience, most moderators find timekeeping to be a challenge. National Issues Forums examine complicated issues, worthy of deep discussion. Sometimes it's hard to move on to another approach with so much more that could be said. But in order to deliberate — to really make progress on the issue — participants need the opportunity to weigh all the major approaches.

Reserve ample time for reflections on the forum.

Between allowing time for participants to lay out their personal concerns about the issue at the beginning of the forum and the demanding work of deliberating in depth on each of the choices, it's easy to find yourself with little time left at the end of the forum to reflect on what's been said. But, in many ways, this is the most important work the group will do — if they have time to do it. Explain clearly at the outset that it is important to reserve this time, and then enlist the participants' support in working with you to preserve it.

Your Role as a Moderator:

- to provide an overview of the process of deliberation — the rationale for the kind of work the participants are getting ready to do.
- to ask questions that probe deeply into what's at stake in the issue and in each choice.
- to encourage participants to direct their responses and questions toward one another.
- to remain neutral throughout the discussion, while encouraging participants to explore all facets of their own and others' opinions.
- to keep track of the time, so participants can move through a discussion of each of the major approaches and into an ending period of reflections.

The Role of the Recorder:

- to support deliberation by reminding forum participants of their key concerns, the areas of greatest disagreement, and the benefits and tradeoffs their discussion highlighted.
- to serve as a written record of the group's work that might feed into future meetings of the group or additional forums.
- to help inform other members of the community about the outcomes of the deliberation.
- to capture the tensions, tradeoffs, and common ground for action.
- to express main ideas in clearly written brief phrases.

Forums or Study Circles — or Both?

Many NIF convenors choose to organize single forums around issues of concern in their communities. Most single forums last two to two-and-one-half hours.

Many others, however, arrange multiple sessions (study circles) to allow participants greater opportunities to examine issues in depth. Some groups set aside time for two meetings; others might devote a separate session for each choice. And some plan ahead of time for a session after the forum to come back together to consider next steps.

Some communities begin their examination of an issue in a large group forum and then break off into smaller groups for subsequent sessions. The reverse also can be helpful — starting in small groups and culminating in a larger community forum.

National Issues Forums is about encouraging public deliberation. The needs of your community will drive the schedule in which deliberation can best occur.

Guidelines for National Issues Forums and Study Circles

At the beginning of deliberative discussion, most moderators review these guidelines with participants. (A free poster with these guidelines is available to use in your forum. You may request a copy by calling 800-600-4060.)

The moderator will guide the discussion yet remain neutral. The moderator will make sure that —

- Everyone is encouraged to participate.
- No one or two individuals dominate.
- The discussion will focus on the choices.
- All the major choices or positions on the issue are considered.
- An atmosphere for discussion and analysis of the alternatives is maintained.
- We listen to each other.

The importance of the questionnaires

Pre- and Post-Forum Questionnaires play an important role in your local forum — and in the national NIF Network.

The Pre-Forum Questionnaire helps participants direct their thinking to the complexities of the issue, to take an assessment of the views they will bring to the discussion. Its structure focuses on what is at stake in the issue and what tradeoffs might be involved.

The Post-Forum Questionnaire also serves multiple purposes. It gives participants an opportunity to reconsider their views in light of the experience they have just had. It gives them an opportunity to add to what they said or heard in the forum.

The questionnaires also serve a vital role outside of the forum. As a means of capturing what happened in the forum, they provide information that can be used to communicate participants' views to others — to officeholders, to the media, to other citizens.

Nationally, a report on the outcomes of the forums on a given issue is produced each year, based on extensive interviews with moderators and the questionnaires that forums generate. Some communities use questionnaires as part of reports on the outcomes of local forums.

So it is very important that you, as the forum moderator, take a few minutes to gather and return the questionnaires to the National Issues Forums Institute. Please include the Moderator Response sheet on page 12 with your contact information so that follow-up for the national report is possible.

Return the completed Pre- and Post-Forum Questionnaires to:

**National Issues Forums Research
100 Commons Road
Dayton, Ohio 45459-2777**

Communicating about your forums

Another important role of the moderator is to communicate with the NIF network about the forums you are conducting in your communities. Please post the dates and locations of your forums on www.nifi.org.

Terrorism: What Should We Do Now?

Questions to Promote Deliberation of the Issue

As you examine this issue together with forum participants, you (and they) will undoubtedly think of questions that are at the heart of what makes the issue compelling. Many of these questions will arise during the forum, based on responses of the participants and to one another. In some forums, certain questions will likely arise that could derail the deliberation, if the moderator allows them to do so. In forums about our responses to terrorism, words and phrases about war, terrorism, Islamic religious organizations, and law enforcement procedures may have different meanings and elicit various responses in different people. It is possible that conflict over the meaning of these and other words may evoke questions during the forum. It is important not to simply dismiss these issues altogether, since many people will find them particularly relevant to the discussion. Rather, encourage the group to address them as they relate to the approaches as they are described in the issue book. To keep the deliberations on track, most moderators find it helpful to consider ahead of time the basic, broad questions about each approach that need to be addressed. Here are some possibilities:

Approach 1: The Sword of All-Out War

- What military or espionage actions should the United States take against countries known to harbor and support suspected terrorists?
- Should the United States act on its own if pursuing the war on terrorism as part of a coalition does not come to fruition?
- Maintaining decisive and effective military action against terrorism will cost us immensely in terms of human lives and domestic financial expenditures. Would you be willing to accept the costs in human lives and economic priorities in our country that will arise from such an endeavor?
- How will the use of continued, decisive military action help us find and destroy the people who are part of the terrorist cells all over the world who pose a major threat to society?

Approach 2: The Shield of Homeland Security

- How can we develop a way to root out suspected terrorists while also minimizing the threats to civil liberties for people living in America?
- What changes in law enforcement and investigative procedures would you support in order to strengthen our nation's domestic security?
- Who should make the decisions related to tighter security measures and expanded law enforcement procedures called for by the dangers associated with terrorism in our country?
- How does tighter domestic security impact the spread of terrorism worldwide?

Approach 3: The Battle for Hearts and Minds

- Why should we examine the role of America's political, economic, and cultural influences in the Middle East as a means to respond to terrorism?
- What actions can we identify and reasonably take once we reassess and understand the impact of policies conducted in the name of the United States around the world?
- Would you support a change in U.S. policies toward Israel and how would such changes alter the balance of power and affect the threat of terrorism?
- Is it realistic to think that a careful examination of our own motives and policies can have an impact on a breed of terrorists who view their acts as religious and divine duties?

Terrorism: What Should We Do Now?

Comparing th

As the collapse of the World Trade Center towers tore a great hole in the New York skyline, so too did it puncture the complacency of most Americans. A stunned nation rallied to repair the damage and fight back. There was broad public support for the initial actions taken in response to terrorism but now we face tough questions about how to proceed over the longer term. There are real differences among us about how to move ahead, what should be done, and what measures may be excessive. In the words of columnist Molly Ivins, “We urgently need a national dialogue about these issues.” This guide to deliberation is designed to help citizens do just that. On these pages is an outline of the material presented in this guide for talking through the issue.

Approach 1

The Sword of All-Out War

Global terrorism is a serious threat today because the United States was slow to recognize its danger and disinclined to take decisive action. We must use every means at our disposal – including the use of our formidable intelligence and military capabilities – to root out and destroy terrorist organizations and enforce severe sanctions for the nations that sponsor them. It will be important to recruit as many allies in the war on terrorism as possible, but if necessary, the U.S. must be prepared to act unilaterally.

What Should Be Done?

- Take military actions against known terrorist organizations and the countries that support them.
- Press Saudi Arabia and other Muslim nations to halt the flow of financial assistance to radical Islamic movements.
- Strengthen the U.S. capacity to gather international intelligence, and expand covert operations.
- Take preemptive military action against nations where terrorists are preparing weapons of mass destruction.

Tradeoffs

- A wartime build-up of the military and defense budget will require deferring domestic priorities.
- The cost of military success may well be substantial loss of life among American troops.

Opposing Voices

- Declaring war on terrorist cells and the countries that sponsor them would involve our nation in an endless spiral of violence and violent reprisals.
- Extended military engagements inevitably result in the loss of innocent civilian lives, which is likely to turn world opinion against us.
- This approach is not likely to succeed because it focuses on the symptoms of global conflict, not its causes.

Two Approaches

Approach 2

The Shield of Homeland Security

America's failure to take its own security seriously goes a long way toward explaining why the terrorists were so successful in carrying out their attack. We will never be safe until we make security our overriding objective. This means making far-reaching changes in our day-to-day lives, ceding more power to law-enforcement agencies, and giving up some of the civil rights we have become accustomed to claiming.

What Should Be Done?

Maintain, permanently, such high alert security measures as strict security and baggage checks at airports, guarding sites vulnerable to attack, and tightening inspections at the nation's borders.

Give law enforcement agencies more power to conduct wiretaps and detain suspects.

Adopt new measures, such as national ID cards, to identify individuals.

Subject visa applicants to greater scrutiny.

Tradeoffs

Some security measures, such as extended detention and military tribunals, will call into question a number of constitutional guarantees.

Restrictions on immigration will decrease the number of talented foreign-born individuals who come to the U.S.

Opposing Voices

In the name of protecting our security we are in danger of abandoning some of our most cherished freedoms and rights.

Increased surveillance measures will expand government access to information about our daily activities and erode our privacy.

New standards for surveillance and investigation are so broad that they are almost certain to be used against law-abiding people.

Approach 3

The Battle for Hearts and Minds

We will never be secure unless we acknowledge and understand the resentment and rage that much of the Muslim world feels toward the United States. We will have to reassess and revise the way U.S. power and influence are wielded in the Middle East and elsewhere in the world.

What Should Be Done?

- Establish dialogue with moderate Muslims— in U.S. communities and internationally — to become more aware of how the U.S. is perceived in other nations.
- Stop pursuing our narrow strategic interest in Middle Eastern oil while turning a blind eye to the welfare of the people who live in those nations.
- Offer additional assistance to moderate Arab states, on the condition that they not give in to radicals.
- Change U.S. policy toward Israel, making support for that nation contingent on their restraint, and their withdrawal from the West Bank.

Tradeoffs

- To end our dependence on oil from the Middle East, we will have to put up with higher oil costs and stricter standards of fuel economy.
- Setting strict conditions for continued U.S. support of Israel would have serious political consequences for many American officeholders.

Opposing Voices

- This approach amounts to accepting the blame for barbaric acts of terrorism. Nothing can justify those acts.
- The radical Islamic goal is not to eliminate injustice; it is to eliminate opposition. There is no way to accommodate that goal without compromising basic American values.
- Much of the American way of life depends on a steady supply of oil. We have every right to pursue our interests in the Middle East.

Suggested Format for an NIF Forum or Study Circle

Welcome

Let participants know who is sponsoring the forum/study circle. Stress the cosponsorship if several organizations are involved.

Questionnaire (Pre-Forum)

Remind people that the Pre-Forum Questionnaire is a way to get everyone focused on the issue and a way for each participant to take inventory of initial feelings on the issue. Tell them there'll be another questionnaire for them after these deliberations end.

(Pre- and Post-Forum Questionnaires are found at the end of the issue book. You may want to provide copies to participants separately if they do not want to tear these pages out of their issue books. If you distribute separate copies, it is wise to make the Pre- and Post-Forum Questionnaires on different colored paper so that they easily may be kept separate.)

Ground Rules

MAKE CLEAR THAT THE FORUM IS NOT A DEBATE. Stress that there is work to do, and that the work is to move toward making a choice on a public policy issue. The work will be done through deliberation. Review the paragraph "How Do We Do It?" (see page 11). The responsibility for doing the work of deliberation belongs to the group. Deliberation is necessary because there are competing approaches to solving the problem.

Starter Video

Explain that the video reviews the problems underlying the issue, then briefly examines three or four public policy alternatives. In so doing, it sets the stage for deliberation. (Starter videos for each issue book are available from Kendall/Hunt Publishing Company at 1-800-228-0810.)

Personal Stake

Connect the issues to people's lives and concerns — in the first few minutes — by getting participants to talk about their personal experiences with the issue, and to tell their stories. This makes the issue genuine, human rather than abstract. Some questions you might ask include: "Has anyone had a personal experience that illustrates the problems associated with this issue?" "Within your family, or circle of friends, is this an important issue?" "What aspects of the issue are most important to you?" "How does the issue affect people?"

The Forum/Study Circle Deliberation

**Consistent with what deliberation is,
moderators ask basic types of
questions in a forum:**

What Is Valuable to Us?

This question gets at why making public choices is so difficult: the approaches turn on things that people care about very deeply, such as being secure or being treated fairly. This question can take many forms:

- How has this issue affected you personally? (Usually asked at the beginning.)
 - What things are most valuable to people who support this option?
 - What is appealing about this approach?
 - What makes this choice a good idea — or a bad one?
-

What Are the Costs or Consequences Associated with the Various Choices?

This question can take as long as it prompts people to think about the likely effects of various approaches on what is valuable to them. Examples include:

- What would result from doing what this approach proposes?
 - What could be the consequences of doing what you are suggesting?
 - Can you give an example of what you think would happen?
 - Does anyone have a different estimate of costs or consequences?
-

What Are the Tensions or Conflicts in This Issue That We Have to “Work Through”?

As a forum progresses, moderators will ask questions that draw out conflicts or tensions that people have to “work through.” They might ask:

- What do you see as the tension between the approaches?
- Where are the conflicts that grow out of what we’ve said about this issue?
- Why is this issue so difficult to decide?
- What are the “gray areas”?
- What remains unsolved for this group?

Ending A Forum/Study Circle

Before ending a forum take a few minutes to reflect both individually and as a group on what has been accomplished. Questions like the following have been useful:

I. Individual Reflections

- How has your thinking about the issue changed?
- How has your thinking about other people's views changed?
- How has your perspective changed as a result of what you heard in this forum?

II. Group Reflections

- What didn't we work through?
- Can we identify any shared sense of purpose or direction?
- What tradeoffs are we, or are we not, willing to make to move in a shared direction?

III. Next-Step Reflections

- What do we still need to talk about?
- How can we use what we learned about ourselves in this forum?
- Do we want to meet again?

Questionnaire (Post-Forum)

The Post-Forum Questionnaire is a way to face the conflict within ourselves. Often we discover aspects of each choice we hold most valuable. Yet, the things we care deeply about are often in conflict. Please return the questionnaires and the Moderator Response sheet on page 12 after the forum.

Suggested Time Line

Stages of a Forum/Study Circle

15% for Opening

- Welcome** — The convenor or moderator introduces NIF program.
- Questionnaire** — Participants complete Pre-Forum Questionnaire.
- Ground Rules** — Participants review desired outcomes of forum.
- Starter Video** — The starter video sets the tone for the discussion.
- Personal Stake** — Connect the issue to people's lives and concerns.
- The Deliberation** — Participants examine all the choices.

65% for Deliberation

20% for Ending the Forum/Study Circle

- Ending the Forum** — Reflect on what has been accomplished.
- Questionnaire** — Participants complete Post-Forum Questionnaire.

NIF Forums and Study Circles

Why Are We Here? What Are We Going to Do?

We are here to move toward a public decision or CHOICE on a difficult issue through CHOICE WORK.

How Do We Do It?

Through a deliberative dialogue in which we:

- Understand the PROS and CONS of each approach, its BENEFITS, DRAWBACKS, & TRADEOFFS.
 - Know the STRATEGIC FACTS and how they affect the way the group thinks about each option.
 - Get beyond the initial positions people hold to their deeper motivations — the things people consider to be most valuable in everyday life.
 - Weigh carefully the views of others; appreciate the impact various options would have on what others consider valuable.
 - WORK THROUGH the conflicting emotions that arise when various options pull and tug on what people consider valuable.
-

How Can We Know If We Are Making Progress?

By constantly testing your group:

- Can your group make the best case for the approach least favored?
 - Can it identify the negative effects of the approach most favored?
-

FOR MORE INFORMATION

To order the *Terrorism: What Should We Do Now?* issue book and starter tape call Kendall/Hunt Publishing Co. 800-228-0810, fax 800-772-9165 or mail to National Issues Forums Research, 100 Commons Road, Dayton, OH 45459.

Moderator guides and forum posters are also available, call 800-600-4060.

For other information and comments, visit the NIF Web site at nifi.org or call NIF Research at 800-433-7834.

To post the dates and locations of your forums, go to the calendar page at www.nifi.org

NIF convenor Margaret Holt served as contributing editor of this guide.

Terrorism: What Should We Do Now?

Moderator Response

After the forum, please complete this brief response sheet and return it with the questionnaires from the forum.

Moderator's Name _____

Phone _____ **Date and location of forum** _____

Briefly describe the audience of your forum including city and state, diversity, age of participants, number of participants.

What elements of this issue seemed most difficult to the participants?

What common concerns were most apparent?

Were there tradeoffs most participants would accept? Describe.

Were there tradeoffs most participants would not accept? Describe.

Did the group identify shared directions for action?

Return with questionnaires to:

National Issues Forums Research

100 Commons Road, Dayton, Ohio 45459-2777

www.nifi.org

In Your Community...

Think of examples of how the events of September 11, 2001, and the continued threat of terrorism have affected everyday life in your community. Please describe.

Give some examples of how the citizens in your own community have responded to the recent events and the continued threat of terrorism. Please describe.

Think about how you and your community have been able to maintain your quality of life while also recognizing and responding to the changes we all must now make. Please describe your examples.
