Framing Terrorism: Implications for Public Opinion, Civil Liberties, and Counterterrorism Policies

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ABSTRACT

The competing values of national security and civil liberties have been contested as conflicting ideas during times of national emergencies and war, in which the canonical knowledge asserts that the temporary secession of civil liberties is sometimes necessary to protect national security. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack there has been increased pressure on the U.S. government to provide safety and security, which has required Americans to accept certain restrictions on their freedoms, leading to debates about whether liberty or security should be prioritized. The increasing popularization of securitization in post 9/11 discourse justified by a perpetual state of emergency via the War on Terror, has reinforced the racialization of reified "others," specifically Muslims or people who are perceived to be descendent from the Middle East. The conceptualization of Middle Easterners as 'terrorists' and 'threats' to be securitized has been constructed by political elites and media narratives to garner support for security measures leading to the diminished civil liberties of those stereotyped as "terrorists."

Using the theoretical approach of racialized "othering" and the minority threat perception, this research seeks to analyze public opinion on counterterrorism policies when the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of perpetrators in a hypothetical terrorist attack scenario are manipulated. To investigate this premise, an online survey experiment distributed through Amazon MTurk was conducted to gather public opinion data on counterterrorism policies. Regression analyses were conducted from the 314 respondents to evaluate support amongst various social groups for the counterterrorism policies and whether or not this support was affected by the presence of either American-born, White, men motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism or American-born, men of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism. Respondents were asked to evaluate two counterterrorism policies, one that required ceding the civil liberties of the public at large, and the other required ceding the civil liberties of suspected terrorists specifically – which is also referred to as the 'punitive' policy throughout the research.

Overall, respondents were more likely to support the policy requiring ceding civil liberties in general, than the punitive policy that would take away the civil liberties of suspected terrorist. When factoring in survey type, respondents in general were more likely to support the punitive policy when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey and were also the most likely to support the policy requiring the public to cede their civil liberties when taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey. The willingness to cede civil liberties increased for Black and Asian respondents with the presence of the White/Far-right extremism survey, while willingness to cede civil liberties decreased for White respondents taking the same survey. In general, conservatives were more likely to cede their civil liberties than liberals, and liberals were more likely to view counterterrorism policies as ineffective. When accounting for the effects of survey type on ideology, the results show that conservatives were the least likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey, while liberals were the most likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey.

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GENERAL AUDIENCE ABSTRACT

This thesis explores the role of issue framing, and threat perception on terrorism and its effects on public perception of the liberty vs. security paradigm by way of support for counterterrorism policies. Specifically, this research aims to assess whether support for counterterrorism policies by social group (focusing on race and ideology) varies when the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators are manipulated in a hypothetical terrorist attack scenario. In order to test this effect, a survey experiment was conducted to gather public opinion data on counterterrorism policies which emulated the liberty/security trade-offs within the Patriot Act. The survey was distributed through the online platform Amazon MTurk which garnered 314 responses. Regression analyses were conducted to evaluate support amongst various social groups for the counterterrorism policies and whether or not this support was affected by the presence of either American-born, White, men motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism or American-born, men of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism. Using the theoretical approach of "othering" and the minority threat perception that contributes to desires for increased social controls and levels of punitiveness among the public, this research evaluates respondents' willingness to cede their own civil liberties as well as their support for punitive policies that take away the civil liberties of the perpetrators based on the survey/stimuli respondents received.

Overall, respondents were more likely to support the policy requiring ceding civil liberties, than support the punitive policy that would take away the civil liberties of the perpetrators. When factoring in survey type, respondents in general were more likely to support the punitive policy when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey and were also the most likely to support the policy requiring the public to cede their civil liberties when taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey. The willingness to cede civil liberties increased for Black and Asian respondents with the presence of the White/Far-right extremism survey, while the willingness to cede civil liberties decreased for White respondents with the presence of the White/Far-right extremism survey. In general, conservatives were more likely to cede their civil liberties than liberals, and liberals were more likely to view counterterrorism policies as ineffective. When accounting for the effects of survey type on ideology, the results show that conservatives were the least likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey, while liberals were the most likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

A critical question within counterterrorism and security studies concerns the extent to which the government adequately balances the competing values of national security and civil liberties when faced with a response to national emergencies such as war or terrorist attacks. The competing values of national security and civil liberties have been contested on the grounds of which principle should take precedence during times of national emergencies and war, thus creating the liberty/safety paradigm. After the September 11, 2001 terrorist attack there has been increased pressure on the U.S. government to provide safety and security, which has required Americans to accept certain restrictions on their freedoms. The response to the 9/11 terrorist attack has increasingly led to debates about the "contestability of rights," and Americans' willingness to trade off civil liberties and personal freedom for a greater sense of security during national emergencies (Sniderman et al. 1996; Davis and Silver 2004).

Furthermore, political elites and the media have generated distinct forms of knowledge production associated with the socially constructed category of 'terrorism' resulting in stereotypes of Muslims and individuals perceived to be of Middle Eastern descent that are linked to Islamic extremism and terrorism (Maclennan 2020). These stereotypes are then utilized to influence public opinion and justify counterterrorism policy responses that result in the erosion of civil liberties for anyone who fits the stereotype of a 'terrorist' thus discursively constructing 'terrorism' to "induce processes of racialized othering" (Maclennan 2020, p. 3). Employing a social constructivist approach towards understanding the concept of 'terrorism' as constructed knowledge through interaction with others relies on the monistic ontological perspective within critical terrorism studies which presumes that, "terrorism is not an entity existing independently of human interpretive practice but rather, a social construction sustained by communities of

people" (Stump and Dixit 2012, 201). This ontological starting point provides the theoretical foundation to evaluate the implications of the framing effects and racialization of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist' on public fear and perceptions of whether liberty or security should be prioritized.

The U.S. government has heightened security measures since the terrorist attack on September 11, 2001, resulting in the federal government's vast increase in surveillance of the public (Alvarez 2016). The increasing popularization of securitization in post 9/11 discourse justified by a perpetual state of emergency via the War on Terror, has reinforced the racialization of reified "others," specifically referring to Muslims or people who descend from the Middle East, and has resulted in egregious human rights violations and the stark erosion of their civil liberties (Brown 2010). Similar to the ways in which political elites and media narratives have used coded racial appeals to reinvent racism and stereotype criminals to gain greater support for punitive policies, the conceptualization of Middle Easterners as terrorists and 'threats' to be securitized, has led to increased support for security measures, punitiveness towards terrorism, and consequently, diminished civil liberties (Welch 2016). Narratives of crises further fuels political and cultural anxieties that legitimate unjust security responses permitted by a state of exception that allows for extreme measures to be taken in the name of security (Agamben 2005). The narratives from the media and political elite, have generated distinct forms of knowledge production and associations with the socially constructed category of "terrorism" and who "terrorists" are and contrarily who they are not.

Terrorism is a social construction by which the "cultural-political meaning is decided by social agreement and intersubjective practices" (Stump and Dixit 2012, p. 206). Furthermore, social actors use the label of 'terrorism' to reify the 'enemy' and justify the government transcending the rule of law for the so-called public good enacted by declaring a state of

emergency that results in the erosion of civil liberties during and after unfolding events. Notably, the reification of our 'enemies' that is heightened during state of emergencies, creates an "us" versus "them" binary that implies a good versus bad mentality subjecting individuals to subaltern "otherness," leading to more exclusive views of nationhood and citizenship culminating in the form of nativism and desires for policies to protect the interest of native-born inhabitants against those of immigrants or perceived "outsiders" (Sohoni 2006). Notably, when most counterterrorism policies are proposed, the civil liberties that are being weighed in the balance are the liberties of Muslims, Arabs, or people of Middle Eastern descent, who are "othered." By 'othering' and essentializing entire groups of people as perceived 'threats' and 'terrorists,' the withdrawal of their civil liberties is intended to be more palatable, in the sense that reification leads to dehumanization. Therefore, civil liberties are supposedly not taken from agents who are fully human thus providing a logic of illogic in justifying the curtailment of the reified others' civil liberties, making the civil liberties of "others" in the United States provisional on the circumstances of a perceived crisis.

Knowledge production of the state's necessary role to combat terrorism is conjured by political elites with the ability to frame the way counterterrorism policies are presented to the public (Jacoby 2000). It is crucial for the state to be presented as the ultimate authority to counter terrorism thus legitimating the 'necessary' and violent counterterrorism policies. This leads to distinct forms of knowledge production about the proper responses to terrorism as well as the way in which terrorism itself is viewed and studied as being committed by non-state actors. The state-centric approach to counterterrorism studies presumes that the state and the policies it implements to deal with terrorism is the sole responsible actor with the ability to manage counterterrorism efforts (Jackson 2007). With the ability of the state to define 'terrorism' as a

form of political violence committed by non-state actors, as well as who constitutes a 'terrorist' and how policies dealing with terrorism are to be presented, the state retains full control in the knowledge production around terrorism and the 'necessary' counterterrorism policies enacted to combat terrorism. The capability of the state to identify the issue, the enemy, and the solution is essential to garnering public support for counterterrorism policies. Although, the state's enactment of these policies is structured in a way that secures the safety of some at the detriment of others.

Public policy research has highlighted the unequal democratic responsiveness to public policy issues with certain social groups being more likely to see their policy preferences reflected in public policy (Schumaker and Getter 1997; Gilens 2005). Political science research further demonstrates that these segments of society (notably white, upper socioeconomic status citizens), that the government is more responsive to, have increased trust in the federal government and are thus more willing to relinquish their civil liberties in the face of national security threats (Davis and Silver 2004). For example, Gilens (2005) indicates through a logistical regression, the degree to which policy outcomes are favored or opposed based on income percentiles and finds that the probability of policy change rises somewhat dramatically for those at the top of the income distribution. Similarly, Schumaker and Getter (1977) also report a bias towards the spending preferences of upper socioeconomic status and white residents within 51 cities. Political science research further demonstrates that these segments of society that the government is more responsive to (white, upper socioeconomic status citizens), have increased trust in the federal government and thus these segments of society are more willing to relinquish their civil liberties in the face of national security threats (Davis and Silver 2004). Moreover, the common post 9/11 narrative presumes that it is acceptable to give up some liberties temporarily for increased safety,

and importantly the demographic group that is most trusting of the government (white, upper socioeconomic status citizens) is also the group whose civil liberties have historically been the most secure (Sekhon 2003).

Knowing that various social and demographic groups may respond to the security/liberty paradigm differently, how does the perception of a security threat play into this dynamic, and does the demographics/ideological affiliation of the perpetrator change the perceived level of the security threat? How do different demographic and social groups perceive the liberty/security paradigm during certain threats and what effect does this have on their willingness to cede civil liberties and support counterterrorism policies? How can the injustices of extraordinary government excess and infringement upon civil liberties be justified in a constitutional democracy that prides itself on both security and liberty?

These questions will be grappled with throughout this research experiment by evaluating the differences between social groups (based on demographics such as gender and race, as well as other factors that link people to similar characteristics, such as political affiliation) and their varying threat perceptions that are associated with the understanding of who constitutes a 'terrorist' and a 'threat' in relation to their willingness to cede civil liberties, as well as the civil liberties of others, and their support for increasingly punitive counterterrorism policies. Using the theoretical approach of racialized "othering" and the minority threat perception that contributes to desires for increased social controls and levels of punitiveness among the public, this research seeks to analyze public opinion regarding government responses to terrorism focusing on how different hypothetical terrorist attack scenarios with varying perpetrators of a different race/ethnicity and ideological motivation, are conceptualized and perceived by different social groups. Specifically, this research attempts to demonstrate how public opinion and issue framing

of terrorist attacks by perpetrators of a different race/ethnicity and ideological motivation, affects attitudes and brings out ideological variations among different segments of the population towards the civil liberty/security paradigm and levels of punitiveness in reference to counterterrorism policies.

By way of a public opinion survey experiment, this research aims to uncover how public opinion of the liberty/security paradigm – measured by support for counterterrorism policies, and willingness to cede civil liberties during national emergencies – differs across various social and demographic groups based on who the perpetrator of a terrorist attack is in a hypothetical scenario. More specifically, the intention of the research is to investigate how conceptualizations of Muslims (particularly Muslim men) as a racialized threat to be securitized contributes to increased public support for security measures, punitiveness towards 'terrorists,' and diminished civil liberties of these actors labeled as 'terrorist,' due to perceptions of increased threat distinctively associated with perpetrators who are Muslim or perceived to be of Middle Eastern descent.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Framework

The State of Exception / Emergency and the Expanding Executive Powers

The state of exception was introduced in the 1920s by the Nazi jurist Carl Schmitt who believed that the central function of the sovereign was to identify existential threats and neutralize these threats even if it requires suspending the Constitution as well as personal civil liberties (Agamben 2005). Drawing upon Carl Schmitt's idea of the sovereign's status as the one who has the power to decide the state of exception, Giorgio Agamben (1998) notes that the general concept of the state of exception is rooted in the sovereign's ability to suspend the rule of law in the name of the public interest. Agamben equates the ability to declare a state of exception with the power of decision over life due to the fact that within the process of the state of exception, individuals can not only be deprived of their citizenship but also of any form of agency over their life (Agamben 1998). The concept of the state of exception, gave rise to the legal action of implementing a state of emergency – based in martial law – permitting the imposition of direct military control. In other words, declaring a state of emergency provides the legal basis for the suspension of law by the government. The executive, as Commander in Chief, is the supreme military commander charged with defending the nation and upon declaring a national emergency, 136 statutory powers may become available to the president ("A Guide to Emergency Powers" 2020). With the task of defending national security and the ability of the executive branch to act timely and undebated during war times, there has been a systemic expansion of executive power followed by judicial deference to the executive branch in cases dealing with national security issues.

The paradoxical nature of having exceptional measures legally permit the transcendence of the rule of law is described by Agamben (1998) as "the law employs the exception - that is the

suspension of law itself" (Agamben 2005, p. 1). However, Agamben also notes that "the same emergency measures used to seemingly defend the democratic constitution, are the same ones that lead to its ruin" (Agamben 2005, p. 9). Since the state of exception is both devoid of law, yet situated with respect to the law, there are no judicial reparations for these violations. In *The Age of Deference: The Supreme Court, National Security, and the Constitutional Order*, David Rudenstine addresses the judicial deference to the executive as a result of the precedent of the abdication of power over several decades in responses to cases dealing with national security, largely based on the notion that Supreme Court justices do not have adequate knowledge to weigh in on national security issues. The underlying theme driving judicial deference in cases implicating national security is that the national interest in preserving and advocating national security is more important than providing a remedy to an individual who has arguably been wronged by the executive.

This can be seen in the example of *Korematsu v. United States* (1944) in which the Supreme Court upheld the constitutionality of the internment of Japanese Americans, authorized by Franklin D. Roosevelt in Executive Order 9066 in 1942. Fred Korematsu, a Japanese American citizen who did not comply with the order to leave his home and job, was arrested for failure to report to a relocation center. The Supreme Court upheld the conviction asserting that it is within the war powers of Congress and the Executive to exclude those of Japanese ancestry from the West Coast war area based on the concept of "national security," and that it was not necessary to address the constitutional racial discrimination issues in this case (Yamamoto, 1986). Contrary to the majority opinion upholding the complete disregard for civil rights when faced with a "national security issue," which was most often cited as the justification for the military exclusion order, Justice Jackson poignantly notes that the exclusion order was

equivalent to the legalization of racism that violated the Equal Protection Clause of the Fourteenth Amendment. The Supreme Court's failure to hold the executive accountable has also affected knowledge production as seen in the case of *United States v. Reynolds* (1953) in which the Court ruled that the government may withhold information for reasons of national security even when that information is vital to a plaintiff's case, ultimately establishing the state secret privilege and the further expansion of the executive power. The ability of the state to withhold information during a state of emergency directly relates back to Agamben's analysis of the political power of the sovereign to privilege certain knowledge during a state of exception.

> "The political power over others acquired through the state of exception, places one government—or one form or branch of government—as all powerful, operating outside the laws. During such times of extension of power, certain forms of knowledge shall be privileged and accepted as true and certain voices shall be heard as valued, while of course, many others are not. This oppressive distinction holds great importance in relation to the production of knowledge. The process of both acquiring knowledge, and suppressing certain knowledge, is a violent act within a time of crisis" (Agamben 2005, p. 29).

Along with the distrust of the Court in dealing with cases of national security and the populism of securitization, the situatedness of the court in its role as lacking the ability to actually implement its decisions may also contribute to this deference which essentially bolsters the war powers of the President. The compilation of these challenges for the Court in dealing with national security cases likely contributed to the Court's increased deference to the executive. However, the Court's role is to function as a check on the antidemocratic actions of other branches by upholding constitutional values, which encompasses the civil liberties enshrined within the Bill of Rights. In other words, the protection of national security is of vital importance, but it is not an absolute consideration and should be "balanced by countervailing considerations in the distribution of rights, responsibilities, and authority in the constitutional arrangement" (Rudenstine, 2016 p. 301). In this sense, the Court limiting its authority in cases of

national security betrays its fundamental role in the constitutional order that is to protect civil liberties and provide wronged individuals with a remedy from executive excess and abuse. Without the Court's protection in a constitutional democracy, the agents left to protect civil rights are few and far between.

The Liberty/Security Paradigm Debate

Civil liberties are often subject to curtailment when the threat of national security is perceived to be greater than the "temporary" erosion of liberties during national emergencies and war times. Some argue that during these national emergencies it is necessary to sacrifice liberties temporarily as part of the war effort to protect national security while others argue that "security also lies in the value of our free institutions" such as "the scope of individual liberties and the commitments to the rule of law" (Rudenstine, 2016, p. 21). Scholars have debated about the proper balancing of civil liberties with national security during state of emergencies with answers ranging from the justification that: while the executive branch has often taken excessive steps in order to preserve national security, civil liberties are always restored, often before the definitive end of the state of emergency (Posner 2006); to the need for more stringent judicial oversight of executive powers in the name of protecting civil liberties enshrined in the Constitution (Rudenstine 2016).

Some such as Clinton Rossiter, argue that: "no sacrifice is too great for our democracy, least of all the temporary sacrifice of democracy itself" (Rossiter 1948, p. 314). Conversely, the danger in "temporarily" sacrificing democracy is the fear that democracy will never be regained. Benjamin Franklin argued that, "they who give up essential liberty to obtain a little temporary safety, deserves neither liberty nor safety" (Bashor, 2013, p. 620). Yet, other arguments provide that many rights are protected and even expanded during state of emergencies (Graber 2005).

Mark Graber challenges the canonical narrative of the curtailment of civil liberties during state of emergencies, by using examples such as the commitment to racial equality increasing during the Second World War - as seen in the Supreme Court's decision in *West Virginia State Board of Education v. Barnette* (1943) which held that the government could not compel students to salute the flag, ultimately overruling its pre-war decision in *Minersville School District v. Gobitis* (1940) (Graber 2005). Although Graber relies upon other examples to support his counterargument that civil liberties are expanded during a number of state of emergencies, it is crucial not to bury historical mistakes and systemic injustices when reflecting on progress but rather to understand the circumstances that brought the infringements upon these civil liberties in the first place.

Richard Posner argues in his book *Not a Suicide Pact: The Constitution in a Time of National Emergency*, that Supreme Court judges are the source of civil liberties based on their interpretation of the Constitution but that they have erred too much on the side of personal liberty in the balancing act of liberty and security especially during national emergencies. Posner also assumes that we are in a state of emergency as long as we remain at war with terrorism, which could have no end in any near future especially with the malleable conceptualization of a "state of emergency" and of what issues constitute "national security," ultimately allowing for the scaling back of civil liberties indefinitely. Though many discussions around the curtailment of civil liberties is conceptualized in the post 9/11 era, Rudenstine argues that judicial deference to the executive that has permitted unlawful conduct far predates the war on terror and therefore will continue past the war on terror (Rudenstine 2016). The concern for most civil liberties proponents is that unleashing unrestricted government power upon people during times of national emergencies will result in authoritarian policies and the reduction of civil liberties in the

name of security that bolsters executive powers, which also insulates the executive from accountability based on the constitutional legitimacy and deference granted to the executive (Rudenstine 2016). The incremental curtailment of civil liberties epitomizes the notion of the *perpetual* state of exception conceptualized by Agamben (2005) who notes that the indefinite suspension of law is what indeed characterizes the state of exception as well as the sovereign's ability to deprive individuals of their liberties and citizenship. Agamben, like many other scholars, is particularly critical of the U.S. response to 9/11 that created a permanent "emergency" through the war on terror rhetoric that legitimizes a "state of exception" as the dominant paradigm of governing politics.

However, the ingrained narrative asserts that during times of crisis, the government tends to overtly restrict constitutional rights and liberties but that these restrictions are never permanent or cumulative and are removed following the end of the state of emergency. Posner argues that curtailments of civil liberties in the Civil War, World War II and the Cold War were concentrated in the early periods of these crises due to the government reacting based on a worst-case assumption but that these response measures were later scaled down and liberties restored. Interestingly, security concerns are almost exclusively defined in relation to military and intelligence rather than in relation to "preserving and enhancing soft powers and the United States' security interests in its free institutions and in the liberty of the individual" (Rudenstine 2016 p.17). These narrow conceptualizations that categorize liberty and security as two distinct entities, results in framing the discussion in a way that presents liberty and security as competing values in a zero-sum game (Rudenstine 2016). Aside from the problem of framing the situation in a way that denotes, 'what one side loses, the other side gains,' Posner and other scholar justifying the pendulum swing from exceptional restrictions of civil liberties to their restoration,

are not engaging with the psychosocial impacts that the justification of these practices embeds in societal ways of thinking and how this unfolds between social interactions with one another.

For example, Posner proposes an 'intermediate solution' [regarding the benefits of airport security and profiling airline passengers] to "subject more U.S. citizens who are Muslim or of apparent Middle Eastern origin to intensive screening than other citizens" (Posner, 2006 p. 118), but with the qualification of subjecting "enough of the other citizens to such screening that the profiled group did not feel blatantly discriminated against" (Posner, 2006 p. 118). Permitting discriminatory practices, such as racial profiling, with the caveat that it is only acceptable during state of emergencies, is not only dangerously unjust, but these policies and practices have planted and ingrained the notion of the reified "other," who can acceptably be discriminate against, in the minds of the public. Eradicating prejudice and discrimination from indoctrinated individuals, is not equivalent to the removal of a policy that is discriminatory. Profiling practices in society have resulted in incredible increases of use of force by police officers, and permitting profiling contributes to the essentializing of group identity and naturalizing of human characteristics; resulting in generalizations and stereotypes such as the ones Posner projects by confining terrorism to people of "Arab descent" or "individuals who practice Islam." Furthermore, the discourse of securitization justifying police corruption and militarism, evident in practices of racial profiling, are linked to cultural anxieties that are perpetuated in narratives to "Make America Great Again," by attempting to revert back to cultural homogeneity.

Wendy Brown (2010) argues that the desire to return to a homogenous nation that preserves national identity, culture and virtues is an effect of neoliberal globalization that dissolves boundaries and the ethnic-cultural homogeneity of a nation. Furthermore, she argues that the fear of losing one's national identity culminates in desires for physical boundaries to

preserve national identity against "threats," or any culture, value system, or identity that does not assimilate to 'our' way of life (Wendy 2010). These cultural anxieties lie at the core of reification and psychological vulnerability, consequently resulting in the need for protection that manifests in securitization populism (Brown 2010). Cultural anxieties give rise to the feeling of a loss of identity that results in a desire to return to an "idealized" past of cultural homogeneity through displacing and dislocating subaltern "others."

The National Security State and The Effects of 9/11

America's shift from isolationism towards globalism encompassing worldwide national security interests, introduced what some would refer to as the "age of surveillance" or the "surveillance society" (Oscar & Gandy 1989), prompted by advanced technologies to increase automated methods of surveillance in order to guarantee the security of the state. The notion of the "surveillance society" as a means to ensure security resulted from the rise of the 'National Security State' which vastly enhanced executive powers in order to "safeguard" the nation at home and abroad by restructuring the United States' military and intelligence apparatuses (Nelson-Pallmeyer 1992; Hogan 2000). The 'National Security State,' was brought on by the dominating discourse revolving around national security imperatives during the Cold War era, coupled with the passage of the National Security Act of 1947 which paved the way for an increasingly militarized government and the intrusiveness on the public as well as the infringement upon their civil liberties. Approaches to national security and the increasing popularization of securitization in post 9/11 discourse, have resulted in erosions of human rights and civil liberties justified by state of emergencies that require a timely and undebated response from the executive. Scholars argue that 'security' has essentially become a political stage for "politicians to exploit for political gain" by using security issues to pander to the public's

demand for greater security, while also planting the seeds of "authoritarian populism that would lend support to a coercive security agenda" (Pantazis & Pemberton 2011, p. 653).

The suspension of law, which is situated within law itself, is often justified by a situation of "necessity," meaning 'necessity has no law' (Agamben 2005). However, the use of constitutional emergency powers legitimated by necessity has become the rule rather than the exception which reinforces the perpetual state of exception (Agamben 2005). Furthermore, Agamben argues that this prolonged state of exception operates to deprive individuals of their citizenship and uses the example of the USA Patriot Act that led to the erasure of any legal status of individuals that became detained "not as prisoners nor persons accused, but simply [as] 'detainees'" (Agamben 2005, p. 3). After the terrorist attack on 9/11, the anxieties around securitization led to the United States curtailing civil liberties in the name of increased security by indefinitely detaining 1,500 "suspected terrorists" without trial in military brigs in Guantanamo Bay, Cuba – which included 99 American citizens – a violation not only of basic human rights, but of the Due Process Clause of the Fifth and Fourth Amendments in the U.S. Constitution. Additionally, the USA Patriot Act was enacted quickly after 9/11 to satisfy security concerns which consolidated vast new powers in the executive branch that threatened many civil liberties of Muslim and Arab Americans - stereotyped as terrorists. One of the most prominent civil liberties violations being that of allowing the federal government to detain immigrants suspected of terrorism for unspecified lengths of time leading to arbitrary detention based on racial profiling (The USA PATRIOT ACT impact on the Arab and Muslim American Community 2004). Although the stated goal of the Patriot Act was to enhance security, its implementation has undermined fundamental constitutional rights of Arab and Muslim Americans and "should serve as a reminder to American minorities of the tenuousness of their

civil liberties in the United States" (Sekhon, 2003 p. 118). When assessing the restrictions and qualifications for civil liberty protections thrust upon minorities through examples such as the Patriot Act, scholars have astutely argued that American society has not socially evolved to the point where liberties of all of its citizens are indefinitely secured (Sekhon 2003). The "competing" values of the security/liberty paradigm are illustrated by the War on Terror, with security values consistently prevailing at the detriment of civil liberties for Middle Eastern, Muslim or Arab Americans.

Chapter 3: Literature Review

Issue Framing, Prejudice, and False Threat Narratives

When evaluating post 9/11 discourse, the culmination of the racialization of Muslims, Arabs, and people of Middle Eastern descent, presents itself in the form of stereotyping Muslim, Arab, and Middle Eastern Americans as potential terrorists based off of highly publicized events of terrorist attacks. Numerous studies have found that the media disproportionately covers attacks by Muslims, which has been linked to increased prejudice against outgroups. For example, one study found that "terrorist attacks committed by Muslim extremists received 357% more press coverage than those committed by non-Muslims" (Chalabi 2018, para. 1). Another study found that "Muslim attacks receive on average 449% more media coverage" after controlling for variables like number of fatalities (Corbin 2017, p. 460). The discourse around 'terrorism' – largely peddled be the media and political elites – and who is more likely to be deemed a 'terrorist,' reinforces stereotypes that are then used to legitimate securitization practices and policies that harm and strip Muslims, Arabs, and people perceived to be of Middle Eastern descent of their human and civil liberties.

Previous research has assessed the media framing effects of fear on terrorism post 9/11 and its role in influencing modern attitudes towards terrorism and the civil liberty versus security trade-offs (Dabbs 2019). News frames have led people to be fearful of terrorism and prejudice against those descended from the Middle East by equating those perceived as Middle Easterners or those "who look Arab or Muslim" as 'terrorists' (Welch 2015 p. 118). Researchers note that this existing stereotype linking individuals perceived to be of Middle Eastern descent to Islamic extremism and terrorism is overwhelmingly led by the media which has discursively constructed terrorism to induce processes of racialized "othering" (Maclennan 2020). The literature on terror-

induced prejudice suggests that media consumption and Islamophobia are at the center of public perceptions about what constitutes terrorism (Kearns 2019). Furthermore, the implications of these stereotypes and Islamophobia can be observed in the increased public support for stricter counterterrorism policy responses. Studies have found that "exposure to news portrayals of Muslims as terrorists is positively associated with support for public policies that harm Muslims domestically and internationally" (Saleem et al. 2015, para 1).

Similar to theories of public punitiveness and stereotypes of criminals perpetuated by the media's disproportionate coverage of non-white perpetrators, media coverage arises in the terror management literature as a mechanism to help people understand the world around them as it relates to the fear of terrorism by disproportionately choosing to report about the threat of Muslim extremist terrorist acts which inadvertently increases prejudice against outgroups (Das, Bushman, Bezemer, Kerkhof, and Vermeulen 2009). Research on false threat narratives of terrorism through the lens of critical race theory asserts that these narratives from the media that "repeatedly link 'Muslim' with 'terrorism' result in conceptions that 'all terrorists are Muslim,' which can even morph into 'all Muslims are terrorists,'" while the other narrative can be understood as "white people are never terrorists," since white extremists who commit terrorist attacks are seldom labeled by the media as terrorists (Corbin 2017, p. 457). Furthermore, these damaging stereotypes not only jeopardize the security and civil liberties of Americans who are Muslim, but "the mistaken belief that white people are not terrorists results in security blind spots" that downplay the pervasiveness of far-right extremist acts committed by White perpetrators (Corbin 2017, p. 457). The prevalence of these stereotypes can be seen in another study analyzing the news coverage by major news networks which found that "terrorist activities and conflict" was the main focus "of news reports about Muslims" (Stone 2017, para. 2). In fact,

75% of stories centered around Muslims were about militant groups such as ISIS (Stone 2017; Corbin 2017).

These pervasive stereotypes can lead to terror-induced prejudice reinforced through issue framing from the media and political elites that create demonizing constructions of people from the Middle East, or people perceived to be Muslim or Arab, as "terrorists" in order to perpetuate binaries of "us" versus "them" to designate them as the outgroup and further, an object of fear that must be securitized (Sager 2019; Brown 2010). The increased anxieties against outgroups or threatening groups can lead to a collective sentiment of fear inducing securitization populism and individuals' increased willingness to trade off civil liberties for security. This can also be applied to the "minority threat theoretical perception" which asserts that racial prejudice and discrimination leads to greater desires for social control "as a result of perceived economic and political competition presented by the growing minority group" (Welch 2015, p. 123).

The Minority Threat Perspective

The minority threat perception was originally used to evaluate racial stereotypes in relation to Black and Hispanic crime and increased public punitiveness in support for criminal justice responses (Welch 2015). This theory contributes to this idea of group-based desires for security and exclusion of out groups on the principle that racial prejudice results in discrimination and leads to increased social controls against minority populations perceived as a social and racial threat (Welch 2015). However, this theory can also be applicable to minority stereotypes of people perceived to be Middle Eastern as "threats" resulting in desires for increased social controls in the form of counterterrorism policies. In other words, the minority threat perception theory asserts that punitive sentiment by way of support for counterterrorism policies can be linked to stereotypes of people who are Middle Eastern, Arab, or Muslim

(Adriaenssen and Aertsen 2015; Welch 2015). Stereotypes of Muslims equated with "terrorist" and "threats" from the media and politicians, fuels political and cultural anxieties against "outgroups" to be perceived as threatening which can lead to a sentiment of securitization populism and individuals' increased willingness to trade off civil liberties for security in support for more punitive policies against perpetrators (Brown 2010).

Similar to the minority threat perspective, the conflict perspective has been used to explain the public's punitiveness in relation to racialized rhetoric of crime by suggesting that "groups in competition over resources will attempt to secure these resources through public policy, public institutions, and social control at the expense of others" (Drakulich 2015, p. 543). Scholars have highlighted the importance of framing social problems (i.e., terrorism) by amplifying relevant values or beliefs held by a particular population (Drakulich 2015). Furthermore, policies tied to group interest may be advocated for by tapping into latent concerns about potential threats to racial group positions, in other words, by activating racial biases (Drakulich 2015).

In relation to terrorism, studies have shown that Americans are far more likely to support counterterrorism policies if they view people from the Middle East as the would-be terrorists (Dabbs 2019; Viscusi and Zekhauser 2003; Welch 2015). Furthermore, theories of threat perception have uncovered that people are more supportive of counterterrorism policies if they perceive the public and themselves as being directly impacted by a terrorist attack (Dabbs 2019). Research has found that domestic groups are more likely to be seen as hate groups targeting foreign minorities which garners less support for invasive policies that result in citizens ceding civil liberties as these policies are more likely to be perceived as an unnecessary sacrifice since only a minority group is at risk (Garcia and Geva 2014). In contrast to domestic terrorism, the

public is more likely to view transnational terrorism as a threat to the public and themselves since the perception of threat would be indiscriminate against civilian targets (Garcia and Geva 2014). This suggests that the public is more willing to accept reductions in civil liberties when the source of the attack is transnational rather than domestic, and furthermore that the source of the terrorist attack being domestic or transnational, can condition the perception of threat (Garcia and Geva 2014). This finding is particularly interesting when evaluating the increasing prevalence of domestic far-right terrorism and the divisions in levels of threat perception based on social groups with similar demographic characteristics such as race and ideology, and their perception of who the target of these attacks will be.

Domestic far-right terrorism has "significantly outpaced terrorism from other types of perpetrators including individuals inspired by the Islamic State and al-Qaeda," and is at the same time significantly underrepresented in the media with perpetrators often not labeled as terrorists or dehumanized by the media in the way that non-white perpetrators are (Jones et al. 2020, para 3). From 1994 to 2020, far-right extremist attacks have accounted for the "majority - 57 percent - of all [terrorist] attacks" in the United States (Jones et al 2020, para. 10). In the past six years, far-right extremist attacks have increased substantially with far-right extremist perpetrators being responsible for two-thirds of the terrorist attacks in 2019 and "over 90 percent of the attacks between January 1 and May 8, 2020" (Jones et al. 2020, para. 9). These statistics are from the Center for Strategic & International Studies which utilizes the definition of terrorism as: "the deliberate use - or threat - of violence by non-state actors in order to achieve political goals and create a broad psychological impact" (Jones et al. 2020, para. 5). Another study conducted by the Anti-Defamation League found that "white supremacists and far-right extremists were

responsible for 73% of extremist murders in the United States" between the years 2009 and 2018 (Lennard 2019, para. 6).

Though far-right extremism is clearly more prevalent and has been on the rise the past few years, since the target of these attacks are presumed to be minority groups, this may be perceived as less of a concern for other social groups (predominately referring to white demographic groups). Meaning that there could be less incentive among these groups to support punitive policies as well as cede civil liberties since their threat perception could be lower based on the knowledge that they are less likely to be a target of this type of attack. Threat perception of various types of terrorist attacks can also be a result of the types of attacks people are more likely to see in the media and being prosecuted.

Disparate Treatment of "Terrorists"

Analyses of federal prosecutions since 9/11 have uncovered the disparate treatment of 'terrorists' linked to "domestic" ideologies and 'terrorists' linked to "international" ideologies. These analyses have found that the Justice Department "routinely declines to bring terrorism charges against right-wing extremists even when their alleged crimes meet the legal definition of domestic terrorism: ideologically motivated acts that are harmful to human life and intended to intimidate civilians, influence policy, or change government conduct" (Aaronson 2019, para. 5). According to one study, since 9/11 there have been 268 right-wing extremists prosecuted in federal court (that met the legal definition of domestic terrorism), and only 34 of these perpetrators were charged by the Department of Justice with anti-terrorism laws (Aaronson 2019). The same study found that the Justice Department had charged over 500 international terrorists since 9/11 (Aaronson 2019). This disparity sends a message that the threat of far-right extremism is not as significant as the threat of extremism motivated by international ideologies

based in violent jihadism – even though far-right extremism is not exclusive to the United States as white supremacists, Anti-Semitic fascist, and ethno-nationalist groups in the U.S. regularly associate with like-minded groups in Canada, Europe, Russia and elsewhere (German and Robinson 2018).

Not only does the disparate treatment by the Justice Department to bring charges almost exclusively against extremists with ties to "international" ideologies contribute to the perceived threat of "international terrorists" compared to far-right extremists with ties to "domestic" ideologies, but it also affects the allocation of FBI counterterrorism resources to prioritize transnational threats over domestic ones (Aaronson 2019). Furthermore, the federal government already has fewer tools at their disposal to investigate "domestic terrorists" under the Patriot Act as opposed to "international terrorists" based on the constitutional protections of the First Amendment right to freedom of speech, unfortunately including the right to express hateful ideologies. For this reason, domestic terrorism suspects enjoy basic legal protections denied to those accused of ties to transnational terrorism. Therefore, the civil liberties protection for some and not others can be seen in the disparate treatment between terrorists motivated by "domestic" ideologies as opposed to terrorists motivated by "international" ideologies.

Representative Alexandria Ocasio-Cortez, called out the FBI in June 2019 on their inconsistencies in investigations between "domestic" and "international" terrorist threats, as well as their unwillingness to charge domestic extremists under terrorism statutes, "even when they agreed it was terrorism, unless the crimes were committed by Muslims" (Laguardia 2019, p. 1063). Representative Ocasio-Cortez also undermined the FBI's argument that "domestic white supremacist violence cannot be charged under the same internationally-focused statutes as global jihadist terrorism" by astutely noting that "white supremacist organizations have international

connections just like al-Qaeda does" (Laguardia 2019, p. 1063). It is interesting to consider the intersection of race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrator with the classification of "domestic terrorist," and the minority threat theoretical perception. The classification of transnational versus domestic and the unwillingness to prosecute white domestic terrorists under terrorism statutes, can condition sentiments of racialized othering that are also fueled by false threat narratives reported in the media and by political elites of extremist attacks by various perpetrators.

However, the FBI maintains that the reason for this disparate treatment lies in the fact that there is no specific criminal charge for "domestic terrorism" in the United States (Lennard 2019). "Domestic terrorism" is therefore not a legal category but rather a framework used by the federal law enforcement to categorize cases and investigations (Lennard 2019). Although white supremacist extremism was previously given its own category within the domestic terrorism classification, the FBI's domestic terrorism classification system has shifted as recently as May 2019 to collapse white supremacist extremism into the category of "racially motivated extremism," which also encompasses another FBI conjured category of "black identity extremism." This new classification essentially lumps in the very real and prevalent threat of white supremacist extremism with pro-human rights organizers fighting against racial oppression and police brutality (Lennard 2019, para. 6). The combination of these categories draws a dangerous "false equivalence between white supremacist violence and anti-racist dissent" (Lennard 2019, para. 5). The new classification system outlines only four categories: "racially motivated violent extremism, anti-government and anti-authority extremism, animal rights and environmental extremism, and abortion extremism" (Lennard 2019, para. 4). The changing ways

in which the FBI has classified domestic terrorism and the disparate labeling of some extremists as "terrorists" and not others, reinforces the notion of "terrorism" as a social construction.

'Terrorism' as a Social Construct

Social constructionism is the theory of knowledge which examines the development of meaning placed on an object or event by society as "a product of human definition and interpretation shaped by cultural and historical contexts" (Kang et al. 2017, p. 12). The concept of terrorism itself is a social construction by which "the cultural-political meaning is decided by social agreement and the interchanging thoughts and feelings both conscious and unconscious" (Stump and Dixit 2012, 206). In other words, "terrorism" is a socially constructed category which is created and given meaning only through interactions between people and institutions. Since there are no universally accepted definitions of what constitutes terrorism or who constitutes a terrorist, the meaning that what we ascribe to 'terrorism' could theoretically be described as something else (i.e., political violence) (Nimmer 2011). Therefore, instead of thinking of terrorism as an actual thing that can be observed and quantified, this research will be approaching the concept of terrorism as a social construction - or a phenomenon that has meaning placed upon it based on social agreement in society with respect to how we view and deal with "terrorism." Rather than define terrorism as "a tool employed at specific times, by specific actors and for specific political goals," which is a definition that reifies terrorism and implies that it is a real thing "existing independently of human interpretive practice" (Stump and Dixit 2012, 201), this research will be focusing on how social actors use the category of 'terrorism' to construct the reified "other," the common sense knowledge around "terrorism," and to legitimate policy responses (Jackson 2007). To illustrate this further, Richard Jackson, a prominent critical terrorism studies scholar, notes that "terrorism is fundamentally a social fact

rather than a brute fact; while extreme physical violence is experienced as a brute fact, its wider cultural-political meaning is decided by social agreement" (Stump and Dixit 2012, p. 201).

It is important to understand terrorism as a social construct not only in relation to how the FBI definitions of terrorism have been constructed and changed over time, but also in how the media and other political elites have constructed and applied the label of terrorism to some perpetrators and not others. The media influences what information we receive and how we interpret that information by framing social issues to make sense of news stories. Additionally, political elites also have the ability to frame the way that counterterrorism policies will be presented to the public. Both political elites and the media are able to generate distinct forms of knowledge production associated with "security" and the socially constructed category of "terrorism" in order to influence a public – that is already defined by securitization populism in the post-9/11 world – to support increasingly punitive policies for their own protection. However, since the government is also supposed to be representatives of the people's will, public opinion regarding the security/liberty paradigm is important for the legitimation of government actions and policy decisions as well. Quantitative analysis of the link between public preferences and government policy-making decisions has found fairly high congruence between the changes in public opinion and changes in policy (Page and Shapiro 1983; Gilens 2005).

Public Punitiveness and Security/Liberty Values

Studies focusing on the public's punitiveness as well as the civil liberty/security paradigm, have found similar explanations for increased punitiveness and increased willingness to cede civil liberties. These studies have found that factors which contribute to both punitiveness and civil liberty/security values include social concerns, demographics such as race, as well as ideological determinants, such as political conservativism, and religious

fundamentalism (Rubinstein 1997). Under the expressive model, punitiveness and the civil liberty/security predicament are determined by an array of ontological insecurities and social concerns (Frost 2010). Studies based on this model have found that social views such as authoritarianism, dogmatism and liberalism, and concerns about social conditions were important indicators of punitiveness (Frost 2010). These indicators have also been used to identify predispositions as important correlates of antiterrorism attitudes, such as support for military interventionism and restriction on civil liberties (Malhorta and Popp 2012). For instance, Republican partisanship (Kam and Kinder 2007; Huddy et al. 2005), ethnocentrism, (Kam and Kinder 2007), authoritarianism (Feldman and Stenner 1997; Hetherington and Weiler 2009; Huddy et al. 2005; Merolla and Zechmeister 2009), patriotism (Kam and Ramos 2008), and dogmatism (Davis and Silver 2004; Davis 2007) are related to increased support for various antiterrorism measures (Malhorta and Popp 2012). Within these indicators, conformity, obedience to authority, and outgroup aggression are important to understanding authoritarianism (Hetherington and Suhay 2011) and experimental survey studies have consistently turned up strong relationships between authoritarianism and opinions related to civil liberties and support for aggressive foreign policies (Adorno et al. 1950; Altemeyer 1981, 1988, 1996; Meloen, Van der Linden, and De Wette 1996; Hetherington and Suhay 2011). Studies have also shown variations in levels of punitiveness across various demographic groups, with men, White people, and older people typically being more punitive, and women, Black people, and young people typically being less punitive (Frost 2010).

Other measures important to consider in the security/liberty trade-off is the perceived effectiveness of the counterterrorism policies. Research that has explored the differences in perception of national security policies between self-identified liberals, moderates, and

conservatives found that liberals are more likely to view counterterrorism policies as ineffective and susceptible to government abuse (Finkelstein et al. 2017). This study also found that liberals perceived a lower threat of terrorism, and additional studies have indicated that perceived threat consistently increases support for antiterrorism policies (Finkelstein et al. 2017; Huddy et al. 2007). Though all groups were willing to make some trade-offs between civil liberties and security, the researchers noted that the loss of civil liberties affected liberals more than conservatives (Finkelstein et al. 2017).

However, these survey-based studies have rarely included experimental threat manipulations. Additionally, studies have evaluated public opinions of punitiveness and restrictions on the civil liberties of the perpetrator(s) – as a result of implementing increasingly punitive policies – but they rarely distinguish between the reflexive component of the public's opinion regarding their willingness to cede their own civil liberties for increased security and their willingness to forfeit others' civil liberties for increased security – or the perception of increased security. Among other relationships between punitiveness and perceptions of the liberty/security paradigm across various social groups, this study seeks to determine if increased punitiveness – that results in the limiting of the perpetrator's civil liberties – will correspond with an individual's increased willingness to cede their own civil liberties for security when the perpetrators' race/ethnicity and ideological motivations are manipulated.

Conceptualizing and Operationalizing: 'Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties' and 'Punitiveness'

There are numerous methodologies and conceptualizations used to measure and define both punitiveness and willing to cede civil liberties. Gibson and Bingham have urged social science researchers to not regard support for civil liberties as an attitude in itself or an abstract concept, but rather, "it should be treated as a construct that characterizes the priorities assigned

in cases of value trade-offs" (Davis and Silver 2004, p. 29). Davis and Silver (2004) note that, "in much of the research that adopts a value trade-off approach in the study of civil liberties and tolerance, the struggle is between preserving individual security and tolerating the civil liberties of disliked or threatening groups" (Davis and Silver 2004, p. 29). They also note that, in the post-9/11 era, "the civil liberties vs. security trade-off, has mostly been framed as one of protecting individual rights or civil liberties from the government as the government seeks to defend the country against a largely 'external' enemy, albeit one that has infiltrated American society and poses a domestic risk to public safety and security" (Davis and Silver 2004, p. 29). Though Davis and Silver (2004) note these two distinctions within the civil liberty/security paradigm, they collapse these two concepts (between preserving individual security and tolerating the civil liberties of "threatening" groups) into one overarching concept of 'willingness to cede civil liberties for increased security' and measure the willingness of respondents to cede civil liberties for increased security by utilizing questions that ask respondents about *both* their willingness to cede their *own* civil liberties and support punitive policies that take away the civil liberties of *others* (particularly criminals or terrorists) – without operationalizing or measuring the two concepts differently. Therefore, I propose that research should distinctly frame, operationalize, and measure both the concept of tolerating the civil liberties of others as well as the concept of securing one's own civil liberties in the face of security threats, in order to assess the ways in which individuals evaluate and balance the liberty/security paradigm.

Most research on the civil liberty/security paradigm and the public's punitiveness in relation to terrorism evaluates respondents' support for counterterrorism policies via experimental survey studies. However, the counterterrorism policies that are used to operationalize respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties and respondents' support for

punitive policies within research on public opinion of the liberty/security paradigm seem to conflate the two concepts by relying on questions that refer to both tolerating civil liberties of disliked or "threatening" groups (i.e. support for the government to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely – which although is framed in the context of what the government should or should not do, this question is specific to the perpetrator's civil liberties), and preserving one's individual civil liberties (i.e. allowing the government monitoring of telephone conversations and e-mail communications – a policy that encapsulates a much broader base of the public rather than just the perpetrator of a potential terrorist attack) for both punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties. Though the liberty/security paradigm is characterized by both one's willingness to give up their own civil liberties and their willingness to take away the civil liberties of others, one could argue that self-preservation and the dehumanization of "others" described as "threats" and "terrorists," would make it easier for people to take away the civil liberties of others, particularly perpetrators that fit the stereotypical "terrorist" description pushed by the media and political elites, rather than relinquish their own civil liberties.

Often times, surveys that gather public opinion data towards the liberty/security paradigm are assessed by asking respondents about counterterrorism policies surrounding the security/liberty trade-offs within the Patriot Act. Therefore, public opinion regarding the level of support for counterterrorist policies and willingness to cede civil liberties has been operationalized mostly by some variation of the following questions: 1) the government right to arrest and detain a suspect indefinitely without being charged for an offense, 2) detaining terrorist suspects without notifying their families or embassies, 3) using stressful interrogation techniques to get confessions, 4) holding trials that do not involve the Bill of Rights protections, 5) racial profiling to detain people of certain racial or ethnic backgrounds 6) wiretapping phones

and intercepting emails and other personal electronic information 7) conducting searches and seizures of individuals and their belongings without proper warrants, 8) allowing the government to investigate protestors, and 9) requiring that teachers do not criticize antiterrorist policies (Davis and Silver 2004; Finkelstein et al. 2007; Huddy et al. 2007; Alverez 2016; Welch 2016). With this methodological approach, researchers have used all or some variation of these questions to conceptualize both willingness to trade-off civil liberties for security and support for punitive counterterrorism policies, when the questions themselves frame the security/liberty predicament through different lenses (either of individuals' willingness to cede their own civil liberties or take away the civil liberties of others for the perception of increased security).

Questions such as support for the government to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely have been used to conceptualize respondents' preferences for increased security versus protecting civil liberties, however this question is more geared towards what Davis and Silver (2004) refer to as "tolerating civil liberties of disliked or threatening groups," rather than protecting civil liberties for respondents specifically. Therefore, although this question has been used to evaluate support for civil liberties in comparison to increased security – without acknowledging whose civil liberties are up for debate – it has also been used in research to conceptualize and evaluate punitive support for counterterrorism policies (Welch 2016). This does not mean that either methodological approach is illegitimate, since both are still capturing the views of the liberty/security paradigm, however, I believe that a specific distinction between willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies should be noted in terms of whose civil liberties are being contested by these policies. This is of particular important due to the fact that during national emergencies, the civil liberties that are often viewed as a trade-off for increased security are often not referring to the civil liberties of everyone, but of the minority

groups that are deemed "threats" to be securitized. When assessing the liberty/security paradigm, these 9 questions from the trade-offs in the Patriot Act have been used to determine if respondents typically support civil liberties or increased security without distinguishing how respondents' answers varied based on whose civil liberties were at stake as posed by the various questions. The distinction between the two concepts (willingness to cede one's own civil liberties vs. willingness to support punitive counterterrorist policies or take away the civil liberties of others) should be operationalized with specific regard for the various questions typically used in research to assess public opinion of the liberty/security trade-off. In other words, there should be a clear separation between questions that more appropriately lend themselves to assessing "tolerance" of others civil liberties and "punitiveness," from questions that more appropriately lend themselves to answering questions of willingness to cede one's own individual liberties for security.

Conceptualizing the frames of these questions as either taking away a perpetrators' civil liberties or securing ones' own individual civil liberties from the government, could aid in understanding respondents' differing answers to various questions that have functioned in previous research to operationalize a singular concept (typically found in research as either 'punitiveness' or 'willingness to cede civil liberties' with no distinction between which questions should be used to operationalize these two very different concepts). For example, Davis and Silver (2004) found that, "in a habeas corpus issue framed as the ability to detain noncitizens suspected of belonging to a terrorist organization indefinitely without formally charging them with a crime, 53% support the civil libertarian position. In a trade-off of the right to privacy by allowing the monitoring of telephone conversations and email communications, 66% take the pro-civil liberties position" (Davis and Silver 2004, p. 33). This research seemingly supports the

notion that there are distinctions in the way people perceive the liberty/security paradigm dependent upon whose civil liberties are in question (either the suspects of a terrorist attack, or the population more broadly). Safeguarding the civil liberties of perpetrator or suspected "terrorists" are notably less important than safeguarding the civil liberties that apply more generally to the broader population. Rather than using both of these questions to categorize respondents into supporting civil liberties or not in a general sense, the differentiation between respondents' answers to these questions supports the need for designating which questions help to answer ones' own willingness to cede civil liberties versus respondents' willingness to take away the civil liberties of others in research rather than collapsing these two concepts together into "support for civil liberties."

Additionally, it would be interesting to assess whether respondents who are willing to cede the civil liberties of others which can also be seen as support for punitive policies, are also more willing to cede their own civil liberties for security. Therefore, I propose that this variation in support for civil liberties or security is not only due to inherent civil liberty vs. security values that are brought out by different questions based on some civil liberties being held in higher regard than others, but that the variation in responses can also be attributed to the perception of the questions' frame as either a policy focused on "them," the perpetrators, or "us," the public at large. More specifically, I believe that respondents overall support for civil liberties versus security will be impacted by questions that ask individuals to consider ceding a degree of their own civil liberties for increased security, compared to questions that ask individuals to take away the civil liberties of others for increased security.

There is research however, that contradicts the group-specific tolerance literature by arguing that expression of political tolerance does not require the presence of disliked groups,

because any willingness to trade civil liberties constitutes intolerance, irrespective of whether the judgement involves a controversial group (Mondak and Hurwitz 2012). This research proceeds to explain that tolerance in general may be more related to the actual act of violence rather than the presence of a disliked group (when the act is highly controversial people are more intolerant rather than if the act is mundane – i.e., public rallies or speeches). This would refer to values similar to civil liberty/security values that have been assessed by researchers such as Davis and Silver (2014). However, with a survey experiment that manipulates the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators in various survey versions of a hypothetical terrorist attack, while holding all other variables constant (i.e., casualties, or type of weaponry), civil liberty/security values by social group can be controlled for by determining how similar social groups (mostly based on social groups consistent of similar race and ideological affiliations) respond to the same proposed counterterrorism policies across surveys. In constructing the survey this way, the minority threat perception can also be analyzed based on the fact that all other variables in the survey that could contribute to increased threat perception will remain constant. Although this study does not directly control for perceived threat by asking respondents about their threat perception of the terrorist attack scenarios, perceived threat is assessed as an indirect effect based on respondents' answers towards willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies, since academic literature has posed a direct relationship between threat perception and public opinion regarding these two concepts.

Chapter 4: Hypotheses

The conceptual hypothesis for my research will follow the logic that manipulating the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrator of a hypothetical terrorist attack scenario, will affect public opinion on willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies. I hypothesize that respondents will increasingly support punitive counterterrorism policies and cede civil liberties with the presence of the 'minority threat perception' or American-born, Middle Eastern, male perpetrators, motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism. Additionally, I hypothesize that White respondents - specifically White respondents who identify as more ideologically conservative - will be less likely to cede their own civil liberties when taking the survey with the perpetrators that are White, American-born, male perpetrators motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism. Finally, I believe that respondents, in general, will be more likely to support punitive counterterrorism policies than cede their own individual civil liberties. These hypotheses will be analyzed by a survey experiment conducted to evaluate public opinion of the liberty/security paradigm when manipulating the attackers' race (identified by the survey version with the American-born, White perpetrators) /ethnicity (identified by the survey version with the American-born, perpetrators of Middle Eastern descent) and ideological motivations (identified as either: being motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism, or by the teachings of Islamic extremism), which will be detailed in the 'Methods' section.

I propose that when the terrorist attack is committed by American-born, White males, motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism, that White respondents (and even more so White respondents who are more likely to support far-right ideologies), will be less likely to cede their own civil liberties. Conversely, when the perpetrators are American-born, Middle Eastern,

males motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism, these same individuals will be more likely to cede their own civil liberties. I believe that a factor contributing to this relationship could be notion that White respondents are less likely to perceive themselves as targets of far-right extremist attacks and thus would be less likely to cede their own civil liberties since it could be seen as an unnecessary sacrifice. Similarly, this logic would follow that White respondents would be more likely to cede their own civil liberties in the case of the survey with the American-born, Middle Eastern males motivated by Islamic extremism since they would perceive themselves as more likely to be the target of this attack compared to a far-right extremist attack.

Additionally, the willingness to cede one's own civil liberties is operationalized by support for the government's ability to monitor individuals' emails, web site use, and telephone calls, because this policy may presumably affect the public more broadly, as opposed to punitive policies related to the liberty/security trade-off that seek to punish perpetrators specifically. Based on the theories of threat perception that have found that people are more supportive of counterterrorist policies if they perceive the public and themselves as being directly impacted by a terrorist attack, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 1: When the hypothetical terrorist attack is committed by White, American-born male perpetrators motivated by far-right extremism, then White, extremely conservative respondents will be the least likely racial and ideological group to cede their own civil liberties – operationalized by support for the government's ability to monitor individuals' emails, web site use, and telephone calls – for security.

Relatedly, I believe that when the perpetrators are of Middle Eastern descent and motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism, that White, extremely conservative respondents will be much more likely to cede their own civil liberties in comparison to their willingness to cede civil liberties in the survey with White/far-right extremist perpetrators.

However, this hypothesis does not control for the intersection of individuals' perception of the effectiveness of a counterterrorism policy that allows the government to monitor individuals' emails, web site use, and telephone calls. Meaning that people who do not believe that this policy is effective, would be less likely to cede their own civil liberties. Other interactions such as authoritarianism, religious fundamentalism, and especially political ideology will be important factors.

I believe that this hypothesis will become increasingly salient with the interaction of religious extremism. However, "extremism" in religion is often reduced to a "dichotomous categorization of moderate vs. extreme" which results in a failure "to capture the different interpretations, beliefs and attitudes [that] define extreme religious identity" (Wibisono et al. 2019, para. 1). This simplistic conceptualization makes the prospect of measuring "religious extremism" before any violence has occurred or predicting how religious extremism will be expressed, quite difficult (Wibisono et al. 2019). Although there are acts that are described as "religious extremism" such as bombing abortion clinics in the name of Jesus, since there is no canonical consensus about the definition of religious "extremism," this survey will not be able to capture answers from respondents that constitute "extreme" religious beliefs – particularly because what constitutes extreme views can be interpreted multiple ways. However, there will be multiple religion questions asked in the survey (see Appendix A for specific survey question wording), one question being if respondents believe the Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word (see Appendix A).

Since people from the Middle East are often framed in dehumanizing ways, it could be assumed that manipulating the variable of the perpetrator's ethnicity in the scenarios could cause respondents to assess threat perception differently and thus act in different ways towards the

same counterterrorist policies. This can also be described as the minority threat perception, which is found to consistently increase support for social controls (Welch 2016). To test this theory, I am interested in evaluating the minority threat perception across social groups, particularly social groups that consist of similar demographics in terms of race/ethnicity and ideology, to see if threat perception varies amongst different groups. Since scholars have found that punitiveness and civil liberties are both connected to threat perception, and furthermore that this can be related to racialized rhetoric constructing threats and terrorists as minorities – particularly people of Middle Eastern descent – the minority threat perception could change the willingness of certain social groups to support increasingly punitive policies.

Prior research indicates that those who are expected to be more punitive include individuals "for whom terrorism is a salient problem, political conservatives, those who are prejudiced against Middle Easterners, and Whites" (Welch 2016, p. 125). Scholars have also posed theories relating to the conscious or unconscious internalization of racial prejudice by racially subordinated groups, and the media's disproportionate reporting of Islamic extremism may also contribute to individuals across all social groups believing Islamic extremism is more prevalent. Furthermore, a Pew Research study in 2017 found that "about one-in-ten U.S. Muslims (82%) say they are either very (66%) or somewhat concerned (16%) about extremism committed in the name of Islam – about the same as the share of the general public that feels this way (83%)" (Abdo 2017, para. 2). Therefore, although I am interested in determining if there are variations of perceived threat amongst social groups, based on previous research, I believe the minority threat perception (operationalized as the survey with American-born Middle Easter males motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism) will have a general affect across all social groups that is similar, with respondents in general being more willing to cede civil liberties

and support punitive policies with the presence of the minority threat perception. To test this, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 2: In general, respondents will be more likely to cede their own civil liberties (operationalized by support for the government's ability to monitor individuals' emails, web site use, and telephone calls) *and* have greater support for punitive policies (operationalized by the government's ability to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense) when the perpetrators are American-born males of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism versus when the perpetrators are White, American-born males motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism.

Though I hypothesize this to be the general trend, I think the salience of willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies will still vary in degree based on perceived effectiveness of the policies, liberty versus security values, etc. Most importantly, I believe that White respondents – and more narrowly White respondents that are more religious and ascribe to an ideology that leans farther to the right – will be the demographic group most likely to support the punitive policy / will be the most willing to cede the civil liberties of the perpetrator (by allowing the government to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense) based on in-group versus out-group narratives and notions of "othering."

Finally, since I am taking a different approach to the operationalization of ceding civil liberties and supporting punitive policies by separating specific questions that have typically been used together to conceptualize both public punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties, I am interested in evaluating whether individuals are more likely to take away the civil liberties of the perpetrator by supporting punitive counterterrorism policies, than relinquish some of their own civil liberties for security. Since supporting punitive policies that are focused on the perpetrator does not directly result in a liberty/security trade-off that requires the general public/individual respondent to cede their own civil liberties, I propose that individuals, in general, will be more likely to support punitive counterterrorism policies rather than cede their

own civil liberties. This hypothesis is based on the notion that self-preservation and the dehumanization of "others" described as "threats" and "terrorists," could make it easier for people to take away the civil liberties of others, particularly perpetrators that fit the stereotypical 'terrorist' description pushed by the media and political elites, rather than relinquish their own civil liberties. To test this, I hypothesize that:

Hypothesis 3: In general, respondents will be more likely to support punitive policies – operationalized by the government's ability to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense – that take away the civil liberties of the perpetrator rather than relinquish some of their own civil liberties – operationalized by support for the government's ability to monitor individuals' e-mails, web site use, and telephone calls.

Though I propose that this will be the general trend, the presence of the 'minority threat perception' in the scenario – the American-born, male perpetrators of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism – will typically increase individuals' willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies. However, I believe that support for punitive policies will maintain greater support than willingness to cede civil liberties in both scenarios with and without the 'minority threat perception.' A caveat to this hypothesis is that the salience of support for punitive policies may still vary in degree based on in-group versus out-group narratives with individuals belonging to social groups similar to the perpetrator in question (based on race/ethnicity and ideology) being less likely to support punitive policies and less likely to cede civil liberties than individuals belonging to different social groups than the perpetrator.

To evaluate these hypotheses, I will assess respondents' answers to the proposed survey (see Appendix A), which will be developed in Qualtrics and distributed by MTurk, an online platform. I will then conduct a multivariate regression analysis to determine the relationship between different social groups' (mostly defined by groups that make up a similar race/ethnicity

and ideology) willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies, when the minority threat perception is manipulated.

Chapter 5: Methodology

To assess the effect of the minority threat perception on public punitiveness towards terrorists and public opinion towards willingness to cede civil liberties for increased security, a survey experiment will be conducted in order to allow for the manipulation of variables within different hypothetical terrorist attack scenarios. The survey experiment tests whether manipulating the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators of the hypothetical terrorist attack scenario will bring out variations amongst different social groups in terms of their responses to the willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies. The survey presents a fake news release from the Washington Associated Press detailing the hypothetical terrorist attack scenario (refer to Appendix A for specific scenario) followed by 17 or 18 questions, depending on the version of the survey that they receive (refer to Appendix A for specific question wording of each survey). The survey was distributed electronically via the Amazon Mechanical Turk platform (refer to data collection subhead). The unit of analysis for this research will be individuals, while the unit of observation will be the individuals who respond to the survey.

Data Collection

The survey was uploaded from Qualtrics, an online survey platform, to Amazon Mechanical Turk (MTurk) in order to collect data from a relatively diverse sample population. By using MTurk the sample frame will be anyone in the U.S. with an Amazon MTurk account. MTurk is generally seen as a reliable source of data collection that encompasses a valid sample, however it is important to note that reliable data of a relatively diverse population does not constitute a representative sample of the population as a whole (McDuffie 2019). Additionally, all survey respondents were compensated $0.50 for participating in the survey experiment.

Survey Design

An experimental survey is utilized in order to gather data on public opinion when manipulating the variable of the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators in the hypothetical terrorist attack scenario. The hypothetical terrorist attack scenario will be presented via a brief fake news article released by Washington Associated Press. Two scenarios are utilized that present different versions of the same story but with a change to the stimuli – the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators. Participants received only one of the two scenarios that are otherwise identical, with only the perpetrators' race/ethnicity and ideological motivations being manipulated. Individuals who did not receive one of the two scenarios received the third version of the survey that has no scenario and acts as a control for gauging the liberty versus security values of respondents without the presence of either of the threat stimuli. Instead of showing all three survey versions to each participant, respondents only received one version of the survey in order to decrease fall-off and ensure that respondents do not perceive that the goal of the study is to evaluate how their responses change based on various stimuli (race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators) and thus tailor their answers in a way they believe is preferential to the findings of the study.

To ensure that respondents have read and understood the passage, a control question is used to ask the respondents about the scenario they just read. The control question asks what race/ethnicity the perpetrators in the scenario were as well as their ideological motivations (as seen in Appendix A). Additionally, there is an open question that prompts respondents to leave any comments or feedback about the scenario or survey that they feel inclined to mention. The survey is structured with questions related to a respondent's support for punitive policies and willingness to cede civil liberties coming first, followed by questions asking respondents about

their perceived effectiveness of each policy. These questions are followed by the open question allowing respondents to leave comments about the scenario or study, then demographic information questions with the control question asking respondents about the scenario coming last.

The third version of the survey does not include a scenario at all. Therefore, this version begins immediately by asking respondents their opinion of their willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive counterterrorism policies, as well as the effectiveness of each of the policies, followed by the open-ended question and finally demographic questions. This will allow for the possibility of a control group to assist in drawing conclusions about the security/liberty values of social groups (based on race, ethnicity, ideological affiliation etc.) that does not include the introduction of either terrorist attack scenario. Additionally, this will allow for assessments of whether some social groups are simply more punitive or willing to cede civil liberties than others, as well as how security/liberty values are upheld or not upheld with the interaction of a hypothetical terrorist attack and perpetrators of varying race identifiers or ethnic classifications and ideological motivations.

Treatment

The treatment variable within these scenarios is the manipulation of the perpetrators' race (White)/ethnicity (Middle Eastern) and ideological motivations (far-right extremism/Islamic extremism). Both of the hypothetical terrorist attack scenarios use the same language to describe the terrorist attack with only the perpetrators' race/ethnicity and ideological motivations being altered. One scenario features 4 male, American-born, Middle Eastern perpetrators, motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism, and the other features 4 male, American-born, White perpetrators, motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism. The survey version that includes

the 4 male, American-born, Middle Eastern perpetrators is conceptualized in this research as the 'minority threat perception' stimuli. The manipulation of various perpetrators allows for analyses of respondents' answers to the survey questions regarding punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties to assess whether or not different social groups (made up of similar demographics such as race and ideology) respond differently based on a change in perpetrator, or a change in 'threat perception.' To isolate the threat perception based on race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators, the survey controls for other factors that may contribute to threat perception, including the number of casualties of the terrorist attack (0 deaths "more than a dozen injured," see Appendix A for exact wording), and the type of weaponry used (a bomb). The location of the terrorist attack will also remain the same (Washington, D.C.), however it is important to note that research has shown that proximity to terrorist attacks heightens perceptions of threat which could lead to increased punitiveness and/or increased willingness to cede civil liberties, and respondents' proximity to the terrorist attack being located in Washington, D.C. may vary (Davis and Silver 2014).

Control Variables

In order to determine the different perceptions of social groups towards the various perpetrators of the hypothetical terrorist attacks, respondents were asked to answer demographic information relating to race, gender, age, income, and education as well as religious beliefs and political ideology. Wording from the GSS and Harvard's inclusive demographic data collection tips were used as a model for the demographic survey questions (exact wording can be found in Appendix A).

Dependent Variable

Once respondents have read through the scenario, they were asked to answer questions related to their willingness to trade off civil liberties and support for policies punishing terrorism for the perception of increased security. The dependent variables therefore are the willingness to cede individual civil liberties and the level of support for punitive policies in response to the terrorist attack scenario. Since research has shown that measures of punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties have often overlapped, this research explicitly separates these two concepts through two different questions used to operationalize punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties.

For the sake of this research, punitiveness is described as attitudes towards policies that punish terrorism specifically and is conceptualized by the level of support for the government to detain a suspect indefinitely without being charged for an offense – which violates many national and international laws, including human rights laws. The specific question that is used to operationalize punitiveness is: "Based on this scenario, how likely would you be to support a policy that permits the government to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense?" The scale used to gauge support for this policy will consist of; very likely, likely, somewhat likely, neither likely or unlikely, somewhat unlikely, unlikely, and very unlikely.

Willingness to cede civil liberties has often been conceptualized using a variation of the 9 previously outlined questions in the literature review, that attempts to ascertain support for counterterrorist policies such as: racial profiling, ability for the federal government to investigate protestors, and not allowing teachers to criticize antiterrorist policies (Davis and Silver 2014). Though the commonly used questions would involve ceding civil liberties, some social groups

may not perceive that the policies asked about will actually require them to cede many, or any, civil liberties, particularly if they do not believe they would be the victim of racial profiling, or they do not perceive themselves as likely to be protesting or criticizing antiterrorist policies. Explanations for the lack of concern for ceding civil liberties in relation to these issues may include not being a part of or perceived as being a part of a minority group, as well as authoritarianism and/or conformity to obey the government.

Therefore, in an attempt to encompass the implications of a policy that is perceived to affect the public more broadly – such as policies that are generally more facially race-neutral and could thus be perceived as having an indiscriminate impact on the larger population (rather than a policy specifically for a detained suspect of a terrorist attack, or a policy that permits racial profiling) – the policy that is used to conceptualize willingness to cede civil liberties is support for the government's ability to monitor telephone calls and emails. The specific question that is used to operationalize willingness to cede civil liberties is phrased similarly to Finkelstein et al. (2017): "Based on this scenario, how likely would you be to support a policy that permitted the government to have increased access to individuals' personal information, allowing the government to monitor email messages, web site use, and telephone calls as a strategy to prevent the planning of a terrorist act?" The same scale is used to gauge support for this policy which consists of; very likely, likely, somewhat likely, neither likely or unlikely, somewhat unlikely, unlikely, and very unlikely.

Analysis

This methodology allows for the gathering of categorical and quantitative data regarding demographics and public opinion that can then be assessed via multiple regression analyses to determine the relationship between public opinion across various social groups (determined by

support for punitive policies and willingness to cede civil liberties amongst groups with similar characteristics) and the minority threat perception (operationalized by the stimuli in the survey scenario where the perpetrators are described as American-born, males of Middle Eastern descent). Utilizing regression analysis enables the possibility of identifying which demographic variables have the greatest impacts on individuals' willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies. Running regression analyses also allows for the use of interaction variables to see which set of demographic variables combined with political ideology and religious variables, are more likely to contribute to individuals' willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies, as well as whether or not this interaction effect helps to determine if individuals will respond differently to the different stimuli presented in the survey scenarios.

Chapter 6: Results

The three survey types were randomly distributed through Amazon Mechanical Turk, with a total of 314 respondents. The control survey, which asked respondents' their opinion on various counterterrorism policies without any hypothetical news article, received 100 responses. The survey version with White, American-born male perpetrators who were motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism received 106 responses, and the survey version with the Middle Eastern, American-born perpetrators motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism received 108 responses. Table 1 shows the frequency and percentage of responses from each survey.

Table 1: Survey Type and Response Frequency

	Frequency	Percent
Control	100	31.85
White/Far-right	106	33.76
Middle Eastern/Islamic	108	34.39
Total	314	100.00

Independent Variables Comparison

The independent variables collected throughout the survey included: gender, race, ethnicity, religion, interpretation of religious text, type of community respondents live in (city, rural, suburban), religion respondents live in (Midwest, Northeast, Southeast, Southwest, West), education level, age, and income. To ensure that the randomization of the survey sample was effective across the surveys that will be the focus of the comparative analysis (survey 1: White, American-born male perpetrators motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism, and survey 2: Middle Eastern, American-born male perpetrators motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism), the mean and standard deviation for each variable in both surveys is evaluated in Table 2, as well as the *p*-value from a t-test comparing the means of each variable from the two

surveys. Since the survey experiment focuses on the effects of the stimuli (manipulation of the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators), testing to see whether the independent variables are balanced is important to control for when evaluating the responses to the dependent variables (willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies). If the responses are balanced across the various survey types, more accurate analyses can be made when evaluating how certain social groups (mostly by race and ideology) respond when the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators are manipulated. If the randomization was successful and the independent variables are balanced there will not be statistical significance between the mean responses of the two survey types for each independent variable. The independent variables were re-coded to allow for easier interpretation analysis.

Gender

Gender was re-coded into a dichotomous variable with two categories, male and female, due to a small number of responses for the various other options respondents, which could identify as or self-describe (see Appendix A for gender survey question). Therefore, the variable "Female" (as seen in Table 2) indicates respondents who were female and coded with a (1), while respondents who were male were coded with a (0).

Race/Ethnicity

Additionally, race was re-coded into three categories (as seen in Table 2) which included, White, Black, and Asian, due to a small number of responses for various other options, which included the option to identify with multiple racial groups by selecting multiple categories (see Appendix A for race survey question). Ethnicity was also condensed and re-coded to include either Latinx, which was coded as a dummy variable with (1) being assigned to respondents who identified as Latinx and (0) otherwise, or non-Hispanic White, which was also coded as a

dummy variable with (1) being assigned to respondents who identified as non-Hispanic Whites and (0) otherwise (see Appendix A for ethnicity survey question and the list of possible responses).

Ideology

The ideology variable was coded as a scale from 1-7, with 1 being extremely liberal and 7 being extremely conservative, to determine the self-identified ideology of respondents. On the lowest end of the scale is "extremely liberal" coded as (1), followed by "liberal" coded as (2), "slightly liberal" (3), "moderate" (4), "slightly conservative" (5), "conservative" (6), and "extremely conservative" (7).

The coding of these independent variables was specified because they were the main variables evaluated in the regression analyses. For the full list of independent variables and their coding, which includes religious affiliation, religious text interpretation, community, region, educational attainment, age, and income, refer to Appendix A.

Running a t-test to evaluate whether or not there is statistical significance for each variable between the two surveys (survey 1: White, American-born male perpetrators motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism, and survey 2: Middle Eastern, American-born male perpetrators motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism) allows for analyses of whether the responses are balanced, and the randomization of the survey experiment was successful. Table 2 indicates that almost all of the independent variables are balanced between the two surveys, with the exception of the Christian variable which was statistically significant at the .05 level. There were more respondents who answered that they were Christian in survey 1 (White, American-born male perpetrators motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism), than in survey 2

(American-born Middle Eastern male perpetrators motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism).

Table 2: Independent Variable Comparison of Responses to Surveys

	White/Far-right		Middle Eastern/Islamic		
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD	*p*-value
Female	.33	.47	.40	.49	.285
White	.66	.48	.74	.44	.222
Black	.17	.37	.13	.34	.434
Asian	.10	.30	.08	.28	.695
Latinx	.09	.29	.05	.21	.222
Non-Hispanic White	.59	.49	.66	.47	.277
Ideology	3.35	1.82	3.71	1.77	.151
Christian	.66	.48	.52	.50	.046*
Catholic	.42	.50	.32	.47	.129
Evangelical	.03	.17	.47	.21	.532
Not Religious	.32	.47	.36	.48	.502
Word for word	.37	.49	.28	.45	.171
Not literal	.23	.42	.21	.41	.673
Not God	.29	.46	.35	.48	.318
City	.55	.50	.54	.50	.909
Rural	.24	.43	.21	.41	.555
Suburb	.20	.40	.25	.44	.370
Midwest	.16	.37	.24	.43	.137
Northeast	.21	.41	.25	.44	.472
Southeast	.21	.41	.24	.43	.573
Southwest	.11	.31	.07	.25	.261
West	.31	.46	.20	.40	.061
Education	2.82	1.04	2.79	1.03	.869
Age	3.14	1.03	3.35	0.98	.142
Income	3.36	1.54	2.98	1.45	.069
N	106		108		

Note: This table compares the answers from respondents who took survey 1 which presented fake news coverage of a hypothetical terrorist attack scenario in which the perpetrators were American-born, White males, motivated by the teaching of far-right extremism, and survey 2 which presented fake news coverage of a hypothetical terrorist attack scenario in which the perpetrators were American-born, Middle Eastern males, motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism. The *p*-value is from a *t*-test comparing the means.

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Most other *p*-values, comparing the mean response between the two surveys for each variable were well above the .05 threshold for statistical significance indicating that they were

balanced with a comparable mean response between the two surveys. Overall, the randomization was mostly successful when considering the various independent variables that are controlled for in the survey experiment. This is important in order to make comparisons about how respondents' answers differed, in reference to their willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies, based on the various stimuli of the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators in the hypothetical terrorist attack scenario covered by a fake news article. An additional table located in Appendix A (Table 2.1), indicates the number of respondents for each survey version (White/Far-right, Middle Eastern/Islamic, and Control).

Dependent Variable Comparison

Table 3 depicts the mean and standard deviation for each dependent variable within each survey, as well as the *p*-value from a t-test comparison of the means of the dependent variables (punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties) between each survey. The dependent variables in Table 3 are labeled "Punitiveness"- indicating respondents' support for a counterterrorism policy that permits the government to detail suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense - and "Cede Civil Liberties" - indicating a respondent's willingness to cede civil liberties in support for a counterterrorism policy that permits the government to have increased access to individuals' personal information, email messages, website use, and telephone calls. The possible responses for both of these questions operationalized to represent the dependent variables, were re-coded as an interval variable from 1-7, with 1 being "very unlikely" (to support the policy in question) and 7 being "very likely" (to support the policy in question). Therefore, as the number increases for the punitive policy question, punitiveness increases with respondents being more likely to support the punitive policy to combat the terrorist attack. The same goes for support for ceding civil liberties, as the

number increases closer towards 7, respondents were more willing to cede their civil liberties combat the terrorist attack.

Table 3: Dependent Variable Responses by Survey

	Punitiveness			Cede Civil Liberties		
	Mean	SD	*p*-value	Mean	SD	*p*-value
Control	3.77	2.19		4.01	2.17	
Middle Eastern/Islamic	3.81	2.06		4.37	1.95	
White/Far-right	4.16	2.03		3.96	2.15	
Difference between White/Far right and Middle Eastern/Islamic			.224			.149
Difference between White/Far right and Control			.201			.871
Difference between Middle Eastern/Islamic and Control			.893			.214

Note: This table shows the mean and standard deviation from each of the 3 surveys for responses on punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties. The mean comparison between various surveys is indicated by the *p*-value from a *t*-test comparing the means of punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties between various surveys.

When evaluating the *p*-value from the t-test that compares the means of responses to the dependent variables between various groupings of surveys (i.e., White/Far-right extremism x Middle Easter/Islamic extremism), the outcome of the t-test shows that the mean response to both dependent variables - support for punitive policies ('Punitiveness'), and willingness to cede civil liberties ('Cede Civil Liberties') - is not statistically significant regardless of comparison between survey type. This indicates that in general, the manipulation of the perpetrators' race/ethnicity and ideological motivations did not have a significant effect on the outcome of respondents' support for punitive policies or willingness to cede civil liberties. Though there is no statistical significance, Table 3 indicates that the mean response for willingness to cede civil liberties is greater than the mean response for punitiveness for both the Control survey and the survey with the American-born, male perpetrators of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the

teachings of Islamic extremism (Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey). In other words, in both the Control survey and the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey, respondents were more likely to cede their civil liberties when it came to permitting the government to have increased access to individuals' personal information, email messages, website use, and telephone calls, than they were to support a punitive policy that permitted the government to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense.

Respondents who took the survey with the White, American-born male perpetrators motivated by far-right extremism, were more likely on average to support the punitive policy (with a mean of 4.16), than to cede their civil liberties (with a mean of 3.96). Though the findings in the table are not statistically significant, it is interesting to consider that respondents, on average, were the most punitive (most likely to support the punitive policy) when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey. This effect could likely be indicative of the political climate when the survey was distributed. The survey was distributed on two separate dates, January 29th, and February 2nd of 2021 – less than a month after the insurrection on the Capitol by right-wing militia extremist groups on January 6th, 2021, and only a few weeks after Trump was impeached for a second time by the House of Representatives for inciting the insurrection on January 6th and stoking claims of voter fraud conspiracies (which were widely condemned by political scientist, the Department of Homeland Security, the FBI, the DOJ, the U.S. Election Assistance Commission, judges, elected officials (including many Republicans), election security experts, and computer scientists, who acknowledged that "by all measures the 2020 general election was one of the most secure elections in our history" (Hetch-Felella et al. 2020, para. 2)). Additionally, as indicated by the research outlined in the literature review, right-wing extremism has been steadily on the rise in recent years which could have resulted in respondents being more

punitive towards White, far-right extremist perpetrators (Jones et al. 2020; Aaronson 2019; Laguardia 2019; Lennard 2019).

The results of Table 3 also allow for analyses of the general trend of whether respondents were more willing to cede their own civil liberties or support punitive policy measures. This general trend was also the basis for hypothesis 2 which proposed that: "in general, respondents will be more likely to cede their own civil liberties (operationalized by support for the government's ability to monitor individuals' emails, web site use, and telephone calls) and have greater support for punitive policies (operationalized by the government's ability to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense) when the perpetrators are American-born males of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism versus when the perpetrators are White, American-born males motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism."

It is important to note that there was no statistical significance to the findings, however the means can be evaluated as an indicator of the general response for how participants answered the dependent variable questions differently based on survey type. Per the first part of the hypothesis, that "In general, respondents will be more likely to cede their own civil liberties … when the perpetrators are American-born males of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism," Table 3 indicates that the mean response for participants' willingness to cede their civil liberties was the highest for respondents taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey, with a mean of 4.37 (.36 points higher than the mean from the control, and .59 points higher than the mean from the White/Far-right extremism survey). However, it is also important to note that a mean of 4 correlates to the category "Neither likely nor unlikely" in terms of willingness to cede civil liberties. Interestingly, respondents in general,

were least likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the survey with the White/far-right extremist perpetrators, though they were most punitive towards this group. It is important to note that across all surveys White respondents were the majority racial group to respond (with 217 respondents who identified as White), and theoretically, White respondents would be the least likely to perceive it necessary to cede their own civil liberties due to a far-right extremist attack because they would not be the likely targets of this type of attack (Garcia Geva 2014).

The second part of hypothesis 2 proposes that, "in general, respondents will have greater support for punitive policies when the perpetrators are American-born males of Middle Eastern descent motivated by the teachings of Islamic extremism compared to when the perpetrators are White, American-born males motivated by the teachings of far-right extremism." Though the findings in Table 3 were not statistically significant, when comparing the mean response between the survey with Middle Eastern/Islamic extremists, and the survey with White/far-right extremists, the results indicate that respondents, in general, were the most punitive when taking the White/far-right extremism survey with a mean of 4.16 followed by the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey with a mean of 3.81, then the Control survey with a mean of 3.77.

In general, respondents were most likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey, followed by the Control survey, and then the White/Far-right extremism survey, but were more punitive when responding to the White/Far-right extremism survey, followed by the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey, and then the Control survey (though the findings did not show statistically significant relationships). Figure 1 and Figure 2 below visually depict the relationship between the dependent variables and the survey types. Figure 1 shows the mean comparisons for the responses to the dependent variable

'Punitiveness' by each survey type, and Figure 2 shows the means comparison for the responses to the dependent variable 'Cede Civil Liberties' by each survey type.

Figure 1

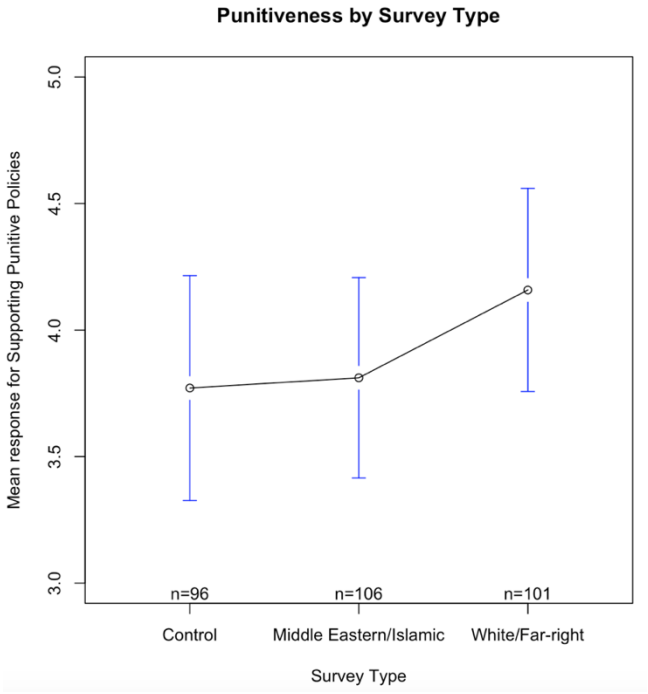


Figure 2

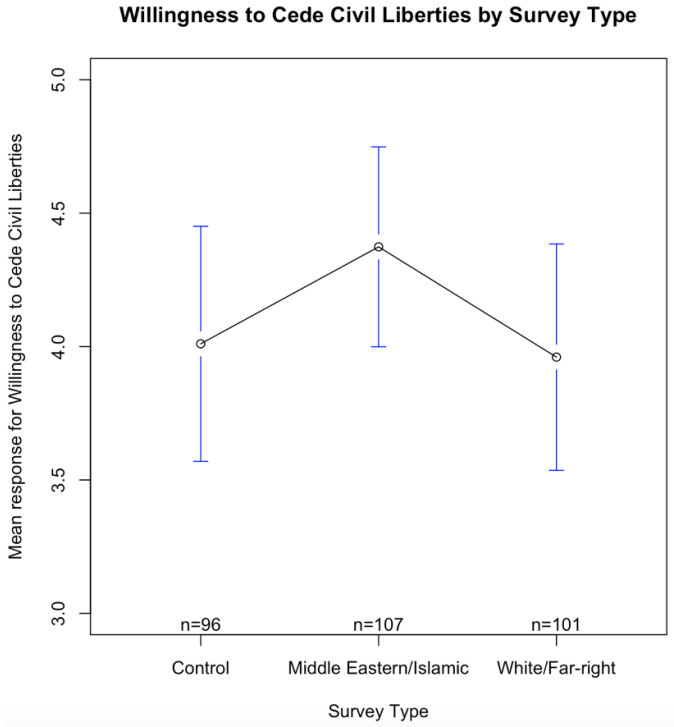


Figure 3 and Figure 4 depict the relationship between the broader trend of respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties and support for punitive policies, without controlling for the effect of the survey type by utilizing two univariate graphs of the responses to the dependent variables 'Punitiveness' and willingness to 'Cede Civil Liberties.' An evaluation of this trend was also the basis for hypothesis 3 which state that, "In general, regardless of survey type, individuals will be more likely to support punitive policies – operationalized by the government's ability to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense – that take away the civil liberties of the perpetrator rather than relinquish some of their own civil liberties – operationalized by support for the government's ability to monitor individuals' emails, web site use, and telephone calls." Figure 3 indicates the number of responses for each possible option in relation to the 'Punitiveness' question. The responses fall on a scale from 1-7 with 1 being "very unlikely" (to support the punitive policy), to 7 being "very likely" (to support the punitive policy). Figure 4 indicates the number of responses for each possible option in relation to the 'Cede Civil Liberties' question. The responses for this question, like the punitive question, range from 1-7, with 1 being "very unlikely" (to cede civil liberties), and 7 being "very likely" (to cede civil liberties).

Figure 3

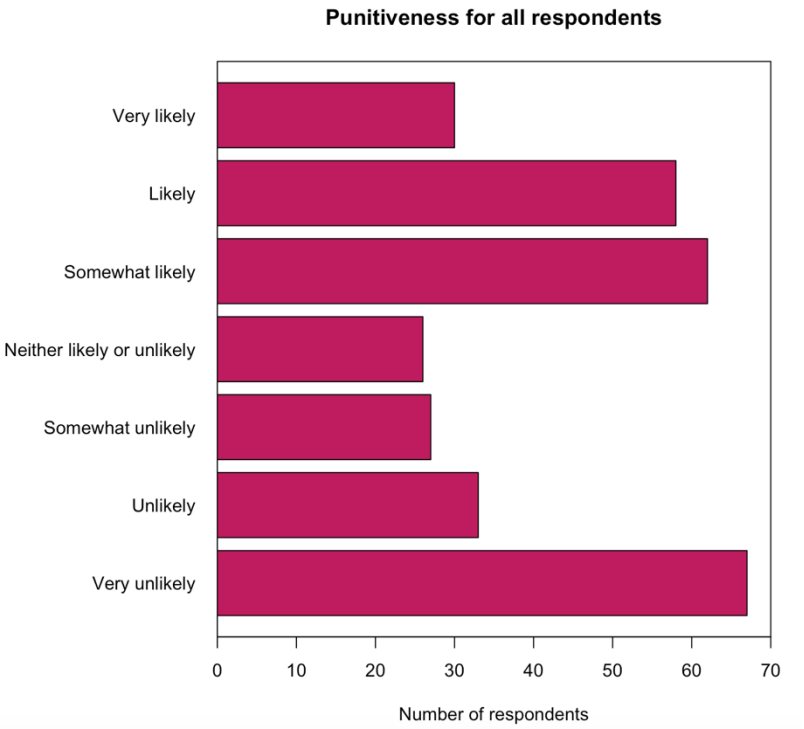
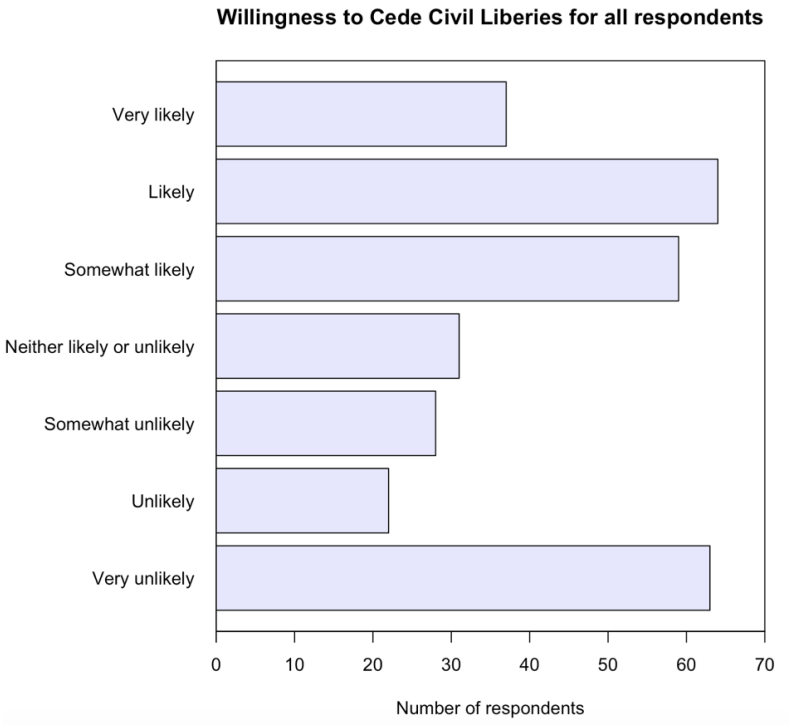


Figure 4



The mean response for support for the punitive counterterrorism policy, for all respondents regardless of survey type, is 3.914, which correlates to the category "Somewhat unlikely" but falls very closely to category 4 "Neither likely nor unlikely." The mean response for willingness to cede civil liberties, for all respondents regardless of survey type, is 4.122 which corresponds to the category "Neither likely nor unlikely." Therefore, in general, respondents were actually more willing to cede their civil liberties than support the punitive policy. Though with a .208 difference between the means of these two dependent variables, the findings are not statistically significant. One reason respondents may have been more willing to cede their civil liberties than support a punitive policy, could be due to the particular questions being asked to operationalize willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies. The punitive policy of detaining a suspect without charge, could have been viewed as harsher or more invasive than ceding some civil liberties in terms of allowing the government to view more of respondents' online data. Perceptions of "invasiveness" when referring to the degree in which counterterrorism policies "infringe upon individuals' civil liberties" have been indicated by previous research as a statistically significant determinant in support for counterterrorism policies, with respondents preferring less invasive policies (Garcia and Geva 2016 p. 37).

The difference in severity or perceptions of invasiveness of the two questions could be explained by the fact that the United States has been increasingly moving towards what some have deemed the "surveillance society" resulting in Americans accepting the federal government's increasing surveillance tactics in post-9/11 as a trade-off to increased security. Therefore, some respondents may perceive that the government is already able to access any and all information from an individual's emails, phone calls etc., meaning the policy allowing the government to monitor these communications would have essentially no change on an

individual's life. The notion of government surveillance may be more normalized as well since it's intended to affect everyone the same, and people have already endured living in a largely surveilled society, in contrast to the more targeted, and severe policy of detaining a suspect of a terrorist attack without charge. In other words, there could be a perception that ceding civil liberties based on these questions, is not a large burden if respondents mostly already assume that the government is able to acquire this information at any time. However, if the severity of the policy is a factor that contributed to respondents' support in this study, it would be interesting to see how responses differed when the severity of the policies asking respondents to either cede their own civil liberties or the civil liberties of others were perceived as equivalent. In other words, if the two policies were perceived as having the same degree of civil liberties taken away either for the general public or the perpetrators, would respondents be more willing to forfeit the civil liberties of others than their own?

This finding is also particularly interesting when considering the research by Davis and Silver (2004) which found that although respondents in general supported protecting civil liberties over security, more respondents supported protecting civil liberties when evaluating the counterterrorism policy that "allows the monitoring of telephone conversations and email communications" than the counterterrorism policy that allows the government to "detain noncitizens suspected of belonging to a terrorist organization indefinitely without formally charging them for a crime" (Davis and Silver 2004, p. 33). While 53% of respondents surveyed by Davis and Silver supported protecting the civil liberties of "noncitizens suspected of belonging to a terrorist organization," 66% of their respondents supported protecting the civil liberties of the public more broadly in terms of counterterrorism policies that infringe on the right to privacy by allowing the government to "monitor telephone conversations and email

communications" (Davis and Silver 2004, p. 33). The findings from Davis and Silver (2004) indicate that respondents were more likely to support the policy of detaining "suspected terrorists" indefinitely, which is in opposition to the current study's findings, in which respondents were more likely to support the policy of permitting the government to monitor telephone and email communications.

The only difference in the phrasing of the questions asked in Davis and Silver's study compared to the present study, is the insertion of the word "noncitizens" to the counterterrorism policy permitting the government to detain "noncitizens suspected of belonging to a terrorist organization" indefinitely without charge. The use of the word "noncitizen" could evoke processes of "othering" that contribute to exclusive views of nationhood and citizenship resulting in respondents' desires for policies to protect the interests of native-born inhabitants against those of immigrants or perceived "outsiders" (Sohoni 2006). The binary conception of "us" versus "them" which induces process of racialized "othering" is particularly salient when considering the time period in which Davis and Silver's survey was conducted.

Davis and Silver (2004) conducted their random-digit-dialing telephone survey from November 14, 2001 to January 15, 2002, shortly after the September 11, 2001 attack, when fears of potential terrorist attacks were heightened as well as feelings of patriotism. Previous research supports the notion that patriotism and national pride can take on chauvinistic tones resulting in intolerance towards outgroups and aggressive views towards national security and defense (Hurwitz and Peffley 1987; Davis and Silver 2004). Therefore, the combination of the phrasing in the counterterrorism policy of "detaining 'noncitizens' suspected of belonging to a terrorist organization," and the time frame in which public opinion data on support for this policy was gathered, may be contributing factors as to why more respondents supported ceding the civil

liberties of "suspected terrorists" in Davis and Silver's survey, in comparison to the present study, in which respondents were more likely to support the policy that required ceding the civil liberties of the public more broadly. On the other hand, the present study was conducted from January 29, 2021 to February 2, 2021, shortly after the insurrection on the Capitol and the second impeachment of then-president Donald Trump, which could have been a contributing factor in respondents' increased support for ceding the civil liberties of "suspected terrorists" only when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey.

Regression Analyses

Multivariate regression analyses were conducted in order to assess more specific trends in terms of different social groups (consisting of race and ideological affiliation) and the impact of survey type on their willingness to cede civil liberties or support punitive policies. This more narrow observation was the basis for hypothesis 1 which proposes that: "When the hypothetical terrorist attack is committed by White, American-born male perpetrators motivated by far-right extremism, then White, extremely conservative respondents will be the least likely racial and ideological group to cede their own civil liberties – operationalized by support for the government's ability to monitor individuals' emails, web site use, and telephone calls – for security." To assess the first part of the hypothesis, that White respondents would be the least likely racial group to cede their own civil liberties when the hypothetical perpetrators are White, American-born males motivated by far-right extremism, a multivariate regression was conducted with willingness to cede civil liberties as the dependent variable, and White and survey type as the independent variables (see Table 4). In Table 4, White is a dummy variable that is coded (1) if the respondent is White and (0) otherwise (there were 214 White respondents and 97 non-White respondents). The regression results in Table 4, also includes an interaction effect between

the White dummy variable and the survey types to indicate if White respondents are the least likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey.

Table 4: White Respondents' Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by Survey Type

	Estimate	Standard Error	t value	*p*-value	
(Intercept)	3.70	.43	8.53	.000***	
White	.39	.50	0.78	.437	
Middle Eastern/Islamic	.16	.59	0.28	.783	
White/Far-right	.86	.56	1.54	.125	
White x Middle Eastern/Islamic	.31	.68	0.46	.645	
White x White/Far-right	-1.31	.66	-1.97	.049*	
N					302
Adjusted R-squared					.0164

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

The results of Table 4 indicate that the interaction between the White dummy variable and the White/Far-right extremism survey is statistically significant at the .05 level. In other words, the null hypothesis can be rejected, and it can be concluded that there is a statistically significant relationship between White respondents taking the White/Far-right survey and their willingness to cede civil liberties. The mean response for White respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties taking the White/Far-right extremism survey is 3.64, which falls between the categories 3, "Somewhat unlikely" and 4, "Neither likely nor unlikely" on the willingness to cede civil liberties Likert scale of 1-7. White respondents taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey had a mean response of 4.56, which falls in between the categories 4, "Neither likely or unlikely" and 5, "Somewhat likely" on the 'willingness to cede civil liberties' scale.

White respondents taking the control survey had a similar mean response of 4.08 which falls more concretely in the category "Neither likely nor unlikely."

Therefore, White respondents are the least willing to cede their civil liberties when the perpetrators of the hypothetical terrorist attack are White, male perpetrators motivated by far-right extremism. I argue that White respondents' lack of willingness to cede civil liberties for these perpetrators could be explained by the notion that they do not perceive themselves to be the target of these attacks, and therefore, do not feel that it is a necessary sacrifice for them to cede their own civil liberties (Garcia and Geva 2014).

In order to explicitly test part 1 of hypothesis 1, which proposes that White respondents will be the least likely racial group to cede civil liberties with the presence of the White/Far-right extremism survey, a multivariate regression was conducted which included the same variables from Table 4 with the addition of the other two racial categories: Black and Asian. The variables Black and Asian in Table 5 are both coded as dummy variables and interact with the survey types to compare willingness to cede civil liberties across racial groups and surveys. The intercept therefore refers to White respondent taking the Control survey.

When evaluating the coefficients from the regression in Table 5, White respondents on average were less likely than Black respondents to cede their civil liberties with the presence of the White/Far-right extremist survey (by a mean difference of 2.13 points on the willingness to cede civil liberties scale), and White respondents were slightly more likely on average to cede their civil liberties than Asian respondents (by a mean difference of .54 points). However, the size of the demographic group between Asian and White respondents may have resulted in skewed data that cannot be generalized. Since there were 217 White respondents that took the survey compared to 23 Asian respondents, the average willingness to cede civil liberties from

White respondents would likely be a more accurate depiction of how White respondents may answer these questions compared to the average response from Asian respondents due to a small sample size of Asian respondents.

Table 5: Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by Race and Survey Type

	Estimate	Standard Error	t value	*p*-value	
(Intercept)	4.08	.24	17.12	.000***	
Black	.17	.63	.26	.791	
Asian	-.58	1.04	-.56	.575	
Middle Easter/Islamic	.47	.33	1.44	.152	
White/Far-right	-.45	.34	-1.30	.196	
Black x Middle Eastern/Islamic	.06	.86	.07	.943	
Black x White/Far-right	1.96	.84	2.34	.019*	
Asian x Middle Eastern/Islamic	-1.30	1.26	-1.04	.301	
Asian x White/Far-right	.05	1.25	.04	.970	
N					283
Adjusted R-squared					.0653

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Black respondents on average were 2.13 points more likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey than White respondents with a mean of 5.77, which falls between the categories 5, “Somewhat likely” and 6, “Likely.” The finding for Black respondents’ willingness to cede civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey was also statistically significant at the .05 level. Asian respondents on average were .05

points more likely to cede their civil liberties with a mean response of 3.10 which falls in the categories 3, “Somewhat unlikely,” meaning that Asian respondents were only slightly less likely to cede their civil liberties than White respondents (however this finding is likely affected by a small sample size of Asian respondents). Overall, there were 217 White respondents, 43 Black respondents, and 23 Asian respondents, with 31 respondents that resided in various other racial groups, but this did not constitute a large enough sample size to test these additional groups. Since the number of respondents vary by a notable amount, a better comparison may be to evaluate the effect of the survey type *within* each racial group - since the t-test from Table 1 indicates that responses for each racial group are balanced across survey types - rather than evaluating responses based on survey types *between* racial groups.

For all racial groups, their willingness to cede civil liberties increased with the presence of the White/far-right extremism survey in comparison to the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey, *except* for the White racial group, who were less likely to cede civil liberties with the presence of the White/Far-right extremism survey (see Table 4). As stated above, the mean response for willingness to cede civil liberties amongst Black respondents taking the Far-right extremism survey was 5.77, compared to a mean of 4.79 for Black respondents taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey. The increase in willingness to cede civil liberties is less significant among Asian respondents, with a mean response of 3.10 for the White/Far-right extremism survey, compared to a mean response of 2.67 for the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey. On the other hand, Table 4 indicates that White respondents taking the Far-right extremism survey had a mean response of 3.64 (falling between the categories 3, “Somewhat unlikely” and 4, “Neither likely or unlikely”), which increased when taking the

Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey to a mean of 4.56 (falling between the categories 4, "Neither likely or unlikely" and 5, "Somewhat likely").

Since the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators is the only stimuli that is manipulated to evaluate whether threat perception changes, these results seem to indicate that minority racial groups are more willing to cede civil liberties when the perpetrators are White/Far-right extremists because they are perceived as more threatening, which could be caused by minority racial groups perceiving themselves as likely victims of right-wing extremist attacks. Another factor that could be relevant to the increased willingness to cede civil liberties, could be the recent attack on the Capitol, or the increasing trend of White/Far-right extremists attack in general, making a terrorist attack by White/Far-right extremists seem far more realistic, which could constitute increased perception of threat and a higher willingness to cede civil liberties as well.

To test the second part of hypothesis 1 which proposes that, extremely conservative respondents will be the least likely ideological group to cede their civil liberties when the hypothetical terrorist attack is committed by White/Far-right extremists, a multivariate regression analysis was conducted with willingness to cede civil liberties as the dependent variable and ideology and survey type as the independent variables. Similar to the regressions evaluating race and willingness to cede civil liberties, Table 6 also indicates the interaction effects of ideology with each survey type. In order to compare a greater number of responses for the ideological categories to survey type, ideology was re-coded into 3 categories which consist of: 'Liberal' indicating all liberal responses ("Extremely liberal," "Liberal," and "Slightly liberal"), 'Conservative' indicating all conservative responses ("Extremely conservative," "Conservative,"

"Sightly conservative"), and "Moderate," which represents respondents that chose the "moderate" category, or category 4 on the original ideological scale.

Table 6: Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by Ideology and Survey Type

	Estimate	Standard Error	t value	*p*-value	
(Intercept)	3.75	.60	6.21	.000***	
Liberal	.005	.67	.007	.994	
Conservative	.75	.72	1.05	.295	
Middle Eastern/Islamic	.25	.76	.33	.742	
White/Far-right	-.56	.80	-.70	.482	
Conservative x Middle Eastern/Islamic	-.12	.92	-.13	.895	
Conservative x White/Far-right	.15	.98	.15	.882	
Liberal x Middle Easter/Islamic	.35	.86	.40	.686	
Liberal x White/Far-right	.91	.89	1.02	.309	
N					302
Adjusted R-squared					.0031

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Only the intercept, which represents the Control survey and Moderate responses, in Table 6 is statistically significant. This means that there is not enough significance to accept the alternative hypothesis that there is a relationship between conservative ideology and willingness to cede civil liberties, when controlling for survey type. Overall, conservatives (with a mean response of 4.50) were more likely to cede their civil liberties than liberals (with a mean response of 3.755). This finding is supported by the research from Finkelstein et al. (2017) which

found that liberals were less likely to cede their civil liberties for security than conservatives. Additionally, conservative respondents were less likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey, with an average response of 4.08 (corresponding to the category "Neither likely nor unlikely") compared to the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey, in which the mean response for conservative respondents was 4.63 (which leans slightly more towards category 5, "Somewhat likely"). Liberals and conservatives had similar mean responses in terms of support for the policy requiring ceding civil liberties for the White/Far-right extremism survey with only .02 points separating the two means (the mean response for conservatives being 4.08 and the mean response for liberals being 4.10). However, their mean responses diverge more (by roughly .28 points) when evaluating the responses to the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey in which conservatives' mean response was 4.63 and liberals' mean response was 4.35.

Therefore, the difference in mean response for conservatives between the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey (4.63) and the White/Far-right extremism survey (4.08) is .55 points. Whereas the difference in mean response for liberals between the two surveys (4.35 for the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey, and 4.1 for the White/Far-right extremism survey) is smaller with only .25 points. This suggests that the stimuli, or the "minority threat perception," had less of an effect on liberals than it did conservatives. This finding is interesting when considering the research conducted by Finkelstein et al. (2017), which found that liberals perceived a lower threat of terrorism than conservatives. However, when evaluating threat perception for liberals while controlling for only White liberal respondents, the effect of the minority threat perception amongst White liberals increases. To evaluate how threat perception varies within ideological groups based on race, Table 6.1 indicates both the mean response for all

respondents in an ideological group based on survey type using the regression results from Table 6, and the mean response for White respondents specifically in an ideological group based on survey type (specific regression results can be found on Table 6.2 in the Appendix A).

In the regression utilizing the subset of the original data to include only White respondents (in order to group both White and conservative respondents together), the results show no statistically significant relationships (see Table 6.2 in Appendix A for full regression analysis). Although, the regression does indicate that White, conservative respondents taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey were still the most likely to cede their civil liberties with a mean response of 4.69 (falling between the categories 4, "Neither likely nor unlikely" and 5, "Somewhat likely"). Though Table 6 shows that liberal respondents in general (with a mean of 4.10) were slightly more likely than conservative respondents (with a mean of 4.08) to cede their

Table 6.1: Mean Response for Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties Based on Ideology, Survey Type, and the White Interaction Effect

	All Respondents		White Respondents	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Conservative x Middle Eastern/Islamic	4.63	.92	4.69	1.14
Conservative x White/Far-right	4.08	.98	3.94	1.15
Liberal x Middle Eastern/Islamic	4.35	.86	4.51	1.08
Liberal x White/Far-right	4.10	.89	3.68	.70
N	302		217	
Adjusted R-squared	.0031		.0048	

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey, interestingly, when including 'White' in the interaction of survey type and ideology, White liberal respondents (with a mean of 3.68) were less likely than White conservative respondents (with a mean of 3.94) to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey. Additionally, the difference in mean response for White conservatives taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey (with a mean of 4.69), and White conservatives taking the White/Far-right extremism survey (with a mean of 3.94) is .75 points, whereas the difference in mean response for White liberals taking the two surveys (with a mean of 4.51 for the Middle Easter/Islamic extremism survey and a mean of 3.68 for the White/Far-right extremism survey) is .84 points.

This finding is interesting because the White subset data indicates more variation in willingness to cede civil liberties by survey type amongst White liberals than White conservative. Therefore, the treatment of the minority threat perception seemingly had a greater effect on willingness to cede civil liberties amongst conservatives in general, however, when controlling for only White respondents, the minority threat perception had a greater effect on White liberals. Though the ideology variable in both Table 6 and 6.1 is not statistically significant in determining the respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties when factoring in survey type and the White dummy variable, there is statistical significance in the regression results between ideology and willingness to cede civil liberties without controlling for survey type. Table 7 below, depicts the relationship between willingness to cede civil liberties and the three ideological categories (with moderate functioning as the intercept), without factoring in the interaction of survey type.

Table 7: Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by Ideology

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	*p*-value	
(Intercept)	3.67	.30	12.32	.000***	
Liberal	.39	.34	1.16	.248	
Conservative	.76	.37	2.06	.040*	
N					302
Adjusted R-squared					.0079

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

The intercept for Table 7 consists of 'Moderate' responses, therefore both 'Liberal' and 'Conservative' respondents were more likely to support a counterterrorism policy that requires ceding civil liberties than moderate respondents. However, conservative respondents were more willing to cede their civil liberties than liberal respondents. Additionally, 'Conservative' was statistically significant at the .05, indicating that respondents who identified as 'Conservative' (whether it be 'Slightly conservative, 'Conservative,' or 'Extremely conservative') were .76 points more likely (on the willingness to cede civil liberties scale of 1-7, with 7 being the most likely to cede civil liberties), to support a counterterrorism policy that requires ceding civil liberties than moderate respondents, and .37 points more likely to cede their civil liberties than liberal respondents. Interestingly, when coding the 'Ideology' variable into 7 separate categories with 'Moderate' as the intercept, 'Extremely liberal' respondents were the only ideological group less likely to cede civil liberties than moderate, with a mean of .73 points less than moderate respondents (see Table 7.1 in Appendix A). The trend of liberal respondents being less likely to cede civil liberties could possibly be explained by the research which indicates that liberals are often more likely to be affected by ceding their civil liberties (Finkelstein et al. 2017), as well as the research that indicates that conservatives are more likely to obey authority, in this case the government asking respondents to cede civil liberties for increased security (Hetherington and Suhay 2011).

Table 7 also shows that the significance of the effect of independent variables on the dependent variables, can change based on whether or not the survey type is factored into the regression. Essentially, some variables were important indicators of punitiveness or willingness to cede civil liberties, but the experimental stimuli of various perpetrators did not affect individuals' willingness to cede civil liberties or support for punitive policies and vice versa, with some variables becoming more important to punitiveness or willingness to cede civil liberties due to the introduction of the stimuli, or minority threat perception. To indicate the change in the significance of the independent variables on the dependent variables, two separate tables were created for each dependent variable ('Punitiveness', and 'Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties'). For each dependent variable, one table was created with the results of a multivariate regression without controlling for the effect of the survey types, and another table was created with the results of three separate multivariate regressions that control for each survey type. The second table for each dependent variable compiles the coefficients and *p*-values from 3 separate regressions to indicate the impact of the specific survey type on the independent variables. Each survey type (Control, White/Far right, and Middle Eastern/Islamic) was created as a subset of data that only included responses from that particular survey type in order to determine the survey effects on the relationship between the independent variables and the dependent variables. The only independent variables that are omitted from the regressions that were collected throughout the study, are the 'Community' variable (indicating City, Suburb, Rural) and 'Region' variable (indicating Northwest, Southwest, Southeast, West, and Midwest). These variables were not included, but will be discussed later, because the inclusion of the additional variables resulted in these variables not having a statistically significant effect on the dependent variables willingness to cede civil liberties and punitiveness.

Table 8 below, depicts the regression results from all independent variables on the dependent variable 'Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties' without controlling for survey type. While Table 9 below, depicts the regression results from all independent variables on the dependent variable 'Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties' while also controlling for survey type.

Table 8: Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by all Independent Variables

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	1.74	.94	1.85	.065	
Female	.24	.24	1.00	.318	
White	.59	.51	1.17	.242	
Black	.79	.59	1.34	.180	
Asian	.02	.65	.03	.978	
Liberal	.70	.33	2.13	.034*	
Conservative	.39	.36	1.09	.275	
Catholic	.39	.34	1.13	.259	
Christian	.14	.61	.24	.811	
Evangelical	.61	.59	1.03	.305	
Not Religious	-.000	.55	-.001	.999	
Word for word	.62	.47	1.30	.195	
Not literal	-.20	.48	-.42	.678	
Not God	-.75	.41	-1.83	.068	
Age	.32	.12	2.68	.007**	
Education	.11	.12	.93	.355	
Income	-.07	.08	-.91	.363	
N					294
Adjusted R-squared					.1643

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 9: Effect of Independent Variables on Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by Survey Type

	Control		White/Far-right		Middle Eastern/ Islamic	
	Est.	(Std. Error)	Est.	(Std. Error)	Est.	(Std. Error)
(Intercept)	-3.22	(1.81)	2.70	(2.05)	4.74**	(1.52)
Female	.75	(.43)	.306	(.48)	-.03	(.41)
White	.50	(.84)	-.471	(.86)	.50	(1.02)
Black	-.40	(.99)	.639	(1.04)	.41	(1.09)
Asian	2.08	(1.35)	-.573	(1.06)	-.90	(1.17)
Liberal	.91	(.64)	1.08	(.59)	.73	(.57)
Conservative	1.01	(.66)	.672	(.71)	.24	(.56)
Catholic	-.09*	(.58)	.653	(.61)	-.29	(.60)
Christian	3.23	(1.35)	-.820	(1.55)	-.04	(.90)
Evangelical	-.34	(.92)	.496	(1.36)	.79	(.99)
Not Religious	2.90*	(1.26)	-.904	(1.54)	-.45	(.74)
Word for word	.79	(.99)	.687	(.90)	.75	(.76)
Not literal	-.23	(1.00)	-.233	(.94)	.11	(.73)
Not God	-.95	(.91)	-.265	(.80)	-1.06	(.59)
Age	.70***	(.19)	-.039	(.25)	.16	(.21)
Education	.41	(.21)	.256	(.24)	-.35	(.21)
Income	-.12	(.15)	.113	(.14)	-.10	(.14)
N	92		97		105	
Adjusted R-squared	.3540		.1798		.0906	

Note: This table compiles the coefficients and standard errors from three separate regressions which consist of the responses from each individual survey used in the study.

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

In both Table 8 and Table 9, variable 'Age' is statistically significant. However, in Table 8 'Liberal' is statistically significant, while it is not statistically significant in Table 9. The 'Liberal' variable also has an interesting relationship with 'Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties' when considering whether or not survey type is being factored into the regression. In Table 8, 'Liberal' is statistically significant at the .05 level and has a higher mean response than 'Conservatives.' This finding diverges from Table 7 (comparing 'Ideology' and 'Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties'), because Table 8 is also factoring in additional independent variables which then changes the relationship of the 'Ideology' variable. However, when evaluating the

effect of ‘Ideology’ and all other independent variables, on the dependent variable ‘Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties,’ while accounting for the interaction of survey type, the regressions indicate that the religious variables ‘Christian’ and ‘Not religious’ as well as the ‘Age’ variable are statistically significant while the ideology variables, ‘Liberal’ and ‘Conservative’ are not. The Tables above indicate that the relationship between ‘Ideology’ and the dependent variable ‘Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties’ is spurious, meaning that the addition of other independent variables, affects the relationship between ‘Ideology’ and the dependent variable. This relationship can be further explained by evaluating Table 9, which indicates that the variables ‘Christian,’ ‘Not Religious,’ and ‘Age’ are more statistically significant variables than ‘Ideology’ which could be the main variables contributing to this spurious relationship.

Table 9 shows that only the interaction of the control survey yielded statistically significant results between any independent variables on the dependent variable. The variable “Christian” is statistically significant at the .05 level and has a mean response that is 3.23 points higher (on the willingness to cede civil liberties scale), than non-Christian respondents, meaning they are much more likely to cede civil liberties than non-Christian respondents (see Table 9.1 in Appendix A). Respondents who identified as ‘Not Religious’ had a mean response that was 2.91 points higher in terms of willingness to cede civil liberties, than religious respondents, which was statistically significant at the .05 level (see Table 9.1 in Appendix A). Additionally, ‘Age’ was statistically significant at the .001 level in the Control regression (identified by the p-value in Table 9) and at the .01 level in the regression that did not factor in survey type (Table 8). Table 8 indicates that for every one-unit increase in age (which was coded into 6 categories with the lowest age group including ages 18-20, and the highest age group including ages 60 and older), the mean for respondents’ willingness to cede civil liberties increases by .32 point. The results of

the control regression for Table 9 indicates that for every one-unit increase in age, participants' mean response to willingness to cede civil liberties increases by roughly .70 (see Appendix A for control regression). This could be explained by older people being more conservative and more authoritarian than younger people (Frost 2010). Notably, the regression results from the White/Far-right extremism survey and the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey did not yield any statistical significance.

Similar tables are created for the regression results from the effects of the independent variables on the dependent variable 'Punitiveness.' Table 10 below, depicts the regression results from all independent variables on the dependent variable 'Punitiveness' without controlling for survey type. While table 11 below, depicts the regression results from all independent variables on the dependent variable 'Punitiveness' while also controlling for survey type.

Table 10: Punitiveness by all Independent Variables

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	2.64	.95	2.78	.005**	
Female	.07	.24	.29	.77	
White	.43	.51	.83	.406	
Black	.69	.60	1.16	.249	
Asian	.21	.65	.33	.743	
Liberal	.47	.33	1.40	.164	
Conservative	.61	.37	1.67	.097	
Catholic	.24	.35	.70	.494	
Christian	.89	.62	1.44	.152	
Evangelical	-.40	.60	-.67	.507	
Not Religious	.54	.55	.98	.330	
Word for word	.35	.49	.72	.474	
Not literal	-.25	.50	-.50	.621	
Not God	-.99	.42	-2.37	.018*	
Age	-.07	.12	-.58	.562	
Education	-.09	.12	-.76	.449	
Income	.12	.08	1.50	.138	
N					293
Adjusted R-squared					.1420

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 11: Effect of Independent Variables on Punitiveness by Survey Type

	Control		White/Far-right		Middle Eastern/ Islamic	
	Est.	(Std. Error)	Est.	(Std. Error)	Est.	(Std. Error)
(Intercept)	.50	(2.05)	.61	(1.86)	4.20*	(1.65)
Female	-.02	(.49)	.71	(.43)	.11	(.45)
White	.35	(.95)	.38	(.78)	1.00	(1.09)
Black	1.02	(1.12)	.65	(.94)	.09	(1.17)
Asian	2.82	(1.53)	-.44	(.96)	.76	(1.26)
Liberal	1.25	(.72)	.58	(.53)	-.48	(.62)
Conservative	2.09**	(.75)	.13	(.64)	-.11	(.61)
Catholic	.30	(.66)	.31	(.56)	-.004	(.67)
Christian	2.87	(1.53)	1.26	(1.40)	.13	(.98)
Evangelical	-1.87	(1.04)	.08	(1.24)	.64	(1.06)
Not Religious	2.49	(1.43)	3.19*	(1.40)	-.67	(.80)
Word for word	-1.10	(1.12)	2.15**	(.81)	.14	(.83)
Not literal	-1.90	(1.14)	1.70*	(.85)	-.20	(.82)
Not God	-2.33*	(1.03)	-1.21	(.73)	-1.04	(.65)
Age	.09	(.22)	-.17	(.23)	-.22	(.22)
Education	.01	(.23)	-.03	(.22)	-.17	(.23)
Income	.08	(.17)	.14	(.13)	.25	(.16)
N	92		97		104	
Adjusted R-squared	.0064		.0014		.0518	

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 10 indicates that only 'Not God' - which is the variable used to indicate respondents who believe that the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) was written by people and is not the word of God - is statistically significant (at the .05 level) in determining respondents' willingness to support punitive policies. Respondents who believe the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) was written by people and is not the word of God, were less likely to support the punitive policy counterterrorism measure. This could be supported by research that indicates that religious people are more likely to be authoritarian, and further authoritarianism is linked to intolerance of outgroups and less support for democratic values (Canetti-Nisim 2004).

When controlling for survey type, there were 4 additional independent variables ('Conservative' from the control regression, and 'Not Religious,' 'Word for word,' and 'Not literal' from the White/Far-right extremism regression) that were statistically significant in determining the relationship to the dependent variables 'Punitiveness.' Table 11 indicates that the *p*-values from the variable 'Conservative' in the control regression was statistically significant at the .01 level. The control regression (see Table 11.1 in Appendix A) indicates that respondents who identified as conservative were 2.09 points more likely (on the 7-point scale for punitiveness with 7 being the most punitive), to support a punitive counterterrorism policy than moderate. 'Not God' in the control regression (see Appendix A) is statistically significant at the .05 level and indicates that people who believe that the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) was written by people and is not the word of God were -2.33 points on average less likely to support punitive counterterrorism policy measures. When evaluating the rest of the statistically significant variables from Table 11, which are only responses from the White/Far-right extremism survey, all of the statistically significant variables are from religious questions (either how respondents identify their religious affiliation or how respondents interpret religious texts).

Respondents who identified as not religious were 3.19 points on average more punitive than respondents who identified as religious when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey. It is also interesting to note that respondents who identified as not religious were on average -.670 percentage points less likely to support punitive policies when it came to taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey (though this finding was not statistically significant). Respondents who believed that the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) was written by God and should be taken word for word, were on average 2.155 percentage points more likely to be punitive when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey (see Table 11.2 in Appendix A).

Additionally, respondents who believed the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) was written by God but should not be taken literally word for word were on average 1.703 points more likely to support punitive counterterrorism policy measures.

When evaluating the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables without accounting for survey type, Table 8, indicates that only two variables ('Liberal,' and 'Age') are statistically significant in determining the respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties, and Table 10 indicates that only 1 variable ('Not God') is statistically significant in determining respondents' punitiveness. However, when evaluating the effect of the independent variables on the dependent variables when controlling for survey type, across all surveys, Table 9 indicates that 3 variables ('Age,' 'Christian,' and 'Not Religious') are statistically significant in predicting respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties, while Table 11 indicates that 5 variables ('Conservative,' 'Not God,' 'Not Religious,' 'Word for word,' and 'Not literal') are statistically significant in predicting respondents' punitiveness throughout the survey types. These results suggest that the various survey types did impact participants' responses and most notably, when it came to respondents' supporting a punitive policy when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey. Additionally, the variables for religious affiliation, and respondents' interpretation of religious text, were important independent variables for both dependent variables when factoring in survey type. The age variable was more important in determining willingness to cede civil liberties (with and without the interaction of survey type) than punitiveness. Interestingly, though the relationship between ideology and willingness to cede civil liberties is only statistically significant without the interaction of survey type, the relationship between punitiveness and ideology is only statistically significant with the interaction of survey type.

Additional Statistically Significant Variables

When conducting bivariate regressions of the separate independent variables on the dependent variables, without factoring in additional independent variables, the regression results indicate additional variables that are statistically significant in predicting respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties or support punitive policies. For the dependent variables 'Punitiveness' the statistical significance from separate bivariate regressions includes the variables; 'Catholic,' 'Christian,' 'Not Religious,' 'Word for word,' and 'Not God' at the .001 significance level, and 'Income' at the .05 level. The variables Catholic, Christian, and Word for word, in all separate bivariate regressions, significantly increased respondents' willingness to support punitive policies. Respondents that were in higher income brackets were also more likely to support punitive policies but to a lesser degree, while 'Not God' significantly decreased respondents' willingness to support punitive policies.

Although 'Income' is not statistically significant once accounting for other independent variables, previous research has found that the government is typically more responsive in terms of policy preferences to the upper socioeconomic class (Gilens 2005), and additional research has found that increased trust in the federal government coincides with an increase in 'willingness to cede civil liberties' for the perception of increased security (Davis and Silver 2004). However, 'willingness to cede civil liberties' in Davis and Silvers' study constitutes both ceding civil liberties of the broader public and the civil liberties of others (which is categorize in this study as 'Punitiveness'). Davis and Silver's study also utilized the question of detaining suspects indefinitely but grouped responses to this question with the responses to 9 other questions in order to determine if respondents were more likely to protect civil liberties in general or support increased security. Therefore, if democratic responsiveness increases the trust

in government amongst respondents and increased trust in government leads to 'ceding civil liberties' (as defined by Davis and Silver (2004) which includes the civil liberties of suspected perpetrators and the public at large), this theory could help to explain why respondents in higher income brackets are more likely to cede the civil liberties of suspected perpetrators (or support punitive policies, as defined by the current study).

Another study assessing liberty/security values amongst respondents found that respondents in higher income households were more likely to support policies that permit racial profiling by the government to identify potential terrorists, as well as policies that permit the government to use harsh methods to question suspected terrorists (Finkelstein et al. 2017). Both of these findings were statistically significant, and higher income being correlated with increased willingness to cede suspected terrorists' civil liberties (referred to as punitiveness in this study), supports the bivariate regression finding that income is a statistically significant in predicting respondents support for the punitive policy.

When evaluating the separate independent variables in a bivariate regression analysis on the dependent variable 'Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties,' there were four additional variables that were statistically significant in predicting respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties compared to their willingness to support punitive policies. Similar to the independent variables that predicted respondents' 'Punitiveness,' 'Catholic,' 'Christian,' 'Not Religious,' 'Word for word,' and 'Not God' were all statistically significant at the .001 level. The variables 'Catholic,' 'Christian' and 'Word for word,' significantly increased respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties, whereas 'Not Religious,' and 'Not God,' significantly decreased respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties. In addition to these variables, 'Rural,' 'Female,' 'Northeast,' 'Education,' and 'Age' were also statistically significant in predicting respondents' willingness

to cede civil liberties. 'Age' was statistically significant at the .001 level, followed by 'Education,' and 'Northeast' which were statistically significant at the .01 level, with 'Female,' and 'Rural,' statistically significant at the .05 level. For the dummy variables 'Female,' 'Rural,' and 'Northeast,' willingness to cede civil liberties increased with the presence of these categories. For the interval variables, 'Age' and 'Education,' respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties increased with every one-unit increased in age bracket and/or level of education.

Since proximity to terrorist attacks can heighten the perception of threat, and threat perception has also been linked to increased punitiveness and increased willingness to cede civil liberties (Davis and Silver 2004), the findings which indicate that the Northeast was the only statistically significant region in predicting willingness to cede civil liberties, could be an indicator of heightened perception of threat based on closer proximity to the hypothetical terrorist attack scenario in Washington D.C. However, the inclusion of additional independent variables results in 'Northeast' losing its statistical significance, which suggests that the proximity to the hypothetical terrorist attack scenario is not the most reliable predictor in terms of respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties for this experiment.

Perception of Effectiveness of Counterterrorism Policies

When evaluating pre-existing research on public opinion of the effectiveness of counterterrorism policies and willingness to support these policies, the literature supports that liberals were more likely to view counterterrorism policies as ineffective and susceptible to government abuse (Finkelstein et al. 2017). The perception of effectiveness of the counterterrorism policy was also indicated as an important variable when considering respondents' willingness to cede civil liberties and support counterterrorism policies. In order to test this with the data from the current study, two bivariate regressions were conducted (one for

perception of effectiveness of the policy, and one for willingness to support the policy) for both of the dependent variables (punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties). Tables 12 and 13 below, indicate the estimated mean and *p*-values from two bivariate regressions that were combined into one table for each dependent variable, to show the results of respondents' perception of the effectiveness of the counterterrorism policy and willingness to support the policy based on their ideological affiliation. Table 12 indicates the bivariate regression results of respondents' ideology and their perception of the effectiveness of the counterterrorism policy proposing that the government should have increased access to individuals' personal information, emails, phone calls etc. as a strategy to prevent the planning of a terrorist attack, as well as their willingness to support this policy. While Table 13 shows the bivariate regression results of respondents' ideological affiliation and their perception of the effectiveness of the counterterrorism policy proposing that the government should be permitted to detain suspects indefinitely without being charged for an offense, as well as their willingness to support this punitive policy.

Table 12: Support for Ceding Civil Liberties Policy and Perceived Effectiveness

	Perception of Policy Effectiveness		Support for Ceding Liberties Policy	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Liberal	3.21	.18	4.07	.34
Conservative	3.52	.23*	4.44	.37*
N	303		303	
Adjusted R-squared	.0151		.0079	

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 13: Support for Punitive Policy and Perceived Effectiveness

	Perception of Policy Effectiveness		Support for Punitive Policy	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Liberal	2.85	.22	3.75	.34
Conservative	3.25	.24*	4.35	.37
N	303		301	
Adjusted R-squared	.0164		.0117	

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

When evaluating the effect of ideology on the perception of effectiveness of both policies, conservatives were more likely to view these counterterrorism policies as effective (which was statistically significant at the .05 level for both policies). Additionally, conservative respondents were more likely to support both policies than liberals, however, only conservatives' support for the policy that involved ceding civil liberties is statistically significant (at the .05 level). When evaluating the perceived effectiveness of the two policies, both liberals, and conservatives were more likely to perceive the policy that required ceding civil liberties to be more effective than the punitive policy. This is also the general trend from all respondents without controlling for ideology, as seen in Figure 5 and Figure 6 which depicts the perception of the effectiveness (on a scale from 1-5 with 5 being the most effective) of both policies.

Figure 5

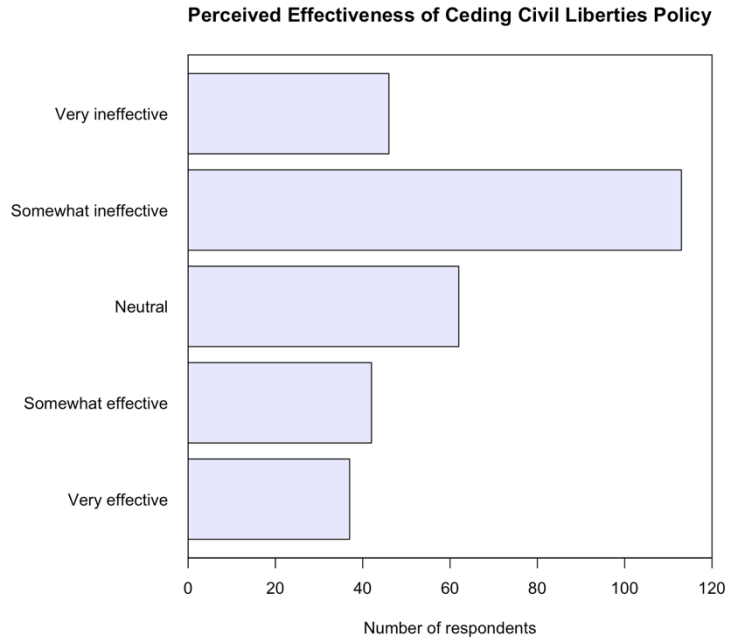
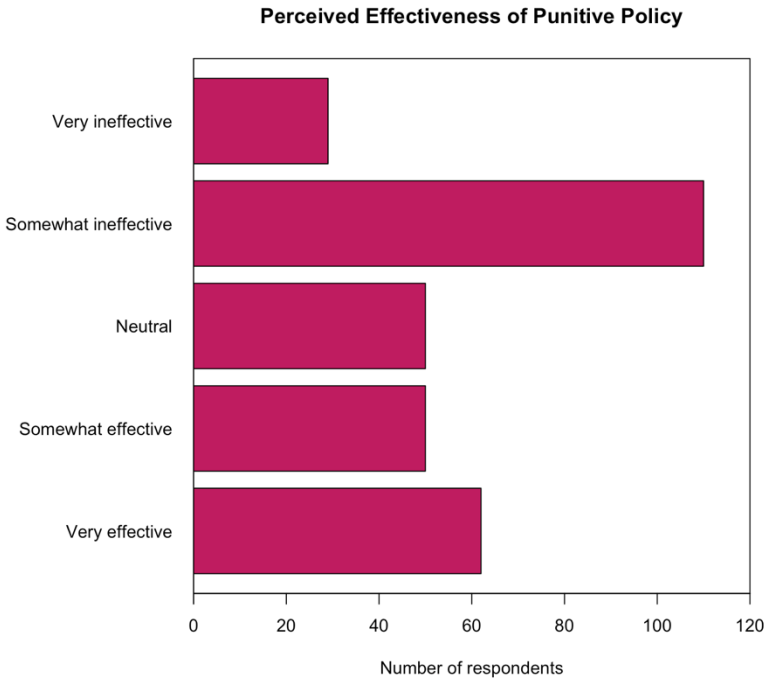


Figure 6



The mean response for the perceived effectiveness of the policy that requires ceding civil liberties is 3.25 which corresponds to the category "Neutral," while the mean response for the perceived effectiveness of the punitive policy was 2.94 which corresponds to the category "Somewhat ineffective" but is close to the "Neutral" category. This indicates that although respondents in general did not perceive these policies to be overly effective, that respondents were more likely to perceive the policy requiring individuals to cede civil liberties to be more effective. The increase in perception of effectiveness was cited by Davis and Silver (2004) as a variable that increased the willingness to support counterterrorism policies. This could help explain the results from Figure 3 and 4 which indicate that respondents were more likely to support the policy that required ceding civil liberties (with a mean response of 4.12) than the punitive policy (with a mean response of 3.91). The difference in the mean response for effectiveness for each policy was .31, while the difference in the mean response for support for each policy was .021.

Chapter 7: Limitations/Future Research

Limitations

Since there are many factors that contribute to the explanations of the public's punitiveness, as well as their willingness to cede civil liberties for security, including trust in government, democratic responsiveness, civil liberty vs. security values, perceived effectiveness of the counterterrorist policies, ideological differences, authoritarianism, xenophobia/Islamophobia, race, ethnicity, nationalism, patriotism, dogmatism, threat perception, proximity to 'terrorist' attack etc., quantitative tests such as regression analysis that utilizes survey response data, will not encapsulate all possible variables that may contribute to punitive sentiment and willingness to cede civil liberties. Therefore, results of the regression analyses can only show correlations but not causation since it would be too difficult to include all explanations and variables when determining punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties in one study. Furthermore, the timing of the survey experiment is also a notable variable since the survey was distributed less than a month after the insurrection at the Capitol. If the survey were to be distributed a year from now responses could vary quite drastically, particularly when considering respondents' punitiveness towards White, far-right extremist perpetrators.

Conducting a survey experiment presents its own set of challenges in regard to external validity, issuing the survey to a relatively representative sample of the population, ensuring an adequate response rate, determining that the questions within the survey are free from as much bias as possible in terms of framing questions, and not leading respondents to answer a certain way. Since the sample size only consisted of 314 respondents, the survey results will not be generalizable to the broader population. Additionally, though MTurk is generally seen as a valid sample in terms of data collection, all samples have weaknesses, and the only individuals that

could answer the survey were individuals with MTurk accounts, and these individuals may not be representative of the entire U.S. population. However, the sample size from the experiment generally mirrored the trends in the overall population in terms of race, religion and other demographic characteristics. Though there were some demographic identifiers that did deviate from the overall population according to the U.S. Census estimates from 2010-2019.

For example, the percent of females in the United States is roughly 50.8%, and the sample size from the survey was 36.96% (United State Census Bureau QuickFacts n.d.). However, the demographic characteristics of race gathered from the survey almost directly mirror the general population. According to the U.S. Census White people make up about 76.3% of the population, Black people make up about 13.4% of the population, and Asian people make up about 5.9% of the population (United State Census Bureau QuickFacts n.d.). The results from the survey indicated that about 76.68% of respondents were White, 15.19% of respondents were Black, and 8.13% of respondents were Asian.

In a religious landscape study, which surveyed more than 35,000 Americans from all 50 states about their religious affiliation, the Pew Research Center found that about 70.6% of Americans were Christian, with 25.4% of Christians identifying as Evangelical, 20.8% identifying as Catholics, and 14.7% identifying as Protestant (Religion in America: U.S. Religious Data, Demographics and Statistics 2020). The religious affiliation survey question found that 57.76% of survey respondents were Christians, with only 4.62% of respondents identifying as Evangelical, 34.65% of respondents identifying as Catholic, and 13.53% of respondents identifying as Protestant with the other 4.9% of respondents identifying as non-denominational Christians. Therefore, there were slightly fewer Christians surveyed than those

that reflect the overall population, with Evangelicals being the most significantly different Christian category compared to those that reflect the general population.

Another limitation of using survey data revolves around the theoretical component of these counterterrorist policies. Asking someone if they would concede civil liberties or support punitive policies in theory, based on a hypothetical scenario, does not always result in a similar sentiment once these policies are put into practice. Similarly, there are issues with random sampling, and self-selection bias that may misrepresent the broader public sentiment by over sampling individuals with authoritarian values or with strong feelings about counterterrorism policies who chose to take a survey titled "Public Opinion of Counterterrorism Policies."

Future Research

Although willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive policies are being framed differently than previous literature has outlined, only one question is being asked to operationalize each concept which causes issues of generalizability towards punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties if respondents feel differently about certain punitive policies and assign different levels of importance towards certain civil liberties that may be taken away by certain policies. Future research should use additional questions (similar to the 9 questions typically used to evaluate the liberty/security paradigm from the liberty/security trade-offs in the PATRIOT Act) that are categorized into policies that ask respondents to either cede their own civil liberties or the civil liberties of the perpetrators. By using additional questions, the research will be able to control for policy severity. For example, ceding some civil liberties people may be more willing to cede when compared to policies that may seem overly punitive.

In addition to using more questions, the perceived severity of the policy (in terms of the degree of effect on the perpetrators' civil liberties or the general public's civil liberties), could be

directly asked of respondents to gauge whether this has an impact on whether they are more likely to cede civil liberties or support punitive policies. Additional research could also gather more qualitative data in regard to how people rationalize their willingness to cede civil liberties or support punitive policies. Since this researched focused on the theoretical assumption that respondents would be less likely to cede their civil liberties if they did not perceive themselves to be the target of a certain terrorist attack and vice versa, future research could attempt to assess this relationship by asking respondents who they think would be the likely targets of a certain type of terrorist attack, in order to see if responses to this question are correlated with willingness to cede civil liberties.

Chapter 8: Conclusion

The purpose of this research was not to establish all the factors that contribute to explanations for why some individuals or groups are more punitive or willing to cede civil liberties than others. Rather, the experimental design was meant to test whether the presence of the minority threat perception, and in-group vs. out-group narratives, alters the ways in which specific groups perceive threat and respond differently to questions of punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties. The theoretical basis of the research experiment focused on the minority threat perception and its effects upon social groups' willingness to cede civil liberties and support punitive counterterrorism policies. Overall, the goal of the research was to evaluate how the severity of threat is determined/perceived, whether or not this perception differs by social or demographic groups, how severity of threat changes or doesn't change for respondents based on a change in the race/ethnicity and ideological motivations of the perpetrators, and whether or not the change in stimuli/threat perception affects punitiveness and willingness to cede civil liberties.

In general, respondents were more likely to support the policy requiring ceding civil liberties, than support the punitive policy that would take away the civil liberties of the perpetrators specifically. This may partially be due to the perceived severity of the punitive policy requiring a greater loss in civil liberties of the perpetrators, than the loss of civil liberties that would be tolerated by the public in terms of increased surveillance. Meaning that the loss of civil liberties for the public was not comparable to the loss of civil liberties for the perpetrators in the proposed policies. Additionally, perceptions of the policies effectiveness in reducing terrorist threats may also be a factor in respondents increased support for ceding their civil liberties compared to respondents support for the punitive policy taking away the civil liberties of the

perpetrators. In general, respondents were more likely to view the policy requiring the public to cede civil liberties for increased surveillance to be more effective than the policy permitting the government to detain suspected terrorists for an unspecified length of time without charging them (see Figure 5 and Figure 6).

When accounting for survey type, respondents in general were more likely to support the punitive policy when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey, which could partially be explained by anger towards the recent attack on the Capitol by right-wing militias. On the other hand, respondents were also the least likely to support the policy requiring the public to cede their own civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right survey. This could theoretically be explained by the research that has found that far-right extremist groups are more likely to be seen as hate groups targeting minorities, and therefore ceding civil liberties is seen as an unnecessary sacrifice for non-minority groups since they are less likely to be the target of this type of attack. In general, respondents were the most likely to cede their own civil liberties when taking the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey.

Since the punitive policy of detaining a suspect of a terrorist attack indefinitely without charge is applicable only after an attack has been committed, increased support of this policy could reflect anger and outrage of a particular event, which could also help to explain the increased support for the punitive policy when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey in the wake of the insurrection on the Capitol and attack on democracy that was overwhelmingly condemned by most political groups, with the exception of the far-right. On the other hand, the willingness to cede civil liberties policy refers to preventing the planning of a future terrorist attack by increasing surveillance, which could be more closely associated with the fear of a potential terrorist attack and/or of being the victim of a potential terrorist attack. Therefore,

respondents increased willingness to cede civil liberties in the Middle Eastern/Islamic extremism survey could suggest that respondents have more anxiety that this type of attack is likely to happen, coupled with the fear that anyone could be the target of this attack, unlike far-right extremist groups that target minorities.

The interaction between the perception of threat and possibility of being affected by a certain type of extremist attack can also be seen in the findings from this research that show that for both minority groups (Black and Asian) the willingness to cede civil liberties increases with the presence of the White/far-right extremism survey, while the willingness to cede civil liberties decreases for White respondents with the presence of the White/far-right extremism survey. Additionally, conservatives in general were more likely to cede their civil liberties compared to liberals (Table 7). This could be explained by research that has found that liberals are more likely to be affected by the loss of civil liberties than conservatives, which can be attributed to the situatedness of the civil liberties of minorities throughout American history. The research that has found liberals to be more affected by the loss of civil liberties than conservative (Finkelstein et al. 2017), can also help to explain this research's findings that liberals were more likely to view the counterterrorism policies as ineffective.

When looking across survey type, liberals were most likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey (Table 9). Since liberals are more demographically diverse and consist of more racial minorities, there could be increased fear of the possibility of being a victim of a White/far-right extremist attack and therefore increased willingness to cede civil liberties. On the other hand, conservative respondents were the least likely to cede their civil liberties when taking the White/Far-right extremism survey (without factoring in additional variables - Table 6), which could be related to the notion that

conservatives - which is an ideology mostly consisting of White men - do not view themselves as the potential targets of a right-wing extremist attack.

While this study provides some insight into the effect of the minority threat perception on various social groups and their support for counterterrorism policies that require the respondent to either reflect on their own willingness to cede civil liberties or their willingness to cede the civil liberties of the perpetrator, additional research should evaluate public opinion of these counterterrorism policy measures and others, while controlling for additional independent variables. The theoretical framework of the minority threat perception as well as the perception of who is the likely target of a specific extremist attack and whose civil liberties are being ceded to combat future attacks is crucial to understanding public perception, and counterterrorism policymaking that most often weighs the already tenuous civil liberties of some with the security of few.

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Appendix A

Survey Instrument:

Below is an excerpt from a hypothetical news article. Please read carefully and respond to the following questions.

Washington – Associated Press

Over the weekend, a peaceful protest was held in the nation's capital over recently passed legislation when violence erupted. As the crowd of protestors marched through the downtown area, a group of individuals set off a bomb located on the rooftop of a nearby building. There were no deaths, however more than a dozen individuals were injured.

An investigation involving more than 1,000 federal, state and local law enforcement personnel was launched immediately. The investigation revealed that there had been extensive planning and communication between the perpetrators through online email transactions. The police have now identified 4 American-born **<White, male suspects/male suspects of Middle Eastern descent>** and confirmed that the suspects are a part of a domestic group motivated by the teachings of **<far-right extremism/Islamic extremism>**. The suspects are currently being held in federal prison awaiting charges.

[Punitiveness Questions]
One counterterrorism policy often proposed as a strategy to prevent further terrorist acts, permits the government to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense. Based on the previously described scenario, how likely would you be to support this type of policy?
Very likely
Likely
Somewhat likely
Neither likely nor unlikely
Somewhat unlikely
Unlikely
Very unlikely
Don't know/not sure

[Effectiveness]
How effective do you believe a policy permitting the government to detain suspects of a terrorist attack indefinitely without being charged for an offense is for reducing terrorist threats?
Very effective
Somewhat effective
Neutral
Somewhat ineffective
Very ineffective
Don't know/not sure

[Individual Civil Liberty vs. Security Question]
One counterterrorism policy often proposed as a strategy to prevent the planning of terrorist acts, permits the government to have increased access to individuals' personal information, e-mail messages, website use, and telephone calls. Based on the previously described scenario, how likely would you be to support this type of policy?
Very likely
Likely
Somewhat likely
Neither likely nor unlikely
Somewhat unlikely
Unlikely
Very unlikely
Don't know/not sure

[Effectiveness]
How effective do you believe a policy permitting the government to have access to individuals' personal information, e-mail messages, website use, and telephone calls is for reducing terrorist threats?
Very effective
Somewhat effective
Neutral
Somewhat ineffective
Very ineffective
Don't know/not sure

[Open-ended Question for Qualitative Data]
Do you have any additional comments related to either the hypothetical scenario, or the previous questions? If so, please provide your comments below.
-Leave a space for additional comments for respondents to add qualitative data as well

[Demographic Questions]
How would you describe your gender?
Male
Female
Transgender
Non-binary
Agender
Genderqueer
Prefer not to say
Prefer to self-describe
A gender not listed

What racial group describes you best? Indicate one or more racial groups that you consider yourself to be. To select more than one racial group, hold down the command button on your keyboard while selecting multiple groups.
American Indian or Alaskan Native

Asian
Black or African American
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
White
Some other race
Don’t know/not sure
Prefer not to answer
Prefer to self-describe

What ethnic group best describes you? Indicate one or more ethnic groups that you consider yourself to be. To select more than one ethnic group, hold down the command button on your keyboard while selecting multiple groups.
Hispanic or Latino or of Spanish origin
Non-Hispanic White or Euro-American
Middle Eastern
American Indian or Alaskan Native
Asian
Black or African American
Native Hawaiian or other Pacific Islander
Some other ethnicity or origin
Prefer to self-describe
Prefer not to say

How would you best describe your political views based on the ideological categories below?
Extremely liberal
Liberal
Slightly liberal
Moderate
Slightly conservative
Conservative
Extremely conservative
Don’t know
Prefer not to answer

What is your religious preference?
Christian – Catholic
Christian – Protestant
Christian – Evangelical
Christian – non-denominational
Christian – Other
Jewish
Hindu
Muslim
Asian Folk Religion
Agnostic
Atheist

Not religious
Other (please specify)

Which of these statements comes closest to your feelings about the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture)?
The (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, word for word
The (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word.
The (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) is a book written by people and is not the word of God.
Don't know/not sure
Other (please specify)
What type of community best describes where you live?
Rural area
Large city
Small city or town
Suburb
Other (please specify)

Which region of the country do you live in?
Midwest – IA, IL, IN, KS, MI, MN, MO, ND, NE, OH, SD, WI
Northeast – CT, DC, DE, MA, MD, ME, NH, NJ, NY, PA, RI, VT
Southeast – AL, AR, FL, GA, KY, LA, MS, NC, SC, TN, VA, WV
Southwest – AZ, NM, OK, TX
West – AK, CA, CO, HI, ID, MT, NV, OR, UT, WA, WY

What is your highest level of education?
No formal education
High school degree or equivalent (e.g., GED)
Vocational Training
Associated degree (e.g., AA, AS)
Bachelor's degree (e.g., BA, BS)
Master's degree (e.g., MA, MS, Med)
Professional degree (e.g., MD, DDS, DVM)
Doctoral degree (e.g., PhD, EdD)
Other (please specify)

Which category below includes your age?
18-20
21-29
30-39
40-49
50-59
60 or older

In which of these categorizes did your earnings from last year fall into? That is, before taxes or other deductions.
Less than $20,000
$20,000 to $34,999
$35,000 to $49,999
$50,000 to $74,999
$75,000 to $99,999
Over $100,000

[Control question]
Complete the following sentence about the previously described terrorist attack scenario by selecting the most accurate multiple-choice response.

The suspects were American-born males identified as _____ and as being influenced by the teachings of _____.
White, far-right extremism
White, Islamic extremism
Middle Eastern, far-right extremism
Middle Eastern, Islamic extremism
None of the above
Don’t know/not sure

Qualitative data:

White/Far-right extremism survey:

"Recent events have shown that the typical terrorist is not what is envisioned by law enforcement and past modelling has not been accurate! White supremacist domestic terrorist are clearly the real threat that has been repeatedly ignored."

"I think it's better to infiltrate these groups and get first-hand inside information."

"White supremacists are a rare breed, unlike Antifa or BLM."

"I don't like increased surveillance or police power because who decides when it is used or not."

Middle Easter/Islamic extremism survey:

"This policy is in no way logical and effective."

*This comment does not specify the policy they are referring to however it is important to note here that both policies were structured based off two of the civil liberty/security trade-offs outlined in the USA Patriot Act.

"I think holding them without charge is wrong, but I think there should be a different rules/laws set up for charging them. Also, no probation early release or anything like that."

"I like to be safe and secure in my country. I know drastic times could call for drastic measures. I'm not overly worried about my privacy so much as I am overly worried about my identity and credit score."

"How is this still even a debate? It's been nearly two decades since 9/11 was used to push the Patriot Act through and the only people who actually support it are establishment politicians, government bureaucrats and deranged authoritarians. American citizens have Constitutional rights. Those shouldn't be suspended just because some politician can declare someone a 'terrorist.'"

"No one should be detained indefinitely without being charged."

"Access to personal email's, calls, etc. might be effective, but I'd only support it with strict controls placed on it."

Control survey/no scenario:

"The government ignoring civil liberties in the pursuit of ambiguously defined terrorism labels has led to the further radicalization, not less."

“My stances on counterterrorism are kind of in flux at the moment, as I had my own political reawakening last may when I started watching Hasan Piker on Twitch.”

“Yes, the proposals mentioned seem to be much more effective at restricting freedom and abusing possibly innocent people than reducing actual terrorist threats. Furthermore, they will likely just encourage actual terrorists to be even more furtive.”

“I am in favor of reducing terrorism but giving the government an unchecked authority to pry into peoples’ lives is not the way to do it.”

“I'm not willing to give more authority to the government in exchange for personal safety.”

“The entire strategy is valid when detecting and avoiding a terrorist attack.”

“I feel that taking a blanket approach, whether it means the ability to use surveillance or hold suspected suspects, is ineffective because it fails to target specific types, forms, and developments which threaten either people, institutions, or democracy itself. It is important to protect people's rights while developing more strategic and effective measures in order to combat terrorism, whether foreign or domestic.”

“I would support this activity with certain restrictions, such as requiring a warrant to surveil each and every individual, not just randomly perform this type of surveillance on all civilians whenever.”

“Do you get their personal information before or after they are a suspect?”

“We need to be VERY cautious when taking steps to fight terrorism, else we'll needlessly lose some of our freedom.”

“I'm for personal privacy, not mass surveillance.”

“I think the way to stop terrorism is for the US to refrain from foreign wars and interventions in countries we have no business being in. If we stayed out of their business, they'd probably stay out of ours.”

“None except to say if you give up your freedoms and your humanity for security, you won't have any more freedom or humanity to protect...”

Independent Variable Coding:

Religious Affiliation/Religious Text interpretation

Religious preference was also re-coded to include four categories: Christian, Catholic, Evangelical, and Not Religious, due to a low number of responses for the various other options (see Appendix A for full list of options for the religious preference question). The question about respondents' interpretation of religious text, which asks: "White of these statements comes closest to your feelings about the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture)?", is coded into three categories: 'Word for word', 'Not literal', and 'Not God'. The Word for word category refers to the respondents that believe the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) is the actual word of God and is to be taken literally, while the 'Not literal' category indicates respondents that believe the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) is the word of God but not everything in it should be taken literally, word for word, and the "Not God' category indicates respondents that believe the (Bible/Torah/Quran/Holy Scripture) is a book written by people and is not the word of God.

Community/Region

The "community" variable is re-coded into three categories: rural, city, and suburb (see Appendix A for full list of possible responses). The region variable maintained all 5 categories from the survey options with Midwest, Northeast, Southeast, Southwest, and West, which all function as dummy variables (1) if the region name is indicated and (0) otherwise.

Educational Attainment

The education variable is re-coded as an interval variable that collapses similar categories, for a larger sample size of respondents and thus more accurate analyses. Of the possible responses, "high school" and "vocational training" are combined and coded as (1),

followed by “associates” coded as (2), “bachelor’s” coded as (3), “master’s” coded as (4), and “doctoral” and “professional degree” combined and coded as (5).

Age/Income

Age and income were also re-coded into interval variables. Age was coded as an interval variable with the 6 category options from the survey: 18 to 20 (1), 21 to 29 (2), 30 to 39 (3), 40 to 49 (4), 50 to 59 (5), and 60 or older (6). Income, which asked which category a respondents’ earning fell into before taxes, was coded as an interval variable with 6 categories as well: less than $20,000 (1), $20,000 to $34,000 (2), $35,000 to $49,000 (3), $50,000 to $74,000 (4), $75,000 to $99,999 (5), and over $100,000 (6).

Additional Tables

Table 2.1: Independent Variable Responses

	White/ Far-right	Middle Eastern/Islamic	Total
Female	33	43	112
Male	67	64	191
White	66	79	217
Black	17	14	43
Asian	10	9	23
Latinx	9	5	18
Non-Hispanic White	59	71	200
Extremely Conservative	8	6	20
Conservative	11	18	43
Slightly conservative	5	11	26
Moderate	16	21	49
Slightly liberal	15	15	41
Liberal	34	27	89
Extremely liberal	11	9	34
Agnostic	11	12	37
Atheist	12	11	39
Not religious	9	16	35
Asian Folk Religion	0	1	1
Christian – Catholic	42	34	105
Christian – Evangelical	3	5	14
Christian – non-denominational	2	7	10
Christian – Protestant	16	9	41
Hindu	0	1	1
Jewish	0	6	6
Muslim	1	1	2
Word for word	37	30	97
Not literal	23	22	62
Not god	29	38	109
City	55	58	165
Rural	24	22	68
Suburb	20	27	68
Midwest	16	26	61
Northeast	21	27	73
Southeast	21	26	71
Southwest	11	7	31
West	31	21	67
High School	18	14	45
Vocational	0	4	6
Associates	7	10	31
Bachelor’s	50	59	157

Master's	21	14	50
Doctoral	2	5	10
18-20	1	0	1
21-29	24	15	60
30-39	51	58	159
40-49	11	22	49
50-59	10	6	23
60 or older	3	6	14
Less than $20,000	15	24	54
$20,000 to $34,999	17	17	50
$35,000 to $49,999	17	19	58
$50,000 to $74,999	27	34	88
$75,000 to $99,999	13	7	32
Over $100,000	10	5	17
N	106	108	314

Table 6.1: Mean Response for Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties Based on Ideology, Survey Type, and the White Interaction Effect

	All Respondents		White Respondents	
	Mean	SD	Mean	SD
Conservative x Middle Eastern/Islamic	4.63	.92	4.69	1.14
Conservative x White/Far-right	4.08	.98	3.94	1.15
Liberal x Middle Eastern/Islamic	4.35	.86	4.51	1.08
Liberal x White/Far-right	4.10	.89	3.68	.70
N	302		217	
Adjusted R-squared	.0031		.0048	

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 7.1: Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by All Ideological Categories

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	*p*-value	
(Intercept)	3.67	.29	12.64	.000***	
Extremely liberal	-.73	.45	-1.61	.108	
Liberal	.94	.36	2.61	.010**	
Slightly liberal	.13	.43	.31	.761	
Slightly conservative	.33	.49	.66	.509	
Conservative	1.05	.43	2.46	.014*	
Extremely conservative	.73	.54	1.35	.179	
N					302
Adjusted R-squared					.0573

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 9.1: Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties from by I.V.'s from Control Survey

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	-3.22	1.81	-1.78	.079	
Female	.75	.43	1.75	.085	
White	.50	.84	.60	.551	
Black	-.40	.99	-.41	.686	
Asian	2.08	1.35	1.54	.127	
Liberal	.91	.64	1.44	.155	
Conservative	1.01	.66	1.52	.133	
Catholic	-.09	.58	-.15	.879	
Christian	3.23	1.35	2.39	.019*	
Evangelical	-.34	.92	-.37	.710	
Not Religious	2.90	1.26	2.31	.024*	
Word for word	.79	.99	.80	.425	
Not literal	-.23	1.00	-.23	.818	
Not God	-.95	.91	-1.04	.301	
Age	.70	.19	3.62	.0005***	
Education	.41	.21	1.97	.052	
Income	-.12	.15	-.81	.422	
N					92
Adjusted R-squared					.3540

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 9.2: Willingness to Cede Civil Liberties by I.V.'s from White/Far-right Survey

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	2.70	2.05	1.32	.191	
Female	.306	.48	.64	.524	
White	-.471	.86	-.55	.587	
Black	.639	1.04	.62	.539	
Asian	-.573	1.06	-.54	.589	
Liberal	1.08	.59	1.84	.070	
Conservative	.672	.71	.95	.345	
Catholic	.653	.61	1.06	.291	
Christian	-.820	1.55	-.53	.598	
Evangelical	.496	1.36	.36	.717	
Not Religious	-.904	1.54	-.59	.559	
Word for word	.687	.90	.77	.446	
Not literal	-.233	.94	-.25	.805	
Not God	-.265	.80	-.33	.743	
Age	-.039	.25	-.16	.875	
Education	.256	.24	1.08	.284	
Income	.113	.14	.80	.428	
N					97
Adjusted R-squared					.1798

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 9.3: Willingness Cede Civil Liberties by I.V.'s from Middle Eastern/Islamic Survey

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	4.74	1.52	3.12	.002**	
Female	-.03	.41	-.07	.942	
White	.50	1.02	.50	.622	
Black	.41	1.09	.38	.705	
Asian	-.90	1.17	-.76	.447	
Liberal	.73	.57	1.28	.205	
Conservative	.24	.56	.43	.670	
Catholic	-.29	.60	-.48	.634	
Christian	-.04	.90	-.04	.967	
Evangelical	.79	.99	.80	.424	
Not Religious	-.45	.74	-.61	.540	
Word for word	.75	.76	.99	.326	
Not literal	.11	.73	.15	.879	
Not God	-1.06	.59	-1.79	.078	
Age	.16	.21	.79	.433	
Education	-.35	.21	-1.68	.098	
Income	-.10	.14	-.71	.479	
N					105
Adjusted R-squared					.0906

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 11.1: Punitiveness by I.V.'s from Control Survey

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	.50	2.05	.25	.807	
Female	-.02	.49	-.06	.960	
White	.35	.95	.37	.712	
Black	1.02	1.12	.91	.365	
Asian	2.82	1.53	1.85	.068	
Liberal	1.25	.72	1.74	.087	
Conservative	2.09	.75	2.78	.007**	
Catholic	.30	.66	.46	.650	
Christian	2.87	1.53	1.88	.065	
Evangelical	-1.87	1.04	-1.80	.077	
Not Religious	2.49	1.43	1.75	.085	
Word for word	-1.10	1.12	-0.98	.331	
Not literal	-1.90	1.14	-1.66	.101	
Not God	-2.33	1.03	-2.26	.027*	
Age	.09	.22	.39	.695	
Education	.01	.23	.06	.950	
Income	.08	.17	.47	.641	
N					92
Adjusted R-squared					.1948

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 11.2: Punitiveness by I.V.'s from White/Far-right Survey

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	.61	1.86	.33	.743	
Female	.71	.43	1.63	.107	
White	.38	.78	.48	.629	
Black	.65	.94	.69	.492	
Asian	-.44	.96	-.46	.650	
Liberal	.58	.53	1.09	.280	
Conservative	.13	.64	.21	.835	
Catholic	.31	.56	.56	.580	
Christian	1.26	1.40	.90	.370	
Evangelical	.08	1.24	.06	.950	
Not Religious	3.19	1.40	2.29	.025*	
Word for word	2.15	.81	2.65	.009**	
Not literal	1.70	.85	2.00	.048*	
Not God	-1.21	.73	-1.65	.102	
Age	-.17	.23	-.77	.442	
Education	-.03	.22	-.16	.872	
Income	.14	.13	1.05	.295	
N					97
Adjusted R-squared					.2275

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Table 11.3: Punitiveness by I.V.'s from Middle Eastern/Islamic Survey

	Estimate	Std. Error	t-value	p-value	
(Intercept)	4.20	1.65	2.55	.012*	
Female	.11	.45	.25	.801	
White	1.00	1.09	.92	.361	
Black	.09	1.17	.08	.936	
Asian	.76	1.26	.60	.551	
Liberal	-.48	.62	-.79	.432	
Conservative	-.11	.61	-.18	.858	
Catholic	-.004	.67	-.005	.996	
Christian	.13	.98	.13	.898	
Evangelical	.64	1.06	.60	.551	
Not Religious	-.67	.80	-.84	.402	
Word for word	.14	.83	.17	.864	
Not literal	-.20	.82	-.24	.809	
Not God	-1.04	.65	-1.60	.112	
Age	-.22	.22	-.98	.328	
Education	-.17	.23	-.76	.450	
Income	.25	.16	1.55	.124	
N					104
Adjusted R-squared					.1854

*$p \leq .05$; **$p \leq .01$; ***$p \leq .001$.

Additional Figures:

Figure 3.1

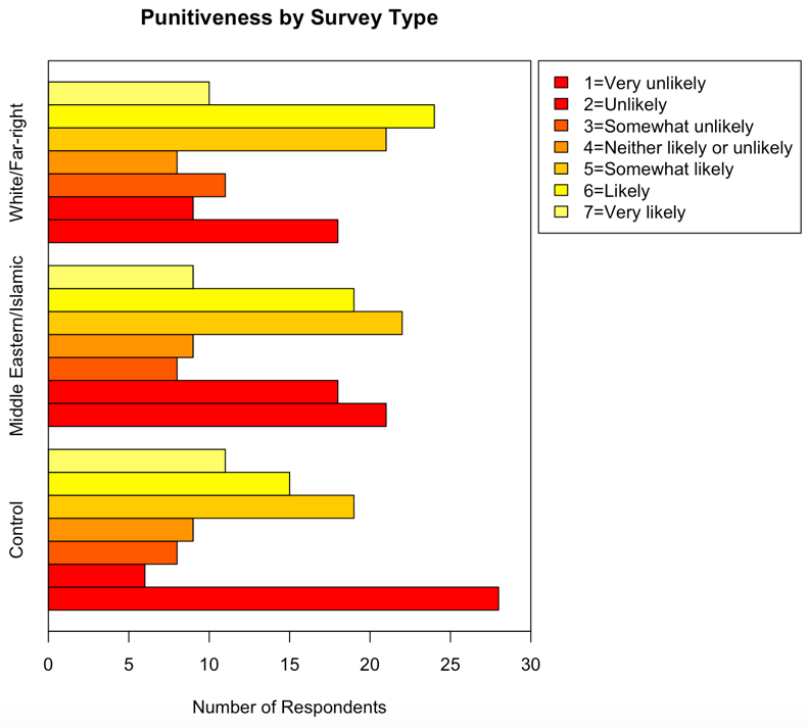

Figure 3.2

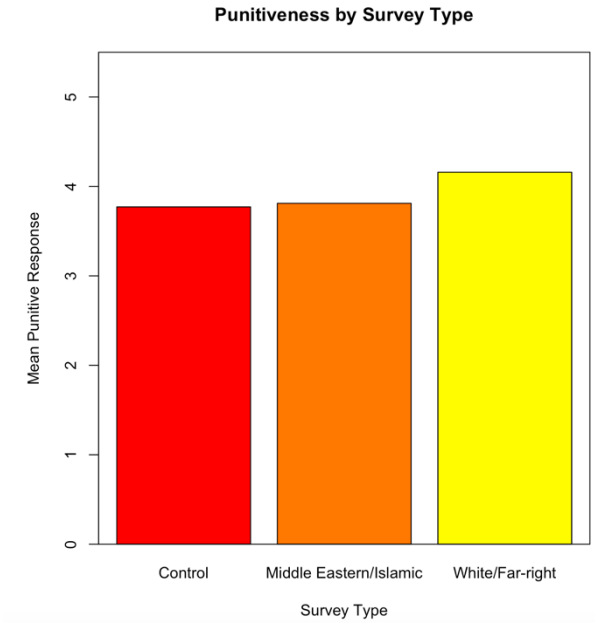

Figure 4.1

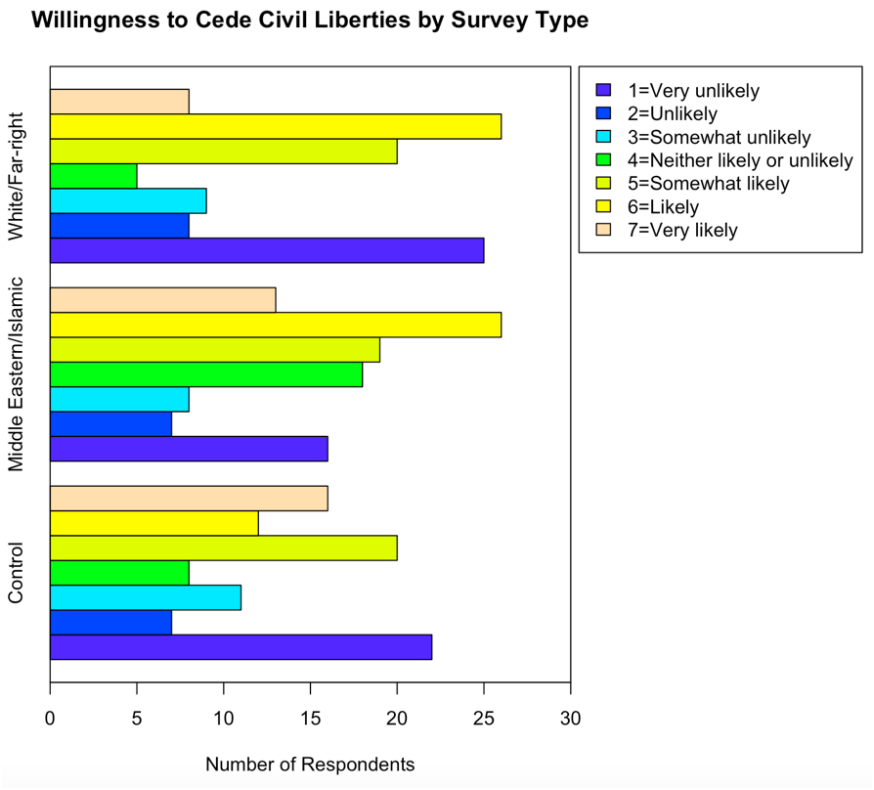

Figure 4.2