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THE POLITICIZATION OF MUSLIMS AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

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ANIMA ANWAR

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Approved by

First Reader   _____

Spencer Piston, Ph.D.
Assistant Professor of Political Science

Second Reader   _____

Dino P. Christenson, Ph.D.
Associate Professor of Political Science

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THE POLITICIZATION OF MUSLIMS AND NATIONAL SECURITY POLICY

ANIMA ANWAR

Boston University Graduate School of Arts and Sciences, 2018

Major Professor: Spencer Piston, Assistant Professor of Political Science

ABSTRACT

Existing literature suggests evidence that American citizens have implicit and explicit biases against Muslims that influence or allow biased policies. In general, many of these biases stem from media framing, ethnic discrimination, and religious stereotypes. Some of these stereotypes associate Muslims with terrorism and violence, and public opinion research has concluded that Americans do not believe Muslims uphold American values. Thus, after 9/11, security policies against Muslims have resurfaced the question of suppressing individual liberties for the general welfare of all. My paper analyzes public opinion towards security legislation that discriminates against Muslims and examines how willing Americans are to support policies that infringe on civil liberties. My research poses three main questions: 1) Are opinions on national security influenced by the framing; 2) Does bias and ethnic-profiling make minorities more prone to support protection of civil liberties and 3) Are discriminatory policies against Muslims politicized by party affiliates?

Using a survey, I found that framing the chosen policies to emphasize liberty or security had little influence on responses. Furthermore, I argue that, while literature suggests that minority groups tend lean pro-liberty relative to the White demographic,

this concept is not substantial across all races when considering current Muslim-profiling policies. Finally, we find some evidence that ideology and ethnocentrism have become closely related factors after the 2016 Presidential Campaign, and that negative feelings of Muslims and national security policy have become more polarized than in the past.

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INTRODUCTION: OUR MUSLIM (BR)OTHERS

Mounting Islamophobia in the United States after the events of 9/11 has resulted in extensive public opinion data on Muslims and Muslim-Americans, in the United States and abroad. Immediately after these attacks, former US President George W. Bush requested that the public avoid anti-Muslim sentiment (Sides and Gross 2010). Similarly, in 2016 President Barack Obama publicly refused to use the term "Islamic terrorism" since terrorist organizations had "perverted and distorted and tried to claim the mantle of Islam as basically an excuse for barbarianism and death."[1] Even with leaders publicly preserving the Islamic faith and identity of Muslims, the past two decades have seen a drastic change in the way the nation addresses security issues; I argue that these changes contribute to the politicization of the Muslim faith.

Therefore, before studying policies that discriminate against Muslims in any context, it is necessary to understand how the 3.3 million Muslims in the United States have been stigmatized, even across many ethnicities and races, to become one of the most prominent groups of "others." Ethnocentrism, or a mental habit that presupposes out-groups as uncooperative or untrustworthy (Kinder and Kam 2010), is a critical framework I use in my research.

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[1] Diaz, Daniella. "Obama: Why I Won't Say 'Islamic Terrorism.'" *CNN Politics.* <*https://www.cnn.com/2016/09/28/politics/obama-radical-islamic-terrorism-cnn-town-hall/index.html*> Accessed Dec. 5 2017.

Politicization of Islam in the 2016 Elections

During and after the 2016 presidential elections, President Trump politicized Muslim immigrants in the media, ordered a travel ban from many Muslim countries and alluded to registries and databases to track them. President Trump also scrutinized President Obama's background and birthplace, attempting to discredit him as an American leader. With the topic of Muslims being salient in the news, and because Islam and ethnocentrism were evident in discrediting the former president, the survey questions tying Obama to Islam in the American National Election Studies (ANES) of 2016[2] provides more data on political polarization regarding Islam. As indicated by Table 2, about 86% of Democrats believed Obama was not a Muslim compared to about 52% of Republicans. Republicans response that Obama was a Muslim increased since 2012 (See Table 1). It is apparent that Republicans doubted Obama's religious identity more frequently than Democrats in the 2012 and 2016 elections.

Table 1: "Is Obama A Muslim?"

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Muslim	315 (12.1%)	152 (24.44 %)	764 (41.84%)
Not a Muslim	2,290 (87.9%)	470 (75.56%)	1,062 (58.16%)
Total	2,605 (100%)	622 (100%)	1,826 (100%)

Source: ANES 2012 Time Series Study

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[2] American National Election Studies.
http://www.electionstudies.org/studypages/download/datacenter_all_NoData.php

Table 2: "Is Obama A Muslim?", ANES 2016

	Democrats	Independents	Republicans
Muslim	217 (13.4%)	147 (33.8%)	663 (47.9%)
Not a Muslim	1400 (86.6%)	288 (66.2%)	720 (52.1%)
Total	1617 (100%)	435 (100%)	1383 (100%)

Source: ANES 2016 Time Series Study

According to a feeling thermometer[3] conducted in the election studies, Republicans also have lower mean thermometer scores than Democrats. Figure 2 depicts feeling thermometer mean scores across all races. The mean feeling thermometer score that Democrat-leaning respondents have for Muslims is 64.2 while Republican respondents have a 44.7 mean score (See Appendix A).

While Muslims span many ethnicities and races, public opinion regarding the diverse religious group has perpetuated stereotypes that have influenced legislation. We see from the ANES feeling thermometer of Muslims that parties have different feelings towards the group, even when considering the race of the respondent. ANES data also shows that more Republicans than Democrats believe that Muslims are violent based on a

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[3] A feeling thermometer uses temperature to consider favorable feelings in the election studies. Warm means favorable and cool means favorable. 50 degrees is intended to be the benchmark for no feeling at all.

7-point-scale (See Appendix A). Comparing Republicans relative to Democrats shows that they have colder feelings towards Muslims, view Muslims as more violent and identify Obama's as a Muslims despite his public claims that he is not a follower of Islam.[4]

Figure 1: Feeling Towards Muslims by Party Identification and Race, 2008, 2012, and 2016

Feelings Thermometer: Muslims
by Party ID and Race

Source:2008 ANES Time Series Study

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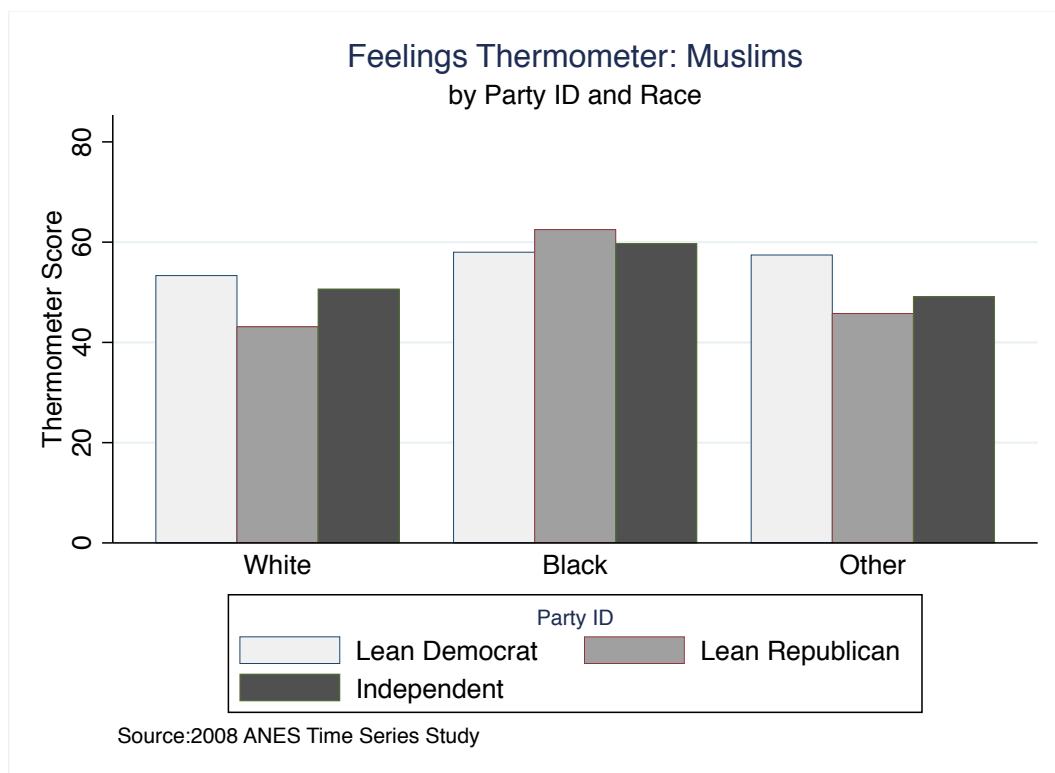
[4] Marsden, Lee. "Religion, Identity and American Power in the Age of Obama." International Politics 48.2-3 (2011): 326-43. ProQuest Research Library. Web. 27 May 2012. Accessed Dec. 5 2017.

Feelings Thermometer: Muslims
by Party ID and Race

Source:2012 ANES Time Series Study

Feelings Thermometer: Muslims
by Party ID and Race

Source:2016 ANES
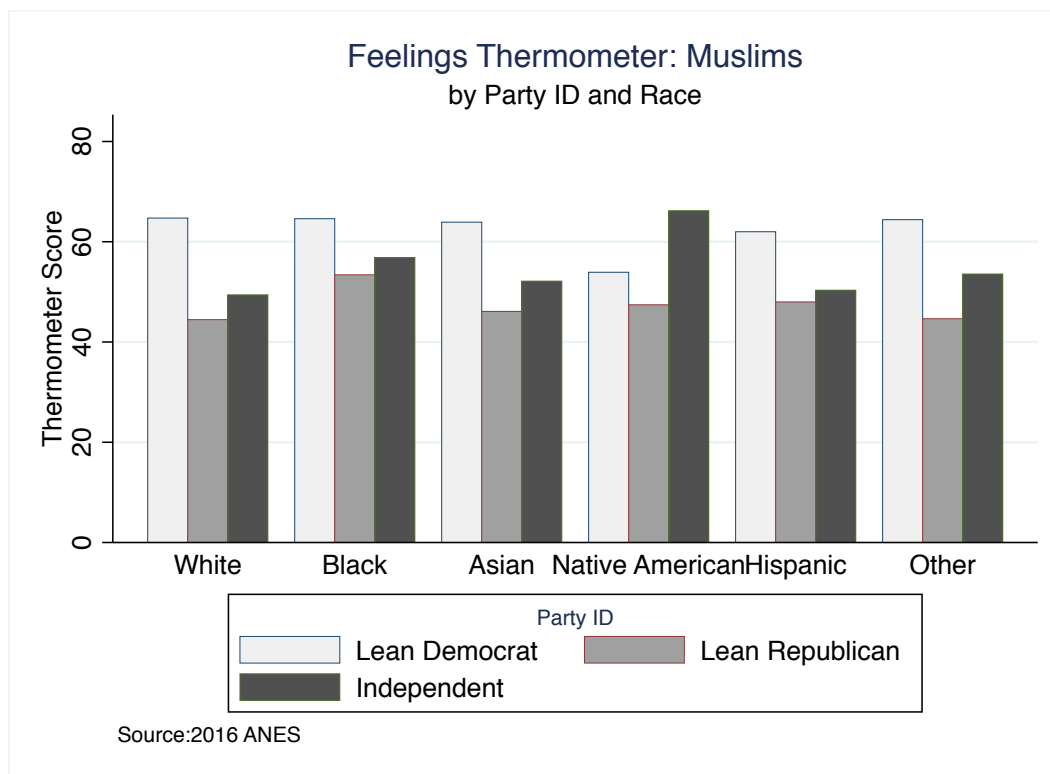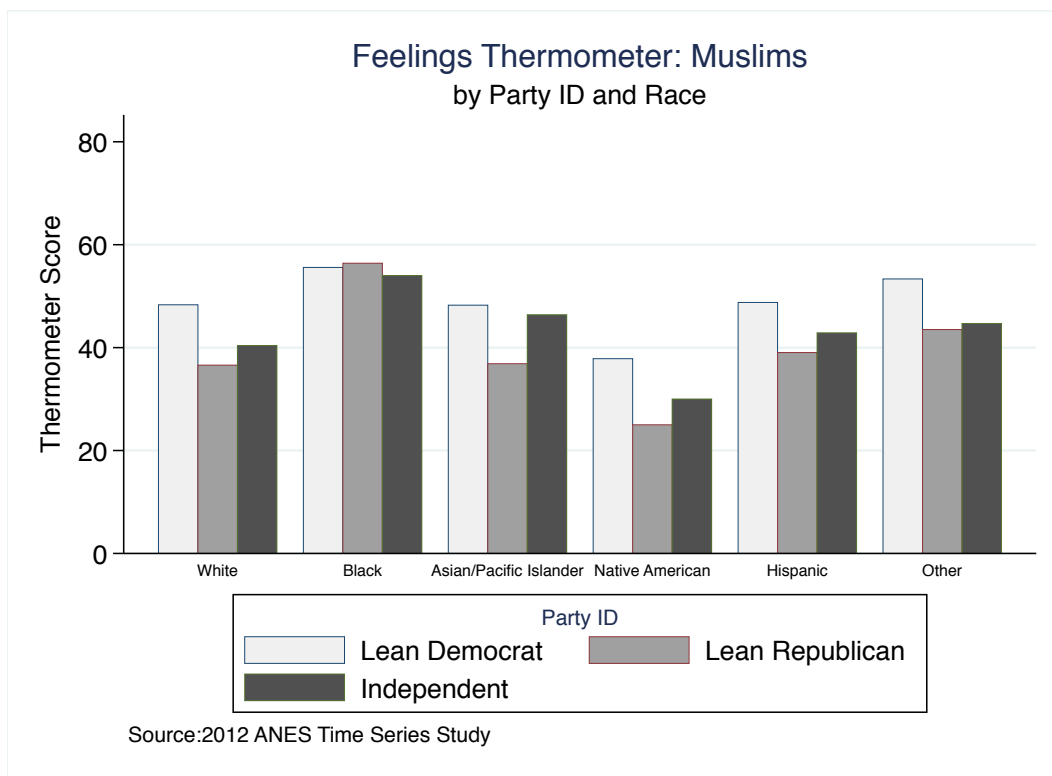
Moreover, Republican-leaning respondents mean scale score shows that they believe Muslims are less patriotic relative to Democratic respondents (See Appendix A). Therefore, while education may play a factor in disassociating negative qualities with the Islamic religion itself and the followers, the increasing political coverage of these characteristics make it harder to discredit the judgments. Therefore, studying the politicization of Muslims in the American two-party system may provide fruitful information.

President Trump has stigmatized Islam more vehemently than other presidential candidates, but legislation that discriminates against Muslims has been existent for years. Additionally, while national security efforts to curb terrorism have resulted in stringent policies with little scrutiny over constitutionality, feelings towards Muslims has generally increased since 9/11. The most interesting indication, however, is the growing gap between left and right-wing respondent's feelings towards Muslims since 2008, indicated by Figure 2.[5] Therefore, ideology may have a substantial role in security policy opinion.

As public opinion research has emphasized importance on race and religion and its explicit and implicit effects on politics, this paper seeks to explore those questions in the context of discriminatory policies.

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[5] See Appendix A for Data extracted from the ANES Times Series Study

Figure 2: Feeling Thermometer Mean Scores by Election Year

and Party ID
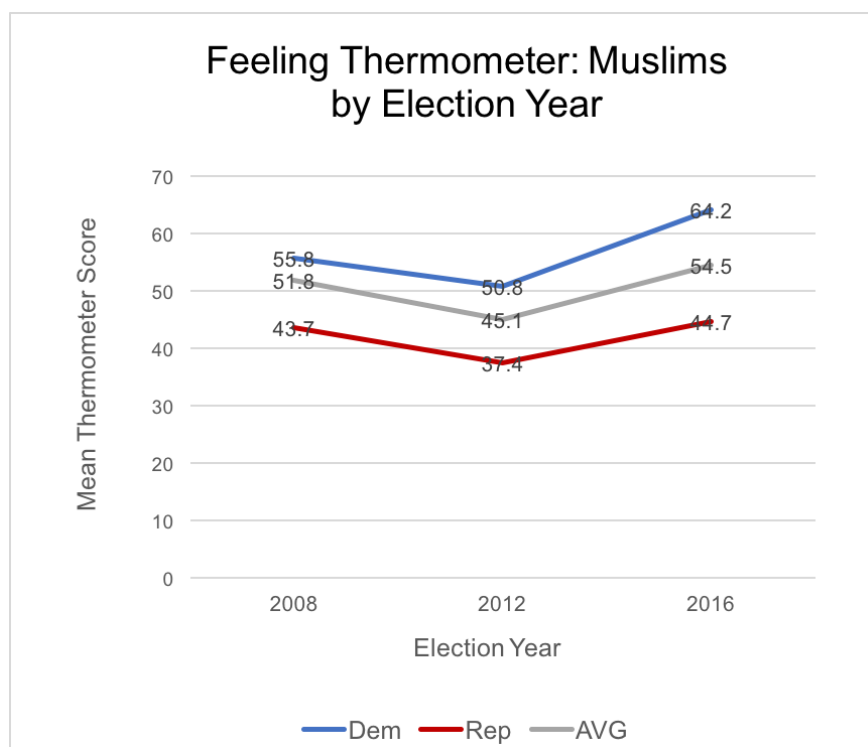
Race and Minority Solidarity

Many minority groups in the United States have scrutinized policies and programs for generating racial and ethnic discrimination and robbing them of fundamental American rights. African-American voters have long contested voter identification laws for disproportionately hindering black representation. In the city of New York, Black and Hispanics were the subjects of 83% of stop-and-frisk procedures, where both groups

combined only accounted for half of the city's population.[6][7] The Federal District Court of New York finally deemed the program unconstitutional, confirming that individual liberties were essential, especially on the basis of race. In these situations, officials debated the disparity between policy intentions and related discrimination when considering anti-fraud and security concerns. In the same vein, Muslims are not only the bud of social strain, but they are also unprotected from surveillance laws that identify them based on their religion or associated appearance. Therefore, framing was used in my research to determine whether individuals feel they can support individual liberties over national security concerns.

When considering minority groups that have been affected by profiling programs, while we would assume they defend civil liberties, there are many possible outcomes. Muslims are stigmatized in the realm of security by all individuals. Ethnocentrism frameworks show that Asian-Americans and Blacks/Hispanics have prejudices against each other (Kinder and Kam 2010), undermining any general claims of minority solidarity in a general sense. Consequently, whether policies are framed or not framed, Muslims may be outside of the American values that protect them because of stereotypes.

Using a measure of a "American value" like the support of a U.S. Constitutional right can provide a baseline for this question. It will either display consistent support for

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[6] The New York Times. "Racial Discrimination in Stop-and-Frisk." Web Aug. 12 2013. Accessed Dec 5. 2017.
[7] Pew Research Center. "From Courts to Cops to Shops: Where Blacks Perceive Discrimination." Web Nov. 4 2013. Accessed Dec 5. 2017.

individual liberties or general support for security initiatives regardless of ethnic background. Using this baseline will allow this policy-framing study to address the broader questions: are some groups more likely than others to support policies that trade-off of their rights for public safety? Or are their preferences driven by group biases that are unavoidable when considering national security? I inspect race and party identification closely in this study.

Race is essential to this study because there is existing research stating that citizens of the United States would give up some civil liberties to promote national security agendas (Davis and Silver 2004). Davis and Silver argue that this is not the case when the respondent's trust in government is low. I am interested to see how the results change when Muslims are considered.

My thesis hopes to address how public opinion on discriminatory policy looks in terms of race an ideology. The government depicts national security agendas as essential safeguards, and research on restrictive ethnocentric policy is limited. I explore whether there is a dissonance between out-group pro-liberty support and Muslim-profiling policies, whether ideology is a larger factor in support of these policies, or if there is no significance with either of these variables.

LITERATURE REVIEW

Current literature provides research regarding public opinion and racial and religious prejudices in a variety of forms. We are interested in research that addresses policy-specific questions about out-groups. Therefore, I have reviewed a variety of sources that incorporated hybrid analysis of racial attitudes and preferences. In Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy, Martin Gilens studies policy-level implications, looking at support for antipoverty policy and how Americans believe such policy benefits African-Americans disproportionately. In his book, Gilens analyzes racial attitudes towards African-Americans, arguing that the general public and the media tend to depict them as poor and undeserving. The author studies the variation of policies among U.S. states and cross-references them with each state's racial attitudes. He then looks at welfare reform efforts and studies public reaction to those efforts. Gilens uses survey data and other kinds of evidence to analyze the desire to help poor people and how this is affected by their similarity to the demographic, either racially, religiously, ethnically, or otherwise (Gilens 2009). With the extensive literature that suggests Muslims are depicted as "others" in American society (Muscati 2002; Khatib 2006; Moore 2010), we can also hypothesize that minority groups might identify with the pro-liberty movement and be more inclined to condemn some policies that discriminate against Muslims. Considering Muslims in the use range from many ethnicities, we apply principles of "other" group solidarity

My paper will be exploring similar elements when analyzing the discord between civil liberty support and discriminatory policy support. I hypothesize that in many cases

respondents that prefer strict security initiatives will support constitutional rights while also supporting prejudicial policies that infringe on those rights, no matter the frame. As a result, these same respondents might disregard the consequences these policies have, possibly because they do not identify with the unique group affected, and therefore feel they have not lost any civil liberties in the process. Or, they might agree with the constitutional amendments, but not in its entirety, and therefore there is no outstanding contradiction in their opinions. Evidence exists for identity cleavages between non-Muslims and Muslims in America through extensive public opinion research, affirming general negative feelings towards Muslims that might account for discriminatory policy preferences other than solely low political knowledge (Moss, Blodorn, Van Camp, and O'Brien 2017).

Muslim Stereotypes

Unlike other minority groups, Muslims are distinctive in that they are associated with both positively viewed racial and religious minority groups and with negatively viewed cultural minority groups (Kalkan, Layman and Uslaner 2009). After 9/11, scholars widely collected opinion data on Muslims, and the conductors of the American National Election Studies (ANES) included a "Feeling Thermometer" inquiring feelings towards Muslims in 2004. While significant negative media coverage of Muslims came after the "War on Terror" era, media outlets of Islamic fundamentalist and terrorist groups worldwide have failed to separate the actions of extremist groups with the Islamic faith. Kalkan et al. argue that, outside of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, negative attitudes towards Muslims can be attributed to the difference between Islamic practices, cultural

orientations, and ethnicities and that of Judeo-Christian origins, and therefore predates the 9/11 era. Islam is associated with gender inequality (Moss et al.) and Sharia law (Kalkan et al.) which Western public has portrayed as incompatible with a civilized culture. Additionally, Americans also have fluctuating opinions of immigrants, some of which develop from the extreme politicization of the issue (Art 2011; Iyenger et al. 2013).

About 75% of US Muslims are immigrants or the children of immigrants, and Muslim-Americans are considerably younger than the rest of the country. About 20% of US Muslims are South-Asian, 14% are of Middle-East or North African origin, and 13% are Iranian. Most importantly, about 82% of the Muslims living in the US are American citizens.[8] For my survey, this fact is important because my study is on general "Muslims," where there is little variation between outlook on Muslims and Muslim-Americans and because most of the Muslims in the US are citizens (Sides and Gross 2010).

Many authors conclude that Americans believes Muslims violate American values and are outsiders because of their association with "terrorism" (Kinder et al. 2010; Steele, Parker, and Lickel 2014; Peffley, Hutchinson and Shamir 2015). Muslim-Americans fit many demographical trends of non-Muslim citizens (e.g., number of children, income,

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[8] Pew Research Center. "Demographic Portrait of American Muslims." *Religion*. Web. Jul. 26 2017. Accessed Dec 5. 2017.
<http://www.pewforum.org/2017/07/26/demographic-portrait-of-muslim-americans/ >

income satisfaction, marital status, etc.)[9] Regardless, rhetoric in media concerning recent refugee crises of Muslims communities abroad have resurfaced negative feelings of Muslims once again. Additionally, President Donald Trump's 2016 campaign consisted of phrases akin to the following: "preventing Muslims immigration," "total and complete shutdown of Muslims entering the United States until…representatives can figure out what is going on," and "I think Islam hates us…There's tremendous hate there."[10]In considering the Republican candidates' statements, I am interested in whether there is a strong association with pro-security outlook and political party.

Examining existing research on out-groups as well as the current politicization of the Muslim migrant issues in the media is essential when evaluating policies that target the community. It sheds light on profiling implications of specific policies that target a whole religious group for alleged "security reasons" amidst all the other stereotypes that already exist.

In Times of War

In conducting a policy-level analysis, I acknowledge that security policies have increased public support during wartime. In 2005, President Bush's strategy for military action against Iraq was executed with public opinion firmly in mind (Berinksky 2009).

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[9] Ibid.

[10] Johnson, Jenna and Abigail Hauslohner. "I think Islam hates us': A timeline of Trump's comments about Islam and Muslims." *The Washington Post.* Web May 20 2017. Accessed Dec. 5 2017. < https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/post-politics/wp/2017/05/20/i-think-islam-hates-us-a-timeline-of-trumps-comments-about-islam-and-muslims/?utm_term=.f4b0768fcde2>

This instance was not the first time in history a President has played public attitudes of war and security to their advantage for policy and action. Consequently, the federal and state governments have consistently placed unconstitutional provisions in place with the country's general welfare in mind, expecting that war-time deference might be appropriate when considering such provisions. Therefore, when balancing civil liberties and national security, government initiatives have avoided scrutiny, and public attitudes have followed with ignorance.

It is possible that pro-liberty/pro-security question is muddled by an inability to conceptualize the concession of civil liberties as a personal loss of constitutional rights. Darren and Silver similarly argue that when considering trade-off between liberty and security, the dissonance results from applying abstract democratic norms to practical situations. Individuals may believe in freedom of speech or protection of privacy but also believe in protecting our society from those who use these freedoms to complete criminal acts (Darren et al. 2004). I specifically use policies that incorporate this specific trade-off to figure out whether the problem is the "abstract democratic norms," or a lack of understanding that discriminating against one group may lead to general infringement of all individual liberties (e.g. surveillance and infiltration of a local Muslim community can allow for surveillance and infiltration of other minority communities without a warrant). I address a "lack of understanding" by framing the policies and explicitly mentioning the constitutional rights. I also use Muslim-profiling policies to support existing research showing that 82% of individuals would like to protect civil liberties in cases of racial

profiling and 77% would defend civil liberties in cases of unlawful searches (Davis et al.2004).

Individuals and Policy-Level Analysis

There is existing research that analyzes a concept called the "person-positivity bias," where respondents opinions on a certain individual is relatively more positive than their same opinion on an entire group. Common in immigration studies, evidence shows that general group immigration and policy preferences differ from survey questions regarding a specific individual (Iyenger et al. 2013). Individuals tend to be more empathetic to a single person as opposed to groups. However, of all of the fictional individuals in the survey, the Muslim immigrant was the least accepted in all cases.

In considering the juxtaposition of individuals and group-policy opinions in person-positivity studies, my research also seeks to address how discrimination against American Muslims may manifest in policy preferences. While some individuals may be in support of policies that profile an out-group as a whole, these same individuals might not make conservative policy decisions when considering individuals (in this case Muslims) on a case-by-case basis. Thus, this paper seeks not to gage bigotry levels of respondents, but rather their understanding of civil liberty policy preferences as a whole. Overall, this paper is meant to extend public opinion research by using explicit policy questions to assess respondents' feelings towards discrimination. explicit policy questions to gage respondents' feelings towards discrimination.

Ethnocentrism and the Political Psychology Framework

According to Kinder et al., ethnocentrism is a general predisposition. It differs from prejudice because it has to do with both hostile and positive opinions towards a group, and also because it concerns a frame of mind regarding "aliens." In this regard, it is critical to consider ethnocentrism in the context of policy decision making regarding Muslims. When reviewing the President Bush era, Kinder et al. argue that individuals are enthusiastic about a war on terrorism because it is a combination of out-group prejudice and in-group pride. Consequently, ethnocentrism influences individuals to favor wars and support stringent security initiatives that supposedly come with it (i.e., after 9/11 and Operation Desert Storm).

While Kinder et al. strays from claims that political ideology is a stronger factor than ethnocentrism, my research shows that ideology has a slightly more significant disparity, one that could have resulted from right-wing party leaders increased politicization of Muslims. While minority groups are less likely in agreement with pro-security over pro-liberty policies as a whole, race factors may not be as salient as hypothesized. Conclusions

Current literature does not assess legislation that specifically targets Muslim communities. With President Trump's current travel restrictions that allegedly discriminate against Muslims for the sake of general safety,[11] investigating public opinion

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[11] The Guardian. "Trump's Travel Ban is Unconstitutional religious Discrimination." Web Feb. 15 2018. Accessed Mar. 3 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/feb/15/trump-travel-ban-unconstitutional-appeals-court-ruling-virginia>

of this subject manner can offer validating research. There is also little public opinion

research on feelings towards Muslims in the United States outside of the "post-9/11"

realm.

CHAPTER TWO: CIVIL LIBERTIES, SYMBOLS, AND AMERICAN VALUE VIOLATIONS

To properly investigate the trade-off between pro-liberty and pro-security sentiments in America, I use a U.S. Constitutional amendment as a survey question. I assume that the agreement for the constitutional amendment that protects individuals against unlawful search and seizure and safeguards privacy will be high for all respondents since liberty is a democratic value and the American constitution is a national symbol. "Symbols and practices become objects of attachment and pride when they belong to the in-group and objects of condescension, disdain, and (in extreme cases) hatred when they belong to out-groups." (Kinder et al. 2010).

Citizens of the U.S. use references and symbols to make elaborate claims about their privileges and patriotic fervor. Part of my hypothesis states that if I expressed policies in terms of constitutionality, the agreement for them would increase. Therefore, framing incites more cognitive thinking during policy preference studies.

While supporting constitutional amendments could represent general patriotism, the pretense of "American values" can be used by politicians to manipulate public opinion and legislative decision-making. The Supreme Court has demonstrated their submission to public opinion. In the case of race, public opinion of the state of American jobs has affected American outlooks on Immigrants, among other things. Gun laws have been relatively untouched even with raging gun violence in the US, and citizens, especially conservatives, constantly cite their "right to bear arms" to combat restrictive

fun legislation. Public opinion has therefore been a driving force in sustaining policy in government.

Furthermore, while other minority groups in the United States have numerously called upon their tights to civil liberties and government representation, there are no recent studied on how different minority groups feel about policies that affect other out-groups in society. I hope to address whether discriminatory policies against Muslims are existent because there is not generic minority support for "all civil liberties."

Moreover, participants in studies perceive lack of support of values in out-groups relative to in-groups and judge individual groups in cases of value violations (Biernat, Vescio, and Theno 1996). In some ways, those that support privacy while supporting pro-security discriminatory policies display a contradiction and value violations. This discrepancy could be due to Americans supporting stringent security policies in general, which studies show transcend ideology at points in time. However, in the context of constitutional rights, it could also be that respondents see Muslims as undeserving of protection, letting ethnocentrism be the driving force. In that case, the "generic minority support" aforementioned is not salient.

Security initiatives have become more ethnocentric, and I argue that political parties may be capitalizing on policies that discriminate. Using Muslim-American profiling initiatives that were presented under both Bush, Obama, and Trump's presidencies, I try to avoid what could be presidential approval confounding in order to analyze survey study.

CHAPTER THREE: INSTITUTIONAL DISCRIMINATION AFTER 9/11

After the events of September 11th, the Patriot Act followed with widespread press coverage from the White House justifying their need for surveillance during the "War on Terror." While surveys and polls have always illustrated citizen support for constitutional rights as high, the support for stringent surveillance and security was also high during this decade. During Obama's presidency, the administration established Military Detention Security Laws that allowed for indefinite detention of U.S. Citizens suspected of terrorism, with no clear guidelines as to what "suspected" entailed. By 2015, the NYPD created a "human-mapping" program that targeted Muslim communities, and the government offered financial incentives for community members who wanted to aid in expediting the spying process.

Framing: Based on Media and Madness

A handful of framing studies have addressed how media covers terrorism and foreign threats, attributing the escalation of US efforts to the coined campaign "War on Terror" (Entman 2004). Consequently, racial and religious biases have permeated the news following the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, legitimizing discrimination of Muslims as a key framing trait for security policy. Outside of media, surveys used in political science have also controlled and altered certain aspects to gauge public opinion and prime respondents to think of certain things. A Pew Research study in 2013 showed that in the wake of the Snowden Spy Program scandal, approval of NSA surveillance

went down when the question said the initiative lacked court approval.[12] Similarly,

framing government data collection as part of anti-terrorism efforts garnered more

support. While framing studies and surveys regarding anti-terrorism and security efforts

exist, current literature does not offer a policy-level analysis in the wake of growing

ethnoreligious implications after the heated 2016 presidential elections.

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[12] Pew Research Center. "Americans Feel the Tensions Between Privacy and Security Concerns." Web Feb. 19 2016. Accessed Mar. 15 2018. <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2016/02/19/americans-feel-the-tensions-between-privacy-and-security-concerns/>

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

My research design used a survey distribution platform known as Qualtrics to obtain a high-quality sample. The study was, therefore, unobtrusive. The survey platform used different streams of outreach to obtain a diverse sample. The survey experiment contained a control and two conditions that were randomly assigned across the representative sample, and the order of questions was randomized to account for all forms of priming and framing. I conducted my analysis by splitting up general questions and policy questions. The general questions consist of a constitutional amendment question and an inquiry regarding how well the U.S. is doing for security issues. The policy questions are about the Muslim ban (formally the travel ban), detention of terrorists, and FBI surveillance. All of the general and policy questions included in this survey are listed in Table 2 and Table 3. A full transcript of the survey can be found in Appendix B.

Question Wording and Expectations

In Table 1 the first statement was intended to investigate respondents level of support for individual rights enumerated by the constitution, specifically the right to privacy specified by the 4th amendment. Generally speaking, I predicted the level of support for this statement to be high because they represent "American values" and "individual liberties." Basic values of the American constitution promote individualism, freedom from unfair trials, freedom search and seizures, and rights against privacy invasion. While not all citizens might have high political efficacy, I assumed using the Constitution as a benchmark may formulate the optimal question about civil liberties, as explained in Chapter 2.

The second question of this section asked whether respondents believed that the United States does enough to protect their citizens, specifically regarding national security. Those that disagreed may hold the belief that the current policies put in place by the government do not ensure the safety of the entire nation. There is a possibility that respondents attributed these opinions to lackluster military spending or strategy, though this may be unlikely considering rhetoric about U.S. military strength.

I believe that most respondents who agreed with the first question that ensures the privacy of citizens associated it with the US Constitution because the question included that it was a "constitutional amendment." Since we conducted a national survey of American citizens, most respondents were expected to agree with the nation's democratic values and promises. The location of this section in the survey was randomized so that if there were any priming effects, I could account for them.

In Table 2, the policy questions and frames were replicated for easy readability. These survey questions were meant to address certain provisions, laws, or orders that could be argued as unconstitutional or border ethnic-profiling (and have been addressed in this way in the media). The "Muslim Ban" is about President Trump's Executive Order that places a travel ban on individuals travelling from certain nations. This travel ban has been prevalent in the news for consisting of predominantly Muslim countries.[13] All conditions of this question contained neutral wording and asked only whether the

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[13] The Guardian. "Trump Travel Ban is Unconstitutional Religious Discrimination, US Court Rules." Web Feb. 15 2018. Accessed Mar. 15 2018. <https://www.theguardian.com/us-news/2018/feb/15/trump-travel-ban-unconstitutional-appeals-court-ruling-virginia>

respondent agrees with the executive order being upheld. This is partially because the ban is explicit and has received recent polarizing attention in the media. The next question in Table 2, "Detention of Terrorists," is about post-9/11 counter-terrorism initiatives (e.g. Military detention security law from 2011 and Patriot Act from 2001).[14] Finally, the "FBI Surveillance" questions is referring to NYPD's Muslim spying and "human-mapping" program, similar to other Countering Violent Extremism (CVE) efforts.[15]

The neutral wording was intended to assess general opinion of the policies. The next two conditions framed the policy in one of two ways: 1) it protects citizens and promotes national security, or 2) it is implemented regardless of its violation of civil liberties. Hereinafter, I will respectively refer to them as the National Security frame and Civil Liberty frame.

The national security condition was intended to emphasize government initiatives that uphold national security and the general welfare of citizens. I expected that individuals who were less aware of ethnic-profiling policies would support, or "agree," with these questions no matter their opinions in the general question section. This result would be consistent with the federal government's opinions that they may infringe on civil liberties in order to protect a majority of US citizens for the "greater good." Furthermore, if respondents agreed to individual rights in the first section, and answered

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[14] American Civil Liberties Union. "President Obama Signs Indefinite Detention Bill Into Law." Web Dec. 31 2011. Accessed Dec. 5 2018. <https://www.aclu.org/news/president-obama-signs-indefinite-detention-bill-law>

[15] American Civil Liberties Union. "Factsheet: The NYPD Muslim Surveillance Program." Accessed Dec. 5 2018. <https://www.aclu.org/other/factsheet-nypd-muslim-surveillance-program>

in favor of initiatives that infringed upon them in the second section, it would strengthen the idea that national security is prioritized in these opinions.

The civil liberty conditional questions were intended to implicate the profiling mechanisms associated with the orders and programs that combat terrorism and extremism. I predicted that respondents would be more hesitant to agree with these questions.

For the three policy questions, the levels of agreement were coded as follows:0 if they disagreed on any level with designated discriminatory policy, and 1 if they agreed on any level with discriminatory policy. These variables were coded and analyzed using STATA (See Appendix C). Below is a complete list of my hypotheses:

- H_1: More respondents will support policies when they are perceived as national security initiatives that are meant to protect American citizens

- H_2: If policies are framed in terms of civil liberties, individuals will be less likely to support the policies

- H_3: Minorities are less likely to agree with discriminatory policies regardless of how they are framed

- H_4: Conservatives are less likely to support pro-security initiatives across all policy questions.

Table 2: General Questions from Survey

Frame	General Question	Wording
Neutral	4th Amendment Rights	The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest.
Neutral	U.S. Security	The FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.

Table 3: Survey Questions with Frame Category and Wording

Frame	Policy	Question Wording
Neutral	Detention of Terrorists	The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest.
Neutral	FBI Surveillance	The FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.
Neutral	Muslim Ban	I support the recent executive order that bans individuals from certain countries from entering the United States.
National Security	Detention of Terrorists	The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest, in order to protect national security.
National Security	FBI Surveillance	In order to protect US citizens, the FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.
National Security	Muslim Ban	No Change

Civil Liberties	Detention of Terrorists	The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest, even if this violates citizens' constitutional rights.
Civil Liberties	FBI Surveillance	Even if it means violating privacy rights, the FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.
Civil Liberties	Muslim Ban	No Change

Analyses Limitations/ Expectations

For this research design, I analyzed a couple of the hypotheses to reason why some of these may be correct, and some issues that may come up. Overall, I expected that a majority of respondents who received the national security conditional questions would support the policies (and using percentage and difference of means I could account for this) However, I acknowledge that the insignificance of framing in this study could mean that some individuals agreed to strict security policies no matter what.

I expected that non-white respondents were less likely to agree with discriminatory policies regardless of framing, possibly because they are cognizant of other policies that disproportionately affect people of color in the United States. An alternative example of where these elements come into play are in the instance of Voter Identification laws. While states have legitimate interest in decreasing voter identification fraud, these laws disproportionately affect minority communities in most states.[16] Instances like these have been under scrutiny on a state level and federal legislative level.

---

[16] Voter ID Racist

However, voter ID laws are still upheld on a state level regardless of clear instances of discrimination.

My final expectations are that ideology may play the most significant role in opinion regarding the policies in question. After 9/11, Democrats needed a strategy to combat a popular Republic president on security issues. According to Byron York, a political correspondent, the Democratic Party believed that they needed to "adopt a tone consistent with the seriousness of this moment" and stay away from "partisan-sounding attacks" (Byron York et al.) York stated that the Democrats opted to acknowledge Bush's successful national security initiatives while insinuating that terrorism would not have been a pressing issue in the first place if the economics of the country were in order under the Bush administration. This instance is clear evidence of politicization; I argue that this same tactic is salient between the two U.S. parties using Muslim stereotyping for national security agendas.

Internal Validity:

In my survey, 94.81% consented to the survey, leaving me with a sample size of 2,632. The assignment mechanism ensured a level of randomization, and certain question sections were randomized in order to avoid common survey mistakes, which is a point of validation for this research design. One popular issue I recognize is selection bias, which is prevalent with certain survey platforms. These platforms are limited to people with internet or phones and respondents who use platforms similar to YouGov, MTurk and Qualtrics tend to be slightly more politically attentive (Iyengar et al). Thus, we cannot

completely infer an average treatment affect from the observed outcomes because subjects who received the treatments (conditional survey questions) may be systematically different.

External Validity

This study focuses on "American value" dissonance in regards to policy preference. Other nations, even democratic industrialized ones, may not have civil liberty agendas instilled in their national persona. Also, the bias that other regions of the world have towards Muslims may not be politicized the way it is in the US. Generalizability across the US may also be difficult when contributing to national research, since the US is known for being politically polarized and diverse across regions.

Contributions:

In researching this topic, I hope to emphasize how Muslims stereotypes have increasingly allowed the establishment of biased policies. These policies create dissonance in American values of civil liberties. While Americans refer to the Constitution for their rights to carry guns or vote, when faced with laws that disproportionately hinder certain out-groups, I doubt constitutional implications would receive the same attention. Additionally, while some evidence in existing literature suggests that non-whites are more likely to support civil liberties over security, this may not be consistent across all groups of "others."

Lastly, I would also like to emphasize the importance of studying parties and party affiliates when considering biased policies. While conventional studies use race

factors in determining outcomes, I would like to draw attention to how partisanship is

significant.

RESEARCH FINDINGS

As expected, individuals have a high support for the constitutional amendment that ensures privacy and security. Observing Figure 3, we see that 87% of respondents are on some level of agreement with the belief in the 4th amendment, the law that is supposed to protect citizens from unlawful search and seizure. The majority of respondents also agreed that the U.S. government was doing enough in terms of national security (Figure 4).

Figure 3: Support for the 4th Amendment

Do You Believe in the Constitutional Amendment that Protects Citizens from Unlawful Search and Seizure?

13%

87%

■ Supports Liberty ■ Supports Security
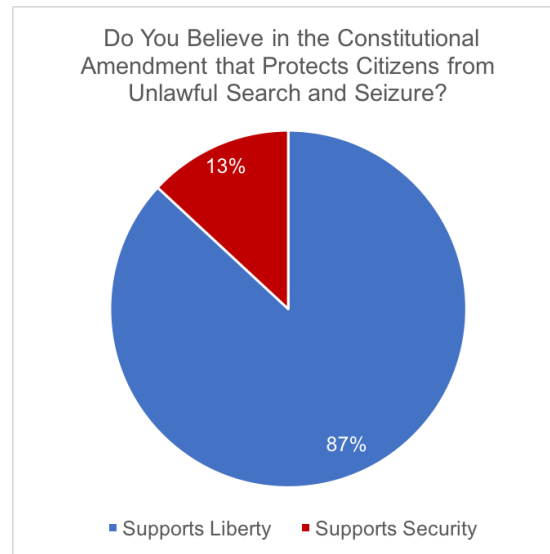
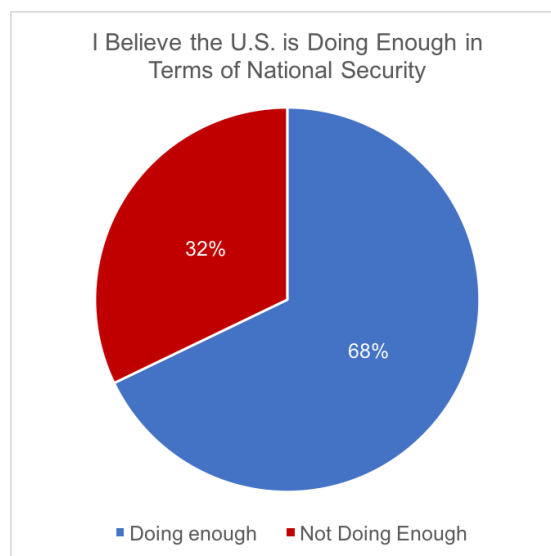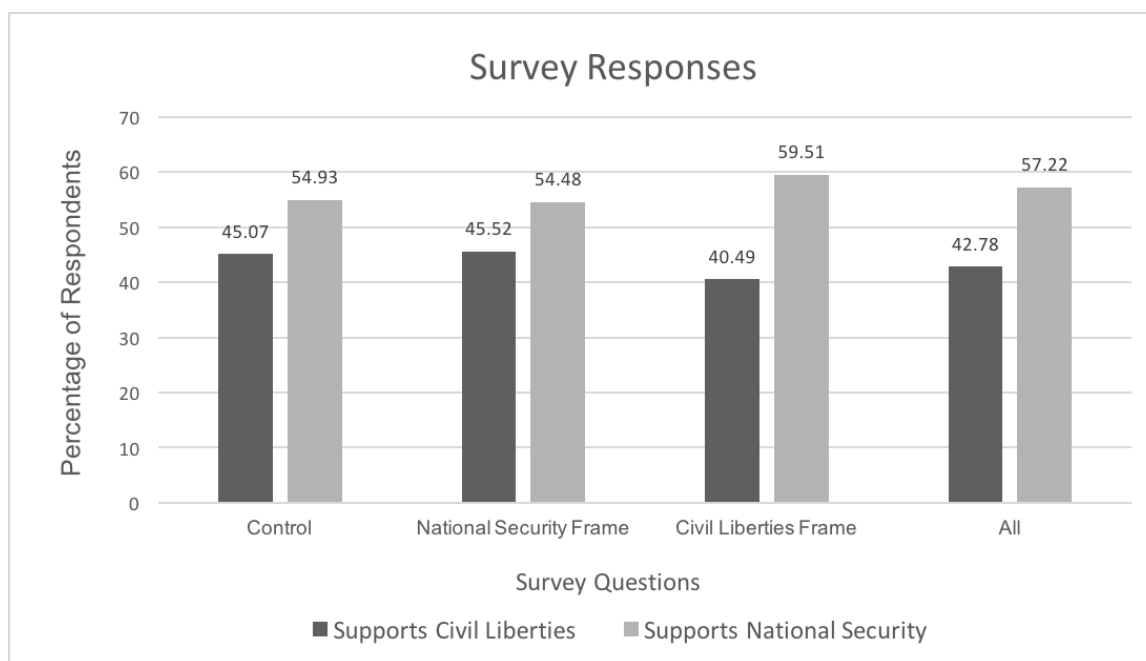**Figure 4: Approval of U.S. National Security**

Figure 5: Survey Responses for Support of Policy Based on Framing

Framing policies usually provides substantial differences in research. However,

for our national security agendas regarding Muslim surveillance, the nature of the

questions in our survey have negligible differences. In Figure 5, percentages between the

control, the national security highlighted questions and the civil liberty highlighted questions are slightly dissimilar. While not exactly homogenous, the control and national security framed survey questions have almost identical results. Conversely, in terms of percentages we see that the survey questions emphasized in terms of civil liberties display the opposite of the original hypothesis, that is, more individuals agreed with the policies as legitimate national security initiatives.

In order to determine general opinions of policies, we have considered the agreement for the Muslim ban to represent a "pro-security" opinion, and disagreement to be considered a matter of "pro-liberty sentiment". In the same vein, I treated agree and disagree responses in the same way for the policies regarding the detention of citizens and FBI mapping and surveillance of ethnic communities. In considering the responses based on the three policies observed in Table 2, the responses are also similar, with no single policy having a striking dissimilarity in support.

Table 4: Pro Liberty and Pro-Security Reponses

	Pro-Liberty	Pro-Security
Muslim Ban	48%	52%
Detention of Citizens	44%	55%
FBI mapping and surveillance	50%	50%

These pro-security and pro-liberty values were coded to be be binary. However, when considering the policy responses against the 7-point-scale, the mean responses for each

policy per frame are also not strikingly dissimilar. The detention and FBI surveillance questions across all frames have no more than a (1.00+) difference across all frames respectively (Appendix).

We consider research that weighs prejudice in terms of race, religious, or ethnicity to be important factors when considering policy in America. Evidence in current literature suggests that minorities are more likely to support civil liberties. The data below uses our survey to replicate such research.   According to Table 5, Black and Hispanic respondents have a pro-liberty response rate more frequently on all cases. Black response to the FBI surveillance had 70% of respondents disagree with the policies, which is the highest percentage in the table. Asians have a lower response rate for pro-liberty when asked about the detention of US citizens suspected of terrorism.

Table 5: Percentage of Pro-Liberty by Race

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian
Muslim Ban	42%	56%	59%	62%
Detention of Citizens	43%	53%	46%	39%
FBI Surveillance	46%	70%	56%	44%

In Table 6, I represent all of the respondents who voted in support of the 4th amendment, to compare whether they alternatively supported pro-security for these biased policies.

Table 6: Pro-Security Response for Those Who Favored the 4th Amendment

	White	Black	Hispanic	Asian	Native Americans	Other
Muslim Ban	58.1%	33.8%	44.1%	36.4%	42.6%	57.1%
Detain Citizens	52.8%	48.1%	53.6%	57.9%	42.9%	40.0%
FBI Surveillance	50.7%	27.2%	44.2%	55.0%	42.9%	50.0%

While all of the respondents in Table 6 above in favor of the constitutional right to individual liberties and privacy laws, they also voted in favor of pro-security. The three lowest percentages for pro-security are reflected by Black responses to the Muslim Ban and FBI Surveillance, and the Asian response to the Muslim Ban. While race

In Figure 6, its revealed that, across the chosen policies, 92.73% of conservatives agree while 50.38% of liberals agree with the security initiatives. The different in

Figure 6: Response on All Policies Based on Ideology
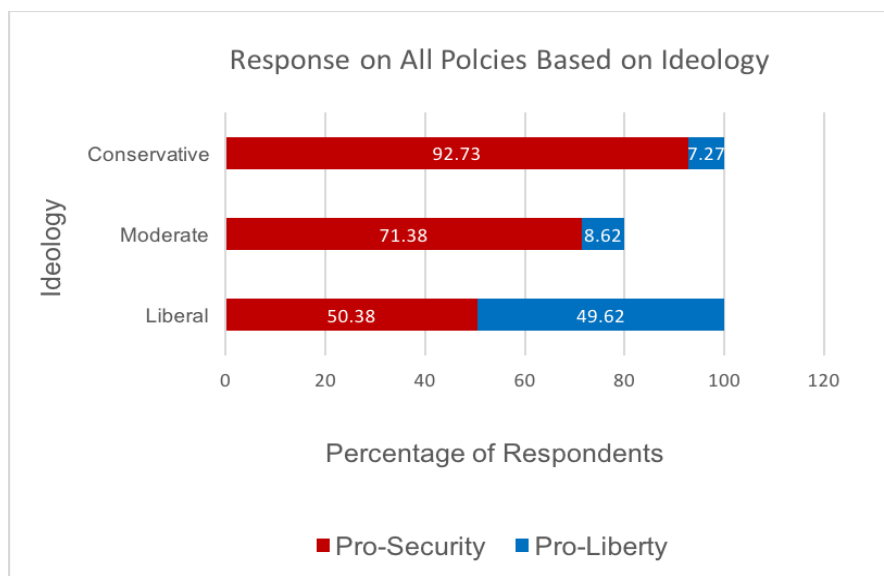
DISCUSSION:

This paper studies race and ideology in the context of biased policy against Muslims for a variety of reasons. My study agrees with some conversations stating that non-white individuals tend to choose civil liberties more frequently over security; obviously, this is not the case across all policies. In highlighting how bias against Muslims leads to institutionalized discrimination, I emphasize how important it is to have individuals set a precedent for their rights, and look past stereotypes that victimize groups and permit problematic policies.

Finally, while its clear Liberals and Conservatives have different views on security policies and Muslims, I believe there is merit in studying how these are associated from election to election. Both Conservative and Liberal administrations have passed stringent security policies, but the way party affiliates and media representatives discuss them are is very different. Failing to considering discrimination in the context of policy will lead to a gap between Americans' understanding of legislation and the government's perpetuating laws that might disregard important values.

APPENDIX A

A1. Summaries of Feeling Thermometer, ANES 2016 Times Series Study

Feeling Thermometer for Leaning Democrats

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
ft_mus	1,645	64.18298	22.55677	0	100

Feeling Thermometer for Leaning Republicans

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
ft_mus	1,461	44.72621	24.25106	0	100

Feeling Thermometer for Independents

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
ft_mus	460	50.91087	25.63415	0	100

Feeling Thermometer Summary

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
ft_mus	3,579	54.49176	25.369	0	100

A2. Muslims are Violent Stereotype, ANES 2016 Times Series Study

Opinion of Leaning Democrats

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_violent	1,624	3.640394	1.408536	1	7

Opinion of Leaning Republicans

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_violent	1,455	4.443986	1.520421	1	7

Opinion of Independents

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_violent	454	3.949339	1.478197	1	7

Total

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_violent	3,544	4.01044	1.510207	1	7

A3. Muslims are Patriotic (1 is Patriotic)

Patriotic Score from Democrats

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_pat	1,617	3.860235	1.532731	1	7

Patriotic Score from Republicans

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_pat	1,447	4.939185	1.660844	1	7

Patriotic Score from Independents

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_pat	455	4.316484	1.658263	1	7

Patriotic Score

Variable	Obs	Mean	Std. Dev.	Min	Max
mus_pat	3,530	4.362606	1.67828	1	7

APPENDIX B

Trump's Effect on Muslim Attitudes: Qualtrics Survey (also masters' theses)

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consent **Informed Consent Document**
Dear participant –

Thank you for taking part in this research study. Before we begin, please take a moment to learn some more information about this study and your participation in it.

The research in which you are about to participate looks at a number of attitudes people hold about society; it is being run by Spencer Piston, Professor in the Department of Political Science at Boston University.

You must be at least 18 years old to participate in this study.

As a participant of this study you will be asked to consider questions about various issues. This survey will take about 10-20 minutes to complete.

Although you may not receive direct benefit from your participation, others may ultimately benefit from the knowledge obtained in this study.

A potential emotional risk of this study may be the slight discomfort of disclosing information.

Your responses will be anonymous – the researcher will not have access to identifying information about you. However, whenever one works with email or the internet there is always the risk of compromising privacy, confidentiality, and/or anonymity. Your confidentiality will be maintained to the degree permitted by the technology being used. Study information will be stored in a password protected electronic database. It is important for you to understand that no guarantees can be made regarding the interception of data sent via the internet by third parties.

Your participation in this project is voluntary. Even after you complete the informed consent document, you may decide to end the study at any time. However, you must complete the survey to receive compensation.

If you have questions about the study, you may contact:

Spencer Piston, spiston@bu.edu

You may obtain further information about your rights as a research subject by contacting the BU CRC IRB office at 617-358-6115.

Thank you again for your participation!

If you consent to participate in this study, please press the arrow button to proceed.

○ Yes (1)

○ No (4)

Skip To: End of Block If Informed Consent Document   Dear participant –   Thank you for taking part in this research study... = No

End of Block: Consent

Start of Block: Demographics part 1

gender Please indicate your gender.

○ Male (1)

○ Female (2)

race What racial or ethnic group best describes you?

○ White (1)

○ Black (2)

○ Asian (3)

○ Native American (4)

○ Hispanic (5)

○ Other (6)

- -

latino Are you of Hispanic or Latino origin or descent, such as Mexican, Puerto Rican, Cuban, or some other Latin American background?

○ Yes (1)

○ No (2)

- -

income In 2017, what was your total family income (please approximate if you are not certain)?

○ $10,000 or less (1)

○ $10,001 to under $20,000 (2)

○ $20,001 to under $30,000 (3)

○ $30,001 to under $40,000 (4)

○ $40,001 to under $50,000 (5)

○ $50,001 to under $75,000 (6)

○ $75,001 to under $100,000 (7)

○ $100,001 to under $150,000 (8)

○ $150,001 or more (9)

End of Block: Demographics part 1

Start of Block: Anima v1-control general questions asked second

intro Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

- -

FBIv1 The FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

detainv1 The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

Page Break

searchv1 I support the US constitutional amendment that ensures the privacy of citizens and right from unwarranted search and seizure.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

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securityv1 I believe that the United States government does enough in terms of national security to protect its citizens.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

---

musbanv1 I support the recent executive order that bans individuals from certain countries from entering the United States.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

End of Block: Anima v1-control general questions asked second

Start of Block: Anima v4-control general questions asked first

introv4 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

searchv4 I support the US constitutional amendment that ensures the privacy of citizens and right from unwarranted search and seizure.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

securityv4 I believe that the United States government does enough in terms of national security to protect its citizens.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

Page Break

musbanv4 I support the recent executive order that bans individuals from certain countries from entering the United States.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

FBIv4 The FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

Page Break

detainv4 The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

End of Block: Anima v4-control general questions asked first

Start of Block: Anima v2-national security general questions asked second

introv2 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

FBIv2 In order to protect US citizens, the FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

---

detainv2 The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest, in order to protect national security.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

Page Break ————————————————————————————————

searchv2 I support the US constitutional amendment that ensures the privacy of citizens and right from unwarranted search and seizure.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

---

securityv2 I believe that the United States government does enough in terms of national security to protect its citizens.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

---

musbanv2 I support the recent executive order that bans individuals from certain countries from entering the United States.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

End of Block: Anima v2-national security general questions asked second

Start of Block: Anima v5-national security general questions asked first

introv5 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

searchv5 I support the US constitutional amendment that ensures the privacy of citizens and right from unwarranted search and seizure.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

Page Break

securityv5 I believe that the United States government does enough in terms of national security to protect its citizens.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

musbanv5 I support the recent executive order that bans individuals from certain countries from entering the United States.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

FBIv5 In order to protect US citizens, the FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

detainv5 The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest, in order to protect national security.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

introv3 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

FBIv3 Even if it means violating privacy rights, the FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

---

detainv3 The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest, even if this violates citizens' constitutional rights.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

Page Break

searchv3 I support the US constitutional amendment that ensures the privacy of citizens and right from unwarranted search and seizure.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

---

securityv3 I believe that the United States government does enough in terms of national security to protect its citizens.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

---

musbanv3 I support the recent executive order that bans individuals from certain countries from entering the United States.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

End of Block: Anima v3-civil liberties general questions asked second

Start of Block: Anima v6-civil liberties general questions asked first

introv6 Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

searchv6 I support the US constitutional amendment that ensures the privacy of citizens and right from unwarranted search and seizure.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

securityv6 I believe that the United States government does enough in terms of national security to protect its citizens.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

Page Break

musbanv6 I support the recent executive order that bans individuals from certain countries from entering the United States.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

FBIv6 Even if it means violating privacy rights, the FBI and the police should be allowed to conduct surveillance of the behavior and lifestyles of certain racial or religious communities.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

———————————————————————————————

detainv6 The government should be allowed to detain all U.S. citizens suspected of terrorism, regardless of whether the government has obtained a warrant for their arrest, even if this violates citizens' constitutional rights.

○ Strongly agree (1)

○ Somewhat agree (2)

○ Slightly agree (3)

○ Neither agree nor disagree (4)

○ Slightly disagree (5)

○ Somewhat disagree (6)

○ Strongly disagree (7)

End of Block: Anima v6-civil liberties general questions asked first

——

Start of Block: demographicsparty id Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a . . .

○ Strong Democrat (1)

○ Moderate Democrat (2)

○ Independent, but closer to the Democratic Party (3)

○ Independent (9)

○ Independent, but closer to the Republican Party (4)

○ Moderate Republican (5)

○ Strong Republican (6)

○ Another party, please specify: (7)

_____

○ No preference (8)

---

ideology Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as:

○ Strong liberal (1)

○ Moderate liberal (2)

○ Moderate (3)

○ Moderate conservative (4)

○ Strong conservative (5)

○ Other/don't know (6)

---

age What is your age?

_____

education Which of the following best describes your education?

○ Did not graduate from high school (1)

○ High school diploma or the equivalent (GED), did not attend college at all (2)

○ Some college, no degree (3)

○ Graduated from college, did not attend graduate school (4)

○ Attended graduate school (5)

religion What is your religious preference?

○ Protestant (1)

○ Catholic (2)

○ Muslim (3)

○ Jewish (4)

○ No religion (5)

○ Some other religion (6)

Page Break ——————————————————————————

APPENDIX C

C. STATA Replication Codes

C1. ANES 2016

```
*. use
"/Users/animaanwar/Downloads/anes_timeseries_2016_dta/anes_timeseries_2016_Stata1
3> .dta"



*Muslim Therm*
generate ftm=V162106
recode ftm (-9/-6=.) (998=.) (999=.), generate(ft_mus)

*Obama a Muslim*
generate obama=V162255
recode obama (-9/-6=.) (1=0 "Muslim") (2=1 "Not a Musilm"), generate(obama_mus)

*Muslims are Violent Stereotype*
generate mvio=V162353
recode mvio (-9/-5=.), generate(mus_violent)

*Muslims are Patriots*
generate mpat= V162355
recode mpat (-9/-5=.), generate(mus_pat)

*Race*
generate rce= V161310x
recode rce (-9=.) (1=1 "White") (2=2 "Black") (3=3 "Asian") (4=4 "Native American")
(5=5 "Hispanic") (6=6 "Other"), generate(race)


*Party ID*
generate pid= V161158x
recode pid (-9/-8=.) (1/3=0 "Lean Democrat") (4=2 "Independent") (5/7=1 "Lean
Republican"), generate(partyid)
label var partyid "Party ID"
label var ft_mus "Feeling Thermometer: Muslims"
label var race "Race"


*Feeling ThermometerL: Muslims by Race and Party ID*
```

```
#delimit ;
graph bar (mean) ft_mus, over (partyid) over(race)
asyvars
bar(1, fcolor(gs15))
bar(2, fcolor(gs10))
bar(3, fcolor(gs5))
graphregion(fcolor(gs12))
graphregion(fcolor(white))
ytitle("Thermometer Score", size(medsmall))
title("Feelings Thermometer: Muslims", size(medlarge))
subtitle("by Party ID and Race", size(medsmall))
legend(title("Party ID", size(small)))
note("Source:2016 ANES") ;



*Stereotype: Are Muslims Violent*
#delimit ;
graph bar (mean) mus_violent, over (partyid) over(race)
asyvars
bar(1, fcolor(gs15))
bar(2, fcolor(gs10))
bar(3, fcolor(gs5))
graphregion(fcolor(gs12))
graphregion(fcolor(white))
ytitle("Violence Score", size(medsmall))
title("Stereotype: Are Muslims Violent", size(medlarge))
subtitle("by Party ID and Race", size(medsmall))
legend(title("Party ID", size(small)))
note("Source:2012 ANES") ;
```

C2. ANES 2012

```
*use "/Users/animaanwar/Downloads/anes_timeseries_2012_dta-
2/anes_timeseries_2012_Stata> 12.dta"


*Party ID pid_x*
generate pid=pid_x
recode pid (-2=.) (1/3=0 "Lean Democrat") (4=2 "Independent") (5/7=1 "Lean
Republican"), generate(partyid)
label var partyid "Party ID"
*label var ft_mus "Feeling Thermometer: Muslims"x
```

```
*label var race "Race"



*Muslim Therm*
generate ftm=ftgr_muslims
recode ftm (-9/-6=.) (-2=.), generate(ft_mus)

*Obama a Muslim Mus and Christian*
generate obama2012=candrel_dpc
recode obama2012 (-9/-8=.) (4=0 "Muslim") (1/2=1 "Christian/Catholic/Protestant")
(10=1 "Christian/Catholic/Protestant") (3=2 "Other")  (5/6=2 "Other")  (11/95=2
"Other"), generate(obama_rel)

*Obama a Muslim Not and Is Muslim*
generate obama_m=candrel_dpc
recode obama_m (-9/-8=.) (4=0 "Muslim") (1/3=1 "Not Muslim") (5/95=1 "Not
Muslim"), generate(obama_mus)


*How does violence describe Muslims 1 is extremely well 4 is slightly and 5 not at all*
generate mvio=rstype_violmusl
recode mvio (-9/-1=.), generate(mus_violent)

*How does Patriotic describe muslims 1 is extremely well 4 is slightly 5 is not at all*
generate mpat=rstype_patrmusl
recode mpat (-9/-1=.), generate(mus_pat)

*Race dem_racecps_1st*
generate rce=dem_raceeth_x
recode rce (-9=.) (1=1 "White") (2=2 "Black") (3=3 "Asian/Pacific Islander") (4=4
"Native American") (5=5 "Hispanic") (6=6 "Other"), generate(race)


*Feeling ThermometerL: Muslims by Race and Party ID*
#delimit ;
graph bar (mean) ft_mus, over (partyid) over(race)
asyvars
bar(1, fcolor(gs15))
bar(2, fcolor(gs10))
bar(3, fcolor(gs5))
graphregion(fcolor(gs12))
graphregion(fcolor(white))
```

ytitle("Thermometer Score", size(medsmall))
title("Feelings Thermometer: Muslims", size(medlarge))
subtitle("by Party ID and Race", size(medsmall))
legend(title("Party ID", size(small)))
note("Source:2012 ANES Time Series Study") ;

C3. ANES 2008

* use
"/Users/animaanwar/Downloads/anes_timeseries_2008_dta/anes_timeseries_2008_stata1
2> .dta"

Party ID pid_x
generate pid=V083097
recode pid (-9/-8=.) (1=0 "Lean Democrat") (3=2 "Independent") (2=1 "Lean
Republican") (4/5=.), generate(partyid)
label var partyid "Party ID"
*label var ft_mus "Feeling Thermometer: Muslims"x
*label var race "Race"

Muslim Therm
generate ftm=V085065e
recode ftm (-9/-6=.) (-2=.), generate(ft_mus)

Race
generate rce=V081111b
recode rce (-9/-4=.) (1=1 "White") (2=2 "Black") (3/7=3 "Other"), generate(race)

Feeling ThermometerL: Muslims by Race and Party ID
#delimit ;
graph bar (mean) ft_mus, over (partyid) over(race)
asyvars
bar(1, fcolor(gs15))
bar(2, fcolor(gs10))
bar(3, fcolor(gs5))
graphregion(fcolor(gs12))
graphregion(fcolor(white))
ytitle("Thermometer Score", size(medsmall))
title("Feelings Thermometer: Muslims", size(medlarge))

```
subtitle("by Party ID and Race", size(medsmall))
legend(title("Party ID", size(small)))
note("Source:2008 ANES Time Series Study") ;
```

C4. QUESTIONNAIRE CODING

C.4.1 Civil Liberty Score By Frame

* civillibNS: Civil Lib for NS frame*

```
gen civillibNS = .
replace civillibNS = . if FBIv2 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if FBIv2 >=5 & FBIv2 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if FBIv2 <=3 & FBIv2 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if detainv2 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if detainv2 >=5 & detainv2 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if detainv2 <=3 & detainv2 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if musbanv2 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if musbanv2 >=5 & musbanv2 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if musbanv2 <=3 & musbanv2 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if FBIv5 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if FBIv5 >=5 & FBIv5 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if FBIv5 <=3 & FBIv5 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if detainv5 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if detainv5 >=5 & detainv5 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if detainv5 <=3 & detainv5 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if musbanv5 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if musbanv5 >=5 & musbanv5 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if musbanv5 <=3 & musbanv5 >=1

tab civillibNS
```

* civillibNS: Civil Lib for CL frame*

```
* 3. CL civillibCL Civil Lib for CL Frame*
gen civillibCL = .
replace civillibCL = . if FBIv3 ==4
replace civillibCL = 0 if FBIv3 >=5 & FBIv3 <=7
replace civillibCL = 1 if FBIv3 <=3 & FBIv3 >=1


replace civillibCL = . if detainv3 ==4
replace civillibCL = 0 if detainv3 >=5 & detainv3 <=7
replace civillibCL = 1 if detainv3 <=3 & detainv3 >=1


replace civillibCL = . if musbanv3 ==4
replace civillibCL = 0 if musbanv3 >=5 & musbanv3 <=7
replace civillibCL = 1 if musbanv3 <=3 & musbanv3 >=1


replace civillibCL = . if FBIv6 ==4
replace civillibCL = 0 if FBIv6 >=5 & FBIv6 <=7
replace civillibCL = 1 if FBIv6 <=3 & FBIv6 >=1



replace civillibCL = . if detainv6 ==4
replace civillibCL = 0 if detainv6 >=5 & detainv6 <=7
replace civillibCL = 1 if detainv6 <=3 & detainv6 >=1


replace civillibCL = . if musbanv6 ==4
replace civillibCL = 0 if musbanv6 >=5 & musbanv6 <=7
replace civillibCL = 1 if musbanv6 <=3 & musbanv6 >=1

tab civillibCL



* Civil Lib Control *



gen civillibCON = .

replace civillibCON = . if FBIv1 ==4
```

```
replace civillibCON = 0 if FBIv1 >=5 & FBIv1 <=7
replace civillibCON = 1 if FBIv1 <=3 & FBIv1 >=1


replace civillibCON = . if detainv1 ==4
replace civillibCON = 0 if detainv1 >=5 & detainv1 <=7
replace civillibCON = 1 if detainv1 <=3 & detainv1 >=1


replace civillibCON = . if musbanv1 ==4
replace civillibCON = 0 if musbanv1 >=5 & musbanv1 <=7
replace civillibCON = 1 if musbanv1 <=3 & musbanv1 >=1

replace civillibCON = . if FBIv4 ==4
replace civillibCON = 0 if FBIv4 >=5 & FBIv4 <=7
replace civillibCON = 1 if FBIv4 <=3 & FBIv4 >=1


replace civillibCON = . if detainv4 ==4
replace civillibCON = 0 if detainv4 >=5 & detainv4 <=7
replace civillibCON = 1 if detainv4 <=3 & detainv4 >=1


replace civillibCON = . if musbanv4 ==4
replace civillibCON = 0 if musbanv4 >=5 & musbanv4 <=7
replace civillibCON = 1 if musbanv4 <=3 & musbanv4 >=1

tab civillibCON


**Tab them all ***
tab civillibCON
tab civillibCL
tab civillibNS

tab civillib4



* civillibNS: Civil Lib for NS frame*

gen civillibNS = .
replace civillibNS = . if FBIv2 ==4
```

```
replace civillibNS = 0 if FBIv2 >=5 & FBIv2 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if FBIv2 <=3 & FBIv2 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if detainv2 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if detainv2 >=5 & detainv2 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if detainv2 <=3 & detainv2 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if musbanv2 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if musbanv2 >=5 & musbanv2 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if musbanv2 <=3 & musbanv2 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if FBIv5 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if FBIv5 >=5 & FBIv5 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if FBIv5 <=3 & FBIv5 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if detainv5 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if detainv5 >=5 & detainv5 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if detainv5 <=3 & detainv5 >=1

replace civillibNS = . if musbanv5 ==4
replace civillibNS = 0 if musbanv5 >=5 & musbanv5 <=7
replace civillibNS = 1 if musbanv5 <=3 & musbanv5 >=1

tab civillibNS


* civillibNS: Civil Lib for CL frame*


* 3. CL civillibCL Civil Lib for CL Frame*


gen civillib4 = .
replace civillib4 = . if FBIv3 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if FBIv3 >=5 & FBIv3 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if FBIv3 <=3 & FBIv3 >=1


replace civillib4 = . if detainv3 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if detainv3 >=5 & detainv3 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if detainv3 <=3 & detainv3 >=1
```

```
replace civillib4 = . if musbanv3 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if musbanv3 >=5 & musbanv3 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if musbanv3 <=3 & musbanv3 >=1


replace civillib4 = . if FBIv6 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if FBIv6 >=5 & FBIv6 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if FBIv6 <=3 & FBIv6 >=1



replace civillib4 = . if detainv6 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if detainv6 >=5 & detainv6 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if detainv6 <=3 & detainv6 >=1


replace civillib4 = . if musbanv6 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if musbanv6 >=5 & musbanv6 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if musbanv6 <=3 & musbanv6 >=1


replace civillib4 = . if FBIv1 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if FBIv1 >=5 & FBIv1 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if FBIv1 <=3 & FBIv1 >=1


replace civillib4 = . if detainv1 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if detainv1 >=5 & detainv1 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if detainv1 <=3 & detainv1 >=1

replace civillib4 = . if musbanv1 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if musbanv1 >=5 & musbanv1 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if musbanv1 <=3 & musbanv1 >=1

replace civillib4 = . if FBIv4 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if FBIv4 >=5 & FBIv4 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if FBIv4 <=3 & FBIv4 >=1


replace civillib4 = . if detainv4 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if detainv4 >=5 & detainv4 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if detainv4 <=3 & detainv4 >=1
```

```
replace civillib4 = . if musbanv4 ==4
replace civillib4 = 0 if musbanv4 >=5 & musbanv4 <=7
replace civillib4 = 1 if musbanv4 <=3 & musbanv4 >=1

tab civillib4
```

C.4.2. Binary Coding Merging all Question Types

```
* Sets where the GENERAL questions were asked FIRST: 1, 5, 6 *
* Sets where the GENERAL questions were asked LAST: 2, 3, 4 *


* 1. Control *
gen FBIv1control = .
replace FBIv1control = . if FBIv1 ==4
replace FBIv1control = 0 if FBIv1 >=5 & FBIv1 <=7
replace FBIv1control = 1 if FBIv1 <=3 & FBIv1 >=1
tab FBIv1control

gen detainv1control = .
replace detainv1control = . if detainv1 ==4
replace detainv1control = 0 if detainv1 >=5 & detainv1 <=7
replace detainv1control = 1 if detainv1 <=3 & detainv1 >=1
tab detainv1control

gen searchv1control = .
replace searchv1control = . if searchv1 ==4
replace searchv1control = 1 if searchv1 >=5 & searchv1 <=7
replace searchv1control = 0 if searchv1 <=3 & searchv1 >=1
tab searchv1control


gen securityv1control = .
replace securityv1control = . if securityv1 ==4
replace securityv1control = 1 if securityv1 >=5 & securityv1 <=7
replace securityv1control = 0 if securityv1 <=3 & securityv1 >=1
tab securityv1control

gen musbanv1control = .
replace musbanv1control = . if musbanv1 ==4
replace musbanv1control = 0 if musbanv1 >=5 & musbanv1 <=7
replace musbanv1control = 1 if musbanv1 <=3 & musbanv1 >=1
tab musbanv1control
```

```
* 4. Control *
gen FBIv4control = .
replace FBIv4control = . if FBIv4 ==4
replace FBIv4control = 0 if FBIv4 >=5 & FBIv4 <=7
replace FBIv4control = 1 if FBIv4 <=3 & FBIv4 >=1
tab FBIv4control

gen detainv4control = .
replace detainv4control = . if detainv4 ==4
replace detainv4control = 0 if detainv4 >=5 & detainv4 <=7
replace detainv4control = 1 if detainv4 <=3 & detainv4 >=1
tab detainv4control

gen searchv4control = .
replace searchv4control = . if searchv4 ==4
replace searchv4control = 1 if searchv4 >=5 & searchv4 <=7
replace searchv4control = 0 if searchv4 <=3 & searchv4 >=1
tab searchv4control


gen securityv4control = .
replace securityv4control = . if securityv4 ==4
replace securityv4control = 1 if securityv4 >=5 & securityv4 <=7
replace securityv4control = 0 if securityv4 <=3 & securityv4 >=1
tab securityv4control

gen musbanv4control = .
replace musbanv4control = . if musbanv4 ==4
replace musbanv4control = 0 if musbanv4 >=5 & musbanv4 <=7
replace musbanv4control = 1 if musbanv4 <=3 & musbanv4 >=1
tab musbanv4control


* 2. NS *
gen FBIv2ns = .
replace FBIv2ns = . if FBIv2 ==4
replace FBIv2ns = 0 if FBIv2 >=5 & FBIv2 <=7
replace FBIv2ns = 1 if FBIv2 <=3 & FBIv2 >=1
tab FBIv2ns
```

```
gen detainv2ns = .
replace detainv2ns = . if detainv2 ==4
replace detainv2ns = 0 if detainv2 >=5 & detainv2 <=7
replace detainv2ns = 1 if detainv2 <=3 & detainv2 >=1
tab detainv2ns

gen searchv2ns = .
replace searchv2ns = . if searchv2 ==4
replace searchv2ns = 1 if searchv2 >=5 & searchv2 <=7
replace searchv2ns = 0 if searchv2 <=3 & searchv2 >=1
tab searchv2ns


gen securityv2ns = .
replace securityv2ns = . if securityv2 ==4
replace securityv2ns = 1 if securityv2 >=5 & securityv2 <=7
replace securityv2ns = 0 if securityv2 <=3 & securityv2 >=1
tab securityv2ns

gen musbanv2ns = .
replace musbanv2ns = . if musbanv2 ==4
replace musbanv2ns = 0 if musbanv2 >=5 & musbanv2 <=7
replace musbanv2ns = 1 if musbanv2 <=3 & musbanv2 >=1
tab musbanv2ns


* 5. NS *
gen FBIv5ns = .
replace FBIv5ns = . if FBIv5 ==4
replace FBIv5ns = 0 if FBIv5 >=5 & FBIv5 <=7
replace FBIv5ns = 1 if FBIv5 <=3 & FBIv5 >=1
tab FBIv5ns

gen detainv5ns = .
replace detainv5ns = . if detainv5 ==4
replace detainv5ns = 0 if detainv5 >=5 & detainv5 <=7
replace detainv5ns = 1 if detainv5 <=3 & detainv5 >=1
tab detainv5ns

gen searchv5ns = .
replace searchv5ns = . if searchv5 ==4
replace searchv5ns = 1 if searchv5 >=5 & searchv5 <=7
replace searchv5ns = 0 if searchv5 <=3 & searchv5 >=1
```

```
tab searchv5ns


gen securityv5ns = .
replace securityv5ns = . if securityv5 ==4
replace securityv5ns = 1 if securityv5 >=5 & securityv5 <=7
replace securityv5ns = 0 if securityv5 <=3 & securityv5 >=1
tab securityv5ns

gen musbanv5ns = .
replace musbanv5ns = . if musbanv5 ==4
replace musbanv5ns = 0 if musbanv5 >=5 & musbanv5 <=7
replace musbanv5ns = 1 if musbanv5 <=3 & musbanv5 >=1
tab musbanv5ns

* 3. CL *
gen FBIv3cl = .
replace FBIv3cl = . if FBIv3 ==4
replace FBIv3cl = 0 if FBIv3 >=5 & FBIv3 <=7
replace FBIv3cl = 1 if FBIv3 <=3 & FBIv3 >=1
tab FBIv3cl

gen detainv3cl = .
replace detainv3cl = . if detainv3 ==4
replace detainv3cl = 0 if detainv3 >=5 & detainv3 <=7
replace detainv3cl = 1 if detainv3 <=3 & detainv3 >=1
tab detainv3cl

gen searchv3cl = .
replace searchv3cl = . if searchv3 ==4
replace searchv3cl = 1 if searchv3 >=5 & searchv3 <=7
replace searchv3cl = 0 if searchv3 <=3 & searchv3 >=1
tab searchv3cl


gen securityv3cl = .
replace securityv3cl = . if securityv3 ==4
replace securityv3cl = 1 if securityv3 >=5 & securityv3 <=7
replace securityv3cl = 0 if securityv3 <=3 & securityv3 >=1
tab securityv3cl

gen musbanv3cl = .
replace musbanv3cl = . if musbanv3 ==4
```

```
replace musbanv3cl = 0 if musbanv3 >=5 & musbanv3 <=7
replace musbanv3cl = 1 if musbanv3 <=3 & musbanv3 >=1
tab musbanv3cl


* 6. CL *
gen FBIv6cl = .
replace FBIv6cl = . if FBIv6 ==4
replace FBIv6cl = 0 if FBIv6 >=5 & FBIv6 <=7
replace FBIv6cl = 1 if FBIv6 <=3 & FBIv6 >=1
tab FBIv6cl

gen detainv6cl = .
replace detainv6cl = . if detainv6 ==4
replace detainv6cl = 0 if detainv6 >=5 & detainv6 <=7
replace detainv6cl = 1 if detainv6 <=3 & detainv6 >=1
tab detainv6cl

gen searchv6cl = .
replace searchv6cl = . if searchv6 ==4
replace searchv6cl = 1 if searchv6 >=5 & searchv6 <=7
replace searchv6cl = 0 if searchv6 <=3 & searchv6 >=1
tab searchv6cl


gen securityv6cl = .
replace securityv6cl = . if securityv6 ==4
replace securityv6cl = 1 if securityv6 >=5 & securityv6 <=7
replace securityv6cl = 0 if securityv6 <=3 & securityv6 >=1
tab securityv6cl

gen musbanv6cl = .
replace musbanv6cl = . if musbanv6 ==4
replace musbanv6cl = 0 if musbanv6 >=5 & musbanv6 <=7
replace musbanv6cl = 1 if musbanv6 <=3 & musbanv6 >=1
tab musbanv6cl


*General questions responses merged in numbers*
gen searchtotal =.
replace searchtotal = 0 if searchv1control==0
replace searchtotal = 1 if searchv1control==1
```

```
replace searchtotal = 0 if searchv5ns==0
replace searchtotal = 1 if searchv5ns==1

replace searchtotal = 0 if searchv6cl==0
replace searchtotal = 1 if searchv6cl==1

replace searchtotal = 0 if searchv4control==0
replace searchtotal = 1 if searchv4control==1

replace searchtotal = 0 if searchv2ns==0
replace searchtotal = 1 if searchv2ns==1

replace searchtotal = 0 if searchv3cl==0
replace searchtotal = 1 if searchv3cl==1




gen securitytotal =.
replace securitytotal = 0 if securityv1control==0
replace securitytotal = 1 if securityv1control==1

replace securitytotal = 0 if securityv5ns==0
replace securitytotal = 1 if securityv5ns==1

replace securitytotal = 0 if securityv6cl==0
replace securitytotal = 1 if securityv6cl==1

replace securitytotal = 0 if securityv4control==0
replace securitytotal = 1 if securityv4control==1

replace securitytotal = 0 if securityv2ns==0
replace securitytotal = 1 if securityv2ns==1

replace securitytotal = 0 if securityv3cl==0
replace securitytotal = 1 if securityv3cl==1


gen musbantotal =.
replace musbantotal = 0 if musbanv1control==0
replace musbantotal = 1 if musbanv1control==1

replace musbantotal = 0 if musbanv5ns==0
```

```
replace musbantotal = 1 if musbanv5ns==1

replace musbantotal = 0 if musbanv6cl==0
replace musbantotal = 1 if musbanv6cl==1

replace musbantotal = 0 if musbanv4control==0
replace musbantotal = 1 if musbanv4control==1

replace musbantotal = 0 if musbanv2ns==0
replace searchtotal = 1 if musbanv2ns==1

replace musbantotal = 0 if musbanv3cl==0
replace musbantotal = 1 if musbanv3cl==1

gen FBItotal =.
replace FBItotal = 0 if FBIv1control==0
replace FBItotal = 1 if FBIv1control==1

replace FBItotal = 0 if FBIv5ns==0
replace FBItotal = 1 if FBIv5ns==1

replace FBItotal = 0 if FBIv6cl==0
replace FBItotal = 1 if FBIv6cl==1

replace FBItotal = 0 if FBIv4control==0
replace FBItotal = 1 if FBIv4control==1

replace FBItotal = 0 if FBIv2ns==0
replace FBItotal = 1 if FBIv2ns==1

replace FBItotal = 0 if FBIv3cl==0
replace FBItotal = 1 if FBIv3cl==1

gen detaintotal =.
replace detaintotal = 0 if detainv1control==0
replace detaintotal = 1 if detainv1control==1

replace detaintotal = 0 if detainv5ns==0
replace detaintotal = 1 if detainv5ns==1

replace detaintotal = 0 if detainv6cl==0
replace detaintotal = 1 if detainv6cl==1
```

```
replace detaintotal = 0 if detainv4control==0
replace detaintotal = 1 if detainv4control==1

replace detaintotal = 0 if detainv2ns==0
replace detaintotal = 1 if detainv2ns==1

replace detaintotal = 0 if detainv3cl==0
replace detaintotal = 1 if detainv3cl==1

tab searchtotal
tab securitytotal
tab musbantotal
tab FBItotal
tab detaintotal
```

C.4.3 Party ID and Ideology

```
* Merging party_ID to party_ID_gen *
gen pID= .
replace pID = 0 if party_id >=1 & party_id<=3
replace pID = 1 if party_id >=4 & party_id<=6
replace pID = 2 if party_id ==9
tab pID

*Ideology*
gen ideo= .
replace ideo = 0 if ideology >=1 & ideology <=2
replace ideo = 1 if ideology >=4 & ideology <=5
replace ideo = 2 if ideology ==3
tab ideo
```

C.4.4. Variables for Frame Specific Graphs

```
tab detainv1control
tab detainv4control
tab detainv2ns
tab detainv5ns
tab detainv3cl
tab detainv6cl

tab searchv1control
tab searchv4control
tab searchv2ns
```

```
tab searchv5ns
tab searchv3cl
tab searchv6cl

tab securityv1control
tab securityv4control
tab securityv2ns
tab securityv5ns
tab securityv3cl
tab securityv6cl

tab searchv1control
tab searchv4control
tab searchv2ns
tab searchv5ns
tab searchv3cl
tab searchv6cl

tab musbanv1control
tab musbanv4control
tab musbanv2ns
tab musbanv5ns
tab musbanv3cl
tab musbanv6cl
```

C.4.5. Muslim Policies Coded Together as 1-7 Scale

```
*FBI Merging*

gen FBI17 = .

replace FBI17 =1 if FBIv1==1
replace FBI17 =2 if FBIv1==2
replace FBI17 =3 if FBIv1==3
replace FBI17 =4 if FBIv1==4
replace FBI17 =5 if FBIv1==5
replace FBI17 =6 if FBIv1==6
replace FBI17 =7 if FBIv1==7

replace FBI17 =1 if FBIv2==1
replace FBI17 =2 if FBIv2==2
replace FBI17 =3 if FBIv2==3
replace FBI17 =4 if FBIv2==4
replace FBI17 =5 if FBIv2==5
```

```
replace FBI17 =6 if FBIv2==6
replace FBI17 =7 if FBIv2==7

replace FBI17 =1 if FBIv3==1
replace FBI17 =2 if FBIv3==2
replace FBI17 =3 if FBIv3==3
replace FBI17 =4 if FBIv3==4
replace FBI17 =5 if FBIv3==5
replace FBI17 =6 if FBIv3==6
replace FBI17 =7 if FBIv3==7

replace FBI17 =1 if FBIv4==1
replace FBI17 =2 if FBIv4==2
replace FBI17 =3 if FBIv4==3
replace FBI17 =4 if FBIv4==4
replace FBI17 =5 if FBIv4==5
replace FBI17 =6 if FBIv4==6
replace FBI17 =7 if FBIv4==7

replace FBI17 =1 if FBIv5==1
replace FBI17 =2 if FBIv5==2
replace FBI17 =3 if FBIv5==3
replace FBI17 =4 if FBIv5==4
replace FBI17 =5 if FBIv5==5
replace FBI17 =6 if FBIv5==6
replace FBI17 =7 if FBIv5==7

replace FBI17 =1 if FBIv6==1
replace FBI17 =2 if FBIv6==2
replace FBI17 =3 if FBIv6==3
replace FBI17 =4 if FBIv6==4
replace FBI17 =5 if FBIv6==5
replace FBI17 =6 if FBIv6==6
replace FBI17 =7 if FBIv6==7


 *Muslim Ban Merging*

gen MB17 = .

replace MB17 =1 if musbanv1==1
replace MB17 =2 if musbanv1==2
replace MB17 =3 if musbanv1==3
```

```
replace MB17 =4 if musbanv1==4
replace MB17 =5 if musbanv1==5
replace MB17 =6 if musbanv1==6
replace MB17 =7 if musbanv1==7

replace MB17 =1 if musbanv2==1
replace MB17 =2 if musbanv2==2
replace MB17 =3 if musbanv2==3
replace MB17 =4 if musbanv2==4
replace MB17 =5 if musbanv2==5
replace MB17 =6 if musbanv2==6
replace MB17 =7 if musbanv2==7

replace MB17 =1 if musbanv3==1
replace MB17 =2 if musbanv3==2
replace MB17 =3 if musbanv3==3
replace MB17 =4 if musbanv3==4
replace MB17 =5 if musbanv3==5
replace MB17 =6 if musbanv3==6
replace MB17 =7 if musbanv3==7

replace MB17 =1 if musbanv4==1
replace MB17 =2 if musbanv4==2
replace MB17 =3 if musbanv4==3
replace MB17 =4 if musbanv4==4
replace MB17 =5 if musbanv4==5
replace MB17 =6 if musbanv4==6
replace MB17 =7 if musbanv4==7

replace MB17 =1 if musbanv5==1
replace MB17 =2 if musbanv5==2
replace MB17 =3 if musbanv5==3
replace MB17 =4 if musbanv5==4
replace MB17 =5 if musbanv5==5
replace MB17 =6 if musbanv5==6
replace MB17 =7 if musbanv5==7

replace MB17 =1 if musbanv6==1
replace MB17 =2 if musbanv6==2
replace MB17 =3 if musbanv6==3
replace MB17 =4 if musbanv6==4
replace MB17 =5 if musbanv6==5
replace MB17 =6 if musbanv6==6
```

replace MB17 =7 if musbanv6==7

Detain Merge
gen DT17 = .

replace DT17 =1 if detainv1==1
replace DT17 =2 if detainv1==2
replace DT17 =3 if detainv1==3
replace DT17 =4 if detainv1==4
replace DT17 =5 if detainv1==5
replace DT17 =6 if detainv1==6
replace DT17 =7 if detainv1==7

replace DT17 =1 if detainv2==1
replace DT17 =2 if detainv2==2
replace DT17 =3 if detainv2==3
replace DT17 =4 if detainv2==4
replace DT17 =5 if detainv2==5
replace DT17 =6 if detainv2==6
replace DT17 =7 if detainv2==7

replace DT17 =1 if detainv3==1
replace DT17 =2 if detainv3==2
replace DT17 =3 if detainv3==3
replace DT17 =4 if detainv3==4
replace DT17 =5 if detainv3==5
replace DT17 =6 if detainv3==6
replace DT17 =7 if detainv3==7

replace DT17 =1 if detainv4==1
replace DT17 =2 if detainv4==2
replace DT17 =3 if detainv4==3
replace DT17 =4 if detainv4==4
replace DT17 =5 if detainv4==5
replace DT17 =6 if detainv4==6
replace DT17 =7 if detainv4==7

replace DT17 =1 if detainv5==1
replace DT17 =2 if detainv5==2
replace DT17 =3 if detainv5==3
replace DT17 =4 if detainv5==4
replace DT17 =5 if detainv5==5

```
replace DT17 =6 if detainv5==6
replace DT17 =7 if detainv5==7

replace DT17 =1 if detainv6==1
replace DT17 =2 if detainv6==2
replace DT17 =3 if detainv6==3
replace DT17 =4 if detainv6==4
replace DT17 =5 if detainv6==5
replace DT17 =6 if detainv6==6
replace DT17 =7 if detainv6==7
```

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CURRICULUM VITAE

ANIMA ANWAR
700 Commonwealth Avenue
Boston, MA 02215
anima@bu.edu
(908) 202-5834

BIRTH YEAR   1996

EDUCATION
Boston University, B.A., Political Science   2014-2018
Boston University, B.A., Economics   2014-2018

AWARDS & GRANTS

Weinstein Family Grant

EXPERIENCE
Deeqo Jibril for City Councilor, District 7, Boston, MA
Campaign Intern

Law Office of Omar K. Qadeer, P.C., Edison, NJ
Office Associate

IHS Markit, Ltd., London, United Kingdom
Armed Forces Desk Intern

PROFESSIONAL ASSOCIATION
Boston University Resident Assistant, Boston, MA

Boston University CAS Dean's Host, Boston, MA
College of Arts and Sciences