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## **White College Student's Attitudes toward the Use of Torture**

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### **Abstract**

The use of torture by the United States government has lead to a contentious debate about the public's support for such tactics. Thus far, much of the research has focused on the attitudes of torture among the adult population. Consequently, in this study, utilizing both survey and experimental methods, I explore the attitude toward torture among college students. The findings suggest college students' support: the various methods of torture used in torture, legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism, and legalizing torture as a method of punishment. Specifically, the findings suggest that those who were high on the patriotism scale, males, Republicans, and those who watched FOX news channel were more likely to support: the various methods of torture, legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism, and legalizing torture as a method of punishment.

## **Introduction**

On September 11, 2001, 19 al-Qaeda terrorists hijacked four commercial passenger jet airliners. The hijackers intentionally crashed two of the planes, American Airlines Flight 11 and United Airlines Flight 175, into the Twin Towers of the World Trade Center in New York City, killing everyone on board and thousands of people in the buildings. The buildings collapsed within two hours. The hijackers crashed a third plane, American Airlines Flight 77, into the Pentagon, a government building, in Virginia. The last plane, United Airlines Flight 93, crashed into a field in rural Pennsylvania after passengers and flight crew on the plane attempted to retake control from the hijackers, avoiding collision with another target, speculated to be the United States Capitol or the White House.

The aftermath was both shocking and devastating. When the smoke cleared, the estimated death toll was over 6,000. The United States government quickly launched a counterattack through the War on Terrorism, the political, legal and ideological attack against Islamic terrorism to disrupt the activities of terrorist cells in the US and abroad, and the USA PATRIOT (acronym for Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism) Act, increasing the legality of the searching of telephone, email communications, medical, financial and other records by law enforcement agencies. Since the attacks of 9/11, governments around the world have spent billions of dollars on various counterterrorist policies. For example, since 2002, the newly created U.S. Department of Homeland Security, a Cabinet department of the federal government with the primary responsibility of working within the civilian sphere to protect the United States from terrorist attacks, has benefited from a budget increase of more than 60 percent to \$36.2 billion for fiscal year 2004 (Arce M. & Sandler, 2005).

Counterterrorism policies employed can include direct actions against terrorists including “destroying terrorist training camps, retaliating against a state sponsor, infiltrating terrorist groups, gathering intelligence or freezing terrorist assets” (Arce M. & Sandler 184). Preemptive counterterrorist policies, the ideal method of most governments, attacks terrorist and their assets and are “intended to deter an attack by either making success more difficult or increasing the likely negative consequences to the perpetrator” (Arce M. & Sandler 184). Countries that usually engage in preemption have suffered from the most attacks (Arce M. & Sandler, 2005). One preemptive action the United States has participated in is intelligence gathering, a counterterrorist method mentioned above. Intelligence gathering aims to gain information to forestall future terrorist attacks (Luban, 2005). Several writers maintain that the United States has utilized torture, including sleep deprivation, prolonged standing in stress positions, exposure to extreme temperatures, bright lights, loud music, waterboarding, withholding of pain medications from wounded captives, sexual abuse and beating, as a form of intelligence gathering, justified on these grounds (Luban, 2005; Farer, 2007; Waldron, 2005; Hooks & Mosher, 2005; American Civil Liberties Union, 2004; Human Rights Watch, 2004). Complaints and statements by the United Nations and the International Red Cross , as well as the findings of several well-known 2004 investigations, including the Fay-Jones Report, the Schlesinger Report and the Taguba Report, hold evidence of such occurrences as well (Hooks & Mosher, 2005).

The following are just a few examples of the torture committed by American soldiers. In 2005, according to October 2007 press reports, officials at the U.S. Department of Justice circulated legal opinions concluding that “severe” interrogation methods, “including drowning and exposure to cold temperatures, were lawful” (American Society of International Law 177 ). In February 2008, the director of the Central Intelligence agency testified before the U.S. Senate

that CIA officers and contractors had “simulated drowning called waterboarding,” (The American Journal of International Law 359) on three high-ranking al-Qaeda suspects, Khalid Sheikh Mohammed, Abu Zubaydah, and Abd-al-Rahim al-Nashiri. The action was carried out in 2002 and 2003 because it was believed that further terrorist attacks on U.S. soil were imminent (The American Journal of International Law, 2008). An FBI agent assigned to Guantanamo in 2004 maintained that “the A/C had been turned off, making the temperature in the unventilated room probably well over 100 degrees. The detainee was almost unconscious on the floor, with a pile of hair next to him. He had apparently been literally pulling his own hair out throughout the night” (American Civil Liberties Union, 2004). As reported by the *Washington Post* in 2001, Lt. General Ricardo S. Sanchez approved techniques such as hooding, imposing stress positions and using dogs to terrify detainees. It is reported that during a Pentagon meeting, officials and military commanders discussed Arabs’ vulnerability to sexual humiliation prior to the Iraq invasion. Beginning in 2004, the torture committed by officers in the 372<sup>nd</sup> Military Police Company of the United States Army and others in other U.S. governmental agencies which included rape, sodomy, and homicide of prisoners detained in the Abu Ghraib prison in Iraq was revealed. The Fay-Jones report, an official investigation undertaken after the abuses at Abu Ghraib were uncovered, “identified 44 instances or events of detainee abuse committed by Military Police (MP) and Military Intelligence (MI) soldiers and civilian contractors at Abu Ghraib prison” (Hooks & Mosher 1629). The abuses included intentional violent or sexual abuse and actions (Hooks & Mosher, 2004). Unlike other cases of abuse, this abuse was documented for the world to see in several graphic pictures.

Consequently, the use of torture by the United States government has lead to a contentious debate about the public’s support for such tactics. Thus far, much of the research has

focused on the morality of torture and the attitudes of torture among the adult population (as discussed in the literature review). Therefore, in this study, utilizing both survey and experimental methods, I explore the attitude toward torture among college students. In the next section, I begin by defining torture, and then discuss the current scholarly debate and research on the ethics of torture and the public's attitude toward torture. Next, I discuss the methods before turning to the analysis and discussion.

## **Literature Review**

### *Torture Defined*

Torture is defined by several different writers and conventions in several different manners. The word 'torture' cannot be defined in one distinct manner (Hope, 2004). For this very reason, at least one scholar argues that "while we can agree on a prohibition on torture, we might not really be in agreement on what it is we agree about" (Bekerman 744). Many questions arise when attempting to define torture including whether one should distinguish between physical abuse and mental abuse, what degree of pressure is tolerated, and whether the intention behind tactics makes a profound difference (Bekerman, 2005). Torture, as defined by the Torture Convention (also known as the United Nations Convention against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment), which was signed by 146 countries, is

Any act by which severe pain or suffering, whether physical or mental, is intentionally inflicted on a person for such purposes as obtaining from him or a third person, information or a confession, punishing him for an act he or a third person has committed or is suspected of having committed, or intimidating or coercing him or a third person, or for any reason based on discrimination of any kind, when such pain or suffering is inflicted by or at the instigation of or with the consent or acquiescence of a public official or other person acting in an official capacity. It does not include pain or suffering arising only from, inherent in or incidental to lawful sanctions. – Convention Against Torture, Article 1.1

David Luban, who defines torture similarly in *Liberalism, Torture, and the Ticking Bomb* (2005), states, “the self-conscious aim of torture is to turn its victim into someone who is isolated, overwhelmed, terrorized, and humiliated.” (Luban 1430). Torture may operate as both the means and the end (Luban, 2005; Hope, 2004). One scholar states it is important to note that torture does not occur as a form of punishment after the accused has been convicted (Hope, 2004). As defined by the Geneva Conventions, four treaties and three additional protocols that set the standards in international law for humanitarian treatment of the victims of war signed by 194 countries, torture is defined as, “outrages upon personal dignity, in particular humiliating and degrading treatment.” The Inter-American Convention to Prevent and Punish Torture, ratified by 17 nations of the Americas in 1987, defines torture more expansively than the Torture Convention. Torture here is defined as:

Any act intentionally performed whereby physical or mental pain or suffering is inflicted on a person for purposes of criminal investigation, as a means of intimidation, as personal punishment, as a preventive measure, as a penalty, or for any other purpose. Torture shall also be understood to be the use of methods upon a person intended to obliterate the personality of the victim or to diminish his physical or mental capacities, even if they do not cause physical pain or mental anguish.

The most famous phenomenology of torture is provided by Elaine Scarry’s “The Body in Pain.” In this, Scarry states that, “torture consists of a primary physical act, the infliction of pain and a primary verbal act, the interrogation” (Luban 1431). While the previous definitions of torture are widely accepted, the reconstruction of some of these definitions by lawyers of the Bush administration has been more than controversial. The Office of Legal Counsel (OLC) in the Justice Department circulated a memo which came to be known as the Bybee Memo, named after OLC head Jay S. Bybee who signed it, which stated that pain only rises to the level of torture if the pain is as intense as the pain one would experience with “death, organ failure, or



serious impairment of body functions” (Luban 1454), and psychological pain to the level of torture if and only if the instigator of that pain intended to cause lasting psychological damage (Luban, 2005).

### *Present Research: Public Opinion & Torture*

The academic discussion on torture ranges from a debate on whether torture is a morally acceptable and effective form of intelligence gathering and punishment to a debate on which branches of government should take responsibility for the torture that has already occurred. Critics believe that torture is absolutely immoral (Davis, 2005; Luban, 2005; Sussman, 2005), as it strips its victims of “human dignity” (Luban, 1430) and point to the faulty logic which would permit torture. To these scholars, this same logic is incapable of foreseeing the inevitable escalation which would result from the introduction of any form of torture (Luban, 2005). One scholar equates the use of torture by the United States with Latin American state terror in the 1970s and 1980s (Farer, 2007). In essence, liberal values are compromised through the use of torture. Supporters disagree. Proponents have argued that torture can operate simultaneously with the fundamentals of American liberal culture in the case of a looming terrorist attack (Dershowitz, 2003). For this reason and others, proponents have attempted to limit the definition of torture, despite several existing international treaties against the use of torture that define it more broadly (Waldron, 2005; Luban, 2005).

Several scholars believe that, even though several high ranking officials avoided prosecution for torture documented in graphic photos, there is much more to the story (Luban, 2005; Farer, 2007; Waldron, 2005; Hooks & Mosher, 2005) Many writers maintain that the social context and political background—an evolving torture culture, chaos and war, even the direct instruction and the subtle legal documents circulated by the Bush administration—has

nurtured the torture one sees and does not see (Farer, 2007; Luban, 2005; Waldron, 2005; Hooks & Mosher, 2005). Some suggest implementing a system of judicial torture warrants which would permit torture only in specific, urgent situations, in place of the arbitrary executive oversight to which they believe the use of torture is currently subject (Farer, 2007; Waldron, 2005, American Academy of Arts & Sciences, 2004). Obviously, there is little academic consensus concerning all facets of the discussion on torture.

These discussions are not limited to those directly involved in the government's decisions or even legal scholars (Summerfield, 2003; Waldron 2005). Yet, surprisingly, few studies have examined public opinion regarding torture as an interrogation tactic for terrorist suspects. This section will begin by highlighting monumental studies that shed light on the psychology of those who permit torture and end with the discussion of a recent analysis of American public opinion.

Hooks and Mosher cite the 1972 Zimbardo experiment in which normal college students, such as the ones we will survey, were divided into guards and prisoners. In the experiment prisoners were "depersonalized and dehumanized" by the guards. The analysis of this experiment leads the writers to conclude that social context leads to adopting torture tactics and not the failures of "bad apples," as the guards who degraded the prisoners were completely *normal* college students. The social context currently consists of chaos and the stress of war coupled with prisoner-guard dynamics. Torture is not an external manifestation of an individual psyche, but that of an entire group. Like Zimbardo's research, psychologist Stanley Milgram's research finds that "abuse of prisoners does not emanate from the lowest-ranking guards and interrogators" (Hooks & Mosher 1633). In this experiment, under the guidance of the experimenter, subjects were told to shock another participant every time an incorrect answer was given. With each incorrect answer, the shock level was increased. Unbeknownst to the subjects,

no actual shocks were applied, even though subjects could hear the participants react to the shocks. 23 of 40 subjects forced participants to continue the experiment even after the participants demanded to be released from the experiment, and 12 of 40 subjects shocked participants to the highest shock level. Milgram's experiment demonstrates that the wishes or needs of the state can "supersede the concerns of conscience" (Wantchekon & Healy 598). These psychological findings are still applied to contemporary public opinion in the United States.

According to an article in the *Washington Post*, just one week after the attacks of 9/11, a quiz in a university ethics class gave students four choices for the proper U.S. response to terrorist attacks. The answer choices were: A.) Execute the perpetrators on sight; B.) Bring them back for trial in the United States; C.) Subject the perpetrators to an international tribunal; or D) Torture and interrogate those involved. Most students chose "execute them on sight and torture them" (Argetsinger, 2001). Weeks after this article, on November 5, 2001, the *New York Times* "reported that torture had become a topic of conversation 'in bars, on commuter trains, and at dinner tables' (Rutenberg, 2001). In this same article, the writer cited several civilian examples in the media of those who were considering the issue of torture (Rutenberg, 2001). Another article reported that 32% of Americans would accept government-sanctioned torture of terrorist suspects (McLaughlin, 2001). Alan Dershowitz reported in 2002 that, "during numerous public appearances since September 11, 2001, I have asked audience for a show of hands as to how many would support the use of nonlethal torture in a ticking-bomb case. Virtually every hand is raised" (Luban 1426).

A study that examined "recent trends in opinions regarding the use of torture and detention without trial" (Flavin & Nickerson), found that acceptance of torture is generally split along party lines, ideological values, gender, and educational attainment with Republicans,

conservatives, males and those with low levels of education are most supportive of torture. An *ABC News/Washington Post* poll revealed that only 16% of Americans found sexual humiliation acceptable as an interrogation tactic, only 17% were in favor of electric shocks, and only 19% thought threatening suspects' family members was acceptable. However, greater numbers approved of using temperature extremes (40%), threatening to shoot suspects (41%), loud noises (54%) and hooding (57%). Sleep deprivation, an interrogation tactic "often deemed torturous," received 66% support as a legitimate tactic. These beliefs seem to operate regardless of whether the victims of torture are actual suspected terrorists or merely those fighting against the United States on the war front (Morris & Langer, 2004). In essence, one hardly finds consensus in public opinion (Flavin & Nickerson). One may argue that, since there are various definitions of torture and disputes rage over whether torture has occurred, it is impossible to gauge where public opinion lies. However, when a survey was conducted asking whether the United States government has engaged in torture, 83% of respondents thought that the United States uses torture "at least sometimes" (Hersh, 2005). Even with increased knowledge of torture in media headlines, public opinion on torture remains steady. The number of those who oppose torture remains at an average 54%, these results compiled from eleven surveys from 2001 through 2006.

What are the demographics of those who permit the use of torture? Republicans are 29 percentage points more likely than Democrats (53% vs. 34%) to "find torture justifiable" (Flavin & Nickerson 8), conservatives are 36 percentage points more likely than liberals (59% vs. 23%), males are 11 percentage points more likely than women (47% vs. 36%), and those with at most a high school degree are 12 percentage points more likely than those with a college degree (49% vs. 37%) (Flavin & Nickerson).

One study conducted during the Abu Ghraib scandal found, similar to the previous study, that Republicans were more likely than Democrats to support the use of torture (55% to 38%) (Morris & Langer, 2004). 63% of all respondents said torture was never acceptable, “even when other methods fail and authorities believe the suspect has information that could prevent terrorist attacks” (Morris & Langer, 2004). Concerning party alignment, a majority in all groups believed the United States government practices torture as “a matter of policy” –73% Democrats, 67% Independents, 58% Republicans (Morris & Langer, 2004). In a study based on these findings, it was found that financial support of American troops was directly affected by whether the subject perceived the actions of soldiers at Abu Ghraib as morally acceptable (Eder, Aquino, Turner & Reed, 2006). This has important implications for United States policy, as public opinion, in a democracy such as the United States, dictates policy.

Factors other than partisanship, ideology, gender, and education influence a subject’s acceptance of torture. Belief in the government’s objectives strongly influences support for torture. 50% of those who believe the Iraq War was a worthy cause say torture is acceptable at times, while 75% of those who disagree with intervention in Iraq say that torture is never acceptable. Race seems to influence opinions as well, with 70% of nonwhites saying torture is never acceptable in comparison with 60% of whites. Finally, age is a factor, with about twice as many young adults (44%) accepting the use of torture as those over the age of 65 (23%) (Morris & Langer, 2004).

### **Purpose**

The use of torture by the United States government has lead to a contentious debate about the public’s support for such tactics. Thus far, much of the research has focused on the attitudes

of torture among the adult population. Consequently, in this study, I explore the attitude of torture among college students. Specifically, I ask the following questions:

1. *What is the level of support among college students for the various methods of torture?*
2. *Does patriotism, gender, party, and TV news channel influence support for various methods of torture?*
3. *Does patriotism, gender, party, and TV news channel influence support for legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism?*
4. *Does patriotism, gender, party, and TV news channel influence support for legalizing torture as a method of punishment for terrorist activities?*
5. *Does ethnicity and citizenship of terror suspects have a significant influence on respondent's support for torture as a form of intelligence gathering?*
6. *Does ethnicity and citizenship of terror suspects have a significant influence on respondent's support for torture as a form of punishment?*

For the first question, I hypothesize that the level of support will vary depending on the methods of torture. For questions 2 through 4, I hypothesize that patriotism, gender, party and the television news channel one watches will influence their support for: various methods of torture, legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism, legalizing torture as a method of punishment for terrorist activities, and torture as a method of punishment for terrorist activities.

For the fifth question, I hypothesize that there will be a statistically significant difference in the mean torture intelligence gathering support score among those subjects who received different types of ethnicity information. Specifically, respondents will be more likely to support torture as a form of intelligence gathering for those who are African and Arab. In addition, I hypothesize that there will be a statistically significant difference in the mean torture for intelligence gathering support score among those subjects who received different types of citizenship information—in that, respondents will be more likely to support torture as a form of intelligence gathering for non-American citizens.

For the sixth question, I hypothesize that there will be a statistically significant difference in the mean torture for punishment support score among those subjects who received different

types of ethnicity information. Specifically, respondents will be more likely to support torture as a form of punishment for those who are African and Arab. In addition, I hypothesize that there will be a statistically significant difference in the mean torture punishment support score among those subjects who received different types of citizenship information. Particularly, respondents will be more likely to support torture as a form of punishment for non-American citizens. I also predict there will be interaction effects between ethnicity and citizenship.

### **Design and Methodology**

#### *Participants*

The participants in study included white college students from a large southern university. Students were recruited by sending email to faculty and asking them if they would give out a survey to their students. If a professor agreed, they were given the surveys to administer during their course. They were asked to inform the students that the survey was not for their research but for a colleague. This was to ensure that students' responses were not biased by the presence of the researcher. Participants were selected on a convenience sample.

#### *Materials*

The primary medium of data-collection was the survey. See in Appendix 1. There were 24 questions, and the survey took about 10 to 15 minutes to complete. The survey included questions regarding respondent's background information and political measures. In addition, questions regarding attitude toward torture, knowledge of news, sources of news, and a measure of patriotism. Finally, embedded in the surveys were the experimental questions. Each respondent, randomly, received one of 12 experimental manipulations.

#### *Research Question 1: Support for Various Methods of Torture*

Research question 1 analyzes the level of support among college students for the various methods of torture. I ask students their level of support for 10 different forms of torture methods. Respondents could check either “Not at all supportive,” “Somewhat supportive,” or “Very much supportive” for each of the following methods: interviews, bright lights, loud music, sleep deprivation, prolonged standing in stress positions, withholding pain medications, exposure to extreme temperatures, beating, waterboarding, and sexual humiliation. See Appendix 1 for exact question wording. I ran a frequency analysis to see respondent’s level of support for these specific methods of torture.

*Research Question 2: The Role of Patriotism, Gender, Party, and TV news channel on Support for Various Methods of Torture*

While it is important to see where the level of support for various methods of torture are for the respondents (as asked in question 1), it is equally important to see what factors may influence these feelings. Consequently, in question 2, I explore whether patriotism, gender, party, and TV news channel influence support for various methods of torture.

*Dependent Variables*

There were 10 dependent variables in the study, in which I ran 10 different regression analyses. These dependent variables include: interviews, bright lights, loud music, sleep deprivation, prolonged standing in stress positions, withholding pain medications, exposure to extreme temperatures, beating, waterboarding, and sexual humiliation. After presenting the respondent’s with various types of torture, they were asked the following question: What is your level of support for each of the following methods as a form of US intelligence gathering? The list included the most prevalent methods used as a form of torture. After respondents read each



of the different methods of torture, they were asked to check either “Not at all supportive,” “Somewhat supportive,” or “Very much supportive” for each of the methods.

### *Independent Variables*

Several independent variables were included in this study. The first was a measure of patriotism. I borrow the reduced Patriotism Scale used by ANES (1987). The Patriotism scale was designed to measure a “deeply felt affective attachment to the nation which constitutes the symbolic side of citizenship” (Conover & Feldman, 1987). This concept is different from “nationalism.” The measure has been shown to be reliable ( $\alpha = .92$ ). There are 4 questions included in this scale. We also include basic respondent control variables such as gender, party identification, and sources of news. See Appendix 1.

### *Research Question 3: The Role of Patriotism, Gender, Party, and TV on Support for Legalizing Torture as a Method of Counterterrorism?*

In question 3, I wanted to see whether patriotism, gender, party and TV channel viewed influences support for legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism. The dependent variable in this particular question was: Should the United States legalize torture as a method of counterterrorism? Respondents were asked to check either “No,” “or “Yes”. The independent variables are: patriotism, gender, party, and TV channel viewed. For the analysis, I ran a regression.

### *Research Question 4: The Role of Patriotism, Gender, Party, and TV on Support for Legalizing Torture as a Method of Punishment?*

In question 4, I wanted to see whether patriotism, gender, party and TV channel viewed influences support for legalizing torture as a method of punishment for terrorist activities. The dependent variable in this particular question was: Should the United States legalize torture as a

method of punishment: Respondents were asked to check either “No,” “or “Yes”. The independent variables are: patriotism, gender, party, and TV channel viewed. For the analysis, I ran a regression.

*Research Questions 5 and 6: Ethnicity and Citizenship on Support for Torture as a Form of Intelligence Gathering and Punishment*

The final questions explore whether ethnicity and citizenship of a terror suspect have a significant impact on respondents’ support for torture as a form of: 1) intelligence gathering; and 2) punishment. Experiment was utilized in answering these questions. Specifically, this experiment is a two-way, between-subjects factorial design. A between-subjects design is one in which different subjects participate in each condition of the experiment. For example, in this experiment, each participant is placed in one of 12 groups. A factorial design is one in which there are two or more independent variables. For example, this experiment has two factors—ethnicity and citizenship. Ethnicity consists of four levels (none mentioned, African, Arab, European); citizenship consists of three levels (no mention, non-American citizen, and American citizen. See Figure 1. 191 participants were included, with 15 participants in each of twelve levels. All twelve groups were presented with the same vignette below—except they received stimulus consistent with the levels in each of the two factors (ethnicity and citizenship).

*An individual was suspected and consequently detained for their affiliation in a terrorist organization plotting against the United States.*

*Dependent Variable*

The two dependent variables in the study were support for torture as a form of intelligence gathering and support for torture as a form of punishment. These variables were measured using hypothetical terrorist scenario—describing the individual’s ethnicity, citizenship status, and both factors —depending on the scenario the participant received. Participants

received one of 12 possible scenarios. In each scenario, the ethnicity and citizenship status of the terrorist suspect differed. See Figure 1 for the details of the factors varied in each of the 12 scenarios. After respondents read the scenario, they were asked two questions: First, what is your level of support for torture as a form of intelligence gathering in this case? Second, what is your level of support for torture as a form of punishment in this case? Respondents could select from “not at all”, “somewhat”, or “very much”.

For question 5 and 6, the data were analyzed using ANOVA tables produced by the General Linear Model (GLM). GLM tests the Between-Subjects Effects. The model was used to address the question: Are the means of the study’s populations equal to one another?<sup>1</sup> The type of ANOVA depends on the number of factors in a given experiment. For example, the experiment in this study has two factors—ethnicity and citizenship, so a two-way ANOVA is used to analyze the following questions: (1) Is there a statistically significant difference in the mean torture for intelligence gathering support score among those subjects who received different types of ethnic information? (2) Is there a statistically significant difference in the mean torture for intelligence gathering support score among those subjects who received different types of citizenship information? (3) Is there a statistically significant interaction between the two factors—ethnicity and citizenship? Post hoc comparisons between pairs of means were computed using *Scheffe’s* technique. This is done after doing a general test such as an ANOVA and when the findings are significant. In order to know which groups are significantly different from one another, post hoc tests are carried out. Significance level is at 5%. The same process will be used for analyzing the third question. Instead of analyzing

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<sup>1</sup> Huck, Schuyler W., and William H. Cormier, *Reading Statistical Research*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (New York: HarperCollins, 1996).

support for torture for intelligence gathering (as done in question 5), the analysis will focus on the influence of ethnicity and citizenship on torture for punishment (for question 6).

## **Findings**

### *Descriptive*

Overall, 280 surveys were collected. Of these, 89 surveys were discarded for several reasons. First, surveys were discarded due to incomplete information. Second, a small number of surveys that were completed by blacks, Asians, and those in the “other” category were discarded due to the fact that the study focused solely on whites’ attitude toward torture. Consequently, a total of 191 participants (101 males and 90 females) were included in the analysis. With respect to political party, there were 91 Republicans, 58 Independents, and 42 Democrats. 16 respondents watched MSNBC, 56 CNN, 76 FOX, 50 other channels, and 2 did not respond.

### *Question 1 Findings: Support for Various Methods of Torture*

Research question 1 analyzes (using frequencies) the level of support among college students for the various methods of torture? See Table 1. Based on the responses, most white college students support somewhat and very much support interviews as a form of torture. However, their level of support declines drastically as the methods of torture become physical and inhumane. For example, 170 respondents very much support interviews as a form of torture; however, 17 respondents very much support sexual humiliation as a form of torture.

When I combine the categories “somewhat support” and “very much support” into a “support” category, the responses are even more pronounced. See Figure 2. The figure reveals

that interviews as a form of torture receives broad support, followed by: bright lights, loud music, sleep deprivation, prolonged standing, withholding medication, extreme temperatures, beating, waterboarding, and sexual humiliation. Again, methods of torture requiring physical contact do not receive a great deal of support.

*Question 2 Findings: The Role of Patriotism, Gender, Party, and TV news channel on Support for Various Methods of Torture*

The findings from the above reveal the level of support for the various methods of torture; however, it does not answer what factors may influence these feelings. Consequently, this regression analysis, explores whether patriotism, gender, party, and TV news channel influence support for various methods of torture. The results in Table 2 show important findings. While none of the independent variables were significant on support for interviews as a method of torture, they were significant on support for other methods of torture. For support for bright lights, gender, party, and TV news channel watched were significant on support for bright lights. Gender, ( $\beta = -.379$ ,  $t(188) = -3.81$ ,  $p < .000$ ); party ( $\beta = -.161$ ,  $t(188) = -2.48$ ,  $p < .014$ ); and TV news channel ( $\beta = -.110$ ,  $t(188) = -2.05$ ,  $p < .042$ ). All three variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for bright lights ( $R^2 = .12$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 6.12$ ,  $p < .000$ ). In other words, males, Republicans, and those who watched FOX news channel were more likely to support bright lights as a form of torture. See Figures 3, 4, and 5.

The only variable significant on support for loud music was gender ( $\beta = -.050$ ,  $t(188) = -4.20$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Gender also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for loud music ( $R^2 = .12$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 6.26$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Specifically, males were more likely to support loud music as a form of torture. See Figure 6. Support for sleep deprivation was influenced by patriotism ( $\beta = -.157$ ,  $t(188) = -1.97$ ,  $p < .050$ ); gender ( $\beta = -.514$ ,  $t(188) = -4.59$ ,  $p < .000$ ); and

party ( $\beta = -.185$ ,  $t(188) = -2.53$ ,  $p < .012$ ). All three variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for sleep deprivation ( $R^2 = .21$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 12.38$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Those who are highly patriotic, males, and Republicans were more likely to support sleep deprivation as a form of torture. See Figures 7, 8, and 9.

Support for prolonged standing in stress positions was influenced by patriotism ( $\beta = -.202$ ,  $t(188) = -2.51$ ,  $p < .013$ ); gender ( $\beta = -.598$ ,  $t(188) = -5.28$ ,  $p < .000$ ); and party ( $\beta = -.184$ ,  $t(188) = -2.49$ ,  $p < .014$ ). These variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for prolonged standing in stress positions ( $R^2 = .26$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 15.85$ ,  $p < .000$ ). In particular, those who are highly patriotic, males, and Republicans were more likely to support prolonged standing in stress positions as a form of torture. See Figures 10, 11, and 12.

Support for withholding medication was influenced by patriotism ( $\beta = -.198$ ,  $t(188) = -2.45$ ,  $p < .015$ ) and gender ( $\beta = -.615$ ,  $t(188) = -5.42$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Both of these variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for withholding medications ( $R^2 = .23$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 14.02$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Those who are highly patriotic and males were more likely to support withholding medications as a form of torture. See Figures 13 and 14. Exposure to extreme temperatures was influenced by patriotism ( $\beta = -.144$ ,  $t(188) = -1.79$ ,  $p < .000$ ); gender ( $\beta = -.588$ ,  $t(188) = -5.23$ ,  $p < .000$ ); and party ( $\beta = -.155$ ,  $t(188) = -2.11$ ,  $p < .036$ ). These variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for exposure to extreme temperatures ( $R^2 = .22$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 13.03$ ,  $p < .000$ ). Specifically, those who are highly patriotic, males, and Republicans were more likely to support as a form of torture. See Figures 15, 16, and 17.

Support for beating as an method of torture was influenced by patriotism ( $\beta = -.220$ ,  $t(188) = -3.06$ ,  $p < .003$ ); gender ( $\beta = -.667$ ,  $t(188) = -6.59$ ,  $p < .000$ ); and party ( $\beta = -.128$ ,

$t(188) = -1.93, p < .055$ ). All three variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for beating ( $R^2 = .32, F(4, 188) = 21.33, p < .000$ ). In other words, those who are highly patriotic, males, and Republicans were more likely to support beating as a form of torture. See Figures 18, 19, and 20. Support for waterboarding was influenced by patriotism ( $\beta = -.221, t(188) = -2.96, p < .003$ ) and gender ( $\beta = -.603, t(188) = -5.74, p < .000$ ). Both of these variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for waterboarding ( $R^2 = .27, F(4, 188) = 16.78, p < .000$ ). Those who are highly patriotic and males were more likely to support waterboarding as a form of torture. See Figures 21 and 22.

Finally, sexual humiliation was influenced by gender ( $\beta = -.351, t(188) = -3.94, p < .000$ ). Gender also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for sexual humiliation ( $R^2 = .13, F(4, 188) = 6.85, p < .000$ ). Males were more likely to support sexual humiliation as a form of torture. See Figure 23. In the end, we ran 10 separate regressions to see if, patriotism, gender, party, and TV news channel influenced the support for the various methods of torture. Overall, the findings suggest that patriotism (those who were high on the patriotism scale), gender (males), and party (Republicans) influenced support for various methods of torture.

*Question 3 Findings: The Role of Patriotism, Gender, Party, and TV on Support for Legalizing Torture as a Method of Counterterrorism?*

In question 3, I wanted to see whether patriotism, gender, party, and TV channel viewed influences support for legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism. Descriptive analysis indicates that 117 respondents did not support legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism; 74 support it. In the regression analysis, the findings suggest that patriotism ( $\beta = -.156, t(188) = -3.49, p < .001$ ), gender ( $\beta = -.318, t(188) = -5.06, p < .000$ ), party ( $\beta = -.088, t(188) = -2.15, p <$

.033), and TV news channel ( $\beta = .096$ ,  $t(188) = 2.83$ ,  $p < .005$ ) influenced support for legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism. All three variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for beating ( $R^2 = .30$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 19.78$ ,  $p < .000$ ). In other words, patriotism (those who were high on the patriotism scale), gender (males), party (Republicans), and TV news channel (those who watched FOX) influenced support for torture as a method of counterterrorism. See Figures 24, 25, 26, and 27.

*Question 4 Findings: The Role of Patriotism, Gender, Party, and TV on Support for Legalizing Torture as a Method of Punishment?*

In addition to exploring the factors influencing support for legalizing torture as a method of counterterrorism, I wanted to see whether patriotism, gender, party and TV channel viewed influences support for legalizing torture as a method of punishment for terrorist activities. Descriptive analysis indicates that 136 respondents did not support legalizing torture as a method of punishment; 54 would support it. In the regression analysis, the findings suggest that gender ( $\beta = -.229$ ,  $t(188) = -1.99$ ,  $p < .047$ ) and party ( $\beta = -.224$ ,  $t(188) = -2.99$ ,  $p < .003$ ) influenced support for legalizing torture as a method of punishment. Both variables also explained a significant proportion of variance in support for legalizing torture as a method of punishment ( $R^2 = .08$ ,  $F(4, 188) = 4.10$ ,  $p < .003$ ). Specifically, gender (males) and party (Republicans) influenced support for torture as a method of punishment. See Figures 28 and 29.

*Questions 5 and 6 Findings: Ethnicity and Citizenship on Support for Torture as a Form of Intelligence Gathering and Punishment*

The final questions explore whether ethnicity and citizenship of a terror suspect have a significant impact on respondents' support for torture as a form of: 1) intelligence gathering; and 2) punishment. ANOVA results reveal that ethnicity and citizenship were not significant on support for using torture as a form of intelligence gathering and punishment. One reason I



believe there was not any significant findings was due to the lack of enough participants in each of the 12 conditions.

## **Discussion**

The purpose of this study was to explore the attitude toward the use of torture among white college students, specifically what the level of support for specific interrogation tactics is as well as whether the ethnicity and citizenship of terror suspects has a significant influence on a respondent's support for torture as a form of both intelligence gathering and punishment. Although there were no significant findings concerning race and ethnicity of terror suspects—most likely the result of a small sample size—the study yielded other significant findings concerning student support for interrogation tactics including the effects of patriotism, gender, party and TV news channel on student support for various interrogation tactics and for legalizing torture as both a method of counterterrorism and punishment for terrorist activities.

There are some inherent limitations to the generalizability of this study's findings. First, recruitment of respondents relied on the willingness of professors to allow their students to participate. Consequently, at times it was difficult to recruit students for research and due to time constraints, this resulted in a small sample size. Second, data were collected from a single institution, and generalizability may be limited to institutions with similar characteristics such as institutional size and geographic region. Finally, some students experienced confusion with the terminology in the experiment. For example, a few students failed to comprehend what certain interrogation tactics entailed and even what types of denominations fell under Protestant. This may have influenced whether students marked support for a tactic and whether a difference could be found in support for torture between Protestants and Catholics, as one may expect.

The limitations notwithstanding, this study offers both intriguing queries and findings that are worthy of replicating in future studies on student opinions on torture. The public's stance on torture and the factors that influence opinion are important to discuss because these opinions have larger real world implications. Throughout the United States' history, the federal government has acted in one way or another based on public opinion. Often, students have been the driving force behind change. Merely glancing at numbers from the 2008 presidential election, college educated students actively participate in politics, the realm for the creation of public policy. In addition, college students form the corps of America's future leaders and policymakers. With respect to the level of support among college students for the various interrogation techniques, support decreased based on the increased physicality of interrogation tactics. A very small number of individuals supported sexual humiliation, the most severe method of torture, while the vast majority of participants supported interviews. Moreover, beginning with the fifth interrogation method, majority support for interrogation tactics switched to majority disapproval for interrogation tactics. This shows that there is hesitation when it comes to more physical methods of torture. There remains a respect for human dignity. Externally then, based solely on this statistic, real world implications are promising. If elected to office or if voting for legislation, most students would find or prefer alternative methods for gathering intelligence from terrorists.

Ten separate regressions were run to see if patriotism, gender, party, and TV news channel influenced the support for various interrogation methods. Overall, the findings suggest that those with high patriotism levels, males and Republicans are more likely to support more severe interrogation techniques. In the regression analysis for predicting whether patriotism, gender, party and TV news channel influence support for legalizing torture as a method of

counterterrorism, it was found that those with high patriotism levels, males, Republicans, and those who watched FOX network news were more supportive of torture. Concerning the influence of patriotism, gender, party and TV news channel on support for legalizing torture as a method of punishment for terrorist activities, regression analysis found that all influence support for legalizing torture as a punishment for terror suspects. Such findings were expected as discussed in the Literature Review. While it was shown that many students do not support extreme forms of torture, voting for a candidate of a particular party or providing particular networks with an audience can perpetuate acceptance for the use of torture. Such domestic occurrences have international implications.

Abroad, the United States' policy on torture may impact its international relations, as many countries are signatories to various anti-torture agreements such as the Geneva Conventions. In the new global environment of increased hostility and interdependence, the United States' foreign policy, whatever it may be, may suffer if it instituted an internationally unfavorable policy on torture. In a democracy such as the United States, federal policy is often dictated by public opinion. Research questions 3 and 4, which deal with the issue of policy, concerned the effect of patriotism, gender, party and TV news channel on the legalization of torture as a method of counterterrorism and as a method of punishment, respectively. Results show that patriotism, gender, party and TV news channel influenced support for the legalization of torture a method of counterterrorism, while gender and party influenced support for the legalization of torture as a method of punishment. Support for legalization in both cases is important to discuss because once legalized, torture would become a legitimate part of United States policy. One author (Luban, 2005) warned about the dangers of legalization, saying that legalization leads to escalation. Once torture is legalized, Americans would be tasked with

training torturers. According to the same author, this likely leads to, for example, the creation of a torture culture. In essence, the legalization of torture for any reason would fundamentally transform the liberal values upon which America prides itself. To illustrate, imagine the intent to “obliterate the personality of the victim or to diminish his physical or mental capacities” (the description of torture taken from the Torture Convention) as the policy of a country which promotes freedom and democracy. Furthermore, escalation of a policy such as torture is likely to lead to escalation of other countries’ policies concerning torture and the escalation of hostilities by terrorist organizations such as Al Qaeda against countries with such policies. Simply, the legalization of torture translates to the creation of a more dangerous and anarchic world, a world plagued by terrorist attacks. In addition to these troubling possibilities, one must note that torture does not guarantee intelligence. When one is tortured—isolated, overwhelmed, terrorized and humiliated”—his or her goal often becomes the end of pain, not giving reliable information. The victim of torture will say anything to survive the day. Therefore, by utilizing torture as a form of counterterrorism, the United States risks gathering faulty intelligence and misinformation—no intelligence at all.

While the data collected shows that the opinion of students toward the use of torture reflects the opinions of the adult population, it is promising that there is hesitation when it comes to more physical methods of torture. There remains a respect for human dignity. Yet, although the data yielded nothing significant concerning the race and ethnicity of a torture suspect as factors that influence support for interrogation tactics, it is important to note, as stated in the Literature Review, specific ethnic values have been exploited as a means of gaining information. For instance, it was reported that officials and military commanders discussed Arabs’ vulnerability to sexual humiliation, a torture method that has been used. This unsettling fact

shows that race is still being used as a basis of dehumanization. Dehumanization of a group permits the gross mistreatment of a group, mistreatment one would not accept as justified for a member of their own group. Further research is needed on the influence of ethnicity and citizenship of terror suspects on student support for torture. It is very possible that student opinion toward the use of torture changes depending upon a suspect's race and ethnicity, especially in the South, a region plagued by violent racial tension for much of its history. For a country that has fought so hard to provide all individuals with equal rights, the use of torture based on ethnicity and citizenship erases all that progress. Still, until more research is done, it is impossible to determine whether the nature of the situation, suspected terrorist activity, has more influence on than the ethnicity and citizenship of a suspected terrorist in determining one's support for torture. In order to do this adequately, respondents should not be limited to one racial group.

Lastly and interestingly, belief in the ability of federal institutions, such as the judicial branch, executive branch, legislative branch and military courts, to administer impartial justice did not influence support for torture. Furthermore, there were no significant findings concerning the influence of ideology (this often did not correspond to party affiliation), social class, religion, how many days an individual read a newspaper, how many hours an individual watched television in a day, and how closely an individual followed local, national and international news on the level of support for the use of torture in any situation.

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**Table 1:** Support for Various Methods of Torture

	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much
Interviews	2	19	170
Bright Lights	22	72	97
Loud Music	44	75	72
Sleep Deprivation	54	60	77
Prolonged Standing	70	52	69
Withholding Medication	91	48	52
Extreme Temperatures	95	48	48
Beating	114	40	37
Waterboarding	115	39	37
Sexual Humiliation	154	20	17



**Table 2:** Regression Results of Independent Variables on Support for Various Methods of Torture

Variable	Interviews		Bright Lights		Loud Music		Sleep Deprivation		Prolonged Standing	
	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Patriotism	-.057 (.039)	-.119	.014 (.071)	.015	-.050* (.078)	-.049	.157* (.079)	-.143	-.202* (.080)	-.176
Gender	.063 (.054)	.088	-.379** (.100)	-.276	-.463** (.110)	-.303	-.514** (.112)	-.314	-.598** (.113)	-.350
Party	.041 (.035)	.092	-.161** (.065)	-.186	-.101 (.072)	-.105	-.185* (.073)	-.179	-.184* (.074)	-.172
News_TV_Channel	-.031 (.029)	-.080	-.110* (.054)	-.148	-.082 (.060)	-.100	.060 (.060)	.068	.064 (.061)	.070
$R^2$ =	.03		.12		.12		.21		.26	

NOTE: b = unstandardized regression coefficient with standard error in parenthesis; Beta = standardized regression coefficient.

\*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01

**Table 3:** Regression Results of Independent Variables on Support for Various Methods of Torture

Variable	Withholding Medication		Extreme Temperatures		Beating		Waterboarding		Sexual Humiliation	
	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta	b	Beta
Patriotism	-.198* (.081)	-.175	-.144* (.080)	-.129	-.220** (.072)	-.206	-.221** (.075)	-.207	-.091 (.063)	-.110
Gender	-.615** (.114)	-.365	-.588** (.113)	-.355	-.667** (.101)	-.419	-.603** (.105)	-.378	-.351** (.089)	-.283
Party	-.115 (.074)	-.109	-.155* (.074)	-.149	-.128* (.066)	-.127	-.081 (.069)	-.080	-.083 (.058)	-.106
News_TV_Channel	.051 (.061)	.056	.056 (.061)	.062	.068 (.055)	.079	.095 (.057)	.111	-.009 (.048)	-.014
$R^2$ =	.23		.22		.32		.28		.13	

NOTE: b = unstandardized regression coefficient with standard error in parenthesis; Beta = standardized regression coefficient.

\*p < 0.05; \*\*p < 0.01

Figure 1: Experiment: Ethnicity X Citizenship

		ETHNICITY			
		None	African	Arab	European
CITIZENSHIP	None	1	2	3	4
	Non-American	5	6	7	8
	American	9	10	11	12

**Figure 2: Support for Various Methods of Torture**

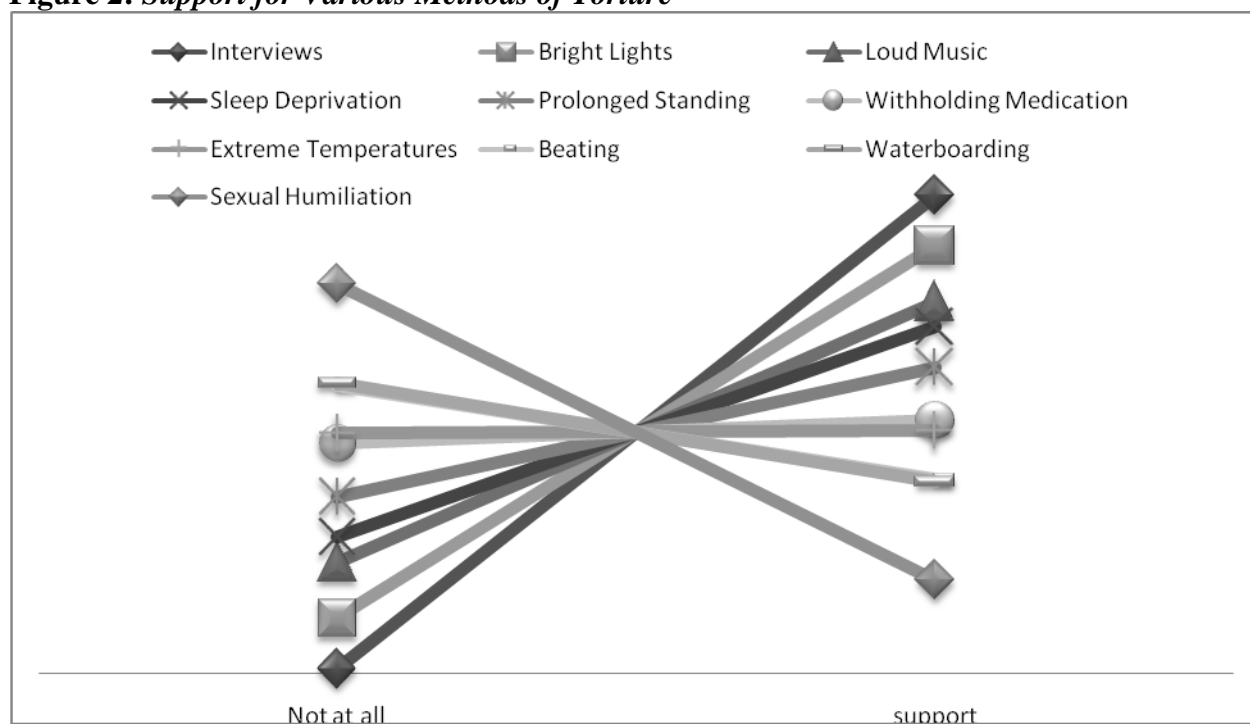


Figure 3: Gender &amp; Support for Bright Lights

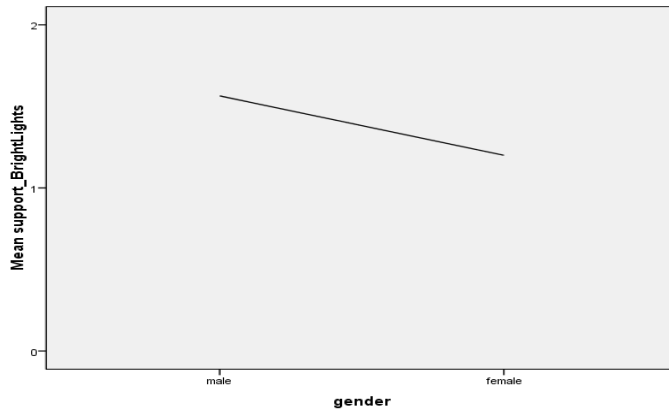


Figure 4: Party and Support for Bright Lights

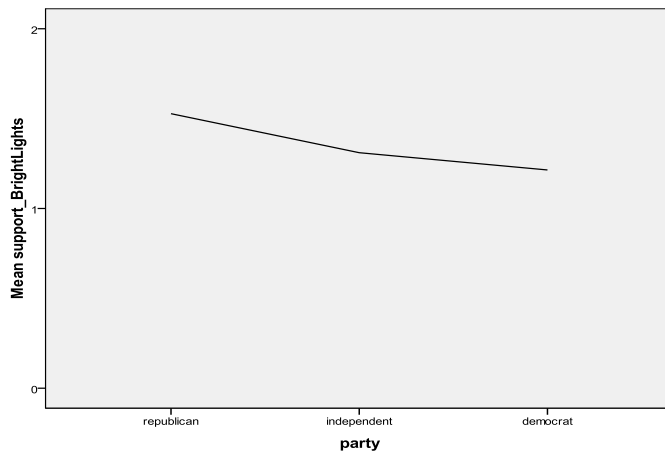


Figure 5: TV New Channel and Support for Bright Lights

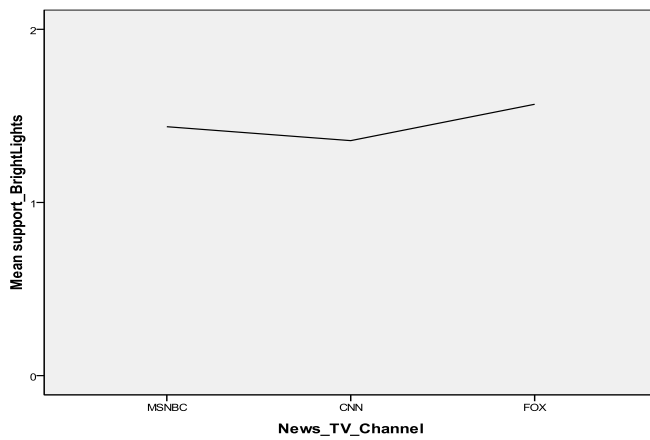


Figure 6: Gender & Support for Loud Music

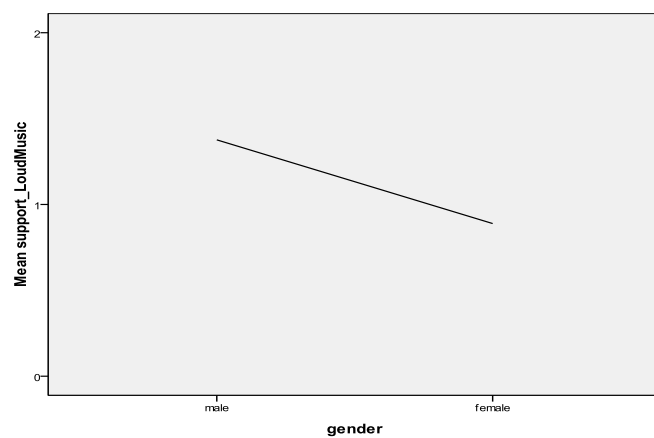


Figure 7: Patriotism &amp; Support for Sleep Deprivation

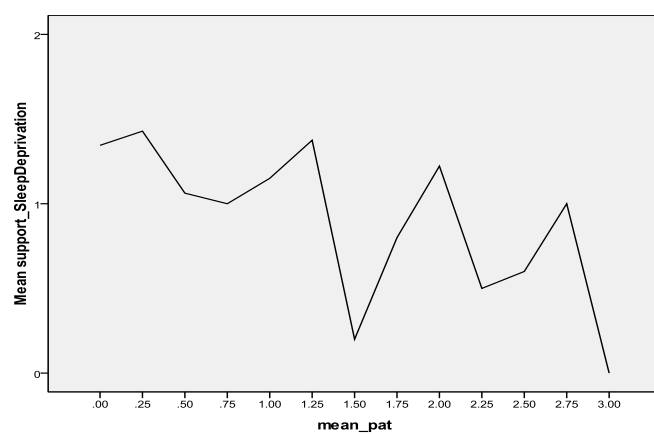


Figure 8: Gender &amp; Support for Sleep Deprivation

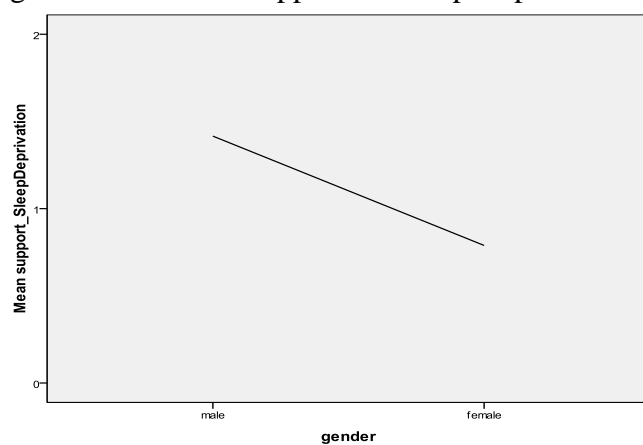


Figure 9: Party &amp; Support for Sleep Deprivation

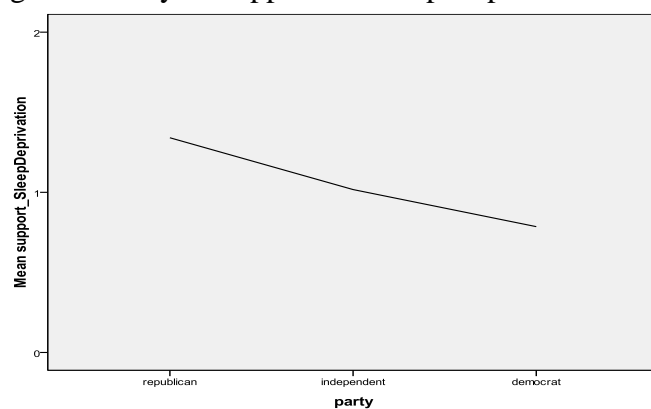


Figure 10: Patriotism &amp; Support for Prolonged Standing in Stress Positions

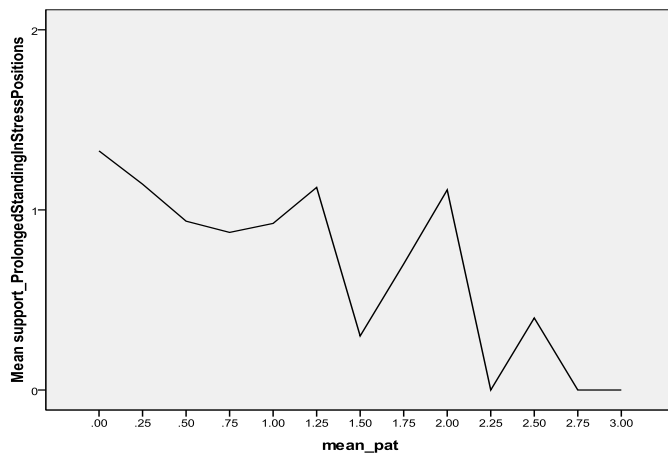


Figure 11: Gender &amp; Support for Prolonged Standing in Stress Positions

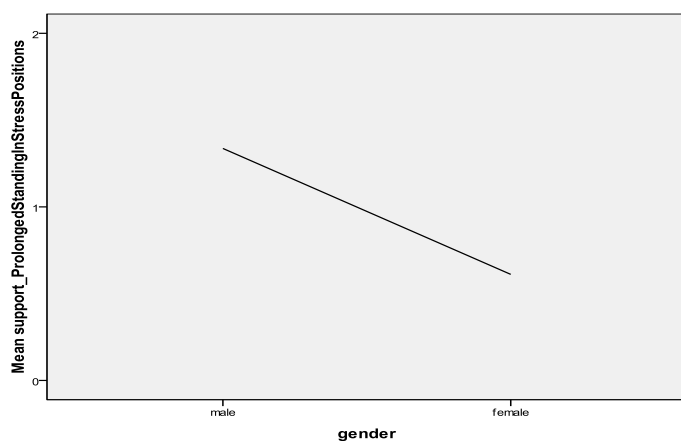


Figure 12: Party &amp; Support for Prolonged Standing in Stress Positions

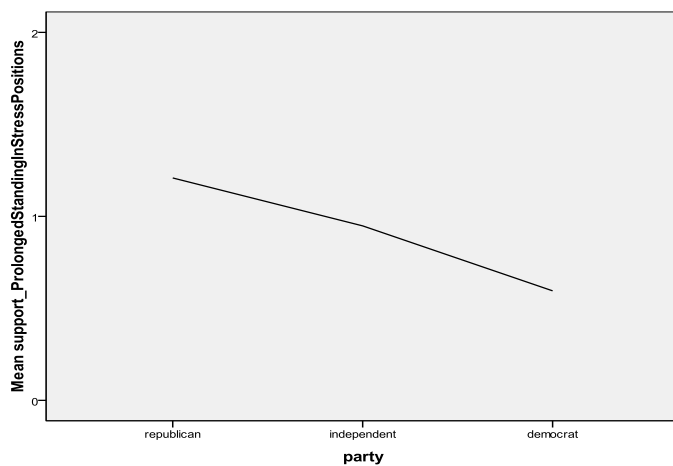




Figure 13: Patriotism &amp; Support for Withholding Medication

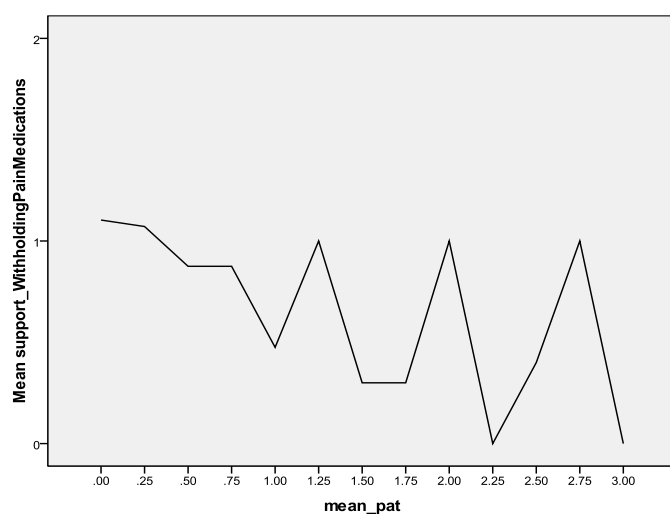


Figure 14: Gender &amp; Support for Withholding Medication

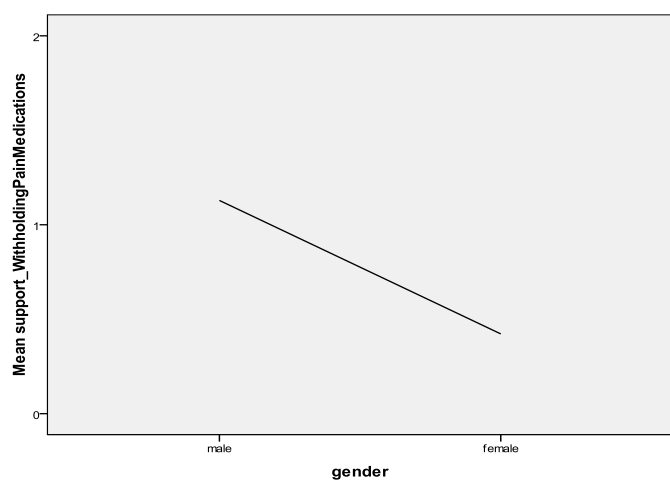


Figure 15: Patriotism &amp; Support for Exposure to Extreme Temperatures

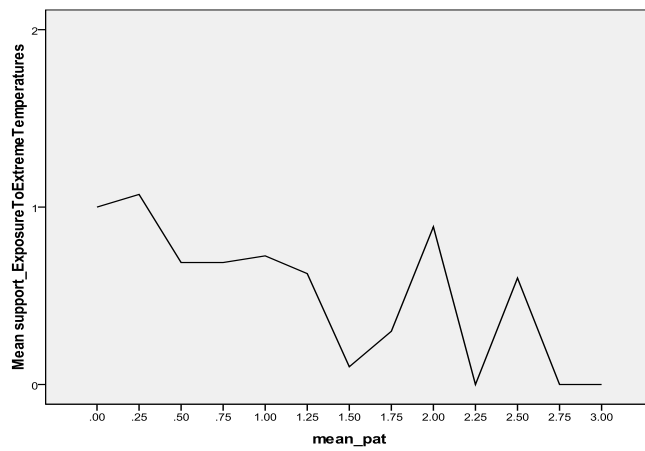


Figure 16: Gender &amp; Support for Exposure to Extreme Temperatures

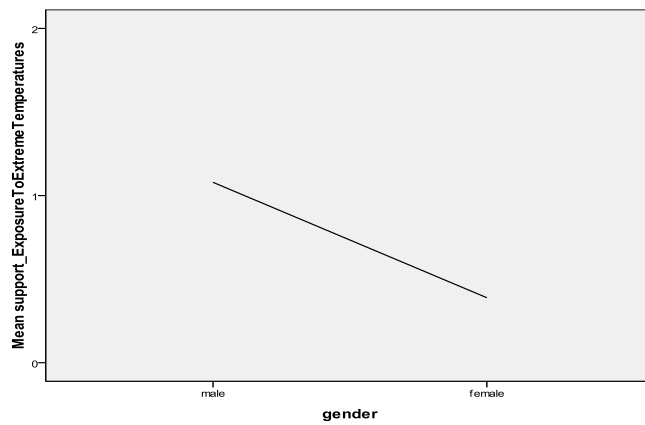


Figure 17: Party &amp; Support for Exposure to Extreme Temperatures

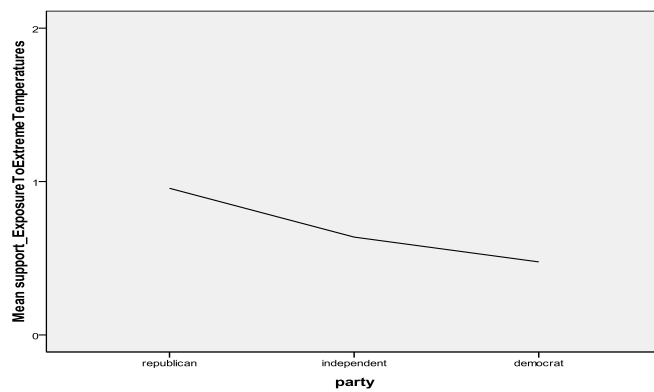


Figure 18: Patriotism &amp; Support for Beating

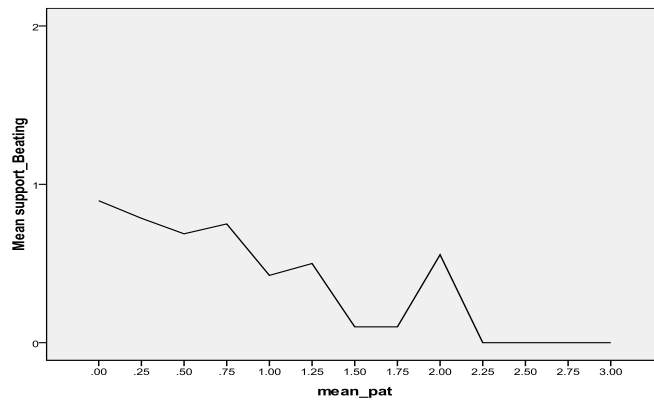


Figure 19: Gender &amp; Support for Beating

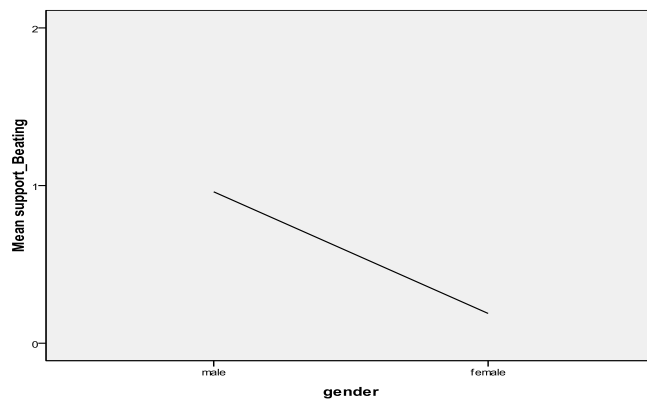


Figure 20: Gender &amp; Support for Beating

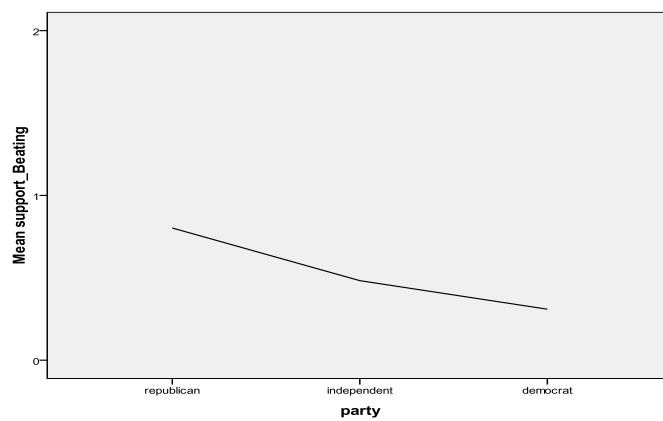


Figure 21: Patriotism &amp; Support for Waterboarding

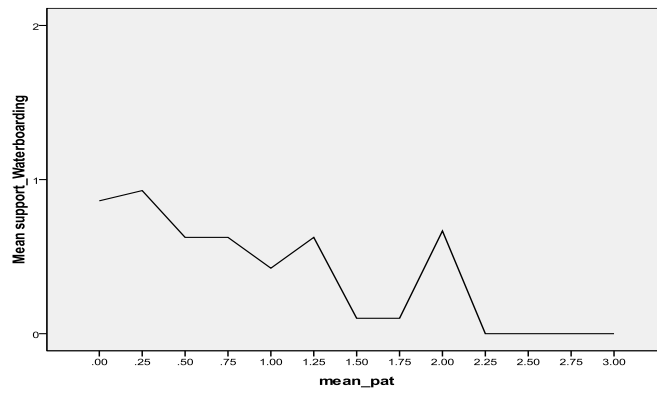


Figure 22: Gender &amp; Support for Waterboarding

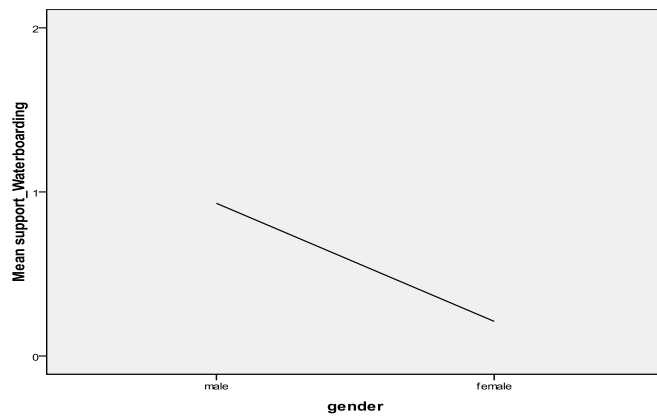


Figure 23: Gender & Support for Sexual Humiliation

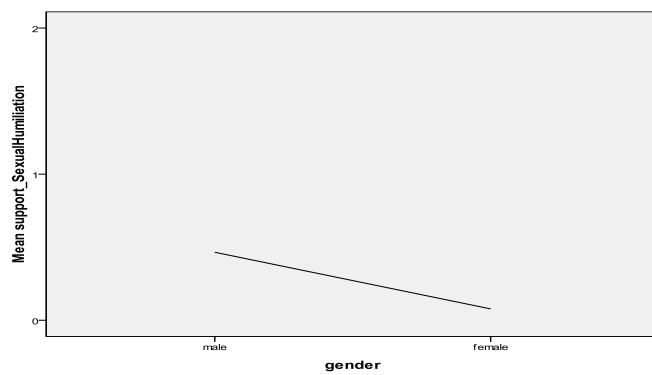


Figure 24: Patriotism &amp; Support Legalizing Torture for Counterterrorism

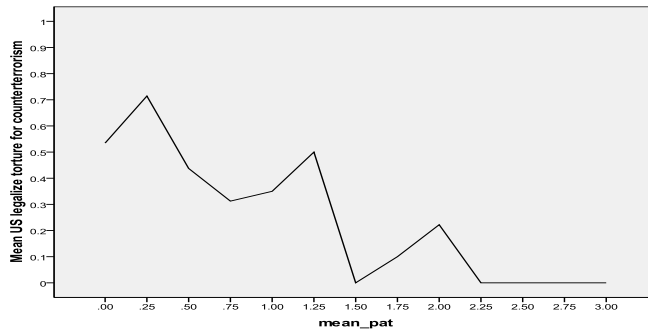


Figure 25: Gender &amp; Support Legalizing Torture for Counterterrorism

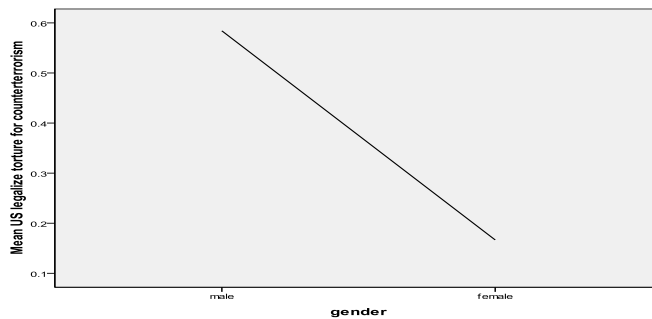


Figure 26: Party &amp; Support Legalizing Torture for Counterterrorism

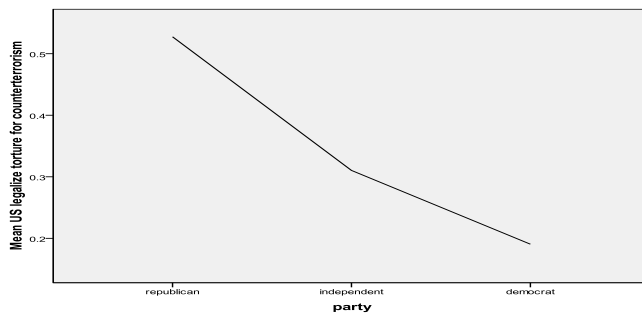


Figure 27: New Channel Watched &amp; Support Legalizing Torture for Counterterrorism

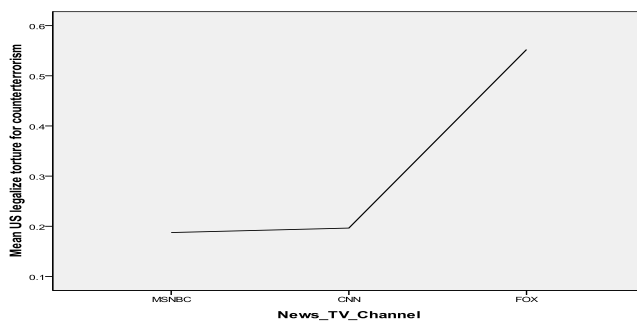


Figure 28: Gender &amp; Support Legalizing Torture for Punishment

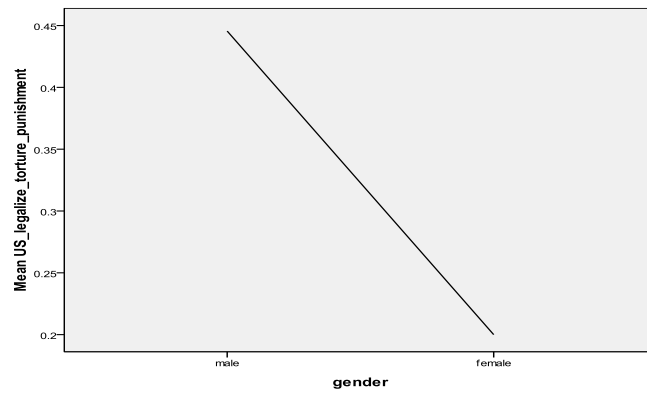
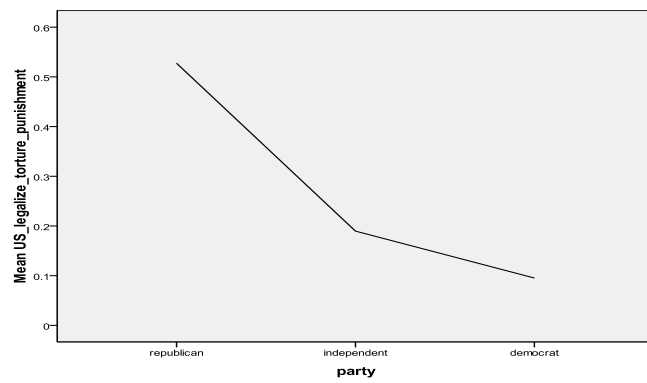


Figure 29: Party &amp; Support Legalizing Torture for Punishment



## Appendix 1: Survey

Thank you for agreeing to participate in this important research. Your identity and responses will be kept strictly confidential. Most importantly, no names or other personal information should be written on this survey. Please answer the questions in the following pages.

**1. Gender:**

- ☐ Male  
☐ Female

**2. Race:**

- ☐ White  
☐ African American  
☐ Hispanic  
☐ Asian/Pacific Islander  
☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**3. Party:**

- ☐ Republican  
☐ Independent  
☐ Democratic

**4. Ideology:**

- ☐ Conservative  
☐ Moderate  
☐ Liberal

**5. College Classification:**

- ☐ Freshman  
☐ Sophomore  
☐ Junior  
☐ Senior  
☐ Graduate Student

**6. What is your major?** \_\_\_\_\_

**7. Should the United States legalize torture as a method of counterterrorism?**

- ☐ No  
☐ Yes

**8. Should the United States legalize torture as a method of punishment for terrorist activities?**

- ☐ No  
☐ Yes

**9. Scenario: An individual was suspected and consequently detained for their affiliation in a terrorist organization plotting against the United States.**

**a. What is your level of support for torture as a form of intelligence gathering in this case?**

- ☐ Not at all  
☐ Somewhat  
☐ Very much

**b. What is your level of support for torture as a form of punishment in this case?**

- ☐ Not at all  
☐ Somewhat  
☐ Very much



**10. How proud are you to be an American?**

- ☐ Extremely Proud  
☐ Very Proud  
☐ Somewhat Proud  
☐ Not Very Proud

**11. How good does it make you feel when you see the American flag flying?**

- ☐ Extremely Good  
☐ Very Good  
☐ Somewhat Good  
☐ Not Very Good

**12. How strong is your love for your country?**

- ☐ Extremely Strong  
☐ Very Strong  
☐ Somewhat Strong  
☐ Not Very Strong

**13. How proud do you feel when you hear the national anthem?**

- ☐ Extremely Proud  
☐ Very Proud  
☐ Somewhat Proud  
☐ Not Very Proud

**14. What is your social class growing up?**

- ☐ Poverty  
☐ Working Class  
☐ Middle Class  
☐ Wealthy

**15. What is your level of support for each of the following methods as a form of US intelligence gathering? Check either “Not at all supportive,” “Somewhat supportive,” or “Very much supportive” for each of the methods listed below.**

	Not at all	Somewhat	Very much
<b>Interviews</b>			
<b>Bright lights</b>			
<b>Loud music</b>			
<b>Sleep deprivation</b>			
<b>Prolonged standing in stress positions</b>			
<b>Exposure to extreme temperatures</b>			
<b>Withholding pain medications</b>			
<b>Beating</b>			
<b>Waterboarding</b>			
<b>Sexual humiliation</b>			

**16. What is your religious preference?**

- ☐ Protestant  
☐ Catholic  
☐ Jewish  
☐ Muslim  
☐ Other  
☐ Non

**17. How often do you attend religious services?**

- ☐ Everyday

- ☐ At least once a week  
☐ At least once or twice a month  
☐ A few times a year  
☐ Once a year  
☐ None

**18. Do you believe the following institutions are capable of administering impartial justice for terror suspects? Check either "No" or "Yes" for each of the institutions listed below.**

	No	Yes
<b>Judicial</b>		
<b>Executive</b>		
<b>Legislative</b>		
<b>Military Court</b>		

**19. If you receive your news from TV, which channel do you watch?**

- ☐ MSNBC  
☐ CNN  
☐ FOX  
☐ Other: \_\_\_\_\_

**20. How many days a week, if any, do you read a print/online newspaper?**

- ☐ I don't read  
☐ 1 day a week  
☐ 2 days a week  
☐ 3 days a week  
☐ 4 days a week  
☐ 5 days a week  
☐ 6 days a week  
☐ 7 days a week

**21. In a typical day, how many hours do you watch the news on TV?**

- ☐ I don't watch  
☐ Less than 1 hour  
☐ 1 hour  
☐ 2 hours  
☐ 3 hours  
☐ 4 hours  
☐ More than 4 hours

**22. How closely do you follow local news?**

- ☐ Not at all closely  
☐ Not too closely  
☐ Fairly closely  
☐ Very closely

**23. How closely do you follow national news?**

- ☐ Not at all closely  
☐ Not too closely  
☐ Fairly closely  
☐ Very closely

**24. How closely do you follow international news?**

- ☐ Not at all closely  
☐ Not too closely  
☐ Fairly closely  
☐ Very closely