

5-2019

Students' willingness to extend civil liberties to disliked groups

NinaSimone Edwards

University of Tennessee at Chattanooga, ksk886@mocs.utc.edu

Follow this and additional works at: <https://scholar.utc.edu/honors-theses>

Part of the [Political Science Commons](#)

Recommended Citation

Edwards, NinaSimone, "Students' willingness to extend civil liberties to disliked groups" (2019). *Honors Theses*.

This Theses is brought to you for free and open access by the Student Research, Creative Works, and Publications at UTC Scholar. It has been accepted for inclusion in Honors Theses by an authorized administrator of UTC Scholar. For more information, please contact scholar@utc.edu.

Students' Willingness to Extend Civil Liberties to Disliked Groups

Simone Edwards

Departmental Honors Thesis

The University of Tennessee at Chattanooga

Political Science and Public Service Department

Examination Date: April 8, 2019

Dr. Amanda Wintersieck

UC Foundation Assistant Professor, Political Science

Thesis Director

Dr. Jessica Auchter

UC Foundation Associate Professor, Political Science

Department Examiner

Dr. Michelle Deardorff

Department Head & Adolph S. Ochs Professor of Government, Political Science

Department Examiner

Table of Contents

Abstract.....	1
Introduction.....	2
Literature Review.....	4
Methodology.....	15
Data Analysis and Findings.....	18
Discussion and Future Implications.....	25
Table 1.....	37
Table 2.....	38
Table 3.....	39
Appendix A (Tolerance of Least-Liked and Second Least-Liked Groups)	40
Appendix B (Survey Questions)	41

Abstract

There have been a variety of studies that sought to measure political tolerance and public attitudes. These studies have varied in that some focused on specific groups (such as Communists or atheists) that tolerance was measured against, and others allowed respondents to choose from a list of political groups. Sullivan et. al (1979) focused on the public, with respondents given the choice of choosing their least-liked groups for the measurement of tolerance. This study uses questions utilized in the Sullivan et. al study, as well as national GSS/NORC surveys, to measure political tolerance and public attitudes among college students. There was little change found in the amount of tolerance shown from respondents in the Sullivan et. al study and the respondents in this study; however, students were more likely to show intolerance towards the groups that they chose as their least-liked group.

College and university campuses allow students the opportunity to interact with diverse communities, and thus, students have the probability of being more tolerant than other populations previously measured. Despite diversity apparent on college campuses, however, students in this study displayed intolerance towards their least-liked group, and groups they found offensive.

Introduction

In February 2018, the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga (hereafter known as UTC) experienced another incident of racial intolerance on the campus. This situation was one in which Black History Month posters were defaced with stickers by Vanguard America that boasted messages of “white power” and “Hitler was right.” Students were outraged at the fact that this unprovoked incident happened on campus, a place where they had previously felt very safe. They were also upset with the way that UTC’s (and the UT system) administration handled the issue: the only response given was one that broadly denounced hate and that denounced the way that the stickers were posted (they were not done with permission in the way that the original Black History Month posters were). This situation, as well as the situation that happened a few years ago, in March 2016, in which an SGA senator-hopeful used chalk to spread a hateful political message, sparked conversations of free speech, political tolerance, and, more specifically, free speech on college campuses among students and faculty and staff at the school.

Political tolerance has been measured in a variety of studies over the years; although, the studies all revolve around, or are replicated from, the study conducted in 1955 by Samuel Stouffer. Stouffer’s study has been improved upon over the decades leading up to a study conducted by John Sullivan, James Piereson, and George Marcus (1979) being one of the latest attempting to update Stouffer’s methods.

Sullivan et. al believed that to truly measure tolerance, defined as the willingness to put up with something that one rejects, one cannot ask respondents about generally unpopular groups. They believed that it would be best to allow respondents to identify their own groups—as targets of intolerance may be subject to variance—and control for content by allowing

respondents to select groups. The study found Stouffer's methods to be time-bound and inadequate. They also found that intolerance has not decreased (over the last 25 years) and that there are more targets of intolerance. The Sullivan et. al study was conducted in 1979, and I'm exploring the conclusions from the study and whether they would stand today. Has political tolerance increased from 1979 to now, specifically among college students?

I'll be including some of the targets of intolerance that Sullivan et. al used: will intolerance towards those groups be the same? This study measures political tolerance and public attitudes of college students. This study is also a proxy study for free speech: are students more or less willing to value free speech for a certain group of people? Will this willingness change depend on whether or not it's their least-liked group versus a generally politically popular group?

On UTC's campus, students seemed more worried about the hateful messages and how they impacted the students that the messages were being hateful towards, instead of a general tolerance for all messages. While administrators urged students that all speech was free, and that everyone had the right to speak (being that it follows UTC rules and regulations), students were more than unhappy with that response and urged administrators to take action against those who posted hateful messages. Thus, on this campus, this study is particularly important as it will explore the question of whether or not there is a large population of students who are politically tolerant, or who would prefer hate speech codes that prohibit hate speech. There have been studies that have found that students are typically reluctant to accept all types of speech (regardless of whether or not they agree with the speech), and this study examines UTC students' willingness (or unwillingness) to accept speech.

There has not been a prior study conducted on students regarding political tolerance, and most of the target groups included in this study are different than previous studies as they are

based on recent trends in political popularity. This study is working to answer the following question: How willing are UTC students to provide freedom of speech, among other civil liberties, to groups they dislike?

Literature Review

Political tolerance, free speech, and hate speech, are all concepts related to this study. While students' willingness to extend civil liberties towards others, or their political tolerance, is primarily measured, free speech is a specific civil liberty focused on in the study. Hate speech will be discussed to aid in further exploration of the concepts.

Political Tolerance

Political tolerance involves taking key democratic principles, such as support for civil liberties and political rights, and applying that support to disliked groups, according to Sandra Marquart-Pyatt. "Since the seminal work on political tolerance in the United States by Samuel Stouffer (1955) describing how the American public viewed the civil liberties of communists during the McCarthy era, research has investigated different ways of measuring tolerance, broadened in geographic scope to national and cross-national work, and has considered a number of theoretical frameworks" (Marquart-Pyatt 491).

Political tolerance is not synonymous with civil liberties or social and ethnic tolerance, and there are different ways that have been utilized to measure political tolerance of the population. One measurement strategy is a group-specific or fixed group approach that asks questions about specific groups, such as "would you extend this specific civil liberty to this specific group?" Stouffer's study, utilizing the first method, measures public attitudes towards communists, atheists, and socialists. Stouffer predicts that tolerance increases as levels of education increased and the average age of population decreased. James Davis (1975) affirms the

prediction regarding education, using the same method. The increase in tolerance from 1954 to 1971 was partly due to higher levels of education, and partly to an increase in levels of tolerance among all cohort and education groups. Similarly, an increase in tolerance between 1954 and 1975 was also noted by Clyde Nunn, Harry Crockett, and J. Allen Williams (1978). Lawrence Bobo and Frederick Licari (1988) also uses the same approach and found strong positive effects of education and cognitive sophistication on a target group tolerance.

A second method measures tolerance through content-controlled questions. This method urges respondents to select their least-liked group (or write it in) and then asks whether they would extend specific civil liberties to the group they chose. Sullivan et. al (1979) and James Gibson (2005) utilize both the first and second method in their studies. Sullivan et. al's study suggests that the relationship between education and tolerance is mostly based on the groups that were selected as points of reference; however, they did find that there was an increase in tolerance from 1954 to 1979. Gibson (2005) questions whether "pluralistic intolerance" has political consequences: essentially, whether group sympathies of individual people are associated with freedom and political tolerance. Gibson focuses on the fact that as intolerance is diffused, along the "ideological continuum," the level of political freedom today is reduced. This is also discussed as it relates to territorial threat, in a study that utilizes the second method by Marc Hutchison and Douglas Gibling (2007). Their study led to the belief that territorial threats serve as a factor that conditions the political attitudes of individuals in which they prioritize national unity over freedom of expression. Individual-level predictors of political tolerance include democratic ideals, free speech priority, democratic activism and education, with age and conformity decreasing tolerant responses. They find a strong, negative relationship between disputes over territory and political tolerance.

Scholars such as Herbert McClosky and Alida Brill (1983), Jeff Mondak and Mitchell Sanders (2003), and Chelsea Schafer and Greg Shaw (2009) analyze national survey data to make conclusions about political tolerance. McClosky and Brill (1983) find that there is greater tolerance among those who are community leaders and activists. Mondak and Sanders (2003), using their measurement of tolerance that focuses on citizens' willingness to extend full citizenship to others, conclude that a vast majority of citizens would be unwilling to do so. They examine two additional questions: what proportion of citizens are tolerant based on the definition they deemed acceptable? And, of those who are intolerant, how does their intolerance vary in breadth (the number of groups to which they would deny rights) and depth (the number of rights they would deny)? Unfortunately, General Social Survey (GSS) data is not useful for determining the breadth or depth of tolerance and would not be able to determine whether levels of intolerance change based on target groups. Mondak and Sanders find a marginal increase in tolerance from the 1970s to the 1990s, and Schafer and Shaw (2009) confirm the encouraging trend of tolerance, i.e. an increase of acceptance towards gay and lesbian people, communists, militarists, and those who are antireligion. Religious tolerance and attitudes towards racial minorities have been stable, but tolerance towards immigrants and foreign workers has declined over the last decade.

Authoritarianism is also researched in conjunction with political tolerance. According to Stanley Feldman (2017), there are individual differences in how intolerant people behave under specific conditions. Psychological security is a focus of Feldman's study, and can have a direct effect on tolerance. He suggests restructuring the psychological construct in terms of a modern understanding of authoritarianism, as there is rich literature on the topic, as well as a growing body of research with a provided conceptualization.

John Duckitt (1989) defines core authoritarian dimension with one extreme being the belief that personal needs and values should be completely sacrificed for the group, and the other extreme is the perception that group cohesion should be completely sacrificed for the autonomy of individual members. There is tension between group cohesion and individual autonomy reflected in a person's value preferences. Those who want to maximize personal autonomy are concerned about any constraints on behavior. Feldman distributes people across the authoritarian dimension by determining the weight individuals place on personal autonomy against social conformity.

Paul Kohn's (1972) research demonstrated that child-rearing values are a good, unobtrusive measure of a person's value preferences on the authoritarian dimension. A psychological study conducted by Shalom Schwartz (2012) utilizes Kohn's method, measuring social conformity (which prioritizes obedience, self-discipline, politeness, and honoring parents and elders) and self-direction (having to do with creativity, freedom, choosing own goals, being curious, and independent). Using a measure that focuses on both social conformity and self-direction, Feldman (2017) finds that a person's willingness to limit political freedom depends on their response to threats to their values. People who are politically on both the left and the right, can become intolerant when threatened, and can manifest authoritarian tendencies. Particularly for those with high authoritarian tendencies, intolerance is activated by threats to the social order, such as nonconformity, disobedience, and diversity. Those with low authoritarian tendencies are sensitive to threats to their personal autonomy, which includes the impact of crime, violence and terrorism.

Authoritarianism is often known as a right-wing phenomenon; however, a study conducted by Lucian Gideon Conway (2017) using a correlation analysis, shows that there is

equal authoritarianism demonstrated by both conservatives and liberals. In Conway's study, left-wing authoritarianism shows significant correlation to liberalism in his sample conducted of U.S. college students and his nationwide sample of U.S. citizens. The study measures authoritarianism using prejudice, dogmatism and attitude strength scales, and finds that the relationships between left-wing and right-wing authoritarianism and the concepts of dogmatism, prejudice, and attitude strength (i.e. how strong a respondent's attitudes are towards statements about Christianity or global warming) are very similar. Liberalism is as predictive of authoritarian tendencies as conservatism and was found to be slightly more so in his sample of college students than in the sample of U.S. citizens. The study also indicates that there is slightly more left-wing authoritarianism on the political left, than right-wing authoritarianism on the political right.

Free Speech on College Campuses

The First Amendment created an "equality of status in the field of ideas" which extends to each citizen the promise that they are equally free to influence the development of public opinion. Public discourse is defined as the free flow of ideas in public spaces, newspapers, concert halls, etc. In spaces that are outside of public spheres, public discourse is not as welcome or desirable. Public universities are public spaces, and thus, will always wrestle with the discussion of whether or not to allow speech. The purpose of a university is to educate and create knowledge. Universities also teach students how to discriminate between better and worse ideas and to determine what we know on the basis of the best possible ideas. If a university cannot evaluate the merit of ideas, it cannot perform its mission. Former Attorney General Sessions stated, at the 2018 Justice Department's Forum on Free Speech in Higher Education, that the state doesn't have power to ban speech based on content. However, universities must engage in content discrimination sometimes. Both students and professors are subjected to

content discrimination: in math class, the content discussed must be limited to math. Universities can't function without making some sort of judgment on content; thus, there is academic freedom.

The concept of academic freedom encompasses freedom of research and freedom of teaching. It is defined as the freedom to engage in professionally competent teaching and research. The First Amendment forbids the state from evaluating the competence of opinions through protecting the right of each person to participate in self-governance. However, when students are being taught at a university, they are under an arena of education and not political self-governance.

Academic freedom offers the university the option of deferring to faculty judgment, particularly regarding complex situations such as outside speakers being invited to the university. Universities have the opportunity to empower students to pursue research interests that may be different from faculty through student-invited speakers. Universities may also want to create a diverse campus climate. Nonetheless, if a university believes that its educational mission requires it to prohibit outside speakers, the university is free to do so, and in doing so, can regulate when and where speech takes place in order to prevent the disruption of school activities.

Private universities are not held to the same constitutional standards as public universities. Public universities are well-funded by state governments and are overseen by governmentally appointed boards and trustees. The 12-member Board of Trustees, appointed by state of Tennessee officials, governs the statewide University of Tennessee system, which includes UTC. Thus, the university is subject to the policies of the Board of Trustees. Private universities, on the other hand, don't receive funds from state legislatures. As it pertains to specific free speech policies, a public university would be subject to the policies that a Board of

Trustees creates: a private university would not and could govern themselves in that aspect. An example would be a private, religious institution, Southern Adventist University (SAU), prohibiting homosexual conduct. The university's policies also prohibit the encouragement or advocacy of any form of sexual behavior contrary to the Seventh-day Adventist beliefs or the faith mission of the university. These policies do not allow for there to be freedom of expression regarding issues contrary to the faith mission of the university or the religious beliefs themselves, which, in turn, could potentially prohibit freedom of expression as a whole. SAU is not held accountable by the principles of the First Amendment, unlike UTC.

At UTC, the Board of Trustees has a policy affirming principles of free speech. UTC is subject to follow the rules and regulations described by the Board of Trustees. This policy affirms the fundamental constitutional right to free speech that the First Amendment applies and that students have: the University must allow students to “speak, write, listen, challenge, learn, and discuss any issue.” A free exchange of ideas is cultivated at the University. In this marketplace of ideas, suppression cannot occur simply because there is a population that believes the ideas to be “offensive, unwise, immoral, indecent, disagreeable, conservative, liberal, traditional, radical, or wrongheaded” (Board of Trustees Policy 2017). The policy affirms the right to judge the ideas and to openly contest the ideas, instead of suppressing them. The proper role of the University is not, in any way, to shield anyone in the community from free speech (even if it's disagreeable, liberal, conservative, etc.). Many colleges and universities, including UTC, also have a strategic plan that details the university's plan for bettering the campus and experience. UTC's strategic plan includes Vision 4: “Embrace diversity and inclusion as a path to excellence and societal change.” Diversity, and the increase thereof, is often a vision statement or mission statement of universities, as the fostering of diversity is meant to foster growth and

increase multicultural competence. Diversity on college campuses, according to Aaron Thompson (2011), affect students and their experiences on a college campus. Diversity expands worldliness, as students will cultivate new experiences with students and cultures that they may not be accustomed to. Diversity not only enhances the social circles that students find themselves in, but also increases the number of students prepared to work in the diverse working-age population in America. According to Thompson, diversity promotes creative thinking, and can also increase a student's knowledge base by learning from people who are different from themselves. Thus, diversity on campus affects the interactions that students have with each other. This study focuses on whether or not college students will be tolerant of others' speech. When it comes to diversity, college campuses introduce diversity to students and impacts the students' development. This exposure to diversity could also impact a student's willingness to be tolerant of other students' speech due to an increase in multicultural competence and understanding of others.

Robert Post (2017) believes that this generation of students has not been educated to engage in public debate, and that students will not want to encounter "alien and frequently outrageous perspectives." In 1960, students resisted authority instead of demanding protection. However, a 2015 Pew Research Center study found that 40 percent of college students surveyed agreed that the government should prevent people from making public statements offensive to minority groups (Poushter 2015). Seventy-one percent of students surveyed by the Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California at Los Angeles said that colleges should prohibit racist and sexist speech on college campuses, which is a 60 percent increase from a decade prior (Eagan 2016). Seventy-two percent of college students said, in a 2016 Gallup Poll, that colleges should restrict political speech that is upsetting or offensive to certain groups, and

69 percent favored restrictions on speech using slurs or other language intentionally offensive to some groups (Gallup Poll 2016). A 2015 survey by Yale University's William F. Buckley Program showed that 72 percent of students support disciplinary action against any student or faculty member on campuses who use "language that is considered racist, sexist, homophobic or otherwise offensive." According to Beth McMurtrie (2017), with the rise of the alt-right and Donald Trump, the question of free speech and its parameters are of greater significance. Students are more likely to try to block influential, but potentially offensive, speakers from coming to campus.

America, Comparatively

America is a country in which there are First Amendment rights dictating freedom of expression. There are no hate speech codes, as all 350 codes adopted by colleges more than 25 years ago were deemed unconstitutional (Hudson 2017). If there is regulation, however, it is not meant to become the suppression of ideas. While the general mission of a university is to foster knowledge and discourse, in the last year there have been more than 312 instances in which there were killings, violence, disappearances, travel restrictions, imprisonment, prosecution, loss of position, or other violations of freedom of expression on college campuses worldwide according to the Academic Freedom Monitor Project, a project conducted by Scholars at Risk. The project identifies, assesses and tracks incidents that involve one or more of the six types of conduct (noted above) that could constitute academic freedom and human rights violations against members of higher education communities. Incident reports are produced by researchers who identify the incidents on either the higher education system itself, specific institutions, or specific persons, and record the details, analyze the incident and gather primary and secondary evidence. This information is then processed and verified by Scholars at Risk and they consolidate reports.

There are incidents reported where police and authorities used violence against students participating in peaceful protests on university campuses. Some cases involved the use of rubber bullets. Other incidents focus on years of imprisonment of academics due to published petitions or imprisonment of students for participating in protests. This brings to the forefront the importance of universities as a place in which students can freely express their speech without fear of any repercussions. All over the world, there are universities in which students are being punished for their opinions. There are also universities in which students want suppression of speech that may be considered offensive or hateful. Freedom of expression is not granted on every campus, and thus, is taken more seriously in countries where free expression is not given the same reverence as the First Amendment rights in America. Nonetheless, there have been incidents in America in which freedom of expression is met with punishment. In the 1960s, it was common for student protests to become violent; however, recently there have not been incidents in America as there are in countries like South Africa, where in February 2019, rubber bullets were fired at students on campus participating in a campus protest, freedom of expression is often treated as a crime.

The discussion of freedom of expression and free speech also inevitably leads to the discussion of hate speech. Free speech can be punished if it incites illegal activity, constitutes a threat to someone's physical safety, or becomes prohibited harassment. Regulation of hate speech, according to Jeremy Waldron (2014), is found in Canada, Denmark, Germany, New Zealand, and the United Kingdom. These guidelines prohibit public statements that incite, as stated in legislation from Canada, "hatred against any identifiable group where such incitement is likely to lead to a breach of the peace." Denmark prohibits hate speech statements "by which a group of people are threatened, derided or degraded because of their race, colour of skin, national

or ethnic background.” New Zealand describes “threatening, abusive, or insulting...words likely to excite hostility against or bring into contempt any group of persons...on the ground of the color, race, or ethnic origins of that group of persons.” Germany regulates attacks on “the human dignity of others by insulting, maliciously maligning or defaming segments of the population,” and the United Kingdom describes “having regard to all the circumstances racial hatred is likely to be stirred up thereby” (Waldron 2014). There are similarities and differences between the different instances of hate speech definitions and regulations. All of them, however, are concerned with the use of abusive, insulting, threatening, or demeaning words directed towards members of vulnerable minorities with the intention of stirring up hatred against them. Racial and ethnic groups are prime examples of the kinds of groups that are supposedly protected by these laws, but there has been work towards extending those protections to religious groups as well.

There is a difference between the United States’ protection of hate speech versus other advanced democracies. The United Kingdom has outlawed the publication of material that stirs up racial hatred. The display of the swastika and other Nazi symbols in Germany is a serious crime, and the punishment of Holocaust denial is present in many countries. The Scandinavian countries, New Zealand, Canada, and France all protect ethnic and racial groups from any abusive, insulting or threatening publications that have the intent of exciting hostility against them. These restrictions are not viewed as violations of individual rights, rather the countries enact these laws pursuant to their obligations under Article 20(2) in the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. This covenant says that expressions of hatred are likely to stir up violence, hostility and discrimination and thus, must be prohibited by law. Waldron suggests that the history in the United States is different from that of the European countries when it comes to

the experience of the Holocaust in those countries. This experience sways behavior towards both free and hate speech. In this regard, Americans are more absolutist in their protection of all forms of political speech. However, there is the history of racial segregation, second-class citizenship, and racist terrorism which are considered, according to Waldron, living memories in the United States that are “nightmarishly awakened” every time something is publicly expressed or posted. Thus, in light of the history and lack of restriction in America, this study explores students’ willingness, or unwillingness, to provide freedom of speech to others, and specifically to groups that they dislike.

Methodology

A split sample survey was utilized to answer the research question: similar to all previous studies measuring political tolerance. The survey was distributed with a goal of surveying 300 students from a variety of majors and years. Letters were sent to professors at UTC asking for their students’ participation in the survey, as well as a general email through the Blackboard listserv to classes and organizations. In total, 201 surveys were completed by UTC students. While this is a convenience sample, it is representative of the student population in the number of students who voted in the 2016 presidential election, race, and year in school. The survey was conducted online over the period of one month,¹ and the link was available to any undergraduate student, over the age of 18, currently attending UTC. The survey was voluntary.²

The questions utilized in the survey were based on surveys conducted by Sullivan et. al, the National Opinion Research Center (NORC) GSS surveys from 1978-2014, as well as a Pew

¹ The exact dates of survey data collection are February 22, 2019 to March 22, 2019.

² IRB Approval was obtained on January 18, 2019.

Research Center study conducted in 2018. The content-controlled method that Sullivan et. al utilized (hereafter referred to as “least-liked group questions”) is the same method used in this study. A list of groups is given in which respondents are invited to choose their least-liked and their second least-liked group.³ This list was based on data from the Southern Poverty Law Center on prominent hate groups in America, the South, and Tennessee. Depending on which group was chosen, respondents were asked whether or not they would allow the group to participate in certain activities:

Members of the _____ should be banned from being president of the United States.

Members of the _____ should be allowed to teach in public schools.

The _____ should be outlawed.

Members of the _____ should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

The _____ should have their phones tapped by our government.

The _____ should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

Similar to the study conducted by Sullivan et. al, the survey mechanism randomly assigned respondents to either the group of least-liked questions or the group of questions modeled after NORC’s GSS survey (hereafter referred to as “Sullivan et.al questions”).

The GSS survey asks about specific groups of people that the respondents do not get to choose. An example is as follows:

Now, I would like to ask you some questions about a man who admits he is a Communist.

³ The list provided by Sullivan et. al is as follows: Socialists, Communists, Atheists, Symbionese Liberation Army, Black Panthers, Pro-abortionists, Anti-abortionists, John Birch society, Ku Klux Klan, Fascists, Other Group (please specify), and Don’t Know. The list in my study is as follows: Anti-Immigrant, Anti-LGBT+, Anti-Muslim, Ku Klux Klan, Neo-Nazi, Pro-Immigrant, Pro-LGBT+, Pro-Muslim, Socialists, Antifa, Alt-Right, and Other.

- a. Suppose this admitted Communist wanted to make a speech in your community. Should he be allowed to speak, or not?
- b. Suppose he is teaching in a college. Should he be fired, or no?
- c. Suppose he wrote a book which is in your public library. Somebody in your community suggests that the book should be removed from the library. Would you favor removing it, or not?

A question was added that was not originally included as part of the NORC study regarding attitudes towards a transgender woman, as the study that was conducted from 1978-2014 only asked about attitudes towards a homosexual man. This study explored the difference in attitudes towards homosexual men versus transgender women, as, interestingly, that section of the survey was not updated to indicate the change in attitudes towards the LGBTQ+ community. Following those questions, were political questions measuring political engagement and knowledge. This group of questions began with questions that allowed respondents to answer questions about themselves and their political participation. There were then questions about the respondent's view on the political environment of the country, before ending with questions that measure the respondent's level of political knowledge. There was also the inclusion of four questions measuring authoritarian tendencies based on the study by Stanley Feldman:

Which one is more important for a child to have? Independence or Respect for Elders

Which one is more important for a child to have? Curiosity or Good Manners

Which one is more important for a child to have? Obedience and Self-Reliance

Which one is more important for a child to have? Being Considerate or Well-Behaved⁴

To assess for criterion validity, respondents were asked the traditional seven-point liberal-conservative self-identification scale. In previous studies, the groups are ordered as one

⁴ The answers: "respect for elders," "good manners," "obedience," and "well-behaved" are answers that would be considered to be authoritarian.

would expect assuming that liberals generally dislike right-wing groups and conservatives generally dislike left-wing groups. Additionally, the questions regarding authoritarian personalities will serve to show similar results as the self-identification scale. Table 1 displays political and demographic characteristics of the sample and UTC population.

Table 1 About Here

Data Analysis and Findings

Of the 201 completed surveys, 96 of the respondents answered the questions from the Sullivan et. al study, and 105 answered the questions about the least-liked group chosen by the respondent, per the survey mechanism.⁵ The questions used in the Sullivan et. al study includes questions from Samuel Stouffer's study, as well as the GSS survey, as discussed.

Analysis and Findings for Sullivan et. al Questions. For the respondents that answered the Sullivan et. al questions in this study, the percentages of tolerance were not too different than those in the Sullivan et. al study.⁶ The percentages were different in terms of the Sullivan et. al finding that 79 percent were tolerant of a Communist having a book in the library versus 70 percent in this study being tolerant of the same.⁷

⁵ There were 90 respondents who did not complete the survey in full, and their data was not utilized in the analysis. In total, 201 respondents and their answers were used for this study.

⁶ See Appendix A for full percentage details and comparisons.

⁷ Statistical analysis was not done in order to analyze whether or not the data was statistically lower, but solely based off of the numerical data presented in the Sullivan et. al study, the numbers are lower in this study. Additionally, the findings are not statistically significant due to the small sample sizes.

In this section, respondents were asked whether or not they were willing to let specific people make a speech against churches and religion, teach in a college or university, or have a book against churches and religion in the library. All three civil liberties were allowed for these target groups: the person against churches and religion; the person who admits he's a Communist; the person who advocates doing away with elections and letting the military run the country; the person who admits he's a homosexual; and, the transgender woman who advocates for gender-neutral bathrooms. Thus, all respondents believed that these people, regardless of who they are and what they advocate for, should be allowed to make speeches against churches and religion, teach at a university, or have a book against churches and religion in the library. For the person who believes black people are genetically inferior, 65 percent of respondents decided that he is not allowed to make a speech against churches and religion and 85 percent of respondents were against this person teaching in a college or university. Respondents' decision was tied on whether or not to allow this person's book he wrote, against churches and religion, to be removed from a library.

For the Muslim clergyman who preached hatred of the United States, 61 percent of respondents indicated that he should be allowed to make a speech against churches and religion, and 70 percent of respondents determined that his book that he wrote against churches and religion should not be removed from the library. However, only 44 percent of respondents indicated that the Muslim clergyman should be allowed to teach in a college or university, and this could be due to either tensions with the religion itself, what the clergyman was preaching, or, further, students' unwillingness to accept diversity among their professors.

The questions in the Sullivan et. al portion of the survey asked about civil liberties towards specific types of people. In previous studies, such as the Stouffer study in 1955, there

were low levels of tolerance towards some of these groups of people, due to the political climate of the time. Tolerance towards Communists in the 1950s is different than tolerance towards Communists today, due to the perceived threat Communists posed during the Cold War. In general, this portion of the survey had similar numbers to the Sullivan et. al study, with the only differences (i.e. there were lower percentages of tolerance in this study) being towards the person who believes blacks to be inferior and allowing the Muslim clergyman to teach. This is notable because in this political climate, race, the Black Lives Matter movement, and a few other political discussions are very prevalent; thus, civil liberties being denied towards an individual who believes blacks to be inferior is not surprising. However, not allowing the Muslim clergyman to teach brings forth questions of how respondents were viewing the Muslim clergyman. Is it possible that respondents read the word ‘Muslim’ and thought ‘terrorist’? The rhetoric surrounding the Islamic faith since 9/11 has been extremely negative, and it’s impossible to ascertain the exact thoughts of the respondents when reading the questions.

A Pew Research study conducted in 2017 showed that Americans view more warmly other groups noted in the survey than Muslims.⁸ Warmth is measured in the study based on a feeling thermometer from 0 to 100, with 0 reflecting the coldest, most negative feeling and 100 the opposite. The average rating for Muslims in 2017 was 48 degrees (similar to atheists at 50 degrees). In 2014, the average was 40 degrees; therefore, views towards Muslims are becoming warmer (i.e. more tolerance is shown) each year. This study did not focus on measuring attitudes, perceptions or opinions towards Muslims or Muslim clergymen (besides the right to speak,

⁸ Groups noted in the study are: Jews, Catholics, mainline Protestants, evangelical Christians, Buddhists, Hindus and Mormons.

teach, or write a book), so it's unclear whether or not negative rhetoric affected respondents' attitudes towards a Muslim clergyman teaching at a university or college, but it is easy to speculate that respondents' attitudes towards Muslims are not very warm, especially considering the lukewarm attitudes of Americans towards Muslims in general. Table 2 displays the percentage of tolerance to speak, teach, or have a book in the library, towards each target group within the Sullivan et. al portion of the survey.

Table 2 About Here

Of those who answered this portion of the survey, 66.7 percent of respondents have high authoritarian tendencies. Sixty-one percent of these respondents considered themselves to be liberal, and 53.1 percent displayed medium political knowledge (on a scale of low, medium, and high). This is particularly interesting: there is a high percentage of liberals displaying high levels of authoritarian tendencies. Authoritarian tendencies are displayed on both the left and the right; indeed, Feldman (2017) found that people who are both politically left and right, when threatened, can become intolerant, and Conway (2017) affirmed this in his study.

Authoritarianism is often used as an explanation for the changes in contemporary American politics, according to Marc Hetherington and Jonathan Weiler in *Authoritarianism & Polarization in American Politics*. Those who display low authoritarian tendencies are typically not threatened by groups such as blacks, immigrants, gays or lesbians. Threat is also perceived more by those who score higher in authoritarianism.

The majority of respondents surveyed using these questions displayed high authoritarian tendencies, yet they displayed tolerance towards the LGBT+ community and even towards the black community, as there were intolerant attitudes expressed towards individuals believing blacks to be genetically inferior. This is contradictory to many studies on authoritarianism that

detail those with high authoritarian tendencies being threatened by minority groups; however, Conway's (2017) study correlates and affirms this study's findings. Conway's findings illustrate left-wing authoritarians correlating higher with environmental dogmatism and showing strong attitudes towards climate change. College students also correlated with prejudice when religious minority groups were made the target (as opposed to right-wing authoritarians showing prejudice towards ethnic minorities). This correlation for left-wing authoritarians, which majority in this study are found to be, help explain tolerance towards the other groups, and intolerance towards the Muslim clergyman. Therefore, while threat is perceived more by those who score higher in authoritarianism, Conway found specific threats for left-wing authoritarians and for left-wing authoritarian college students that this study explores.

Analysis and Findings for Least-Liked/Second Least-Liked Questions. Table 3 displays respondents' least-liked and second least-liked groups and the percent of respondents that chose each group. In the set of questions regarding the least-liked group, Table 3 illustrates that the Ku Klux Klan (KKK) was selected by 23.6 percent of the respondents as their least-liked group, with Neo-Nazis coming second with 11.3 percent. Respondents who chose the KKK showed generally intolerant attitudes towards the KKK with 64 percent strongly agreeing that a member of the KKK should be banned from being president, 52 percent strongly disagreeing that a member of the KKK should be allowed to teach, 35 percent agreeing that the KKK should be outlawed, 22 percent somewhat agreeing that a member of the KKK should be allowed to make a speech in the city, and that they should have their phones tapped by the government, and 25 percent strongly disagreeing that they should be allowed to hold public allies.

Respondents who chose Neo-Nazis as their least-liked group showed similar trends of intolerance. Seventy-eight percent strongly agree that Neo-Nazis should be banned from being

president, 65 percent strongly disagree that Neo-Nazis should be allowed to teach in public schools, 52 percent strongly agree that Neo-Nazis should be outlawed, 47 percent strongly disagree that Neo-Nazis should be allowed to make a speech, 21 percent somewhat disagree that they should have their phones tapped, and 52 percent strongly disagree that they should be allowed to hold public rallies. These attitudes indicate respondents' unwillingness to extend civil liberties, such as being able to make a speech, or hold a public rally towards their least-liked group.

Table 3 About Here

These are the attitudes of the majority, towards the top two least-liked groups, using the specific scale of agree, strongly agree, disagree, strongly disagree, and neither agree or disagree. Respondents' attitudes are generally intolerant and are displayed in Table 1 of Appendix A. Something interesting to note from the attitudes of the majority is the percentage of respondents willing to have the phones of the KKK or Neo-Nazis tapped. The majority of respondents (73 percent) are not in favor of phones being tapped for the KKK and 57 percent are not in favor of the same for Neo-Nazis. This question received the highest percentages of tolerance, meaning that respondents were more critical of this specific invasion of privacy.

This invasion of privacy, through phone-tapping, could possibly be a threat to personal autonomy and would be more sensitive to those who display low authoritarian tendencies. Thus, this is interesting, particularly because this is the question that the majority of respondents were intolerant towards, when the majority of respondents also exhibited high authoritarian tendencies. This could be due to the fact that students in this study, in spite of their authoritarian tendencies and their intolerance towards their least-liked group, are more likely to favor privacy (as it pertains to phones being tapped). A 2013 Pew Research Center study found that young

Americans believe it is important for the government not to intrude on personal privacy: 55 percent of young adults disapproved of the government collecting phone data for anti-terrorism efforts (DeSilver 2014). Therefore, in general, students are likely to favor personal privacy, and the students in this study affirm the Pew Research Center findings as a majority of them are not in favor of phones being tapped.

Of those who answered this portion of the survey, 43.8 percent considered themselves to be liberal, 57.1 percent exhibited high authoritarian tendencies, and 57.1 percent exhibited medium political knowledge. Of those who chose the KKK as their least-liked group, 27 percent consider themselves to be conservative, which is the highest percentage (20 percent consider themselves to be moderate). This was something unexpected, as I expected the highest percentage of those who chose the KKK to consider themselves to be liberal. The group is a self-proclaimed conservative group, with certain values associated with the conservative political ideology. While it is interesting that the highest percentage of respondents consider themselves to be conservative, respondents may have been responding solely based on their unwillingness to allow civil liberties towards their least-liked group, and not ideology. This was seen in 2017: when the KKK was protesting near the campus of the University of Virginia, students in both the Democratic and Republican clubs released a joint statement standing against racist and white supremacist actions. The chairman of the campus' College Republicans stated that, "The university Democrats and college Republicans will work harder than ever to ensure that hatred, racism and bigotry have no place on our grounds (Bauer-Wolf 2017)." Despite the fact that the KKK is a conservative organization and the college Republicans may relate to some of the same conservative values found in the KKK, students united together against the KKK and their protest. This study asks whether or not the KKK should be allowed to hold public rallies in the

city and 56 percent of respondents were not in favor of the group doing so. Therefore, in this instance, respondents were more bothered by explicit racism of the group than attracted to their conservative policies.

Half of the respondents who chose Neo-Nazi as their least-liked group considered themselves to be liberal, the opposite of the spectrum than those that chose KKK. While those who considered themselves to be conservatives made the highest percentage of responses for those that chose the KKK, the other responses also received answers as well, almost all very close to each other in number. For Neo-Nazi, those that considered themselves to be liberal made up half of the responses with the other choices receiving only a few answers.

Because this is a proxy study for free speech, there were questions included that specifically focused on free speech in the study. Of the respondents that answered the Sullivan et. al questions, the right to speech was allowed for all groups except for the person who believes blacks to be inferior. When compared to the overall data from the Sullivan et. al study, tolerance for speech towards the least-liked group is very low. For example: as it pertains to tolerance for Neo-Nazis making a speech in the city, the tolerance was 22 percent compared to the overall tolerance of 70 percent from the Sullivan et. al study. For KKK being chosen as the second least-liked group, tolerance was 28 percent for making a speech in the city compared to 67 percent overall tolerance measured by the Sullivan et. al study. Hence, college students are not willing to extend the right of free speech towards people that they do not agree with, or that they do not like. This justifies studies stating that college students are more willing to censor offensive speech than they are willing to allow freedom of expression.

Discussion and Future Implications

This study finds that, in one portion of the split sample survey, respondents are not willing to extend civil liberties, such as the right to speak, teach, and have a book in the library, towards a person who believes blacks are genetically inferior. The Muslim clergyman is not given the right to teach at a university or college by respondents. In the second half of the split-sample, the KKK was chosen by the majority of respondents as the least-liked group, and Neo-Nazis were the second most picked least-liked group. There are generally intolerant attitudes towards both groups, although phones of both groups being tapped is not accepted by the majority of respondents. The study illustrated college students' politically intolerant attitudes towards their least-liked group, the Muslim clergyman, and the person who believes blacks are genetically inferior.

The Sullivan et. al study found that the least-liked questions are not time-bound and are better measures of tolerance because they allow the respondents to choose their least-liked groups instead of measuring attitudes towards pre-selected groups. In the Sullivan et. al study, the authors noted that intolerance has not decreased (which is what they were researching) but has rather turned to new targets. This study seeks to measure college students and whether or not they are more intolerant than Sullivan et. al's respondents in the 1970s. Based on this data, there is more intolerance from college students as measured by the least-liked group of questions than measured by the Sullivan et. al questions. It is clear that the targets of intolerance have changed, as there were only a few respondents who contributed written responses of their least favorite group. Of those few⁹ responses, the "write-in" groups were encompassed within the groups

⁹ There were 7 responses (6%) that wrote in their least-liked group. The specific groups that were written in are: "all hate groups," "alt-left," "any/all groups that actively practice hatred,"

displayed (it appeared as though the respondents didn't know the name of the formal organization which reflected the category of people they most disliked).

Conway's (2017) study on authoritarian trends showed that authoritarianism, on both the left and the right, is just as significant among the college-aged population as it is among the nationwide sample of U.S. citizens utilized in his study. My research illustrates larger trends among the college-aged population, including trends of authoritarianism. However, because this survey was conducted on the campus of UTC, and is a convenience sample, it is not able to be accurately generalizable. These findings also may not accurately represent the views of other persons, places, and times: UTC's campus cannot accurately represent all other college campuses in America. While this study is able to measure the attitudes of some college students that attend UTC, and inferences can be made for college students in general, the survey data is not applicable towards all college students. It is somewhat representative (in terms of race, the number of students who voted in 2016, and years in school) of the UTC population, but it is not a random sample. Additionally, this study surveyed a majority of respondents who considered themselves to be liberals, and this could be due to the fact that the majority of respondents were from the College of Arts and Sciences, and therefore, was not able to measure respondents' tolerant attitudes from a wide array of political ideology.

The methodology adopted in this research has been proven to be the best means for measuring tolerance and is highly valid. There were studies that used only the Sullivan et. al questions (which includes Stouffer's and the GSS survey) or they used only the least-liked

“anything pro-Trump,” “living constitutionalists,” “not specific to a group,” “I don't like people who are not reasonable and willing to consider other perspectives,” “pro-choice.”

questions. Those studies were able to measure tolerance separately, but Sullivan et. al began using both to, not only see if the Stouffer/GSS survey questions were time-bounded, but to measure tolerance based on the pre-selected groups and groups respondents chose, and whether tolerance changes based on the differences in the questions. Based on the Sullivan et. al study, and this study, general intolerance does not seem to have a large, notable change. The popular groups that were suggested in this study did change from the Sullivan et. al study, and thus the target groups chosen in this study were different than those chosen in the Sullivan et. al study. Additionally, intolerance towards the popular groups, from which the respondents were able to choose their least-liked group, was notably larger than intolerance from the portion of the survey with pre-selected groups. The college students surveyed in this study appear to be more intolerant than other groups of people previously surveyed.

The questions in the Sullivan et. al portion of the survey weren't simply asking about attitudes towards, for example, a Communist speaking, but attitudes towards a Communist making a speech against churches and religion. This may have affected responses, as the responses were not only about tolerance towards the Communist himself but based on tolerance towards what the Communist was making a speech about. The targets of intolerance for this portion were adapted from the previous studies (specifically, the Stouffer study and Sullivan et. al) done on political tolerance and were not changed besides the addition of a group: a transgender woman in favor of transgender bathrooms. The study conducted by Chelsea Schafer and Greg Shaw (2009) found an increase in tolerant attitudes towards the LGBT+ community, and the addition of this question was meant to test whether or not tolerance would be the same for this group as for other groups, as this is a group that was recently popular in discussion due to the North Carolina laws and disputes regarding transgender bathrooms. The tolerance for this

group was no lower than any of the other groups within the questions. I do think that some of the target groups should be updated in this portion, similar to how there were updates in the least-liked portion, due to the changing political climate and the change in popularity of the groups. As noted previously, attitudes towards Communists today is not going to be the same as they were during the Cold War of the 1950s.

UTC's campus has had a few incidences that have challenged students' willingness to allow freedom of expression towards others. This study has shown, from the least-liked group portion, that students would not be willing, for example, to continue to allow Vanguard America to post stickers expressing messages of "White Power" or "Hitler was right!" if groups like Vanguard America were to reflect the students' least-liked group. Based off of the Sullivan et. al portion of the survey, the study showed that a Communist or an atheist, among others, could speak, teach, or write a book, but if a person who believes blacks to be genetically inferior were to come to campus, students would not be willing to extend civil liberties to that person. This is regardless of ideology, race, major, or year in school: the majority of students who took the survey were not willing to extend civil liberties.

When the incidents revolving around free speech on UTC's campus occurred, students questioned administrators and whether or not they were handling the issues correctly. Students wanted the offensive speech stopped as soon as possible, or, at the very least, denounced. Administrators, instead, denounced hate itself, and the speech itself was not challenged. The free speech policy, drafted in accordance with Tennessee state law and the United States Constitution, that administrators must comply with is the policy used to guide decisions involving free speech. Therefore, while students have shown politically intolerant attitudes in this study, administrators can only respond based on the policies they must follow. In essence,

their hands are tied, and students may find themselves upset with the lack of response against the opposition. Moreover, administrators may have values that are different than students' values, and this could be studied in future research.

In a September 2017 address on the importance of free speech on college campuses, Former Attorney General Sessions claims that universities cater to the weakness of students with "fragile egos who cannot bear to be offended by ideas that they oppose." This is not true due to the fact that universities have to, instead, cater to the laws and policies to which they must comply. Students do appear to be against the sharing of ideas that they oppose, but universities comply with state laws and policies, and the United States Constitution, over students' wants and beliefs. Sessions also believes that the state doesn't have the power to ban speech based on content. The policies that universities comply with are open to the freedom of expression; however, there are restrictions based on time, place, and manner, depending on if the expression is hindering the overall mission of the university to educate. This all has to do with public universities though, as private universities govern themselves. However, being that UTC, the university from which the sample for this study was taken, is a public university, state law and constitutional authority does affect the university and its policies.

Diversity on a college campus is said to promote multicultural competence. This competence may lead to an increase in tolerance towards people that are different than the students themselves. Would a college student be willing to allow a transgender woman, specifically one who advocates for gender-neutral bathrooms, to make a speech against churches and religion on campus? According to this study, the answer is "yes." The claim that diversity helps with multicultural competence and political tolerance holds up for the transgender woman,

the person against churches and religion,¹⁰ and other groups. The claim that students are willing to suppress speech that they find offensive and people that they find offensive (as it pertains to bringing guests to campus and students being unwilling to welcome the “offensive” guest) holds up with respondents’ attitudes and lack of tolerance towards the person who believes blacks to be genetically inferior. Once again, the Muslim clergyman not being able to teach could fall under either option, but it’s interesting that respondents were fine with this person speaking and writing a book, but not teaching. Having a diverse campus, and thus, increasing students’ multicultural competence and ability to relate and tolerate others, may have attributed to respondents allowing the Muslim clergyman to write and speak, but this diversity is among students. Whether or not students are willing to have diverse professors is another question that should be discussed in future research. According to this study, students wouldn’t be willing to have the same diversity among their professors, as they would among students.

From this study and previous studies, I theorize that students are less politically tolerant than other groups previously studied, and this study has shown that students are less politically tolerant than those studied in the Sullivan et. al study. Should the study be done on a national level, I theorize that the results will show that college students are less tolerant than other groups previously studied, similar to the results in this study. It was previously found (in both the Stouffer and Sullivan study) that people are generally unwilling to extend civil liberties, and

¹⁰ According to a 2015 Pew Research Center poll, far more millennials say they have no religious affiliation compared with those who identify as evangelical Protestants (21%), Catholics (16%) or mainline Protestants (11%). Religious “nones” are now the largest religious group in America; therefore, attitudes toward religion in America has changed.

despite diversity present on college campuses, students will show the same trend. The majority of respondents in this study displayed high authoritarian tendencies, and should the study be replicated on a larger scale, it could be found that college students exhibit high authoritarian tendencies, and are thus, less likely to show politically tolerant attitudes.

References

- “Academic Freedom Monitoring Project Index.” 2019. *Scholars at Risk: Academic Freedom Monitoring Project*. <https://www.scholarsatrisk.org/academic-freedom-monitoring-project-index/> (April 1, 2019).
- “Attorney General Sessions Delivers Remarks on the Administration's Continued Commitment to Protecting First Amendment Freedoms at the Justice Department’s Forum on Free Speech in Higher Education.” 2018. Presented at the Justice Department’s Forum on Free Speech in Higher Education. *The United States Department of Justice*. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/speech/attorney-general-sessions-delivers-remarks-administrations-continued-commitment> (February 28, 2019).
- “Attorney General Sessions Gives an Address on the Importance of Free Speech on College Campuses.” 2017. Presented at the Justice Department’s Forum on Free Speech in Higher Education. *The United States Department of Justice*. <https://www.justice.gov/opa/speech/attorney-general-sessions-delivers-remarks-administrations-continued-commitment> (February 28, 2019).
- Baker, C. Edwin. 2009. “Autonomy and Hate Speech.” *Extreme Speech and Democracy*: 139–57.
- Barron, Jerome A. 1967. “Access to the Press. A New First Amendment Right.” *Harvard Law Review* 80(8): 1641.
- Bauer-Wolf, Jeremy. 2017. “University of Virginia's Campus Roiled by Hate Group Activities.” *University of Virginia's campus roiled by hate group activities*. <https://www.insidehighered.com/news/2017/07/05/university-virginias-campus-roiled-hate-group-activities> (February 22, 2019).
- BOARD OF TRUSTEES POLICY AFFIRMING PRINCIPLES OF FREE SPEECH FOR STUDENTS AND FACULTY.** 2017. University of Tennessee at Chattanooga.
- Bobo, Lawrence, and Frederick C. Licari. 1989. “Education and Political Tolerance: Testing the Effects of Cognitive Sophistication and Target Group Affect.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 53(3): 285.
- Brunn, George, and Ronald Dworkin. 1992. “Free Speech and Its Limits.” *The New York Review of Books*. <https://www.nybooks.com/articles/1992/11/19/free-speech-and-its-limits-2/> (February 18, 2019).
- Chamberlin, Bill F., and Charlene J. Brown. 1983. “The First Amendment Reconsidered: New Perspectives on the Meaning of Freedom of Speech and Press.” *Michigan Law Review* 81(4): 889.
- Chemerinsky, Erwin, and Howard Gillman. 2018. *Free Speech on Campus*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Daniel, Alex. 2013. "Speech Locked Up: John Locke, Liberalism, and the Regulation of Speech." *eRepository at Seton Hall*.
- DeSilver, Drew. 2014. "Young Americans and Privacy: 'It's Complicated'." *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2013/06/20/young-americans-and-privacy-its-complicated/> (April 16, 2019).
- Duckitt, John. 1989. "Authoritarianism and Group Identification: A New View of an Old Construct." *Political Psychology* 10(1): 63.
- Eagan, Kevin et al. 2016. "The American Norms: National Norms Fall 2015." *Higher Education Research Institute at the University of California, Los Angeles*.
- Emerson, Thomas I. 1963. "Toward a General Theory of the First Amendment." *The Yale Law Journal* 72(5): 877.
- "Factbook Tables." 2019. *UTC wordmark*. <https://www.utc.edu/planning-evaluation-institutional-research/factbook/index.php> (March 27, 2019).
- Feldman, Stanley, Howard Lavine, Milton Lodge, and Brad Verhulst. 2011. "Authoritarianism, Value Conflict, and Threat." *PsycEXTRA Dataset*.
- Gibson, James L. 1988. "Political Intolerance and Political Repression During the McCarthy Red Scare." *The American Political Science Review* 82(2): 511.
- "Hate Map." 2019. *Southern Poverty Law Center*. <https://www.splcenter.org/hate-map> (February 17, 2019).
- Hutchison, Marc L., and Douglas M. Gibler. 2007. "Political Tolerance and Territorial Threat: A Cross-National Study." *The Journal of Politics* 69(1): 128–42.
- Hudson, David, and Lata Nott. 2017. "Hate Speech & Campus Speech Codes." *Freedom Forum Institute*. <https://www.freedomforuminstitute.org/first-amendment-center/topics/freedom-of-speech-2/free-speech-on-public-college-campuses-overview/hate-speech-campus-speech-codes/> (March 28, 2019).
- Hyman, Jeremy, and Lynn Jacobs. 2009. "Why Does Diversity Matter at College Anyway?" *U.S. News & World Report*. <https://www.usnews.com/education/blogs/professors-guide/2009/08/12/why-does-diversity-matter-at-college-anyway> (April 4, 2019).
- Kohn, Paul M. 1972. "The Authoritarianism-Rebellion Scale: A Balanced F Scale with Left-Wing Reversals." *Sociometry* 35(1): 176.
- Lawrence, David G. 1976. "Procedural Norms and Tolerance: A Reassessment." *The American Political Science Review* 70(1): 80.
- Lewis, Anthony. 2010. *Freedom for the Thought That We Hate: A Biography of the First Amendment*. Place of publication not identified: RHYW.

- Lipka, Michael. 2015. "Millennials Increasingly Are Driving Growth of 'Nones'." *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/05/12/millennials-increasingly-are-driving-growth-of-nones/> (April 2, 2019).
- Lipka, Michael. 2017. "Muslims and Islam: Key Findings in the U.S. and around the World." *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/08/09/muslims-and-islam-key-findings-in-the-u-s-and-around-the-world/> (April 3, 2019).
- Locke, John. 1946. *The Second Treatise of Civil Government*. Oxford: Blackwell.
- Marquart-Pyatt, Sandra. 2001. *International Encyclopedia of the Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Oxford: Elsevier. pages 491-496
- McClosky, Herbert, and Alida Brill. 1985. "Dimensions of Tolerance: What Americans Believe about Civil Liberties." *Michigan Law Review* 83(4): 907.
- McConnel, Michael W. 2012. "The Harm in Hate Speech,' by Jeremy Waldron." *The New York Times*. <https://www.nytimes.com/2012/06/24/books/review/the-harm-in-hate-speech-by-jeremy-waldron.html> (April 6, 2019).
- McMurtrie, Beth. 2017. "The Free-Speech Divide." *chronicle.com*. <https://www.chronicle.com/article/The-Free-Speech-Divide-Is-a/241187> (February 6, 2019).
- Meiklejohn, Alexander. 2014. *Free Speech and Its Relation to Self-Government*. Clark, NJ: Lawbook Exchange.
- Mondak, Jeffery J., and Mitchell S. Sanders. 2003. "Tolerance and Intolerance, 1976-1998." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(3): 492.
- N/A. 2016. "Free Expression on Campus: A Survey of U.S. College Students and U.S. Adults."
- Nunn, Clyde Z., Harry J. Crockett, and J. Allen Williams. 1978. *Tolerance for Nonconformity*. San Francisco: Jossey-Bass.
- Post, Robert C. 2017. "There Is No 1st Amendment Right to Speak on a College Campus." *Vox*. <https://www.vox.com/the-big-idea/2017/10/25/16526442/first-amendment-college-campus-milo-spencer-protests> (March 8, 2019).
- Poushter, Jacob, and Jacob Poushter. 2015. "40% Of Millennials OK with Limiting Speech Offensive to Minorities." *Pew Research Center*. <https://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2015/11/20/40-of-millennials-ok-with-limiting-speech-offensive-to-minorities/> (January 6, 2019).
- Santos, Silvia J., Anna M. Ortiz, Alejandro Morales, and Monica Rosales. 2007. "The Relationship between Campus Diversity, Students Ethnic Identity and College

- Adjustment: A Qualitative Study.” *Cultural Diversity and Ethnic Minority Psychology* 13(2): 104–14.
- Schwartz, Shalom H. 2012. “An Overview of the Schwartz Theory of Basic Values.” *Online Readings in Psychology and Culture* 2(1).
- Senat, Joey. 2013. *First Amendment Theorists*.
<http://media.okstate.edu/faculty/jsenat/jb3163/theorists.html> (April 6, 2019).
- Shaw, Greg M., and Stephanie L. Reinhart. 2001. “The Polls—Trends.” *Public Opinion Quarterly* 65(3): 369–88.
- Stouffer, Samuel Andrew. 1955. *Communism, Conformity, and Civil Liberties A Cross-Section of the "Nation Speaks Its Mind"*. Garden City, NY: Doubleday.
- Sullivan, John L., James Piereson, and George E. Marcus. 1979. “An Alternative Conceptualization of Political Tolerance: Illusory Increases 1950s–1970s.” *American Political Science Review* 73(03): 781–94.
- Sunstein, Cass R. 2003. *Why Societies Need Dissent*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.
- “The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale: Almost Half (49%) of U.S. College Students ‘Intimidated’ by Professors When Sharing Differing Beliefs: Survey.” 2015. *The William F. Buckley, Jr. Program at Yale*. <http://mclaughlinonline.com/2015/10/26/the-william-f-buckley-jr-program-at-yale-almost-half-49-of-u-s-college-students-intimidated-by-professors-when-sharing-differing-beliefs-survey/> (February 23, 2019).
- Thompson, Aaron. 2011. *Diversity & the College Experience: Research-Based Strategies for Appreciating Human Differences*. Dubuque, IA: Kendall Hunt.

Table 1. Political and Demographic Characteristics of the Sample and the UTC Population

	Whole Sample	Sullivan	Least-Liked	UTC population
Political Characteristics				
Ideology				
Liberal	52.2	61.5	43.8	-
Moderate	25.4	24	26.7	-
Conservative	22.4	14.6	29.5	-
Party Identification				
Democrat	43.8	46.9	41.0	-
Independent	25.9	34.4	18.1	-
Republican	22.9	13.5	31.4	-
Voted in the 2016 Presidential Election**	44.3	39.6	48.6	40.6
Political Interest	57.2	57.2	57.2	-
Satisfaction with the Country	18.6	18.6	18.6	-
Political Knowledge				
High	20.4	21.9	19.0	-
Medium	55.2	53.1	57.1	-
Low	24.4	25.0	23.8	-
Authoritarian Tendencies				
Authoritarian (0-2)	61.7	66.7	57.1	-
Non-Authoritarian (3-4)	37.3	32.3	41.9	-
Demographic Characteristics				
Age				
18-19	12.6	13.5	11.4	37.7 (15-19)***
20-24	84.2	81.2	83.8	51.3
Sex				
Male	21.1	17.7	23.8	43.7
Female	78.8	81.3	75.2	56.2
Race				
White	79.3	72.9	76.2	76.2
Black	10.5	12.5	7.6	9.6
Asian	3.7	3.1	3.8	2.3
Other	6.3	6.3	5.7	4.5
Year in School				
Freshman	17.6	19.8	15.2	21.2
Sophomore	22.2	20.8	22.9	21.0
Junior	28.7	25.0	31.4	23.8
Senior	31.3	32.3	29.5	33.8
College of				
Arts and Sciences	46.2	52.1	41.0	37.4
Engineering and Computer Science	8.4	8.3	8.6	13.4
Health, Education, and Professional Studies	10.4	10.4	10.5	24.1
Business	12.4	13.5	11.4	20.5
Undeclared	22.3	15.6	28.6	4.4
N=	201	96	105	10,565

*Note entries are percentages

** It's important to note that of all respondents, 61.7 percent were able to vote in the 2016 presidential election, 63 percent of those who answered the least-liked portion were able to vote, and 60.2 percent of those who answered the Sullivan et. al portion was able to vote.

*** The demographics provided by UTC only divided the ages from 15-19.

Table 2. Tolerance of Sullivan et. al questions (Percent)

	Allowed to Speak?	Allowed to Teach?	Allowed to have a book in the library?
Sullivan et. al questions			
Against Churches and Religion	86	78	81
Blacks are inferior	34	14	50
Communist	82	74	70
Doing away with elections and letting the military run the country	77	60	65
Homosexual	89	91	80
Muslim clergyman who hates U.S.	61	44	70
Transgender woman	91	90	82
N= 96			

*Note entries are percentages

Table 3. Targets of Intolerance (Percent)

Target Groups	Least-Liked Group	Second Least-Liked Group
Alt-Right	3.9	0.5
Anti-Immigrant	3.0	2.5
Anti-LGBT+	1.0	5.4
Anti-Muslim	0.5	2.0
Antifa	2.5	0.5
KKK	23.6	12.3
Neo-Nazi	11.3	21.7
Pro-Immigrant	1.5	0
Pro-LGBT+	0.5	0.5
Socialists	0.5	3.4
Other	3.4	0.5
N= 105		

*Note entries are percentages

Appendix A

Table 1. Tolerance of Least-Liked Groups (Percent)

	Percent Tolerant, KKK as least-liked group	Percent Tolerant, Neo-Nazi as least- liked group	Percent Tolerant, Least-Liked Group, 1979 Sullivan et. al
Content-Controlled Items			
Members of the_____should be banned from being president of the U.S.	15	9	28
Members of the_____should be allowed to teach in public schools.	15	9	26
The_____should be outlawed.	36	27	33
Members of the_____should be allowed to make a speech in this city.	53	22	70
The_____should have their phones tapped by our government.	73	57	70
The_____should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.	44	22	57
N=	105	105	200

*Note entries are percentages

Table 2. Tolerance of Second Least-Liked Groups (Percent)

	Percent Tolerant, KKK as second least- liked group	Percent Tolerant, Neo- Nazi as second least- liked group	Percent Tolerant, Second Least-Liked Group, 1979 Sullivan et. al
Content-Controlled Items			
Members of the_____should be banned from being president of the U.S.	12	15	32
Members of the_____should be allowed to teach in public schools.	12	20	30
The_____should be outlawed.	16	36	43
Members of the_____should be allowed to make a speech in this city.	28	47	67
The_____should have their phones tapped by our government.	52	50	70
The_____should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.	8	38	51
N=	105	105	200

*Note entries are percentages

Appendix B

Measurement of Political Tolerance on College Campuses

You are invited to participate in a study being conducted by Simone Edwards, an undergraduate student in the Department of Political Science, under the direction of Dr. Amanda Wintersieck. The purpose of the study is to measure attitudes towards groups of people in society.

Participation should take approximately 15 minutes to complete.

PARTICIPATION: Your participation in this survey is voluntary. You must be at least 18 years of age. You may refuse to take part in the research or exit the survey at any time without penalty. You may skip any question you do not wish to answer for any reason.

BENEFITS & RISKS: You will receive no direct benefits from participating in this research study. However, your responses may help us learn more about attitudes of college students. There are no foreseeable risks involved in participating in this study other than those encountered in day-to-day life. The possible risks or discomforts of the study are minimal. There is the risk that you may find some of the questions to be sensitive. You may also feel a little uncomfortable answering political survey questions.

CONFIDENTIALITY: Your response is anonymous. Researchers have no way of identifying your response. Data will be reported in the aggregate. Data will be downloaded and stored on a password-protected computer and only Simone Edwards and Dr. Amanda Wintersieck will have access to the data. All data will be destroyed in 2 years.

CONTACT: Research has been approved by the Institutional Review Board of the University of Tennessee at Chattanooga. If you have further questions or concerns about your rights as a participant in this study, contact the Office of Research Integrity at (423) 4235 5867. If you have questions concerning the study, contact me by email at ksk886@mocs.utc.edu or contact my Faculty advisor Dr. Wintersieck by email at amanda-wintersieck@utc.edu.

ELECTRONIC CONSENT: Please select your choice below. You may print a copy of this consent form for your records. Clicking on the "Agree" button indicates that

:-You have read the above information

-You voluntarily agree to participate

-You are 18 years of age or older

Agree (1)

Disagree (2)

Q144 We would like to begin by asking you about your attitudes towards a number of issues.

Please choose the issue that is most important to you as a college student from the list below.

Immigration (1)

Gun Control (2)

Equal Pay (3)

Climate Change (4)

Voter Fraud (5)

Death Penalty (6)

Other (please specify) (7) _____

Q145 Please choose the issue that is least important to you as a college student from the list below.

Immigration (1)

Gun Control (2)

Equal Pay (3)

Climate Change (4)

Voter Fraud (5)

Death Penalty (6)

Other (please specify) (7) _____

[Least-liked Block of questions. Half of respondents randomly assigned to these questions.]

Q135 Now we would like to ask you a few questions about popular groups in society.

Which of these groups do you like the least? If there is some group that you like even less than the groups listed, please write the name of the group.

Anti-Immigrant (1)

Anti-LGBT+ (2)

Anti-Muslim (3)

Ku Klux Klan (4)

Neo-Nazi (5)

Pro-Immigrant (6)

Pro-LGBT+ (7)

Pro-Muslim (8)

Socialists (9)

Antifa (10)

Alt-Right (11)

Other (12) _____

Q136 Which of these groups is the group that is your second least-liked? If there is some group that is your second least-liked group, please write the name of the group.

Anti-Immigrant (1)

Anti-LGBT+ (2)

Anti-Muslim (3)

Ku Klux Klan (4)

Neo-Nazi (5)

Pro-Immigrant (6)

Pro-LGBT+ (7)

Pro-Muslim (8)

Socialists (9)

Antifa (10)

Alt-Right (11)

Other (12) _____

[Sullivan et. al Questions. Half of respondents randomly assigned to these questions.]

Q80 Now we would like to ask you a few questions about different groups in society. Please answer the following questions to the best of your ability.

There are always some people whose ideas are considered bad or dangerous by other people. For instance, somebody who is against all churches and religion...If such a person wanted to make a speech on your campus against churches and religion, should they be allowed to speak, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q81 Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't Know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q82 If some people on your campus suggested that a book he wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your campus library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q83 Or consider a person who believes that Blacks are genetically inferior. If such a person wanted to make a speech on your campus against churches and religion, should they be allowed to speak, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q84 Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q85 If some people on your campus suggested that a book that he, the person who believes that Blacks are genetically inferior, wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your campus library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q86 Now, I would like to ask you some questions about a man who admits he is a Communist. If such a person wanted to make a speech on your campus against churches and religion, should they be allowed to speak, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q87 Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q88 If some people on your campus suggested that a book he, the person who admits he is a Communist, wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your campus library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

- Yes, allowed (1)
- No, not allowed (2)
- I don't know (3)
- Refuse to answer (4)

Q89 Consider a person who advocates doing away with elections and letting the military run the country. If such a person wanted to make a speech on your campus against churches and religion, should they be allowed to speak, or not?

- Yes, allowed (1)
- No, not allowed (2)
- I don't know (3)
- Refuse to answer (4)

Q90 Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

- Yes, allowed (1)
- No, not allowed (2)
- I don't know (3)
- Refuse to answer (4)

Q91 If some people on your campus suggested that a book against churches and religion, that was written by the person advocating for doing away with elections and letting the military run the country, be taken out of your campus library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

- Yes, allowed (1)
- No, not allowed (2)
- I don't know (3)
- Refuse to answer (4)

Q92 And what about a man who admits that he is a homosexual. If such a person wanted to make a speech on your campus against churches and religion, should they be allowed to speak, or not?

- Yes, allowed (1)
- No, not allowed (2)
- I don't know (3)
- Refuse to answer (4)

Q93 Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q94 If some people on your campus suggested that a book he, the person who admits that he is a homosexual, wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your campus library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q95 Now consider a Muslim clergyman who preaches hatred of the United States. If such a person wanted to make a speech on your campus against churches and religion, should they be allowed to speak, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q96 Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q97 If some people on your campus suggested that a book he, the Muslim clergyman, wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your campus library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q98 Now consider a transgender woman who advocates for gender neutral bathrooms. If such a person wanted to make a speech on your campus against churches and religion, should they be allowed to speak, or not?

Yes, allowed (2)

No, not allowed (3)

I don't know (4)

Refuse to answer (5)

Q129 Should such a person be allowed to teach in a college or university, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

Q130 If some people on your campus suggested that a book she, the transgender woman, wrote against churches and religion should be taken out of your campus library, would you favor removing this book, or not?

Yes, allowed (1)

No, not allowed (2)

I don't know (3)

Refuse to answer (4)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q8 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the anti-immigrant group should be banned from being president of the United States.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q9 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q10 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q11 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q12 Members of the anti-immigrant group should have their phones tapped by our government.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q13 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q146 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the anti-immigrant group should be banned from being president of the United States.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q147 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q148 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q149 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q150 Members of the anti-immigrant group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Immigrant]

Q151 Members of the anti-immigrant group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q14 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be banned from being president of the United States.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q15 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q16 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q17 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q18 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should have their phones tapped by our government.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q19 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q152 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be banned from being president of the United States.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q153 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q154 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q155 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q156 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-LGBT+]

Q157 Members of the anti-LGBT+ group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q20 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the anti-Muslim group should be banned from being president of the U.S.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q21 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q22 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q23 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q24 Members of the anti-Muslim group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q25 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q158 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the anti-Muslim group should be banned from being president of the U.S.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q159 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q160 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q161 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q162 Members of the anti-Muslim group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Anti-Muslim]

Q163 Members of the anti-Muslim group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=KKK]

Q26 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=KKK]

Q27 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (2)

Agree (3)

Somewhat agree (4)

Neither agree nor disagree (5)

Somewhat disagree (6)

Disagree (7)

Strongly disagree (8)

[Display This Question If least-liked=KKK]

Q28 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=KKK]

Q29 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=KKK]

Q30 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=KKK]

Q31 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=KKK]

Q164 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=KKK]

Q165 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (2)

Agree (3)

Somewhat agree (4)

Neither agree nor disagree (5)

Somewhat disagree (6)

Disagree (7)

Strongly disagree (8)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=KKK]

Q166 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=KKK]

Q167 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=KKK]

Q168 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=KKK]

Q169 Members of the Ku Klux Klan should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q32 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q33 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q34 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q35 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q36 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q37 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q170 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q171 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q172 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q173 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q174 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Neo-Nazi]

Q175 Members of the Neo-Nazi group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q38 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.
Members of the pro-immigrant group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q39 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q40 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q41 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q42 Members of the pro-immigrant group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q43 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q176 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the pro-immigrant group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q177 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q178 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q179 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q180 Members of the pro-immigrant group should have their phones tapped by our government.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Immigrant]

Q181 Members of the pro-immigrant group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q44 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be banned from being president of the United States.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q45 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q46 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q47 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q48 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q49 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q182 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q183 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q184 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q185 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q186 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-LGBT+]

Q187 Members of the pro-LGBT+ group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q50 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the pro-Muslim group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q51 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q52 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q53 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q54 Members of the pro-Muslim group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q55 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q188 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the pro-Muslim group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q189 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q190 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q191 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q192 Members of the pro-Muslim group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Pro-Muslim]

Q193 Members of the pro-Muslim group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Socialists]

Q56 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the socialist group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Socialists]

Q57 Members of the socialist group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Socialists]

Q58 Members of the socialist group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Socialists]

Q59 Members of the socialist group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Socialists]

Q60 Members of the socialist group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Socialists]

Q61 Members of the socialist group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Socialists]

Q194 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the socialist group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Socialists]

Q195 Members of the socialist group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Socialists]

Q196 Members of the socialist group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Socialists]

Q197 Members of the socialist group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Socialists]

Q198 Members of the socialist group should have their phones tapped by our government.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Socialists]

Q199 Members of the socialist group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Antifa]

Q62 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the antifa group should be banned from being president of the United States.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Antifa]

Q63 Members of the antifa group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Antifa]

Q64 Members of the antifa group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Antifa]

Q65 Members of the antifa group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Antifa]

Q66 Members of the antifa group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Antifa]

Q67 Members of the antifa group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Antifa]

Q200 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the antifa group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Antifa]

Q201 Members of the antifa group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Antifa]

Q202 Members of the antifa group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Antifa]

Q203 Members of the antifa group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Antifa]

Q204 Members of the antifa group should have their phones tapped by our government.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Antifa]

Q205 Members of the antifa group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q68 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your least-liked group.

Members of the alt-right group should be banned from being president of the United States.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q69 Members of the alt-right group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q70 Members of the alt-right group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q71 Members of the alt-right group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q72 Members of the alt-right group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q73 Members of the alt-right group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q206 Now we would like to ask you questions about the group you chose as your second least-liked group.

Members of the alt-right group should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q207 Members of the alt-right group should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q208 Members of the alt-right group should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q209 Members of the alt-right group should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q210 Members of the alt-right group should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Alt-Right]

Q211 Members of the alt-right group should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Other]

Q74 The following questions are based on the group you entered as your least-liked group. Members of the _____ should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Other]

Q75 Members of the _____ should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Other]

Q76 Members of the _____ should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Other]

Q77 Members of the _____ should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Other]

Q78 Members of the _____ should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If least-liked=Other]

Q79 Members of the_____should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Other]

Q212 The following questions are based on the group you entered as your second least-liked group. Members of the_____should be banned from being president of the United States.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Other]

Q213 Members of the_____should be allowed to teach in public schools.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Other]

Q214 Members of the _____ should be outlawed.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Other]

Q215 Members of the _____ should be allowed to make a speech in this city.

Strongly Agree (1)

Agree (2)

Somewhat agree (3)

Neither agree nor disagree (4)

Somewhat disagree (5)

Disagree (6)

Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Other]

Q216 Members of the _____ should have their phones tapped by our government.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Display This Question If second least-liked=Other]

Q217 Members of the _____ should be allowed to hold public rallies in our city.

- Strongly Agree (1)
- Agree (2)
- Somewhat agree (3)
- Neither agree nor disagree (4)
- Somewhat disagree (5)
- Disagree (6)
- Strongly disagree (7)

[Political Characteristics Block]

Q219 Now we would like to ask you some questions about yourself.

Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as extremely liberal, liberal, slightly liberal, moderate, slightly conservative, conservative, extremely conservative, or haven't you thought much about it?

- Extremely Liberal (1)
- Liberal (2)
- Slightly Liberal (3)
- Moderate (4)
- Slightly Conservative (5)
- Conservative (6)
- Extremely Conservative (7)
- Don't know (8)

Q105 Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Strong Democrat, Democrat, Lean Democrat, Independent, Lean Republican, Republican, or a Strong Republican?

Strong Democrat (1)

Democrat (2)

Lean Democrat (3)

Independent (4)

Lean Republican (5)

Republican (6)

Strong Republican (7)

Don't know (8)

Q106 Did you vote in the 2016 presidential election?

Yes (23)

No (24)

Q109 Would you say that you vote always, nearly always, part of the time, seldom, or no answer?

Always (1)

Nearly always (2)

Part of the time (3)

Seldom (4)

No answer (5)

Q107 All in all, are you satisfied or dissatisfied with the way things are going in this country today?

Satisfied (1)

Dissatisfied (2)

Q108 Would you say you follow what is going on in government and public affairs always, nearly always, part of the time, seldom, or no answer?

- Always (1)
- Nearly always (2)
- Part of the time (3)
- Seldom (4)
- No answer (5)

Q110 Now we would like to ask you some questions about your view on the political environment of the country.

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump is handling his job as President?

- Strongly approve (1)
- Somewhat approve (2)
- Neither approve or disapprove (4)
- Somewhat disapprove (5)
- Strongly disapprove (8)
- Don't know (9)

Q111 Now, thinking about the people you talk with, whether in person, over the phone, or electronically, how often do you discuss government and politics with others?

- Nearly every day (1)
- A few times a week (2)
- A few times a month (3)
- Less often (4)
- No answer (5)

Q121 Which of the following statements best describes you?

- Most of my close friends share my views on government and politics (1)
- Some of my close friends share my views, but many do not (2)
- I don't really know what most of my close friends think about government and politics (3)
- No answer (4)

Q112 Thinking about the fundamental design and structure of the American government, which comes closer to your view?

Significant changes to the design and structure are needed to make it work for current times (1)

The design and structure serves the country well and does not need significant changes (2)

No answer (3)

Q115 Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?

Ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government in Washington if they are willing to make the effort (2)

There's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence the government in Washington (3)

No answer (4)

Q116 Which statement comes closer to your view?

Voting gives people like me some say about how government runs things (1)

Voting by people like me doesn't really affect how government runs things (2)

No answer (3)

Q117 As you may know, the Constitution requires that all states have two U.S. senators, regardless of how many people live in the state. Which comes closer to your view?

The Constitution should not be changed, and all states should continue to have two senators regardless of the size of their population (1)

The Constitution should be amended so that states with larger populations have more senators than smaller states (2)

No answer (3)

Q118 In general, would you say the quality of the candidates running for political office in the last several elections have been...

Very good (1)

Somewhat good (2)

Neutral (3)

Somewhat bad (4)

Very bad (5)

No answer (6)

Q122 The next few questions are a little different. For each, please answer the questions as best as you can. If you don't know the answer to the question, just move on to the next one.

In the case of a tied vote in the U.S. Senate, is the deciding vote cast by...

The vice president (1)

The president (2)

The Senate majority leader (3)

The Senate parliamentarian (4)

No answer (5)

Q123 As you may know, a filibuster in the U.S. Senate can be used to prevent legislation from coming to a vote. Of the 100 U.S. senators, how many votes are needed to end a filibuster?

51 (1)

60 (2)

67 (3)

70 (4)

No answer (5)

Q124 How is the number of terms a president can serve determined?

Article II of the U.S. Constitution (1)

Custom and precedent (2)

The 22nd Amendment of the Constitution (3)

There is no limit to the number of terms a president can serve (4)

No answer (5)

Q125 The U.S. Electoral College

Trains those who run for political office (1)

Supervises the presidential debates (2)

Is another name for the U.S. Congress (3)

Is an assembly that formally elects the president (4)

No answer (5)

Q126 Which of the following rights is guaranteed by the FIRST Amendment to the Constitution?

- The right of free speech (1)
- The right to bear arms (2)
- The right to privacy (3)
- The right to remain silent (4)
- No answer (5)

Q127 Do you happen to know which political party currently has a majority in the U.S. Senate?

- Republican Party (1)
- Democratic Party (2)
- Don't know (3)
- No answer (4)

Q128 Do you happen to know which political party has a majority in the U.S. House of Representatives?

- Republican Party (1)
- Democratic Party (2)
- Don't know (3)
- No answer (4)

Q131 Next, we would like to ask you a few questions about your views about child rearing. Although there are a number of qualities that people feel that children should have, every person thinks that some are more important than others. Please indicate which trait is more important for a child to have.

Q137 Which one is more important for a child to have?

- Independence (1)
- Respect for Elders (2)

Q138 Which one is more important for a child to have?

- Curiosity (1)
- Good Manners (2)

Q139 Which one is more important for a child to have?

Obedience (1)

Self-Reliance (2)

Q140 Which one is more important for a child to have?

Being Considerate (1)

Well Behaved (2)

[Demographics Block]

Q99 Finally, we would like to end by asking you some questions about yourself.

In what year were you born?

Q100 What year are you in school?

Freshman (1)

Sophomore (2)

Junior (3)

Senior (4)

Q101 Please write your major below.

Q102 What is your race/ethnicity?

White (11)

Black or African American (12)

American Indian or Alaska Native (13)

Asian (14)

Native Hawaiian or Pacific Islander (15)

Other (16)

Prefer not to answer (17)

Q218 What is your sex?

Male (1)

Female (2)

Q103 How do you sexually identify?

Heterosexual (1)

Homosexual (2)

Lesbian (4)

Transgender (5)

Non-binary (6)

Other (7)

Prefer not to answer (8)