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CIVIL LIBERTIES V. NATIONAL SECURITY:

A STUDY OF HISPANIC STUDENTS' PUBLIC OPINION

A Thesis

by

CARLOS ALVAREZ

Submitted to Texas A&M International University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the degree of

MASTER OF SCIENCE

December 2016

Major subject: Criminal Justice

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Approved as to style and content by:

Chair of Committee,	Frances Bernat
Committee Members,	Judith Warner
	Heriberto Urby, Jr.
	Marcus Antonius Ynalvez
Head of Department,	John Kilburn

December 2016

Major subject: Criminal Justice

DEDICATION

I would like to dedicate this thesis to four great pillars of my education, firstly, to Dr. Frances Bernat, who is and has been my academic mentor since my undergraduate years, and primary adviser during my Presidency of the National Criminal Justice Honor Society at TAMIU. Also, to Dr. Heriberto Urby, Jr., Dr. Judith Warner, and Dr. Marcus Antonius Ynalvez, who supported me in my efforts to continue this thesis. To my family, friends, and Masonic brothers from Laredo Lodge 547, who were there for me to provide friendship and brotherly love. Thank you all and most importantly, thanks to the Grand Architect of the Universe; for he is LIGHT.

ABSTRACT

Civil Liberties V. National Security:

A Study of Hispanic Students' Public Opinion (December 2016)

Carlos Alvarez, B.S., Texas A&M International University:

Chair of Committee: Dr. Frances Bernat

The purpose of this study is to understand Hispanic students' public opinion on whether they want to protect their civil liberties or prefer more national security to respond to terrorism. I sent an electronic survey to 900 students attending a South Texas university with 193 completed surveys returned. I replicated eight individual counter-terrorism measures from Welch (2015), and derived a component dependent variable using a data reduction technique called principal component analysis. In this study, my independent variables are measures of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation. Political affiliation was significantly related to the support for counter-terrorism policy, and the gender of respondents had a significant main effect. Furthermore, females did not support counter-terrorism policies if it meant subjugating their civil liberties. Male respondents supported counter-terrorism policy for more national security, despite the loss of some civil liberties. My study contributes to the fundamental understanding of the role of gender in the support for counter-terrorism policies.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Contemporary society is concerned with terrorism and with what the government does to thwart it. To determine what the public thinks about governmental actions, public opinion polls are conducted in the United States. American public opinion has been an important benchmark of support or non-support of governmental actions and policy during tragic periods, such as the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, the Cuban missile crisis, and the Vietnam War (Davis & Silver, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Hurwitz & Peffley, 1987; Krysan, 2000). Since September 11, 2001 (9/11), the U.S. government began to use heightened security counter-terrorism measures that resulted in an increased surveillance and oversight of the public by federal agencies (Davis & Silver, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003). Initially, the American public overwhelmingly supported governmental actions and policy, which weighed in favor of increased national security over civil liberties; but public opinion ebbs and flows and changes over time. In general, public opinion favoring heightened counter-terrorism actions and policy occurs when there is a strong fear of terrorists (Welch, 2015; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003.). When there is increased fear, the public is likely to favor increased U.S. security measures and reduced civil liberties (Klarevas, 2002). Research is needed to understand the ebb and flow and to determine what (other) factors can help explain public opinion among a growing ethnic minority population, Mexican Americans.

_____

This thesis follows the style of *Race and Justice*.

Public support for national security over civil liberties

Domestically, the United States has attempted to thwart terrorism by increased border and civilian oversight through various measures authorized under the USA Patriot Act, originally referred as "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act," (Kam & Kinder, 2007; Whitehead & Aden, 2002). Such measures have been criticized because while there was a public perception of being safe and secure, the perceived security was at the expense of civil liberties (Davis & Silver, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003). Public support for governmental actions and policy, which limit civil liberties, have been found to be related to several factors (Davis & Silver, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003). In particular, public support for the U.S. government's war on terror and counter-terrorism measures is related to the public's sense of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation. (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Klarevas, 2002; Davis & Silver, 2004).

Welch (2015) conducted a national survey to see if public attitudes supporting punitive counter-terrorism measures were influenced by Middle Eastern stereotypes. The primary hypothesis was: "those who stereotype terrorists as Middle Easterners are more likely to support harsh terror prevention and punishment tactics" (Welch, 2015, p.9). Welch (2015) tested whether someone who was depicted as being from the Middle East increased the likelihood of respondents' support for punitive anti-terror policy. Welch conducted a telephonic survey of a sample of adults in Tallahassee, Florida. The survey was conducted starting November 2006 to January 2007. Welch's sample size was 425 respondents with an average respondent age of 37 years. The majority of respondents in Welch's study were white (83 percent) and female (51

percent). The other respondents included 12 percent African American, 6 percent Middle Eastern descent and 14 percent Hispanic persons.

Welch used an 8-item index to measure "anti-terror punitiveness" to distinguish the amount of support for punitive counter-terrorism policy based on a minority threat perception. Welch's (2015: 11) 8-item index included counter-terrorism policies, which were:

1. Holding prisoners indefinitely without being charged for an offense,

2. Detaining terrorist suspects without notifying their families or embassies,

3. Using stressful interrogation techniques to get confessions,

4. Holding trials that do not involve Bill of Rights protections,

5. Executing more terrorists,

6. Wiretapping phones in the United States,

7. Intercepting emails and other personal electronic information, and

8. Conducting searches and seizures of individuals, and their belongings without proper warrants.

These eight measures were then reduced into a component (dependent) variable by using principal component analysis (PCA), which is a data reduction technique in the area of exploratory factor analysis (Field, 2013). After PCA, the new component variable was labeled "anti-terror punitiveness." The mean scores, and factor loadings were detailed for each policy measure. Table 1 is based on Welch's (2015) mean scores of punitiveness or harshness for the eight anti-terror policies. Based on this table, executing terrorists was the most punitive policy with a mean score of 6.31, and warrantless searches the least with a score of 3.81.

Welch found that if the respondents were presented with Middle Eastern stereotypes they were likely to support harsh anti-terror policies, such as executing more terrorists. Respondents

supported punitive anti-terror policies even if the policies meant reducing U.S. civil rights. The

stereotype Americans had based on the Middle Eastern Typification variable was found to

greatly influence the punitiveness of counter-terrorism policy (Welch, 2015).

Table 1. Welch -Punitive Support for Specific Anti-Terror Policy Proposals

Anti-Terror Punitiveness (0 - 10 scale, 10 - Most Punitive)	Mean	SD	Factor Loading
Holding prisoners indefinitely without being charged for an offense.	4.38	3.93	.742
Detaining terrorist suspects without notifying their families or embassies.	4.73	3.87	.782
Using stressful interrogation techniques to get confessions.	5.11	3.73	.777
Holding trials that do not involve Bill of Rights protections.	4.71	3.89	.789
Executing more terrorists.	6.31	3.82	.600
Wiretapping phones in the United States.	5.07	3.88	.782
Intercepting emails and other personal electronic information.	5.31	3.85	.780
Conducting searches and seizures of individuals and their belongings without proper warrants.	3.81	3.82	.769

Note. Adapted from *Middle Eastern terrorist stereotypes and anti-terror policy support: The effect of perceived minority threat,* p.11, by K. Welch, 2015, Race and Justice.

According to Welch (2015), respondents' public support of counter-terrorism policy

was influenced by the stereotypical terrorist affiliation of Middle Easterners, where individuals

of Middle Eastern descent were more likely to be associated to terrorist groups. The public

endorsement for counter-terrorism laws has resulted in the reduction of civil liberties for both,

Americans, and noncitizens. However, according to Welch (2015) the respondents were guided

by the independent variable, Middle Eastern Typification.

The Current Study

Laredo, Texas

The current study is a partial replication of Welch's research. I used each of Welch's eight measures on counter-terrorism policies. I focused my investigation on the attitudes of primarily Mexican American students in South Texas, located primarily in Laredo, Texas. There are six border cities located in Texas: Brownsville, Del Rio, Eagle Pass, El Paso, McAllen, and Laredo. These six border cities have one neighboring city nicknamed sister cities. The term "sister city" is derived from the notion that a U.S. city has a direct border with a Mexican City, thus Laredo's sister city is Nuevo Laredo (Gilmer, Gurch, & Wang, 2001).

I am interested in assessing the degree to which Mexican Americans are willing to subjugate their own civil rights for national security; an analysis of Hispanic attitudes is one that scholars have yet to fully answer (Sanchez, 2006). I analyzed respondents' level of support for counter-terrorism laws and policy based on independent variables found in studies by Hetherington and Nelson (2003), Davis and Silver (2004) and Kam and Kinder (2007). In addition, I examined the impact of gender to determine if there was a gender gap in support for counter-terrorism policy at the expense of one's civil liberties; or if gender has a moderating role between measures of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation and support for anti-terrorism measures. In this study, I looked into the potential reasons the public might be afraid by focusing on the factors of national security and ethnocentrism, and on the respondents' political affiliation.

Nationalism: Laredo has grown and has programs that honor Mexican and U.S ancestry, merging both countries culturally and nationalistically. Laredo is now known as an "entertainment center" for South Texans, due to city events such as the traditional Washington's Birthday Celebration. The holiday celebration is an event where state representatives and Laredo

public officials come together to honor George Washington's Birthday through parades in the Laredo downtown area (City of Laredo, 2016). Nationalism in Laredo has gotten stronger by the years. According to Mendoza (2011) and Thompson (1991), Laredo has developed a sense of nationalistic ideals, where war veterans are honored every 4th of July, and greeted with Mexican customs, such as Mexican *pan dulce* (sweet bread). Mexican American veterans from Laredo are praised and welcomed as heroes upon their return (Mendoza, 2011). On July 4, 2004, a local artist sculpted a Medal of Honor monument for a local veteran, David Barkley Cantu, who partook in World War 1. The development of Laredo, both culturally and economically, made the city one of the fastest growing in the nation (Gilmer et al., 2001; Pinon, 1985).

Ethnocentrism: Ethnocentrism is shown in Laredo through Mexican-Texan culture, where residents base their culture on a mixture of both sides of the border. Laredo is located along the Mexico border and shares similar Mexican and ethnocentric values that are based on Mexican American folkways (Mendoza, 2011). In addition, Laredo was primarily controlled by the Spanish crown during the 1700s (Wood, 2004) and, consequently, both Spanish and Mexican influences are prevalent in the city's traditions and cultural events. However, as time progressed and Texas became part of the US, residents adopted both cultures, Mexican and Texan.

Political Affiliation: Laredoans indicate that their political affiliation is mostly Democratic; 77% are Democrat, 23% Republican, and 1% are Independent (Sperling, 2014). According to Wood (2004), the strong affiliation of Democrats in Laredo can be traced back when the city was heavily influenced by powerful families, who created a patron system. For more than 80 years, the city was under a paternalistic and sometimes tyrannical political system. After the patron system was abolished in 1978, a powerful political legacy of Democrats was left behind (Wood, 2004).

<u>Summary</u>

Laredo, Texas has a long history, and background of Spanish influence that can be seen today with the majority as Hispanic residents. The city population continues to grow, but the ethnic identity endures as the city is a sister city of Nuevo Laredo, Mexico. Laredo also portrays a strong sense of nationalism by having patriotic festivals that honors the US founding fathers and war veterans alike. Politics in Laredo is resilient with more than two thirds of the population being Democrat voters, and the rest Republican and Independent voters. The one thing that distinguishes Laredo from the rest of the Texan cities is the collective efficacy of the Hispanic community, who have mixed together Tex-Mex values that includes nationalistic, ethnocentric, and political tenets.

CHAPTER II
LITERATURE REVIEW

Understanding the nature and extent of the public's views about significant events that impact their lives is important if society is to progress. According to Ciuk (2016), values of a society can change slowly over time, but when traumatic events happen then value shifts can impact individuals' view of the world and force people to reconsider their fundamental beliefs and values. One such traumatic event was the terrorist attack in the United States on September 11, 2001. According to Klarevas (2002), military power and diplomatic presence in foreign "hot spots" (countries most likely to develop terrorism) was a necessary means to subjugate terrorist groups that exhibited extreme hatred towards Western countries such as the United States. Accordingly, the privacy and civil liberties of Americans can become a trade-off for more "security" from overseas terrorists (Kar, Crowsey, & Zale, 2013; Klarevas, 2002; Davis & Silver; 2004).

What Americans think about the continued use of military power and force needs to be assessed particularly if the impact is to be felt not only abroad in the "hot spot" areas but at home with enhanced security protocol. To consider the impact of an event on the public's value system, Ciuk (2016) looked at three years of data on public values pre- and post-9/11; the years 1994, 2002 and 2005. Ciuk (2016) listed six public values: liberty, equality, economic security, social order, morality, and patriotism. In general, Ciuk (2016) found that in 2003, the social order value was more important than liberty; while the equality value remained fairly constant. Overall, he found that women and racial minorities favored social order more than liberty, and persons that are more educated favored liberty over both social order and economic order. Ciuk (2016) also found that four years after 9/11, Americans' values seemed to revert to the pre-9/11 period.

Some research has been completed on public support for the war on terror and the factors that impact public opinion; ethnicity, gender, nationalism, political affiliation and ethnocentrism. Each of these factors was considered in light of the ongoing public and national concerns about terrorism, and the balance to be achieved between protecting Americans' civil liberties and maintaining the social order through counter-terrorism measures.

Public Support and the War on Terror

After the acts of terrorism on September 11, 2001, the United States quickly passed the "Uniting and Strengthening America by Providing Appropriate Tools Required to Intercept and Obstruct Terrorism Act," and is better known as the Patriot Act (Gorham-Oscilowski & Jaeger, 2008). The Patriot Act was the fastest law to be enacted; it was passed by the House on October 24, 2001, and was cleared the following day by the Senate (Matz, 2008). On October 26, 2001, just two days after it was first heard on the floor of Congress, President Bush signed the Patriot Act into law. According to various political and legal scholars, the Patriot Act infringes upon constitutional rights and changes the rules of procedure for the collection of evidence. The Patriot Act undermines, for example, previous Supreme Court decisions such as *Katz v. U.S.* (1967) which protects an individual's right of privacy and requires the government to secure a warrant before engaging in telephone eavesdropping (wiretapping), and *U.S. v. Karo* (1984) which held that to physically monitor the location of an individual with a beeper device without a warrant was unconstitutional (Kar et al., 2013; Domke, Graham, Coe, John, Coopman, 2006).

The provisions of the Patriot Act made changes to pre-existing laws by granting more national security letters (NSL) to various federal agencies (Gorham-Oscilowski & Jaeger, 2008). A national security letter is a form of provision that grants federal agencies, such as the Federal

Bureau of Investigation, access to various institutions' financial and communication records, as well as access to civilian communications (Gorham-Oscilowski & Jaeger, 2008).

Rallying around the Flag Effect.

American public opinion about 9/11 and governmental policies and action can be driven by a sense of collective efficacy. Collective efficacy, in relation to the amount of public support for counter-terrorism measures, is applied as the "public" belief that civil liberties should be subjugated for more national security (Nelson et al., 1997). In their research, Hetherington and Nelson (2003), and Davis and Silver (2004) studied the immediate effects 9/11 had on the American public. Both studies suggest that the American public had a sense of pride and duty to their country, a sense of patriotism and nationalism that strongly supported US efforts for the war on terror (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Davis & Silver, 2004). Davis and Silver (2004) argued that American public opinion is strongest during rallying events that unite the country in moments of terror, such as the destruction of the twin towers on September 11, 2001. It is during moments of desperation that no matter the political party, culture, or race, the American people gain a sense of patriotism, or nationalism (Davis & Silver, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Nelson et al. 1997).

To understand 9/11 and its effect on American public opinion, studies have been done on both the war on terror and on counter-terrorism measures (Davis & Silver, 2004; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Albrecht, 2015). Analyzing the public's view on counter-terrorism public policy is relevant because it can underscore how strongly the public will support the commitment of manpower and money for government actions, including war and restrictions on civil liberties (Klarevas, 2002). Klarevas (2002) argued that societal support is like a domino, if the domino tumbles or stands, the after-effect brings national policy change. According to Klarevas (2002),

public opinion and support is the essential domino of all U.S. military operations such as Operation Desert Storm, and should lead and inform the decisions of the commander-in-chief. Understanding the body of knowledge or factors that move public opinion is vital to "maintaining" the driving force of action (Klarevas, 2002). Klarevas (2002) found national vital interests and humanitarian objectives factors that gained public support for war in general. However, although national vital interests and humanitarian objectives boost the support of the American public, the survival of military operations are not necessarily dependent upon the nations' interest or humanitarian goals. Public support can still be secured if there is no national vital interest or humanitarian objective.

Public support for statutory laws, such as the Patriot Act, might have been primarily influenced by a rallying effect of the public after a destructive episode in the U.S., where citizens were united by a common goal (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Klarevas, 2002). Hetherington and Nelson (2003) compared three rally events that involved foreign crises in the United States: the Cuban missile crisis, Operation Desert Storm, and the 9/11 attacks. Public approval for the Cuban missile crisis and Operation Desert Storm reached a peak during the middle of the crisis, but eventually lost public support. The 9/11 terrorist attack had the highest level of public support for governmental action, and even though public support has decreased, public approval numbers have been significantly higher than pre-9/11 and Operation Desert Storm (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003). Hetherington and Nelson (2003) found nationalism and patriotism to be primary factors motivating public approval for the government's actions in the war on terror. Albrecht (2015) found that public support for counter-terrorism policy was also influenced by national interest, where respondents supported counter-terrorism measures that were harsh towards terrorists, but less infringing to American soil.

Mexican American Support for the Counter-terrorism Laws and Policy.

Public support for a particular course of federal action is a fundamental concern when the executive and legislative branches of government want to respond quickly to a national threat and issue a "call to action" (Klarevas, 2002). During the Reagan administration, for example, it was Secretary of Defense Weinberger who developed guidelines to assist U.S. Presidents in their decision to use military force abroad (Klarevas, 2002). To attend to the nation's principles of democracy, Presidents and Congress are expected to consider the degree of public support that they have for their military plans and actions. Klarevas (2002) said that public support is an "essential domino", the United States government cannot move forward or backward without the consent of the people.

It is important to ascertain Mexican American attitudes as this ethnic group is one of the fastest growing segments of the U.S. population. The U.S. Census Bureau states that over half the growth in the US population between 2000 and 2010 was due to an increase in the Hispanic population (Ennis, Rios-Vargas, & Albert, 2011). Mexican Americans account for about 24 million people and are the largest Hispanic group in the U.S.; in addition, 11 million Hispanics in the US were born in Mexico (Gonzalez-Barrera & Lopez, 2013). As the Mexican American and Hispanic population grows in the U.S., it is important to consider what this group believes to be important courses of action.

Mexican American public support for the U.S. war on terror and, in particular counter-terrorism laws and policy, has been an understudied area (Johnson, 2005; Sanchez, 2006). If Mexican American counter-terrorism support is discussed in the literature it is as a small percentage (generally less than 15 percent) of a study's sample. Such studies usually provide little analysis on what Hispanics believe (see for example, Davis & Silver, 2004; Hetherington

&Nelson, 2003; Johnson, 2005; Sanchez, 2006). De la Garza et al. (1996) analyzed data from the Latino National Political Survey (LNPS) to determine if Mexican Americans exhibited different American values than their Anglo counterparts. De la Garza et al.'s (1996) study focused primarily on patriotism levels and ethnic consciousness. In regards to patriotism, they found that Mexican Americans were just as likely as Whites to portray positive attitudes regarding patriotism (De la Garza et al., 1996). Discrimination towards Mexican Americans can mitigate a sense of patriotism; discrimination has been found to increase Mexican American public support and activism for civil liberties (Johnson, 2005; Sanchez, 2006; De la Garza et al., 1996). In regards to ethnic consciousness, the more time a Mexican person spent in the United States, the more they would identify themselves as "American" (Sanchez, 2006).

Civil Liberties

An important aspect of the U.S.'s war on terror is gauging the amount of public support it has for implementing policy that supports the use of force over countries that are thought to threaten U.S. interests and, the amount of power it exerts to curtail its citizens' civil rights (Klarevas, 2002). Rallied by the aftermath of 9/11 and the devastation felt on U.S. soil, public support for statutory law, the Patriot Act, was supported by the belief that vast oceans no longer served as a natural protection from external threat (Kam & Kinder, 2007).

The extent by which the American public is willing to reduce their civil liberties for national security remains a gray area and requires more research (Hetherington & Suhay, 2011). Scholars have long argued that American civil liberties are protected through public support, but when it comes to terrorist threat, the public is most likely to trade some of their civil rights, such as e-mail interception, and telephone wiretapping (Hetherington & Suhay, 2011; Marcus, Sullivan, Theiss-Morse, & Wood, 1995). Hetherington and Suhay (2011) and Holsti (2004)

found that the American public was more willing to give up civil rights when there were perceptions of foreign threat. Many decades before 9/11, Singer (1958) described the cause and effect relationship between the perception of foreign hostility and the United States' policy response for national security. Whether changing national laws, which limit our civil liberties, really deters a foreign threat, is a problem for the public and national leaders to consider (Singer, 1958). Singer (1958) contemplated whether national efforts, such as statutory law changes, are a response of perceived hostility or if the perceived hostility is a response from statutory laws. It is easy to argue that incidents require the implementation of stricter laws, but it is more challenging to detach ourselves from our frantic policy response and contemplate different approaches (Singer, 1958).

The abstract principles of democracy came into conflict with governmental civilian oversight after the passage of the Patriot Act (Davis & Silver, 2004). The public, in general, broadly supported the law to secure the nation from future terroristic threat even if it meant the loss of civil liberties. However, the perception of civil liberties was found to be contingent upon race (Davis & Silver, 2004). According to Davis & Silver (2004), Whites were most likely to support a loss of their civil liberties if it meant reducing terrorism threats, and Hispanics or Latinos were somewhat likely to support the loss of their civil liberties (Davis & Silver, 2004). African Americans did not want to give up their rights and showed the most resistance to losing their liberties even if there was a perceived national terrorist threat (Davis & Silver, 2004). Davis & Silver posit that African Americans fought a long battle for equality and Civil Rights and would not want to lose them for the potential of terrorism (Davis & Silver, 2004). Whites and Hispanic respondents who expressed a high level of fear would willingly exchange their public civil liberties for homeland security (Davis & Silver, 2004). Davis & Silver (2004) found that

public opinion was influenced by three factors: political ideology, national pride, and trust in the government. If respondents held strong support for their political party's platform, strong national pride and high levels of trust in the government, the more likely they were to support enhanced security and a loss of their civil rights.

Political Affiliation, Nationalism, and Ethnocentrism and Public Opinion

As previously discussed, U.S. counter-terrorism policy and the Patriot Act received some widespread support from the general public, mostly White Americans, because of fear. Consequently, U.S. governmental officials felt secure in the support from its constituents (Gorham-Oscilowski & Jaeger, 2008) and national security letters were used more often while civil liberties were constrained by the new counter-terrorism measures that were implemented (Gorham-Oscilowski & Jaeger, 2008). Supporters and critics of the Patriot Act and the counter-terrorism measures focused their analysis on three measures: political affiliation, nationalism and ethnocentrism. Political affiliation is the political identity of an individual and how close one's ideals is represented by the political platform (McCauley, 2013; Kam & Kinder, 2007).

Political affiliation has been found to influence public support for counter-terrorism law, depending on political identity, or political party (Kam & Kinder, 2007; Hetherington & Nelson, 2003). Ethnocentrism can be described as a person's societal belief that one's folkways, or culture, are superior to other cultures (Krysan, 2000; Kam and Kinder, 2007). Both Krysan (2000) and Kam & Kinder (2007) found that voters' ethnocentric beliefs were significantly associated with public opinion in the United States. Nationalism can be defined as the level of patriotism expressed by person that view themselves as "Americans" (Klarevas, 2002; Davis & Silver, 2004; Zaller, 1992). After 9/11, Davis and Silver (2004), and Klarevas (2002) found that nationalism influenced public support for U.S. efforts to deter terrorism. American society was

left in shock by the destruction, public opinion was solely focused on one goal, deter further

terrorism.

Political Affiliation

A person's political affiliation with a political party is an important measure of the

political beliefs. The two major parties in the U.S. are the Republican and Democrat parties.

Both parties articulate platforms that set out the ideals for political action and belief for the

American public, these actions and beliefs are noted to be either conservative or liberal on issues

of importance (McCauley, 2013; Kam & Kinder, 2007).

Political affiliation is affected by citizen's spirit of patriotism (Kam & Kinder, 2007).

Kam & Kinder (2007) and McCauley (2013) have found that political platforms tend to direct

the perceptions of political affiliation members. These platforms have influenced the belief and

undertaking of the war on terror and influenced what the public thought about appropriate

responses to terrorism (Kam & Kinder, 2007). It is important to note, the war on terror was

largely conducted during the term of Republican President Bush, who espoused a different

ideology than that of many Republican citizens. During his term, President Bush had the support

of Republican elites but did not share similar social norms to that of the middle-class (Holsti,

1996). Holsti (1996) found Republican elites to be wealthier individuals that had financial

reasons to support President Bush, thus differentiating their interest from middle class

Americans. When analyzing partisan support for the war on terror, Kam and Kinder (2007), and

Domke et al. (2006) found the public to be influenced by the imminent threat believed to exist

after 9/11. Thus, both Democrats and Republican voters supported Bush's anti-terrorism policies

and actions in the immediate aftermath of 9/11 in recent years. To counter the denouncement for

harsh counter terrorism measures, conservative governmental actors have made minor changes in

terminology so as to garner more support for the new methods of extracting information from associated terrorists (Gronke et al., 2010).

Nationalism

Nationalism is identified as the patriotic emotion, or principles for one's nation (Davis & Silver, 2004; Klarevas, 2002). Similarly, Davis and Silver (2004) defined nationalism as an intense feeling of national pride and the love of one's country. Nationalism can play a crucial role in shaping foreign relations for the United States (Hurwitz & Peffley, 1987). Nationalist views can inform citizen attitudes about military action and present the government with insight into how to handle relations with other nations. Hurwitz and Peffley (1987) describe nationalistic public opinion as that which espouses a national interest and military support as "righteous decisions." According to Hetherington and Nelson (2003), nationalism is the national consciousness raising one's nation or country, above all those foreign.

Recent studies have shown that a citizen's sense of nationalism is significantly influenced by the media; or what Klarevas (2002) argues is the "mainstream effect." The mainstream effect is described as the mass influence of media such as newspapers, television, and the internet have on public opinion (Zaller, 1992). The media can create a sense of duty to fight "evil-doers"; when nationalism is presented in the extreme, a narrow definition of "American values" is espoused so that cultures which do not fit within the definition of something that is American may be perceived as out-groups who are to be hated (Davis & Silver; Klarevas, 2002; Zaller, 1992). Nationalistic public opinion is influenced by devastation of a particular event and united by hope (Klarevas, 2002). In rallying around the flag after 9/11, the American public came together to fight a common enemy and the President received majority support for the war on

terror (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003). This stimulation caused by hate and fear helps explain public opinion for the war on terror (Papacharissi & Oliveira, 2008).

The public nationalistic attitude for counter-terrorism was measured by Hetherington and Nelson's (2003) and by Davis and Silver (2004). By answering nationalism questions, respondents portrayed the level of nationalist duties and their perceived obligation as U.S. citizens. Democrats, Republicans, and Independents came together and provided support for a nationalist agenda set by the President (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003; Davis & Silver, 2004). It is in question whether the amount of public approval was directed solely by nationalistic duty or motivated by the commander of chief, President Bush (Hetherington & Nelson, 2003). Davis and Silver (2004) found nationalism related to the aggressiveness of counter-terrorism strategy employed by the war on terror.

Ethnocentrism

Ethnocentrism can be defined as a prejudicial point of view where an individual negatively compares another culture according to one's own culture; declaring the other culture to be inferior or obscene (Kam & Kinder, 2007). Kam and Kinder (2007) used the 2000-2002 national election to observe prejudicial attitudes of the American public on measures of ethnocentricity. Ethnocentrism was found to statistically influence the support for counter-terrorism measures, where respondents who demonstrated strong ethnocentrism were more likely to support counter-terrorism policies after 9/11 (Kam & Kinder, 2007).

Political party platforms can be predictors for ethnocentrism when political elites' frame social problems in a manner to encourage public ethnocentric values (Nelson, Clawson, &Oxley, 1997). Political affiliation ideals fragmented the thoughts of the American public, with right wing and left wing opinion. Right wing opinion was the most conservative with higher

ethnocentrism than left wing opinion, but both political platforms demonstrated some level of ethnocentrism. Nelson, Clawson, and Oxley (1997) found prejudice, or "ethnocentrism" to be a contributing factor for American public support for counter-terrorism policy. Ethnocentrism was found to significantly influence public opinion and the support for counter-terrorism measures, although political relevance was based upon time period (Kam & Kinder, 2007). Kam and Kinder (2007) stated that the 9/11 can be viewed as an attack that set in motion the public support for counter-terrorism laws by stimulating increased ethnocentric values of the American public.

Krysan (2000) studied the hybridization of prejudice and politics for American public opinion. According to Krysan (2000), White and African American groups have different portrayals of public opinion, where ethnocentric attitudes influence policy implications. Research indicates that racial politics involves attitudes based on racial group interests (Krysan, 2000). Krysan (2000) and Bobo (2000) argue that White person's public opinion opposes affirmative action relative to minorities because they perceive minorities, such as African American, to be in competition with them for social resources. Kam and Kinder (2007), Krysan (2000), and Bobo (2000) described ethnocentrism as the psychological driving force for political sway in American public opinion and ultimately public support; thus, Welch (2015) found that American society is more than likely to increase punitiveness of counter-terrorism policy, if there was Middle Eastern stereotype.

Ethnocentrism, however, is time sensitive (Kam & Kinder, 2007). The public's ethnocentrism was at an all-time's high after the terrorist attack of 9/11 (Kam & Kinder, 2007). Several years after 9/11, the public began to deviate in their support towards the war on terror and paid less attention to counter-terrorism laws. Thus, Kam and Kinder (2007) found that the

public needs to have a perception of threat to influence or increment their support towards counter-terrorism measures. If individuals perceive a form of threat towards their country, ethnocentrism would rise and determine their support for harsh counter-terror laws (Kam & Kinder, 2007).

Counter-Terrorism Policy and the Gender Gap

Since the 1980s, women and men have different policy attitudes, partisanship, and voting patterns, this social occurrence is normally referred to as the gender gap (Kaufmann & Petrocik, 1999; Wemlinger, 2014). The shift in US foreign policies after the War on Terror has conveyed the gender gap to different attitudes and support for counter-terrorism policies (Haider-Markel & Vieux, 2008; Wemlinger, 2014). Wemlinger (2014) analyzed the gender gap in individuals' attitude towards torture as a counter-terrorism measure. Wemlinger (2014) used data from the 2008 American National Election Study, which included more than 2,000 participant surveys from 34 US states. Wemlinger's (2014) two independent variables were (1) whether the individual was female and (2) whether the individual was a mother. The dependent variable questioned if respondents favored the use of torture on terrorists by the U.S. government. Torture was defined as an act that is intentionally inflicted on a person that causes severe pain, both physically or mentally (Wemlinger, 2014). Wemlinger found that female respondents were significantly likely to oppose the use of torture. The reason given for females opposing torture was based on the socialization of women opposing violent behavior, according to Wemlinger (2014).

A gender difference in regards to attitudes after 9/11 was also the focus of a study by Lerner, Gonzalez, Small, and Fischhoff (2003). Lerner et al. (2003) did a field experiment by using a program called Knowledge Networks', and sampled a population of 75,000 households

that closely reflected the U.S. Census. Respondents included 973 individuals who were asked

questions relating to their emotions, including anger and fear during the 9/11 terroristic attacks.

Results indicated gender differences; females felt higher present risks of future terroristic attacks

by demonstrating more fear than males. Males were more confident that there would not be

another terrorist attack like 9/11. Lerner also found that respondents who felt anger, also felt

vengeful towards foreigners in the U.S., and strongly supported deporting foreigners in the U.S.

who lacked valid visas. Learner concluded that females were more influenced by emotions such

as anger, and fear than males; thus, increasing more female support for terrorism policy. Lerner

(2003: 150) stated that females seemed to be influenced by media and politicians' portrayal of

the "risks of terror" to the public.

Piazza (2015) conducted a national sample and surveyed 1,135 individuals regarding

their support for controversial counter-terrorism measures such as indefinite detention, and not

allowing a lawyer for suspects. This study found that the public supported both a reduction for

the rights of Muslims in the U.S. after 9/11 and for the general U.S. population (Piazza, 2015).

According to Piazza (2015), a heightened perception of threat, or risk was dependent upon

gender and income. Wealthy male participants were more likely to support counter-terrorism

measures like indefinite detention of potential terrorists, but females were more likely to value

civil liberties over counter-terrorism policy. The findings by Lerner (2003) and Piazza (2015)

indicate that public support for the reduction of civil liberties in exchange for national security

can be attributed to gender differences.

Haider-Markel and Vieux (2008) analyzed data from a telephone survey conducted on a

national, random U.S. sample. Participants were asked several questions regarding the war on

terrorism and interrogation techniques (torture); a total of 892 adults participated in the study.

Respondents were asked if they favored torture if it meant extracting valuable information that could potentially thwart future terrorism in the U.S. Methods contemplated by respondents were: (1) Not allowing the detainee to sleep, (2) Keeping a hood over the detainee's head for long periods, (3) Threatening to shoot the detainee, and (4) Making the detainee go naked. Haider-Markel and Vieux (2008) analyzed the type of tortures accepted by society, and found that while females did not support national security interrogation measures in general, some torturing methods did receive *conditional* female support depending on the type of method used to deliver the pain. Male respondents provided higher support for most forms of torture than female respondents. Haider-Markel and Vieux (2008) surmise that the gender difference might be due to the fact that it has been several years after 9/11 and female support have changed. However, female respondents supported the "conditional" use of torture if it was presented as a mild form of interrogation technique such as not letting the detainee sleep.

Women and men have different policy attitudes towards support for national security measures over civil liberties; these differences in attitude can be deemed a gender gap (Haider-Markel & Vieux, 2008; Kaufmann, 2006; Lerner, 2003; Wemlinger, 2014). Female support for counter-terrorism policy has changed after 9/11; after a decade women no longer expressed strong fears of terrorists and were less willing to give up their civil liberties. Males, however, still show support for more punitive policies and practices to thwart terrorism. Understanding the nature and extent of this gender gap from a cross cultural perspective requires more analysis.

Summary

Over the past 200 years, U.S. citizens feel strongly about their nation and its founding principles of democracy and civil liberty. What nationalism, patriotism and freedom means can be dependent upon the time period studied, whether a tragic event has occurred, the degree to

which a perceived threat is actualized, and the individuals who asked to rally around the flag.

Some U.S. citizens feel patriotic duty to serve and secure the freedom of its nation, no matter the

effect on their civil rights. However, others feel that civil rights are too precious to lose for

indefinite or undetermined purposes; this can be attributed to a person's nationalist beliefs,

ethnocentric attitudes, political affiliation and gender. The demographic characteristics of an

individual matter when assessing public opinion about the war on terror and the extent to which

U.S. policy will be supported.

CHAPTER III

METHODOLOGY

This study is a partial replication of Welch's (2015) research on public attitudes towards counter-terrorism. As noted in the Introduction, Welch analyzed public opinion on eight counter terrorism policies; she then created a composite dependent variable, which she referred to as support for counter terrorism. In this study, I followed Welch's casting of these eight measures and strategy in creating in creating a component dependent variable (CDV). For my independent variables, I used measures for nationalism, ethnocentricity, and political affiliation, as defined in studies conducted by Blais et al. (2001), Kam and Kinder (2007), and Davis and Silver (2004).

This study will be on the public opinion held by students attending a South Texas university. The primary question for this study is: *What influences Hispanic support for counter-terrorism policy?* In this study, my hypotheses are:

H1: Hispanics who strongly identify themselves as American (hold strong nationalism beliefs) are more likely to value national security from terrorism over protection of one's civil liberties.

H2: Hispanic students who hold more ethnocentric views are most likely to support national security over civil liberties than students who hold less ethnocentric.

H3: Hispanics who are in the Republican party are more likely than persons in the Democrat and Independent parties to value national security from terrorism over protection of one's civil liberties.

H4: The impact of nationalism on support for counter-terrorism policy is moderated by gender.

H5: The impact of ethnocentrism on support for counter-terrorism policy is moderated by

gender.

H6: The impact of political affiliation on support for counter-terrorism policy is

moderated by gender.

Theoretical Model

Public support for counter-terrorism has demonstrated the influence nationalism,

ethnocentrism, and political affiliation on public opinion. Welch (2015) analyzed whether

Middle Eastern stereotype influenced the support for counter-terrorism policy with eight policy

measures. Rather than study Middle Eastern stereotypes on support for national security, this

study will assess the effect of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation on support for

national security over civil liberties. This study also intends to analyze the gender gap in public

support for counter-terrorism policy measures (see Figure 1).

The first model (Model 1) includes nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation as

main independent variables. Gender is then added into Model 2 with the three main independent

variables to see its main effect on the compooent dependent variable (CDV). The rest of the

control variables, ethnicity, gender, age, annual household income, and level of education were

then added to create Model 3 to determine if they help explain public attitudes favoring national

security over civil liberties. Model 4 includes all the previously mentioned independent variables

with the CDV, and the three interactions terms of gender with nationalism (Gender X

Nationalism), ethnocentrism (Gender X Etnocentrism), and political affiliation (Gender X

Political Affiliation). Thus, Figure 1 depicts both the direct and the moderating role of gender on

the impact of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation on support for counter-terrosim

policy.
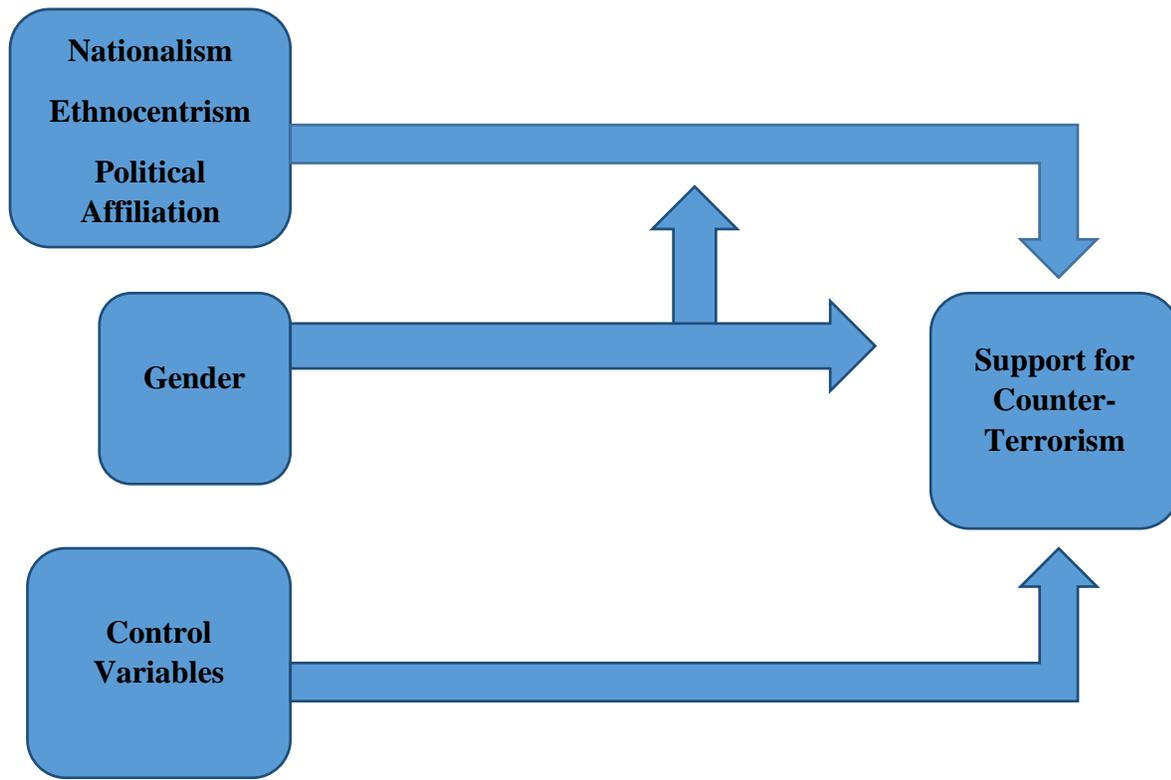
Figure 1. Theoretical Model Depicting the Direct and the Moderating Role of Gender on the Influence of Nationalism, Ethnocentrism, and Political Affiliation on Support for Counter-Terrorism.

Study Location

Laredo has a population of more than 255,000, and the city is 96 percent Hispanic (U.S. Census, 2014). The median household income is $39,408 (U.S. Census, 2014). Laredo's population is 51 percent female, and the female median income is $14,328; male median income is $22,974 (U.S. Census Bureau, 2014). Employment in Laredo has been positively impacted by oil fields, giving middle class wages to residents, as well as import and export businesses, which gives Laredo the nickname "The Gateway City" (City of Laredo, 2016). The city's high school graduation rate is 65.4 percent.

Data Collection

I surveyed students in attendance at Texas A&M International University, located in Laredo, Texas. Laredo is a community that is primarily composed of Mexican American citizens and is on the border with Mexico. In this study, my respondents comprised undergraduate and graduate students who major in a social science discipline: Criminal Justice, Sociology, Political Science, Psychology, and Public Administration.

Respondents

According to the Office of the Registrar at Texas A&M International University, 900 students were currently majoring in a social science discipline at the time of data collection. All 900 students were sent a survey in June 2016. In order to participate, respondents had to be at least 18 years of age, registered voters, and in current attendance at the university. There were 202 students who responded to my participation request, and 192 completed surveys were returned; a response rate of 21%.

Survey Administration

After receiving approval from the Institutional Review Board at TAMIU, the data collection process began. All 900 undergraduate and graduate students who were majoring in Criminal Justice, Sociology, Political Science, Psychology and Public Administration were emailed a survey that was created using *SurveyMonkey* (See Appendix A: Civil Liberties v National Security Survey). Students were asked to click on a link to the online survey and indicate if they would agree to voluntarily participate. I had the survey open for one month so that respondents could submit their responses starting May 28, 2016 and end in June 30, 2016.

Measurements

Component Dependent Variable

Welch (2015) used eight measures pertaining to the level of support a person had for particular counter-terrorism measures. An 11-point scale was used to indicate respondents' support for each measure; the scale ranged from 0 (no support for the counter terrorism measure) to 10 (most support for the counter terrorism measure). I followed Welch's strategy in creating her component dependent variable (CDV), which she created from the eight counter-terrorism policies. While Welch called her CDV "anti-terror punitiveness," I focused on the opposite end of the 11-point scale and called my CDV "support for counter terrorism." The CDV was created following Welch's data reduction technique; I performed a principal component analysis, with a varimax orthogonal-type rotation, and derived my CDV using the Anderson-Rubin scoring method of the software Statistical Packages for the Social Sciences (SPSS version 23) (Field, 2013). My CDV's Cronbach's alpha value was at .891, meaning that the combined measures used to form my CDV hang together and form reliable measures.

Independent Variables

For my independent variables, I used measures pertaining to the constructs: nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation. In the paragraphs below, I describe in detail how I measured each of these constructs.

Nationalism

Nationalism is the pride or patriotic duty an individual has towards his or her country (Li & Brewer, 2004). For this study, I applied Kosterman and Feshbach's (1989), and Li and Brewer's (2004) measurement of nationalism. Both sets of authors asked their respondents three questions to create a composite independent nationalism variable. The questions asked respondents to indicate their level of agreement, on a 5-point scale, with the following statements: (1) The first duty of every young American is to honor the national American

history; (2) People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong, and (3) Being an American is an important part of my identity. Following, Kosterman and Feshbach (1989) and Li and Brewer (2004), the same sets of queries and 5-point Likert scale are applied, with "1" being "Strongly Agree" and "5" being "Strongly Disagree" for nationalism. Strong nationalism is indicated by "1", and 5 indicate weak nationalism. The 3-item index was then recoded into a single composite variable to measure nationalism. I took the average score for the recoded nationalism measure, high scores mean low on nationalism, and low scores mean high on nationalism. The nationalism composite independent variable has a Cronbach's alpha of .751, evidence of a strong reliability measure for the construct nationalism.

Ethnocentrism

For this study, I measured ethnocentrism by using Neulip and McCroskey's (1997), and Li and Brewer's (2004) measurements. These authors used the same scale to measure ethnocentricity. The 5-point Likert scale asks respondents to rate if they "1" "Strongly Agree" to "5" if they "Strongly Disagree" with two statements about their level of support for ethnocentric values. The statements are: (1) It is better for the country if different racial and ethnic groups adapt and blend into the larger society, and (2) We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own standards, even if they are very different from our own. The two items measuring ethnocentrism were then recoded, and transformed into a composite independent variable for ethnocentricity. I took the average score for the recoded ethnocentrism measure, high scores mean high ethnocentricity, and low scores mean low on ethnocentrism. The ethnocentricity variable had a Cronbach's Alpha of .402. This value did not meet the minimum requirement; hence, careful interpretations of results are recommended.

Political Affiliation

Political affiliation is the party a person indicates as their voting party preference. Due to political influence and ideology, counter-terrorism has inadvertently been influenced by politics (Kam & Kinder, 2007). I used one question to measure political affiliation, from Blais et al.'s (2001) and NBC News (2016) survey, "In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Independent, Libertarian or none?" (NBC News, 2016, p.1; Blais et al., 2001, p.17). Political affiliation was measured with 5 values indicating the level of conservativeness, but I did a recode where (1) was Republican/Libertarian, (2) Democrat, (3) Independent, and (4) none. I took the average score for political affiliation, and measured the variable based on conservativeness, low scores mean more conservative, and high scores mean less conservative.

Demographic Characteristics

Ethnicity, gender, age, annual household income, and level of education are control variables in my study (see Table 2: Demographic Characteristics).

Race and Ethnicity: Similar to Welch (2015), I asked persons their race or ethnicity according to the usual categories (White, African American, Hispanic/Latino, Asian, Native American). If respondents indicated that they were Hispanic, then I asked them to identify the nation of their ethnicity into two categories (0) Mexican American, and (1) Other Hispanic. The respondents for this study were all from Texas A&M International University, and the results are similar to the institution's demographic information. According to TAMIU's Fall 2015 report, 92% of the total student population were considered Hispanic; in the current study, 193 (94%) of this study's participants indicated that they were Hispanic with 182 (92%) identifying themselves as Mexican American.

Gender: Similar to Welch (2015), gender was coded as a dichotomous variable, (0) female or (1) male. There were 88 male (46%) and 103 (54%) female respondents. Female

participation is higher than male, and is representative of the student population. According to Welch (2011), gender of participants can predict the amount of support for retributive laws against terrorism. Due to studies that support the existence of gender gap in support for counter-terrorism policy, this study casted gender in three ways: (1) as an independent variable in Model 2; (2) as a control variable in Model 3; and (3) as an interactional or moderating variable with the three main independent variables in Model 4. I created three interaction terms by multiplying gender with measures for nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation. In other words, gender is applied as a moderator for the impact of the three main predictors on the support for counter-terrorism policy, creating three interaction terms: Gender X Nationalism, Gender X Ethnocentrism, and Gender X Political Affiliation. Gender is the hypothesized to be moderator based on the casting of my theoretical model in Figure 1.

Age: In my survey, data on age were collected as a continuous measure; the youngest respondents in this study were 18 years of age and the oldest respondent was 60. In order to conduct my analysis, I recoded age to be a categorical variable since most respondents were under the age of 23. I created 4 age categories: (1) 18 to 29; (2) 21 to 23; (3) 24 to 26; and (4) 27 and Over. However, I used the midpoint of each age categories in running my regression analyses and used 19, 22, 25, and 27 to represent the age categories in those analyses. This enabled me to have similar sample sizes within my age category: age category 1 had 29.8%; category 2 had 35.1%; category 3 had 20.4%; and category 4 had 13.9%.

Annual Household Income: Income was measured as a dichotomous variable; with (0) being respondents having a household income of $49,999 or less, and (1) being respondents having a household income of $50,000 or more. In this study, 75% of respondents indicated they received less than $50,000 annual household income, and 26% of respondents earned more than

$50,000 annual household income. I used these measures because they were used by both Piazza (2015), and Abrajano et al.'s (2008) in their research on counter terrorism. It is important to note that the variable income is the respondent's reported "household income", which is not solely derived from respondent's annual income, but the combination of individuals living in the same household.

Table 2. Demographic Characteristics

	Frequency (Percent)
Ethnicity and Race	
Mexican American	182 (94.3%)
Non-Mexican American	11 (5.7%)
Gender	
Male	88 (46.1%)
Female	103 (53.9%)
Age	
18 to 20	57 (29.8%)
21 to 23	67 (5.1%)
24 to 26	39 (20.4%)
27 and Over	28 (13.9%)
Annual Household Income	
$0 to $49,999	144 (74.6%)
$50,000 and Over	49 (25.4%)
Educational Attainment Level	
Some College	109 (56.5%)
Bachelor's Degree	64 (33.2%)
More than Bachelor's Degree	20 (10.4%)

Note: N = 193

Educational Attainment Level: Educational attainment was created using the higher education categories used by Welch (2015), Piazza (2015), and Abrajano et al. (2008). Education was measured by asking "what is your highest education level?" Respondents' choices were: (1) Some College, (2) Bachelor's Degree, and (3) More than a Bachelor's Degree. Majority of respondents (57%) were undergraduates who indicated that they had some college

education. The other respondents either completed their bachelor's degree (33.2%), or indicated

that they had more than a bachelor's degree (10%).

Analytical Strategy

Welch (2015) analyzed the mean, standard deviations, and bivariate correlations for her

independent variables and component dependent variable (CDV). My study used ordinary least

squares (OLS) regression. This regression is used to demonstrate the effects of the three main

independent variables and control variables on the dependent variable. The same regression

approach is used to examine the interaction of gender with measures of nationalism,

ethnocentrism, and political affiliation on support for counter-terrorism measures. In coming up

with my CDV, I used a data reduction technique called principal component analysis on the eight

items used by Welch (2015).

Principal Component Analysis

Principal component analysis (PCA) was used to create my component dependent

variable (CDV) for two reasons: (1) It was used as part of Welch's (2015) original study, and (2)

to reduce the eight measure into one component (Field, 2013). Principal component analysis

requires a sufficient sample size, and component loadings that are significant based on Steven's

0.364 minimum threshold value (Fields, 2013).

Table 3 provides the correlation matrix of the eight dependent variables used to create my

CDV. The sample size used to estimate the correlation and the significance of the estimates are

also given. According to Table 3, the sample size is suitable for this type of data reduction

technique. Two methods of interpreting the suitability of data were used: the Kaiser-Meyer-

Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy, and the Bartlett's Test of Sphericity. Using Kaiser-

Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy, a minimum of .50 value determined the suitability

of sample size to be used by PCA (Field, 2013). The Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling

Adequacy score for my study was .851, satisfying the minimum value. A KMO of 1.00 indicates

that the correlations are close, thus PCA should demonstrate distinct and reliable components

(Field, 2013). My CDV was computed using the Anderson-Rubin's scoring method (Field

2013).

The correlation matrix displays variables with different values that need to have a

minimum of .30 and less than .90 to be deemed suitable for data reduction, according to Field

(2013). Kaiser's criterion determined the retention of principal components using the threshold

eigenvalues greater than or equal to 1.00. Another determinant for component suitability is the

component matrix table, which shows how well variables loaded together. The loadings were

found to be strong, and all measures demonstrated compactness. Stevens (2002) created a table

of critical values for which "loadings" were compared, and assessed the adequacy of sample size

and loading values. My study used Stevens (2002) suggestion of providing a sample size of 200,

and setting the significance at values of component loadings of at least .364. My results showed

high loadings on all eight measures, demonstrating one principal component, making the

interpretation adequate using one component. Orthogonal rotation technique was applied to

discriminate between the components and I used Varimax rotation to extract the CDV.

Table 3. Dependent Variable Correlation Matrix

Correlations	Holding prisoners indefinitely without being charged for an offense.	Detaining terrorist suspects without notifying their families or embassies.	Using stressful interrogation techniques to get confessions.	Holding trials that do not involve Bill of Rights protections.	Executing more terrorists.	Wiretapping phones in the United States.	Intercepting emails and other personal electronic information.	Conducting searches and seizures of individuals and their belongings without proper warrants.
	(.838)	(.831)	(.825)	(.789)	(.769)	(.735)	(.635)	(.598)
Holding prisoners indefinitely without being charged for an offense.	**1.000**							
Detaining terrorist suspects without notifying their families or embassies.	.608***	**1.000**						
Using stressful interrogation techniques to get confessions.	.380***	.502***	**1.000**					
Holding trials that do not involve Bill of Rights protections.	.631***	.619***	.499***	**1.000**				
Executing more terrorists.	.386***	.510***	.360***	.449***	**1.000**			
Wiretapping phones in the United States.	.405***	.453***	.482***	.537***	.351***	**1.000**		
Intercepting emails and other personal electronic information.	.478***	.456***	.428***	.587***	.366***	.870***	**1.000**	
Conducting searches and seizures of individuals and their belongings without proper warrants.	.565***	.553***	.407***	.707***	.361***	.620***	.725***	**1.000**

Note. () indicate Component Matrix Loading.
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity = .000,
For the significance of the Component Loading, I use Stevens (2002) rule, see Field (2013).
*** Correlation is Significant ($P < .001$)

Ordinary Least-Squares Regression

Ordinary Least-Squares regression is one of the most popular forms of regression

analysis used in criminology (Walker & Maddan, 2013). The OLS regression models the linear

relationship between the independent and the dependent variable. In building my regression models, I used a minimum .05 level of significance(α) in each of the four regression models. For the different levels of significance, * indicates $P < .05$, ** indicates $P < .05$, and *** indicates $P < .001$. My regression analysis approach takes the form of sequentially building four models (Model 1, Model 2, Model 3, and Model 4). In Model 1, only the measures pertaining to nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation are the independent variables. Model 2 includes gender with the other three main independent variables. The control variables, ethnicity, gender, age, annual household income, and level of education are added to Model 3. The interaction variables are then added to Model 4, which includes gender x nationalism, gender x ethnocentrism, and gender x political affiliation.

CHAPTER IV

FINDINGS

In this chapter, I discuss the findings from Hispanic sample of n=193 students attending a South Texas university. I begin by stating the measures of central tendency for the dependent variable, along with component loadings, then the frequency and percentage of the main independent variables. I then discuss the findings pertaining to my regression analyses mentioned earlier in Chapter 3.

Measure of Central Tendency for Counter-Terrorism Support

Table 4 presents the eight individual counter-terrorism policy measures before they are into one component dependent variable (CDV). In Table 4, I provide the mean, standard deviation, and component loading of each of the eight policy measures. I evaluated each of these means against the 11-point scale (0 is strong support for civil liberties and 10 is strong support for national security) previously described above to indicate the level of support for counter-terrorism over civil liberties. Table 4 provides the mean value of support for each of the eight measures, which are as follows: (1) prisoner indefinite detention, mean is3.96; (2)detention of terrorists without family notification, mean is 4.6; (3)using stressful interrogation techniques for terrorist confessions received higher support than five other questions with a mean of 4.71; (4) holding trials without the Bill of Rights protections received the least amount of support from all counter-terrorism policy measures with a mean score of 3.20; (5) executing more terrorists had the most support from participants with a mean of 6.35; (6) wiretapping phones in the United States, and (7) intercepting emails and other personal electronic information got the same support from respondents with a mean of 4.2; and (8) the last counter-terrorism policy measure was warrantless seizures on persons, which had the least public support with a mean score of 3.37.

Table 4. Support for Counter-Terrorism Policy

Counter-Terrorism Support (0-10 scale, 10= Most Support)	Mean	SD	Component Loading
Holding prisoners indefinitely without being charged for an offense.	3.96	3.45	.735
Detaining terrorist suspects without notifying their families or embassies.	4.60	3.46	.769
Using stressful interrogation techniques to get confessions.	4.71	3.55	.653
Holding trials that do not involve Bill of Rights protections.	3.20	3.44	.838
Executing more terrorists.	6.35	3.62	.598
Wiretapping phones in the United States.	4.20	3.71	.789
Intercepting emails and other personal electronic information.	4.20	3.68	.825
Conducting searches and seizures of individuals and their belongings without proper warrants.	3.37	3.71	.831

Note. Component loadings based on individual contributions to 8-item Counter-Terrorism Support Index.
All component loadings are significant based on Steven's (2002) .364 or more rule.
Eigenvalue for principal component 1 is 4.61; this captures 58% of the variance contained in the original eight policy measures retained.

The component loadings indicated by Table 4 demonstrate compactness, and beyond the minimum required value to be taken as significant. The high loadings for each of the eight measures signifies one component variable, thus can be used to reliably measure one construct, support for counter-terrorism policy. The component loading according to each policy measures was as follows: (1) the prisoner indefinite detention component loading is .735; (2) the detention of terrorists without family notification component loading of .769; (3) using stressful interrogation techniques for terrorist confessions received higher support than five other questions with a component loading of .653; (4) holding trials without the Bill of Rights protections had a component loading of .838; (5) executing more terrorists had a component loading of .598; (6) phone wiretapping has a component loading of .789; (7) email interception has a component loading of .825; and (8) the last counter-terrorism policy measure was

warrantless seizures on persons which has a component loading of .831. All eight measures were measuring different constructs, but based on their loadings, it is safe to name "support for counter-terrorism policy" as the component variable.

Nationalism

Table 5 details the frequency and percentages of the three item nationalism index with the 5-point Likert scale, "1" being "Strongly Agree" and "5" being "Strongly Disagree". The nationalism index measures the pride or patriotic duty an individual has towards his or her country. The first nationalist measure was whether participants agree with the duty of every young American is to honor the national American history, 34% of respondents strongly agreed, and 35% agreed. Participants indicated strong nationalism with this measure. However, respondents shifted their agreement in the second nationalistic measure, when it came to support the US even if the country was in the wrong, 31% of respondents disagreed, and 25% strongly disagreed; this indicates a weak sense of nationalism. Participants demonstrated a high sense of pride after almost the majority of respondents strongly agreed, being 42%, and 41% agreed, this indicates a very strong sense of nationalism.

Ethnocentrism

Table 5 also provides the two-item ethnocentrism index, with the same five-point Likert scale. The ethnocentrism index measures the belief of individuals and the acceptance of different folkways, or cultures other than the US. When participants were asked if they agreed that it was better for the US if different racial and ethnic groups adapted and blend into the larger society, 39% strongly agreed and 29% agreed. Most respondents agreed with the second measure, where the US should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their

own standards, even if they are different from their own, 50% strongly agreed and 33% agreed.

Both measures suggest that respondents held ethnocentric views.

Table 5. Nationalism and Ethnocentrism Frequency and Percentages

Level of Agreement with Statement	1	2	3	4	5
Nationalism					
The first duty of every young American is to honor the national American history.	65 (33.9%)	67 (34.9%)	31 (16.1%)	23 (12%)	6 (3.1%)
People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong.	30 (15.6%)	25 (13%)	30 (15.6%)	60 (31.3%)	47 (24.5%)
The fact that I am an American is an important part of my identity.	80 (41.9%)	79 (41.4%)	12 (6.3%)	16 (8.4%)	4 (2.1%)
Ethnocentrism					
It is better for the country if different racial and ethnic groups adapt and blend into the larger society.	74 (38.5%)	55 (28.6%)	29 (15.1%)	26 (13.5%)	8 (4.2%)
We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own standards, even if they are very different from our own.	95 (49.5%)	63 (32.8%)	24 (12.5%)	6 (3.1%)	4 (2.1%)

Note. Parenthesis indicate valid percentages
Likert scale of 1 to 5 (1 being Strongly Agree and 5 being Strongly Disagree; 3 Not Sure)

Political Affiliation

Table 6 provides the frequency and percentages of respondents' indicated party

affiliation. Most of the respondents indicated that they were Democrat, being 45%. It is no

surprise that the majority of respondents are Democrat because this sample is based from a South

Texas border city that is highly Hispanic and the city is very Democratic. Republicans and

Libertarians made 18% of responses and14% of respondents considered themselves

Independents. Table 6 also shows that there were 23% of responses that did not affiliate with any

political party.

Table 6. Political Affiliation Frequency and Percentages

Party	Frequency (Percentages) N = 202
Republican/Libertarian	37 (18.3%)
Democrat	90 (44%)
Independent	29 (14.4%)
None	46 (22.8%)

Note: Pearson's Chi-Square Test was significant (P < .001).

Regression Results

Model 1

Table 7presents the regression results for Models 1 thru 4. Model 1 shows the effect of

nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation on the component dependent variable,

support for counter-terrorism measures. As model, Model 1 has an ANOVA p-value of .000 (not

shown in Table 7), which means that Model 1 is statistically significant and not likely to have

happened solely by chance. Model 1 explains16% (R^2=.16) of the variance in support with both

nationalism (β = -.200; p<.05) and political affiliation (β = -.433; p<.01) being significant. Model

1 supports both H1 and H3, but not H2.

H1: Hispanics who strongly identify themselves as American are most likely to value

national security from terrorism over protection of one's civil liberties.

H3: Hispanics who are in the Republican party are more likely than persons in the

Democrat and Independent parties to value national security from terrorism over

protection of one's civil liberties.

According to Model 1, nationalism was a significant predictor for support of counter-terrorism

policy. Nationalism had a p-value of .030 (not in your table so why not just say p<.05 as this is

how you declare significance at the bottom of Table 7), and this model indicates a negative

standardized regression coefficient (β=-.200), which indicates a negative relationship with the

dependent variable. Put another way, Hispanic students who hold high nationalism are more

likely to support counter-terrorism policy. The respondents who held high nationalism were

those who supported the most punitive counter-terrorism measures, and identified themselves

with strong American values. The stronger participants portrayed themselves as having

American values and a strong American identity, then the more support they favor counter-

terrorism policies. As a result, H1 is supported. Political Affiliation was also found to be a

significant predictor, with a p-value of .000. Political affiliation has a standardized regression

coefficient of -.319, thus also demonstrating a negative relationship with the dependent variable.

The negative scale means that as participants identify themselves as Republican/Libertarian,

there's an increase for counter-terrorism policy support.

Table 7. Ordinary Least-Square Regression on Support for Counter-Terrorism

		Support for Counter-Terrorism Policy							
		Model 1		Model 2		Model 3		Model 4	
		B	β	B	β	B	β	B	β
Nationalism Index	α=.751	-.070*	-.200*	-.050	-.144	-.049	-.144	-.030	-.088
Ethnocentrism Index	α=.402	.026	.044	.027	.046	.034	.058	.057	.097
Political Affiliation		-.495**	-.319**	-.433**	-.275**	-.416**	-.269**	-.152	-.098
Gender				.752**	.370**	.769**	.383**	1.241*	.617*
Ethnicity						.072	.015	.160	.022
Age						.098	.098	.095	.095
Annual Household Income						.404*	.181*	.398*	.178*
Level of Education						-.376*	-.260*	-.372*	-.257*
GenderXNationalism								-.011	-.061
GenderxEthnocentrism								-.018	-.060
GenderxPolitical Affiliation								-.166	-.229
R^2		.160		.286		.350		.353	
Adjusted R^2		.143		.266		.313		.302	

N = 193

Note. *=p<.05, **=p<.01, and ***=p<.001

Gender (0=female, 1=male)

Ethnicity (0=Mexican American, 1=Hispanic)

Annual Household income (0= less than $49,999, 1=at least $50,000 per annum)

Level of Education (1=Some College, 2=Bachelor's Degree, and 3=More than a Bachelor's Degree)

Model 2

Model 2 includes the three measures pertaining to nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation plus gender as an independent variable. As a whole, Model 2 was found significant with a regression ANOVA p-value = .000. The r-square is 0.286 and adjusted r-Square .266. Only two of the four independent variables were found significant, political affiliation (β = -.275; p <. 01) and gender (β = -,379; p < .01). These results mean that participants affiliated to Republicans/Libertarian Parties (highly conservative) are supportive of national security over civil liberties. Furthermore, males show stronger support for counter-terrorism measures than females. Model 2 results affirm H4: Male Hispanics are most likely than female Hispanics to value national security from terrorism over protection of one's civil liberties.

Model 3

Table 7 also presents Model3 with demographic variables ethnicity, gender, age, annual household income, and education level. Model 3 includes the main independent variables nationalism, partisanship, and ethnocentrism. As a model, Model 3 has an associated p-value of p<.001. In other words, at least one of the predictors in this model has a significant impact on the component dependent variable. In and of itself, this model is able to explain 35% of the variability in the component dependent variable.

Even with the control variables added to the regression Model, political affiliation was still found to be highly significant. However, nationalism was not found significant in this model. Political affiliation (β=-.269; p<.001) and gender (β=.383; p<.001) were significant in Model 3. Political affiliation was the only main independent variable found significant in Model 3. Therefore, H03 is affirmed. The demographic variables were also found significant in this regression model. Only three demographic variables were found significant by regression Model

3, gender, annual household income, and education level. Annual household income (β=.181; p<.001) and level of education (β=-.260; p<.001) were also found significant in Model 3. Based on my results, males were more likely to support counter-terrorism laws than women. Participants with lower level of education tend to support counter-terrorism policy more strongly than participants who have higher level of education. Respondents who earned more annual household income were more likely to support counter-terrorism policy. However, age and ethnicity were not found statistically significant, this might be due to the fact that more than 90% of participants were Hispanic and respondents' age was mostly 18 to 23.

Model 4

Model 4 presents all variables, including the main independent variables with demographic variables; however, this Model also includes the interaction of the three main variables with gender. Thus, Gender X Nationalism, Gender X Ethnocentrism, and Gender X Political Affiliation are included in the analyses. Model 4 was found significant (p<.001); in other words, at least one of the predictors in this model has a significant impact on the component dependent variable. Model 4 has 35% explained variance (R-Square = .353). Nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation were not found significant for this Model. Gender X Nationalism, Gender X Ethnocentrism, and Gender X Political Affiliation were also not significant. Model 4 results do not affirm H4. Nevertheless, the three demographic variables from Model 3 were still found significant in Model 4.

Gender vs. Civil Liberties

Table 8 provides a crosstab analysis of the gender of respondents by three of Welch's dependent variables (1) their support for holding trials without Bill of Rights protections, (2) executing more terrorists, and (3) warrantless searches. This further analysis was done because

of two reasons: (1) there is a gender gap in public support for counter-terrorism policy; and (2) gender makes up most of the explained variance and is found statistically significant in Models 2 through 4. Frequency and percentages are included for each policy, and support levels were truncated from an 11-point scale to a 4-point scale. The scale is as follows: (1) Most support for civil liberties, (2) Some support for civil liberties, (3) Some support for national security measures, and (4) Most support for national security measures. The sample size is 193, and it is not likely to have happened solely by chance with a Pearson's Chi-Square score of .000 significance. The statistics indicate that females offered the least support for counter-terrorism policies if it meant reducing civil liberties. Holding trials without Bill of Rights protections, the execution of more terrorists, and warrantless searches were chosen for further analysis to determine if there was a gender gap in support for counter-terrorism policy.

The statistics for Table 8 is mostly distributed among different levels of support for both genders. The majority of females (67%) do not support holding trials without Bill of Rights protections, only some males (41%) show support of civil liberties over the national security measure. A gender gap was also found in the support of national security over civil liberties when it came to executing more terrorists. Females demonstrated 33% support for the national security measure while the majority of males (67%) supported executing terrorists as a national security measure. Finally, a gender gap was also shown in regard to support for warrantless searches as a national security measure. The majority of females (71%) did not support such warrantless searches in exchange for national while only some males (38%) indicated civil liberty support of warrantless searches.

Table 8. Cross Tabulation of Gender and Counter-Terrorism Policies

	Gender	
	Female	Male
Holding Trials without Bill of Rights*		
Most Support for Civil Liberties	68 (66.7%)	36 (40.9%)
Some Support for Civil Liberties	17 (16.7%)	11 (12.5%)
Some Support for National Security	13 (12.7%)	15 (17%)
Most Support for National Security	4 (3.9%)	26 (29.5%)
Executing More Terrorist*		
Most Support for Civil Liberties	28 (27.5%)	9 (10.2%)
Some Support for Civil Liberties	15 (14.7%)	5 (5.7%)
Some Support for National Security	25 (24.5%)	15 (17%)
Most Support for National Security	34 (33.3%)	59 (67%)
Warrantless Searches*		
Most Support for Civil Liberties	72 (70.6%)	33 (37.5%)
Some Support for Civil Liberties	7 (6.9%)	10 (11.4%)
Some Support for National Security	13 (12.7%)	14 (15.9%)
Most Support for National Security	10 (9.8%)	31 (35.2%)

N = 190

Note. *** Pearson's Chi-Square is Significant ($P < .001$).

Summary

The findings provided in this chapter indicate mixed results, public support was contingent upon the impact that counter-terrorism policy had on respondents' civil liberties and national security. H1 not affirmed, Hispanics who strongly identify themselves as American are most likely to value national security from terrorism over protection of one's civil liberties, based on Model 3. H2 was not affirmed, Hispanic students who are more ethnocentric will support national security over civil liberties than students who are less ethnocentric, based on Model 3. However, H3 is affirmed, political affiliation is significantly related to whether a person values their civil liberties or more national security; Hispanics who are in the Republican party are more likely than persons in the Democrat and Independent parties to value national

security from terrorism over protection of one's civil liberties. Gender was found significant for Models two, three, and four as a main effect, but not as a moderator for the impact of nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation on the dependent variable, support for counter-terrorism policy. Thus, H4, H5, and H6 are not affirmed.

CHAPTER V

DISCUSSION

In this chapter, I discuss the implications of this study through an overview of the eight counter-terrorism policies, and the support of respondents. I look at nationalism, political affiliation, and ethnocentrism of respondents, and discuss the findings. I then provide a detailed discussion of the similarities and differences between male and female respondents. This study found different degrees of support for counter-terrorism policy between male and female respondents, and speculation to the mixed results and gender gap is provided.

Public Opinion and Support for Counter-Terrorism Policy

Research on counter-terrorism policies after 9/11 found major public support for measures that reduced civil liberties and favored punitive action against terrorists (Kam & Kinder, 2007; Moore, 2002) but research conducted several years after 9/11 demonstrated a shift in public attitudes (Piazza, 2015; Welch, 2015). Davis and Silver (2004) and Hetherington and Nelson (2003) found public support for post 9/11 counter-terrorism policies that included telephone wiretapping, warrantless searches, and e-mail interception; despite respondents' right to privacy and due process. Ciuk (2016) and Piazza (2015), found respondents, several years after 9/11, show less support for counter-terrorism policies that were implemented immediately after 9/11. Ciuk (2016) states that public support for counter-terrorism measures change over time. Therefore, from this study's findings and other contemporary studies such as Ciuk (2016), one can speculate that the sense of threat declined as distance from 9/11 increased over time. The public support for counter-terrorism policies is changing as time progresses, where respondents no longer fear for national security.

Policies that meant punitive counter-terrorism measures such as executing terrorists and stressful interrogation techniques were more supported than warrantless searches and Bill of Rights protections policy. The support of punitive measures such as the execution of more terrorists, and the use of stressful interrogation on terrorists supports Welch's (2015) findings. The execution of terrorist was the most supported policy on average, which is the same result for Welch (2015). Respondents were more willing to support counter-terrorism policy when it meant punitive measures against terrorists.

This study had mixed results, some respondents favored counter-terrorism policies and some respondents favored civil liberties protections. The counter-terrorism policies with the least support were policies that reduced civil liberties, such as wiretapping and warrantless searches. The results of this study support Ciuk (2016) and Piazza (2015) as respondents were found to offer least support to counter-terrorism policies that infringed their civil liberties, but this finding is inconsistent with Davis and Silver (2004). Davis and Silver (2004) found that their respondents were willing to give up some of their civil liberties for more national security. Perhaps the reason for the different findings is that this study was conducted recently, while Davis and Silver (2004) did their study relatively close in time to the destruction that happened on US soil on 9/11 and their respondents might have been emotionally vulnerable. This study was conducted 15 years after 9/11 and respondents could have developed different emotions throughout the years. Hetherington and Nelson (2003) found a "rallying effect" phenomenon that could be best represented during the destruction of the twin towers, perhaps the rallying effect could wear-off as distance grows from the occurrence; such as public support.

Nationalism, Political Affiliation, and Ethnocentrism

Model 3 is the best fit model because of three reasons: (1) model fit statistics (R-square and adjusted R-square); (2) incremental change in R-square from Model 1 to Model 4; and the principle of parsimony. In Model 3, political affiliation is the only significant predictor, but nationalism and ethnocentrism are not. Ethnocentrism was not a significant predictor in any of the Models. It is important to note that there was a low reliability for the ethnocentrism scale, which means that the two measures lacked a one-dimensional latent aspect (ethnocentricity). The low value from Cronbach's Alpha suggests that both measures used for the ethnocentricity composite variable did not accurately reflect ethnocentrism. The limitation to the low reliability can be associated to homogenous ethnic characteristic of respondents who identified themselves as Mexican American and Hispanic. The sample of respondents was heavily Mexican American, and respondents might have strong Mexican cultural ties, due to the proximity of the Mexican border. The cultural Mexican identity, along with the highly populated Hispanic city (Laredo) might have affected the ethnocentric values from Li and Brewer's (2004) ethnocentrism measurement. The ethnocentrism measurement is mostly applied to a national study and not a subset of community with low ethnic diversity.

My findings support Li and Brewer (2004), where participants demonstrated strong nationalistic attitudes. Nationalism was found significant only in Model 1, but not significant when gender and demographic variables were added into subsequent models. The strong nationalist finding can be attributed to the respondents, who are undergraduate and graduate students from a South Texas University. The respondents are taught to pledge allegiance to the United States flag since elementary to the high school level. The respondents, being U.S. citizens, are taught to demonstrate loyalty to their country. This study was composed primarily of

a homogenous population, where all the respondents were Hispanic, and mostly Mexican American. Respondents might associate themselves with Mexican nationality, creating the Mex-Tex culture as Thompson (1991) and Mendoza (2011) stated in chapter 1. However, as gender was added to Model 2, nationalism no longer had an influence, meaning that the gender of respondents influenced the support for counter-terrorism policy and nationalism no longer became a significant predictor. Based on the results and regression analysis, female and male respondents have different responses in regard to the amount of support for counter-terrorism policy.

Political affiliation was also found significant in Model 1, Model 2 and Model 3.This study's findings are consistent with Wemlinger (2014) who found that individuals who are conservative, either Republican or Libertarian, are more likely to support counter-terrorism policies than respondents who affiliated themselves with the Democratic or Independent party. Furthermore, Republicans who were male increased the amount of support for counter-terrorism policy than male Democrat respondents. The conservativeness of respondents also indicated an increase of punitiveness for counter-terrorism policies. Respondents who associated themselves to the Republican party offered the most support for the execution of terrorists, and harsh interrogation techniques; this finding indicates that the conservatives in regards to political affiliation is consistent and supports national studies like Hetherington and Nelson (2003) and Sanchez (2006).Hetherington and Nelson (2003) found that respondents who were most conservative and associated themselves to Republican party supported the War on Terror, and were more willing to trade their civil liberties for national security from terrorism. This study also supports Sanchez (2006), where Hispanics' public opinion for politics is similar to White Non-Hispanic. In his study, Sanchez (2006) concluded that Hispanics were as likely to have the

same political attitude as White Non-Hispanic. My finding for political affiliation supports

Sanchez (2006) and Hetherington and Nelson (2003).

Politics is a hot topic discussed through news networks and other public media, and

frames the public opinion (Klarevas, 2002; Nelson et al., 1997). This study could have provided

more findings that influenced Hispanic students' public opinion on counter-terrorism policy, but

public media as an influence for political thought becomes a limitation for this study.

Hetherington and Nelson (2003) state that political affiliation, and political thought are direct

outcomes from public media, such as news networks. A limitation to this study was that

respondents were only asked for their political affiliation, and did not measure any possible

influence from media as Klarevas (2002) and Hetherington and Nelson (2003) found. Asking

respondents' source of information, or preferred news network could have supplemented a

possible cross tabulation between media and political affiliation.

Gender Gap for Counter-Terrorism Policy

Wemlinger (2014) and Piazza (2015) found a gender gap for the support of counter-

terrorism policies. I also found gender differences in support for counter-terrorism policy over

civil liberties protections. Gender is an important variable and explains 13% of the variance in

Model 2. Female respondents gave less support to punitive counter-terrorism policies, and

counter-terrorism policies that reduced civil liberties than male, thus this finding indicates a

gender gap in support for counter-terrorism policy. The presence of the gender gap is evidenced

by Models 2, 3, and 4, and by Table 8 results. Civil liberties are more important to women than

national security; an explanation to this outcome may be attributed to the civil rights struggle of

women in the United States (Schultz, 2016). Female and male support for the three counter-

terrorism policies that are portrayed in Table 8, demonstrate female respondents with most

support for the protection of their civil liberties over national security. The use of warrantless searches and seizures as a counter-terrorism measure was the least supported by female respondents, but male respondents were almost equally supportive for national security. Women have undergone more struggles with civil liberties than men in the United States, and even today, women are fighting for equal pay in some U.S. states (Schultz, 2016). The lack of support for national security from female respondents may thus be attributed to the extent of female civil rights struggle for gender equality.

As previously mentioned in this chapter, and Chapter 1, Laredo has a mixed Mexican-American culture with relatives living on both sides of the border. Laredo faces problems with illegal immigration, and Laredo Hispanic women may have experienced problems with family members from Mexico who illegally enter the US border. The "limited" civil liberties from the "illegal alien" status of husbands or sons who cross the border to support their family back in Mexico may have contributed to a deeper understanding of persons' civil liberties.

The socialization of gender roles can also be an explanation for the different support between national security and civil liberty protections. The socialization of gender roles is the showed behavior where females are taught to be more empathetic, and male are taught to be aggressive and protector of the household (Haider-Markel & Vieux, 2008). Haider-Markel and Vieux (2008) termed the socialization of female roles as "ethic of care", where females are taught to be empathetic over the well-being of other people. The socialization of gender roles is a possible explanation for the gender gap in support for counter-terrorism policy and the support for civil liberties protections over national security from terrorism. It is important to note that male respondents offered mixed support for national security, but also supported the protection of their civil liberties. The difference of gender response is that female respondents were more

consistent with the protection of their civil liberties, but male respondents did not demonstrate that same support consistency as female respondents. This finding supports Piazza (2015) and Wemlinger (2014), who have found less female support for counter-terrorism policy than male.

The mixed results from the four Models, and gender difference in response to the eight counter-terrorism policies can also be explained by the group of participants that were surveyed. Respondents were all Hispanic, from a South Texas border city to Mexico. Illegal immigration is one of the many legal occurrences in Laredo, and even though respondents are U.S. citizens, they may be associated to family members who have undergone civil struggles or human rights hardships from their illegal immigration status. The lack of support for national security over civil liberties is applied to the location of the group of respondents and their familiarity with what it means to hold civil liberties.

Future Directions

The findings from this study suggest more research on the gender gap and the public support for counter-terrorism policies. Future research should explore whether Hispanics in other cities across the US favor national security over civil liberties; taking into account gender and political affiliation of respondents. Researchers should conduct further studies to see if other Hispanic communities from the United States share the same support for counter-terrorism policies as my study, and whether they represent a majority of Democrats with high nationalism. Due to this study's limitation to understand public media framing of political affiliation and support for counter-terrorism policy, future research should implement a measure for respondents' preferred source of information. In light of the significance and contribution of ethnocentrism as a measure, future research should consider only applying ethnocentricity to national studies. Future research should also consider the gender gap in support for counter-

terrorism policy. Recent literature has found less support for counter-terrorism policies, thus future research should study respondents' reasons for the amount of counter-terrorism support (Ciuk, 2016; Piazza, 2015); whether it is emotions, ethnicity, or any particular social aspect associated to the group of respondents.

Conclusion

The Hispanic respondents showed mixed support for counter-terrorism measures which limit civil liberties. Hispanics students are willing to support counter-terrorism measures which focus on the "terrorists", such as executing them or using harsh interrogation techniques to get confessions. Hispanics are willing to support civil liberties when it focuses on their own Bill of rights protections, such as limits on searches without warrant or phone wiretapping. Among nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation, political affiliation is a strong factor impacting support for counter-terrorism policy. Those who hold conservative opinions are more likely to support counter-terrorism policy. The conservativeness of Hispanic students was also a significant predictor for the support of national security over civil liberties, respondents who were associated to the Republican party supported national security over civil liberties. This study found that Hispanic students' public support for counter-terrorism policies was dependent upon their conservativeness or political affiliation, and their respective gender.

This study also found a gender gap for the public support of counter-terrorism policies where Hispanic female students chose civil liberties over counter-terrorism policies and male Hispanic students' public support was distributed between national security and civil liberties. While the literature I provide about the gender gap for public opinion on counter-terrorism mentions a moderating effect of gender, my study found a main effect of gender. Even though there was no interaction effect of gender on nationalism, ethnocentrism, and political affiliation,

gender was significant as a main effect; meaning gender influenced the amount of support for

counter-terrorism policy. Males are more likely to support counter-terrorism measures than

females, including punitive measures such as the execution of terrorists and harsh interrogation

techniques to get confessions from terrorists. The Hispanic students from this study demonstrate

that national security is an important function for the protection from terrorism, but the

infringement of their civil liberties also goes against their nationalistic values.

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APPENDIX A

SURVEY

Civil Liberties V. Securities: A Study of Hispanic Voters' Public Opinion

PROMPT: Many citizens are concerned about specific counter-terrorism measures that came "after" the destruction of the World Trade Center, for what came to be known as the War on Terror. Please tell me how you feel about the following statements?
Please respond to the following questions using an index of 0 to 10, with 0 being "No Support" and 10 being "Strong Support" with the statement.

Holding prisoners indefinitely without being charged for an offense.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Detaining terrorist suspects without notifying their families or embassies.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Using stressful interrogation techniques to get confessions.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Holding trials that do not involve Bill of Rights protections.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Executing more terrorists.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Wiretapping phones in the United States.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Intercepting emails and other personal electronic information.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

Conducting searches and seizures of individuals and their belongings without proper warrants.

0   1   2   3   4   5   6   7   8   9   10

3. In politics today, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Independent, Libertarian or none?

- o   Republican
- o   Democrat
- o   Independent
- o   Libertarian
- o   None of the Above

4. From the list below, please tell me which 2016 Presidential candidate, if any, you would most likely vote for?

- o   Bernie Sanders
- o   Donald Trump
- o   Hillary Clinton
- o   John Kasich
- o   Ted Cruz
- o   None of the Above

5. What is your Gender?

- o Female

- o Male

6. What is your Age?

7. What is your Race, or Ethnicity?

- o White, Non-Hispanic

- o Hispanic, Latino/a

- o Black, or African American

- o American Indian, Native American, Hawaiian or Pacific Islander

- o Asian

- o None of the Above

8. What is your annual Household Income?

- o $0 to $49,999

- o $50,000 and Over

9. What is your highest Education Level?

- o No High School Degree

- o High School Degree or GED

- o Some College

- o Bachelor's Degree

- o More than a Bachelor's Degree

10. If Hispanic, how do you primarily define your national heritage or origin?

    o   Mexican

    o   Other Hispanic

11. Please respond to the following questions using a scale of 1 to 5, with 1 being Strongly Agree and 5 being Strongly Disagree with the statement.

If you feel that you do not have sufficient knowledge on the topic to offer an opinion, please answer, Not Sure.

The first duty of every young American is to honor the national American history.

    Strongly Agree   Agree   Not Sure   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

People should support their country even if the country is in the wrong.

    Strongly Agree   Agree   Not Sure   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

The fact that I am an American is an important part of my identity.

    Strongly Agree   Agree   Not Sure   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

It is better for the country if different racial and ethnic groups adapt and blend into the larger society.

    Strongly Agree   Agree   Not Sure   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own standards, even if they are very different from our own.

    Strongly Agree   Agree   Not Sure   Disagree   Strongly Disagree

END OF SURVEY

APPENDIX B

VITA

CARLOS ALVAREZ

134 G. Mangana Hein Rd. Laredo, Tx 78046 **·** carlosalvarez@dusty.tamiu.edu

EDUCATION

Associate of Science (2012)
Laredo Community College, Laredo, TX
G.P.A: 3.5

Bachelor of Science in Criminal Justice (2014)
Texas A&M International University, Laredo, TX
Magna Cum Laude
G.P.A: 3.85

Master of Science in Criminal Justice (2016)
Texas A&M International University, Laredo, TX
Thesis Concentration: National Security Policy and Public Opinion/Support
G.P.A: 3.625

CERTIFICATIONS

Certificate of Advanced Spanish and Costa Rican Culture
Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica, Heredia, Costa Rica
*International Student Exchange Program– Costa Rica

Texas Public Notary
American Association of Notaries
Commission Expires: 02/19/2015 – 02/19/2019

Master's and Doctoral Level Certificate/Recognizing Plagiarism
Indiana University Bloomington
Certificate ID: 6584960458686464

External Reviewer ~ Research Methods of Social Sciences
Texas A&M International University
7th day of May 2015

SCHOLARSHIP AWARDS, AND UNIVERSITY GRANTS

- Distinguished Budgetary Statement, Secretariat for Administration and Finance
- Hispanic Scholarship Fund/ Coca-Cola Foundation and South Texas Agency **$4,000**
- D.D. Hachar Charitable Trust Fund Scholarship/ **$1,500**
- Guadalupe and Lilia Scholarship (Study Abroad) /**$1,750**
- Dean's Conference Grant/ Alpha Phi Sigma **$2,100**
- Dean's Conference Grant/ Pi Sigma Alpha **$1,336**
- High Honors Magna Cum Laude, Bachelors of Science.
- Certificado de Español Avanzado y Cultura Costarricense/ Universidad Nacional de Costa Rica
- Honor Roll (2012-2013)
- Dean's List (2013-2014)

HONOR SOCIETIES AND ASSOCIATIONS

- Alpha Phi Sigma National Criminal Justice Honor Society/ **President**
- Alpha Kappa Delta International Sociology Honor Society
- Phi Kappa Phi All-Discipline Honor Society
- Pi Sigma Alpha Political Science Honor Society**/ Treasurer and Communications Officer**
- Student Government Association President's Council/ **Presidential Delegate**
- Ancient Free and Accepted Freemasons/ **Laredo Masonic Lodge #547**
- American Association of Notaries/ **Texas Public Notary**

PROFESSIONAL SKILLS

Texas Highway Patrol "Cadet", Texas Department of Public Safety   *September 2016 - Present*
Texas Department of Public Safety, Austin, TX

- The Texas Department of Public Safety (DPS) is the premier law enforcement agency in the state, as well as one of the finest in the nation. To meet the many challenges facing law enforcement today, the Department operates a world-class training program.
- The Law Enforcement Education training program administers a rigorous 23-week recruit school that is both physically and mentally demanding.
- The Texas Department of Public Safety offers Tactical Training with advanced weaponry; including M4 Carbine, Sig Sauer P30, Remington 870 Pump Action Shotgun and Mossberg 590A1 Shotgun. DPS Education, Training and Research opened a modern Firearm's Range in Florence, Texas, on June 1, 2003. This training facility, located on approximately 44 acres, includes a 60-point range, rifle range, shotgun range, tactical shoot house and tactical range. The tactical staff also trains students in the complexities of simulated "life" scenarios, including vehicle pursuit maneuvers.

Graduate Research-Teaching Assistant, Dept. of Social Sciences   *September 2014 - May 2016*
Texas A&M International University, Laredo, TX

- Conducted Social Research to assist Director of Criminal Justice Dr. Frailing and Department Chair Dr. Claudia San Miguel.
- Updated existing faculty publications by visiting accredited Journal Sites.
- Proctored and teach-assisted Criminological Theory to Undergraduate Students, and delivered comprehensive exams to students.
- Completed IRB forms for Texas A&M International University to survey Graduate students.

Language Arts Mentor, Learning Enrichment Center   *January 2012– September 2014*
Laredo Community College, Laredo, TX

- Mentored freshman and sophomore students in English and Spanish Subject areas.
- Collaborated with Language Arts Tutor Coordinator in developing writing skills for struggling undergraduate students.
- Participated in Employee emergency training.

Teacher Assistant, Camilo Prada Child Development Center   *June-December* 2011
Laredo Community College, Laredo, TX

- Engaged in the developmental process of children.
- Participated in child care training.
- Welcomed parents of children and filed registration documents.

Chapter President, National Criminal Justice Honor Society   *November 2012 – December 2015*
Texas A&M International University, Laredo, TX.

- Conduct Social Research to present at the annual Conference of Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences.
- Participated as a founder of a new chapter.
- Collaborated with University Staff to develop formal meetings.
- Developed organization's budget and Tax-exemption forms. Furthermore, primary author for Dean's Conference Grant to Orlando, Florida **($2,100)**.
- Collaborated with Professional Advisors to maintain members engaged with community service.

Chapter Treasurer, National Political Science Honor Society.   *September 2015 – August 2016*
Texas A&M International University, Laredo, TX.

- Conducted Social Research to present at the annual Eugene Scassa Mock Organization of American States at Lafayette, Louisiana. Served as main delegate for Secretariat of Administration and Finance (SAF) Committee; prepared and debated committee's Budgetary Statement. Furthermore, primary author for Dean's conference grant to Lafayette, Louisiana **($1,336)**.
- As Treasurer, main duties included maintaining records of expenditures and finances.
- Developed organization's budget and Tax-exemption forms.
- Collaborated with Professional Advisors to maintain members engaged with research opportunities.

NATIONAL CONFERENCE PRESENTATIONS

- Alvarez, C., Medina, M., & Frailing, K. "Criminal Justice Graduate Student Experience in an Online Setting", *Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences Conference*. Orlando, FL, March 2015.
- Alvarez, C., Medina, M., & Frailing, K. "Criminal Justice Graduate Student Experience in an Online Setting", *Pathways Student Research Symposium*. Corpus Christi, TX, October 2015.
- Alvarez, C. "Secretariat for Administration and Finance"", Eugene Scassa Mock Organization of American States. Lafayette, LA, November 2015.

REFERENCES

- Dr. Kelly Frailing, Dept. of Public Affairs and Social Research, kelly.frailing@tamiu.edu, (956) 326-2662
- Dr. Marcus Antonius Ynalvez, Dept. of Public Affairs and Social Research, mynalvez@tamiu.edu, (956) 326-2621

BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

Carlos Alvarez was born October 15, 1991 in Laredo, Texas. He worked as a graduate research assistant for the Department of Social Sciences at Texas A&M International University (TAMIU). Mr. Alvarez was the co-founder and president of the National Criminal Justice Honor Society at TAMIU, and is a proud alumnus for the International Sociology Honor Society and Phi Kappa Phi Honor Society. He has presented academic research at the Academy of Criminal Justice Sciences, TAMU Pathways, and served as a delegate for Eugene Scassa Mock Organization of the American States. He is part of Laredo Lodge 547, where he was raised to the sublime degree of a Master Mason (Ancient, Free, and Accepted Masons). Mr. Alvarez starting working for the Texas Department of Public Safety on September 2016 as a Texas State Trooper (Cadet). He continues to work on academia, while protecting and serving the Lone Star State as a Texas Peace Officer.