



American Public Opinion on the Use of Torture:
An Analysis of Recent Polling Data and Scholarly Work

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Executive Summary

In this report, we examine the scholarly literature and polling data available about American public opinion on the use of torture in a counterterrorism context. Scholars and polling experts began gauging the American public on this topic after the 9/11 terrorist attacks and are particularly interested in understanding how willing Americans are to accept the use of torture on potential suspects. Public opinion appears to have remained at around a 50/50 split since pollsters began collecting data, and researchers highlight sociodemographic and psychological factors to explain, in part, why some people seem more willing than others to accept the use of torture. There are also a growing number of messaging experiments that scholars have used to gauge how malleable opinions are on the issue. In this report, we find evidence to support the following statements:

- Republicans/Conservatives are more likely than Democrats/Liberals to endorse torture.
- Men are more likely than women to endorse torture.
- Caucasians are more likely than minorities to endorse torture.
- Older ages are associated with greater support for torture.
- Religiosity is associated with greater support for torture.
- Lower education is associated with greater support for torture.
- Lower incomes are associated with greater support for torture.
- Higher individual perceptions of threat are associated with greater support for torture.
- When pollsters frame torture as a longstanding practice, the public is more likely to support its use.
- When pollsters mention torture alongside the 9/11 attacks, the public is more likely to support its use.
- When pollsters describe specific torture methods in detail, the public is less likely to support their use.

Then, at the end of this paper we discuss what other peer organizations have done in relation to American public opinion on the use of torture. We find that this is a newly explored area of research, with much opportunity for both HRW and CVT to be leading pioneers in this field.

Introduction

On the day after the 9/11 attacks, then President George W. Bush said these were an ‘act of war’ and vowed to the American public that he would punish those responsible in what he termed a ‘monumental struggle of good versus evil.’ Five days after this speech, and with the American public demanding heightened security to prevent future terrorist attacks, President Bush kept his promise by signing a still-classified directive giving the CIA full discretionary power to secretly imprison and interrogate detainees (Rothkopf 2014). In the early 2002 his administration established the Guantanamo Bay detention camp, where torture was, and still is, practiced (Human Rights Watch 2017).

The establishment of this detention camp, alongside the 9/11 terrorist attacks, motivated social scientists and journalists to initially question *how* the American public feels about the use of torture. Following the 9/11 attacks, the release of the torture memos and the allegations of misconduct by American soldiers at Abu Ghraib also appear to be to have motivated many of the relevant polls and scholarly literature (Blauwkamp, Rowling, & Pettit 2018; Gronke et al. 2010).

The polling and survey data we use in this report tend to focus on how opinions of torture are directly related to American attitudes towards counter-terrorism, with special emphasis on methods used to obtain information from suspected terrorists. In other words, the public opinion data seeks to understand *how* willing Americans are to accept the use of torture on potential suspects if it means preventing future terrorist attacks and keeping America, and Americans, safe. Researchers have tackled this question by trying to understand the sociodemographic and psychological factors that may predispose Americans’ feelings toward the use of torture. Additionally, researchers have employed different messaging techniques to see how Americans respond to the use of torture in different contexts. Jointly, we have a general understanding of the

conditions under which an American is [or is not] prone to endorse the use of torture. But, this is still a new field of public opinion research, dating back only to 2001. Because of this, we do find gaps in the literature and have many questions. However, in this report we focus on the existing data and information.

We hope the public opinion information presented here inspires others to think more deeply about how we can recast torture practices to the public to raise awareness and garner more opposition for it. This, in conjunction with our interaction(s) with Human Rights Watch and Center for Victims of Torture, highlights the public opinion information we already know, and expands on opportunities for both organizations in this issue area. With a current U.S. president that recently signed an executive order to keep Guantanamo Bay open, it is imperative to understand how the American public feels about torture and what we can do to change the minds of those who support the use of it.

Literature and Polling Data

A. General Opinion

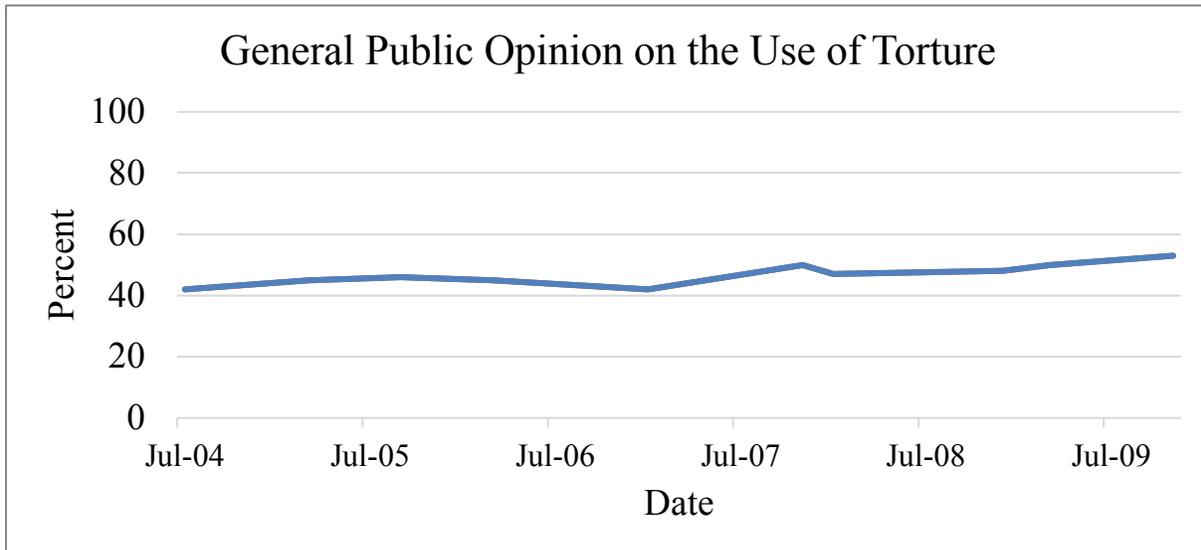
The literature and polling data suggest that American public opinion on the use of torture has remained at a 50/50 split since survey researchers began collecting the data post-9/11 (Pew Research Center 2009).¹ Gronke et al. (2010) reviews 32 of the available public opinion polls from 2001 to 2009 and finds, similarly, that an average of just over 50% of Americans oppose the government's use of torture, while a little less than 50% support its use. Many others have found this same trend, including Thompson, Agiesta, and Benz (2013),² who surveyed 1,008 American adults and learned that 47% of respondents thought the use of torture by US forces could never, or

¹ <http://www.pewforum.org/2009/04/29/the-religious-dimensions-of-the-torture-debate>

² http://www.apnorc.org/PDFs/Balancing%20Act/AP-NORC%202013_Civil%20Liberties%20Poll_Report.pdf

rarely, be justified. As indicated in Figure 1 below, Pew Research Center polls also demonstrate this consistent split over time.

Figure 1: Percentage saying torture is often or sometimes justified, July 2004 to November 2009.



Source: Pew Research Center Surveys

This consistency in public opinion suggests that American public opinion on torture is not easily swayed by changes in administration or specific events. As Figure 1 demonstrates, the public's views were not substantially affected by the change from the Bush Administration, which strongly supported "enhanced interrogation techniques," to the Obama Administration, which disdained these techniques and labeled them torture (see also Mayer & Armor 2012). Recent data from Tyson (2017)³ reinforces the notion that public opinion continues to be split down the middle.

We also find that public opinion on the mention of specific interrogation methods has not changed significantly from 2004 to 2009. Indeed, there is less of a 50/50 split when pollsters specifically mention cruel interrogation techniques. However, as Figure 2 illustrates, the

³ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2017/01/26/americans-divided-in-views-of-use-of-torture-in-u-s-anti-terror-efforts/>

differences in opinion are also rather stagnant. This is controlling for partisan identity, ideology, education, race, sex, and religion. Mayer and Amor (2012) describe the U.S. public’s general attitude toward the use of torture as a ‘consistent ambivalence.’

Figure 2: Approval of specific interrogation methods, 2004–2009

<i>Method</i>	<i>2004</i>	<i>2009</i>	<i>Difference</i>
<i>Not allowing detainee to sleep</i>	60%	52%	-8
<i>Keeping a good over the detainee's head for long periods of time</i>	52%	51%	-1
<i>Bombarding the detainee with loud noise for long periods of time</i>	51%	47%	-4
<i>Forcing detainees to remain in a physically stressful position for an extended period</i>	45%	43%	-2
<i>Using threatening dogs to frighten detainees</i>	37%	37%	0
<i>Exposing the detainees to extreme heat, cold</i>	30%	31%	1
<i>Making the detainee go naked</i>	24%	27%	3
<i>Applying electric shocks to the detainee</i>	16%	17%	1
<i>Punching or kicking the detainee</i>	16%	17%	1
<i>Holding the detainee's head under water</i>	14%	19%	5
<i>Average</i>	35%	34%	-1

Source: PIPA Surveys

Based on these findings, American public opinion is almost evenly split on the use of torture. This brings into question how Americans develop their views on torture, what influences some people to endorse torture while some oppose it, and why broader public opinion does not substantially shift over time.

B. Sociodemographic Factors

Researchers find that a number of sociodemographic factors help predict support for the use of torture. We discuss each of these below.

1. Partisanship and Ideology

Throughout the scholarly literature and polling data, we find evidence that Republicans and conservatives are more likely to endorse torture than Democrats and liberals while controlling for

education, age, race, sex, and religion. Crandall et al. (2009), for example, finds Republicans 29 percentage points more likely than Democrats to endorse torture, while those who identify as conservative are 36 percentage points more likely than self-identified liberals. Figure 3 demonstrates that multiple sources confirm this partisan and ideological difference.

Figure 3: Percentage of Republicans and Democrats who say that torture can sometimes be justified

	<i>Republicans</i>	<i>Democrats</i>
<i>Tyson (2017)</i>	71%	31%
<i>Thompson, Agirsta, And Benz (2013)</i>	66%	39%
<i>Pew Research Center (2011)</i>	71%	45%
<i>YouGov (2014)</i>	73%	33%

Responses from Republicans and Democrats also vary substantially on the use of specific interrogation methods. In 2014, after the release of the Senate torture report, YouGov⁴ conducted a survey of 998 individuals, asking about support for torture and specific interrogation methods. The authors presented respondents with nine different methods, described as “tactics,” and informed them that the CIA had used them in a “post-9/11 detention and interrogation program.” They then asked respondents whether they thought each tactic was acceptable, and Republicans indicated significantly more support for the use of all nine methods. For example, 60% of Republicans said waterboarding was acceptable, compared to only 21% of Democrats. There were also extreme disparities in responses about sleep deprivation (a difference of 37 percentage points between Republicans and Democrats) and threatening physical/sexual harm (a difference of 34 points). Importantly, however, overall support for torture decreased for adherents of both parties when researchers mentioned specific methods.

⁴ <https://today.yougov.com/news/2014/12/12/torture-report/>

The partisan gap in public views of torture may, in part, be caused by perceptions of the status quo in relation to the Republican party. Right-leaning tend to support policy stances described as the status quo, and torture has been reinforced, and endorsed, by many government elites aligned with the Republican party for years. Many Republicans and conservatives have already rationalized the practice and do not wish to disrupt the status quo for their party even though we have evidence to the contrary (Haberman 2017).⁵ Republicans and conservatives also tend to have higher threat perceptions than Democrats and liberals, which will be more thoroughly discussed in later in this report.

Democrats and Democratic elites, on the other hand, indicate far less support for the use of torture. The Obama Administration advocated for a ban on all uses of torture and criticized the Bush Administration's authorization of the practice (Lewis 2014). Democrats and liberals are more likely to be persuaded with evidence that torture is an ineffective practice.

2. Religion

Religiosity also matters substantially. Only 29% of non-religious individuals support the use of torture, while those who identify strongly with a religion are much more supportive. Hindus have the highest levels of support at 69%, followed by Buddhists (53%), and Muslims (43%). Christians stand at 36% (Mayer et al. 2013). However, many of the American polls do not include an analysis of groups other than white evangelicals, white non-Hispanic Catholics, white mainline Protestants, and the religiously unaffiliated; the sample sizes were too small for other religious groups in the U.S. This sample size issue also has prompted polls to clump together race and religion. This means that survey researchers do not often speak about Hindus, Buddhists, and Muslims, emphasizing instead white evangelicals, who appear the most supportive of torture. In

⁵ <https://www.nytimes.com/2017/12/13/opinion/trump-torture-guantanamo.html>

2009, for example, a Pew poll found that 62% of white evangelical Protestants thought torture could “often” or “sometimes” be justified, compared to 51% for white non-Hispanic Catholics (Pew Research Center 2009).

Church attendance may also influence support for torture. Another Pew Research Center survey of 742 American adults found that more than half of people who attend services at least once a week – 54% – said the use of torture against suspected terrorists is “often” or “sometimes” justified, compared to only 42% of people who “seldom or never” attend services. To reiterate, in the lowest rates of U.S. public support for torture in a counter-terrorism context is found among the religiously unaffiliated, with only 40% of those saying torture could “often,” or “sometimes,” be justified (Pew Research Center 2009). Unfortunately, because these findings come from Pew Research, it is unclear whether they are bivariate or multivariate analyses.

3. *Race*

Race also matters. In 2014, YouGov found that 52% of white respondents thought torture could always or sometimes be justified, but that number dropped to 45% for Hispanic respondents, and only 33% for black respondents. Tyson (2017) had a similar finding: 52% of white respondents supported the use of torture, compared to 37% and 40% of blacks and Hispanics, respectively. Figure 4 also shows this discrepancy – Pew Research Center finds that 52% of whites are willing to endorse the use of torture under some circumstances, compared to 40% of Hispanics and 37% of black respondents. Race is also intertwined with party identification, of course, so perhaps this gap is attributable to the fact that whites are more likely to be Republican than minorities (Pew Research Center 2018).⁶

⁶ <http://www.people-press.org/2018/03/20/1-trends-in-party-affiliation-among-demographic-groups/>

4. Age

Public opinion also varies by age, with the youngest respondents being the least supportive of the use of torture. In YouGov’s 2014 poll, only 40% of those in the 18-29 category think torture is always or sometimes justified. That number increases to 45% for the 30-44 category, and 53% for the 45-64 category. Continuing the pattern, a total of 58% of respondents over the age of 65 state that torture can always or sometimes be justified. Tyson’s (2017) study finds

Figure 4: Support for Torture by Sociodemographic Factors

	<i>No Circumstances</i>	<i>Some Circumstances</i>
<i>Total</i>	49	48
<i>Men</i>	44	53
<i>Women</i>	53	44
<i>White</i>	45	52
<i>Black</i>	60	37
<i>Hispanic</i>	56	40
<i>18-29</i>	58	41
<i>30-49</i>	47	51
<i>50-64</i>	48	48
<i>65+</i>	42	54
<i>Rep/Lean Rep</i>	27	71
<i>Conservative</i>	19	79
<i>Mod/Liberal</i>	37	61
<i>Dem/Lean Dem</i>	67	31
<i>Cons/Moderate</i>	63	34
<i>Liberal</i>	74	25

Source: Pew Research Center 2016

similar results: only 41% of respondents aged 18-29 said torture was “often” or “sometimes” justified, compared to 51% of those aged 30-49, 48% of those aged 50-64, and 54% for those aged 65 and up. This may be the result of a relationship with party identification as well. Younger people, especially Millennials (18–33-years-old) are more likely to identify as Democrats (Pew Research Center 2015b).⁷ As Democrats are less likely to support the use of torture, this may in part explain why young people are less likely to support the practice. Again, because this data is taken from Pew Research Center, it remains unclear whether they controlled for other variables.

⁷ <http://www.people-press.org/2015/04/07/a-deep-dive-into-party-affiliation/#party-id-by-race-education>

5. Education

Education is associated with public opinion on the use of torture as well – only 39% of respondents with post-graduate degrees support the use of torture, the lowest level among all the relevant education categories (Pew Research Center 2015a).⁸ For all other education categories included in the survey (as shown in Figure 5°, support for the use of torture is around 50%. Flavin & Nickerson (2014) find a similar trend, noting that individuals whose highest educational attainment is a high school degree are 12 percentage points more likely than those with a college degree to justify torture. This is controlling for other influences, such as partisanship, age, religion, race, and sex.

Education may have a relationship with partisanship as well. Individuals with more education tend to be more liberal and identify with the Democratic Party (Pew Research Center 2015b). In sum, the evidence here suggests that the more education you have, the less likely you are to endorse torture.

Figure 5: Percentage of individuals saying that torture to gain information from suspected terrorists can be justified, as a function of educational attainment

<i>Education Level</i>	<i>Always</i>	<i>Sometimes</i>	<i>Rarely</i>	<i>Never</i>
<i>Post-graduate</i>	13	26	21	37
<i>College graduate</i>	19	30	20	28
<i>Some College</i>	21	33	21	23
<i>High School or less</i>	21	31	19	26

Source: PEW Research Center 2015a

6. Gender

Gender is also a key factor in determining support for the use of torture. YouGov (2014) finds that 39% of women think the use of torture could always or sometimes be justified, whereas 49%

⁸ <http://www.people-press.org/2015/01/12/terrorism-worries-little-changed-most-give-government-good-marks-for-reducing-threat/>

of men agree with the statement. Additionally, women were more likely than men to say they were not sure; 14% of women said they were “not sure,” compared to only 5% of men (YouGov 2014). Tyson (2017) also finds gender disparities. Of those surveyed in his study, 53% of men supported the use of torture, compared to only 44% of women (Tyson 2017). Wemlinger (2014) additionally finds evidence that males are more likely to endorse torture practices by 11 percentage points, and this study controls for other variables that may influence one’s views of torture practices.

C. Threat Perception

Deep-rooted psychological traits may also explain, in part, views on the use of torture. For example, increased threat perceptions lead to an increased support for the use of torture among men, but not women (Lizotte 2017). However, mothers close this gender gap because women with children see themselves as primary protectors of their children and will promote torture practices if these practices keep their children safe (Wemlinger 2014). In other words, when mothers feel a *threat* they will do anything to protect their children, even if it means inflicting harm on someone else.

In the survey literature, increased respondent threat perceptions are positively associated with greater support for the use of torture (Conrad et al. 2017). Individuals with high threat perception levels, moreover, more readily resort to discriminatory attitudes and behavior to reduce social uncertainty in the face of threat (Kinder and Sears 1981). Conservatives are especially responsive to threatening stimuli, and as such, tend to support policies that side with authority and tradition to ward off danger. Liberals, by contrast, are more concerned with diversity and change. Conservatives have also been shown to display more discriminatory attitudes toward ‘outsiders’ that are perceived to be a threat (Kinder and Sears 1981). Then, perhaps, conservatives tend to support the use of torture more so than liberals because they perceive interrogated suspects as more

of a threat to the United States. Caucasian individuals are also more likely to have higher levels of threat perceptions than minority groups. Conrad et al. (2017) finds that Caucasian respondents perceive a greater threat when terrorism/criminal suspects have Arab or Latino sounding names, and support for torture increases when minority-sounding names are used compared to Caucasian names (Conrad et al. 2017).

Lastly, personal experience can also influence one's views toward torture. Support for torture can increase when people feel a personal closeness to the potential victim of the perpetrator, or the threat, in the crisis (Houck et al. 2014). In contrast, if an individual has experienced violence in his/her life or has been a victim of or witness to an assault, they are less likely to support the use of torture (Richards, Morrill, & Anderson 2012). Those with high levels of trust in the government are also more likely to support torture, perhaps because they have faith that the current government can correctly identify the right persons to interrogate harshly.

D. Framing

Because American public opinion on the use of torture has been studied for less than two decades, there is little research looking specifically at how different frames influence Americans' views of torture. Framing in this context is how the use of torture is presented to the audience. These frames can influence the choices people make about how to process torture practices. However, it is important to note that the magnitude and significance of framing effects are highly conditional (Chong and Druckman 2007). For example, frames received later in time have a disproportionate impact on preferences (Chong and Druckman 2010). If an individual is exposed to an anti-torture message and then a pro-torture message the next week, she is more likely to remember the reasons to support torture rather than oppose it. Despite this, framing is still an

important way to understand under what circumstances people will be more [less] willing to accept the use of torture. We will parse through the existing literature on this topic in this section.

Crandall et al. (2009) finds that when torture is framed as a longstanding practice (i.e. as going on for more than 40 years), it garners more support from the public and is seen more as an effective practice. Contrarily, when the same torture practices are described as a new phenomenon, they tend to lose support from the American public. Figure 6 shows the exact phrasing of the two statements.

Figure 6: New Practice v. Old Practice Frame

New Practice Frame
The use of stress by U.S. forces when questioning suspects in the Middle East is in the news. <i>This kind of stress interview is new; according to some reports, it is the first time it has been widely used by the U.S. military.</i>
Old Practice Frame
The use of stress by U.S. forces when questioning suspects in the Middle East is in the news. <i>This kind of stress interview is not new; according to some reports, it has been used for more than 40 years by the U.S. military.</i>

Moreover, Sniderman & Theriault (2004) find that when individuals receive competing messages from an anti-torture frame and a pro-torture frame, the effects of the messaging are often cancelled out. For examples of pro- and anti-torture frames, see Figure 7 below.

Figure 7: Anti-Torture v. Pro-Torture Frame

Pro-Torture Frame
The United States has previously engaged in the use of torture against suspected terrorists to gather important information about potential terrorist attacks. <i>Many argue that this practice has been crucial in identifying and preventing terrorist attacks.</i>
Anti-Torture Frame
The United States has previously engaged in the use of torture against suspected terrorists to gather important information about potential terrorist attacks. <i>Such practice is a violation of both constitutional and international law.</i>

Furthermore, if specific methods of torture are explicitly described, such as waterboarding, forced nudity, and sexual humiliation, approval for torture tends to decrease for women (Haider-Market & Vieux 2008). The event primed matters too – Blauwkamp et al. (2018) finds that 51% of respondents favored torture when primed with 9/11 and only 35% favored torture when primed with torture techniques. Partisan cues can also be primed by the framing of the question, as a Bush Administration priming caused support to drop for both Democrat and Independents. Put more simplistically, when people are asked about torture and primed with an administration, they are more likely to view torture through a partisan lens.

Question Phrasing

The language used in these polls to gauge perceptions of torture can differ considerably as well, which may impact respondents' results. Examples of variations in question phrasing include the use of the word "prisoner" instead of "suspected terrorist," and calling the methods "interrogation techniques" rather than "torture". To illustrate with a concrete example, Drake (2014)⁹ asks about justifications regarding the torture of "suspected terrorists" and noted that the purpose of torture was to elicit "important information." In this context, 53% of respondents indicate that torture could sometimes or always be justified. On the other hand, Tyson (2017) simply asks about whether there were justifications for torture in the context of "U.S. counterterrorism efforts," and does not mention suspected terrorists or the positive consequences of torture. In that case, 48% of respondents state that torture could sometimes be justified. The answer choices also have differences. Drake (2014) allows respondents to say torture was often/sometimes or rarely/never justified. In contrast, Tyson (2017) asks respondents only whether

⁹ <http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2014/12/09/americans-views-on-use-of-torture-in-fighting-terrorism-have-been-mixed/>

the use of torture was acceptable in “some circumstances” or “no circumstances.” For a review of the types of questions asked by different surveys, see the appendix.

These distinctions in question phrasing and answer choices may also help explain why support for individual methods was considerably lower than overall support for the use of torture found in other polls. For example, only 18% of survey respondents approved of “forcing prisoners to remain naked and chained in uncomfortable positions in cold rooms for several hours,” whereas a 2008 poll indicated that 43% of respondents thought that “torture can be used to gain important information” either sometimes or often (Carlson 2005a; Pew Research Center 2008).¹⁰

Overview of Peer Organizations’ Research on Public Opinion

Most peer organizations do not publicly utilize public opinion data. Organizations that we assessed can be found in the appendix. Minimally, if such data *is* being used, it is neither visible nor available on their websites. These organizations may be utilizing public opinion data and framing methods in order to tailor their content and make it more effective, but there are no visible signs of polls being conducted or used by these peer organizations available online.

Amnesty International appears to be the only peer organization we reviewed that both openly utilizes and shares public opinion data, as well as conducts surveys of its own. In 2014, Amnesty International partnered with GlobeScan to conduct a survey of approximately 21,000 individuals in 21 countries regarding their attitudes towards torture (Amnesty International 2014).¹¹ This included a combination of face-to-face and telephone interviews. However, while the hard data is presented in a clear and concise way on their website, little to no analysis is provided; the organization missed the opportunity to describe the implications of its findings.

¹⁰<http://news.gallup.com/poll/15160/americans-frown-interrogation-techniques.aspx>;
<http://www.pewresearch.org/fact-tank/2008/06/13/torture-justified/>

¹¹ <https://www.amnestyusa.org/pdfs/GlobalSurveyAttitudesToTorture2014.pdf>

Implications and Recommendations

There currently exists a unique gap in both polling data and scholarly literature about public opinion on the use of torture. The vast majority of peer organizations do not commission or publicly utilize such information in their messaging. There are several key demographics that can be targeted with messaging against the use of torture. For example, men who identify as Republican/conservative, who are older, less educated, and from poorer backgrounds have the highest levels of support for the use of torture.

Question phrasing and framing also has significant impacts on public opinion on the use of torture. Introducing the use of torture as a new practice, rather than an established one, decreases support for the use of torture. In contrast, priming individuals with the attacks of September 11, 2001 tends to increase support for the use of torture. How questions are phrased can also impact results. For example, using “suspected terrorist” instead of “prisoner” tends to increase support for the use of torture, while replacing “torture” with “interrogation techniques” decreases such support.

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Appendix

Table 1: Various Wording of Public Opinion on Torture Questions

Source/Year	Question Used to Gauge Perception of Torture	Potential Responses	Results
Tyson 2017	Thinking about US <u>anti-terrorism</u> efforts, which comes closer to your view? There are ...	(1) NO circumstances in which torture is acceptable (2) Some circumstances in which torture is acceptable	(1) 49% (2) 48%
Wike 2016	Use of torture by our government could be justified against people <u>suspected of terrorism</u> to try to get <i>information</i> about possible attacks in our country	(1) Yes (2) No	United States: (1) 58% (2) 37%
Drake 2014 and Pew Research Center 2011	Torture to gain <i>important information</i> from <u>suspected terrorists</u> can be justified...	(1) Often/sometimes (2) Rarely/never or (1) Often (2) Sometimes (3) Rarely (4) Never (5) Don't know	Drake 2014 (1) 53% (2) 42% Pew Research Center 2011 (1) 19% (2) 34% (3) 18% (4) 24% (5) 4%
Pew Research Center 2009	The use of torture against <u>suspected terrorists</u> can _____ be justified.	(1) Often, (2) Sometimes (3) Rarely (4) Never (5) Don't know/ Refused	(1) 15% (2) 34% (3) 22% (4) 25% (5) 4%
Heimlich 2008	The use of torture can be justified to gain <i>key information</i> ...	(1) Often (2) Sometimes (3) Rarely (4) Never	(1) 12% (2) 31% (3) 25% (4) 29%
Carlson 2005a	Here is a list of possible interrogation techniques that can be used on <u>prisoners</u> . Do you think it is right or wrong for the US government to use them on prisoners suspected of having	(1) Right (2) Wrong (3) No opinion	(1) 49% (2) 48% (3) 2%

<i>information</i> about possible terrorist attacks against the United States?				
Carlson 2005a	How about. . . (A) Forcing prisoners to remain naked and chained in uncomfortable positions in cold rooms for several hours,	(1) Right	(A)	
		(2) Wrong	(1) 18%	
		(3) No opinion	(2) 79%	
	(B) Having female interrogators make physical contact with Muslim men during religious observances that prohibit such contact,		(3) 3%	(B)
			(1) 12%	(1) 12%
			(2) 85%	(2) 85%
	(C) Strapping prisoners on boards and forcing their heads underwater until they think they are drowning,		(3) 3%	(3) 3%
			(C)	(C)
			(1) 16%	(1) 16%
	(D) Threatening to transfer prisoners to a country known for using torture, and		(2) 82%	(2) 82%
			(3) 2%	(3) 2%
			(D)	(D)
	(E) Threatening prisoners with dogs		(1) 35%	(1) 35%
			(2) 62%	(2) 62%
			(3) 3%	(3) 3%
Carlson 2005b	Will you be willing – or not willing – to have the US government torture suspected terrorists if they may know <i>details about future terrorist attacks</i> against the US?	(1) Yes, willing	(1) 38%	
		(2) No, not willing	(2) 56%	
		(3) No opinion	(3) 6%	

Peer Organizations Reviewed

American Civil Liberties Union
 Amnesty International USA
 Appeal for Justice
 Bill of Rights Defense Committee/Defending Dissent Foundation
 Center for Constitutional Rights
 The Constitution Project
 Human Rights First
 National Association of Criminal Defense Lawyers
 National Religious Campaign Against Torture
 Open Society Policy Center
 OpenTheGovernment.org
 Physicians for Human Rights
 Union for Reform Judaism

Win Without War
Physicians 4 Human Rights
Youth for Human Rights