**Stereotypes of Muslims and Support for the War on Terror**

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**Abstract**

We investigate Americans' stereotypes of Muslims. We distinguish specific dimensions of stereotypes and find that negative stereotypes relating to violence and trustworthiness are commonplace. Furthermore, these stereotypes have consequences: those with less favorable views of Muslims, especially in terms of violence and trustworthiness, are more likely to support several aspects of the War on Terror. Our findings contrast with some previous research that emphasizes the role of a generalized ethnocentrism, rather than specific stereotypes of Muslims, in explaining public opinion in this domain. We argue that citizens do use specific stereotypes when there is a close correspondence between the dimension of the stereotype and the policy in question.

Since September 11, 2001, much of American politics and governance has centered on the "War on Terror" and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq.[1] Despite their differences, these wars have a common feature: an interaction between the United States and the Muslim world. This interaction raises two important but under-explored questions: First, what do Americans think about Muslims living in the United States and elsewhere? Second, do these attitudes toward Muslims shape attitudes toward the War on Terror and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq?[2]

Political issues often have a group-centric basis, whereby the group implicated by an issue is central to the politics of that issue and to attitudes about that issue. Scholars have known this for a long time, at least since Converse's (1964) seminal work, and have identified group-centrism in attitudes about many domestic policies, such as welfare, and attitudes about foreign policy during World War II and the Cold War. However, very few studies have examined the War on Terror, even though the "enemy" in this war has been repeatedly identified by its religious identity. Of course it is clear, both in reality and often in the rhetoric of political leaders, that the War on Terror implicates a small subset of Muslims. But despite attempts to differentiate groups like al-Qaeda from Islam writ large, group-centrism may affect public opinion about the War on Terror, with those having derogatory attitudes about Muslims more likely to support this war.

Extant research has uncovered unfavorable attitudes toward Muslims, Muslim-Americans, and Islam generally (Davis 2007; Panagopolous 2006; Traugott et al. 2002) and found that those attitudes originate in broader concerns about terrorism (Huddy et al. 2005), evaluations of racial and cultural outgroups (Kalkan, Layman and Uslaner 2009), and authoritarianism (Sniderman, Hagendoorn, and Prior 2004). However, this research does not delve deeply into the specific content of attitudes toward Muslims and Muslim-Americans. The first contribution of this study is to identify in American public opinion the specific stereotypes of both Muslims and Muslim-Americans that are most prevalent. We draw on theories of stereotype content to identify two distinct dimensions of stereotypes—warmth and competence—and show that, while on average Americans evaluate Muslims less favorably overall than they do many other social groups, these evaluations not uniformly unfavorable. Negative warmth stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans—i.e., as violent and untrustworthy—are particularly common.

The second contribution of this study is to delineate how stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans structure support for the War on Terror. Previous studies of group-centrism and the War on Terror have focused on ethnocentrism, a generalized denigration of outgroups (Kam and Kinder 2007), or examined only the connection between overall affect toward Islam and policies regarding surveillance of Muslims in the United States. Our study elaborates on this research in two important ways.

First, drawing on Converse's insight regarding the importance of "linking information" that connects groups to policy issues, we argue that attitudes toward the War on Terror should depend more on attitudes toward Muslims than on a generalized ethnocentrism. Our analysis supports this argument. The denigration of Muslims, not an overall denigration of outgroups, is more strongly associated with support for the War on Terror. Second, we argue that warmth stereotypes ought to be more important than competence stereotypes in explaining support for the War on Terror. We then show that Americans who consider Muslims to be violent and untrustworthy are more likely to support the War on Terror. Muslim-American stereotypes, by contrast, are not strongly associated with support for the War on Terror, suggesting that the available linking information does not connect them as closely to policies in this domain.

These findings produce a more theoretically and empirically refined portrait of group-centrism in the War on Terror and, more generally, help to clarify the relationship between evaluations of groups and policy preferences. One implication of our findings is that citizens use stereotypes in relatively nuanced ways. Although the group-centric basis of policy preferences is commonly assessed with omnibus measures of attitudes toward groups, specific stereotypes might be related in different ways to policy preferences depending on how policy debates intersect with particular beliefs about groups. Stereotypes will matter more when there is a close correspondence between the dimension on which the group is stereotyped and the policy in question. Distinguishing among stereotype dimensions thereby illuminates not only the true contours of prejudice and but also its consequences.

**Theories of Stereotype Content**

Stereotypes—what Lippman (1922) called "maps of the world"—exemplify the universal human inclination to categorize. We categorize other individuals as members of groups and assume that the

perceived characteristics of those groups, the stereotypes, characterize those individuals. But what are the specific characteristics or traits attributed to a group? Psychological research on stereotype content and international relations research on image theory suggest two central dimensions of stereotypes.

The first and primary dimension of stereotypes gets at this question: will they hurt me or help me? This dimension of stereotype content centers on a group's intentions and has been labeled "warmth" (Fiske et al. 2002), "morality" (Wojciszke 2005), and "social desirability" (Phalet and Poppe 1997). We adopt the label "warmth" here. The second dimension of stereotypes captures how capably or effectively actors accomplish their goals. This too is relevant to assessing how another person or group may affect us. It connotes their ability to act on their intentions (Phalet and Poppe 1997) and includes such attributes as intelligence, skill, and creativity (Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2007). It has been labeled "competence" (Fiske et al. 2002; Wojciszke 2005) and we adopt that label as well. Both dimensions have been found to characterize evaluations of persons (Rosenberg, Nelson, and Vivekananathan 1968), small groups (Bales 1950), and social groups (Fiske et al. 2002; Phalet and Poppe 1997). In short, "warmth and competence are reliably universal dimensions of social judgment across stimuli, cultures, and time" (Fiske, Cuddy, and Click 2007: 82).

Image theory generates expectations about how international actors will be perceived and suggests dimensions similar to warmth and competence (Alexander, Brewer, and Herrmann 1999). The first component of image formation is "goal compatibility." The compatibility of actors' goals speaks to the dimension of warmth: an actor whose goals differ from yours is perceived as more dangerous. The second component of image formation is the relative status and power of actors. Status and power speak to the abilities of the actor—that is, to how able they are to get what they want in the international arena. It is analogous to the dimension of competence.

Given these dimensions, how will specific groups be perceived in terms of warmth and competence? The answer depends on prevailing patterns of intergroup relations and on the media coverage that often reflects those patterns. Groups who do not compete with the salient ingroup and share their goals will be seen as "warmer" and less dangerous. Groups who have amassed power and status will be seen as more competent, while lower status and less powerful groups will be viewed as less competent.

**The Content of Stereotypes about Muslims**

What do these theories predict about how Americans might stereotype Muslims? We expect that many Americans will stereotype Muslims negatively on the warmth dimension—that is, as threatening and violent. Americans have little reason to perceive that their goals and those of many Muslims are compatible. Historical and contemporary depictions of Muslims in both the entertainment and news media have emphasized their hostile intentions (Karim 2003; Said 1997; Shaheen 2009). For example, Sheikh, Price, and Oshagan (1995) find that news stories about Muslims often involved crises, war, and conflict. Although most stories in their study were positive or neutral in overall tone, slightly more than half of these stories also included terms such as "fundamentalist," "militant," "terrorist, "radical," or "extremist." Similarly, Nacos and Torres-Reyna (2007) find that, in the year prior to September 11, voices alleging American Muslim and Arab support for terrorism were twice as common as those rejecting this allegation. In this period, 31 percent of textual depictions of American Muslims and Arabs were negative and 44 percent were neutral or ambiguous. In the six months after September 11, coverage became somewhat more positive (see also Schildkraut 2002: 523-25; Weston 2003)—due in part to sympathetic stories about the challenges facing American Muslims— but this shift proved short-lived. There is, in short, considerable reason to believe that many Americans would have negative stereotypes of Muslims on the warmth dimension.

It is less clear, however, that Americans will negatively stereotype Muslims in terms of competence. On the one hand, we might expect Americans to stereotype Muslims as relatively "incompetent." Some writing about the Islamic world portrays Muslims as insufficiently rational or intellectual. Viorst (1994: 67) writes of Muslims and Arabs as having an "intellectual weakness." Some depictions of Muslims or related populations also portray them as lazy. Shaheen's (2009) survey of film portrayals of Arabs identifies the recurring figure of the "wealthy sheik," who is "slothful" and "indolent" (25, 27). Arabs and Muslims therefore appear to lack both warmth and competence. Said's (1997: 8) characterization implicitly suggests both dimensions. He argues that the prevailing portrait of Muslims "reduc(es) them all to a special malevolent and unthinking essence."

On the other hand, Muslims are also portrayed as somewhat competent. In terms of concepts like

power and status, Muslims are not necessarily considered inferior. Episodes of Muslim violence and the ubiquity of their portrayal as "villains" (Shaheen 2009) suggest their power. Moreover, the "wealthy sheik" is at least wealthy, signaling a certain status. In the typology of image theory, Muslims may resemble the category of "enemy"—one whose goals are incompatible with yours but is also commensurate in power and status. Characteristics of "enemies"—"hostile, untrustworthy, monolithic, and opportunistic" (Alexander, Brewer, and Herrmann 1999: 80)—evoke common depictions of Muslims.

Ultimately, stereotypes of competence are less one-sided and appear less frequently in the media than do stereotypes related to warmth. Thus, depictions appear more consistently negative with regard to warmth. We expect that Americans' evaluations of Muslims and Muslim-Americans will mirror these depictions: Americans will tend to evaluate Muslims and Muslim-Americans more negatively in terms of warmth than in terms of competence. This is consistent with what Fiske et al. (2002) report when they included "Muslims" among a number of groups in their study of stereotype dimensions (although their findings are based on non-random samples).

Will there be differences between evaluations of Muslims and evaluations of Muslim-Americans? Although attitudes toward both groups have common origins (Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009), attitudes toward Muslims-Americans are more favorable than attitudes toward Islam, Arabs in the Middle East, Palestinians, and Muslims (Nisbet, Ostman, and Shanahan 2007; Traugott et al. 2002). Furthermore, in the wake of September 11, news accounts of Muslim-Americans tended to be favorable, often discussing the backlash against Muslim-Americans during this time (Nacos and Torres-Reyna 2003, 2007; Weston 2003); prime-time television also contained sympathetic portrayals (Alsultany 2008). We thus expect that Muslim-Americans will be evaluated more positively than Muslims, particularly in terms of warmth.

**Measuring Stereotypes of Muslims**

Public polling suggests that many Americans have unfavorable views of Muslims, Arab-Americans, Muslim-Americans, and Islam (Nisbet, Ostman, and Shanahan 2007; Panagopolous 2006). For example, a series of Pew surveys from 2002-2006 found that only about half of respondents had a favorable opinion of Muslims. In a March 2006 ABC Poll, about one-third of respondents said that Islam "encourages violence,"

and 58 percent said that there are more "violent extremists" within Islam than in other religions. These findings are suggestive but insufficient. An ideal set of indicators would first compare Muslims to Muslim-Americans as well as other groups, thereby suggesting whether views of Muslims or Muslim-Americans are distinctive. Second, it would speak to the content of stereotypes. Although public polls have asked some questions in this vein—e.g., questions about whether Islam is a violent religion—there has been no systematic comparison of different traits.[3]

To compare Muslims to other groups, we draw on the 2004 American National Election Study (ANES). For the first time, the ANES added "Muslims" to the list of groups that respondents evaluate on the familiar "feeling thermometer"—a 0-100 scale where 0 indicates a very cool feeling and 100 a very warm feeling. The ANES allows us to compare feelings toward Muslims to those toward whites, blacks, Catholics, Jews, and others. However, the ANES does not enable us to investigate specific stereotypes of Muslims or to compare both Muslims and Muslim-Americans to each other and to other groups. To do so, we collected data as part of the 2006 and 2007 Cooperative Congressional Election Studies (CCES). These surveys were administered on-line to a cross-section of American adults and included both pre- and post-election waves. (See the auxiliary materials for more details on the CCES.) We pool the two surveys in the following analysis.

In the pre-election wave, CCES respondents were asked to rank groups on four different trait dimensions: peaceful-violent, trustworthy-untrustworthy, hardworking-lazy, and intelligent-unintelligent. Each dimension was measured with a 7-point scale. These four trait dimensions may not capture all extant stereotypes of Muslims, but they do capture trait dimensions that figure prominently in portrayals. Later we demonstrate that these four trait dimensions tap the two dimensions of stereotype content. All respondents evaluated four groups on each trait dimension (whites, blacks, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans) and were then randomly assigned to evaluate either Muslims or Muslim-Americans. (The auxiliary materials present more details on these items.)

**The Contours of Stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans**

We begin by comparing attitudes toward Muslims and other groups, drawing on the ANES feeling thermometers. Figure 1 presents the average thermometer scores for 10 different groups and horizontal lines

indicating the 95 percent confidence interval around the mean. We focus on white non-Hispanic respondents, none of whom is Muslim, to provide a clean comparison between the ingroup (whites) and the other groups.

[insert Figure 1 about here]

The figure shows that white respondents rated whites most favorably, but rated most other ethnic groups warmly as well. The average ratings of blacks, Asian-Americans, and Hispanic-Americans, while lower than those of whites (p<.05), are all in the high 60s. White respondents also tended to feel warmly toward two religious groups, Jews and Catholics, but less warmly toward Christian Fundamentalists. However, they felt much more coolly toward Muslims, whose average thermometer score is just above 50. Only gays and lesbians and illegal immigrants were evaluated less favorably. Black and Hispanic respondents also rated Muslims less favorably than most of these groups (data not shown). Thus, while Americans' feelings toward Muslims are slightly favorable in absolute terms, they appear to like Muslims less than most other groups.

Does this lack of favorability reflect negative stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans? Figure 2 presents the averages of the CCES stereotype trait items for each of the five groups. Again, we focus on non-Muslim white respondents. Higher averages indicate more unfavorable beliefs (i.e., more violent and less peaceful).[4] Each plot in Figure 2 is scaled from 3 to 5, with a vertical line at the midpoint (4). These averages fall closer to the midpoint of the underlying scale than to the extremes (1 or 7), suggesting that most respondents do not think any group strongly embodies either positive or negative traits.

[insert Figure 2 about here]

These data confirm our primary expectation: respondents rated Muslims and Muslim-Americans less favorably in terms of warmth than in terms of competence. On average, respondents saw both Muslims and Muslim-Americans as more violent than peaceful and as more untrustworthy than trustworthy. However, with regard to competence, the opposite is true: on average, Muslims and Muslim-Americans were perceived as more hardworking than lazy and as more intelligent than unintelligent.[5] In the absolute, fairly large fractions of respondents viewed Muslims unfavorably on the two warmth trait dimensions. Forty-five percent of respondents placed Muslim-Americans on the "violent" side of the spectrum, and 51 percent placed Muslims on this side of the scale. These numbers are at or above the fraction of whites (44%) who placed

blacks on this side of the scale—and this commonplace portrayal of blacks is considered evidence that "negative racial characterizations are openly and routinely expressed" (Sniderman and Piazza 1993: 37).

Contrary to our expectation, respondents did not differentiate Muslims from Muslim-Americans. To the degree that they attributed negative traits to Muslims, they attributed them to Muslim-Americans as well—a result that echoes the findings of Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner (2009). We do find that respondents differentiate Muslims and Muslim-Americans from other ethnic groups, however. Although global evaluations of Muslims are less favorable than those of many other groups (see Figure 1), evaluations vary across stereotype dimension. White respondents consider both Muslims and Muslim-Americans significantly less trustworthy and more violent than any other group. With regard to competence, however, white respondents do not always evaluate Muslims and Muslim-Americans more negatively than the other groups. Both blacks and Hispanics are perceived as slightly less intelligent than Muslims and Muslim-Americans (although in case of Muslim-Americans the differences are not significant) and blacks are perceived as lazier.

A final question is whether these four trait dimensions tap the separate dimensions of competence and warmth or a single underlying dimension such as generalized affect toward Muslims or Muslim-Americans. We estimated separate confirmatory factor analytic models for Muslims and Muslim-Americans, in one case specifying a single underlying dimension and in the other case specifying two dimensions, with the trait dimensions associated with warmth and competence loading on separate dimensions. For evaluations of both groups, the two-dimensional model was a significantly better fit to the data than the one-dimensional model.[7] The correlations among the two dimensions was 0.75 for evaluations of Muslims and 0.72 for evaluations of Muslim-Americans—suggesting that even if these evaluations reflect distinct dimensions, they are nevertheless strongly related.

In sum, we have uncovered three key findings. First, stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans have specific content: they involve the sense that Muslims, whether identified as Americans or not, tend to be violent and untrustworthy, but not lazy or unintelligent. A general coolness toward Muslims—evident in feeling thermometers—does not imply negative evaluations on every stereotype dimension, either in the absolute or relative to other groups. As a consequence, one cannot easily generalize about whether Muslims

are evaluated more or less favorably than other groups in the United States. The answer depends on the dimension of evaluation. Second, Americans consider Muslim-Americans and Muslims similar on most dimensions. Finally, negative stereotypes on the warmth dimension are prevalent. Large pluralities and even majorities of Americans describe Muslims and Muslim-Americans as "violent" and "untrustworthy."

**Group-centrism and the War on Terror**

The next question is whether and how evaluations of Muslims affect policy preferences regarding the War on Terror. An important strain of literature has argued that group-centrism affects political attitudes primarily through broader psychological predispositions, rather than through attitudes toward specific social groups. For example, Hetherington and Weiler (2009) argue that authoritarianism—a "worldview" characterized by a "need for order" and an "intolerance of difference" (34, 40)—structures policy attitudes ranging from gay rights to the War on Terror to immigration. Kinder and Kam (2009) argue that ethnocentrism—"a predisposition to divide human society into in-groups and out-groups" (31) and a "perceptual lens through which individuals understand the world around them" (Kam and Kinder 2007: 322)—structures attitudes on a similarly broad range of issues, including the War on Terror (see also Kam and Kinder 2007). Neither approach is concerned with the nature of the out-group itself. In fact, the correlation between these general predispositions and policy attitudes may arise precisely because the relevant out-group is not clearly defined. For example, Kam and Kinder (2007: 321) argue that, in the War on Terror, the United States faces a "strange and shadowy enemy."

Our argument is different. We think that the enemy is not so shadowy, and that Americans' perceptual lenses may have more focus, as it were, when it comes to the War on Terror. In Converse's (1964) treatment of group-centrism, he argued that specific social groups only matter under certain circumstances: "The individual must be endowed with some cognitions of the group as an entity and with some interstitial 'linking' information indicating why a given party or policy is relevant to the group" (237). Thus, issues can be more or less group-centric depending on whether specific events, political debates, and issue frames provide this linking information and group cues are salient and clear (Conover 1988; Hurwitz and Peffley 2005; Nelson and Kinder 1996). For example, American attitudes toward Germans and Italians were related to

support for intervention in Europe in 1939 (Berinsky 2009). During the Cold War, the more Americans perceived the Soviet Union as threatening and untrustworthy, the more they favored a militaristic foreign policy and containment of the Soviet Union (Hurwitz and Peffley 1990).

In the War on Terror, Muslims should matter over and above a broader authoritarian or ethnocentric inclination because the conditions necessary for this more specific form of group-centrism to affect policy attitudes are met. As we have already shown, citizens do have, to use Converse's language, "some cognitions of the group as an entity." That is, they have generalized and often negative views of both Muslims and Muslim-Americans. The necessary "interstitial 'linking' information" is also present. The enemy in the War on Terror is not entirely "strange and shadowy" but is instead routinely depicted as extremist Muslims, whether embodied in Osama bin Laden himself, various al-Qaeda leaders, or nameless others depicted in news stories about terrorism. And these depictions tap into portrayals of both Muslims and Arabs that have existed for centuries in literature, travelogues, and popular culture.

Thus, those with a negative overall view of Muslims should be more likely to support the War on Terror. The only research that connects attitudes toward Muslims and the War on Terror finds that unfavorable views of Islam were associated with increased support for subjecting Muslims within the United States to additional legal restrictions or police scrutiny (Nisbet, Ostman, and Shanahan 2007, Schildkraut 2002). Our analysis extends this research by examining both Muslims and Muslim-Americans, by considering different stereotype dimensions, and by linking these dimensions to a broader range of policy preferences.

One way our argument pushes further is through a focus on stereotype dimensions. Any "linking information" may not only identify the relevant group, but also help to describe and define that group in terms of its characteristics—whether it is, for example, peaceful or violent. People can then link not only their overall view of a group, but their assessments of the group in terms of specific traits, to their attitudes on an issue. For example, perceptions that blacks are lazy are more strongly associated with attitudes toward government assistance for blacks, welfare, and affirmative action than are perceptions that blacks are violent (Gilens 1999; Peffley, Hurwitz, and Sniderman 1997; Sniderman and Piazza 1993), but stereotypes of blacks as violent are associated with attitudes toward criminal justice policies (Peffley, Hurwitz, and Sniderman 1997).

If attitudes toward Muslims are associated with support for the War on Terror, should warmth or competence matter most? We suggest two possible hypotheses. The first is that warmth will be a more important predictor than competence: the more someone stereotypes Muslims as violent and untrustworthy, the more they will support the War on Terror, but assessments of Muslims as lazy or unintelligent will not have similar effects. A number of prior findings lead to this expectations. Warmth judgments are more accessible (Asch 1946; Wojciszke, Bazinska, and Jaworski 1998; Fiske, Cuddy, and Glick 2007), which likely reflects that warmth judgments are diagnostic of the threat posed by a group and illuminate the potential costs of interacting with that group. In addition, the influence of stereotypes is greater when there is a link between the content of the policy and the stereotype, and policies in the War on Terror directly implicate concerns about violent intentions, especially because the portrayal of terrorism in the news and entertainment media frequently depicts violent Muslims. For these reasons, warmth stereotypes may be more important predictors of attitudes toward the War on Terror than are competence stereotypes.

A second hypothesis is that the relevance of competence judgments depends on warmth judgments. That is, there should be an interactive effect, such that people who perceive Muslims negatively on the warmth dimension but *positively* on the competence dimension should be the most supportive of the War on Terror. The logic is straightforward: a group is more threatening if it is both violent and competent; here, competence implies "a higher efficiency in wrongdoing" (Wojciszke 2005: 170). Cuddy, Fiske, and Glick (2007: 79) make a similar point: "competent behavior is particularly diagnostic when the other person is perceived as immoral-unsociable; the competence of an enemy potentially has greater consequences than the competence of a friend." Thus, competence stereotypes may affect support for the War on Terror only among those who tend to see Muslims as violent and untrustworthy.

We also expect stereotypes of Muslims to be a more potent explanatory factor than stereotypes of Muslim-Americans. Although the overall level of stereotyping is similar for both groups, its consequences may differ. News accounts have often portrayed the enemy in the War on Terror as extremist Muslims living outside the United States. Thus, the "linking information" needed for people to tie the group to the policy in question is more prevalent for Muslims than Muslim-Americans. The possible exception concerns efforts

directly targeted at potential terrorists living in the United States, such as monitoring phone calls and email. Here, stereotyping of Muslim-Americans may be more important.

To summarize, our analysis is guided by four expectations. First, overall attitudes toward Muslims will be associated with support for the War on Terror, net of any effects of authoritarianism or ethnocentrism. Second, when attitudes are distinguished in terms of warmth and competence stereotypes, warmth stereotypes will be more strongly and consistently associated with support for the War on Terror than competence stereotypes. Third, competence stereotypes may matter in combination with warmth stereotypes, in which case those who stereotype Muslims as both competent and violent or untrustworthy will be more likely to support the War on Terror. Finally, stereotypes of Muslims should have a stronger relationship to policy preferences than stereotypes of Muslim-Americans.

**The Consequences of Stereotyping**

To test these expectations, we draw on both the 2004 ANES and 2006-2007 CCES. This helps ensure that the apparent influence of Muslim stereotypes is not an artifact of a particular sample, survey instrument, or election campaign. We begin by briefly describing the variables employed in our analyses of the CCES data and NES data. (The auxiliary materials provide more detail.)

To capture attitudes toward the War on Terror in the CCES, we draw on a number of items that figure in previous research (e.g., Kam and Kinder 2007). Assessments of Iraq policy are based on two questions: whether respondents considered the war in Iraq a mistake and whether they supported a troop withdrawal. Six additional items tap views on the broader War on Terror. Three involve government spending: whether federal spending for defense, foreign aid, and the War on Terror should be increased, decreased, or kept the same. A fourth item asked whether respondents felt security or the preservation of civil liberties was more important. Two other items, present only in the 2007 survey, concern specific measures intended to prevent domestic terrorist attacks: allowing government agencies to monitor the phone and email of ordinary Americans and allowing courts to authorize secret searches of homes. Finally, because of the association between the War on Terror and the Bush administration, we include overall presidential approval.

The key independent variables are stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans on the dimensions

of warmth and competence. Our measures parallel the conceptualization and operationalization of ethnocentrism (Kam and Kinder 2007): we measure stereotyping as the deviation between assessments of Muslims or Muslim Americans and assessments of the respondent's ingroup, averaging across the traits for warmth (violent and untrustworthy) and the traits for competence (intelligent and hardworking).[8] In constructing these measures, we focus only on non-Muslim white, black and Hispanic respondents. The measures can range between 1 and -1, where positive numbers reflect negative stereotypes of Muslims or Muslim-Americans vis-à-vis the ingroup and those at the midpoint of the scale regard their own group as indistinguishable from Muslims. In line with the results in Figure 2, comparative assessments of warmth are more unfavorable than assessments of competence for both Muslims (means of 0.21 vs. 0.08) and Muslim-Americans (means of 0.20 vs. 0.08).

For the CCES data, we employed two different specifications for each dependent variable, one using warmth and competence stereotyping of Muslims and the other using warmth and competence stereotyping of Muslim-Americans. (Recall that respondents were randomized to be asked about one or the other group.) Comparing these paired models allows us to examine whether the effects of views of Muslims and Muslim-Americans differ. The models also include other factors known to affect opinion about the War on Terror. First, we include *ethnocentrism* and *authoritarianism* as measures of a more general hostility to outgroups. Both should be positively correlated with support for the War on Terror (Davis and Silver 2004; Hetherington and Weiler 2009; Huddy et al. 2005; Kam and Kinder 2007). *Perceived threat* is included because prior work shows stronger support for the War on Terror among those who consider further terrorist attacks likely (Herrmann, Tetlock, and Visser 1999; Huddy et al. 2005). We also include *party identification, ideology*, two measures capturing religious practice and belief (*religious service attendance* and whether the respondent identifies as *born again*), whether the respondent is *female* and identifies as *non-white,* and in the models of presidential approval, *evaluations of the national economy.* Finally, because we pool the 2006 and 2007 CCES, we include when necessary a variable representing the *year of the survey.*

Our models in the 2004 ANES are similar. The 2004 ANES asked several questions about policies implicated in the War on Terror: spending on the War on Terror, border security, defense, and foreign aid;

whether the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were worth it; whether the war in Iraq has decreased the threat of terrorism; overall approval of President Bush; approval of President Bush with regard to Iraq, terrorism, and foreign affairs; and vote choice in 2004. Our ANES models include the same independent variables as in the CCES models, with a few exceptions. The ANES did not include a measure of the likelihood of future attacks. We also rely on a different proxy for conservative Christianity: belief in the inerrancy of the Bible. Most importantly, the ANES did not include stereotype measures for Muslims, so instead we rely on the Muslims feeling thermometer (see Figure 1). We calculate the difference between a respondent's feeling thermometer rating of Muslims and her rating of her own racial or ethnic group to create a measure of *derogation of Muslims*.

In all models, the independent variables with the exception of ethnocentrism and stereotypes are coded between 0 and 1. All dependent variables are coded such that higher values represent greater support for the War on Terror. All models are estimated with logit or ordered probit.[9] We focus on graphical depictions of the marginal effects of the key independent variables: warmth stereotypes, competence stereotypes and derogation of Muslims. The coefficients and standard errors from the full models are presented in Tables II-V of the auxiliary materials.

*Results: 2004 ANES*

The results from the 2004 ANES speak to the hypothesis that unfavorable attitudes toward Muslims should be associated with greater support for the War on Terror. Figure 3 presents the marginal effects of the Muslims derogation measure on the predicted probability of a given response for each dependent variable.[10] We sort these effects in descending order by size. (See Table II in the auxiliary materials for the full models.)

[insert Figure 3 about here]

Those who derogate Muslims are more likely to support increased spending on the war on terror, defense, and border security and more likely to support decreased spending on foreign aid. They are more likely to approve of how President Bush is handling the War on Terror, to believe the war in Iraq has decreased the threat of terrorism, and to support the war in Afghanistan. Each of these effects is substantively significant. For example, the marginal effect of attitudes toward Muslims on the probability of support for anti-terrorism spending is 0.17, which is comparable to the marginal effects of party identification

(0.20) and conservatism (0.16). The effects of feelings toward Muslims are similarly sized in other models—e.g., an effect of 0.18 in the model of Bush approval with regard to terrorism and an effect of 0.15 in the model of whether Iraq has reduced the threat of terrorism.

Views of Muslims more strongly affect attitudes toward the War on Terror than attitudes toward the war in Iraq or President Bush. Notably, however, we do find effects on attitudes toward the Iraq War and Bush when the survey questions explicitly mention terrorism. Spending on policy areas like border security and defense, the war in Afghanistan, the relationship of the war in Iraq to the threat of terrorism, and President Bush's performance on the issue of terrorism are, in this sense, of a piece. Meanwhile, views of the Iraq War and approval of Bush on dimensions other than terrorism are not significantly related to derogation of Muslims. The effects of the other variables confirm previous research—e.g., more support for the War on Terror among both Republican, conservatives, and those who scored higher on the authoritarianism scale. However, we find less evidence of an effect for ethnocentrism (Kam and Kinder 2007). Ethnocentrism is significantly associated with approval of Bush overall and with regard to foreign relations and with lower support for increased defense spending, but nothing else. These findings thus confirm our first hypothesis: attitudes toward Muslims help to structure attitudes toward the War on Terror.

*Results: 2006-2007 CCES*

Do stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans matter? Figure 4 presents the marginal effects of stereotypes of Muslims on change in the predicted probability of a given response for each dependent variable. Figure 5 presents the same effects of stereotypes of Muslim-Americans. In both figures, the marginal effects are sorted by the size of the effect for warmth stereotypes of Muslims (the dimension and group for which we think stereotypes will be most strongly associated with attitudes toward the War on Terror). See Tables III, IV and V in the auxiliary materials for full models.

[insert Figures 4-5 about here]

These results suggest that stereotypes matter, but that particular stereotypes of a particular group are most important: negative stereotypes of Muslims on the warmth dimension—that is, stereotypes of Muslims as violent and untrustworthy. Stereotypes of Muslims' competence are less important, as are stereotypes of

Muslim-Americans generally. Each of these findings corresponds to our expectations. Furthermore, as in the analysis of the ANES data, the effects of stereotypes are most evident on attitudes connected to the broader War on Terror, rather than on attitudes toward the Iraq War or President Bush. Indeed, in both the ANES and CCES data, derogation of Muslims and warmth stereotypes of Muslims are associated with many of the same policy domains, including spending on defense, foreign aid, and the War on Terror.

In the CCES models, stereotypes of Muslims as violent and untrustworthy are associated at a statistically significant level with increased spending for the War on Terror, increased spending on defense, decreased spending on foreign aid, and a willingness to sacrifice civil liberties for security. The marginal effect of negative warmth stereotypes of Muslims on the probability of supporting increased spending for the War on Terror is 0.31; by comparison, the marginal effects of party identification and ideology are 0.22 and 0.32, respectively. The marginal effect of warmth stereotypes on the other three measures is comparable—e.g., its effect on the probability of supporting increased defense spending is 0.24 and its effect on the probability of preferring security over civil liberties is 0.27.

Do the effects of warmth stereotypes of Muslims exceed those of competence stereotypes of Muslims? This hypothesis receives some support. Competence stereotypes of Muslims are not significantly associated with these attitudes, except in one case. Moreover, the estimated marginal effects of negative competence stereotypes are just as likely to be positive as negative. These null findings emerge even if we estimate models that include competence stereotypes but not warmth stereotypes, while the effects of warmth stereotypes are substantively similar regardless of whether competence stereotypes are included.[11] On the other hand, formal tests of the equality of the coefficients for warmth and competence stereotypes suggest that those effects are different at the p=0.05 level in the model of spending on the War on Terror and different at p=0.08 in the model of spending on foreign aid, but not statistically distinguishable in the models of defense spending or civil liberties vs. security.[12] The preponderance of evidence supports the primacy of warmth stereotypes, but this conclusion is necessarily tentative.

Perhaps, however, the effects of competence stereotypes are conditional on warmth stereotypes, such that competence stereotypes matter more among those who have negative warmth stereotypes. We

tested this hypothesis by including an interaction between competence and warmth stereotypes of Muslims. In no model is the interaction term statistically significant (see the auxiliary materials). Instead, the results continue to suggest that warmth stereotypes are more strongly associated with attitudes than are competence stereotypes. Competence stereotypes appear to have little direct or indirect effect on policy preferences.

The final hypothesis concerned the effects of stereotypes of Muslim-Americans, which we expected would be smaller than the effects of stereotypes of Muslims except perhaps with regard to domestic anti-terrorism policies. The results, displayed in Figure 5, tend to confirm this hypothesis. Stereotypes of Muslim-Americans are associated with attitudes toward the War on Terror in only one instance: support for increased spending on defense, which is significantly associated with both stereotype dimensions. But contrary to expectations, warmth stereotypes of Muslim-Americans are not associated with policies focused on homeland security, such as eavesdropping and secret searches. Warmth stereotypes of Muslims appear more influential than those of Muslim-Americans. However formal tests of the equivalence of the effects suggest statistically significant differences only for spending on the War on Terror. Thus, although stereotypes of Muslims appear more influential than stereotypes of Muslim-Americans, that inference is not definitive.

With regard to the other predictors of opinion, our models of the CCES data generally confirm previous research. Partisanship, conservatism, authoritarianism, and heightened perceptions of threat are associated with greater support for many elements of the War on Terror. However, once we account for Muslim stereotypes, ethnocentrism has few statistically significant effects on attitudes (see Tables II-IV in auxiliary materials). The War on Terror clearly has a group-centric basis, but it is attitudes toward the particular group most implicated that matter. We discuss ethnocentrism in more detail below.

Our findings suggest four conclusions regarding the consequences of stereotyping. First, overall derogation of Muslims and specific stereotypes of Muslims are important components of attitudes toward the War on Terror. Second, warmth stereotypes, not competence stereotypes, appear more strongly associated with attitudes toward the War on Terror.[13] The influence of Muslim stereotypes depends on the link between not only the policy and the group but also the policy and the particular stereotype of that group. Third, attitudes toward Muslims appear more important than attitudes toward Muslim-Americans, which is

consistent with our expectation that Muslims would be more salient in the public's mind, though this conclusion is tentative. Finally, the effects of attitudes toward Muslims do not extend from the War on Terror to the War in Iraq or President Bush himself, except when Iraq and President Bush are specifically connected to the idea of terrorism. Merely mentioning Iraq or Bush does not necessarily provide the linking information that enables people to connect attitudes toward Muslims to their policy preferences.

**Why Stereotypes and Not Ethnocentrism?**

Kam and Kinder (2007) demonstrate that the initiation of the War on Terror activated ethnocentrism, which helped produce support for the War on Terror in the fall of 2002. We find little evidence that ethnocentrism affects attitudes toward the War on Terror. In 2004, 2006, and 2007, such attitudes depended on a different species of group-centrism—one that denigrates a particular "enemy," Muslims, as opposed to one that denigrates outgroups generally. Kam and Kinder (2007: 336) speculate that views on Muslims would likely be significant predictors of support for the War on Terror but that ethnocentrism would still contribute to opinion as well. Our results suggest that attitudes toward Muslims matter more.[14]

One possible explanation for this difference is that the effects of ethnocentrism on policy attitudes derive from the effects of stereotypes of Muslims. That is, ethnocentrism leads people to hold negative stereotypes of Muslims and these stereotypes then predict policy attitudes. Indeed, ethnocentrism is strongly related to both warmth and competence stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans and overall derogation of Muslims, controlling for other factors (see the auxiliary materials). However, ethnocentrisms's effects on policy attitudes with respect to the War on Terror are mostly accounted for by stereotypes of Muslims. If we exclude attitudes toward Muslims from our models, we find more consistent statistically significant effects of ethnocentrism. However, excluding ethnocentrism tends not to affect the estimated effects of Muslim stereotypes. (See Tables VII-VIII in the auxiliary materials.)

Our findings suggest several features of ethnocentrism's role in public opinion. First, it strongly affects people's tendency to hold negative views of many social groups, including Muslims and Muslim-Americans. When a political issue does not implicate a specific group, or when information about that issue is conflicting or unclear with regard to the affected groups (that is, they truly are "strange and shadowy"), then a

general ethnocentrism may directly predict attitudes about that issue.[15] But when that information does identify a group, evaluations of or specific stereotypes of that group, more than ethnocentrism itself, should affect attitudes. Other work by Kam and Kinder finds precisely this pattern: ethnocentrism is associated with opposition to race-targeted policies (Kinder and Kam 2009) and cooler feelings toward Obama (Kam and Kinder 2012), but its effects disappear when attitudes toward relevant social groups—blacks and also Muslims in the case of Obama—are taken into account. They write: "Ethnocentrism gives rise to prejudice. Prejudice in turn drives opposition to policies…" (Kinder and Kam 2009: 210). That is our finding with regard to Muslims and the War on Terror.

**Accounting for Endogeneity**

An obvious rejoinder to the analysis thus far is that stereotypes of Muslims, rather than influencing attitudes toward the War on Terror, have been created or strengthened by it (see Berinsky 2009: 288, fn.13). If so, then our estimates of its effects are biased. However, we doubt that negative stereotypes of Muslims are creations or rationalizations of support for polices in the War on Terror. Two sets of evidence, one mostly qualitative and one quantitative, support this contention.[16]

In Berinsky's (2009) account of how views of ethnic groups shape support for World War II, he uses historical accounts to demonstrate that ethnic hostilities predated the war. The same is true with regard to Muslims. Violent events involving groups of Muslims preceded September 11, 2011 by years if not decades or centuries and many received substantial coverage in the American media. Survey evidence also suggests longstanding negative impressions: in a 1980 survey, large proportions of respondents were willing to characterize "Arabs" as "barbaric, cruel" (44%) and "warlike, bloodthirsty" (50%)—suggesting that similar characteristics would be imputed to Muslims (Slade 1981). Furthermore, public polls provide little evidence that the War on Terror made attitudes toward Muslims more negative (see the auxiliary materials).

Quantitative attempts to circumvent endogeneity using an instrumental variables regression model also support our contention. We use the 2004 ANES feeling thermometers for three groups (gays and lesbians, people on welfare, and feminists) as instruments for affect toward Muslims. Prior work shows that attitudes toward Muslims are strongly associated with attitudes toward other "cultural groups" (Kalkan,

Layman and Uslaner, 2009) but there is little theoretical reason to expect these groups to be associated with support for the War on Terror. For each of the 6 dependent variable that was significantly associated with attitudes toward Muslims in the 2004 ANES, instrumental variables models reveal substantively and significantly significant relationships between attitudes toward Muslims and support for the War on Terror (see Table IX of the auxiliary materials). Taken together, this evidence is certainly not definitive. However, it is more consistent with the notion that attitudes toward Muslims drive attitudes toward the War on Terror than with the reverse.

**Conclusion**

The attacks of September 11 and the resulting War on Terror entails an interaction, and at times a direct confrontation, with Muslim populations. Yet we know too little about how Americans view Muslims both at home and abroad, as well as the consequences of these views.

A first contribution of this study is to delineate the stereotypes that Americans have of both Muslims and Muslim-Americans. Many Americans see both Muslims and Muslim-Americans as violent and untrustworthy—a finding that dovetails with theories of stereotype content and with depictions of Muslims in themedia. Muslims and Muslim-Americans are denigrated more strongly on the warmth dimension than the other ethnic groups we examined. Moreover, Americans do not differentiate Muslim-Americans from Muslims. Muslim-Americans are considered just as violent and untrustworthy as Muslims, on average. In short, despite attempts by political leaders to distinguish Muslims who commit violent acts from the vast majority of peaceful Muslims, and despite favorable depictions of Muslim-Americans in the wake of September 11, many Americans have derogatory views of Muslims generally and Muslims in the United States.

Our second contribution is to show that attitudes toward Muslims are associated with support for the War on Terror. This finding helps to clarify the group-centric nature of public opinion about the War on Terror in important ways. First, we show that attitudes toward Muslims, not simply a generalized ethnocentrism, are central. When thinking about the War on Terror, Americans may not be envisioning an ill-defined enemy but one clearly identified by religion. Second, we show that specific stereotypes affect attitudes, and in specific ways. Perceptions of Muslims as violent and untrustworthy are a key ingredient in support for

several aspects of the War on Terror. However normatively problematic is citizens' use of stereotypes, they nevertheless use them in nuanced ways: stereotypes matter most when the group is clearly implicated and the stereotype dimension corresponds to the policy in question.

This correspondence points to this study's theoretical contribution. Scholars have long known that stereotyping of social groups is ubiquitous and that stereotypes serve as convenient heuristics in decision-making. Equally well-known is that citizens often rely on their views of social groups to form political opinions. Our study shows how theories of stereotype content generate more refined expectations about the dimensions on which groups are likely to be stereotyped and which of these stereotype dimensions are likely to affect political opinions. Distinguishing between warmth and competence stereotypes helps to illuminate the nature of outgroup stereotyping as well as how stereotypes influence policy preferences. What is crucial for understanding the relationship between group stereotypes and political preferences is how policies and policy debates intersect with particular beliefs about particular groups.

Finally, it is important to engage the normative implications of our findings. Evaluations of Muslims' proclivity for violence and their trustworthiness are quite negative on average. Prejudice appears to be alive and well with respect to Muslims and Muslim-Americans. Moreover, it appears to be consequential. Could these stereotypes be changed? Or could attitudes toward the War on Terror be decoupled from stereotypes of Muslims? We see both possibilities as unlikely. The tendency to stereotype originates in fundamental predispositions that are unlikely to change much over a person's lifespan. There will always be those who stereotype. Moreover, current events suggest no end to the elite messages and media coverage that, even inadvertently, frame the War on Terror in ways that enhance the predictive power of negative warmth stereotypes and reinforce the content of these stereotypes. *If* the messages that the public hears are different and *if* there is not another major terrorist attack by Muslims on U.S. soil, then perhaps the content and importance of Muslim stereotypes could change over time. But given the longevity of these stereotypes, as well as the ongoing violence in Israel, Iraq, Afghanistan, Pakistan, Syria, and elsewhere, the prevailing depiction of the Muslim world will likely continue to emphasize the threat that Muslims pose to Americans. It will thus be difficult for many Americans to think of Muslims as anything but enemies.

**Endnotes**

[1] Support for data collection through the CCES was provided by the Department of Political Science at The George Washington University. For comments on earlier versions of this manuscript, we thank Darren Davis, Cindy Kam, and Lee Sigelman. A supplementary online appendix with auxiliary materials for this article is available at www. cambridge.org/xx. Data and supporting materials necessary to reproduce the results are available at http://home.gwu.edu/~jsides/research.html.

[2] For economy of expression, we will often refer to these wars collectively as the "War on Terror," mindful of the controversy over this label and over whether the Iraq War was truly part of the fight against terrorism.

[3] One partial exception is Huddy et al. (2005), who examine stereotyping of Arabs, although not Muslims, in their study of the effects of threat and anxiety on antiterrorism policy attitudes. Their measures of stereotyping capture four important traits—trustworthy, honest, violent, and extremist—but they do not report the distribution of responses on these items.

[4] The confidence intervals are wider for the Muslim and Muslim-American items because these items were asked only of half-samples. Figure 2 pools respondents from the 2006 and 2007 CCES; the pattern of results holds when each survey is examined separately. Rates of missing data for these stereotype items were relatively low (see the auxiliary materials for more details).

[5] Hispanic and black respondents (N=131 and 127, respectively) mirror whites' attitudes. Blacks rate Muslims and Muslims-Americans as more violent and Muslims as less trustworthy than they do blacks, but they rate them as equally hardworking or intelligent. Hispanics rate both Muslims and Muslim-Americans less favorably than Hispanics on every trait and also rated Muslims and Muslim-Americans more favorably on the peaceful and trustworthy dimensions than on the intelligent and hardworking dimensions.

[6] Respondents who were asked about "Muslims" could have been thinking of Muslims in the United States. The contrast would perhaps have been clearer if we had asked about "Muslims outside the United States." If so, then we are likely underestimating the prevalence of negative stereotypes of "Muslims." Regardless, evaluations of Muslim-Americans are not particularly favorable.

[7] For stereotypes of Muslims, the fit statistics of the one-dimensional model were: chi-squared 116.6 (p<0.001); RMSEA=0.30; TLI=0.69; CFI=0.90). The comparable statistics for the two-dimension model were: 0.928 (p=0.34), 0.0001, 1.0, and 1.0. (In these models, a "good" fit is often defined as an insignificant chi-squared statistic, an RMSEA value below 0.05 and ideally close to 0, and TLI and CFI values above 0.9 and ideally close to 1.) For stereotypes of Muslim-Americans, the results were similar (here comparing the one vs. two dimensional models): chi-squared of 150.9 (p<.001) vs. 1.1 (p=0.29); RMSEA=0.34 vs. 0.01; TLA=0.63 vs. 1.0; and CFI=0.88 vs. 0.99.

[8] Measuring stereotypes in this way also helps mitigate interpersonal incomparability in how survey respondents use ordinal scales (Brady 1985; Wilcox, Sigelman, and Cook 1989). In particular, some respondents are more likely than others to give systematically high or low ratings, or to use narrower or wider portions of the scale. Subtracting ingroup from outgroup ratings helps to account for such tendencies.

[9] We report conventional standard errors, but the results are very similar with "robust" or bootstrapped standard errors.

[10] The magnitude of these effects is roughly equal to a shift from one-half standard deviation below the mean to one-half standard deviation above the mean.

[11] These results are available on request. Given the correlation between warmth and competence stereotypes of Muslims ($r$=0.69), we ran a battery of collinearity diagnostics. These did not indicate any problematic level of collinearity. The variance inflation factors were never higher than 3.00, well below the cutoff of 10 that some texts identify as problematic (e.g., Kennedy 1992: 183).

[12] The test of equivalence in the model of spending on the War on Terror generated a chi-squared statistic of 5.7 (p=0.01, one-tailed). The comparable statistics in other models were: spending on defense ($\chi^2$=0.10; p=0.79); spending on foreign aid ($\chi^2$=1.98; p=0.08); and civil liberties vs. security ($\chi^2$=1.12; p=0.14).

[13] Our models may actually underestimate the total effect of Muslim warmth stereotypes. Muslim warmth stereotypes are significantly associated with perceptions of the likelihood of future attack (data not shown). By contrast, competence stereotypes of Muslims and both competence and warmth of Muslim-Americans

have no effect on perceptions of threat. Thus, there may be indirect effects of warmth, through perceived threat, as well as the direct effects of warmth.

[14] Our measure of ethnocentrism parallels Kam and Kinder's by drawing on stereotypes of racial groups (whites, blacks, Hispanic, and Asians). Using the 2004 ANES, we also constructed a measure of attitudes toward "cultural outgroups" (feminists, gays, and people on welfare), which are associated with views of Muslims (Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009). Adding attitudes toward cultural outgroups to our model does not appreciably change the results: views of cultural outgroups have few statistically significant effects while the effects of derogation of Muslims remain significantly related (p<.05, one-tailed) to the same variables as in Table II in the auxiliary materials, with one exception (spending on border security). Thus, our results do not appear to be artifacts of our particular measure of ethnocentrism.

[15] It is possible that during the period Kam and Kinder study (2000-2002), the enemy was relatively shadowy and only became clearer during the period we study (2004-2007). Although we suspect that Muslims were already linked to the War on Terror in the fall of 2002, we lack the data to directly test this possibility.

[16] This evidence, summarized here, is detailed in the auxiliary materials.

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**Figure 1. Mean Feeling Thermometer Scores of Muslims and Other Groups**
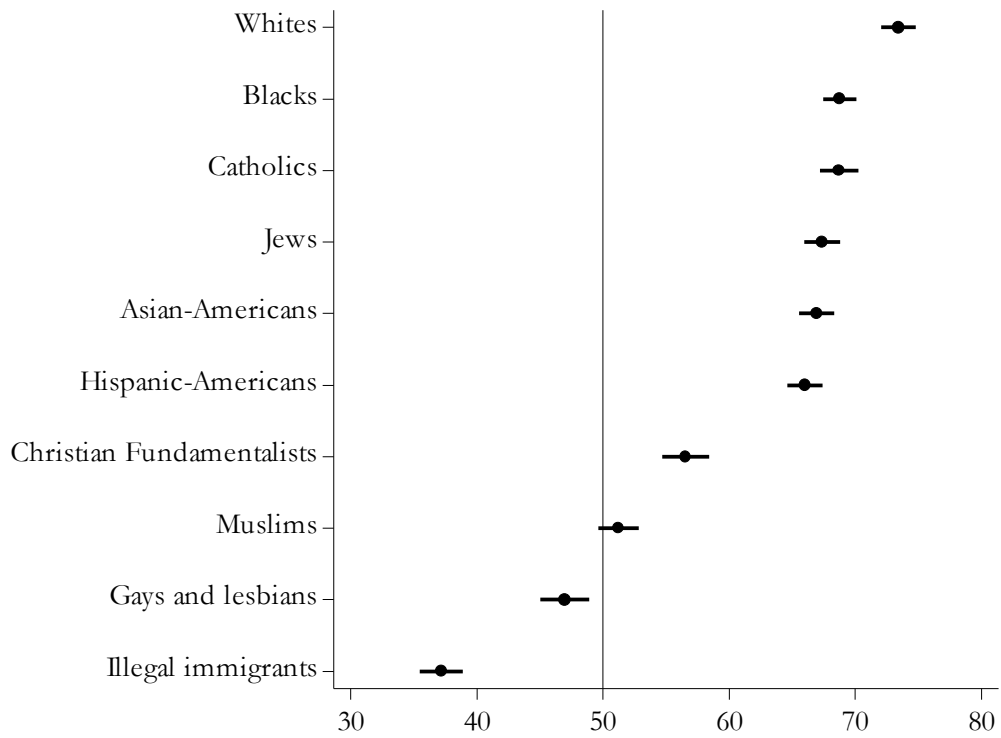


The data are based on white non-Muslim respondents only. Data points are weighted means, with bars representing 95 percent confidence intervals. The underlying scales run from 0-100, where 100 indicates the most favorable response. The vertical line indicates the midpoint of the scale. Source: 2004 ANES.

**Figure 2. Means of Stereotype Items for Muslims and Other Groups**
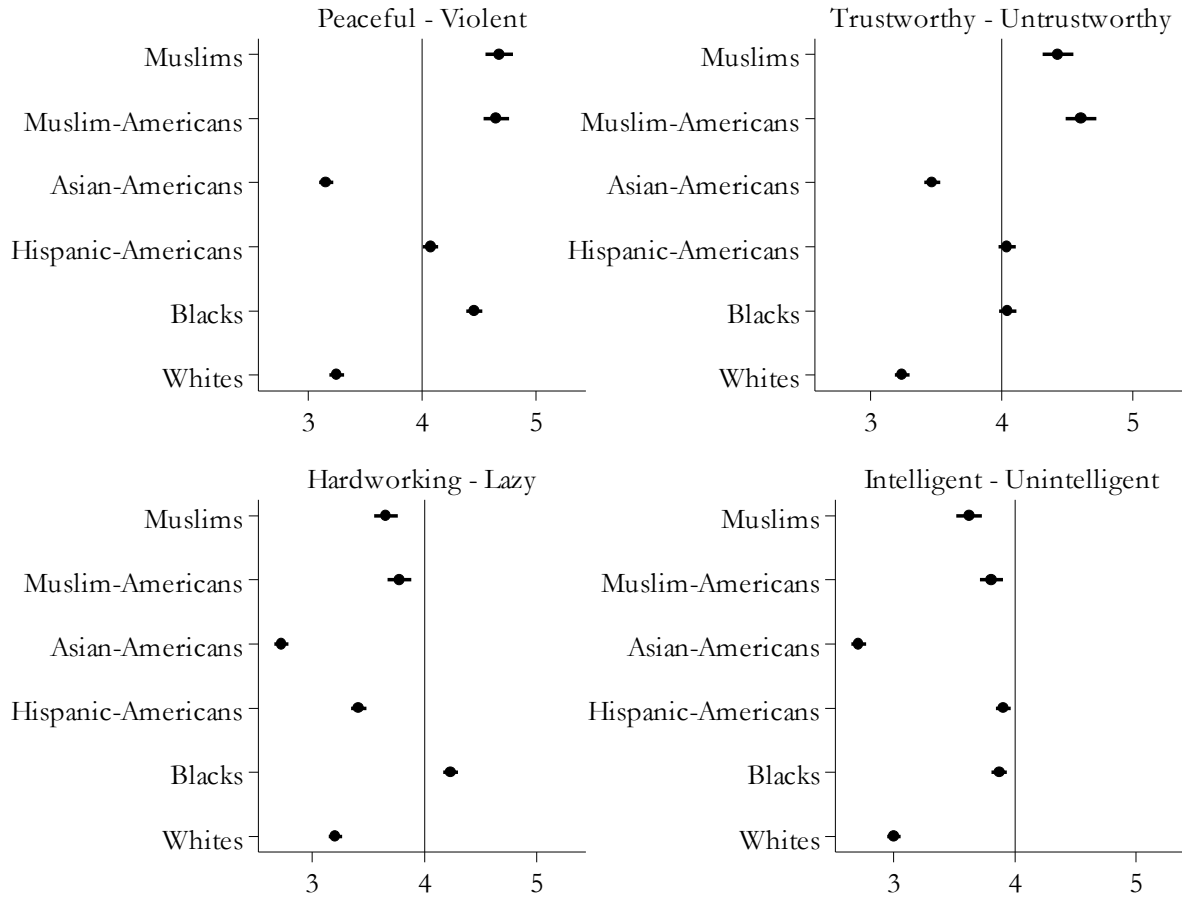


The data are based on white non-Muslim respondents only. Data points are weighted means, with bars representing 95 percent confidence intervals. The underlying scales run from 1-7, where 7 indicates the most unfavorable response. The vertical lines indicate the midpoint of the scale. Source: 2006 and 2007 CCES.

**Figure 3. Attitudes toward the War on Terror and Feelings toward Muslims (2004 ANES)**
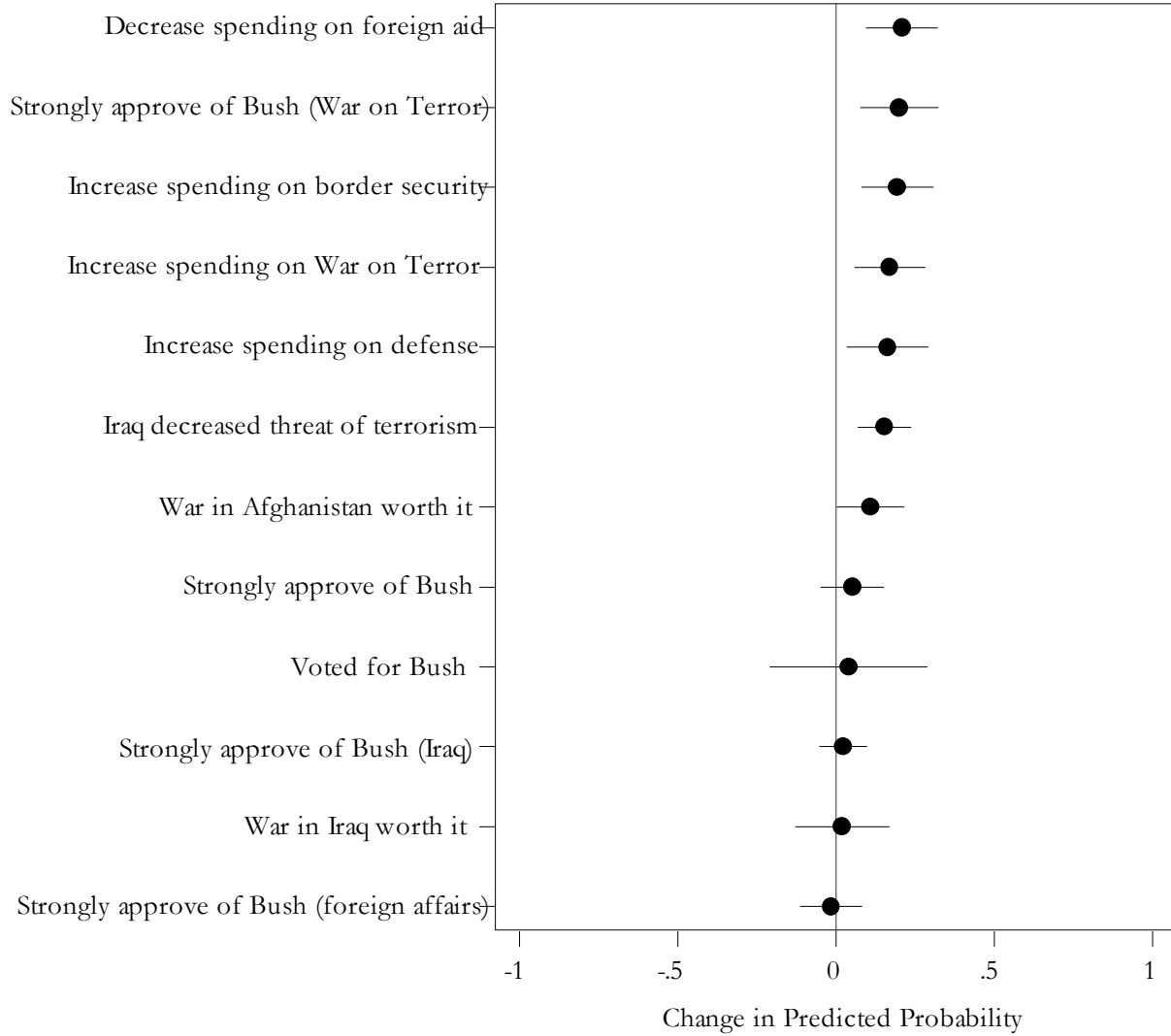


These graphs depict marginal effects of derogation of Muslims on various measures of attitudes toward the War on Terror. These effects are derived from the models in Table II in the auxiliary materials, and include 90 percent confidence intervals. These effects are calculated with all other variables at their means. Source: 2004 ANES.

**Figure 4. Attitudes toward the War on Terror and Stereotypes of Muslims**
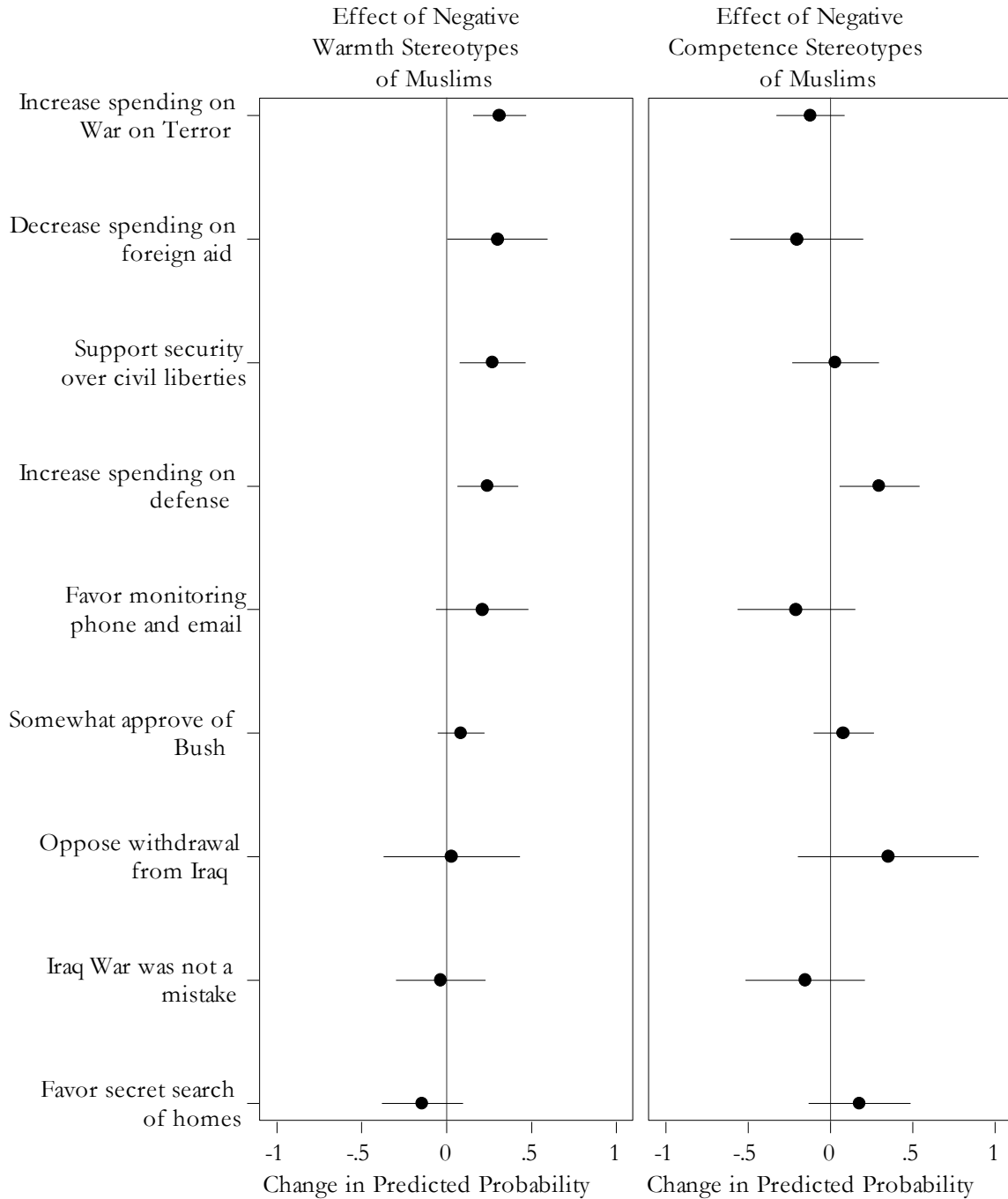


These graphs depict marginal effects of stereotypes of Muslims on various measures of attitudes toward the War on Terror. These effects are derived from the models in Table III in the auxiliary materials, and include 90 percent confidence intervals. These effects are calculated with all other variables at their means. Source: 2006-2007 CCES.

**Figure 5. Attitudes toward the War on Terror and Stereotypes of Muslim-Americans**
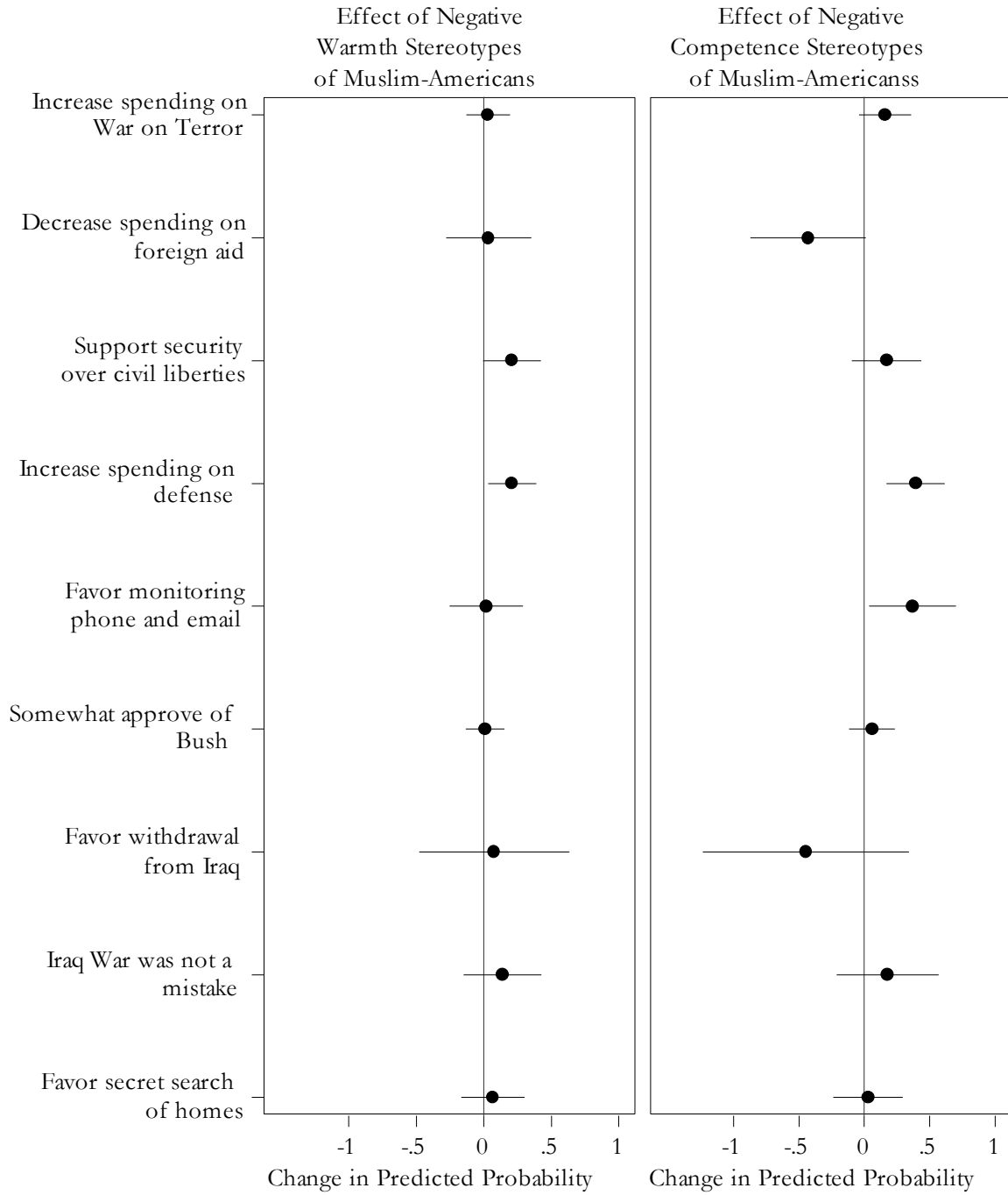


These graphs depict marginal effects of stereotypes of Muslim-Americans on various measures of attitudes toward the War on Terror. These effects are derived from the models in Table V in the auxiliary materials, and include 90 percent confidence intervals. These effects are calculated with all other variables at their means. Source: 2006-2007 CCES.

**Auxiliary Materials for "Stereotypes of Muslims and Support for the War on Terror"**

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**I. The Cooperative Congressional Election Survey**

The 2006 CCES was a collaborative venture involving 39 universities in the United States, with Stephen Ansolabehere of MIT as the principal investigator. Each university designed a module of questions that was given to 1,000 respondents; in addition, the combined sample of approximately 39,000 respondents was asked a common module of questions. The common content always preceded each university's module. The fieldwork for the survey was carried out by Polimetrix, Inc., of Palo Alto, CA (now YouGov). The survey was fielded in October and November of 2006. The 2007 CCES was structured in much the same way, although with fewer universities participating.

The CCES was administered on-line and not to a traditional probability sample. Respondents were selected from the Polimetrix PollingPoint Panel—a pool of several hundred thousand individuals who have volunteered or been recruited to participate in occasional on-line polls. Respondents were selected for the CCES using the following sampling procedure. First, a random subsample was drawn from the 2004 American Community Study, which is conducted by the U.S. Census Bureau and has a sample size of nearly 1.2 million and a response rate of 93 percent. Then, for each person in this sub-sample, the closest matching respondent was located in the PollingPoint Panel using a function that minimized the "distance" between the ACS and PollingPoint respondents based on several variables, including gender, race, age, marital status, education, party identification, and ideology. (Party identification and ideology were imputed for ACS respondents using demographic variables.) Finally, as is common in many surveys, post-stratification weights were created for the CCES respondents, matching the CCES marginals to the ACS marginals for education, race, gender, and age. For more on sampling matching and weighting, see Rivers (2006).[1]

Two investigations of non-probability Internet-based samples (Malhotra and Krosnick 2007; Sanders et al. 2007) find that their results may differ from traditional probability samples in both the mean levels of particular attributes and in the relationship among different attributes (e.g., between political predispositions and vote choice), although the Sanders et al. paper reaches a more sanguine conclusion about the substantive

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[1] Rivers, Douglas. 2006. "Sampling Matching." http://www.polimetrix.com/documents/ Polimetrix_Whitepaper_ Sample_Matching.pdf.

importance of such differences than does Malhotra and Krosnick.[2] A study comparing a Polimetrix/YouGov on-line sample to samples gathered via other modes (phone and mail) found relatively few mean differences in the attributes of these samples (Ansolabehere and Schaffner 2011).[3] These initial studies suggest that more work needs to be done to verify the representativeness of different kinds of on-line samples. In the interim, the American Association of Public Opinion Research (Baker et al. 2010) concludes that researchers should not use on-line panels to estimate population values.[4]

Thus, it is important to compare the marginal distributions of items in the CCES with items in other surveys. One comparison of the 2006 CCES with other surveys, such as the American National Election Studies and the 2006 exit polls, suggest that the CCES produces similar distributions of opinion with regard to attitudes toward Bush and the Iraq War (Jacobson 2007).[5] Most important for our purposes is the distribution of stereotypes reported in Figure 2. We compared the marginal distributions of the stereotype items for whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians with the comparable items from the 2004 ANES (focusing only on white respondents). Assuming that the distribution of these items is not affected by the different years in which these surveys were administered, this provides a sense of whether the CCES and ANES

[2] Malhotra, Neil, and Jon A. Krosnick. 2007. "The Effect of Survey Mode and Sampling on Inferences about Political Attitudes and Behavior: Comparing the 2000 and 2004 ANES to Internet Surveys with Nonprobability Samples." *Political Analysis* 15(3): 286-323. Sanders, David, Harold D. Clarke, Marianne C. Stewart, and Paul Whiteley. 2007. "Does Mode Matter for Modeling Political Choice? Evidence from the 2005 British Election Study." *Political Analysis* 15(3): 257-285.

[3] Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Brian F. Schaffner. 2011. "Re-examining the Validity of Different Modes for Measuring Public Opinion in the U.S.: Findings from a 2010 Multi-Mode Comparison." Working Paper. Downloaded May 24, 2011 from http://projects.iq.harvard.edu/cces/files/ansolabehere_schaffner_mode.pdf.

[4] Baker, Reg, et al. 2010. "AAPOR Report on Online Panels." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 74(4): 711-781.

[5] Jacobson, Gary. 2007. "The War, the President, and the 2006 Midterm Congressional Elections." Paper presented at the Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association, Chicago, IL.

samples are comparable. The means and statistical tests are reported in Table I. Five items out of the 12 manifested statistically significant differences. Compared to white ANES respondents, white CCES respondents placed blacks closer to the "lazy" end of the scale and Asians closer to the "hardworking end of the scale"—although the differences are not large (-.17 and .12 points on the 7-point scale). CCES respondents also placed Hispanics closer to the "unintelligent" end of that scale but Asians closer to "intelligent." CCES respondents placed Hispanics closer to the "untrustworthy" end of the scale. One possible explanation for these differences is survey mode. The on-line interface of the CCES may have reduced social desirability pressures and enabled CCES respondents to report conventional stereotypes at a higher rate (e.g., blacks are lazy, Asians are intelligent and hardworking).[6] However, this did not occur on the majority of items.

More important for our purposes, mode and sampling design do not appear to reflect our substantive findings about the consequences of attitudes toward Muslims, which are associated with support for the War on Terror in both the ANES and CCES data.

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[6] See Kreuter, Frauke, Stanley Presser, and Roger Tourangeau. 2009. "Social Desirability Bias in CATI, IVR, and Web Surveys: The Effects of Mode and Question Sensitivity." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 72(5): 847-865.

**Table I. Mean Trait Ratings of Racial Groups among Whites, 2004 ANES and 2006-2007 CCES**

|  | 2004 ANES | | 2006-2007 CCES | | diff. in means | s.e. of diff. | t-statistic |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
|  | mean | s.e. | mean | s.e. |  |  |  |
| **Hardworking vs. Lazy** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Whites | 3.17 | .04 | 3.21 | .04 | -.04 | .06 | -.67 |
| Blacks | 4.06 | .05 | 4.23 | .04 | -.17 | .06 | -2.69 |
| Hispanics | 3.45 | .05 | 3.41 | .05 | .03 | .06 | .54 |
| Asians | 2.84 | .05 | 2.72 | .04 | .12 | .06 | 1.96 |
| **Intelligent vs. Unintelligent** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Whites | 3.04 | .05 | 3.00 | .04 | .04 | .06 | .64 |
| Blacks | 3.77 | .04 | 3.87 | .04 | -.09 | .06 | -1.52 |
| Hispanics | 3.77 | .04 | 3.90 | .04 | -.13 | .06 | -2.18 |
| Asians | 3.01 | .05 | 2.71 | .04 | .30 | .06 | 4.77 |
| **Trustworthy vs. Untrustworthy** |  |  |  |  |  |  |  |
| Whites | 3.26 | .04 | 3.24 | .04 | .01 | .06 | .23 |
| Blacks | 3.94 | .05 | 4.05 | .04 | -.11 | .06 | -1.69 |
| Hispanics | 3.82 | .04 | 4.04 | .04 | -.22 | .06 | -3.51 |
| Asians | 3.52 | .04 | 3.47 | .04 | .05 | .06 | .82 |

## II. Measures Appendix

### CCES Measures

*Individual Stereotype Trait Items.* In the pre-election wave of the survey, respondents were asked to rank groups on four different trait dimensions: peaceful-violent, trustworthy-untrustworthy, hardworking-lazy, and intelligent-unintelligent. In selecting these traits to include in the CCES, three considerations were paramount. First, the duration of the survey imposed limits on the number of attributes we could include. Second, where possible, we sought to include attributes that had been asked about groups in other surveys, especially the ANES. This enables us to compare the CCES sample to ANES samples—an important exercise given the differences in their respective sampling designs and modes. Third, and most importantly, we sought to capture attributes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans that are prominent in the media. Given the frequency with which Muslims are depicted solely or mostly in terms of violent acts, the inclusion of the peaceful-violent trait dimension was obvious. The trustworthy-untrustworthy trait dimension is equally relevant, especially given concerns about Muslim-Americans' loyalty in the wake of September 11, 2001. The intelligent-unintelligent trait dimension speaks directly to portrayals of Muslims as un-intellectual, primitive, or backwards. The hardworking-lazy dimension speaks to portrayals of Muslims as indolent.

The battery of stereotype items began with the hardworking-lazy dimension and this preamble: "Now we have some questions about different groups in our society. We're going to show you a seven-point scale on which the characteristics of people in a group can be rated. In the first statement a score of 1 means that you think almost all of the people in that group are 'hard-working.' A score of 7 means that you think almost all of the people in the group are 'lazy.' A score of 4 means that you think the group is not toward one end or the other, and of course you may choose any number in between that comes closest to where you think people in the group stand." The remaining traits were asked in this order: intelligent, trustworthy, and peaceful. This follows the ANES order (hardworking, intelligent and trustworthy). For each trait, respondents were asked to evaluate whites first. The order of blacks, Hispanic-Americans, and Asian-Americans was then randomized. This sequence mirrors the ANES. Muslims or Muslim-Americans were always the last group in

the sequence. Because the CCES was conducted on-line, we ensured that the group-trait combinations (20 in all) were displayed on-screen one at a time, which minimizes the likelihood that the rating of one group will affect the rating of other groups (Tourangeau et al. 2007: 94).[7]

The percentage of respondents who did not evaluate Muslims or Muslim-Americans is somewhat higher than the percentage of respondents who did not evaluate the other groups. In the pooled 2006-2007 CCES, the level of item non-response was, on average, 7 percent for whites, blacks, Hispanics, and Asians, and 18 percent for Muslims and Muslim-Americans. This latter figure is somewhat lower than the level of non-response in public poll questions about Muslims and Islam. For example, averaging over 5 Pew surveys conducted from 2001-2004, 25 percent of respondents chose "don't know" when asked whether they were favorable or unfavorable toward Islam. This difference may arise because the CCES asked about specific traits rather than general favorability or because the CCES differs in both sampling design and mode of interview than phone surveys such as Pew. It is noteworthy, however, that non-response among CCES respondents with regard to Muslims and Muslim-Americans was lower on the peaceful-violent dimension (11% and 13% respectively). This suggests that more people felt they had enough information to evaluate Muslims and Muslim-Americans on this dimension—an intuitive finding given the historical prevalence of violence in media stories about Muslims.

The presence of item non-response may indicate that some people are cloaking potentially prejudicial sentiments with a "don't know" response.[8] However, we found little evidence that the likelihood of evaluating Muslims and Muslim-Americans was systematically related to key correlates of prejudice. For example, we calculated the correlations between the respondent's level of formal education and dichotomous variables capturing whether the respondent provided an answer for each group-trait combination. These correlations were never higher than .07 in absolute magnitude; only 3 of 24 were statistically significant at

[7] Tourangeau, Roger, Mick P. Couper, and Frederick Conrad. 2007. "Color, Labels, and Interpretive Heuristics for Response Scales." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71(1): 91-112.

[8] Berinsky, Adam. 2004. *Silent Voices: Opinion Polls and Political Representation in America.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

p<0.05; and those 3 significant correlations were not all of the same sign. Thus, we do not believe that item non-response is significantly affecting the aggregate distribution of opinion.

*War on Terror Policy Items.* All CCES dependent variables are coded such that higher values represent support for the War on Terror.

*Assessments of Iraq policy:* Respondents were asked whether they considered the *war in Iraq a mistake* and whether they supported a *troop withdrawal.* A majority of respondents in the combined 2006-2007 CCES samples said that the war was a mistake (59%) and favored withdrawal (60% in 2006, the only year this question was asked).

*Spending in the War on Terror.* Respondents were asked whether *federal spending for defense, foreign aid*, and the *War on Terror* should be increased, decreased, or kept the same. In the CCES, the majority favored a constant or increased level of spending on defense (35 and 40%, respectively) and the War on Terror (30 and 34%). The majority of respondents wanted to decrease spending on foreign aid (69% in 2006, the only year this was asked). These items were coded so that 1 represents those who say spending on defense and the War on Terror should be increased and spending on foreign aid should be decreased.

*Civil liberties versus security.* The precise wording was "Which of these two statements you agree with most? 'In order to curb terrorism in this country, it will be necessary to give up some civil liberties'; or 'We should preserve our freedoms above all, even if there remains some risk of terrorism." It is drawn from Davis and Silver (2004). In the combined sample, 62% favored preserving civil liberties.

*Measures to prevent domestic terrorist attacks.* Two items, present only in the 2007 survey, asked respondents if they would support specific measures intended to prevent domestic terrorist attacks: allowing government agencies to *monitor the phone and email* of ordinary Americans and allowing courts to authorize *secret searches of homes.* The exact wording was "Please tell me if you would favor or oppose each of the following as a way to prevent terrorist attacks in the United States: Allow government agencies to monitor the telephone calls and email of ordinary Americans on a regular basis" and "Allow courts to authorize federal law enforcement agents to conduct secret searches of Americans' homes without informing the occupants for an

unspecified period of time." The majority of respondents opposed both monitoring phone and email (77%) and secret searches of homes (85%) consistent with the finding that respondents favor the preservation of civil liberties over security in this period.

   *Presidential approval.* Overall presidential approval was assessed in both 2006 and 2007. The majority of the sample disapproved of the President in both 2006 (56%) and 2007 (62%)—figures close to the findings of other surveys from these periods. The response options change slightly between the 2006 and 2007. In 2006 approval was measured with a four-category scale ranging from strongly approve to strongly disapprove; in 2007 a middle neutral category was added. We combined these measures by coding those without an opinion as a middle category. Estimating models of approval separately by year produces similar findings.

*Independent Variables in CCES Models*

   *Ethnocentrism.* Following Kam and Kinder (2007) we use the stereotype questions related to whites, blacks, Asians, and Hispanics to compute ethnocentrism scores; these are the deviation between assessments of a given outgroup and assessments of the ingroup averaged across the three outgroups and four traits. For example, for a white respondent, we first compute the difference between her assessments of whites as a group and her assessments of each of the three outgroups (Hispanics, Asians and blacks) averaged across the four traits. Then we average these three differences to compute the ethnocentrism scale. The measure is scaled between -1 and 1, with positive numbers indicating more negative evaluations of the three outgroups relative to the ingroup. In the pooled CCES, the overall mean of this variable—0.06 on the -1/1 scale— indicates a modest degree of ethnocentrism, which is what Kam and Kinder also found. The mean is slightly higher for whites (0.07) than Hispanics (0.05) or blacks (0.02).

   *Authoritarianism.* We measured authoritarianism with four questions that ask about the most important values for parents to emphasize in raising their children.[9] Respondents were presented with pairs of values relating to the authority of the parents as compared to the autonomy of the child: independence or

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[9] See Feldman, Stanley and Karen Stenner. 1997. "Perceived Threat and Authoritarianism." *Political Psychology* *18*(4): 741-770.

respect for elders, curiosity or good manners, obedience or self-reliance, and being considerate or well-behaved. An additive index combining these items allows us to capture authoritarian tendencies. In the CCES sample, the mean of this 0-1 scale, where 1 indicates the highest level of authoritarianism, is 0.44. Its reliability, measured with Cronbach's alpha, is 0.64.

*Ideology.* We measured ideology by combining responses to four different issue questions: support for a ban on partial-birth abortion, for funding stem cell research, for increasing the minimum wage, and for extending capital gains tax cuts. The scale ranges from 0 to 1, higher values on this measure indicate conservative positions on these issues. The mean of this scale is .39, and its reliability is 0.77

*Perceived threat* is measured with a question that asks respondents how likely they think it is that the United States will suffer another terrorist attack in the next 12 months. Forty-seven percent of the combined CCES respondents said that it was somewhat or very likely—a figure somewhat lower than polls in earlier time periods.

*Party identification*, is measured with the traditional seven point self-identification question, recoded to range between 0 and 1, where higher values indicating identification with the Republican Party.

*Religious orientation.* We include two measures capture religious practice and belief. One is *religious service attendance*, with those who do not identify with a religion coded as not attending a place of worship. This variable is coded to range from 0 for those who report they "almost never or never" attend a place of worship to 1 for those who say they attend "once a week or more." The other is a dichotomous variable capturing whether the respondent identifies as *born again*, which is the only available proxy in the CCES for more conservative or evangelical strains of Christianity.

*Evaluations of the national economy* are included in the models for presidential approval. This variable is measured by whether respondents believed the nation's economy had gotten better or worse, or stayed the same, in the previous year.

*Year of the survey.* Finally, as our models are based on data from the pooled 2006 and 2007 CCES when we have the same dependent variable in both surveys, we include when necessary a dummy variable coded 1 for 2007 to represent the *year of the survey*.

**ANES Measures**

*ANES War on Terror policy items*. As with the CCES, dependent variables are coded such that higher values represent greater support for the war on terror.

      *Federal spending in the War on Terror*. Respondents were asked whether federal spending on the *War on Terror, border security,* and *foreign aid* should be increased, decreased, or kept the same. They were also administered a seven-point scale to measure their desired spending on defense. Pluralities or majorities believed spending on the War on Terror, border security, and defense should be increased ( 43%, 66%, and 54% of the ANES sample, respectively) and spending on foreign aid should be decreased (46%)

      *Wars in Iraq and Afghanistan worth it?* Respondents were also asked whether they thought the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan were worth the cost. The exact question wording is "Taking everything into account, do you think the war in Iraq has been worth the cost or not?" and "Taking everything into account, do you think the U.S. war against the Taliban government in Afghanistan was worth the cost or not?"; 40% and 71%, respectively, said that these wars were worth the cost. The preamble to the Afghanistan question included a prompt that reinforced the connection to terrorism: "Now for another topic. After the September 11 terrorist attacks, President Bush declared a war on terrorism. A first step was to launch air strikes against the Taliban government of Afghanistan that was providing aid and protection to Osama bin Laden and the Al-Qaeda terrorists responsible for the September 11 attacks" whereas the Iraq question is preceded by the question on approval of Bush's handling of the war in Iraq.

      *Iraq decreased threat of terrorism?* Similarly, respondents were asked whether the war in Iraq has decreased the threat of terrorism; higher values represent those who believe it has reduced the threat of terrorism. Exact wording for this question is "As a result of the military action in Iraq, do you think the threat of terrorism against the United Sates has increased, decreased or stayed about the same?" In the ANES sample, 41% said increased, 36% said stayed the same, and 23% said decreased.

      *Presidential approval.* In addition to overall approval of President Bush, the 2004 NES included a series of questions asking for assessments of presidential approval with regard to three relevant domains: Iraq,

terrorism, and foreign affairs. As with the CCES, this was measured with a four category scale ranging from strongly approve to strongly disapprove where higher values represent increasing approval. About 52% somewhat or strongly approved of Bush overall (on Iraq, 43%; on terrorism, 55%; on foreign affairs 44%).

*Independent variables in ANES models.* All independent variables are coded 0-1, with the exception of Muslim derogation and ethnocentrism, which are coded -1 to +1. Our models include the same independent variables as in the CCES models, with the following exceptions:

*Muslim derogation.* As discussed in the text, the ANES did not include stereotype measures for Muslims, so instead we rely on the Muslims feeling thermometer (see Figure 1). We calculate the difference between a respondent's feeling thermometer rating of Muslims and her rating of her own racial or ethnic group to create a measure of *derogation of Muslims*. The mean for this measure is 0.20, indicating that respondents tended to evaluate Muslims 20 points less favorably than their own ethnic group.

*Ethnocentrism.* Our measurement of ethnocentrism is also slightly different in the CCES, in that it is based on only three trait judgments (hardworking-lazy, trustworthy-untrustworthy, and intelligent-unintelligent). Other than the absence of the peaceful-violent trait item, the specification is similar. Ethnocentrism is measured by taking the difference between a respondent's assessments of a given outgroup and assessments of the ingroup, here averaged here averaged across three outgroups and three traits. The sample mean is 0.06.

*Ideology.* In the ANES, our measure of ideology is a seven-point self-reported scale that ranges from very liberal to very conservative (mean=0.55).

*Religious orientation.* We also rely on a different proxy for conservative or evangelical Christianity in the NES: belief in the inerrancy of the Bible. Previous research demonstrates the efficacy of this measure,[10] which we operationalize as two dummy variables: one that captures those who believe the Bible is the literal word of God ("*biblical literalist*," 37% of the sample) and those who believe that the Bible is the word of God but not

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[10] Alwin, Duane F., Jacob L. Felson, Edward T. Walker, and Paula a Tufi. 2006. "Measuring Religious Identities in Surveys." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70(4): 530-564.

to be taken literally ("*biblical believer, not literalist*," 47%). The omitted category is those who believe the Bible is not the word of God. The measure of religious service attendance is ranges from those who never attend (coded as 0) to those who say they go to religious services more than once a week (coded as 1). In the CCES, the top category collapses those who attend once a week and more than once a week.

## III. Multivariate Results

### Table II. Models of Attitudes toward the War on Terror (2004 ANES)

| | Increase spending on war on terror | Increase spending on border security | Increase spending on defense | Decrease spending on foreign aid | War in Afghanistan worth it | War in Iraq worth it | War in Iraq decreased threat of terrorism | Approve of Bush | Approve of Bush's handling of Iraq | Approve of Bush's handling of war on terror | Approve of Bush's handling of foreign relations | Voted for Bush |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Derogation of Muslims | 0.433* | 0.550* | 0.594* | 0.523* | 0.655* | 0.085 | 0.523* | 0.162 | 0.094 | 0.515* | -0.051 | 0.162 |
| | [0.172] | [0.196] | [0.166] | [0.173] | [0.391] | [0.391] | [0.174] | [0.192] | [0.196] | [0.194] | [0.195] | [0.616] |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.103 | 0.601 | -0.571* | 0.4 | -0.036 | -0.279 | -0.031 | 1.053* | 0.536 | 0.145 | 0.976* | 1.351 |
| | [0.302] | [0.367] | [0.299] | [0.307] | [0.683] | [0.689] | [0.311] | [0.353] | [0.357] | [0.350] | [0.360] | [1.065] |
| Party Identification | 0.466* | -0.024 | 0.779* | -0.250* | 2.499* | 4.085* | 1.175* | 2.261* | 2.056* | 1.724* | 1.919* | 5.521* |
| | [0.145] | [0.164] | [0.139] | [0.145] | [0.332] | [0.353] | [0.146] | [0.177] | [0.176] | [0.171] | [0.174] | [0.558] |
| Conservatism | 0.360* | 0.956* | 0.812* | 0.778* | -0.557 | 1.041* | 0.570* | 0.596* | 0.398 | 0.681* | 0.882* | 2.413* |
| | [0.214] | [0.238] | [0.205] | [0.214] | [0.471] | [0.472] | [0.214] | [0.237] | [0.243] | [0.234] | [0.241] | [0.787] |
| Authoritarianism | 0.035 | 0.351* | 0.1 | 0.032 | -0.291 | 0.254 | 0.334* | 0.332* | 0.289* | 0.117 | 0.147 | 0.298 |
| | [0.138] | [0.155] | [0.130] | [0.139] | [0.315] | [0.307] | [0.139] | [0.154] | [0.155] | [0.155] | [0.159] | [0.499] |
| Religious service attendance | -0.172 | -0.256* | -0.292* | -0.152 | 0.43 | -0.009 | 0.061 | -0.22 | -0.175 | -0.063 | 0.063 | 0.562 |
| | [0.129] | [0.146] | [0.123] | [0.129] | [0.293] | [0.290] | [0.130] | [0.145] | [0.145] | [0.144] | [0.146] | [0.465] |
| Biblical literalist | 0.352* | 0.360* | 0.474* | 0.119 | 0.115 | 0.527 | 0.186 | 0.444* | 0.440* | 0.288* | 0.321* | -0.094 |
| | [0.147] | [0.163] | [0.140] | [0.148] | [0.326] | [0.338] | [0.150] | [0.164] | [0.165] | [0.163] | [0.169] | [0.529] |
| Biblical believer, not literalist | 0.147 | 0.310* | 0.220* | 0.253* | 0.109 | 0.211 | 0.151 | 0.19 | 0.114 | 0.300* | 0.124 | -0.464 |
| | [0.122] | [0.132] | [0.114] | [0.124] | [0.267] | [0.291] | [0.128] | [0.138] | [0.141] | [0.136] | [0.143] | [0.427] |
| Female | -0.276* | 0.015 | -0.187* | -0.103 | -1.122* | -0.141 | -0.045 | 0.067 | -0.083 | -0.314* | -0.167* | 0.102 |
| | [0.082] | [0.092] | [0.078] | [0.083] | [0.192] | [0.186] | [0.084] | [0.092] | [0.093] | [0.091] | [0.094] | [0.296] |
| Nonwhite | -0.165 | -0.498* | -0.005 | -0.371* | -0.951* | 0.058 | -0.03 | -0.027 | -0.269* | -0.03 | -0.16 | -0.692* |
| | [0.108] | [0.117] | [0.104] | [0.108] | [0.220] | [0.251] | [0.110] | [0.121] | [0.130] | [0.121] | [0.125] | [0.387] |
| National economic evaluation | | | | | | | | 2.040* | 1.702* | 1.480* | 1.672* | 3.004* |
| | | | | | | | | [0.191] | [0.191] | [0.183] | [0.190] | [0.588] |
| Observations | 840 | 840 | 764 | 838 | 837 | 832 | 841 | 827 | 830 | 824 | 816 | 654 |

Models were estimated including only non-Muslim white, black, and Hispanic respondents. Cell entries are ordered probit or logit coefficients, with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Estimates of cutpoints are not displayed. The feeling thermometer difference is constructed such that higher values signify less favorable evaluations of Muslims, relative to the ingroup. Source: 2004 ANES. *p<0.05 (one-tailed).

**Table III. Models of Attitudes toward the War on Terror, Including Stereotypes of Muslims**

| | Increase Spending on War on Terror | Increase Spending on Defense | Decrease Spending on Foreign Aid | Support Security over Civil Liberties | Favor Monitoring Phone & Email | Favor Secret Searches of Homes | Iraq Was Not a Mistake | Oppose Troop Withdrawal | Bush Job Approval |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Warmth of Muslims | 0.932* | 0.639* | 0.878* | 1.311* | 0.906 | -0.685 | -0.159 | 0.133 | 0.296 |
| | [0.280] | [0.289] | [0.529] | [0.572] | [0.711] | [0.693] | [0.746] | [1.107] | [0.291] |
| Competence of Muslims | -0.364 | 0.786* | -0.599 | 0.149 | -0.898 | 0.842 | -0.712 | 1.591 | 0.278 |
| | [0.378] | [0.389] | [0.720] | [0.782] | [0.938] | [0.905] | [1.026] | [1.530] | [0.392] |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.128 | -0.758 | -0.114 | -1.11 | 1.104 | 0.253 | 0.595 | -2.215 | -0.379 |
| | [0.556] | [0.571] | [1.074] | [1.184] | [1.285] | [1.227] | [1.542] | [2.482] | [0.568] |
| Party Identification | 0.663* | 0.961* | 0.808* | 1.603* | 2.018* | 1.205* | 4.607* | 3.964* | 2.059* |
| | [0.195] | [0.198] | [0.374] | [0.411] | [0.505] | [0.491] | [0.600] | [0.881] | [0.227] |
| Conservatism | 0.947* | 0.737* | 0.237 | 1.693* | 0.526 | 0.553 | 3.135* | 3.539* | 1.185* |
| | [0.206] | [0.208] | [0.400] | [0.418] | [0.497] | [0.492] | [0.561] | [0.870] | [0.222] |
| Likelihood of attack | 0.796* | 0.571* | 0.238 | 1.166* | 1.230* | 1.158* | 1.310* | 0.859 | 0.449* |
| | [0.176] | [0.180] | [0.316] | [0.376] | [0.455] | [0.446] | [0.520] | [0.742] | [0.190] |
| Authoritarianism | 0.346* | 0.836* | 0.965* | 0.987* | 0.563 | 0.502 | 1.835* | 0.245 | 0.719* |
| | [0.174] | [0.177] | [0.316] | [0.390] | [0.450] | [0.438] | [0.500] | [0.768] | [0.194] |
| Religious service attendance | 0.198 | 0.003 | -0.38 | 0.216 | 0.441 | 0.675* | -0.352 | -0.169 | 0.032 |
| | [0.136] | [0.138] | [0.258] | [0.288] | [0.336] | [0.326] | [0.386] | [0.600] | [0.146] |
| Born again | -0.108 | -0.011 | 0.164 | -0.105 | 0.133 | 0.153 | 0.279 | 0.418 | 0.290* |
| | [0.124] | [0.126] | [0.227] | [0.259] | [0.306] | [0.292] | [0.353] | [0.537] | [0.130] |
| Female | -0.16 | 0.243* | -0.053 | 0.891* | 0.264 | -0.132 | 0.396 | -0.654 | 0.094 |
| | [0.106] | [0.106] | [0.187] | [0.237] | [0.273] | [0.266] | [0.313] | [0.464] | [0.116] |
| Nonwhite | 0.0001 | -0.077 | -0.614* | 0.278 | 0.450 | 0.193 | 0.281 | -0.459 | 0.066 |
| | [0.157] | [0.154] | [0.284] | [0.350] | [0.391] | [0.391] | [0.471] | [0.719] | [0.183] |
| Evaluation of Economy | | | | | | | | | 1.917* |
| | | | | | | | | | [0.263] |
| Year 2007 | -0.221* | 0.051 | | 0.345 | | | -0.678* | | 0.058 |
| | [0.104] | [0.105] | | [0.230] | | | [0.312] | | [0.126] |
| Observations | 563 | 566 | 222 | 538 | 338 | 336 | 518 | 218 | 567 |

Models were estimated including only non-Muslim white, black, and Hispanic respondents. Cell entries are ordered probit or logit coefficients, with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Estimates of cut points are not displayed. Warmth and competence of Muslims coded such that higher numbers represent negative evaluations, relative to the ingroup. Source: 2006 and 2007 CCES. *p<.05 (one-tailed).

**Table IV. Models of Attitudes toward the War on Terror, with an Interaction between the Perceived Warmth and Competence of Muslims**

| | Increase Spending on War on Terror | Increase Spending on Defense | Decrease Spending on Foreign Aid | Support Security over Civil Liberties | Favor Monitoring Phone & Email | Favor Secret Searches of Homes | Iraq Was Not a Mistake | Oppose Troop Withdrawal | Bush Job Approval |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Warmth × competence | -0.533 | -0.728 | 0.403 | -0.524 | 0.61 | 0.486 | -0.465 | 2.995 | 0.103 |
| | [0.664] | [0.691] | [1.328] | [1.537] | [1.095] | [1.020] | [1.618] | [3.312] | [0.638] |
| Warmth of Muslims | 0.991* | 0.719* | 0.841 | 1.373* | 0.85 | -0.733 | -0.094 | -0.15 | 0.283 |
| | [0.291] | [0.301] | [0.542] | [0.601] | [0.713] | [0.697] | [0.784] | [1.155] | [0.302] |
| Competence of Muslims | -0.116 | 1.115* | -0.799 | 0.413 | -1.139 | 0.652 | -0.476 | 0.05 | 0.225 |
| | [0.495] | [0.508] | [0.976] | [1.103] | [1.016] | [0.975] | [1.329] | [2.241] | [0.513] |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.121 | -0.794 | -0.144 | -1.118 | 1.073 | 0.259 | 0.584 | -2.335 | -0.369 |
| | [0.564] | [0.582] | [1.077] | [1.190] | [1.258] | [1.203] | [1.560] | [2.520] | [0.569] |
| Party Identification | 0.651* | 0.946* | 0.825* | 1.588* | 2.024* | 1.208* | 4.590* | 4.099* | 2.061* |
| | [0.196] | [0.198] | [0.378] | [0.413] | [0.505] | [0.491] | [0.602] | [0.901] | [0.228] |
| Conservatism | 0.946* | 0.738* | 0.226 | 1.693* | 0.536 | 0.563 | 3.134* | 3.508* | 1.186* |
| | [0.206] | [0.208] | [0.401] | [0.418] | [0.498] | [0.493] | [0.561] | [0.874] | [0.222] |
| Likelihood of attack | 0.797* | 0.573* | 0.243 | 1.165* | 1.240* | 1.166* | 1.309* | 0.895 | 0.450* |
| | [0.176] | [0.180] | [0.316] | [0.376] | [0.456] | [0.447] | [0.520] | [0.744] | [0.190] |
| Authoritarianism | 0.332* | 0.815* | 0.975* | 0.974* | 0.58 | 0.513 | 1.814* | 0.308 | 0.723* |
| | [0.175] | [0.178] | [0.318] | [0.392] | [0.452] | [0.439] | [0.504] | [0.781] | [0.195] |
| Religious service attendance | 0.193 | -0.003 | -0.376 | 0.211 | 0.458 | 0.689* | -0.357 | -0.158 | 0.033 |
| | [0.136] | [0.138] | [0.258] | [0.288] | [0.338] | [0.328] | [0.386] | [0.607] | [0.147] |
| Born again | -0.104 | -0.005 | 0.155 | -0.1 | 0.136 | 0.156 | 0.281 | 0.357 | 0.289* |
| | [0.124] | [0.126] | [0.229] | [0.259] | [0.307] | [0.292] | [0.353] | [0.543] | [0.130] |
| Female | -0.16 | 0.243* | -0.051 | 0.892* | 0.266 | -0.13 | 0.394 | -0.6 | 0.095 |
| | [0.106] | [0.106] | [0.187] | [0.237] | [0.274] | [0.266] | [0.313] | [0.467] | [0.116] |
| Nonwhite | -0.01 | -0.087 | -0.605* | 0.268 | 0.471 | 0.21 | 0.273 | -0.406 | 0.067 |
| | [0.157] | [0.154] | [0.286] | [0.351] | [0.394] | [0.393] | [0.472] | [0.723] | [0.183] |
| Evaluation of Economy | | | | | | | | | 1.918* |
| | | | | | | | | | [0.263] |
| Year 2007 | -0.219* | 0.052 | | 0.348 | | | -0.675* | | 0.058 |
| | [0.105] | [0.105] | | [0.230] | | | [0.312] | | [0.126] |
| Observations | 563 | 566 | 222 | 538 | 338 | 336 | 518 | 218 | 567 |

Models were estimated including only non-Muslim white, black, and Hispanic respondents. Cell entries are ordered probit or logit coefficients, with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Estimates of cut points are not displayed. Warmth and competence of Muslims coded such that higher numbers represent negative evaluations, relative to the ingroup. Source: 2006 and 2007 CCES. *p<.05 (one-tailed).

**Table V. Models of Attitudes toward the War on Terror, Including Stereotypes of Muslim-Americans**

| | Increase Spending on War on Terror | Increase Spending on Defense | Decrease Spending on Foreign Aid | Support Security over Civil Liberties | Favor Monitoring Phone & Email | Favor Secret Searches of Homes | Iraq Was Not a Mistake | Oppose Troop Withdrawal | Bush Job Approval |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Warmth of Muslim-Americans | 0.093 | 0.553* | 0.107 | 0.935 | 0.074 | 0.326 | 0.608 | 0.355 | 0.033 |
| | [0.282] | [0.285] | [0.577] | [0.577] | [0.706] | [0.688] | [0.777] | [1.545] | [0.297] |
| Competence of Muslim-Americans | 0.452 | 1.036* | -1.29 | 0.766 | 1.576* | 0.142 | 0.788 | -2.033 | 0.202 |
| | [0.344] | [0.358] | [0.811] | [0.723] | [0.862] | [0.781] | [1.046] | [2.178] | [0.359] |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.294 | -1.084* | 2.030* | -0.158 | 0.253 | -0.336 | -1.284 | 1.264 | -0.404 |
| | [0.539] | [0.545] | [1.174] | [1.095] | [1.235] | [1.219] | [1.455] | [2.970] | [0.559] |
| Party Identification | 0.654* | 0.631* | 0.836* | 1.762* | 1.057* | 1.648* | 3.241* | 4.062* | 1.485* |
| | [0.191] | [0.190] | [0.338] | [0.406] | [0.488] | [0.505] | [0.522] | [1.027] | [0.216] |
| Conservatism | 1.071* | 1.064* | 1.197* | 1.527* | 0.907* | 0.218 | 4.009* | 4.699* | 1.362* |
| | [0.198] | [0.202] | [0.397] | [0.411] | [0.511] | [0.489] | [0.560] | [0.985] | [0.223] |
| Likelihood of attack | 1.136* | 0.918* | -0.144 | 0.982* | 1.171* | 1.084* | 1.405* | 3.021* | 0.725* |
| | [0.178] | [0.179] | [0.292] | [0.378] | [0.476] | [0.480] | [0.484] | [0.967] | [0.193] |
| Authoritarianism | 0.157 | 0.551* | 0.932* | 1.409* | 1.538* | 0.556 | 1.831* | -0.976 | 0.699* |
| | [0.177] | [0.176] | [0.315] | [0.383] | [0.469] | [0.455] | [0.526] | [1.010] | [0.195] |
| Religious attendance | -0.005 | -0.288* | -0.622* | 0.397 | 0.713* | 0.407 | -0.191 | 0.712 | 0.073 |
| | [0.135] | [0.136] | [0.250] | [0.284] | [0.345] | [0.352] | [0.381] | [0.701] | [0.144] |
| Born again | 0.172 | 0.235* | 0.533* | -0.143 | -0.418 | -0.094 | 0.025 | 1.028 | 0.263* |
| | [0.121] | [0.121] | [0.246] | [0.256] | [0.313] | [0.307] | [0.343] | [0.647] | [0.129] |
| Female | -0.027 | 0.13 | -0.300* | 0.068 | 0.137 | -0.814* | 0.267 | -0.836* | 0.147 |
| | [0.104] | [0.103] | [0.179] | [0.223] | [0.273] | [0.271] | [0.294] | [0.507] | [0.112] |
| Nonwhite | 0.092 | 0.082 | -0.622* | 1.078* | 0.322 | 0.472 | -1.413* | -3.326* | -0.368* |
| | [0.161] | [0.158] | [0.270] | [0.347] | [0.404] | [0.393] | [0.538] | [1.212] | [0.187] |
| Evaluation of Economy | | | | | | | | | 1.576* |
| | | | | | | | | | [0.258] |
| Year 2007 | -0.055 | 0.155 | | -0.113 | | | -0.118 | | 0.177 |
| | [0.103] | [0.102] | | [0.223] | | | [0.293] | | [0.125] |
| Observations | 564 | 569 | 250 | 540 | 317 | 321 | 522 | 230 | 566 |

Models were estimated including only non-Muslim white, black, and Hispanic respondents. Cell entries are ordered probit or logit coefficients, with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Estimates of cut points are not displayed. Warmth and competence of Muslims coded such that higher numbers represent more negative evaluations, relative to the ingroup. Source: 2006 and 2007 CCES. *$p<.05$ (one-tailed).

**Table VI. Effects of Ethnocentrism on Stereotypes of Muslims and Muslim-Americans**

| | 2006-2007 CCES | | | | 2004 ANES |
| | Muslims | | Muslim-Americans | | |
| | Warmth | Competence | Warmth | Competence | FT Muslim |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| Ethnocentrism | 1.19* | 1.067* | 1.206* | 0.984* | 0.477* |
| | [0.05] | [0.040] | [0.050] | [0.039] | [0.058] |
| Authoritarianism | 0.12* | 0.015 | 0.031 | 0.003 | 0.065* |
| | [0.02] | [0.018] | [0.024] | [0.019] | [0.028] |
| Religious attendance | 0.03 | 0.019 | 0.026 | 0 | 0.015 |
| | [0.02] | [0.016] | [0.021] | [0.016] | [0.026] |
| Born again | 0.05* | -0.02 | 0.035 | 0.003 | |
| | [0.02] | [0.014] | [0.019] | [0.014] | |
| Biblical literalist | | | | | 0.022 |
| | | | | | [0.029] |
| Biblical believer | | | | | -0.025 |
| | | | | | [0.024] |
| Education | 0.04 | 0.012 | -0.027 | -0.034 | -0.001 |
| | [0.03] | [0.022] | [0.029] | [0.022] | [0.032] |
| Age | 0.10* | 0.026 | 0.113* | 0.02 | 0.002* |
| | [0.04] | [0.029] | [0.039] | [0.030] | [0.000] |
| Female | 0 | 0.022 | -0.048* | -0.044* | -0.026 |
| | [0.02] | [0.012] | [0.016] | [0.012] | [0.016] |
| White | 0.06* | -0.012 | 0.048* | 0.014 | 0.087* |
| | [0.02] | [0.017] | [0.023] | [0.018] | [0.020] |
| Year 2007 | -0.03 | -0.008 | 0.012 | 0.013 | |
| | [0.02] | [0.012] | [0.016] | [0.012] | |
| Constant | -0.04 | -0.001 | 0.012 | 0.026 | -0.003 |
| | [0.04] | [0.027] | [0.036] | [0.027] | [0.041] |
| Observations | 730 | 691 | 755 | 717 | 883 |

Cell entries are unstandardized OLS regression coefficients, with standard errors in parentheses. *p<.05.

**Table VII. Alternative CCES Models, Dropping Ethnocentrism or Muslim Stereotype Measures**

| | Increase Spending on War on Terror | Increase Spending on Defense | Decrease Spending on Foreign Aid | Support Security over Civil Liberties | Favor Monitoring Phone & Email | Favor Secret Searches of Homes | Iraq Was Not a Mistake | Oppose Troop Withdrawal | Bush Job Approval |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Original Model (Table III)** | | | | | | | | | |
| Warmth of Muslims | 0.932* | 0.639* | 0.878* | 1.311* | 0.906 | -0.685 | -0.159 | 0.133 | 0.296 |
| | [0.280] | [0.289] | [0.529] | [0.572] | [0.711] | [0.693] | [0.746] | [1.107] | [0.291] |
| Competence of Muslims | -0.364 | 0.786* | -0.599 | 0.149 | -0.898 | 0.842 | -0.712 | 1.591 | 0.278 |
| | [0.378] | [0.389] | [0.720] | [0.782] | [0.938] | [0.905] | [1.026] | [1.530] | [0.392] |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.128 | -0.758 | -0.114 | -1.11 | 1.104 | 0.253 | 0.595 | -2.215 | -0.379 |
| | [0.556] | [0.571] | [1.074] | [1.184] | [1.285] | [1.227] | [1.542] | [2.482] | [0.568] |
| **Dropping Muslim stereotypes** | | | | | | | | | |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.791* | 0.783* | 0.314 | 0.575 | 1.041 | 0.437 | -0.42 | -0.288 | 0.242 |
| | [0.371] | [0.373] | [0.711] | [0.760] | [0.845] | [0.832] | [1.002] | [1.624] | [0.388] |
| **Dropping ethnocentrism** | | | | | | | | | |
| Warmth of Muslims | 0.952* | 0.507* | 0.860* | 1.129* | 1.057 | -0.648 | -0.087 | -0.256 | 0.240 |
| | [0.266] | [0.271] | [0.503] | [0.537] | [0.692] | [0.669] | [0.723] | [1.011] | [0.278] |
| Competence of Muslims | -0.318 | 0.519 | -0.637 | -0.253 | -0.447 | 0.942 | -0.49 | 0.924 | 0.145 |
| | [0.322] | [0.332] | [0.625] | [0.655] | [0.776] | [0.766] | [0.850] | [1.357] | [0.338] |

Models were estimated including only non-Muslim white, black, and Hispanic respondents. Cell entries are ordered probit or logit coefficients, with estimated standard errors in parentheses. Estimates of cut points are not displayed. Warmth and competence of Muslims coded such that higher numbers represent more negative evaluations, relative to the ingroup. As in Table A-2, each model also controls for party identification, conservatism, authoritarianism, religious attendance, born again status, sex, race, and (in the model of Bush approval) economic evaluations. Source: 2006 and 2007 CCES. *p<.05.

**Table VIII. Alternative ANES Models, Dropping Ethnocentrism or Muslims Feeling Thermometer Measure**

| | Increase spending on War on Terror | Increase spending on border security | Increase spending on defense | Decrease spending on foreign aid | War in Afghan-istan worth it | War in Iraq worth it | War in Iraq decreased threat of terrorism | Approve of Bush | Approve of Bush (Iraq) | Approve of Bush (War on Terror) | Approve of Bush (foreign relations) | Voted for Bush |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| **Original model (Table II)** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Muslims FT Difference | 0.433* | 0.550* | 0.594* | 0.523* | 0.655* | 0.085 | 0.523* | 0.162 | 0.094 | 0.515* | -0.051 | 0.162 |
| | [0.172] | [0.196] | [0.166] | [0.173] | [0.391] | [0.391] | [0.174] | [0.192] | [0.196] | [0.194] | [0.195] | [0.616] |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.103 | 0.601 | -0.571* | 0.400 | -0.036 | -0.279 | -0.031 | 1.053* | 0.536 | 0.145 | 0.976* | 1.351 |
| | [0.302] | [0.367] | [0.299] | [0.307] | [0.683] | [0.689] | [0.311] | [0.353] | [0.357] | [0.350] | [0.360] | [1.065] |
| **Dropping Muslim feeling thermometer** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Ethnocentrism | 0.321 | 0.879* | -0.268 | 0.665* | 0.263 | -0.234 | 0.24 | 1.146* | 0.590* | 0.421 | 0.948* | 1.451 |
| | [0.289] | [0.352] | [0.286] | [0.294] | [0.661] | [0.658] | [0.297] | [0.336] | [0.339] | [0.334] | [0.344] | [0.995] |
| **Dropping ethnocentrism** | | | | | | | | | | | | |
| Muslims FT Difference | 0.449* | 0.638* | 0.504* | 0.588* | 0.650* | 0.038 | 0.518* | 0.342* | 0.187 | 0.539* | 0.105 | 0.442 |
| | [0.165] | [0.188] | [0.159] | [0.166] | [0.378] | [0.373] | [0.166] | [0.183] | [0.186] | [0.185] | [0.187] | [0.580] |

Note: As in Table A-1, each model also controls for party identification, conservatism, authoritarianism, religious attendance, attitudes toward the Bible, sex, race, and (in models of Bush approval) economic evaluations. *p<.05.

**Section IV. Accounting for Endogeneity**

We doubt that negative stereotypes of Muslims are creations or rationalizations of support for policies in the War on Terror. We draw on both qualitative and quantitative evidence to support this claim.

First, there is good reason to believe that ethnic hostilities predated the war. Violent events involving groups of Muslims preceded September 11, 2011 by years if not decades or centuries. Many such events received substantial coverage in the American media, including the killing of Israeli athletes and coaches during the 1972 Olympics, the Iran hostage crisis, the attack on the Marine barracks in Beirut, the hijackings of the *Achille Lauro* and various airplanes, the downing of Pan Am flight 103, ongoing conflicts between Israelis and Palestinians, the World Trade Center bombing in 1993, the embassy bombings in Kenya and Tanzania, and the attack on the USS *Cole*. Some scholars of the media have decried for decades the commonplace portrayal of Muslims as violent villains (Said 1997; Shaheen 1984). As we noted in the text, survey evidence also suggests longstanding negative impressions: in a 1980 survey, large proportions of respondents were willing to characterize "Arabs" as "barbaric, cruel" (44%) and "warlike, bloodthirsty" (50%)—suggesting that similar characteristics would be imputed to Muslims (Slade 1981).

Could the War on Terror have made attitudes toward Muslims more negative? There is little evidence that people's impressions of Muslims or Muslim-Americans became less favorable after September 11. The percentage of Americans with a "favorable" impression of Muslim-Americans was nearly identical before September 11 (55% in a September 2000 Pew survey) and several years thereafter (50% in a July 2005 Pew survey). A similar question about Muslims was asked in a March 1993 Zogby survey, conducted three weeks after the first World Trade Center bombing. In this survey, 23% said their impression of Muslims was favorable, 36% said it was unfavorable, and 41% provided no opinion. In an August 2007 Pew survey, 43% said their impression of Muslims was favorable, while 35% said their impression was unfavorable and 22% had no opinion. While fewer Americans had no opinion of Muslims in 2007 as compared to 1993, if anything the average opinion was *more* favorable in 2007 than in 1993. These results dispute the notion that the events of September 11 gave rise to a new and more derogatory opinion of Muslims and Muslim-Americans, and that stereotypes of Muslims derive from support for anti-terrorism policies.

We also draw on quantitative evidence.  To account for the potential endogeneity of attitudes toward Muslims, we estimated an instrumental variables model. To do so, we needed suitable instruments for the endogenous variable, ones correlated with it but not with the error term of the original model. Fortunately, such instruments exist in the 2004 ANES, although not in the 2006-2007 CCES. We take advantage of this fact: people who are prejudiced toward one group tend to be prejudiced toward others (Sniderman and Piazza 1993).[11] Specifically, attitudes toward Muslims are strongly associated with attitudes toward other "cultural outgroups" (Kalkan, Layman, and Uslaner 2009), including gays and lesbians, people on welfare, and feminists.[12] However, there is little theoretical reason to expect attitudes toward these groups to be associated with support for the War on Terror, which is not very relevant to gay rights, welfare, or feminism. The ANES included feeling thermometers for each of these three groups, which can serve as plausible instruments for affect towards Muslims. We calculate affect towards these ougroups as we do affect towards Muslims, by subtracting the feeling thermometer score for the ethnic or racial ingroup from the score for each outgroup.

For each dependent variable that was significantly associated with attitudes toward Muslims (see Figure 3 in paper) we first report the results from the discrete choice models presented in the text. We then estimated two-stage discrete choice models "by hand": using the instruments to created predicted attitudes toward Muslims, and then regressing the dependent variables on these values and the other covariates (using logit or ordered probit). Traditional standard errors for the coefficients of the predicted values will be incorrect, so we calculate standard errors by bootstrapping. The results are summarized in rows 1-2 of Table IX. Next, we estimated a traditional (linear) instrumental variables (IV) model with these instruments as well as an analogous ordinary least squares (OLS) regression model that includes the original measure of affect for Muslims. The models were otherwise specified as before. The results are summarized in rows 3 and 4 of Table IX.

These results support the conclusions of the original models: a substantively and statistically

[11] Sniderman, Paul M., and Thomas Piazza. 1993. *The Scar of Race*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

[12] Kalkan, Kerem Ozan, Geoffrey C. Layman, and Eric M. Uslaner. 2009. "'Band of Others'? Attitudes toward Muslims in Contemporary American Society." *Journal of Politics* 71:847-872.

significant relationship between attitudes toward Muslims and attitudes toward the War on Terror. The standard errors for the IV coefficients are larger—a natural consequences of the instrumental variables model, which typically trades off efficiency to reduce bias. However, little bias is evident. In fact, in two models—for spending on border security and foreign aid—the IV estimate is actually somewhat larger than the OLS estimate.

The fifth row reports the 95% confidence interval from the IV model for the purposes of comparing it to the "robust" confidence interval presented in the sixth row. The robust interval addresses the possibility of weak identification. The "strength" of identification depends on the correlation between the instruments and the endogenous regressor. The first stage results we describe below are instructive on this score, but not definitive. A robust inference procedure is available if the model has only one endogenous regressor, as is the case for us. (See Moreira 2003; the procedure is implemented in Stata via the condivreg command.[13]) The robust confidence intervals are nearly identical to the intervals from the IV models. (We should also note that Gawande and Li (2009) argues that estimation using limited information maximum likelihood is more robust to weak instruments.[14] We employ LIML in the models below.)

The remaining rows report diagnostics to assess the validity of the instrumental variables regression:

*First-stage results.* Here we report the partial correlation between the instruments and the endogenous variable, as well as the F-statistic for the joint significance of the instruments in the first-stage regression. These statistics are useful when there is only a single endogenous variable, as in this case. Staiger and Stock (1997) suggest that the F-statistics less than 10 are cause for concern.[15] That is not the case here.

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[13] Moreira, M. 2003. "A conditional likelihood ratio test for structural models." *Econometrica* 71: 1027-1048.

[14] Gawande, Kishore, and Hui Li. 2009. "Dealing with Weak Instruments: An Application to the Protection for Sale Model." *Political Analysis* 17: 236-260.

[15] Staiger, D. and J. H. Stock. 1997. "Instrumental variables regression with weak instruments." *Econometrica* 65(3): 557-86.

*Underidentification tests.* These tests estimate whether the model is underidentified. This can arise when one or more of the instruments are not correlated with the endogenous variable. This is more likely when there are multiple endogenous variables, unlike in our cases, but we report these tests regardless. They are, in essence, Wald and Lagrange multiplier tests where the null hypothesis is underidentification. We report the Wald tests in the table. In each case the null hypothesis can be rejected at the $p<0.001$ level.

*Overidentification test.* This is a test of apparent orthogonality of the excluded instruments—in other words, whether there is a correlation between the instruments and the error term. The null hypothesis is that the correlation between the instruments and the error term is 0. If the null is rejected, then one of the conditions for IV regression is violated. One can employ this test when there are more excluded instruments than endogenous regressors (as is the case here: 3 instruments, 1 endogenous regressor). Obviously, the error term is unobserved but the proxy is the residuals. Here we will report Hansen's J statistic, which is consistent in the presence of heteroskedasticity. Ideally, this test statistic will be insignificant. This is the case in each of the models.

*An endogeneity test.* This is a test of whether the endogenous regressor is truly endogenous. The null hypothesis is exogeneity. The test statistic here is analogous to the traditional Hausman test, but is robust to heteroskedasticity. If the test statistic is insignificant, then there is no necessary advantage to IV over OLS. By and large, this is true, reflecting the comparability of the OLS and IV estimates.

In sum, this variety of models and diagnostic tests provides further confidence in the original estimates presented in the text and in the IV models that we use to assess the possibility of endogeneity.

**Table IX. Results of OLS and IV Models**

| Effect of attitudes toward Muslims | Spending on War on Terror | Spending on defense | Spending on border security | Spending on foreign aid | Iraq decreased threat of terror | Bush approval (War on Terror) |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| discrete choice model | 0.43 | 0.59 | 0.55 | 0.52 | 0.52 | 0.52 |
| (from Table A-1) | (0.17) | (0.17) | (0.20) | (0.17) | (0.17) | (0.19) |
| "Two stage by hand" | 0.45 | 0.70 | 1.01 | 0.95 | 0.41 | 0.72 |
| discrete choice model | (0.37) | (0.29) | (0.34) | (0.30) | (0.35) | (0.39) |
| | | | | | | |
| OLS model | 0.13 | 0.11 | 0.11 | 0.14 | 0.15 | 0.13 |
| | (0.05) | (0.03) | (0.04) | (0.05) | (0.05) | (0.05) |
| IV model | 0.13 | 0.14 | 0.22 | 0.27 | 0.12 | 0.18 |
| | (0.09) | (0.06) | (0.08) | (0.09) | (0.10) | (0.09) |
| IV 95% c.i. | [-0.06, 0.31] | [0.02, 0.26] | [0.06, 0.37] | [0.10, 0.44] | [-0.07, 0.31] | [-0.002, 0.36] |
| robust 95% c.i. | [-0.07, 0.32] | [0.01, 0.27] | [0.06, 0.37] | [0.09, 0.45] | [-0.07, 0.31] | [-0.003, 0.36] |
| | | | | | | |
| IV diagnostics | | | | | | |
| first-stage partial $R^2$ | 0.30 | 0.29 | 0.30 | 0.30 | 0.30 | 0.31 |
| first-stage F-statistic | 64.9 | 52.9 | 64.9 | 64.6 | 65.0 | 64.7 |
| | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) |
| underidentification test | 197.8 | 161.5 | 197.8 | 197.1 | 198.0 | 197.4 |
| (K-P Wald statistic) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) | (p<0.001) |
| overidentification test | 2.39 | 3.91 | 5.17 | 1.92 | 2.10 | 3.78 |
| (Hansen's J) | (p=0.30) | (p=0.14) | (p=0.08) | (p=0.38) | (p=0.35) | (p=0.15) |
| endogeneity test | 0.003 | 0.24 | 3.83 | 2.91 | 0.17 | 0.52 |
| | (p=0.95) | (p=0.62) | (p=0.05) | (p=0.09) | (p=0.68) | (p=0.47) |
| | | | | | | |
| N | 815 | 744 | 814 | 813 | 815 | 805 |

Notes: In the "two-stage by hand model" the standard error is bootstrapped (with 100 replications). In the OLS and instrumental variables models, the standard errors are heteroskedasticity-consistent. The instrumental variables model is estimated using limited maximum likelihood. Source: 2004 ANES.