



**AMERICAN
GOVERNMENT**Section C

American College Students Are No Longer Guaranteed Supporters of Civil Liberties

Trevor G. Samaha*

Abstract

This paper examines the support for civil liberties by college students in the United States, specifically the areas of free speech, privacy, and gun ownership. The paper will examine what factors determine whether or not students support civil liberties. Using both historic and contemporary sources, this paper identifies what civil liberties are and how they are defined. This paper provides an up-to-date look at where civil liberties stand in today's post-9/11, technological, socially dynamic world. Students, in general, are somewhat supportive of privacy rights, somewhat supportive of free speech, and not supportive of gun ownership. There are no clear demographic or socioeconomic factors that determines whether or not a student is in favor of restrictions on civil liberties. Rather, a college student's support, or lack thereof, for civil liberties is much better explained by factors such as political ideology, political party affiliation, and patriotism; there is a statistically significant relationship between students who self-identify as patriotic and those who are in favor of warrantless searches. While not indicative of the future, the results show the startling reality that college campuses in the United States are no longer the sanctuaries for civil liberties that they once were throughout the Civil Rights, the Vietnam War, and the 1990s.

© 2018 California State Polytechnic University; Pomona. All rights reserved

Keywords: Civil Liberties; Free Speech; Gun Ownership; Privacy

* Created by Trevor G. Samaha, Department of Political Science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona for his senior thesis project. Correspondence concerning this research paper should be addressed to Trevor G. Samaha, Department of Political Science, California State Polytechnic University, Pomona, (909) 263-6730. Email: trevorsamaha@gmail.com

1. Introduction

Regardless of the political polarization in the United States, it has always seemed that there are certain things that all Americans could agree on. Traditionally, supporting civil liberties was one of these things. However, in today's modern society, where norms and feelings towards certain things change with each new trending YouTube video, things that were once a sure bet, are now very uncertain. Today, because of both social media and news media, there are many people in society who openly and actively support restrictions on civil liberties. Even more interestingly, there does not seem to be an easy way to predict who is likely to support or oppose restrictions on civil liberties. This thesis project will attempt to solve this problem. I will address the question: what factors determine whether or not an individual is likely to support restrictions on individual liberties? Additionally, what factors determine *which* individual liberties, if any, an individual is in favor of restricting?

This research question is important to address. Many people view the political spectrum as a single axis model with "right" being conservative and "left" being liberal. In general people tend to equate conservatives, specifically Republicans in the United States, with support for fewer restrictions on civil liberties, and people tend to equate liberals, specifically Democrats in the United States, with being in favor of more restrictions on civil liberties. I would argue, however, that both Republicans and Democrats are in favor of restricting civil liberties, but in different areas. I do not believe that the political spectrum is a single axis, it can be better explained using the Nolan Chart (see Figure 1). Democrats tend to support more restrictions as far as the

right to free speech, the right to self-defense, and the right to bear arms whereas Republicans tend to support more restrictions on the right to privacy, the right to freedom of religion, and the right to body autonomy. Both major parties in the United States support restrictions on civil liberties, but not all people do. I will study what factors determine whether or not an individual favors more restrictions on civil liberties as well as what factors determine which areas an individual favors restrictions on civil liberties, if at all.

This research question is worth studying because the factors that determine whether or not a person is more likely to vote Republican or Democrat (horizontal placement on the Nolan Chart) have been studied exhaustively, but there is not nearly as much research to analyze what factors determine an individual's vertical placement on the Nolan Chart¹. I would argue that if a person does not support any restrictions on civil liberties they would be placed very high on the Nolan Chart and an individual who supports many restrictions would fall low on the chart. Simply put, it is worth studying what factors cause an individual to be more of a statist or authoritarian versus what factors cause an individual to be more of a classical liberal or libertarian.

Given the current political polarization in the United States, there are an increasing number of young voters who are no longer drawn to either of the two major parties, as well as many Democrats dissatisfied with the Democratic Party and many Republicans dissatisfied with the Republican Party. Third parties are becoming increasingly attractive, especially to young voters who do not have previous party loyalty. Because third parties², other than single-issue parties³, tend to be more

¹ There are many articles written about the placement of certain political elites on the Nolan Chart, but there are very few that use a quantitative approach in an attempt to predict the placement of ordinary individuals on the Nolan Chart. Especially recently there have been more and more articles written about authoritarianism versus libertarianism, but these articles as well tend to be case studies of elites rather than quantitative analysis of ordinary people.

² Such as the Socialist Party, Libertarian Party, Communist Party, and Constitution Party.

³ Such as the Prohibition Party, Green Party, Alaskan Independence Party, etc.

ideological⁴ about the protection of civil liberties and the specific roles of government, they tend to fall either high or low on the Nolan Chart.

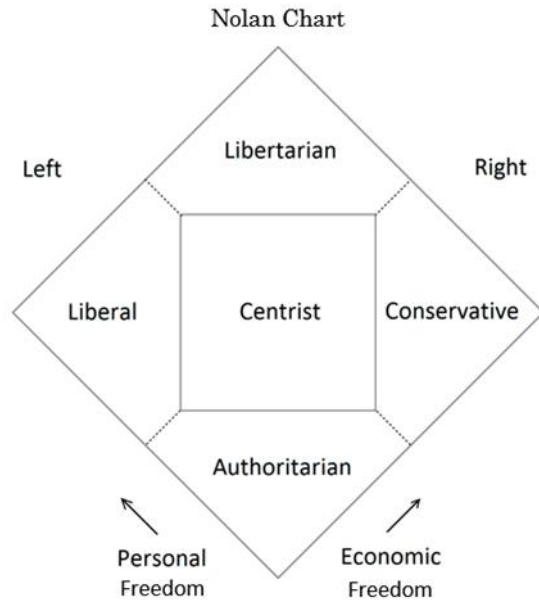


Figure 1: Nolan Chart

I will discuss the previous research that has been conducted on this topic by completing a literature review of relevant sources. I will then hypothesize about what I think I will find after conducting my research. Next, I

⁴ One may argue that the two major parties are very ideological but I do not think this is the case; I would argue that they are indeed polarized, but not because of ideology. I think this is evident by the simple fact that a Democrat in office will propose a piece of legislation and other Democrats will love it and Republicans will hate it. Then a Republican will propose a nearly identical piece of legislation and Democrats will hate it and Republicans will love it. Regarding the two major parties, I believe partisanship is much more at fault for polarization than ideology.

will talk about the methodology and the research design that I will use. I will then discuss the findings of my research. Finally, I will offer a conclusion based on the findings. Additionally, there will be an appendix that will contain relevant supplementary information.

2. Literature Review

Throughout the course of researching and reading about the topic of civil liberties, I have discovered that there have been hundreds of books written on the subject and thousands of journal articles written on the subject. Unfortunately, for the scope of my research question, the vast majority of books and peer-reviewed journal articles on the topic of civil liberties discuss one or more civil liberties in great detail but do not discuss what factors determine whether or not an individual is likely to support restrictions on individual liberties. Instead, most of the scholarship relating to civil liberties deals with making a case either for or against restricting certain civil liberties. Some sources do go into some detail related to *who* supports restrictions on civil liberties, but not the factors that determine their support.

2.1 What are Civil Liberties?

In order to discuss civil liberties in any aspect, let alone in the context of academic research, the term must first be defined. Before any substantive progress can be made towards studying civil liberties, it must be determined to what extent scholars agree on the definition. Various scholars and political thinkers throughout history have contributed their own definitions of the term, "civil liberties." Notable

examples of political theorists who differ on their ideas of civil liberties include Immanuel Kant, John Locke, Thomas Jefferson, and Thomas Paine (Kramnick & Lowi, 2009). Because this paper is focusing on American Politics, I will first explore the thoughts of the Founders as well as those who influenced the Founders to see what their ideas of civil liberties were.

John Locke described liberty, specifically civil liberty, in *A Letter Concerning Toleration* (1689). John Locke said that being able to choose and practice any religion freely is the epitome of civil liberty. He also notes that it is important the same liberties afforded to those who believe in god be protected for those who are atheists (Locke, 1689). Another pre-revolution writing that offers a definition of civil liberties is “An Arrow Against All Tyrants” by Richard Overton in 1646. Overton writes, “No man hath power over my rights and liberties, and I over no man’s; I may be but an individual, enjoy myself and my self-propriety, and may write myself no more than myself, or presume any further; if I do, I am an encroacher and an invader upon another man’s right, to which I have no right” (1646). In “An Arrow Against All Tyrants,” Overton talks about civil liberties in the context that people can do as they please without the government interfering as long as their actions do not interfere with someone else attempting to carry out their own actions. This same, or very similar, notion of civil liberties is later professed by scholars such as Immanuel Kant, Ayn Rand, Herbert Spencer, and Murray Rothbard.

Kant’s idea of civil liberty contrasts sharply with Locke, Jefferson, and Paine, but even among the latter three, there were significant disagreements. According to Daniel A. Bell, from the University of Hong Kong, civil liberties in the United States are comprised of civil and political rights, but not social and economic rights (1999). Civil liberties in the United States, according to Bell, do not protect individuals from economic forces or social forces, but only from governmental force. This is consistent with the ideas of Locke, Jefferson, and Paine regarding civil liberty. They all believed that a democratic form of government was the best choice to ensure individual liberty (Locke, 1689; Kramnick &

Lowi, 2009). On the other hand, Kant believed that democracy would be the type of government that would most significantly infringe on individual civil liberties (1997).

During the American Revolution and the years leading up to it, the issue of civil liberties was thrust to the forefront of society. The Declaration of Independence itself was and is a very influential document when it comes to civil liberties. The significance of the Declaration of Independence as far as civil liberties are concerned is in the wording. When Thomas Jefferson wrote the Declaration of Independence, he included the famous statement about “inalienable rights” including “Life, Liberty, and the Pursuit of Happiness.” Jefferson specifically included liberty as an inalienable or natural right, rather than naming them separately (Pound, 1963: p. 74-5). This is extremely significant because it is an example of (civil) liberty being included under the umbrella of natural rights rather than as a separate idea. The implications of this distinction is of great importance because it means that the government is not necessary to provide the people with civil liberties; civil liberties are something that each and every person is born with rather than those liberties being granted by a governing authority (Becker, 1949: p. 81). If civil liberties are not granted by a governing authority, it also means that a governing authority cannot take them away. This is explicitly contradictory to Mill’s idea of civil liberty (Dworkin, 1997). John Stuart Mill, a renowned utilitarian and classical liberal, believed in individual liberty through what he called, “sovereignty of the individual” (Dworkin 1997). However, Mill also believed that a utilitarian state had the moral and legal authority to, in some cases, violate civil liberties for the greater good of society (Dworkin 1997). Shortly after independence was declared by the United States, the individual states started writing their own constitutions, many of which contained sections specific to civil liberties similar to the Bill of Rights in the later United States Constitution. The following is an excerpt from the Virginia Constitution’s Declaration of Rights: “That all men are by nature equally free and independent, and have certain inherent

rights, of which, when they enter into a state of society, they cannot, by any compact, deprive or divest their posterity; namely, the enjoyment of life and liberty, with the means of acquiring and possessing property, and pursuing and obtaining happiness and safety” (Heyman, 1991). Later, the United States Constitution enumerated certain civil liberties in the Bill of Rights. Something that is often overlooked in the Bill of Rights is the specific wording. For example, the First Amendment says, “the freedom of speech,” the Second Amendment says, “the right to bear arms.” This distinction means that the Constitution is not granting these civil liberties to the people, but rather they are liberties that each individual is born with. The Constitution states that the natural rights and civil liberties of the people will not be infringed upon; it does not state that the Constitution is the reason that people have these rights. Another important note on the wording of the Bill of Rights is that they never refer to *citizens*, *men*, or *Americans*, they all refer to *people*. This clearly demonstrates that civil liberties apply to everyone, not just American citizens or males.

The Constitution of the United States specifically uses the word liberty multiple times throughout the preamble and in the Amendments (Konvitz, 1967). Konvitz argues that the right to privacy is the most fundamental of all civil liberties. Justice Brandeis, a former Supreme Court Justice penned the opinion in *Olmstead v. United States*, which argued for the constitutional right of privacy (Konvitz, 1967). Specifically Justice Brandeis said, “[The Founders] sought to protect Americans in their beliefs, their thoughts, their emotions and their sensations. [The Founders] conferred, as against the government, the right to be let alone—the most comprehensive of rights and the right most valued by civilized man” (Konvitz, 1967). Konvitz further explains how the right to privacy was further confirmed with the *Griswold v. Connecticut* decision. The Supreme Court determined that, even though the United States Constitution does not explicitly protect the people’s right to privacy, the enumerated rights in the First, Third, Fourth, and Ninth Amendments are not possible to guarantee without a right to privacy

and therefore the right must exist (1967). In regards to privacy, Konvitz concludes, “Then, too, the freedoms expressly stated in the Constitution may be interpreted as, exemplifications or expressions of even more fundamental values. Thus, privacy is more fundamental than the First Amendment freedoms” (1967).

2.2 Why People Favor Restrictions on Civil Liberties

If everyone had attitudes similar to those of the Founders who valued civil liberties above almost all else, there would be no need to conduct the research associated with this thesis project; if that were the case, there would not be any subjects to study who support restrictions on civil liberties. However, as is abundantly clear, that is not the case. There are many people from various political, racial and ethnic, socioeconomic, geographic, and religious backgrounds who support restrictions on civil liberties. As mentioned earlier, there is not much scholarship on what factors determine why people support restrictions on civil liberties, but there is a significant amount of research literature on why people support restrictions on civil liberties.

One of the many reasons people may support restrictions on civil liberties is due to national security concerns. As we saw in the tumultuous 2016 Presidential Election Republican Primary debates, the argument of national security versus civil liberties was highlighted in a heated exchange between the then Governor of New Jersey, Chris Christy, and Congressman Rand Paul. Governor Christy was speaking out in favor of the USA PATRIOT Act and Congressman Paul was speaking out in favor of the Fourth Amendment. Governor Christy was making the point that in order to defend the United States against the ever-present threat of terrorism, there are certain civil liberties that all Americans must agree to give up ensuring national safety. He used the argument that if you are doing nothing wrong you should have nothing to hide. On the other side, Congressman Paul argued that the policies implemented in conjunction with the USA PATRIOT Act have not been effective at all at locating or capturing terrorists and that Americans should not have to give up their Fourth Amendment

guaranteed civil liberties in the name of national security. Similarly, there are scholars on both sides of this argument as well. In *Its a Free Country: Personal Freedom in America after September 11*, Goldberg, Goldberg, and Greenwald compile “stories, legal arguments, and historical reminders” about civil liberties (2002). They use a combination of anecdotal examples, legal precedent, and the lessons of history to argue the opinion that the United States should not give up liberties due to tragedy. Similarly, in *The Enemy Within*, Stephen Schulhofer takes a hardline approach against suspending or eliminating any civil liberties (2002). In a profound statement, Schulhofer states:

September 11 was an extraordinary crisis, warranting emergency measures of extraordinary scope. But there is, unfortunately, no reason to believe that the threat of terrorism will recede any time soon. More likely, the “emergency” will be with us through several future presidential administrations. Thus, the enhanced size and prerogatives of the federal law enforcement establishment may not be reversed in our lifetimes. Along with concern for our safety and security, we must devote our utmost attention to the powers of the government under which we live over that very long term (2002, 68).

On the other hand, some scholars believe that the government needs the proper tools to be able to defend the country against terrorists and that our government has a moral obligation not to abuse their power (K. Martin 2002, 7; Stone 2007). Some scholars even take it a step further and assert: “The question is not whether we should increase governmental power to meet such dangers. The question is how much” (Taylor 2003). Taylor goes even further by saying, “It is senseless to adhere to overly broad restrictions imposed by decades-old civil-liberties rules when confronting the threat of unprecedented carnage at the hands of modern terrorists” (2003). Russell Hardin explains how people are often willing to give up certain privacies in order to feel safer (2004). This attitude is especially prevalent in the post 9/11 era where the thought of terror attacks are far more common than they once were (2004). Interestingly,

Hardin also explains that the actual threat of terrorism is statistically insignificant, but because so many people perceive it as a real and present threat, they are willing to give up certain civil liberties to feel safer.

Another reason that people may support restrictions on civil liberties is the idea of utilitarianism or doing the greatest good for the greatest number of people. In their book, Shlapentokh and Beasley cite eight specific areas where restricting civil liberties serves the greater good (2013). Restrictions on freedoms in the areas of “acting bases on religious beliefs, purchasing and consuming sexual services, abstaining from medical treatment, receiving medicine and medical treatments, creative noise, be unencumbered by noise, speak where, when, and how one wishes, and behave as one wishes in public” are some examples of how restricting civil liberties can benefit the greatest number of people (Shlapentokh and Beasley, 2013: p. 60). Some scholars also use the example of restricting the use of drugs as an example of benefiting the greater good (Fellman, 1959: p. 28). However not all scholars agree with this idea. Michael Huemer contends that the individual right to own and carry a firearm “is not overridden by utilitarian considerations” (2003: p. 297). He also argues that the harms of private gun ownership are less than the benefits it provides meaning that the utilitarian would ultimately argue in favor of gun rights (Huemer, 2003).

A third reason that people might support restrictions on civil liberties, in particular free speech, is to protect the public from obscenity. As Laura M. Weinrib explains, prior to 1930 and the *United States v. Dennett* Supreme Court case, sex education pamphlets were not allowed to be distributed via mail because they were considered obscene (2012). By today’s standards, it makes very little sense that something of an educational nature that is non-explicit was once considered obscene. However, there are still obscenity laws today that restrict free speech. Many people believe that these laws are necessary to protect people from things they do not want to see, hear, or read (Weinrib, 2012). Another reason that people might support restrictions on free speech is due to heightened sensitivities during a time of war or during a perceived threat. This occurred during World War I,

World War II, and during the “Red Scare” (Weinrib 2012). During World War II and the Red Scare, the threshold for what was considered illegal speech was much lower (Weinrib 2012).

2.3 Why People Are Against Restricting Civil Liberties

For every person who supports restrictions on civil liberties, there is seemingly another who is opposed to restricting those same civil liberties. The people who are opposed to restricting civil liberties come from identical political, racial and ethnic, socioeconomic, geographic, and religious backgrounds as those who support restrictions on civil liberties. There are many different reasons for being opposed to restricting civil liberties, most of which have already been covered by looking at the historical political thought relating to civil liberty.

One reason that people are against restricting civil liberties is the idea of natural or inalienable rights. An example of this is a study involving political activists and their support level for civil liberties (Green and Guth, 1991). The study determined the level of support for various civil liberties indirectly by determining the individual’s level of support for other things that related to civil liberties such as support for gay rights or support for gun control (Green and Guth, 1991). Similarly, the study that Charles Helwig conducted in 1995 yielded results that suggested adolescents and young adults view the civil liberties protected by the First Amendment, notably the freedom of speech and the freedom of religion, as natural or inalienable rights. Interestingly the reasoning that the participants used to reach each conclusion was different (Helwig, 1995).

Another reason that people are against restricting civil liberties is the idea of a slippery slope. This is perhaps the most common and widely used reasoning for opposing restrictions on civil liberties. Many people believe that once the government has the authority, either by giving itself the authority or by gaining authority through democratic means, to restrict civil liberties, they will have the de facto power to restrict liberties and rights in any way. For many people, such as Daniel Karon, author of “Civil Rights: Suspicionless

Strip Searches—What’s Next?” the idea of government being authorized to limit civil liberties is a severe violation of not only the Constitution, but civil liberties and civil rights as well (2013). The title of the work even lends itself to helping make the point the article is trying to make; it started with searches after “reasonable suspicion,” now it has evolved to suspicionless searches. Maybe the next step will be scheduled searches on a regular basis. Another study that falls into the slippery slope category (although it can also be included as a counterpoint to the national security category) is, “The Ideological Effects of Framing Threat on Immigration and Civil Liberties” conducted by Gallya Lahav and Marie Courtemanche (2012). Because immigration policy is largely based on a perceived threat from immigrants, once immigration is restricted, it becomes very easy for government to further restrict immigration with little-to-no objection; we have seen this play out numerous times throughout American history (Lahav and Courtemanche, 2012). For many people, such as Eric Foner, author of “American Freedom in a Global Age”, the idea of government being authorized to limit civil liberties is a severe concern that Americans must be aware of (2001). He argues that in an increasingly globalized world, citizens in the United States should embrace globalization, but be very cautious not to sacrifice civil liberties and political freedoms to conform with international pressures to adopt policies that violate individual freedom (2001).

2.4 Shortcomings of the Literature

It is rather difficult to criticize such excellent scholarship, and I guess I am not criticizing the scholarship itself, but rather expressing my frustration with the lack of scholarship in the particular area that I am studying and have spent so much time reading about. There is a great deal of literature pertaining to civil liberties, and there is a great deal of literature on authoritarianism versus libertarianism, but there is not very much research at all that relates civil liberties to the authoritarian libertarian dichotomy. Unfortunately, for me, there are many articles about people supporting or

opposing restrictions on civil liberties for one reason or another, but most deal with anecdotal examples rather than quantitative data. For example, Lawrence Gostin writes about his transformation from a libertarian whose career revolved around defending civil liberties into a sanitarian who supports a myriad of government regulation and control (2007). While this case may provide insight into why one individual supports restrictions on civil liberties, one person is hardly a representative sample. Overall the greatest weakness or shortfall in the available scholarship is a lack of quantitative analysis.

2.5 Strength of the Literature

There is an exhaustive amount of literature, both recent and historical on civil liberties. Sometimes it is said that when there is quantity, quality is sacrificed; this is not the case when it comes to civil liberties scholarship. There is an enormous amount of quality sources available on the subject of civil liberties. Specifically for this thesis project the strongest source I was able to find is, "Civil Liberties vs. Security: Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on

America" (Davis and Silver 2004). Another strong article is "Civil Liberties in the Era of Mass Terrorism" (Hardin 2004). This research contains evidence that is very relevant to my research question and should be useful to my thesis. These articles examine who supports restrictions on the right privacy and the Fourth Amendment in post 9/11 America. These articles also look into why people support or oppose these restrictions; these in particular should be useful to my thesis.

2.6 Definition of Civil Liberties

As a thorough review of the literature shows, there are many different opinions on what the true definition of individual or civil liberties is. For the purpose of this paper, it is necessary to establish a definition that will be used throughout, to maintain consistency. The following definition will be used: Civil Liberties can be defined as individual rights protected by natural law from arbitrary

government interference, especially those rights guaranteed by the Bill of Rights.

3. Hypothesis

Hypothesis 1

People who are older are more likely to support restrictions on freedom of speech than people who are younger. Multiple studies have shown that people who are more active in politics are more likely to support unrestricted, or nearly unrestricted freedom of speech (Guth and Green, 1991; Helwig 1995). However, many of these studies were conducted over twenty years ago and the political climate in the United States has significantly changed since then. I think that the older generation of political activists probably still support less restrictions on freedom of speech, but I believe that the younger generation of political activists, in general, probably support more restrictions on freedom of speech. I am basing this prediction on the recent movements we have seen to ban "hate speech" and other forms of controversial speech. While the attitudes of political activists are not identical to their non-activist peers, a general similarity exists (Guth and Green, 1991). Additionally, I believe that there will be a compelling difference between the support for free speech on college campuses in the 1980s and the support for free speech on college campuses today. I believe far more college students today will be in favor of restricting free speech than college students during the 1980s.

Hypothesis 2

People who self-identify as patriotic are more likely to support restrictions on the Fourth Amendment⁵ than those who self-identify as not patriotic. Specifically, I think that people who identify as patriotic will be more likely to support warrantless searches and warrantless gathering of phone records, emails, text messages, and other private electronic data. While on the surface it would seem like the patriotic thing to do would be to support the Constitution, or at least that is what many children across the United States are taught, the scholarship seems to disagree. Many of the scholars claim to be representing the “patriotic” view while simultaneously advocating in favor of the USA PATRIOT Act, an act that severely restricts the Fourth Amendment (Taylor, 2003; Martin 2002; Stone, 2007). I believe that peoples’ self-identification as patriotic will be similar to the views of the scholars.

Hypothesis 3

People who believe that human nature is generally good are less likely to support restrictions on gun control than those who believe human nature is generally evil. Additionally, those who view human nature as bad will be more likely to support a gun ban than those who view human nature as good. Michael Huemer argues strongly in opposition of restricting gun rights (2003). The premise of Huemer’s argument assumes that humans are generally good. Specifically he states, “I assume that individuals have at least some moral rights that are logically prior to the laws enacted by the state, and that these rights place restrictions on what sort of laws ought to be” (2003). I hypothesize that most people who feel similarly, meaning they believe that human nature is generally good or that they believe that people are moral beings, will support gun rights and be in opposition to

gun control. Conversely, I believe that people who believe that human nature is generally evil or that people do not naturally have morals, will be more likely to support restrictions on gun ownership.

4. Methodology

The research for this project was twofold. First, I administered an original survey on campus to Cal Poly Pomona students. Second, I administered the same original survey to my Facebook friends. Because my hypotheses are based on the opinions of the public, I felt that a public opinion survey would provide valuable insight into the opinions of people regarding the specific areas relevant to this project. The analytical part of the research utilized data from both of the surveys. The data gathered from the surveys I conducted was analyzed statistically using IBM SPSS.

4.1 Survey Design

The survey itself was designed to assess respondents’ opinions on the matters relevant to the research question. Specifically, I asked about people’s feelings and attitudes towards free speech, privacy, and firearms. I also asked about their feelings towards warrantless searches, warrantless data gathering, patriotism, and human nature. The survey also contained general questions regarding demographics such as age, racial and ethnic background, education, and political ideology. The survey was brief, only 16 questions long, in an attempt to be courteous to those who were willing to take the time to complete it. It was designed to take respondents no more than three to five minutes to complete the survey. The survey was designed to take up no more than one piece of paper in order to facilitate easy administration. I attempted to reach 50 respondents for

⁵ “The right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers, and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures, shall not be violated, and no Warrants shall issue, but upon probable cause, supported by Oath or affirmation, and particularly describing the place to be searched, and the persons or things to be seized.”

the on-campus survey and I attempted to get as many responses as possible for the Facebook survey.

Regarding the specific questions, the first question was a fill-in-the-blank asking respondents to identify their age. This was the only fill-in-the-blank question on the survey; the rest were multiple choice. The next question asked respondents to identify whether or not they are currently a college student, and if so whether or not they attend Cal Poly Pomona. Next the survey asked about the respondents highest level of formal education. I gave options that allowed respondents who are currently attending college to indicate how long they have been in college. Next, the survey asked respondents to choose from a selection of races and/or ethnicities. I purposefully omitted “none of the above” as an answer choice to force respondents to choose an option that most closely describes them. The survey then asked respondents to choose whether or not they consider themselves to be political activists. Using a scale ranging from strongly agree to strongly disagree, the survey asked how respondents feel about warrantless searches. The next question asked respondents to choose their political ideology. Next, the survey used the same strongly agree to strongly disagree scale to ask respondents how patriotic they consider themselves to be. Then, without directly asking, the survey attempted to gauge the respondents’ feelings on human nature by asking what they believe a hypothetical person would do if given too much change at a grocery store. After that, the survey directly asked respondents if they believe humans are generally good or generally bad. The survey then again used the same strongly agree to strongly disagree scale to ask respondents how they feel about data gathering. Next, the survey asked about gun control by providing various levels of firearm regulation so respondents could choose the letter which most closely reflects their opinions on gun control. Similarly, the survey then asked about free speech by providing various levels of free speech restrictions for respondents to choose from. The next question was a yes or no question asking whether or not individuals should be legally allowed to own firearms. Then the survey asked about guest speakers on college campuses. Finally, the

survey asked if the respondent is patriotic in the form of a yes or no question. The complete survey is attached in the appendix to this thesis.

Both the question about free speech and the question about speakers on campus were used as dependent variables for testing my first hypothesis: people who are older are more likely to support restrictions on freedom of speech than people who are younger. Obviously the age question was used as the independent variable to test this hypothesis. Additionally, I used the question about political activism as an independent variable to test this hypothesis.

For my second hypothesis: people who self-identify as patriotic are more likely to support restrictions on the Fourth Amendment than those who self-identify as not patriotic, I used the question about warrantless searches and the question about data gathering as dependent variables. For this hypothesis, I used the two questions about privacy as independent variables. I also used the question about political ideology as an additional independent variable.

Lastly, for the hypothesis about firearm ownership: people who believe that human nature is generally good are less likely to support restrictions on gun control than those who believe human nature is generally evil, the two questions about guns were used as the dependent variables. The two questions about human nature were used as independent variables.

The three remaining questions, the one about level of formal education, the one about being a college student, and the one about race/ethnicity were able to be used as an independent variable for any of the three hypothesis. These questions were not directly related to any of the three hypotheses directly, however, I felt that they were relevant demographic questions to ask and could potentially offer additional insight.

The survey questions are ordered in such a way that intentionally eases the respondent into answering questions that are more complex. I started with simple questions such as age, education, and ethnicity before I asked about things like what level of gun control is appropriate. The question that is indirectly asking about human nature is intentionally asked before the direct

question regarding human nature so that the respondent is not already thinking about the question in the context of human nature. This was purposefully done to avoid priming the respondent to answer in a biased manner. Both the scaled patriotism question and the scaled gun control question were asked before the yes or no patriotism question and the yes or no gun ownership question respectively. I asked them in this order in an attempt to prevent people from choosing the extremes on the scaled questions simply to make their answer align to their answer on the yes or no question. Certain questions that require some political knowledge contain a “Don’t know/no opinion” answer; these were treated as missing data during analysis.

4.2 Survey Distribution

I distributed the Cal Poly Pomona survey to students on campus by standing in front of the library and asking every third person who passed by if they would take my survey. After an hour of attempting to distribute my survey this way I only had gotten three respondents. At this point I moved inside the library and instead asked people sitting at every third table on the second, third, and fourth floors to take my survey. The specific wording I used was, “Excuse me, I am a political science major working on my senior thesis project, do you mind taking a quick survey.” Because I frequently was asked what exactly I meant by, “quick survey,” my response was, “It is only one page front and back, it takes about three minutes.” In an attempt to randomize my on-campus sample as much as possible, I asked every third person and every third table.

For the Facebook survey I created a digital survey using Google Pages with the exact same questions in the exact same order as the Cal Poly Pomona survey. I shared the link to the survey on my Facebook page and encouraged my Facebook friends to take the survey and share it if they wanted to. The exact post read, “If you have a few minutes to spare, will you please take this quick survey? This survey will be used to help me complete my Senior Thesis individual research project

at Cal Poly Pomona. If you want to be a real hero, you can even share it with your friends or in a group ☺.”

4.3 Data

After the surveys were conducted, I manually entered all of the responses from the physical surveys into Microsoft Excel and downloaded the results from the Facebook survey into Excel as well. I kept the Cal Poly Pomona survey data and the Facebook survey data separate. I then recoded all the responses so that I could upload the spreadsheets into SPSS. Since all of the questions were asked in such a way that yielded either nominal or ordinal data, this process was not exceptionally complicated. I then uploaded each spreadsheet to SPSS as separate datasets.

4.4 Hypothesis Testing

The first relationships that I tested were between age and support for free speech, and the relationship between political activism and support for free speech. The unit of analysis was the two different groups of survey respondents, one from Cal Poly Pomona, and one from Facebook. The dependent variable was the support one has for free speech. This dependent variable was defined in three different ways: the level of support the respondent has for free speech, the level of support the respondent has for campus speakers, and the respondent’s attitude towards hate speech. The independent variables were age and activism. IBM’s SPSS software was used to perform the statistical analysis.

- Dependent variable 1 – FreeSpeech (ordinal) [created by using survey question 13.]
 - 1 no restrictions on speech
 - 2 current restrictions on speech
 - 3 additional restrictions against hate speech

- Dependent variable 2 – CampusSpeech (ordinal) [created by using survey question 15.]
 - 1 all speakers allowed
 - 2 no “hateful” speakers
 - 3 can deny speakers for political views
 - 4 both 2 & 3
- Dependent variable 3 – HateSpeech (nominal) [created by recoding FreeSpeech.]
 - 0 no restrictions on speech OR current restrictions on speech
 - 1 additional restrictions against hate speech
- Independent variable 1 - Age (ordinal) [created by using survey question 1]
- Independent variable 2 – Activist (nominal) [created by using survey question 5.]
 - 0 no
 - 1 yes
- 1 strongly disagree with warrantless searches
- 2 disagree with warrantless searches
- 3 somewhat disagree with warrantless searches
- 4 Neutral or unsure
- 5 somewhat agree with warrantless searches
- 6 agree with warrantless searches
- 7 strongly agree with warrantless searches
- Dependent variable 2 – DataGathering (ordinal) [created by using survey question 11.]
 - 1 no data gathering
 - 2 no data gathering without a warrant
 - 3 permissible to prevent terrorism
 - 4 permissible because I’m doing nothing wrong
 - 5 both 3 & 4
- Independent variable 1 – Patriotic (nominal) [created by using survey question 16.]
 - 0 no
 - 1 yes
- Independent variable 2 – PatriotismScale (ordinal) [created by using survey question 8. “I am very patriotic and openly proud to be an American”]
 - 1 strongly disagree
 - 2 disagree
 - 3 somewhat disagree
 - 4 Neutral or unsure
 - 5 somewhat agree
 - 6 agree
 - 7 strongly agree
- Dependent variable 1 – SearchScale (ordinal) [created by using survey question 6.]

The second set of relationships that I tested were between patriotism and support for warrantless searches, the relationship between patriotism and support for data gathering, the relationship between conservatism and support for warrantless searches, the relationship between conservatism and support for data gathering. The unit of analysis in this case was again the two different groups of survey respondents. The dependent variable was the support one has for restrictions on the Fourth Amendment. The independent variables were patriotism and conservatism. IBM’s SPSS software was used to perform the statistical analysis.

- Independent variable 3 – Conservative (nominal) [created by using survey question 7.]
 - 0 not conservative
 - 1 conservative

- 2 humans are somewhat good
- 3 humans are somewhat bad
- 4 humans are bad

The third group of relationships that I tested were between an individual’s views on human nature and support for gun control, and an individual’s views on human nature and support for a gun ban. The unit of analysis again was the two different groups of survey respondents. The dependent variable was the support one has for restrictions on gun ownership. The independent variables were an individual’s views on human nature. IBM’s SPSS software was used to perform the statistical analysis.

- Independent variable 2 – HumanNature (nominal) [created by using survey question 10.]
 - 1 humans are generally good
 - 2 humans are generally bad

5. Results

5.1 Free Speech: Descriptive Analysis for Facebook Sample

- Dependent variable 1 – GunScale (ordinal) [created by using survey question 12.]
 - 1 no restrictions on gun ownership
 - 2 less restrictions on gun ownership
 - 3 current restrictions on gun ownership
 - 4 more restrictions on gun ownership
 - 5 people should not be allowed to own guns
- Dependent variable 2 – OwnGun (nominal) [created by using survey question 14.]
 - 0 people should not be allowed to own guns
 - 1 people should be allowed to own guns
- Independent variable 1 – HumanNatureScale (ordinal) [created by using survey question 9.]
 - 1 humans are good

Statistics

FreeSpeech

N	Valid	142
	Missing	2
Mean		1.908
Median		2.000
Mode		2.0
Std. Deviation		.5700
Variance		.325
Skewness		-.012
Std. Error of Skewness		.203
Range		2.0

Which best describes your opinion on free speech?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No restrictions	30	20.8	21.1	21.1
	Current restrictions	95	66.0	66.9	88.0
	Hate speech restrictions	17	11.8	12.0	100.0
	Total	142	98.6	100.0	
Missing	99.0	1	.7		
	System	1	.7		
	Total	2	1.4		
Total		144	100.0		

Regarding guest speakers on college campuses:

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	All Speakers	100	69.4	69.9	69.9
	No for politics	24	16.7	16.8	86.7
	No for hate speech	13	9.0	9.1	95.8
	No for politics and hate speech	6	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		144	100.0		

Statistics

CampusSpeech

N	Valid	143
	Missing	1
Mean		1.476
Median		1.000
Mode		1.0
Std. Deviation		.8293
Variance		.688

Skewness	1.694
Std. Error of Skewness	.203
Range	3.0

The median support for restrictions on free speech is 2, which means supports the current restrictions on free speech. Looking further, the descriptive analysis shows that 21.1% support no restrictions on free speech, 66.9% support current restrictions on free speech, and 12.0%

support further restrictions on hate speech. The median support for restrictions on campus speakers is 1, which means supports all campus speakers. Descriptive statistics show that 69.9% support no restrictions on campus speakers, 16.8% support restricting speakers based on their politics, 9.1% support restricting speakers for hate speech, and 4.2% support restricting speakers for either their politics *or* for hate speech. The mode for support for restrictions on hate speech is 0, which means against restrictions on hate speech. We can see that 88.0% support no restrictions on hate speech, and 12.0% support restrictions on hate speech.

Inferential Analysis

Using age and activism as independent variables, statistical regression tests were applied. I assumed that both of these independent variables played a significant part in explaining support for restrictions on free speech, campus speech, and hate speech. My analysis shows that neither of these independent variables are significant in explaining support for restricting free speech.

The relationships between any of these three dependent, and either of the two independent, variables are statistically insignificant (see appendix). Both age and activism do not have an influence on support for restrictions on various areas of free speech. These results do not support my hypothesis; age and activism have a random relationship with support for restrictions on free speech.

5.2 Free Speech: Descriptive Analysis for Cal Poly Pomona Sample

The statistics for the Cal Poly Pomona sample are very similar to the Facebook sample. The descriptive statistic tables can be found in the appendix. The median support for restrictions on free speech is 2. 18.0% support no restrictions on free speech, 64.0% support current restrictions on free speech, and 18.0% support further restrictions on hate speech. The median support for restrictions on campus speakers is 1. 56.9% support no restrictions on campus speakers, 19.6% support restricting speakers based on their politics, 9.8% support

restricting speakers for hate speech, and 13.7% support restricting speakers for either their politics *or* for hate speech. The mode for support for restrictions on hate speech is 0. 82.0% support no restrictions on hate speech, and 18.0% support restrictions on hate speech.

5.3 Inferential Analysis

Just like the Facebook sample, the Cal Poly Pomona sample did not yield significant results. See appendix for regression analysis.

5.4 Privacy: Descriptive Analysis for Facebook Sample

Statistics

SearchScale

N	Valid	143
	Missing	1
Mean		3.140
Median		3.000
Mode		1.0
Std. Deviation		1.9986
Variance		3.994
Skewness		.368
Std. Error of Skewness		.203
Range		6.0

How do you feel about the following statement: In some cases (such as suspected terrorism) law enforcement agencies should be allowed to search people’s homes or place of residence without a search warrant.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Strongly disagree	48	33.3	33.6	33.6
	Disagree	18	12.5	12.6	46.2
	Somewhat disagree	22	15.3	15.4	61.5
	Neutral or unsure	4	2.8	2.8	64.3
	Somewhat agree	29	20.1	20.3	84.6
	Agree	16	11.1	11.2	95.8
	Strongly agree	6	4.2	4.2	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		144	100.0		

The median support for warrantless searches is 3, which means somewhat disagree with warrantless searches. Looking further, the descriptive analysis shows that 61.5% disagree with warrantless searches in some aspect, 2.8% are neutral towards or unsure about warrantless searches, and 38.7% support warrantless searches in some capacity. The median support for data gathering is 2, which means supports data gathering but only with a warrant. Descriptive statistics show that 14.8% do not support data gathering at all, 55.6% support data gathering but only with a warrant, and 29.6% support data gathering without a warrant.

Inferential Analysis

Using patriotism and conservatism as independent variables, statistical regression tests were applied. I

assumed that both of these independent variables played a significant part in explaining support for warrantless searches and data gathering. My analysis regarding warrantless searches showed that only patriotism is significant, explaining 5.0% of support for warrantless searches when the ordinal variable was used and explaining 3.1% of support for warrantless searches when the nominal variable was used. Additionally, my analysis regarding data gathering showed that patriotism is significant when defined as an ordinal variable and can explain 5.0% of support for data gathering.

Table 7. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotism Scale	.313	.007
R-Square	.050	

Table 8. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotic Y/N	1.050	.037
R-Square	.031	

The relationship between patriotism and support for warrantless searches is statistically significant. In addition, the relationship between patriotism and support for data gathering is statistically significant. These results support my hypothesis. Contrary to Mangum’s claims, political involvement has a random relationship with trust in government.

The statistics for the Cal Poly Pomona sample are similar, but not identical to the Facebook sample. The descriptive statistic tables can be found in the appendix. The median support for warrantless searches is also 3. 60.8% disagree with warrantless searches in some aspect, 15.7% are neutral towards or unsure about warrantless searches, and 23.5% support warrantless searches in some capacity. The median support for data gathering is also 2. Descriptive statistics show that 10.4% do not support data gathering at all, 54.2% support data gathering but only with a warrant, and 35.4% support data gathering without a warrant.

5.5 Privacy: Descriptive Analysis for Cal Poly Pomona Sample

Statistics

Data Gathering

N	Valid	48
	Missing	3
Mean		2.688
Median		2.000
Mode		2.0
Std. Deviation		1.3072
Variance		1.709
Skewness		.852
Std. Error of Skewness		.343
Range		4.0

Regarding law enforcement or government agencies gathering data such as phone records, social media correspondence, email history, etc.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No data gathering	5	9.8	10.4	10.4
	Only with a warrant	26	51.0	54.2	64.6
	To prevent terrorism	5	9.8	10.4	75.0
	I'm not doing anything wrong	3	5.9	6.3	81.3
	Terrorism and I'm not doing anything wrong	9	17.6	18.8	100.0
	Total	48	94.1	100.0	
Missing	99.0	3	5.9		
Total		51	100.0		

5.6 Inferential Analysis

Using the same variables as the Facebook samples and running the same tests, my analysis regarding warrantless searches showed that both patriotism and conservatism are significant, explaining 13.0% and 15.4% of support for warrantless searches respectively. Interestingly, patriotism was only significant when the nominal variable was used. The regression analysis related to data gathering did not yield any statistically significant results (see appendix).

The relationship between patriotism and support for warrantless searches is statistically significant. In addition, the relationship between conservatism and support for warrantless searches is statistically significant. These results partially support my hypothesis.

5.7 Firearms: Descriptive Statistics for Facebook Sample

Statistics

OwnGun

N	Valid	143
	Missing	1
Mean		.937
Median		1.000
Mode		1.0
Std. Deviation		.2437
Variance		.059
Skewness		-3.638

Do you think that people should be allowed to own guns?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	9	6.3	6.3	6.3
	Yes	134	93.1	93.7	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		144	100.0		
Std. Error of Skewness		.203			
Range		1.0			

Looking further, the descriptive analysis shows that 9.4% think there should be no restrictions on firearm ownership, 24.5% think there should be fewer restrictions, 31.7% support current restrictions, 29.5% want more restrictions, and 5.0% do not think that people

5.7 Inferential Analysis

Using the respondent’s views on human nature as independent variables, statistical regression tests were applied. I hypothesized that human nature played a significant part in explaining support for gun control and a gun ban. The analysis showed that human nature can explain 6.4% of support for a gun ban when using the

5.8 Firearms: Descriptive Statistics for Cal Poly Sample

The statistics for the Cal Poly Pomona sample differ slightly from the Facebook sample. The descriptive statistic tables can again be found in the appendix. The median support for gun control is 4, which means in favor of stricter restrictions on firearm ownership. 6.1%

The median support for gun control is 3, which means supportive of the current restrictions on firearm ownership

should own guns. The mode support for a gun ban is 1, which means does not support a gun ban. Descriptive statistics show that 93.7% do not support a gun ban and 6.3% do.

ordinal variable or 4.8% of support for a gun ban when using the nominal variable. My analysis regarding gun control did not yield significant results. The relationship between human nature and support for a gun ban is statistically significant. This result, in part, supports my hypothesis.

think there should be no restrictions on firearm ownership, 14.3% think there should be fewer restrictions, 14.3% support current restrictions, 51.0% want more restrictions, and 14.3% do not think that people should own guns. The mode support for a gun ban

is also 1. Descriptive statistics show that 78.4% do not support a gun ban and 21.6% do.

5.9 Inferential Analysis

Using the same variables as the Facebook samples and running the same tests, my analysis did not result in

any significant findings. (See appendix for regression results.)

6. Discussion

Amidst the 32 regressions that were conducted, there were a few very informative results which helped to support my hypotheses. Luckily, my analysis yielded significant results in multiple areas. I did not have any statistically significant findings regarding free speech. However, I did have similar findings on both Facebook and on campus about privacy. There is a strong relationship between individuals who self-identify as patriotic and support warrantless searches but not great predictability. Additionally, on campus I found there is a relationship between those who are ideologically conservative and those who support warrantless searches. I also found that there is a significant relationship between those who are more patriotic and those who support the gathering of phone records and other digital data without a warrant. As far as gun ownership goes, I found that among the Facebook sample, there is a strong relationship between those who view human nature as bad and those who support a ban on private ownership of firearms.

I believe that some of the lack of significant results can be attributed to the two samples themselves. While there was a strong attempt made to randomize the Cal Poly Pomona sample, it was still a convenience sample

that probably was not representative of the campus as a whole. The Facebook sample was purely a convenience sample. The fact that both samples were not random may skew the results, but it is very difficult to speculate in what way they would be skewed. Because the surveys did not ask questions that were particularly partisan or divisive, I do not think that using convenience samples was detrimental to the research.

Aside from the regression analysis, I think that the descriptive statistics themselves offer some valuable insight into opinion about restricting civil liberties. Similar to Helwig, I found that the majority of college students are opposed to restrictions on free speech (1995). However, in the 1995 study, Helwig found that of the 48 college students he surveyed in the San Francisco area, 100% of them were opposed to restrictions on free speech. My survey of 51 college students at Cal Poly Pomona found that only 82% of college students were opposed to restricting free speech. This could lead one to believe that the support for free speech among college students is on the decline. At a very minimum this shows that 12% fewer college students⁶ are opposed to restricting free speech today, in 2018, as were opposed to restricting free speech in 1995.

7. Conclusion

Finding predictors for free speech proved to be very difficult. At first, I was very disappointed by my lack of significant findings as far as free speech is concerned. However, upon further examination, by proving the null

hypothesis I was able to determine some variables that do not have a significant relationship with support for restricting free speech.

⁶ Amongst the groups sampled.

My best results were those relating to privacy as well as gun ownership. I was able to confirm my hypotheses in these two areas to some extent. In neither of these areas was I able to find variables that indicated strong predictability on their own, but I was able to find multiple significant relationships. I believe that with the addition of control variables, it will be possible to find strong predictability for these variables in the future.

As far as sheer numbers go, it seems that there is a smaller percentage of college students today than in the past who support civil liberties, particularly free speech. It would be reckless to speculate about why this seems to be the case, however it does pose a very interesting question that I would like to address in future research.

The main goal of this research was to figure out what factors determine whether or not an individual is likely

to support restrictions on individual liberties and to determine what factors determine *which* individual liberties an individual supports restricting. While I fell far short of achieving that goal, this research builds a foundation that can be expanded on in the future. With the addition of control variables and a larger sample size, I am very optimistic about the future possibility of answering this research question.

In the future, I would like to expand this survey, possibly across multiple campuses in multiple states. I would like to find an independent variable or independent variables that are strong predictors for feelings towards restricting free speech. Hopefully throughout the course of graduate school I will be able to continue with this line of research.

8. Appendix

Survey

1. How old are you? _____
2. Are you currently a college student?
 - a. Yes, at Cal Poly Pomona
 - b. Yes, but not at Cal Poly Pomona
 - c. No
3. Which *best* describes your highest or current level of formal education:
 - a. Didn't graduate high school
 - b. High school graduate or GED recipient
 - c. 1 year of college
 - d. 2 years of college
 - e. 3 years of college
 - f. 4 years of college (no bachelor's degree)
 - g. 5+ years of college (no bachelor's degree)
 - h. BA or BS
 - i. Graduate degree
4. Which *best* describes you?
 - a. Hispanic or Latino/Latina
 - b. Black
 - c. Native American
 - d. Asian
 - e. White

5. Do you consider yourself to be a political activist or an activist for a certain political cause?
 - a. Yes
 - b. No
6. How do you feel about the following statement: In some cases (such as suspected terrorism) law enforcement agencies should be allowed to search people's homes or place of residence without a search warrant.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Somewhat agree
 - d. Neutral or unsure
 - e. Somewhat disagree
 - f. Disagree
 - g. Strongly disagree
7. Which *best* describes your political ideology?
 - a. Conservative
 - b. Liberal
 - c. Libertarian
 - d. Socialist
8. How do you feel about the following statement: I am very patriotic and openly proud to be an American.
 - a. Strongly agree
 - b. Agree
 - c. Somewhat agree
 - d. Neutral or unsure
 - e. Somewhat disagree
 - f. Disagree
 - g. Strongly disagree
9. Imagine someone shopping at the grocery store. The cashier accidentally gives them \$10 change instead of \$1 change. What do they do?
 - a. Keep the money, not their fault the cashier made a mistake.
 - b. Keep the money but feel a bit guilty about it.
 - c. Reluctantly return the money.
 - d. Immediately give the money back and request the proper change.
10. Regarding human nature, do you think people are generally good, or generally bad?
 - a. Generally good
 - b. Generally bad
11. Regarding law enforcement or government agencies gathering data such as phone records, social media correspondence, email history, etc.

- a. I support data gathering because this is a good way to prevent terrorism
 - b. I support data gathering because I am not doing anything wrong so I don't mind
 - c. Both a. and b.
 - d. I support data gathering, but only with a warrant
 - e. I don't support data gathering, even with a warrant
 - f. Don't know/no opinion
12. Which best describes your opinion on gun ownership?
- a. I do not think that people should be allowed to own guns
 - b. I think that the current laws aren't enough; we need more restrictions on gun ownership
 - c. I think that the current laws are good; we should keep them but not add any more
 - d. I think that the current laws go too far; there should be less restrictions on gun ownership
 - e. I do not think that there should be any restrictions on gun ownership
 - f. Don't know/no opinion
13. Which best describes your opinion on free speech?
- a. I agree with current laws (can't yell "fire" in a crowded building, can't incite violence, etc.)
 - b. I don't think that there should be any restrictions on freedom of speech
 - c. I think that in addition to the current laws there should be laws against "hate speech"
 - d. Don't know/no opinion
14. Do you think that people should be allowed to own guns?
- a. Yes
 - b. No
15. Regarding guest speakers on college campuses:
(Please do not consider cost or financial implications when answering)
- a. I think that colleges should allow all speakers regardless of the controversial nature of some speakers; all points of view deserve an opportunity to be heard
 - b. I think that colleges should be allowed to refuse certain speakers based on the speaker's political views
 - c. I think that colleges should not allow speakers who are considered to be racist, homophobic, misogynistic, xenophobic, or use any other forms of hate speech
 - d. Both b and c
16. Do you consider yourself to be patriotic?
- a. Yes
 - b. No

Tables

Table 1. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Free Speech (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Age	-.002	.430
R-Square	.004	

Table 2. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Free Speech (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Activist	.023	.829
R-Square	.000	

Table 3. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Campus Speakers (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Age	-.005	.203
R-Square	.011	

Table 4. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Campus Speakers (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Activist	-.140	.368
R-Square	.006	

Table 5. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for "Hate Speech" (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Age	.002	.192
R-Square	.012	

Table 6. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for "Hate Speech" (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Activist	.077	.207
R-Square	.011	

Table 7. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotism Scale	.313	.007
R-Square	.050	

Table 8. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotic Y/N	1.050	.037
R-Square	.031	

Table 9. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Conservative	.495	.140
R-Square	.015	

Table 10. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Data Gathering (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotism Scale	.193	.009
R-Square	.050	

Table 11. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Data Gathering (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotic Y/N	.495	.162
R-Square	.015	

Table 12. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Data Gathering (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Conservative	.400	.067
R-Square	.025	

Table 13. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Control (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature Scale	.023	.773
R-Square	.001	

Table 14. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Control (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature G/B	-.085	.701
R-Square	.001	

Table 15. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Ban (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature Scale	-.053	.002
R-Square	.064	

Table 16. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Ban (FB)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature G/B	-.131	.008
R-Square	.048	

Table 17. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Free Speech (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Age	.014	.504
R-Square	.009	

Table 18. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Free Speech (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Activist	.000	1.000
R-Square	.000	

Table 19. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Campus Speakers (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Age	-.057	.122
R-Square	.048	

Table 20. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Campus Speakers (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Activist	.470	.185
R-Square	.036	

Table 21. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for "Hate Speech" (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Age	-.004	.759
R-Square	.002	

Table 22. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for "Hate Speech" (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Activist	.173	.170
R-Square	.039	

Table 23. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotism Scale	.219	.185
R-Square	.036	

Table 24. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (CPP)

	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotic Y/N	1.410	.009
R-Square	.130	

Table 25. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Warrantless Searches (CPP)

	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Conservative	1.655	.006
R-Square	.154	

Table 26. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Data Gathering (CPP)

	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotism Scale	.102	.371
R-Square	.017	

Table 27. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Data Gathering (CPP)

	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Patriotic Y/N	-.169	.667
R-Square	.004	

Table 28. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Data Gathering (CPP)

	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Conservative	.189	.650
R-Square	.005	

Table 29. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Control (CPP)

	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature Scale	.161	.199
R-Square	.035	

Table 30. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Control (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature G/B	-.052	.874
R-Square	.001	

Table 31. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Ban (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature Scale	-.041	.379
R-Square	.016	

Table 32. Regression Model on the Effect of Support for Gun Ban (CPP)		
	Beta Coefficient	Significance Value
Human Nature G/B	-.056	.640
R-Square	.004	

Descriptive Statistics

Statistics

FreeSpeech

N	Valid	50
	Missing	1
Mean		2.000
Median		2.000
Mode		2.0
Std. Deviation		.6061
Variance		.367
Skewness		.000
Std. Error of Skewness		.337
Range		2.0

Which best describes your opinion on free speech?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No restrictions	9	17.6	18.0	18.0
	Current restrictions	32	62.7	64.0	82.0
	Hate speech restrictions	9	17.6	18.0	100.0
	Total	50	98.0	100.0	
Missing	99.0	1	2.0		
Total		51	100.0		

Statistics

CampusSpeech

N	Valid	51
	Missing	0
Mean		1.804
Median		1.000
Mode		1.0
Std. Deviation		1.0958
Variance		1.201
Skewness		1.071
Std. Error of Skewness		.333
Range		3.0

Regarding guest speakers on college campuses:

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	All Speakers	29	56.9	56.9	56.9
	No for politics	10	19.6	19.6	76.5
	No for hate speech	5	9.8	9.8	86.3
	No for politics and hate speech	7	13.7	13.7	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

HateSpeech

N	Valid	142
	Missing	2
Mean		.1197
Median		.0000
Mode		.00
Std. Deviation		.32578
Variance		.106
Skewness		2.368
Std. Error of Skewness		.203
Range		1.00

HateSpeech

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	125	86.8	88.0	88.0
	1.00	17	11.8	12.0	100.0
	Total	142	98.6	100.0	
Missing	System	2	1.4		
Total		144	100.0		

Statistics

HateSpeech

N	Valid	50
	Missing	1
Mean		.1800
Median		.0000
Mode		.00
Std. Deviation		.38809
Variance		.151
Skewness		1.718
Std. Error of Skewness		.337
Range		1.00

HateSpeech

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	.00	41	80.4	82.0	82.0
	1.00	9	17.6	18.0	100.0
	Total	50	98.0	100.0	
Missing	System	1	2.0		
Total		51	100.0		

Statistics

SearchScale

N	Valid	51
	Missing	0
Mean		3.020
Median		3.000
Mode		1.0
Std. Deviation		1.9441
Variance		3.780
Skewness		.668
Std. Error of Skewness		.333
Range		6.0

How do you feel about the following statement: In some cases (such as suspected terrorism) law enforcement agencies should be allowed to search people's homes or place of residence without a search warrant.

	Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid Strongly disagree	16	31.4	31.4	31.4
Disagree	9	17.6	17.6	49.0
Somewhat disagree	6	11.8	11.8	60.8
Neutral or unsure	8	15.7	15.7	76.5
Somewhat agree	7	13.7	13.7	90.2
Strongly agree	5	9.8	9.8	100.0
Total	51	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

DataGathering

N	Valid	135
	Missing	9
Mean		2.519
Median		2.000
Mode		2.0
Std. Deviation		1.2629
Variance		1.595
Skewness		.973
Std. Error of Skewness		.209
Range		4.0

Regarding law enforcement or government agencies gathering data such as phone records, social media correspondence, email history, etc.

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No data gathering	20	13.9	14.8	14.8
	Only with a warrant	75	52.1	55.6	70.4
	To prevent terrorism	10	6.9	7.4	77.8
	I'm not doing anything wrong	10	6.9	7.4	85.2
	Terrorism and I'm not doing anything wrong	20	13.9	14.8	100.0
	Total	135	93.8	100.0	
Missing	99.0	8	5.6		
	System	1	.7		
	Total	9	6.3		
Total		144	100.0		

Statistics

GunScale

N	Valid	139
	Missing	5
Mean		2.964
Median		3.000
Mode		3.0
Std. Deviation		1.0592
Variance		1.122
Skewness		-.150
Std. Error of Skewness		.206
Range		4.0

Which best describes your opinion on gun ownership?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No restrictions	13	9.0	9.4	9.4
	Less restrictions	34	23.6	24.5	33.8
	Current restrictions	44	30.6	31.7	65.5
	More restrictions	41	28.5	29.5	95.0
	No guns	7	4.9	5.0	100.0
	Total	139	96.5	100.0	
Missing	99.0	4	2.8		
	System	1	.7		
	Total	5	3.5		
Total		144	100.0		

Statistics

GunScale

N	Valid	49
	Missing	2
Mean		3.531
Median		4.000
Mode		4.0
Std. Deviation		1.1012
Variance		1.213
Skewness		-.813
Std. Error of Skewness		.340
Range		4.0

Which best describes your opinion on gun ownership?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No restrictions	3	5.9	6.1	6.1
	Less restrictions	7	13.7	14.3	20.4
	Current restrictions	7	13.7	14.3	34.7
	More restrictions	25	49.0	51.0	85.7
	No guns	7	13.7	14.3	100.0
	Total	49	96.1	100.0	
Missing	99.0	2	3.9		
Total		51	100.0		

Statistics

OwnGun

N	Valid	51
	Missing	0
Mean		.784
Median		1.000
Mode		1.0
Std. Deviation		.4154
Variance		.173
Skewness		-1.425
Std. Error of Skewness		.333
Range		1.0

Do you think that people should be allowed to own guns?

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	11	21.6	21.6	21.6
	Yes	40	78.4	78.4	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

Statistics

		Age	CollegeStudent	Education	Ethnicity	Ideology
N	Valid	143	143	143	143	143
	Missing	1	1	1	1	1
Mean		32.462	.902	6.105	4.364	2.133
Median		24.000	.000	6.000	5.000	2.000
Mode		20.0	.0	8.0	5.0	2.0
Std. Deviation		16.9127	.9591	2.2973	1.3612	.8157
Variance		286.039	.920	5.278	1.853	.665
Skewness		1.204	.198	-.215	-1.908	.303
Std. Error of Skewness		.203	.203	.203	.203	.203
Range		67.0	2.0	8.0	4.0	3.0

Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18.0	8	5.6	5.6	5.6
	19.0	14	9.7	9.8	15.4
	20.0	20	13.9	14.0	29.4
	21.0	8	5.6	5.6	35.0
	22.0	6	4.2	4.2	39.2
	23.0	12	8.3	8.4	47.6
	24.0	9	6.3	6.3	53.8
	25.0	9	6.3	6.3	60.1
	26.0	5	3.5	3.5	63.6
	27.0	3	2.1	2.1	65.7
	28.0	3	2.1	2.1	67.8
	35.0	4	2.8	2.8	70.6
	45.0	12	8.3	8.4	79.0
	55.0	16	11.1	11.2	90.2
	65.0	11	7.6	7.7	97.9
	75.0	1	.7	.7	98.6
	85.0	2	1.4	1.4	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
	Total	144	100.0		

CollegeStudent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	No	73	50.7	51.0	51.0
	Yes at CPP	11	7.6	7.7	58.7
	Yes not at CPP	59	41.0	41.3	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
	Total	144	100.0		

Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Didn't Graduate HS	1	.7	.7	.7
	HS Diploma or GED	3	2.1	2.1	2.8
	1 year of college	23	16.0	16.1	18.9
	2 years of college	19	13.2	13.3	32.2
	3 years of college	16	11.1	11.2	43.4
	4 years of college	13	9.0	9.1	52.4
	5+ years of college	6	4.2	4.2	56.6
	BA or BS	37	25.7	25.9	82.5
	Graduate degree	25	17.4	17.5	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		144	100.0		

Ethnicity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Hispanic	17	11.8	11.9	11.9
	Black	4	2.8	2.8	14.7
	Native American	1	.7	.7	15.4
	Asian	9	6.3	6.3	21.7
	White	112	77.8	78.3	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		144	100.0		

Ideology

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Libertarian	32	22.2	22.4	22.4
	Conservative	67	46.5	46.9	69.2
	Liberal	37	25.7	25.9	95.1
	Socialist	7	4.9	4.9	100.0
	Total	143	99.3	100.0	
Missing	System	1	.7		
Total		144	100.0		

Statistics

		Age	CollegeStudent	Education	Ethnicity	Ideology
N	Valid	51	51	51	51	51
	Missing	0	0	0	0	0
Mean		21.980	1.000	5.098	2.980	2.667
Median		21.000	1.000	5.000	4.000	3.000
Mode		21.0	1.0	6.0	1.0	3.0
Std. Deviation		4.1785	.0000	1.6764	1.8165	.7118
Variance		17.460	.000	2.810	3.300	.507
Skewness		3.387		-.585	-.095	-.449
Std. Error of Skewness		.333	.333	.333	.333	.333
Range		26.0	.0	6.0	4.0	3.0

Age

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	18.0	5	9.8	9.8	9.8
	19.0	5	9.8	9.8	19.6
	20.0	8	15.7	15.7	35.3
	21.0	12	23.5	23.5	58.8
	22.0	9	17.6	17.6	76.5
	23.0	2	3.9	3.9	80.4
	24.0	1	2.0	2.0	82.4
	25.0	4	7.8	7.8	90.2
	26.0	2	3.9	3.9	94.1
	27.0	1	2.0	2.0	96.1
	33.0	1	2.0	2.0	98.0
	44.0	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

CollegeStudent

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Yes at CPP	51	100.0	100.0	100.0

Education

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	HS Diploma or GED	7	13.7	13.7	13.7
	1 year of college	2	3.9	3.9	17.6
	2 years of college	7	13.7	13.7	31.4
	3 years of college	10	19.6	19.6	51.0
	4 years of college	14	27.5	27.5	78.4
	5+ years of college	10	19.6	19.6	98.0
	BA or BS	1	2.0	2.0	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

Ethnicity

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Hispanic	22	43.1	43.1	43.1
	Black	1	2.0	2.0	45.1
	Asian	12	23.5	23.5	68.6
	White	16	31.4	31.4	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

Ideology

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Libertarian	3	5.9	5.9	5.9
	Conservative	15	29.4	29.4	35.3
	Liberal	29	56.9	56.9	92.2
	Socialist	4	7.8	7.8	100.0
	Total	51	100.0	100.0	

9. Works Cited

- Becker, Carl L. 1949. *Safeguarding Civil Liberty Today: The Edward L. Bernays lectures of 1944 given at Cornell University*. New York: Peter Smith.
- Bell, Daniel. A. 1999. "Which Rights are Universal?" *Political Theory* 27(6), 849-856.
- Davis, Darren W., and Brian D. Silver. 2004. "Civil Liberties vs. Security: Public Opinion in the Context of the Terrorist Attacks on America." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(1): 28-46.
- Dworkin, Gerald, ed. 1997. *Mills "On liberty": Critical Essays*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers.
- Fellman, David. 1959. *The Limits of Freedom*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.
- Foner, Eric. 2001. "American Freedom in a Global Age." *The American Historical Review* 106(1), 1-16.
- Goldberg, Danny, Victor Goldberg, and Robert Greenwald, eds. 2002. *It's A Free Country: Personal Freedom in America after September 11*. New York: RDV Books.
- Gostin, Lawrence O. 2007. "From a Civil Libertarian to a Sanitarian." *Journal of Law and Society* 34(4): 594-616.
- Guth, James L., and John C. Green. 1991. "An Ideology of Rights: Support for Civil Liberties among Political Activists." *Political Behavior* 13(4): 321-44.
- Hardin, Russell. 2004. "Civil Liberties in the Era of Mass Terrorism." *The Journal of Ethics* 8(1), 77-95.
- Helwig, Charles C. 1995. "Adolescents and Young Adults Conceptions of Civil Liberties: Freedom of Speech and Religion." *Child Development* 66(1): 152-66.
- Heyman, Steven J. 1991. "The First Duty of Government: Protection, Liberty and the Fourteenth Amendment." *Duke Law Journal* 41(3): 507-71.
- Huemer, Michael. 2003. "Is There a Right to Own a Gun?" *Social Theory and Practice* 29(2): 297-324.
- Kant, Immanuel. 1997. "Equality of Rights." In *The Libertarian Reader*, New York, NY: The Free Press. essay, 142-48.
- Karon, Daniel R. 2013. "CIVIL RIGHTS: Suspicionless Strip Searches—What's Next?" *Litigation* 39(1): 8-9.
- Konvitz, Milton R. 1967. "Civil Liberties." *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 371: 38-58.
- Kramnick, Isaac, & Theodore J. Lowi, (Eds.). 2009. *American Political Thought: A Norton Anthology*. New York: W.W. Norton.
- Lahav, Gallya, and Marie Courtemanche. 2012. "The Ideological Effects of Framing Threat on Immigration and Civil Liberties." *Political Behavior* 34(3): 477-505.
- Locke, John. 1689. *A Letter Concerning Toleration*. London: Black Swan.
- Martin, Kate. 2002. "Intelligence, Terrorism, and Civil Liberties." *Human Rights* 29(1): 5-7.
- Pound, Roscoe. 1963. *The Development of Constitutional Guarantees of Liberty*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.
- Rand, Ayn. 1997. "Ayn Rand on Rights and Capitalism." In *The Libertarian Reader*, New York, NY: The Free Press. essay, 169-80.
- Rothbard, Murray N. 1982. *The Ethics of Liberty*. Atlantic Highlands, NJ: Humanities Press.

- Schulhofer, Stephen J. 2002. *The Enemy Within: Intelligence Gathering, Law Enforcement, and Civil Liberties in the Wake of September 11: A Century Foundation Report*. New York: Century Foundation Report.
- Shlapentokh, Vladimir, and Eric Beasley. 2013. *Restricting Freedoms: Limitations on the Individual in Contemporary America*. New Brunswick: Transaction Publishers.
- Spencer, Herbert. 1997. "The Right to Ignore the State." In *The Libertarian Reader*, New York, NY: The Free Press. essay, 149–53.
- Stone, Geoffrey R. 2007. "National Security v. Civil Liberties." *California Law Review* 48(1): 2203–12.
- Taylor, Stuart. 2003. "Rights, Liberties, and Security: Recalibrating the Balance after September 11." *The Brookings Review* 21(1): 25–31.
- Weinrib, Laura M. 2012. "The Sex Side of Civil Liberties: United States v. Dennett and the Changing Face of Free Speech." *Law and History Review* 30(02), 325-386.

Trevor G. Samaha



Trevor graduated Magna Cum Laude from Cal Poly Pomona in March 2018 with a BA in Political Science. During his time at Cal Poly he served as both President and Vice President of the Cal Poly Pomona chapter of Young Americans for Liberty; he was also an active member of the Political Science Club. Trevor is currently a graduate student and graduate assistant at West Virginia University where he is working toward a PhD in American Politics.

Email: trevorsamaha@gmail.com
