

# **The Snowden Effect: The Conflict in a Free Society, Who Values Privacy Versus Who Values Security?**

Matthew C. Blake  
Bemidji State University

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Bemidji State University  
Dr. Patrick Donnay, Advisor  
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## Abstract

*The Obama Administration has come under scrutiny by both the public and Congress, since former National Security Agency (NSA) contractor Edward Snowden made known the scope of government surveillance programs being utilized by the U.S. government to gather intelligence on domestic citizens. Snowden's disclosures about the government's surveillance practices to the mainstream media began in June 2013.*

*I focus on how public opinion towards the government's surveillance practices and an individual's reasonable right to privacy has shifted after revelations made by Edward Snowden on the practices of the NSA. Individuals may show support for more government surveillance in the name of National Security when driven by fear of an imminent terror threat. Alternatively they may be anxious of greater government surveillance infringing on their privacy.*

*Through analysis of Pew Research Center data on public opinion, I explore whether there has been a Snowden effect on public opinion shifting attitudes toward a greater appreciation of privacy. I anticipate attitudes on privacy and surveillance will shift in varying degrees across demographic, regional groups, and political identity. I also expect varying degrees of support amongst those who differ in their trust and attitudes towards the government.*

## Introduction

*“Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety.”*

*—Benjamin Franklin (1755)*

The Obama Administration has come under scrutiny by both the public and Congress, since former National Security Agency (NSA) contractor Edward Snowden made known the scope of government surveillance programs being utilized by the U.S. government to gather intelligence on domestic citizens. This has been viewed in the eye of public opinion as infringing on an individual's implied right to privacy. The topic of government surveillance on its citizens has been present in the United States throughout history, especially during times of

serious political and global tension; World War II, the Cold War era, and Watergate to name a few of these times. The tragic terrorist events that occurred on September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001 have marked the starting point of the current debate on the extent of government surveillance programs in the name of national security in the War on Terrorism. After the events of September 11<sup>th</sup>, 2001, President G.W. Bush signed the USA Patriot Act on October 26, 2001, allowing the government to tap into phone lines and to gather intelligence both abroad and within the United States. The USA Patriot act was continued under President Obama when he signed a four-year extension of the act on May 26, 2011. This is where the current debate takes root as the United States government increasingly attempts to intrude in the everyday lives of private citizens with authority granted by the USA Patriot Act to spy on their electronic and data communications in the name of national security for combating terrorism.

I focus on whether public opinion towards the government's surveillance practices in the name of national security and an individual's reasonable right to privacy has shifted after revelations made by Edward Snowden on the practices of the NSA. Individuals may show support for more government surveillance in the name of National Security when driven by fear of an imminent terror threat. Alternatively they may be anxious of greater government surveillance infringing on their privacy.

## **Key Legislation**

There is a strong argument that the Patriot Act infringes on traditional civil liberties, because it threatens the First Amendment's guarantee of free speech and the Fourth Amendment's protection against "unreasonable search and seizures". The two key pieces of

legislation that come under scrutiny regarding government surveillance in the name of national security are Section 215 of the USA PATRIOT Act, and Section 702 of the Foreign Intelligence Surveillance Act (FISA). These two pieces of legislation directly allow government surveillance programs to potentially infringe on civil liberties that are protected under the First and Fourth Amendment of the United States Constitution.

Section 215 allows the Federal Bureau of Investigation (FBI) to order any person or entity to turn over any tangible things for an authorized investigation to protect against international terrorism or clandestine intelligence activities. Section 215 expands the FBI's ability to spy on people living in the United States, including United States citizens and permanent residents. Under Section 215, the standard of proof was lowered from probable cause to relevance of a pending investigation when the government filed an order to obtain business records from a company or organization. Section 215 also places a gag-order on those served with the order. Section 215 is argued to violate the First Amendment by prohibiting those served with orders from disclosing the fact to others. The First Amendment is also invoked by Section 215 authorizing the FBI to investigate U.S. persons based in part on their exercise of First Amendment activity. Section 215 invokes the Fourth Amendment by allowing the government to search without a warrant and without showing probable cause. In the disclosures by Snowden in the first article published by *The Guardian*, under the terms of the blanket order [under Section 215 served to Verizon], the numbers of both parties on a call are handed over, as is location data, call duration, unique identifiers, and the time and duration of all calls. The contents of the conversation itself are not covered (Greenwald 2013). Section 215 is referred to as the "bulk phone records program"

Section 702 of FISA grants the Attorney General and the Director of National Intelligence the power to authorize the targeting of communications of foreign persons who are located abroad. Section 702 became the basis for sweeping, clandestine NSA programs including *Planning Tool for Resource Integration, Synchronization, and Management* (PRISM). PRISM enabled the NSA to gather from U.S.-based Internet companies hundreds of millions of emails, Internet voice calls, videos, photos, chat services, stored data, and other private Internet communications, if the targets were reasonably believed to be non-U.S. persons overseas who possessed foreign intelligence information. Unlike the bulk phone records program under Section 215, PRISM made available to the NSA the contents of the communications that were collected.

## **Mass Public Values and Beliefs**

The issue of government surveillance in the name of national security has been a concern of public opinion long before the revelations made by Snowden. I review literature published before and after the disclosures made by Snowden to see if there is a “Snowden Effect” in public opinion present. The struggle comes from the balance of public opinion between the values of civil liberties against the value of national security. These two values, liberty & security, coexist with one another in a precarious, ever-shifting state of balance that security concerns threaten constantly to upset (Wittes 2011). The balance between liberty & security are part of one’s mass belief system, which affect public opinion in matters of counterterrorism policy & practices by the government. The conflict lies in a free society; what do we value more security or privacy? Where one lies in this debate can be influenced by many factors. Variables that I focus on are

individual's party identification, census region, community type, age group, race/ethnicity group, and level of education. These social and demographic variables shape the debate of what the public supports; security or privacy. This directs the research towards what extent that I should expect a Snowden Effect.

Before looking into the specific issue of the public's conflicting values between security and privacy, I consider the values that influence a society's socialization and the public's attitude towards the government and public policy. How an individual views the political system, and the issues within, is a cumulative process that is established over the span of their life. The socialization of beliefs among a mass public is an inter-related process influenced by one's family, education, class, peers, location, and media. First, we have our "deep core" beliefs which are general and applicable across all policy domains. These consist of deeply held personal philosophy and are highly resistant to change, made up of the fundamental nature of human beings, basic social justice, and the ordering of primary values; life, liberty, the pursuit of happiness, and equality (Jenkins-Smith, Silva, Gupta, & Ripberger 2014). Next the work of the preceding scholars identify policy core beliefs. These beliefs are resistant to change as they are buttressed by one's deep core beliefs. Examples of policy core beliefs would be one's view of balance of power between federal, state, and local government, public versus private, and individual liberties versus national security. The final piece to Jenkins-Smith, Silva, Gupta, and Ripberger's advocacy coalition framework (ACF) are "secondary beliefs". They suggest that beliefs in this category are the most susceptible to change. For change to occur and impact public policy however, is a process that is accomplished over time. This prevents one from feeling that their core belief system is not being jeopardized. Secondary beliefs consist of one's

individual preferences, beliefs, and facts toward implementing one's policy core beliefs (Jenkins-Smith, Silva, Gupta, & Ripberger 2014).

## **Snowden Effect**

The struggle with public opinion supporting security versus privacy, and the fear either has on impacting an individual's routine has been present in our society throughout its history. Since the founding of the United States, individuals have clashed over establishing the proper balance between ensuring civil liberties from the government while effectively providing security against foreign and domestic threats (Best, Krueger, and Pearson-Merkowitz 2011).

Before the Snowden leaks, the common theme of public opinion in the balance of civil liberties versus national security is that human emotion can have an impact on the public's view on the topic. In times of raised terror threats, public opinion will be less focused on their civil liberties and issues of privacy invasion. The anxiety and fear that the threat of a potential terror attack instills on the public can shift the public support towards security foregoing the focus of liberty. In the research done by Best, Krueger, and Pearson-Merkowitz 2011, they contend this theory to not be showing the full relationship in the struggle between privacy and security.

The turning point of this debate and the foundation of my theory is based on the disclosures made by Edward Snowden. This was made public in two articles published in the British newspaper *The Guardian* by journalist Glenn Greenwald on June 5<sup>th</sup> and 6<sup>th</sup>, 2013. The common trend throughout media outlets is that the public backlash is highly negative towards the surveillance practices of the U.S. government that Snowden exposed. I analyze this relationship in the methods section on my research.

The public demanded answers and reform to the NSA's methods of intelligence gathering of domestic citizens. In response to strong public, and congressional, opposition to the ongoing government surveillance programs, President Obama addressed the nation on January 17, 2014.

Here is an excerpt highlighting President Obama's speech:

[...] We benefited from both our Constitution and traditions of limited government. U.S. intelligence agencies were anchored in our system of checks and balances – with oversight from elected leaders, and protections for ordinary citizens. Meanwhile, totalitarian states like East Germany offered a cautionary tale of what could happen when vast, unchecked surveillance turned citizens into informers, and persecuted people for what they said in the privacy of their own homes. In fact even the United States proved not to be immune to the abuse of surveillance...additional laws were established in the 1970s to ensure that our intelligence capabilities could not be misused against our citizens. In the long, twilight struggle against Communism, we had been reminded that the very liberties that we sought to preserve could not be sacrificed at the altar of national security...We demanded that our intelligence community improve its capabilities, and that law enforcement change practices to focus more on preventing attacks before they happen than prosecuting terrorists after an attack...let us remember that we are held to a different standard precisely because we have been at the forefront in defending personal privacy and human dignity...Together, let us chart a way forward that secures the life of our nation, while preserving the liberties that make our nation worth fighting for.

In ensuring greater transparency on the issue of security versus privacy, the three branches of the United States government (Executive, Legislative, and Judicial branches) will have to address the issue and take responsibility. The preceding remarks by President Obama is the Executive branch acknowledge the importance our Nation places on liberties struggle with providing national security. The concern of the public is that they're being spied on, not whether the government is interested in them particularly or only incidentally (Friedersdorf 2013).

Scholars Davis and Silver would contest that Snowden's disclosures would not have an impact on public opinions support of privacy versus security. Through their cognitive



assessment theory, the perception of threat will lead to support for security. On grounds of perceived threat, Davis and Silver found that sociotropic threat against society outweighs the sense of personal threat (Davis and Silver 2004). Through the democratic ideal of the greater good for society, trust in government should take on great importance, as low levels of trust make it more difficult for the government to succeed (Davis and Silver 2004). This concept gains support from the notion of patriotism, and that even though the public does not fully comprehend the scope of government practices, they place their trust in government actions being in the public's best interest.

Best, Krueger, and Pearson-Merkowitz would counter Davis and Silver, arguing that we should see a Snowden Effect present for support of privacy over security. They contest that citizens generally want both security and liberty, and that they are anxious when either value is at risk. The public fear that an increase in government security measures, counterterrorism policy, and military intervention could provoke the likelihood of a terrorist attack. This theory shifts support in the direction of privacy over security (Best, Krueger, and Pearson-Merkowitz 2011).

## **Methodology & Data Analysis**

I set out to test whether Best, Krueger, and Pearson-Merkowitz's theory in support of a Snowden Effect or Davis and Silver's theory of a lack of a Snowden Effect are more correct. I use datasets from the Pew Research Center's 2011 Political Typology Survey and January 2014 Political Survey. In both of these datasets, Pew asked the respondents the following question on the survey, and it serves as my dependent variable. It was stated as such, "*I'm going to read you some pairs of statements. As I read each pair, tell me whether the FIRST statement or the*

*SECOND statement comes closer to your own views – even if neither is exactly right.”* The following are the two statements;

1. *“Americans need to be willing to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism”* (Preference for security)

**And**

2. *“Americans shouldn’t have to give up privacy and freedom in order to be safe from terrorism”* (Preference for privacy/civil liberties)

The level of measurement for my variables in my analysis is nominal, therefore along with Chi-Square results, I use Phi and Cramer’s V for symmetric measures. I test whether a Snowden Effect exists through crosstabs comparing the 2011 and 2014 datasets. According to Davis and Silver, there should be no difference between the two surveys, pre- and post-Snowden, in public support of either security or privacy. According to Best, Krueger, and Pearson-Merkowitz, the results should show an increase for public support of privacy Post-Snowden. My unit of analysis for my research is individual respondents; depending on which demographic control variable that I am analyzing, the number of cases vary from 8427 to 9333. To get a more accurate representation of the Nation’s public opinion on which they value more, security or privacy, I applied the datasets weight variable to the data.

Consistent with the research of Davis and Silver (2004), along with Best, Krueger, and Pearson-Merkowitz (2011), for my demographic control variables I use census region, community type, education, income, age, race/ethnicity, and party identification. I analyze these variables to see if a difference is present pre/post Snowden across various segments and sub-groups throughout the Nation’s population. The dependent variable for my research is the survey question listed above. To determine if Snowden’s disclosures created a Snowden Effect

on public opinion in regards to a preference between security and privacy, I use the interview date of the two surveys as my independent variable; 2011 and 2014.

## **Census Region**

The census region variable is constructed of the *Northeast*, *Midwest*, *South*, and *West*. Looking at census region, there is not a notable regional impact present as the data remained fairly consistent. The biggest regional effect occurred in the West, where there was a 6 point increase in support of privacy. Factors to explore to why the biggest increase was in the West are that even though Democrat friendly California is located in that region, the region also consists of a number of Republican friendly states. The West Coast is heavily invested in technology, as Apple, Microsoft, and Google companies are all located in this region. Younger generations are highly dependent on their technology, so this may be another factor raising support for privacy after Snowden's disclosures. There is a strong bias present, regardless of year and census region, for support of privacy over security.

(Table 1 about here)

## **Community Type**

The next control variable that I analyze to whether Snowden's disclosures had effect on public opinion is community type. The community type variable includes *Rural*, *Suburban*, and *Urban*. Again, the data shows that there is a strong prevalence of support for privacy over security in regards to community type. The most notable impact present for community type was

in rural communities, where there was an 8 point increase. This might be equated to the notion of people choosing to live in rural, less densely populated areas have a stronger desire to keep their private matters private.

(Table 2 about here)

## **Highest Level of Education Completed**

The impact of one's level of education has on determining the effect of Snowden's disclosures has more variation in the results. For the lowest level of education, there was a 9 point increase in support of privacy, along with over a 7 point increase for those with some college education. Also present when considering one's level of education are some of the lowest percentages in support of privacy over security. I found that support of privacy actually decreased for those that graduating high school was their highest level of education, along with those that had some professional schooling after college (6 point decrease in support of privacy). The education variable is one that I would like to explore further through logit regression.

(Table 3 about here)

(Figure 1 about here)

## **House-Hold Income Level**

Similar to the results of the education variable, the impact of Snowden's disclosures on house-hold income has an overall negative effect; as income level increases, support for privacy decreases. The house-hold income variable is comprised of four income level brackets;

<\$10,000 to under \$30,000 (lower and working class), \$30,000 to under \$75,000 (middle class), \$75,000 to under \$150,000 (upper class), and \$150,000 or more (corporate elite). This is another variable that I would choose to explore further through logit regression. I expanded this variable into nine income level categories and performed a bar chart comparison of the data between the two survey years. The bar chart comparison of the nine income levels displays much more variation in the results compared to the crosstab analysis of the four income levels. In the lowest income bracket there is a 7 point decrease in support of privacy, followed by an 11 and 12 point increase for the next two income brackets. One factor that might be effecting this negative trend in support of privacy over security may be that as one's financial assets increase, so-to does one's needs for securing those assets.

(Table 4 about here)

(Figure 2 about here)

## **Age Group**

Age is another variable where I find that overall as age increases, the support for privacy decreases. The most substantial increase of support for privacy is found in the 40-49 age group with a 10 point increase in support of privacy, opposed to the 65+ age group with a 7 point decrease in support of privacy. This might be attributed to generational technology dependency and with the younger age groups' overall level of proficiency with modern technology.

(Table 5 about here)

## **Race/Ethnicity**

When I analyzed the Snowden Effect on one's race/ethnicity, the largest effect was in the other category with 7 point decrease in support of privacy.

(Table 6 about here)

## **Party Identification**

The last control variable that I explore is the political party that one identifies with. I found that with a Democrat sitting President for both dates that the survey was conducted that there was a 4 point decrease in support of privacy for Democrats, while there was a 5 point increase in support of privacy for Republicans.

(Table 7 about here)

After analyzing these different demographic control variables between the two years of the Pew Research Center's surveys, I conclude that there is not a Snowden Effect between support of security versus privacy. The data exposed that social classes based on income and educational attainment, along with age groups, resulted in no Snowden Effect. Income, education, and age actually had a negative effect shifting support from privacy towards greater support of security. However, I would argue that the data shows that the public holds a strong importance on their privacy, and after Snowden's disclosures the public wants greater transparency and accountability of the government and its National Security practices.

## Conclusion

Brought to light after the revelations made by Snowden, as the U.S. government increasingly intervenes in the private lives of its citizens by spying on their communications under the terms of the 2001 Patriot Act we find that public opinion and trust is founded by the significance that the insistence on free speech in the First Amendment was reinforced by the Fourth Amendment endorsing “the right of the people to be secure in their persons, houses, papers and effects, against unreasonable searches and seizures”.

Society must develop a new and more nuanced understanding of public and private life – one that acknowledges that more personal information is going to be available yet also protects some choice over how that information is shared and distributed (Solove, 2008, p. 106). With a high expectation of government transparency, how do we hold the government responsible for upholding the competing values of security and privacy outlined in the Constitution?

Regarding government surveillance and the collection of intelligence on the domestic population [of the United States], the challenge arises in the changing nature of the threats to organized political life, increased technological capacity to conduct surveillance, and cultural shifts that lead to greater public acceptance of such practices. Author Simon Chesterman suggests the formation of a social contract in which the power to conduct intrusive surveillance is limited to public bodies, governed by law, and accountable for the intended and unintended consequences that follow. This will establish an understanding of these activities and develop appropriate regimes of accountability and transparency of governmental practices, while satisfying the trust of public opinion (Chesterman 2011).

Ever echoing in the debate about public opinion support for the proper balance of individual liberties (privacy) and National Security (government surveillance), references are made of George Orwell's fiction novel *1984*. Supporters on the side of privacy, compare the totalitarian state present in the novel, written in 1949, to the current state of government surveillance practices utilized in the United States. The theme of Orwell's novel is "*BIG BROTHER IS WATCHING YOU*". The warnings in Orwell's novel associated with the impact of an overly intrusive government in the eye of the public, coupled with an increase in the public's dependency of technology (social media, smart-phones, tablets, and laptops to list a few items most people cannot leave home without), our society needs to establish a new "social contract" with the government where privacy is exchanged for security with the convenience that comes from the public's technology dependency.



## Appendix A

Table 1: Privacy versus Security by Year and Census Region

Census Region			Interview Date		Total
			Pre-Snowden (2011)	Post-Snowden (2014)	
Northeast	Support Security	Count	256	264	520
		Percent	29.2%	29.3%	29.3%
	Support Privacy	Count	620	636	1256
		Percent	70.8%	70.7%	70.7%
	Total	Count	876	900	1776
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Midwest	Support Security	Count	280	308	588
		Percent	27.6%	27.9%	27.7%
	Support Privacy	Count	736	797	1533
		Percent	72.4%	72.1%	72.3%
	Total	Count	1016	1105	2121
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
South	Support Security	Count	456	500	956
		Percent	27.5%	28.7%	28.1%
	Support Privacy	Count	1204	1243	2447
		Percent	72.5%	71.3%	71.9%
	Total	Count	1660	1743	3403
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
West	Support Security	Count	265	247	512
		Percent	28.3%	22.5%	25.2%
	Support Privacy	Count	671	850	1521
		Percent	71.7%	77.5%	74.8%
	Total	Count	936	1097	2033
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

### Northeast

Chi-Square: **.003**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.960**)

Phi: **-.001**

Cramer's V: **.001**

### Midwest

Chi-Square: **.026**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.872**)

Phi: **-.004**

Cramer's V: **.004**

### South

Chi-Square: **.623**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.430**)

Phi: **-.014**

Cramer's V: **.014**

### West

Chi-Square: **9.005**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.003**)

Phi: **.067**

Cramer's V: **.067**

Table 2: Privacy versus Security by Year and Community Type

Community Type			Interview Date		Total
			Pre-Snowden (2011)	Post-Snowden (2014)	
Rural	Support Security	Count	204	158	362
		Percent	28.0%	19.6%	23.6%
	Support Privacy	Count	524	647	1171
		Percent	72.0%	80.4%	76.4%
Total	Count	728	805	1533	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Suburban	Support Security	Count	671	727	1398
		Percent	30.5%	30.8%	30.7%
	Support Privacy	Count	1527	1632	3159
		Percent	69.5%	69.2%	69.3%
Total	Count	2198	2359	4557	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	
Urban	Support Security	Count	347	433	780
		Percent	25.4%	25.8%	25.6%
	Support Privacy	Count	1019	1245	2264
		Percent	74.6%	74.2%	74.4%
Total	Count	1366	1678	3044	
	Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	

Rural

Chi-Square: **14.935**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.000**)

Phi: **.099**

Cramer's V: **.099**

Suburban

Chi-Square: **.045**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.832**)

Phi: **-.003**

Cramer's V: **.003**

Urban

Chi-Square: **.064**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.801**)

Phi: **-.005**

Cramer's V: **.005**

Table 3: Privacy versus Security by Year and Highest Level of Education Completed

Highest Level of Education Completed			Interview Date		Total
			Pre-Snowden (2011)	Post-Snowden (2014)	
Less than high school (Grades 1-8 or no formal schooling)	Support Security	Count	48	51	99
		Percent	48.5%	39.5%	43.4%
	Support Privacy	Count	51	78	129
		Percent	51.5%	60.5%	56.6%
Total	Count	99	129	228	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
High school incomplete (Grades 9-12 with NO diploma)	Support Security	Count	101	46	147
		Percent	22.9%	18.8%	21.4%
	Support Privacy	Count	341	199	540
		Percent	77.1%	81.2%	78.6%
Total	Count	442	245	687	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
High school graduate (Grade 12 with diploma or GED certificate)	Support Security	Count	334	429	763
		Percent	22.7%	26.7%	24.8%
	Support Privacy	Count	1135	1179	2314
		Percent	77.3%	73.3%	75.2%
Total	Count	1469	1608	3077	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Some college, associate degree, no 4-year degree	Support Security	Count	353	316	669
		Percent	28.7%	21.1%	24.5%
	Support Privacy	Count	877	1184	2061
		Percent	71.3%	78.9%	75.5%
Total	Count	1230	1500	2730	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Four year college or university degree/Bachelor's degree (B.S., B.A., or other 4-year degree)	Support Security	Count	253	249	502
		Percent	37.4%	34.7%	36.0%
	Support Privacy	Count	424	469	893
		Percent	62.6%	65.3%	64.0%
Total	Count	677	718	1395	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Post-graduate training or professional schooling after college	Support Security	Count	167	223	390
		Percent	29.8%	35.3%	32.7%
	Support Privacy	Count	394	409	803
		Percent	70.2%	64.7%	67.3%
Total	Count	561	632	1193	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Less than High SchoolChi-Square: **1.826**(Asymp. Sig. = **.177**)Phi: **.089**Cramer's V: **.089**High School IncompleteChi-Square: **1.556**(Asymp. Sig. = **.212**)Phi: **.048**Cramer's V: **.048**High School GraduateChi-Square: **6.399**(Asymp. Sig. = **.011**)Phi: **-.046**Cramer's V: **.046**Some CollegeChi-Square: **21.281**(Asymp. Sig. = **.000**)Phi: **.088**Cramer's V: **.088**4-Year College DegreeChi-Square: **1.095**(Asymp. Sig. = **.295**)Phi: **.028**Cramer's V: **.028**Post-GraduateChi-Square: **4.110**(Asymp. Sig. = **.043**)Phi: **-.059**Cramer's V: **.059**

Table 4: Privacy versus Security by Year and House-Hold Income Level

House-Hold Income Level			Interview Date		Total
			Pre-Snowden (2011)	Post-Snowden (2014)	
<\$10,000 to under \$30,000	Support Security	Count	384	314	698
		Percent	25.4%	19.9%	22.6%
	Support Privacy	Count	1130	1261	2391
		Percent	74.6%	80.1%	77.4%
Total	Count	1514	1575	3089	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
\$30k to under \$75,000	Support Security	Count	391	496	887
		Percent	28.6%	30.7%	29.7%
	Support Privacy	Count	976	1120	2096
		Percent	71.4%	69.3%	70.3%
Total	Count	1367	1616	2983	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
\$75k to under \$150,000	Support Security	Count	271	314	585
		Percent	31.2%	33.8%	32.5%
	Support Privacy	Count	598	615	1213
		Percent	68.8%	66.2%	67.5%
Total	Count	869	929	1798	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
\$150,000 or more	Support Security	Count	101	111	212
		Percent	38.0%	38.0%	38.0%
	Support Privacy	Count	165	181	346
		Percent	62.0%	62.0%	62.0%
Total	Count	266	292	558	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

&lt;\$10k to under \$30,000

Chi-Square: **12.998**(Asymp. Sig. = **.000**)Phi: **.065**Cramer's V: **.065**

\$30k to under \$75,000

Chi-Square: **1.549**(Asymp. Sig. = **.213**)Phi: **-.023**Cramer's V: **.023**

\$75k to under \$150,000

Chi-Square: **1.398**(Asymp. Sig. = **.237**)Phi: **-.028**Cramer's V: **.028**

\$150,000 or more

Chi-Square: **.000**(Asymp. Sig. = **.992**)Phi: **.000**Cramer's V: **.000**

Table 5: Privacy versus Security by Year and Age Group

Age Group			Interview Date		Total
			Pre-Snowden (2011)	Post-Snowden (2014)	
18-29	Support Security	Count	238	222	460
		Percent	24.2%	21.1%	22.6%
	Support Privacy	Count	745	830	1575
		Percent	75.8%	78.9%	77.4%
	Total	Count	983	1052	2035
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
30-39	Support Security	Count	204	218	422
		Percent	26.5%	26.7%	26.6%
	Support Privacy	Count	565	599	1164
		Percent	73.5%	73.3%	73.4%
	Total	Count	769	817	1586
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
40-49	Support Security	Count	256	182	438
		Percent	31.5%	21.4%	26.3%
	Support Privacy	Count	557	670	1227
		Percent	68.5%	78.6%	73.7%
	Total	Count	813	852	1665
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
50-64	Support Security	Count	359	409	768
		Percent	31.0%	32.5%	31.8%
	Support Privacy	Count	799	848	1647
		Percent	69.0%	67.5%	68.2%
	Total	Count	1158	1257	2415
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
65+	Support Security	Count	198	284	482
		Percent	27.2%	34.7%	31.2%
	Support Privacy	Count	531	534	1065
		Percent	72.8%	65.3%	68.8%
	Total	Count	729	818	1547
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

18-29

Chi-Square: **2.807**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.094**)  
 Phi: **.037**  
 Cramer's V: **.037**

30-39

Chi-Square: **.005**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.944**)  
 Phi: **-.002**  
 Cramer's V: **.002**

40-49

Chi-Square: **22.008**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.000**)  
 Phi: **.115**  
 Cramer's V: **.115**

50-64

Chi-Square: **.656**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.418**)  
 Phi: **-.016**  
 Cramer's V: **.016**

65+

Chi-Square: **10.267**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.001**)  
 Phi: **-.081**  
 Cramer's V: **.081**

Table 6: Privacy versus Security by Year and Race/Ethnicity

Race/Ethnicity			Interview Date		Total
			Pre-Snowden (2011)	Post-Snowden (2014)	
White, non-Hisp	Support Security	Count Percent	867 28.4%	816 25.8%	1683 27.1%
	Support Privacy	Count Percent	2189 71.6%	2344 74.2%	4533 72.9%
	Total	Count Percent	3056 100.0%	3160 100.0%	6216 100.0%
Black, non-Hisp	Support Security	Count Percent	108 20.1%	140 24.7%	248 22.5%
	Support Privacy	Count Percent	429 79.9%	426 75.3%	855 77.5%
	Total	Count Percent	537 100.0%	566 100.0%	1103 100.0%
Hispanic	Support Security	Count Percent	193 33.9%	211 30.6%	404 32.1%
	Support Privacy	Count Percent	377 66.1%	479 69.4%	856 67.9%
	Total	Count Percent	570 100.0%	690 100.0%	1260 100.0%
Other	Support Security	Count Percent	84 30.7%	137 37.4%	221 34.5%
	Support Privacy	Count Percent	190 69.3%	229 62.6%	419 65.5%
	Total	Count Percent	274 100.0%	366 100.0%	640 100.0%

White, non-Hisp.

Chi-Square: **5.107**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.024**)  
 Phi: **.029**  
 Cramer's V: **.029**

Black, non-Hisp.

Chi-Square: **3.379**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.066**)  
 Phi: **-.055**  
 Cramer's V: **.055**

Hispanic

Chi-Square: **1.542**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.214**)  
 Phi: **.035**  
 Cramer's V: **.035**

Other

Chi-Square: **3.181**  
 (Asymp. Sig. = **.074**)  
 Phi: **-.071**  
 Cramer's V: **.071**

Table 7: Privacy versus Security by Year and Party Identification

Party Identification			Interview Date		Total
			Pre-Snowden (2011)	Post-Snowden (2014)	
Democrat	Support Security	Count	380	450	830
		Percent	25.5%	29.9%	27.7%
	Support Privacy	Count	1109	1057	2166
		Percent	74.5%	70.1%	72.3%
Total	Count	1489	1507	2996	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Independent	Support Security	Count	492	546	1038
		Percent	29.4%	27.3%	28.3%
	Support Privacy	Count	1180	1455	2635
		Percent	70.6%	72.7%	71.7%
Total	Count	1672	2001	3673	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%
Republican	Support Security	Count	340	279	619
		Percent	31.7%	26.6%	29.2%
	Support Privacy	Count	734	768	1502
		Percent	68.3%	73.4%	70.8%
Total	Count	1074	1047	2121	
		Percent	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

Democrat

Chi-Square: **7.044**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.008**)

Phi: **-.048**

Cramer's V: **.048**

Independent

Chi-Square: **2.057**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.152**)

Phi: **.024**

Cramer's V: **.024**

Republican

Chi-Square: **6.438**  
(Asymp. Sig. = **.011**)

Phi: **.055**

Cramer's V: **.055**

## Appendix B

Figure 1:

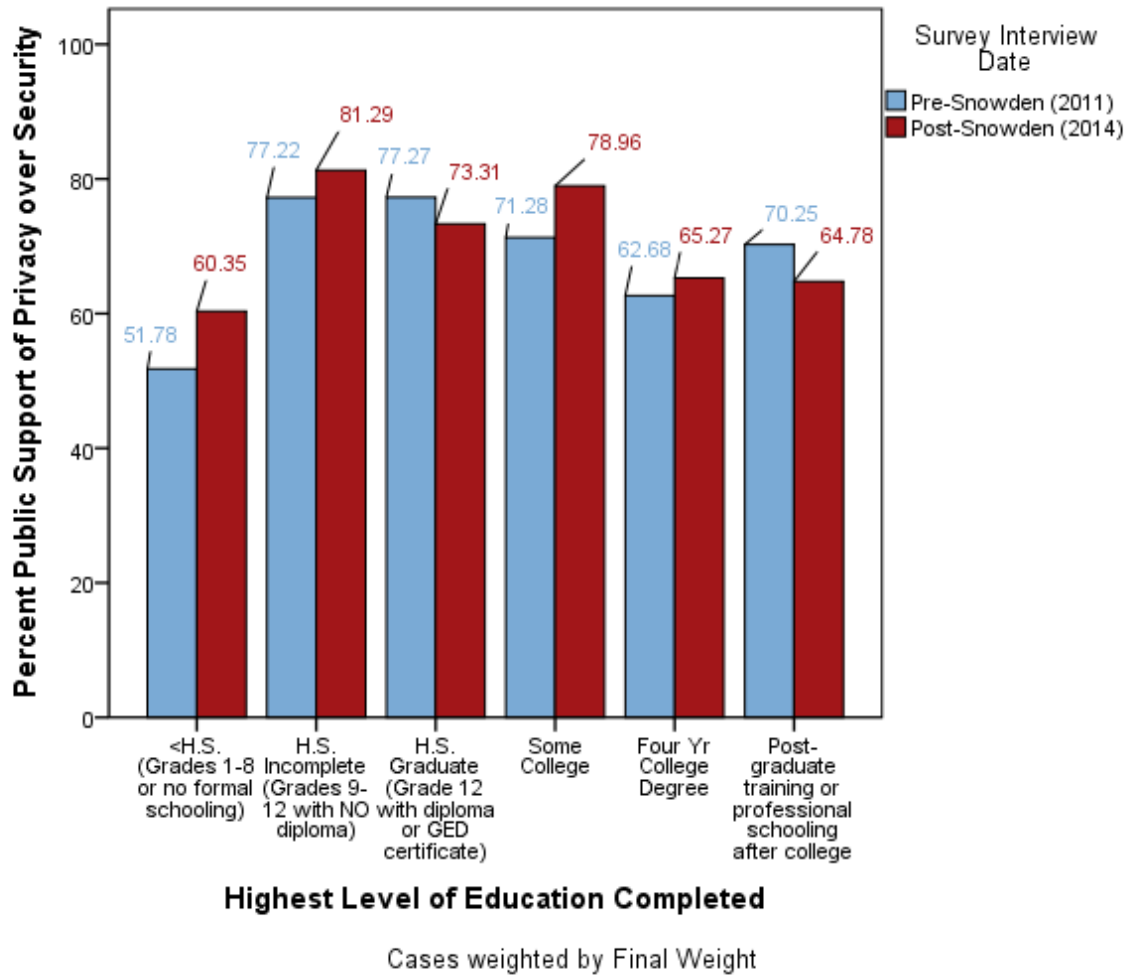
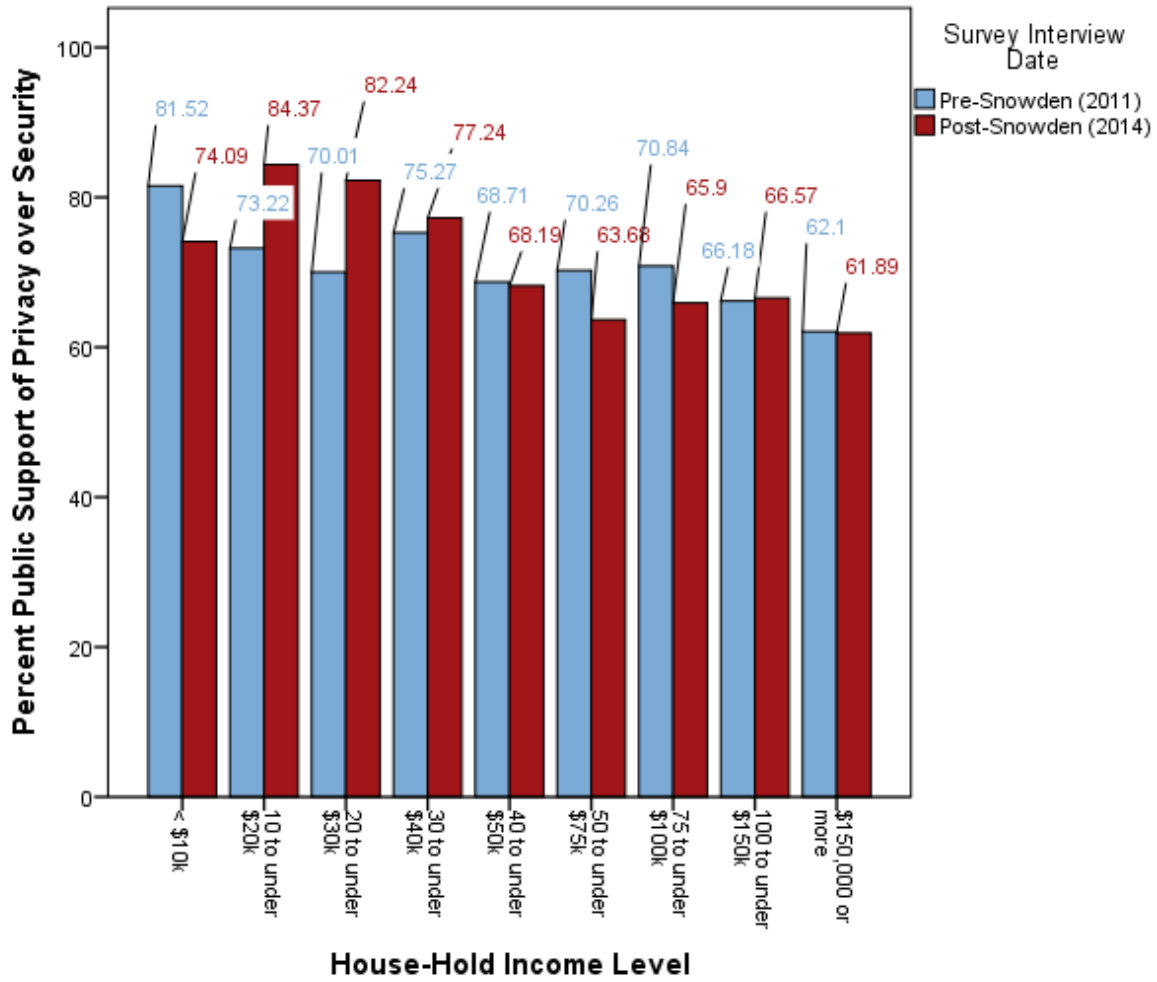




Figure 2:



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