



PERCEPTIONS OF PROBLEMS, POLICIES, AND POLITICS OF A CONTROVERSIAL PACIFIC STATE MOSQUE

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The Muslim population in the United States is increasing, yet little research has been conducted on the problematic conditions that Islamic communities may experience when attempting to build a new mosque, community center, or cemetery (Pew Research Center, 2012). In this study, I addressed the need for a deeper understanding of the experiences of Muslims, government officials, community members, and other stakeholders in the siting of controversial mosques. Despite the existence of land use and environmental protection policies designed to provide guidance on new development projects, there has been little research on the problems, policies, and politics surrounding the siting of a new mosque, community center, and cemetery, as well as why some communities have fiercely opposed new mosques.

The largest wave of Muslim immigrants arrived to the United States in the post-1965 Civil Rights era (Love, 2009). During this time, Muslims were welcomed and encouraged to maintain their Islamic identities (Love, 2009). Since the 1970s, several events, including the taking of U.S. hostages during the Iranian Revolution, the oil embargo of 1973, and the terror attacks of September 11, 2001, have led to a race-based narrative about Muslims in the United States (Croucher et al., 2013; Elver, 2012; Love, 2009; Simmons, 2008; Verinakis, 2007; Yukich, 2018). In the years since the September 11th terror attacks, the relationship between the mosque as a center for Islamic communities and American society has been framed negatively (Bagby, 2009; Bowe, 2013, 2017; Bowe & Makki, 2015; Croucher et al., 2013; Emerson, 2003; Freedom House, 2005; Horowitz, 2006; Kushner, 2006; Pipes, 2003; Schwartz, 2002; Simmons, 2008; Spencer, 2005; Trump, 2015, 2017; Yukich, 2018). The negative narrative of Islam

does not appear to be diminishing, and the construction of mosques in communities whose members have little understanding or tolerance of Muslims continues to be problematic (Bowe, 2017; Bowe & Makki, 2015). As the number of Muslims continues to increase in the United States as a result of migration and conversion, there will likely be an increase in the need for the construction of new mosques, community centers, and cemeteries. Because non-Muslim Americans may know little about Islam, there is a need for a deeper understanding of the needs of Muslims and the communities in which they wish to build mosques (Pew Research Center, 2010).

Background

The divide between Muslims in the United States and non-Muslim Americans has shaped several public controversies regarding the siting of mosques (Bowe, 2013, 2017; Bowe & Makki, 2015). A recent court case about a controversial mosque, the *People's Coalition for Government Accountability vs. County of Santa Clara et al.* (2012), exemplified the difficulties that some Muslim Americans have experienced when trying to build a mosque, community center, or cemetery. Located in the San Francisco Bay Area, the South Valley Islamic Community (SVIC) is a nonprofit organization that serves the Muslim community of San Martin. In 2011, after many years of planning and membership growth, members of the SVIC submitted a proposal to the local government to build the Cordoba Center—a mosque, community center, and cemetery. The Cordoba Center, which was to be built on land that the organization purchased in 2008, was well received by the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors, but a small group of citizens began to protest the mosque development.

Some community members raised objections to the mosque, citing various concerns that included water drainage, increase in traffic, and that the mosque could be used as a terrorist training camp (Estabrook, 2012). Newspaper reports and video from public hearings documented various perceptions of the Cordoba Center from its inception. Complaints about the proposed Cordoba Center came primarily from two groups: the Gilroy-Morgan Hill Patriots ([GMHP] 2017) and the San Martin Neighborhood Alliance ([SMNA] n.d.).

Initial objections to the Cordoba Center included typical land development concerns about water drainage, increased automobile traffic, and the size of the building (Estabrook, 2012; KSBW News 8, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2010). Complaints became more substantial with concerns of contamination of well water by the shrouded remains in the cemetery and allegations of government favoritism on behalf of the SVIC through the circumvention of land use laws. In addition, some of the most vocal opponents of the Cordoba Center were members of the GMHP who also made anti-Islamic comments, including allegations that the proposed mosque could be used as an Islamic terrorist training camp (Estabrook, 2012). In 2012 and 2013, the GMHP invited anti-Islamic speakers to community and club meetings. These speakers told audience members that violence is a characteristic of Islam, Islam cannot fit into Western culture, and that Islam is not a true religion (Friedman, 2012; Goldberg, 2013).

A few months later, local community members formed the People's Coalition for Government Accountability (PCGA). PCGA sued SVIC through CEQA, a controversial environmental protection law, to stop the Cordoba Center.

The sole enforcement mechanism of CEQA is achieved through citizen-initiated lawsuits, and defending against them can cost a great deal of money (California Natural Resources Agency, 2016; T. Nelson, 2011). A powerful law designed to be accessible to all citizens, CEQA plays an important role in shaping communities in California by allowing the public to challenge land development project approvals by local government. The law was originally focused on government-led projects, but *Friends of Mammoth et al. v. Board of Supervisors of Mono County* (1972) extended the reach of the law to include all land development in California.

The new scope of the law led to CEQA being described as time-consuming, not supportive of regional planning, expensive, full of contradictions, vague, and often used to stop development projects for non-environmental reasons (Amur, 2007; Barbour & Teitz, 2005; Diaz, 2012; Frick, 2014; Landis, Olshansky, & Huang, 1995; T. Nelson, 2011; Olshansky, 1996; Pinkerton, 1985; Shigley, 2010). Although procedures have been adjusted to improve CEQA, the literature shows that problems still persist, and the results have been mixed (Barbour & Teitz, 2005; T. Nelson, 2011; Olshansky, 1996; Pinkerton, 1985; Shigley, 2010). According to members from SVIC, the CEQA lawsuit was not being used to protect the environment, but for the purpose of preventing Muslims from building a mosque (The County of Santa Clara, 2012). Although Santa Clara County conducted its own environmental studies, the CEQA lawsuit argued that the county did not do enough testing.

Unable to finance a defense against the CEQA court case, the SVIC and PCGA came to a settlement that allowed SVIC to withdraw its application to build the Cordoba Center (*People's Coalition for Government Accountability vs. County of Santa Clara, et*

al., 2012). The settlement required SVIC to pay PCGA \$23,000 in legal costs, and the Cordoba Center process ended on November 5, 2013. Although members of the SVIC indicated that bigotry seemed to play a major role in the resistance to the Cordoba Center, members of the GMHP denied this claim (Estabrook, 2012; KSBW News 8, 2012; Pew Research Center, 2010).

Chapter 2: Results

Introduction

The purpose of this study was to examine the attempted siting of the Cordoba Center from 2008 and 2013. In order to gain a deeper understanding of why the siting was not successful, I conducted a case study using data from a review of the literature and participant interviews. I used Kingdon's (2011) MSF to understand the perceptions and actions of members of different groups involved in the Cordoba Center to answer the following research question: What are the key elements that led to community protest and the ensuing CEQA lawsuit against the Cordoba Center?

Findings

A purposefully selected, bounded sample of 15 individuals was interviewed (see Appendix A), and public documents and media reports were reviewed and analyzed. The final six themes were as follows: CEQA, Muslims are viewed as outsiders who do not assimilate and pose a threat, water, lack of control, agitators, and politics stream. The themes and summaries, representative of the participant interviews, are presented in Table 1.

Table 1

Summary of Themes and Codes of Participant Interviews

Theme	Code summary
CEQA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • CEQA was used by the PCGA to prevent the siting of the Cordoba Center • Negative comments about CEQA • Positive comments about CEQA • CEQA can be abused for non-environmental reasons • CEQA allows a petitioner to remain somewhat anonymous, making it difficult to defend against
Muslims are viewed as outsiders who do not assimilate and pose a threat	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Concern that there are only a few Muslims in San Martin, so the Cordoba Center is not serving the community and will bring in outsiders • Comments that Islam is a threat to the United States • SVIC referred to as a “special interest group” • Cordoba Center seen as a regional mosque that will bring in outsiders
Water	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Residents are scared that the water will be polluted from the cemetery bodies because Muslims do not use coffins • Concern that the Cordoba Center will use up all of the well water
Lack of control	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Community complaints that officials waived codes, are not following zoning laws, and giving special treatment to SVIC • Community concerns over failed percolation tests • Santa Clara County has not provided evidence that the Cordoba Center septic system can accommodate the suggested number of congregants • Complaints that the public was not allowed to speak at public hearings
Agitators	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The actual supporters and members of the PCGA was unclear • Members of the GMHP and PCGA were spreading misinformation and other information that made Muslims look ominous • Small, vocal group, possibly outsiders and are using the same exact form letter to oppose the Cordoba Center. • Misinformation that the Cordoba Center is a regional mosque • SVIC perceived as bullying its way into the community and getting special treatment by the government
Politics stream	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Most public comment letters are opposed to the Cordoba Center and are the same exact form letter • SVIC appealed its own approved mosque • Forced SVIC to be reactive and defensive instead of being able to control the public dialogue

Interpretation of Findings

Kingdon's (2011) framework explained that, for an issue to be addressed, various stakeholders must partake in streams to identify problems, discuss policy, and engage in politics. In the end, the streams must join in order to move the issue up the agenda. In the case of the Cordoba Center, the streams must join so that construction can begin, as represented in Figure 1.

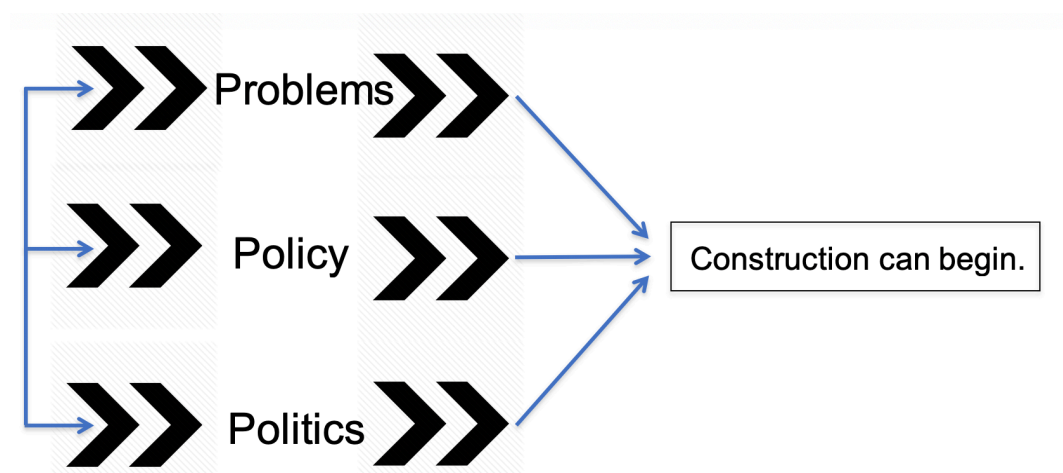


Figure 1. Streams must join for construction to begin.

Multiple Streams Framework

Problem stream. The SVIC identified their problem as the need for a prayer and meeting space. During public hearings and participant interviews, SVIC members indicated that their congregation had outgrown the barn they had been using as a prayer space. Given the high level of traffic congestion in the area, SVIC members described traveling for Friday afternoon prayers as a burden for Muslims in the area. To find a more suitable and permanent prayer space, SVIC members held fundraisers and mortgaged their personal property to purchase land in San Martin. They then proceeded to work with

the local government to begin the process of building the Cordoba Center. Study participants familiar with the Cordoba Center clearly understood that the problem the SVIC was trying to resolve was the lack of a permanent place of worship. This clear understanding of the problem among study participants appears to indicate that the SVIC was able to communicate its problem to a wide audience.

Policy stream. Participant interviews and a review of public documents indicated that SVIC properly followed land development rules set forth by the local government. According to the SVIC, the rules and process were clear and applied fairly to them. Based on a review of the data, SVIC was very diligent in the policy stream and, at one point in the process, the SVIC had to address a transgression by a lower level government employee. The employee, sympathetic to the opponents of the Cordoba Center, was from the Environmental Health Department. In preparing a staff report, the employee did not follow proper protocol and instead copied text with very stringent recommendations from a previous PCGA complaint. By doing so, the employee attempted to misrepresent the text as official county policy and was trying to establish strict conditions for establishing the proposed cemetery. The SVIC recognized the text from a former PCGA complaint and protested. County administrators quickly responded and removed the text from the staff report.

Politics stream. The findings of this case study lead me to understand that most of the missteps by the SVIC seem to have taken place in the politics stream. According to participant interviews, the SVIC lacked an understanding of the history and political climate of San Martin. This lack of understanding suggests that the SVIC was not aware

of the public mood. The deficits of SVIC in this stream were within these areas of concern:

- lack of legal counsel,
- land purchase,
- history of water pollution in San Martin, and
- Islamophobia.

Lack of legal counsel. The lack of legal counsel may have hindered the SVIC from moving forward easily through the application process. In addition, a knowledgeable attorney may have helped SVIC avoid the CEQA lawsuit. According to interview participants, in an effort to avoid the rigid environmental impact reviews required by CEQA, the Santa Clara County Board of Supervisors approved the Cordoba Center at a reduced size and limited hours of operation. SVIC initially agreed to the conditions, but later appealed the changes. During public hearings, a member of the Board of Supervisors mentioned that the SVIC could apply to extend the Cordoba Center at a future time. This comment opened the door for the CEQA lawsuit. According to CEQA, any possible plans to expand a project must be mitigated at the present time. Interview participants believed that hiring an attorney from the inception of the Cordoba Center application may have avoided these types of issues.

Land purchase. According to participant interviews, SVIC purchased the land for the Cordoba Center outright, with no contract contingencies in place. Supporters and opponents expressed that the Cordoba Center could have already been built somewhere else had the SVIC not been restricted to building in San Martin. Participants familiar with

the SVIC process indicated that the SVIC had not conducted any research about the community prior to purchasing the land because they did not expect resistance to the Cordoba Center and they did not know about the previous water table contamination.

History of water pollution in San Martin. San Martin residents lack a municipal water supply system and rely on well water for drinking, sanitation, livestock, and agriculture. In 2003, a factory producing road flares contaminated the water table with perchlorates. From 2003 until 2013, San Martin residents and livestock could not drink the well water and relied upon bottled drinking water. In 2013, most of the well water was cleared for consumption by local authorities, but the pollution appears to have left a mark in the minds of the community. Although supporters believed that Muslim burials were safe, several opponents of the Cordoba Center expressed concern that the shrouded human remains in the proposed cemetery could pollute the water; ultimately, neither side of the cemetery debate provided evidence to support their claims.

Islamophobia. Islamophobic activities can be grouped into six clusters: attacks on persons, attacks on property, intimidation, institutional, public domain, and government action (Sayyid, 2014). A review of the literature and participant interviews revealed the existence or suggestion of intimidation by opponents, attempts to influence the public domain, and government action. There was no evidence of any type attack or that Muslims were treated less favorably in an institutional setting.

Although Muslims in America have been encountering increased Islamophobia since September 11, 2001, through criticism, prejudice, and xenophobia, participant interviews with SVIC members surprisingly indicated that they did not anticipate

intimidation by protests, anti-Islamic comments, or threats of violence from any opponents (see Bowe & Makki, 2015; Hummel, 2012; Peña, 2009). The GMHP and PCGA led a door-knocking campaign, which deliberately spread misinformation, and engaged in fear-mongering and emotional manipulation. In addition, the GMHP brought speakers into the community who spoke on the evils of Islam. The speakers suggested that Islam was an ideology and not a religion, presumably in an attempt to delegitimize Islam as a religion so that Muslims lose protection under the First Amendment of the U.S. Constitution.

SVIC appears to have always been in a reactive instead of a proactive role in the politics stream. SVIC members said that they did not expect anti-Muslim sentiments during the process because they had been living, working, and praying in the area for decades and were never made to feel like outsiders. They were shocked by the magnitude of mobilization and intimidation by the GMHP and the PCGA. In fact, some opponents held such a high level of disdain and mistrust toward Muslims that they even suggested government action against the mosque in the forms of increased surveillance and treating Muslims less favorably. The high number of active opponents suggests that the SVIC was unprepared for any opposition, especially from outside agitators, such as the GMHP.

A possible lack of Muslim visibility and community engagement on a wide scale may have also contributed to non-Muslims feeling outraged by the concept and size of the Cordoba Center in their open-space community. As the process for the Cordoba Center continued, even timid opponents, such as the San Martin Neighborhood Alliance, started to feel ignored by the SVIC, later saying during participant interviews that the SVIC had burned bridges with the community. The memberships of the GMHP and the

PCGA eventually became compounded, making it difficult to distinguish between the members of each organization and identify the funding stream for the CEQA lawsuit. The GMHP and the PCGA were the lead policy entrepreneurs throughout the politics stream and used their resources to further their own agenda to stop the siting of the Cordoba Center. Although the SVIC had various supporters in the community, they were not as vocal or active as the memberships of the GMHP and PCGA. Ultimately, the PCGA used CEQA to prevent the siting of the Cordoba Center.

CEQA

While CEQA has been the subject of criticism for several decades, policy researchers have given it little attention. My review of the literature showed that most complaints about CEQA focused on how it impedes revenues in the private sector, especially during economic downturns in California (Barbour & Teitz, 2005; Olshansky, 1996; Shigley, 2010). The results of this case study lead me to understand that CEQA can also have negative effects on the development of nonprofit organizations, such as houses of worship. In addition, because nonprofits may have less cash flow than private companies, CEQA lawsuits may discourage nonprofit organizations from building in California.

Complaints about CEQA share a common theme that CEQA does not encourage effective regional planning. CEQA assigns policy decisions to local governing bodies, which may have varying environmental protection values. As a result, CEQA has been described as costly, vague, dynamic, and confusing, as the following examples show:

- The original intention of CEQA was to protect the physical environment (i.e., air, land, and water); however, it has been expanded by the courts to remedy urban decay and other social justice issues (Amur, 2007; Curtin, 2005).
- Economically and politically motivated plaintiffs can take advantage of the broad rules of CEQA (Cres, 2012; Frick, 2014).
- It can be difficult to prepare for CEQA because CEQA has been applied inconsistently across different jurisdictions (Bilir, 2012).
- CEQA is not helpful with long-range planning because it focuses on project-by-project analysis (Little Hoover Commission, 2005; Olshansky, 1996).
- CEQA lawsuits have been used to stop projects during midconstruction (Amur, 2007; Curtin, 2005).
- Developers often try to create defensible “bulletproof” documents in the possible event that a CEQA lawsuit could be filed with the courts. They do so by including extra details in the EIR. Costs associated with this task are paid by the project applicant and the agencies involved (R. L. Nelson, 2012).
- According to the Legislative Analyst’s Office ([LAO] 1997), mitigating environmental impacts can be ineffective, unreasonable, or cost-prohibitive.

In this case study, a CEQA lawsuit filed by the PCGA served to stop the siting of the Cordoba Center. The PCGA was an ad hoc organization whose membership included people from the GMHP, a politically conservative organization. I reached out to the PCGA to learn more about their perceptions and reasons for filing the CEQA lawsuit. I surface-mailed letters, made telephone calls, sent e-mails, and posted messages on social media to reported members of the PCGA, but no one responded to my requests to

participate in the study. Through participant interviews, I was made aware that the possible leader of the PCGA had passed away within the past few years. Members of the GMHP and PCGA conducted door-knocking campaigns, spread negative information about Muslims, invited speakers into the community who condemned Islam, and had members who openly made anti-Islamic speakers welcome at their meetings. A third group opposed to the Cordoba Center, the SMNA, did not participate in the CEQA lawsuit or in anti-Islamic activities, and focused its debate on environmental concerns. The crossover membership between the GMHP and the PCGA and their anti-Islamic actions suggest that the CEQA lawsuit by PCGA was more politically motivated rather than focused on protecting the environment.

Chapter 3: Recommendations

Understanding the events surrounding the siting of a controversial mosque provides much-needed information to help Muslims, policy makers, and communities address the needs of a growing Islamic population in the United States. In this case study, I explored the perceptions of various community members and the events that led to a CEQA lawsuit to stop the siting of a controversial mosque. Results of participant interviews and the review of public documents and media reports helped shape several recommendations.

Although the following recommendation are the result of studying the efforts to build a mosque, community center, and cemetery, they may prove helpful to other religious groups (controversial or not) when attempting to build a house of worship. Non-Muslim groups may benefit from understanding the history, culture, and political climate of a community in which they want to build a house of worship. The benefits of researching a potential site may include mitigating costly law suits and negative media attention.

Recommendations for Islamic Communities

In this case study, I showed that, given the complexity of siting a mosque, Islamic groups should not attempt to move forward in the development process without first understanding the political climate of the community in which they wish to build a mosque, community center, or mosque. Exploring the political climate may save Islamic groups money and time, as well as mitigate negative press. The following assessment

questions are offered as a springboard to assist Muslims in determining if a specific community is amenable to the siting of a new mosque, community center, or cemetery:

- When was the last time a house of worship was built in the area?
- What do people in the surrounding area think about Muslims?
- When was the last time a cemetery was built in the area and are the laws in compliance with local and federal requirements?
- Have there been any traumatic events in the community that may interfere with the proposed mosque, community center, or cemetery? For example, in New York City, although Muslims has been praying in a low-key storefront a few blocks from the World Trade Center for many years, the proposal to build a mosque in the same location was seen as disrespectful and attracted protesters. In San Martin, a community that lived through the ordeal of polluted drinking water for 10 years, a proposed Islamic cemetery stoked concerns about water safety again.
- Who could be opposed to a mosque, community center, or cemetery and what would be their legitimate reasons?
- Who could be the possible agitators, locally and from the outside? What type of additional problems could agitators amplify? Civil rights violations? National attention? Negative public opinion?
- Can our Islamic community financially, legally, and emotionally commit to a long-term battle with agitators, if the need does arise?
- If we proceed, who will be the face and voice for the organization?

- How do we market ourselves? How do we lobby the public and decision makers for support? How long do we do so?

Asking these questions does not mean halting the idea of moving forward if they cannot be answered satisfactorily; rather, being aware of the political considerations can help organizations to better plan how to move forward.

In order to answer some of these questions, Islamic communities will need the support of professionals with legal and political prowess. Attorneys can research local laws to make sure they are compliant with federal regulations. Determining the status of compliance can save a great deal of time and money for Islamic groups. If the laws are up to date, legal staff may also help reduce the likelihood of future CEQA litigation by reviewing paperwork and monitoring environmental safety tests.

Recommendations for Policy Makers

Muslims are the second largest religious minority in the United States and it is expected that by 2050, they will surpass the Jewish community and become the largest (Pew Research Center, 2015). In order to meet the growing need of Islamic prayer space, policy makers must be proactive and take steps to meet the needs of this small, but growing population. Policy makers should examine their current cemetery policies to make sure they meet modern public notification standards. They should also examine local land use laws to determine if they conform to RLUIPA.

CEQA continues to be controversial in California and requires a closer examination to make sure it is not used for purposes other than protecting the environment. Policy makers should reexamine CEQA and its lack of petitioner

transparency. Under CEQA, people with ulterior motives can create ad hoc organizations and file a lawsuit using the pretense of a genuine desire to protect the environment. This flexibility actually hides funding sources, which, if more visible, could reveal the true motives behind a CEQA lawsuit. Improved transparency could prevent CEQA from being used to violate religious civil rights.

Conclusion

Since the tragedy of September 11th, Muslims in America (and those who are perceived to be Muslim) have been singled out for heinous treatment. This increase in Islamophobia has been linked to a variety of causes, such as media stereotypes, the role that U.S. Muslims play in their relationship with non-Muslims, and domestic and foreign policy (Bowe, 2017; Johnston, 2016; Peña, 2009; Rauf, 2016). For instance, President Trump's administration has put Muslims in a more negative spotlight with its anti-Muslim rhetoric and policies of "extreme vetting" and restriction on immigration from some Muslim-majority countries, known as the "Muslim Ban" (Bowe, 2017; Yukich, 2018). In addition, there are at least 37 groups in the United States focused on promoting prejudice against Islam and Muslims (see Appendix C). These organizations earned \$119 million in total revenue between 2008 and 2011 (Saylor, 2014). In 2011 and 2012, they introduced 78 pieces of legislation, designed to vilify Islam, to the legislatures of 29 states and Congress (Saylor, 2014).

Although efforts have been made to bridge the gap between Muslims and non-Muslims, the past few years have been difficult for many Muslims in America, with surveys showing that Americans continue to view Muslims more negatively than all other religions (Pew Research Center, 2014; Wormald, 2014; Yukich, 2018). Less than 2% of

the U.S. population is Muslim; therefore, most American have little contact with them. In comparison to other religions in the United States, although the U.S. Catholic Church lost 3 million adherents between 2000 and 2010, Catholicism still represented 19% of the total U.S. population (Association of Religion Data Archives, 2010). This limited interaction, joined with the constant negative spotlight on Islam, has made some Americans anxious about having Muslim neighbors (Bowe, 2017). Because these problems continue to exist among a growing Muslim population in the United States, they may play a role in the difficulties of siting controversial mosques (Bagby, 2009; Johnston, 2016).

The SVIC has spent \$3 million in its attempt to build the Cordoba Center, yet no ground has been broken for the new mosque. The primary public policy issue in this case study was that CEQA can be used to stop land development projects for reasons other than protecting the environment—which is the main purpose of CEQA. As a “blunt instrument” with the power to stop development projects of any size (LAO, 1997, p. 17), CEQA has vast negative social change implications (Frick, 2014). While it may be unintended, this case study showed that CEQA can be used to cloak discrimination using the illusion of social justice and environmental protection, and it is negatively affecting social freedom of religious expression.

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Appendix A: Demographic Characteristics of Participants

Demographic variable	Participants	
	<i>n</i>	%
Gender		
Male	7	47
Female	8	53
Age (years)		
18–24	1	7
25–34	2	13
35–44	1	7
45–54	3	20
55–64	3	20
65–74	2	13
75 +	2	13
Undisclosed	1	7
Race/ethnicity		
Hispanic	1	7
Other	3	20
Other–Sikh	1	7
Other–South Asian	1	7
Undisclosed	1	7
White	8	53
Political affiliation		
Democrat	7	47
Green	1	7
None	3	20
Republican	3	20
Undisclosed	1	7
Religion		
Agnostic	1	7
Christian	2	13
Jewish	1	7
Muslim	4	27
None	3	20
Other/Protestant Church of England	1	7

(table continues)

Demographic variable	Participants	
	<i>n</i>	%
Other/Episcopalian	1	7
Other/Sikh	1	7
Other/Spiritual	1	7
Education (highest degree earned)		
Associate's	2	13
Bachelor's	3	20
Graduate or professional	10	67
Marital Status		
Divorced	2	13
Married	10	67
Single	3	20
Employment status		
Employed	6	40
Homemaker	1	7
Out of work/not looking for work	1	7
Retired	4	27
Self-employed	3	20
Mosque stance		
Neutral	1	7
Oppose	5	33
Support	9	60

Note. N = 15.