

U.S. Public Opinion on Torture, 2001-2009*

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Executive Summary

Many journalists and politicians believe that most polls show that a majority of Americans will support torture when they are assured that it will prevent a terrorist attack. In other words, they believe that public opinion has tended to show a pro-torture American majority. This whitepaper corrects this misperception. Using a new survey dataset on torture collected during the 2008 election combined with a comprehensive archive of public opinion on torture that we have assembled, we show that Americans have, in fact, that a majority of Americans have been opposed to torture.

In brief, this whitepaper demonstrates:

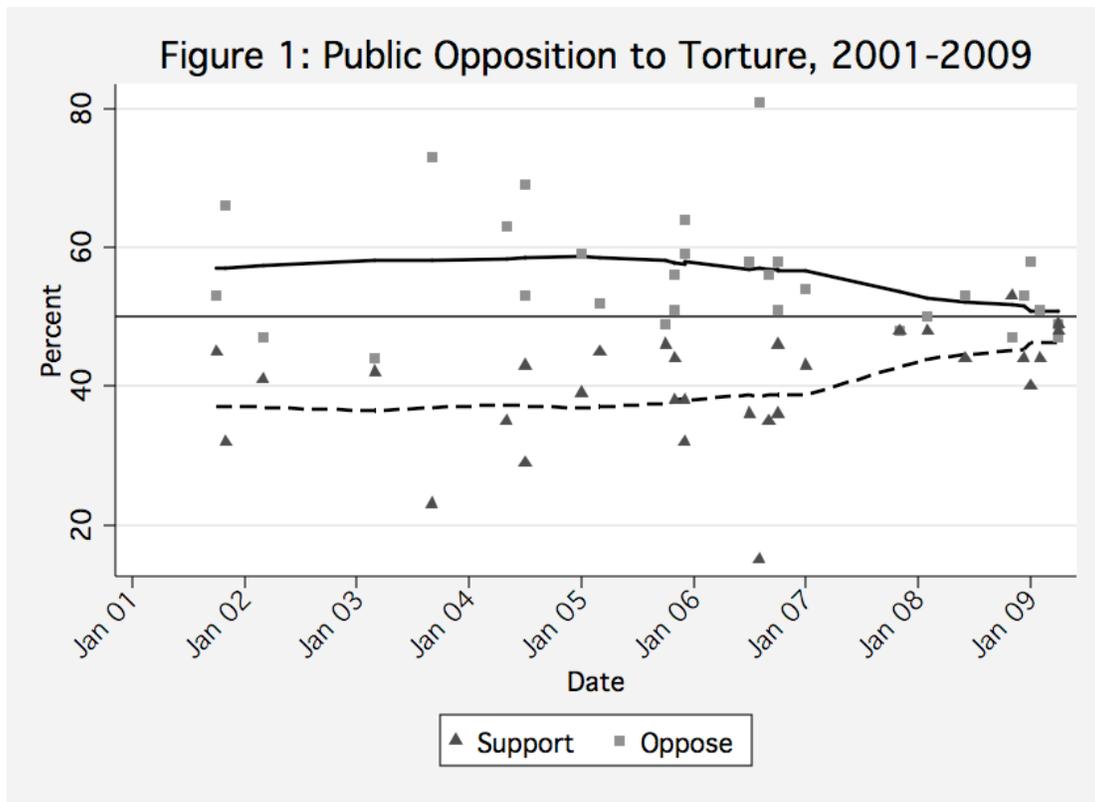
1. A majority of Americans are opposed to government use of torture, even when asked about an imminent terrorist attack. These attitudes on torture have remained stable and consistent over this period.
2. Even when “enhanced interrogation” techniques are not called torture, and even when Americans are assured that they work to get crucial information, Americans still reject many techniques approved by the Bush administration.
3. American military personnel serving in Iraq are strongly opposed to the use of torture.
4. False consensus pervades the opinions of those who support torture, leading them to significantly overestimate the proportion of the public who agree with them. Those opposed to torture, in contrast, have remarkably accurate perceptions of the rest of the public.
5. Outright support of torture is rare *anywhere* in the world, even in countries that have been sites of domestic terrorism in the last ten years. Most countries that have experienced recent terrorism have publics even less supportive of torture than the United States.

American Public Opinion on Torture

Much of the debate over torture in the past few months has implied, either implicitly or explicitly, that the American public supports torture. In some cases, these claims have been included the proviso “if torture works.” In general, these commentaries have failed to include any references to the actual state of public opinion on this important issue. In response, we have assembled an archive of public opinion polls that queried the public about the use of torture since 2001. We have been able to unearth 30 polls administered by a variety of survey and media organizations. These polls are the opinions of approximately 30,000 Americans over the past 9 years. The archive includes a unique poll tailored to examine the reasons why perceptions about public opinion are so erroneous which is discussed in a later section of the whitepaper.

Figure 1 plots the smoothed trend of public opinion regarding torture, drawn from the survey archive that we have assembled.ⁱ This is the first comprehensive archive of public opinion surveys that ask respondents about the use of torture on suspected terrorists in order to gain information or to save lives. The individual polls are contained in Table I in the Appendix to this document.ⁱⁱ

As the data make clear, not once during this eight year period was there a majority in favor of the use of torture. Approximately 58% of the public expressed opposition to torture during this period, even the three years preceding the revelations and subsequent public debate over Abu Ghraib.



Although the surveys sometimes ask different questions, they have several points in common. Crucially, in these surveys the respondent is not asked if they think torture is effective. The effectiveness of torture is presumed in the question. They are told that the person in custody may be a terrorist and they may have information about future terrorist attacks. They ask or imply that torture would gain accurate information and/or save American lives. They present various versions, in other words, of the famed "ticking time bomb" situation, allegedly the most favorable scenario to approve of torture. These are conditions where it would seem almost patriotic to affirm torture. Still there has never been a majority in favor of the use of torture.

In all but two surveys, opposition to torture exceeds support. The mean over the eight-year period is 56.14% in opposition to the use of torture and just 39.43% in favor of the use of torture. The Time/SRBI is unusual in that the opposition is at 81%, but taking removing this poll makes only a slight difference: without Time/SRBI, the means sit at 55.22% oppose to torture and 40.33% in support.

Opposition to torture does decline, as we get closer to the present. This can partly be explained by a polling house effect, there are a disproportionate number of Pew polls at the end of the timeline. Of the last eleven polls, six are from the Pew. Pew's results are routinely closer to 50% than the other polling organizations. Pew's mean in opposition to torture is 50.56% and the mean in favor is 45.78%; a much smaller number opposed than the 56.14% opposed in the mean of all the polls. But it is also possible that public opposition has softened as public debate over torture waned, and economic concerns loom most important in the public's mind.

Military Opinions About Torture

Soldiers in Iraq are surely among those who have the strongest interest in approving torture. They, more so than the policy makers at home, are in harm's way. They may have to make swift and, sometimes, violent action may save the lives of their fellow soldiers.

So one might think this group would be especially likely to endorse torture but they do not and wisely so. For torture has a high cost for soldiers who are asked to perform it.ⁱⁱⁱ Studies of Greek, French and Brazilian torturers show that participating in torture may induce atrocity related trauma, as well as leading to, among other things, alcoholism, suicide, and inexplicable violence towards others. The closer a person is to performing torture, the more likely it is that they will develop post traumatic stress disorders, depression, or anxiety. These soldiers also experience job burn out, family problems, and sometimes participate in asocial or criminal behavior. Even those who merely witnessed torture but did not participate in it can develop these problems. Torture causes all these effects by inducing toxic levels of guilt and shame. There are already alarming reports of atrocity related trauma and suicide rates among returning veterans.^{iv}

TABLE I: ATTITUDES TOWARD TORTURE AMONG MARINE AND ARMY SOLDIERS SERVING IN IRAQ, 2006¹

<i>Is Torture Justified:</i>	Service	Favor	Oppose
<i>To gather information?²</i>	Marines	39	61
	Army	36	64
<i>If it will save the life of fellow Soldier/Marine?³</i>	Marines	44	56
	Army	41	59

¹ This 2006 poll was conducted by MHAT (Mental Health Advisory Team) IV, Operation Iraq Freedom, under the auspices of the Office of the Surgeon Multinational Force in Iraq and the Office of the Surgeon General of the United States Military Command.

² Torture should be allowed to gather important information about insurgents: Strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

³ Torture should be allowed if it will save the life of a Soldier Marine: Strongly agree, agree, disagree or strongly disagree.

Table I shows the opinions of the U.S. military currently serving in Iraq. Military personnel oppose torture in even higher numbers than civilians. Above all, those who are asked to torture by politicians feel a deep sense of betrayal by those who asked them to do terrible things beyond what can or should be demanded of a professional soldier. Military leaders know

torture has a strong deprofessionalization effect, and soldiers who have been involved in torture are harder to assign to other responsibilities. Other soldiers do not accept them back into their ranks because they are perceived as undisciplined and lacking ethical values.

Public Opinion about Interrogation Techniques Described in the Newly Released “Torture Memos”

Perhaps there are nuances about public opinion that are overlooked in these data. After all, the surveys cited above all use the word “torture” in the survey prompt, while political leaders counter that the techniques used by the CIA and the U.S. Military do not constitute “torture” at all. Of course, we are told, the US does not torture; instead, we deploy “enhanced interrogation” techniques in order to obtain important intelligence information from known or suspected terrorists.

The newly released Bybee and Bradbury memorandums reject the characterization of “enhanced interrogation techniques” as torture, either separately or in combination with each other.^v The Bybee memorandum examines ten interrogation techniques and the Bradbury memorandum examines thirteen techniques. Does public approval change when painful interrogation techniques are *not* called torture?

Within our survey dataset, we have found two polls that ask respondents about their approval of various techniques of interrogation. Among the “enhanced interrogation” techniques mentioned in the Bybee and Bradbury memos, four are, we would argue, identical to those polled. These are Waterboarding, Nudity, Stress Positions, and Sleep Deprivation. An additional six techniques mentioned in the memos we argue closely approximate those techniques polled. These approved techniques are Wall Standing,^{vi} Facial Slap,^{vii} Abdominal Slap,^{viii} Walling,^{ix} Cramped Confinement^x, and Dietary Manipulation.^{xi} Full histories of most of these techniques, their precise effects and consequences, can be found in *Torture and Democracy*.^{xii}

Table A-2 in the Appendix shows the approval or disapproval of specific techniques, even when they are not called torture. Clearly, wide majorities oppose most of the approved techniques, especially waterboarding. Disapproval of waterboarding approaches that of electroshock, for many the worst and most extreme form of physical coercion. Few approved techniques garner much public support beyond sleep deprivation, stress positions and “noise bomb.”

It is also notable that the PIPA and the ABC News/Washington Post survey have very similar results. This is surprising because they framed their questions very differently. ABC News asks “As part of the U.S. campaign against terrorism, please tell me if you think each item I name is acceptable in some cases as a method of getting information from prisoners, or is unacceptable in all cases: 1) not allowing a suspect to sleep...” while PIPA really tries to find the scenarios in which torture might be approved. It includes questions that assure the respondent that the prisoner has critical information and the technique has a higher chance of success. These are the extreme circumstances pundits often use to justify torture, what might be called “Jack Bauer” conditions, conditions where the prisoner's information is crucial and torture works. PIPA had two variables in their questioning. The first variable was about the degree of certainty that the detainee had information. Half of the were told that “intelligence sources say that there is a modest chance” that the detainee has crucial information and the other half were told that there is a “strong chance.” The second variable the magnitude of consequences related to the information sought from the detainee. Half the sample was told that the detainee is suspected of

having “some information about a suspected member of a terrorist group,” thus the consequences of acquiring the information might be modest. The other half sample was told that the consequences of acquiring the information could be very great: that the detainee has “information about a possible terrorist attack on the US that may prove critical to stopping the attack.” This gave PIPA four groups of respondents based on how the question was framed; “modest chance/some info”, “modest chance/critical info”; “high chance/some info”; “high chance/critical info. The numbers we have recorded are from the respondents who were asked the “high chance/critical info” question. Even with wording that describes a much more dire situation, PIPA has higher oppose numbers in 8 of 11 techniques.

We end with the recent 2009 Gallup poll in which 55% of respondents favor “harsh interrogation” techniques. This poll did not use the word “torture” nor did it identify specific interrogation techniques by name. Apparently the more vaguely one words a question regarding coerced physical interrogation, the more approval one receives. As the other polls show, if Americans merely think that “harsh interrogation” means simply sleep deprivation and stress positions in extreme cases, they are generally approving. As the polls of specific techniques show, this does not mean that they approve of many interrogation techniques approved by the Bybee and Bradbury memoranda.

Why Journalists and Politicians Were Wrong: False Consensus

Why have so many in the political and media elite so badly misread the strong majorities opposed to torture? A recent survey we commissioned helps shine a light on the psychological process of misperception—also called “false consensus”—whereby an individual mistakenly believes that their viewpoints represent the public majority.^{xiii} False consensus has a long legacy in social psychological research, but our survey is unique in that it examines for the first time how false consensus may have shaped the public debate over torture.

To test for the possibility of false consensus, we included items in a national opinion poll of 1000 respondents just before the 2008 election. In this study, we asked survey respondents their own opinion about torture, but then followed up, asking what the “average American” felt about the same subject. This is a standard method by which false consensus is measured—the “real” responses (the distribution of individual responses) are compared to the “perceived” responses.

These differences are reflected in the figure below, where we compare the actual distribution of attitudes about torture in red to the perceived distribution of attitudes about torture in blue. Thus, the gap between the red and the blue lines is a measure of false consensus. When the blue line is higher, groups are perceived as larger than they really are, and when the red line is higher, groups are perceived as smaller than they really are. We make these comparisons across all four response groups—those who think torture is “often,” “sometimes,” “rarely,” and “never” justified.

Our survey shows that nearly two-thirds of Americans overestimated the level of national support for torture. But more importantly, these misperceptions are not evenly distributed across the population. The stronger an individual supports torture, the larger the gap in his or her perception.

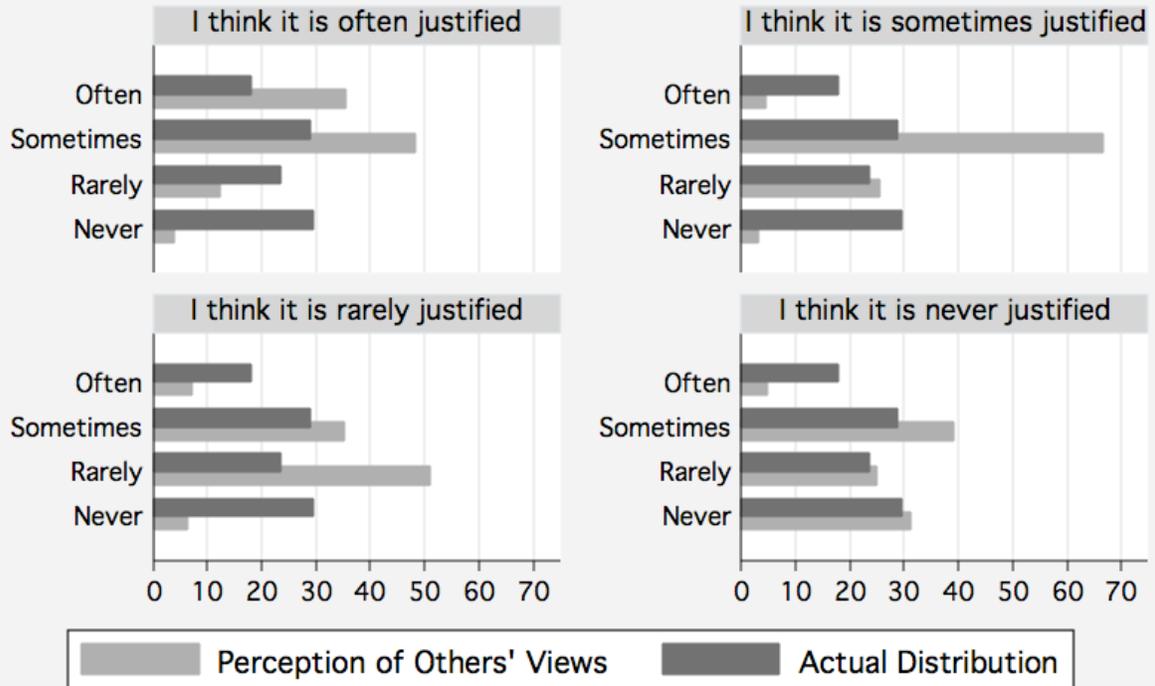
Those who believe that torture is often justified—a mere 15% of the public—think that more than a third of the public agrees with them.

Another 30% say that torture can “sometimes” be justified, but say that 62% of Americans do as well, and think that another 8% “often” approve of torture.

Revealingly, those most opposed to torture—29% of the public—are the most accurate in how they perceive public attitudes on the topic. They overestimate the proportion of the public who “sometimes” approve of torture by 10% and underestimate the proportion of the public who “often” approve of torture by 10%, and perceive the rest of the public with near precision.

False Consensus About Torture

Respondents were asked for their personal views about torture, and for their perceptions of the views of other Americans



Public Opinion and Torture in 31 Countries

European journalists and politicians, like American ones, often believe that most polls show that a majority of Americans will support torture when they are assured that it will prevent a terrorist attack. They too believe in the false consensus of a pro-torture American majority. This is, as we have said, not borne out by the polling data. But where does the United States public opinion stand in relation to other countries? How does the American minority that approves of torture compare to approval of torture from other countries? Are we growing insensitive to torture, and growing similar to the populations of states with terrible human rights records? Have we fallen away from our European counterparts who have consistently registered strong disapproval of torture?

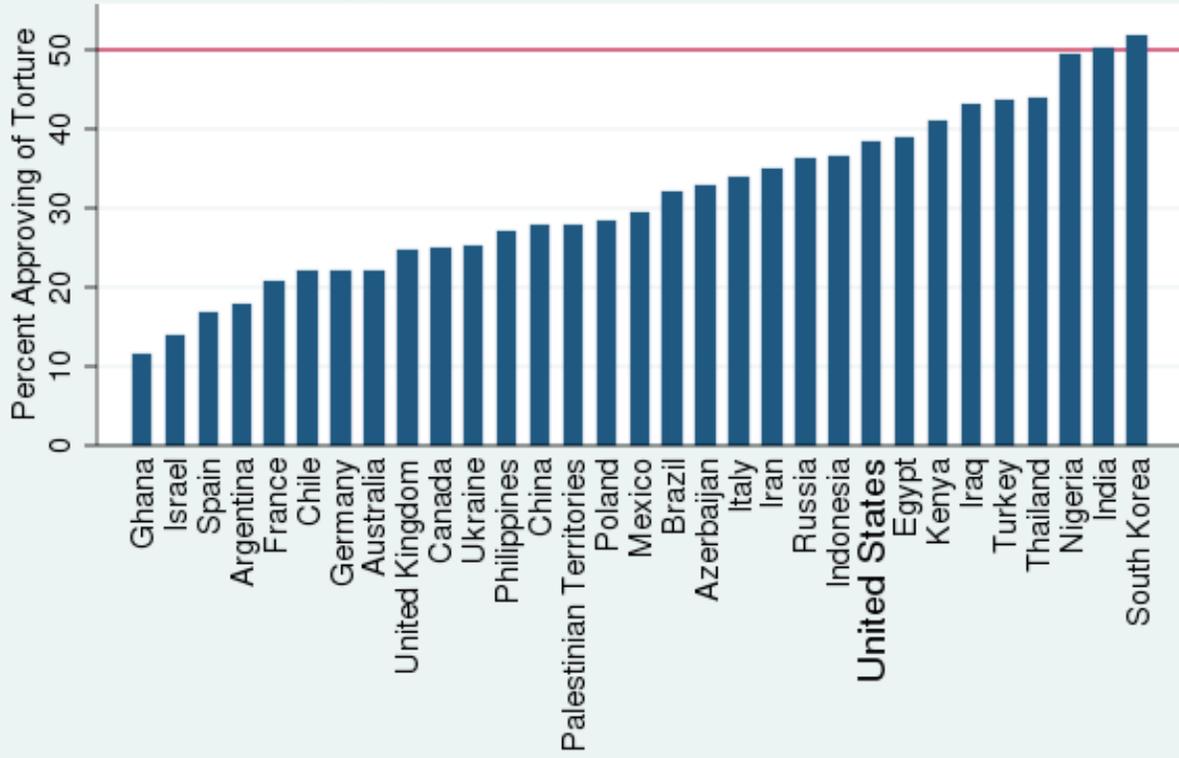
International polling data allows us to look at support for torture in the United States in a comparative perspective. This data comes from a variety of surveys conducted between 2005 and 2008.^{xiv} Covering 31 countries, this is the broadest collection of international public opinion on the question of torture yet collected.

In terms of support for torture, the United States ranks 23rd in this sample of 31 countries. The average level of support for torture across all of these cases is 31%; the average support for torture among Americans in these polls is 38%.

When we compare a subset of these countries that have been sites of domestic terrorism in the last ten years (Israel, Spain, United Kingdom, Russia, Indonesia, India, Iraq, Egypt, Turkey, and the Philippines) to the United States, we see that only Iraq, India and Turkey have greater public support for torture. This suggests that domestic terrorism does not substantially alter the actions of states confronting this threat. There is nothing special about terrorism that requires countries to use torture to combat terror. Many countries are able to respond to terrorism without recourse to torture.

Outright support for torture *anywhere* is rare, according to this data. Only two countries exceed 50% support for torture: India (50.1%) and South Korea (51.6%). Nigeria (49.3%) has the largest minority in support of torture. Conversely, four countries have less than 20% support for torture (Ghana, Israel, Spain and Argentina). The United States public is not wildly out of step with other countries on the acceptability of torture.

Support for Torture in 31 Countries



APPENDIX

TABLE A-1: PUBLIC OPINION REGARDING TORTURE, 2001-2009

Year	Month	Polling Organization	Favor	Oppose
2001	October	Gallup/CNN/USA Today ¹	45	53
	November	Christian Science Monitor/TIPP ²	32	66
2002	March	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics ³	41	47
2003	March	Fox News/Opinion Dynamics ⁴	42	44
	September	ABC News ⁵	23	73
2004	May	ABC News/Washington Post ⁶	35	63
	July	The Chicago Council ⁷	29	69
		PEW People and the Press ⁸	43	53
2005	January	Gallup Poll ⁹	39	59
	March	PEW People and the Press ¹⁰	45	52
	October	PEW People and the Press ¹¹	46	49
	November	Newsweek/Princeton ¹²	44	51
		Gallup/CNN/USA Today ¹³	38	56
	December	A.P./Ipsos-Public Affairs ¹⁴	38	59
		ABC News/Washington Post ¹⁵	32	64
2006	July	World Public Opinion ¹⁶	36	58
	August	Time/SRBI ¹⁷	15	81
	September	CBS News/New York Times ¹⁸	35	56
	October	BBC/Globe Scan/PIPA ¹⁹	36	58
		PEW People and the Press ²⁰	46	51
2007	January	PEW People and the Press ²¹	43	54
	November	PEW People and the Press ²²	48	48
2008	February	PEW People and the Press ²³	48	50
	June	World Public Opinion ²⁴	44	53
	October	Cooperative Congressional Election Study ²⁵	47	53
	December	World Public Opinion ²⁶	44	53
2009	January	ABC/Washington Post ²⁷	40	58
	February	PEW People and the Press ²⁸	44	51
	April	PEW People and the Press ²⁹	49	47
	April	ABC/Washington Post ³⁰	48	49

¹ Would you be willing—or not willing—to have the U.S. Government do each of the following, if the government thought it was necessary to combat terrorism? How about...torture known terrorists if they know details about future terrorist attacks in the U.S.?

² Could you envision a scenario in the war against terrorism in which you would support any of the following actions taken by the U.S. or not?

Torture of suspects held in the U.S. or abroad.

³ Do you support or oppose allowing the government to use any means necessary, including physical torture, to obtain information from prisoners that would protect the United States from future terrorist attacks?

⁴ *see endnote 3*

⁵ Please tell me if you support or oppose the federal government doing each of the following: Physically torturing people suspected of terrorism in an attempt to get information from them.

⁶ What's your view—do you think it's acceptable to torture people suspected of terrorism in some cases or do you think the use of torture is never acceptable?

⁷ In order to combat international terrorism, please say whether you favor or oppose each of the following measures: Using torture to extract information from suspected terrorists.

⁸ Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

⁹ *see endnote 1*

¹⁰ *see endnote 6*

¹¹ *see endnote 6*

¹² Do you think the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified, or never be justified?

¹³ Would you be willing—or not willing—to have us U.S. (United States) government torture suspected terrorists if they may know details about future terrorist attacks against the U.S.?

¹⁴ How do you feel about the use of torture against suspected terrorists to obtain information about terrorism activities? Can that often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified or never be justified.

¹⁵ Would you regard the use of torture against people suspected of involvement in terrorism as an acceptable or unacceptable part of the U.S. campaign against terrorism?

¹⁶ Most countries have agreed to rules that prohibit torturing prisoners. Which position is closer to yours?

1) Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use some degree of torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives.

2) Clear rules against torture should be maintained because any use of torture is immoral and will weaken international human rights standards against torture.

¹⁷ Please tell me if you would favor or oppose government doing each of the following as a way to prevent terrorist attacks in the United States: Allow the use of torture against people who are suspected of being terrorists.

¹⁸ Do you think it is sometimes justified to use torture to get information from a suspected terrorist, or is torture never justified?

¹⁹ *see endnote 14*

²⁰ *see endnote 6*

²¹ *see endnote 6*

²² *see endnote 6*

²³ *see endnote 6*

²⁴ *see endnote 14*

²⁵ How comfortable do you feel about the use of torture against suspected terrorists in order to gain important information? Do you think this can often be justified, sometimes be justified, rarely be justified or never be justified?

²⁶ Most countries have agreed to rules that prohibit torturing prisoners. Which position is closer to yours? Terrorists pose such an extreme threat that governments should now be allowed to use some degree of torture if it may gain information that saves innocent lives or clear rules against torture should be maintained because any use of torture is immoral and will weaken international human rights standards against torture?

²⁷ Obama has said that under his administration the United States will not use torture as part of the U.S. campaign against terrorism, no matter what the circumstance. Do you support this position not to use torture, or do you think there are cases in which the United States should consider torture against terrorism suspects?

²⁸ *see endnote 6*

²⁹ *see endnote 6*

³⁰ *see endnote 26*

**APPENDIX TABLE A-2:
AMERICAN ATTITUDES ON SPECIFIC TORTURE TECHNIQUES**

Method	Year	Polling Organization	Oppose	Favor
Electric Shock	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ⁱ	81	19
		ABC News/Washington Post ⁱⁱ	82	17
Waterboarding*	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ⁱⁱⁱ	81	17
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{iv}	78	21
	2007	CNN/Opinion Research Corp ^v	58	40
Sexual Humiliation*	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^{vi}	89	10
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{vii}	84	16
Forced Naked*	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^{viii}	75	25
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{ix}	74	35
Exposure to Extreme Heat/Cold ⁺	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^x	65	34
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{xi}	58	40
Punching/Kicking ⁺	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^{xii}	81	18
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{xiii}	69	29
Stress Positions*	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^{xiv}	47	52
Deny Food/Water ⁺	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^{xv}	54	44
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{xvi}	61	38
Noise Bomb ⁺	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^{xvii}	43	56
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{xviii}	45	54
Sleep Deprivation*	2004	PIPA/Knowledge Networks ^{xix}	35	65
		ABC News/Washington Post ^{xx}	33	66
<i>Harsh Interrogation</i> ^{xxi}	2009	Gallup Poll	36	55

*Indicates technique approved by Bybee or Bradbury memoranda.

+Indicates technique similar to techniques approved by the Bybee and Bradbury memoranda.

ⁱ Let's say that the US is holding someone prisoner and intelligence sources say that there is a strong chance that this person has information about a possible terrorist attack on the US that may prove critical to stopping the attack, but this person denies having such information. Please select whether you would favor or oppose using each of the following methods as a way of trying to get the prisoner to reveal the information he may have: Applying electric shocks to the detainee.

ⁱⁱ As part of the U.S. campaign against terrorism, please tell me if you think each item I name is acceptable in some cases as a method of getting information from prisoners, or is unacceptable in all cases: Applying electric shocks to the suspect.

ⁱⁱⁱ *see footnote 1*: Holding the detainee's head under water.

^{iv} *see footnote 2*: Holding the suspect's head under water.

^v In a procedure known as 'waterboarding,' interrogators produce the sensation of drowning in a restrained prisoner by either dunking him in water or pouring water over his face. Do you

think the U.S. government should or should not be allowed to use this procedure to attempt to get information from suspected terrorists?

^{vi} *see footnote 1*: Sexually humiliating the detainee.

^{vii} *see footnote 2*: Sexually humiliating the suspect.

^{viii} *see footnote 1*: Making the detainee go naked.

^{ix} *see footnote 2*: Making the suspect go naked.

^x *see footnote 1*: Exposing the detainee to extreme heat or cold.

^{xi} *see footnote 2*: Exposing the suspect to extreme heat or cold.

^{xii} *see footnote 1*: Punching or kicking the detainee.

^{xiii} *see footnote 2*: Punching or kicking the suspect.

^{xiv} *see footnote 1*: Forcing detainees to remain in a physically stressful position for an extended period

^{xv} *see footnote 1*: Withholding food and water.

^{xvi} *see footnote 2*: Withholding food and water.

^{xvii} *see footnote 1*: Bombarding the detainee with loud noise for long periods of time.

^{xviii} *see footnote 2*: Bombarding the suspect with loud noise for long periods of time.

^{xix} *see footnote 1*: Not allowing the detainee to sleep.

^{xx} *see footnote 2*: Not allowing the suspect to sleep.

^{xxi} Based on what you know or read, do you think the use of harsh interrogation techniques for terrorism suspects was justified or not justified?

Endnotes:

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- ⁱ The data were smoothed using a LOESS regression. This technique has been popularized by Nate Silver at <http://fivethirtyeight.com> and Charles Franklin at <http://www.pollster.com>, and is described at http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Local_regression.
- ⁱⁱ Generally, there are either two-response choices (torture justified/not justified) or there are four response choices (often justified, sometimes justified, rarely justified or never justified). In order to summarize the data in a uniform manner, we've followed the method of the Pew People and Press director Andrew Kohut and combined the 'often justified' with 'sometimes justified,' the sum representing a torture justified response, and combined 'rarely justified with 'never justified,' the sum representing a torture not justified response.
- ⁱⁱⁱ Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy* (Princeton 2007), 524-525.
- ^{iv} Joshua E.S. Phillips, "What Killed Sergeant Gray: Post Traumatic Stress Disorder," *American Radio Works* (2009) <http://americanradioworks.publicradio.org/features/vets/fl.html>;
Mark Benjamin and Michael de Yoanna, "Coming Home: Death in the USA, the Army's Fatal Neglect" *Salon.com*, http://www.salon.com/news/special/coming_home/2009/02/09/coming_home_intro/
- ^v Jay Bybee, Assistant Attorney General, OLC, to John A. Rizzo, General Counsel CIA (August 1, 2002); Steven Bradbury, Acting Assistant Attorney General, OLC, to John A. Rizzo, General Counsel CIA (May 10, 2005); Steven Bradbury, Acting Assistant Attorney General, OLC, to John A. Rizzo, General Counsel CIA (May 10, 2005), http://www.aclu.org/safefree/general/olc_memos.html.
- ^{vi} Wall standing or forced stand is, like all stress positions, designed to induce muscle fatigue as the memos make clear. It is thus captured also under the survey category "stress positions."
- ^{vii} Facial slap, in other words, striking a prisoner in the face, is similar to the survey category "punching/kicking."
- ^{viii} Abdominal slap or striking the prisoner on the abdomen is similar to the survey category "punching/kicking."
- ^{ix} "Walling" involves slamming a prisoner into plywood walls by use of a leash and a collar attached to the neck. The collar is designed to prevent whiplash from collision. Walls are constructed to create a loud sound when the individual hits, which will further shock or surprise the individual. This practice then can be captured under the category "noise bomb" (that is, sounds intended to shock) or a form of beating, captured under the category of "punching and kicking."
- ^x Cramped confinement in any small box produces intense heat, a reason why this technique is historically called a "sweatbox." This technique is reflected in the survey category "exposure to extreme heat/cold."
- ^{xi} The Bradbury memorandum anticipates that "dietary manipulation" will lead to the loss of body weight. In fact, Bradbury recommends the procedure be discontinued upon 10% of weight loss. This method does not make it identical to starvation but approximates the polling category "denying food or water."
- ^{xii} Darius Rejali, *Torture and Democracy* (Princeton 2007), 260-384; "Ice water and Sweatboxes: The Long and Sadistic History behind the CIA's Torture Techniques," *Slate.com* (March 17, 2009), <http://www.slate.com/id/2213959/?from=rss>; Darius Rejali "Of Human Bondage" *Salon.com* (June 18, 2004), http://archive.salon.com/opinion/feature/2004/06/18/torture_methods/
- ^{xiii} Ross, L., Greene, D., & House, P. (1977). The false consensus phenomenon: An attributional bias in self-perception and social perception processes. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology*, 13(3), 279-301.
- ^{xiv} Data on international public opinion is from six multinational surveys: Ipsos-Public Affairs surveys from December 6, 2005 of nine countries; The 2006 study *What Ghanians are Thinking?*; June 2006 surveys of The

US, China and India by the Chicago Council on Global Affairs, Asia Society and East Asia Institute; The October 19, 2006 survey of 25 countries; a June 24, 2008 survey of 19 countries by World Public Opinion; and a December 12, 2008 survey of 22 countries by World Public Opinion. We report the average result in cases of multiple surveys in the same country.