

# RUNNING ON

# HATE

## COUNCIL CANDIDATE WANTS MOSQUES BANNED

**Candidate under fire for calling Islam 'antithesis of Constitution'**

**'Islamophobia' charge rocks Michigan governor debate**

Gov. Rick Warren, D-Mich., was given a 60-second rebuttal against the Perennial Politics Commission candidate on a Tuesday night special election. Warren was given the chance to respond to the charge that he called Islam "antithesis of Constitution" during a debate on Monday afternoon. Judge Erik McCall said Warren's remark was "inappropriate" and "insulting" to Muslims.

Warren's remark "did not do justice to the diversity of Islam," said Michigan Attorney General Bill Schuette. Warren's remark was "inappropriate" and "insulting" to Muslims, said Michigan Attorney General Bill Schuette.

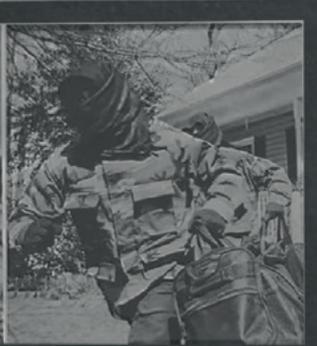
**Tapio questions religious freedom for Muslims**

**SD lawmaker: Interfaith dialogue is 'part of a war'**

Sen. Dan Claitor, R-Mo., said he would support a bill to ban the construction of new mosques in Missouri.

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### AD FOR VIRGINIA LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CANDIDATE



Ad for Virginia lieutenant governor candidate Brock Pierce (center left).

**Oklahoma candidate to Muslims: 'Do you beat your wife?'**

"Do you beat your wife?" said one question on the form an assistant gave them. "Do you denounce the terrorist organization Hamas?" was another.

Higgins. This little booklet comes with a survey and a list of questions which will be presented on certain occasions when no children's participation is required.

Sen. Dan Claitor, R-Mo., said he would support a bill to ban the construction of new mosques in Missouri.

## GOP CANDIDATE READY TO PROTECT MINNESOTA FROM MUSLIM CONTROL

**MICHIGAN CANDIDATE CRITICIZED OVER ANTI-MUSLIM REMARK**

**Muslims in Georgia 6th Worry About Baiting by GOP**

A SQUAD round table discussion on a party given the day after the election. Brock Higgins was being investigated, like other candidates, for making anti-Muslim remarks.

Sen. Dan Claitor, R-Mo., said he would support a bill to ban the construction of new mosques in Missouri.

**IOWA CONGRESSMAN SINGLES OUT SOMALI MUSLIMS OVER PORN**

Sen. Dan Claitor, R-Mo., said he would support a bill to ban the construction of new mosques in Missouri.

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Muslim Advocates is a national legal advocacy and educational organization that works on the frontlines of civil rights to guarantee freedom and justice for Americans of all faiths.

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# **RUNNING ON HATE**

**2018 Pre-Election Report**

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# 01

## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

For years, a small yet resilient anti-Muslim conspiracy has lived on the margins of American politics with a beachhead on the fringes of the Republican Party: that there is an imminent Muslim threat aiming to take over the country through both violent and non-violent means.

This fringe has had modest electoral success for years, with several standard-bearers in Congress and statehouses, but the election of Donald Trump put one of their own in the White House for the very first time. Trump parroted the signature conspiracies, chapter and verse: suggesting that former President Barack Obama is a secret Muslim; that Syrian refugees are actually a “trojan horse” army and perhaps even “one of the great tactical ploys of all time;” that he would consider closing and surveilling mosques and setting up a Muslim registry; that Arab Americans in New Jersey celebrated 9/11; that Muslims “hate us” and “are sick people;” he blamed American and immigrant Muslims for terrorism; famously pursued a “total and complete shutdown” of Muslim entry into the United States; and instituted his infamous Muslim Ban—an indefinite ban on people from several predominantly-Muslim countries.<sup>1</sup>

Trump’s candidacy, election, and presidency emboldened a new wave of anti-Muslim conspiracy theorists to run for office nationwide and at all levels of government, trying to capitalize on a deeply false premise: that smearing Muslims is a successful campaign strategy. **As *Running on Hate* will show, it is not. It is a losing strategy.**

This pre-election report attempts to make sense of this new wave of anti-Muslim conspiracy theorists by documenting their campaigns, their messages, their wins and their losses. It also dives deep into original public opinion research to understand the narrow sliver of the electorate these candidates hope to influence. After the November 2018 election is complete, Muslim Advocates will update this report with the results of the general election and a deeper and fuller look at the records of the longtime anti-Muslim conspiracy standard bearers.

TRUMP’S  
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GOVERNMENT.**

By far, the results of this study indicate that core anti-Muslim voters are a small and hostile segment of the electorate, and candidates' attempts to vilify American Muslims, in an attempt to increase vote totals actually have the opposite effect: *they lose more votes than they gain, even among conservatives. While anti-Muslim candidates have a constituency within the Republican Party, they are simply out of step with the vast majority of Americans.*

These candidates are no gadflies. Candidates who have already held elected or appointed office and in every region, every level of office, and in blue and red districts have openly pedaled fear of Muslims in 2017 and 2018 elections.

**Most of them are on track to lose, if they haven't already.** Of the 80 anti-Muslim candidates we identified, only 11 – 14 percent – were elected or are safely projected to win their elections in November 2018, according to Cook Political Report's forecasting of congressional and gubernatorial races. Almost all of them are incumbents and many of even the longest-term standard bearers of this ideology are facing historically low poll numbers.

Original public opinion research conducted by Probolsky Research for Muslim Advocates illustrates why anti-Muslim bigotry isn't a viable political strategy. Our survey of 1,000 voters shows that only slivers of the electorate prefer to vote for hypothetical candidates running on anti-Muslim platforms. Message testing surveyed typical claims that Muslims "don't fit in," "need to change their faith and culture," and "are a threat to this country and our Christian values" against more inclusive statements that "Muslims in America should not have to change their faith or culture to be welcomed here or "are just as American as you and me." The results were stunning: even Trump voters preferred the candidate who defended Muslims, and so did super-majorities from both parties and of almost every demographic and region.

Many candidates faced serious repercussions from voters and a backlash from even members of their own party. Some faced recalls and pressure to withdraw, or their entire campaign became largely defined by their anti-Muslim rhetoric.

American Muslim candidates were subjected to scathing attacks and threats, armed protesters at their events, and direct threats. Non-Muslim candidates, who associated with Muslims or visited mosques, were also targeted. These attacks were levied by candidates, but also anonymous actors, super PACs, and anti-Muslim media.

SUPER-MAJORITIES FROM BOTH PARTIES, OF EVERY  
DEMOGRAPHIC AND REGION, PREFERRED THE CANDIDATE  
WHO DEFENDED MUSLIMS. **EVEN TRUMP VOTERS.**

**MANY CANDIDATES  
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FROM VOTERS AND A  
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BEHIND MANY OF  
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MUSLIMS.

This rhetoric isn't just bigoted fanaticism. Our analysis of this rhetoric shows that behind many of these seemingly inane rants is a sophisticated effort to deny basic religious freedoms and protections to American Muslims by casting the community as outsiders and even attempting to redefine Islam as something other than a religion.

It is also dangerous. Independent studies have tied the intense anti-Muslim rhetoric to a sharp uptick in hate crimes against American Muslims since 2015, when Trump began his presidential campaign, including threats of violence, vandalism, and assaults on American Muslims.<sup>2 3 4</sup>

This widespread vilification of American Muslims will not lead to significant gains in newly elected anti-Muslim candidates in the 2017 or 2018 elections, but these candidates are building influence within the Republican Party nonetheless.

As this research shows, candidates who decide to trumpet their fanaticism or pursue anti-Muslim policies once in office will likely pay a price at the ballot box. American Muslims will also suffer in ways that are much deeper. They will continue to face heightened threats to their safety and their basic rights, as Americans will continue to be attacked.

# 02

## METHODOLOGY

### Polling and Field Focus Groups

For the methodology behind our polling and field focus groups, see Appendix III.

### Analysis and Tracking of Anti-Muslim Campaign Rhetoric

This analysis quantifies and describes known instances of clear anti-Muslim political rhetoric from electoral candidates in the 2017 and 2018 elections taking place before October 5, 2018. It does not take into account candidates' records prior to the November 2016 election nor does it take into account anti-Muslim bigotry for officials not running for re-election until 2019 or 2020.

Other instances of anti-Muslim hostility, like anonymous threats or acts of vandalism against Muslim candidates or efforts to sway voters from anonymous or independent activists, bigoted media outlets, party committees, or super PACs barred from coordinating with campaigns are not included in total counts but are sometimes referenced in narrative portions of the text.

After the general election in 2018, this analysis will be updated with a new set of election results. All candidates included in our count are indexed with citations in Appendix I.

For all congressional and gubernatorial elections and primaries, anti-Muslim activity was systematically researched, tracked, and analyzed by conducting searches of the internet and pertinent news articles as well as candidates' websites and position statements.

Searches relied on keywords about Islam or associated with known themes of anti-Muslim campaigns and included "Muslim," "Islam," "Sharia," "terrorism," and "mosque." In order to meet the standard of "anti-Muslim rhetoric," statements must meet one of the following criteria:

- *It is a clear distortion of facts related to the nature of Islam or Muslims.* For example, claiming Islam is not a religion, that President Obama is a Muslim, or that Islam as a faith requires committing violence.
- *It contains clear slurs or hostility toward Muslims.* For example, charging that Muslims are unwelcome or unwanted or that Islam is incompatible with American values.
- *It vastly overstates or invents threats posed by Muslims.* For example, raising the specter of Sharia law in America or that credible American Muslim organizations and/or activists are coordinating with terrorist groups or are terrorists themselves.
- *It advocates for policies that would be clear and unequivocal denials of basic constitutional protections for American Muslims, particularly freedom of worship.* For example, proposals to ban mosques, a religious test for citizenship, declaring that Muslims are ineligible to run for office, or a registry of Muslims.
- *A candidate appeared at an event or touted the endorsement of anti-Muslim hate groups or activists that have been documented to engage in this rhetoric.*

Other clear instances of bias against communities often used as proxies for Muslims or often confused with Muslims were also considered in this report, including refugees, Sikhs, and people of Arab, South Asian or North African descent.

The total number of candidates and anecdotes included in this report's findings is conservative. Due to the large volume of races, and potentially countless voter interactions from candidates and their surrogates and activists, this research cannot be fully exhaustive of all candidates, all of their statements, and all races. However, it captures cases that received local news coverage.

'candidate under fire for calling Islam 'antithesis of Constitution'

'Islamophobia' charge rocks Michigan governor debate

AD FOR VIRGINIA LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CANDIDATE  
GOP CANDIDATE READY TO PROTECT MISSOURI

# 03

## THE GRAND MUSLIM CONSPIRACY, DEFINED

The candidates we profile in our report – knowingly or not – are propagating a false, bigoted, and dangerous conspiracy theory promoted by anti-Muslim groups for years, that:

- *Islam is not actually a religion deserving of constitutional protections but a violent, foreign and un-American terrorist political ideology that represents an immediate harm to the country.*
- *Muslims are an immediate and real physical threat, and there's a conspiracy amongst American mosques, Muslim activists, organizations, politicians, and their allies – and even Barack Obama – to take over the government and replace the Constitution with Sharia law.*
- *The nation must immediately act to ban, track, surveil or even kill these individuals.*

Standard-bearers of this ideology have had toe-holds on fringes of Congress and in statehouses nationwide for some years and are responsible for introducing unpopular and rarely enacted bans on Sharia or on refugees and efforts to designate legitimate American Muslim organizations as terrorist groups. These officials and these conspiracy theories are supported by a broad range of anti-Muslim organizations devoted to advancing these claims in the public dialogue.<sup>5</sup>

President Trump fluently recited some of the most inflammatory claims during the 2016 campaign and many more anti-Muslim candidates have attempted to capitalize on this rhetoric during the 2017 and 2018 elections.

This is more than just shrill and offensive rhetoric. Behind this fear mongering lies a coherent strategy developed by anti-Muslim organizations devised to:

- Invalidate Islam as a religion in the eyes of Americans and the Constitution, which would subsequently deny Muslims the basic religious freedoms and civil rights protections entitled to them under law.
- Fan flames of bigotry against American Muslims, thereby scaring them from exercising their constitutional rights to worship, run for office, vote, and simply participate in society and American democracy.

### ANTI-MUSLIM CAMPAIGN ATTACKS IN THE 2017 AND 2018 ELECTIONS



As this report documents, this rhetoric is widespread. In addition to offensive slurs and threats, we found vast overstatements or lies about the terrorist threat posed by American and immigrant Muslims: that American Muslims and their allies (including President Obama) are secretly in league to “take over” the United States and institute Sharia law, that Islam is not even a religion but is instead a violent political ideology, and that in order to stop this threat, we must ban and surveil American Muslims, refugees and mosques.

## Anti-Muslim Political Advertisements

During the 2017 and 2018 election cycle, we found five different anti-Muslim video advertisements. Three of the ads claimed that non-Muslim candidates were in league with an international terrorist conspiracy. The Congressional Leadership Fund is the only super PAC that could be located funding anti-Muslim advertisements and is responsible for two of them.

- 1 The Congressional Leadership Fund ran an ad in support of Georgia congressional candidate Karen Handel attacking her opponent for working as a documentarian for the Al Jazeera news network: “Al Jazeera, a media outlet that has been described as a mouthpiece for terrorists, has been paying Jon Ossoff thousands of dollars.” Handel’s campaign echoed these charges on her website.

Source: *Congressional Leadership Fund*

- 2 The Congressional Leadership Fund also ran an ad in support of Rep. Dave Brat (R-VA) attacking his opponent – a CIA officer – for serving as a substitute teacher at a local Muslim school: “Spanberger doesn’t want us to know she taught at an Islamic school nicknamed ‘terror high,’ a terrorist breeding ground.” The ad closes with “Abigail Spanberger cashed ‘terror high’ checks.” Brat and his campaign echoed these claims.

Source: *Congressional Leadership Fund*

- 3 A California congressman ran an ad declaring that his non-Muslim opponent is attempting to “infiltrate” Congress as part of a conspiracy with “The Muslim Brotherhood,” and alleged that he even changed his name to hide terrorist ties.

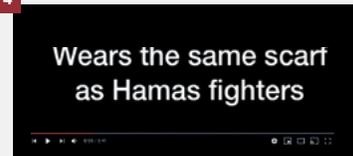
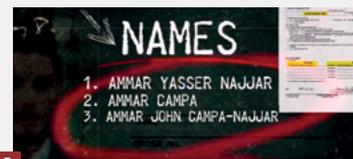
Source: *Duncan Hunter for Congress*

- 4 South Dakota congressional candidate Neal Tapio’s low-budget ad warns that the founder of a Sioux Falls mosque has worn a similar scarf to photographed Hamas fighters. The ad ends “Should we be concerned?”

Source: *Neal Tapio for Congress*

- 5 Virginia Lieutenant Governor candidate Bryce Reeves ran an ad featuring ISIS fighters burglarizing an upper class suburban home as a mother watched over her children in terror. Reeves’ voiceover states “This is the America Obama left behind...terrorists living here, FBI investigating ISIS nationwide, frightening families.”

Source: *Reeves for Lieutenant Governor*



'candidate under fire for calling Islam 'antithesis of Constitution'

'Islamophobia' charge rocks Michigan governor debate

AD FOR VIRGINIA LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CANDIDATE  
GOP CANDIDATE READY TO PROTECT MINNESOTA

# 04

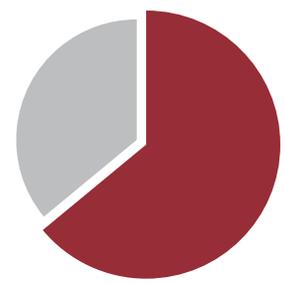
## THE CONSPIRACY CANDIDATES OF 2017 AND 2018

WE UNCOVERED ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDATES IN URBAN, RURAL, AND SUBURBAN JURISDICTIONS; IN EVERY REGION OF THE COUNTRY, IN PROGRESSIVE, CONSERVATIVE AND SWING DISTRICTS; AND AT EVERY LEVEL OF GOVERNMENT – FROM LOCAL SCHOOL AND PLANNING BOARDS UP TO GOVERNOR AND CONGRESS.

Our review of elections across the nation found that anti-Muslim rhetoric is widespread in American campaigns. We uncovered anti-Muslim candidates in urban, rural, and suburban jurisdictions; in every region of the country, in progressive, conservative and swing districts; and at every level of government – from local school and planning boards up to governor and Congress. Our analysis found 80 separate instances of clear anti-Muslim political rhetoric being directly used by candidates in 2017 and 2018 races. We also found anonymous actors and outside groups using particularly harsh attacks against Muslim and non-Muslim candidates.

Contrary to a common misperception that anti-Muslim rhetoric is confined to gadflies or outsiders, 64 percent of candidates pushing these conspiracies have either previously held electoral or appointed office or have a presidential endorsement.

CREDIBLE CANDIDATES ARE TRUMPETING ANTI-MUSLIM CONSPIRACIES



# 64%

of anti-Muslim conspiracy candidates are already seasoned elected or appointed officials or have a presidential endorsement.

## ALMOST ALL **ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDATES** ARE **REPUBLICANS**



The use of anti-Muslim rhetoric is almost entirely the province of the Republican Party. **Of the 73 races where a candidate’s party affiliation could be positively identified, all but two were GOP members.** The outliers were a Democratic district attorney from Bexar County, Texas<sup>6</sup> and an independent candidate for mayor of New York City.<sup>7</sup>

Half of these candidates (40) were running for Congress, 15 were seeking municipal or county office, 15 ran for governor or for another statewide office, and 10 ran for state legislature.

### Many in the GOP Reject Anti-Muslim Rhetoric

Despite the overwhelming majority of anti-Muslim candidates coming from the Republican Party, many GOP officials have condemned and rejected anti-Muslim comments and candidacies.

“...the party isn’t interested in peddling any conspiracy theories and anything he said was not on behalf of the party... We categorically condemn any sort of hate speech, regardless of the source.”

**Sarah Anderson**, spokesperson for the Michigan GOP, in response to anti-Muslim gubernatorial candidate Pat Colbeck.

“[Governor Hogan] has not and will never endorse John Grasso for anything.”

Maryland’s Republican Governor **Larry Hogan**’s campaign responding to anti-Muslim Facebook posts by a county councilman, John Grasso.

“There is no religious test to participate in the Republican caucus.”

**Jennifer Carnahan**, chairwoman of the Minnesota GOP in response to state legislators claiming that Muslims were attempting to “infiltrate” the Republican party.

“It must be said that his statements are not the values and views of the Douglas County Republican Party.”

Facebook post of the **Douglas County, Nebraska Republican party** withdrawing its support from anti-Muslim Omaha city council candidate Paul Anderson.

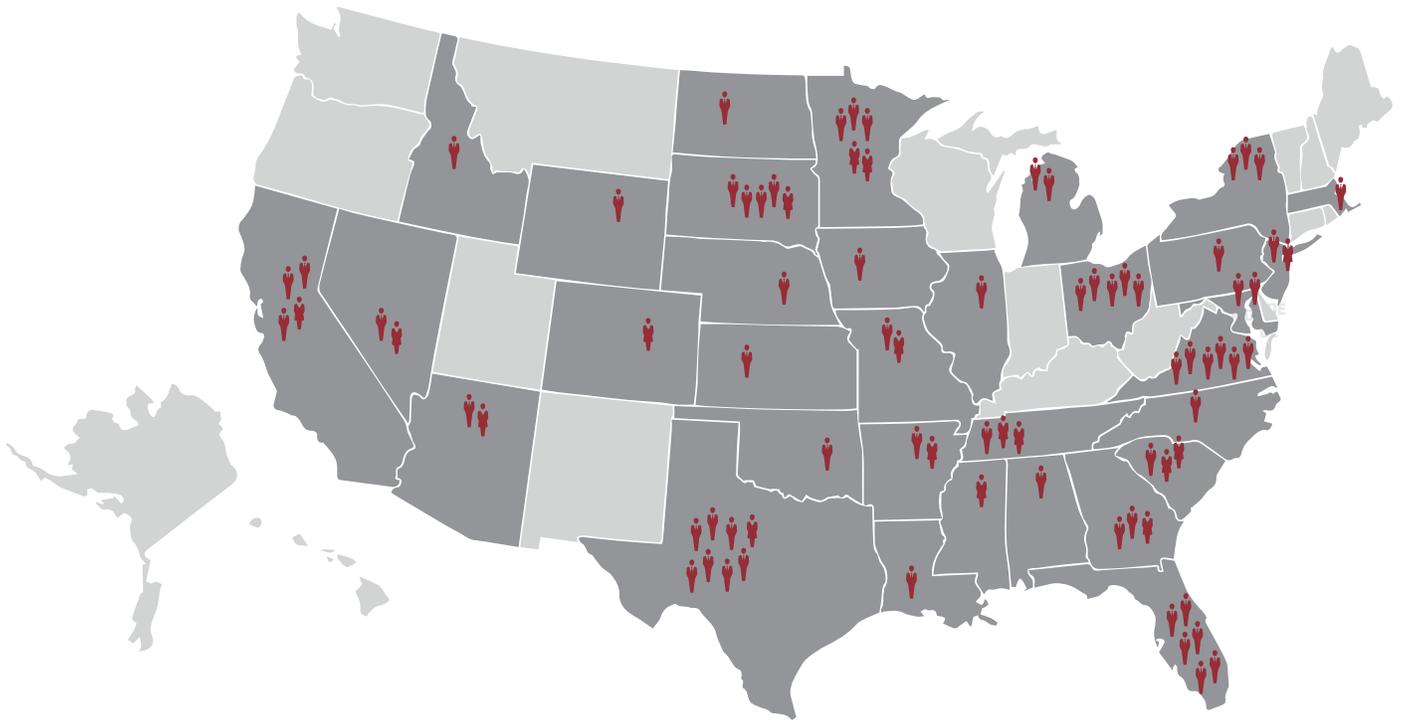
“I don’t believe Gary is fit to be a U.S. Senator.”

**Jamal Omar**, co-chairman of the North Dakota College Republicans responds to anti-Muslim Senate candidate Gary Emineth.

At the municipal level, the 15 anti-Muslim candidates in our sample were in cities of all sizes: New York City; San Antonio, TX; Sioux Falls, SD; Omaha, NE; Pearland, TX; Kalkaska, MI; Walpole, MA; and Germantown, OH and ran for offices as diverse as mayor, district attorney, city council, school board, and planning board.

Overall, campaigns using defamatory language against Muslims were located in 33 states, including liberal and urban states like New York, New Jersey, California, and Massachusetts, as well as rural and conservative states like Arkansas, South Dakota, and Wyoming.

## ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDATES ARE RUNNING NATIONWIDE



The states with the most anti-Muslim candidates were Texas with eight; followed by Virginia and Florida with six; then South Dakota, Minnesota and Ohio with five each; four in California; three in South Carolina, Georgia, New York, and Tennessee; and two each in Arizona, Arkansas, Maryland, Michigan, Missouri, Nevada, New Jersey, and Missouri.

## STATES WITH THE MOST ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDATES



## ELECTION *IN FOCUS*

### 2017 Bexar County, Texas District Attorney Race



Bexar County, TX District Attorney Nico LaHood, an anti-Muslim incumbent, is the only Democrat in our sample of races. LaHood characterized Islam as “basically a political system wrapped in a religion” and one that, when strictly followed, could produce only terrorists. He lost in the Democratic Primary to challenger Joe Gonzalez by a full 20 points.<sup>8</sup>

## ELECTION *IN FOCUS*

### Virginia’s Anti-Muslim Losing Streak



All four of Virginia’s statewide races in 2017 and a 2018 congressional race have or had anti-Muslim candidates on the ballot.

- Despite aggressively courting Muslim voters in a previous statewide election, Virginia gubernatorial candidate Ed Gillespie changed course in 2017 and pursued, secured, and publicized the endorsement of a Virginia Beach leader of ACT for America, the largest anti-Muslim hate group in the country. After being asked about the activist’s affiliation, Gillespie continued to trumpet this anti-Muslim endorsement.<sup>9</sup>
- State Sen. Bryce Reeves, who lost a close GOP primary for lieutenant governor, ran a sensationalist ad featuring masked and black-clad ISIS terrorists invading and burglarizing a home in Northern Virginia, with the blonde mother of a young family witnessing in shock. The ad’s voiceover by Reeves cites a familiar refrain of fear mongering candidates, invoking “terrorists living here, FBI investigating ISIS nationwide, frightening families.”<sup>10</sup>

Virginia Lieutenant Governor candidate Bryce Reeves runs an ad featuring ISIS fighters burglarizing an upper class suburban home as a mother watches over her children in terror. Reeves’ voiceover states, “This is the America Obama left behind...terrorists living here, FBI investigating ISIS nationwide, frightening families.”

Source: Raw Story



An ad for Virginia lieutenant governor candidate Bryce Reeves (Screen cap).

- At a GOP attorney general candidate forum, noted by the *Roanoke Times* for its usual civility, candidate Chuck Smith harshly attacked mosques, Muslims, and refugees in his closing statement, declaring that “we don’t need more Muslims or mosques or refugee resettlements until we protect the citizens we’ve got.” Smith claimed that the U.S. Constitution has never “been more at risk.”<sup>11</sup> A few weeks later, the state GOP sent out a campaign email with the subject line: “BREAKING: Mark Herring’s Terrorist Connection,” that targeted incumbent Democratic Attorney General Mark Herring for visiting a mosque.<sup>12</sup>

Virginia GOP attacks state attorney general Mark Herring for visiting a mosque by releasing a collage of his face alongside armed terrorists.  
 Source: WUSA9



- Pastor E.W. Jackson, who was the Republican Party’s nominee for Virginia lieutenant governor in 2013, lost his party’s 2018 primary for the U.S. Senate after blaming Muslims for slavery<sup>13</sup> and trying to tie his opponent (who is also anti-Muslim) to the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>14</sup>
- Campaigns still pending in the November general election with anti-Muslim rhetoric include a congressional district where a non-Muslim candidate is being attacked for having been a substitute teacher at a local Muslim school that opponents have labeled “terror high” and “openly anti-American, anti-women, anti-Israel, anti-Semitic and anti-Christian.” The attacks also cross state boundaries. A nominee for the U.S. Senate attacked a Muslim candidate in Michigan as an “ISIS commie.”<sup>15</sup>

Congressional Leadership Fund ad in support of Rep. Dave Brat (R-VA) attacking his opponent —a CIA officer— for serving as a substitute teacher at a local Muslim school: “Spanberger doesn’t want us to know she taught at an Islamic school nicknamed ‘terror high,’ a terrorist breeding ground.” The ad closes with “Abigail Spanberger cashed ‘terror high’ checks.” Brat and his campaign echo these claims.  
 Source: Congressional Leadership Fund



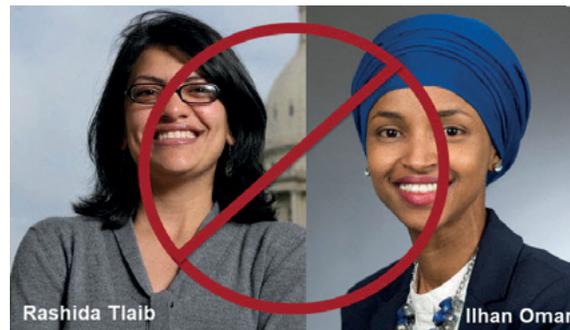
# 05

## AMERICAN MUSLIM CANDIDATES UNDER ATTACK

**Editor’s Note:** This section includes references to several anecdotes that were excluded from the quantitative analysis of rhetoric from candidates. Anecdotes referenced in this section include threats against Muslim candidates, attempts to sway voters conducted by anonymous actors, anti-Muslim activists, and media outlets.

Since the 2016 election, a surge of American Muslim candidates have run for office in what some media outlets have dubbed the “Blue Muslim Wave.” The *Washington Post* reports that over 90 Muslims are running for elected office across the country.<sup>16</sup> Many of them are being viciously attacked for their religion, as are non-Muslim candidates who associate with American Muslims. Often the most vicious smears and threats come from outside groups, including anti-Muslim activists, organizations, media outlets, PACs, and anonymous actors.

History-making candidates Rashida Tlaib and Ilhan Omar, who will likely be the nation’s first Muslim congresswomen, have been viciously attacked not by their opponents, but by anti-Muslim activists and media outlets. Tlaib has been attacked as a “radical Islamist” for having worked with mainstream American Muslim organizations<sup>17</sup> and Omar has been smeared with accusations of incest, anti-Semitism, and supporting terrorist groups.<sup>18</sup> A joint event they hosted was crashed by an anti-Muslim activist who called them “jihadis” and screamed numerous conspiracies about Muslims, incest, and genital mutilation and claimed that mainstream American Muslim groups are terrorist organizations.<sup>19</sup>



Anti-Muslim hate group United West echoes anti-Muslim conspiracies against the incoming first Muslim congresswomen and promotes a graphic of both women with a red slash over them.  
Source: *The United West*

Congressman Keith Ellison (MN-05) has continued to face attacks from anti-Muslim media outlets<sup>20</sup> and activists<sup>21</sup> throughout the election cycle during both his run for Democratic National Committee Chairman and for Minnesota Attorney General.<sup>22</sup> Elsewhere in Minnesota, two State Representatives up for re-election in 2018 shared a Facebook post by a local Republican party official claiming that Muslims were attempting to “infiltrate” the GOP caucus.<sup>23</sup> Their scare mongering drew swift rebukes from the chair of the Minnesota Republican Party, who said that “There is no religious test to participate in the Republican caucus,”<sup>24</sup> and the Liberty Caucus of the state party even opted to hold its convention at the Bloomington mosque that was bombed by militia members in 2017.<sup>25</sup>

In Michigan, gubernatorial candidate Pat Colbeck accused a potential opponent Dr. Abdul El-Sayed of having ties to the Muslim Brotherhood. El-Sayed remained focused on the issues, regardless, stating “Michiganders are not asking how I pray, but what I pray for — and what I care about.”<sup>26</sup>

In Massachusetts, congressional candidate Tahirah Amatul-Wadud was the subject of an anonymous flyer campaign tying her to the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>27</sup>

In Alaska, when local Muslim community leader Gregory Jones filed to run in the Democratic congressional primary, a right wing organization called him a member of a “Jihadi Cult.”<sup>28</sup>



Anti-Muslim hate group attacks an American Muslim congressional candidate from Alaska as a “Jihadi Cult Member.” *Source: Clarion Project*

Deedra Abboud, an attorney and candidate for U.S. Senate in Arizona was subjected to an onslaught of anti-Muslim comments on Facebook;<sup>29</sup> had armed protesters at her events; and told the Associated Press that, “I’m a strong believer that we have to face this rhetoric... We can’t ignore it or pretend like it’s a fringe element anymore. We have to let the ugly face show so that we can decide if that is us.”<sup>30</sup>

In Raleigh, North Carolina, City Council Candidate Zainab Baloch had a campaign sign defaced with “Sand ni----”, “Trump”, and a swastika. The Wake County Republican Party condemned the slurs as “disgusting and vile.”<sup>31</sup>

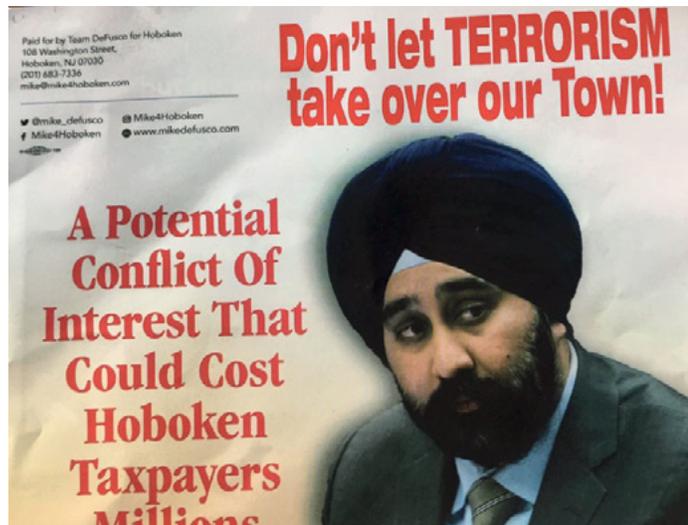
Zainab Baloch, a city council candidate for Raleigh, NC, had her sign defaced with an anti-Muslim slur, a swastika, and the word “Trump.” *Source: Indy Week*



The list of attacks Muslim candidates face goes on: in Florida, a poll from an opposition candidate asked potential voters how they would feel about having a Muslim city councilperson,<sup>32</sup> and, in Minnesota, an anonymous threat to “execute” a Muslim candidate for Mayor.<sup>33</sup> In Texas, State Representative and candidate for U.S. House, Jonathan Stickland, found it necessary to warn residents of the rural town of Eules that one of the candidates for City Council was Muslim. That candidate, an immigrant and attorney by the name of Salman Bhojani, subsequently won his race.<sup>34</sup>

Non-Muslim candidates of South Asian descent were targeted alongside American Muslims. In New Jersey, flyers were distributed with calls to deport two Asian American candidates for school board,<sup>35</sup> and, in Hoboken, the city’s first Sikh mayor was elected after anonymous flyers bearing his photo were distributed with the message “Don’t let TERRORISM take over our town!”<sup>36</sup>

Sikh candidate for mayor of Hoboken, NJ attacked in anonymous flyers proclaiming “Don’t let TERRORISM take over our Town!” *Source: NJ.com*



In California,<sup>37</sup> Massachusetts,<sup>38</sup> and Virginia,<sup>39</sup> candidates were targeted for visiting mosques. In Florida, a gubernatorial candidate was attacked for associating with an American Muslim organization.<sup>40</sup> A Georgia congressional candidate was attacked repeatedly by a super PAC and his opponent for having worked as a contractor for the Middle East-based news channel Al Jazeera.<sup>41</sup>

**NON-MUSLIM  
CANDIDATES ALSO  
FACE BACKLASH SIMPLY  
FOR ASSOCIATING  
WITH MUSLIMS.**

**Dem Candidate Held Event With Nation of Islam Members Outside Radical Mosque**

**Pressley upset Capuano in primary shocker**

BY: Alex Griswold [Follow @HashtagGriswold](#)  
September 7, 2018 4:58 am

Democratic congressional candidate Ayanna Pressley appeared outside a mosque that has played host to numerous radical figures during her primary campaign this year.

Dr. Wesley Muhammad gave a [lecture](#) at



The image shows a screenshot of a news article. On the left, there are social media sharing buttons for Facebook (SHARE), Twitter (TWEET), and Email (EMAIL). Below these is a photograph of Ayanna Pressley speaking at a podium with a blue sign that says 'AYANNA PRESSLEY'. To the right of the photo, the article text is visible, including the author's name 'Alex Griswold', the date 'September 7, 2018 4:58 am', and a short paragraph about Pressley's event at a mosque. A link to a lecture by Dr. Wesley Muhammad is also present.

Unopposed Massachusetts congressional candidate Ayanna Pressley (D-MA) was attacked by an anti-Muslim blog for visiting a historic Boston mosque.  
*Source: Washington Free Beacon*

A California congressional candidate ran ads accusing his non-Muslim opponent of changing his name to hide his Palestinian heritage and trying to “infiltrate Congress” in a “well-orchestrated plan” with the Muslim Brotherhood.<sup>42</sup> He also deeply embraced anti-Muslim conspiracy theories by declaring that “radical Islamists propaganda [is] being pushed on the kids in our San Diego school district,”<sup>43</sup> and that Islam “is not just a religion,” but is instead a “government,” comparing “Republicans, Democrats, Islamists.”<sup>44</sup>



Rep. Duncan Hunter’s (R-CA) ad declaring that his opponent, Ammar Campa-Najjar, is attempting to “infiltrate” Congress and even changed his name to hide his affiliation with the Muslim Brotherhood. *Source: Duncan Hunter for Congress*



# 06

## A SMALL AND HOSTILE SLIVER

Polling and research conducted for this study by Probolsky Research quantified voters' opposition to hate speech against Muslims. While this rhetoric appeals to a small and hostile sliver of the electorate, voters of all backgrounds – including the GOP – solidly reject this kind of fear mongering.

This suggests that Trump and similar candidates either earnestly believe this rhetoric, are relying on deeply inflaming this small minority of voters and hoping the rest simply look the other way, or are not making their decisions based on data.

So how big is this sliver? In order to get the most honest answers, our survey of 1,000 voters asked a variety of questions to find out. Some questions were direct, for instance asking if voters would be more or less likely to vote for a candidate who “speaks negatively about Muslims,” or if they think speaking negatively about Muslims is appropriate, or even “what is your impression of Muslims.” We also tested debates between a hypothetical candidate using anti-Muslim messages that “Muslims are a threat to this country” or don’t “fit in” versus an inclusive pro-Muslim message about religious freedom or Muslims being “just as American as you or me.” Full questions and responses mentioned here are available in Appendix III.

### Voters' impressions of Muslims

Our polling of voters' general impressions of Muslims shows mostly neutral or positive views on the community, but the sliver of anti-Muslim voters is especially susceptible to this messaging.

For example, 41.4 percent of those surveyed were unable to identify a well-known American Muslim, with the late Muhammad Ali being the most well-known by far, with 25.1 percent. The lie propagated by conspiracy candidates that President Obama is a Muslim has proven to be resilient with a narrow slice of the electorate, as 3.8 percent of all respondents named him, making him the most prominent living person listed – despite Obama not being Muslim.

VOTERS OF ALL  
BACKGROUNDS  
– INCLUDING THE GOP –  
**SOLIDLY REJECT  
THIS KIND OF FEAR  
MONGERING**

OUR POLLING OF VOTERS' GENERAL IMPRESSIONS OF MUSLIMS SHOWS MOSTLY NEUTRAL OR POSITIVE VIEWS ON THE COMMUNITY, BUT **THE SLIVER OF ANTI-MUSLIM VOTERS IS ESPECIALLY SUSCEPTIBLE TO THIS MESSAGING**

Of those polled, a solid majority overall — 57.6 percent — said they had a neutral impression of Muslims, regarding them like anyone else. Another 17.9 percent said they have a positive impression of the community. Of all respondents, only 7 percent reported a generally negative impression with additional voters responding to the question directly with conspiracy messaging, including:

- 1.8 percent saying Islam is not a religion;
- 1.2 percent saying Muslims are “different;”
- 1.0 percent calling them “terrorists;” and
- 0.4 percent saying Muslims should leave the United States.

**Anti-Muslim messaging falls flat**

In practice, this rhetoric is deeply unpopular. We asked voters to consider a hypothetical debate between two candidates with only one characteristic differentiating the two, one used an anti-Muslim message and the other a pro-Muslim message. Voters consistently and overwhelmingly reported that the pro-Muslim candidate won the debate. This was true regardless of demographics, region, and partisan affiliation. Even Trump voters sided with the pro-Muslim message.

EVEN **TRUMP VOTERS** SIDED WITH THE **PRO-MUSLIM MESSAGE**

## Candidates debate

### Parker v. Griffin

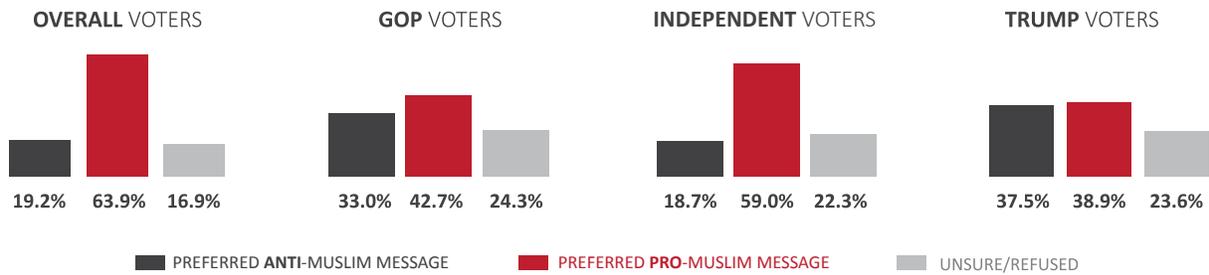
In this debate, Parker’s position that Muslims are “just as American as you and me” was the clear winner with 63.9 percent of the vote. Griffin’s warning that Muslims are a “threat to this country” only garnered 19.2 percent. Even in a hypothetical GOP primary where only Republican voters were counted, Parker would still win 42.7 percent to 33 percent.

“Muslims have been in America since this country was founded, and they are just as American as you and me.”

PARKER’S PRO-MUSLIM POSITION

“Muslims are a threat to this country and our Christian values.”

GRIFFIN’S ANTI-MUSLIM POSITION



### Miller v. Johnson

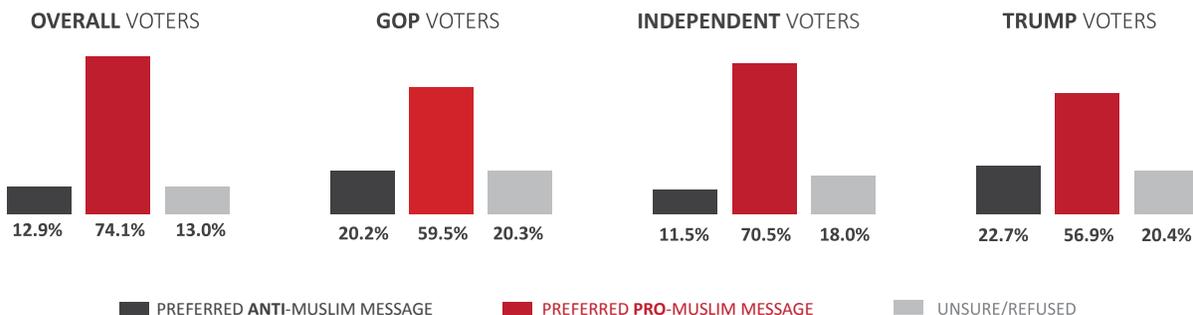
Miller’s pro-Muslim religious freedom messaging was the overwhelming favorite with 74.1 percent of the vote. Only 12.9 percent preferred Johnson’s appeal to Judeo-Christian nationalism. Even if this were a hypothetical GOP primary, Miller would have dominated; among GOP voters, only 20.2 percent preferred the anti-Muslim message.

“Our nation’s founders deeply believe in religious freedom. Muslims in America should not have to change their faith or culture to be welcomed here. Discrimination against Muslims or any other religious group is wrong.”

MILLER’S PRO-MUSLIM POSITION

“Judeo-Christian values are fundamental to this country and Muslims don’t fit in. Muslims in America need to change their faith and culture or go back home. It may sound harsh, but I tell it like it is.”

JOHNSON’S ANTI-MUSLIM POSITION



## Field Focus Groups

Along with our comprehensive national survey conducted via phone and internet, we invited Republican respondents to send videos of themselves describing whether and why they would be more likely to vote for or against a candidate who speaks negatively of Muslims. A total of 102 respondents participated, generating 35 minutes of video.

Republicans, who self-described as more likely to oppose a candidate who speaks negatively of Muslims stated the following:<sup>75</sup>

- Are opposed to making blanket or general negative statements about Muslims or any other identified by race, ethnicity, nationality or religion.
  - » 27-year-old woman from Springfield, MO: “If a candidate is just negatively bashing Muslims in general, I’m less likely to vote for them, 100%.”
  - » 60-year-old woman from Bakersfield, CA: “I would not vote for anybody who makes blanket statements about any one racial group.”
  - » 50-year-old woman from Woodlands, TX: “It is not right to make a blanket statement about an entire group of people.”



*“If a candidate is just negatively bashing Muslims in general, I’m less likely to vote for them, 100%.”*

**27-year-old woman** from Springfield, MO

- See anti-Muslim candidates as hostile to religion. This is especially true for individuals who cited their own Christian beliefs:
  - » 33-year-old woman from Bayonne, NJ: “I could never see myself voting for somebody that was against any kind of religion. This country is based on freedom of speech, freedom of religion, and speaking negatively about one’s belief is not what this country is founded on.”
  - » 26-year-old woman from Garland, TX: “...it’s not fair to base your whole opinion of somebody on their religion. I’ve had it done to me and I don’t appreciate it, I don’t like it as a Christian person.”
  - » 32-year-old woman from Ashburn, VA: “I don’t think it’s ok for anybody to speak negatively about another person’s religion.”
- Have distaste for prejudice of any kind, especially in politics and governance:
  - » 60-year-old man from Oklahoma City, OK: “As an American disabled veteran who’s fought alongside Muslims who are in the military to defend our Republic, anybody who’s a prejudiced \*\*\*\* needs to get out of the GOP and go to the Nazi party.”
  - » 31-year-old woman from Bonett, MO: “To me, there is no reason to speak negatively about any culture and about the way they do things.”

- Have a strong sense that Muslims are American and entitled to the same rights as any:
  - » 78-year-old woman from St. Louis, MO: “Muslims have just as much right as anyone to be in this country as long as they’re here legally.”
  - » Man from Memphis, TN: “The Muslims have a right to be here and live the way that they want to.”

While responses varied, they collectively expressed agreement that Muslims are no different than any others in the U.S. and should be afforded the same freedoms granted to persons of any other faith.

Respondents who supported anti-Muslim candidates echoed conspiracy rhetoric:<sup>76</sup>

- Anti-Muslim voters overwhelmingly justified their feelings by characterizing Muslims as killers or terrorists.
  - » 51-year-old man from Atlanta, GA: “Yes, I would vote for the President against the Muslims. The Muslims are the ones causing the problems in the United States as far as terrorism.”
  - » 43-year-old woman from Atlanta, GA: “Because Muslims were the ones that bombed the World Trade Center and started the hatred within the United States.”
  - » 40-year-old woman from Boiling Springs, SC: “I would vote for him because Muslims have come in and killed our people, and you have to be very careful about Muslims letting in other Muslims to continue to do that stuff.”
  - » 32-year-old woman from New York, NY: “They’re violent people and they’re hateful people and I think they should not be allowed in the country.”
- Some recite distrust of Muslims and their motives, and view them as inherently foreign:
  - » 70-year-old woman from Orlando, FL: “...they also want to instill Sharia law which is not supportive of a republic.”
  - » 45-year-old woman from Braselton, GA: “Most Muslims can’t be trusted and I feel like they’re here to try and ruin our country.”
  - » 46-year-old woman from Louisville, NY: “I’m very against the religion and I think that they’re not here to help us...they shouldn’t be here.”

Responses regarding Sharia law typically included comments regarding Muslims’ propensity for violence or terrorism. By and large, respondents who would support a candidate who derides Muslims would do so on the belief that Muslims are inherently dangerous people. These responses heavily correlate with conspiracy rhetoric used by anti-Muslim candidates.

RESPONDENTS WHO WOULD SUPPORT A CANDIDATE WHO DERIDES MUSLIMS WOULD DO SO ON THE BELIEF THAT **MUSLIMS ARE INHERENTLY DANGEROUS PEOPLE.**

'candidate under fire for calling Islam 'antithesis of Constitution'

AD FOR VIRGINIA LIEUTENANT GOVERNOR CANDIDATE

Oklahoma candidate to Muslims: 'Do you beat your wife?'

GOP CANDIDATE READY TO PROTECT MISSOURI

# 07

## RUNNING TO LOSE

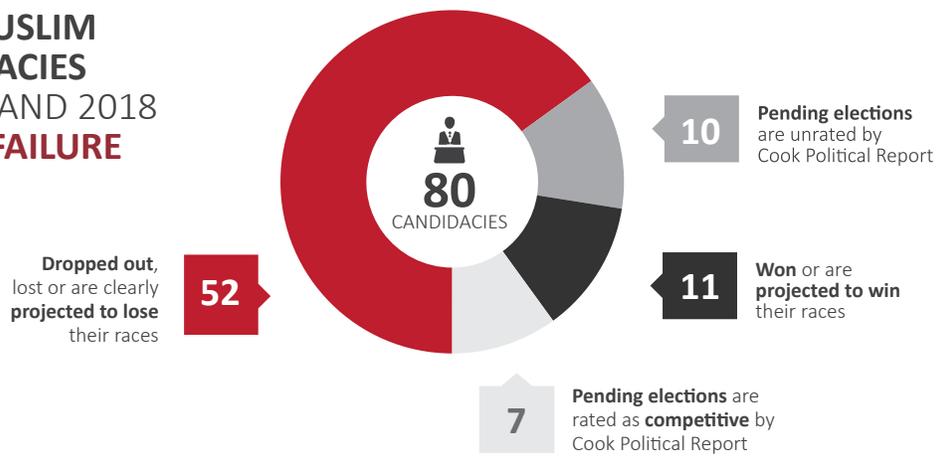
While many factors contribute to election outcomes, the vast majority of anti-Muslim campaigns have ended in failure – even with clearly credible candidates and in places where President Trump is popular.

Of the 80 candidates we found for our sample:

- Only 11 – 14 percent – have been elected or are safely projected to win their elections in November 2018, according to Cook Political Report’s forecasting of congressional and gubernatorial races. Most of them are incumbents who were already in office when Trump was elected.
- 52 candidates – 65 percent – have already lost their primaries, withdrew, were recalled, or are clearly projected to lose.
- Many conspiracy candidates were rejected in GOP primaries in states carried by President Trump in 2016, including in Florida, Georgia, Wyoming, South Dakota, Arkansas, Michigan and South Carolina.
- Several dropped out, were forced to resign, or lost amid a backlash to their rhetoric, including in statewide races in North Dakota and Tennessee and local races in Kalkaska, Michigan and Omaha, Nebraska.

THE VAST MAJORITY OF **ANTI-MUSLIM CAMPAIGNS** HAVE **ENDED IN FAILURE** – EVEN WITH CLEARLY CREDIBLE CANDIDATES AND IN PLACES WHERE PRESIDENT TRUMP IS POPULAR

### ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDACIES IN 2017 AND 2018 END IN FAILURE



THESE ARE  
**NOT JUST  
GADFLIES**

These are not just gadflies; Our analysis found 51 experienced or credible candidates running in these election years. All 51 candidates were either incumbents seeking reelection, established elected or appointed officials, or had President Trump’s endorsement. Of the 51, 26 candidates have either lost or are slated to lose in the November 2018 general election, according to the Cook Political Report, and seven are considered to be in “competitive” races, despite being in deep red jurisdictions like Texas, Kansas, and Tennessee.

**ELECTION *IN FOCUS***

**South Carolina’s 2018 GOP Primary**



Catherine Templeton is a former two-time statewide official who directed South Carolina’s departments of labor and health and was a short-list candidate for Trump’s cabinet.<sup>45</sup> Despite this, she came in third place in her GOP gubernatorial primary with only 21 percent of the vote after calling for “turning the spigot off” to refugees to stop “Islam.” When asked at her first townhall of the campaign if the advancement of Islam in the United States should be considered an “act of war,” she responded, “I believe any act of terrorism or any jihad is absolutely an act of terrorism... I think every day, as Christians, we’re having to fight in our schools, we’re having to fight about what our churches taught us, and what we believe, and what we pass on and hold dear to our children.”<sup>46</sup>

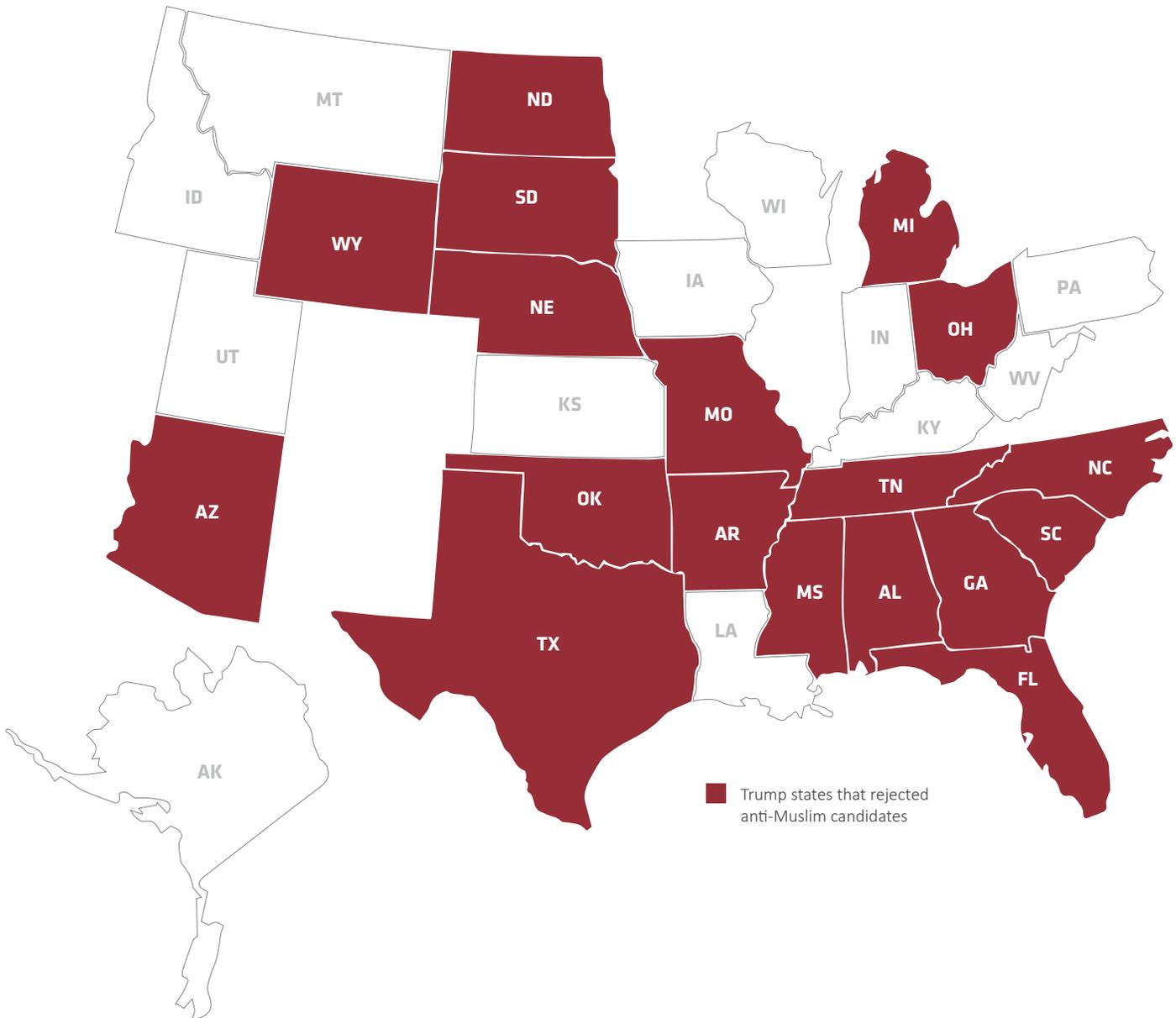


*“I believe any act of terrorism or any jihad is absolutely an act of terrorism... I think every day, as Christians, we’re having to fight in our schools...”*

**Catherine Templeton**, South Carolina gubernatorial candidate

## MOST 2016 **TRUMP STATES** HAVE REJECTED ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDATES

**Losses** occurred or are projected in **18 states that President Trump carried in the 2016 election**, including in GOP primaries and in states where anti-Muslim campaigns appear to be totally shut out of multiple races, including in South Dakota, Ohio, Missouri, and Michigan.



## Five Anti-Muslim Candidates Shut Out of South Dakota 2018 GOP Primary



In South Dakota, five anti-Muslim campaigns were completely shut out of 2018's GOP primaries, despite having several credible candidates running in a state that President Trump won with 61.5 percent of the vote.

- Secretary of State Shantel Krebs and State Senator Neal Tapio both lost their 2018 GOP congressional primary to first-time candidate Dusty Johnson. Krebs and Tapio campaigned at anti-Muslim hate events and supported a Muslim registry, but Tapio in particular staked his campaign on anti-Muslim bigotry, firing off several press releases and attacks on local interfaith groups and declaring that Islam is not a religion. His many diatribes might make him the most vocal anti-Muslim candidate of this election cycle, as he was recorded saying a terrorist attack would secure his election.<sup>47</sup> Johnson, who bested anti-Muslim Krebs and Tapio by 18 and 25 points respectively, condemned the reckless and hateful remarks of his opposition: "I think stereotyping all American Muslims is a great way to grab headlines, but a lousy way to keep us safe."

Virulently anti-Muslim South Dakota congressional candidate Neal Tapio was recorded declaring that a terrorist attack would help him win his primary, stating "all that has to happen is that there will be one more terrorist attack between now and then and I will be the, just by the Trump effect, I will be the candidate. That's the way I look at it."

Source: *HuffPost*



- South Dakota's Attorney General Marty J. Jackley lost his gubernatorial primary after campaigning at an anti-Muslim hate group event.<sup>48</sup>
- Local hate group official Ed Randazzo, a candidate for State House District 32 described Islam as "this ideology described as a religion," "an aberrant ideology already on our shores," "evil," and "an ideology that is antithetical to freedom and your well being," on Facebook.<sup>49</sup> He came in last in his three-way primary, behind the deceased incumbent who passed away from cancer two months earlier.<sup>50</sup>
- Sioux Falls businessman and mayoral candidate Mike Gunn came in last out of six candidates,<sup>51</sup> after being criticized by local civil rights group South Dakota Voices for Peace for inflammatory Facebook posts describing a Muslim civil rights group as a terrorist organization. Gunn responded to the criticism by declaring that immigrants should "assimilate to our ways or, if you want it to be like your home country, then go home."<sup>52</sup>

Only two candidates, out of the many reviewed for this report who used anti-Muslim talking points, have been elected so far, though others are still in contention in the November election. Pearland, Texas City Councilman Woody Owens, who called for a ban on Islam, was re-elected in 2017, defeating his Muslim challenger, Dalia Kasseb. Owens’ attacks were echoed by others, including local school board trustee Rusty Deborde, who lost his own re-election bid.

## ELECTION *IN FOCUS*

### 2017 Pearland, Texas City Council and School Board Races



Pearland, Texas is the only locale on our list where candidates for city council and local school board shared anti-Muslim messaging. At the center of the political storm was Dalia Kasseb, an American Muslim who sought a seat on the city council in 2017. She was singled out on Facebook by Rusty Deborde, a school board member seeking re-election. Deborde posted an article entitled, “How American Muslims are Trying to Take Back their Government,” and added, “Please spread the word - this is happening this election cycle right here in Pearland!” According to a *Houston Chronicle* columnist, Deborde also shared a post from a former Pearland councilman who warned: “If you think this can’t happen in Pearland, well guess again. It is!! The way to stop it is to vote...”<sup>53</sup> Kasseb’s council opponent, incumbent Woody Owens, also shared anti-Muslim posts encouraging a ban on the Quran and Islam. An especially disturbing post included a photo of a quote stating, “I don’t want to grow up to be abused as a Muslim sex slave. Please ban Islam. #GoatLivesMatter.”<sup>54</sup> Both local races gained notoriety because of the anti-Muslim hostility. Kasseb lost her council race to Owens, the anti-Muslim incumbent, but Deborde suffered the consequences, losing his school board seat to a high school student.



Graphic anti-Muslim Facebook post shared by Pearland City Council Member Woody Owens. Source: Facebook

Rusty DeBorde loses his school board seat after posting an anti-Muslim Facebook post targeting a Muslim candidate for the Pearland City Council. Source: KHOU



## 2017 Georgia 6th Congressional District Special Election



In what was at the time considered the most expensive House race of all-time, Georgia's former Secretary of State Karen Handel edged out first-time candidate Jon Ossoff after a bitter anti-Muslim wave of ads from super PACs that were echoed by the Handel campaign. Among those entities spending in this race was the Handel-aligned super PAC the Congressional Leadership Fund, which produced an online video hitting Ossoff for his work as an investigative producer for the Qatari-based TV news channel Al Jazeera. In the ad, a voice says: "Al Jazeera, a media outlet that has been described as a mouthpiece for terrorists, has been paying Jon Ossoff thousands of dollars....What is he hiding?"<sup>55</sup> The attack was echoed in mailers<sup>56</sup> and in another online video from another dark money group America Rising.<sup>57</sup> The Handel campaign was not responsible for any of the ads, but it wasn't shy about repeating the claims on its website.<sup>58</sup>



Ad by the Congressional Leadership Fund tying non-Muslim Georgia congressional candidate Jon Ossoff to Al Jazeera, "mouthpiece for terrorists." This rhetoric was echoed by the Handel campaign. *Source: Congressional Leadership Fund*

### Anti-Muslim candidates face backlash from communities and their own party

While many factors determine election outcomes, there are many races in our sample where the backlash to anti-Muslim candidacies played a significant role in causing candidates to withdraw or lose their elections.

In each of these cases, news stories covered widespread backlash, after candidates made or published inflammatory or offensive anti-Muslim messages or conspiracy theories or directly attacked a Muslim candidate because of their religion. This backlash would come to define many of these candidates as the only major news coverage about them or, in local elections, their entire races.

## ELECTION *IN FOCUS*

### 2018 Michigan GOP Gubernatorial Primary



In Michigan's 2018 GOP gubernatorial primary, State Senator Pat Colbeck framed himself as a Trump-style anti-establishment candidate trumpeting his endorsements from Senator Ted Cruz (R-TX) and right-wing TV pundit Sean Hannity. Colbeck made anti-Muslim attacks against American Muslim Democratic gubernatorial candidate Dr. Abdul El-Sayed and the Hamtramck City Council, which is mostly comprised of American Muslims. The two-term state senator presented the steps of "Civilization Jihad," a conspiracy theory that claims Muslims are trying to take over the west through civic engagement to a known anti-Muslim hate group. Colbeck referenced Hamtramck's city council and El-Sayed, declaring that the Democratic candidate and his parents are in league with terrorists in a plot take over Michigan for Sharia law.<sup>59</sup> The bipartisan backlash was swift, with the Michigan GOP responding that "the party isn't interested in peddling any conspiracy theories and anything he said was not on behalf of the party."<sup>60</sup> Colbeck finished his primary in third place with 13 percent of the vote.<sup>61</sup>

#### Civilization Jihad Techniques

- Keep the infidels ignorant of the true nature and progress of Sharia
- Prohibit "blasphemy" and "slander"
- Demand concessions
- Utilize education vehicles
- Subvert institutions via one-sided "interfaith dialogues"
- Sharia-compliant finance
- Sharia in American courts
- Place Muslim brothers in positions from which they can exercise influence

#### Positions of Influence



Michigan gubernatorial candidate State Senator Pat Colbeck devotes an entire PowerPoint presentation to discussing the "civilization jihad" theory that American Muslims are attempting to take over the country through non-violent means. *Source: BuzzFeed*

## ELECTION *IN FOCUS*

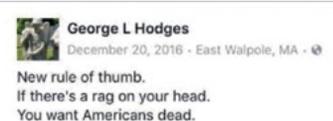
### 2017 Walpole, MA, Planning Board Race



In Walpole, MA, a candidate for the local planning board George Hodges posted an anti-Muslim tirade stating, "New rule of thumb. If there's a rag on your head. You want Americans dead." News coverage of the posting and the ensuing backlash would come to define the entire race. Hodges was one of three candidates vying for two seats on the planning board, and voters chose both of his opponents, including a Muslim woman named Sarah Khatib.<sup>62</sup>

The anti-Muslim post by George Hodges, candidate for the Walpole Planning Board, on his personal Facebook page.

*Source: Facebook*



## 2018 Euless, Texas City Council Race



In Euless, Texas, Salman Bhojani became the first ever Muslim elected to the city council after fending off a sustained campaign of bigotry waged by his opponent, Molly Maddux, and a state Rep. Jonathan Strickland. Notably, Maddux distributed campaign material highlighting how she differed from Bhojani on non-policy aspects, such as having voted more often than her opponent and being a Christian, while he is a Muslim. When asked about her injection of Bhojani’s religion into her race, Maddux told a local news station, “Our faith determines our values, and our values are very important on how we vote.”<sup>63</sup> Prominent Maddux supporter state Rep. Jonathan Strickland wrote in a Facebook post, “EULESS RESIDENTS BEWARE” and called Bhojani a “Muslim, lawyer, and a lifelong Democrat who supports raising your taxes.”<sup>64</sup> Strickland also condemned “how the Koran was read for the first time at a city council meeting thanks to Mr. Bhojani...” after Bhojani took his Muslim boy scout troop to the city council meeting to present the American flag and recite verses about respecting other people’s religions.<sup>65</sup>

**Jonathan Strickland** @votejs

**EULESS RESIDENTS BEWARE:**  
 Currently, the Mid-Cities Democrats are pushing a slate of progressive liberals in our non-partisan city council elections.  
 Salman Bhojani should be familiar to many of you. He ran and narrowly lost last cycle. He is a Muslim, lawyer, and a lifelong Democrat who supports raising your taxes.  
 Please see the video below. It explains how the Koran was read for the first time at a city council meeting thanks to Mr. Bhojani.  
 His ideas for our community would scare a majority of our residents, but he is very sneaky in how he presents himself. He already has numerous campaign finance violations. This includes taking campaign money from a foreign national and breaking Federal law. He must be stopped.  
 Early voting is going on now until May 1st at the Euless Library. Election day is May 5th. Please get out immediately and vote.

**Salman Bhojani - The Progressive Candidate**  
 YOUTUBE.COM [Learn More](#)

“EULESS RESIDENTS BEWARE,” warns State Rep. Strickland, weighing in on the Euless city council election. Strickland then describes candidate Salman Bhojani as a Muslim responsible for a verse of the Quran being read at a city council meeting. *Source: Facebook*

## Removals, recalls, withdrawals and drop-outs

In our sample of races, nine anti-Muslim candidates either withdrew or were recalled from office, several immediately after backlashes to anti-Muslim campaigning. These include credible candidates for statewide office in North Dakota and Tennessee, a recalled village president in Michigan, and a candidate for Omaha, Nebraska's city council.

### ELECTION *IN FOCUS*

## 2018 North Dakota Senate Race



In a state that President Trump won by 35 points in 2016, democratic Senator Heidi Heitkamp is a top target for the GOP in the 2018 midterm election. After the state's sole Congressman Kevin Cramer declined to run, his former campaign manager Gary Emineth, a businessman and former chairman of the North Dakota Republican Party, declared his short-lived candidacy on January 31, 2018. Emineth would withdraw just days after CNN raised past social media posts calling for a ban on mosques.

Gary Emineth, then Republican candidate for US Senate in North Dakota, makes headlines for his defense of tweets in support of banning mosques.

Source: CNN

### GOP Senate candidate defends sharing tweet that called for ban on mosques: 'So what?'

By Andrew Kaczynski, CNN  
Updated 4:55 PM ET, Fri February 9, 2018



The posts were made public on February 8, and immediately condemned as “flat out racist” by Jamal Omar, a co-chairman of North Dakota's College Republicans, who happens to be Muslim and Arab. “It's not an easy job being an Arab Muslim in North Dakota. The way I feel is that someone who claims to represent me is disgusted by me, thinks I'm less than him,” Omar told the Grand Forks Herald. “I don't believe Gary is fit to be a U.S. Senator.”<sup>66</sup>



*“I don’t believe Gary is fit to be a U.S. Senator.”*

**Jamal Omar**, co-chairman of the North Dakota College Republicans

When asked to respond to the posts, Emineth said it was “not a big deal” and took it as a chance to continue vilifying Muslims and mosques, as excerpted by CNN:<sup>67</sup>

“If you look at the context of some of these posts, I just retweeted it. I never made a comment on it, right? And so the bottom line is, a lot of the radicalization that’s turned on in the country and around the world has come out of these mosques,” Emineth said.

“So I just made a statement, I’m a Christian that believes we ought to propagate our Christian faith. So I see an article and I retweet, ‘no more mosques in America,’ you know, and like, and share. So I retweeted it. So yeah. So what? I believe in Christian — I believe in liberties, freedom, free speech, and Christian values is kind of my base. And so yeah, I posted it, so no big deal. I’m not that stressed out over it.”

Five days after the social media posts were revealed, Emineth announced he was dropping out of the race and would be replaced by Congressman Cramer, who had, for no disclosed reason, changed his mind and was jumping into the race.<sup>68</sup>

## ELECTION *IN FOCUS*

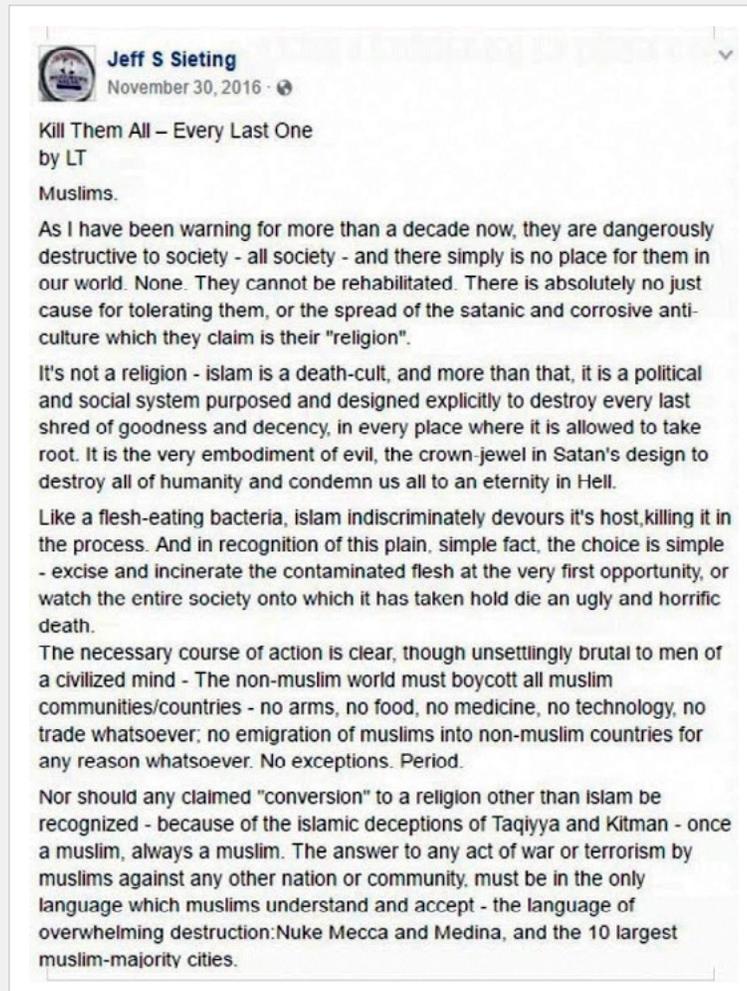
### 2018 Kalkaska, Michigan Village President Recall



Anti-Muslim bigotry led to the recall of a sitting village president in the Trump stronghold of Kalkaska County, Michigan. The 2,000-resident village of Kalkaska is part of a county that gave President Trump 70 percent of its votes in the 2016 election. But, when Village President Jeff Sieting posted violent and offensive comments about Muslims on his Facebook page, he set off a recall movement that removed him from office in May of 2018.<sup>69</sup> Vice News described the passages



he posted in a June 2018 article about the recall: "One post, titled 'Kill Them All,' compared Islam to a 'flesh-eating bacteria' and suggested nuclear annihilation of Muslim-majority cities; another told 'wannabe liberals' concerned about refugees to adopt a 'pet muslim.'"



Kalkaska Village  
President's Facebook  
post calling for all  
Muslims to be killed.  
Source: *Interlochen  
Public Radio*

Instead of apologizing for the posts, Sieting doubled down on his bigotry and, after he was voted out, continued to rail against Muslims on his social media page, attacking Muslim gubernatorial candidate Abdul El-Sayed. "The threat is real not imagined... But hey...Keep living with your head in your ass if you choose," Sieting wrote.<sup>70</sup>

## 2018 Tennessee GOP Gubernatorial Primary



When longtime Tennessee State Sen. Mae Beavers entered the state's crowded 2018 gubernatorial primary in May 2017, it made headlines across the state, as did her later decision to resign from her state legislative seat to be a full time gubernatorial candidate. But her bias against Muslims caused enough problems to spur her exit from the race at the start of 2018. At issue was a "Homeland Security Summit" she organized, featuring three anti-Muslim speakers at Trevecca Nazarene University, Beavers' alma mater. After being criticized, university officials later canceled the event because "it would distract from our commitment to community building, education, and support of a diverse enrollment. Our agenda of Christian education in the heart of Nashville requires that we serve the best interests of this mission."

Beavers blasted the university, saying it was "caving to Islamic pressure" and that it "abandoned Biblical principles in order embrace political correctness and promote the interests of those who deny Christ." In an interview about the summit, Beavers underscored her hostility toward Muslims and said, "I think Islam is a threat to our country" and claimed that "Islam is a political agenda."<sup>71</sup>

Months before her gubernatorial announcement, Beavers held a town hall where she claimed that her area was being directly targeted by Muslim terrorists, in her own words as excerpted in *The Tennessean*:<sup>72</sup>

"We are the center of their attention because we're are the center of the Bible Belt. And they're purposely moving terrorists in here, and they're bringing their families in, and they're setting it up for a jihad, I can tell you right now...The Muslims, they believe in the Quran and the Quran says that you're going to kill all the infidels."

There was then a brief exchange between Beavers and the attendees about Muslim residents living locally.

"Something else that they're doing is they're doing is infiltrating the churches, they'll visit the churches and find out what's going on," she said at the meeting.

## 2018 Omaha, Nebraska City Council Race



Paul Anderson, a GOP candidate for District 1 on Omaha’s city council, dropped out of his race following backlash for his call to ban mosques in his city, tying mosques to terrorism and pledging to stop a specific mosque planned to be built in the city. “There will be no mosques in Omaha,” he told the local NBC News affiliate. “Assimilate. Become an American...I don’t have a problem with immigration. They just have to be Christians. Or no faith or Jewish.”<sup>73</sup>

Omaha City Council candidate Paul Anderson discusses his proposed mosque ban with a local TV news channel. Source: *WOWT News*



Within days, the local Republican party rescinded its endorsement, leading Anderson to withdraw his candidacy. According to a statement posted on the party committee’s Facebook page:

“It must be said that his statements are not the values and views of the Douglas County Republican Party.”<sup>74</sup>

**Douglas County Republican Party**  
Statement withdrawing its support of Paul Anderson

### Looking ahead to the 2018 General Election

**Editor’s Note:** As a 501c3 charity, Muslim Advocates does not support or oppose any candidates for elected office. We do not engage in campaigning for any election and we follow strict guidelines for commenting on anti-Muslim rhetoric by currently active candidates. As such, this section and this report contain no narrative elements highlighting individual candidates currently running in the upcoming general election on November 6, 2018. The instances of rhetoric from these candidates are included in our quantitative analysis and index of cited campaigns, sometimes quoted while redacting candidate information, and discussed collectively. Out of an abundance of caution, Muslim Advocates is holding its analysis of these races for a final edition of this report to be released after the completion of the November 2018 election.

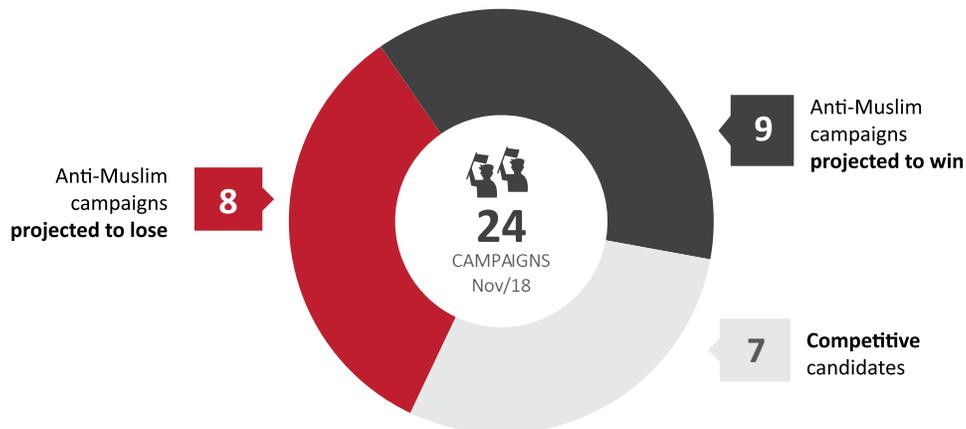
Out of our sample of 80 races, there are still 34 campaigns active in the November 2018 general election. Our analysis indicates that, after this election, there will likely be only one or two newly elected anti-Muslim candidates, with the vast majority of winning candidates being incumbents or longtime politicians who have been using anti-Muslim rhetoric since before the 2016 campaign.

So who are these candidates? As a 501c3 charity, Muslim Advocates is only discussing these races in a collective context to share broad-trends in our findings without naming candidates. This report will be updated after the 2018 election with a more robust analysis. More research on each race can be done by visiting Appendix I or Appendix II, which include full names and identifying information for all candidates and races.

## AFTER THIS ELECTION, THERE WILL LIKELY BE **ONLY ONE OR TWO NEWLY ELECTED ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDATES**

Of the 34 anti-Muslim general election candidates campaigns pending in November 2018, the Cook Political Report has rated 24 of the races. The remaining ten races do not fit into Cook's rating system. Of those 24 anti-Muslim candidates:

- Eight (8) anti-Muslim campaigns are projected to lose, meaning that Cook has rated them as “solid” or “likely” in the opposing party’s favor. All are challengers and most have never won elected office.
- Seven (7) candidates are in races considered to be competitive, according to Cook’s rating system that deems races in the “toss up” or in the “lean” column as “competitive.” Almost all are in typically Republican jurisdictions with established Republican officeholders. Many of these races, even when longtime incumbents are involved, are more competitive than in past election cycles.
- Nine (9) candidates are projected to win their November races, meaning that Cook has rated them as “solid” or “likely” in their party’s favor. All but one are incumbent members of the House of Representatives, all have used anti-Muslim rhetoric throughout their political careers, and almost all of them were in elected office before Donald Trump’s election.



## 08

## CONCLUSION AND LOOKING AHEAD TO 2019 AND 2020

The anti-Muslim conspiracy candidates fell flat in 2017 and 2018 but continue to energize a small and hostile sliver of voters. Regardless, anti-Muslim candidates and conspiracies are now firmly entrenched in American politics, particularly in Republican circles.

Despite the broad rejection of these conspiracies, candidates and the policies that flow from them, anti-Muslim attacks, threats and discrimination continue. Throughout 2017 and 2018, attacks on Muslims were commonplace and included assaults; mosque arsons, bombings, and vandalism; and planned attacks, shootings, and bombings of places where Muslims congregate.

While shrewd candidates and elected officials will take note of how unpopular parroting these conspiracies is, others will not. Our research has already found 11 elected officials actively stoking bigotry ahead of 2019 and 2020 elections, and, while many of them have already faced significant backlash and pressure to resign, we do not know how they plan to move forward.

President Trump will likely once again be on the ballot in 2020. Many of the most vocal and bombastic anti-Muslim candidates directly appealed to Trump and, despite their widespread losses in the past few elections, may try again with one of their own at the top of the ticket. Furthermore, any number of outside factors could contribute to this trend continuing, including a backlash to the spike in American Muslims in office or a potential terrorist attack on US soil committed in the name of ISIS.

Regardless, this report contains clear and unequivocal advice for candidates, campaign officials, voters, and public interest organizations looking ahead to 2020:

- Voters of every background reject anti-Muslim rhetoric and many do so vehemently. Yet the narrow and hostile sliver of voters it appeals to will believe even very clear falsehoods in support of the conspiracy.
- Anti-Muslim conspiracy theories are both dangerous and sophisticated. In addition to spreading hostility, this rhetoric forms the foundation of a coherent strategy to ultimately strip American Muslims of their basic constitutional and civil rights as a religious community.
- Backlash to anti-Muslim campaigning can end a political career. When constituents name and condemn anti-Muslim bigotry, it can define entire candidacies and lead to losses, withdrawals, and even recalls.
- Both data and trends show that, even in GOP primaries in conservative states, candidates who embrace a religious freedom and a national security message that includes Muslims have a clear edge over opponents who trumpet anti-Muslim bigotry and conspiracies.

For the good of the country and for their own self interest, candidates expecting to get elected on the backs of American Muslims should simply choose a different path.

# APPENDIX I

## ANTI-MUSLIM CANDIDATES IN 2017 AND 2018 RACES

STATE	YEAR	OFFICE	JURISDICTION	CANDIDATE	STATUS	SOURCE
ALABAMA	2017	U.S. Senator	Alabama	Roy Moore	Lost General	<a href="#">Snopes</a>
ARIZONA	2018	U.S. Senator	Arizona	Kelli Ward	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Phoenix New Times</a>
		U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Paul Gosar	Pending	<a href="#">Newsweek</a>
ARKANSAS	2018	Governor	Arkansas	Jan Morgan	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Newsweek</a> <a href="#">Arkansas Times</a>
		State Senator	District 35	Jason Rapert	Pending	<a href="#">Inquisitr</a>
CALIFORNIA	2018	U.S. Representative	50th Congressional District	Duncan Hunter	Pending	<a href="#">Mother Jones</a>
		School Board	Ocean View School District	Gracey van der Mark	Pending	<a href="#">OC Register</a> <a href="#">OC Weekly</a>
		Mayor	Chula Vista	Hector Gastelum	Pending	<a href="#">San Diego Union-Tribune</a>
		U.S. Representative	8th Congressional District	Tim Donnelly	Pending	<a href="#">CNN</a>
COLORADO	2018	State Representative	House District 47	Judy Reyher	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Denver Post 1</a> <a href="#">Denver Post 2</a>
FLORIDA	2018	U.S. Senator	Florida	Augustus Sol Invictus	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Southern Poverty Law Center</a>
		U.S. Representative	1st Congressional District	Cris Dosev	Lost Primary	<a href="#">ivoterguide.com</a>
		U.S. Representative	22nd Congressional District	Javier Manjarres	Lost Primary	<a href="#">VoteJavi.com</a>
		U.S. Representative	18th Congressional District	Brian Mast	Pending	<a href="#">The Hill</a>
		U.S. Representative	23rd Congressional District	Joe Kaufman	Pending	<a href="#">Washington Post</a> <a href="#">New Times</a>
		Governor	Florida	Ron DeSantis	Pending	<a href="#">Daily Beast</a> <a href="#">Center for Security Policy</a> <a href="#">Miami New Times</a> <a href="#">Naples News</a>
GEORGIA	2017	U.S. Representative	6th Congressional District	Karen Handel	Won	<a href="#">KarenHandel.com</a> <a href="#">Politifact</a> <a href="#">Roll Call</a> <a href="#">Huffington Post</a>
	2018	State Representative	District 180	Jason Spencer	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Washington Post</a>
		Governor	Georgia	Michael Williams	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Huffington Post</a>
IDAHO	2018	State Representative	District 17B	Kevin Rhoades	Pending	<a href="#">Idaho Statesman</a>
ILLINOIS	2018	U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Arthur Jones	Pending	<a href="#">Al Jazeera</a>
IOWA	2018	U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Steve King	Pending	<a href="#">Politico</a>
KANSAS	2018	Governor	Kansas	Kris Kobach	Pending	<a href="#">The Guardian</a> <a href="#">Topeka Capital-Journal</a>

STATE	YEAR	OFFICE	JURISDICTION	CANDIDATE	STATUS	SOURCE
LOUISIANA	2018	U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Clay Higgins	Pending	<a href="#">Washington Post</a>
MARYLAND	2018	State Senator	District 32	John Grasso	Pending	<a href="#">Capital Gazette</a>
		U.S. Senator	Maryland	Sam Faddis	Dropped Out	<a href="#">Breitbart</a>
MASSACHUSETTS	2017	Planning Board Member	Walpole	George Hodges	Lost General	<a href="#">Wicked Local</a>
MICHIGAN	2018	Governor	Michigan	Pat Colbeck	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Detroit News</a>
		Village President	Kalkaska Village	Jeff Sieting	Removed	<a href="#">Vice</a>
MINNESOTA	2018	Governor	Minnesota	Phillip Parrish	Dropped Out	<a href="#">City Pages</a>
		State Representative	District 33B	Cindy Pugh	Pending	<a href="#">Hometown Source</a>
		Governor	Minnesota	Jeff Johnson	Pending	<a href="#">Minnesota Public Radio</a>
		U.S. Senator	Minnesota	Jim Newberger	Pending	<a href="#">City Pages</a>
		State Representative	District 39B	Kathy Lohmer	Pending	<a href="#">Star Tribune</a>
MISSISSIPPI	2018	U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Katherine Tate	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Babe.net</a>
MISSOURI	2018	School Board	Parkway	Jeanie Ames	Lost General	<a href="#">St. Louis Today</a> <a href="#">Kansas City Star</a>
		U.S. Senator	Missouri	Courtland Sykes	Lost Primary	<a href="#">St. Louis Today</a>
NEBRASKA	2017	City Councilmember	District 1 of Omaha	Paul Anderson	Dropped Out	<a href="#">WOWT</a>
NEVADA	2018	U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Eddie Hamilton	Lost Primary	<a href="#">ivoterguide.com</a>
		U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District of Nevada	Stephanie Jones	Lost Primary	<a href="#">ivoterguide.com</a>
NEW JERSEY	2017	Governor	New Jersey	Steven Rogers	Lost Primary	<a href="#">NJ.com</a>
	2018	Mayor	Prospect Park	Emma Anderson	Pending	<a href="#">NJ.com</a>
NEW YORK	2017	Mayor	New York City	Bo Dietl	Lost General	<a href="#">Splinter News</a>
	2018	County Legislator	St. Lawrence County Legislative District 4	Joel LaPierre	Dropped Out	<a href="#">North Country Public Radio</a>
		U.S. Representative	2nd Congressional District	Peter King	Pending	<a href="#">Think Progress</a>
NORTH CAROLINA	2018	U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Steve Von Loor	Pending	<a href="#">Facebook</a>
NORTH DAKOTA	2018	U.S. Senator	North Dakota	Gary Emineth	Dropped Out	<a href="#">CNN</a>
OHIO	2017	School Board	Valley View Local School District	Mike Kilroy	Lost General	<a href="#">Dayton Daily News</a>
	2018	U.S. Senator	Ohio	Josh Mandel	Dropped Out	<a href="#">Cleveland.com</a>
		U.S. Representative	14th Congressional District	Evan Carp	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Twitter</a>
		U.S. Representative	11th Congressional District	Beverly Goldstein	Pending	<a href="#">Beverly4Congress.com</a>
		U.S. Representative	9th Congressional District	Steven Kraus	Pending	<a href="#">ivoterguide.com</a>

STATE	YEAR	OFFICE	JURISDICTION	CANDIDATE	STATUS	SOURCE
<b>OKLAHOMA</b>	2018	State Representative	House District 2	John Bennett	Dropped Out	<a href="#">Business Insider</a>
<b>PENNSYLVANIA</b>	2018	U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Scott Perry	Pending	<a href="#">Chicago Tribune</a> <a href="#">Politifact</a>
<b>SOUTH CAROLINA</b>	2018	Governor	South Carolina	Catherine Templeton	Lost Primary	<a href="#">SCE TV</a>
		U.S. Representative	5th Congressional District	Sheri Few	Lost Primary	<a href="#">The Root</a>
		U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Jeff Duncan	Pending	<a href="#">Post and Courier</a>
<b>SOUTH DAKOTA</b>	2018	State Representative	House District 32	Ed Randazzo	Lost Primary	<a href="#">KOTA TV</a> <a href="#">Southern Poverty Law Center</a>
		Governor	South Dakota	Marty J. Jackley	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Argus Leader</a>
		Mayor	Sioux Falls	Mike Gunn	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Argus Leader</a>
		U.S. Representative	South Dakota	Neal Tapio	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Huffington Post</a> <a href="#">Rapid City Journal</a> <a href="#">Minnesota Public Radio</a>
		U.S. Representative	South Dakota	Shantel Krebs	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Argus Leader</a>
<b>TENNESSEE</b>	2018	Governor	Tennessee	Mae Beavers	Dropped Out	<a href="#">Tennessean</a>
		U.S. Representative	7th Congressional District	Mark Green	Pending	<a href="#">Franklin Home Page</a>
		U.S. Senator	Tennessee	Marsha Blackburn	Pending	<a href="#">Fox News</a>
<b>TEXAS</b>	2017	School District Trustee	Pearland Independent School District	Rusty Deborde	Lost General	<a href="#">Houston Chronicle</a>
		City Councilmember	Pearland	Woody Owens	Won	<a href="#">Houston Chronicle</a>
	2018	City Councilmember	Eules	Molly Maddux	Lost General	<a href="#">Star-Telegram</a> <a href="#">CBS</a>
		District Attorney	Bexar County	Nico LaHood	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Daily Beast</a>
		U.S. Representative	36th Congressional District	Brian Babin	Pending	<a href="#">babin.house.gov</a>
		State Representative	District 92	Jonathan Stickland	Pending	<a href="#">Star-Telegram</a>
		U.S. Representative	1st Congressional District	Louie Gohmert	Pending	<a href="#">Newsmax</a>
U.S. Senator	Texas	Ted Cruz	Pending	<a href="#">Star-Telegram</a>		
<b>VIRGINIA</b>	2017	Governor	Virginia	Ed Gillespie	Lost General	<a href="#">Washington Post</a>
		Lieutenant Governor	Virginia	Bryce Reeves	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Raw Story</a>
		Attorney General	Virginia	Chuck Smith	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Richmond Times Dispatch</a> <a href="#">Roanoke Times</a>
	2018	U.S. Senator	Virginia	E.W. Jackson	Lost Primary	<a href="#">Richmond Times Dispatch</a> <a href="#">Daily Progress</a>
		U.S. Senator	Virginia	Corey Stewart	Pending	<a href="#">Huffington Post</a>
		U.S. Representative	7th Congressional District	Dave Brat	Pending	<a href="#">Washington Post</a>
<b>WYOMING</b>	2018	Governor	Wyoming	Foster Friess	Lost Primary	<a href="#">CNBC</a>

## APPENDIX II

### COOK POLITICAL REPORT RATINGS FOR PENDING RACES

STATE	OFFICE	JURISDICTION	CANDIDATE	PARTY	COOK RATING (OCTOBER 4, 2018)
MINNESOTA	Governor	Minnesota	Jeff Johnson	GOP	Likely Dem
KANSAS	Governor	Kansas	Kris Kobach	GOP	Toss Up
FLORIDA	Governor	Florida	Ron DeSantis	GOP	Toss Up
ILLINOIS	U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Arthur Jones	GOP	Solid Dem
OHIO	U.S. Representative	11th Congressional District	Beverly Goldstein	GOP	Solid Dem
TEXAS	U.S. Representative	36th Congressional District	Brian Babin	GOP	Solid GOP
FLORIDA	U.S. Representative	18th Congressional District	Brian Mast	GOP	Likely GOP
LOUISIANA	U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Clay Higgins	GOP	Solid GOP
VIRGINIA	U.S. Representative	7th Congressional District	Dave Brat	GOP	Toss Up
CALIFORNIA	U.S. Representative	50th Congressional District	Duncan Hunter	GOP	Lean GOP
SOUTH CAROLINA	U.S. Representative	3rd Congressional District	Jeff Duncan	GOP	Solid GOP
FLORIDA	U.S. Representative	23rd Congressional District	Joe Kaufman	GOP	Solid Dem
TEXAS	U.S. Representative	1st Congressional District	Louie Gohmert	GOP	Solid GOP
TENNESSEE	U.S. Representative	7th Congressional District	Mark Green	GOP	Solid GOP
ARIZONA	U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Paul Gosar	GOP	Solid GOP
NEW YORK	U.S. Representative	2nd Congressional District	Peter King	GOP	Likely GOP
PENNSYLVANIA	U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Scott Perry	GOP	Lean GOP
IOWA	U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Steve King	GOP	Likely GOP
NORTH CAROLINA	U.S. Representative	4th Congressional District	Steve Von Loor	GOP	Solid Dem
OHIO	U.S. Representative	9th Congressional District	Steven Kraus	GOP	Solid Dem
VIRGINIA	U.S. Senator	Virginia	Corey Stewart	GOP	Solid Dem
MINNESOTA	U.S. Senator	Minnesota	Jim Newberger	GOP	Solid Dem
TENNESSEE	U.S. Senator	Tennessee	Marsha Blackburn	GOP	Toss Up
TEXAS	U.S. Senator	Texas	Ted Cruz	GOP	Toss Up

# APPENDIX III

## DETAILED POLLING RESULTS

### Field Focus Groups Methodology

From Friday, July 20 to Thursday, July 26, 2018 Probolsky Research conducted field focus groups.

Republican voters were contacted on their mobile phones and asked whether they would be more or less likely to support a candidate who spoke negatively about Muslims. Over 100 candid perspectives of voters were captured on live video. Field focus groups are conducted to provide a visual context of research findings.

The video responses were edited for ease of viewing.

### Polling Methodology

From Thursday, March 29 to Tuesday, April 10, 2018, Probolsky Research conducted a live-interviewer telephone and online survey among voters throughout the U.S.

A total of 1,000 voters were surveyed (520 by telephone and 480 online). A survey of this size yields a margin of error of +/-3.2% and a confidence level of 95%. Interviews were conducted by live professional interviewers with respondents on both landline and mobile phones (21.3%) and were offered in English and Spanish (1.5%) languages. For the online survey phase, participation was invited via email. Security measures precluded individuals from completing the survey more than once and allowed only the designated voter to complete the survey. Online respondents were able to use their computer, tablet or smartphone to participate.

The sample was developed from the voter files originally compiled by election offices throughout the country and then enhanced with consumer data. Probolsky Research applies a stratified random sampling methodology to their sample design to ensure that the demographic proportions of survey respondents match the demographic composition of the universe being researched.

## Poll Questions Referenced

Question: **Can you name a well-known American Muslim?**

<b>Can't name one</b> .....	<b>41.4%</b>
<b>Muhammad Ali</b> .....	<b>25.3%</b>
<b>Malcolm X</b> .....	<b>6.0%</b>
<b>Barack Obama</b> .....	<b>3.8%</b>
<b>Louis Farrakhan</b> .....	<b>2.8%</b>
<b>Kareem Abdul-Jabar</b> .....	<b>1.4%</b>
<b>Keith Ellison</b> .....	<b>1.1%</b>
<b>Malala</b> .....	<b>0.9%</b>
<b>Aziz Ansari</b> .....	<b>0.7%</b>
<b>Cat Stevens</b> .....	<b>0.6%</b>
<b>Dave Chapelle</b> .....	<b>0.5%</b>
<b>Kumail Nanjiani</b> .....	<b>0.5%</b>
<b>Shaquille O'Neal</b> .....	<b>0.5%</b>
<b>Dr. Oz</b> .....	<b>0.4%</b>
<b>Linda Sarsour</b> .....	<b>0.4%</b>
<b>Reza Aslan</b> .....	<b>0.3%</b>
<b>Zayne Malik</b> .....	<b>0.3%</b>
<b>Ahmed Ahmed</b> .....	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Lupe Fiasco</b> .....	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Akon</b> .....	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Hasan Minhaj</b> .....	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Mahershala Ali</b> .....	<b>0.2%</b>
<b>Other</b> .....	<b>4.7%</b>
<b>None</b> .....	<b>2.5%</b>
<b>Unsure/Refused</b> .....	<b>4.9%</b>

Question: **What is your impression of Muslims?**

<b>No impression/Same as everyone else/Neutral</b> ..	<b>57.6%</b>
<b>Good people/Positive in general</b> .....	<b>17.9%</b>
<b>Negative in general</b> .....	<b>7.0%</b>
<b>Good, as long as they're not extremists</b> .....	<b>5.0%</b>
<b>The religion is false</b> .....	<b>1.8%</b>
<b>Different</b> .....	<b>1.2%</b>
<b>Terrorists</b> .....	<b>1.0%</b>
<b>They should leave the U.S.</b> .....	<b>0.4%</b>
<b>None</b> .....	<b>0.3%</b>
<b>Other</b> .....	<b>2.3%</b>
<b>Unsure/Refused</b> .....	<b>5.4%</b>

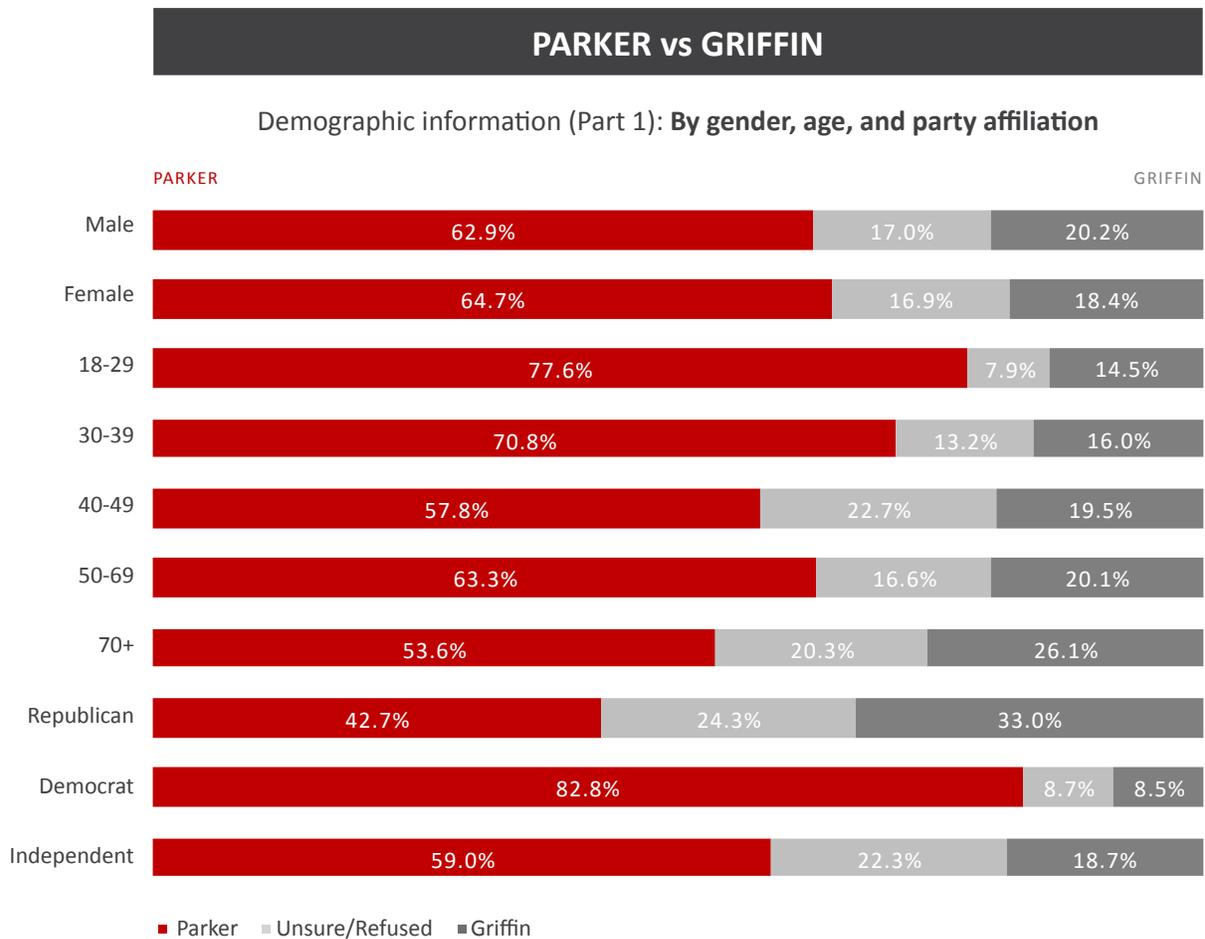
## PARKER vs GRIFFIN

Parker says: “Muslims have been in America since this country was founded, and they are just as American as you and me.”

Griffin says: “Muslims are a threat to this country and our Christian values.”

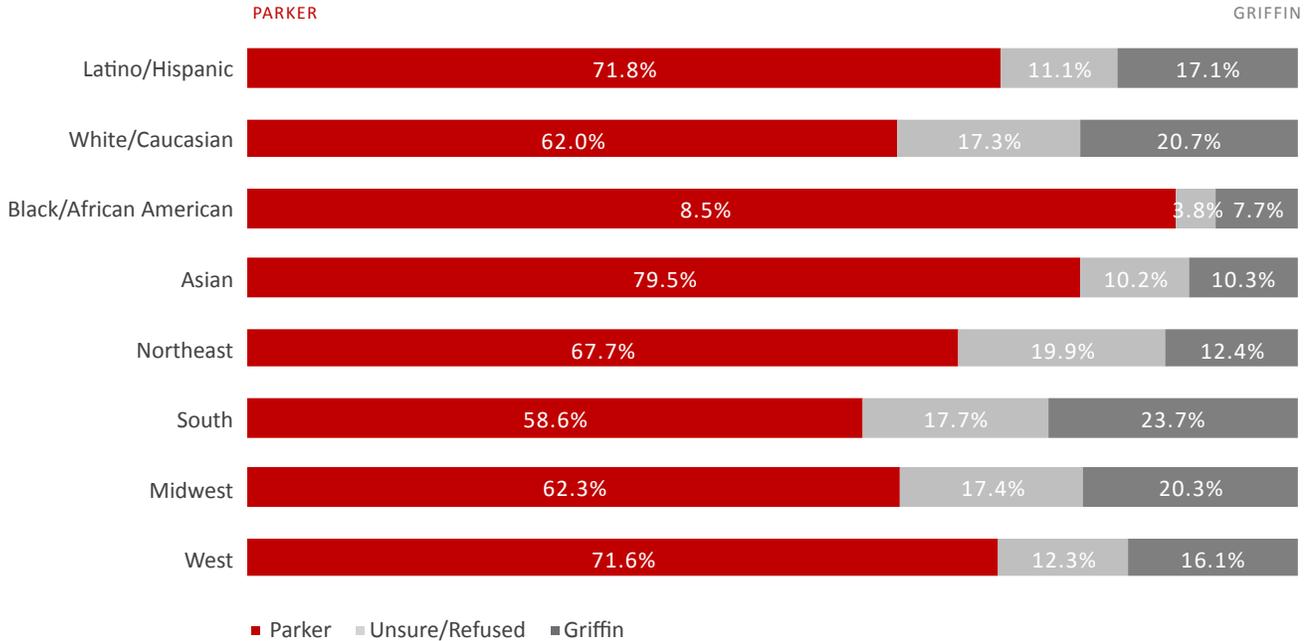
Question: **Who do you think won the debate, Parker or Griffin?**

**Parker** ..... **63.9%**  
**Griffin** ..... **19.2%**  
 Unsure/Refused ..... 16.9%



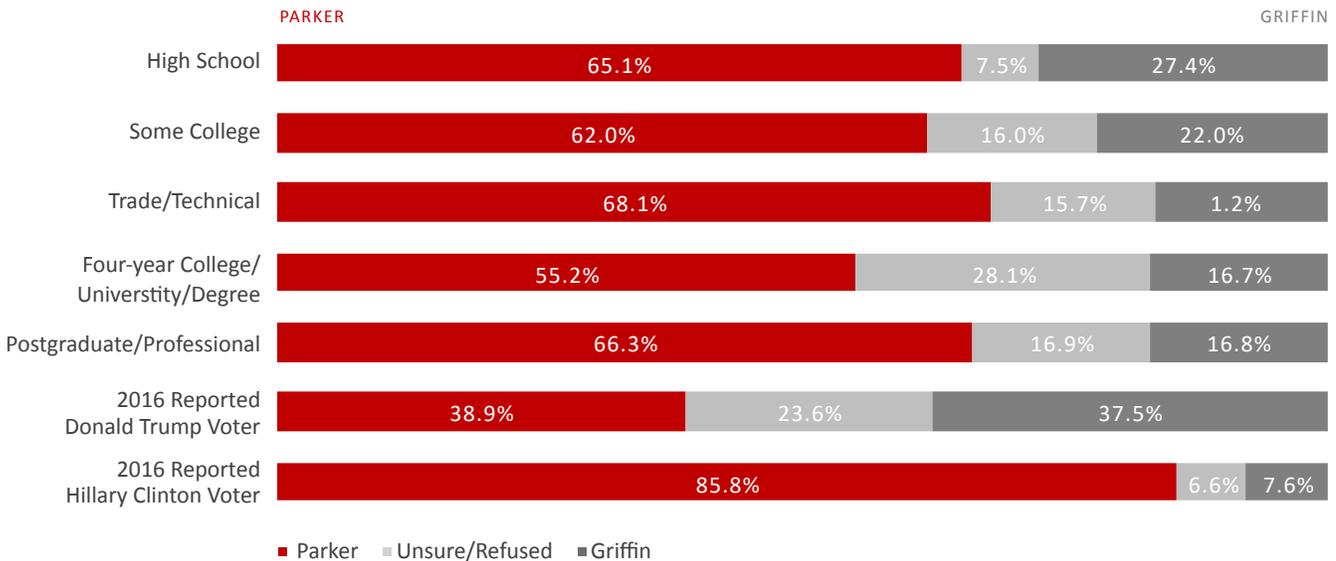
## PARKER vs GRIFFIN

### Demographic information (Part 2): By ethnicity & geographic location



## PARKER vs GRIFFIN

### Demographic information (Part 3): By education level & reported vote in the 2016 Presidential Election



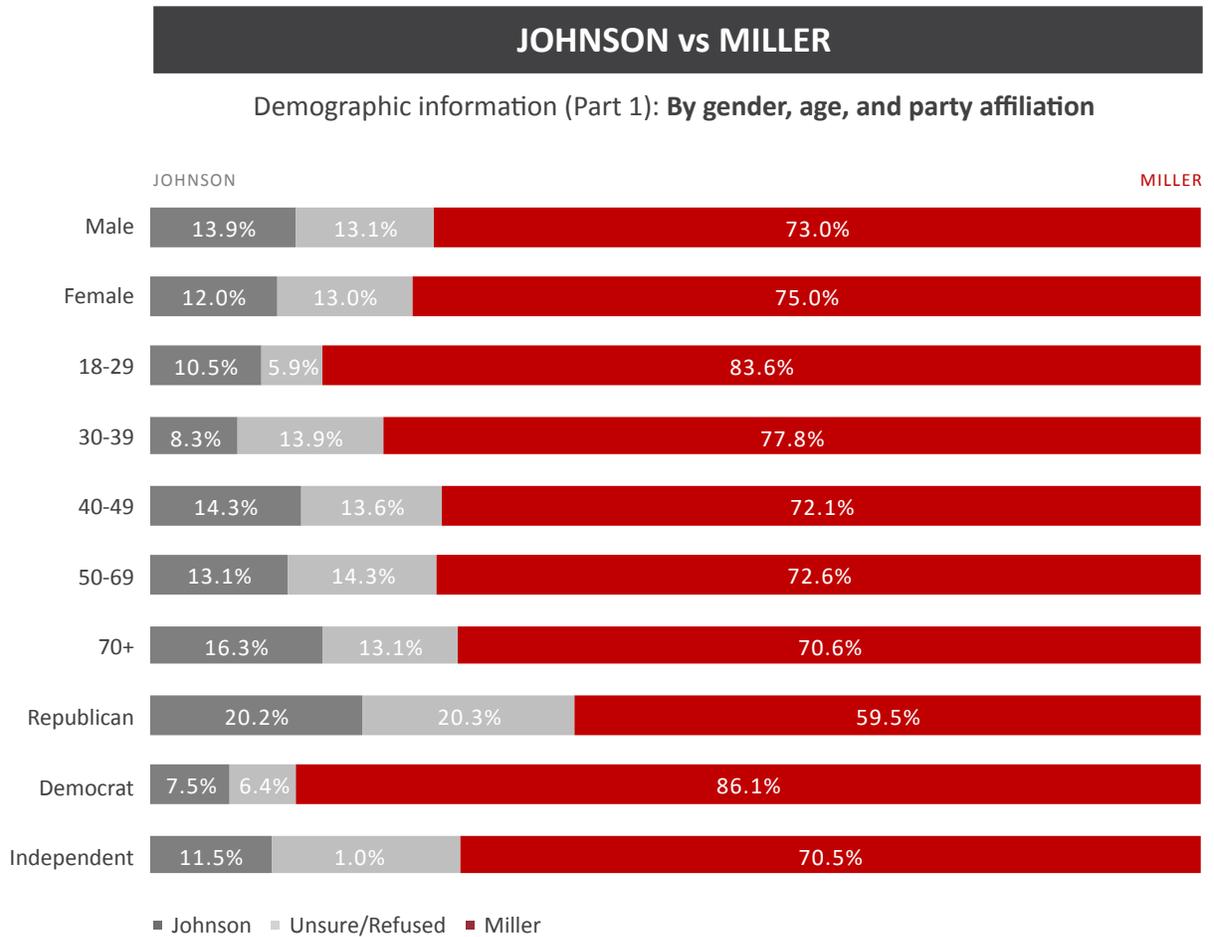
## JOHNSON vs MILLER

Johnson says: “Judeo-Christian values are fundamental to this country and Muslims don’t fit in. Muslims in America need to change their faith and culture or go back home. It may sound harsh, but I tell it like it is.”

Miller says: “Our nation’s founders deeply believe in religious freedom. Muslims in America should not have to change their faith or culture to be welcomed here. Discrimination against Muslims or any other religious group is wrong.”

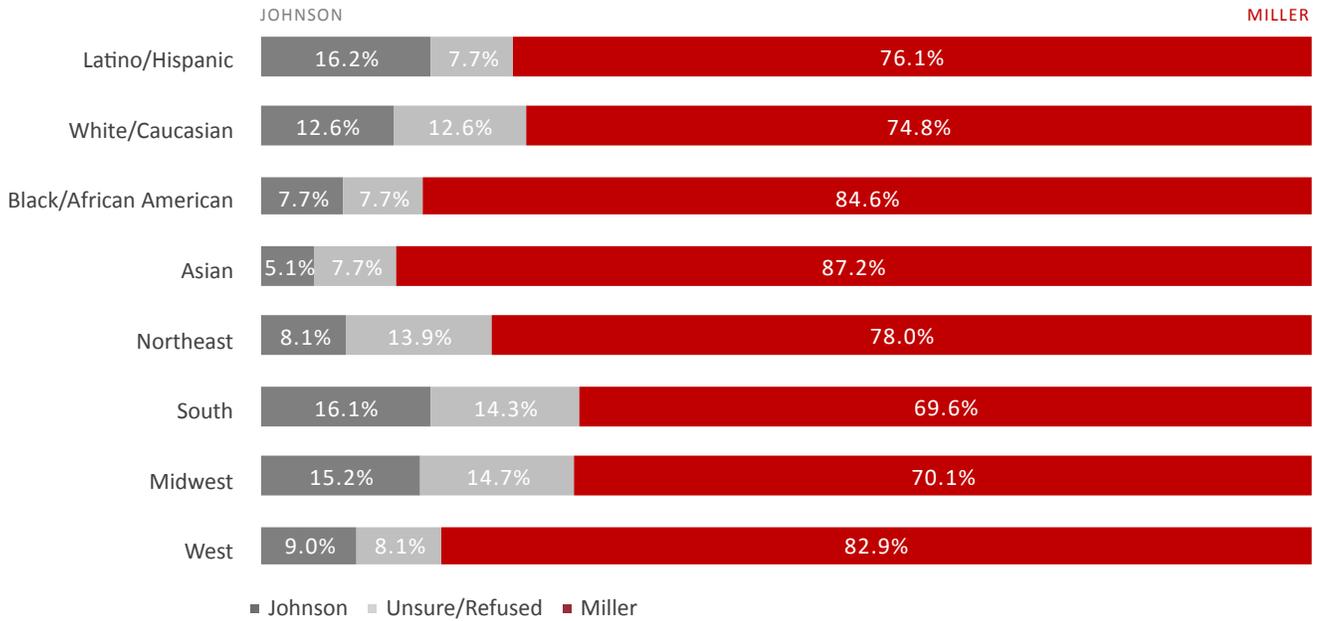
Question: **Who do you think won the debate, Johnson or Miller?**

**Johnson** ..... 12.9%  
**Miller** ..... 74.1%  
 Unsure/Refused ..... 13.0%



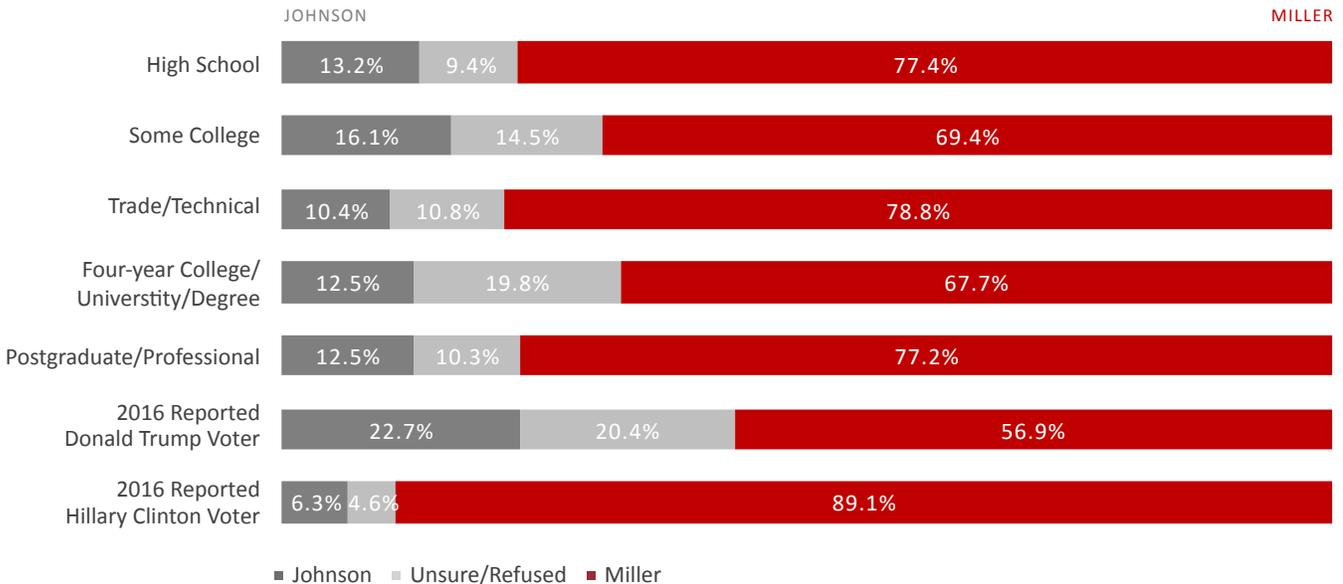
## JOHNSON vs MILLER

### Demographic information (Part 2): By ethnicity & geographic location



## JOHNSON vs MILLER

### Demographic information (Part 3): By education level & reported vote in the 2016 Presidential Election



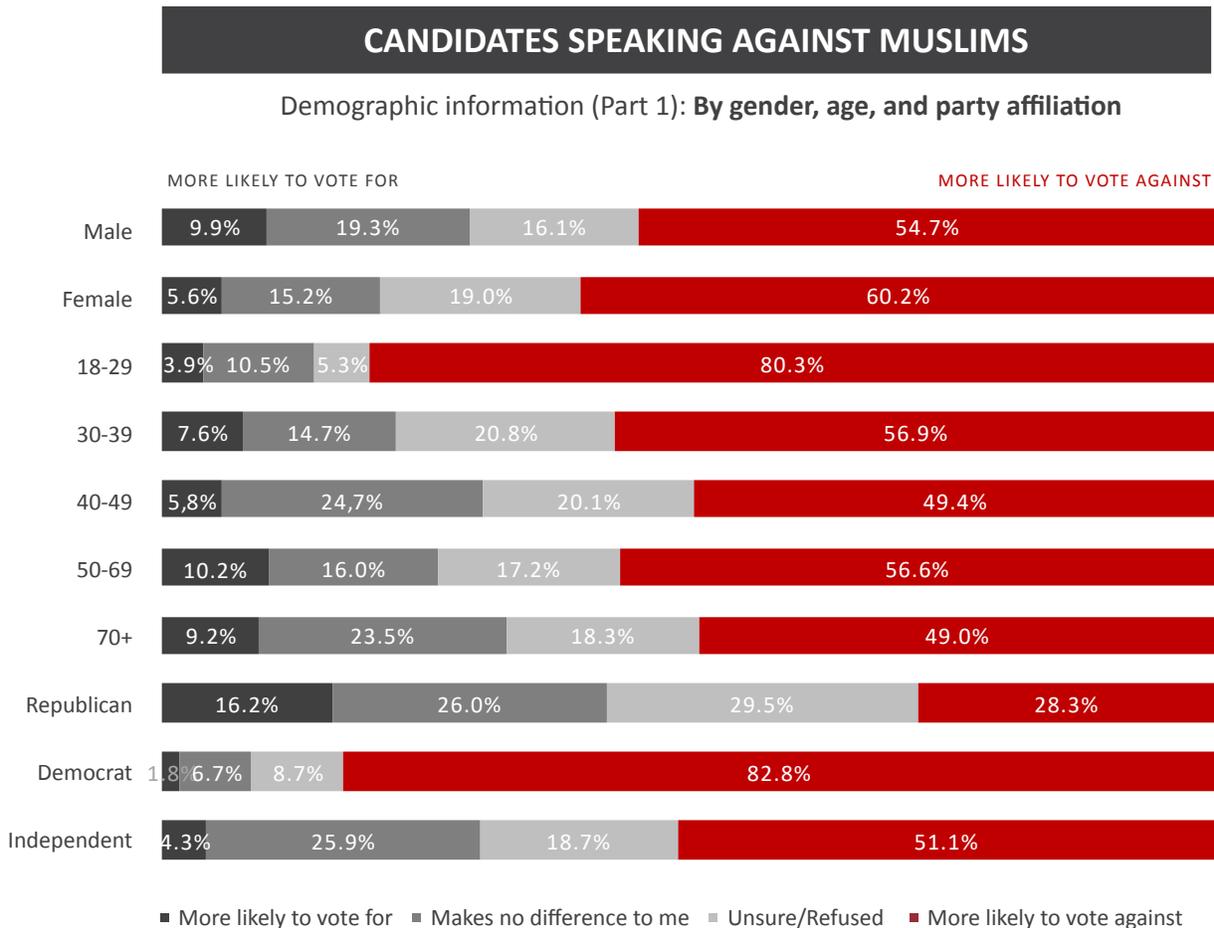
Question: **Is it appropriate or inappropriate for candidates who are running for public office to speak negatively about Muslims during their political campaign?**

**Appropriate** ..... 14.3%  
**Inappropriate** ..... 71.4%  
 Unsure/Refused ..... 14.3%

## CANDIDATES SPEAKING AGAINST MUSLIMS

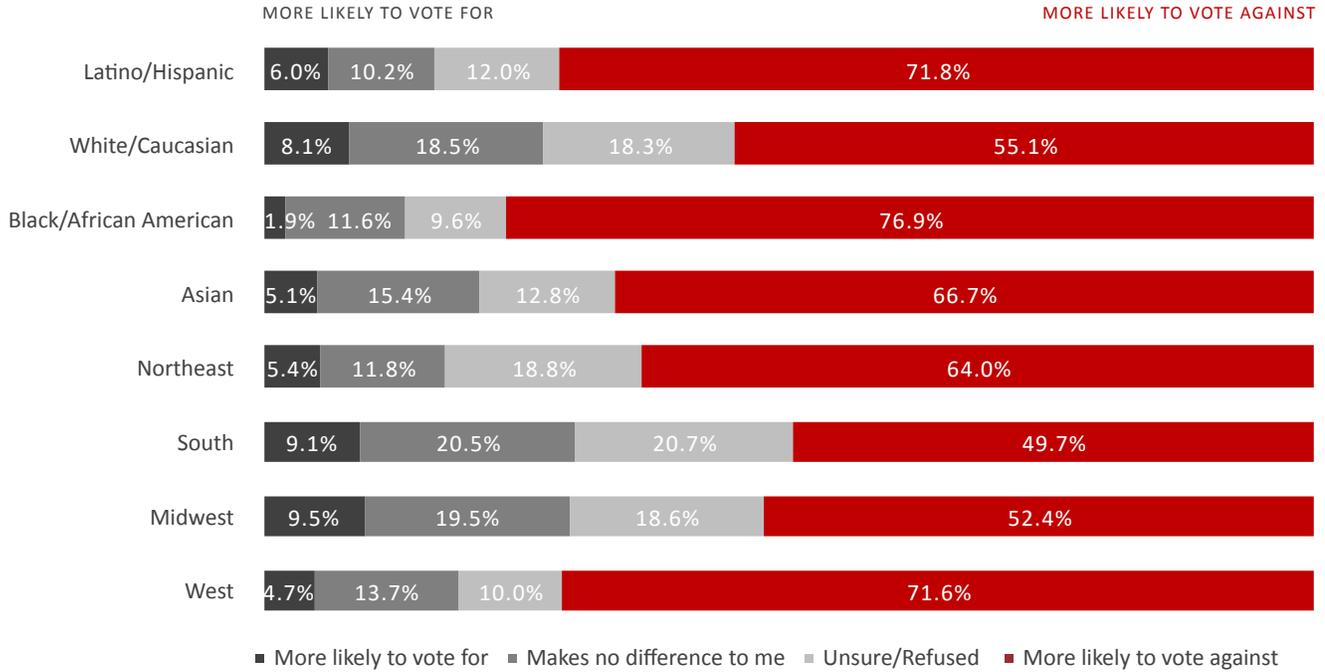
Question: **Thinking about a candidate running for public office who speaks negatively about Muslims, would you be more likely to vote for, or more likely to vote against this candidate?**

**More likely to vote for** ..... 7.6%  
**More likely to vote against** ..... 57.6%  
 Makes no difference to me ..... 17.2%  
 Unsure/Refused ..... 17.6%



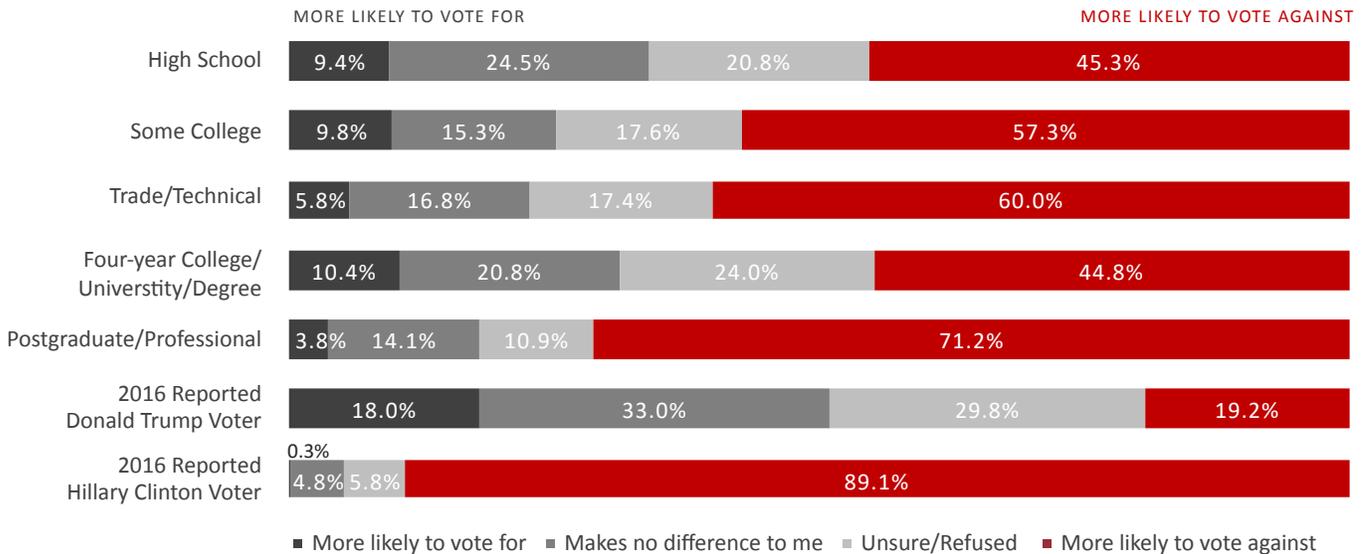
## CANDIDATES SPEAKING AGAINST MUSLIMS

### Demographic information (Part 2): By ethnicity & geographic location



## CANDIDATES SPEAKING AGAINST MUSLIMS

### Demographic information (Part 3): By education level & reported vote in the 2016 Presidential Election



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