

Civic Fracture & Renewal in Wisconsin

A Report on the Public's Civic Attitudes and Behaviors

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The Center for Communication & Civic Renewal (CCCR) is an interdisciplinary research team housed in the School of Journalism & Mass Communication at the University of Wisconsin-Madison. CCCR's research aims to understand Wisconsin public opinion and the state's broad political communication ecology, drawing upon frameworks and methods foundations in communication, political science, sociology, psychology, and computer science. Dr. Michael Wagner leads the Center as Faculty Director, Dr. Dhavan Shah is the Center's Scientific Director, and Dr. Nathan Kalmoe serves as Executive Director for the Center.

The Center's public opinion polling is one of three analytical components in its broader efforts studying political communication in Wisconsin. We have also conducted indepth interviews with over 200 citizens throughout the state to understand how they're talking and thinking about politics. And we have conducted large-scale computational analyses of social media and news media content throughout the state.

CCCR's past research is synthesized in the book, <u>Battleground: Asymmetric</u> <u>Communication Ecologies and the Erosion of Civil Society in Wisconsin</u>, published by Cambridge University Press in 2022, along with several peer-reviewed articles published in academic journals, and public-facing articles in outlets including the *Washington Post*, *Vox*, and *TechStream*.





About the 2022 Wisconsin Civic Fracture & Renewal Survey

The 2022 Civic Fracture & Renewal Survey was administered online by the <u>SSRS</u> survey firm from October 31 to November 14, 2022, with responses before and after the midterm election. SSRS supplied a demographically-weighted convenience sample of 3,031 adult Wisconsin residents and a probability-based nationally representative survey of 2,907 U.S. adult residents. We apply demography-based survey sample weights to better align estimates with the state and national populations.

Although non-probability samples do not have traditional margins of error, percentages from the full Wisconsin sample essentially have a margin of error of +/- 1.8 percentage points for point estimates near 50%, with smaller margins for estimates as they move toward 0% or 100%. Due to subsample size differences, the margin of error for estimates with Wisconsin Democrats (N=1,423) is +/- 2.6 percentage points, and the margin of error for estimates with Wisconsin Republicans (N=1,055) is +/- 3.0 percentage points. Democrats comprise 40% of the weighted sample, and Republicans comprise 42%.

We are recontacting the same Wisconsin respondents for a follow-up survey in March 2023 so that we may understand their civic orientations better with additional questions, and so that we can examine stability and change in their views across a changing political environment.

Estimates from the full national sample have a margin of error of +/- 1.8 percentage points. The margin of error for estimates with U.S. Democrats (N=1,218) is +/- 2.8 percentage points, and the margin of error for estimates with U.S. Republicans (N=1,235) is +/- 2.8 percentage points. Democrats comprise 41% of the weighted sample, and Republicans comprise 40%.

The 2022 Civic Fracture & Renewal Survey was supported by the John S. and James L. <u>Knight Foundation</u>, which supports research on the intersections of media and democracy.





Overview

Citizens make better political choices when their political information environment is healthy – accurate, prosocial, and embodying democratic values that include equal influence over government and civic equality for each citizen. Those values are essential for civic health. News about politics, messages from leaders, and conversations with others that embody those values make civil society healthier, even when we disagree.

However, those same communication channels can undermine democracy and hurt civil society when infected by misinformation, bigotry, and hostility toward democratic values and practices. That reorients civic concerns away from polarization generally to a focus on whether each side's views and actions strengthen or weaken democracy.

In this report, we investigate social and political symptoms emerging from Wisconsin's political divides, and how they compare nationally. While the diagnosis is grim, we also identify opportunities for a healthier long-term prognosis, highlighting substantial agreement across divides on ways to repair democracy in Wisconsin. We find...

Civic Fractures:

- **End of discussion**: 60% of Wisconsinites stopped talking about politics with someone with whom they disagree.
- Ending relationships: 1 in 6 Wisconsinites have ended a friendship or spend less time with a family member due to political disagreement, including 25% of Democrats and 10% of Republicans.
- **Anti-democracy**: 60% of Republicans who strongly approve of Donald Trump agree "the traditional American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it," versus 28% among Republicans who don't approve.

Barriers to Political Participation:

- **Safety fears**: one quarter of Wisconsinites say they avoid politics out of fear, with higher levels among Black residents and religious minorities.
- **Difficulty voting**: 8% of Wisconsinites report some difficulty in the voting process. That rises to 19% for the lowest-income Wisconsinites and 18% for people under 30, limiting voter access and representativeness of WI elections.

Paths Forward:

- **Finding common ground**: By a margin of 3 to 1, Wisconsinites endorse compromise to get things done over sticking to principle no matter what.
- **Trust in elections**: 80% of Wisconsinites including 78% of Republicans are confident that their votes are counted, showing resilience against widespread yet baseless claims of fraud. Similar numbers trust counts for in-person, while smaller majorities in both parties trust mail, absentee, and drop-box voting.
- **Separating church and state**: Wisconsinites favor keeping religion out of politics by a two-to-one margin, which helps preserve equal rights.





• **Making a representative government**: Large majorities of Wisconsinites—including most Republicans – support non-partisan legislative redistricting.





What partisanship and place represent in Wisconsin

Partisanship defines political divides between Wisconsinites more than any demographic trait, <u>as it does nationwide</u>, and so partisanship provides a natural frame for analyzing the civic consequences of those divides. However, cross-partisan interaction with the "other side" is substantially influenced by intersecting social identities that concentrate in each party—especially race, place, and religion—and not just who we vote for. The table below shows the percentages of select demographic groups among partisans in the survey.

	WI Republicans	WI Democrats
Race		
White	93%	78%
Black	1%	8%
Hispanic	3%	9%
Asian	2%	3%
Place		
Urban	17%	31%
Rural	39%	28%
Suburban	43%	40%
Religion		
Protestant	25%	18%
Catholic	29%	18%
Atheist/Agnostic	14%	36%

Wisconsin Democrats are a more diverse group compared to Wisconsin Republicans, like national party differences. In the survey:

- People of color comprise roughly 22% of the Democratic coalition in Wisconsin compared to 7% among Republicans (20% overall in Wisconsin).
- Urban and rural residents are evenly represented among WI Democrats (31% vs. 28%), while twice as many WI Republicans are rural than urban (39% vs. 17%).
- Thirty six percent of WI Democrats are Catholic or Protestant Christians and the same number are atheist or agnostic. Among WI Republicans, Protestants and Catholics outnumber atheists and agnostics nearly 4-to-1 (54% vs. 14%).

We do not intend to reduce partisanship to demography alone, however. Party aligns well for Black folks (with Democrats) and white evangelicals (with Republicans), but not for most other groups. Views for or against long-standing group hierarchies are generally more telling in defining partisan divides within and across social groups.





Introduction: Civic Health and Democracy in Wisconsin

Democracy and civic health go hand in hand. Democracy is the extent to which each citizen has equal say in what government does on their behalf and the extent to which government treats each citizen equally. Political systems with more representative governments and more equality for all groups under the law generally produce better outcomes for their publics than alternative forms of government.

Civic health involves mutual tolerance of and respect for others and a willingness to participate constructively in the collective aspects of community and political life.

Healthy societies need citizens who embrace democratic values and engage with their communities in ways that live up to those values. Democratic values include an absence of prejudice against social groups different from one's own, and the forbearance not to support political actions that unduly advantage one's own group over other social and political groups. With democratic values as a precondition, citizens can engage in healthy, respectful political discussions even when they disagree.

Healthy democracies usually tolerate disagreement beyond the bounds of democratic values, too – democracies offer freedoms to citizens who oppose democracy. That tolerance is legal, however, and does not preclude rightful condemnation and shunning.

Wisconsin and the nation suffer from deficits of democracy and civic health. State and federal elections frequently empower candidates and parties that have less support from the public than their opponents, and governments at all levels treat many marginalized social groups unequally – based on race, ethnicity, sex, religion, sexuality, and gender identity, to name a few.

Those failures of democracy are products of an unhealthy civil society – particularly widespread bigotry among citizens against people who are different, and a subsequent unwillingness to uphold the rights and liberties of those marginalized groups. Unequal treatment by government erodes civil society further by rupturing the social ties across groups that are necessary for a people-powered government to function well.

We begin by investigating public views of democracy in Wisconsin and beyond. How well (or poorly) do Wisconsinites *think* we're doing? The report continues with evidence of civic fractures, and we conclude with public support for steps toward civic renewal.

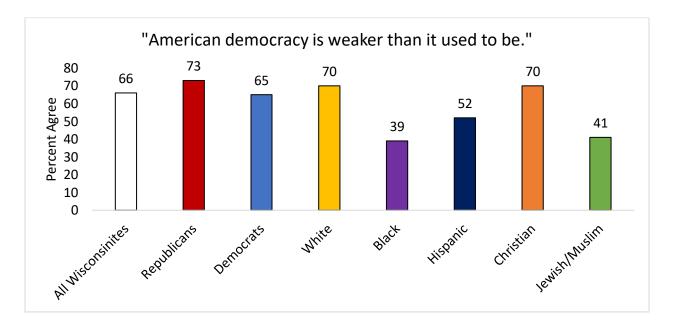




Public Perceptions of Democracy

We asked people if they agree or disagree that "American democracy is weaker than it used to be." Overall, 66% of Wisconsinites agreed, including 23% who strongly agreed, and we found no differences between Republicans and Democrats in that view. Numbers were nearly identical in the national survey. Most people probably answered with recent politics in mind.

White Wisconsinites were much more likely to perceive a decline than Wisconsinites of color (70% White, 39% Black, 52% Hispanic). Asian and Native American Wisconsinites answered similarly to Hispanic citizens but had too few responses for reliable estimates.



Similarly, Christians in Wisconsin perceived more democratic decline (75% Protestants, 70% Catholics) than religious minority communities (41% Jewish or Muslim).

Perceptions of greater democratic decline among white and Christian Wisconsinites may be a sign that people of color and religious minorities in the state were already more sensitized to democracy's shortcomings. Alternatively, or in addition, members of dominant groups often perceive movement toward equality – including democratic equality – as oppression against their own group, as advantages they have held erode.

Growing Civic Fractures

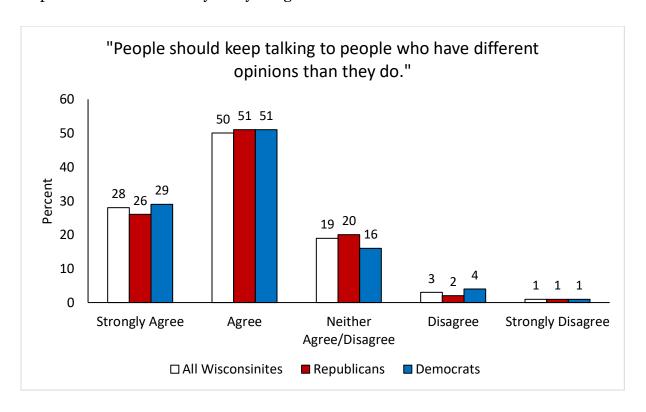
Stopping Political Conversations





Civic life is generally healthier when people are willing to <u>hear the other side</u>, and ordinary conversations are often the most powerful way to change minds, even as personally abusive or bigoted discussions are rarely worth enduring.

Seventy-eight percent of Wisconsinites agree or strongly agree that "People should keep talking to people who have different opinions than they do." Democrats and Republicans were similarly likely to agree.



But whether from intolerance or self-care, 60% of Wisconsinites say they stopped talking about politics with someone in the past because of disagreement. This is nearly *double* the percentage of Wisconsinites who reported doing so in <u>our 2012 survey</u>.

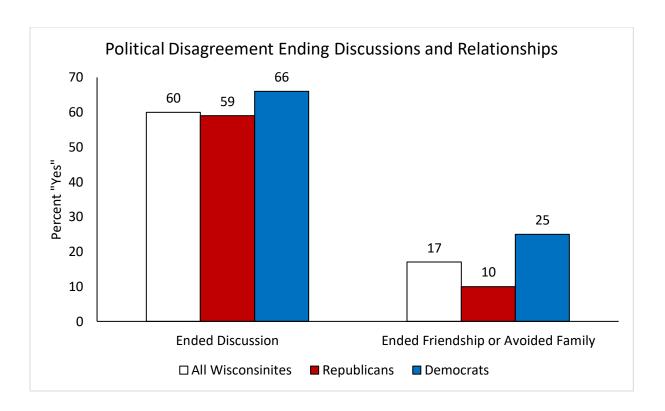
Among those who had stopped talking politics with someone in 2022, family and friends were the most common former discussion partners (77%), followed by co-workers (11%).

Wisconsin Democrats (66%) were slightly more likely to say they had ended political discussion than Republicans (59%).

The national survey mirrors the findings in Wisconsin: 76% of Americans agree that maintaining talk across lines of disagreement is important, and 61% say they stopped talking about politics with someone due to political disagreement.







Ending Relationships

The fallout from Wisconsin's political divides goes even deeper, limiting or ending longstanding personal relationships.

Seventeen percent of Wisconsinites report ending a friendship or spending less time with a family member due to political disagreement, including 25% of Democrats and 10% of Republicans.

Nationwide, 17% of Americans reported similar social ruptures over politics, including 24% of Democrats and 14% of Republicans.

Far from the ideal of political talk bridging political differences, some kinds of political conversations seem to be driving people apart.

Support for Anti-Democratic Actions

People who feel their group's social position is slipping are especially likely to lash out through legal and illegal means to maintain that position, even when their group remains advantaged compared to others. President Trump's efforts to retain power after his 2020 election loss and the U.S. Capitol attack by his supporters are prime examples.



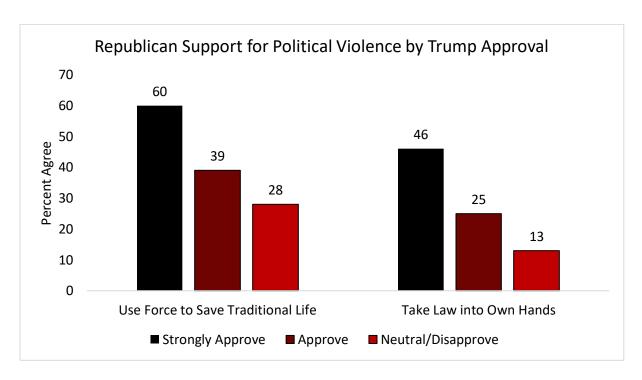


In the survey, Republicans feel besieged. Though conservatives are generally applying more legal restraints on speech than liberals these days, 75% of Wisconsin Republicans and 77% of U.S. Republicans agreed or strongly agreed that traditional views are being silenced, compared to just 23% of Wisconsin Democrats and 24% of U.S. Democrats.

Moving from grievance to support for anti-democratic action, we find that most Wisconsinites disapprove of using unlawful force as a tactic and that there are stark partisan differences regarding support for deploying unlawful force in politics.

43% of Wisconsin Republicans and 40% or U.S. Republicans agreed or strongly agreed that "the traditional American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it," compared to 15% of Wisconsin Democrats.

Likewise, 29% of Wisconsin Republicans and 30% of U.S. Republicans agreed or strongly agreed that "a time will come when patriotic Americans have to take the law into their own hands," versus 9% of Wisconsin Democrats and 8% of U.S. Democrats.



Notably, we find doubling or tripling of unlawful views among Republicans based on their evaluations of former President Trump. Among the 1/3 of Republicans who strongly approved of Trump's presidency, 60% agreed on using force and 46% agreed on taking the law into their own hands. Among the 4 in 10 who approved of Trump but not strongly, 39% supported force and 25% supported vigilantism. Among the rest who did not approve of Trump, 28% backed force and 13% backed vigilantism.





These worrisome findings, which are <u>aligned with recent national surveys</u> links between ethnic antagonism and violent political views, must be interpreted with great care.

<u>Prior research shows</u> people have a wide range of behaviors in mind when they answer questions about radical political actions. Questions specifying more serious harms tend to receive less support, as do questions that specify contemporary political contexts versus past conflicts or imagined futures. And many people who initially endorse extreme positions retreat when asked for more detail on their views.

Moreover, even when responses are deadly serious, those views are many steps short of taking personal action, and so these answers do not indicate an imminent risk of widespread disorder. Instead, such views suggest a diffuse openness to harm that could encourage others to act and limit social sanctions for violations of democratic norms.

Finally, partisan differences found here partly reflect the worldview orienting the questions, and less ideological question wording reduces those partisan gaps. The questions above stem from the <u>greater prevalence of right-wing violence</u> and <u>threats to democracy's principles</u> than from their U.S. opponents.

When we ask whether "it is permissible to engage in violence against your political enemies," overall agreement is much lower in state and national samples (5%), and large partisan differences tend to disappear without an ideological motive. However, we still find higher violence endorsement among Trump's strongest Republican supporters (6%) compared to Republicans who support him less strongly (3%).

Even with caveats, the results are disturbing.

Barriers to Political Participation

Avoiding Politics out of Fear

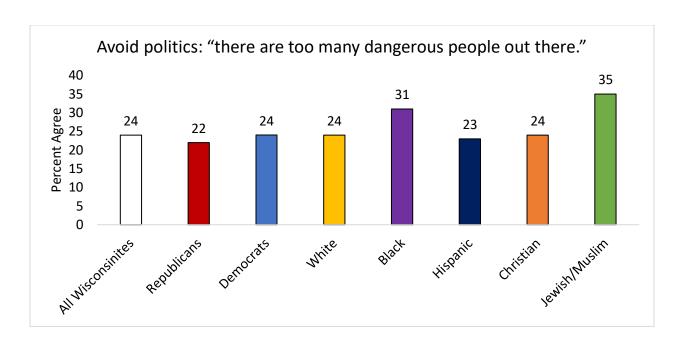
Amidst low but rising levels of political violence and <u>threats against public officials</u> nationwide, many Wisconsinites are worried about their personal safety in politics.

Twenty percent of Wisconsinites agreed or strongly agreed that they avoid participating in politics "because it puts my safety at risk."

Similarly, 24% said they avoid politics because "there are too many dangerous people out there." We see similar levels of safety concerns among Wisconsin Republicans and Democrats.







Notably, Black Wisconsinites were seven or eight points more likely to express safety fears than the statewide average on both questions. That fits a broader pattern in which marginalized people bear greater civic costs and miss more civic opportunities. Black folks may worry especially about dangers posed by police in response to their advocacy.

Jewish and Muslim Wisconsinites were about eleven points more likely to express safety fears over politics than Christians on both questions, signaling again how marginalized groups recognize greater threats that accompany their political participation.

The national survey showed similar or slightly elevated fear of politics compared to Wisconsin – 24% for the "safety at risk" question and 29% for "dangerous people."

Difficulty Voting

More broadly, administrative hurdles to voting often prevent eligible citizens from full political participation, and that undermines representative government.

Wisconsin tends to have one of the highest voter turnout rates in the nation. Even so, Wisconsin is <u>middle of the pack</u> among states regarding administrative ease of voting, with same-day registration working in our favor and strict voter ID laws working against. Barriers to voting often disproportionately limit participation among low-income people, the youngest citizens, and people of color.



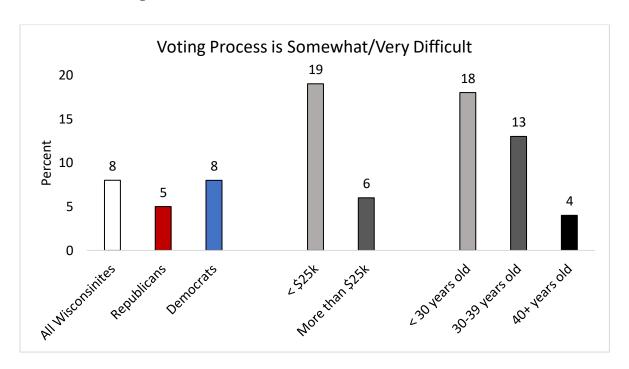


In the survey, 8% of Wisconsinites said the voting process was somewhat or very difficult, compared to 12% nationally. Voting difficulty varied most by income and age.

Nineteen percent of Wisconsinites from households making less than \$25,000 said voting is difficult; they comprise one of every six people in the state. In comparison, just 6% with household incomes above that level said the same.

Eighteen percent of Wisconsinites under 30 described the voting process as difficult versus 13% of citizens in their 30s, and just 4% of people 40 or above.

Wisconsin Democrats (8%) were slightly likelier to say the voting process was difficult for them than Republicans (5%).



Although we see no voting difficulty differences by race and ethnicity in the Wisconsin survey (8% for Hispanic, Black, and White Wisconsinites), the national survey shows Hispanic citizens (20%) and Asian citizens (18%) were twice as likely to say the voting process is somewhat or very difficult compared to Black citizens (11%) and white citizens (9%). We did not ask why, but language barriers may be a substantial impediment for these groups.

Twenty-one percent of Americans with household incomes below \$25,000 say voting is difficult compared to a 10% average for those above. Nineteen percent of 20-somethings





and 30-somethings say the voting process is difficult nationwide versus just 8% who are forty and above.

Political and Civic Participation

Despite these immense challenges, majorities of Wisconsinites remain active in political and civic life. We asked about several forms of political participation beyond voting, including attending a rally or protest, signing a petition, and trying to persuade others.

Among Wisconsinites, 57% completed at least one non-voting political activity in the past year. People who did not identify with a political party were far less likely to do so – 37%, compared to 61% of partisans.

We also asked about several kinds of civic participation outside electioneering, including volunteering for a community organization, providing support to someone in need, and volunteering as a poll worker.

Fifty-seven percent of Wisconsinites completed at least one form of civic participation in the past year. Here, too, partisans were more civically engaged (59%) compared to non-partisans (48%).

Wisconsinites are also politically active online. Seventy-seven percent follow political content, 'like' that content, or post political messages at least rarely.

Paths Forward: Reigniting Conversation and Compromise

These findings could be cause for despair, but we see several signs of hope, too, centered on opportunities to strengthen democracy in Wisconsin. These elements are not a comprehensive plan for civic health in Wisconsin, but they provide a foundation to start.

For example, some of the social breaches we found above do not last forever. Among Wisconsinites who stopped talking politics with someone, 14% say they tried to restart political talk with someone who disagreed within the past two months.

And Wisconsinites may be open to reducing barriers to voting: 81% agree or strongly agree that "democracy works best when people are able to participate in decision making," with similar support in both parties.

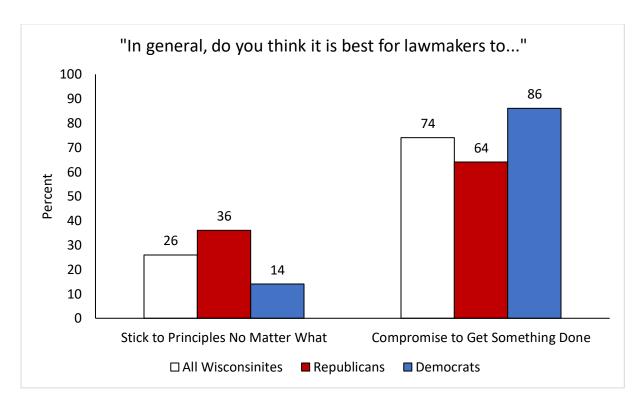
Finding Common Ground





Despite conventional wisdom about the intractable nature of political divides, Wisconsinites are not ideological purists: 74% support compromises that makes progress on solving problems versus holding out on principle for policy ideals.

That view is widely bipartisan, too, endorsed by 86% of Democrats and a smaller but sizable majority of Republicans at 64%.



Wisconsin's support for compromise mirrors national views backing compromise at 73%, with 82% agreement among Democrats and 66% among Republicans.

Of course, some support for compromise is probably a wish that the *other* side will make major concessions – and compromise can sometimes undermine rather than strengthen democracy.

Related, in a survey we conducted in 2018, we asked respondents to interpret why political leaders might engage in a compromise with the other side. A lawmaker's copartisans tended to view the decision to compromise as a genuine one while those in the opposing major party tended to treat the decision to compromise with some skepticism.

Even so, general agreement around compromise is a starting point for progress, from specific policies to more sweeping reforms.

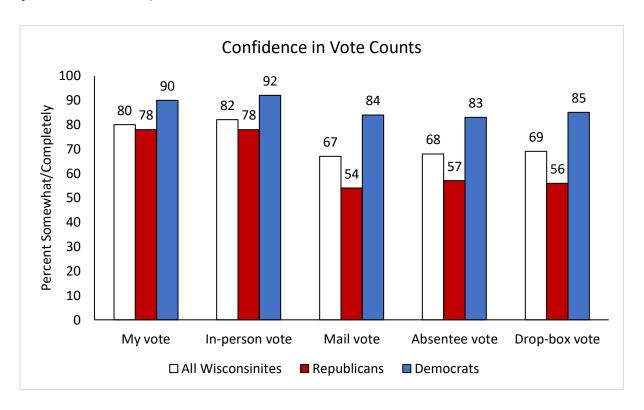




Trust in Wisconsin's Elections

National and state elections have been under figurative and literal attack as many Republican leaders have spread (or failed to refute) lies about the integrity of our elections. Despite those false claims, Wisconsinites generally trust the elections.

Seventy-eight percent of Wisconsin Republicans are somewhat or very confident that their vote will be counted, along with 90% of Democrats, and 80% of Wisconsinites overall. Numbers are similar for confidence in in-person votes: 78% of Republicans, 92% of Democrats, and 82% of Wisconsinites overall.



Confidence is a bit lower for other forms of voting — mail, absentee, and drop-box— but we still find that majorities in both parties are somewhat or very confident that all those votes are counted by those means.

It is noteworthy that, despite evident public confidence in the state's several voting methods, Wisconsin's Supreme Court <u>overturned the option</u> for Wisconsin voters to cast their ballots early in secure ballot drop-boxes in 2022.



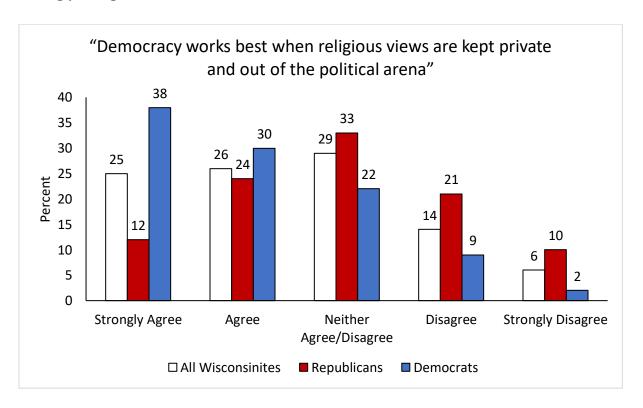


Seventy-eight percent of Americans in the national survey were confident about their own vote being counted, including 75% of Republicans and 89% of Democrats, with similar election trust patterns as those in Wisconsin found across voting modes.

Separating Church & State

Places that base their politics on religious doctrine often struggle to uphold their moral and legal obligations to treat all citizens equally – especially by gender and sexuality. This is one reason why the U.S. Constitution requires separation of church and state. Even so, debate about the role of religion in politics continues with fervor.

Wisconsinites prefer keeping religion out of politics. Fifty-one percent of the state's residents agreed or strongly agreed that "democracy works best when religious views are kept private and out of the political arena" compared to just 19% who disagreed or strongly disagreed.



We do find some partisan gaps that may make consensus more elusive: Democrats agreed by a 6-to-1 margin (67% to 11%), while Republicans were about evenly split (36% agree, 31% disagree). However, that should be enough agreement to form a substantial bipartisan bulwark.





Nationally, we find 52% who agreed that religion should be kept out of politics versus 20% who disagreed. National partisan gaps were similar to Wisconsin's here too.

Representative Elections

Fair elections are the best means to ensure that government represents the will of the people – it is the most basic condition for government to be legitimate – but electoral systems in state and federal governments frequently empower parties and candidates who win fewer votes than their opponents, resulting in minority rule.

Wisconsin's state legislative and federal congressional districts routinely award Republicans majority control even when most Wisconsin voters prefer Democratic candidates. That <u>result is due</u> to Republican "gerrymanders" – drawing electoral maps with unfair advantage, along with the high concentration of Democratic voters in cities. Less competitive districts can also have lower levels of voter turnout than districts where the election result is more in doubt, further undermining representative outcomes.

You might guess Republican voters broadly support this situation based on naked partisan interest, while Democrats object, but that is not what we found.

We didn't ask about redistricting in this 2022 survey, but our 2018 election survey identified broad bipartisan agreement behind a nonpartisan redistricting process that prevents parties in power from giving themselves extra seats and unearned influence.

Two in three Democrats and over half of Republicans supported non-partisan redistricting over the current system. That result is especially remarkable since the public is often wary of making large changes to the procedural status quo.

Wisconsinites prefer non-partisan control of election procedures to ensure fair elections, over and above their own partisan preferences.

Conclusions

Citizens and civic health thrive in a healthy democratic political environment that is factual, prosocial, and grounded in values that include equal influence over government and civic equality for each citizen, even when we disagree on other things.

In contrast, the survey shows signs of serious civic fracture. But while Wisconsin's politics are far from ideal, public support for a wide range of civically healthy ideas provides hope that we can move forward toward repair and renewal.





In our next report, to be released later this spring, we will highlight how the information Wisconsinites consume – the news they use, the people they talk to, the social media they engage with – is associated with their social and political attitudes.





Question Wording Civic Fractures

- DI7. American democracy is weaker than it used to be.
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree
- RI4. People should keep talking to people who have different opinions than they do.
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree
- Q16. Have you ever stopped talking about politics with someone because you disagreed?
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No

Q16b. With whom have you stopped talking about politics because you disagreed? (PLEASE SELECT ALL APPLY)

- a. family members and friends
- b. co-workers
- c. Republicans
- d. Democrats
- Q16a. Have you ever ended a friendship or stopped spending time with a family member because you disagreed about politics? (
 - 1 Yes
 - 2 No
- Q41a. Overall, did you approve or disapprove of the way Donald Trump handled his job as president?
 - 1 Strongly Approve
 - 2 Approve
 - 3 Neither Approve nor Disapprove
 - 4 Disapprove
 - 5 Strongly Disapprove
 - 8 Don't know
- DI9. People with traditional viewpoints are being silenced.
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree
- DI10. The traditional American way of life is disappearing so fast that we may have to use force to save it
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree





- 2 Disagree
- 1 Strongly disagree
- DI11. A time will come when patriotic Americans have to take the law into their own hands
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree
- DI6. It is permissible to engage in violence against your political enemies.
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree

Barriers to Political & Civic Participation

- PA1. I don't participate in politics because it puts my safety at risk.
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree
- PA4. I don't participate in politics because there are too many dangerous people out there.
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree
- Q75. How difficult do you find the voting process? (PLEASE SELECT ONE ANSWER BELOW)
 - 1 Not at all difficult
 - 2 Not too difficult
 - 3 Somewhat difficult
 - 4 Very difficult
- Q3. For each activity listed below, please indicate if you have engaged in this activity in the past 12 months. (PLEASE SELECT ALL THAT APPLY)
 - O1 Participated in a political protest activity
 - O2 Attended a political meeting, rally, or speech
 - 03 Signed a petition
 - Wore a badge or a t-shirt with a political message
 - 05 Donated money to a political campaign
 - Tried to persuade someone to change their position on a candidate or issue
 - 07 Contacted an elected official for any reason
 - 08 Volunteered for a candidate or campaign
 - 09 Displayed a sticker or sign supporting a candidate





- 10 Volunteered for a community organization
- 11 Helped raise money for a cause or an organization
- Donated money to a cause, political group, or organization
- 13 Served in a leadership role in a community organization
- 14 Provided support to someone in need
- 15 Attended religious services
- 16 Boycotted certain products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons
- 17 Deliberately bought certain products for political, ethical, or environmental reasons
- 18 Served as a volunteer to help administer local elections
- 19 Attended a support group
- 20 Came to the aid of someone who needed help
- 00 Did not participate in any of these activities in the past 12 months
- Q4. For each activity listed below, please indicate how frequently during the past 12 months you have engaged in this activity online, including on **social media** like Facebook, Twitter, and TikTok.
 - 1 Never
 - 2 Rarely
 - 3 Occasionally
 - 4 Fairly often
 - 5 Very often
 - a. Joined an online group for a candidate
 - b. Followed a candidate, campaign or party on social media
 - c. Followed a civic organization on social media
 - d. Followed a social movement, such as #MAGA or #blacklivesmatter, on social media
 - e. Commented on an online news story or political blog post
 - f. Sent text messages to others about a political or social issue
 - g. Posted or shared content about politics or a social issue on social media
 - h. Shared funny videos or cartoons related to a political candidate, campaign or issue
 - i. 'Liked' material related to political issues that others have posted on social media
 - j. Used social media settings to make changes to what appears in my news feed
 - k. Tried to avoid seeing political content on social media
 - I. Decided not to share a post on social media because it could offend other people
 - m. Unfriended, blocked, or hid people who post too often about politics on social media
 - n. Participated in a protest on social media.

Paths Forward

Q17. In the last two months, have you tried to **restart** talking with someone you had stopped talking to because you *disagreed* about politics?

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

DM8. Democracy works best when people are able to participate in decision making.

- 5 Strongly agree
- 4 Agree
- 3 Neither agree/disagree
- 2 Disagree
- 1 Strongly disagree





- Q32. In general, do you think it is best for lawmakers to stick to their principles no matter what or make compromises to get something done?
 - 1 Stick to principles no matter what
 - 2 Compromise to get something done
- VM. Next, how confident are you in the following items related to voting in the general election this year?
 - 1 Not at all confident
 - 2 Not very confident
 - 3 Somewhat confident
 - 4 Completely confident
 - VM1. My vote will be counted
 - VM2. All in-person votes will be counted
 - VM3. All mail-in votes will be counted
 - VM4. All absentee votes will be counted
 - VM5. All ballots dropped off at an official ballot box will be counted
- DM2. Democracy works best when religious views are kept private and out of the political arena.
 - 5 Strongly agree
 - 4 Agree
 - 3 Neither agree/disagree
 - 2 Disagree
 - 1 Strongly disagree



