

### **JANUARY 2023 SURVEY REPORT:**

## NEW INSIGHT INTO SUPPORT FOR POLITICAL VIOLENCE IN AMERICA FROM THE RIGHT AND LEFT

Findings from the January 2023 CPOST/NORC Nationally Representative Survey on Understanding Support for Political Violence in America

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### **Chicago Project on Security and Threats**

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### Introduction

Since June 2021, the University of Chicago Project on Security and Threats has conducted nationally representative surveys of violent sentiments for political causes among American adults. These surveys are fielded by the highly reputable NORC at the University of Chicago using the gold standard of polling methodologies – drawing large random samples from panels of 50,000 individuals matched to the US population on dozens of demographic, socio-economic, political, and other factors.

Our sixth and most recent CPOST/NORC survey on political violence was fielded January 12 to 17, 2023 and sampled over 2,100 American adults, with a margin of error of about 2.9 percent. This survey asks questions to understand the scope and drivers for political violence in America to examine violent support for both right and left-wing causes. Like the previous five CPOST/NORC surveys, we track "Insurrectionist Movement" characterized by support for violence to restore former president Donlad Trump to the presidency. But we also widen the aperture to understand support for violence in relation to police brutality, abortion rights, and minority voting rights.

This broad approach to understanding support for political violence from the right and the left is essential to anticipating flashpoints and critical for developing effective strategies to address and mitigate risks from wherever they arise to threaten the health and stability of American democracy.

The key findings of the January 2023 survey are:

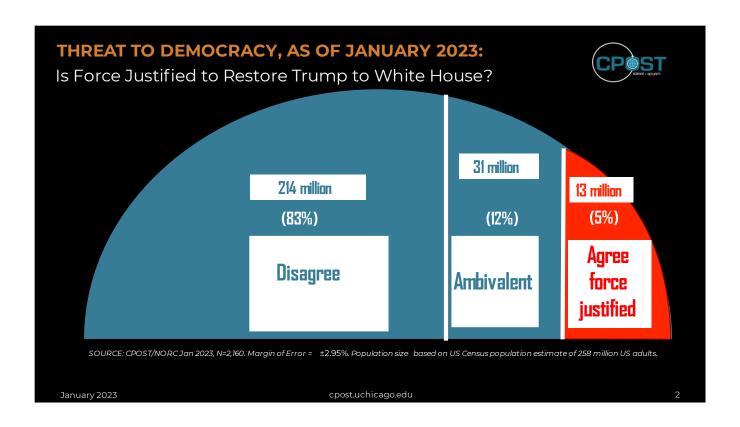
- (1) The size "Insurrectionist Movement" has stabilized. In September 2022, 5% of Americans believed force was justified to restore Trump to the presidency. Today that number is the same, at 5%.
- (2) Support for violence in addressing causes on the Left is also stable, remains sizable, and comes predominantly from Democrats. Support for political violence on the Left stops far short of justifying the overthrow of the US government. Nevertheless, our new survey makes clear that support for political violence continues to extend across party lines.
- (3) Support for political violence against members of Congress and on government officials is at a disturbing 9% -- the equivalent of 23 million adults -- and comes almost equally from the Right and Left. The 23 million breaks down as 10.6 million Republicans, 7.6 million Democrats, and 4.8 million Independents.
- (4) There is also good news. Our January 2023 survey found that 80% of the public supports bipartisan solutions to American political violence, indicating that Americans are *not* polarized on this crucial issue and pointing the way forward for political leaders to work together to prevent political violence in the future.

The remainder of the report delves into these findings in greater detail. The topline survey results are included as an appendix to this report.

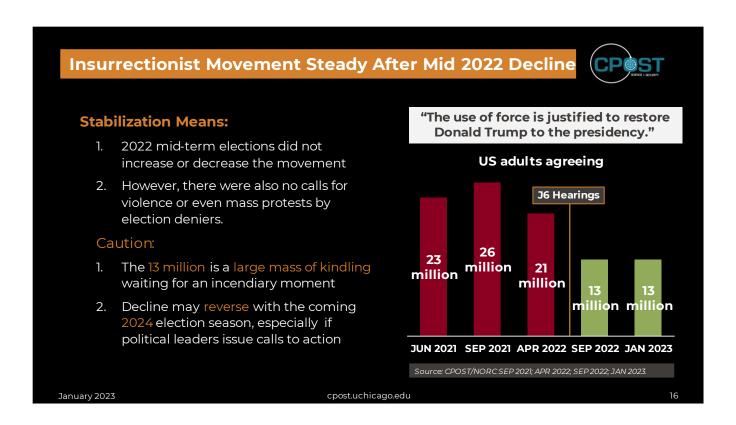
### The Stabilization of the pro-Trump Insurrectionist Movement

To assess the strength of the pro-Trump insurrectionist movement, the crucial question asked respondents whether they agreed, "the use of force is justified to restore Donald Trump to the presidency," which we have asked, word for word, in four surveys over the past 18 months.

As the chart below shows, 5 percent of American adults – the equivalent of 13 million Americans -- now agree with that statement.



This number is identical – to the exact percentage -- to September 2022. To be clear, we observed ebbs and flows in the previous periods from June 2021 (the first time we asked this question) to April 2022 largely within the margins of error. However, we found a sharp fall over the summer of 2022 – 33% -- that was well beyond the margin of error and is clearly a real decline. However, we are now seeing the number stabilize since September 2022.



Why the stabilization in the number of violent supporters for Trump? Although we cannot be sure, the pattern of data over time does provide important clues to the answer.

The stabilization is unlikely due to de-platforming Trump from Facebook, Instagram and Twitter or simply arrests for January 6<sup>th</sup>, since these occurred or started in earnest in early Spring 2021 and did not stop the numbers from trending slightly upward from June to September 2021.

Instead, an obvious possibility is that the violent Trump movement has fallen over time to a hardened core of supporters.

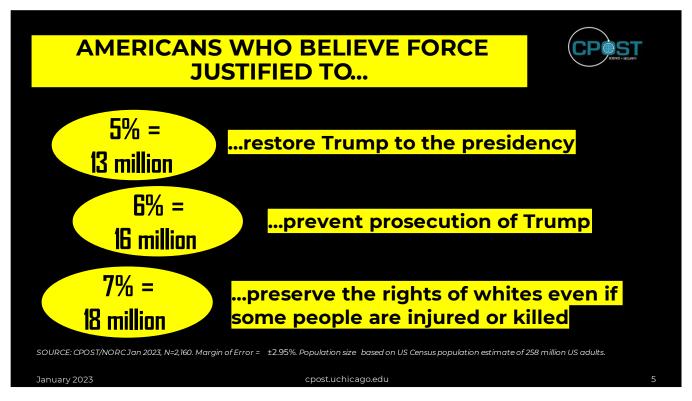
To be sure, we should not over-read these results. The recent dip in violent support for Trump could reverse as we head into the most tumultuous phase of the midterm election season.

However, the apparent stabilization of the pro-Trump insurrection movement creates the question whether violent support for political causes from the Right has declined in general or whether violent support for the Trump movement may be evolving into other causes.

### Violent Support for Multiple Political Causes on the Right

To assess whether political violent sentiments on the Right are evolving and/or spreading to other political issues beyond the alleged stolen election in 2020, it is important to ask questions related to specific political grievances not necessarly related to pro-Trump and/or stolen election issues. Hence, CPOST asked the questions whether respondents agreed, "the use of force is justified to prevent the federal government from prosecuting Donald Trump" and "the use of force is justified to preserve the rights of whites."

As the chart below shows, 6 percent of American adults – the equivalent of 16 million -- now agree with the statement on Trump prosecution, while 7% -- the equivalent of 18 million adults -- agreed with the statement on white rights.



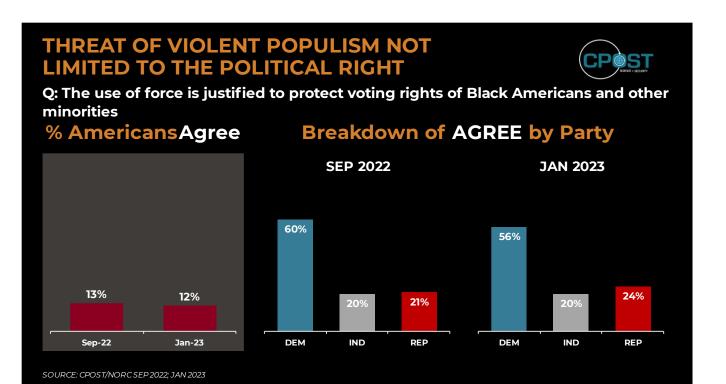
Although within the margin of error compared to insurrectionist sentiments, the results confirm that public support for political violence is broader than just a single political grievance on the Right and those other grievances have at least as much violent support as for insurrectionist sentiments. This suggests a broader radicalization beyond that associated with the events related to the 2020 election to the potential for mobilization based on new and current political grievances.

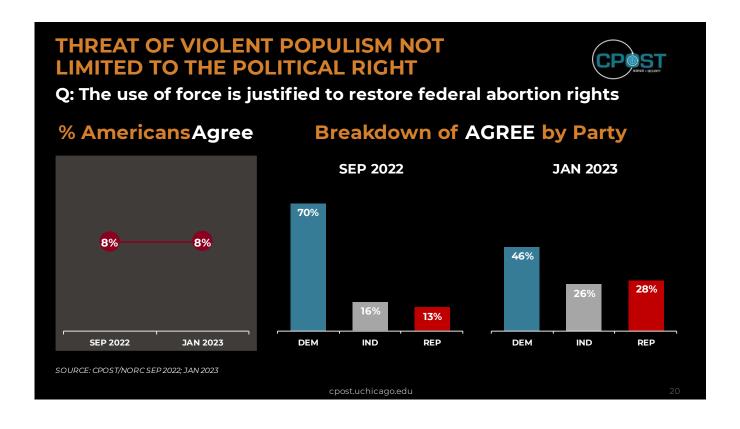
Given this finding, CPOST will explore a wider range of political grievances in subsequent surveys.

### Support for Political Violence from the Left

Our survey also asked a variety of questions related to potential political violence from the left, focusing on grievances where there may be violent mobilization across the political spectrum, not just simply from the right.

As in our September 2022 survey, our January 2023 survey found that there are indeed millions of Democrats with violent sentiments related to restoring the federal right to abortion and defending minority voting rights. As the chart below shows, Democrats make up strong majorities among those supporting force for these causes. Around 60% percent who support violence for these Left causes are Democrats in both our September 2022 and January 2023 surveys.

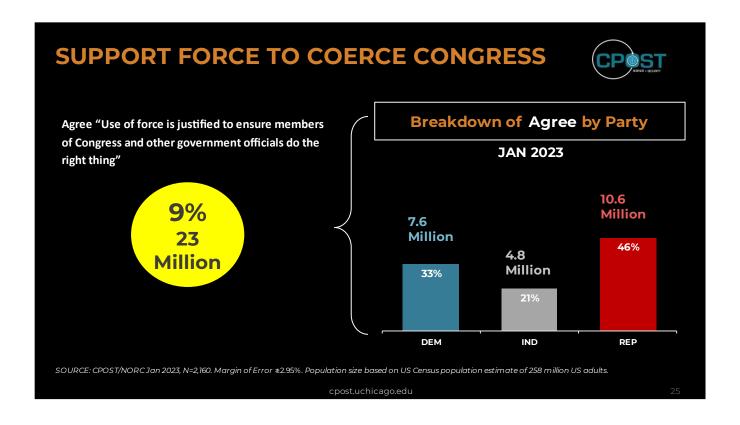




### Support for Political Violence across both the Right and the Left

Support for political violence against a specific target may be broadly shared across the Left/Right political divide. Importantly, "shared" support in a specific context does not mean shared underlying grievances across Left/Right issues. Still, understanding shared political grievances among Republicans and Democrats (and Independents) is helpful to understanding the general nature of politically violent radicalization in the United States.

To assess the existence of politically "shared" support for force, the survey asked whether respondents agreed that "the use of force is justified to ensure members of Congress and other government officials do the right thing."



As the chart above shows, 9 percent of American adults – the equivalent of 23 million people – agree that the use of force is justified against members of Congress and other government officials. The breakdown by party shows that this support is broadly shared across the political spectrum, with the 23 million breaking down as 10.6 million Republicans, 7.6 million Democrats, and 4.8 million Independents.

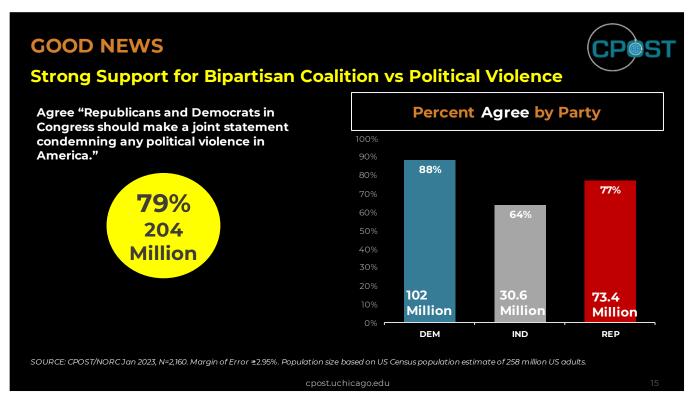
This finding may help to explain the rising levels of threats against members of Congress and other government officials, who become the target of both Left and Right radicalization. It suggests that a project designed to assess and track those threats in detail and across time is important. CPOST is exploring possibilities in this regard.

### Vast Support for Bipartisan Solutions to Political Violence across both the Right and the Left

Our previous surveys indicated opportunities to mobilize a vast bipartisan coalition among the Americans to oppose political violence. This data led to detailed presentations and recommendations on communication strategies to encourage Republicans, Independents, and Democrats to oppose the political violent threats to our democracy. Indeed, there were major political communications to country consistent with the data and recommendation by the White House prior to the mid-term elections, which may explain the surprising results that occurred.

To probe the US public directly on this issue, our January 2023 survey asked if respondents agree, "Republicans and Democrats in Congress should make a joint statement condemning any political violence in America."

As the chart below shows, 79 percent of American adults – the equivalent of 204 million people -- agree with that statement. These 204 million represent the vast majority of Democrats (88%), Republicans (77%), and Independents (64%).



This strong support for bipartisan solutions to political violence in America comes as extremely good news. This shows that the overwhelming majority of Americans are *not* polarized on the preventing violent threats to our democracy and provides a roadmap endorsed by the public for America political leaders to follow to prevent political violence in the future.

#### Conclusion

The best course to defend democracy in the coming months is going further down the path that has achieved progress. The wedge issue that works for democracy is opposition to violence itself. So, *our leaders across the* 

political spectrum should mobilize the vast majority of both Republicans and Democrats who oppose political violence and support peaceful means of resolving disputes. The results of the mid-term elections on November 8, 2022 provide evidence that this approach can work. Our leaders should follow up this momentum to endorse more bipartisan solutions to safeguard American democracy going forward.

### **Acknowledgements**

Senior Research Associates Keven Ruby, PhD and Kyle Larson, PhD contributed to the analysis presented in this report.

### **Support**

Funding for the survey and analysis was provided by the University of Chicago, the Pritzker Military Foundation on behalf of the Pritzker Military Museum & Library, Fouad AlNaggar, and contributions from the CPOST board of directors.

### About CPOST

The University of Chicago Project on Security and Threats' mission is to advance faculty research on national and international security affairs, pursuing policy-relevant basic research. Since forming in 2004, CPOST has long sought to support academic research related to international and domestic security issues, with a particular emphasis on helping that research reach audiences outside academia, both in policy and the general public.

A central feature of CPOST's mission is to support original research on "black hole" topics of security affairs, broadly defined, about which scholars know – as yet – relatively little. Most importantly, the knowledge gained from studying the topic has the potential to impact policy decisions that enhance the security of the United States, nations and peoples around the world.







# Understanding Support for Political Violence in America

## Chicago Project on Security and Threats Omnibus Survey, NORC 6

### **TOPLINE**

Conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago for CPOST

Interviews: 1/12 to 1/17/23 2160 adults ages 18+

Margin of Error: +/- 2.95 percentage points at the 95% confidence level among all 18+ General Population

Note: All results show percentages among all respondents, unless otherwise labeled.

Percentages may not always sum to 100%.

[uchi1a] [I am concerned about losing my primary source of income in the next 12 months.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	8%	8%	11%	6%
Agree	14%	15%	19%	12%
Neither agree nor disagree	23%	20%	31%	23%
Disagree	31%	33%	24%	32%
Strongly disagree	24%	25%	15%	27%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	1%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi1b] [The 2020 election was stolen from Donald Trump and Joe Biden is an illegitimate president.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	11%	2%	10%	24%
Agree	10%	3%	7%	19%
Neither agree nor disagree	19%	7%	32%	30%
Disagree	11%	8%	18%	13%
Strongly disagree	48%	81%	32%	15%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	1%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi1c] [The people who stormed the Capitol on January 6th to stop the certification of the 2020 election results are patriots.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	4%	2%	5%	5%
Agree	6%	3%	4%	10%
Neither agree nor disagree	27%	10%	41%	41%
Disagree	14%	7%	14%	25%
Strongly disagree	49%	78%	35%	19%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	1%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi1d\_0] [I would vote for Trump in the 2024 presidential election even if he does not run as a Republican.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	13%	2%	12%	25%
Agree	10%	4%	12%	18%
Neither agree nor disagree	16%	4%	29%	22%
Disagree	10%	3%	13%	16%
Strongly disagree	51%	87%	34%	19%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	0%
N=	1070	472	189	408

[uchi1d\_1] [I would vote for Trump in the 2024 presidential election.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	11%	1%	8%	27%
Agree	12%	3%	9%	25%
Neither agree nor disagree	16%	6%	29%	23%
Disagree	8%	5%	12%	11%
Strongly disagree	52%	85%	40%	13%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	3%	2%
N=	1090	511	170	408

[uchi1e\_0] [I would anonymously report to the FBI a co-worker whom I know broke into the Capitol on January 6, 2021.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	27%	47%	17%	10%
Agree	23%	28%	20%	19%
Neither agree nor disagree	30%	18%	42%	38%
Disagree	11%	5%	10%	18%
Strongly disagree	9%	3%	11%	15%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	1%	1%
N=	1070	472	189	408

[uchi1e\_1] [I would anonymously report to the FBI a co-worker whom I know set a police car on fire during an anti-police protest.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	35%	36%	27%	38%
Agree	28%	28%	20%	33%
Neither agree nor disagree	22%	20%	34%	18%
Disagree	7%	7%	9%	7%
Strongly disagree	7%	9%	9%	4%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	2%	0%
N=	1090	511	170	408

[uchi1f\_0] [Militias like the Oath Keepers and groups like the Proud Boys are needed to defend liberty in America.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	4%	1%	5%	6%
Agree	3%	1%	1%	8%
Neither agree nor disagree	28%	9%	47%	40%
Disagree	16%	9%	15%	26%
Strongly disagree	48%	81%	30%	19%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	2%
N=	1070	472	189	408

[uchi1f\_1] [Left-wing militant movements like Antifa are needed to defend liberty in America.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	5%	1%	2%
Agree	4%	5%	4%	3%
Neither agree nor disagree	27%	28%	40%	21%
Disagree	20%	18%	18%	23%
Strongly disagree	45%	43%	35%	51%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	2%	1%
N=	1090	511	170	408

[uchi2a] [The use of force by ordinary citizens is sometimes necessary to achieve political goals that I support.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	2%	3%	5%
Agree	10%	7%	10%	13%
Neither agree nor disagree	23%	14%	39%	27%
Disagree	28%	26%	22%	32%
Strongly disagree	36%	50%	27%	23%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2b] [I would personally use force to achieve political goals that I support.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	2%	1%	2%	4%
Agree	3%	3%	5%	3%
Neither agree nor disagree	17%	9%	30%	20%
Disagree	29%	26%	20%	37%
Strongly disagree	49%	61%	44%	37%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2c] [The use of force is justified to restore Donald Trump to the presidency.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	2%	1%	1%	4%
Agree	3%	2%	4%	4%
Neither agree nor disagree	12%	4%	23%	15%
Disagree	20%	8%	22%	35%
Strongly disagree	63%	85%	50%	42%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2d] [Use of force is justified to ensure members of Congress and other government officials do the right thing.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	2%	5%	5%
Agree	6%	5%	6%	7%
Neither agree nor disagree	20%	13%	33%	21%
Disagree	23%	14%	19%	36%
Strongly disagree	48%	65%	37%	31%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2e] [Use of force is justified to prevent the prosecution of Donald Trump by the federal government.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	2%	1%	3%	3%
Agree	4%	3%	4%	5%
Neither agree nor disagree	15%	6%	31%	18%
Disagree	21%	10%	22%	36%
Strongly disagree	58%	80%	41%	37%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2f] [Use of force is justified to restore the federal right to abortion.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	3%	3%	1%
Agree	5%	5%	8%	5%
Neither agree nor disagree	17%	15%	29%	13%
Disagree	27%	23%	18%	35%
Strongly disagree	48%	54%	41%	45%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2g] [Use of force is justified to protect the voting rights of Black Americans and other minorities.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	4%	5%	2%
Agree	9%	11%	9%	6%
Neither agree nor disagree	19%	16%	31%	17%
Disagree	26%	19%	22%	36%
Strongly disagree	42%	49%	33%	38%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2h] [Violent attacks on Jews are wrong and unjustified.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	71%	80%	55%	67%
Agree	19%	12%	24%	26%
Neither agree nor disagree	5%	3%	16%	4%
Disagree	2%	1%	3%	1%
Strongly disagree	3%	3%	2%	3%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	1%	0%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2i] [The use of force is justified to preserve the rights of whites even if some people are injured or killed.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	2%	4%	4%
Agree	4%	3%	5%	4%
Neither agree nor disagree	13%	7%	22%	18%
Disagree	22%	13%	23%	32%
Strongly disagree	58%	75%	46%	42%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	1%	0%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi2j] [Republicans and Democrats in Congress should make a joint statement condemning any political violence in America.] ...To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	51%	66%	35%	41%
Agree	28%	21%	29%	36%
Neither agree nor disagree	15%	9%	31%	16%
Disagree	3%	2%	4%	5%
Strongly disagree	2%	2%	2%	2%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	0%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi3a] [Do you own a gun?] Please answer the following:

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Yes	33%	22%	28%	48%
No	66%	78%	70%	48%
SKIPPED ON WEB	2%	0%	2%	4%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi3b\_0] [Are you, or is anyone you know, a member of a citizens' militia like the Oath Keepers or Three Percenters, or a right-wing group like the Proud Boys?] Please answer the following:

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Yes	2%	1%	0%	4%
No	98%	99%	99%	96%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	1%
N=	1089	491	186	412

[uchi3b\_1] [Are you, or is anyone you know, a member of a left-wing militant movement like Antifa?] Please answer the following:

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Yes	1%	2%	4%	0%
No	97%	98%	91%	97%
SKIPPED ON WEB	2%	1%	4%	3%
N=	1071	492	173	404

[uchi4a] [Donald Trump] How favorable is your impression of each of the following, or haven't you heard of them?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very Favorable	14%	2%	12%	31%
Somewhat Favorable	17%	4%	18%	32%
Somewhat Unfavorable	13%	8%	17%	18%
Very Unfavorable	53%	84%	47%	17%
Haven't heard enough to form an opinion	3%	3%	5%	3%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	2%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi4b] [Joe Biden] How favorable is your impression of each of the following, or haven't you heard of them?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very Favorable	14%	27%	5%	1%
Somewhat Favorable	28%	48%	24%	5%
Somewhat Unfavorable	19%	16%	24%	20%
Very Unfavorable	35%	7%	36%	70%
Haven't heard enough to form an opinion	3%	1%	9%	3%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi4c] [Ron DeSantis] How favorable is your impression of each of the following, or haven't you heard of them?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very Favorable	16%	2%	8%	37%
Somewhat Favorable	10%	5%	7%	17%
Somewhat Unfavorable	15%	18%	13%	12%
Very Unfavorable	30%	51%	22%	8%
Haven't heard enough to form an opinion	29%	24%	48%	26%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	2%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi4d] [January 6 Committee in Congress] How favorable is your impression of each of the following, or haven't you heard of them?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very Favorable	19%	37%	6%	3%
Somewhat Favorable	15%	22%	14%	8%
Somewhat Unfavorable	14%	11%	12%	20%
Very Unfavorable	25%	13%	22%	41%
Haven't heard enough to form an opinion	26%	17%	45%	28%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	2%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi4e] [Kanye West] How favorable is your impression of each of the following, or haven't you heard of them?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very Favorable	2%	2%	3%	2%
Somewhat Favorable	7%	4%	7%	10%
Somewhat Unfavorable	23%	21%	26%	24%
Very Unfavorable	56%	69%	47%	44%
Haven't heard enough to form an opinion	12%	4%	16%	20%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	2%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi4f] [Federal Government] How favorable is your impression of each of the following, or haven't you heard of them?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very Favorable	5%	9%	4%	3%
Somewhat Favorable	34%	49%	27%	20%
Somewhat Unfavorable	35%	31%	28%	44%
Very Unfavorable	19%	8%	29%	28%
Haven't heard enough to form an opinion	5%	3%	10%	5%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	2%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi5a] [The Democratic Party is trying to replace the current electorate... with new people, more obedient voters from the Third World.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	7%	2%	5%	15%
Agree	14%	6%	11%	26%
Neither agree nor disagree	35%	26%	55%	36%
Disagree	15%	18%	12%	12%
Strongly disagree	29%	48%	15%	11%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi5b] [African American people or Hispanic people in our country will eventually have more rights than whites.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	5%	2%	5%	9%
Agree	12%	6%	8%	23%
Neither agree nor disagree	31%	19%	46%	39%
Disagree	23%	27%	22%	20%
Strongly disagree	27%	46%	17%	9%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi5c] [Irish, Italians, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Blacks should do the same without any special favors.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	11%	5%	9%	19%
Agree	22%	10%	21%	39%
Neither agree nor disagree	33%	27%	45%	33%
Disagree	17%	26%	14%	6%
Strongly disagree	17%	31%	10%	2%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi5d] [A secret group of Satan-worshiping pedophiles is ruling the US government.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	4%	2%	7%	5%
Agree	6%	4%	7%	9%
Neither agree nor disagree	25%	16%	39%	30%
Disagree	20%	16%	18%	26%
Strongly disagree	44%	61%	29%	31%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi5e] [Being White is important to my identity.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	5%	4%	2%	9%
Agree	11%	8%	5%	17%
Neither agree nor disagree	35%	26%	46%	43%
Disagree	18%	18%	19%	19%
Strongly disagree	29%	44%	27%	12%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi5f] [The Federal Government should declare the United States a Christian nation.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	6%	3%	6%	10%
Agree	10%	4%	6%	20%
Neither agree nor disagree	28%	19%	36%	35%
Disagree	19%	17%	22%	20%
Strongly disagree	36%	57%	30%	14%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	1%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi6a] [Political elites, both Democrats and Republicans, are the most immoral and corrupt people in America.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	13%	8%	18%	17%
Agree	29%	23%	28%	36%
Neither agree nor disagree	37%	37%	43%	34%
Disagree	15%	23%	8%	9%
Strongly disagree	6%	9%	2%	3%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi6b\_0] [A small group of [elites controls all the levers of power in America and uses them to enrich and empower themselves at the cost to normal Americans.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	15%	11%	16%	20%
Agree	39%	37%	32%	47%
Neither agree nor disagree	31%	32%	42%	22%
Disagree	10%	14%	7%	7%
Strongly disagree	4%	6%	3%	3%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	2%
N=	1078	499	199	379

[uchi6b\_1] [A small group of Jews controls all the levers of power in America and uses them to enrich and empower themselves at the cost to normal Americans.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	2%	2%	3%	3%
Agree	3%	1%	3%	5%
Neither agree nor disagree	32%	23%	41%	38%
Disagree	30%	24%	34%	36%
Strongly disagree	33%	50%	19%	19%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	0%
N=	1082	484	160	437

[uchi6c] [Racism is systemic in America's institutions and those institutions maintain the dominance of white people.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	13%	23%	8%	3%
Agree	24%	38%	17%	9%
Neither agree nor disagree	31%	24%	45%	35%
Disagree	21%	12%	21%	32%
Strongly disagree	11%	4%	8%	20%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi6d] [Global warming will lead to the extinction of the human race in my lifetime or my children's lifetime.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	6%	9%	6%	2%
Agree	14%	22%	14%	5%
Neither agree nor disagree	30%	32%	43%	21%
Disagree	28%	27%	22%	33%
Strongly disagree	21%	10%	14%	39%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi6e] [The decision by the Supreme Court to eliminate the federal right to reproductive freedom will result in a permanent era of male domination of women in America.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	6%	10%	6%	2%
Agree	16%	24%	15%	6%
Neither agree nor disagree	31%	32%	41%	25%
Disagree	27%	26%	23%	31%
Strongly disagree	19%	7%	15%	35%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi6f] [In today's America, elections will not solve our most fundamental political and social problems.] To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	12%	9%	19%	13%
Agree	37%	39%	33%	37%
Neither agree nor disagree	28%	25%	33%	30%
Disagree	17%	21%	10%	14%
Strongly disagree	5%	6%	4%	6%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi11a] [There are people who have pushed me so far that we have come to blows.] Please read each of the following statements and decide whether it describes you well...

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very unlike me	42%	45%	31%	42%
Unlike me	27%	27%	22%	29%
Neither unlike me nor like me	19%	17%	32%	16%
Like me	9%	9%	9%	8%
Very like me	3%	2%	5%	3%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi11b] [I have trouble controlling my temper.] Please read each of the following statements and decide whether it describes you well...

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very unlike me	38%	40%	32%	36%
Unlike me	33%	35%	23%	36%
Neither unlike me nor like me	18%	14%	30%	17%
Like me	9%	8%	10%	8%
Very like me	2%	1%	3%	1%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi11c] [I act 'on impulse'] Please read each of the following statements and decide whether it describes you well...

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Very unlike me	29%	31%	27%	29%
Unlike me	35%	38%	26%	36%
Neither unlike me nor like me	21%	17%	29%	23%
Like me	11%	12%	14%	9%
Very like me	2%	2%	4%	2%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	1%	2%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi12a] [Jews have too much power in the business world.] ... How true do you think the following statements are of Jews today?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Definitely True	2%	2%	2%	2%
Probably True	9%	10%	10%	9%
Probably False	30%	25%	30%	36%
Definitely False	35%	45%	23%	28%
Don't Know	23%	18%	35%	24%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi12b] [Jews have too much control over the United States government.] ...How true do you think the following statements are of Jews today?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Definitely True	3%	4%	1%	2%
Probably True	6%	6%	7%	5%
Probably False	28%	24%	29%	34%
Definitely False	42%	53%	29%	35%
Don't Know	21%	14%	35%	23%
SKIPPED ON WEB	0%	0%	0%	0%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi12c] [Jews are responsible for most of the world's wars.] ... How true do you think the following statements are of Jews today?

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Definitely True	1%	1%	0%	2%
Probably True	3%	3%	4%	2%
Probably False	18%	13%	17%	24%
Definitely False	59%	70%	45%	53%
Don't Know	18%	12%	34%	18%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	0%	2%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi13a] [The economic welfare of Whites is under threat.] To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	2%	1%	6%
Agree	12%	5%	12%	22%
Neither agree nor disagree	29%	16%	41%	41%
Disagree	29%	33%	28%	24%
Strongly disagree	26%	43%	18%	7%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	1%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi13b] [The personal safety of Whites is under threat.] To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	2%	3%	6%
Agree	13%	4%	11%	24%
Neither agree nor disagree	26%	14%	38%	36%
Disagree	29%	33%	28%	26%
Strongly disagree	28%	47%	18%	8%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	0%	3%	1%
N=	2160	983	359	816

[uchi13c] [The position of Whites on the social hierarchy is under threat.] To what extent do you agree with the following statements:

CPOST/NORC 1/12 to 1/17/23	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	3%	2%	1%	5%
Agree	12%	9%	8%	19%
Neither agree nor disagree	31%	15%	44%	43%
Disagree	27%	33%	24%	22%
Strongly disagree	26%	41%	21%	10%
SKIPPED ON WEB	1%	1%	2%	2%
N=	2160	983	.359	816