



# **Understanding Support for Political Violence in America Survey**

**May 2025**

## **TOPLINE**

**Conducted by NORC at the University of Chicago for the Chicago Project on Security and  
Threats at the University of Chicago**

*Fielded: May 1 to 5, 2025  
2,131 adults ages 18+*

*Margin of Error: +/- 2.92 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%.*

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## May 2025 Support for Political Violence Survey Results

[Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.] “We need a national civic uprising against President Donald Trump's agenda.”

CPOST/NORC 5/01 to 5/05/25	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	<b>18.3%</b>	36.9%	8.3%	1.7%
Agree	<b>16.3%</b>	27.0%	14.5%	5.1%
Neither agree nor disagree	<b>22.8%</b>	21.2%	44.6%	14.4%
Disagree	<b>12.0%</b>	6.3%	9.6%	19.6%
Strongly disagree	<b>29.7%</b>	7.9%	21.5%	58.5%
DON'T KNOW	<b>0.2%</b>	0.5%	0.0%	0.0%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>0.6%</b>	0.2%	1.5%	0.7%
N=	2131	1012	322	794

[Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.] “The use of force is justified to remove Donald Trump from the presidency.”

CPOST/NORC 5/01 to 5/05/25	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	<b>12.0%</b>	22.7%	9.3%	1.2%
Agree	<b>9.4%</b>	16.2%	7.1%	2.7%
Neither agree nor disagree	<b>23.5%</b>	25.6%	36.7%	14.9%
Disagree	<b>18.0%</b>	18.8%	17.0%	17.7%
Strongly disagree	<b>36.2%</b>	16.2%	28.7%	62.6%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>0.8%</b>	0.5%	1.2%	1.0%
REFUSED	<b>0.0%</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
N=	2131	1012	322	794

[Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.] “Donald Trump is justified using the U.S. military to stop protests against the Trump agenda.”

CPOST/NORC 5/01 to 5/05/25	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	<b>4.1%</b>	1.3%	0.3%	9.1%
Agree	<b>8.2%</b>	2.9%	7.7%	14.4%
Neither agree nor disagree	<b>23.3%</b>	9.4%	38.6%	32.2%
Disagree	<b>16.8%</b>	12.0%	18.1%	21.8%
Strongly disagree	<b>46.7%</b>	74.3%	33.2%	21.6%
DON'T KNOW	<b>0.0%</b>	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>0.8%</b>	0.1%	1.9%	1.0%
N=	2131	1012	322	794

[On a scale of 1 to 5 – where 1 means very serious and 5 means not at all serious – how serious do you think the following issues are for America?] “Threats of violence against politicians.”

CPOST/NORC 5/01 to 5/05/25	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
1 - Very serious	<b>24.0%</b>	24.6%	17.1%	26.5%
2	<b>22.2%</b>	22.2%	15.9%	25.1%
3	<b>32.7%</b>	30.0%	41.4%	31.9%
4	<b>12.9%</b>	14.1%	13.8%	11.1%
5 - Not at all serious	<b>6.7%</b>	8.0%	9.4%	4.1%
DON'T KNOW	<b>0.0%</b>	0.0%	0.0%	0.0%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>1.5%</b>	1.2%	2.3%	1.3%
REFUSED	<b>0.0%</b>	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
N=	2131	1012	322	794

[Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.]  
“Republicans and Democrats in Congress should make a joint statement condemning any political violence in America.”

CPOST/NORC 5/01 to 5/05/25	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	<b>42.3%</b>	45.0%	28.8%	45.5%
Agree	<b>27.0%</b>	25.6%	20.9%	31.4%
Neither agree nor disagree	<b>21.5%</b>	20.8%	36.3%	15.4%
Disagree	<b>4.2%</b>	3.9%	5.8%	3.7%
Strongly disagree	<b>4.1%</b>	4.5%	4.9%	3.2%
DON'T KNOW	<b>0.0%</b>	0.0%	0.1%	0.0%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>1.0%</b>	0.2%	3.2%	0.8%
N=	2131	1012	322	794

[Please indicate the extent to which you agree or disagree with the following statements.] “The use of force against Tesla dealerships and cars is justified.”

CPOST/NORC 5/01 to 5/05/25	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	<b>3.8%</b>	6.4%	0.9%	2.1%
Agree	<b>5.8%</b>	9.1%	1.9%	3.7%
Neither agree nor disagree	<b>22.1%</b>	22.5%	38.5%	14.0%
Disagree	<b>23.8%</b>	29.4%	21.1%	18.6%
Strongly disagree	<b>43.8%</b>	32.2%	34.8%	61.2%
DON'T KNOW	<b>0.1%</b>	0.1%	0.5%	0.0%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>0.6%</b>	0.2%	2.2%	0.4%
REFUSED	<b>0.0%</b>	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
N=	2131	1012	322	794

## September 2024 Support for Political Violence Survey Results

[To what extent do you agree or disagree with the following statements?] “The use of force is justified to prevent Donald Trump from becoming president.”

CPOST/NORC 9/12 to 9/16/24	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	<b>3.8%</b>	5.0%	3.9%	2.4%
Agree	<b>4.4%</b>	4.9%	4.6%	3.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	<b>17.3%</b>	15.5%	28.5%	14.5%
Disagree	<b>21.9%</b>	24.0%	18.1%	21.2%
Strongly disagree	<b>51.0%</b>	49.9%	41.5%	56.3%
DON'T KNOW	<b>0.3%</b>	0.0%	1.8%	0.1%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>1.2%</b>	0.6%	1.5%	1.7%
REFUSED	<b>0.1%</b>	0.1%	0.0%	0.0%
N=	2214	1060	349	804

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

CPOST/NORC 9/12 to 9/16/24	Total	Dem	Ind	Rep
Strongly agree	<b>2.9%</b>	2.2%	1.2%	4.4%
Agree	<b>2.9%</b>	2.8%	0.7%	3.9%
Neither agree nor disagree	<b>16.0%</b>	6.5%	31.2%	20.5%
Disagree	<b>15.4%</b>	9.3%	15.1%	22.6%
Strongly disagree	<b>61.3%</b>	78.8%	48.0%	46.5%
DON'T KNOW	<b>0.3%</b>	0.0%	1.8%	0.0%
SKIPPED ON WEB	<b>1.3%</b>	0.4%	1.9%	2.1%
N=	2214	1060	349	804

## NORC Methodology

The description below provides more data on sample frames, recruitment, response rate, and method of data collection used by our contracted survey partner, NORC/AmeriSpeak, and comes from their 2022 Technical Overview of the AmeriSpeak panel.

### Panel Sample Frame

The primary sampling frame for AmeriSpeak is the 2010 NORC National Frame, a multistage probability sample that fully represents the U.S. household population. We provide a brief description of how the National Frame was constructed after the 2010 Census. The primary sampling units (PSUs) in the first stage sample selection are 1,917 National Frame Areas (NFAs), each of which is an entire metropolitan area (made up of one or more counties), a county, or a group of counties with a minimum population of 10,000.

A total of 126 NFAs are selected in the first stage, including 38 certainty NFAs, 60 urban NFAs, and 28 non-urban NFAs. The largest 38 NFAs, those with a population of at least 1,543,728 (0.5 percent of the 2010 Census U.S. population), were selected into the National Frame with certainty. Within the 126 selected NFAs, the secondary sampling units (SSUs) are segments defined from Census tracts or block groups, where each segment contains at least 300 housing units according to the 2010 Census.

Within the certainty NFAs, a sample of 896 segments was selected using systematic PPS sampling, where the size of a segment is the number of housing units. Implicit stratification was achieved by sorting the segments by location (NFA, state, and county), principal city indicator, and by ethnic and income indicators. From each urban and rural NFA, a sample of 8 and 5 segments was selected, respectively, using systematic PPS sampling where the measure of size is the number of housing units per segment. A total of 618 segments are selected from the non-certainty NFAs. Overall, a stratified probability sample of 1,514 segments was selected into the National Frame in the second stage sampling.

Within the selected segments, all housing units are listed using the U.S. Postal Service Delivery Sequence File (DSF). In the 123 segments where the DSF coverage is deemed inadequate, the DSF address list is enhanced with an in-person field listing to improve coverage. The final National Frame, consisting of all listed households in the sample segments, is estimated to provide over 97 percent coverage of the U.S. household population. It contains almost 3 million households, including over 80,000 rural households that are added through the in-person listing. In addition to NORC's National Frame, the DSF is used as a supplemental sample frame in four states. Although nationally representative, the National Frame does not include households from Alaska, Iowa, North Dakota, and Wyoming. Since 2016, the annual panel recruitment sample has included a small address-based sample from these four states to assure AmeriSpeak presence in all U.S. States and Washington, D.C.

In 2017, an enhanced DSF frame was also used to develop a new Latino Panel with adequate representation of Spanish-language-dominant Hispanics. Census tracts with a high incidence (at least 30%) of Spanish-dominant Hispanics were targeted for this recruitment. Furthermore, within these Census tracts, households that were flagged as Hispanic based on consumer vendor data (that are typically used for direct-mail marketing) were oversampled.

### Panel Recruitment Procedures

AmeriSpeak Panel recruitment is a two-stage process: (i) initial recruitment using USPS mailings, telephone contact, and modest incentives, and (ii) a more elaborate NRFU recruitment using FedEx mailings, enhanced incentives, and in-person visits by NORC field interviewers. For the initial recruitment, sample households are invited to join AmeriSpeak online by visiting the panel website [AmeriSpeak.org](http://AmeriSpeak.org) or by calling a toll-free telephone line (inbound/outbound supported). Both English and Spanish languages are supported for online and telephone recruitment.

The initial recruitment data collection protocol features the following: an over-sized pre-notification postcard, a USPS recruitment package in a 9x12 envelope (containing a cover letter, a summary of the privacy policy, FAQs, and a study brochure), two follow-up postcards, and contact by NORC's telephone research center for sample units with a matched

telephone number.

For the second stage NRFU recruitment, a stratified random sample is selected from the nonrespondents of the initial recruitment. Units sampled for NRFU are sent a new recruitment package by Federal Express with an enhanced incentive offer. Shortly thereafter, NORC field interviewers make personal, face-to-face visits to the pending cases to encourage participation. Once the households are located, the field interviewers administer the recruitment survey in-person using CAPI or else encourage the respondents to register online or by telephone.

### **Panel Recruitment Response Rate and Other Panel Statistics**

A sample household is considered recruited or responded if at least one adult in the household joins the panel. The weighted household response rate (AAPOR RR3) is about 6% for initial recruitment and 28% for NRFU recruitment. We report two recruitment response rates: one for all the panel recruitment years (2014-2021) and one for the recruitment years with NRFU (2014-2018 and 2021). For all recruitment years, the cumulative weighted household response rate is 21.9%; for recruitment years with NRFU, and the cumulative weighted household response rate is 34.0%.<sup>8</sup> For client studies requiring a panel recruitment response rate exceeding 30%, the sampling frame may be restricted to the panelists recruited in the NRFU years. The panel recruitment response rate calculation methodology is consistent with AAPOR guidelines and fully documented. The annual panel retention rate is about 85%. For individual client surveys based on the AmeriSpeak Panel, the AAPOR RR3 response rate is between 10% to 20% depending on specific study parameters such as target population, survey length, time in the field, salience of subject, and the like. This response rate takes into account panel recruitment rate, panel retention rate, and survey participation rate.

Other important panel statistics with respect to the 2014-2019 and 2021 recruited households are as follows: 68% are recruited in the initial stage and 32% are recruited via NRFU; 92% of the active panelists prefer to do web or online surveys, while 8% prefer to participate in telephone surveys; 16% of the recruited households are non-Internet<sup>11</sup>; 82% are cell phone only or cell phone mostly; 17% are African American and 18% Hispanic; and 29% have household income below \$30,000 (compared to CPS benchmark of 26%).

### **Impact of Non-Response Follow-Up**

NRFU is instrumental in producing the industry-leading response rate for AmeriSpeak Panel recruitment. Moreover, due to the more intensive effort, NRFU recruitments better represent hard-to-reach groups and are therefore more representative of the target population. For example, initial recruitment tends to underrepresent young adults 18-34 years of age. NRFU recruitment corrects for this bias by bringing the age distribution of the panel closer to ACS benchmarks. Overall, NRFU recruitment significantly improves the representation of the panel with respect to demographic segments that are under-represented among the respondents to the initial recruitment, including young adults (persons 18 to 34 years of age), African Americans, Hispanics, lower-income households, renters, cellphone-only households, and persons with lower educational attainment (e.g., no college degree).

To the extent that these demographic characteristics are correlated with substantive survey variables, NRFU helps to reduce potential non-response bias in the sample estimates. NORC's research indicates that NRFU respondents are indeed somewhat different from initial respondents for many common survey variables. For example, compared to the panelists recruited during the initial stage, NRFU panelists tend to be more conservative politically, more likely to attend church, less interested in current events or topics in the news report, less knowledgeable about science, less likely to be in favor of gun control policies, less likely to read a print newspaper (more likely to read the news online and use social media), more likely to eat at fast-food restaurants, and so on<sup>13</sup>. These observations illustrate that NRFU recruitment is critical for achieving a more balanced panel and for making the substantive estimates in AmeriSpeak studies more accurate. Even though NRFU panelists are more reluctant to complete surveys, the addition of NRFU panelists reduced total absolute bias on average 5 to 21 percentage points when compared to the initial stage recruits (among examined surveys).

### **Mixed-Mode Data Collection**

The AmeriSpeak Panel supports mixed-mode data collection to improve response rate and the representativeness of the

complete surveys. During the recruitment survey, AmeriSpeak panelists are offered an opportunity to choose their preferred mode—web or phone—for future participation in AmeriSpeak surveys. A recruited household can consist of both web- and phone-mode panelists. Panelists predominantly prefer web over phone mode. As of February 2020, 92% of the active panelists prefer to do web or online surveys, while 8% prefer to participate in telephone surveys. The telephone mode encompasses panelists without internet access, panelists whose only internet access is via a smartphone, and panelists with internet access but are unwilling to share an email address. supporting both the phone and web modes, providing an integrated sample management and data collection platform. For panelists using smartphones for web-mode surveys, the NORC survey system renders an optimized presentation of the survey questions for these mobile users. Panel Management and Maintenance Panel management and maintenance are crucial for panel health and efficiency. NORC maintains strict panel management rules to limit respondent burden, reduce panel attrition, and minimize the risk of panel fatigue.

On average, AmeriSpeak panelists are invited to participate in client studies two to three times a month. AmeriSpeak works with NORC clients to create surveys that provide an appropriate user experience for AmeriSpeak panelists. AmeriSpeak will not field surveys that in our professional judgment will result in a poor user experience for our panelists. AmeriSpeak also has a designated website and a telephone number for panelist communications. Panel maintenance is a dynamic process because the AmeriSpeak Panel is supplemented and refreshed regularly over time to grow the panel, compensate for panel attrition, and improve panel representation for specific subpopulations. For example, the Latino Panel and Teen Panel are created to support studies of Hispanics and teenagers, respectively; the 2019 recruitment is primarily designed to improve sample representation at the state level. As panelists are added or/and removed from the panel, the panel refreshment process takes place to ensure that the refreshed panel fully represents the corresponding target population.