Partisanship and Hate: Influences on Attitudes towards Civility and Violence among Protestors

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Acknowledgements

Abstract

Partisanship has not yet been the subject of attention for scholars investigating attitudes towards political violence, and emotions have only received attention quite recently. In this thesis, I examine how partisanship and hate influence attitudes towards civility and political violence among American protestors. I use survey data collected at multiple protests in 2016 and 2017. I found that partisans are more likely to believe in the necessity of civility, and partisans are also more likely to believe that violence and/or property damage can be necessary for protest to influence policymakers. Furthermore, I found that people with hate towards politics are more likely to believe that violence and/or property damage can be necessary for protest to influence policymakers. Similarly, people with hate towards politics are less likely to believe that civility is necessary for protest to influence policymakers.

Introduction

On a late September evening in Thousand Oaks, California, someone broke a window of the local Planned Parenthood, poured in gasoline, and set the building on fire (Rocha and Mejia 2015). Fortunately, the clinic was empty and no one was injured (Rocha 2015). Unfortunately, it was not an isolated incident; there is a significant trend of rising violence and harassment against health care centers that provide abortions in the United States (National Abortion Federation 2016). In addition to arson, there are bombings, vandalism, death threats, stalking of employees, and, in rare cases, even murder (National Abortion Federation 2016).

On the other side of the country, crowds of activists come to Washington, DC for the March for Life every year. Held on or near the anniversary of the *Roe v. Wade* ruling, the March for Life and its participants oppose abortion and advocate overturning the Supreme Court's decision (Peters et al. 2017). The event features speakers, signs, and chants. Every year, there are countless pro-life demonstrations across the United States with similar signs and civility. This all begs the question: why do some pro-life people use violence and intimidation tactics against health clinics while others channel their energy into coordinating marches or contacting their elected officials? What informs their beliefs that they can create change through marching in the capital or through setting buildings on fire?

Despite the occasional violence, attempts by activists to influence government are a critical part of democracy. Activists may choose their tactics by looking at cost, perceived probability of success, the choices of other activists, and other considerations (Blee 2013; Muller and Weede 1990; Wang and Soule 2012). The efficacy of civility and violence as tactics to influence politics continues to be a subject of scholarly investigation. John (2006) and Paps (2003) write about the efficacy of riots and terrorism to generate political change, while Stephan and Chenoweth (2008) conclude that nonviolence is more successful than violence as a way to extract concessions from the powerful.

Political violence is a strictly goal-seeking activity, according to conventional wisdom (Bearman and Latin 2008; Walter 2009; Muller et al. 1991). By examining how emotions influence attitudes towards political violence, recent scholars have challenged that conventional wisdom (Jiménez-Moya et al. 2015; Moskalenko and McCauley 2009; Koopmans 1996). These explorations are part of a movement in political science to consider emotions as they relate to political-science topics, including political violence (Wokak 2010; Brader 2011; Mercer 2005). Emotions can influence beliefs in various ways: by creating new beliefs, modifying existing beliefs, or altering the strength of existing beliefs (Frijda and Mesquita 2000). There has been some scholarly study of links between emotions and attitudes towards political violence; these studies show a relationship between hate and political violence (Halperin 2008; Schuman et al. 2016; Tausch et al. 2011). However, most of this research was done on populations outside the United States (Halperin 2008; Schuman et al. 2016; Tausch et al. 2011). This thesis expands on that body of research by studying Americans' attitudes towards civility and political violence as they relate to emotions, particularly hate.

Partisanship has been the topic of extensive academic investigation. The relationship between partisan identity and attitudes towards civility and political violence, however, remains unstudied. Partisan identity can influence learning, perception, beliefs, and political engagement (Bartels 2002; Goren 2005; Heaney and Rojas 2007). Given that partisan identity can influence opinions towards policy issues, choice of tactics in activism, perceptions of the economy, and more, it is reasonable to investigate whether partisanship can also influence attitudes towards civility and political violence.

This thesis examines how emotions and partisan attachment influence beliefs about the necessity of civility or political violence in order for protest to influence the actions of policymakers. Feelings of hate towards politics are positively correlated with belief in the need for violence and/or property damage in protest. Greater identification with one of the two major US political parties tends to increase belief in the need for civility and decrease belief in the

need for violence. In order to examine these issues, I use survey data from people at protests in the United States during 2016 and 2017.

Protestors merit research as a unique population. Their mere presence at a protest indicates an above-average level of engagement with politics. Likewise, they tend to have greater awareness and understanding of political issues. It is possible that protestors conceptualize politics in different ways than the general population. In any case, there has been continued public discussion and concern about the alleged violence of protestors (Starnes 2016; Bump 2017). I hope that careful study can lead to a more accurate understanding and a more productive public discourse about the intersection of protestors, civility, and violence.

This thesis proceeds as follows. I begin by examining theories of hate and partisan identity, and developing hypotheses from them. Then I describe my research design, statistical analyses, and findings for my main variables and my control variables. Subsequently, I discuss my results, their implications, and their limitations. Finally, I conclude with some possible practical uses for these findings and recommendations for further research.

Efficacy

It is constructive to introduce some relevant concepts. Political efficacy refers to an individual's self-perceived ability to both understand and influence politics, through conventional channels (Arens and Watermann 2017). Group efficacy, in this context, is the degree to which a group has power and political influence (Tausch et al. 2011). Perceived efficacy of nonviolent activism refers to the degree to which a person believes that peaceful, legal, rule-following activism can reach its political goals. These concepts overlap, but are not equivalent.

Political efficacy leads to activism through peaceful, legal means (Arens and Watermann 2017). In other words, people participate in politics when they believe their efforts will work. On the other hand, low political efficacy can lead to hate towards politics (Schuman et al. 2016). Both low group efficacy and low perceived efficacy of legal activism lead to support for political

violence (Tausch et al. 2011; Wright et al. 1990; Schuman et al. 2016). This evidence supports the following conventional wisdom: the belief that politics cannot be influenced through conventional tactics leads to the belief that violence is required to influence politics. This implies that activists resort to violence when conventional tactics prove ineffective.

Recent research in this area, however, has challenged that conventional wisdom. According to Saab and his coauthors (2016), support for political violence depends on the perceived efficacy of violent tactics, and does not depend on the perceived efficacy of rule-following tactics. When political violence is perceived as effective, people support it and are willing to engage in it, regardless of the perceived efficacy of peaceful activism (Saab et al. 2016). Similarly, Moskalenko and McCauley (2009) found that the path to committing violence might not include past activism. They suggest that violence requires a different appraisal of the political situation and that violence is not "a more extreme form of activism" (Moskalenko and McCauley 2009).

So, the belief that policymakers cannot be influenced through conventional tactics can lead to support for political violence as well as the belief that violence is necessary to influence politics. However, the perceived inefficacy of legal activism is not a necessary prerequisite to arrive at the belief that violence is necessary to influence politics. The perceived inefficacy of legal activism may not be a significant factor in the conception of one's support for political violence; there are other paths to arrive at that conclusion. Thus, there is need for investigation into those other paths; what determines attitudes towards civility and violence?

Hate

Robert Sternberg (2003) theorizes that hate has three components: a psychological distancing due to repulsion or disgust; intensity in the form of anger and/or fear; and contempt through devaluation and dehumanization of the object of hate. Likewise, hate is related to moral exclusion, which occurs when a person believes that the object of hatred is not worthy of or

subject to moral consideration (Tausch et al. 2011). Haters often exhibit cognitive distortions such as dichotomous reasoning, greater-than-normal negativity bias, and overgeneralization, which may manifest as characterizing an entire group based on only a few people (Beck and Pretzer 2005). Eran Halperin distinguishes between chronic hate, an ongoing emotional disposition towards something or someone, and immediate hate, which is formed in response to a significant event (Halperin et al. 2012). What we call "hate" usually refers to what Halperin terms "chronic hate". This chronic hate is very closely related to contempt. In fact, contempt and hate are so closely intertwined that research on contempt and research on hate can be applied to one another (Shuman et al. 2016).

The relationship between hate and violence follows from the characteristics of hate. Hatred often provides a justification for violence (Baumeister and Butz 2005). Moral exclusion means that people who generally denounce violence can justify its use against a certain target. Furthermore, hate is related to the belief that the object of hate has an unchangeable evil nature (Halperin 2008). If something is inherently bad, then changing or reforming it is not possible. In that case, violence is a more justifiable option, and may be seen as the only effective way to deal with conflict or to successfully interact with the object of hate (Schuman et al. 2016; Halperin 2011).

Hate and Anger

Peter Kuppens and his coauthors (2003) write that anger has the following components: unfairness, frustration, obstacles to a goal, and attributions that the anger-inducing stimuli was caused by something or someone other than the self. It is relatively rare for hate to occur without anger, but it is common for anger to occur without hate (Fisher and Roseman 2007). Still, hate and anger are distinct and they have distinct effects.

Consider hate and anger in an interpersonal context. When faced with the misbehavior of another individual, people tend to feel anger if the transgressor is a friend or someone who

they think they can influence (Fisher and Roseman 2007). That anger motivates them to attempt to change the other person's behavior and/or make changes or improvements to their relationship (Fisher and Roseman 2007). Alternatively, people tend to feel hate if the transgressor is a stranger, someone who they think they cannot influence, or someone who they believe is bad by nature and cannot be changed (Fisher and Roseman 2007). Hate makes people give up concern for maintaining a positive relationship with the hated person (Taush et al. 2011). Both hate and anger are somewhat hostile feelings, but haters' feelings of hostility are not constrained by a desire to preserve relationships (Taush et al. 2011). Haters are willing to violate norms of reciprocity and harm the person whom they hate (Baumeister and Butz 2005).

This same process can occur when the relevant object is an outgroup, rather than an individual, who has committed an unjust act against one's ingroup. The belief that the outgroup can be changed leads to anger and a desire to reform or improve the outgroup (Halperin 2008). The belief that the outgroup cannot be changed leads to hatred and a willingness to support or commit violence against the outgroup (Halperin 2008). This relationship is moderated by one's level of identification with the ingroup, though it remains unclear exactly how that moderation works. Only in people strongly identified with the harmed ingroup does lead to willingness to commit violence, accordingly to research by Schuman and his coauthors (2016). Alternatively, people with less in-group identification may be more willing to support illegal tactics, because those with greater in-group identification are concerned with the group's reputation (Jiménez-Moya et al. 2015).

In the context of politics, anger leads to greater participation in politics and activism through peaceful, legal means such as attending protests or rallies, volunteering on a campaign, and voting (Valentino et al. 2011). On the other hand, hate stifles support for political compromise (Halperin 2011). Moreover, hatred leads to support for and/or willingness to participate in violence or actions which break the rules (Tausch et al. 2011). That effect may be

due to hate increasing the perceived efficacy of political violence, or it may be for another reason; this remains unexplored.

Hate is destructive to relationships. I theorize that hate towards politics as a whole can function in the same ways as hate towards an individual or a group. Hate leads to a willingness to disregard norms of conduct (Tausch et al. 2011). Therefore, I expect that haters will disregard the need for civility in protest.

Hypothesis 1a: People for whom politics evokes hatred are less likely to believe that civility is necessary for protest to influence the actions of policymakers.

Hate has a close relationship with violence. I expect that hate not only influences the perceived efficacy of political violence but, in fact, leads people to believe that violence may be necessary to reach their political goals.

Hypothesis 1b: People for whom politics evokes hatred are more likely to believe that violence and/or property damage are necessary for protest to influence the actions of policymakers.

Partisan Identity

Partisan identity refers to one's level of self-identification with a political party. In the modern United States, partisan identity generally refers to identification with one of the two major political parties. I use the terms partisanship and partisan identity interchangeably, though some scholars distinguish between them as concepts that are related but distinct (Leeper and Slothuus 2014). Traditionally, political scientists have defined partisanship as a sense of attachment to a political party (Campbell et al. 1960). However, partisan identity also has a social component, with many of the properties associated with in groups and out groups (Greene 1999). For example, partisan identifiers tend to view copartisans positively and often view affiliates of the opposite party in a more negative light (Iyengar and Westwood 2015).

Partisanship can influence how people perceive and process information. When reacting to politically-relevant events and information, people are much more likely to remember facts and ideas which have positive implications for their political party (Jerit and Barabas 2012). People tend to discard facts which challenge their political predispositions (Bartels 2002). As a result, partisans are more knowledgeable about information that confirms their worldview than information which challenges it (Jerit and Barabas 2012). Furthermore, partisans tend to incorrectly perceive economic measures, such as the unemployment rate and the inflation rate, according to whether or not their party is in power (Parker-Stephen 2013; Dickerson and Ondercin 2017). When confronted with a policy proposal, partisans have a strong tendency to assume the position of their political party rather than evaluate the content of the policy (Cohen 2003). In fact, partisanship can even alter beliefs about core political issues such as equal opportunity, limited government, and moral tolerance (Goren 2005).

Partisan identity not only influences what people think about politics, but also how people engage with politics. Partisans are more likely to participate in politics in ways beyond voting, and they tend to do so through their political party itself (Verba et al. 1995; Huddy et al. 2015). Similarly, partisan identity can influence activists' choice of tactics; for example, partisans are more likely than nonpartisans to lobby elected officials (Heaney and Rojas 2007). Additionally, partisan identifiers are particularly good at overcoming collective action problems (Smirnov et al. 2010). Partisans are more likely to be strong reciprocators; they contribute to public goods and punish free riders, even when doing so is costly (Smirnov et al. 2010). Additionally, emotions may account for partisans' propensity for collective action (Groenendyk and Banks 2014). Partisanship leads to collectively-experienced anger and enthusiasm, which push partisan identifiers towards political collective action (Groenendyk and Banks 2014).

Partisan identity influences how people perceive and think about policy, activism, and core political values. Partisan identity also effects political engagement by steering partisans towards collective action and political participation through peaceful, legal, and conventional

means. Therefore, I theorize that partisanship influences how people think about the efficacy of civility in activism. Specifically, I expect that stronger partisan identity will lead to the believe that civility is necessary in protest.

> *Hypothesis 2a: People who identify more closely with a major political party are more likely to believe that civility by the participants in a protest is necessary for protest to influence the actions of policymakers.*

There has not yet been serious scholarly investigation into the relationship between partisan identity and attitudes towards political violence. Prior research has shown that low group efficacy leads to belief in the necessity of political violence. Since the reverse is also true and since political parties are powerful, I theorize that partisanship will lead partisan identifiers to believe that violence is necessary in protest.

> *Hypothesis 2b: People who identify more closely with a major political party are less likely to believe that violence and/or property damage are necessary for protest to influence the actions of policymakers.*

Methods

Survey Design

This study is based on surveys taken at protests in July 2016 and January 2017. Surveys were taken at the following five places: (1) protests outside the 2016 Republican National Convention in Cleveland, Ohio; (2) protests outside the 2016 Democratic National Convention in Philadelphia, Pennsylvania; (3) counter-inaugural protests in Washington, DC on January 20th; (4) the Women's March on Washington in Washington, DC on January 21st; and (5) the March for Life in Washington, DC on January 27th. The dataset contains 2,345 responses to the survey. The number of responses gathered from each of those five events is described in Figure 1. The six-page, pen-and-paper survey asks about political opinions, reasons for involvement in the protest, political ideology and affiliations, involvement with

political organizations, emotions towards politics, religious involvement, as well as demographic information such as age, gender, and income. A full copy of the text of the survey is included in the appendix. Participation was voluntary and respondents did not receive compensation. It was also anonymous; respondents were not asked to provide their name or other personal identifiers.

Figure 1. Sample Size by Event
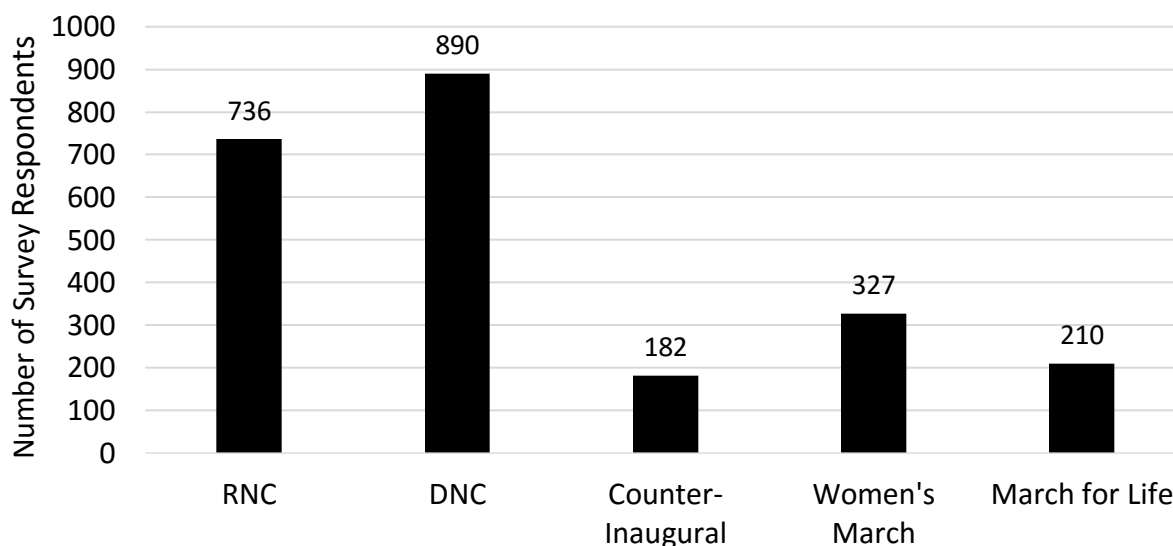
In order to collect a representative sample of the crowd at a protest, a team of research assistants used the anchor sampling method developed by Heaney and Rojas (2015). The anchor sampling method works as follows. The surveyors at an event spread out, with each starting in a different area. The surveyor arbitrarily chooses one individual in the crowd as an anchor. The anchor is not asked to take a survey, as it is possible the anchor was chosen with some bias. The surveyor counts five people to the right of the anchor and asks that person to fill out a survey. Regardless of whether they accept or refuse, the surveyor then counts five people to the right of that individual, and asks that person to fill out a survey. The surveyor continues on like so until three surveys have been planted. Subsequently, the surveyor selects a new anchor and starts the process over again. The anchor sampling method largely eliminates selection bias; while there is likely to be bias in the selection of the anchor, there is not bias in the

selection of individuals offered a survey. This method produces a sample that is reasonably representative of the people in a crowd.

When someone declined to take the survey, surveyors recorded their best estimate of that person's race and gender. We used these counts to weight our data in order to account for nonresponse bias by race and gender. While this method does inevitably carries inaccuracies, it is a pragmatic way to deal with this methodological issue so that our results can be more representative of the people assembled at the events in question. Furthermore, respondents were free to decline to answer any question or to stop filling out the survey at any point. In order to account for missing data, imputation was used on the variables in my regressions.

Most of the survey questions were multiple choice, and many of those choices are ordinal, such as amount of agreement or disagreement, how often they do something, amount of approval, or how important something is to them. Subjective assessments like these are subject to anchoring bias, because people generally read the top option first (Strack and Mussweiler 1997). In order to limit those effects, we created two versions of the survey which have the same questions but with the multiple-choice options listed in opposite order when appropriate. Similarly, with so many questions about politics, it is possible that reading and responding to one question may influence how people respond to questions placed later on the survey. For that reason, we created two more versions of the survey by rearranging the order of the questions (included in the appendix). This resulted in four versions of the same survey, which were distributed in equal amounts during data collection. Similarly, demographic questions were always on the last page, in order to reduce stereotype threat (Steele 2011).

Dependent Variables

As discussed in my hypotheses, my two dependent variables are the belief in the necessity of civility for protest to influence policymakers, and the belief in the necessity of violence and/or property damage for protest to influence policymakers. Later in this thesis, I

refer to these variables in shortened ways, primarily as "belief in the necessity of violence/civility", but I am referring to these same concepts. These variables are assessed through survey responses to a five-point Likert scale of agreement and disagreement with the following statements: "civility by the participants in a protest is necessary in order for protest to influence the actions of policymakers" and "property damage and/or violence are sometimes necessary in order for protest to influence the actions of policymakers". See the appendix for the full survey, where these two questions appear on page two. In my regression, these responses are represented as ascending with more agreement such that strongly disagree is 1, neither agree nor disagree is 3, and strongly agree is 5. The people's responses to these questions are graphed in Figure 2. A majority of people believe in the need for civility and do not believe in the necessity of violence and/or property damage.

Figure 2. Opinions on the Necessity of Civility and Violence in Protest
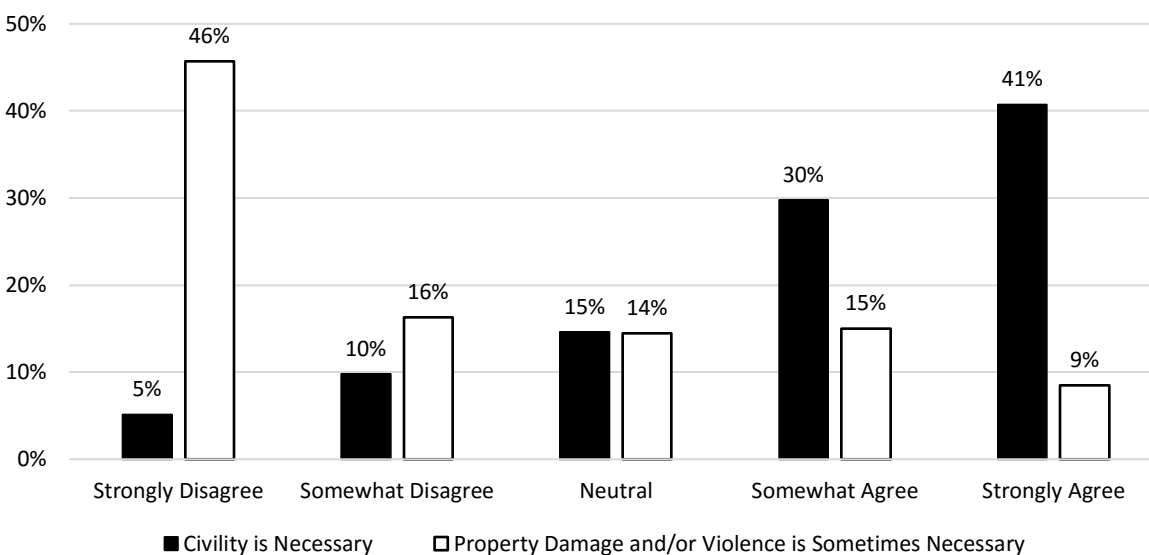
There is a slight difference in those two questions in the form of the word "sometimes": one states that civility is necessary whereas the other states violence and/or property damage is sometimes necessary. This does place some limitations on my results and appropriate interpretations of them. Since these variables are not perfectly equivalent, it may not be appropriate to make the starkest comparison between the two. Despite this discrepancy, the

data remain useful. Examination of these can still lead to valuable insights about how people regard civility and political violence.

Independent Variables

In order to assess emotions with respect to politics, the survey asked, "these days, how often does politics make you feel?" followed by a few emotions. People rated whether they felt that emotion almost always, often, sometimes, rarely, or never. See the appendix for the full survey, where this question appears on page six. In my regression, this is represented by numbers ascending with more agreement such that a 1 represents never and a 5 represents almost always. Later in this thesis, I sometimes use the term "political haters" in reference to people for whom politics evokes hate.

Strength of partisan attachment was assessed in the following way. The survey asked, "generally speaking which of the following do you consider yourself": a strong Republican, not very strong Republican, independent who leans Republican, independent, independent who leans Democrat, not very strong Democrat, strong Democrat, or other, which they could write in themselves. See the appendix for the full survey, where this question appears on page three. I created a variable to represent strength of partisan attachment by considering independents zero and increasing attachment increased the variable's number: "strong Republican" and "strong Democrat" are both represented by a three; "independent who leans Republican" and "independent who leans Democrat" are both represented by a one, and so on. In this way, the variable represents one's degree of attachment to either of the two major political parties of the United States. Those who identified themselves as "other" were assigned a zero for this variable.

Table 1: Models of Civility and Violence

Independent Variable	Model 1: Civility	Model 2: Violence	Model 3: Civility	Model 4: Violence	Mean (SD)	Percent Imputed
			Coefficient (Standard Error)			
Strength of Partisan Attachment	0.104 *** (0.023)	−0.084 *** (0.026)	0.102 *** (0.024)	−0.083 *** (0.026)	1.220 (1.220)	11.36%
Hate			−0.079 ** (0.029)	0.102 *** (0.031)	2.481 (1.223)	28.85%
Anger			0.045 (0.036)	0.100 * (0.044)	3.797 (1.095)	52.19%
Enthusiasm			0.070 * (0.036)	−0.040 (0.040)	3.071 (1.121)	26.93%
Hope			0.025 (0.043)	0.034 (0.050)	2.925 (1.052)	53.62%
Liberal Ideology	−0.083 *** (0.017)	0.123 *** (0.020)	−0.081 *** (0.017)	0.108 *** (0.021)	6.854 (2.374)	27.91%
Ideology other than Liberal or Conservative	−0.217 * (0.098)	0.276 ** (0.099)	−0.213 * (0.099)	0.284 ** (0.099)	0.106 (0.309)	19.74%
Membership in a Political Organization	−0.053 (0.057)	0.126* (0.060)	−0.087 (0.057)	0.127 * (0.060)	0.457 (0.498)	11.93%
Female	0.183 ** (0.059)	−0.222 *** (0.063)	0.169 ** (0.060)	−0.246 *** (0.064)	0.459 (0.498)	20.84%
Age	0.003 (0.002)	−0.014 *** (0.002)	0.003 (0.002)	−0.012 *** (0.002)	38.985 (16.280)	20.23%
Level of Education	−0.037 (0.023)	−0.034 (0.023)	−0.040 (0.023)	−0.023 (0.024)	4.180 (1.435)	18.51%
Income	0.001 ** (0.000)	−0.000 (0.000)	0.001 ** (0.000)	−0.001 (0.000)	3.518 (2.112)	23.13%
Frequency of Attending Religious Services	−0.005 (0.023)	−0.050 (0.026)	−0.006 (0.023)	0. 043 (0.025)	2.130 (1.439)	18.35%
Conservative Event	0.265 * (0.135)	−0.950 *** (0.144)	0.253 (0.134)	−0.635*** (0.146)		

DNC	0.435 ***	−0.531 ***	0.106 ***	−0.497 ***		
	(0.097)	(0.090)	(0.098)	(0.146)		
RNC	0.154	−0.324 **	0.147	−0.280**		
	(0.104)	(0.096)	(0.105)	(0.095)		
Women's March	0.397 ***	−0.608 ***	0.419 ***	−0.592***		
	(0.104)	(0.096)	(0.105)	(0.101)		
March For Life	0.455 *	−0.286	0.438 *	−0.238		
	(0.197)	(0.213)	(0.198)	(0.214)		
Form 1	0.081	0.256	0.091	0.015		
	(0.053)	(0.055)	(0.0528)	(0.055)		
Cut point 1	−1.683	−0.271	−1.494	−0.090		
	(0.184)	(0.201)	(0.244)	(0.244)		
Cut point 2	−1.049	−0.250	−0.855	0.385		
	(0.181)	(0.201)	(0.243)	(0.243)		
Cut point 3	−0.515	0.235	−0.3167	0.876		
	(0.181)	(0.199)	(0.244)	(0.244)		
Cut point 4	0.310	0.966	−0.512	1.623		
	(0.182)	(0.200)	(0.245)	(0.245)		
N	2,049	2,049	2,041	2,041		
F	11.5 ***	20.93 ***	9.35 ***	16.76 ***		
df	2,044	2,036	2,044	2,036		

*** $p \leq 0.001$, ** $p \leq 0.01$, * $p \leq 0.05$

Strata: 5

Regression Models

In order to create a model, I used four ordered probit regressions. An ordered probit regression is appropriate in this case because the dependent variables are in the form of discrete, ordinal data. Model One looks at belief in the need for civility, without emotions in the regression. Model Two looks at belief in the need for violence and/or property damage, without emotions in the regression. Model Three looks at belief in the need for civility, with emotions in the regression. Model Four looks at belief in the need for violence and/or property damage, with emotions in the regression. All four models include the same control variables. It was prudent to create separate models with and without emotions because of the possibility that emotions influence the relationship between partisan identity and attitudes towards civility and violence (Groenendyk and Banks 2014).

Results

Table 1 displays my regression results. The results of Model 1 are consistent with Hypothesis 2a. There is a statistically significant positive correlation between partisanship and belief in the necessity of civility. Those who are more affiliated with a major political party tend to also believe more strongly in the necessity of civility. The results of Model 3 provide further support for Hypothesis 2a. The relationship between partisanship and beliefs about civility holds even when accounting for the influence of emotions. Similarly, the results of Model 2 support Hypothesis 2b. There is a statistically significant negative correlation between partisanship and belief in the necessity of violence and/or property damage. Partisans disagree with the need for violence and/or property damage in protest. The results of Model 4 also support Hypothesis 2b. The relationship between partisanship and beliefs about violence remain statistically significant while holding constant the influence of emotions. The results of Model 3 are consistent with Hypothesis 1a. There is a negative correlation between hate and belief in the necessity of civility. This correlation carries a p-value of 0.006. Haters are less likely to believe in the need

for civility. Furthermore, the results of Model 4 support Hypothesis 1b. Haters are more likely to

believe in the need for violence and/or property damage.

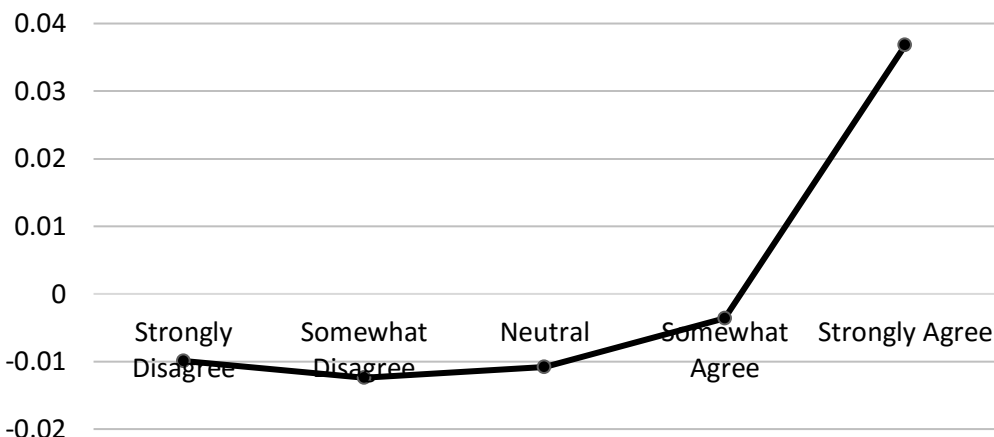**Figure 3. Marginal Effects of Partisan Attachment on Belief in the Need for Civility**

Figure 4: Marginal Effects of Partisan Attachment on Belief in Necessity of Violence and/or Property Damage
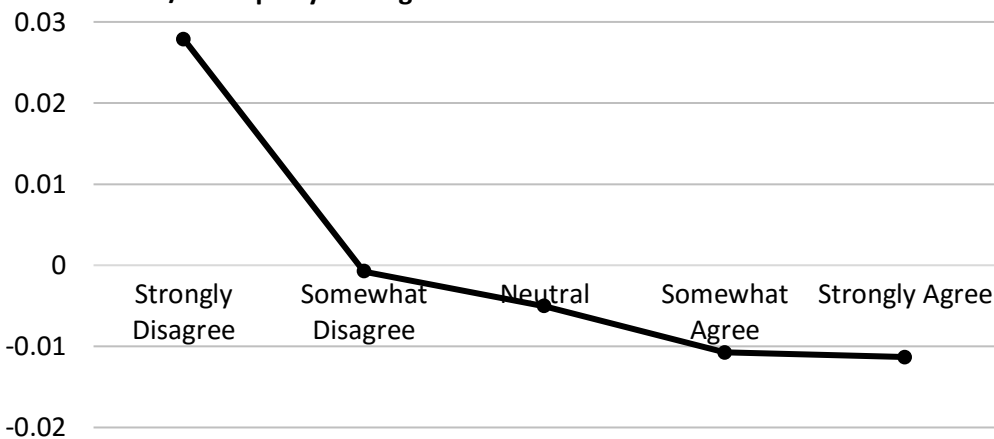
An examination of the marginal effects of partisanship, displayed in Figures 3 and 4,

shows that the relationship between partisanship and opinions about civility is primarily born

from the following: partisans tend to strongly agree that effective protest requires civility.

Similarly, partisans have a significant tendency to strongly disagree with the idea that effective

protest requires violence and/or property damage. This tendency is the main driver behind the

correlation between partisanship and opinions about violence. Thus, it is not the case that

people without attachments to a major political party strongly object to civility or are especially

violent. Rather, partisan attachment robustly correlates with believing both that civility is definitely necessary in protest and that violence is definitely not necessary in protest.

Figure 5. Marginal Effects of Hate on Belief in the Need for Civility
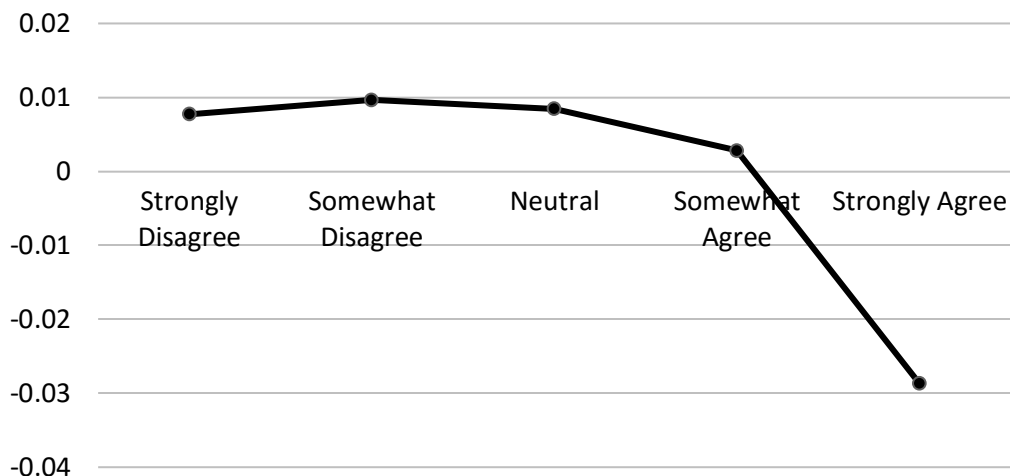
**Figure 6. Marginal Effects of Hate on Belief in Necessity of Violence and/or Propterty Damage**
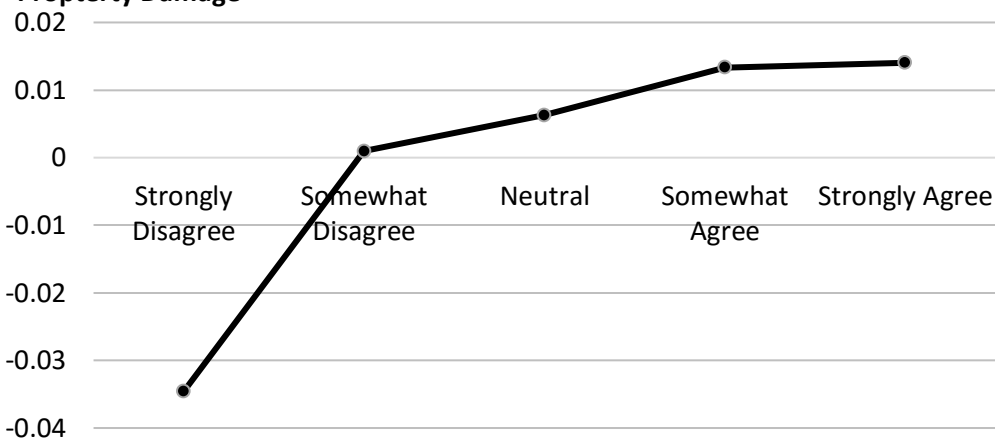
An examination of the marginal effects of hate, see Figures 5 and 6, reveals the following about the relationship between hate towards politics and opinions about civility and violence. With respect to the need for civility in protest, haters tend to towards disagreement or neutrality. Haters are much less likely to strongly believe in the need for civility in protest. When considering the proposition that violence and/or property damage is necessary in protest, haters tend to either agree or be neutral, though they are more likely to agree than be neutral. And

haters definitely do not eschew the possibility that violence and/or property damage may be necessary for the efficacy of protest. This is robust evidence in support of my hypotheses. Haters tend to agree with its necessity for the efficacy of protest. Haters are less likely to agree with the need for civility in protest.

Protestors as a Unique Population

These data were taken from a sample of people at protests. By design, my results are not representative of the general US population; a nonrandom selection effect regulates who decides to attend a protest. A variety of factors determine who shows up to a protest. Protestors often show up in order to express their opinion about an issue or a particular political figure (Heaney 2016). Some people go because a friend or an organization asked them to come. In order to attend a protest, one must have heard about it and arranged means of transportation to get there; proximity helps to determine how easy or difficult it is to attend. Some people may have greater deterrents to attendance in the form of work or family obligations. Heath-related reasons prohibit others from going. For these reasons, great care should be taken when considering how this research applies to different populations.

Figure 7: Opinions on How Much Political Violence is Justified
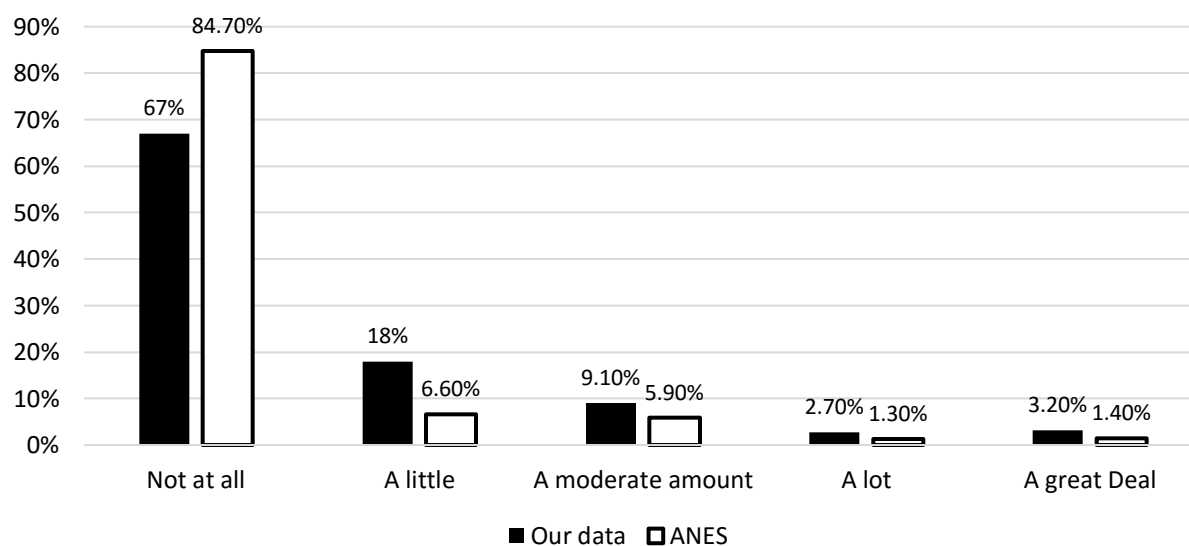
In any case, this population merits investigation; there are differences between protestors and the general population specifically in how they view political violence. Both our survey and the 2016 American National Election Study, which surveys eligible American voters, asked how much the surveyed person feels that political violence is justified in American politics today (ANES 2017). Figure 7 displays the results. The surveyed protestors are a bit more accepting of political violence than the general population of eligible American voters. For this reason, it is worthwhile to investigate what factors influence their beliefs about political violence.

Anger

There is no significant relationship between anger and beliefs about the need for civility, as modeled in my regressions. So, while anger increases peaceful, legal political participation (Valentino et al. 2011; Tausch et al. 2011), it does not lead people to believe that civility is necessary in protest. There is some evidence of a relationship between anger and belief in the need for violence; the positive correlation carries a p-value of 0.023. This finding is unexpected. Prior research has found that, when controlling for hate, anger does not correlate with the support for political violence or a willingness to commit it (Shuman et al. 2016; Tausch et al. 2011). The prior research, then, suggests that I would find no correlation between anger and the belief in the need for property damage and/or political violence. But I did find some evidence of that relationship. Still, while they are closely associated, there is a difference between the support for violence, the willingness to commit violence, and the belief that violence is necessary for protest efficacy. If anger influences one of these variables it does not *necessarily* also influence the others; it is possible to believe that violence / property damage is necessary for the efficacy of protest while still being unwilling to participate in it or support its use.

Event

There are significant differences between events with respect to the people's opinions on civility and violence. In my regressions, the counter-inaugural protests are the excluded variable, and so the results in Table 1 are in comparison to the counter-inaugural protestors. When compared to the people at the counter-inaugural protests, both people protesting at the DNC and people at the Women's March are more likely to agree with the need for civility and disagree with the need for violence and/or property damage. These differences were expected; different events attract people with different political opinions. It is furthermore possible that taking the survey while present at these events influenced responses. Protests can have an intense, politically charged atmosphere, and in some cases, people took surveys shortly after listening to a speech or while having a sign on their person.

Gender and Age

Gender is significantly correlated with attitudes towards civility and violence across all four models. Women are significantly more likely to agree with the need for civility and disagree with the need for violence. This finding is consistent with other research; women are generally less accepting of violence compared to men (Wilcox et al. 1996; Togeby 1994; Funk et al. 1999; Cambell et al. 1992). Some research suggests that the key mechanism is not one's gender but rather one's attitudes about gender: feminist values correlate with pacifism (Tessler and Warriner 1997). Our data might support this position; a careful examination is warranted.

Age is not significantly related to beliefs about civility in any model. Age does influence beliefs about the necessity of political violence and/or property damage. Younger people are more likely to believe in the necessity of political violence and/or property damage. This correlation could be related to related to risk acceptance, which decreases with age; young people are more risk acceptant and older people are more risk adverse (Figner and Weber 2011). While this data only assesses beliefs about violence, these results correspond with the

fact that young people, on average, commit more crimes (Goldstein 2015). Still, the exact

drivers behind this correlation remain unclear. Do beliefs about civility and violence change as a

person ages, and if so what are the mechanisms driving this change over time? Alternatively, it

is possible that this finding is influenced by cohort effects, which are factors specific to the

collective historical experiences of these particular generations.

Income and Education

Level of education does not correlate with opinions about civility or opinions about

violence in my models. Income positively predicts belief in the need for civility at a significance

level of p≤0.01. That is to say, the greater someone's income, the more likely they are to agree

that civility is necessary in protest. There is no significant correlation between income and

beliefs about the need for violence and/or property damage. These findings correspond with a

study done in Palestine which found that neither income nor education levels predict

participation in terrorist organizations, nor do they predict support for the use of terrorism

(Krueger and Malečková 2003). Still, there is a significant opportunity here to do further study of

how one's level of education and income influence beliefs about civility and violence in politics.

Hope and Enthusiasm

Neither enthusiasm nor hope has a significant correlation with opinions about the

necessity of civility and violence in my models. This does correspond with prior research which

found that when controlling for hatred, hope does not correlate with willingness to participate in

violent or non-rule-following action (Shuman et al. 2016). Similarly, other scholars have found

that enthusiasm's effect on peaceful political participation was unclear (Valentino et al. 2011).

Liberal Ideology

Liberal ideology positively predicts both belief in the efficacy of violence and/or property damage and disagreement with the necessity of civility for successful protest. It is possible that some liberals saw the question about civility as coded language referring to respectability politics. Respectability politics is the proposition that marginalized groups should behave in upstanding, commendable ways, and more generally fit in with the status quo, in order to receive better treatment (Dorrien 2015). Many liberals reject respectability politics, and this may inform their disagreement with the need for civility in protest (Johnson 2015; Houson 2015). It is furthermore possible that liberals see themselves as fighting to change the status quo which does not change easily (Blesington 2015). This may inform their attitudes as well. On the other hand, the demonization of protestors for their supposed violence has been a recent talking point among conservative news outlets and commentators in recent years (Starned 2016; Bump 2017). Perhaps conservatives are influenced by these discussions.

Other Ideology

Self-reporting an ideology other than liberal or conservative has a statistically significant positive correlation with belief in the necessity of violence in my models. There is also partial evidence of a negative relationship between having an other ideology and belief in the necessity of civility. People with an ideology other than conservative or liberal are more likely to believe that violence is necessary in protest, and they may be less likely to believe that civility is necessary. I suspect that this relationship works in similar ways to how partisanship influences attitudes towards civility and violence, but in the opposite direction. Those with an other ideology may feel that they are outside of the fold of the political system at large, and may feel that few, if any, policymakers truly represent them. Such feelings can lead to the belief that violence and/or property damage necessary for protest to influence policymakers.

Organizational Membership and Religious Services

The frequency with which someone attends religious services appear not to have a relationship to that person's attitudes towards political violence or civility. In this respect, there is not a significant difference between the religious and nonreligious. This result differs from my expectation that attending religious services would influence people away from violence and towards civility. Still, one should not jump to conclusions because of this lack of correlation. Attendance of religious services is an important control variable to hold constant in these regressions. In a regression with different controls, there may be a relationship among these variables.

There is partial evidence that membership in a political organization is positively correlated with the belief that violence is necessary in protest. This should not be taken as indication that membership in any political organization generally has such an effect. This finding is likely specific to this dataset. Political groups organized many of the protests at which we gathered survey data, and so certain organizations are represented more than others. Future researchers could conduct a specific investigation into which political organizations particularly influenced their members' attitudes towards civility and violence.

Discussion

Hate

My statistical analyses support Hypothesis 1b; hate leads to the belief that violence and/or property damage are sometimes necessary for protest to influence the actions of policymakers. This finding was expected, given the properties of hate. Hate causes a number of cognitive distortions which may influence one's appraisals (Beck and Pretzer 2005; Beck 1999). These distortions include overgeneralization, which may manifest as a hater's belief that *all* policymakers are bad or corrupt (Beck and Pretzer 2005; Beck 1999). Hate also leads to dichotomous reasoning, also known as all-or-nothing thinking, which causes people to think in
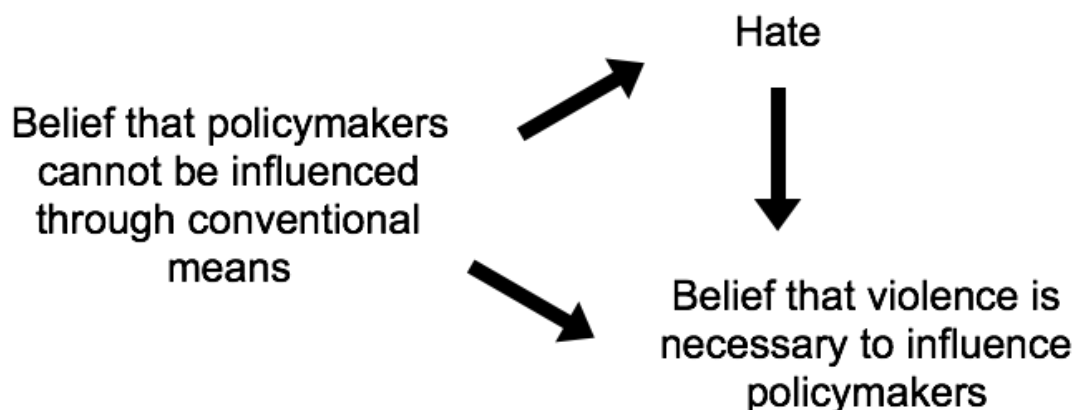
extreme terms, without any gray area (Beck 1999). Consequently, political haters may not only

believe that violence is an effective means to influence policymakers, but also believe that

violence is in, in fact, *necessary* to influence policymakers.

The belief that violence and/or property damage is necessary to influence policymakers

may also require some level of perception that political violence is justified. Hate leads to the

belief that violence is justified (Baumeister and Butz 2005). Haters dehumanize the object of

hate, and come to view it as unworthy of moral consideration (Sternberg 2003; Tausch et al.

2011). In this way, policymakers can become an "other" in the minds of haters, which further

reduces the level of nuance in their thinking (Halperin et al. 2012). Similarly, haters lack

empathy or altruism towards the object of their hate (Halperin 2008). These provide justification

for violence, which may contribute to haters' belief that violence and/or property damage is

necessary in protest.

Still, the most accurate understanding of this relationship may include a confounding

variable. My dependent variable is one's level of agreement or disagreement with the statement

"violence and/or property damage is necessary for protest to influence policymakers". The

assertion that violence is necessary implies, at least to some extent, that nonviolent tactics are

ineffective, or at least less effective than violent tactics. So, a person's assessment of the

necessity of violence in protest hinges on both that person's perceived efficacy of political

violence and their perceived efficacy of nonviolence. Prior research has shown that a low

perceived efficacy of nonviolence can lead to support for or willingness to engage in political

violence (Tausch et al. 2011; Wright et al. 1990; Schuman et al. 2016). This introduces a

methodological problem, because the perceived inefficacy of nonviolent activism also leads to

political hate (Schuman et al. 2016). Thus, the perceived efficacy of nonviolence is a

confounding variable; this is illustrated in Figure 8. The presence of a confounding variable

casts doubt onto the relationship between my independent and dependent variables. Still, I

believe that their relationship is real. My proposed mechanism is sound and based in research

on the properties of hate. The correlation I found is statistically significant with a very low p-value. Nevertheless, I strongly recommend further research investigate the exact relationships among these variables.

Figure 8: The Possible Confounding Variable

Hate

Belief that policymakers cannot be influenced through conventional means

Belief that violence is necessary to influence policymakers

I also found support for Hypothesis 2a; hate leads to a rejection of the perceived necessity of civility in protest. The mechanisms here are the same as those for the relationship between hate and political violence, but in the opposite direction. Civility in protest requires adhering to rules and norms. Haters tend to disregard norms and rules, at least with respect to the object of their hate (Tausch et al. 2011). Similarly, the use of civility indicates some concern for the preservation of relationships, whereas haters often disregard their relationship with the object of hate (Fischer and Roseman 2007). I suspect that haters have less charitable opinions of policymakers, and so they are less likely to see civility as necessary to influence those policymakers. Since hate influences one's thought processes in a way that reduces nuance, it may be easier for haters to develop uncharitable attitudes towards policymakers (Beck 1999). Indeed, the negative correlation between hate and civility flows naturally from the characteristics of hate.

Partisanship

I found support for my hypotheses 2a and 2b: that partisanship increases the belief that civility is necessary in protest, and partisanship decreases the belief that violence and/or property damage is necessary in protest. While I have solid evidence in support of these relationships, the exact mechanisms driving them remain unclear. One possible mechanism for the partisan rejection of violence is the ingroup/outgroup dynamics of partisan identification. Partisans display higher levels of intergroup differentiation, which is the perceived differences between two groups (Greene 1999). In other words, partisans perceive more substantial differences between the two main political parties, whereas nonpartisans see the parties as similar. Most policymakers are affiliated with one of the two major political parties. Thus, partisans may see policymakers as members of either their ingroup or the outgroup. This is a different viewpoint than people who see policymakers as a homogeneous other. In fact, this mechanism is related to the mechanisms by which hate influences attitudes towards political violence, which I discussed earlier. Just as hate leads to a less nuanced and less generous opinion of policymakers, perhaps partisanship leads a more nuanced and more generous opinion of policymakers. Someone who thinks all policymakers are the same is more likely to believe that violence and/or property damage is necessary for protest to influence their actions. From the perspective of partisans, though, roughly half of policymakers are already "on their team", so to speak. Consequently, partisans believe that violence is not necessarily required to influence policymakers' actions.

Identifying with a political party as one's ingroup may also inform partisans' belief in the need for civility. Partisans may be concerned with maintaining the positive reputation of their political party through their actions (Jiménez-Moya et al. 2015). If they see the legitimacy and/or positive reputation of their political party as crucial to their ability to influence policy, then partisan activists will embrace the need for civility. More generally, if someone sees politics primarily in terms of conflict between two political parties then the way to improve politics is by

convincing swing voters, improving their party's message, and voting more people of their party into office. In this mindset, violence is not helpful to the cause.

It is furthermore possible that the institutions of political parties themselves play a role. Though politicians sometimes use violent rhetoric, the political parties as organizations renounce the use of violence (Scott 2016; Wasserman Schultz 2016). Partisans tend to assume the position of their party on policy issues, so perhaps they assume their party's position on the use of violence as well (Cohen 2003). Furthermore, political parties mobilize their members towards actions such as donating money, volunteering with a campaign, displaying a yard sign or a bumper sticker, and more. Partisans are more likely to have done these things or been asked to do these things (Brady et al. 1999). Thus, the ways to influence politics without violence may be on the forefront of partisans' minds when they consider whether violence is necessary for protest to influence policymakers. The availability heuristic, then, brings partisans to believe that violence is not necessary (Schwartz et al. 1991). Even when it is not the political party itself mobilizing them, partisans have a skill for collective action (Groenendyk and Banks 2014; Smirnov et al. 2010). Partisans might actually be better at using nonviolent, legal tactics to influence policymakers. If so, then surely it follows that they will believe in the efficacy of these tactics, as my data indicate is the case.

Partisans' attitudes towards civility and violence may also be related to political parties' high level of group efficacy, both in reality and as perceived by their members. Political parties are powerful actors in US politics; their actions have significant impacts, and people identifying with the party likely perceive that. Prior research has shown that political efficacy leads to peaceful political participation and low group efficacy leads to support for political violence (Wright et al. 1990; Tausch et al. 2011). This mechanism may be the same as what I discussed with hate and perceived efficacy of activism as a confounding variable. Since partisan identification lends itself to political efficacy, partisans avoid entire the situation pictured in Figure 8.

In fact, emotions may be the mechanism driving partisans' belief in the necessity of civility. Partisans are more likely than nonpartisans to feel anger and enthusiasm towards politics (Groenendyk and Banks 2014). Partisans might experience these emotions in collective ways (Groenendyk and Banks 2014). Anger leads to political participation and activism in legal, nonviolent ways (Tausch et al. 2011; Valentino et al. 2011). So, the relationship might be that partisanship leads to political anger which leads to belief in the necessity of civility. This is a tenuous suggestion, as there is insufficient research to prove the relationship between partisanship and anger. Still, the possibility merits additional research and careful examination.

The relationship between partisanship and attitudes towards civility and violence may also be related to perceptions about the government and the democracy. Identifying with a major political party might make partisans feel like they themselves are a part of the wider United States political system. Consequently, partisans may feel the need to avoid violence against that system. Moreover, identifying with a major political party can often require some level of implicit acknowledgement of the legitimacy of the current government and the democratic system more generally. Faith in democracy is generally associated with commitment to nonviolence in activism, and a democratic government depresses support for political violence (Esenberg 2015). Perhaps partisans believe that violence is not necessary in protest because of their confidence that the government is a legitimate democracy.

Limitations

This research benefits from having a large sample size of over 2,000. Still, there are limitations. These data were collected during or shortly after the 2016 elections. In fact, all of the events at which we fielded surveys had some relationship to the elections.[1] While none of my

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[1] While not as directly related to the election, the March for Life's featured speakers included Vice President Mike Pence and Advisor to the President Kellyanne Conway (Peters et al. 2017). Also, the drew a somewhat larger-than-normal crowd in 2017 due to the excitement of a Republican-held White House and Congress (Peters et al. 2017).

variables are directly related to the elections, it is possible that the elections have influenced people's perceptions. In particular, the nomination and subsequent election of Donald Trump as President has had a profound effect on many people. Furthermore, my findings with respect to partisanship may not be applicable to other countries with different historical experiences. In particular, partisanship has different effects in young democracies and in countries with a parliamentary system (González et al. 2008; Miller and Klobucar 2000). Replication research could examine if my findings hold true in different times and places.

My findings may be applicable to related variables including the perceived efficacy of violence and the justification for violence. Yet they are not entirely equivalent. One may believe that civility is effective in protest, but that other tactics can also influence policymakers. Such a person might respond negatively to the necessity of civility in protest. By using a Likert Scale, I do capture some of this nuance. Still, future studies should continue to examine this set of related variables and their interactions with hate and partisanship.

Activism and protest is not always directed towards policymakers. For example, animal rights activists often pressure businesses to change their practices. I specifically examined attempts to influence policymakers, and as a result I can only speculate about their applicability to protestors seeking to influence other actors. I suspect that both my findings about hate and my findings about partisanship will hold true in those other contexts. Though some of my proposed mechanisms for the relationship between partisanship and civility are direction related to policymakers, I think partisans' skill for collective action will continue to inform partisan attitudes towards civility and political violence. Additional research is necessary to confirm those hypotheses.

In researching partisanship, I have examined identification with one of the two major political parties of the United States. In doing so, I set aside those affiliated with 3rd parties as well as the politically independent. Recent research has indicated that, for those who place importance on it, being independent can function as a political identity just like being a

Republican or a Democrat (Yoo 2010; Klar 2014). While I remain confident in my findings, there are certainly additional nuances to be explored in how 3rd party affiliates and independents view civility and violence in politics.

Conclusion

Political haters tend to believe in the necessity of political violence and/or property damage for protest to influence the actions of policymakers. Similarly, political haters are less likely to believe that civility is necessary for protest to influence the actions of policymakers. Haters have less empathy, less nuanced thinking, and less concern for norms, rules, or relationships (Beck 1999; Tausch et al. 2011). Similarly, haters exhibit cognitive distortions and dehumanization of the object of hate, which may be policymakers as a group or politics in general (Sternberg 2003). All of these aspects of hate contribute to haters' attitudes towards civility and violence in different ways. It is possible, though, that the perceived inefficacy of nonviolent activism is causing both political hate and the perceived necessity of violence.

Partisans tend to believe in the necessity of civility for protest to influence the actions of policymakers. Partisans are also less likely to believe in the necessity of political violence and/or property damage for protest to influence the actions of policymakers. This may be caused by ingroup/outgroup dynamics of partisan identification or by partisanship influencing political perception and cognition. Alternatively, it may be related to partisans' high group efficacy or their greater belief in the legitimacy of the government and democracy. It is furthermore possible that the political parties themselves, as organizations, play a role. Given how I have found a relationship between partisanship and attitudes towards political violence, it stands to reason that partisanship also influences related phenomena including committing acts of violence.

These findings contribute to the study of the hate/violence relationship, and they present a new foray into examination of the relationship between partisan identity and attitudes towards civility and political violence. By examining the role of emotions in assessments about the

necessity and efficacy of political violence, I challenge conventional wisdom that political violence is solely a goal-seeking activity (Bearman and Latin 2008; Walter 2009; Muller et al. 1991). A person's thoughts towards political violence are not only about reaching a political objective but are influenced by emotions, namely hate towards politics. This research contributes to and has implications for not only the study of political violence but also for investigations of public opinion, partisanship, emotions in politics, and activism.

The findings presented here are not only relevant to scholars, but they also have practical uses as well. They may be helpful to deradicalization programs, which seek to either prevent those at risk of committing political violence, or treatment for those who have committed violence and are attempting to re-integrate themselves into society. These findings may also be useful to anyone creating risk assessments, and perhaps even to psychologists seeking to better understand emotions. By specifically studying protestors, I have examined a unique population with unique characteristics. While my results might not be generalizable to other populations, my main findings do generally correspond with other research in this area.

Further research in this area could explore many possibilities. This thesis has established that partisanship can influence attitudes towards civility and political violence, but the mechanisms driving this relationship remain unclear. It would also be worthwhile to investigate possible connections of attitudes towards civility and violence with 3rd party identity and independent partisan identity. Similarly, future research should investigate the web of causation among perceive efficacy, attitudes towards violence and hate.

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Appendix A: Survey Version A

A

Women's March on Washington Survey

Principal Investigator: Michael T. Heaney, University of Michigan, mheaney@umich.edu

We would like to invite your voluntary participation in this survey about the Women's March on Washington. This study is trying to understand why people attend marches. This survey is **anonymous** and will take about **10-15 minutes**. It includes questions about your political opinions, background, and experience. You are free to decline to answer any question, or discontinue the survey at any time, without penalty to you. You will not receive any benefits or pay any costs as a result of your participation.

1. There are many ways in which people are participating at this march, and some people may do so in more than one way. In what way or ways are you participating in the march? **Please circle all that apply**.

- Spectator
- Protester/Demonstrator
- Volunteer
- Paid staff
- Blogger
- Reporter for large media outlet
- Reporter for small media outlet
- Other (please specify): _____

2. Did you attend the Counter Inaugural protests held yesterday?

Yes   No

3. Did you attend the Inauguration yesterday?

Yes   No

4. How much do you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump's election as president?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

5. To what extent do you believe that the outcome of the 2016 election accurately reflects the will of the people?

- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- Not at all

6. Of the following, which are the most important reasons you decided to attend this march? **Please circle up to three**.

- To express my views on a particular issue or issues. Please specify the top issue(s):

  _____

  _____

- Because it's my responsibility as an American.
- Because it's my responsibility as a member of a political party.
- To express my dissatisfaction with the current U.S. political system.
- To advance my career.
- To help make the world a better place.
- To express my dissatisfaction with the election of Donald Trump.
- To hang out with friends or make new friends.
- To learn more about the political process.
- To express my satisfaction with the election of Donald Trump.
- To express my satisfaction with the current U.S. political system.
- To disrupt the Inauguration.
- Other (specify): _____

7. To what extent do you think protesters can exercise their right to free expression at the Inauguration? **Please circle one**.

- Protesters can fully express their viewpoints.

- Protesters' freedom is limited, but they can still adequately express their viewpoints.

- Protesters' freedom is so restricted that they can't adequately express their viewpoints.

A

8. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements? **Please check only one box per statement.**

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
Elections are an effective way for citizens to hold their leaders accountable for the decisions that they make in office.					
In general, African Americans are more likely to be treated unfairly in the workplace compared to whites.					
Public officials don't care much what people like me think.					
Civility by the participants in protest is necessary in order for protest to influence the actions of policy makers.					
Systematic voting irregularities changed the outcome of the 2016 presidential election.					
Good policy solutions sometimes come from people who hold different partisan loyalties than me.					
Hillary Clinton's candidacy for president had a positive effect on the Democratic Party.					
The 2016 presidential election offered voters a real choice among competing candidates.					
The Democratic and Republican parties can be pressured to change in response to grassroots political protests.					
Conversing about politics with people who hold different partisan loyalties than me is generally very valuable.					
Bernie Sanders' candidacy for president has had a positive effect on the Democratic Party.					
In general, women are more likely to be treated unfairly in the workplace compared to men.					
Elections are an effective way for citizens to bring about constructive policy changes in the United States.					
Property damage and/or violence are sometimes necessary in order for protest to influence the actions of policy makers.					
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.					
The American political system is generally effective in solving public problems.					
Donald Trump's candidacy for president had a positive effect on the Republican Party.					
Russian involvement changed the outcome of the 2016 presidential election.					
American democracy would be stronger if third parties played a greater role in the system.					
In general, whites are more likely to be treated unfairly in the workplace compared to minorities.					

A

9. How much do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama handled his job as President?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

10. How much do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

11. Did you vote in your state's 2016 presidential primary or caucus? **Please circle one**.

- Yes
- Wanted to vote, but circumstances prevented it
- Was Ineligible
- No

If you voted in your state's 2016 presidential primary or caucus, for whom did you vote?

_____

12. Who did you vote for in the 2016 presidential election?

- Hillary Clinton
- Donald Trump
- Other (please specify): _____
- I did not vote
- I intended to vote, but was unable to do so

13. When protesters get "roughed up" for disrupting political events, how much do they generally deserve what happens to them?

- Not at all
- A little
- A moderate amount
- A lot
- A great deal

14. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way that democracy works in the United States?

- Very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- Not very satisfied
- Not satisfied at all

15. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: **Please circle one**.

- Strong Republican
- Not very strong Republican
- Independent who leans Republican
- Independent
- Independent who leans Democrat
- Not very strong Democrat
- Strong Democrat
- Other (please specify): _____

16. Some people think that their partisan identity is a very important part of who they are, while other people do not think that it is an important part of their personal identity. How important is the partisan identity that you circled above (in question 15, as a Republican, Independent, Democrat, or other) to your personal identity? **Please circle one.**

- Core to my personal identity
- Somewhat important to my personal identity
- Not that important to my personal identity
- Not a part of my personal identity
- Don't know

17. Are you a member of any political organizations, social movement organizations, interest groups, or policy advocacy groups?

Yes   No

If yes, which ones?

_____

_____

_____

18. Were you contacted to attend today's event by any particular organization?

Yes   No

If yes, which ones?

_____

_____

_____

A

19. During a typical week, how many days do you use social media such as Twitter or Facebook to learn about politics?

- None
- One day
- Two days
- Three days
- Four days
- Five days
- Six days
- Seven days

20. Did you use Twitter to obtain information about today's event?

Yes   No

If yes, which handles or hashtags proved to be the most informative to you?

_____

_____

21. Did you use Facebook to obtain information about today's event?

Yes   No

If yes, which pages proved to be the most informative to you?

_____

_____

22. Some people think that being an "activist" – meaning someone who tries to improve the world by working on certain issues or causes – is a very important part of who they are, while other people do not think of themselves as activists. How important is being an "activist" to your personal identity? **Please circle one.**

- Core to my personal identity
- Somewhat important to my personal identity
- Not that important to my personal identity
- Not a part of my personal identity
- Don't know

23. How much do you feel it is justified for people to use violence to pursue their political goals in this country?

- Not at all
- A little
- A moderate amount
- A lot
- A great deal

24. During the past four years, which of the following activities have you engaged in to help a candidate or political party? **Please circle all that apply.**

- Volunteered time
- Paid to staff candidate or party activities
- Helped to register voters
- Attended a campaign rally
- Signed up for candidate's e-mail list
- Made campaign contributions
- Helped raise money
- Wore a campaign button
- Put a campaign sticker on your car
- Placed a campaign sign in your window or in front of your house / apartment building
- Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration
- Other: _____
- I was not involved in any of these activities

25. During the past four years, which of the following activities have you engaged in to help an organization concerned with a political or social issue? **Circle all that apply.** (This question is intended to refer to different organizations than those relating to the candidate or political party you thought of in question 24 above.).

- Volunteered time
- Paid organizational staff
- Helped to recruit members or supporters
- Attended an event promoting an organization
- Signed up for an organization's email list
- Made financial contributions
- Helped raise money
- Wore a button from an organization
- Put a sticker from an organization on your car
- Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration
- Arrested while participating in advocacy for social or political concerns
- Other: _____
- I was not involved in any of these activities

A

26. **Circle all the opportunities** that might be of interest to you personally in a future election cycle:

- Delegate to Democratic National Convention
- Delegate to Republican National Convention
- Delegate to third-party convention
- Elected official
- Staff member of a nonpartisan advocacy group
- Staff member of a partisan advocacy group
- None of the above

27. Do you intend to risk arrest this week through participation in nonviolent, direct action?

- I hope to be arrested
- I hope to avoid arrest, but I'm willing to risk it
- I intend to avoid the risk of arrest
- I have not decided yet

28. Over the course of your entire lifetime, which policy-issue rallies have you attended? **Please circle all that apply.**

- Anti-economic inequality
- Anti-globalization / global justice
- Anti-immigration
- Anti-Iraq / Afghanistan war
- Anti-nuclear
- Anti-police brutality
- Anti-student debt
- Anti-tax/business regulation
- Anti-Vietnam War
- Black Lives Matter
- Civil rights
- Family values
- Labor / union rights
- Libertarian
- Occupy Wall Street
- Pro-American troops
- Pro-choice / abortion rights
- Pro-environment
- Pro-fair housing
- Pro-immigration
- Pro-Israel
- Pro-life / anti-abortion
- Pro-Palestinian
- Pro-women's rights
- Right-to-bear arms
- Stop climate change
- Stop Obama health plan
- Tea Party
- Other: _____
- I have never attended any policy-issue rally.

29. Please describe the first policy-issue rally in which you ever participated and give the approximate year in which it took place. (Please write "none" if you have never participated in a policy-issue rally.)

Event: _____

Year: _____

30. Thinking about civility – meaning things such as manners, showing respect for people you deal with, showing respect for other peoples' political opinions or being courteous – how civil do you think Americans are to each other nowadays? **Please circle one**.

- Very civil
- Somewhat civil
- Not too civil
- Not at all civil
- Don't know / No opinion

31. Compared to previous political campaigns for President, do you think the 2016 election was . . . **Please circle one**.

- Much more civil
- Somewhat more civil
- Just about as civil
- Somewhat less civil
- Much less civil
- Don't know/No opinion

32. Generally speaking, how often can you trust other people?

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half of the time
- Some of the time
- Never

33. How often can you trust the federal government in Washington to do what is right?

- Always
- Most of the time
- About half of the time
- Some of the time
- Never

34. Do you go to religious services? **Circle one.**

- Every week
- Almost every week
- Once or twice a month
- A few times a year
- Never

A

35. These days, how often does politics make you feel? **Please check one for each feeling**:

	Anxious	Enthusiastic	Hateful	Frustrated	Surprised	Angry	Hopeful	Proud	Fearful
Almost Always									
Often									
Sometimes									
Rarely									
Never									

36. **Please circle all** sources of information that you used for today's event:

- Friends / word of mouth
- Email
- Internet / Web
- Television
- Radio
- Newspaper
- Saw event while passing by
- Other: _____

37. Prior to coming to the women's march this week, did you already personally know many people here, or are you largely meeting people for the first time? **Please circle one.**

- I knew many people here before arriving at the women's march
- I knew some people here, but only a few
- I knew hardly anyone here before arriving at the women's march

38. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as: **Please circle one.**

- To the "left" of strong liberal
- A Strong Liberal
- A Not very strong Liberal
- A Moderate who leans Liberal
- A Moderate
- A Moderate who leans Conservative
- A Not very strong Conservative
- A Strong Conservative
- To the "right" of strong conservative
- Other (please specify): _____

39. Do you or someone else in your household belong to a union? **Please circle one.**

        Yes   No

40. What is the ZIP code of your primary residence? (If you don't live in the U.S., please tell us in what city and country you live.)

_____

41. What is your sex/gender? _____

42. How old are you? _____ years

43. What is your race/ethnicity? **Please circle as many as apply**.

- Native American/American-Indian
- White / Caucasian
- Black / African American
- Latino / Hispanic
- Asian /Asian American/ Pacific Islander
- Other: _____

44. Could you please tell us the highest level of formal education you have completed? **Please circle only one.**

- Less than high school diploma
- High School diploma
- Some college / Associate's degree or technical degree
- College degree
- Some graduate education
- Graduate or professional degree

45. Could you please tell us your level of annual income in 2015? **Please circle only one.**

- less than $15,000
- $15,001 - $25,000
- $25,001 to $50,000
- $51,001 to $75,000
- $75,001 to $100,000
- $100,001 to $125,000
- $125,001 to $150,000
- $150,000 to $350,000
- More than $350,000

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE SURVEY!

Appendix B: Survey Version B

B

Women's March on Washington Survey

Principal Investigator: Michael T. Heaney, University of Michigan, mheaney@umich.edu

We would like to invite your voluntary participation in this survey about the Women's March on Washington. This study is trying to understand why people attend marches. This survey is **anonymous** and will take about **10-15 minutes**. It includes questions about your political opinions, background, and experience. You are free to decline to answer any question, or discontinue the survey at any time, without penalty to you. You will not receive any benefits or pay any costs as a result of your participation.

1. There are many ways in which people are participating at this march, and some people may do so in more than one way. In what way or ways are you participating in the march? **Please circle all that apply**.

- Paid Staff
- Volunteer
- Protester/Demonstrator
- Blogger
- Spectator
- Reporter for small media outlet
- Reporter for large media outlet
- Other (please specify): _____

2. Did you attend the Inauguration yesterday?

    Yes   No

3. Did you attend the Counter Inaugural protests held yesterday?

    Yes   No

4. To what extent do you believe that the outcome of the 2016 election accurately reflects the will of the people?

- Not at all
- A little
- A moderate amount
- A lot
- A great deal

5. How much do you approve or disapprove of Donald Trump's election as president?

- Strongly disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat approve
- Strongly approve

6. Of the following, which are the most important reasons you decided to attend this march? **Please circle up to three**.

- To learn more about the political process.
- To express my satisfaction with the current U.S. political system.
- To express my dissatisfaction with the current U.S. political system.
- To hang out with friends or make new friends.
- To advance my career.
- To help make the world a better place.
- To disrupt the Inauguration.
- To express my views on a particular issue or issues. Please specify the top issue(s):

_____

_____

- Because it's my responsibility as a member of a political party.
- Because it's my responsibility as an American.
- To express my satisfaction with the election of Donald Trump.
- To express my dissatisfaction with the election of Donald Trump.

- Other (specify): _____

7. To what extent do you think protesters can exercise their right to free expression at the Inauguration? **Please circle one**.

- Protesters' freedom is so restricted that they can't adequately express their viewpoints.

- Protesters' freedom is limited, but they can still adequately express their viewpoints.

- Protesters can fully express their viewpoints.

8. How strongly do you agree or disagree with the following statements? **Please check only one box per statement.**

	Agree Strongly	Agree Somewhat	Neither Agree nor Disagree	Disagree Somewhat	Disagree Strongly
Conversing about politics with people who hold different partisan loyalties than me is generally very valuable.					
Bernie Sanders' candidacy for president has had a positive effect on the Democratic Party.					
In general, women are more likely to be treated unfairly in the workplace compared to men.					
Elections are an effective way for citizens to bring about constructive policy changes in the United States.					
Property damage and/or violence are sometimes necessary in order for protest to influence the actions of policy makers.					
Sometimes politics and government seem so complicated that a person like me can't really understand what's going on.					
The American political system is generally effective in solving public problems.					
Donald Trump's candidacy for president had a positive effect on the Republican Party.					
Russian involvement changed the outcome of the 2016 presidential election.					
American democracy would be stronger if third parties played a greater role in the system.					
In general, whites are more likely to be treated unfairly in the workplace compared to minorities.					
Elections are an effective way for citizens to hold their leaders accountable for the decisions that they make in office.					
In general, African Americans are more likely to be treated unfairly in the workplace compared to whites.					
Civility by the participants in protest is necessary in order for protest to influence the actions of policy makers.					
Public officials don't care much what people like me think.					
Good policy solutions sometimes come from people who hold different partisan loyalties than me.					
Systematic voting irregularities changed the outcome of the 2016 presidential election.					
Hillary Clinton's candidacy for president had a positive effect on the Democratic Party.					
The 2016 presidential election offered voters a real choice among competing candidates.					
The Democratic and Republican parties can be pressured to change in response to grassroots political protests.					

B

B

9. How much do you approve or disapprove of the way the U.S. Congress has been handling its job?

- Strongly disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat approve
- Strongly approve

10. How much do you approve or disapprove of the way Barack Obama handled his job as President?

- Strongly disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Neither approve nor disapprove
- Somewhat approve
- Strongly approve

11. Did you vote in your state's 2016 presidential primary or caucus? **Please circle one**.

- Yes
- Wanted to vote, but circumstances prevented it
- Was Ineligible
- No

If you voted in your state's 2016 presidential primary or caucus, for whom did you vote?

_____

12. Who did you vote for in the 2016 presidential election?

- Donald Trump
- Hillary Clinton
- Other (please specify): _____
- I did not vote
- I intended to vote, but was unable to do so

13. On the whole, how satisfied are you with the way that democracy works in the United States?

- Not satisfied at all
- Not very satisfied
- Fairly satisfied
- Very satisfied

14. When protesters get "roughed up" for disrupting political events, how much do they generally deserve what happens to them?

- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- Not at all

15. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a: **Please circle one**.

- Strong Democrat
- Not very strong Democrat
- Independent who leans Democrat
- Independent
- Independent who leans Republican
- Not very strong Republican
- Strong Republican
- Other (please specify): _____

16. Some people think that their partisan identity is a very important part of who they are, while other people do not think that it is an important part of their personal identity. How important is the partisan identity that you circled above (in question 15, as a Republican, Independent, Democrat, or other) to your personal identity? **Please circle one**.

- Not a part of my personal identity
- Not that important to my personal identity
- Somewhat important to my personal identity
- Core to my personal identity
- Don't know

17. Are you a member of any political organizations, social movement organizations, interest groups, or policy advocacy groups?

Yes   No

If yes, which ones?

_____

_____

_____

18. Were you contacted to attend today's event by any particular organization?

Yes   No

If yes, which ones?

_____

_____

_____

19. During a typical week, how many days do you use social media such as Twitter or Facebook to learn about politics?

- None
- One day
- Two days
- Three days
- Four days
- Five days
- Six days
- Seven days

20. Did you use Twitter to obtain information about today's event?

Yes   No

If yes, which handles or hashtags proved to be the most informative to you?

_____

_____

21. Did you use Facebook to obtain information about today's event?

Yes   No

If yes, which pages proved to be the most informative to you?

_____

_____

22. Some people think that being an "activist" – meaning someone who tries to improve the world by working on certain issues or causes – is a very important part of who they are, while other people do not think of themselves as activists. How important is being an "activist" to your personal identity? **Please circle one.**

- Not a part of my personal identity
- Not that important to my personal identity
- Somewhat important to my personal identity
- Core to my personal identity
- Don't know

23. How much do you feel it is justified for people to use violence to pursue their political goals in this country?

- A great deal
- A lot
- A moderate amount
- A little
- Not at all

24. During the past four years, which of the following activities have you engaged in to help a candidate or political party? **Please circle all that apply.**

- Placed a campaign sign in your window or in front of your house / apartment building
- Helped to register voters
- Volunteered time
- Paid to staff candidate or party activities
- Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration
- Made campaign contributions
- Attended a campaign rally
- Wore a campaign button
- Signed up for candidate's e-mail list
- Put a campaign sticker on your car
- Helped raise money
- Other: _____
- I was not involved in any of these activities

25. During the past four years, which of the following activities have you engaged in to help an organization concerned with a political or social issue? **Circle all that apply.** (This question is intended to refer to different organizations than those relating to the candidate or political party you thought of in question 24 above.).

- Attended an event promoting an organization
- Paid organizational staff
- Joined in a protest march, rally, or demonstration
- Put a sticker from an organization on your car
- Helped raise money
- Arrested while participating in advocacy for social or political concerns
- Helped to recruit members or supporters
- Wore a button from an organization
- Made financial contributions
- Volunteered time
- Signed up for an organization's email list
- Other: _____
- I was not involved in any of these activities

26. **Circle all the opportunities** that might be of interest to you personally in a future election cycle:

- Staff member of a partisan advocacy group
- Staff member of a nonpartisan advocacy group
- Elected official
- Delegate to third-party convention
- Delegate to Republican National Convention
- Delegate to Democratic National Convention
- None of the above

27. Do you intend to risk arrest this week through participation in nonviolent, direct action?

- I intend to avoid the risk of arrest
- I hope to avoid arrest, but I'm willing to risk it
- I hope to be arrested
- I have not decided yet

28. Over the course of your entire lifetime, which policy-issue rallies have you attended? **Please circle all that apply.**

- Pro-immigration
- Anti-economic inequality
- Anti-nuclear
- Pro-women's rights
- Stop climate change
- Right-to-bear arms
- Pro-Israel
- Black Lives Matter
- Pro-choice / abortion rights
- Anti-Vietnam War
- Anti-student debt
- Pro-fair housing
- Family values
- Civil rights
- Pro-American troops
- Labor / union rights
- Libertarian
- Stop Obama health plan
- Anti-immigration
- Occupy Wall Street
- Anti-police brutality
- Pro-environment
- Pro-Palestinian
- Anti-globalization / global justice
- Pro-life / anti-abortion
- Tea Party
- Anti-tax/business regulation
- Anti-Iraq / Afghanistan war
- Other: _____
- I have never attended any policy-issue rally.

29. Please describe the first policy-issue rally in which you ever participated and give the approximate year in which it took place. (Please write "none" if you have never participated in a policy-issue rally.)

Event: _____

Year: _____

30. Compared to previous political campaigns for President, do you think the 2016 election was . . . **Please circle one.**

- Much less civil
- Somewhat less civil
- Just about as civil
- Somewhat more civil
- Much more civil
- Don't know/No opinion

31. Thinking about civility – meaning things such as manners, showing respect for people you deal with, showing respect for other peoples' political opinions or being courteous – how civil do you think Americans are to each other nowadays? **Please circle one.**

- Not at all civil
- Not too civil
- Somewhat civil
- Very civil
- Don't know / No opinion

32. How often can you trust the federal government in Washington to do what is right?

- Never
- Some of the time
- About half of the time
- Most of the time
- Always

33. Generally speaking, how often can you trust other people?

- Never
- Some of the time
- About half of the time
- Most of the time
- Always

34. Do you go to religious services? **Circle one.**

- Every week
- Almost every week
- Once or twice a month
- A few times a year
- Never

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35. These days, how often does politics make you feel? **Please check one for each feeling**:

	Anxious	Enthusiastic	Hateful	Frustrated	Surprised	Angry	Hopeful	Proud	Fearful
Almost Always									
Often									
Sometimes									
Rarely									
Never									

36. **Please circle all** sources of information that you used for today's event:

- Internet / Web
- Radio
- Friends / word of mouth
- Email
- Saw event while passing by
- Television
- Newspaper
- Other: _____

37. Prior to coming to the women's march this week, did you already personally know many people here, or are you largely meeting people for the first time? **Please circle one**.

- I knew hardly anyone here before arriving at the women's march
- I knew some people here, but only a few
- I knew many people here before arriving at the women's march

38. Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as: **Please circle one**.

- To the "right" of strong conservative
- A strong conservative
- A not very strong conservative
- A moderate who leans conservative
- A moderate
- A moderate who leans liberal
- A not very strong liberal
- A strong liberal
- To the "left" of strong liberal
- Other (please specify): _____

39. Do you or someone else in your household belong to a union? **Please circle one**.

Yes   No

40. What is the ZIP code of your primary residence? (If you don't live in the U.S., please tell us in what city and country you live.)

_____

41. What is your sex/gender? _____

42. How old are you? _____ years

43. What is your race/ethnicity? **Please circle as many as apply**.

- Native American/American-Indian
- White / Caucasian
- Black / African American
- Latino / Hispanic
- Asian /Asian American/ Pacific Islander
- Other: _____

44. Could you please tell us the highest level of formal education you have completed? **Please circle only one**.

- Less than high school diploma
- High School diploma
- Some college / Associate's degree or technical degree
- College degree
- Some graduate education
- Graduate or professional degree

45. Could you please tell us your level of annual income in 2015? **Please circle only one**.

- less than $15,000
- $15,001 - $25,000
- $25,001 to $50,000
- $51,001 to $75,000
- $75,001 to $100,000
- $100,001 to $125,000
- $125,001 to $150,000
- $150,000 to $350,000
- More than $350,000

THANK YOU FOR COMPLETING THE SURVEY!

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