

November 2018

Hidden Tribes: Midterms Report



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Introduction

This short report presents insights about political attitudes and polarization in the United States following the 2018 midterm elections. It serves as the next phase in the Hidden Tribes initiative, a year-long project launched by More in Common that aims to better understand the forces that drive political polarization and tribalism in the United States today, and to galvanize efforts to address them. This report provides an update to the major Hidden Tribes study released in October 2018. It provides new insights into how each of the seven tribes felt about the midterm elections in November 2018, the issues that most concerned them and their perceptions of the country's divisions.

Top line results

- Analysis of the voting behavior of the Hidden Tribes in the 2018 midterms election suggest that the outcome was determined more by differences in turnout rates (compared to the 2016 general election) than by significant changes in voting behavior.
- Especially notable was the sustained high turnout of the two most liberal tribes (Progressive Activists and Traditional Liberals), in contrast to the decline in turnout among the two most conservative groups (Devoted Conservatives and Traditional Conservatives).
- Also notable is that Passive Liberals, who are generally less politically engaged, turned out to vote at similar rates to the 2016 general election.
- Heading into the midterms, 87% of Americans felt the country was more divided than at any point in their lifetimes.
- Immediately following the midterms, 86% of Americans said they felt exhausted by division in politics.
- 89% of Americans say that they want both parties to try to find places to compromise.
- 86% of Americans now worry that political divisions are going to lead to more violence.

Background

In October 2018, More in Common released a major study aimed at understanding the dynamics of social and political polarization in America. In collaboration with YouGov, we administered an online survey to a representative sample of 8,000 American adults, and later conducted a series of focus groups and one-on-one interviews. The survey included questions on people’s views about various political topics (including American identity, racial justice, gun control and immigration), as well as a series of questions relating to people’s sense of personal identity and core beliefs - that is, the underlying values and principles that shape the way they see the world. On the basis of those core beliefs, we used a statistical approach called “hierarchical clustering” to detect groups of people with similar responses.

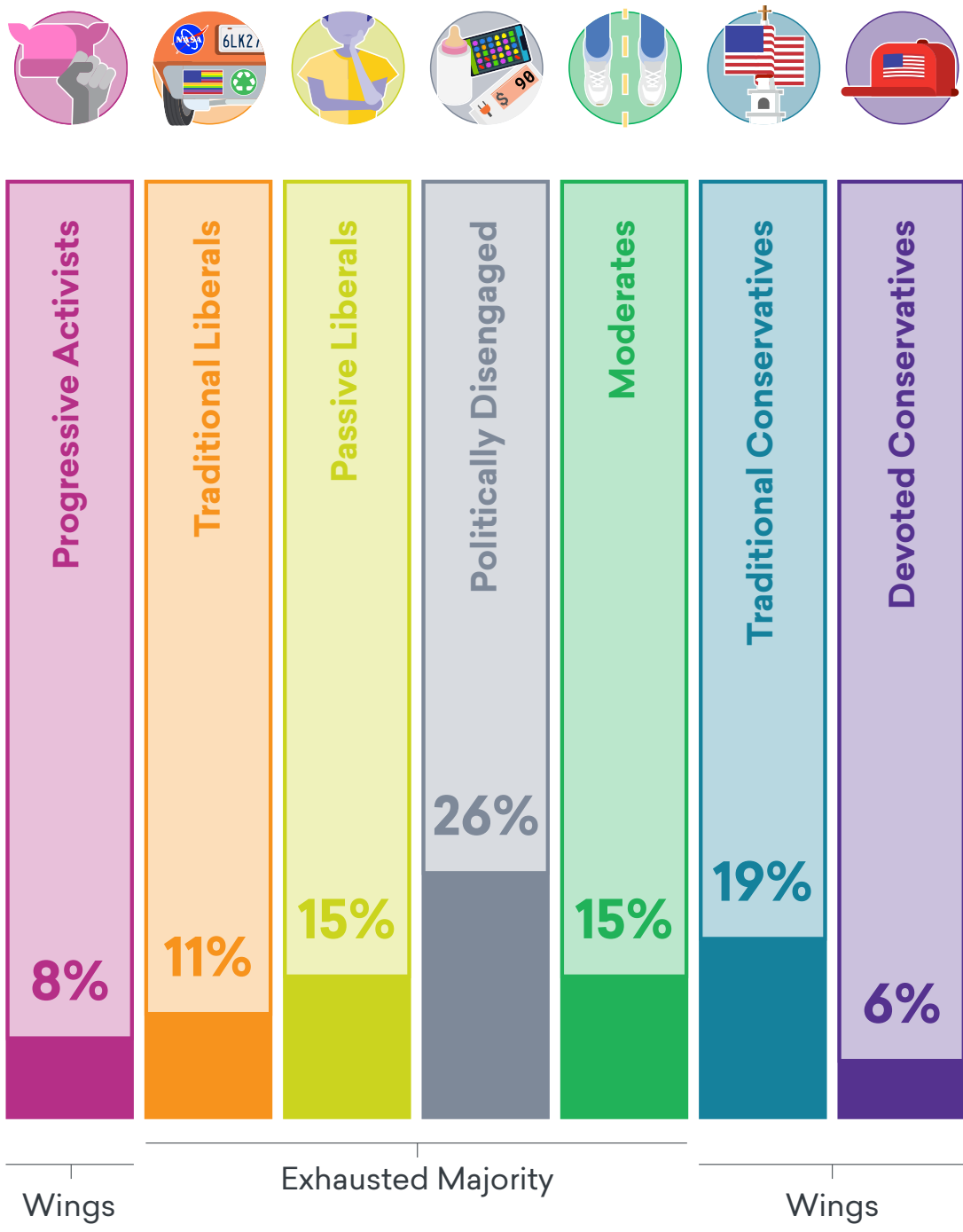
The analysis revealed seven clusters, or “tribes,” in the US population, each with a distinct set of values and general characteristics:

- **Progressive Activists:** highly educated, very engaged, secular, cosmopolitan, angry, younger.
- **Traditional Liberals:** open to compromise, rational, cautious, older.
- **Passive Liberals:** unhappy, insecure, lacking in confidence, disillusioned, lower income, younger.
- **Politically Disengaged:** distrustful, detached, conspiratorial, lower income, lower education, younger.
- **Moderates:** engaged, civic-minded, middle-of-the-road, pessimistic, Protestant.
- **Traditional Conservatives:** religious, middle class, patriotic, moralistic
- **Devoted Conservatives:** highly engaged, patriotic, uncompromising, white, older.

Together, the Traditional Liberals, Passive Liberals, Politically Disengaged, and Moderates form a group called the “Exhausted Majority”: two thirds of the population that is generally more flexible in their views, fed up with division, and less active in the political discourse. The “Wing” groups (Progressive Activists, Traditional Conservatives, and Devoted Conservatives), by contrast, are less interested in compromise, more rigid in their political views, and more active in the political process.

More detailed profiles and the full Hidden Tribes report can be found at www.hiddentribes.us

Figure 1 **The Hidden Tribes of America**



The Midterms Update

In an increasingly polarized society, elections serve as a flashpoint for opposing sides. The 2018 midterm elections were especially fraught. The weeks leading up to the midterms saw the tumultuous confirmation hearings for Justice Brett Kavanaugh, followed by a series of attempted domestic terrorist attacks. The election itself saw turnout of 116 million Americans, the highest turnout rate for a midterm election in more than a century. Against this backdrop, we wanted to obtain a better understanding of each tribe's voting behavior and their perceptions of America's political landscape.

METHOD

In collaboration with our research partner YouGov, we recontacted a representative sample of 2,100 US adults from our original sample of 8,000 to participate in a 10-minute survey about their political attitudes in the immediate days after the midterm elections. These participants were matched to their previous responses. This allowed us to examine changes in their political attitudes and behavior over time. The questions (full wording available in Appendix) related to voting behavior, the most important political issues influencing their voting decision, perceptions of parties and their supporters, and views on unity and division in the US today. We used interlocking Census targets from the 2016 American Community Survey and propensity score weights to achieve a representative sample by gender, race, age, education, geographic region, and voting behavior (for full methods and margins of error see Appendix 1). The study has a margin of error of +/- 2.1% and higher for analyzing the section of the population that voted and other subgroups.

Results

VOTING BEHAVIOR

As in the original study, the Wing groups were more active in the political process than members of the Exhausted Majority. The highest reported voting turnout came from the Progressive Activists (94%), Traditional Liberals (89%), and Devoted Conservatives (86%). Moderates (65%) and Traditional Conservatives (66%) followed. The lowest turnout occurred among Passive Liberals (45%) and Politically Disengaged (22%).

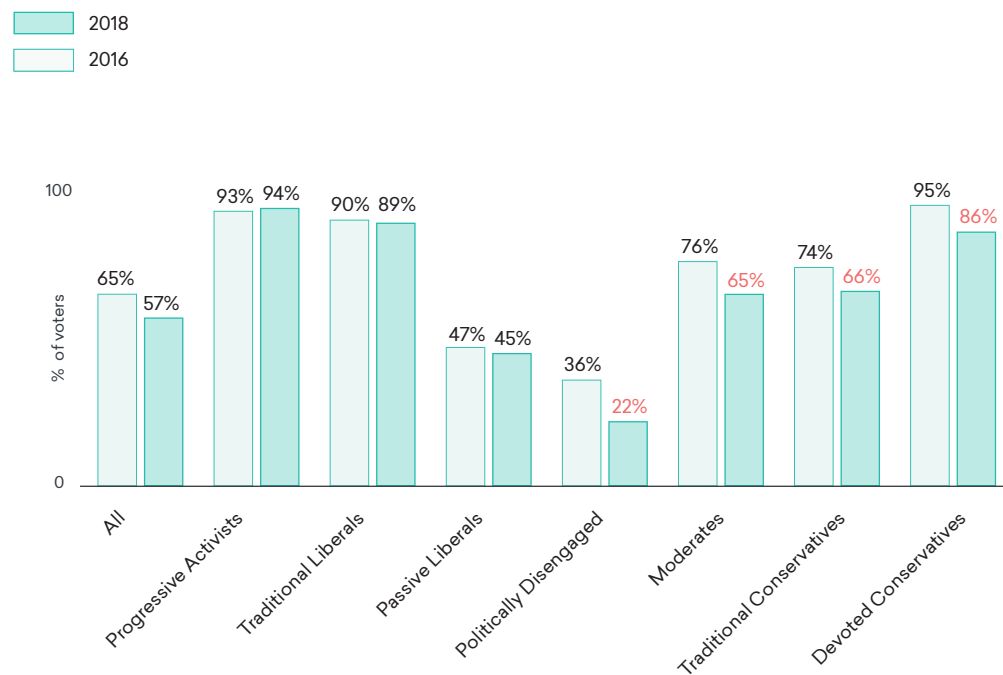
To better understand these turnout rates, we compared them to reported rates of voting in 2016. This provides some insights into why Democrats were more successful in the midterms than Republicans. In particular, we found an asymmetric decrease in

voting behavior between liberals and conservatives. Midterm elections usually record much lower turnout than general elections, but in 2018 there was essentially no change in the overall voter turnout compared to the 2016 election for the tribes at the liberal end of the spectrum (Progressive Activists, Traditional Liberals and Passive Liberals). In contrast, those towards the conservative end of the spectrum (Traditional Conservatives and Devoted Conservatives) all showed lower levels of voter turnout. This higher level of motivation among the more liberal tribes may have been a key to their electoral victories.

Figure 2

Midterm voter turnout

Conservative groups showed reduced midterm turnout; progressive/liberal groups maintained engagement



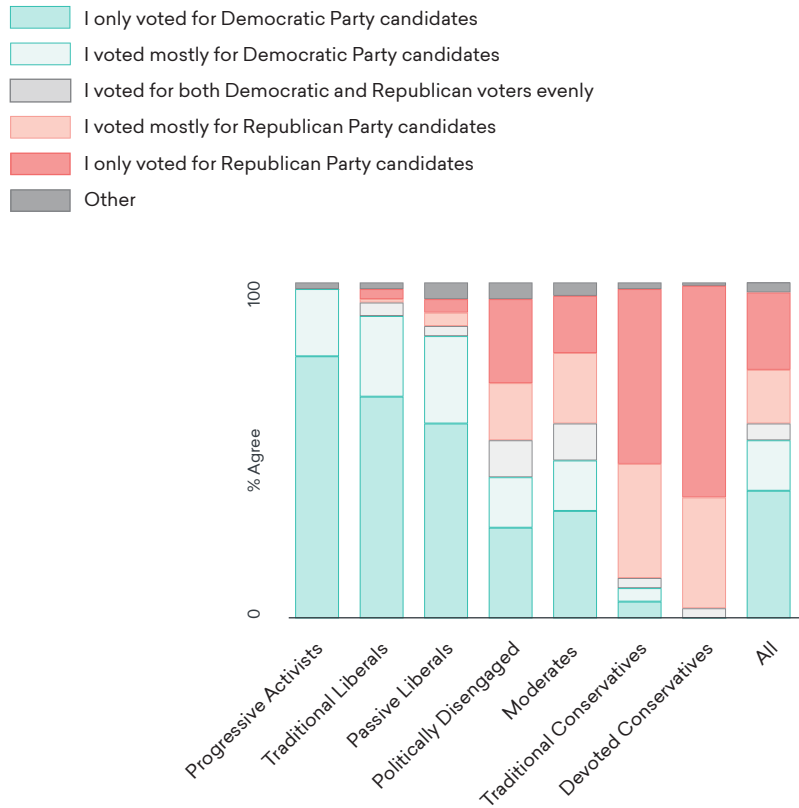
Graphs with red font labels differ significantly from 2016 to 2018
 Source: More in Common (2018)

The sustained turnout among Passive Liberals is especially significant, because this segment is less engaged than most other groups, and would be expected to record a much lower turnout rate in the midterms. This is exactly what was observed with the Politically Disengaged, whose voting rate decreased by a full third in the midterms. Given that 84% of Passive Liberals voted mostly or exclusively for Democratic candidates, this group may have played a significant role in the election outcome. Additional factors that helped Democrats win are the 12-point margin in favor of Democrats among Moderate voters and the sustained high turnout of the Progressive Activists and Traditional Liberals.

Figure 3

Voting rates among the tribes

Tribes showed ideological differences in their voting tendencies.



Thinking about the candidates you voted for in the November 6th election, for which party did you vote?
Source: More in Common (2018)

Official midterm election records suggest that about half of eligible Americans did not vote (in our sample, this number was 43%). Those who did not vote provided a variety of reasons.

- The most commonly provided explanation across tribes was that people were not registered (14% of all non-voters). This was of particular importance among Traditional Liberals (38% of non-voting Traditional Liberals), Passive Liberals (18%) and Traditional Conservatives (17%).
- Non-voting Moderates and Passive Liberals were more likely to explain that they did not know enough about their choices (19% of non-voting Moderates, and 16% of Passive Liberals).
- Among non-voters, 8% said that they had tried to vote but were unable. Among non-voters, 3% said they requested an absentee ballot but did not receive one, 3% said they were not allowed to vote at the polls despite trying, and 2% said the lines at the polls were too long. These non-voters who tried to vote but were unable represents approximately 3% of the national population.
- The proportion of people who were prevented from voting based on these three issues was largely balanced between the more liberal and more conservative tribes.

VOTE CHANGE

In order to see whether political events of the past two years led people to change their voting behavior, we compared voting preferences and turnout among the tribes between 2016 and 2018. Specifically, we compared the rates of people who voted for Hillary Clinton in 2016 to the rates of people who voted mostly or exclusively for Democrats in 2018, and the rates of people who voted for Donald Trump to the rates of people who voted mostly or exclusively for Republicans in 2018.

Figure 4

Comparison of 2016 and 2018 voting among the tribes

Only small changes occurred between 2016 and 2018 voting preferences.

Tribe	2016 Clinton	2018 Democratic	2018 Split ticket	2016 Trump	2018 Republican
Progressive Activists	94%	98%	0%	1%	0%
Traditional Liberals	87%	90%	4%	5%	4%
Passive Liberals	82%	84%	3%	10%	8%
Politically Disengaged	46%	42%	11%	48%	42%
Moderates	51%	47%	11%	40%	38%
Traditional Conservatives	10%	9%	3%	87%	86%
Devoted Conservatives	1%	0%	3%	97%	96%

2018 respondents who voted only or mostly for one party are grouped together. Percentages for each tribe exclude non-voters.

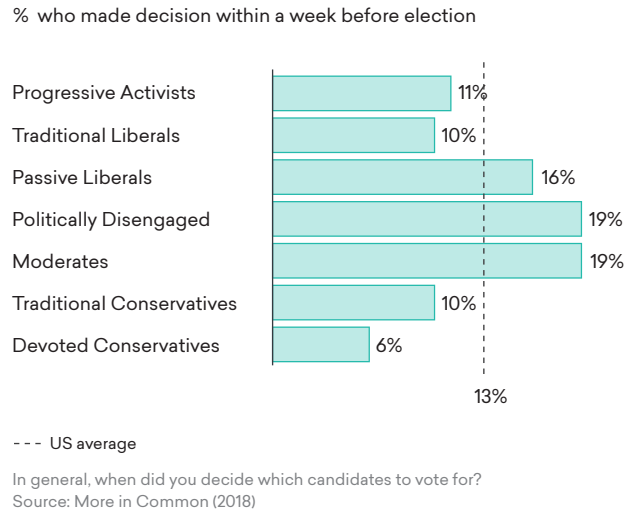
- Overall, we found that the tribes were remarkably consistent in their voting preferences between 2016 and 2018.
- There were small increases in support for Democratic candidates among the three most liberal-leaning segments, with 98% support from Progressive Activists (+4%), 90% support from Traditional Liberals (+3%) and 84% support from Passive Liberals (+2%).
- Among both the Politically Disengaged and Moderates, 11% of voters reported splitting their vote evenly between Democratic and Republican candidates. This meant that the Politically Disengaged voted evenly for Democratic and Republican candidates in 2018 (42%), whereas in 2016 there was a two-point advantage for Trump. For the Moderates, this gave a nine point advantage to Democratic candidates in 2018, compared to an 11 point advantage in 2016.

- Besides the votes of the Politically Disengaged and Moderates (with their 11% split ticket vote), all of the reported changes in voting preferences were within the statistical margin of error.
- Turnout in the three most liberal tribes was sustained at 2016 general election levels, while it fell by around 10% for each of the other four tribes, with the largest fall among the Politically Disengaged (from 36% to 22% turnout).
- Democratic candidates sustained similar levels of support among those other four tribes between 2016 and 2018 while support for Republican candidates recorded small declines in every tribe (if we do not distribute the split ticket votes).
- If we distribute the split ticket votes of those four tribes evenly, we find an increase in the Democratic vote among all four of the Politically Disengaged, Moderates, Traditional Conservatives and Devoted Conservatives. It is perhaps notable for example that despite the deeply polarized state of politics, 9% of Traditional Conservatives voted for Democratic candidates in 2018, and a further 3% split their vote.
- Overall, the survey found that approximately 3% were “crossover voters” - people who voted for Donald Trump in 2016 but then voted for a Democratic candidate in 2018. (Of course technically they were not crossover voters since President Trump’s name was not on the ballot). The tribe with the most crossover voters was the Passive Liberals.
- **Overall, this suggests that the 2018 election outcome was determined more by a change in turnout levels between the tribes, than by significant shifts in voting within the tribes.**

Figure 5

Voting decision timeline

Middle groups were more likely to make up their minds last-minute



VOTER PRIORITIES

Asked about their top priorities when selecting a political candidate, respondents most often cited the candidate's position on issues (average 85% said this was "very important"), followed by the candidate's character (67%), the voter's views on President Trump (57%), and the candidate's political party (48%). On the issue of political party, it is notable that Moderates were the least likely to value a candidate's political party when deciding how to vote (35% versus 48% average) - reflecting their less partisan approach.

Among the tribes, there were differences in the timeframe in which they make their voting decision. More than half of the more ideologically unified and highly engaged groups (Progressive Activists, Traditional Liberals, Traditional Conservatives and Devoted Conservatives) decided which candidate to vote for more than a month before the election. In contrast, less than half of the other groups (Passive Liberals, Politically Disengaged and Moderates) did so. Almost one in five in the Politically Disengaged, Moderates and Passive Liberal groups made up their mind within a week of the election.

The issues identified by each of the tribes as priorities were similar to their responses earlier in 2018 during the first Hidden Tribes survey. Climate change, healthcare, and disapproval of Donald Trump topped the list for Progressive Activists, Traditional Liberals, and Passive Liberals. Politically Disengaged voters prioritized the economy and jobs; healthcare and immigration. Moderates prioritized healthcare, the economy and jobs, immigration and disapproval of President Trump. Devoted and Traditional Conservatives gave priority to the economy and jobs; immigration and support for Donald Trump.

Figure 6

Priority Issues

Most important issues influencing voting behavior



size = % of each tribe saying this was among top 3 issues most relevant to how they voted.

Which of the following issues were relevant to how you voted, if any?
Please rank the top 3 issues that were most relevant to how you voted.
Source: More in Common (2018)

POLARIZATION

The Hidden Tribes study highlighted the breadth and depth of Americans' concerns about their divided nation. Asked about whether the country is unified or divided, 84% of Americans describe their country as divided, with 56% saying it is very divided. Only 5% describe the United States as a unified country. The strongest perceptions of division exist among the Progressive Activists and Traditional Liberals, almost all of whom regard the country as divided, and more than three quarters of whom see it as "very divided". The only group in which less than 80% of people seeing the country as divided is the Politically Disengaged (74%).

News coverage in the final weeks before the election was dominated by acts of intended domestic terrorism, in which pipe bombs were sent in parcels to media outlets and high-profile supporters of Democratic candidates. These events heightened concerns about the prospect of polarization leading to an increase in political violence. Some 86% of Americans report being concerned about the prospect of political division leading to more violence, with almost one in two Americans (45%) expressing strong concerns.

Asked to identify the main sources of division, the five top ranking factors are:

- Mainstream media such as cable news, talk radio, newspapers (55%)
- President Trump (53%)
- Social media (49%)
- Republican Party (46%)
- Democratic Party (38%)

When asked to nominate who or what has divided Americans the most, President Trump was cited more often than any other person or factor by all tribes other than the Devoted and Traditional Conservatives. Overall, 31% of Americans identified President Trump as the single greatest source of division. The two Conservative tribes most often attributed blame to the mainstream media, followed by President Obama. Moderates were more likely to feel that "all Americans are responsible" (12%).

While Conservatives are especially critical of the media's role in contributing to the country's polarization, almost three quarters of Americans agree that the media "often makes our country feel more divided than it really is" (71%). 95% of Devoted Conservatives agree with this statement, compared to just 46% of Progressive Activists.

A large majority of Americans believe that social media is contributing to the country's polarization. Respondents were asked whether they agreed with the statement that social media is uniting Americans (a question deliberately framed in the most positive fashion), and fully 79% disagreed. This concern about the impact of social media was also reflected in the fact that only 43% of Americans say that they feel "comfortable posting on social media about their political views". Progressive Activists are the outlier on this question, with 65% saying they feel comfortable doing so, while Passive Liberals are the outlier at the other end, with just 38%. Those in the Politically Disengaged tribe were more likely than any other group to blame social media as the single greatest source of division (11%).

Figure 7

Drivers of polarization

What is the biggest factor dividing Americans?



size = % of each tribe saying this was the cause of most division

Among the 84% of Americans who said America feels "somewhat" or "very divided": Who or what do you think has divided us the most?
Source: More in Common (2018)

THE EXHAUSTED MAJORITY IN A DIVIDED LAND

In a separate survey of the Hidden Tribes conducted prior to the midterms in October 2018, we found that 87% of Americans believe that their country is more divided than at any point in their lives. Following the midterms, 89% of Americans say that they are feeling "exhausted by the division in politics". An even higher proportion, 90% of Americans, say they want both parties to find places to compromise.

Despite the deep polarization of politics, 54% of American reject the view that "one side is right about nearly everything". The only groups who disagree are those in the more tribal Wing segments (Progressive Activists, Traditional Conservatives and Devoted Conservatives). In each of these groups, around two thirds believe that their side is right about nearly everything. This question highlights a difference between Traditional Liberals and Progressive Activists: while 66% of the Progressive Activists believe one side is right about nearly everything, only 41% of Traditional Liberals agree. On this question, Traditional Liberals are similar to the other three groups in the Exhausted Majority. Unsurprisingly, less than half of Americans (47%) feel that their views are well represented in today's political debates.

Conclusion

The voting behavior recorded in this analysis of the 2018 midterm elections is consistent with the attitudes and opinions expressed by Americans who have participated in the Hidden Tribes surveys and interviews over the course of the past year. The polarization of the political landscape reflects deep differences in the core beliefs and tribal attachments of Americans. Their voting behavior in 2018 reflected this polarization, with higher levels of turnout among the tribes at either end of the ideological spectrum, and higher levels of motivation among supporters of the party not currently in the White House.

Among the most notable findings from this study is the high turnout of Passive Liberals, who are one of the two tribes with the lowest levels of engagement. While their participation in voting is below average, in 2018 it remained at almost the same level as in the 2016 presidential election (45% in 2018, down just two percentage points from 2016). In contrast, the Politically Disengaged group, the other low-engagement group which has a similar demographic profile to the Passive Liberals (a higher proportion of females, people of color and younger voters), saw a fall in turnout from 36% to 22%.

The fact that Passive Liberals turned out at presidential election levels during the 2018 midterms is significant given that they are distinguished by a weak sense of personal agency, a dislike of political argumentation and a feeling that they do not know much about political and social issues. As the Hidden Tribes report explains, Passive Liberals tend to hold liberal views on most social issues but compared to Progressive Activists and Traditional Liberals, they are less ideological, more insecure and closer to the average American in believing political correctness is a problem and in rejecting affirmative action for college admissions. In 2018, the Democrats' campaign focus on healthcare appears to have resonated with them, and they also appear motivated by a rejection of President Trump's style of leadership. For a group that dislikes political argumentation and division, it is noteworthy that more than any other group, Passive Liberals blame President Trump as the single greatest cause of division in the United States (cited by 55% of Passive Liberals, compared to an average of 31% of all Americans). The effect of President Trump's leadership of course extended well beyond the Passive Liberals, with one in three voters in the midterms saying that he was a major factor in their voting decision.

Coming out of the midterm elections, 86% of Americans say that they feel exhausted by the division in politics in America, and 89% of Americans say that they want both parties to find places to compromise. This sense of fatigue is combined with a sense of deep anxiety, with every prospect of an escalation in political division in the near future. Fully 86% of Americans now worry that political divisions are going to lead to more violence.

As the Hidden Tribes study has highlighted, combating us-against-them polarization and tribalism may be one of the greatest social and political challenges of the digital age. This is at the heart of More in Common's mission, and in coming months we will be publishing further insights on perceptions of division and on the pathways to overcoming the polarization and tribalism that threatens the foundations of our democratic system.

Appendices

Appendix 1 - Complete Methodology

YouGov interviewed 3238 respondents who were then matched down to a sample of 2100 to produce the final dataset. The final data was composed of 230 Progressive Activists, 230 Traditional Liberals, 300 Passive Liberals, 430 Politically disengaged, 300 Moderates, 380 Traditional Conservatives, and 230 Devoted Conservatives, recontacted from the original More in Common Hidden Tribes study.

Each segment was matched to a sampling frame on gender, age, race, and education. The segment frames were constructed by weighted stratified sampling of the original Hidden Tribes study (using the citizen weight on the file. This weight was created by weighting to a frame constructed by weighted stratified sampling of the 2016 American Community Survey citizen sample).

The matched segments were each then weighted to the sampling frame using propensity scores. The matched cases and the frame were combined and a logistic regression was estimated for inclusion in the frame. The propensity score function included age, gender, race/ethnicity, years of education, and region. The propensity scores were grouped into deciles of the estimated propensity score in the frame and post-stratified according to these deciles.

The segment weights were each post-stratified on 2016 Presidential vote choice to reflect the weighted distributions of the original Hidden Tribes study. The segment weights were additionally post-stratified on a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories).

The segment weights were then combined, and two overall sample weights were created. The citizen population weight was constructed by post-stratification of the combined segment weights on original segment distribution, 2016 Presidential vote choice, and a four-way stratification of gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), and education (4-categories), using the sampling frame constructed by weighted stratified sampling of the 2016 American Community Survey citizen sample.

The 2018 turnout weight was constructed by post-stratification of the combined Segment weights on the original segment distribution, 2018 General Election turnout, 2016 Presidential vote choice, and two three-way stratifications that included gender, age (4-categories), race (4-categories), education (4-categories), and segment, to produce the final weight. Results were then quality checked using the original ACS 2016 citizen frame to ensure the weight retained full representativeness of the citizen population.

Note: the statistic that 87% of the population believes the country is the most divided that it has been in their lifetimes is taken from a representative survey of 2,000 adults conducted by More in Common from October 5-7, 2018. The question wording was “This is the most divided the country has been in my lifetime” (Strongly Agree, Somewhat Agree, Somewhat Disagree, Strongly Disagree); agreement was computed by summing the first two responses.

SAMPLE SIZES AND MARGINS OF ERROR

Segment	All	Progressive Activists	Traditional Liberals	Passive Liberals	Politically Disengaged	Moderates	Traditional Conservatives	Devoted Conservatives
Sample Size (N)	2100	176	232	305	545	327	392	122
Margin of Error (%)	2%	7%	6%	6%	4%	6%	5%	9%

Appendix 2 - Full question texts

How well do the following words describe your feelings towards America today?

- Angry
- Frustrated
- Scared
- Hopeful
- Excited
- Confident
- Exhausted

- **Very well**
- **Somewhat well**
- **Not very well**
- **Not at all well**

Which of the following statements best describes you?

- I did not vote in the election this November
- I thought about voting this time – but didn't
- I usually vote, but didn't this time
- I attempted to vote but did not or could not
- I definitely voted in the midterm election on November 6th

**** IF THEY VOTED ****

In deciding who to vote for, how important was each candidate's [INSERT POLITICAL PARTY/
POSITION ON ISSUES/ CHARACTER/ VIEWS ON THE PRESIDENT]

- Very important
- Somewhat important
- Neither important nor unimportant
- Not very important
- Not at all important

In general, when did you decide which candidates to vote for?

- Mostly on election day
- Mostly on the 2-3 days before election day
- Mostly in the past week
- More than a week ago
- More than a month ago
- I always vote for the same party

In general, how satisfied were you with the candidates on the ballot this election?

- Very satisfied
- Somewhat satisfied
- Not very satisfied
- Not at all satisfied

Which of the following issues were relevant to how you voted, if any? Select all that apply.

- Immigration in general
- The caravan of migrants
- Economy and jobs
- National security
- Healthcare
- Recent shootings and bombings
- Opposition to President Trump
- Support for President Trump
- Racism
- Climate change / environmental issues
- The appointment of Brett Kavanaugh to the Supreme Court
- Abortion
- Others [specify]

Do you approve or disapprove of the way President Donald Trump is doing his job?

- Strongly approve
- Somewhat approve
- Slightly approve
- Slightly disapprove
- Somewhat disapprove
- Strongly disapprove

**** IF THEY DID NOT VOTE ****

What is the main reason you did not vote?

- I forgot
- I'm not interested
- Too busy
- Did not like the candidates
- I am not registered
- I did not have the correct form of identification
- Out of town
- Sick or disabled
- Transportation
- Bad weather
- The line at the polls was too long
- I was not allowed to vote at the polls, even though I tried
- I requested but did not receive an absentee ballot
- I did not know where to vote
- I did not feel that I knew enough about the choices
- Other
- Don't know

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements:

- My vote won't make a difference
- I didn't have enough time to vote
- I found out about the election too late
- None of the candidates deserved my vote
- It is everyone's responsibility to vote
- I don't support the Republican Party or the Democratic Party
- I don't trust the voting process

- **Strongly agree**
- **Moderately agree**
- **Slightly agree**
- **Slightly disagree**
- **Moderately disagree**
- **Strongly disagree**

**** ASKED OF ALL ****

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I am concerned that the Democratic Party is becoming too extreme.

- Strongly agree
- Moderately agree
- Slightly agree
- Slightly disagree
- Moderately disagree
- Strongly disagree

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I am concerned that the Democratic Party is becoming too moderate.

- Strongly agree
- Moderately agree
- Slightly agree
- Slightly disagree
- Moderately disagree
- Strongly disagree

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I am concerned that the Republican Party has become too moderate.

- Strongly agree
- Moderately agree
- Slightly agree
- Slightly disagree
- Moderately disagree
- Strongly disagree

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: I am concerned that the Republican Party has become too extreme.

- Strongly agree
- Moderately agree
- Slightly agree
- Slightly disagree
- Moderately disagree
- Strongly disagree

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements about politics in America today?

- I feel exhausted by the division in politics.
- I want both parties to try to find places to compromise.
- I think that one side is correct about nearly every issue.
- I think the media often makes our country feel more divided than it really is.
- I feel like my views are well represented in the political debate.
- Social media is making Americans more united in their beliefs.
- I feel comfortable posting about my political views on social media.
- I'm worried that our political division is going to lead to more violence.

- **Strongly agree**
- **Moderately agree**
- **Slightly agree**
- **Slightly disagree**
- **Moderately disagree**
- **Strongly disagree**

**** IF THEY VOTED ****

Thinking about the candidates you voted for in the November 6th election, for which party did you vote?

- I only voted for Democratic Party candidates
- I voted mostly for Democratic Party candidates
- I voted for both Democratic and Republican voters evenly
- I voted mostly for Republican Party candidates
- I only voted for Republican Party candidates
- Other (please specify)
- I don't remember which parties I voted for

How unified or divided does the United States feel today?

- Very unified
- Somewhat unified
- Neither unified nor divided
- Somewhat divided
- Very divided

**** IF ANSWERS DIVIDED ****

When do you think the United States started becoming divided?

- In the last year
- In the last three years
- In the last five years
- In the last ten years
- More than ten years ago

Which of the following do think have caused this division? Select all that apply.

- Social media
- Mainstream media (such as cable news, talk radio, newspapers)
- The Republican Party
- President Trump
- The Democratic Party
- President Obama
- All Americans are responsible
- Colleges and universities
- Others [specify]

Who or what do you think has divided us the most?

- Social media
- Mainstream media (such as cable news, talk radio, newspapers)
- The Republican Party
- President Trump
- The Democratic Party
- President Obama
- All Americans are responsible
- Colleges and universities
- Others [specify]

**Hidden
Tribes**