

The First Amendment Under Stress: A Survey of UW-Madison Students' Views on Free Speech and Religious Liberties

Executive Summary

The [Tommy G. Thompson Center on Public Leadership](#), in partnership with the [University of Wisconsin Survey Center](#), surveyed 530 undergraduate students at UW-Madison about their views on free speech and religious liberties. The results are troubling. As this report describes, many UW students do not understand what constitutes protected speech or activity under the First Amendment. Moreover, some of their responses reveal substantial opposition to established free speech principles and religious liberties.

Among other findings:

- Nearly 40% of students believe the government should restrict the speech of climate change deniers;
- Over 50% of students believe government should restrict the speech of racially insensitive people;
- 63% believe government should punish hate speech;
- Over 35% believe that public institutions should be allowed to revoke invitations to speakers who might offend someone; and
- 53% believe that employers' religious beliefs should give way when it comes to providing goods or services, like contraceptives or abortion coverage, that violate their religious beliefs.

What is more, [consistent](#) with [other recent polls](#), we observe significant differences between male and female respondents, with females nearly always more supportive of speech restrictions than males. Similarly, liberals are nearly always more restrictive of speech than conservatives.

These results show that many students find it difficult to distinguish between, on the one hand, the moral concerns of speech or activities that are contested or even detestable and, on the other, the long run value derived from free speech and religious liberty. Of course, students are not alone in this regard. [Numerous](#) surveys [show](#) that the public is often more supportive of free speech in the abstract than in specific cases. Nevertheless, the results are troublesome for an institution like UW-Madison, which must cultivate an unfettered marketplace of ideas and instantiate and inculcate those values among its students. The results are further troubling when taken in conjunction with [other findings](#) that the views between younger and older generations are “as wide as they have been in decades” and that [younger people are more supportive of limiting speech](#) than older generations.

It is critical that UW students develop a stronger competency with respect to First Amendment protections. As such, we offer a handful of policies that UW-Madison and the UW-System might consider to address these critical concerns.

Background

The Thompson Center’s survey of UW-Madison undergraduate students resides within the broader context of American constitutional law, liberty, and UW-Madison’s guiding principles. Free governments and free people require free speech and religious liberty if they are to thrive. The U.S. Supreme Court and Wisconsin Supreme Court both have affirmed time and again the centrality of free speech and religious liberty to our constitutional tradition. UW-Madison [governs itself](#) by the bedrock principle of academic freedom. The UW even enshrines its commitment to academic freedom on Bascom Hall, stating: “Whatever may be the limitations which trammel inquiry elsewhere, we believe, that the great state University of Wisconsin should ever encourage that continual and fearless sifting and winnowing by which alone the truth can be found.” The notion of fearless sifting and winnowing, no less than free speech itself, is the recognition that as a society we must allow even objectionable speech to exist because a government that muzzles speech or controls religion is a government that inevitably will eradicate liberty.

Survey Methods

Between October 20, 2020 and November 9, 2020, the Thompson Center and the UW Survey Center fielded an online study of 530 undergraduates at UW-Madison to determine their views of free speech and religious liberties. Respondents varied in age from 18 to 40, with 98% of respondents falling between the ages of 18-23. First year students represented 34% of the sample; second year students represented 25%; third year students represented 23%; fourth year students represented 17%; and fifth year students represented 2%. The survey slightly over-represented females (60%)—they actually represent [roughly 52%](#) of students at UW-Madison. Consistent with the perceived liberal tilt among UW students and [reported](#) generational differences in political preferences in the general population, 75% identified as social liberals and 11% identified as social conservatives; 44% identified as economic liberals and 30% as economic conservatives. (More information on the characteristics of respondents, as well as responses to questions we do not discuss here, can be found in the full set of results contained in the appendix.)

The questions broke down into five categories: “hate speech;” offensive or uncomfortable speech; the media; compelled speech; and religious liberties.

“Hate Speech”

The United States Supreme Court [has not defined hate speech](#), nor has it identified it as speech subject to less constitutional protection. In a [recent case](#), the Court reiterated: “[The claim that the government may restrict] speech expressing ideas that offend... strikes at the heart of the First Amendment. Speech that demeans on the basis of race, ethnicity, sex, religion, age, disability, or any other similar ground is hateful; but the proudest boast of our free speech jurisprudence is that we protect the freedom to express ‘the thought that we hate’.”

Nevertheless, media and other outlets [often refer to](#) hate speech as a unique kind of speech that may (or ought to) receive less protection. We sought to determine students’ views on hate speech, whether the government should prohibit it, and whether students should be able to prevent others from engaging in it.

To begin, we asked: “Some people have argued that there is something called hate speech. They define it as abusive or threatening speech or writing that expresses prejudice against a particular group, especially on the basis of race, religion, or sexual orientation. **How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should be able to punish hate speech?**”

More than 63% of respondents agreed that the government should be able to punish hate speech. (We define “agreed” as meaning the respondent either “slightly agreed,” “somewhat agreed,” or “strongly agreed” with the statement.)

Table 1: “The government should be able to punish hate speech.”

Response	All
Strongly disagree	59 (11.1%)
Somewhat disagree	58 (10.9%)
Slightly disagree	45 (8.5%)
Neither agree nor disagree	33 (6.2%)
Slightly agree	106 (20.0%)
Somewhat agree	147 (27.7%)
Strongly agree	82 (15.5%)
Total	530 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

Not surprisingly, respondents differed systematically in their views. We examined respondent characteristics like sex, ideology, race, age, years attending UW, political knowledge, and similar factors. Here and nearly everywhere else throughout the study, we observe significant differences between (a) males and females, and (b) liberals and conservatives. (Few other factors systematically correlated with support for or against restrictions on speech.) Females favored punishing hate speech significantly more than males. Whereas just under 47% of males agreed that the government should be able to punish hate speech, nearly 75% of females agreed that it should.

Government Should Punish Hate Speech.

By Sex.

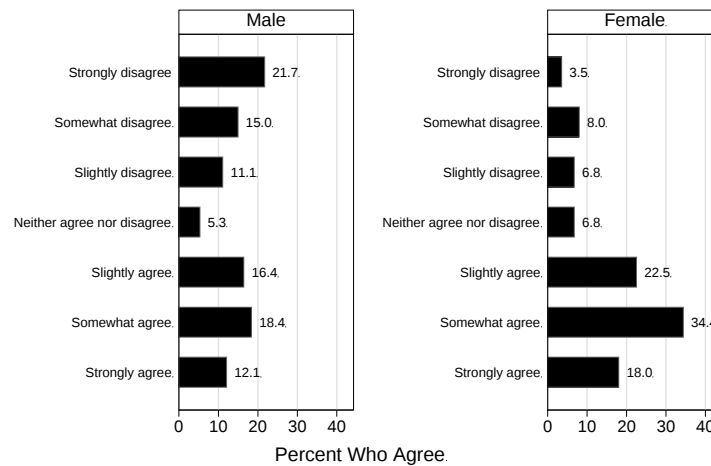


Figure 1: Respondents, by sex, who believed government should be able to punish hate speech.

Ideology also predicts support for government punishment of hate speech. We focus here on respondents' self-reported *economic* liberalism, though the results are substantively similar if we instead examine respondents' self-reported *social* liberalism. Self-identified economic liberals were more likely than self-identified economic conservatives to support government punishment of hate speech.

Government Should Punish Hate Speech.

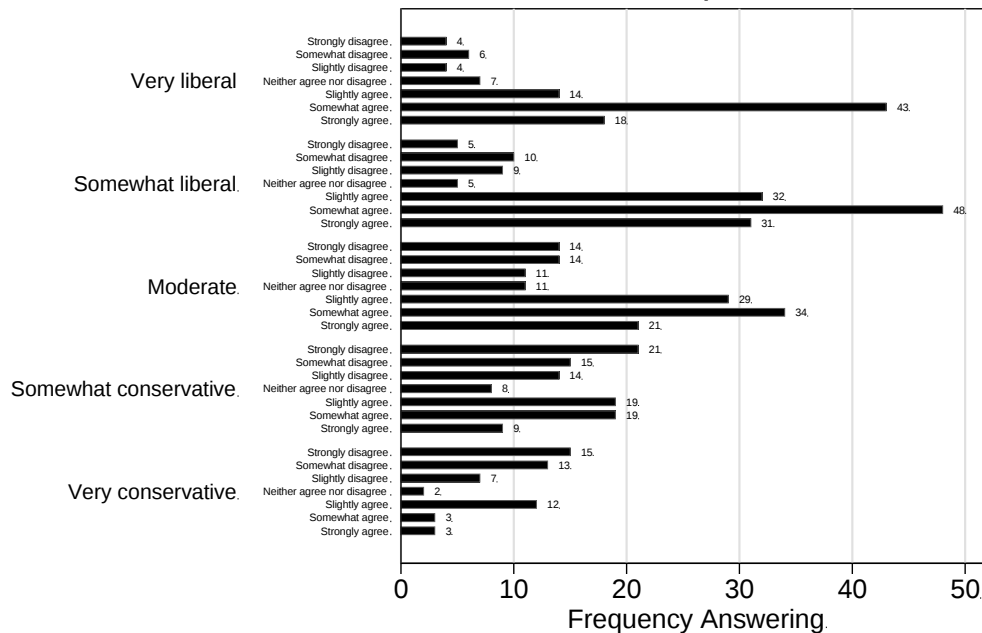


Figure 2: Support for the claim that government should punish hate speech, by ideology.

We next asked students how much they agreed with the statement that “**a person should be able to prevent another person from speaking if they believe that person’s speech is hateful.**” 45% of students agreed that a person should prevent another person from speaking under such conditions. Females again supported such restrictions more than males. Whereas 29.0% of male respondents agreed that a person should be able to prevent another person from speaking if they believe that person’s speech is hateful, 56.6% of female respondents agreed.

Table 2: “A person should be able to prevent another person from speaking if they believe that person’s speech is hateful.”

Response	All	Sex		No Answer
		Male	Female	
Strongly disagree	101 (19.1%)	65 (31.4%)	30 (9.7%)	6 (50%)
Somewhat disagree	80 (15.1%)	42 (20.3%)	36 (11.6%)	2 (16.7%)
Slightly disagree	69 (13.0%)	26 (12.6%)	43 (13.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Neither agree nor disagree	42 (7.9%)	14 (6.8%)	26 (8.4%)	2 (16.7%)
Slightly agree	97 (18.3%)	26 (12.6%)	70 (22.5%)	1 (8.3%)
Somewhat agree	112 (21.1%)	26 (12.6%)	85 (27.3%)	1 (8.3%)
Strongly agree	29 (5.5%)	8 (3.9%)	21 (6.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Total	530 (100%)	207 (100%)	311 (100%)	12 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

We also broke down the responses to this question among economic liberals and economic conservatives. Self-identified liberals were far more supportive of speech restrictions than conservatives. Roughly 62.2% of all liberals agreed that a person should be able to prevent another person from speaking if they believe that person’s speech is hateful, with 64.6% of very liberal respondents agreeing with the statement. Conversely, only 18.1% of conservatives supported such speech restrictions, with a mere 14.5% of very conservative students supporting it.

Table 3: “A person should be able to prevent another person from speaking if they believe that person’s speech is hateful.”

Response	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
Strongly disagree	7 (7.3%)	12 (8.6%)	18 (13.4%)	36 (34.3%)	28 (50.9%)
Somewhat disagree	11 (11.5%)	12 (8.6%)	25 (18.7%)	22 (21.0%)	10 (18.2%)
Slightly disagree	8 (8.3%)	22 (15.7%)	13 (9.7%)	17 (16.2%)	9 (16.4%)
Neither agree nor disagree	8 (8.3%)	9 (6.4%)	16 (11.9%)	9 (8.6%)	0 (0.0%)
Slightly agree	22 (22.9%)	33 (23.6%)	28 (20.9%)	11 (10.5%)	3 (5.5%)
Somewhat agree	28 (29.2%)	42 (30.0%)	30 (22.4%)	8 (7.6%)	4 (7.3%)
Strongly agree	12 (12.5%)	10 (7.1%)	4 (3.0%)	2 (1.9%)	1 (1.8%)
Total	96 (100%)	140 (100%)	134 (100%)	105 (100%)	55 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

Next, we asked students whether the government should restrict the speech of specific speakers. Among all respondents, 55% believed **the government should restrict the speech of holocaust deniers** while 45% believed the government should not. As Figures 3 and 4 reveal, however, female respondents and liberals supported such restrictions significantly more than males and conservatives. 64.6% of female respondents believed the government should restrict the speech of holocaust deniers while 40.6% of male respondents did. 30.8% of liberals believed the government should restrict such speech while 10.0% of conservatives did.

Table 4: “Government should restrict the speech of holocaust deniers.”

Response	All
No	241 (45.5%)
Yes	289 (54.5%)
Total	530 (100%)

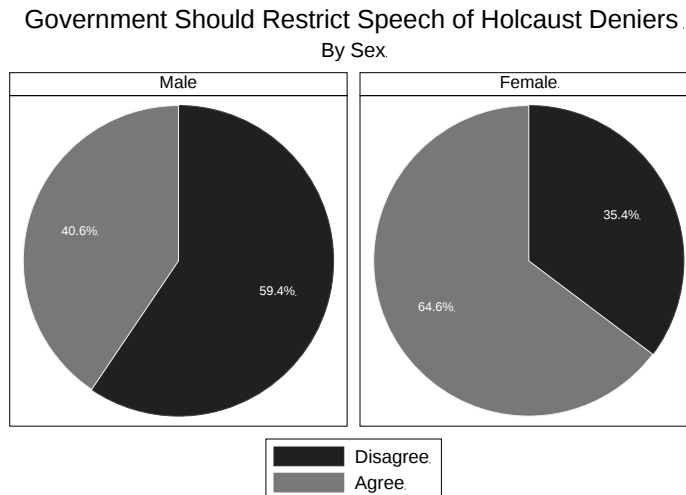


Figure 3: Support for the claim that government should restrict the speech of holocaust deniers, by sex.

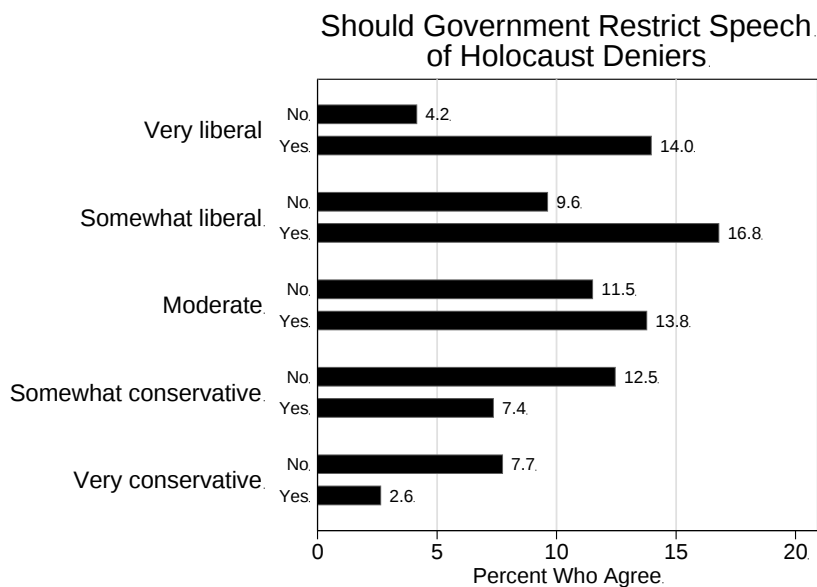


Figure 4: Support for the claim the claim that government should restrict the speech of holocaust deniers, by ideology.

We observed similar results when we asked whether **the government should restrict the speech of racially insensitive persons**. Among all students, 53% believed the government should restrict the speech of racially insensitive persons; 47% believed the government should not. Females and liberals largely drive these results. 66.6% of female respondents believed that government should restrict the speech of racially insensitive persons, while 34.3% of male respondents did. Looking at ideology, 29.6% of liberals supported restricting speech while 9.7% of conservatives did.

Table 5: Responses to: “Government should restrict the speech of racially insensitive persons.”

Response	All
No	249 (47.0%)
Yes	281 (53.0%)
Total	530 (100%)

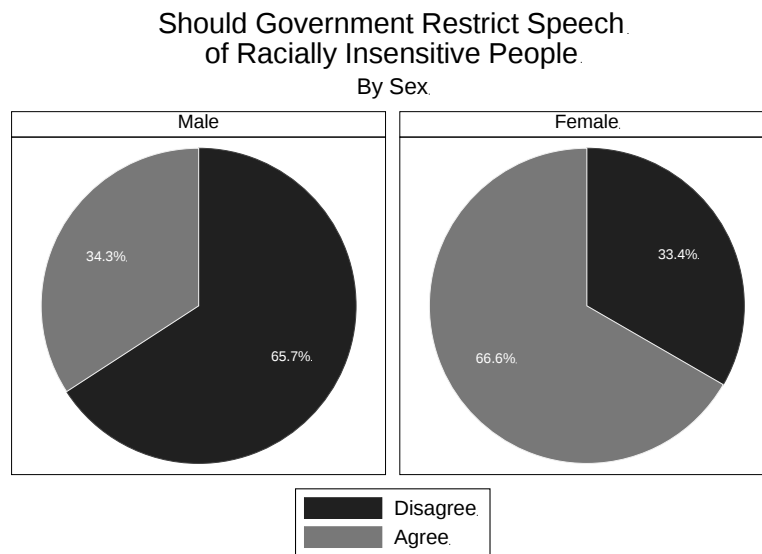


Figure 5: Support for the claim that government should restrict the speech of racially insensitive people, by sex.

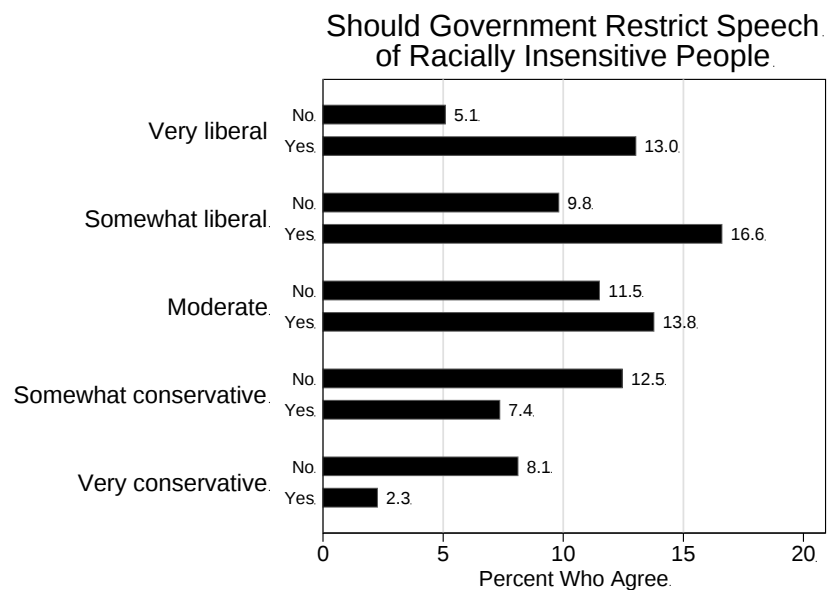


Figure 6: Support for the claim that government should restrict the speech of racially insensitive people, by ideology.

Offensive or Uncomfortable Speech

Moving to offensive or uncomfortable speech, we asked students whether they agreed with the following statement: **“speech should not be regulated even if it makes others feel uncomfortable.”** A positive response supported free speech principles while a negative response opposed free speech. 36% of all respondents offered a negative response. That is, 36% of students believed that the government should regulate legal speech if it makes others “feel” uncomfortable. It is worth pointing out that the question did not offer any definition of when a “feeling” of discomfort objectively is reasonable.

Liberals supported restrictions on speech more than conservatives. 41.7% of very liberal respondents supported speech restrictions while only 14.5% of very conservative respondents did.

Table 6: “Speech should not be regulated even if it makes others feel uncomfortable.”

Response	All	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
Strongly disagree	23 (4.3%)	9 (9.4%)	7 (5.0%)	1 (0.8%)	4 (3.8%)	2 (3.6%)
Somewhat disagree	61 (11.5%)	13 (13.5%)	26 (18.6%)	17 (12.7%)	3 (2.9%)	2 (3.6%)
Slightly disagree	105 (19.9%)	18 (18.7%)	39 (27.9%)	28 (20.9%)	16 (15.2%)	4 (7.3%)
Neither agree nor disagree	48 (9.1%)	10 (10.4%)	11 (7.9%)	18 (13.4%)	6 (5.7%)	3 (5.5%)
Slightly agree	90 (17.0%)	15 (15.6%)	23 (16.43%)	24 (17.9%)	21 (20.0%)	7 (12.7%)
Somewhat agree	100 (18.9%)	22 (22.9%)	22 (15.7%)	29 (21.6%)	19 (18.1%)	8 (14.6%)
Strongly agree	103 (19.4%)	9 (8.6%)	12 (8.6%)	17 (12.7%)	36 (34.3%)	29 (52.7%)
Total	530 (100%)	96 (100%)	140 (100%)	134 (100%)	105 (100%)	55 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

The previous findings regarding sex continue to hold. Whereas only 26.6% of male respondents agreed that speech should be regulated when it makes others uncomfortable, 42.4% of female respondents thought it should.

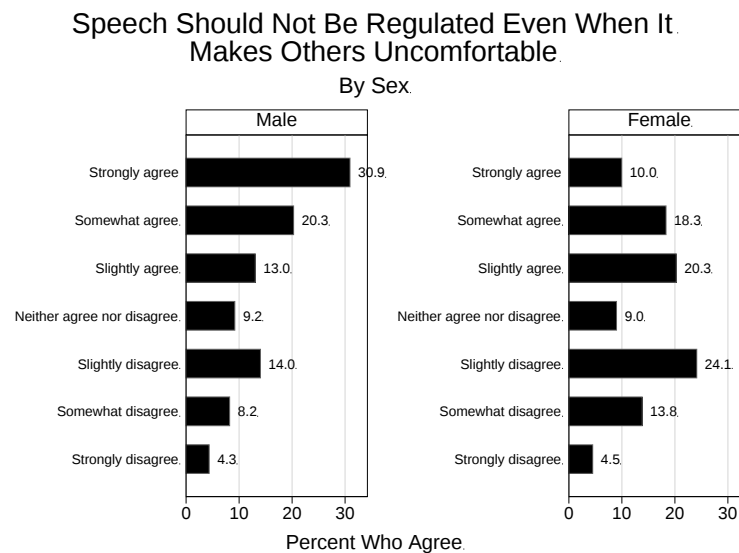


Figure 7: Support for the claim that speech should not be regulated even if it makes others feel uncomfortable, by sex.

We next asked students: “**Should government restrict the speech of Climate Change Deniers?**” 38% said yes while 62% said no. The divide between males and females continues, with 24.6% of males agreeing that government should restrict their speech and 47.6% of females agreeing. In terms of ideology, 23.2% of liberals supported restricting speech while 4.8% of conservatives did.

Table 7: “Government should restrict the speech of climate change deniers.”

Response	All
No	329 (62.1%)
Yes	201 (37.9%)
Total	530 (100%)

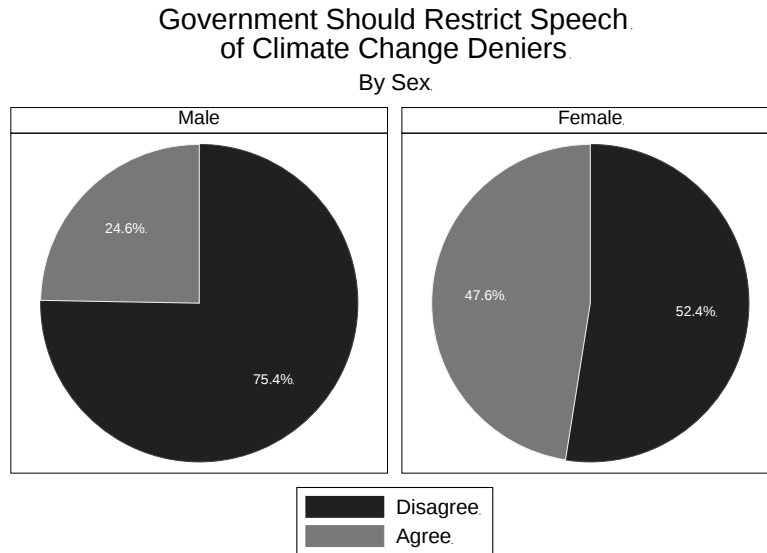


Figure 8: Support for the claim that government should restrict the speech of climate change deniers, by sex.

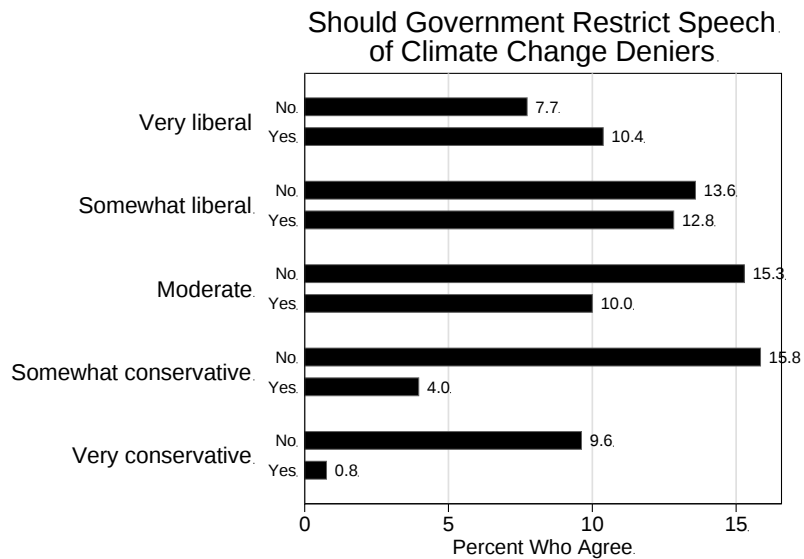


Figure 9: Support for the claim that government should restrict the speech of climate change deniers, by ideology.

In recent years, universities and other institutions have come under fire for canceling planned speaking events because of opposition to the invited speakers. For example, the College of the Atlantic [revoked](#) an invitation to the Federalist Society’s Leonard Leo for a speech he planned to give on judging and the judiciary. Williams College [revoked](#) an invitation to Suzanne Venker because of her criticism of modern feminism. Creighton University [canceled](#) the commencement speech of former Senator Bob Kerrey because of his liberal views on abortion. Is it appropriate for institutions to cancel speeches because some people at those institutions dislike the speaker or the speech?

To understand students' answers to this question, we asked them whether they agreed with the following statement: **“Public institutions should revoke invitations to guest speakers when the speakers' remarks would likely offend someone.”** A sizable number of students supported disinventing speakers under such conditions. Just over 35% of respondents thought it permissible to cancel someone's speech because another person might be offended by it.

Support for this so-called “cancel culture” breaks down by ideology and sex. Whereas 46.2% of liberals supported revoking invitations to guest speakers when their remarks would likely offend someone, 23.1% of conservatives (and 0.09% of very conservative students) supported such practices.

Table 8: “Public institutions should revoke invitations to guest speakers when the speakers' remarks would likely offend someone”

Response	All	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
Strongly disagree	108 (20.4%)	6 (6.3%)	11 (7.9%)	21 (15.7%)	42 (40.0%)	28 (50.91%)
Somewhat disagree	73 (13.8%)	8 (8.3%)	17 (12.1%)	16 (11.9%)	22 (21.0%)	10 (18.18%)
Slightly disagree	85 (16%)	17 (17.7%)	28 (20.0%)	20 (14.9%)	14 (13.3%)	6 (10.9%)
Neither agree nor disagree	78 (14.7%)	21 (21.88%)	19 (13.6%)	27 (20.2%)	5 (4.8%)	6 (10.9%)
Slightly agree	92 (17.4%)	20 (20.8%)	32 (22.9%)	25 (18.7%)	11 (13.3%)	4 (7.27%)
Somewhat agree	59 (11.1%)	16 (16.7%)	20 (14.3%)	16 (11.9%)	6 (5.7%)	1 (1.8%)
Strongly agree	35 (6.6%)	8 (8.3%)	13 (9.3%)	9 (6.7%)	5 (4.8%)	0 (0%)
Total	530 (100%)	96 (100%)	140 (100%)	134 (100%)	105 (100%)	55 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

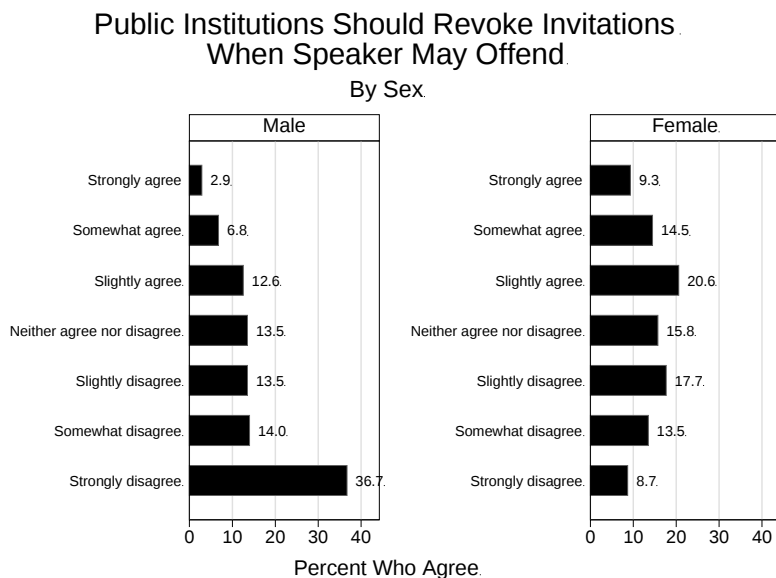


Figure 10: Support for the claim that public institutions should revoke invitations to guest speakers when the speakers' remarks would likely offend someone, by sex.

Of course, threats to free speech principles exist beyond university settings. Some people have expressed concern that for-profit and non-profit institutions have become more [censorious](#) in [recent](#) years. Others see the development as greater corporate social responsibility. To be sure, the First Amendment does not apply to [private actors](#). But asking questions about speech in the private sector can give us an understanding of students' broader views on speech.

We asked students—who are, after all, future workers and CEOs—whether it is appropriate for a person to lose his or her job for saying “something that makes a co-worker feel uncomfortable, even when the comment is legal.” More specifically, we asked their agreement with the following statement: **“A person should not lose his or her job because they say something that makes a co-worker feel uncomfortable, even when the comment is legal.”** More than 44% of respondents disagreed with the statement that it is inappropriate for someone to lose his or her job under such conditions. The responses suggest, in other words, that many students are comfortable tying a person's livelihood to their speech and beliefs, a dangerous proposition.

Once again, the data reveal significant differences between liberals and conservatives. 63.1% of all liberals—and 72.9% of very liberal students—support firing a person for making uncomfortable (though legal) remarks, while 21.3% of all conservatives—and only 0.09% of very conservative students—support it.

Table 9: “A person should not lose his or her job because they say something that makes a co-worker feel uncomfortable, even when the comment is legal.”

Response	All	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
Strongly disagree	44 (8.3%)	15 (15.6%)	13 (9.3%)	13 (9.7%)	1 (1.0%)	2 (3.6%)
Somewhat disagree	102 (19.3%)	34 (35.4%)	33 (23.6%)	17 (12.7%)	16 (15.2%)	2 (3.6%)
Slightly disagree	90 (17%)	21 (21.9%)	33 (23.6%)	23 (17.2%)	12 (11.4%)	1 (1.8%)
Neither agree nor disagree	86 (16.2%)	14 (14.6%)	18 (12.9%)	31 (23.1%)	13 (12.4%)	10 (18.2%)
Slightly agree	75 (14.2%)	7 (7.3%)	17 (12.1%)	23 (17.2%)	17 (16.2%)	11 (20%)
Somewhat agree	75 (14.2%)	2 (2.1%)	21 (15.0%)	17 (12.7%)	25 (23.8%)	10 (18.2%)
Strongly agree	58 (10.9%)	3 (3.1%)	5 (3.6%)	10 (7.5%)	21 (20.0%)	19 (34.6%)
Total	530 (100%)	96 (100%)	140 (100%)	134 (100%)	105 (100%)	55 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

Stark differences emerge once again when it comes to respondent’s sex. Males supported such employee terminations less than females. 29.9% of males supported terminating employees under such conditions, while 55.3% of females supported it.

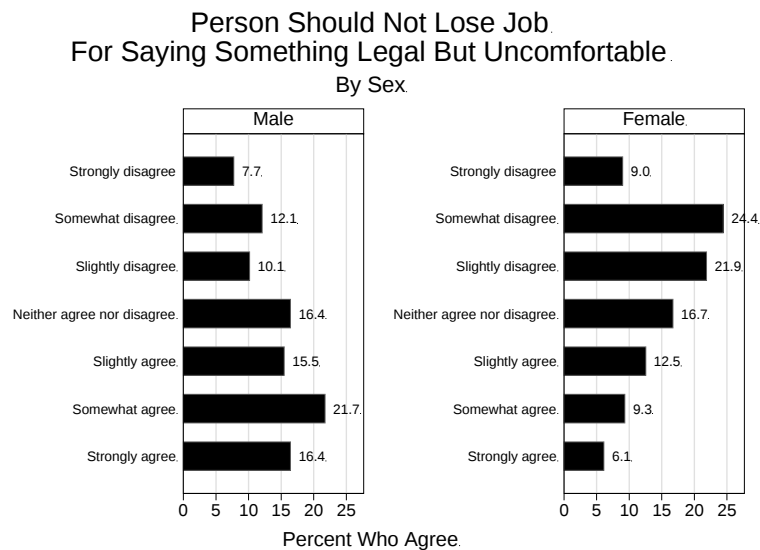


Figure 11: Support for the claim that people should not be fired for saying something legal but uncomfortable, by sex.

The Media

A significant number of students also supported government restrictions on the media. We asked students whether they agreed with the following statement: **“Government should be able to take action against news media that publish content that is biased.”** We did not provide them with a definition of “bias,” nor did we define what it means for a government to “take action” against the media.

35% of students agreed that government should take action against biased media. Interestingly, the polarization we typically observe between liberals and conservatives disappears, as conservatives are just as likely as liberals to support government action against biased media. Among liberal respondents, 31% supported government action against biased media while 34% of conservatives did.

The strong divide between males and females remains, though, with 23.7% of males supporting action against the media but 42.1% of females supporting it.

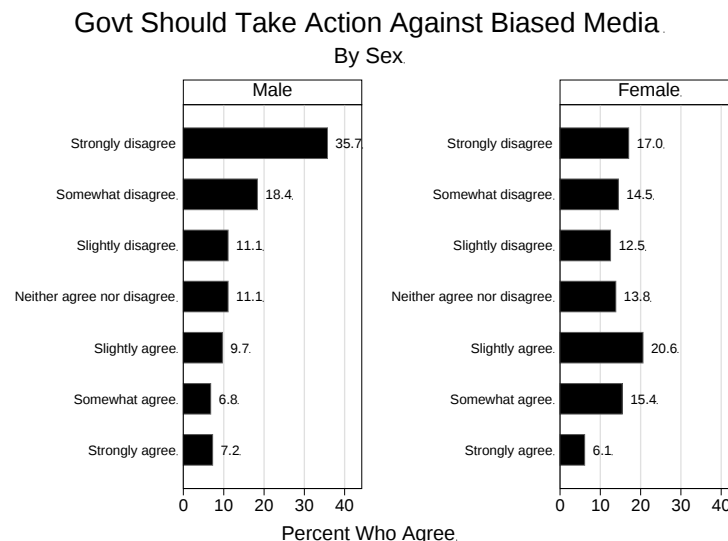


Figure 12: Support for the claim that government should be able to take action against news media that publish biased content, by sex.

The survey also focused on social media. The Federal Communications Commission and political actors recently have re-examined the merits of [Section 230 of the Communications Decency Act](#), which provides social media companies immunity from liability when they host or moderate content generated by others. We sought to explore students’ views of the conditions under which social media companies should regulate content. We asked students **whether social media companies should monitor speech on their platforms in order to remove offensive speech and views**. We also asked **whether social media companies should restrict users based on the content of their posts**.

[Similar to other polls](#), though to a greater degree, 63.8% of respondents believed that social media companies should remove “offensive speech” from their platforms. Moreover, 52.8% believed that social media companies should restrict users based on the content of their speech.

Table 10: “Each social media company should monitor speech on its platform for the purpose of removing offensive speech and views” and “Social media companies should not restrict users based on the content of their posts.”

Response	Social Media Should Monitor and Remove Offensive Speech	Social Media Should Not Restrict its Users Based on the Content of Their Posts
Strongly disagree	52 (9.8%)	61 (11.5%)
Somewhat disagree	45 (8.5%)	117 (22.1%)
Slightly disagree	48 (9.1%)	102 (19.3%)
Neither agree nor disagree	47 (8.9%)	63 (11.9%)
Slightly agree	99 (18.7%)	60 (11.3%)
Somewhat agree	130 (24.5%)	78 (14.7%)
Strongly agree	109 (20.6%)	49 (9.3%)
Total	530 (100%)	530 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

Once again, we observe polarization between liberals and conservatives (not shown here) and men and women. 48.8% of males believe that social media companies should monitor speech on their platforms and remove offensive speech and views, while 75.2% of females believe it. Similarly, 40.6% of males and 62.1% of females disagree that social media companies should not restrict users based on the content of their posts.

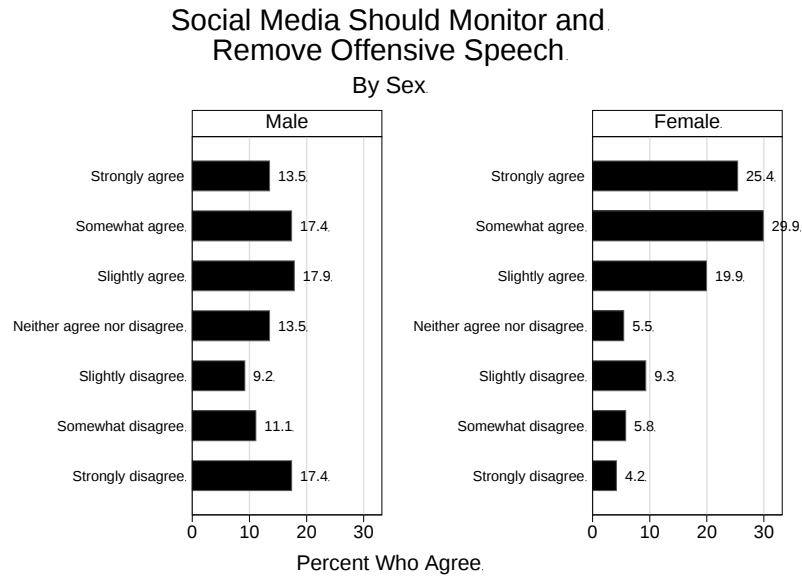


Figure 13: Support for the claim that each social media company should monitor speech on its platform for the purpose of removing offensive speech and views, by sex.

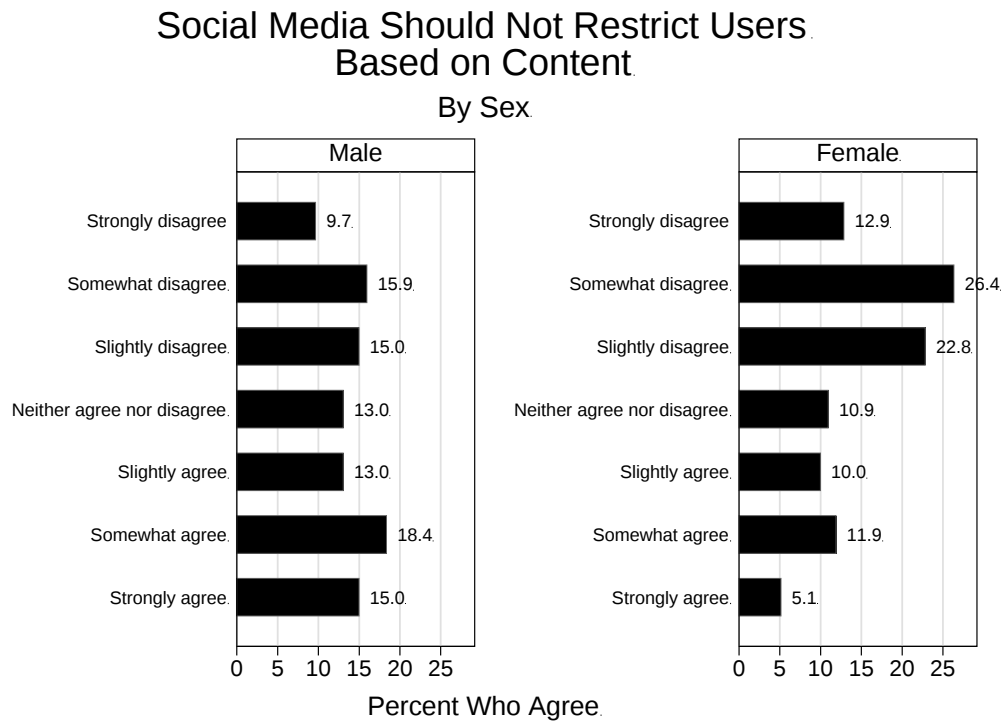


Figure 14: Support for the claim that social media companies should not restrict users based on the content of their posts, by sex.

Compelled Speech

We next asked students questions that focused on [compelled speech](#), or, being forced to pay for speech with which they disagree. This is a particularly relevant topic to UW-Madison because the U.S. Supreme Court examined the constitutionality of its student segregated fee policy two decades ago in [Board of Regents of the University of Wisconsin System v. Southworth](#). There, the Court [concluded](#) that “the First Amendment does not preclude a public university from charging its students an activity fee that is used to support student organizations that engage in extracurricular speech, provided that the money is allocated to those groups by use of viewpoint-neutral criteria.” UW-Madison administration celebrated the decision in a [press release](#) on March 22, 2000, entitled *U.S. Supreme Court upholds free speech in Southworth case, UW leaders say*.

We asked students whether they agreed with the following statement: **“A student who attends college should be required to pay a mandatory fee to support activities of student groups, even if it includes groups with whom the student sincerely disagrees.”** Interestingly, 69% of students opposed a mandatory segregated fee. Only 14.5% of students supported one. (We asked a similar question regarding mandatory union dues, not shown here, and students returned similarly lopsided responses opposing those compelled fees.) Liberals were considerably more likely than conservatives to support such fees, but no significant differences existed between male and female respondents.

Table 11: Responses to: “A student who attends college should be required to pay a mandatory fee to support activities of student groups, even if it includes groups with whom the student sincerely disagrees.”

Response	All	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
Strongly disagree	211 (39.8%)	25 (26.0%)	46 (32.9%)	55 (41.0%)	49 (46.7%)	36 (65.5%)
Somewhat disagree	93 (17.6%)	16 (16.7%)	27 (19.3%)	21 (15.7%)	25 (23.8%)	4 (7.3%)
Slightly disagree	58 (10.9%)	14 (14.6%)	19 (13.6%)	14 (10.5%)	9 (8.6%)	2 (3.6%)
Neither agree nor disagree	91 (17.2%)	23 (24.0%)	22 (15.7%)	26 (19.4%)	11 (10.5%)	9 (16.4%)
Slightly agree	36 (6.8%)	9 (9.4%)	15 (10.7%)	6 (4.5%)	5 (4.8%)	1 (1.8%)
Somewhat agree	29 (5.5%)	7 (7.3%)	7 (5.0%)	10 (7.5%)	5 (4.8%)	0 (0.0%)
Strongly agree	12 (2.3%)	4 (2.9%)	4 (2.9%)	2 (1.5%)	1 (1.0%)	3 (5.5%)
Total	530 (100%)	96 (100%)	140 (100%)	134 (100%)	105 (100%)	55 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

Religious Liberties

Turning to religious liberties, we asked students their agreement with the following statement: **“Government should be allowed to provide state financial aid to parents who send their children to private religious schools.”** Among all students, 64.2% opposed government providing financial aid to parents to send their children to private religious schools.

Perhaps not surprisingly, the results diverge based on the respondents’ economic ideologies. Among very liberal respondents, 84.4% opposed financial aid for religious schools while 40% of very conservative respondents opposed it (a surprisingly high number). Respondents differed slightly based on sex, with 58.9% of males opposing the financial aid and 68.8% of females opposing it, but those differences are not statistically significant.

Table 12: “Government should be allowed to provide state financial aid to parents who send their children to private religious schools.”

Response	All	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
Strongly disagree	189 (35.7%)	46 (47.9%)	61 (43.6%)	44 (32.8%)	27 (25.7%)	11 (20%)
Somewhat disagree	89 (16.8%)	21 (21.9%)	24 (17.1%)	20 (14.9%)	17 (16.2%)	7 (12.7%)
Slightly disagree	62 (11.7%)	14 (14.6%)	17 (12.1%)	13 (9.7%)	14 (13.3%)	4 (7.3%)
Neither agree nor disagree	81 (15.3%)	11 (11.5%)	17 (12.1%)	32 (23.9%)	14 (13.3%)	7 (12.7%)
Slightly agree	39 (7.4%)	1 (1%)	9 (6.4%)	9 (6.7%)	14 (13.3%)	6 (10.9%)
Somewhat agree	42 (7.9%)	2 (2.1%)	7 (5.0%)	12 (9.0%)	12 (11.4%)	9 (16.4%)
Strongly agree	28 (5.3%)	1 (1%)	5 (3.6%)	4 (3.0%)	7 (6.7%)	11 (20%)
Total	530 (100%)	96 (100%)	140 (100%)	134 (100%)	105 (100%)	55 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

We next asked students about school prayer, requesting their views on the following statement: “**K-12 public schools should be able to set aside 15 minutes during the school day for students to practice their religion independently and without school direction.**” Among all respondents, 34.3% opposed public schools setting aside such time while 45.8% supported doing so. Economic liberalism had a weak effect, with conservatives slightly more likely than liberals to support student time for religion. The bigger effect came from sex, with women more supportive of independent prayer time than men.

Table 13: Responses to: “K-12 public schools should be able to set aside 15 minutes during the school day for students to practice their religion independently and without school direction.”

Response	All	Response	All
Strongly disagree	81 (15.3%)	Strongly agree	84 (15.9%)
Somewhat disagree	56 (10.6%)	Somewhat agree	87 (16.4%)
Slightly disagree	45 (8.5%)	Slightly agree	72 (13.6%)
Neither agree nor disagree	105 (19.8%)		

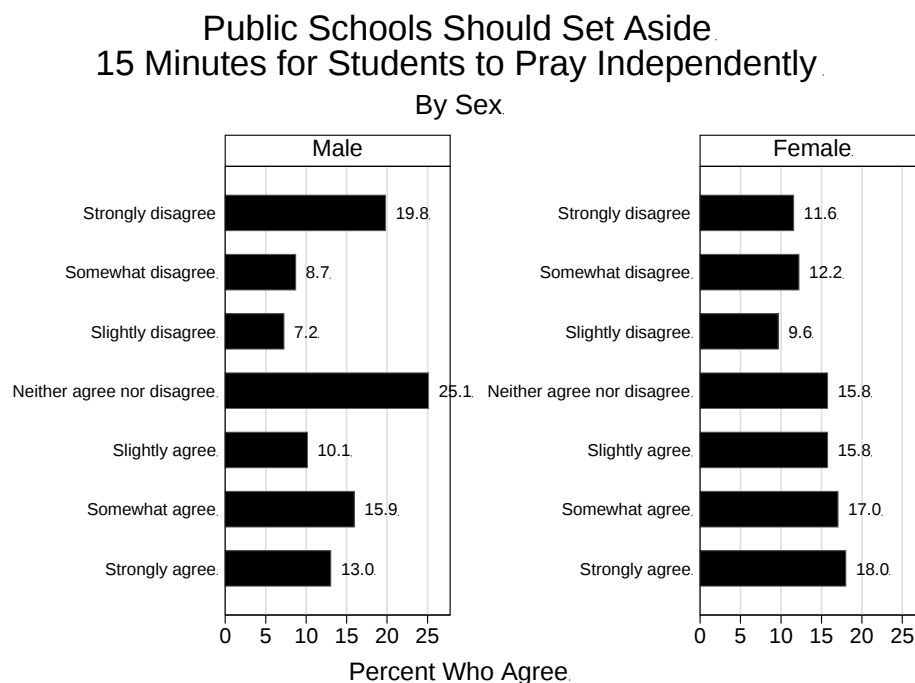


Figure 15: Support for the claim that K-12 public schools should be able to set aside 15 minutes during the school day for students to practice their religion independently and without school direction, by sex.

Finally, we asked students about the ability of a religious business owner to avoid activities that violate his or her religious beliefs. We asked their agreement with the following statement: “**A business owner who has a sincere religious objection to providing a certain good or service to an employee or customer, such as contraceptives or abortion, should be allowed to refrain from doing so.**”

52.5% of students disagreed, believing that one’s religious beliefs should give way when it comes to providing goods or services such as contraceptives or abortion. Self-identified economic liberals were significantly more likely to oppose religious liberties than self-identified economic conservatives. (The responses of economic conservatives and social conservatives were nearly identical.) Among very liberal respondents, 80.2% opposed the business owner exercising his or her religious liberty, while 23.6% of very conservative respondents opposed it.

Table 14: “A business owner who has a sincere religious objection to providing a certain good or service to an employee or customer, such as contraceptives or abortion, should be allowed to refrain from doing so.”

Response	All	Very Liberal	Somewhat Liberal	Moderate	Somewhat Conservative	Very Conservative
Strongly disagree	162 (30.6%)	61 (63.5%)	48 (34.3%)	36 (26.9%)	11 (10.5%)	6 (10.9%)
Somewhat disagree	68 (12.8%)	11 (11.5%)	24 (17.1%)	15 (11.2%)	14 (13.3%)	4 (7.3%)
Slightly disagree	48 (9.1%)	5 (5.2%)	23 (16.4%)	12 (9.0%)	5 (4.8%)	3 (5.5%)
Neither agree nor disagree	51 (9.6%)	9 (9.4%)	11 (7.9%)	20 (14.9%)	9 (8.6%)	2 (3.6%)
Slightly agree	48 (9.1%)	3 (3.1%)	13 (9.3%)	16 (11.9%)	13 (12.4%)	3 (5.5%)
Somewhat agree	65 (12.3%)	4 (4.2%)	12 (8.6%)	19 (14.2%)	22 (21.0%)	8 (14.6%)
Strongly agree	88 (16.6%)	3 (3.1%)	9 (6.4%)	16 (11.9%)	31 (29.5%)	29 (52.7%)
Total	530 (100%)	96 (100%)	140 (100%)	134 (100%)	105 (100%)	55 (100%)

Note: Percentages may not sum exactly to 100% because of rounding.

Once again, the data reveal significant differences between males and females. A majority (54.6%) of male respondents agreed that a business owner with religious scruples against contraceptives or abortion should **not** be forced to act against those religious beliefs. On the other hand, a significant majority (63.7%) of female respondents believed the business owner **must** provide employees or customers contraceptives or abortion despite their religious scruples. In fact, the divide among male and female respondents here is among the starkest in the data.

Religious Business Owner Should Not Be Forced to Provide Abortion or Contraceptives

By Sex

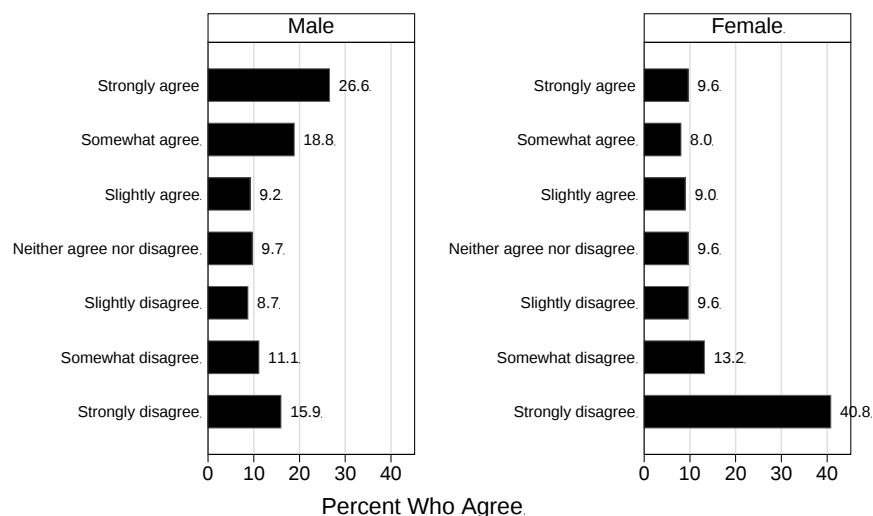


Figure 16: Support for the claim that a business owner who has a sincere religious objection to providing a certain good or service to an employee or customer, such as contraceptives or abortion, should be allowed to refrain from doing so, by sex.

Moving Forward

These results show that the student body is not fully aware of the importance of free speech and religious liberty in American law and society. What is more, the findings are at odds with UW-Madison’s [stated dedication](#) to academic freedom and freedom of expression. Indeed, the University of Wisconsin Board of Regents recently adopted a policy entitled [Commitment to Academic Freedom and Freedom of Expression](#) that applies to all UW System students, employees, and visitors with the purpose of communicating its “commitment to academic freedom and freedom of expression.”

Despite the fact that UW-Madison [conveys](#) its academic freedom policy through extracurricular briefings and e-newsletters, the findings of this survey show that **more needs to be done**. UW-Madison must do more to instill in its students a deeper respect for and understanding of the First Amendment, its protections, and the importance of an unfettered marketplace of ideas. UW-Madison, and the UW-System as a whole, may wish to consider a number of policy options to address these concerns.

One option would be to **require students to receive some instruction on the First Amendment** or otherwise show First Amendment competency in order to graduate. It is clear that many students do not understand the values underlying the First Amendment and free speech. The university should teach them.

The university could pursue various alternatives in terms of instruction. One alternative would be to require all students to take a class offered in the law school or political science department on the First Amendment. Like other general education requirements (such as the [requirement](#) that each

student take three credits of ethnic studies to graduate), the requirement would ensure that students graduate with requisite skills “[to participate effectively and respectfully in a multicultural society, including in the workplace.](#)” This alternative would require increased staffing to meet the teaching demands but would be simple to administer.

Another alternative would be to require departments or colleges to include First Amendment relevant topics in their courses. The course in which the instruction is provided could include a foundation in the First Amendment followed by a series of case studies relevant to each department in question. For example, the School of Computer, Data & Information Sciences and School of Journalism could include studies on such topics as media censorship, defamation, and disinformation. This alternative would be cheaper for the university, due to less staffing needs, but would be more complex as the content would vary based on class and department.

The university could also engage in a more exhaustive First Amendment training for all incoming freshman and transfer students. The university could require those students to take an online training and test, similar to those currently conducted by Human Resources, that goes beyond the current practice of “[conversations](#)” and “[messaging](#)” during the student orientation process.

Surely, there are other options that the university may wish to consider. Our goal here was not to advocate for a particular reform but, rather, to show that we have a problem and spur a discussion on how to address it.

* * *

In [Cohen v. Virginia](#), the Supreme Court determined that a war protester’s jacket, which said: “F**k the Draft,” conveyed protected speech. In his majority opinion, Justice John Marshall Harlan II revealed the subjective and ever-changing concept of “appropriate” speech. What one person deems inappropriate or even harmful today may be seen differently by others. As he put it: “...one man’s vulgarity is another man’s lyric.” His opinion recognized that the First Amendment protects speech—even highly detestable speech—because the long-term benefits of free speech outweigh any short-term benefits from quelling it. A government strong enough to control speech is powerful enough to control thought. And the loss of free speech is always just one generation away. The results of our survey suggest that students need greater exposure to the value of free speech and religious liberties. The university should find ways to make that happen.

Survey Questions

Q1: Are you 18 years old or older?

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	530	100.0%
No	0	0.0%

Q3: We would like to start with a series of questions about government and civics. Which part of the Constitution states the following? “Congress shall make no law respecting an establishment of religion, or prohibiting the free exercise thereof; or abridging the freedom of speech, or of the press; or the right of the people peaceably to assemble, and to petition the Government for a redress of grievances.”

Response	Freq	Percent
The Preamble	5	0.9%
Article I	16	3.0%
The 1 st Amendment	448	85.0%
The 5 th Amendment	7	1.3%
The 7 th Amendment	2	0.4%
Don't know	52	9.8%

Q4: What job or political office does Nancy Pelosi currently hold?

Response	Freq	Percent
U.S. Secretary of Defense	3	0.6%
Vice President of the United States	2	0.4%
Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives	512	97.0%
Chief Justice of the United States	4	0.8%
None of these	9	1.7%

Q5: Which party currently has a majority in the U.S. Senate?

Response	Freq	Percent
Republicans	481	91.0%
Democrats	39	7.4%
Labor	0	0.0%
None, it is tied	10	1.9%

Q6: The next questions are about your opinions.

Some people have argued that there is something called “hate speech.” They define it as “abusive or threatening speech or writing that expresses prejudice against a particular group, especially on the basis of race, religion, or sexual orientation.” How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement?

“The government should be able to punish hate speech.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	59	11.0%
Somewhat disagree	58	11.0%
Slightly disagree	45	8.5%
Neither agree nor disagree	33	6.2%
Slightly agree	106	20.0%
Somewhat agree	147	28.0%
Strongly agree	82	15.0%

Q7: Regardless of what you think the law currently permits, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “One person should not be able to prevent another person from speaking because they hold an opposing view.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	318	60.0%
Somewhat agree	113	21.0%
Slightly agree	39	7.4%
Neither agree nor disagree	14	2.6%
Slightly disagree	16	3.0%
Somewhat disagree	10	1.9%
Strongly disagree	20	3.8%

Q8: Regardless of what you think the law currently permits, how much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “A person should be able to prevent another person from speaking if they believe that person’s speech is hateful.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	101	19.0%
Somewhat disagree	80	15.0%
Slightly disagree	69	13.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	42	7.9%
Slightly agree	97	18.0%
Somewhat agree	112	21.0%
Strongly agree	29	5.5%

Q9: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Speech should not be regulated even when it makes others feel uncomfortable.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	103	19.0%
Somewhat agree	100	19.0%
Slightly agree	90	17.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	48	9.1%
Slightly disagree	105	20.0%
Somewhat disagree	61	12.0%
Strongly disagree	23	4.3%

Q10: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? ”Government should be able to take action against news media that publish content that is biased.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	130	25.0%
Somewhat disagree	84	16.0%
Slightly disagree	64	12.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	66	12.0%
Slightly agree	86	16.0%
Somewhat agree	66	12.0%
Strongly agree	34	6.4%

Q11: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Government should be prevented from taking legal action against news media that publish content which is inflammatory.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	32	6.0%
Somewhat disagree	73	14.0%
Slightly disagree	102	19.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	112	21.0%
Slightly agree	87	16.0%
Somewhat agree	64	12.0%
Strongly agree	60	11.0%

Q12: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Government should not be able to take legal action against news media that publish content which is later found to be false."

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	33	6.2%
Somewhat agree	66	12.0%
Slightly agree	71	13.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	68	13.0%
Slightly disagree	131	25.0%
Somewhat disagree	105	20.0%
Strongly disagree	56	11.0%

Q13: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Each social media company should monitor speech on its platform for the purpose of removing offensive speech and views."

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	109	21.0%
Somewhat agree	130	25.0%
Slightly agree	99	19.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	47	8.9%
Slightly disagree	48	9.1%
Somewhat disagree	45	8.5%
Strongly disagree	52	9.8%

Q14: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? "Social media companies should not restrict users based on the content of their posts."

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	61	12.0%
Somewhat disagree	117	22.0%
Slightly disagree	102	19.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	63	12.0%
Slightly agree	60	11.0%
Somewhat agree	78	15.0%
Strongly agree	49	9.2%

Q15_1: Should the government restrict the speech of the following groups? - Conservatives

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	25	4.7%
No	505	95.0%

Q15_2: Should the government restrict the speech of the following groups? - Liberals

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	13	2.5%
No	517	98.0%

Q15_3: Should the government restrict the speech of the following groups? - Progressives

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	12	2.3%
No	518	98.0%

Q15_4: Should the government restrict the speech of the following groups? - Socialists

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	25	4.7%
No	505	95.0%

Q15_5: Should the government restrict the speech of the following groups? - Climate Change Deniers

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	201	38.0%
No	329	62.0%

Q15_6: Should the government restrict the speech of the following groups? - Holocaust Deniers

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	289	55.0%
No	241	45.0%

Q15_7: Should the government restrict the speech of the following groups? - Racially Insensitive Persons

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	281	53.0%
No	249	47.0%

Q16: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Government should be allowed to provide state financial aid to parents who send their children to private religious schools.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	189	36.0%
Somewhat disagree	89	17.0%
Slightly disagree	62	12.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	81	15.0%
Slightly agree	39	7.4%
Somewhat agree	42	7.9%
Strongly agree	28	5.3%

Q17: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “It is OK for monuments with religious symbols that honor and remember the sacrifice of soldiers in wartime to be on public grounds.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	149	28.0%
Somewhat agree	127	24.0%
Slightly agree	71	13.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	93	18.0%
Slightly disagree	38	7.2%
Somewhat disagree	36	6.8%
Strongly disagree	16	3.0%

Q18: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “K-12 public schools should be able to set aside 15 minutes during the school day for students to practice their religion independently and without school direction.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	81	15.0%
Somewhat disagree	56	11.0%
Slightly disagree	45	8.5%
Neither agree nor disagree	105	20.0%
Slightly agree	72	14.0%
Somewhat agree	87	16.0%
Strongly agree	84	16.0%

Q19: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “A business owner who has a sincere religious objection to providing a certain good or service to an employee or customer, such as contraceptives or abortion, should be allowed to refrain from doing so.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	88	17.0%
Somewhat agree	65	12.0%
Slightly agree	48	9.1%
Neither agree nor disagree	51	9.6%
Slightly disagree	48	9.1%
Somewhat disagree	68	13.0%
Strongly disagree	162	31.0%

Q20: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “A student who attends college should be required to pay a mandatory fee to support activities of student groups, even if it includes groups with whom the student sincerely disagrees.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	12	2.3%
Somewhat agree	29	5.5%
Slightly agree	36	6.8%
Neither agree nor disagree	91	17.0%
Slightly disagree	58	11.0%
Somewhat disagree	93	18.0%
Strongly disagree	211	40.0%

Q21: Some people argue a factory worker should be required to pay a mandatory fee to support the activities of a union in order to obtain better wages for its members. Others argue that mandatory fees should not be required if the worker is not a member or disagrees with union leadership. What do you think?

Response	Freq	Percent
Factory workers should pay fees	63	12.0%
Factory workers should not pay fees	280	53.0%
Don't know or unsure	187	35.0%

Q22: How strongly do you feel that factory workers should pay fees?

Response	Freq	Percent
Not strongly	27	43.0%
Somewhat strongly	26	41.0%
Very strongly	10	16.0%

Q23: How strongly do you feel that factory workers should not pay fees?

Response	Freq	Percent
Not strongly	90	32.0%
Somewhat strongly	132	47.0%
Very strongly	58	21.0%

Q24: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Public institutions should revoke invitations to guest speakers when the speakers’ remarks would likely offend some people.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly agree	35	6.6%
Somewhat agree	59	11.0%
Slightly agree	92	17.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	78	15.0%
Slightly disagree	85	16.0%
Somewhat disagree	73	14.0%
Strongly disagree	108	20.0%

Q25: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “Public institutions should revoke invitations to guest speakers when groups might use the speech as a reason to cause damage to another’s property.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	43	8.1%
Somewhat disagree	37	7.0%
Slightly disagree	39	7.4%
Neither agree nor disagree	68	13.0%
Slightly agree	100	19.0%
Somewhat agree	134	25.0%
Strongly agree	109	21.0%

Q26: How much do you agree or disagree with the following statement? “A person should not lose his or her job because they say something that makes a co-worker feel uncomfortable, even when the comment is legal.”

Response	Freq	Percent
Strongly disagree	44	8.3%
Somewhat disagree	102	19.0%
Slightly disagree	90	17.0%
Neither agree nor disagree	86	16.0%
Slightly agree	75	14.0%
Somewhat agree	75	14.0%
Strongly agree	58	11.0%

Q27: Finally, we have some questions about you and your background. What is your sex? - Selected Choice

Response	Freq	Percent
Female	311	59.0%
Male	207	39.0%
Not listed, please tell us:	0	0.0%
Prefer not to answer	12	2.3%

Q28_1: Check all of the following that describe your race or ethnicity: - Selected Choice American Indian or Alaskan Native

Response	Freq	Percent
American Indian or Alaskan Native	5	100.0%

Q28_2: Check all of the following that describe your race or ethnicity: - Selected Choice Asian

Response	Freq	Percent
Asian	72	100.0%

Q28_3: Check all of the following that describe your race or ethnicity: - Selected Choice Black or African American

Response	Freq	Percent
Black or African American	14	100.0%

Q28_4: Check all of the following that describe your race or ethnicity: - Selected Choice Hispanic or Latino

Response	Freq	Percent
Hispanic or Latino	29	100.0%

Q28_5: Check all of the following that describe your race or ethnicity: - Selected Choice Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander

Response	Freq	Percent
Native Hawaiian or Other Pacific Islander	1	100.0%

Q28_6: Check all of the following that describe your race or ethnicity: - Selected Choice White

Response	Freq	Percent
White	439	100.0%

Q28_7: Check all of the following that describe your race or ethnicity: - Selected Choice Other, please tell us:

Response	Freq	Percent
Other, please tell us:	14	100.0%

Q30: Did you graduate from high school in the United States?

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	510	96.0%
No	20	3.8%

Q31_1: In what U.S. state or territory did you graduate high school? - State

Response	Freq	Percent
Wisconsin	345	68.0%
Alabama	0	0.0%
Alaska	0	0.0%
Arizona	2	0.4%
Arkansas	0	0.0%
California	10	2.0%
Colorado	1	0.2%
Connecticut	2	0.4%
Delaware	1	0.2%
Florida	2	0.4%
Georgia	0	0.0%
Hawaii	1	0.2%
Idaho	0	0.0%
Illinois	51	10.0%
Indiana	1	0.2%
Iowa	0	0.0%
Kansas	1	0.2%
Kentucky	0	0.0%
Louisiana	1	0.2%
Maine	0	0.0%
Maryland	1	0.2%
Massachusetts	4	0.8%
Michigan	2	0.4%
Minnesota	52	10.0%
Mississippi	0	0.0%
Missouri	7	1.4%
Montana	0	0.0%
Nebraska	1	0.2%
Nevada	0	0.0%
New Hampshire	0	0.0%
New Jersey	4	0.8%
New Mexico	0	0.0%
New York	4	0.8%
North Carolina	1	0.2%
North Dakota	0	0.0%

Ohio	1	0.2%
Oklahoma	0	0.0%
Oregon	2	0.4%
Pennsylvania	1	0.2%
Rhode Island	0	0.0%
South Carolina	1	0.2%
South Dakota	0	0.0%
Tennessee	2	0.4%
Texas	3	0.6%
Utah	1	0.2%
Vermont	1	0.2%
Virginia	1	0.2%
Washington	1	0.2%
Washington, DC	1	0.2%
West Virginia	0	0.0%
Wyoming	0	0.0%
Other	1	0.2%

Q34: Apart from special events like weddings and funerals, how often do you attend religious services?

Response	Freq	Percent
Never	148	28.0%
Seldom	103	19.0%
A few times a year	149	28.0%
Once or twice a month	56	11.0%
Once a week	62	12.0%
More than once a week	12	2.3%

Q35: How many years have you been enrolled at UW-Madison? Is this your...

Response	Freq	Percent
...first year	178	34.0%
...second year	131	25.0%
...third year	120	23.0%
...fourth year	90	17.0%
...fifth year or more	11	2.1%

Q36: A full-time undergraduate student takes 12 or more credits per semester. Are you currently a full-time or part-time student?

Response	Freq	Percent
Full-time	502	95.0%
Part-time	28	5.3%

Q38: Do any of your majors in college require you to take a course where you learn about civics, or how government works?

Response	Freq	Percent
Yes	120	23.0%
No	293	55.0%
Don't know	117	22.0%

Q39: Generally speaking, do you think of yourself as a Republican, a Democrat, an Independent, or something else? - Selected Choice

Response	Freq	Percent
Republican	78	15.0%
Democrat	253	48.0%
Independent	129	24.0%
Something else, please tell us:	70	13.0%

Q40: How strong of a Republican do you consider yourself?

Response	Freq	Percent
Not strong	18	23.0%
Somewhat strong	42	54.0%
Very strong	18	23.0%

Q41: How strong of a Democrat do you consider yourself?

Response	Freq	Percent
Not strong	32	13.0%
Somewhat strong	119	47.0%
Very strong	102	40.0%

Q42: Do you think of yourself as closer to the Republican Party or to the Democratic Party?

Response	Freq	Percent
Closer to Republican Party	45	23.0%
Closer to Democratic Party	98	49.0%
Neither	43	22.0%
Don't know	13	6.5%

Q43_1: The terms “liberal” and “conservative” may mean different things to different people, depending on the kind of issue one is considering. - In terms of economic issues, would you say you are:

Response	Freq	Percent
Very liberal	96	18.0%
Somewhat liberal	140	26.0%
Moderate	134	25.0%
Somewhat conservative	105	20.0%
Very conservative	55	10.0%

Q43_2: The terms “liberal” and “conservative” may mean different things to different people, depending on the kind of issue one is considering. - In terms of social issues, would you say you are:

Response	Freq	Percent
Very liberal	254	48.0%
Somewhat liberal	144	27.0%
Moderate	75	14.0%
Somewhat conservative	38	7.2%
Very conservative	19	3.6%

Q45: When you are ready to submit your data, please check Submit below. Once you have submitted your answers, you will no longer be able to return to this survey.

Response	Freq	Percent
Submit	529	100.0%