# Politics, Government, & Civility: Wisconsin and the Nation

## Michael Kraft

Professor Emeritus, Political Science and Public and Environmental Affairs
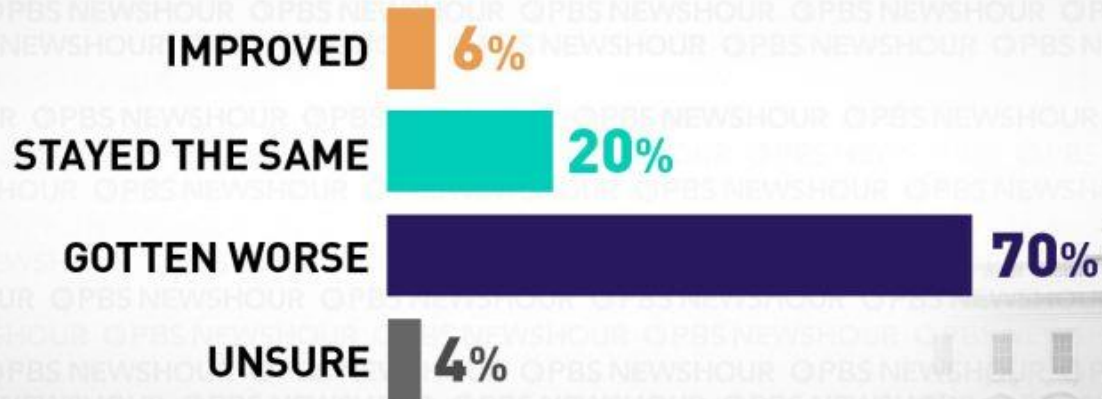
University of Wisconsin-Green Bay

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# Purpose of the Course

- Recent events in Wisconsin and the nation, including the 2016 presidential election, prompt concern over intense partisan polarization and growing incivility in politics.

- Purpose of this course is to examine the problem and its causes, and to offer some solutions.

- Key events: 2010 elections in Wisconsin and the nation, Tea Party success, WI recall elections in 2011 and many political and policy controversies since then.

- Especially at the national level, ever increasing hyper-partisanship, incivility, hatred, and vitriol—seen within both parties. Will it go away soon? Not likely.

# PBS/Maris Poll of July 3 2017

# Trump Approval Much Lower Than Other Presidents

- March 2018 Quinnipiac Poll: **38% approved** of the way Trump is handling his job; same as late 2017. **56% disapproved**; **48% strongly disapproved**.
- But approval is highly partisan: In most polls, about 85% of Reps approve of Trump versus 5% of Dems.
- Equivalent ratings under Obama about one year after election: 57% approval and 40% disapproval.
- Same for Bill Clinton, one year after election: 52% approval to 41% disapproval.
- George W. Bush: 89% approval to 9% disapproval, though this is after 9/11.
- JFK: 77% approved and 12% disapproved.
- One explanation: increasing partisanship.

# PBS Poll: Distrust of Media Rising
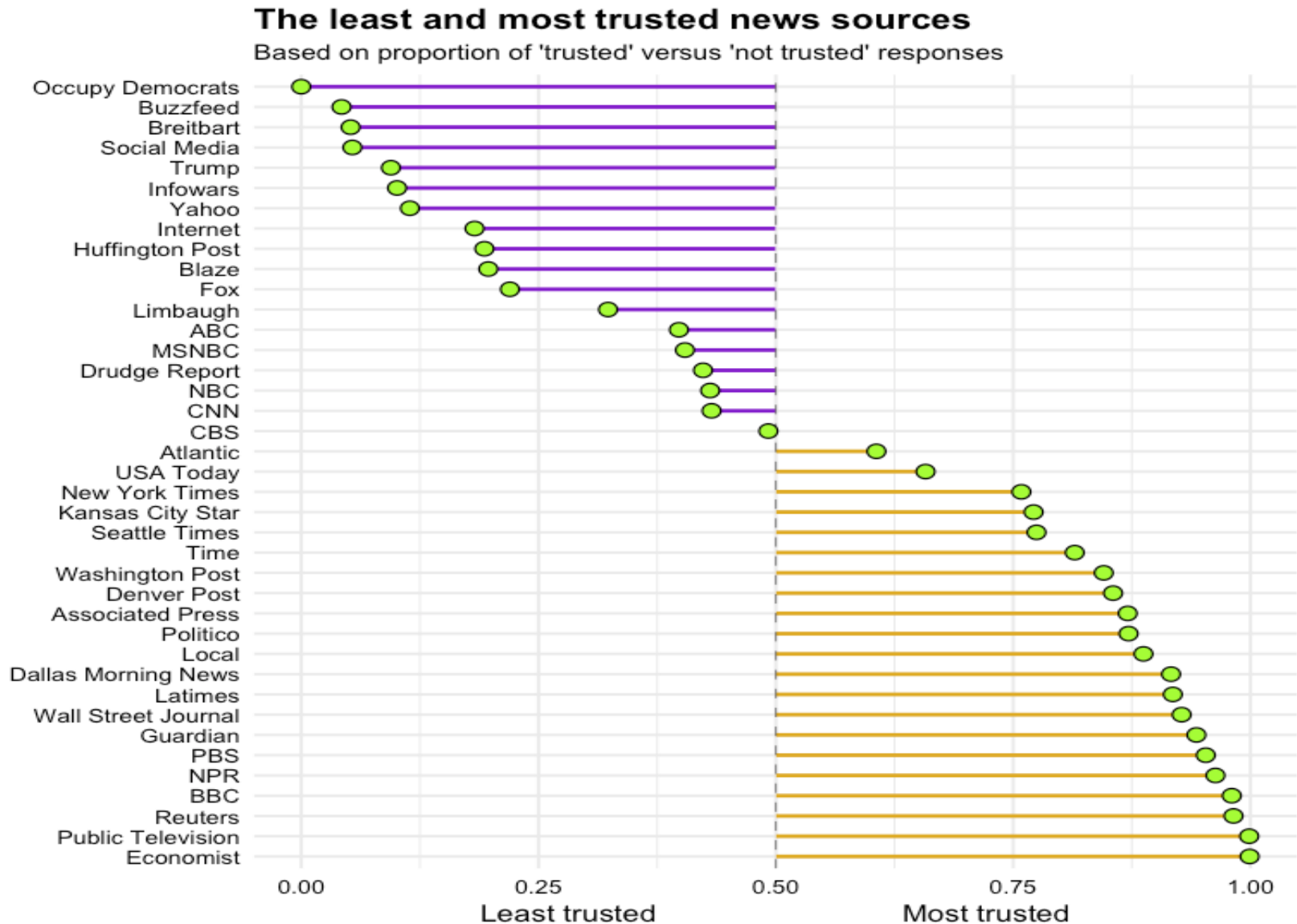


HOW MUCH DO YOU TRUST THE MEDIA?

A GREAT DEAL — 8%
A GOOD AMOUNT — 22%
NOT VERY MUCH — 31%
NOT AT ALL — 37%
UNSURE — 2%

PBS NEWS HOUR

SOURCE: PBS NEWSHOUR/NPR/MARIST
THIS SURVEY OF 1,205 ADULTS WAS CONDUCTED JUNE 21ST THROUGH JUNE 25TH, 2017

# But Wide Variation in Trust of Media: University of Missouri Study July 2017

**The least and most trusted news sources**

Based on proportion of 'trusted' versus 'not trusted' responses

| News Source |
|---|
| Occupy Democrats |
| Buzzfeed |
| Breitbart |
| Social Media |
| Trump |
| Infowars |
| Yahoo |
| Internet |
| Huffington Post |
| Blaze |
| Fox |
| Limbaugh |
| ABC |
| MSNBC |
| Drudge Report |
| NBC |
| CNN |
| CBS |
| Atlantic |
| USA Today |
| New York Times |
| Kansas City Star |
| Seattle Times |
| Time |
| Washington Post |
| Denver Post |
| Associated Press |
| Politico |
| Local |
| Dallas Morning News |
| Latimes |
| Wall Street Journal |
| Guardian |
| PBS |
| NPR |
| BBC |
| Reuters |
| Public Television |
| Economist |

0.00        0.25        0.50        0.75        1.00

Least trusted          Most trusted

# Purpose of Course II

- A topic that suits these contentious political times.
- A **low point in public confidence** in government and a high point in **party and ideological polarization.** Plus, **anger** at those with conflicting political views.
- Nation faces major challenges, domestically and internationally. Solutions require cooperation between parties and bipartisan action.
- So we should ask about the **causes of incivility** and **solutions**. Essential to make progress.
- Please ask questions throughout as well as at end. Otherwise we have a two-hour lecture!

# The Incivility Problem in Brief

- Increasingly, we have **political polarization,** partisan bickering or even open warfare, and **ideological politics** instead of cooperative problem solving.

- And we have a related **lack of civility** among elected officials and the public, and esp. among those on the extremes of the political spectrum.

- Nicolas Kristof 2018: "It should be possible both to believe deeply in the rightness of one's own cause and to hear out the other side. Civility is not a sign of weakness, but of civilization."

- Yet recent trends mean high levels of distrust, anger, political hatred, and ridicule on both sides. Among conservatives, esp., so too is distrust of mainstream media, science, and expertise.

- All this means there is less common ground for political discussions across party lines and cooperative solutions.

# Many Cases in 2016 Presidential Election Campaigns, on Both Sides

- E.g., actions by Bernie Sanders supporters in Nevada at the Democratic convention in May on award of the majority of delegates to Hillary Clinton, who won the state.

- Dems: Dana Milbank, Washington Post: "Sanders backers charged the stage, threw chairs and shouted vulgar epithets at speakers. Security agents had to protect the dais and ultimately clear the room."

- Reps: Trump rallies often filled with hate and vitriol against his opponents, esp. Hillary Clinton, and against President Obama.

- Evident on inauguration day. Sen. Minority Leader Chuck Schumer booed by the crowd repeatedly.

# Incivility Remains Rampant: Historical Advice

- Edmund Burke, quoted by E. J. Dionne: "rage and frenzy will pull down more in half an hour than prudence, deliberation, and foresight can build up in a hundred years."

- George Washington on political demagoguery: "It agitates the community with ill-founded jealousies and false alarms, kindles the animosity of one part against another, foments occasionally riot and insurrection."

- Obama farewell address January 2017: American democracy is weakened "when we allow our political dialogue to become so corrosive that people of good character are turned off from public service, so coarse with rancor that Americans with whom we disagree are not just misguided, but somehow malevolent."

- So, what do we need? To restore civility and common sense, and a constructive political dialogue. But how to do that?

# How We Will Proceed

- Will **frame the problem** of party and ideological polarization and incivility and review its **diverse causes**, at some length, and then turn to **possible solutions**.
- Will offer examples of the problem, both in Wisconsin and the nation.
- I hope to be fair to both sides and both political parties. Polls show equal unhappiness with current political conditions and inability to act on problems.

# The 2010 WI Elections and Aftermath

- In Wisconsin, the **elections of 2010** and the conflict over Gov. Scott Walker, the state legislature's actions on the **budget repair bill**, and the subsequent recall elections.

- Early 2011:  **Act 10:** public employees and budget. Weaken unions that support Democrats.

- **Large public protests** in Madison around Capitol.

- But Republicans strongly supported the Governor.

- State was and continues to be **deeply divided politically**, as are families, and neighbors.

- More controversy followed over budget actions on education, voter ID law and other election laws, mining law, school vouchers.

# Pattern of WI Politics and Policymaking

- A highly **partisan policymaking process**. And, yes, Democrats do this as well!

- Bills introduced quietly, brief or no hearings, few studies or commissions (the previous way of lawmaking), little public debate, little media coverage. Information often released at a time that seems intended to limit media coverage (e.g., late on Fridays).

- Examples: right-to-work law, civil service reform, high-capacity well withdrawals, Wisconsin Idea for UW and merger of two-year and four-year campuses, voter ID, changes for WI open records law.

- National level: **Obamacare** replacement in Senate June and July 2017, and **tax reform**. Developed in secret. No formal hearings and few studies or expert testimony before vote.

# Patterns of Policymaking II

- Nearly all of the state measures voted on with **party-line vote**. Reps and Dems on opposite sides.

- Yes, Democrats also have acted this way in WI and nation. Obamacare in 2010 and Recovery Act in 2009. No Republicans in House or Senate voted for Obamacare and few for Recovery Act. But Democrats did hold hearings and took a long time to finalize Affordable Care Act.

- What's wrong with this kind of decision making no matter which party does it?

- Little or no serious analysis of consequences, costs, or alternatives. Little debate. Therefore risk of policy failure and more partisan rancor. Harder to resolve in the future. More public anger at government.

# Patterns of Policymaking III

- Government shutdown in 2013 over Affordable Care Act. Similar actions threatened over Planned Parenthood, Iran deal, tax reform, climate change.

- All leads to new low in **public regard** for Congress and politicians. Evident in national polls.

- Yet, most incumbents still reelected! **96% in the House** in 2016 elections.

- Who is to blame? Republicans? Democrats? Obama? All of them? Public blames everyone. See next slide.

- Intense partisan disagreements on many issues.

# The Effects on Views of Gov't. and Politics

- Polls show Congress/politicians highly unpopular, and both Dems and Reps criticized. Gallup February 2018: **15% approval**, **81% disapproval**.
- Other polls lower: Economist/YouGov of mid-October 2017: congressional job approval at 7%.
- Sense that Congress is **dysfunctional**
- Seen in repeated legislative **gridlock** and partisan fights.
- Attitudes compound/extend the problem.
- Will more people simply not vote in disgust?
- If public rejects politics, special interests win.
- Selected surveys demonstrate the patterns.

# Congressional Job Approval Through Early 2018
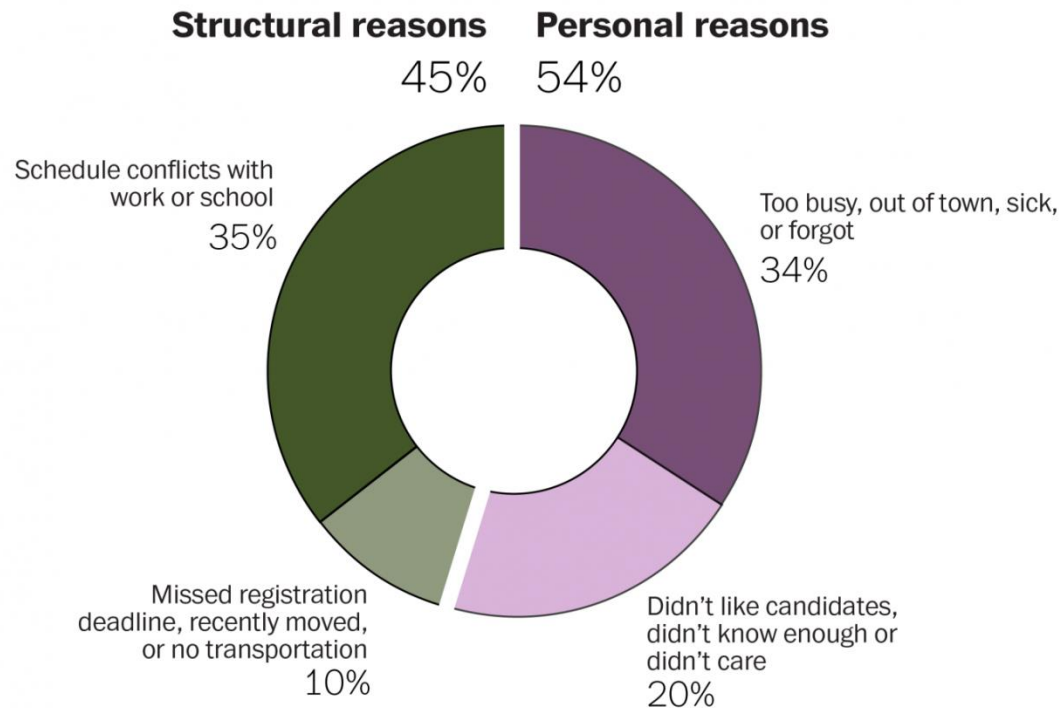


Congressional Job Approval

■ % Approve
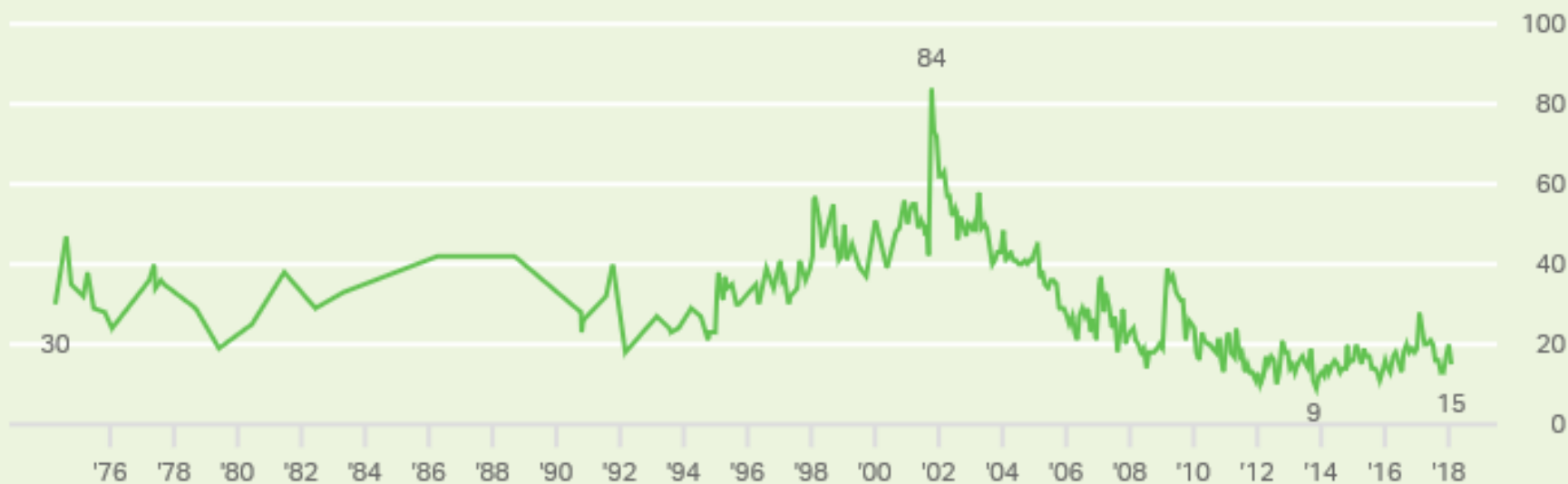
GALLUP

# Why People Didn't Vote 2014



Why didn't you vote, America?

Registered voters' reasons for not voting in the 2014 midterms

**Structural reasons**
45%

**Personal reasons**
54%

Schedule conflicts with work or school
35%

Too busy, out of town, sick, or forgot
34%

Missed registration deadline, recently moved, or no transportation
10%

Didn't like candidates, didn't know enough or didn't care
20%

WASHINGTONPOST.COM/**WONKBLOG**

Source: Pew Research Center

# Selected Poll Results

- **Gallup poll 2016:** 27% said most members of Congress deserve re-election. Yet 96% of incumbents reelected.

- **Gallup Poll 2017: dysfunctional government** or dissatisfaction with government cited as the most important problem facing nation today.
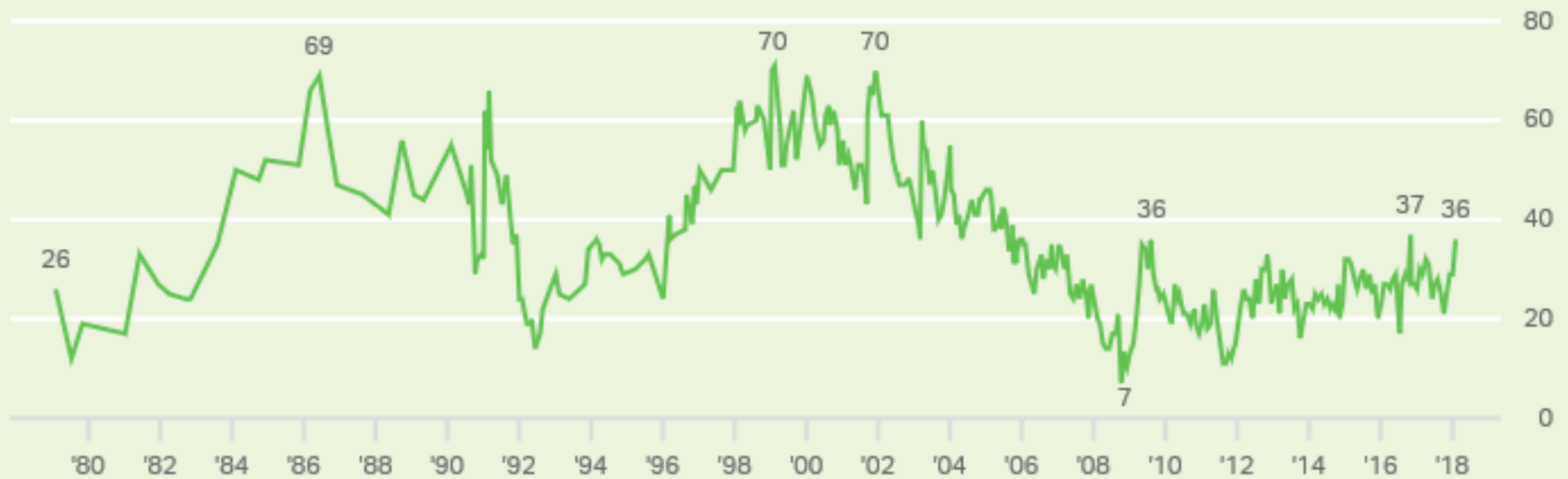
Apr 5-9, 2017

Gov't/Leaders Health Care  Immigration Economy
21%                        9%                    8%              8%

# Satisfaction with U.S. Direction: February 2018: 63% Dissatisfied, 36% Satisfied



Satisfaction With the Way Things Are Going in the U.S.

# Polls Results: Wisconsin

- Sharp partisan divide in state elections: August 2014, **96% of Republicans favored Governor Walker; 3% of Democrats did. Mary Burke favored by 95% of Dems., 2% of Reps**. Nov. vote similar.

- Craig Gilbert (MJS): "Polarization along party lines is about as **extreme as it can get**." November exit polls: Burke got 93% of Dem vote; Walker got 96% of Rep. vote. A politically polarized state. Milwaukee the most polarized metro area in the nation.

# Partisan Polarization: How New Is It?

- Congressional scholars: The most divisive partisan divide in over 100 years!  Measured as party differences on floor votes in the House of Representatives.

- Most scholars say that polarization is at exceptionally high level, but not equally attributable to both parties.

- They say Republicans in Congress (House, esp.) moved rightward, not so much Dems to left.

- Of course, there are some Dems who have moved left. This is an average and reflects very conservative House members/Freedom Caucus.

# How New Polarization Is Continued

- Also can see leftward movement among Dems in the 2016 presidential election, esp. with **Bernie Sanders, Elizabeth Warren, and Keith Ellison**. And since the election with Democratic opposition to President Trump. Esp. true with younger voters.

- Also, fewer "Blue Dog" or moderate Democrats in the House now. So Dems more united than before.

- Still, the scholars' perspective: Jacob Hacker and Paul Pierson in 2015: "there is mounting evidence that the increasing distance between the two parties is **primarily** a consequence of the Republican Party's 35-year march to the right."

- Do you agree? Disagree? Is this a fair conclusion?

- Scholars call this **"asymmetric polarization."**

# Political Scientists on Polarization

Nathaniel Persily, ed., *Solutions to Political Polarization in America* (2015); and James Campbell, *Polarized: Making Sense of a Divided America* (2016)

Popular account: Thomas Mann and Norman Ornstein in their book *Its Even Worse than It Looks: How the American Constitutional System Collided with the New Politics of Extremism* (2012): They put it **bluntly** and some would say **unfairly**:

"The GOP has become an insurgent outlier in American politics. It is ideologically extreme, scornful of compromise, unmoved by conventional understanding of facts, evidence, and science, and dismissive of the legitimacy of its political opposition."

New book: E.J. Dionne, Ornstein, and Mann, *One Nation After Trump* (Sept. 2017).

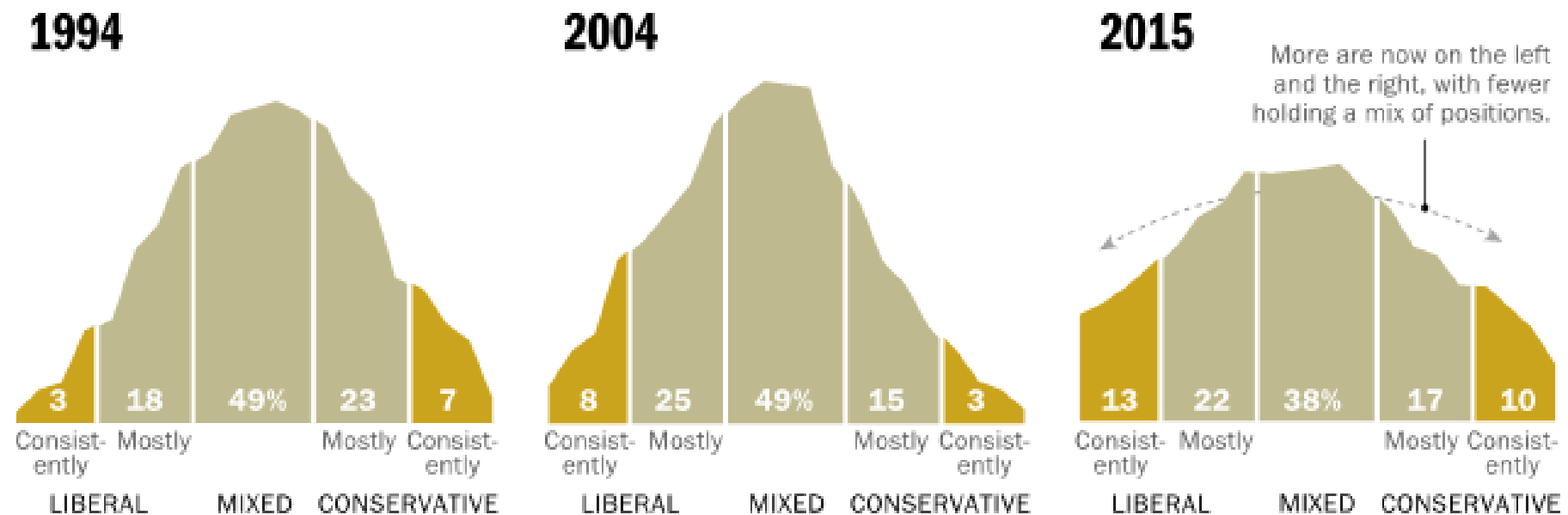**Is this kind of criticism fair or not very fair?**

Does the argument **apply equally to Democrats**?  Surely, Reps would say so. And it is true for the general public. Next slide.

# Polarization Among the Public: Even Stronger among the Politically Engaged

**Growing minority holds consistent ideological views**

*On a 10-item scale of political values, % who are...*



**1994**

| 3 | 18 | 49% | 23 | 7 |
|---|----|-----|----|---|
| Consist-ently | Mostly | | Mostly | Consist-ently |
| LIBERAL | | MIXED | | CONSERVATIVE |

**2004**

| 8 | 25 | 49% | 15 | 3 |
|---|----|-----|----|---|
| Consist-ently | Mostly | | Mostly | Consist-ently |
| LIBERAL | | MIXED | | CONSERVATIVE |

**2015**

More are now on the left and the right, with fewer holding a mix of positions.

| 13 | 22 | 38% | 17 | 10 |
|----|----|-----|----|----|
| Consist-ently | Mostly | | Mostly | Consist-ently |
| LIBERAL | | MIXED | | CONSERVATIVE |

Source: Survey conducted Aug. 27-Oct. 4, 2015 (N=6,004). Ideological consistency based on a scale of 10 political values questions.
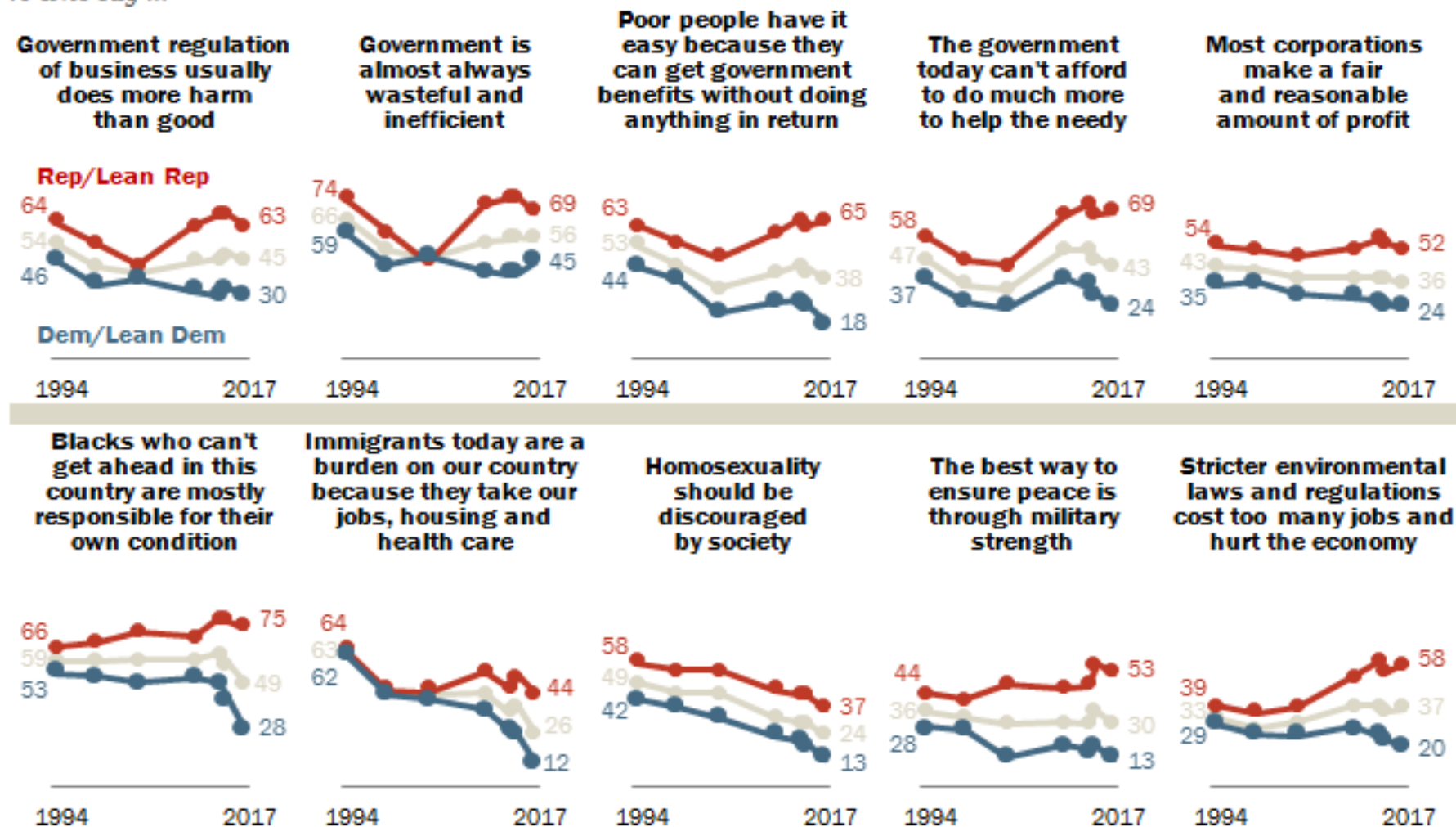
PEW RESEARCH CENTER

# Partisan Polarization Continued

- Pew Research Center: growth in polarization seen under George W. Bush and Barack Obama. But it started largely after **1994 election** (Gingrich revolution) and rose again after 2002.

- Partisan gulf especially wide on social safety net, environment, labor unions, equal opportunity, scope of government, immigration. Pew has **graphics on all of this: www.people-press.org.**

- These differences were negligible in late 1980s in the George H.W. Bush administration. E.g., he recommended and signed Clean Air Act of 1990.

# Polarization on Issues: Pew Oct. 2017

## Growing gaps between Republicans and Democrats across domains

*% who say ...*

**Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good**

Rep/Lean Rep

64 · · · 63
54 · · · 45
46 · · · 30

Dem/Lean Dem

1994 — 2017

**Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient**

74 · · · 69
66 · · · 56
59 · · · 45

1994 — 2017

**Poor people have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return**

63 · · · 65
53 · · · 38
44 · · · 18

1994 — 2017

**The government today can't afford to do much more to help the needy**

58 · · · 69
47 · · · 43
37 · · · 24

1994 — 2017

**Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit**

54 · · · 52
43 · · · 36
35 · · · 24

1994 — 2017

**Blacks who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition**

66 · · · 75
59 · · · 49
53 · · · 28

1994 — 2017

**Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care**

64
63 · · · 44
62 · · · 26
· · · 12

1994 — 2017

**Homosexuality should be discouraged by society**

58 · · · 37
49 · · · 24
42 · · · 13

1994 — 2017

**The best way to ensure peace is through military strength**

44 · · · 53
36 · · · 30
28 · · · 13

1994 — 2017

**Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy**

39 · · · 58
33 · · · 37
29 · · · 20

1994 — 2017

Source: Survey conducted June 8-18 and June 27-July 9, 2017.

**PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

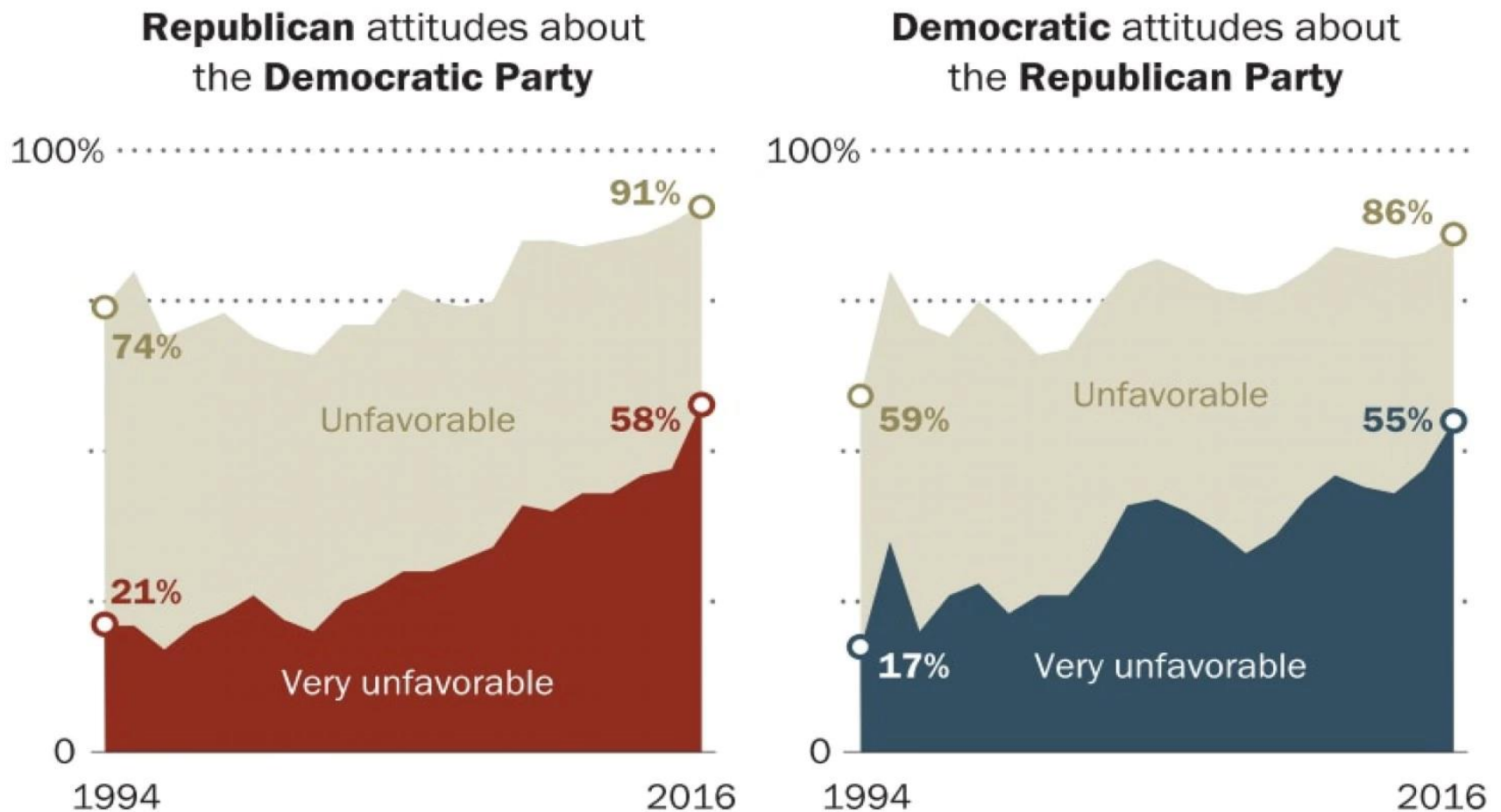# Polarization Affects Perceptions of the President and Reality

- Republicans believed by **a 64/27 spread** that under Obama unemployment increased and by a **57/27 spread** that the stock market went down. The opposite is true in both cases.
- In 2018, however, two-thirds of Trump voters correctly said that the market rose in 2017 compared to 35 percent of Clinton voters. So the **bias works both ways!**
- Post-election polls: **49 to 52 percent of Republicans and Trump voters** thought that Trump won the popular vote. Clinton won by about 2.9 million votes or 2.1 percent. Trump also believes this?
- PPP poll October 2017: **75% of Trump voters considered the Russia collusion story to be fake news**; and even if collusion with Russia were proven, 79% of thought he **should still stay in office**.
- Why the partisan divide? A function of partisan views of a president? Democrats are likely to similarly misperceive what President Trump is doing and how successful he is.
- Why? We are so divided that "facts" are taken as opinion or statements of partisan loyalty.

# Polarization as Tribal Politics

- Amanda Taub, "The Real Story About Fake News Is Partisanship," *New York Times*, January 11, 2017

- "Today, political parties are no longer just the people who are supposed to govern the way you want. They are a **team** to support, and a **tribe** to feel a part of." The public's view of politics: a **zero-sum game**: "It's about helping their team win, and making sure the other team loses."

- Psychologist Steven Pinker: Opinions "have become loyalty badges for one's tribe."

- Charlies Sykes, 2017: "We do not simply disagree; we are at war. We do not merely differ with our opponents on matters of principle or policy; political paranoids believe that we are fighting a twilight struggle for civilization."

# Very Negative View of Other Party: A Sharp Rise Since 1994

**Majorities have deeply negative views of other party**

**Republican** attitudes about
the **Democratic Party**

100%

91%

74%

Unfavorable          58%

21%

Very unfavorable

0

1994                                    2016

**Democratic** attitudes about
the **Republican Party**

100%

86%

59%          Unfavorable          55%

17%          Very unfavorable

0

1994                                    2016

Source: Survey conducted April 12-19, 2016.

# Parties View Opposition With Great Distrust



**Many Republicans, Democrats view the other party as a 'threat to the nation's well-being'**

**Republican** attitudes about the **Democratic Party**

58% very unfavorable

45

37

45

**45%** of Republicans see the Democratic Party as a threat to the nation's well-being

2014    2016

**Democratic** attitudes about the **Republican Party**

55% very unfavorable

45

31

41

**41%** of Democrats see the Republican Party as a threat to the nation's well-being

2014    2016
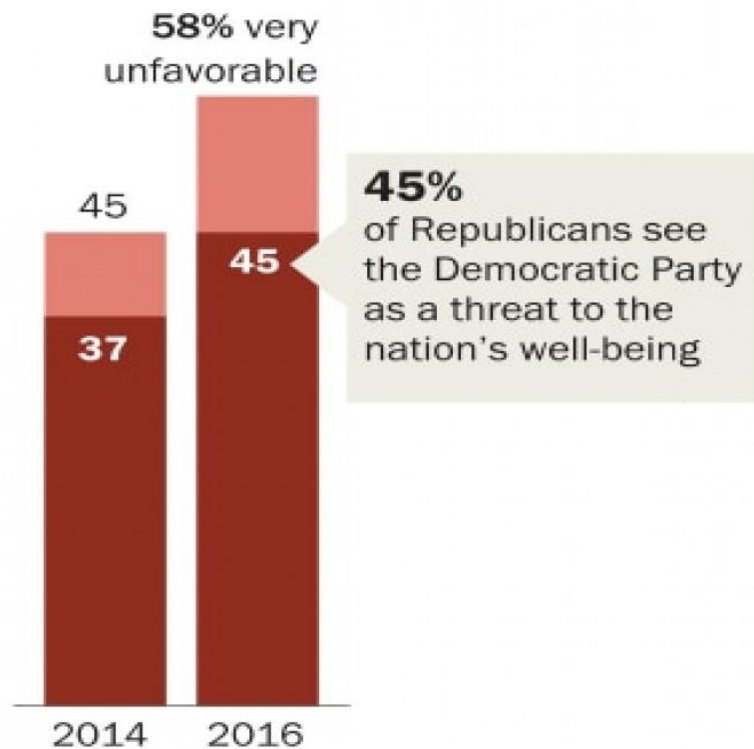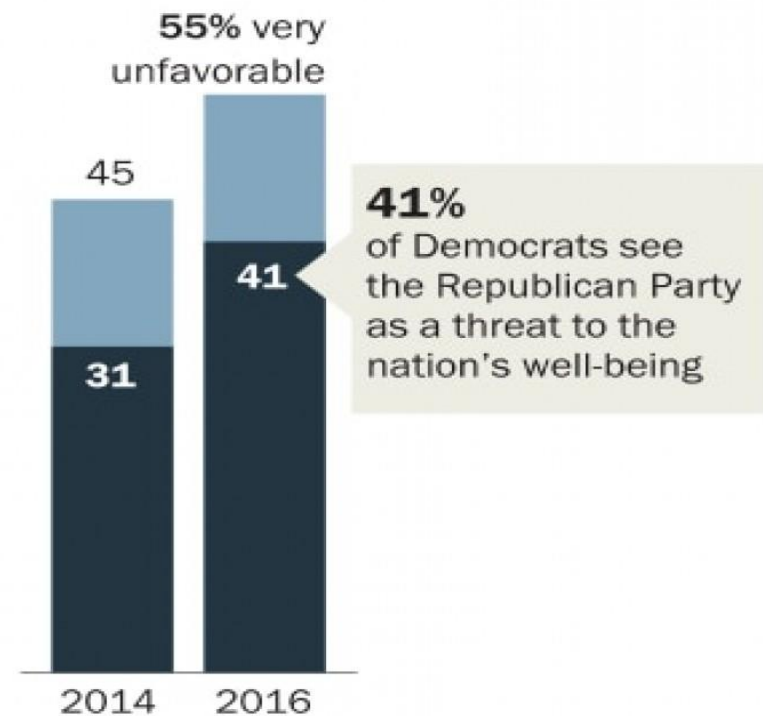
# Obama Approval Ratings by Party



**Average quarterly approval of Barack Obama by party**

Data from Gallup.
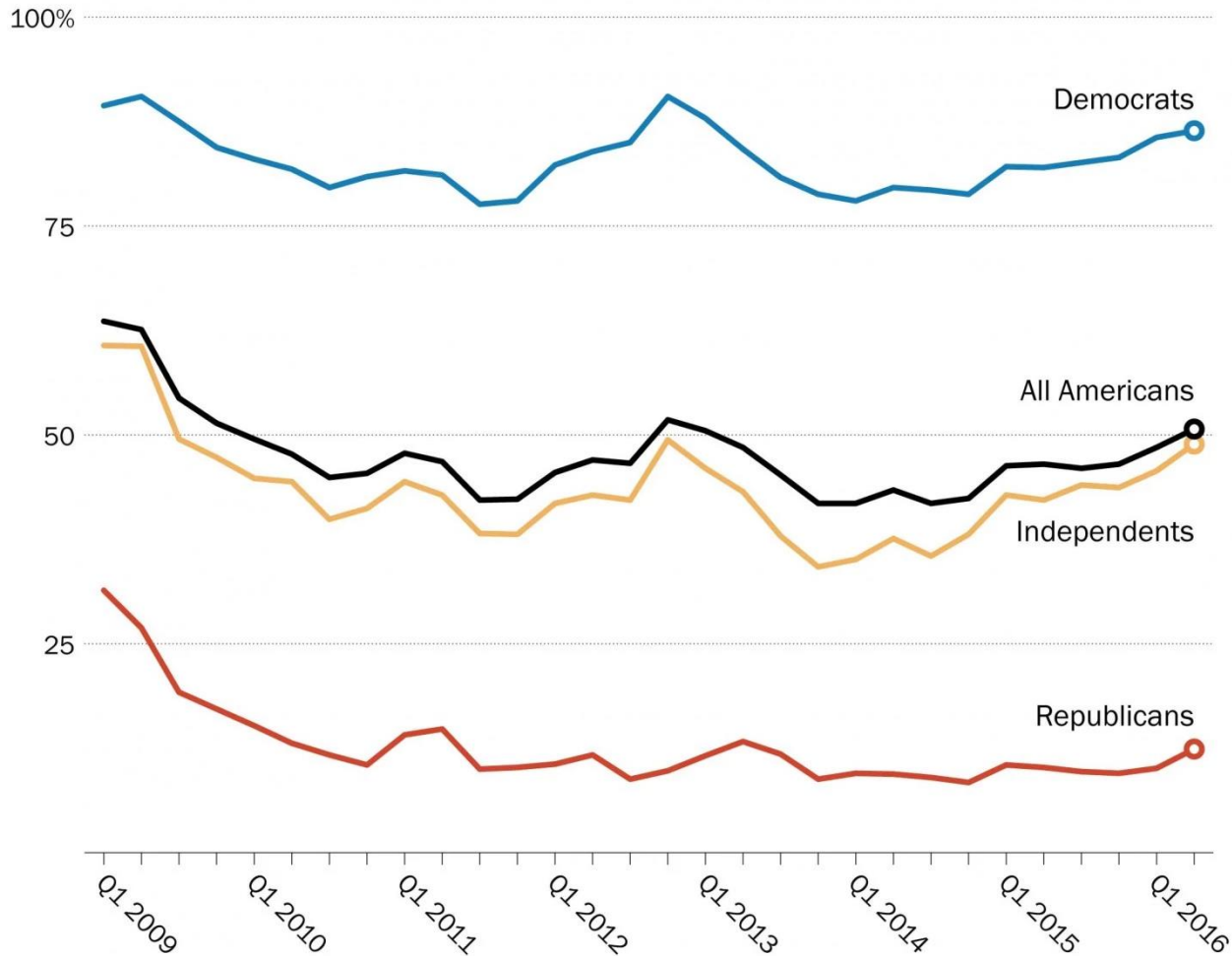
# Trump Job Approval by Party: Largest Partisan Divide Ever in Gallup; Similar to Feb 2018 Quinnipiac Poll

|  | Republicans | Independents | Democrats |
| --- | --- | --- | --- |
|  | % | % | % |
| **2018** | | | |
| 2018 Mar 26-Apr 1 | 86 | 33 | 8 |
| 2018 Mar 19-25 | 85 | 34 | 7 |
| 2018 Mar 12-18 | 82 | 32 | 7 |
| 2018 Mar 5-11 | 87 | 34 | 8 |
| 2018 Feb 26-Mar 4 | 85 | 34 | 8 |

# Not Just about Politics; Also Public Policy

- **Pattern extends to nearly all policy dialogue**—health care, environmental protection, climate change and energy, immigration reform, gun control, abortion and contraceptive policies, same-sex marriage, public school reform and vouchers, IRS and tax reform, and more.

- This all means typically an absence of reasonable discussions about solving problems. Shared facts.

- Partisan bickering rather than problem solving. What some call **ideological politics.**

- Yet polls continue to show the public strongly wants cooperation and problem solving.

# Example of Partisanship: Voter ID Laws

- **Voter ID Laws:** **supporters** say they are essential to combat voter fraud, in particular, **voter impersonation fraud**, and thus to restore integrity to elections.

- Partisan difference: Reps think/say fraud is common; Dems say it is not.

- Pres. Trump's "voter fraud" commission: Presidential Advisory Commission on Election Integrity. Critics say its purposes was to further restrict the right to vote.

- Election experts find impersonation at the polls is virtually nonexistent. ID laws also tend to **reduce voter turnout** by seniors, minorities, poor, and students. Studies find significant drop in turnout by minorities when all other factors are controlled.

- So voter ID laws clearly suppress the Democratic vote. Is that the intention?

# Voter ID Laws Continued

- One major study: 10 cases of voter impersonation fraud. That's 10 cases across all fifty states over a decade.

- Independent law school study found 31 "possible" cases nationwide for the period 2000 to 2014. That's two per year for the entire country.

- Yet, 36 states, including WI, enacted such laws**. 32** were in effect for **2014/2016 elections**.

- **Gallup in 2016: 80 percent favor**, though a partisan difference.

- So is there a case for voter ID requirement? What do you think? One recent study finds support for restrictions to be linked to hostility to immigrants. No doubt other causes.

# Voter ID Laws in Court

- Judge **Adelman's** decision in the case in April 2014. No voter impersonation exists in Wisconsin; no justification for voter ID law.

- Said some 300,000 people in WI might be denied right to vote. Opinion widely cited across the nation.

- Similar decisions in **Texas** in 2014, 2015, and Aug. 2017. Judge Ramos: there is a "lack of evidence of in-person voter impersonation fraud." The ID law, similar to Wisconsin's, she said, "has no legitimacy."

- Alabama: in 2015, required drivers license or other ID from motor vehicle offices, but then closed 31 DMV offices in rural counties that are heavily African American. Later reversed.

# Voter ID Views

- 7th Circuit Court in Chicago reversed Adelman in Sept. U.S. S. Ct. put on hold decision to implement for November 2014.

- Judge Richard A. **Posner** on 7th Circuit: idea of voter fraud by impersonation is "a mere fig leaf for efforts to disenfranchise voters likely to vote for the political party that does not control the state government."

- Persuasive critique?

- More federal court decisions against voter ID laws in 2016: **NC, ND, Texas, Kansas, Wisconsin**.

- UW-Madison study found that nearly **17,000** voters in Milwaukee and Dane counties likely **kept from voting in 2016** elections by voter ID law. Also that turnout in 2016 was about 69 percent, the lowest in a presidential election year since 2000. So conceivable that ID law flipped the state from D to R.

# Tom Toles (WP) on Voter Suppression
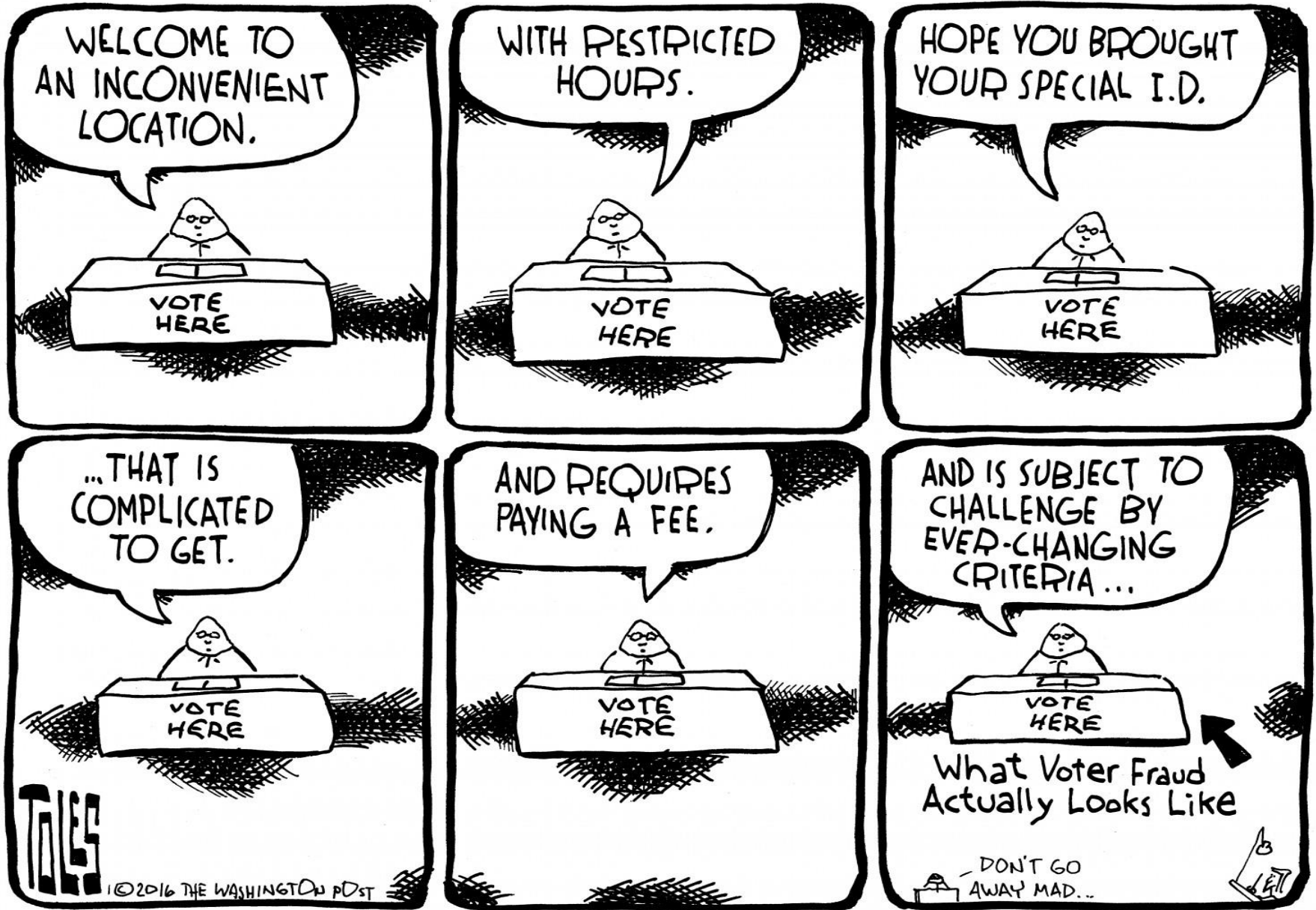
# The Major Causes of Polarization and Incivility

- **Why these shifts have occurred**. The causes of this new polarized political environment.

- **What might be done to reverse it and restore some semblance of civil discourse?**
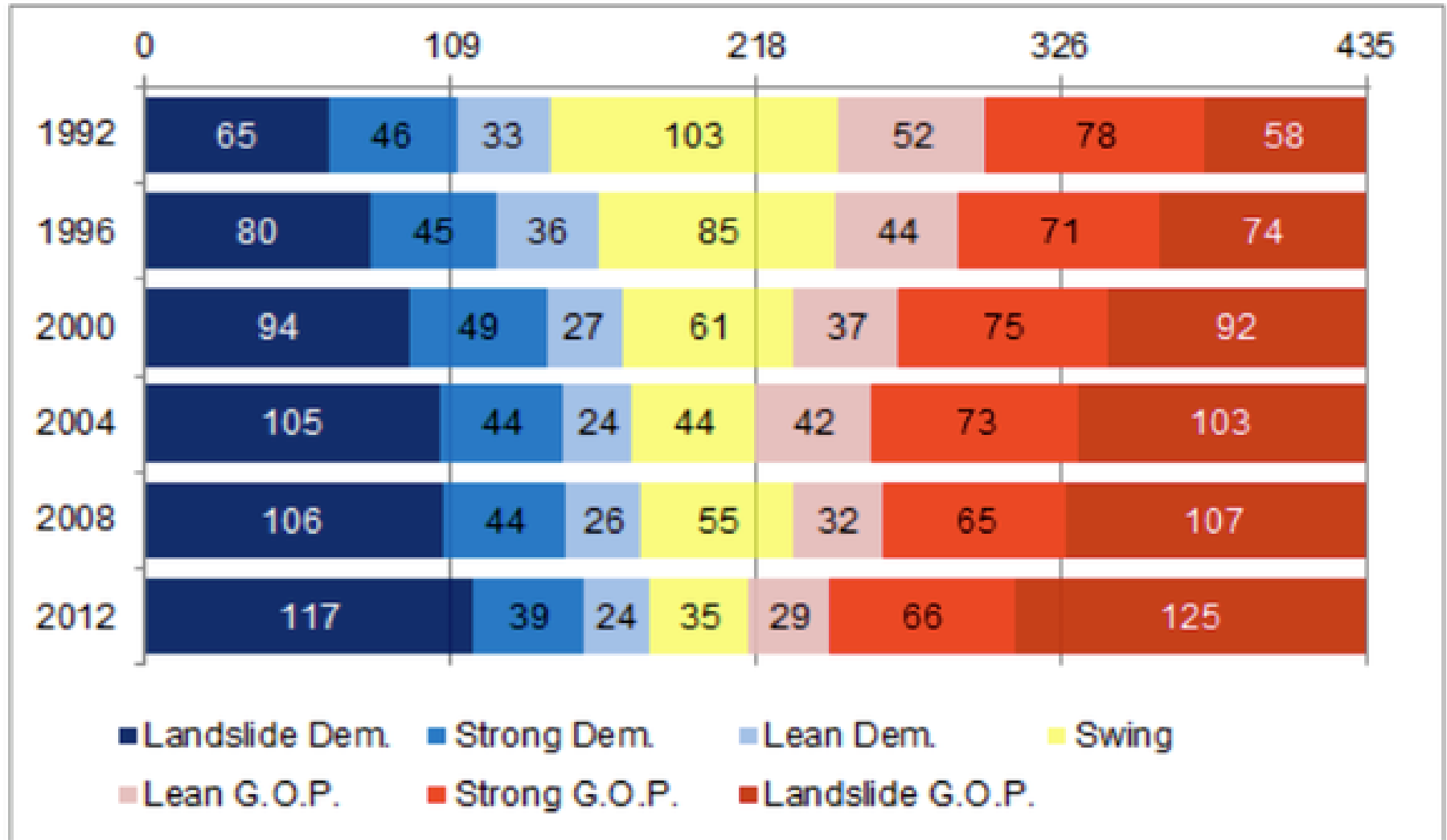
- **There are many causes, long term and short term**.

# Growth of Government and Reaction

- Long term: Dating to the Depression of the 1930s and post-World War II era, and the **growth in government**. Social Security and other actions in 1930s; Post-War international actions/defense. Then **Great Society** in 1960s: Medicare, Medicaid, civil rights. Then 1970s: consumer protection, auto safety, and environmental protection programs.

- All sparked **conservative reaction**. Esp. Goldwater 1964; Reagan in 1980 and 1984. Gingrich in 1994. Tea Party in 2010. So called "alt right" in 2010s. Government as the problem, not the solution.

# Conservation Reaction Grows: Competition for House Seats Declines

- Sharp **ideological divisions in Congress begin 1994**.
- A significant loss of previous moderate voices in both parties; moderates lose in party primary contests.
- A related trend building for decades. The **loss of competitive districts** at both the state and federal level for a number of reasons.
- **Gerrymandering** to create safe seats—by both parties. Perhaps **three dozen seats in House are truly competitive**. In 2014, about **39 of 435** in House were; est. for **2018 by NY Times is 48.** As percentage, **95 percent** of House incumbents seeking reelection won in 2014. In 2016, **97 percent** won.
- Members face pressure in primaries. Still, **a big change** from previous decades, with effect of pushing Republicans in particular to the right.

# Loss of Competitive Seats in House: Analysis from Nate Silver



| | 0 | 109 | 218 | 326 | 435 |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1992 | 65 | 46 | 33 | 103 | 52 | 78 | 58 |
| 1996 | 80 | 45 | 36 | 85 | 44 | 71 | 74 |
| 2000 | 94 | 49 | 27 | 61 | 37 | 75 | 92 |
| 2004 | 105 | 44 | 24 | 44 | 42 | 73 | 103 |
| 2008 | 106 | 44 | 26 | 55 | 32 | 65 | 107 |
| 2012 | 117 | 39 | 24 | 35 | 29 | 66 | 125 |

■ Landslide Dem. ■ Strong Dem. ■ Lean Dem. ■ Swing
■ Lean G.O.P. ■ Strong G.O.P. ■ Landslide G.O.P.

# Legislative Districting

- Same is true at the state level. In WI, Common Cause found in a May 2015 report that Wisconsin's state legislative races were **far less competitive in 2014 than they were in 2010**. Likely the same in 2016.

- Only about 10% of successful candidates won by fewer than 10 percentage points. That is, 90% won by more than a competitive 55% to 45%.

- Put otherwise, the **vast majority of state legislative elections were not really in doubt**. Nearly all incumbents were virtually assured of reelection. Is this what we want? Competition forces moderation.

- Return to this later. Solutions in Iowa and California, where partisan gerrymandering was eliminated.

# Public Participation in Politics Declines

- A major underlying cause: most Americans do not pay much attention to government and politics, not informed, and do not participate. National turnout in 2014 midterm election **lowest in over 60 years**: 33%. However, in WI about 57%.

- Turnout in WI dropped in 2016 compared to 2012. **69.4%** of eligible voters. Nationally, the turnout rate was **58.6 %**, about the same as in 2012 election**.**

- Most voters **not well informed;** and the media do not help much—esp. in 2016 and esp. on **issues**.

- Those who do participate often are on the **extremes**. The alienated/angry. Thus a **recipe for demagoguery and cynicism. Ridicule** of opposition, esp. on talk radio and commentary media.

- Especially true of **primaries,** with their low turnout.

# Loss of a Common Political Culture

- The **loss of a common American culture** and a sense of community and purpose.  Robert Putnam captured in classic book *Bowling Alone*.

- Instead, we have divisions based on income , class, or race and particularized interests. Affects where people live. San Francisco, Portland, Seattle are not Dallas, Colorado Springs, or Waukesha. California and Oregon are not Alabama or Mississippi.

- Nation is **more heterogeneous** today, changing demographics; leads to more conflict, perceived difference in values.

- Society's **divisions** become more important than shared values. Esp. education level and urban versus rural residence. Two cultures.

# Loss of Confidence in Growth and Opportunities

- Economic growth and **prosperity stalled**, especially for the middle class and working class. Real wage decline, breeding resentment against minorities, the poor, refugees, and immigrants. Politicians play on these concerns.

- The wealthy and upper-middle income are doing well (top .1%, 1%, and 10%) , but many others are not; their economic concerns can be exploited.

- Tea Party, alt right, and Trump movements build on such reaction and resentment. So too Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren within Democratic Party.

# The Power of Conservative Think Tanks

- Heritage Foundation, Cato Institute,  Competitive Enterprise Institute, Heartland Institute, ALEC, State Policy Network, and in WI: Bradley Foundation, MacIver Institute, WPPR Institute.

- Conservatives very smart to do this, but it fosters ideological thinking, and possibly harms their cause long term.

- This movement attracts much funding , creates issue studies/papers, and mobilizes conservative electorate. Very successful strategically. Much more than on the left.

- Many supporters become talented advocates for new views, enter politics and law schools, appointed to the judiciary.

- No full liberal parallel, though now **State Innovation Exchange** seek to rival **ALEC**. Also liberal think tanks: Center for American Progress, New America, Center on Budget and Policy Priorities, Center for Climate and Energy Solutions. But far less clout on the political agenda.

# Decline of Mass Market News Media

- The fading away of **mass market news media**.
- The old CBS, NBS, ABC built a common sense of reality in the nation. People trusted that what they heard was true. High standards of journalistic reporting.
- Not much these days. Stories spread **without regard to their truth** on social media. So called "fake news" and "alternative facts." Some would say simply "lies."
- Effects of the change include a **less well-informed electorate** and a loss of common sense of purpose.
- Despite some recent gains in viewership, the long-term trend for **network news** audiences is downward. Since 1980, viewership is **down by 55%.** From about 50 million to 20 million over 30 years.
- February 2018: Registered voters' top three news sources: Fox News (30%); local news channel (26%); CNN (26%).

# Changes in News Media Continued

- In 2015: average age of network evening news consumer was about 53; in 2017, CNN's viewers median age was 60, and both Fox News and MSNBC were at 65. This is why you see so many pharmaceutical ads!

- **Generational divide**: Majority of baby boomers get political news from cable television news. Majority of millennials and Gen Xers rely on Facebook and other social media.

- **PBS News Hour** remains strong and covers controversial issues thoroughly and well, and balanced. So do major papers on both sides such as **NY Times**, **Washington Post**, and **Wall Street Journal**. And business news: **Bloomberg BusinessWeek.**

- Not the case with most news shows, including local TV news. **Stories are brief**; **controversies not well explained**.

- Can citizens really learn much about the issues? Effects of tax cuts? Climate change? Job creation? Obamacare? All are politicized today and often heavily partisan.

# The Rise of New News Sources

- **Politically-Oriented Talk Radio and TV News Shows**, and news consolidation sites on both sides.

- Rush Limbaugh, Sean Hannity, Ann Coulter, Tomi Lahren and others on right-leaning talk radio, Twitter, etc.: **Fox News/Breitbart/Drudge Report/Infowars** (Alex Jones); Charlie Sykes now disavows what he calls the lunatic fringe with its "righteous rage" and "weapons-grade nut-jobbery."

- On left, **MSNBC, Daily Kos, Huffington Post: Rachel Maddow** and others attract passionate followers.

- But watch for **"outrage industry." Lots of fake news** and conspiracy theories that circulate and affect millions.

- Highly polarized political information **fractures the public**. A **major source of incivility today.** Opinions reinforced, opposition ridiculed. **Views become extreme**. Amplified by **social media**. Moderate voices not heard or respected.

# Effects of the New News Media

- Pew Research Center report: **not an even trend** between the two major parties or left and right. Conservatives tend to get news from conservative media; distrust other sources. Liberals less inclined to do that; not completely free either.
- **Partisanship shapes beliefs** about political leaders: their competence, honesty, personal character.
- For both parties, views highly negative and dismissive.
- See effects also in **letters** to editor and **comments** in newspapers. Highly partisan and lacking in civility, to put it mildly. **Anonymous commentary** comes with no constraints. Easy to abuse.
- But much of this from a small minority of the population. Aug. 2017 WP poll: only 10% support so-called alt right.

# Campaign Finance Laws

- *Citizens United v. FEC* decision of 2010; and *McCutcheon v. Federal Election Commission* of 2014. No limits on what corporations/unions can contribute to candidates; and no aggregate limits on individual contributions to federal candidates.

- Also **lack of effective oversight** of campaign spending by the IRS and an incapacitated FEC. Congress will not correct the problem.

- **Negative TV ads** more numerous, esp. when sponsored by "outside" groups. Little on what candidates support in public policy. **2016 WI Senate race** a prime example!

- Elections increasingly expensive. 2014 total was est. **$3.7 billion for House and Senate**. Spending by candidates, parties, and most outside groups (see OpenSecrets.org). In **2016: $4.26 billion**.

- **Total for all federal elections in 2016: $6.8 billion**.

- **Wealthy individuals** dominate campaign spending. Ex: Koch brothers vow to spend **hundreds of millions of dollars** to defeat those who do not support Obamacare repeal. OK with this?

# Campaign Finance II

- Studies by Wesleyan Media Project in 2014 showed high level of negative ads. **Increasingly negative** since 2010 *Citizens United*.

- Ads by **outside groups**, esp. "dark money" ads, more negative than those by candidates themselves.

- Ads have assertions of "facts" about jobs, economy, health care, education, and other issues. How are voters to know what is true?

- Worse. Do people even care about what is true? No price to pay for **framing the issues** unfairly, misrepresenting the facts, or lying about the opponent.  And, yes, both parties do this! Even a trend, esp. among conservatives, **to reject "fact checkers."**

# Campaign Spending Keeps Rising

- **WI Recall elections of 2012.** More than **half of the money spent** on the recalls came from **undisclosed donors**.

- Wisconsin Democracy Campaign, puts the total for **recall election** at **$81 million**. Governor's race in 2014: **$81.8 million**.

- In 2012 recall, the spending was not equal. WI Republicans outspent Democrats **$47 million to $18 million.**

- 2014 Governor's race similar. WI Democracy Campaign: "Republican candidates and outside groups spent an estimated **$49 million** – 50 percent more than the estimated **$32.8 million** spent by Democratic candidates and groups in the race."

- 2016 Senate race: Johnson v. Feingold. **Just two people/families in WI donated $12 million to Johnson!**

# WI Senate Race Spending 2016

- Feingold outspent Johnson by nearly $3.9 million, but Johnson spent more if add outside groups.

- Outside groups: pro-Johnson groups: $18.7 million. Pro-Feingold groups: $9.8 million.

- Which groups?  Freedom Partners Action Fund, Koch Brothers: $2,836,000;  Reform America PAC, Terry Kohler: $2,486,000;  Club for Growth: $1,542,000; U.S. Chamber of Commerce: $1,350,000.

- Russ Feingold: League of Conservation Voters: $498,000; Environmental Defense Fund $468,000; Humane Society $399,000;  Planned Parenthood Votes $135,000

- Total spending in the Senate race: $72 million!

# Campaign Spending II

- Such spending levels affect other campaigns in the state and nationally as well, esp. when not disclosed.

- **Gogebic mining** company contributed **$700,000 in 2011 and 2012, in undisclosed spending**. Went to WI Club for Growth, which in turn funded Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce. Pay to play?

- **Lead paint industry** leader contributed comparable amount to CFG, and legislature granted retroactive immunity. Again, pay to play?

- Regardless of party preferences, is spending like this a distortion of democracy in elections, whichever party does it?

# Campaign Spending III

- Wisconsin Democracy Campaign reports contributions to **nonpartisan judicial campaigns** in recent years:

- Wisconsin Manufacturers and Commerce, Wisconsin Club for Growth, and others provided an est. $8.4 million for issue ads to help elect conservative justices Annette Ziegler, Michael Gableman, David Prosser and Patience Roggensack, more than the $3.2 million candidates spent on their own campaigns.

- And, yes, the Greater Wisconsin group reflecting labor also contributed large amounts to the campaign against them.

# Campaign Spending IV

- In July 2015, the State Supreme Court ended the John Doe investigation, with none of the four conservative justices offering to recuse himself or herself from the case even though the same groups funded their campaigns.

- Also of note, Supreme Court race in 2011: $5.7 million, of which $4.3 million was in issue ads paid for by outside groups. Prosser defeated Kloppenburg by only 7,004 votes, forcing an automatic recount.

- Point is that this **amount of campaign money is unprecedented**, and it is **politicizing the Supreme Court** and leading to **loss of legitimacy**.

# Well-Represented Special Interests

- Another key development often overlooked:  Enormous growth in **interest group activity in Washington, D.C**. after 1970. What Trump called the "swamp." But not new.

- In D.C., groups are well connected to Congress, the White House, and executive departments. Heavily recruit former congresspersons.

- Whoever wins elections, the interest groups remain, from Wall Street financial institutions to labor unions, health insurance companies, pharmaceutical companies, oil and gas businesses, automakers, and more. This keeps **both parties** dependent on such groups.

- Growth and power of groups reflect campaign finance laws. System increasingly is disconnected from elections.

# Decline of Respect for Facts, Science, and Rationality

- Rise of **anti-intellectualism** in American culture.
- We have solid studies in policy analysis, economics, science, but **often ignored/twisted** by policymakers and others: tax cuts and their effects, climate change and energy, voter ID laws, job creation efforts.
- **Scientific** groups such as the National Academy of Sciences and the IPCC not respected as much as before. Nor DNR scientists. Nor university faculty
- Also partisan: Pew Research July 2017: 58% of Republicans and Rep. leaning independents believe that **colleges and universities** have a **negative effect** on nation. Only 19% of Dems and Dem independents think so. **72% of Dems see as positive, but only 36% of Republicans.**
- Instead of clear thinking and good analysis, we get **ideological position taking** and **denial of legitimacy** of sound analysis. Applies to both parties.

# Some Conclusions

- After the break, then turn to possible solutions to the problem of political polarization and incivility—such as campaign finance reform and legislative districting reforms.

- No quick fixes.

- But some concrete steps that could be taken on campaign finance, legislative districting, voter education, and more.

- We'll focus much more on discussion of these next week.  Much less on my recounting of the broad picture.

- Questions?

# Part II of Politics, Government, and Civility

- We looked initially at the problem of political polarization and incivility and the causes:

- growth of federal government, regulation, and spending since 1940s, and esp. since 1964. And the reaction to this growth.

- loss of competitive legislative districts due to gerrymandering and other reasons;

- loss of common political culture or shared values;

- rise of conservative groups and mobilization of conservatives; to a lesser extent, also on the left.

# Causes of Polarization and Incivility Continued

- decline of the mass media news shows and rise of ideologically-driven news programs/talk radio;

- campaign finance laws and spending on elections;

- growth of special interests and their influence on government;

- decline of respect for science: anti-intellectualism.

# Many Consequences, Including Poor Policy Decisions

# Many Such Poor Policy Decisions Evident in WI and Nation

- **Education**, and esp. neglect of early childhood education

- **Infrastructure** ignored and delayed (highways, bridges, rail).

- **Immigration** reform delayed.

- **Job creation and economic growth.** Is either party right?

- **Tax reform** and operation of Internal Revenue Service.

- **Defense spending** and reduction in waste and inefficiency. Many obsolete military bases and weapons systems still funded.

- **Entitlement program reform**: Social Security, Medicaid, and Medicare.

# What Can Be Done to Restore Sensible Politics and Civility?

- What do **you** think? What **should** we do? What can we do?

- **No simple solutions,** though much we can do if public support is there.

- Much depends on public willingness to get involved, and whether we can change the **rules governing elections and campaigns.**

- **Effort should be bipartisan**.

- Beware of any solution supported by only one of the two major parties. They are self-serving, much like voter ID laws or rejection of public financing of political campaigns. Or gerrymandering.

# Public Education and Civics Training

- **Public education** and **access by citizens to reliable information.** Not what it used to be, but could be improved.
- **Formal education**, as in civics classes in high school, but also **many other ways** to inform the public.
- Little information and even less interest on public's part.
- Some **sample poll data** on public trust and confidence in government. Also on public knowledge of government.

# Pew Research Center April 2017

**Public trust in government remains near historic lows**

*Trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time...*
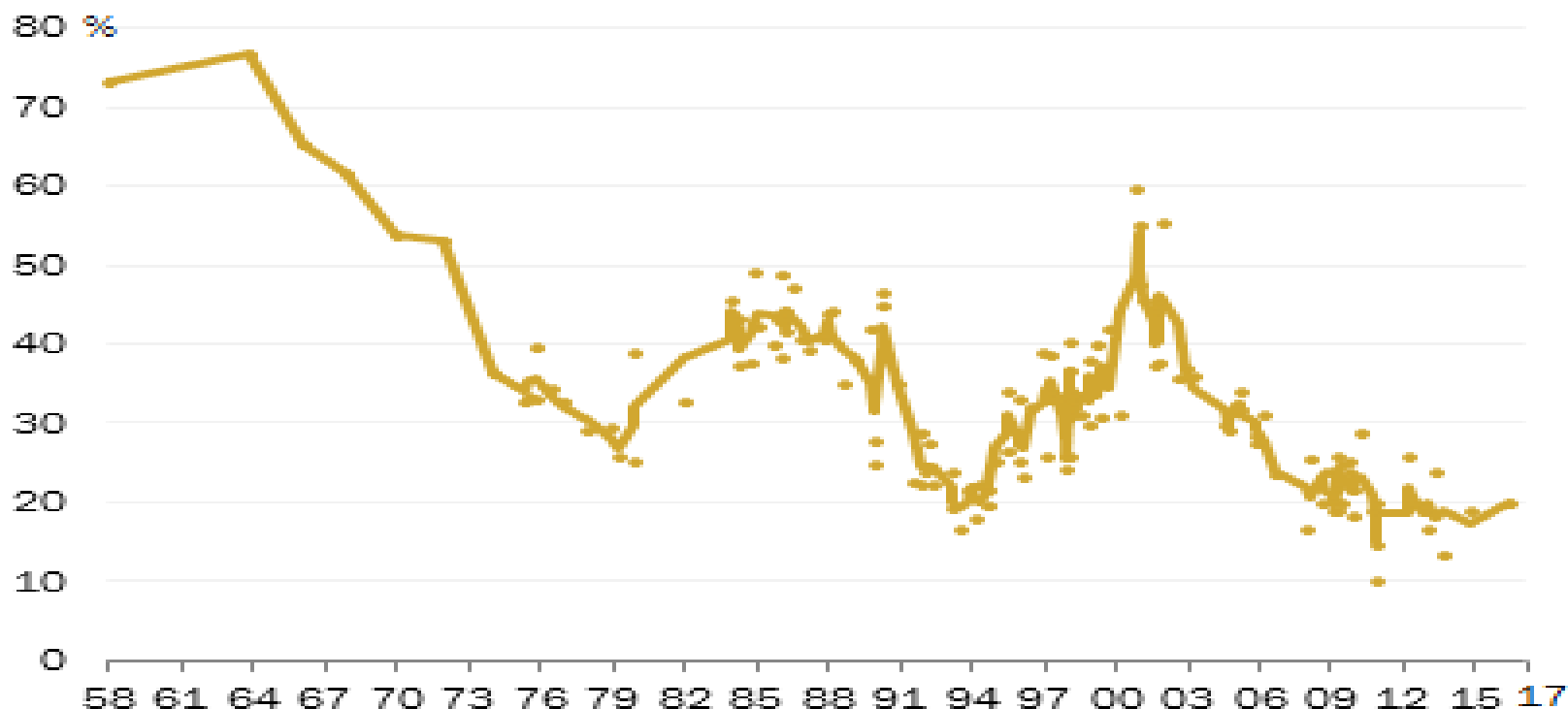


Notes: From 1976-2016 the trend line represents a three-survey moving average.
Source: Survey conducted April 5-11, 2017.
Trend sources: Pew Research Center, National Election Studies, Gallup, ABC/Washington Post, CBS/New York Times, and CNN polls.
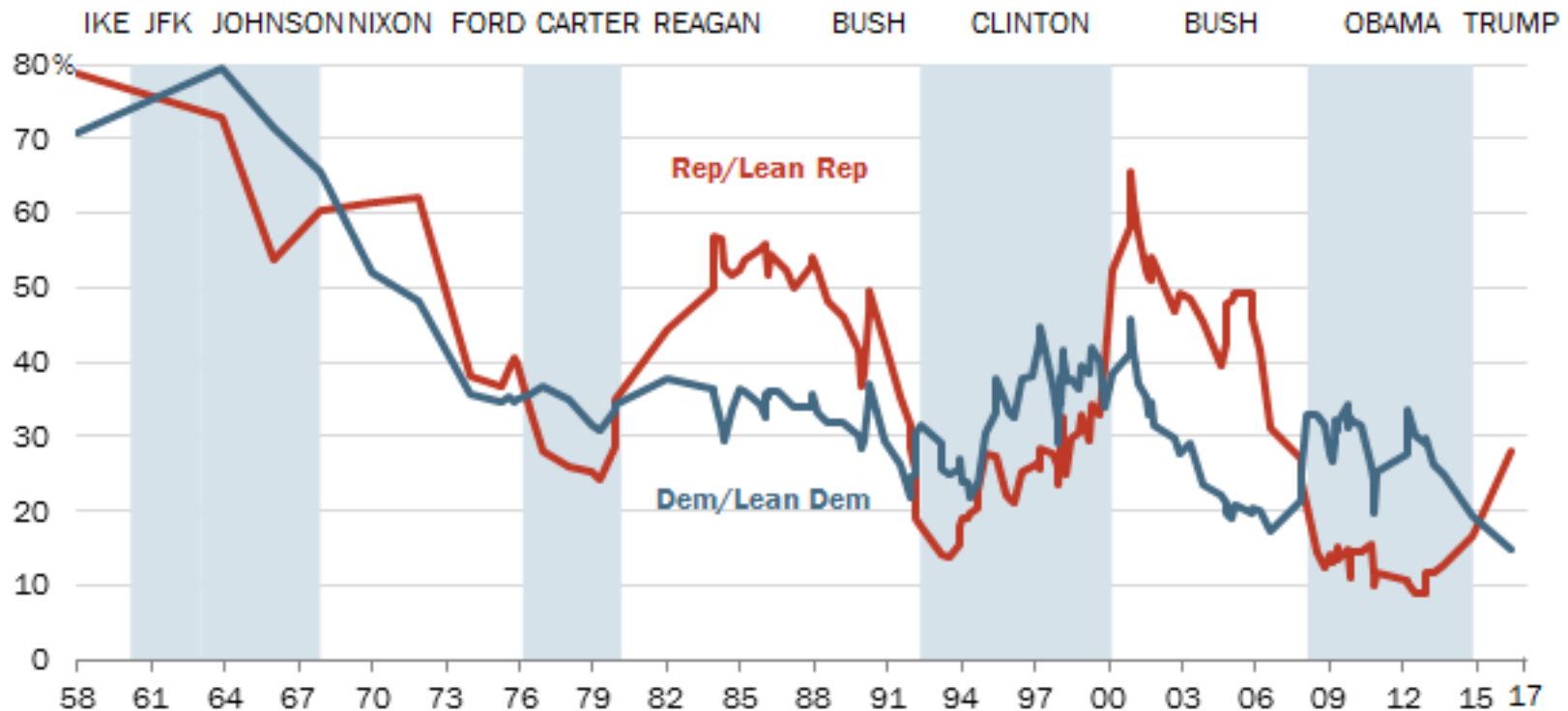
**PEW RESEARCH CENTER**

# Pew Trust in Gov't Survey 1958-2014

- Trust in the government just about always or most of the time. Summary of various polls over long period of time
- 1960: 73%
- 1980:  25%
- 1990:  35%
- October 2001: 55%
- January 2009: 25%
- February 2014: 24%
- April 2017: 20%; but Reps now trust gov't more than do Dems.

# Trust in Government by Party

**Trust in government climbs among Republicans, falls among Democrats**

*Trust the federal government to do what is right just about always/most of the time...*



IKE JFK JOHNSON NIXON FORD CARTER REAGAN BUSH CLINTON BUSH OBAMA TRUMP

Rep/Lean Rep

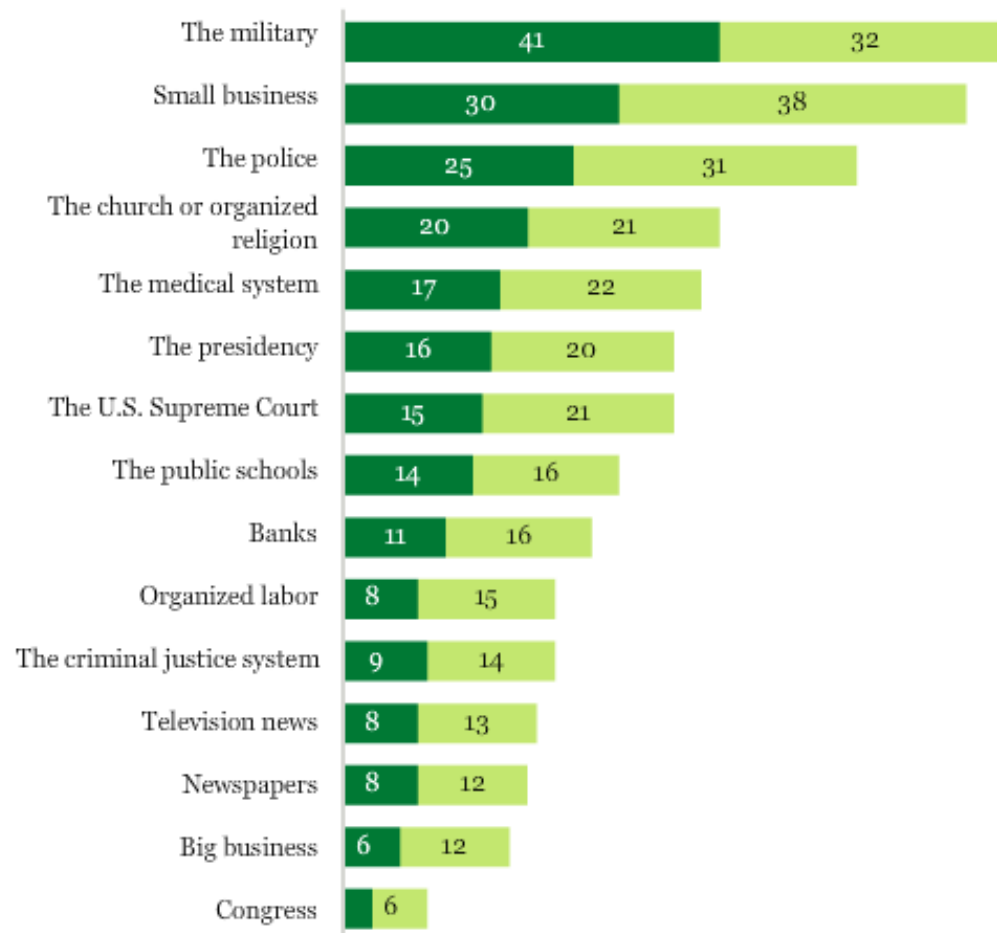Dem/Lean Dem

# April 2016 Poll on Confidence

- How well do you feel the government in Washington **represents the views of people like yourself**? April 2016 Opinion Research Corp.

- Very well 5%

- Somewhat well 19%

- Not too well 35%

- Not at all well 41%

- **76% say not too well or not at all well**. Only 24% positive. Perhaps even lower today.

# Trust Decline Not Just in Gov't.

*I am going to read you a list of institutions in American society. Please tell me how much confidence you, yourself, have in each one -- a great deal, quite a lot, some or very little?*

June 1-5, 2016

■ % Great deal    ■ % Quite a lot

| Institution | % Great deal | % Quite a lot |
|---|---|---|
| The military | 41 | 32 |
| Small business | 30 | 38 |
| The police | 25 | 31 |
| The church or organized religion | 20 | 21 |
| The medical system | 17 | 22 |
| The presidency | 16 | 20 |
| The U.S. Supreme Court | 15 | 21 |
| The public schools | 14 | 16 |
| Banks | 11 | 16 |
| Organized labor | 8 | 15 |
| The criminal justice system | 9 | 14 |
| Television news | 8 | 13 |
| Newspapers | 8 | 12 |
| Big business | 6 | 12 |
| Congress | | 6 |

# Public Sees a Rise in Corruption in Gov't.

- A late 2017 survey by Transparency International, shows that the US government and some key institutions of power have a long way to go to win citizens' trust. See report in the Washington Post December 12, 2017.

- **44 percent** of Americans believe that corruption is pervasive in the White House, up from 36 per cent in 2016.

- **38 percent** believe corruption is pervasive in Congress.

- Almost 7 out of 10 people believe the government is failing to fight corruption, up from half in 2016.

# How to Restore Trust in Politics and Government?

- How do we restore public trust that has eroded so much? What will work?

- Foster a different political environment? In schools and outside.

- Restore a sense of civic responsibility?

- Improve understanding of political ideas and tolerance and legitimacy. A concern for the general public welfare?

# Civics Knowledge Remains Low

- Annenberg Public Policy Center Survey of Sept. 2016
- **Only 26%** of American public could name the three branches of government (executive. legislative, judicial), a decline from 2014 survey.
- **31%** could not name any of the three branches.
- Patrick Egan, *NY Times*: "too many Americans are ill equipped to perform the basic functions of citizenship," such as being able to distinguish political and public policy truth from falsehoods or fake news.
- He adds, regarding our educational system: we have become "negligent in teaching the owner's manual of citizenship."

# What Americans Do Not Know

- A **Xavier University study in 2012** found that while more than 97% of immigrants pass a basic civics test, one in three Americans cannot pass it.

- 85 percent could not define "the rule of law."

- 75 percent did not know function of the judicial branch.

- 71 percent were unable to identify the Constitution as the "supreme law of the land."

- 63 percent could not name one of their state's Senators.

- 62 percent did not know the name the Speaker of the U.S. House of Representatives.

- 62 percent could not name the governor of their state.

- 57 percent could not define an "amendment."

# What About Current Issues?

How many people do you think can answer some simple public policy questions? Can you?

- Can you name three of the main features of the Affordable Care Act or Obamacare?

- What is the Clean Power Plan and who in government oversees it? What does it do?

- What did the Dodd-Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act do, and why does the Trump administration want to dismantle it?

- What were the major differences between Hillary Clinton's proposals on climate change policy and those of Donald Trump?

- Can you name three of the rights guaranteed by the first amendment to the U.S. Constitution?

# Improved Media Coverage

- **What about improving journalistic coverage of public affairs**? Would this help? How would we bring that about?

- Make politics important to people once again. Appeal more to **younger voters** who are especially disengaged. How do we do this?

- And media **should cover** what the Governor and legislature are doing! Few people are well-informed on actions proposed and what was done, and the costs and impacts. Elections are not on the issues.

- Same for Congress. Little coverage of legislator actions, voting on bills, the process. What we get tends to be negative. Feeds cynicism.

- Social media, such as Facebook, can help.

# Civic Engagement

- What can be done to improve the nature of campaigns and elections?

- Sponsor more **candidate forums, and what kind?**

- Bring people together to discuss the issues. **Town hall meeting** formats might discourage anger and rancor and help to build a common understanding of what needs to be done, e.g., on schools, health care, infrastructure, environment, urban redevelopment.

- Example in Bay Area Community Council; Brown County 20/20 conference and study groups; February 2017 town hall meeting for Sen. Johnson.

# Candidate Recruitment/Political Dialogue

- Run for office yourself? Encourage friends and neighbors to do so?
- Help to **recruit more candidates** and participants in election campaigns. Process is far too narrow today.
- Promote broader party **primaries over more narrow caucuses or conventions** that cater to extreme elements in the party.
- Work with parties and other groups to **recruit a new generation of politically-engaged citizens**.
- Demand that candidates for office and incumbents **meet with citizens on a regular basis** and respond to questions in person. Foster real representation.

# Campaign Finance Reform

- The **role of money in politics** must change.
- Far too much is spent on campaigns on both sides. Means elected officials and candidates become dependent on donors.
- Far too much **negative campaigning**, esp. TV ads by outside and ideological groups. Undisclosed sources of funding.
- Serious campaign finance reform. Public financing?
- Overturn *Citizens United* decision and restore some reasonable limits on campaign spending and reporting. By both sides.

# Campaign Regulation and Reporting

- Even without campaign finance reform, could **enforce current laws** that often are ignored. Federal Election Commission (FEC) is weak, too divided politically to do much: 3 Democrats and 3 Republicans; unable to reach consensus. Chair in 2015: "People think the F.E.C. is dysfunctional. It's worse than dysfunctional."

- We need **more regulation and reporting** on campaigns, particularly disclosure of sources of money and limiting role of "outside" groups. The Disclose Act in Congress.  Transparency.

- We need to know and publicize **where the money is coming from**, and what agendas the groups or individuals have.  Press doesn't cover and many people are unaware.

# Reform of Political Parties

- Should add to the list the possibility of fostering third or minor parties. Or at least independents as a force in politics. Now about one-third of electorate. See this in Trump and Sanders campaigns in 2016.

- Time for a centrist party? A new Republican Party of alt right supporters? Another with conventional Republicans base? Will that work in U.S.?

- Election rules tend to block third party efforts, but a public push might send a lesson to two major parties about public preference for cooperation and problem solving.

# Reform Legislative Districting

- **In 2012**, more people voted for Democrats than for Republicans for Congress. Yet Republicans won a majority of the congressional delegation by a large margin.

- WI GOP candidates in 2012 state Assembly races received 168,000 **fewer votes** than their Democratic counterparts. Still, the GOP won 60 of the 99 seats. How? Redistricting strongly favored GOP and underrepresented Democrats.

- Milwaukee Journal Sentinel 2015: "Citizens benefit from competitive politics that encourage ideas from across the political spectrum. A more competitive politics in Wisconsin **would force both sides to listen more often to voters — and to one another** — and would force politicians to tailor ideas to a broader swath of the electorate."

- **November 2016**: federal court panel finds the WI 2011 redistricting law to be unconstitutional. S. Ct. to decide.

# Reform Legislative Districting II

- Charles Blow in New York Times, March 2017, after initial failure of Republican American Health Care Act in House.
- "In the redrawing of districts following the 2010 census, Republicans created incredibly safe, **ideologically pure** districts with fewer dissenters. This protected more seats, but it also meant that the people who hold those seats have **little to no incentive to ever compromise**."
- "Republicans created hardline districts that produced hardline congressmen: obstructionist **absolutists are gerrymandering's political offspring**."
- But we could say much the same about liberal Democratic districts that also reflect partisan gerrymandering.
- Either way, you get **safe seats** and members who are **not inclined to compromise** because their constituents want them to be political purists. No gain for cooperation.

# Redistricting Effects National Level

- In 2016, Republicans **won 49.9 of votes** cast for the House of Representatives nationwide. But they **got 55.2% of the seats**.

- Democrats, as a result, won a smaller share of seats than they did votes: **44.8%** of seats as compared to **47.3%** of the votes."

- So the parties were **2.6% apart** on the national vote, but the seat differential is **10.4%.**

- From a Brookings Institution study late November. A pattern that has affected both parties for decades.

- Associated Press study in June 2017 finds much the same: **In 2016, Rep. had 1% margin in votes but 10% margin in seats in the House. That means 22 House seats**. A shift of 22 or so seats gives Dems control of House.

- **Senate** also distorts public views with two seats per state regardless of population. Calif.  with 40 million people gets same two seats as Wyo. with 600,000. No fix is likely.

# Redistricting: Change the Law

- How to fix this problem, which some see as a crisis of legitimacy? One way to change legislative redistricting.

- See California and Iowa models (next slide).

- Rely on nonpartisan commission to draw district lines, such as Legislative Reference Bureau in WI. This is the Iowa model.

- In late 2014, Ohio legislature agreed to nonpartisan state legislative districting measure, which voters overwhelmingly approved in Nov. 2015.

- In February 2018, PA Supreme Court redrew the congressional district maps after the state legislature could not agree. Old maps **gave Reps. 13 of 18 seats** despite equal division of parties among PA electorate. Reps. challenged, but U.S. S. Ct. let the new map stay.

- A **dozen states** now use independent commissions to draw congressional district lines. So Wisconsin could do this. Former Rep. Reid Ribble favored, and a bill was in the state legislature to do this; but Republicans would not hold a hearing on the measure.

# Redistricting Reforms: California and Iowa

- California uses a **14-person citizen  redistricting commission** made up of five Democrats, five Republicans, plus four people not affiliated with either party. In 2011, the commission redrew district lines. Significantly broadened the diversity of districts.

- Iowa relies on **non-partisan legislative staff** to develop maps for the Iowa House and Senate, and U.S. House districts, with no use of political or election data. It also uses a five person advisory commission. Resulting plan is then presented to the state legislature for up or down vote.

- Caution: even redistricting reform will not change the nationwide pattern of like-minded voters congregating in districts. So may not reduce partisan divide that much.

# Reform Election Laws

- **Remove barriers to** registration and voting. The "rigged election" argument. But which way?

- **Encourage** both registration and voting, or **make more difficult**? **Automatic registration**? Oregon did that in 2015; other states in 2016. WA state allows voting by mail. A more representative electorate is likely outcome.

- Extend the **time/days for voting**? Extended hours and weekends? Many states doing the opposite.

- Have an independent **Governmental Accountability Board** to oversee electoral process? Study impacts of any proposals to change election rules. But legislature killed the GAB. Now two partisan bodies instead.

- **Educate voters** on the issues. At least we have wisconsinvote.org (public radio and TV). But many states do better job of providing information to voters: CA.

# Example: Californian Actions 2015

After a record low turnout in previous year's election, Gov. Jerry Brown of California signed legislation designed to increase electoral participation by **automatically registering eligible state voters when they obtain a driver's license.**

The law, which allows Californians to opt out of registering at the Department of Motor Vehicles, puts California at the forefront of efforts across the country to increase electoral participation at a time when many states have added new hurdles, like voter identification laws.

# Conclusions

- **Questions?**
- What else is needed?
- What would you like to see done?
- Where do we begin to restore civility to our political conversation in the United States? At home? Work? Meetings? Public comments?
- Esp. challenging after the 2016 presidential election. One of the most negative in years.
- At least in personal conversations and at public meetings, trying to be civil even when we disagree strongly with others on the issues.

# What Does the Future Hold? Meeting in White House on November 10, 2016