# **The Future of Constituent Engagement**

Congressional Testimony

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# **Executive Summary**

Americans believe Congress has lost touch. Each House member, however, now represents nearly 280 times the number of people James Madison proposed as a limit to districts. How could members of Congress stay in touch? Only one in seven enfranchised citizens contacted their representative last year. For most, their silence does not imply satisfaction — it signals their frustration. Citizens believe Congress does not care what people like them think, so they see no reason to engage. Meanwhile, only organized interests and party activists remain to tell Congress what they want. We have fallen into a self-reinforcing cycle sliding toward a crisis of legitimacy.

But there's good news: citizens are eager for change. Unlike apathy, frustration creates energy. Our recent survey finds more than 70 percent of Americans are *willing* to engage with their members of Congress. When offered authentic forums for two-way communication, past research confirms that overwhelming majorities say the experience is valuable and want to do it again. In an era when only 13 percent trust Congress, that gap tells us something important about what's possible.

This testimony presents evidence showing what citizens want from Congress, sketches proven models of deliberative engagement to help them get it, and explains how advances in technology can help improve the future of constituent engagement. Congress can realize a modernized engagement routine that rebuilds trust and legitimacy by integrating practices of deliberative communication, particularly with forums and processes supported, not supplanted, by AI.

#### Introduction

Our founders famously established a republic, fearing that direct democracy would lose sight of the common good. Less famously, they also worried that if republican government was too indirect, Congress would lose touch with common people. Madison warned that a representative body that was not close enough to its constituents risked drifting toward aristocracy. Today, members of Congress represent 280 times more people than the Founders' proposed limit. How could you stay in touch at that scale?

Our work turns that rhetorical question into a genuine question. Trust in Congress remains near historic lows. The main methods of constituent outreach — newsletters, social media blasts, and automated responses — are not satisfying constituents. As Desmond Tutu once said, "There comes a point where we need to stop just pulling people out of the water. We need to go upstream and find out why they're falling in." Constituent engagement falters upstream from capacity constraints. The problem emerges from mismatches between the perceptions and postures of citizens and officials toward representation. Political institutions have struggled to evolve at the pace of the problems they need to address. Many citizens feel the political system does not reflect their priorities, eroding trust and undermining legitimacy. Yet our research consistently shows that citizens' willingness to engage remains strong when opportunities are meaningful, deliberative, and respectful. The challenge is not citizen apathy but design. How can we create systems that promote genuine, reciprocal communication? Our collaboration with this committee and House Digital Services contributes to that effort by examining how Americans think about interacting with Congress and assessing how technologies — from AI to outreach innovations — can create meaningful channels for engagement. We draw on new survey data from 1,001 US adults fielded between August 20 and October 2, 2025. The results show that while skepticism toward institutions runs deep, Americans remain open to experimentation and willing to engage in novel ways, especially when opportunities feel authentic, transparent, and consequential.

We combine these findings with evidence from nineteen years of field experiments on Deliberative Town Halls and our recent research on AI's role in public opinion. Together, they provide specific, practical guidance for Members and staff on processes that can deliver meaningful, responsive communication with constituents. The goal is to reimagine how Congress communicates, but even more urgently, how it *listens*. New technologies can help representatives synthesize large volumes of citizen input. Used in the right way, AI has the potential to scale human interaction rather than replacing it. That must be the goal — to build a system of engagement that scales authentic interaction between citizens and their elected representatives.

### **Frustration, Not Apathy**

Public confidence in Congress remains deeply pessimistic. The share of Americans giving Congress an unfavorable rating reached its highest point in more than four decades of polling. Our survey shows the same: 54 percent somewhat or strongly disapprove. Just 14 percent trust Congress to do what is right most of the time. These findings hold across demographics: race, gender, age, and party affiliation. This widespread negative perception of Congress as an institution contrasts with somewhat more favorable (though declining) views of individual representatives: 41 percent rated their own House member positively, while 27 percent rated them poorly (Pew Research Center, 2023). These patterns persist across party lines, although partisans tend to view representatives who share their affiliation more positively.

### **Who Contacts Congress?**

Despite widespread dissatisfaction, direct constituent engagement remains modest. Approximately 22 percent of U.S. adults in our survey report having contacted their Member of Congress in the last year. This aligns with previous research (Pew Research Center, 2018), but self-selection and over-reporting of civic engagement suggest that the true contact rate is likely about one in seven. Low engagement appears nonpartisan: 25 percent of Democrats, 19 percent of Republicans, and 18 percent of Independents reported contacting a member in the past year. Even this modest outreach generates volumes that regularly overwhelm congressional staff (Goldschmidt & Sinkaus, 2021).

Education remains one of the most consistent predictors of political engagement. Individuals with college degrees or higher are more likely to report contacting elected officials, as reflected in our 2025 data and longstanding civic engagement research (Verba et al., 1995). While education can improve engagement rates (Willeck & Mendelberg, 2022), pervasive disengagement reflects factors beyond individual-level characteristics. For many Americans, structural differences rooted in income, race, geographic isolation, or limited social capital shape both the likelihood of participation and the belief that their voice matters (Leighley & Nagler, 2014; Verba et al., 1995). These disparities are reinforced by gaps in access to civic infrastructure.

Among those who do contact Congress, most use low-cost digital channels, including email, responding to polls, and submitting online petition forms. These tools lower barriers to entry but can dilute the perceived authenticity or salience of communications in staff's eyes. Offices are caught between rising message volumes and limited mechanisms for really understanding what constituents are trying to communicate. This produces communication overload without corresponding gains in representation (Bimber et al., 2015; Goldschmidt & Sinkaus, 2021; Karpf, 2016).

# **Barriers to Communicating with Congress**

It is equally vital to ask *why* people choose not to contact elected officials. The gap between dissatisfaction and outreach reflects both motivational barriers, like low trust or alienation, and structural barriers, like unequal access to civic knowledge, social networks, income, or time. Structural inequalities also shape who feels empowered to reach out (Leighley & Nagler, 2014; Verba et al., 1995).

In our survey, respondents who have not contacted representatives cite both motivational and structural hurdles. More than 40 percent believe members do not care about their concerns. About 35 percent think members will not change their minds. This suggests disengagement is not apathy; rather, it stems from the belief that contacting Congress will not lead to being heard or receiving a response. This perception may be rooted in lived experience and broader patterns of institutional distrust (Hibbing & Theiss-Morse, 2002; Leighley & Nagler, 2014).

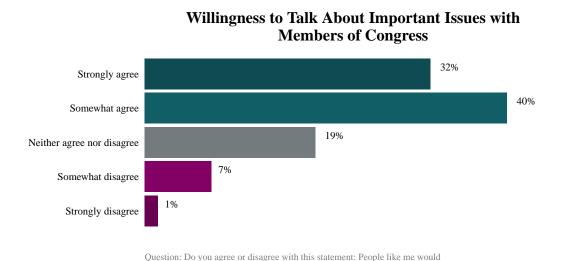
Structural hurdles matter too. More than 47 percent find it too difficult or time-consuming to contact congressional offices. A majority think it is difficult to let members know where they stand on an issue. Only respondents with post-graduate education are equally divided on whether contacting offices is easy or difficult. We find echoes of these hurdles in the open-ended responses about what communication with members should be like. To analyze the responses, we used AI text analysis to identify emerging themes. Several state that members "don't care what people say." Respondents articulated broader distrust and viewed members as disconnected elites more concerned with their own political trajectories. Overall, respondents emphasize the gap between members and the constituents they represent. These doubts threaten the health of representative democracy.

The mismatch between the public's perception of barriers and the institution's experience of over-

load reveals a deeper breakdown in the feedback loop between representatives and the represented. Lowering barriers through digital communication has proven insufficient without more substantive reforms to how Congress listens and responds. To address this democratic gap, we must examine the underlying motivational and structural factors that prevent equitable and sustained engagement.

### Citizens are Willing to Engage

More than 70 percent of respondents are willing to engage more directly with elected officials on important issues. This willingness is not just theoretical. Our experimental research consistently shows that when Americans and citizens globally are given opportunities for dialogue — such as online Deliberative Town Halls that connect citizens across ideological and demographic lines — they participate at high rates (Neblo et al., 2010, 2018).



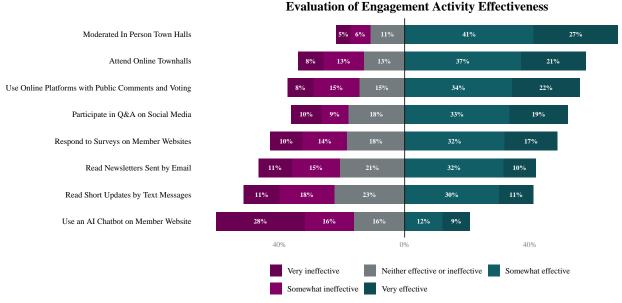
like to talk about important issues with Members of Congress

Despite frustrations with the institution, many *believe* Congress wants to hear from them. Congressional staff affirm this, noting that personalized constituent input influences their work. This suggests the public's frustration exists alongside real opportunities. Many Americans have a latent willingness to engage that can be activated. Again, frustration should not be read as apathy — it is a response to unmet democratic expectations. Meaningful exchanges are possible; disengagement is more about a lack of credible channels for communication.

When profound changes occur in communication technologies, what is communicated and how it is communicated should evolve as well. Adopting new digital tools can transform how congressional offices operate, increasing access and streamlining responses. However, adoption without adaptation to two-way, authentic dialogue risks perpetuating the disconnect it seeks to resolve. Without design choices that emphasize listening, learning, and collaboration, both the public and officials stay caught in a cycle of frustration, each seeing the other as inattentive or unresponsive. Gains in efficiency cannot replace the relational work of representation.

# **Citizens Want Two-Way Communication**

Our survey asked respondents to evaluate various potential engagement methods. Most report that town halls are the most effective. A majority also believes online platforms with public commenting or Q&A sessions on social media can work well. These formats prioritize two-way communication, direct questions, and genuine dialogue.



The 'Don't know' and 'This does not matter to me' responses are omitted from the chart.

Related research in the U.S. and abroad shows that citizens who participate in democratic innovations like Deliberative Town Halls, they report higher trust in representatives and institutions (Minozzi et al., 2015; Neblo et al., 2010, 2018). This supports established findings that citizens want meaningful opportunities to be heard and to know their input matters (Fung, 2006; Neblo et al., 2010). In Nigeria, for instance, Deliberative Town Halls shifted participants' priorities toward democratic reforms and strengthened trust in MPs. Participants felt a renewed sense of civic belonging with one participant saying, "This was the first time I've ever felt like a real citizen instead of a pauper going to the Big Man."

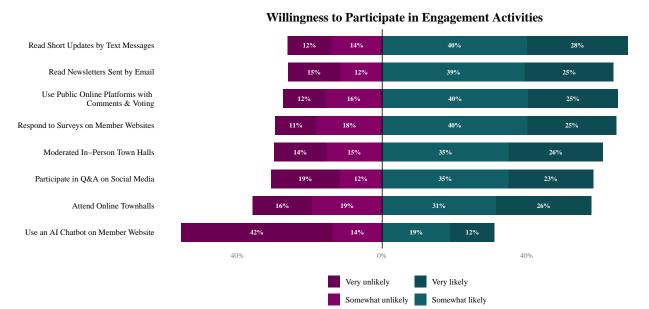
Respondents are skeptical about some adaptations. Only 21 percent think AI chatbots would be somewhat or very effective. Customer service centers are increasingly deploying chatbots to streamline interactions, provide 24/7 support, and efficiently handle routine inquiries. However, recent research shows that half of Americans are skeptical, citing issues like misinformation, bias, lack of accountability, and reduced human oversight (Bateyko, 2023; Choi, 2024; Ovide, 2025). To foster trust, transparent communication about the purpose, ethical safeguards, and data privacy is essential.

# Legitimacy and Willingness to Participate

Many congressional offices have experimented with town halls, interactive online platforms, and social media-based dialogues. Most citizens are willing to consider participating in new forms of exchange. We find that a majority would be very or somewhat likely to participate in all proposed activities except using AI chatbots.

Although most say they would consider participating in more robust innovations, social desirability bias causes respondents to over report civic engagement compared to their actual actions (Ansolabehere & Hersh, 2012; Hanmer et al., 2014). Latent interest does not ensure follow-through. This highlights the importance of institutional designs that turn intentions into action.

Respondents are much less likely to want engagement through AI chatbots. This highlights broader skepticism toward automation in governance, even as citizens express interest in more convenient or accessible contact options (Dreksler et al., 2025). While digital tools can increase capacity and

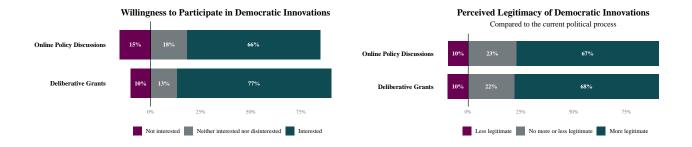


The 'Don't know' and 'This does not matter to me' responses are omitted from the chart.

lessen administrative burdens, perceived authenticity and human reciprocity are key to building and maintaining trust (OECD, 2021, 2024). Improving systems that focus on casework, and responses to constituent communications may reduce staff burden and boost responsiveness. Reluctance to engage with AI suggests a need for reassurance that communication with Congress is meaningful, mutual, and impactful. Successful innovation requires not only accessible tools but also thoughtful design, transparency, and facilitation to make participation feel impactful.

Beyond asking about engagement modalities, we asked about more innovative types of citizen engagement. Respondents expressed enthusiasm for participatory and deliberative modes when the process was clearly organized and accessible. Over 70 percent expressed interest in giving input on which local programs should be eligible for federal funding. Support for involvement in policy discussions also garnered strong interest, with more than half expressing interest. Respondents also believed that these processes were more legitimate and genuinely representative than the existing system.

Our results echo studies suggesting that while the public is often unfamiliar with deliberative processes, they tend to view them favorably when participants are regular people and the process is transparent (Gastil, 2016; Goldberg et al., 2025; OECD, 2021). Overall, these results suggest willingness to participate exists but must be activated through clear communication, institutional legitimacy, and visible responsiveness. Research on political legitimacy demonstrates that when people perceive governing processes as transparent, responsive, and respectful, they are much more likely to see authority as rightful and binding, even amid disagreement (Levine, 2013). Respondents in our survey expressed higher interest in opportunities involving dialogue, reflection, and feedback connected to genuine decision-making.



Our analysis of open-ended questions surfaced four themes about what Americans think Congress should consider so that people like them feel heard:

- Authentic communication: Respondents expect communication to be like "talking to a neighbor" or "actual conversations." There is also a desire for direct dialogue. Constituents feel their voices are often overlooked or ignored. Respondents want Members to genuinely listen and interact meaningfully. One suggests "Have an open forum for the public to voice and share their voices." Another states, "Hold town halls and have email and phone hotlines."
- Respectful and inclusive discourse: Citizens perceive a deficit of respect in political communication. Respondents express a desire for dialogue that acknowledges differing viewpoints without condescension or hostility. They are frustrated with the current political climate, where many feel such respect is not extended to them as constituents. Respondents also emphasize the importance of truly representative decision-making that includes input from the general public, not just major stakeholders or affluent groups. One noted that members should "represent all the people and not just their political party."
- Accessible communications: Respondents think communication with representatives should be straightforward, open, and easily achievable for all constituents. There was consensus that there should be more opportunities to provide input on issues that matter to them.
- Accountability: Citizens expect representatives to clarify their positions, actions, and the consequences of their policies while being accountable to the public. As one stated, communications should be "a place where constituents can voice their concerns." Another stated that members "could hold meetings to discuss the people's needs and concerns." If members not only respond to inquiries but also explain the reasons for their actions, even citizens who continue to disagree with a decision will grant them more trust.

#### Citizens as Partners

Findings from our survey and past research converge on a central tenet: citizens care deeply about the process of democratic engagement, not just outcomes (Busby et al., 2025; Neblo & Minozzi, 2025). They want respect and recognition, not just results.

Consider what customer service implies about representative government — Members own the company, and citizens can take or leave what they are selling. An office might deliver excellent customer service, but constituents will still find that problematic. *Lobbyists* might be clients of Congress, but *citizens* want to be partners in self-government.

Meaningful, two-way communication opportunities — such as Deliberative Town Halls or a participatory process for input into the Congressionally Direction Spending process — demonstrate this potential. The themes and responses from our survey suggest Americans are interested in reclaiming

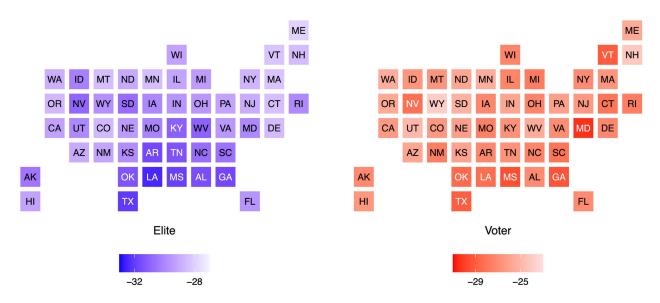
agency in their representation. They desire communication that is not only easy and direct but also respectful, personal, and reflective of community needs. Respondents' attitudes reveal a longing for change in political communication dynamics toward a more engaged, equitable, and accessible system where their needs are prominently recognized and addressed. This aligns with our international evidence from the United Kingdom, Nigeria, and Chile, where Deliberative Town Halls have successfully bridged the gap between citizens and officials, resulting in higher trust and more substantive citizen input on policy.

Building on two decades of research, this work points to two-way communications where citizens encounter diverse perspectives in structured settings, producing more reflective, reasoned, and cooperative judgments than self-deliberation or isolated opinion. Such engagement helps individuals recognize policy tradeoffs, understand opposing viewpoints, and appreciate institutional constraints under which representatives operate. When citizens understand issues better, it becomes easier to persuade them on "hard-sell" policies—those experts broadly endorse but are easy to demagogue at the surface level. Deliberative events in Chile around their constitution demonstrated that structured, two-way engagement can rebuild confidence even in highly polarized environments. Specifically, these events led to a 10–15 percentage point drop in distrust toward the Constitutional Council and increased support for a common pension fund by seven percent, prompting legislators to pursue policy based on the findings despite the broader draft's failure in the referendum.

Improved communication also enhances legitimacy by making collective reasoning visible. Our research shows that when we invite ordinary constituents to online Deliberative Town Halls, previously disengaged citizens prepare, show up, and contribute more than those who already call your office. They find the forums so transformative that 94 percent say they are "very valuable for our democracy" and would do another. Think about that: in an era when only 13 percent of citizens trust Congress, you can create spaces where 94 percent say the experience is so worthwhile they would do it again. That gap says a lot about what is possible.

Participating Members and staff have also found the forums valuable; offices simply lack the time and resources for ongoing deliberative consultation. Yet in our 2025 survey, citizens rated such forums among the most effective way to communicate. Engagement that treats citizens like partners produces lasting gains in their political knowledge, trust, voting rates, civility, and willingness to work together across differences. This holds in forums with over 7,000 citizens. Representatives Kilmer and Timmons' national forum resulted in the largest decline in affective polarization ever documented, effectively rolling back 38 years of rising partisan animosity. The reductions in polarization toward fellow voters were especially large in states (and districts) that were most skewed in their support or opposition to President Trump:

#### **State-Level Average Effects**



### AI as Subsidy, Not Substitute

Ultimately, the goal is not technological modernization for its own sake — it is institutional renewal. Efforts to strengthen Congress must begin with structural changes that enhance transparency, improve constituent engagement mechanisms, and increase responsiveness to diverse perspectives that citizens bring forward.

Our findings about AI chatbots for engagement and recent research on AI underscores this point. AI may help transform how staff manage the deluge of routine requests — from finding Social Security checks to scheduling Capitol tours and tallying issue sentiments from correspondence. A customer service model makes sense for many important constituent service tasks. But unless we use the freedup time the right way, AI will not dent the core problems undermining constituent engagement, and ultimately, democracy.

Emerging technologies, particularly AI, can help make responsive democracy feasible at scale when integrated strategically. AI should serve as a subsidy for human attention, not a substitute. AI driven text analysis can surface trends across thousands of constituent messages, but only two-way communications between elected officials and constituents can reliably translate into normatively legitimate action. These tools may reduce administrative burdens and free staff time for deeper forms of engagement, including Deliberative Town Halls and follow-up communication. However, absent thoughtful design, the same systems risk amplifying motivated reasoning or distorting representation by privileging the loudest or most automated voices.

Recent research on AI for public opinion suggests that AI tools can substantially enhance the quality and depth of articulated reasoning and improve the identification of respondents' underlying reflective opinions. However, AI can elicit different responses than traditional methods. Increased engagement may induce cognitive shifts, evidenced by changes in subsequent closed-ended responses, including signs of opinion polarization (Kennedy et al., 2025). In this sense, AI may act as an intervening stimulus, amplifying the salience of considerations and exacerbating confirmation bias. AI will help us learn even more from forums, faster and more efficiently. But the technology must serve democratic

values, not replace them.

### **Constituent Engagement Reform for Congressional Capacity**

Legislative dysfunction produces distrust, distrust leads to disengagement, and disengagement further reinforces dysfunction. If so, then reforms that re-engage citizens can reverse the cycle and contribute to better legislative functioning. Re-engagement gives representatives a better read on their entire constituency rather than just interest groups and partisan activists, who tend to be more extreme, thus reducing polarization. It also surfaces constituents' *considered* opinions, better approximating what people will think about congressional action *after* they have had to live under it. Such responsiveness also increases trust and legitimacy. Increased trust allows representatives to invest in longer-term policies. And when citizens understand issues better, it becomes easier to persuade them on "hard-sell" policies — those experts broadly endorse but are unpopular at the surface level. We have also shown that national Deliberative Town Halls reward policy expertise at the constituency level and help build national constituencies that can compete with grandstanding, bomb-throwing extremism, and entertainment-oriented politics in the social media era (An et al., 2025).

#### **Conclusion**

Citizens are so frustrated with representative democracy that they're prepared to work around it through referenda and the like. An alarming number are now willing to consider alternatives to democracy itself. But like our Founders, the vast majority would rather work with and through their representatives — *if* we reimagine what that entails.

By capitalizing on democratic innovations in constituent engagement, using AI tools strategically, and bolstering institutional design to expand meaningful two-way communication between legislators and the public, we can rebuild trust. Profound changes in communications technologies require corresponding changes to the system so that information faithfully circulates, and Congress listens, learns, and responds in ways citizens can see and believe.

The future of American democracy depends — more than we realize — on the future of constituent engagement. The technology exists. The models are proven. Your constituents are ready. The question is whether Congress is ready to meet them.

# **Biography for Michael Neblo**

Michael Neblo is Director of the Institute for Democratic Engagement & Accountability and Arts & Sciences Alumni Endowed Professor of Political Science, Philosophy, Communication, and Public Affairs at The Ohio State University. A scholar of political deliberation and evidence-based democratic reform, he is the author of *Deliberative Democracy Between Theory & Practice* and co-author of *Politics with the People*. Professor Neblo has designed Deliberative Town Halls for the U.S. Congress, the reassessment of the Northern Ireland Good Friday Accords, the Chilean Constitutional Convention, and the Australian, Nigerian, and United Kingdom legislatures. He has further projects planned in Malawi, Korea, and the European Parliament and Commission.

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