

Michigan Policy Insiders Panel (MPIP) Brief Report – Round 4

Institute for Public Policy and Social Research, IPPSR
Michigan State University

Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy, CLOSUP
University of Michigan

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Overview

The Michigan Policy Insiders Panel (MPIP) is a project of Michigan State University's Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR), in conjunction with the Center for Local, State, and Urban Policy (CLOSUP) at the University of Michigan. The goal is to understand how policymakers learn about state problems, develop political influence, and interact to produce policy solutions.

The targeted population for the panel included all persons regarded as "political insiders" in the State of Michigan. This included high-ranking members of state government agencies, current members of Michigan's Legislature and their staff assistants, association and corporate lobbyists, state relations officers, think tanks, public relations professionals, and state political media personnel.

The Round 4 survey was fielded from September 28, 2017 to October 18, 2017. Email invitations were sent to 605 MPIP panel members on September 28, and reminder emails were sent on October 3, October 6, October 11, and October 16 to those who had not yet completed the questionnaire by the time of the reminder. During this time, 393 respondents accessed the survey (65.0 percent of the panelists) and 359 completed it. Of the 393 who accessed the survey, 91.3 percent completed it. The overall completion rate for the study is 59.3 percent¹.

¹ The formula for calculating the completion rate was Completed Interviews (CI) divided by the sum of Completed Interviews (CI), Respondent Refusals (R), and Non Interviews (NI) minus Ineligible Respondents (IE) (respondents who after selection into the sample are determined not to meet study criteria). No one was eliminated from the denominator due to being ineligible for the study. The completion rate for this study is calculated as $359 / 605 = .593$.

Section A. State and Local Government

Insiders were asked to assess operational conditions within the Michigan legislature, focusing on nine particular issue areas. A battery of questions was adapted from the Congressional Management Foundation's 2017 State of the Congress² survey of senior staff working in the offices of United States Senators and Representatives.

Insiders were given a list of nine key aspects identified by the CMF as relevant to institutional capabilities in a legislative body, and asked to indicate "how *important* are the following for the effective functioning of the Michigan legislature" and then "how *satisfied* or dissatisfied are you with the Michigan legislature's performance in each of the following areas?" Answers could be recorded on five-point scales ranging from "Very Important" to "Very Unimportant" and from "Very Satisfied" to "Very Dissatisfied," respectively.

Table 1 presents the percentage of respondents who rated each aspect as "Very Important" and the percentage who reported being "Very Satisfied" in each area. In addition, the "Gap" column indicates the *difference* between "Very Important" and "Very Satisfied." As described in the CMF's report, larger gaps between these percentages would correspond to greater perceived deficiencies in areas respondents rated as the most important – generally where one might try to focus the most attention and/or resources to fix. In the table, the items are listed in order from largest gap to the smallest gap, and the results from the CMF State of the Congress survey are provided for comparison.

The table indicates that:

- The largest reported gap reported by Michigan policy insiders was between the items about the understanding of the legislature's role in democracy amongst legislators and their staff. Over two-thirds (69 percent) of respondents rated that aspect "Very Important," yet just 3 percent said they were "Very Satisfied" with the legislature's actual performance in that area.
- A cluster of three different aspects each had a gap of about 58 percent – these items related to accountability for elected officials, access to policy expertise, and staff knowledge and skills. Between 64 and 72 percent of respondents rated each of these aspects "Very Important," while only 6 to 14 percent said they were "Very Satisfied."
- Many of the areas where the gap was much larger for Michigan policy insiders than for US Congressional staffers were related to the knowledge and capabilities of the staff themselves, as well as the legislators they work for. When interpreting differences between the results of the two surveys, it is important to consider that whereas the MPIP panel includes employees of administrative agencies, lobbying groups, and media organizations, the CMF panel was conducted *solely* of legislative staff who might be expected to evaluate themselves more favorably than outside observers.

² For more details, see <http://www.congressfoundation.org/projects/resilient-democracy-coalition/state-of-the-congress>

Table 1. Perceived Institutional Capacity of the MI Legislature, with Comparison to US Congress

	MPIP (MI Legislature)			CMF-SotC (US Congress)		
	% Very Important	% Very Satisfied	Gap ^a	% Very Important	% Very Satisfied	Gap ^a
Members and staff have a strong understanding of the legislature's role in democracy.	69%	3%	66%	52%	20%	32%
Constituents have sufficient means to hold their Senators / Representatives accountable for their performance.	65%	7%	58%	47%	29%	18%
Members and staff have access to high-quality, nonpartisan policy expertise within the legislative branch.	72%	14%	58%	81%	24%	57%
Staff knowledge, skills, and abilities are adequate to support Members' official duties	64%	6%	58%	83%	15%	68%
The chamber is transparent to the public in the conduct of its business.	60%	5%	55%	49%	19%	30%
Members have adequate time and resources to understand, consider, and deliberate policy and legislation.	60%	8%	52%	67%	6%	61%
The legislature has adequate capacity and support (staff, research capability, infrastructure, etc.) to perform its role in democracy.	54%	8%	46%	62%	11%	51%
The legislature's human resource support and infrastructure is adequate to support staffers' official duties (e.g., training, professional development, benefits, etc.).	28%	11%	17%	49%	5%	44%
The technological infrastructure is adequate to support Members' official duties.	30%	15%	15%	60%	6%	54%
AVERAGE	56%	9%	47%	61%	15%	46%
^a Gap is calculated as % Very Important minus % Very Satisfied. Larger gaps correspond to more serious perceived deficiencies in areas respondents called important.						

Respondents were also asked to indicate the extent to which they would favor oppose various hypothetical combinations of rules for the Michigan legislature – in particular, having a full-time versus a part-time legislature, and keeping the current term limits (eight years in the Senate, six years in the House) versus extending them or eliminating them. These possibilities allow for six different hypothetical combinations, which are listed in the table below along with the mean support rating (on a five-point scale ranging from “Strongly Oppose” to “Strongly Favor” and net favorability score (percent favor minus percent oppose) reported for each combination of rules. In the table, the combinations are listed in order from those with the most support to those with the least support.

The table indicates that:

- The only proposals that garnered more support than opposition included a full-time legislature with either extended term limits (net favorability +42 percent) or no term limits (net favorability +30 percent).
- In the aggregate, respondents consistently opposed the current term limits more than anything else, as the combinations that included those ranked at the very bottom regardless of legislature type (net favorability below -60 percent).

Table 2. Reported Support for Proposed Changes to MI Legislature

Legislature Type	Term Limits	Mean Support Rating ^a	Net Favorability ^b (% Favor - % Oppose)
Full-Time	Extended	3.61	+ 42%
Full-Time	None	3.47	+ 30%
Part-Time	Extended	2.45	- 23%
Part-Time	None	2.51	- 22%
Full-Time	Current	1.96	- 61%
Part-Time	Current	1.60	- 73%

^a Means are calculated on a five-point scale where 1 = “Strongly Oppose” and 5 = “Strongly Favor”

^b Net favorability is calculated as the percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly favor the policy change, minus the percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly oppose the change. Positive scores indicate that more people favor the proposal than oppose it, and negative scores indicate that the opposition outnumbers the support.

Insiders were also asked to rate the importance (on a three-point scale ranging from “Not At All Important” to “Very Important”) of seven factors in contributing to local government fiscal distress:

- Population loss,
- Economic decline,
- Rising costs to provide services,
- Citizen opposition to tax increases or other revenue increases,
- State decisions affecting government finances, such as revenue sharing and unfunded mandates,
- Local government corruption and mismanagement, and
- Local government decisions to provide generous retiree pensions or benefits, or decisions to under fund retiree obligations.

These items were also asked to a sample of local government officials in Michigan as part of the Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS)³, and to the general population of Michigan on the 74th State of the State Survey (SOSS)⁴. The opinions expressed by all three populations about the causes of local government fiscal distress are summarized in Table 3. The results indicate that:

- State policy insiders and local government officials collectively agreed that state decisions affecting government finances are the single *most important* factor from among those listed, although local officials rated it as even more important, on average (83 percent “Very Important”, compared to 57 percent among MPIP panelists).
- Whereas local officials and the mass public largely agreed that economic decline is *one of the two most important* factors (68 percent and 71 percent, respectively, answering “Very Important”), state policy insiders collectively rated it as *less important* than population loss and local decisions about retirees.
- Whereas state policy insiders and local government officials each ranked corruption and mismanagement as the *least important* factor among those listed, the mass public considered this the *second most important* factor contributing to local financial difficulties (65 percent “Very Important,” compared to 44 percent of local officials and 21 percent of state insiders).

Table 3. Perceived Causes of Local Financial Difficulties, with Comparison to MPPS and SOSS

	MPIP (MI insiders)		MPPS (Local officials)		SOSS (MI mass public)	
	Mean ^a	% Very Important	Mean ^a	% Very Important	Mean ^a	% Very Important
State decisions affecting finances	1.51	57%	1.84	83%	1.50	54%
Local decisions about retirees	1.44	51%	1.42	48%	1.47	56%
Population loss	1.44	49%	1.49	51%	1.34	44%
Economic decline	1.41	47%	1.69	68%	1.69	71%
Cost to provide services	1.39	44%	1.68	67%	1.53	57%
Citizen opposition to taxes	1.22	36%	1.49	51%	1.29	39%
Corruption and mismanagement.	0.91	21%	1.33	44%	1.55	65%

^a Means are calculated on a three-point scale where 0 = “Not At All Important” and 2 = “Very Important”

³ For more information, see <http://closup.umich.edu/michigan-public-policy-survey/>

⁴ For more information, see <http://ippsr.msu.edu/survey-research/state-state-survey-soss>

Next, to measure their attitudes toward Michigan’s Emergency Financial Manager law, respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement toward six statements on a five-point scale ranging from “Strongly Agree” to “Strongly Disagree.” The statements were:

- The law is undemocratic,
- The law helps difficult decisions to be made because the Emergency Manager is an outsider,
- The law is racially discriminatory, either by design, or as implemented,
- The law does little to address the actual causes of local financial emergency,
- The law serves the interests of local residents by improving their city’s financial health, and
- The law leads to an overemphasis on cost-cutting at the expense of service quality, public health and safety, and other important considerations.

These items were also asked to a sample of local government officials in Michigan as part of the Michigan Public Policy Survey (MPPS), and to the general population of Michigan on the 74th State of the State Survey (SOSS). The opinions expressed by all three populations about the Emergency Manager Law are summarized in Table 4.

Table 4. Perceptions of Emergency Manager Law, with Comparison to MPPS and SOSS

	MPIP (MI insiders)		MPPS (Local officials)		SOSS (MI mass public)	
	Mean ^a	Net Agreement ^b	Mean ^a	Net Agreement ^b	Mean ^a	Net Agreement ^b
Overemphasis on cost-cutting at expense of service quality	3.66	+ 40%	3.48	+ 35%	3.67	+ 40%
Outsider helps difficult decisions be made	3.52	+ 41%	3.58	+ 49%	3.29	+ 23%
Does little to address actual causes of emergency	3.35	+ 20%	3.51	+ 38%	3.44	+ 26%
Law is undemocratic	3.28	+ 15%	3.22	+17%	3.21	+ 15%
Serves interests of local residents by improving financial health	3.27	+ 24%	3.32	+28%	3.23	+ 20%
Law is racially discriminatory, by design or as implemented	2.67	- 14%	2.42	- 30%	2.92	- 6%

^a Means are calculated on a five-point scale where 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 5 = “Strongly Agree”

^b Net agreement is calculated as the percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly agree with the statement, minus the percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly disagree. Positive scores indicate that more people agree with the statement than disagree, and negative scores indicate that the disagreement outnumbers the agreement.

The table indicates that:

- Among all three populations, respondents were much more likely to agree than disagree that the law leads to an overemphasis on cost-cutting at the expense of service quality (net agreement of 35 to 40 percent in each survey).

- Respondents were also much more likely to agree than disagree that by having the Emergency Manager be an outsider, the law helps difficult decisions to be made – however, the mass public agreed less strongly than state and local government insiders (23 percent “Very Important”, compared to 49 percent of local officials and 41 percent of state insiders).
- All three populations disagreed more than they agreed that the law is racially discriminatory, yet nontrivial proportions still expressed this belief. In fact, over one-third (37 percent) of state policy insiders either somewhat or strongly agreed with that statement, and the mass public was almost evenly divided (net agreement of -6 percent).

Section B. Beliefs and Attitudes about Life in Our Society

In addition to the items about state and local government, respondents were also asked about their beliefs and attitudes about living in Michigan and/or the United States. One battery of items measured the level of pride respondents felt toward their state and country. Respondents were asked to indicate their level of agreement or disagreement (on a five-point scale ranging from “Strongly Disagree” to “Strongly Agree”) with four statements pertaining to state pride and five statements pertaining to national pride. The results are summarized in Table 5, which indicates that:

- Respondents *overwhelmingly agreed* that they love, are emotionally attached to, and are proud to live in both their state and their country. Net agreement was greater than + 80 percent in each of these cases, with only minimal (5 percentage points or less) difference between the national items and the state items.
- Respondents were slightly more likely to agree than disagree that other countries should make their governments as much like the United States’ as possible (net agreement of + 7 percent), but disagreed more than they agreed that other states should make their governments more like Michigan (net agreement of -17 percent).
- Respondents disagreed *most strongly* with the statement that “in view of America’s moral and material superiority, it is only right that we should have the biggest say in deciding United Nations policy.”

Table 5. National Pride and State Pride, with Comparison to US Mass Public

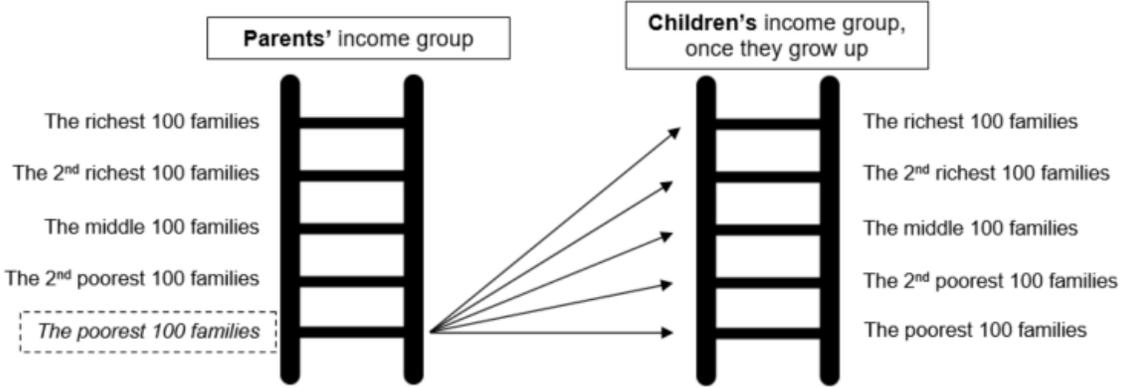
	Michigan Pride		National Pride	
	Mean ^a	Net Agreement ^b	Mean ^a	Net Agreement ^b
I love my [state / country]	4.60	+ 90%	4.68	+ 93%
I am emotionally attached to [Michigan / my country]	4.54	+ 88%	4.60	+ 92%
I am proud to [live in Michigan / be an American]	4.51	+ 87%	4.47	+ 82%
Other [states / countries] should make their government as much like ours as possible	2.66	- 17%	3.07	+ 7%
USA should have biggest say in United Nations policy	NA	NA	2.43	- 37%

^a Means are calculated on a five-point scale where 1 = “Strongly Disagree” and 5 = “Strongly Agree”

^b Net agreement is calculated as the percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly agree with the statement, minus the percentage of respondents who somewhat or strongly disagree. Positive scores indicate that more people agree with the statement than disagree, and negative scores indicate that the disagreement outnumbers the agreement.

Next, respondents were asked a set of items to measure their perceptions of intergenerational social mobility in the United States – that is, the ability of a family to improve its social position from one generation to the next, such as a child growing up and becoming wealthier than his or her parents had been. The instrument asked respondents to imagine 500 hypothetical families that represent the United States population, divided into five equal-sized groups on the basis of their incomes, as depicted in Figure 1 (which was also displayed to the respondents as part of the question). Respondents were asked to evaluate the chances that children *born in one of the poorest 100 families*, once they grow up, will belong to each of the five income groups.

Figure 1. Intergenerational Social Mobility “Ladder”



The results from these items are summarized in Table 6, along with a comparison to data collected from the United States mass public as well as the mass publics of the United Kingdom and France in a separate study by Harvard University political economists Albero Alesina, Stefanie Stantcheva, and Edoardo Teso.

Table 6. Perceived Social Mobility, with Comparison to Cross-National Mass Publics

	<u>Mean Perceived Transition Probability^a</u>			
	MI Insiders	US Mass Public ^b	UK Mass Public ^b	France Mass Public ^b
How many out of 100 children <u>coming from the poorest 100 families</u> will grow up to be in each income group?				
Richest	3	12	10	9
2 nd richest	6	12	11	11
Middle	18	22	19	22
2 nd poorest	25	22	22	24
Poorest	48	32	38	35

^a Mean Perceived Transition Probability is calculated as the average number out of 100 children coming from the poorest 100 families respondents said would grow up to be in each income group.

^b Comparison data for US, UK, and France mass publics come from *Alesina, Alberto, Stefanie Stantcheva, and Edoardo Teso. Intergenerational Mobility and Preferences for Redistribution. No. w23027. National Bureau of Economic Research, 2017.*

Table 6 indicates that policy insiders in Michigan have a much more pessimistic perception of social mobility than the mass public of all three countries. Compared to the other populations, panelists were more likely to report believing that children who are born poor will remain poor and have a low chance of becoming wealthy. In particular:

- On average, MPIP panelists said that about half (48 out of 100) of the hypothetical children from the poorest 100 families would grow up and remain in the poorest income group. By comparison, the average answer from the American mass public was 32 children, and for the British and French mass publics it was below 40 as well.
- On average, MPIP panelists said that just 3 out of 100 of the poorest children would group up to be in the richest income group, whereas the mass publics of all three countries gave an average response three to four times higher than that.

Respondents were also asked to indicate (on a five-point scale ranging from “Not Important At All” to “Essential”) how important nine particular factors are for getting ahead in life. The factors are listed in Table 7, in order from the one MPIP panelists rated as most important on average to the one they rated as least important. Comparison data from the United States and United Kingdom mass publics, collected and reported by the 2009 International Social Survey Programme, are shown as well.

Table 7. Perceived Importance of Various Factors for “Getting Ahead,” with Comparison to Cross-National Mass Publics

	MI Insiders		US Mass Public ^a		UK Mass Public ^a	
	Mean	% “Essential” / “Very Important”	Mean	% “Essential” / “Very Important”	Mean	% “Essential” / “Very Important”
Having ambition	4.42	88%	4.30	92%	3.93	72%
Having a good education yourself	4.41	91%	4.18	89%	3.94	74%
Knowing the right people	3.53	51%	3.40	45%	3.16	34%
Having well-educated parents	3.34	43%	3.38	49%	3.08	32%
Coming from a wealthy family	2.85	27%	2.83	30%	2.38	15%
Having political connections	2.82	20%	2.59	19%	2.05	6%
A person’s race	2.75	27%	2.01	10%	1.93	9%
Being born a man versus a woman	2.50	17%	1.99	10%	1.82	8%
A person’s religion	2.01	6%	1.90	11%	1.77	9%

^a Comparison data for US and UK, mass publics come from 2009 *International Social Survey Programme, Social Inequality Module*: <<https://www.gesis.org/issp>>

Table 7 indicates that the three populations collectively rank-ordered the factors quite similarly:

- Across all three groups, having ambition and a good education were rated as the most important factors for getting ahead, while knowing the right people and having well-educated parents came in third or fourth.
- A person's religion was rated as least important by all three groups.
- The biggest differences of opinion between Michigan's policy insiders and the United States mass public were over the importance of race and sex. Over one-fourth (27 percent) of MPIP panelists reported that a person's race was either essential or very important, while 17 percent of them said the same thing about being born a man versus a woman. By comparison, only 10 percent of the mass public said each of these factors was essential or very important.

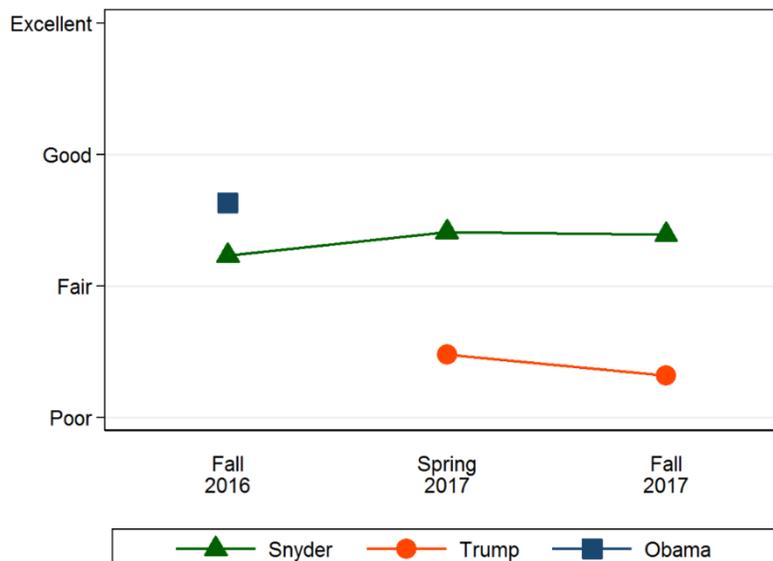
Section C. Presidential and Gubernatorial Job Performance

Next, respondents were asked to evaluate the job performance of President Donald Trump and Governor Rick Snyder on a four-point scale ranging from "Poor" to "Excellent." These questions had been previously asked to the panel in Spring 2017, as well as similar questions for Snyder and former President Barack Obama in Fall 2016. Figure 2 tracks the *average* approval rating given by the panelists for each executive at each time point.

The results indicate that:

- Obama received higher mean ratings in his lame duck session than Snyder and Trump received in any round of the MPIP survey.
- Rick Snyder has received consistently middling reviews, on average (roughly 2.4 on the four-point scale), which remained virtually unchanged from Spring to Fall 2017.
- Insiders rated Donald Trump quite unfavorably (below "Fair" in two out of two rounds where the question was asked), and his mean rating dropped even lower (from 1.5 to 1.3 on the four-point scale) from Spring to Fall 2017.

Figure 2. Mean Approval Ratings of Snyder, Trump, and Obama Tracked Over Time



The performance evaluation questions for President Trump and Governor Snyder were also asked to a sample of local government officials in Michigan as part of the Michigan Public Policy Survey, and to the general population of Michigan on the 75th State of the State Survey. The opinions expressed about each executive’s performance by all three of these populations are summarized in Table 8.

Table 8. Evaluations of Trump and Snyder Job Performance

	Evaluation
Donald Trump	
Net Approval ^a	-81%
Mean Support ^b	1.3
Rick Snyder	
Net Approval ^a	-10%
Mean Support ^b	2.4
^a Net Approval is calculated as percent answering “Excellent” or “Good” minus percent answering “Fair or “Poor.”	
^b Means are calculated using a four-point scale where 1 = “Poor” and 4 = “Excellent.” Higher scores correspond to more favorable evaluations.	

Section D. 2018 Election Preferences

Finally, respondents were asked a series of questions regarding their preferences about candidates and ballot initiatives in the 2018 elections. In November 2018, Michigan voters will elect a new governor to replace Rick Snyder (who is term limited and cannot run again), determine whether Debbie Stabenow will serve another term as US Senator, and potentially decide the fate of at least three ballot initiatives. The MPIP survey instrument asked respondents how they would vote on each of these matters if they had to cast their vote today.

First, Figure 3 shows the projected votes of MPIP panelists in two hypothetical matchups in the race for governor – former state Senate Minority Leader Gretchen Whitmer versus Attorney General Bill Schuette, and Whitmer versus Lieutenant Governor Brian Calley. The figure shows Whitmer leading among state policy insiders against either Republican opponent, though Calley fares somewhat better (deficit of 27 percentage points) against her than Schuette (deficit of 39 percentage points).

In each case, 14 to 18 percent of respondents said they were undecided. When asked which way they would lean if they absolutely had to choose, those undecideds were split 50%-50% with Whitmer facing Schuette and broke roughly 60%-40% in favor of Whitmer against Calley.

Figure 3. Gubernatorial Vote Preference (Whitmer v. Schuette / Calley)

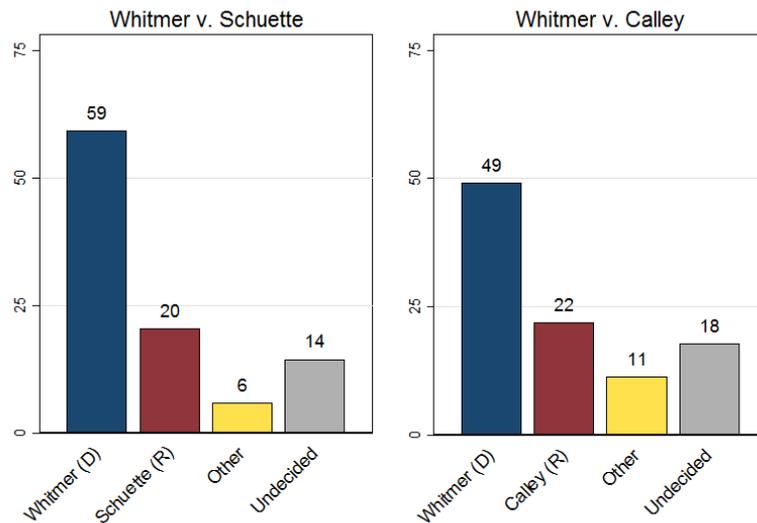
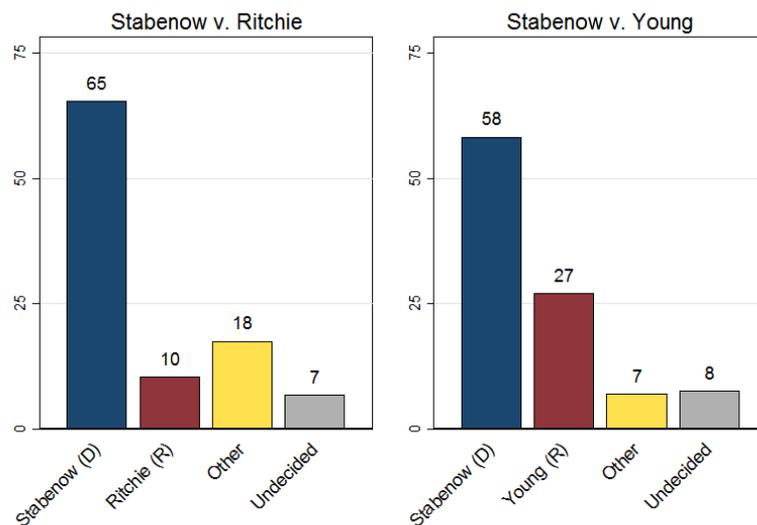


Figure 4 shows the projected votes of MPIP panelists in two hypothetical matchups in the race for US Senate – incumbent Debbie Stabenow versus Robert “Kid Rock” Ritchie, and Stabenow versus former state Supreme Court Chief Justice Robert Young. The figure shows Stabenow leading among state policy insiders against either Republican opponent, though Young fares better (deficit of 31 percentage points) against her than Ritchie (deficit of 55 percentage points).

In each case, 7 to 8 percent of respondents said they were undecided. When asked which way they would lean if they absolutely had to choose, those undecideds broke 86%-14% for Stabenow if she faced Ritchie yet broke 77%-23% in favor of Young if he was the challenger.

Figure 4. Senatorial Vote Preference (Stabenow v. Ritchie / Young)



Lastly, respondents were asked how they would vote on three ballot initiatives that may come before Michigan voters in 2018. The instrument asked, “If the election were held today, how would you most likely vote on a ballot initiative to:

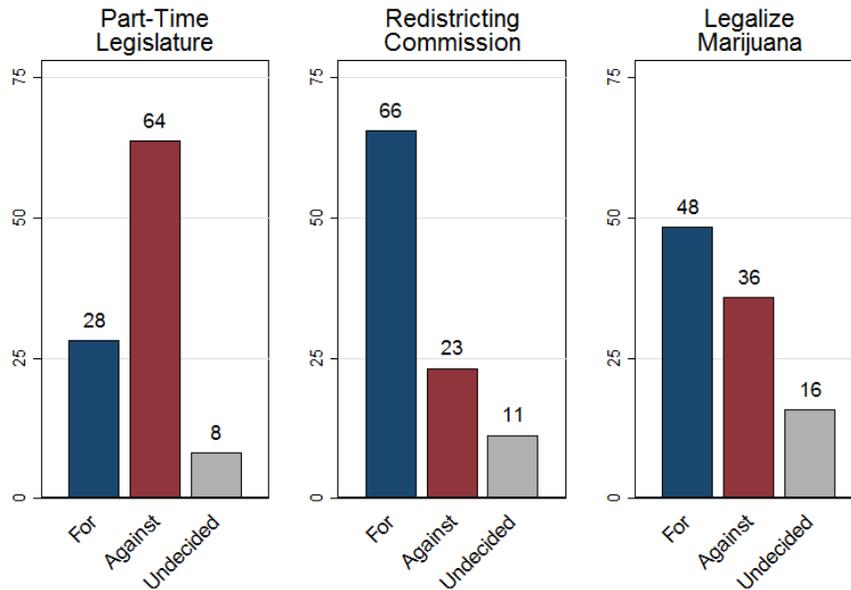
- Make Michigan’s state legislature part-time?
- Create an independent commission to draw legislative districts?
- Legalize marijuana in Michigan?”

The results indicate that:

- Insiders *oppose* the part-time legislature initiative by a margin of 64 percent to 28 percent, with 8 percent undecided.
- Insiders support the redistricting commission initiative by a margin of 66 percent to 23 percent, with 11 percent undecided.
- Insiders narrowly support the marijuana legalization initiative by a margin of 48 percent to 36 percent, with 16 percent undecided.

When asked which way they would lean if they absolutely had to decide today, undecided respondents broke 43%-57% *against* the part-time legislature, 53%-47% *against* the redistricting commission, and 55%-45% *in favor* of marijuana legalization.

Figure 5. Ballot Initiative Vote Preference



Section E. Demographic Summary

Table 9 provides a breakdown of the demographic characteristics of the political insiders who responded to each of the first three rounds of the Michigan Political Insiders Panel survey. In addition, it includes a comparison to results from the Institute for Public Policy and Social Research (IPPSR)'s State of the State Survey, which is representative of the general adult population of Michigan.

The demographic breakdown of MPIP respondents was very similar across all three rounds of data collection, with only very slight (one to two percentage points) variation across time points. On average, compared to the state's general population, the panel of insiders is *more* balanced in partisan identification, *more* ideologically centrist, *less* diverse in terms of race and gender, and *more* educated.

Table 9. Demographic Breakdown of MPIP Panel, by Round

Demographic Characteristics		MPIP ^a Round 1	MPIP ^a Round 2	MPIP ^a Round 3	MPIP ^a Round 4	SOSS ^a (General MI Population)
Party^b	Republican	33%	34%	34%	31%	29%
	Independent	30%	29%	30%	31%	34%
	Democrat	37%	36%	36%	38%	37%
Ideology	Conservative	16%	16%	18%	14%	40%
	In the Middle	61%	61%	60%	61%	36%
	Liberal	23%	22%	23%	24%	24%
Race/Ethnicity^c	White	90%	92%	92%	93%	78%
	Black	8%	6%	7%	6%	12%
	Hispanic	2%	1%	1%	1%	4%
Gender	Male	62%	64%	65%	64%	49%
	Female	38%	36%	35%	36%	51%
Education	No 4-Year Degree	4%	3%	3%	3%	76%
	4-Year Degree	44%	47%	46%	44%	15%
	Graduate Degree	53%	50%	51%	53%	9%
n		526	402	415	359	995

^a MPIP percentages are unweighted from a non-probability sample; SOSS percentages use survey weights.

^b Third party identifiers were excluded from Party ID percentages only.

^c Racial/ethnic categories were not mutually exclusive; respondents could select as many as applied to them.