Michigan Policy Insiders Panel (MPIP) Brief Report – Round 5

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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 5 survey was fielded from June 26, 2018 to July 23, 2018. Email invitations were sent to 602 MPIP panel members on June 26, and reminder emails were sent on June 29, July 10, July 17, and July 20 to those who had not yet completed the questionnaire by the time of the reminder. During this time, 300 respondents accessed the survey (49.8 percent of the panelists) and 290 competed it. Of the 300 who accessed the survey, 96.7 percent completed it. The overall completion rate for the study is 48.2 percent[1].

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[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 selction 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 290 / 602 = .482.

Section A. Quality of Living

Panelists were asked to assess the quality of conditions where they live, particularly in the areas of economic strength and child health and well-being.

First, they were asked to place the economy of Michigan and of the United States on five-point scales ranging from "very bad" (1) to "very good" (5). Their responses to these items are summarized in Table 1, below. In addition, this question had previously appeared on the Fall 2016 round of the MPIP panel survey; the mean scores from this previous round are also shown in the table for comparison. Assessments are broken down separately for respondents who identified themselves as Republicans, Independents, and Democrats.

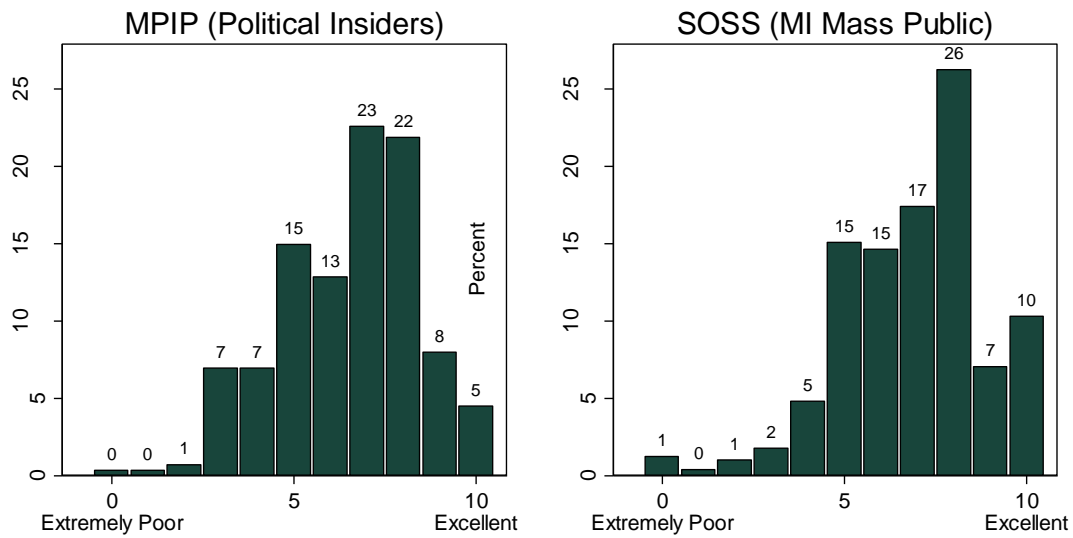**Table 1. Assessments of U.S. and Michigan Economy, by Party, with Comparison to 2016**

	% Very good / Good	% Very bad / Bad	Mean[a]	Mean[a] (Fall 2016)
United States Economy				
All respondents	*75%*	*5%*	*3.83*	*3.56*
Republicans only	88%	1%	4.16	3.30
Independents only	73%	4%	3.77	3.63
Democrats only	64%	6%	3.63	3.79
Michigan economy				
All respondents	*84%*	*2%*	*3.97*	*3.53*
Republicans only	96%	0%	4.23	3.74
Independents only	85%	4%	3.99	3.53
Democrats only	75%	1%	3.76	3.40
[a] Means are calculated using a five-point scale were 1 = "Very Bad" and 5 = "Very Good." Higher scores correspond to more favorable assessments.				

Table 1 shows that panelists generally assessed the economy of both Michigan and the United States favorably, with at least three-fourths (75 percent) rating each "very good" or "good." In particular:

- The Michigan economy, however, was rated as being even *stronger* (mean score of 3.97 overall) than the United States economy (mean score of 3.83).

- Panelists rated the economies of both the United States and Michigan as being *better* in Summer 2018 than they had in Fall 2016. This was true both overall and among Republicans, Independents, and Democrats specifically.

- Republicans rated the economies of both the United States and Michigan *more favorably* than did Democrats. This is in contrast to Fall 2016, when Republicans had more favorable assessments of the Michigan economy but less favorable assessments of the United States economy.

Next, panelists were asked, "how would you rate the quality of health care for children in your community on a scale of zero (extremely poor) to ten (excellent)?" The responses to this item are summarized in Figure 1, along with a comparison to the answers given by Michigan voters in the 74th State of the State Survey (Spring 2017 wave). The histograms reflect largely similar distributions of opinions between insiders and the mass public, with nearly three-fifths (58 percent) of each group giving a rating from six to eight out of ten.

Figure 1. Rating of Health Care Quality for Children, with Comparison to MI Mass Public

Panelists were also asked, "Do you think the well-being of children in your community has improved, stayed the same, or become worse in the past five years?" Again, the same question was also asked to Michigan adults on the 74th State of the State Survey (Spring 2017 wave). The responses from both groups are summarized below, in Figure 2.

Figure 2. Reported Change in Well-Being for Children, with Comparison to MI Mass Public
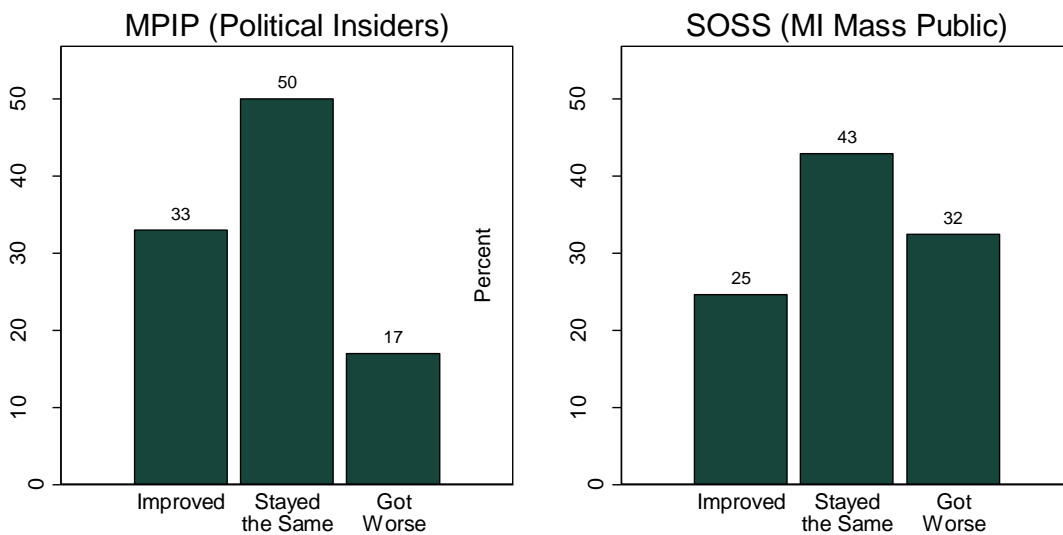

Figure 2 shows that approximately half (50 percent) of MPIP panelists indicated the well-being of children in their community had stayed the same over the past five years, while one-third (33 percent) indicated that it improved and less than one-fifth (17 percent) indicated that it got worse. By contrast, members of the mass public were more likely to report that the well-being of children in their community got worse (32 percent) than to report that it had improved (25 percent).
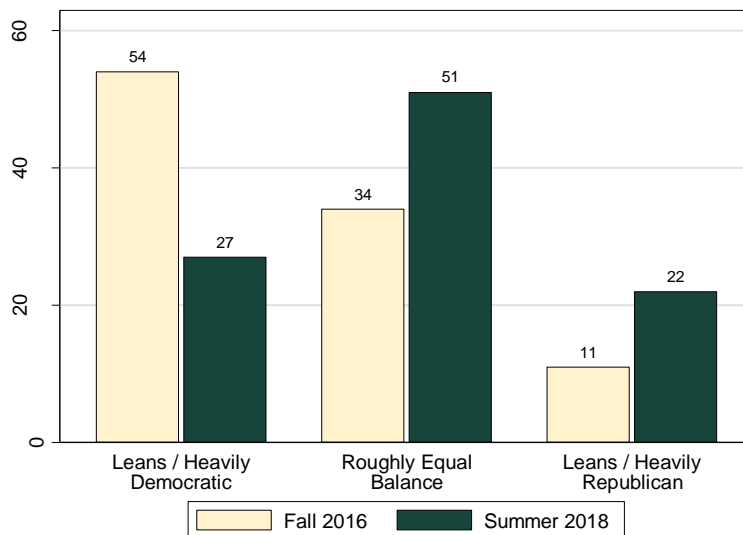
Section B. Voters and Politicians

Panelists were also asked a series of questions about participants in the political process – that is, about elected officials and the voters they represent.

First, the questionnaire asked, "Overall, how would you characterize the political leanings of the citizenry of the State of Michigan in 2018?" Answers could be given on a five-point scale ranging from "Heavily Democratic" to "Heavily Republican." This item also appeared on the Fall 2016 wave of the MPIP panel survey; the responses from both waves are summarized in Figure 3, which shows that:

- Over half (51 percent) of panelists in 2018 indicated that the Michigan citizenry has a roughly equal balance of Democrats and Republicans. Slightly more reported that the Michigan citizenry leans Democratic (27 percent) than reported that it leans Republican (22 percent).

- By contrast, in Fall 2016 a majority of panelists (54 percent) reported that the Michigan citizenry leaned Democratic, while just 11 percent reported that it leaned Republican. In other words, panelists' characterization of the Michigan citizenry shifted from 2016 to 2018, in that they collectively perceived stronger support for the Republican Party than they had two years prior.

Figure 3. Political Characterization of Michigan Citizenry, with Comparison to Fall 2016

Perceptions of party strength are often influenced by the beholder's own political affiliations, in that strong partisans are more likely to be optimistic about the strength of their own party. Indeed, Table 2 shows that Democratic respondents were more likely (31 percent) to characterize the Michigan citizenry as leaning or heavily Democratic than were Republican respondents (25 percent). However:

- Respondents of all partisan affiliations were similarly likely (19 to 20 percent) to characterize the Michigan citizenry as leaning or heavily Republican.

- Members of opposite parties agreed *more strongly* with each other about the leanings of the citizenry in 2018 than they did in 2016, when such characterizations were more starkly divided along party lines.

Table 2. Political Characterization of Michigan Citizenry, by Respondent Party ID
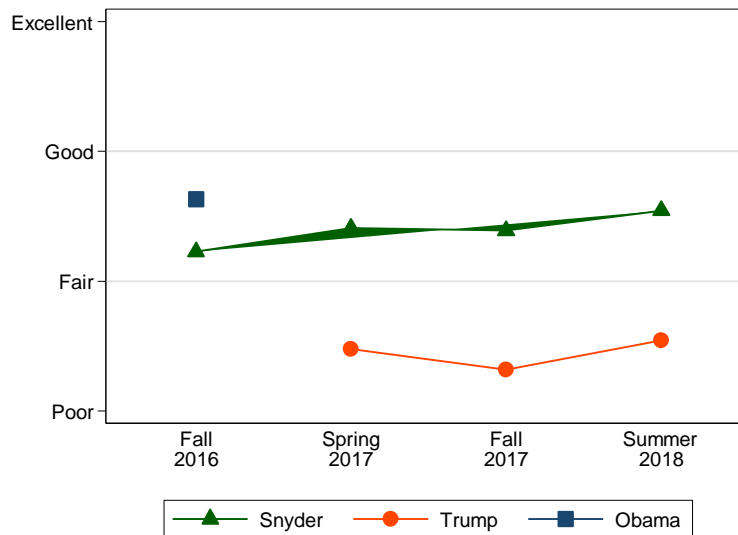
	Summer 2018				Fall 2016			
	% Lean / Heavily Democratic	Roughly Equal Balance	% Lean / Heavily Republican	Mean[a]	% Lean / Heavily Democratic	Roughly Equal Balance	% Lean / Heavily Republican	Mean[a]
All respondents	27%	51%	22%	2.95	54%	34%	11%	2.58
Republicans only	25%	56%	19%	2.96	50%	40%	11%	2.64
Independents only	28%	52%	20%	2.91	55%	32%	13%	2.58
Democrats only	31%	49%	20%	2.91	60%	30%	10%	2.49

[a] Means are calculated using a five-point scale were 1 = "Heavily Republican" and 5 = "Heavily Democratic." Higher scores correspond to more favorable assessments.

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 both Spring and Fall of 2017, as well as similar questions for Snyder and former President Barack Obama in Fall 2016. Figure 4 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 increased slightly from Fall 2017 (2.4) to Summer 2018 (2.5).

- Insiders rated Donald Trump quite unfavorably (below "Fair" in each of the three rounds where the question was asked), although his mean rating increased (from 1.3 to 1.5 on the four-point scale) from Fall 2017 to Summer 2018.

Figure 4. 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[2], and to the general population of Michigan on the 76th State of the State Survey[3]. The opinions expressed about each executive's performance by all three of these populations are summarized in Table 3.

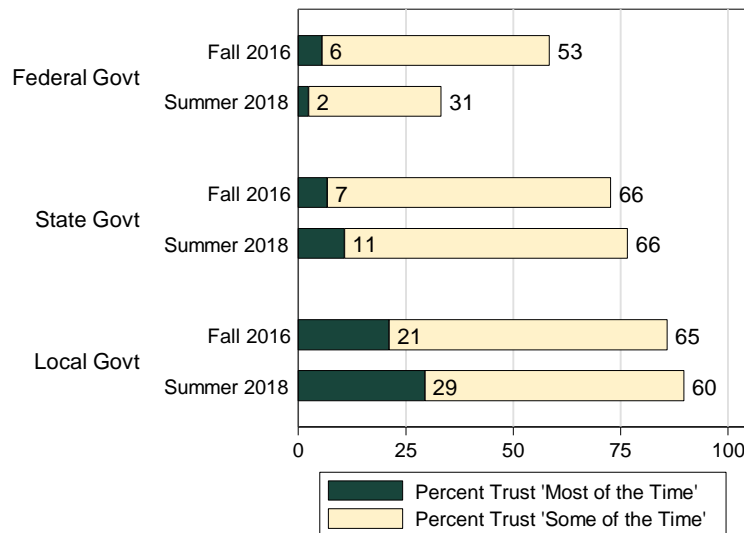**Table 3. Evaluations of Trump and Snyder, with Comparisons to Other Populations**

	MPIP (State Insiders)	MPPS (Local Govt Officials)	SOSS (MI Mass Public)
Rick Snyder			
Net Approval[a]	+4%	+9%	-38%
Mean Support[b]	2.54	2.52	2.04
Donald Trump			
Net Approval[a]	-68%	-15%	-37%
Mean Support[b]	1.54	2.33	1.96

[a] Net Approval is calculated as the percentage of respondents who evaluated the executives performance as "Excellent" or "Good," minus the percentage of respondents who rated it "Fair" or "Poor." Positive values indicate that respondents who rated the executive's performance favorably outnumber the respondents who rated it unfavorably, while negative values indicate the opposite.
[b] Means are calculated using a four-point scale where 1 = "Poor" and 4 = "Excellent"

Respondents were also asked how much of the time they think they can trust the federal government in Washington, the state government in Lansing, and their local government to do what is right – almost never, seldom, some of the time, or most of the time. This question also appeared in the Fall 2016 wave of the MPIP panel survey. Figure 5 shows the percentage of respondents who answered "some of the time" or "most of the time" for each level of government, at each time point.

Figure 5. Reported Level of Trust in Various Levels of Government, with Comparison to Fall 2016

Figure 5 indicates that:

- MPIP panelists reported *higher* levels of trust in lower levels of government than in higher levels of government. A vast majority (89 percent) indicated they trust their local government to do what is right some or most of the time, compared to 77 percent for the state government in Lansing and just 33 percent for the federal government.

- Trust in the federal government *decreased* sharply from Fall 2016 (59 percent trusting some or most of the time) to Summer 2018 (33 percent), while trust in state and local government *increased* slightly over the same time period.

Section C. Political Climate

Next, respondents were asked to evaluate the political climate in the United States – specifically, the extent to which the country meets various standards of democracy and whether they perceive that core American values are under threat

The section assessing the quality of American democracy listed nine different democratic standards, and asked respondents to indicate whether the United States today fully meets, mostly meets, partly meets, or does not meet each standard. The specific standards[4], which were displayed to each respondent in a randomized order, were as follows:
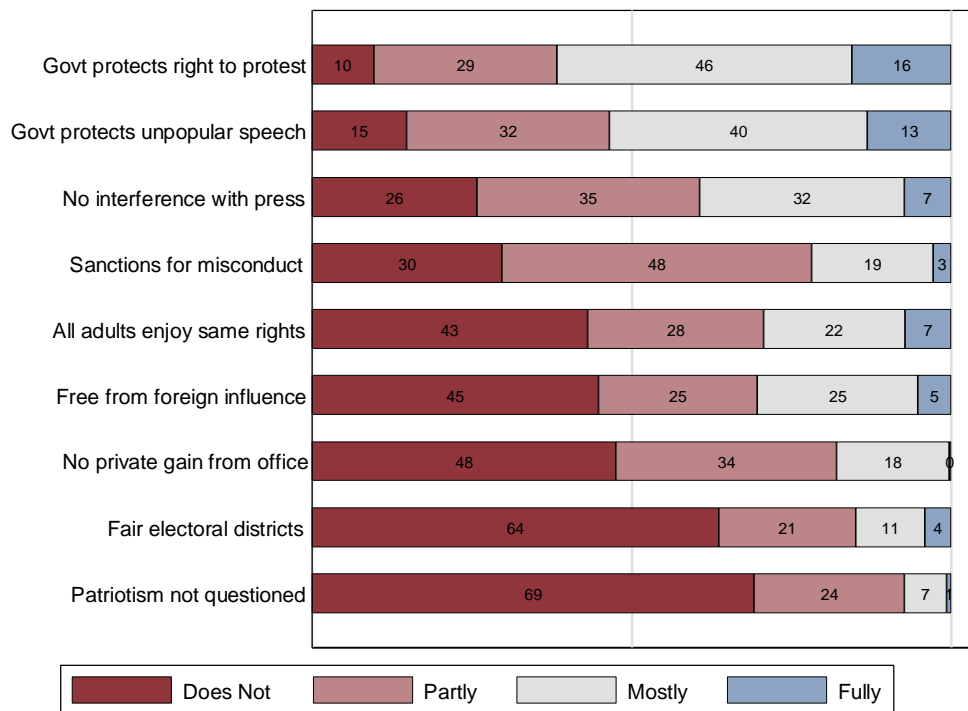
1. Government protects individuals' right to engage in peaceful protest
2. Government protects individuals' right to engage in unpopular speech or expression
3. All adult citizens enjoy the same legal and political rights
4. Elections are free from foreign influence
5. Political competition occurs without criticism of opponents' loyalty or patriotism
6. The geographic boundaries of electoral districts do not systematically advantage any particular political party
7. Government does not interfere with journalists or news organizations
8. Government officials are legally sanctioned for misconduct
9. Government officials do not use public office for private gain

The results from these items are summarized in Figure 6, which indicates that MPIP panelists generally expressed very unfavorable beliefs about the quality of democracy in the United States. Specifically:

- Fewer than 20 percent of respondents indicated that the United States fully meets each of the nine standards.

- Respondents indicated that the United States does best in the areas of protecting the right to protest and unpopular speech or expression. Over 50 percent indicated the country either mostly or fully meets these two standards.

- On the other seven standards, however, most (greater than 50 percent) respondents indicated the United States today either meets the standard only partly or does not meet it at all.

- Respondents expressed the most unfavorable beliefs about the extent to which public officials use public office for private gain (48 percent answering "does not meet this standard"), the fairness of electoral districts (64 percent answering "does not meet this standard"), and political competition occurring without criticism of loyalty or patriotism (69 percent answering "does not meet this standard.")

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[4] These items were derived from a survey originally conducted by Bright Line Watch. See http://brightlinewatch.org/surveys/ for details.

Figure 6. How Well the United States Today Meets Various Democratic Standards

	Does Not	Partly	Mostly	Fully
Govt protects right to protest	10	29	46	16
Govt protects unpopular speech	15	32	40	13
No interference with press	26	35	32	7
Sanctions for misconduct	30	48	19	3
All adults enjoy same rights	43	28	22	7
Free from foreign influence	45	25	25	5
No private gain from office	48	34	18	0
Fair electoral districts	64	21	11	4
Patriotism not questioned	69	24	7	

Moreover, as Table 4 shows, the beliefs reported about the Quality of American democracy varied by the political party of the Respondent. Republicans were far *more likely* to indicate that the country fully or mostly meets each standard, while Democrats were *least* likely. In fact, fewer than half of the Democratic respondents answered "fully" or "mostly" for any of the standards.

Table 4. Reported Beliefs about Quality of American Democracy, by Respondent Party ID

	% Who answered "Fully" or "Mostly meets" Standard			
Items	**Democrats**	**Independents**	**Republicans**	**All Respondents**
Protest tolerated	45%	57%	83%	61%
Free speech	39%	49%	77%	54%
No interference with press	26%	27%	66%	39%
Sanctions for misconduct	16%	19%	32%	22%
Equal legal / political rights	11%	20%	61%	30%
No foreign influence	11%	23%	61%	31%
No private gains from office	15%	16%	30%	20%
Districts not biased	1%	4%	40%	15%
Patriotism not questioned	2%	8%	13%	8%
AVERAGE %	*18%*	*25%*	*51%*	*31%*
MEAN SCORE[a]	*2.53*	*3.17*	*3.30*	*3.02*

[a]*Mean scores are calculated using a four-point scale where 1 = "Does not meet this standard and 4 = "Fully meets this standard," averaged across all nine items*
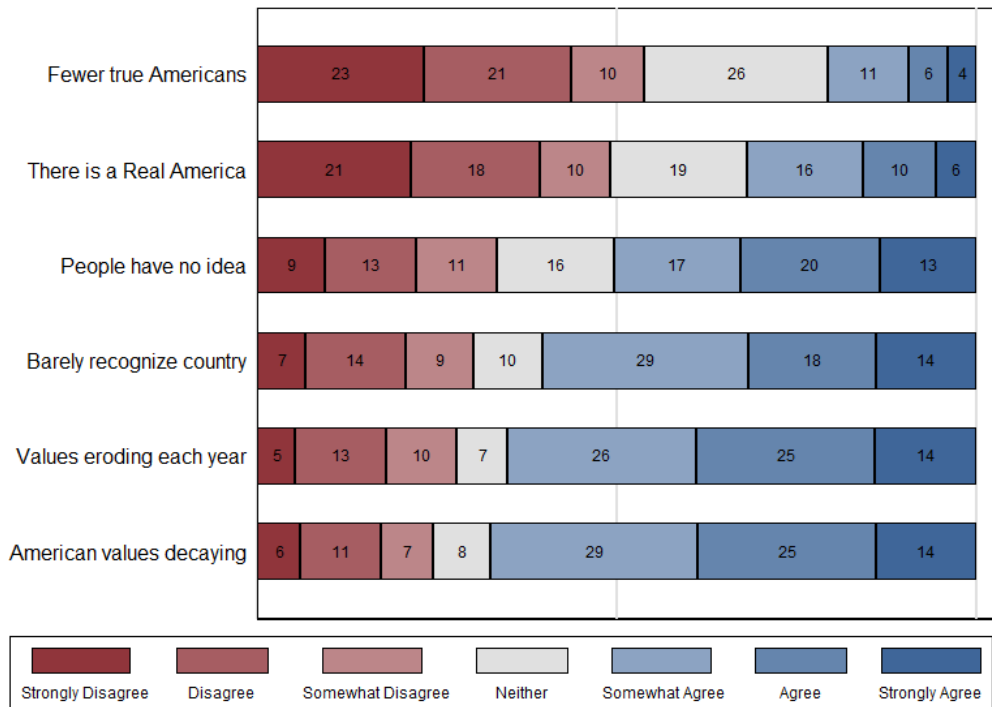
Next, the battery of items measuring perceptions of American values being under threat asked respondents to indicate the extent to which they agree or disagree with each of six statements, which were displayed to each respondent in a randomized order:

1. Compared to the America I grew up in, sometimes I barely recognize what this country is becoming

2. In this country, there is a "Real America" distinct from those who don't share the same values

3. The values that made America great are eroding more and more with each passing year

4. There are a growing number of people in this country who have no idea what it means to be truly an American

5. True, red-blooded Americans are fewer and farther between these days

6. America's greatest values are increasingly decaying from within

The responses to these items are summarized below, in Figure 7, which again reflects a generally unfavorable view of American values today. In particular:

- One half to two-thirds (50 to 68 percent) of respondents *agreed* America's values are increasingly decaying, that the values that made America great are eroding more each year, that they barely recognize what the country is becoming, and that a growing number of people have no idea what it means to be American.

- On the other hand, less than one-third (21 to 32 percent) of respondents agreed that there is a "Real America" distinct from those who don't share the same values and that there are fewer true, red-blooded Americans these days.

Figure 7. Reported Beliefs about American Values under Threat

Once again, these beliefs seemed to be closely related to the partisan affiliation of the respondent. As Table 5 indicates, Democrats were the group *least* likely to agree with all six statements, while Republicans and Independents expressed a stronger sense of core American values being under threat.

Table 5. Reported Beliefs about American Values under Threat, by Respondent Party ID

Items	% Total Agreement			
	Democrats	**Independents**	**Republicans**	**All Respondents**
American values decaying	54%	72%	75%	66%
Barely recognize America	55%	70%	57%	60%
American values eroding each year	51%	67%	70%	62%
People have no idea what it means to be American	41%	51%	57%	49%
There is a "Real America"	22%	36%	35%	30%
Fewer true Americans	7%	15%	30%	17%
AVERAGE %	*38%*	*52%*	*54%*	*47%*
MEAN SCORE[a]	*3.66*	*4.22*	*4.38*	*4.14*

[a]*Mean scores are calculated using a seven-point scale where 1 = "Strongly Disagree" and 7 = "Strongly Agree," averaged across all nine items*

Section D. Election 2018

Finally, respondents were asked a series of questions about the races and ballot initiatives facing Michigan voters in the November 2018 elections.

When asked who they thought would win the gubernatorial primary elections to be the Democratic and Republican nominees for Michigan governor (regardless of who they personally supported), 92 percent correctly predicted Gretchen Whitmer would become the Democratic nominee and 83 percent correctly predicted Bill Schuette to be the Republican nominee.

They were then asked what share of the popular vote they thought each candidate would receive in the general election. Table 6 summarizes these predictions by the partisan affiliation of the respondent, among the 222 respondents who predicted Whitmer and Schuette would win the primary (and therefore gave estimated vote shares for that particular pairing of candidates).

The results indicate that MPIP respondents predicted that Gretchen Whitmer would receive 49 percent of the vote compared to Bill Schuette with 47 percent. As expected, partisans were somewhat more optimistic about the chances of the candidate from their own party, with 73 percent of Democrats predicting a Whitmer victory compared to just 56 percent of Republicans. However, it is notable that even a majority of Republican insiders predicted that Whitmer would win the general election.

Table 6. Predicted Vote Share for Michigan Governor Candidates, by Respondent Party ID

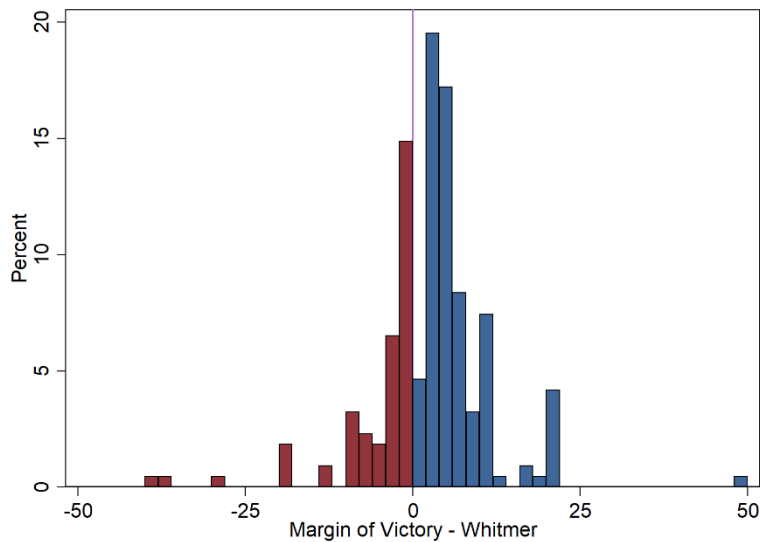| Mean predicted popular vote share	**Democrats**	**Independents**	**Republicans**	**All Respondents**
Gretchen Whitmer (D)	49.6	48.3	48.9	49.1
Bill Schuette (R)	45.9	47.4	49.2	47.3
% Respondents predicting Dem win	*73%*	*64%*	*56%*	*66%*

Only the 222 respondents who predicted a Whitmer vs. Schuette election are included in these calculations, as those are the respondents who were asked about this particular combination of candidates

By comparing the vote share each respondent predicted for the two candidates, we measured not only which candidate they thought would win the election, but also by how much – that is, the predicted margin of victory.

Figure 8 plots the distribution of predicted victory margins for the 222 respondents who predicted Whitmer and Schuette would win the primaryEach bar indicates the percentage of respondents who predicted a victory margin of a particular size. Victory margins are expressed by subtracting Schuette's predicted vote share from Whitmer's – thus, margins greater than zero correspond to a predicted win for Whitmer (shown in blue), while margins less than zero correspond to a predicted win for Schuette (shown in red).

The chart shows that, on average, respondents predicted a win for Gretchen Whitmer by a narrow margin. Those who reported thinking Schuette would win most commonly predicted a victory margin of two percentage points or less, while those who predicted a Whitmer victory also predicted a somewhat larger margin (with predictions between two to four percentage points more common for Whitmer than for Schuette).

Figure 8. Predicted Margin of Victory in the 2018 Michigan Governor Election

Similarly, respondents were asked to predict the number of seats each party would win in the 2018 state legislative elections, both in the Michigan House of Representatives and the Michigan Senate. Table 7 summarizes their predictions, broken down by the partisan affiliation of the respondent.

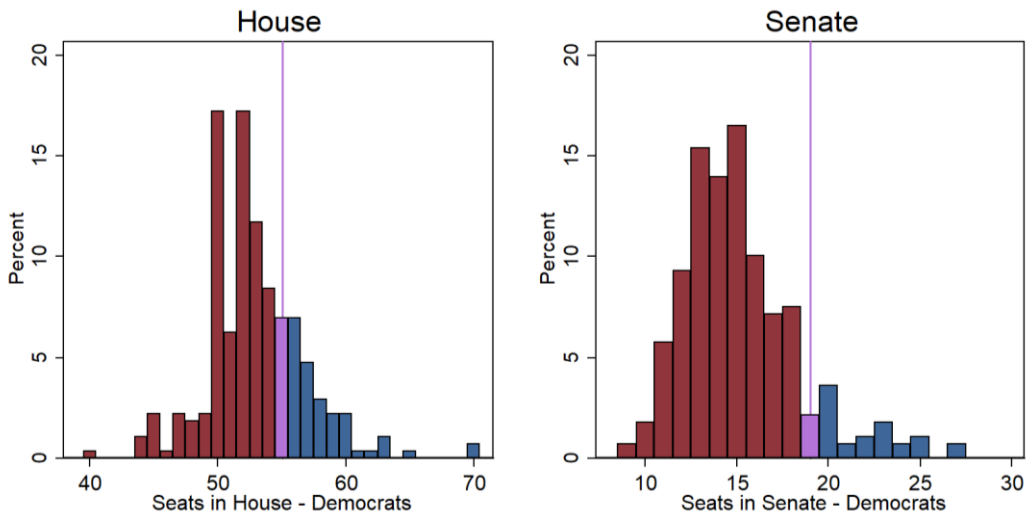**Table 7. Predicted Seats in Michigan Legislature, by Respondent Party ID**

Mean predicted seats	Democrats	Independents	Republicans	All Respondents
MI House of Representatives (110 seats)				
Democratic seats	53.9	52.8	52.5	52.9
Republican seats	56.1	57.2	57.5	57.1
% Respondents predicting Dem majority	*30%*	*24%*	*21%*	*24%*
MI Senate (38 seats)				
Democratic seats	15.4	15.0	15.3	15.2
Republican seats	22.7	23.0	22.6	22.8
% Respondents predicting Dem majority	*10%*	*7%*	*14%*	*10%*

NOTE: The current breakdown of seats in the state legislature is 63 Republicans – 47 Democrats in the House and 27 Republicans – 11 Democrats in the Senate.

Table 7 shows that:

- On average, the respondents predicted that Democrats will gain approximately six additional seats in the House (from 47 before the elections to 53 after) and four seats in the Senate (from 11 before the elections to 15 after), but that the Republican Party would still maintain majorities in both chambers.

- Approximately one-fourth (24 percent) of all respondents predicted that the Democrats will hold a majority of seats in the state House of Representatives after the upcoming elections, while just one-tenth (10 percent) predicted that they will hold a majority in the state Senate.

- Although respondents from different parties varied somewhat in the average predictions they made, these differences were minor – the average prediction made by each group was within less than two seats for both the House and Senate.

Below, Figure 9 shows the overall distribution of predictions for both the House and Senate made by all respondents. Each bar indicates the percentage of respondents who predicted that the *Democratic Party* would control each number of seats. Again, bars colored in blue correspond to predictions of a Democratic majority (i.e., at least 56 Democratic seats in the House or 20 Democratic seats in the Senate), and bars colored in red correspond to predictions of a Republican majority. The bars colored in purple correspond to predictions of the chamber having an equal number of Democrats and Republicans.

Figure 9. Predicted Share of Seats in the Michigan Legislature after the 2018 Elections

These charts show that those who predicted Democratic majorities guessed that the chamber would be very narrowly divided in terms of partisan control, whereas those who predicted Republican majorities were not only far more numerous, but also guessed that the majorities would be much larger in size. Specifically:
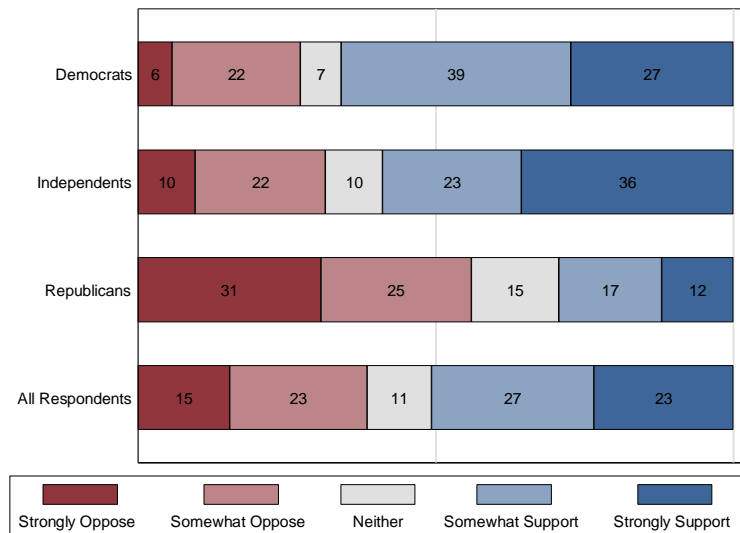
- Regarding the House, 27 percent of respondents predicted that the Republican Party would have an advantage of at least 10 seats (e.g., 60 Republicans – 50 Democrats), whereas just 5 percent of respondents predicted a Democratic majority that large.

- Regarding the Senate, 47 percent of respondents predicted that the Republican Party would have an advantage of at least 10 seats (e.g., 24 Republicans – 14 Democrats), whereas just 3 percent of respondents predicted a Democratic majority that large.

Finally, the instrument asked respondents their opinions about an issue that Michigan voters will decide this November – the legality of recreational marijuana. The item asked, "There is currently an initiative to legalize and regulate recreational marijuana in Michigan through a ballot proposal in November's statewide election. Regardless of details of that proposal, to what extend would you generally support or oppose legalizing and regulating recreational marijuana in Michigan?" Answers could be given on a five-point scale ranging from "Strongly Oppose" to "Strongly Support."

The distribution of responses to this question are summarized in Figure 10, broken down separately by the political party of the respondent. The results indicate that, overall, Michigan political insiders hold mixed opinions about legalizing recreational marijuana. In particular:

- 50 percent of all respondents indicated that they either somewhat or strongly support legalizing and regulating recreational marijuana, compared to 38 percent who strongly or somewhat oppose it.

- Support for legalizing recreational marijuana is much stronger among Democrats (66 percent total support) and Independents (59 percent total support) than among Republicans (29 percent total support). In fact, 31 percent of Republican respondents reported that they strongly oppose legalizing recreational marijuana.

Figure 10. Reported Support for Legalizing Recreational Marijuana, by Respondent Party ID

This same item was also asked to a sample of local government officials in Michigan as part of the Michigan Public Policy Survey. Table 8, which compares the results of both surveys, indicates strong disagreement between state insiders (Net Support of +12%) and local government officials (Net Support of -33%).

Table 8. Net and Mean Support for Marijuana Legalization, with Comparison to MPPS

	MPIP (State Insiders)	MPPS (Local Govt Officials)
Net Support[a]	+12%	-33%
Mean Support[b]	3.20	2.27
[a] Net Support is calculated as the percentage of respondents who reported either strongly or somewhat supporting legalization, minus the percentage of respondents who reported either strongly or somewhat opposing it. Positive values indicate that respondents who support legalization outnumber the respondents who oppose it, while negative values indicate the opposite. [b] Means are calculated using a five-point scale where 1 = "Strongly Oppose" and 5 = "Strongly Support"		

Section E. Demographic Summary

Table 8 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 designed to be 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 (zero to four 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* formally educated.

Table 9. Demographic Breakdown of MPIP Panel, by Round

Demographic Characteristics		MPIP[a] Wave 1	MPIP[a] Wave 2	MPIP[a] Wave 3	MPIP[a] Wave 4	MPIP[a] Wave 5	SOSS[a] (General MI Population)
Party [b]	Republican	33%	34%	31%	31%	32%	25%
	Independent	30%	29%	31%	31%	31%	37%
	Democrat	37%	36%	38%	38%	37%	37%
Ideology	Conservative	16%	16%	14%	14%	14%	29%
	In the Middle	61%	61%	61%	61%	66%	43%
	Liberal	23%	22%	24%	24%	20%	28%
Race/Ethnicity[c]	White	90%	92%	93%	93%	92%	78%
	Black	8%	6%	6%	6%	7%	13%
	Hispanic	2%	1%	1%	1%	1%	4%
Gender	Male	62%	64%	64%	64%	68%	48%
	Female	38%	36%	36%	36%	32%	52%
Education	No 4-Year Degree	4%	3%	3%	3%	5%	55%
	4-Year Degree	44%	47%	44%	44%	40%	29%
	Graduate Degree	53%	50%	53%	53%	55%	16%
n		526	402	359	359	290	948

[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.*