



Louisiana Residents Disillusioned with State's Politics

Demands for compromise on the rise, but few expect leaders to follow through

The first in a series of six reports from the 2018 Louisiana Survey



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FOR FURTHER INFORMATION ON THIS REPORT:

Dr. Michael Henderson 225-578-5149 mbhende1@lsu.edu

Reilly Center for Media & Public Affairs

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For Further Information on the Reilly Center:

Jenee Slocum, Director 225-938-9333 jenee@lsu.edu



About the Louisiana Survey

The 2018 Louisiana Survey is the seventeenth in an annual series sponsored by the Reilly Center for Media & Public Affairs at Louisiana State University's Manship School of Mass Communication.

The mission of the *Louisiana Survey* is to establish benchmarks as well as to capture change in residents' assessments of state government services. The survey is further dedicated to tracking public opinion on the contemporary policy issues that face the state. Each iteration of the *Louisiana Survey* contains core items designed to serve as barometers of public sentiment, including assessments of whether the state is heading in the right direction or wrong direction, perceptions about the most important problems facing the state, as well as evaluations of public revenue sources and spending priorities.

In the 2018 Louisiana Survey, this core is supplemented by measures of perceptions of political polarization in the state and support for compromise; trust in government and media; opinion on proposals to address the state's "fiscal cliff;" beliefs about the role of government in business and the economy; approval of major recent policy developments such as criminal justice reform and Medicaid expansion; and beliefs about gender discrimination and sexual harassment.

As part of an effort to ensure that the *Louisiana Survey* fulfills its public service mission, the research team solicited input about topics for the survey from members of the government and policy community across the political spectrum. Additionally, the research team drew upon expertise in public policy and polling from Louisiana State University faculty. These advisors provided invaluable insight into the design of the questionnaire and in identifying the contemporary policy questions that could most benefit from an understanding of the public's views. While we are indebted to them for their time and contributions, they bear no responsibility for any mistakes in the questionnaire, analysis, or interpretation presented in this report.

We especially thank the Reilly Family Foundation for their generous support and vision in helping to create the Louisiana Survey.

Principal Authors

Michael Henderson Assistant Professor, Manship School of Mass Communication Director, Public Policy Research Lab

Belinda Davis

Associate Professor, Department of Political Science, College of Humanities & Social Sciences Associate Director, Public Policy Research Lab



Overview

The *2018 Louisiana Survey*, a project of the Reilly Center for Media & Public Affairs, reveals many signs that the people of Louisiana are disillusioned with the state's politics:

- The call for elected leaders to compromise with those they disagree with is on the rise, but few state residents believe their leaders will actually work together. Sixty percent prefer elected officials in state government who share their positions on important issues to work with other elected officials they disagree with even if it results in some disliked policies. This is an increase of more than ten percentage points since 2016. However, only 18 percent think Republicans and Democrats in state government will actually work together on solutions for Louisiana's challenges.
- Pessimism about the state is on the rise as the share of residents saying the state is heading
 in the wrong direction increased by ten percentage points since last year.
- State residents see a growing divide between the political parties. Overall, 73 percent say
 the state is more politically divided these days than in the past.
- Few state residents trust state government or the political wisdom of their fellow Louisianans. Only 22 percent trust state government to do what is right always or most of the time. Sixty-six percent say they do not have very much confidence or have no confidence in the wisdom of the people of Louisiana when it comes to making political decisions.
- Many state residents question their impact on state government. Just 51 percent say "ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government of Louisiana if they are willing to make the effort," and 70 percent say "most elected officials in Louisiana don't care what people like me think."
- Concerns about the economy top the public's list of priorities, with 22 percent naming topics such as the economy, jobs, or wages when asked about the most important problem facing the state. Additionally, 66 percent say good jobs are difficult to find in their communities. At the same time, few have experienced an economic downturn, with 59 percent saying they are getting along financially about as well as a year ago.
- Public confidence in state government to effectively deal with the most important problems remains low with 37 percent saying they are "very" or "somewhat" confident, near where it has lingered since 2014.

The 2018 Louisiana Survey was administered over the telephone from January 26 to March 3, 2018, to both landline and cell phone respondents. The project includes a representative sample of 852 adult Louisiana residents. The total sample has a margin of error of \pm -3.4 percentage points.

This is the first in a series of six releases on results from the 2018 Louisiana Survey.



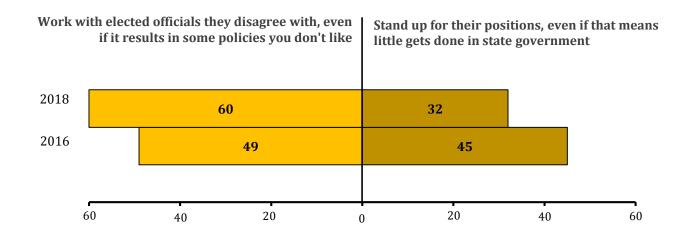
Most want leaders to compromise, but few expect it

Louisiana residents increasingly want to see their elected officials compromise, but few expect to see them work together. Six in ten Louisiana residents prefer elected officials in state government who share their positions on important issues to work with other elected officials they disagree with, even if it results in some disliked policies, rather than to stand up for their positions at the cost of getting little done. When the *Louisiana Survey* last asked this question two years ago, state residents split nearly evenly between compromise and standing up for positions (Figure 1).1

Even as more state residents are calling for greater compromise, only 18 percent think Republicans and Democrats in state government actually will work together on solutions for Louisiana's challenges. A large majority (79 percent), instead, expect the parties to bicker and oppose each other even at the expense of solving problems.

Figure 1: Support for compromise gains ground

Percent saying elected officials in state government who share their positions on important issues should _____

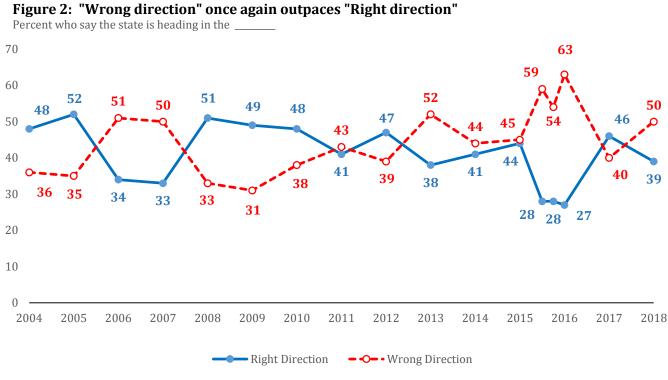


SOURCE: 2016 & 2018 Louisiana Survey

to prefer less government activity rather than support for compromise. Differences between the two versions are negligible. When using the latter wording, 62 percent prefer elected officials working with those they disagree with and 32 percent prefer elected officials to stand up for their positions.



¹ Respondents were randomly assigned either to this question or to a similar question that replaces the clause, "even if that means little gets done in state government," with the clause "even if that keeps government from solving the problems facing the state." The purpose of the randomization is to test whether the former version measures a predisposition



SOURCE: 2004 - 2018 Louisiana Survey, Summer 2015 Election Survey, and Fall 2015 Election Survey

More pessimism about direction of Louisiana

More Louisiana residents think the state is heading in the wrong direction than think it is heading in the right direction, a return to a familiar pattern from recent years (Figure 2). Since 2013, public mood about the direction of the state has generally tilted negatively. Opinion reversed course last year for the first time in several years. This year, however, half of the state's residents now say Louisiana is heading in the wrong direction.

Democrats are driving the shift in public mood. A year ago, Democrats leaned in a positive direction by seven points: 47 percent right direction and 40 percent wrong direction. Now, Democratic opinion heavily tilts in a negative direction by 17 points: 36 percent right direction and 53 percent wrong direction.

The shift among Republicans and independents is more muted. The balance of opinion among Republicans went from ten points in a positive direction in 2017 (48 percent right direction and 38 percent wrong direction) to nearly even in 2018 (43 percent right direction and 44 percent negative direction). Today, more Republicans than Democrats now think the state is heading in the right direction.

Independents are similar to Democrats with 38 percent saying the state is heading in the right direction and 51 percent saying it is heading in the wrong direction.



Public sees widening partisan divide

The people of Louisiana see partisan polarization growing in the state. Overall, 73 percent say the state is more politically divided these days than in the past. Similar shares of Democrats (76 percent), Republicans (73 percent), and independents (71 percent) see this growing political divide.

The survey also asked respondents to identify the ideology of the "Republican Party in Louisiana" and the "Democratic Party in Louisiana," as well as their own ideology. Respondents answered using a seven point scale: "very liberal" (1), "liberal" (2), "somewhat liberal" (3), "moderate" (4), "somewhat conservative" (5), "conservative" (6), or "very conservative" (7).

Generally, partisans see their own party as more moderate than the opposing party. Additionally, Democrats see themselves as more moderate than Republicans see themselves (Figure 3).

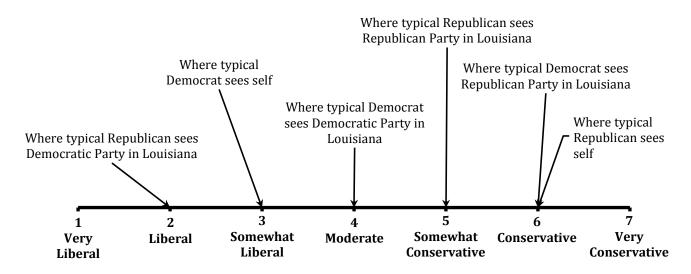
For example, the typical Democrat sees the Democratic Party in Louisiana as "moderate" on this scale, but sees the Republican Party in Louisiana as "conservative," which is *two* points away from the moderate position. The typical Republican, meanwhile, sees his own party as "somewhat conservative," *one* point to the right of the moderate position, but sees the Democratic Party as *two* points from the moderate position on the other side.

The typical Democrat also sees herself as "somewhat liberal," which is *one* point from the moderate position, while the typical Republican sees himself as "conservative," which is *two* points from the moderate position.

Taken together, these responses reveal that Republicans see a larger gap between themselves and the Democratic Party, than Democrats see between themselves and the Republican Party. Further, this perceived gap is even larger than the actual gap between where Democrats and Republicans see themselves.

Figure 3: Partisans see opposing party as more extreme than own party

Median placement of self and political parties in Louisiana on seven point ideology scale



SOURCE: 2018 Louisiana Survey



Trust in state government low

Very few Louisiana residents think they can trust the state government of Louisiana to do what is right "just about always" (3 percent) or "most of the time" (19 percent). Instead, most say they trust state government only "some of the time" (64 percent) or "never" (14 percent).

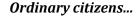
Both Democrats and Republicans express low levels of trust in state government. Fifty-nine percent of Democrats trust state government only some of the time, and 15 percent say they never trust state government. Republicans are a bit more likely than Democrats to say they can only trust state government some of the time (70 percent), but they are also less likely to say they can never trust state government (8 percent).

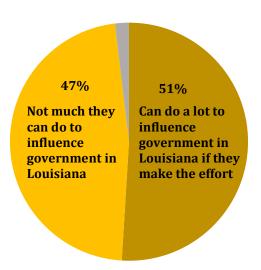
Trust in political wisdom of people of Louisiana also low

Fewer than one in three state residents have a "very great deal" or "good deal" of trust and confidence in the wisdom of the people of Louisiana when it comes to making political decisions. A majority (51 percent) say they have "not very much" trust and confidence in the political wisdom of their fellow state residents, and another 15 percent say they have "none at all."

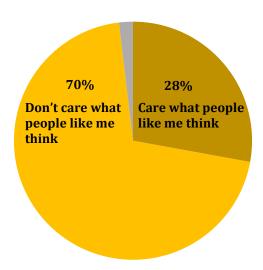


Figure 4: Public divided on ability to influence government in the state, and most doubt elected officials care what they think





Elected officials...



NOTE: Gray sections represent shares of respondents who refused to answer the question or volunteered a response of "don't know." For both questions, these shares are two percent of respondents.

SOURCE: 2018 Louisiana Survey

Many question ability to influence government in the state

Louisiana residents are divided over whether they can influence government in the state. When asked which statement comes closer to their own views, 51 percent say "ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence the government of Louisiana if they are willing to make the effort," and 47 percent say "there's not much ordinary citizens can do to influence the government in Louisiana" (Figure 4).

Although there is a modest difference across parties over capacity to influence government – 56 percent of Democrats and 50 percent of Republicans say ordinary citizens can influence government in Louisiana – much larger differences cut across socio-economic status. Among the college-educated, 60 percent say ordinary citizens can influence government, but this share drops to 40 percent among those with only a high school diploma or less education.

Louisiana residents are more skeptical about whether elected officials care what they think. When asked which statement comes closer to their own views, 70 percent say "most elected officials in Louisiana don't care what people like me think," and just 28 percent say "most elected officials in Louisiana care what people like me think."

Democrats (70 percent) are somewhat more skeptical than Republicans (62 percent) about whether elected officials are listening to them, and independents (76 percent) are even more so. However, majorities across all major party groups do not think elected officials care much about what they think. There is also a significant racial divide with more blacks (75 percent) than whites (66 percent) saying elected officials don't care about what they think.



Economic issues top list of concerns

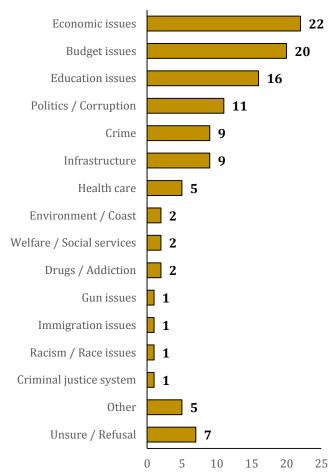
Concerns about the economy top the public's list of priorities, with 22 percent naming topics such as the economy, jobs, wages, the cost of living, poverty, or economic inequality when asked to name the most important problem facing the state in an open-ended format (Figure 5). The most common responses of this type are general references to the economy or to jobs, which collectively make up three-fourths of responses in the economic issues category. Approximately 15 percent of responses in this category refer to topics related to poverty or economic inequality, and another 9 percent refer to wages or income.

Budget issues are nearly as prominent, with about one in five Louisiana residents naming topics such as the budget, taxes, or spending. Among all responses in this category, about 19 percent specifically refer to taxes or revenue with four percent specifically saying that taxes are too high and five percent specifically saying that tax revenue is too low. The remaining ten percent of budget responses that refer to taxes do not indicate sentiment about whether taxes are too high or too low. Among all responses referencing budget issues, 26 percent specifically mention spending – including 13 percent saving spending is too high and six percent saying spending is too low. The remaining seven percent of budget responses that explicitly refer to spending do not indicate sentiment about whether spending is too high or too low.

Education rounds out the top three most important problems. Sixteen percent of respondents named education issues, including references to K-12 education and higher education.

Figure 5: Economy, budget top priorities

Percent saying _ is state's most important problem



NOTE: Verbatim responses to open-ended question ("In your opinion, what do you think is the single most important problem facing the state of Louisiana?") are coded into categories. Percentages do not sum to 100 because up to four responses are coded for respondents who mentioned multiple issues. All topics with more than one percent of sample are displayed. Topics named by fewer than one percent of sample are combined into "other" category. SOURCE: 2018 Louisiana Survey



Worry about availability of jobs, but few say they are worse off financially than a year ago

Respondents were randomly assigned to two groups, one of which was asked about the availability of "jobs" in their community while the other was asked about the availability of "good jobs." Most state residents see a scarcity of employment opportunities: 60 percent say "jobs" are difficult to find in their community and 66 percent say "good jobs" are difficult to find.

Women, blacks, those without a college degree, and those with household income below the state median are more likely to say that "jobs" and "good jobs" are difficult to find.

There is also a significant partisan gap in perceptions about the availability of employment opportunities. A majority of Democrats (69 percent) say "jobs" are difficult to find, but only 44 percent of Republicans believe "jobs" are hard to find. This 25 point gap across the political parties in these beliefs, however, shrinks to just eight points when it comes to the availability of "good jobs." Majorities of both Democrats (75 percent) and Republicans (67 percent) think these kinds of jobs are difficult to find in their communities.

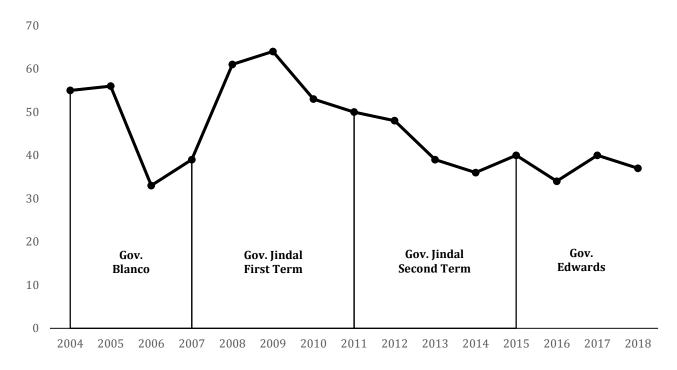
Despite a general skepticism about the availability of jobs, evaluations of personal finances have improved slightly from 2017. When asked "Would you say that you are better off financially, worse off, or about the same as you were a year ago?", only 17 percent say they are worse off now than a year ago – a smaller share than said so when asked the same question in 2017 (23 percent). On the other hand, less than one in four residents (22 percent) say their financial situation has improved. A majority says they are getting along about the same as they were a year ago (59 percent).

Asked a similar question about the economy in Louisiana as a whole, 38 percent believe it has worsened. Another 37 percent think the economy has remained the same, and 20 percent believe it has improved. Although there are no significant partisan differences in perceptions of the state economy, there are significant demographic gaps. Women, blacks, those without a college degree, and those with household income below the state median are generally more likely to say the state's economy is getting worse.



Figure 6: Confidence that state can solve important problems remains low

Percent saying "very" or "somewhat" confident in state government to address state's most important problem effectively



SOURCE: 2003 - 2018 Louisiana Survey

Confidence in state's ability to solve important problems remains low

Public confidence in state government to deal effectively with the most important problems

remains about where it has been since 2014. Just over a third (37 percent) say they are "very" or "somewhat" (Figure 6).² Confidence remains well below the heights seen in the early years of the Blanco and Jindal administrations.

politics/corruption or racism/race issues categories tend to have slightly less confidence, and individuals whose responses fall into the drugs/addiction category or indicated that they did not know a problem tend to have slightly more confidence, on average.



² The question specifically asks respondents about their confidence in state government to effectively address the problem they named in the previous question about the single most important problem facing the state. Generally, confidence does not vary by the problem named. The exceptions are that individuals whose responses fall in the

Survey Methodology

The analysis in this report is based on telephone interviews conducted among a statewide sample of 852 adults (18 years of age or older) living in Louisiana. The survey was conducted by interviewers at Louisiana State University's Public Policy Research Lab. The sample includes 326 respondents interviewed via landline telephone and 526 respondents interviewed on a cellphone, including 344 who do not have a landline telephone. The design of the landline sample ensures representation of both listed and unlisted numbers by use of random digit dialing. The cell phone sample is randomly drawn from known, available phone number banks dedicated to wireless service. Both samples, landline and cellphone, were provided by Marketing Systems Group.

The combined landline and cell phone sample is weighted using an iterative procedure that matches race, education, household income, gender and age to known profiles for the adult population of Louisiana found in the Census Bureau's American Community Survey 2016 one-year estimates. The sample is also weighted for population density by parish. Weighting cannot eliminate every source of nonresponse bias. However, proper administration of random sampling combined with accepted weighting techniques has a strong record of yielding unbiased results.

The sample has an overall margin of error of +/-3.4 percentage points.

In addition to sampling error, as accounted for through the margin of error, readers should recognize that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls. As often as possible, the *Louisiana Survey* follows the wording of relevant questions repeatedly used by reputable public opinion research institutions and projects, such as the Pew Research Center, Gallup Inc., and the American National Election Studies.

Interviews for this survey were conducted from January 26 to March 3, 2018. Because data collection overlaps with a special session of the Louisiana Legislature from February 19 to March 3, 2018, responses to questions included in this report were analyzed for any differences between the pre-session interviews and interviews conducted during the session, controlling for mode of interview. With one exception, there is no evidence for differences by date of interview. The exception is that Democrats interviewed after the start of the special session rate the Democratic Party in Louisiana as slightly more liberal on average by about half a point on the ideology scale. There is no similar difference among Republicans or independents.

The 2018 Louisiana Survey has a response rate of 11 percent. This response rate is the percentage of eligible residential households or personal cell phones in the sample for which an interview is completed. The rate is calculated using the American Association for Public Opinion Research's method for Response Rate 3 as published in their Standard Definitions. Response rates for telephones have been on decline for several decades and frequently fall in the single digits even among the very best survey research organizations. The response rate for this survey is within the typical range for reputable live-interviewer telephone survey firms.

Louisiana State University's Public Policy Research Lab, a division of the Reilly Center for Media & Public Affairs, designed the survey questionnaire and sampling strategy, computed the survey weights, and conducted all statistical analysis.



Question Wording & Toplines

NOTE: Unless otherwise indicated, results are for the total sample. Not all respondents were asked each question, and questions asked to a subset of respondents are labelled accordingly. For these questions, percentages are only for those respondents who were asked the particular question. Percentages may not sum to 100 due to rounding.

Q1.

To begin with, would you say things are generally going in the right direction, or do you think things are going in the wrong direction here in Louisiana?

Right direction	39
Wrong direction	50
Don't know/Refused [VOLUNTEERED]	12

Q2. [OPEN-ENDED QUESTION]

In your opinion, what do you think is the single most important problem facing the state of Louisiana?

VERBATIM RESPONSES RECORDED AND CODED INTO CATEGORIES (SEE FIGURE 5)

Q3.

How much confidence would you say you have in state government to effectively address this problem? Would you say you are very confident, somewhat confident, not very confident, or not at all confident?

Very confident	6
Somewhat confident	31
Not very confident	34
Not at all confident	27
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	2

Q4.

We are also interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you are better off financially, worse off, or about the same as you were a year ago?

Better	22
Same	59
Worse	17
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	1



Q5.

Now thinking about the economy in Louisiana as a whole, would you say that over the past year the state's economy has gotten better, stayed the same or gotten worse?

Better	20
Same	37
Worse	38
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	5

Q6A. [RESPONDENTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO Q6A OR Q6B]

Thinking now about job opportunities where you live, would you say there are plenty of jobs available in your community or are jobs difficult to find?

Plenty available	31	
Difficult to find	60	
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	9	

Q6B. [RESPONDENTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO Q6A OR Q6B]

Thinking now about good job opportunities where you live, would you say there are plenty of good jobs available in your community or are jobs difficult to find?

Plenty available	28	
Difficult to find	67	
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	6	

Q7A. [RESPONDENTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO Q7A OR Q7B]

On another topic, thinking about elected officials in state government who share your positions on the most important issues facing Louisiana. Should they work with elected officials they disagree with, even if it results in some policies you don't like, or should they stand up for their positions, even if that means little gets done in state government?

They should work with elected officials they disagree with	60
They should stand up for their positions	32
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	8

Q7B. [RESPONDENTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO Q7A OR Q7B]

On another topic, thinking about elected officials in state government who share your positions on the most important issues facing Louisiana. Should they work with elected officials they disagree with, even if it results in some policies you don't like, or should they stand up for their positions, even if that keeps government from solving the problems facing the state?

They should work with elected officials they disagree with	61
They should stand up for their positions	32
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	6



Q8.

Do you think the state is more politically divided these days than in the past, or not?

Yes, it is more politically divided	73
No, it is not more divided	22
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	5

Q9.

This year, do you think Republicans and Democrats in state government will work together to solve problems or do you think they will bicker and oppose one another even if it keeps them from solving problems?

Work together	18	
Bicker and oppose one another	79	
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	4	

Q10. [ORDER OF Q10 AND Q11 RANDOMIZED]

Would you say that the Democratic Party in Louisiana is very liberal, liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, conservative, or very conservative?

Very liberal	16
Liberal	20
Somewhat liberal	15
Moderate	21
Somewhat conservative	6
Conservative	8
Very conservative	4
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	9

Q11. [ORDER OF Q10 AND Q11 RANDOMIZED]

Would you say that the Republican Party in Louisiana is very liberal, liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, conservative, or very conservative?

Very liberal	4
Liberal	6
Somewhat liberal	6
Moderate	14
Somewhat conservative	17
Conservative	21
Very conservative	23
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	9



Q12.

In general, how much trust and confidence do you have in the wisdom of the people of Louisiana when it comes to making political decisions? A very great deal, a good deal, not very much, or none at all?

Very great deal	8
Good deal	23
Not very much	51
None at all	15
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	2

Q13.

How much of the time do you think you can trust the government of Louisiana to do what is right? Just about always, most of the time, only some of the time, or never?

Just about always	3
Most of the time	19
Only some of the time	64
Never	14
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	1

INTRO FOR Q14 & Q15.

I'm going to read you some pairs of statements that will help us understand how you feel about a number of things. As I read each pair, tell me whether the first statement or the second statement comes closer to your own views - even if neither is exactly right.

Q14. [ORDER OF Q14 AND Q15 RANDOMIZED]

What about... [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

Ordinary citizens can do a lot to influence	51
the government in Louisiana if they are	
willing to make the effort	
There's not much ordinary citizens can	47
do to influence the government in	
Louisiana	
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	2

Q15. [ORDER OF Q14 AND Q15 RANDOMIZED]

What about... [IF NECESSARY: "Which statement comes closer to your views, even if neither is exactly right?"]

Most elected officials in Louisiana care	28
what people like me think	
Most elected officials in Louisiana don't	70
care what people like me think	
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	2



Q16. [RESPONDENTS RANDOMLY ASSIGNED EITHER TO ANSWER Q16-18 BEFORE Q19-Q20 OR Q19-Q20 BEFORE Q16-18]

Generally speaking, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, independent, or what? [IF Q19-Q20 ASKED BEFORE Q16, THE FOLLOWING WORDING USED INSTEAD: Generally speaking, regardless of how you are registered, do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican, independent, or what?]

Democrat	29
Republican	25
Independent	34
Something else	8
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	4

Q17. [ASK IF Q16 IS 'Democrat' OR 'Republican']

Would you consider yourself a strong or a not so strong [INSERT RESPONSE TO Q16]?

Strong	74
Not so strong	25
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	1

Q18. [ASK IF Q16 IS NEITHER 'Democrat' NOR 'Republican']

Would you say, you lean to the Democratic Party or Republican Party, or would you say you don't lean to either party?

Democratic Party	16
Republican Party	25
Don't lean to either party	56
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	3

Q19.

Which of these statements best describes you: Are you absolutely certain that you are registered to vote at your current address; are you probably registered, but there is a chance your registration has lapsed; or are you not registered to vote at your current address?

Absolutely certain registered	81
Probably registered	4
Not registered	15
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	0



Q20.

Regardless how you generally consider yourself, what is the political party currently listed on your voter registration: The Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or neither party? [IF Q19-Q20 ASKED BEFORE Q16, THE FOLLOWING WORDING USED INSTEAD: What is the political party currently listed on your voter registration: The Democratic Party, the Republican Party, or neither party?]

Democratic Party	37
Republican Party	31
Neither party	26
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	6

Q21.

When it comes to politics, would you say you are very liberal, liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative, conservative, or very conservative?

Very liberal	6
Liberal	10
Somewhat liberal	10
Moderate	24
Somewhat conservative	15
Conservative	21
Very conservative	11
Don't know/Refused [VOL.]	2

