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# Public Sees Black People, Women, Gays and Lesbians Gaining Influence in Biden Era

Half of Americans say evangelical Christians will lose influence

#### **FOR MEDIA OR OTHER INQUIRIES:**

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## How we did this

Pew Research Center conducted this study to understand which groups the public views as likely to gain or lose influence with Joe Biden taking office. For this analysis, we surveyed 5,360 U.S. adults in January 2021. Everyone who took part in this survey is a member of the Center's American Trends Panel (ATP), an online survey panel that is recruited through national, random sampling of residential addresses. This way nearly all U.S. adults have a chance of selection. The survey is weighted to be representative of the U.S. adult population by gender, race, ethnicity, partisan affiliation, education and other categories. Read more about the ATP's methodology.

Here are the <u>questions used for the report</u>, along with responses, and <u>its methodology</u>.

## Public Sees Black People, Women, Gays and Lesbians Gaining Influence in Biden Era

Half of Americans say evangelical Christians will lose influence

As Joe Biden navigates the first few weeks of his presidency, Americans have distinctly different views of which groups will gain influence – and which ones will *lose* influence – in Washington during his administration.

Nearly two-thirds of U.S. adults (65%) say Black people will gain influence in Washington with Joe Biden taking office.

Just 14% say Black people will lose influence, while 20% say they will not be affected.

Large shares of adults also expect women (63%) and gay and lesbian people (60%) to gain influence over the next four years. Only about one-inten expect each of these groups to lose influence.

Other groups expected to gain influence include younger people (54%), Hispanic people (53%), poor people (50%) and unions (48%). Relatively small

## Black people, women, gays and lesbians widely expected to gain influence with Biden as president

% who say each group will \_\_ in Washington with Joe Biden taking office

	Lose influence		Gain influence		No	Not be affected	
				lucilec			iicotcu
Women	11		63		2	4	
Gay and lesbian people	9		60		3	30	
Black people	14		65		2	0	
Younger people	16		54		2	29	
Hispanic people	16		53		3	30	
Unions	15		48		;	34	
Poor people	2	23	50		2	6	
Asian American people	<u>:</u>	18	35			46	
Children	:	19	32			47	
Older people	35	5	32		3	32	
Wealthy people	36	ŝ	29		3	33	
Men	2	6	17			55	
White people	38		15			46	
Business corporations	44		30		2	4	
The military	40		26		3	32	
Evangelical Christians	50		9			39	
People like yourself	36	6	24			39	

Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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shares-no more than about quarter – say any of these groups will lose influence during Biden's presidency.

By contrast, evangelical Christians are expected to lose influence with Biden as president: 50% say they will lose influence, while just 9% expect them to gain influence; 39% say they will be unaffected.

By sizable margins, more Americans also say business corporations and the military will lose than gain influence, though about a quarter (24%) say corporations will be unaffected and 32% say the same about the military.

While larger shares expect Black, Hispanic and Asian American people to gain rather than lose influence, more than twice as many Americans say White people will lose (38%) influence in Washington as say they will gain it (15%); nearly half (46%) say that White people will be unaffected.

The Pew Research Center survey, conducted on the Center's nationally representative American Trends Panel from Jan. 8-12, 2021, among 5,360 adults, finds a contrast between the public's views of the groups that will gain or lose influence today with opinions <u>four years ago</u>, at the start <u>of Donald Trump's presidency</u>. Many of the groups of people who are now expected to gain influence under Biden, including women, Black people, Hispanics and gays and lesbians, were expected to lose clout with Trump as president.<sup>1</sup>

As was the case on the eve of Trump's presidency, more Americans say "people like yourself" will lose (36%) than gain (24%) influence in Biden's presidency; 39% say they will not be affected.

The public's views of how various groups will be impacted by Biden's presidency are more similar to expectations for <u>Barack Obama's administration</u> shortly before he became president in 2009. At that time, majorities thought younger people, poor people and Black people would gain influence.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> Previous Pew Research Center surveys about which groups will gain or lose influence under a new administration were conducted by telephone; this is the first year the survey has been conducted on the online American Trends Panel. As a result, the data is not directly comparable to past years.

# Wide partisan gaps over whether the poor – and wealthy – will gain or lose influence with Biden as president

Republicans and Democrats differ significantly about which groups stand to gain or lose influence in Washington during Biden's presidency. With the Democratic Party in control of Congress and the presidency, large majorities of Democrats and Democratic-leaning independents say that a number of groups will *gain* influence over the next four years. For example, at least six-in-ten Democrats say women (77%), Black people (76%), poor people (69%), Hispanic people (68%), gay and lesbian people (63%), and younger people (62%) will *gain* influence under Biden.

## Partisan views of 'winners' and 'losers' with Biden as president

% who say each group will \_\_\_ in Washington with Joe Biden taking office

	AMONG REP/LEAN REP		AMO	AMONG DEM/LEAN DEM			
	Lose influence	Gain influence	Not be affected	Lose influence	Gain influence	Not be affected	Gain diff
Women	19	49	30	5	77	17	D+28
Black people	23	55	21	5	76	19	D+21
Poor people	42	29	27	6	69	24	D+40
Hispanic people	26	37	36	6	68	26	D+31
Gay and lesbian people	12	60	27	5	63	31	D+3
Younger people	23	46	29	8	62	29	D+16
Unions	24	47	27	8	53	38	D+6
Asian American people	30	20	49	6	50	43	D+30
Children	35	14	50	7	49	43	D+35
Older people	57	16	25	15	45	40	D+29
People like yourself	66	7	27	10	40	50	D+33
The military	69	12	18	16	37	46	D+25
Business corporations	47	35	17	43	25	31	R+10
White people	58	9	32	21	18	60	D+9
Men	41	16	42	15	18	66	D+2
Wealthy people	28	48	22	44	13	42	R+35
Evangelical Christians	65	5	28	40	12	47	D+7

Note: No answer responses not shown.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Republicans and Republican leaners are more divided in expectations for most of these groups, with gay and lesbian people a notable exception. Comparable shares of Democrats (63%) and Republicans (60%) say gays and lesbians will gain influence, though 12% of Republicans say they will lose influence versus just 5% of Democrats.

Republicans are less likely than Democrats to say women and Black people will gain influence, though on balance, more Republicans say both groups will gain influence than say they will lose it.

There are more striking differences in views of how poor people will be affected. Roughly seven-inten Democrats (69%) say poor people will gain influence under Biden, while just 29% of Republicans say the same. In fact, 42% of Republicans say poor people will *lose* influence, with 27% expecting the poor to be unaffected.

And Republicans (48%) are far more likely than Democrats (13%) to say wealthy people will gain influence with Biden as president. Larger shares of Democrats than Republicans say wealthy people will either lose influence or not be affected by a Biden presidency.

In 2017, White people and men were two of the groups that were widely expected to gain influence with Trump as president. Today, Republicans and Democrats have very different expectations for these groups. A majority of Republicans (58%) expect White people to lose influence over the next four years. In contrast, a similar share of Democrats (60%) expect that White people's influence will not be affected.

There is a similar pattern in views of men. While a majority of Democrats say men's influence in Washington will not be affected by a Biden presidency (66%), Republicans are more divided: 41% expect men to lose influence, while 42% say their influence will not be affected.

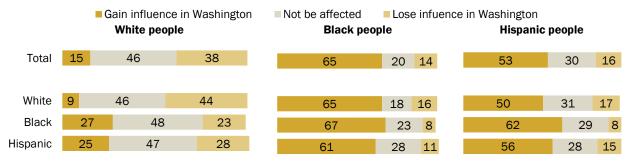
# Differences by race and ethnicity in views of how White people will be affected by Biden's election

While majorities of adults say they think Black and Hispanic people will *gain* influence in Washington now that Biden is president (65% and 53%, respectively), the public is more divided on how White people will be affected.

On balance, more than twice as many adults say White people will lose influence (38%) rather than gain influence (15%) in the Biden administration, with a plurality saying their influence will not be affected. But there are sharp divides in these views by race: 44% of White adults say they think White people will *lose* influence in Washington, while far smaller shares of Black and Hispanic adults say the same (23% and 28%, respectively).

## Sharp divides along racial and ethnic lines in views of whether White people will gain or lose influence with Biden as president

How do you think each of the following groups will be affected by Biden taking office? (%)



Notes: No answer responses not shown. White and Black adults include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanic adults are of any race. Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Similarly, while just 9% of White adults say White people will *gain* influence in the Biden administration, about a quarter of Black (27%) and Hispanic (25%) adults expect White people's influence to grow.

Overall, about two-thirds of adults say that Black people will gain influence in the Biden administration; this includes about two-thirds of Black (67%) and White (65%) adults, as well as 61% of Hispanic adults. A majority of adults (53%) also expect Hispanic people to gain influence, including 56% of Hispanic adults, 62% of Black adults and 50% of White adults.

## Wide partisan differences over whether 'people like yourself' will gain or lose influence

Overall, large shares across many groups of Americans say the influence of "people like yourself" will not be affected with Biden taking office, but there are some notable differences by race, partisanship and ideology.

Among the public overall, 39% of adults say the influence of people like them will not be affected, while a slightly smaller share (36%) say they will lose influence in Washington. About a quarter (24%) say people like them will gain influence.

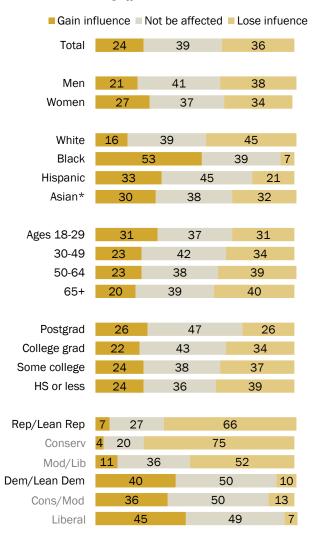
Nearly half of White adults (45%) say people like them will lose influence in Washington, while only 16% say they will gain influence and 39% say they will not be affected.

Black adults, by contrast, are far more likely to say people like them will gain (53%) than lose (7%) influence. Fewer Hispanic (33%) and Asian American adults (30%) expect that people like them will gain influence.

The widest gaps in perceptions of how people like them will be affected by the new president are by partisanship. Republicans and Republican leaners generally feel like they will lose influence in Washington with Biden as president: 66% say people like them will lose influence, while 27% expect to not be affected and just 7% say they will gain influence.

# Two-thirds of Republicans say people like them will lose influence with Biden as president

% who say **people like yourself** will \_\_\_ in Washington with Joe Biden taking office



<sup>\*</sup>Asian adults interviewed in English only.

Notes: No answer responses not shown. White, Black and Asian adults include only those who are not Hispanic; Hispanics are of any race.

Source: Survey of U.S. adults conducted Jan. 8-12, 2021.

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Among Republicans, conservatives are more likely than moderates and liberals to say people like them will *lose* influence (75% vs. 52%, respectively).

Democrats are far less likely than Republicans to say that people like them will lose influence, but most do not expect to gain influence. Half of Democrats and Democratic leaners say people like them will not be affected with Biden as president, while 40% say they will gain influence; just 10% expect to lose influence. Liberal Democrats are more likely than conservative and moderate Democrats to say people like them will gain influence in Washington (45% vs. 36%, respectively).

## **Acknowledgments**

This report is a collaborative effort based on the input and analysis of the following individuals:

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## Methodology

## The American Trends Panel survey methodology

## **Overview**

The American Trends Panel (ATP), created by Pew Research Center, is a nationally representative panel of randomly selected U.S. adults. Panelists participate via self-administered web surveys. Panelists who do not have internet access at home are provided with a tablet and wireless internet connection. Interviews are conducted in both English and Spanish. The panel is being managed by Ipsos.

Data in this report is drawn from the panel wave conducted Jan. 8 to Jan 12, 2021. A total of 5,360 panelists responded out of 6,107 who were sampled, for a response rate of 88%. This does not include two panelists who were removed from the data due to extremely high rates of refusal or straightlining. The cumulative response rate accounting for nonresponse to the recruitment surveys and attrition is 4%. The break-off rate among panelists who logged on to the survey and completed at least one item is 1%. The margin of sampling error for the full sample of 5,360 respondents is plus or minus 1.9 percentage points.

### **Panel recruitment**

The ATP was created in 2014, with the first cohort of panelists invited to join the panel at the end of a large, national, landline and cellphone random-digit-dial survey that was conducted in both

English and Spanish. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2015 and 2017, respectively. Across these three surveys, a total of 19,718 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 9,942 (50%) agreed to participate.

In August 2018, the ATP switched from telephone to address-based recruitment. Invitations were sent to a random, address-based sample of households selected

American Trends P	anel reci	ruitment s	surveys	
Recruitment dates	Mode	Invited	Joined	Active panelists remaining
Jan. 23 to March 16, 2014	Landline/ cell RDD	9,809	5,338	2,186
Aug. 27 to Oct. 4, 2015	Landline/ cell RDD	6,004	2,976	1,244
April 25 to June 4, 2017	Landline/ cell RDD	3,905	1,628	622
Aug. 8 to Oct. 31, 2018	ABS/web	9,396	8,778	5,904
Aug. 19 to Nov. 30, 2019	ABS/web	5,900	4,720	2,333
June 1 to July 19, 2020	ABS/web	1,865	1,636	1,272
	Total	36,879	25,076	13,561

Note: Approximately once per year, panelists who have not participated in multiple consecutive waves or who did not complete an annual profiling survey are removed from the panel. Panelists also become inactive if they ask to be removed from the panel.

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from the U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File. Two additional recruitments were conducted using the same method in 2019 and 2020, respectively. Across these three address-based recruitments, a total of 17,161 adults were invited to join the ATP, of whom 15,134 (88%) agreed to join the panel and completed an initial profile survey. In each household, the adult with the next birthday was asked to go online to complete a survey, at the end of which they were invited to join the panel. Of the 25,076 individuals who have ever joined the ATP, 13,561 remained active panelists and continued to receive survey invitations at the time this survey was conducted.

The U.S. Postal Service's Delivery Sequence File has been estimated to cover as much as 98% of the population, although some studies suggest that the coverage could be in the low 90% range.<sup>2</sup> The American Trends Panel never uses breakout routers or chains that direct respondents to additional surveys.

## Sample design

This study featured a stratified random sample from the ATP. The sample was allocated according to the following strata, in order: tablet households, U.S.-born Hispanics, foreign-born Hispanics, high school education or less, foreign-born Asians, not registered to vote, people ages 18 to 34, uses internet weekly or less, non-Hispanic Black adults, nonvolunteers and all other categories not already falling into any of the above.

## Questionnaire development and testing

The questionnaire was developed by Pew Research Center in consultation with Ipsos. The web program was rigorously tested on both PC and mobile devices by the Ipsos project management team and Pew Research Center researchers. The Ipsos project management team also populated test data which was analyzed in SPSS to ensure the logic and randomizations were working as intended before launching the survey.

### **Incentives**

All respondents were offered a post-paid incentive for their participation. Respondents could choose to receive the post-paid incentive in the form of a check or a gift code to Amazon.com or could choose to decline the incentive. Incentive amounts ranged from \$5 to \$15 depending on whether the respondent belongs to a part of the population that is harder or easier to reach. Differential incentive amounts were designed to increase panel survey participation among groups that traditionally have low survey response propensities.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> AAPOR Task Force on Address-based Sampling. 2016. "AAPOR Report: Address-based Sampling."

## **Data collection protocol**

The data collection field period for this survey was Jan. 8 to Jan. 12, 2021. Postcard notifications were mailed to all ATP panelists with a known residential address on Jan. 6, 2021.

An initial soft launch was conducted on Jan. 6, 2021. Those cases are excluded from the final dataset and analysis due to significant questionnaire changes after the soft launch. All remaining English- and Spanish-speaking panelists were included in the survey launch and were sent an invitation on Jan. 8, 2021. All panelists with an email address received an email invitation and up to two email reminders if they did not respond to the survey. All ATP panelists that consented to SMS messages received an SMS invitation and up to one SMS reminders. Interactive voice recording (IVR) reminder calls were made to 58 tablet households that previously provided consent to receive these reminders on Jan. 11, 2021.

Initial invitation	Jan. 8, 2021
First reminder	Jan. 10, 2021
IVR reminder	Jan. 11, 2021
Final reminder	Jan. 11, 2021

## **Data quality checks**

To ensure high-quality data, the Center's researchers performed data quality checks to identify any respondents showing clear patterns of satisficing. This includes checking for very high rates of leaving questions blank, as well as always selecting the first or last answer presented. As a result of this checking, two ATP respondents were removed from the survey dataset prior to weighting and analysis.

## Weighting

The ATP data was weighted in a multistep process that accounts for multiple stages of sampling and nonresponse that occur at different points in the survey process. First, each panelist begins with a base weight that reflects their probability of selection for their initial recruitment survey (and the probability of being invited to participate in the panel in cases where only a subsample of respondents were invited). The base weights for panelists recruited in different years are scaled to be proportionate to the effective sample size for all active panelists in their cohort. To correct for nonresponse to the initial recruitment surveys and gradual panel attrition, the base weights for all active panelists are calibrated to align with the population benchmarks identified in the accompanying table to create a full-panel weight.

For ATP waves in which only a subsample of panelists are invited to participate, a wave-specific base weight is created by adjusting the full-panel weights for subsampled panelists to account for any differential probabilities of selection for the particular panel wave. For waves in which all active panelists are invited to participate, the wave-specific base weight is identical to the full-panel weight.

In the final weighting step, the wave-specific base weights for panelists who completed the survey are again calibrated to match the population

## **Weighting dimensions**

Variable	Benchmark source
Age x Gender	2019 American Community Survey
Education x Gender	
Education x Age	
Race/Ethnicity x Education	
Born inside vs. outside the U.S. among	
Hispanics and Asian Americans	
Years lived in the U.S.	
Census region x Metro/Non-metro	2019 CPS March Supplement
Volunteerism	2017 CPS Volunteering & Civic Life
	Supplement
Voter registration	2016 CPS Voting and Registration
	Supplement
Party affiliation	2020 National Public Opinion
Frequency of internet use	Reference Survey

Note: Estimates from the ACS are based on non-institutionalized adults. The 2016 CPS was used for voter registration targets for this wave in order to obtain voter registration numbers from a presidential election year. Voter registration is calculated using procedures from Hur, Achen (2013) and rescaled to include the total U.S. adult population. The 2020 National Public Opinion Reference Survey featured 1,862 online completions and 2,247 mail survey completions.

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Religious affiliation

benchmarks specified above. These weights are trimmed (typically at about the 1st and 99th percentiles) to reduce the loss in precision stemming from variance in the weights. Sampling errors and test of statistical significance take into account the effect of weighting.

The following table shows the unweighted sample sizes and the error attributable to sampling that would be expected at the 95% level of confidence for different groups in the survey.

<b>Group</b> Total sample	Unweighted sample size 5,360	Weighted %	Plus or minus 1.9 percentage points
Half sample	At least 2,676		2.7 percentage points
Rep/Lean Rep Half sample	<b>2,273</b> At least 1,119	44	<ul><li>2.7 percentage points</li><li>3.9 percentage points</li></ul>
Dem/Lean Dem	2,919	49	2.7 percentage points
Half sample	At least 1,443		3.7 percentage points

Sample sizes and sampling errors for other subgroups are available upon request. In addition to sampling error, one should bear in mind that question wording and practical difficulties in conducting surveys can introduce error or bias into the findings of opinion polls.

## **Dispositions and response rates**

Final dispositions	AAPOR code	Total
Completed interview	1.1	5,360
Logged onto survey; broke off	2.12	58
Logged onto survey; did not complete any items	2.1121	36
Never logged on (implicit refusal)	2.11	651
Survey completed after close of the field period	2.27	0
Completed interview but was removed for data quality		2
Screened out		0
Total panelists in the survey		6,107
Completed interviews	l	5,360
Partial interviews	Р	0
Refusals	R	745
Non-contact	NC	2
Other	0	0
Unknown household	UH	0
Unknown other	UO	0
Not eligible	NE	0
Total		6,107
AAPOR RR1 = I / (I+P+R+NC+O+UH+UO)		

Cumulative response rate	Total
Weighted response rate to recruitment surveys	12%
% of recruitment survey respondents who agreed to join the panel, among those invited	73%
% of those agreeing to join who were active panelists at start of Wave 80	57%
Response rate to Wave 80 survey	88%
Cumulative response rate	4%

<sup>©</sup> Pew Research Center, 2021

# 2021 PEW RESEARCH CENTER'S AMERICAN TRENDS PANEL WAVE 80 JANUARY 2021 FINAL TOPLINE JANUARY 8-12, 2021 N=5,360

## **ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

## **ASK ALL:**

PRESGRPS\_INFL

Usually, when there is a new president, certain groups gain influence in Washington, while other groups lose influence.

How do you think each of the following groups will be affected by Joe Biden taking

[RANDOMIZE ORDER OF SCREENS 1 AND 2 FOR EACH FORM]

	1 ONLY [SCREEN 1, RANDOMIZ	Gain <u>influence</u> E ITEMS ON	Lose <u>influence</u> I SCREEN] [	Not be <u>affected</u> N=2,684]	No <u>answer</u>
BP	Black people Jan 8-12, 2021	65	14	20	1
HP	Hispanic people Jan 8-12, 2021	53	16	30	1
WP	White people Jan 8-12, 2021	15	38	46	1
AAP	Asian American people Jan 8-12, 2021	35	18	46	1
ASK FORM	1 ONLY [SCREEN 2, RANDOMIZ	E ITEMS ON	SCREEN] [	N=2,684]	
ВС	Business corporations Jan 8-12, 2021	30	44	24	2
MIL	The military Jan 8-12, 2021	26	40	32	2
OLD	Older people Jan 8-12, 2021	32	35	32	1
YNG	Younger people Jan 8-12, 2021	54	16	29	2

PRESGRPS	_INFL CONTINUED	Gain <u>influence</u>	Lose influence	Not be affected	No answer
ASK FORM EC	2 ONLY [SCREEN 1, RANDOMIZ Evangelical Christians				<u> </u>
20	Jan 8-12, 2021	9	50	39	2
MEN	Men Jan 8-12, 2021	17	26	55	2
WMN	Women Jan 8-12, 2021	63	11	24	2
UN	Unions Jan 8-12, 2021	48	15	34	3
	2 ONLY [SCREEN 2, RANDOMIZ	E ITEMS ON	SCREEN][	N=2,676]	
PR	Poor people Jan 8-12, 2021	50	23	26	2
CHI	Children Jan 8-12, 2021	32	19	47	2
WLTH	Wealthy people Jan 8-12, 2021	29	36	33	1
LGB	Gay and lesbian people Jan 8-12, 2021	60	9	30	1

**ASK ALL:** 

PRSGRPS\_YOU And do you think people like yourself will...

Jan 8-12, 2021 24 Gain influence 36 Lose influence Not be affected 39 No answer 1

For telephone trends for past presidents, see the 2017 report and topline

## **ADDITIONAL QUESTIONS PREVIOUSLY RELEASED**

## **ASK ALL:**

PARTY In politics today, do you consider yourself a:

ASK IF INDEP/SOMETHING ELSE (PARTY=3 or 4) OR MISSING [N=1,963]:

PARTYLN As of today do you lean more to...<sup>3</sup>

Something No Lean

			Something	No	Lean	Lean
<u>Republican</u>	<b>Democrat</b>	<u>Independent</u>	<u>else</u>	<u>answer</u>	<u>Rep</u>	<u>Dem</u>
27	32	26	14	1	17	17

Party and Partyln asked in a prior survey.