



SURVEY OF "DEBATE: LIBERTARIANISM VS. CONSERVATISM" ATTENDEES
CONDUCTED BY THE CATO INSTITUTE
JULY 23, 2015
N=179

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
	%	Conservative	Libertarian
		%	%
Q1. Regardless of your own ideological preference, which team do you think won the debate tonight? <i>(Among only those who said they watched the debate)</i>			
Conservative Team	34%	67%	4%
Libertarian Team	65%	33%	96%
Don't Know	1%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Q2. In politics today, do you consider yourself...			
Republican	39%	78%	7%
Independent.....	21%	15%	17%
Democrat	5%	0%	0%
Libertarian.....	35%	7%	76%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Q3. [IF INDEPENDENT/LIBERTARIAN] Do you LEAN more towards the Republican Party or the Democratic Party?			
Democratic Party	10%	0%	6%
Republican Party.....	69%	92%	68%
Neither party	21%	8%	26%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Q4. Partisan Identification (Partisan Leaners Combined with Partisans)			
Democrat/Lean Dem.....	10%	0%	6%
Independent.....	17%	2%	24%
Republican/Lean Rep	73%	98%	70%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Q5. Partisan Identification			
Democrat	5%	0%	0%
Independent Lean-Dem.....	5%	0%	6%
Independent.....	17%	2%	24%
Independent Lean-Rep	35%	20%	63%
Republican	39%	78%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q6. Thinking about your overall political philosophy, would you describe yourself as

Conservative	39%	100%	0%
Libertarian.....	41%	0%	100%
Moderate	7%	.	.
Liberal.....	2%	.	.
Progressive.....	4%	.	.
Something else	7%	.	.
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q7. If you voted for president in 2012, did you vote for...

Barack Obama	8%	2%	6%
Mitt Romney	57%	80%	43%
Gary Johnson.....	8%	0%	19%
Some other candidate.....	1%	0%	0%
Did not vote for president in 2012	25%	19%	33%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q8. For each pair of statements, please indicate which one comes closer to your own view:

We need a strong government to handle today's complex economic problems	6%	3%	0%
The free market can handle these problems with less government involvement	93%	95%	98%
DK/Refused	1%	2%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Q9. For each pair of statements, please indicate which one comes closer to your own view:

The government should be doing more to regulate business	7%	7%	0%
Too often government regulation of business does more harm than good	93%	93%	100%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
For each pair of statements, please indicate which one comes closer to your own view:			
The government should promote traditional values in society	33%	68%	4%
The government should not favor any particular set of values	66%	32%	94%
DK/Refused	1%	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
For each pair of statements, please indicate which one comes closer to your own view:			
Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard.....	88%	97%	85%
Hard work and determination do not lead to success for most people	11%	2%	13%
DK/Refused	1%	2%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
If you had to choose, would you rather have...			
A smaller government, providing fewer services, with low taxes.....	94%	98%	96%
A larger government, providing more services, with high taxes.....	5%	0%	0%
DK/Refused	2%	2%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%
If a Muslim clergyman wanted to make a speech in your community preaching hatred of the United States, should he be allowed to speak or not?			
Yes, allowed	80%	76%	98%
Not allowed	19%	24%	0%
DK/Refused	1%	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Do you think the United States should increase its military presence around the world, decrease its military presence, or keep it at its current levels?			
Increase military presence.....	22%	44%	0%
Keep military presence at current levels.....	25%	37%	6%
Decrease military presence	52%	19%	93%
DK/Refused	1%	0%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Do you support or oppose the United States sending ground troops to participate in a military campaign against the Islamic state (ISIS/ISIL)?			
<i>NET SUPPORT</i>	60%	85%	22%
<i>NET OPPOSE</i>	38%	15%	74%
Strongly Support	17%	34%	2%
Somewhat Support	43%	51%	20%
Somewhat Oppose	21%	12%	37%
Strongly Oppose	17%	3%	37%
DK/Refused	1%	0%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Do you think local police departments using drones, military weapons and armored vehicles are necessary for law enforcement purposes, or are they going too far?

Necessary	19%	39%	2%
Going too far	79%	56%	96%
DK/Refused	3%	5%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Do you favor or oppose making it easier for people to immigrate to the United States?

<i>NET SUPPORT</i>	78%	66%	93%
<i>NET OPPOSE</i>	20%	32%	6%
Strongly Favor	46%	29%	76%
Somewhat Favor	32%	37%	17%
Somewhat Oppose	13%	20%	6%
Strongly Oppose	7%	12%	0%
DK/Refused	1%	2%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Which comes closest to your view about illegal immigrants who are living in the United States?

They should be allowed to stay in the US and eventually apply for citizenship	54%	37%	74%
They should be allowed to stay in the US legally, but not be allowed to apply for citizenship	17%	20%	9%
They should be required to leave the US	28%	41%	15%
DK/Refused	1%	2%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Do you favor or oppose constructing a large wall along the border with Mexico?			
<i>NET SUPPORT</i>	40%	69%	7%
<i>NET OPPOSE</i>	57%	27%	91%
Strongly Favor	14%	25%	0%
Somewhat Favor	26%	44%	7%
Somewhat Oppose	22%	19%	26%
Strongly Oppose	35%	8%	65%
DK/Refused	2%	3%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Do you think illegal immigrants who come to the US are more or less likely to commit violent crimes than other people, or is there no difference?			
<i>NET MORE LIKELY</i>	29%	53%	6%
<i>NET LESS LIKELY</i>	28%	11%	51%
<i>NO DIFFERENCE</i>	40%	34%	39%
Much more likely	9%	17%	0%
Somewhat likely	20%	36%	6%
No difference	40%	34%	39%
Somewhat less likely	17%	8%	31%
Much less likely	11%	3%	20%
DK/Refused	3%	2%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Do you favor or oppose eliminating mandatory minimum prison sentences for people convicted of possessing or selling drugs?			
<i>NET FAVOR</i>	70%	54%	87%
<i>NET OPPOSE</i>	27%	43%	9%
Strongly Favor	48%	22%	76%
Somewhat Favor	22%	32%	11%
Somewhat Oppose	17%	31%	0%
Strongly Oppose	10%	12%	9%
DK/Refused	3%	3%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Do you think blacks and other minorities receive equal treatment as whites in the criminal justice system, or not?			
Yes	40%	68%	13%
No	58%	29%	85%
DK/Refused	2%	3%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

In general, do you think the police in most communities are more likely to use deadly force against...			
More likely against a black person	60%	32%	85%
Race doesn't affect police use of deadly force	37%	64%	9%
DK/Refused	3%	3%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Recent killings of black men, including incidents in Ferguson, Missouri, New York City, and Baltimore, Maryland sparked national protests of police treatment of Black Americans that centered around the slogan #BlackLivesMatter. Do you support or oppose these protests?			
NET SUPPORT	31%	2%	58%
NET OPPOSE	53%	88%	19%
Strongly Support	8%	0%	15%
Somewhat Support	23%	2%	43%
Somewhat Oppose	21%	29%	13%
Strongly Oppose	32%	59%	6%
Don't know enough to say	11%	5%	19%
DK/Refused	4%	5%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the government's collection of telephone and internet data as part of anti-terrorism efforts?			
NET APPROVE	24%	44%	2%
NET DISAPPROVE	73%	51%	96%
Strongly Approve	8%	17%	0%
Somewhat Approve	16%	27%	2%
Somewhat Disapprove	34%	37%	24%
Strongly Disapprove	39%	14%	72%
DK/Refused	3%	5%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Most of the recent information about NSA (National Security Agency) surveillance activities has come from former government contractor Edward Snowden. Would you say that Snowden is a patriot for letting the public know about the government's surveillance of Americans, or that he is a traitor for leaking government secrets to the media, whose reports are seen by America's enemies?			
Edward Snowden is a patriot	45%	12%	89%
Edward Snowden is a traitor	52%	83%	9%
DK/Refused	3%	5%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
If you had to choose, would you rather...			
Purchase a lower priced product made in another country	74%	56%	93%
Purchase a high priced product of equal quality made in the US	22%	37%	4%
DK/Refused	4%	7%	4%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Do you favor or oppose raising taxes on households making over \$250,000 a year?			
<i>NET SUPPORT</i>	11%	5%	6%
<i>NET OPPOSE</i>	86%	90%	92%
Strongly Support	3%	2%	0%
Somewhat Support	8%	3%	6%
Somewhat Oppose	27%	34%	22%
Strongly Oppose	59%	56%	70%
DK/Refused	3%	5%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
To help balance the federal budget, would you support or oppose cutting defense spending?			
<i>NET SUPPORT</i>	61%	32%	96%
<i>NET OPPOSE</i>	36%	63%	2%
Strongly Support	40%	5%	81%
Somewhat Support	21%	27%	15%
Somewhat Oppose	19%	24%	2%
Strongly Oppose	17%	39%	0%
DK/Refused	3%	5%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
For each of the following, do you think they should be illegal in all cases, legal but highly regulated, legal but only slightly regulated, or legal and unregulated.			
Online Gambling			
Illegal in all cases.....	3%	3%	2%
Legal but highly regulated.....	25%	49%	2%
Legal but only slightly regulated.....	27%	19%	26%
Legal and unregulated.....	43%	22%	70%
DK/Refused	3%	7%	0%
Total.....	100%	100%	100%
Viewing online adult pornography			
Illegal in all cases.....	17%	36%	2%
Legal but highly regulated.....	12%	20%	0%
Legal but only slightly regulated.....	25%	20%	24%
Legal and unregulated.....	44%	17%	74%
DK/Refused	3%	7%	0%
Total.....	100%	100%	100%
Using marijuana			
Illegal in all cases.....	20%	41%	2%
Legal but highly regulated.....	19%	32%	2%
Legal but only slightly regulated.....	32%	19%	35%
Legal and unregulated.....	26%	3%	59%
DK/Refused	3%	5%	2%
Total.....	100%	100%	100%
Using cocaine			
Illegal in all cases.....	43%	76%	6%
Legal but highly regulated.....	13%	12%	13%
Legal but only slightly regulated.....	23%	5%	41%
Legal and unregulated.....	19%	2%	39%
DK/Refused	3%	5%	2%
Total.....	100%	100%	100%
Smoking cigarettes			
Illegal in all cases.....	5%	3%	2%
Legal but highly regulated.....	20%	36%	2%
Legal but only slightly regulated.....	38%	37%	41%
Legal and unregulated.....	34%	17%	54%
DK/Refused	3%	7%	2%
Total.....	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Do you think abortion should be...			
NET LEGAL/MOSTLY LEGAL	35%	3%	52%
NET ILLEGAL/MOSTLY ILLEGAL	61%	93%	41%
Legal in all cases	10%	0%	13%
Legal in most cases	25%	3%	39%
Illegal in most cases	31%	46%	24%
Illegal in all cases	30%	47%	17%
DK/Refused	5%	3%	7%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Do you think same-sex marriage should be legal or illegal?

Legal	63%	37%	85%
Illegal	34%	59%	9%
DK/Refused	3%	3%	6%
Total	100%	100%	100%

How concerned are you about the following issues, using a scale from 1 to 5, where 1 means you are not at all concerned and 5 means you are extremely concerned.

*Statistical differences between conservatives and libertarians indicated with *** p < .001 ** p < .01 * p < .05..*

Mean Responses

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Government spending/debt	4.55	4.72	4.63
The economy	4.49	4.39	4.66
Size and Scope of Government	4.30	4.31	4.62
Regulation of business	4.11	4.11	4.42
Taxes	4.17	4.03	4.36
Jobs	4.02	4.16	3.78
Health care	3.86	3.84	3.88
Government domestic surveillance ***	3.59	3.00	4.19
Criminal justice system ***	3.61	3.21	3.89
Immigration *	3.43	3.78	3.13
Terrorism ***	3.42	4.33	2.83
Abortion **	3.32	3.90	3.00
National Security***	3.38	4.00	2.79
Drug prohibition	3.02	2.85	3.26
Morality in society ***	2.87	3.58	2.28
Racial issues **	2.68	2.33	3.07
The environment	2.64	2.28	2.73
Income inequality	2.34	2.07	2.28

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Do you agree or disagree with each of the following statements?			
We should be more tolerant of people who choose to live according to their own moral standards, even if they are different from our own			
<i>NET AGREE</i>	76%	54%	96%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	24%	46%	4%
Strongly Agree	49%	21%	70%
Somewhat Agree	28%	32%	26%
Somewhat Disagree	18%	36%	4%
Strongly Disagree	6%	11%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%
We should do more to ensure that lesbians, gays, bisexual and transgender people feel fully accepted in society			
<i>NET AGREE</i>	56%	35%	60%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	44%	65%	40%
Strongly Agree	19%	0%	30%
Somewhat Agree	36%	35%	30%
Somewhat Disagree	25%	40%	27%
Strongly Disagree	19%	25%	13%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Running for political office is an honorable thing to do			
<i>NET AGREE</i>	81%	84%	78%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	19%	16%	22%
Strongly Agree	26%	32%	17%
Somewhat Agree	56%	52%	61%
Somewhat Disagree	17%	12%	22%
Strongly Disagree	2%	4%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Community service is an honorable thing to do			
<i>NET AGREE</i>	97%	96%	96%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	3%	4%	4%
Strongly Agree	75%	85%	70%
Somewhat Agree	22%	12%	26%
Somewhat Disagree	3%	4%	4%
Strongly Disagree	0%	0%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Serving in the military is an honorable thing to do			
<i>NET AGREE</i>	87%	97%	68%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	13%	3%	32%
Strongly Agree	70%	97%	32%
Somewhat Agree	17%	0%	36%
Somewhat Disagree	7%	0%	20%
Strongly Disagree	6%	3%	12%
Total	100%	100%	100%

**Religious values should play a more important role
in government**

<i>NET AGREE</i>	40%	72%	4%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	60%	28%	96%
Strongly Agree	12%	22%	0%
Somewhat Agree	28%	50%	4%
Somewhat Disagree	20%	16%	23%
Strongly Disagree	40%	12%	73%
Total	100%	100%	100%

**I am willing to give up some personal freedom and
privacy for the sake of national security**

<i>NET AGREE</i>	54%	80%	24%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	46%	20%	76%
Strongly Agree	14%	27%	0%
Somewhat Agree	41%	53%	24%
Somewhat Disagree	23%	13%	34%
Strongly Disagree	22%	7%	41%
Total	100%	100%	100%

**Our country's goal in trade policy should be to
eliminate all barriers to trade so that we have a
truly global economy**

<i>NET AGREE</i>	83%	66%	100%
<i>NET DISAGREE</i>	17%	34%	0%
Strongly Agree	54%	31%	82%
Somewhat Agree	30%	34%	18%
Somewhat Disagree	12%	22%	0%
Strongly Disagree	5%	12%	0%
Total	100%	100%	100%

Age Group

17-24	65%	81%	66%
25-35	24%	19%	34%
36+	11%	.	.
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Gender			
Male	61%	53%	67%
Female	37%	44%	31%
Refused	2%	3%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Race/Ethnicity			
Caucasian/White	81%	81%	87%
African-American/Black.....	3%	2%	2%
Hispanic/Latino.....	2%	2%	2%
Asian/Pacific-Islander.....	6%	3%	7%
Other	6%	8%	0%
Refused	2%	3%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
What is the highest level of education you have completed?			
High school graduate	1%	2%	0%
Some college, but no degree yet.....	41%	54%	41%
2-year college degree.....	1%	2%	0%
4-year college degree.....	38%	31%	44%
Post-graduate degree	17%	8%	13%
Refused.....	2%	3%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Which one of these best describes your religious preference?			
Catholic.....	17%	31%	7%
Evangelical	14%	31%	2%
Mainline Protestant	31%	24%	37%
Other Religion	11%	10%	9%
Non-Religious	26%	2%	43%
Total	100%	100%	100%
How often do you attend religious services?			
Once a week or more	32%	51%	19%
A few times a month.....	17%	25%	11%
A few times a year	30%	19%	37%
Never	19%	2%	31%
DK/Refused	2%	3%	2%
Total	100%	100%	100%

	All Attendees	Millennial Attendees	
		Conservative	Libertarian
Do you consider yourself to be a supporter of the Tea Party movement			
Yes.....	35%	42%	37%
No	65%	58%	63%
Total	100%	100%	100%
Do you consider yourself to be a supporter of the Occupy Wall Street movement			
Yes	5%	0%	4%
No	95%	100%	96%
Total	100%	100%	100%

More About the Survey

The Cato Institute conducted a survey of attendees at the debate hosted by the Cato Institute and Heritage Foundation in which interns at both organizations debated whether conservatism or libertarianism is a better political philosophy on July 23, 2015.

An email was sent to every person who pre-registered or walked-in to the debate at the conclusion of the event with a link to a Qualtrics survey. Emails were sent to 588 people, of these we estimated 360 were in attendance at the debate. In total, we collected 179 surveys from debate attendees, producing a response rate of 30% among all those emailed and 50% of estimated attendees. The margin of error for this attendee survey is +/- 5.2%. Of the 179 surveys, 139 came from millennial attendees, including 59 self-identified conservatives and 54 self-identified libertarians. The margin of error for millennial conservatives is +/- 8.9% and for millennial libertarians is +/- 9.6%. The remaining survey respondents included self-identified moderates, liberals, progressives, and some over the age of 35 and thus not considered a millennial attendee.

The survey is not intended to be representative of all millennial conservatives and millennial libertarians. Instead, it is a unique snapshot of politically engaged young conservatives and libertarians, with higher levels of education and political information, who chose to attend this event. Because these attendees are politically engaged millennials, their responses may provide some indication of the direction libertarian and conservative millennial “elites” will take both movements in the future.