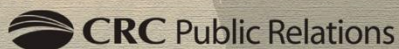


The FUND for AMERICAN STUDIES

The
SUPPORT
for **FREEDOM**
Index
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PREPARED BY



The Support for Freedom Index 2017

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The **FUND for AMERICAN STUDIES**

CELEBRATING 50 YEARS OF TEACHING FREEDOM



The Support for Freedom Index

Executive Summary

“Those who would give up essential Liberty, to purchase a little temporary Safety, deserve neither Liberty nor Safety.”

- Benjamin Franklin, 1755

“When the government acts it does so at the expense of individual liberty.”

- Senator Mike Lee, 2017

For more than 260 years, Americans have grappled with the appropriate balance between individual liberty and government acting to limit that liberty for purposes including, safety, economic security, or fairness. This tension underpins nearly every policy debate we have in this country. From privacy to taxes, immigration to education, the rights of individuals to act freely and in accordance with their own beliefs continually come into conflict with government priorities and obligations to keep Americans safe, secure, and prosperous.

Americans have mostly taken an “I know it when I see it” approach to how much freedom they are willing to sacrifice in the name of some greater purpose. Among many examples the debate over the PATRIOT Act has raged for more than a decade as policymakers seek to both protect the privacy rights of law-abiding citizens while also vigorously investigating suspected terrorists.

Until now, no one has tried to quantify this balance; this report measures and tracks Americans’ attitudes toward liberty. Using survey research and quantitative analysis, we have designed a scale, the Freedom Support Index, which gauges how Americans define freedom and whether they generally support more or less government interference in their daily lives.

Several of the findings are what one might expect. For example, Republicans and conservatives, who generally support local control, individual responsibility, and less government intervention, score higher on the Freedom Index; however, definitions of freedom by Republicans and conservatives vary a widely. Democrats and liberals, who generally support a more active government role, equalization of outcomes, and economic protection, score lower on the Freedom Index; definitions of freedom between Democrats and liberals are strongly similar.

We have both found and confirmed that Republicans are not necessarily conservatives and conservatives are not necessarily Republicans. Pluralities of conservatives tend to define freedom from the passive government perspective, choosing liberty over security. Republicans on the other hand, are not overall split on the question of active vs passive government, but the leading definitions are presenting an interesting dichotomy that may exist within the Republican Party. One leading definition believes that freedom is a passive government, are less free over the last ten years, and would choose liberty over security and the other leading definition chooses an active government, are just as free, and would choose security over liberty. Both Republicans

(70.9) and conservatives (71.42) scored the highest for overall support for freedom in their respective demographic groups, but define freedom differently.

Democrats (24.17%) and liberals (23.63%) on the other hand overwhelmingly define freedom as an active government, just as free, and liberty over security. This indicates that Democrats and liberals do not deviate much in their definition of freedom and both believe that an active government is necessary to secure liberty. Both groups generally feel less free over the past decade. Therefore, this questions actual experience vs ideal definitions. This question is especially perplexing considering that Democrats and liberals scored lowest for overall support for freedom on the index in the party demo. They both define freedom as an active government necessary to secure liberty and even though we've seen a government work to achieve these ends of activity and liberty, both groups feel less free over the past decade.

Also of note are Millennials' attitudes toward freedom. Millennials, categorized as ages 18-34, have a higher overall support for freedom (69.92) than their elders 35+ (69.43). In particular, what is driving their scores is their support for religious and social freedom (78.70), at a higher rate than non-Millennials (76.61).

When looking from the active government perspective only, non-Millennials view the need for an active government in ensuring security (23.09%) more than ensure liberty (21.52%), while Millennials view the need for an active government in ensuring liberty (31.7%) over security (22.11%).

A majority of Millennials would support an active (54%) over a passive (40%) government and liberty (60%) over security (40%) indicating that Millennials believe an active government ensures liberty. With non-Millennials on the other hand, a majority would support a passive (51%) over and active (45%) government and liberty (54%) over security (46%).

Some of the results were surprising. Despite supporting less freedom overall, when Democrats and liberals were asked directly about choosing liberty or security, both groups overwhelmingly chose liberty, 60% and 65% respectively. While generally and unsurprisingly being more favorable to economic liberty, majorities of Republicans and conservatives supported government intervention in trade policy, which may be an effect of the 2016 presidential campaign; call it the "Trump Effect."

Additionally, far more Americans feel less free (38%) than more free (11%) over the past 10 years and their definitions of freedom reflect this reality.

While most individuals would consider more freedom "good" and less freedom "bad" assigning a moral judgment is not what this study aims to do. There are regulations that limit individual freedom that most people prefer we have, such as blood alcohol limits for drivers and public water contamination limits for firms. Most of the American public believes these restrictions are "good" but they would score as less free in the Index. We hope this study becomes an integral part of an age-old debate over that proper balance, and how or where Americans see themselves in this debate.

Long term we aim to find out where that balance resides with the American people, and see how it changes over time. Perhaps most important we want to look at what future generations believe about freedom and how their attitudes shift as they become the policymakers of tomorrow.

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Data availability

This report as a PDF can be downloaded for free at www.TFAS.org/FreedomIndex. The full data set published in this report as well as the report as a PDF is available for free at www.wpaintel.com/FreedomIndex. Researchers are encouraged to contact Trevor Smith at tsmith@wpaintel.com for any questions on the data set.

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Chapter 1

Freedom in the United States

Freedom in the United States

Freedom is a commonly accepted term ubiquitous in movies, popular media, and throughout the political world. It is a term used by politicians on both the left and the right to promote and dissuade argument in an attempt to further their political agenda. Freedom is fluid and either side of the political isle uses this term to move their own political agenda. Freedom as a term is difficult and subjective, in that when heard it means something different to every person based on their own experiences, education, and pre-conceived notions. It is also not something easily defined.

But what if you could accurately measure support for freedom preserving policies across the United States by comparing the commonly cited demographic groups? The Freedom Index is an attempt to gauge support for freedom, understand how Americans define freedom, and then see how these definitions overlay support.

It is demonstrable that more coercive government philosophy has remained and gained strength when looking at the 2016 presidential based on three of the more popular candidates: Bernie Sanders, Hillary Clinton, and Donald Trump. Less coercive government philosophy found its home with candidates like Ted Cruz, Marco Rubio, Rand Paul, Donald Trump, and a few other notable Republicans. Clearly, this battle rages on.

Because support for freedom in the United States is not something currently quantified, we wanted to create a year-over-year index to measure perceptions of freedom and support for freedom. We will begin to measure changes over time and understand how definitions of and support for freedom are impacted by external events. Freedom is measured throughout the world in multiple ways, but none have attempted to measure actual support freedom for or how people define freedom.

What is Freedom?

The founders intended freedom to mean that we would be free from, or at least as free as possible from, government coercion. Thus, they developed both vertical and horizontal checks on government meant to curb any possible coercion; vertical in that they developed a system of federalism, where power was intentionally diverted between the central government and the states and horizontal where they diverted power between the multiple branches of government.

In the vertical system (federalism), the states were intended to be an equal partner in power to the central government. The central government's powers were clearly delineated and specified, and more importantly, circumscribed. Those powers not delegated to the central government, nor prohibited, were reserved for the states.

In the horizontal system, republicanism for the central government is clearly laid out in the first three articles of the Constitution. In these Articles, each branch was made as a check on the

other. Article IV Section 4 also guaranteed and required that every new state form a republican government. Thus, vertically, power and authority is restricted via the single central government acting as a check on the state governments and vice versa. Horizontally, power and authority is restricted through a balance of powers within each government.

Throughout this system of federalism balanced by republicanism, we find that the Founders desired a functional government, but also one that was limited in its coercive powers over the citizenry. Why was this necessary? As Madison famously noted in *Federalist 51*:

If men were angels, no government would be necessary. If angels were to govern men, neither external nor internal controls on government would be necessary. In framing a government which is to be administered by men over men, the great difficulty lies in this: you must first enable the government to control the governed; and in the next place oblige it to control itself. A dependence on the people is, no doubt, the primary control on the government; but experience has taught mankind the necessity of auxiliary precautions.

The Founders were quite clear in their understanding of both the beauty and potential of human nature. They were also, however, acutely aware of the potential for more vile tendencies of human nature growing from power. Like them, we have seen multiple out-of-control governments, led by individuals and groups destroy civilizations since our country's inception. We therefore accept that because of human nature, power must be limited and sectioned off and that this design was intentional.

The intentional design of our government was to promote ordered liberty. The failures, or rather eventual successes, of our promotion of liberty occurred only through how individuals and governments defined freedom; freedom of oneself over others (coercion), freedom from coercion, and acceptance to changes in freedom as it is defined culturally.

Human beings, at our very core, are not mutually exclusive and essentially similar in our desires. While we all support better lives for our children, there are instincts that we have that can become corrupted through power. We are not debating this, rather accepting that governments, like human beings, can slowly destroy freedom through incremental coercion or swiftly carry out their intentions with unspeakable results. Either way, coercion eventually can destroy individual and community freedom to pursue life, liberty, and property.

We accept this notion as fact that is undebatable. What is debatable is the amount of coercion necessary to promote ordered liberty. Thus, we approached this study with one difficult problem: the debate over freedom and coercion has never been quantified or to this day properly answered. The solutions to solving this dilemma present three testable questions.

- 1) What are Americans' perceptions of freedom;
- 2) How do Americans define freedom; and,
- 3) Do people support freedom as less coercion by government?

We believe that this study is a first step in answering the coercion question.

Chapter 2

Perceptions of Freedom

How do Americans perceive freedom as currently viewed and what is the ideal level of freedom? We attempt to answer these questions with two ten point scales and then correlate these responses to try and understand how respondents actually define freedom.

For the scales we gather the respondents into tertiles.

8-10: Absolute Freedom
 5-7: Moderate Freedom
 0-4: Absence of Freedom

Do we feel Free?

To first gauge freedom, it is important to understand how free adults in the United States actually feel compared to their ideal freedom. Unsurprisingly, Americans generally support more of an ideal state of freedom over the amount of freedom they actually have.

Overall, the ideal freedom (9) is 1.7 points higher than belief in actual freedom (7.3). We simplified the questions for actual freedom¹ and ideal freedom² and offered respondents a scale of zero through ten, with ten being the purest form of freedom in their minds.

Notably, almost nine-in-ten adults have an ideal freedom (87%) in the 8-10 range over just a slight majority in that same range of actual freedom (54%).

In all the different demographic groups analyzed, the Ideal standard deviation is lower than the Actual standard deviation indicating that groups generally agree in their ideal levels of freedom but disagree in the freedom they are experiencing.

	Actual Freedom	Ideal Freedom
8-10	54%	87%
5-7	36%	8%
0-4	8%	1%
Mean	7.3	9
Std. Dev.	2.1	1.5

¹ Actual Freedom: Considering freedom in the United States today, on a scale from zero to ten where ten means the United States has absolute freedom and zero means the United States has no freedom, please rate how free you **believe** the United States **is today**.

² Ideal Freedom: Now, on a scale from zero to ten where ten means the United States should have absolute freedom and zero means the United States should have no freedom, please rate how free you **believe** the United States **should** be.

Party: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- Republicans (64%) were more inclined to say that America's Actual Freedom is in the 8-10 range than their Democratic counterparts (52%).
- Republicans' level of Ideal Freedom is also higher, with 91% looking for freedom to be in the 8-10 range, compared to 84% of Democrats.
- Independents are lowest with their belief in actual freedom (48%) among parties.
- On average, Republicans are higher in their Actual and Ideal freedom levels than other parties.

Tertile	Republican		Democrat		Independent	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	64%	91%	52%	84%	48%	87%
5-7	31%	5%	39%	12%	38%	8%
0-4	4%	1%	11%	2%	9%	2%
Mean	7.9	9.2	6.9	8.9	7.3	8.9
Std. Dev.	1.8	1.3	2.3	1.6	2.0	1.6

Ideology: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- The same patterns among partisan breaks persist on the political ideological spectrum: conservatives (60%) consider America to be more free currently than liberals (51%).
- Similarly, conservatives' (90%) level of Ideal Freedom is more likely to fall in the 8-10 range than liberals (87%).

Tertile	Conservative		Liberal		Moderate	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	60%	90%	51%	87%	51%	86%
5-7	35%	5%	38%	10%	35%	8%
0-4	3%	2%	10%	2%	10%	1%
Mean	7.7	9.1	7.2	9.1	7.2	8.8
Std. Dev.	1.8	1.6	2.2	1.3	2.1	1.5

SES: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- Respondents who make more than \$75K annual household income are more likely to indicate that America's Actual Freedom is higher with 59% (<College) and 56% (College+) in the 8-10 range, compared to 50% (<College) and 53% (College+) among respondents who make less than 75k. However, their Ideal Freedom scores are approximately the same.

Tertile	<College & <\$75k		<College & \$75k+		College+ & <\$75k		College+ & \$75k+	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	50%	88%	59%	89%	53%	86%	56%	87%
5-7	40%	9%	32%	6%	37%	9%	33%	9%
0-4	8%	1%	9%	2%	9%	2%	9%	0%
Mean	7.3	9.1	7.5	9.0	7.2	8.7	7.4	9.0
Std. Dev.	2.2	1.4	2.1	1.7	2.2	1.7	2.0	1.2

Gender: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- Men and women have nearly identical scores regarding both America's Actual Freedom and their Ideal Freedom.

Tertile	Male		Female	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	52%	87%	56%	88%
5-7	37%	10%	35%	7%
0-4	9%	1%	7%	2%
Mean	7.3	9.0	7.4	9.0
Std. Dev.	2.0	1.5	2.1	1.5

Age: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- Actual Freedom scores gradually increase as the age brackets increase with 52% of 18-24 year-olds stating that America's Actual Freedom is in the 8-10 range compared to 60% of respondents who were 75 or older.
- However, ideal freedom is the highest among 25-34 year-olds (90%), who comprise a large part of the millennial demographic.

Tertile	18-24		25-34		35-44		45-54		55-64		65-74		75 or over	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	52%	84%	51%	90%	48%	89%	60%	89%	58%	84%	57%	89%	60%	89%
5-7	33%	11%	40%	8%	39%	6%	30%	8%	38%	9%	36%	9%	30%	8%
0-4	15%	1%	6%	2%	9%	1%	10%	1%	4%	1%	6%	1%	7%	2%
Mean	7.1	8.8	7.5	8.9	7.0	9.1	7.4	9.1	7.6	8.9	7.4	9.2	7.6	9.1
Std. Dev.	2.5	1.7	1.8	1.6	2.0	1.2	2.2	1.4	1.9	1.5	2.0	1.5	2.1	1.7

College Students and Older: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- 18-24 year-olds were slightly lower in the 8-10 range regarding both Actual Freedom (52%) and Ideal Freedom (84%), than those who were 25 and over, who scored 55% and 88% respectively.

Tertile	18-24		25+	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	52%	84%	55%	88%
5-7	33%	11%	36%	8%
0-4	15%	1%	7%	1%
Mean	7.1	8.8	7.4	9.0
Std. Dev.	2.5	1.7	2.0	1.5

Millennials and Non-Millennials: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- Millennials were less likely to state that Actual Freedom is currently in the 8-10 range (51%) than Non-Millennials (56%). On the ideal side, both Millennials and Non-Millennials are at 87% in the 8-10 range.

Tertile	Millennial		Non-Millennial	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	51%	87%	56%	87%
5-7	37%	9%	35%	8%
0-4	10%	2%	7%	1%
Mean	7.3	8.9	7.4	9.1
Std. Dev.	2.2	1.6	2.0	1.4

Gender/Age: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- Older demographics were slightly more likely to state that Actual Freedom is in the 8-10 range compared to younger demographics of the same gender.
- Ideal Freedom was approximately the same across all gender/age breaks, residing somewhere in the high eighties in the 8-10 range.

Tertile	Men 18-54		Men 55+		Women 18-54		Women 55+	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	52%	88%	54%	85%	54%	88%	62%	89%
5-7	36%	9%	38%	11%	35%	7%	33%	6%
0-4	10%	1%	7%	2%	9%	2%	4%	2%
Mean	7.3	9.0	7.4	8.9	7.2	9.0	7.7	9.1
Std. Dev.	2.0	1.4	2.0	1.7	2.2	1.6	1.9	1.3

Census Region: Ideal vs Actual Freedom

- In the 8-10 range, Actual Freedom is the lowest in the West (44%) and South (53%), while it is highest in the Midwest (62%) and Northeast (60%).
- Ideal Freedom is clustered much closer together with the lowest 8-10 score in the West (86%) and the highest, only four points above, in the Northeast (90%). Current perceptions of freedom vary geographically, but desired freedom levels do not.

Tertile	Northeast		Midwest		South		West	
	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal	Actual	Ideal
8-10	60%	90%	62%	88%	53%	87%	44%	86%
5-7	29%	5%	29%	10%	40%	8%	41%	10%
0-4	8%	1%	8%	1%	7%	2%	11%	1%
Mean	7.7	9.1	7.6	9.0	7.3	9.0	7.6	8.9
Std. Dev.	2.0	1.2	1.9	1.4	2.1	1.7	2.2	1.3

Chapter 3

Definitions of Freedom

Defining freedom is no easy task. In its simplest form freedom is to do as one pleases, but in an ordered society this is not realistic. Parents must restrict children, laws must restrict the negative actions of one over the other, people must restrict their government, and governments must restrict themselves.

To understand how people define freedom, we took two static questions and combined them with a dynamic question, creating a total of 18 different possible definitions of freedom. The static questions are simple; first, do you believe that government should behave in a more active or more passive manner; and second, when it comes to serious questions regarding liberty versus security, which position would one choose? Our dynamic question is an attempt to measure both a belief in how the world has changed over the past decade and also, in a retrospective and outside lens fashion, allow readers to compare to a decade's worth of political events.

As we delve into the minds of Americans, there is clearly a cross pollination of definitions with people from various different groups.

Role of Government³

Active – Respondents noted that they want a more active role of government in their daily lives. Overall, 42% of respondents selected this.

Both – Respondents noted that they want both an active and passive role of government in their daily lives. Overall, 6% of respondents selected this.

Passive – Respondents noted that they want a less active or passive role of government in their daily lives. Overall, 44% of respondents selected this.

³ I am going to read you two points of view about freedom and security in the United States and please tell me which one you agree with more.

(Some/Other) people say that it is important for the government to take an active role in our daily lives in order to keep us secure from both threats abroad and domestic issues such as poverty, wealth distribution, and corruption.

...while...

(Some/Other) people say that it is important for the government to take a passive role in our daily lives and allow citizens to have the liberty to choose the life they want to live, trusting that people will take care of each other.

Current Freedom Compared to Ten Years Ago⁴

More Free – Respondents noted that they feel more free than they were ten years ago. Overall, 11% of respondents selected this.

Same – Respondents noted that they feel about as free as they were ten years ago. Overall, a plurality (49%) selected this.

Less Free – Respondents selected punches 5 and 6 in the survey. They feel that they are less free than they were ten years ago. Overall, 38% of respondents selected this.

Liberty vs Security⁵

Liberty – Respondents selected punch 1 in the survey. They note that when concerns about security and liberty should conflict, they would choose liberty over security. Overall, 51% of respondents selected this.

Security – Respondents selected punch 3 in the survey. They note that when concerns about security and liberty should conflict, they would choose security over liberty. Overall, 40% of respondents selected this.

Note: Only respondents who gave a response to all three questions are included in these definitions.

⁴ Do you believe that you are ROTATE more or less END ROTATION free now than you were ten years ago, or would you say you were about as free then as you are now?

⁵ If individual liberty and concerns about security should conflict, would you be inclined to favor ROTATE liberty or security?

Definitions by Ideology

A plurality of conservatives (18.45%) define freedom as a passive government, feel less free, and would choose liberty over security. This is closely followed by conservatives (14.54%) who define freedom as a passive government, feel about the same in the last decade, and would choose liberty over security. Almost 13% of conservatives define freedom as Active/Same/Security.

Among liberals, a plurality (23.63%) define freedom as an active government, feel about the same over the last decade, and would choose liberty over security. Contrarily, almost 11% of liberals define freedom as Passive/Less Free/Liberty, which would be expected from a conservative type ideology.

A plurality of moderates (15.26%) would define freedom as an active government, feel about the same over the last decade, and would choose security over liberty. Continuing on the active side of the definition, another 12.7% of moderates would define freedom as Active/Same/Liberty.

Importantly, in contrast to liberals (10.92%) and moderates (12.77%), conservatives (18.45%) generally define freedom as passive/less free/liberty.

Conservatives:	n=301 or 37% of sample
Moderates:	n=284 or 35% of sample
Liberals:	n=174 or 22% of sample

Definition (Size)	Conservative	Liberal	Moderate
Active/More Free/Liberty (3.1%)	1.79%	4.44%	3.67%
Active/More Free/Security (3.5%)	3.06%	4.27%	3.53%
Active/Same/Liberty (13.4%)	8.73%	23.63%	12.70%
Active/Same/Security (12.5%)	12.93%	8.69%	15.26%
Active/Less Free/Liberty (7.9%)	3.41%	14.44%	7.57%
Active/Less Free/Security (7.0%)	8.45%	6.10%	7.00%
Both/More Free/Liberty (0.0%)	0%	0%	0%
Both/More Free/Security (0.4%)	0.19%	1.59%	0%
Both/Same/Liberty (1.2%)	0.39%	1.21%	1.67%
Both/Same/Security (2.4%)	2.16%	0.32%	2.94%
Both/Less Free/Liberty (0.8%)	0.91%	0.57%	0.54%
Both/Less Free/Security (0.3%)	0.47%	0%	0.47%
Passive/More Free/Liberty (2.4%)	2.41%	2.87%	1.54%
Passive/More Free/Security (2.4%)	3.60%	0.78%	1.59%
Passive/Same/Liberty (12.3%)	14.54%	9.55%	12.44%
Passive/Same/Security (10.0%)	11.15%	8.02%	10.55%
Passive/Less Free/Liberty (14.9%)	18.45%	10.92%	12.77%
Passive/Less Free/Security (5.4%)	7.36%	2.60%	5.79%

Ideological Distribution

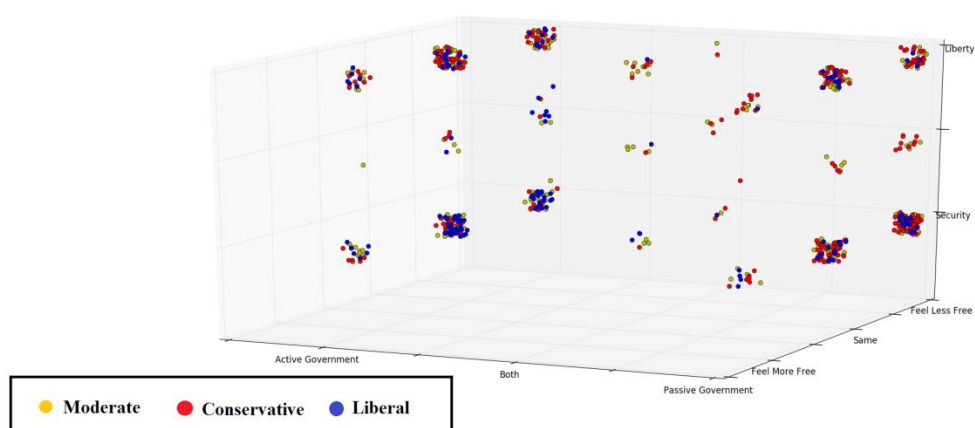
More than six-in-ten conservatives support a passive (57.51%) over an active (38.37%) government and 50.63% choose liberty, statistically equaling the 49.37% who choose security, confirming suspicions about conservatives regarding passivity, but questioning popular beliefs about liberty vs security. While it is no surprise that conservatives support a passive government, what is surprising is the amount of conservatives that support security over liberty.

Moreover, only 11.05% feel more free over the last ten years, 49.9% feel about as free, and 39.05% feel less free.

On the opposite side of the traditional ideological spectrum, liberals choose an active (61.57%) over a passive government (34.74%). Unlike conservatives, 67.63% of liberals choose liberty over security (32.37%). This is perhaps most surprising. What this is showing is that liberals believe an active government is important in the promotion of liberty, contrary to the traditional founding documents. This, however, is not a new concept and can be clearly seen when studying our nation's history.

All three ideologies believe we are less free than we are more free over the past 10 years; however, unlike parties, where Independents lead the less free grouping, conservatives do in this instance although not by much: conservatives (39.05%), liberals (34.63%), and independents (34.14%).

It is well established that we likely have one of the more active governments in our history and in the past decade we can clearly see the outcomes of this activism. This brings up the question of why liberals who support liberty over security as well as an active over a passive government, would believe they are less free over the last decade.



Definitions by Party

Republicans (14.93%) define freedom as a passive government, less free, and choose liberty over security. The same amount, statistically, (15.00%) define freedom as an active government, feel about the same over the last decade, and would choose security over liberty.

Among Democrats, a plurality (24.17%) define freedom as an active government, feel about the same over the last decade, and would choose liberty over security. This is no different than with liberals. However, 40% of Democrats define government as passive.

Independents (16.96%) define freedom as a passive government, less free, and choose liberty over security.

Republicans:	n=247 or 31% of sample
Independents:	n=299 or 37% of sample
Democrats:	n=222 or 28% of sample

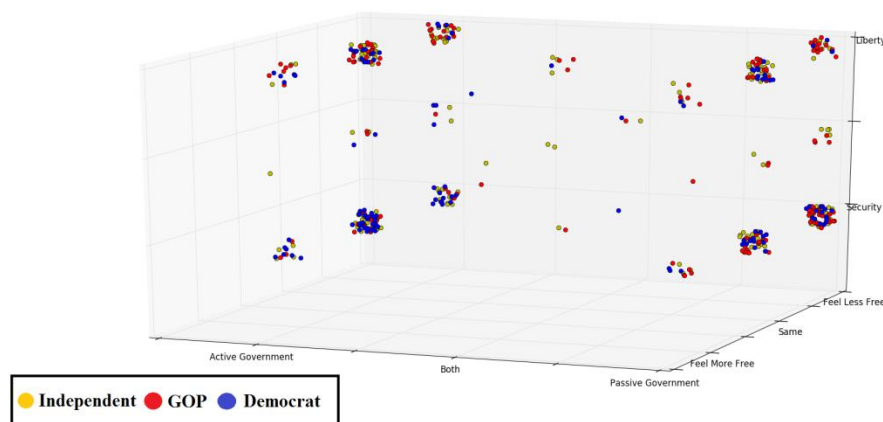
Definition (Size)	Republicans	Democrats	Independents
Active/More Free/Liberty (3.1%)	2.70%	4.55%	2.65%
Active/More Free/Security (3.5%)	4.16%	3.44%	2.93%
Active/Same/Liberty (13.4%)	7.74%	24.17%	10.51%
Active/Same/Security (12.5%)	15.00%	11.27%	11.66%
Active/Less Free/Liberty (7.9%)	3.25%	8.37%	11.71%
Active/Less Free/Security (7.0%)	8.67%	5.35%	7.24%
Both/More Free/Liberty (0.0%)	0%	0%	0%
Both/More Free/Security (0.4%)	0%	0.60%	0.73%
Both/Same/Liberty (1.2%)	0.47%	0.94%	1.65%
Both/Same/Security (2.4%)	3.42%	0.73%	2.99%
Both/Less Free/Liberty (0.8%)	0%	0.46%	0.95%
Both/Less Free/Security (0.3%)	0.52%	0%	0%
Passive/More Free/Liberty (2.4%)	3.08%	1.63%	2.22%
Passive/More Free/Security (2.4%)	2.88%	1.14%	2.48%
Passive/Same/Liberty (12.3%)	10.85%	11.61%	13.83%
Passive/Same/Security (10.0%)	13.37%	10.74%	7.66%
Passive/Less Free/Liberty (14.9%)	14.93%	11.79%	16.96%
Passive/Less Free/Security (5.4%)	8.97%	3.21%	3.85%

Party Distribution

Party distribution is even more clear with Democrats and Republicans staking out majority positions on the question of active government vs passive government. A majority of Democrats support an active government (57.15%) over a passive government (40.12%) while a majority of Republicans support a passive government (54.08%) over an active government (41.52%).

The confounding aspect of this is the dichotomy that exists with Republicans supporting security (56.99%) more than liberty (43.02%) while both Democrats and Independents choose liberty over security. Among Democrats, 63.52% support liberty and 36.48% support security; with Independents, 60.48% support liberty and 39.54% support security.

Each group, however, feels less free than more free over the past 10 years with Independents feeling the least free (40.71%), compared to Republicans (36.34%) and Democrats (29.18%).



Definitions by Generation

A plurality of Millennials (19.12%) define freedom as an active government, feel about the same over the last decade, and would choose liberty over security. This is followed by 12.22% of Millennials who define freedom as a passive government, feel less free, and would choose liberty over security.

Non-Millennials define freedom as a passive government, feel less free, and would choose liberty over security (15.65%).

Millennials: n=232 or 29% of sample

Non-Millennials: n=545 or 68% of sample

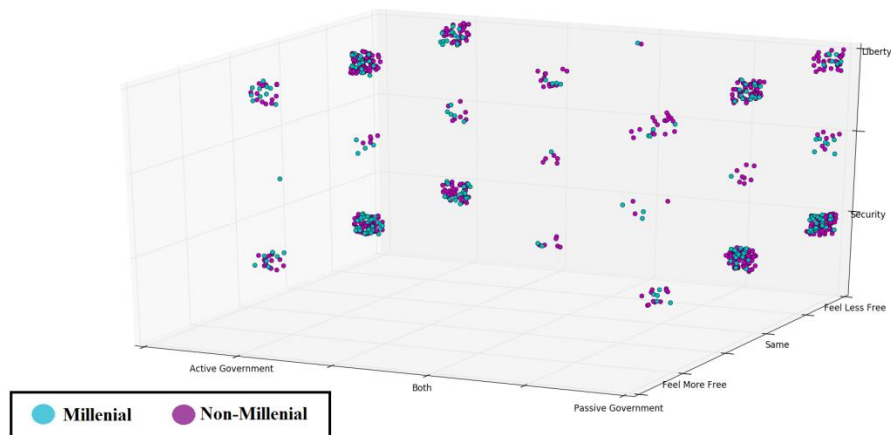
Definition (Size)	Millennials	Non-Millennials
Active/More Free/Liberty (3.1%)	3.98%	2.68%
Active/More Free/Security (3.5%)	5.08%	2.65%
Active/Same/Liberty (13.4%)	19.12%	11.23%
Active/Same/Security (12.5%)	8.8%	13.95%
Active/Less Free/Liberty (7.9%)	8.6%	7.61%
Active/Less Free/Security (7.0%)	8.23%	6.49%
Both/More Free/Liberty (0.0%)	0%	0%
Both/More Free/Security (0.4%)	1.25%	0.11%
Both/Same/Liberty (1.2%)	1.11%	1.25%
Both/Same/Security (2.4%)	1.73%	2.57%
Both/Less Free/Liberty (0.8%)	1.86%	0.39%
Both/Less Free/Security (0.3%)	0.62%	0.24%
Passive/More Free/Liberty (2.4%)	2.25%	2.41%
Passive/More Free/Security (2.4%)	1.66%	2.83%
Passive/Same/Liberty (12.3%)	11.42%	13.06%
Passive/Same/Security (10.0%)	8.12%	11.01%
Passive/Less Free/Liberty (14.9%)	12.22%	15.65%
Passive/Less Free/Security (5.4%)	3.94%	5.86%

Intergenerational Distribution

As the data above suggests, Millennials, like the rest of the United States, fall on the less free (36%) side of the freedom definition plot rather than more free (14%). Moreover, Millennials are more likely to support an active government (53.81%) over a passive government (39.61%). However, almost six-in-ten Millennials would choose liberty (60%) over security (40%).

This is in direct contrast to non-Millennials. Non-Millennials choose an active government only 44.61% to 50.82% who would like a passive government. On the liberty vs security question, non-Millennials tend to choose liberty (54.28%) over security (45.71%) but at a lower rate than Millennials.

This brings up an interesting question that remains to be answered: does the idealism of the younger generation and the constant inundation of a benevolent government education cause them to choose an active government that they believe promotes liberty? Additionally, do the rigors of life and realities of children for non-Millennials casue them to choose a passive government?



Chapter 4

Freedom Support Scores

There are four types of indices measured below. First, we combine all of the items in the survey to create the overall support for freedom. We then parse out each of the questions in groups aimed at understanding specific policy issues: Basic, Economic, and Religious/Social Freedoms.

The Basic Freedom scores are based on common, everyday types of freedoms enjoyed by Americans: property rights, freedom from surveillance, and freedom of the press.

The Economic Freedom scores are a mix of economic policy issues involving free markets to include individual and business economic freedom indicators.

The Religious/Social Freedom scores are a mix of religious and social policy indicators involving everything from unpaid internships and free speech to marijuana use.

Each item was normalized to create a max score of 100. For each index, the closer the score is to 100, the less government coercion the respondent will support.

National Freedom Support Score

	Support for Freedom	Support for Basic Freedom	Support for Economic Freedom	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
2017	69.53	77.77	60.76	77.13

Freedom Support Score by Current Freedom

- Respondents who believe Current Freedom is in the 0-4 range had the highest support for Basic Freedom (81.11), whereas respondents who believe Current Freedom is in the 8-10 range had the lowest support for Basic Freedom (76.92).

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
0-4	1	70.45	1	81.11	1	62.14	3	76.20
5-7	2	69.85	2	78.37	3	60.64	1	77.88
8-10	3	69.30	3	76.92	2	60.79	2	76.82

Freedom Support Score by Ideal Freedom

- Respondents whose Ideal Freedom is in the 8-10 range scored highest among Basic Freedom (78.03), Economic Freedom (61.16), Religious/Social Freedom (77.69) and overall freedom (69.87).
- Note that the scores for actual vs ideal freedom are the opposite. Americans in the 0-4 range of actual freedom have the highest scores in each index. Americans in the 8-10 range of ideal freedom have the highest scores in each index.

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
0-4	3	63.87	2	75.59	3	56.46	3	69.38
5-7	2	66.04	3	75.24	2	57.18	2	73.27
8-10	1	69.97	1	78.03	1	61.16	1	77.69

Freedom Support Scores by Party

- Republicans score highest among support for Basic Freedom (79.07) and Economic Freedom (62.52).
- Democrats score a fair degree lower than both Republicans and Independents across all three types of freedom, as well as overall.

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
GOP	1	70.9	1	79.07	1	62.52	2	77.98
Ind	2	70.57	2	78.45	2	61.87	1	78.24
Dem	3	66.75	3	75.42	3	57.31	3	75.10

Freedom Support Scores by Ideology

- Conservatives score highest among support for Basic Freedom (78.95), Economic Freedom (63.33) and Religious/Social Freedom (78.44).
- Liberals score lowest among all three types of freedom, as well as overall. Independents consistently score closer to conservative respondents than to liberals.

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
Cons	1	71.42	1	78.95	1	63.33	1	78.44
Mod	2	69.66	2	77.31	2	60.98	2	77.42
Lib	3	66.35	3	76.71	3	56.60	3	74.18

Freedom Support Scores by Socioeconomic Status

- Overall support for freedom is highest among respondents whose household incomes exceed \$75k at 70.32 and 72.44, respectively.
- These demographics show a heightened support for Religious/Social Freedom, at 81.03 and 78.53, respectively.
- Respondents with college degrees who make more than \$75k were much more likely to support economic freedom (65.23) than any of the other socio-economic breaks.

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
<College & <\$75k	4	67.04	4	76.44	4	57.34	4	75.27
<College & \$75k+	2	70.32	3	77.09	2	59.74	1	81.03
College+ & <\$75k	3	68.89	2	79.20	3	59.70	3	76
College+ & \$75k+	1	72.44	1	79.52	1	65.23	2	78.53

Freedom Support Scores by Gender

- Male respondents score highest among Basic Freedom (79.70), Economic Freedom (62.79), Religious/Social Freedom (79.12) and overall freedom (71.54).

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
Male	1	71.54	1	79.70	1	62.79	1	79.12
Female	2	67.61	2	75.91	2	58.80	2	75.22

Freedom Support Scores by Age

- The highest support for Freedom is clustered around the age bracket 45-54. This is true for overall support of freedom (71.34), Basic Freedom (80.11) and Economic Freedom (62.28)
- Support for Religious/Social Freedom is considerably higher among younger demographics.

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
18-24	5	69.16	6	76.01	7	59.17	1	79.06
25-34	2	70.46	3	78.30	2	61.53	3	78.44
35-44	6	68.81	7	75.63	6	59.74	4	77.49
45-54	1	71.34	1	80.11	1	62.28	2	79.04
55-64	4	69.21	4	77.94	4	60.61	5	76.31
65-74	3	69.52	2	79.67	3	60.91	6	75.93
75+	7	66.70	5	76.80	5	59.86	7	70.78

Freedom Support Scores by College Age vs Older

- The older demographic score higher among support for Basic Freedom (78.14), Economic Freedom (60.94) as well as overall (69.63).
- The younger demographic score higher among support for Religious/Social Freedom (79.06)
-

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
18-24	2	69.16	2	76.01	2	59.17	1	79.06
25-75+	1	69.63	1	78.14	1	60.94	2	76.97

Freedom Support Scores by Millennial vs Non-Millennial

- Millennials score approximately the same as non-Millennials among support for Basic Freedom (60.55), Economic Freedom (60.88), as well as overall (69.92).
- Millennials score higher among support for Religious/Social Freedom (78.70).

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
18-34	1	69.92	2	77.35	2	60.55	1	78.70
35-75+	2	69.43	1	78.09	1	60.80	2	76.61

Freedom Support Scores by Gender and Age

- Younger gender/age groups score higher among Basic Freedom, Economic Freedom, and overall.
- Male gender/age groups score higher among support for Religious/Social Freedom.

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
Men 18-54	1	72.22	2	78.85	1	63.25	1	80.85
Women 18-54	2	70.13	1	81.19	2	61.86	3	75.64
Men 55+	3	67.84	3	76.54	4	58.39	2	76.09
Women 55+	4	67.44	4	75.49	3	59.33	4	74.23

Freedom Support Scores by Census Region

- Respondents from the West Census Region scored highest among support for Basic Freedom, Economic Freedom, and Overall. The South Census Region consistently score second highest.
- The Census Regions share similar support for Religious/Social Freedom, but the South has the highest score.

	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
Northeast	4	68.79	3	77.20	4	60.13	4	76.14
Midwest	3	69.33	2	77.41	3	60.43	2	77.15
South	2	69.56	4	76.89	2	60.76	1	77.62
West	1	70.31	1	80.05	1	61.57	3	77.09

Scores by Definition

Definition (Size)	Overall Rank	Support for Freedom	Basic Rank	Support for Basic Freedom	Economic Rank	Support for Economic Freedom	R & S Rank	Support for Religious/Social Freedom
Passive/Less Free/Liberty (14.9%)	1	77.12	2	87.96	2	68.18	1	83.62
Both/Less Free/Liberty (0.8%)	2	74.15	7	77.9	1	70.53	7	77.11
Passive/Same/Liberty (12.3%)	3	72.3	4	82.1	4	63.97	3	78.49
Passive/Less Free/Security (5.4%)	4	71.87	3	82.89	5	63.42	5	77.62
Both/More Free/Security (0.4%)	5	71.76	1	93.33	8	60	2	80.08
Passive/More Free/Liberty (2.4%)	6	70.99	9	74.4	3	65.58	8	76.51
Active/Less Free/Liberty (7.9%)	7	68.87	5	79.35	6	60.23	13	75.17
Passive/Same/Security (10.0%)	8	68.82	8	77.22	11	58.61	4	78.24
Active/More Free/Liberty (3.1%)	9	67.98	13	69.64	7	60.13	6	77.6
Active/Same/Liberty (13.4%)	10	67.91	6	78.21	10	59.02	14	74.63
Both/Same/Security (2.4%)	11	66.92	15	67.48	9	59.52	9	76.5
Active/Same/Security (12.5%)	12	66.4	11	72.9	14	56.83	11	75.93
Active/Less Free/Security (7.0%)	13	66.27	12	69.94	13	58.19	12	75.22
Passive/More Free/Security (2.4%)	14	65.52	17	64.14	12	58.22	10	75.95
Both/Same/Liberty (1.2%)	15	65.01	10	74.14	17	54.78	15	74.07
Active/More Free/Security (3.5%)	16	63.58	14	69.59	15	56.4	16	70.16
Both/Less Free/Security (0.3%)	17	62.35	16	66.41	16	55.09	17	70
Both/More Free/Liberty (0.0%)	18	0	18	0	18	0	18	0

*No respondents could be classified as Both/More Free/Liberty

Scores by Definition and Group

Group & Definition	Overall	Basic	Economic	Social
Conservatives (18.45%) Passive/Less Free/Liberty	81.74	90.05	73.78	88.23
Conservatives (14.54%) Passive/Same/Liberty	72.13	82.32	63.76	78.19
Conservatives (12.93%) Active/Same/Security	65.63	67.96	56.34	76.86
Liberal (23.63%) Active/Same/Liberty	65.98	74.55	56.74	74.01
Liberal (14.44%) Active/Less Free/Liberty	63.85	72.71	54.72	71.52
Liberal (10.92%) Passive/Less Free/Liberty	71.55	88.80	59.68	78.75
Moderate (15.26%) Active/Same/Security	67.52	76.70	57.53	76.26
Moderate (12.70%) Active/Same/Liberty	67.99	79.52	57.98	75.58
Moderate (12.77%) Passive/Less Free/Liberty	73.59	85.87	65.15	78.71
Republicans (15.00%) Active/Same/Security	66.22	72.42	57.41	74.88
Republicans (14.93%) Passive/Less Free/Liberty	79.56	89.86	71.83	84.72
Republicans (13.37%) Passive/Same/Security	72.23	77.99	64.24	79.99
Republicans (10.85%) Passive/Same/Liberty	76.25	88.63	67.20	82.13
Democrats (24.17%) Active/Same/Liberty	65.71	75.55	55.18	74.84
Democrats (11.61%) Passive/Same/Liberty	68.46	77.30	59.28	76.27
Independents (16.96%) Passive/Less Free/Liberty	79.28	90.20	70.84	85.07
Independents (13.83%) Passive/Same/Liberty	72.83	81.70	65.43	78.26
Millennials (19.12%) Active/Same/Liberty	69.39	80.17	59.75	76.87

Millennials (12.22%) Passive/Less Free/Liberty	76.88	84.03	67.18	86.24
Millennials (11.42%) Passive/Same/Liberty	72.68	84.16	63.74	78.87
Non-Millennials (15.65%) Passive/Less Free/Liberty	77.33	89.38	68.12	83.59
Non-Millennials (13.95%) Active/Same/Security	65.79	74.85	56.23	73.99
Non-Millennials (11.01%) Passive/Same/Security	70.08	77.36	60.53	79.18

Chapter 5

Item Analysis/Driving Indicators

Item analyses are important in understanding how each one of the items in the survey impacted the respondents in an index.

In this construct, the strongest drivers for conservatives driving them *away* from their support for freedom are Q13 (intervention in prescription drugs) and Q16 (intervention in foreign trade). The strongest drivers *towards* supporting freedom for conservatives are Q17 (taxation of estates) and Q21 (freedom of religion).

For moderates, the strongest drivers *away* from supporting freedom are Q12 (intervention with oil companies) and Q18 (intervention with drive sharing companies). The strongest drivers *towards* supporting freedom are Q21 (freedom of religion) and Q14 (employers determining salaries).

For liberals, the strongest drivers *away* from supporting freedom are Q13 (intervention in prescription drugs) and Q20 (business owners denying service). The strongest drivers *towards* supporting freed are Q22 (freedom of expression on college campuses) and Q21 (freedom of religion).

	Conservative	Moderate	Liberal
q13	-1.783125	-0.557017544	-2.32728
q16	-1.659769737	-0.118421053	-0.34503
q15	-1.191019737	-1.048245614	-0.05657
q12	-1.133453947	-2.254385965	-1.71337
q24	-0.759276316	-1.01754386	0.993728
q18	-0.208289474	-1.311403509	-0.55953
q25	-0.097269737	-0.73245614	-0.92195
q19	-0.080822368	0.135964912	-0.21929
q20	0.120657895	-0.99122807	-1.90568
q11	0.157664474	0.149122807	1.444911
q10	0.322138158	0.495614035	1.075089
q14	0.795	2.495614035	0.039586
q9	0.930690789	0.094210526	-0.55213
q22	1.012927632	-0.302631579	1.659408
q23	1.111611842	-0.021929825	1.304379
q17	1.214407895	1.627192982	0.335444
q21	1.243190789	2.925438596	1.659408

Among Millennials and non-Millennials, there is little differentiation in what is driving their freedom scores. For both groups, Q13 (intervention in prescription drugs) and Q12 (intervention with oil companies) are the biggest drivers *away* from supporting freedom.

When it comes to the items driving both groups *towards* freedom, Q21 (freedom of religion) is the strongest item.

For Millennials, Q23 (unpaid internships) is the second strongest driver *towards* supporting freedom.

For non-Millennials, Q22 (freedom of expression on college campuses) is the second strongest item.

	Millennials	Non-Millennials
q13	-2.02451	-2.027744
q12	-1.312971	-1.449995
q16	-0.941176	-1.041919
q20	-0.921946	-0.859359
q15	-0.710407	-0.773449
q18	-0.505279	-0.309531
q25	-0.473228	-0.361077
q19	-0.242459	-0.163483
q9	0.07164	0.37775
q14	0.50754	0.4744
q24	0.55241	-0.126971
q11	0.55882	0.71281
q17	0.68703	0.97269
q10	0.7319	0.57105
q22	1.25113	1.297
q23	1.31523	1.2025
q21	1.45626	1.50533

The positive and negative numbers for each item, indicate numerical impact on the overall average freedom score to a particular group provided that other item columns are fixed.

Appendix A

Methodology

Data Collection

The 2017 Support for Freedom Index was designed by Trevor Smith, Research Director with WPAi, and fielded by Central Marketing Research Services from February 22-23 & 26, 2017. Telephone interviews were conducted with a representative sample of 803 adults throughout the United States (481 respondents were interviewed on a landline telephone and 322 were interviewed on a cellphone). Respondents were selected using Random Digit Dialing (RDD). The respondents were asked for their name and if they were over the age of 18 to match the name on file.

The sample for this survey was stratified based on geography, age, gender, and ethnicity. This methodology allows us to avoid post-survey “weighting” which can reduce the reliability of survey results. The survey was designed to gauge perceived, actual, and preferred levels of freedom across a variety of archetypes. These archetypes include measures of Basic Freedom, Economic Freedom, Religious/Social Freedom, as well as overall Freedom Scores. Utilizing the results WPAi created the Support for Freedom Index, comparing relevant demographics and determining the composition of the American adult population regarding ideals towards liberty.

The best measure of the expected value of the population mean for a measure is the sample mean of that measure. The margin of error of a survey is a measure of the uncertainty of the estimate of the population mean based on the sample size and a worst case (50/50) distribution of opinion. It is normally distributed and reported at the 95% confidence level. Other sources of potential error due to construct, measurement, or response are not included in the margin of error. The study has a sample size of $n=803$ Adults nationwide (40% cell) and a margin of error equal to $\pm 3.5\%$ in 95 out of 100 cases.

Survey and Index Design

The survey was designed to avoid subjective judgments except from the initial perspective of less government coercion equals more freedom. To avoid response bias, questions and individual items were directionally rotated.

Items were designed by a team of experts in the policy and political world, leveraged with a research design and academic expertise of scholars with decades of experience in the polling and political world. Each item set was introduced to the respondent with a clear introductory statement identifying the overarching theme that would be discussed with support and oppose options being rotated per respondent. Included with each item are directional indicators, + *or* -, the directional indicators show which direction the question is in support of freedom.

Each item was tested; post data collection, to ensure the accuracy of the results identifying the discriminative power of each item. The discriminative power (DP) was measured to examine the

survey participant's differing response by applying following formulas for each individual item in the survey:

Weighted Mean of Q1 (Top 25%) - Weighted Mean of Q3 (Bottom 25%) where

Weighted Mean = (Weighted Total)/(Number in Group) and

Weighted Total = Raw Score x Number of Respondent Choosing that Score.

After examining DP for each individual item in our survey, we proceeded to check the reliability of the survey. Using the method of Spearman Bowman split-half reliability test has been performed by splitting the survey into two parts, odd and even numbered questionnaires. Using the raw scores from both parts, the survey has produced Spearman Bowman prophecy of .60.

The scores were then flipped into a single direction to gauge the results in a meaningful way.

The items in the survey were then normalized from 0-100 point scale using the following scaling formula:

Scaled Score = (Sum of the Raw Scores x 100)/(Total Possible Raw Score)

Appendix B: Items

Admittedly, the index needed more questions in each section to provide a larger understanding of Americans' understanding and support for freedom. Due to time constraints and budget we were limited in this first edition, but believe this offers a beginning to an important conversation.

Basic Freedom Section

Now, I am going to read you some brief statements about personal freedom in the United States. For each statement, please tell me if you **ROTATE** support or oppose **END ROTATE** the statement.

IF AGREE/DISAGREE, ASK:

And would you say it is **STRONGLY** (support/oppose) or just **SOMEWHAT**?

The (first/next) one is...

RANDOMIZE

		Total Oppose	Strongly Oppose 1.	Smwt Oppose 2.	Uncertain/ Refused 3	Smwt Support 4.	Strongly Support 5.	Total Support
Q9.	The federal government should have more control over private property to protect the environment. ⁶	67%	44%	23%	5%	16%	13%	29%
(-)								
Q10.	Government should not be able to listen in on phone calls, emails or electronic records of citizens without a warrant. ⁷	23%	12%	11%	3%	16%	58%	74%
(+)								

⁶ The founders agreed that private property, free markets, and a stable currency were the cornerstones of a free and fair society. Government had to ensure that those three things were safeguarded. "the right to acquire property precedes the right to possess it because the right to acquire is the foundation of the right to possess, not only because of the needs of the poor, but also because of the natural right to liberty itself." James Madison wrote in Federalist 10, "The diversity in the faculties of men, from which the rights of property originate, is not less an insuperable obstacle to a uniformity of interests. The protection of these faculties is the first object of government. From the protection of different and unequal faculties of acquiring property, the possession of different degrees and kinds of property immediately results; and from the influence of these on the sentiments and views of the respective proprietors, ensues a division of the society into different interests and parties." West, Thomas. "The Economic Principles of America's Founders: Property Rights, Free Markets, and Sound Money.", Madison, James. Federalist Papers. S.I.: Arcturus Publishing LTD, 2017. Federalist X.

⁷ In Brutis II of the Anti-Federalist Papers, Brutus writes that it is Government's natural inclination to infringe on people's natural rights, as man's state of nature is to transgress against another man's natural rights. He writes that the constitution should begin with "expressly reserving to the people such of their essential natural rights, as are not necessary to be parted with." In the Fourth Amendment, the Government must obtain a warrant to gain access to a person's papers, and possessions. New York, NY: Signet Classic, 2003. Chapter: Brutis II

	Total Oppose	Strongly Oppose 1.	Smwt Oppose 2.	Uncertain/ Refused 3	Smwt Support 4.	Strongly Support 5.	Total Support
Q11. The press should be able to publish freely without restrictions from the government. ⁸ (+)	19%	12%	8%	5%	18%	58%	75%

Economic Freedom Section

Now, I am going to read you some brief statements about economic freedom in the United States. For each statement, please tell me if you **ROTATE** support or oppose **END ROTATE** the statement.

IF AGREE/DISAGREE, ASK:

And would you say it is **STRONGLY** (support/oppose) or just **SOMEWHAT**?

The (first/next) one is...

RANDOMIZE

	Total Oppose	Strongly Oppose 1.	Smwt Oppose 2.	Uncertain/ Refused 3	Smwt Support 4.	Strongly Support 5.	Total Support
Q12. The government should regulate oil companies to keep gas prices at reasonable levels. ⁹ (-)	29%	16%	13%	5%	22%	44%	66%

⁸ The government should have little control over the press. In the First Amendment, the right to a free press is guaranteed. This can be attributed, in part, to the works of Thomas Paine. Alexander Hamilton in Federalist 84 writes about the press, "Who can give it any definition which would not leave the utmost latitude for evasion? I hold it to be impracticable; and from this, I infer, that its security, whatever fine declarations may be inserted in any constitution respecting it, must altogether depend on public opinion, and on the general spirit of the people and of the government." As such, there has been a general sentiment, especially from then-Presidential Candidate Donald Trump, to change the laws that exist protecting the right of the press, including loosening libel laws. Classic liberalism states that having regulation on the press is wrong on moral and philosophical grounds. Madison, James. Federalist Papers. S.I.: Arcturus Publishing LTD, 2017. Federalist LXXXIV, Gold, Hadas, and Nick Gass. "Donald Trump: We're going to 'open up' libel laws." POLITICO. February 26, 2016.

⁹ Milton Friedman argued that the government should only have a heavy-handed government regulation of the liquidity services, such as banks, and nowhere else. This is because the government, because of the social waste of unnecessary bankruptcy. Bureaucrats had no skin in the game whether a regulated industry lived or died, as such, it wasn't efficient, nor free for the government be involved in the market. Milton Friedman Explains the Cause of the Great Depression. May 05, 2013. Miller, Roger LeRoy, Daniel K. Benjamin, and Douglass C. North. The economics of public issues. Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2016.

		Total Oppose	Strongly Oppose 1.	Smwt Oppose 2.	Uncertain/ Refused 3	Smwt Support 4.	Strongly Support 5.	Total Support
Q13.	The government should prevent drug companies from increasing the prices of life-saving drugs. ¹⁰	18%	10%	8%	3%	16%	63%	79%
(-)								
Q14.	Employers should be able to determine the salaries and benefits of their employees. ¹¹	22%	11%	10%	5%	26%	47%	73%
(+)								
Q15.	The government should prevent American companies from building factories overseas. ¹²	44%	21%	23%	7%	18%	31%	49%
(-)								
Q16.	The government should impose tariffs on goods that Americans buy from overseas. ¹³	33%	16%	17%	11%	28%	28%	56%
(-)								

¹⁰ Government intervention in a market has the effect of having less availability in the marketplace, and that countries that normally could not afford the drugs either had to import the drug from another country that could afford to buy the drug, or had to wait for the drug to get cheaper. Iyengar, Swathi, Kiu Tay-Teo, Sabine Vogler, Peter Beyer, Stefan Wiktor, Kees de Joncheere, and Suzanne Hill. "Prices, Costs, and Affordability of New Medicines for Hepatitis C in 30 Countries: An Economic Analysis." PLoS Medicine 13, no. 5 (2016): e1002032. General OneFile.

¹¹ Adam Smith wrote that wages are connected to supply and demand, where workers would argue for wages that they were willing to work for and businesses would argue for wages that they would like to affordably pay. The government has had a minimum wage instituted, or a price floor that many economists have argued, keep low-skilled workers out of the work force. Smith, Adam, Edwin Cannan, and George J. Stigler. An inquiry into the nature and causes of the wealth of nations: two volumes in one. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2012.

¹² Protectionist policies ultimately cause a reduction in our exports, because other countries will be unable to pay for our goods, hence, import restrictions must inevitably decrease the size of our export sector. Miller, Roger LeRoy, Daniel K. Benjamin, and Douglass C. North. The economics of public issues. Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2016.

¹³ Import restrictions impose costs on U.S. consumers. By reducing competition from abroad, quotas, tariffs, and other trade restraints push up the prices of foreign goods and enable U.S. producers to hike their own prices. One of the best-documented examples of this is the automobile industry in the 1980's and 1990's. Miller, Roger LeRoy, Daniel K. Benjamin, and Douglass C. North. The economics of public issues. Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2016.

	Total Oppose	Strongly Oppose 1.	Smwt Oppose 2.	Uncertain/ Refused 3	Smwt Support 4.	Strongly Support 5.	Total Support
Q17. People should be able to pass their estates to their heirs without taxation. ¹⁴	18%	9%	8%	3%	12%	67%	79%

(+)

Q18. The government should not hinder ride-sharing companies such as Uber or Lyft through regulation. ¹⁵	37%	16%	21%	16%	25%	23%	48%
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(+)

Q19. People wishing to work in a non-life threatening industry such as a florist or barber should be able to do so without being required to get a license from the government. ¹⁶	39%	20%	18%	5%	20%	36%	56%
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¹⁴ Economic theory, even Marxism, agrees that capital formation is the key to growth. Investment that is set aside and passed down to one's offspring is vital to the growth and advancement of the economy. Having an estate tax is effectively a punishment on people that are financially responsible and managed their money responsibly. Bartlett, Bruce. "Why Death Taxes Should Be Abolished." August 18, 1999.

¹⁵ The high prices brought on by taxicab regulations and inefficient mass transit systems have, in recent years, attracted some new competition. Start-ups such as Uber and Lyft now offer so-called "ride-sharing" services. With the Uber app installed on your smartphone, for example, you can see a map of Uber drivers in your area and, for a mutually agreeable price, hire them to transport you to your destination. None of these drivers work for Uber itself, but the company certifies the drivers and takes 20 percent of the fares to cover its costs. In the fifty or so nations where Uber has operations, taxi companies and mass transit systems have fought desperately to keep the competition out. So far, however, Uber and other firms like it are still expanding, along the way lowering prices and improving the quality of customer service. Miller, Roger LeRoy, Daniel K. Benjamin, and Douglass C. North. The economics of public issues. Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2016.

¹⁶ Sometimes the government gets involved in unlikely markets in its efforts to prevent the ravages of competition from taking their toll. Licensing is even tougher for would-be braiders in Utah. There, the "Barber, Cosmetology/Barber, Esthetics, Electrology and Nail Technology Licensing Board" requires them to pay \$16,000 in tuition and undergo two thousand hours of training in cosmetology—even though none of the certified schools in Utah teach hair braiding. Around the nation, cosmetologists are required to obtain an average of 372 days of training. Required training for emergency medical technicians' averages but 33 days. Miller, Roger LeRoy, Daniel K. Benjamin, and Douglass C. North. The economics of public issues. Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2016.

Religious/Social Freedom Section

Now, I am going to read you some brief statements about religious and social freedoms in the United States. For each statement, please tell me if you **ROTATE** support or oppose **END ROTATE** the statement.

IF AGREE/DISAGREE, ASK:

And would you say it is **STRONGLY** (support/oppose) or just **SOMEWHAT**?

The (first/next) one is...

RANDOMIZE

	Total Oppose	Strongly Oppose 1.	Smwt Oppose 2.	Uncertain/ Refused 3	Smwt Support 4.	Strongly Support 5.	Total Support
Q20. Business owners should have the right to refuse service to people when certain practices are not in accordance with their religious beliefs. ¹⁷	53%	41%	13%	4%	14%	28%	43%
(+)							
Q21. Government should not interfere with the peaceful religious practices of Christians, Moslems, Jews, and other faiths. ¹⁸	5%	3%	2%	2%	11%	82%	93%
(+)							

¹⁷ The freedom of conscience is vitally important. George Washington said "The conscientious scruples of all men should be treated with great delicacy and tenderness; and it is my wish and desire, that the laws may always be extensively accommodated to them." Freedom of conscience is one of the core principles upon which the American system of government is based. The freedom to live and speak in accordance with one's religious tenets is one of the core principles upon which the American system of government is based, with a historical foundation that predates the Declaration of Independence and the U.S. Constitution. Sekulow, Jay Alan. "Religious Liberty and Expression Under Attack: Restoring America's First Freedoms." The Heritage Foundation. October 1, 2012.

¹⁸ The government is restricted by the first amendment by interfering with the practices of peaceful religions. The freedom of religion is a centerpiece of the bill of rights, and was the reason that America was founded in the first place. As such, the government has no right to intercede into the affairs of religions or their practices therein.

	Total Oppose	Strongly Oppose 1.	Smwt Oppose 2.	Uncertain/ Refused 3	Smwt Support 4.	Strongly Support 5.	Total Support
Q22. Students with unpopular opinions should be able to express their thoughts without fear of punishment. ¹⁹	8%	3%	5%	2%	18%	72%	90%
(+)							
Q23. College students who wish to do unpaid internships should be able to have that opportunity. ²⁰	7%	3%	4%	4%	20%	69%	89%
(+)							
Q24. Adult Americans should be free to decide whether to smoke marijuana. ²¹	30%	22%	8%	6%	23%	41%	64%
(+)							
Q25. Adult Americans should be free to decide whether to wear a helmet when riding a bike or motorcycle. ²²	42%	31%	11%	4%	18%	37%	55%
(+)							

¹⁹ The right to free speech is enshrined in the First Amendment. However, it is the hardest speech that is most important to protect. Without the right to say unpopular, outrageous, or offensive speech, then any lesser speech can be equally restricted. The Supreme Court unanimously ruled that offensive speech, even on the internet, is protected and should be protected under the First Amendment. Ito, Suzanne. "Protecting Outrageous, Offensive Speech." American Civil Liberties Union. February 17, 2012. <https://www.aclu.org/blog/speakeasy/protecting-outrageous-offensive-speech>. Chicago-Kent College of Law at Illinois Tech. "Reno v. ACLU." Oyez. <https://www.oyez.org/cases/1996/96-511>

²⁰ Unpaid internships are educational ways to get new faces into careers that may be restrictive or requires extensive training. If college students decide to take an internship that is unpaid, that is their choice. Sixty percent of interns are offered jobs that they intern at, if someone wants to make an investment of their time, energy, and money, that is their choice. Zachary Slayback, Quit Snarking at Unpaid Internships, Foundation of Economic Education, 2016.

²¹ With government intervention in the marijuana markets with the war on drugs, costing the taxpayers trillions over four decades, the sale of marijuana is at a record high. Miller, Roger LeRoy, Daniel K. Benjamin, and Douglass C. North. The economics of public issues. Boston, Mass.: Pearson, 2016. ACLU, Marijuana Law Reform, 2016.

²² If you have a strong disregard for your own health and safety, you are free to express it in all sorts of ways. You can smoke cigarettes. You can gorge on fast food five times a day. A rider that decides not to wear a helmet is not a public health issue. Steve Chapman, The Case Against Motorcycle Helmet Laws, Reason.com, 2010