

CENTER FOR POLICY ALTERNATIVES

Findings from a Nationwide Survey
November 2006

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Methodology

Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey which was conducted by phone using professional interviewers. The survey reached 800 voters in the 2006 midterm elections nationwide. The survey was conducted November 9-15, 2006.

The total of 800 registered voters included an oversample of 400 "persuadable voters", 200 "mostly Democratic" voters, and 200 "mostly Republican voters". We then down-weighted the samples together to more accurately reflect the likely voter population for a final weighted sample size of 600 respondents.

Telephone numbers for the survey were drawn using random digit dial (RDD). In addition to the weighting described above, the data were weighted slightly by gender and race in order to ensure that it accurately reflects the demographic configuration of the population. The margin of error for the survey is around +/- 4.0 percentage points.

Questions Driving This Research



- » **How do we talk about values?**
- » **Can progressives ever really win the “values” debate?**
- » **How do we win persuadable voters as well as engage the base?**
- » **How do we build on our victories?**
- » **Can “big ideas” help bridge the communication gap?**

KEY FINDINGS

- ✓ **We now know why “persuadable” voters are persuadable.** On the ideological spectrum, they more closely align with Republican voters. On the policy spectrum, they more closely align with Democratic voters. If we can make the “ideological” seem policy-oriented instead, we can move persuadable voters to our side of the debate.
- ✓ In this environment, **it is better to be a progressive candidate than a liberal candidate**, but overall, it is better to be seen as moderate.
- ✓ **Freedom is a key value.** Progressives have yet to tap into it the way we need to. We need to create energy around this value if we want to compete with conservatives because it is the top value we tested. If we tap into freedom the way we need to, we can wedge a good share of weaker conservative, Republican, and persuadable voters to our side of the debate.
- ✓ **Our values are strong.** Indeed, our framework is more than competitive, but we need to include freedom as a component. Voters believe government should ensure security, fairness, and opportunity so all Americans can get ahead. These values interact together to be more powerful than they are individually.

KEY FINDINGS

- ✓ **Opportunity has weakened as a core value and freedom and security are now much stronger.** “Common good” works well as a framework plank, but as a message in the context of equal opportunity, it does not capture voters.
- ✓ Our messages tested well, but our message frames, with less rhetoric, tested better. This is a warning: **Our ideal language on freedom, security, opportunity, and the common good needs to be filled in.**
- ✓ The war in Iraq, health care, and jobs and the economy dominate the issue agenda.
- ✓ Voters want a small government, one that has a limited area of involvement. However, they also think government should make health care more affordable, level the playing field, and protect our privacy. **They want government to act as an enforcer of basic rules, fix problems, and be a watchdog.**

Strategic Summary: The Identification Challenge

- ✓ Voters believe conservatives, rather than progressive or liberals, would do a better job on their issue priority.
 - ✓ By 36% to 29% they prefer the conservative over the liberal. Among persuadable voters the advantage for the conservative is 36% to 23%.
 - ✓ By 37% to 29% all voters prefer the conservative over the progressive, but among persuadable voters that advantage is only 30% to 26%. **In this case, a 13% deficit with liberals is reduced to only 4% when we mention progressives.**
- ✓ When the generic is moved into the political realm, both progressive candidates and conservative candidates do better, but this is because partisans remain loyal. **Persuadable voters are less ideological and lean toward the “moderate candidate”.**
 - ✓ A progressive candidate receives a therm rating of 57.1, the conservative earns a 56.9, and the moderate is rated at 55.0.
 - ✓ Among persuadable voters, the progressive candidate earns a therm of 56.5, the conservative is rated at 53.9, and they rate moderates at 55.3. The liberal earns a therm of only 44.0 among persuadable voters.

In sum, neither liberal nor progressive are particularly strong terms in this environment. This is less important overall since persuadable voters are less ideological, but we want to avoid losing support because our policies are “liberal.” Progressive is stronger than liberal because it has a broader reach among persuadable voters.

Strategic Summary: Tapping into the Values Frame

- ✓ Voters make careful distinctions on values. **Freedom is the top value we tested.** It is stronger than justice, fairness, and opportunity. Progressives have yet to tap into freedom in the right way, and the longer we fail to do this, the more ground we lose to conservatives in this debate.
 - ✓ 79% of voters rate “freedom” a 10, on a ten-point scale where 10 signifies extremely important for our country.
 - ✓ Equal justice and justice also perform well (74% and 73%, respectively). Persuadable voters actually prefer simply “justice” to “equal justice.” Voters distinguish equal justice from fairness –fairness is in the second tier (61% rate it a ten).
 - ✓ Opportunity has lost importance in the last year and was the weakest value we tested overall (47% rate it a 10). Opportunity is still important, especially among our base, but right now freedom is the frame we need to work on.
 - ✓ Security and safety test similarly, but our later messages highlight security and they test well (57% and 56%).
- ✓ **The economic framework should tap into promoting economic security over economic opportunity (57% to 29%). Economic freedom outperforms economic fairness (50% to 35%). Importantly, the traditional conservative framework of freedom and security is stronger than our recent framework of fairness and opportunity.**

In sum, we need to compete for “freedom” oriented voters and cannot afford to cede that frame to conservatives. Equal justice is important, but when we debate the economic priorities of this country we need to promote economic security rather than economic fairness or economic opportunity. To the extent that we can tap into the freedom frame, we have the potential to wedge the conservative and moderate base and pull voters into an economic framework that promotes freedom and security

Strategic Summary:

Good government stays small and enforces basic rules

- ✓ Voters hold competing views of government, but they see no contradiction. On the one hand they want their government to be small and only engaged in limited areas. On the other hand, their government should make health care more affordable, protect their privacy, level the playing field, and enforce the rules. Conservatives only get part of this right (small government), we need to exploit that in our messaging. **Voters want government to fix what's broken, like health care and immigration, and set the rules.**
 - ✓ 59% of voters say the government should absolutely be involved in making health care more affordable, 52% say it should absolutely be involved in protecting our privacy, and 46% say it should ensure equal opportunity.
 - ✓ Privacy is an important concept, one that Republicans are keenly tuned into. We can flip this concept and should find ways to do so. Small government means staying out of our personal private lives.
- ✓ **Voters want government to act as an enforcer of rules when it comes to the economy.** They do not want the government to stay out of transactions (55% enforce, 33% stay out). **An enforcer is stronger than a referee** (46% referee, 37% stays out).
 - ✓ **Leveling the playing field is critical language.**
 - ✓ However, voters value FREE competition over FAIR competition (46% to 37%) and they slightly prefer a government that stays out of the way rather than stops unfair competition. We need to be cautious in our rhetoric. Voters want minimum rules enforced.
 - ✓ In terms of wages, health insurance and retirement, “basic protections” works better than “basic rules and minimums.” Our frame would be even stronger if it incorporated security.

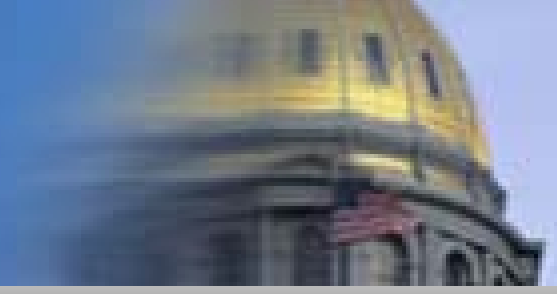
In sum, voters hold competing views of government and are completely comfortable with this. They want a small government, that also works to make health care more affordable and protects their privacy. If we can flip the privacy plank we can help peel away soft moderate voters from voting with conservatives. Voters also want their government to enforce rules and provide basic minimums on economic interactions.

Strategic Summary:

Our message frames are stronger than our message rhetoric

- ✓ **Voters want a government that promotes freedom, opportunity, and security for all. They are less enthusiastic about working to overcome the concept that there are two Americas.**
 - ✓ 91% of voters agree that government should promote freedom, opportunity, and security for all. It is the strongest frame we tested.
 - ✓ They also believe our government should stand up for people and not the powerful (88% agree) and that it should promote the common good (87%).
 - ✓ They want their communities to come together and do not want to hear that there are two Americas (only 61% agree). When we describe two Americas, one America has to be “working America” and the other is corporate America. It should not pit one version of America against the other since people want to be brought together, as we learned in the common good frame.
 - ✓ The American Dream tests weaker as a stand-alone concept than conventional wisdom dictates. However, when we include the American Dream in a message as part of a more specific set of goals – freedom, opportunity, security – it tests well.
- ✓ Our messages tested well, but were weaker than our message frames.
 - ✓ Our description of the common good is different than what respondents were thinking (37% rated it a 10.)
 - ✓ **However, our freedom, opportunity, and security message tested the strongest (48% rated it a 10).**
 - “Government should offer freedom, opportunity, and security to all. That means guaranteeing everyone’s constitutional rights. It means all Americans having equal access to the American Dream. Security is essential to the American Dream, economic security as well as physical safety.”
 - ✓ Importantly, the American Dream was referenced in this message, and it therefore has rhetoric strength even as the concept itself is less strong.

In sum, our frames are strong, but our rhetoric does not capture the intensity that voters were thinking when they heard our planks without messaging. We need to exploit our advantages on ensuring security, opportunity, and freedom for all Americans.



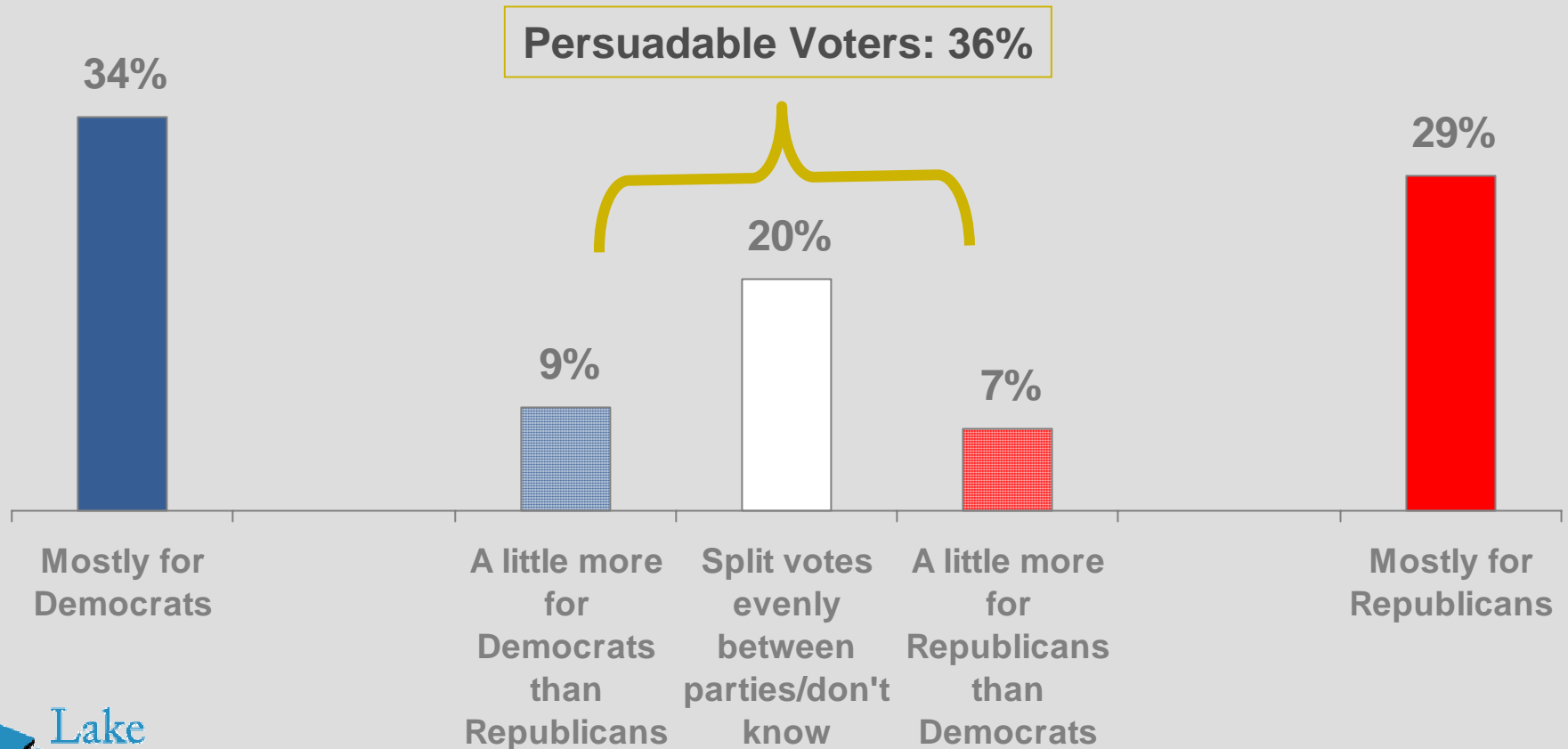
Identifying Persuadable Voters

About a third of all voters are persuadable, splitting their ticket or only voting for one party “a little more” than the other party. These voters determine the winner in close elections.



A third of voters fall into the persuadable voter category and say they do not vote solely for one party. Overall, a third vote mostly for Democrats and three in ten vote mostly for Republicans.

In general, would you say that you (ROTATE): mostly vote for Democrats, vote for Democrats a little more often than for Republicans, split your votes evenly between the parties, vote for Republicans a little more often than for Democrats, or mostly vote for Republicans?



Independents, moderates, and weak partisans are the most likely to split their ballot and fall within the ranks of persuadable voters. This constituency is comprised mostly of those with moderate leanings, and they tend to be slightly older and have weaker religious affiliations.

Total	36%
Independent men	82%
Independents	74%
Independents 50 and older	73%
Independent women	66%
Moderate men	49%
Weak Republicans	46%
No religious affiliation	45%
Moderate women	44%
Secular voters	44%
Men 50 and older	43%
Married women	42%
Unmarried men	42%

Republican voters are predominately men, conservatives, and religious voters.

Total	29%
Conservatives	48%
Born-again Christians	43%
Men in the Midwest	42%
College educated men	40%
White men	39%
Protestants	39%
Rural voters	38%
Men under 50	38%
Married men	38%
30-39 year old voters	36%
Men in the West	36%

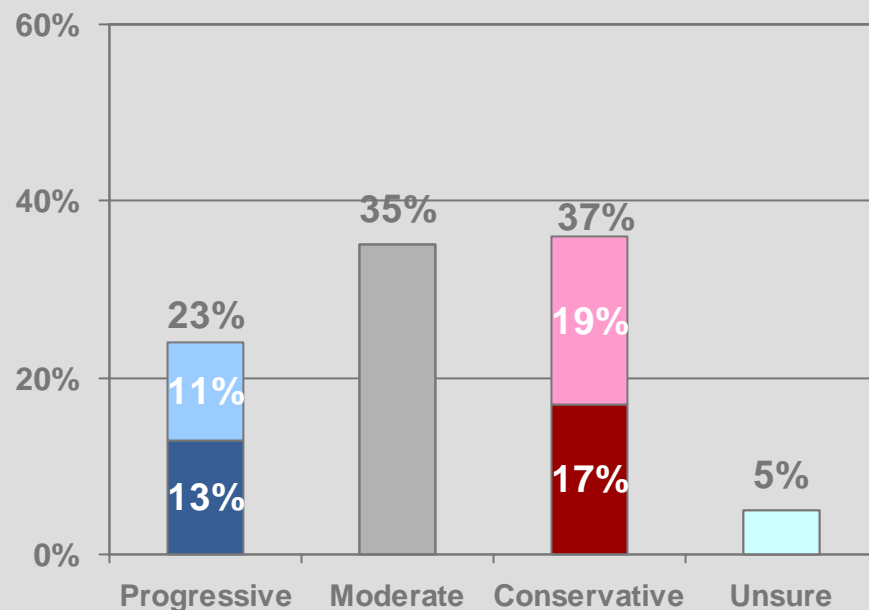
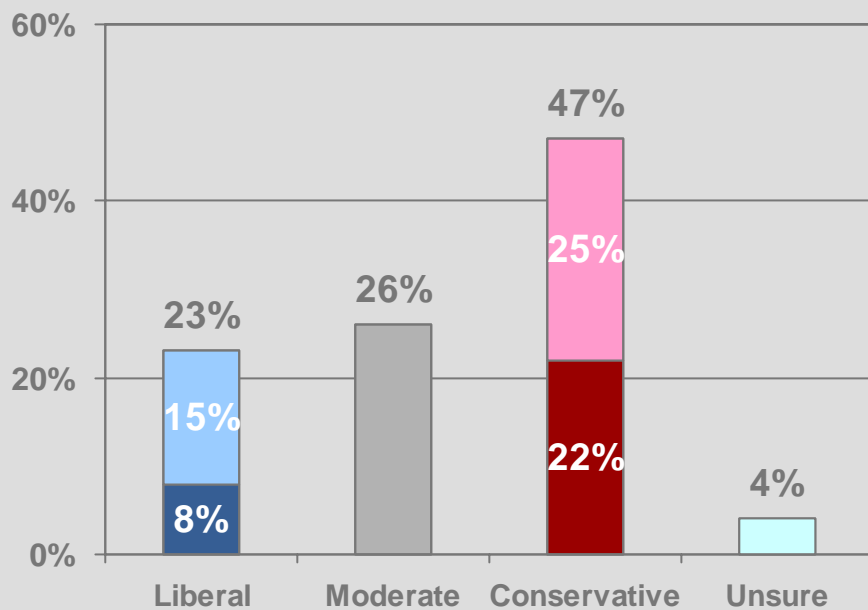
Democratic voters are primarily women, especially younger and college graduates, liberals, singles, and less religious voters.

Total	34%
Liberal/Progressive women	66%
Liberals	65%
Progressives	57%
African Americans	55%
Unmarried women	46%
Women in the West	43%
Infrequent churchgoers	42%
College-educated women	42%
High school education or less	42%
Women in the Northeast	42%
Moderate women	41%

When voters are asked to identify themselves as progressive compared to conservative, more say they tend toward moderate. The liberal label is more polarizing – when we ask them to identify as conservative or liberals, conservatism dominates.

Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative or very conservative?*

Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself very progressive, somewhat progressive, moderate, somewhat conservative or very conservative?*

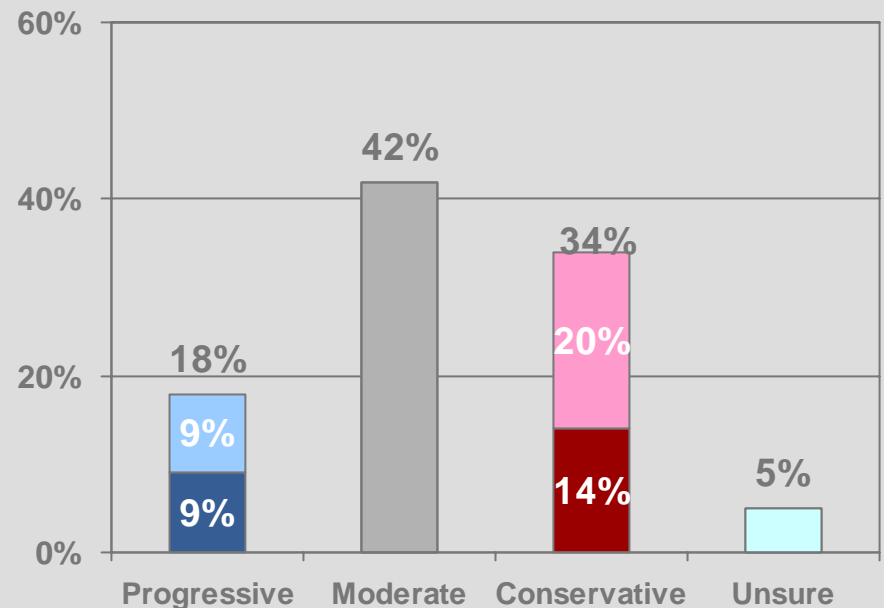
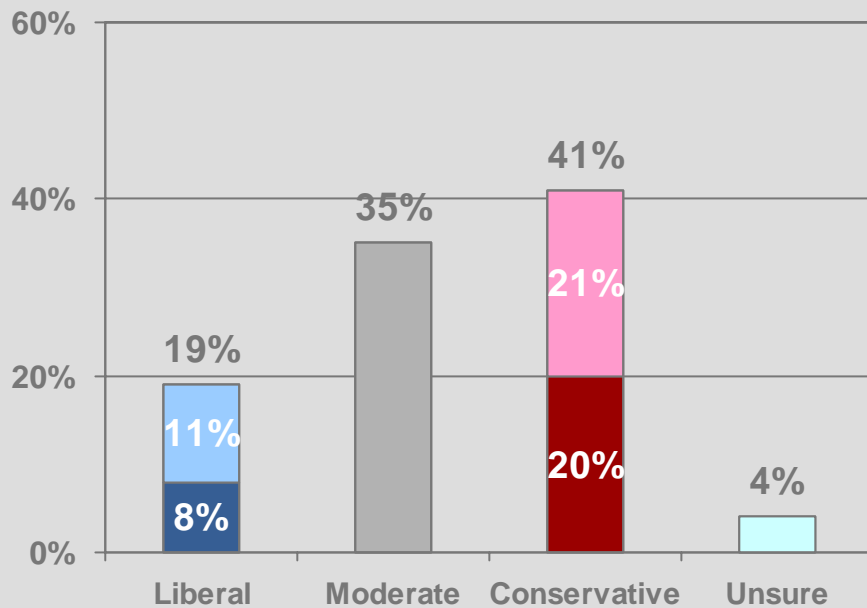


The liberal label is polarizing among persuadable voters as well – voters are more likely to say they are moderate than conservative when offered the progressive option, whereas they lean toward conservative rather than moderate when offered the alternative of liberal.

Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself very liberal, somewhat liberal, moderate, somewhat conservative or very conservative?*

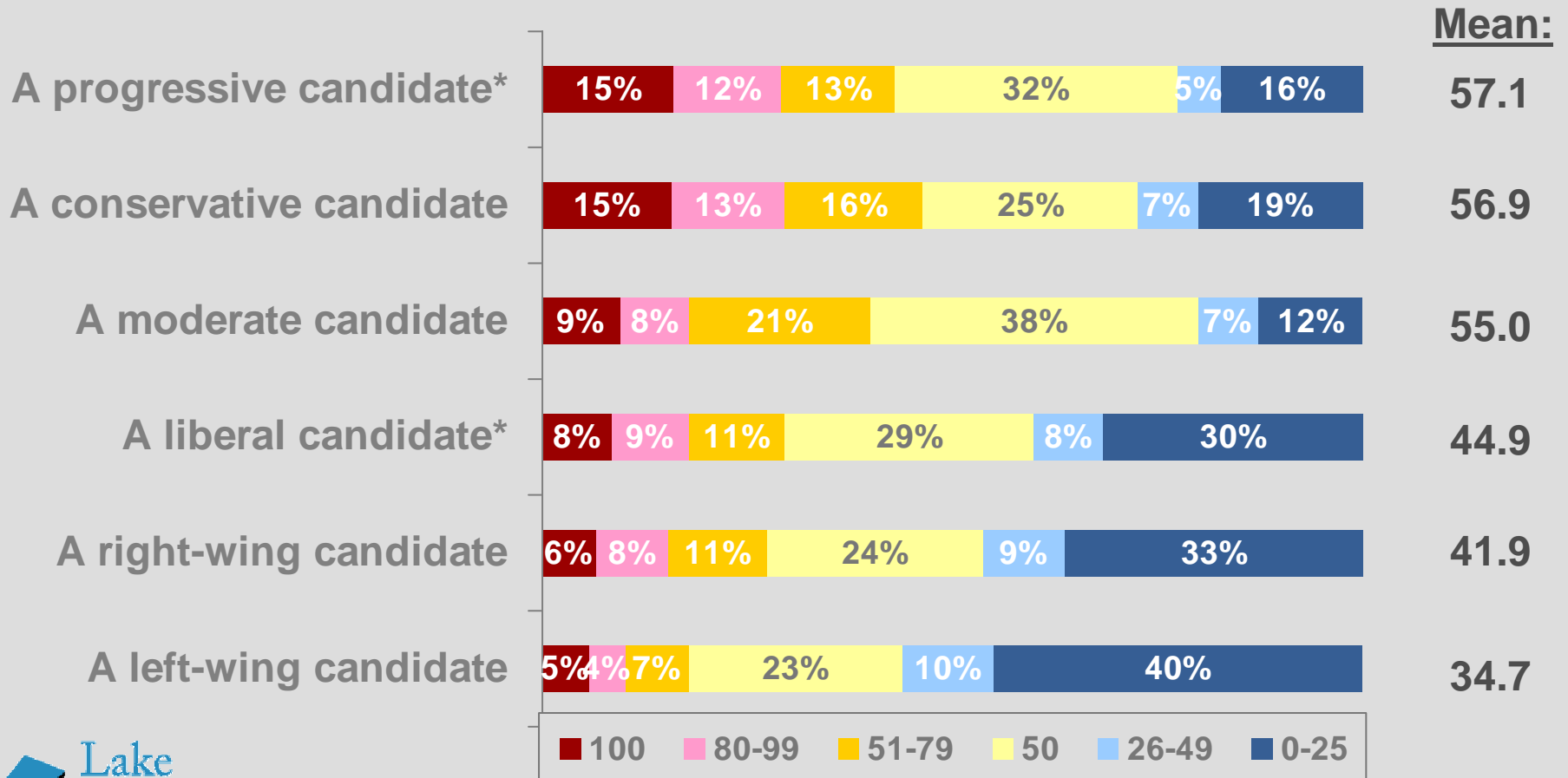
Thinking about your general approach to issues, do you consider yourself very progressive, somewhat progressive, moderate, somewhat conservative or very conservative?*

Among Persuadable Voters Only:



A progressive candidate and a conservative candidate do better because Democratic and Republican voters stay loyal and are more ideological....

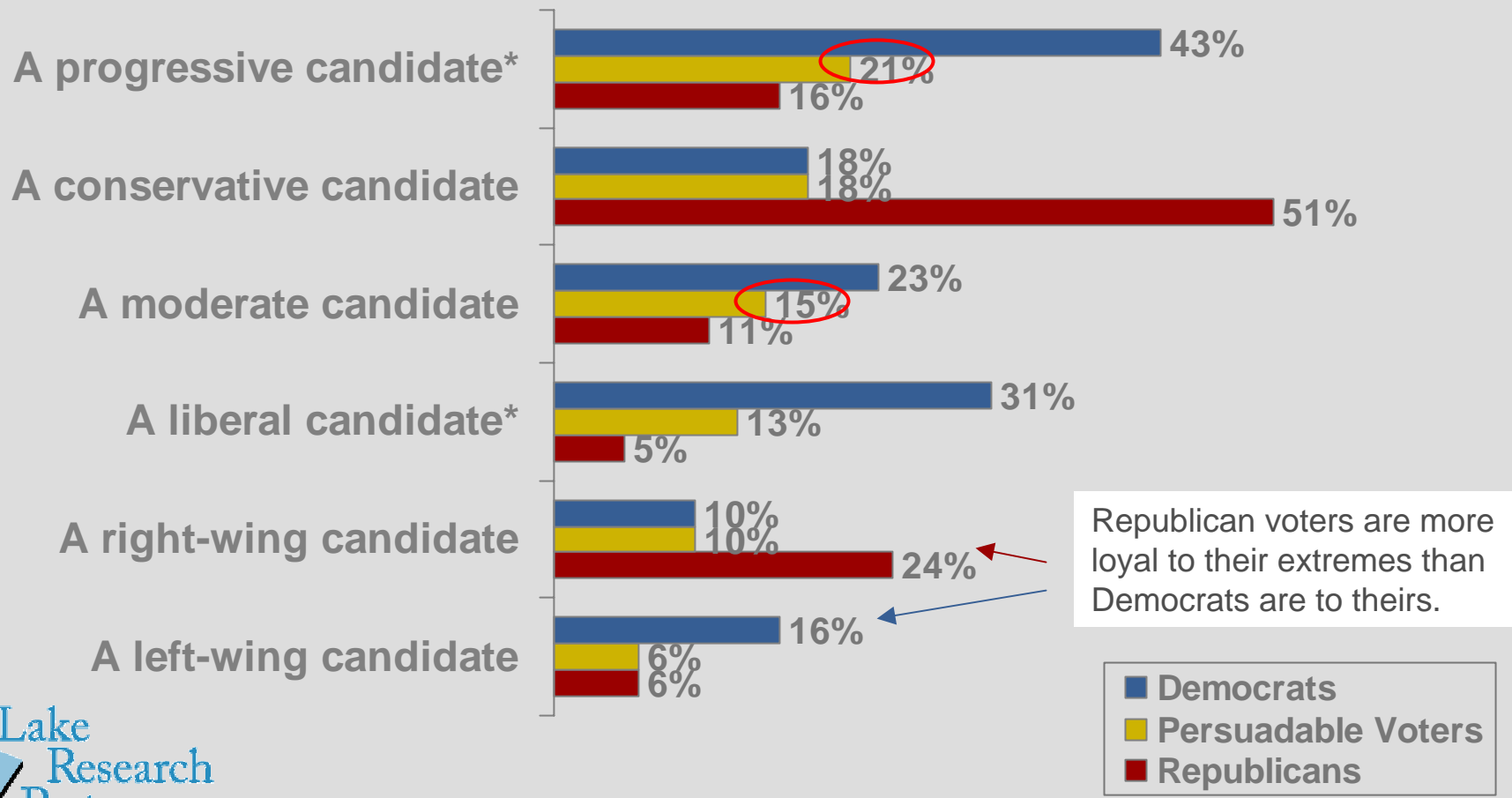
Please rate how favorable or unfavorable your impression of each is by using a scale from 0 to 100.



...But persuadable voters are less ideologically rigid and in fact may be more policy and results oriented. Notably, even among Democratic voters, a left-wing candidate is unpopular. Persuadable voters like neither left-wing nor right-wing, but are more positive toward a right-wing candidate.

Please rate how favorable or unfavorable your impression of each is by using a scale from 0 to 100.

Percent rating 80-100

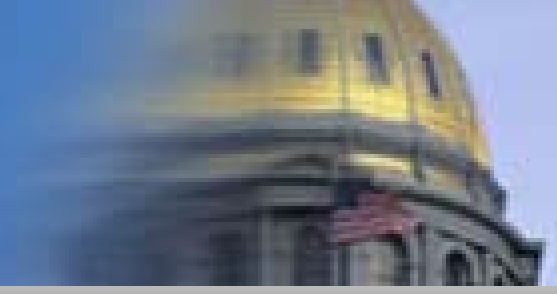


*Split sampled question

Although a conservative candidate tests best among voters overall, a progressive candidate works better than a liberal; liberal has less reach and less intensity.

Progressive works better than conservative among:

<u>Percent who rated 80-100</u>	Progressive	Conservative	Liberal
College graduates	33%	28%	17%
Unmarried voters	35%	30%	22%
Catholics	32%	28%	22%
Women in large metro areas	27%	16%	19%
Women in small/medium metro areas	39%	25%	16%



The Identification Conundrum

Moderates are preferred and conservatives are trusted more than liberals or progressives on issue priorities. However, moving forward, “progressive” has strength among target persuadable voters and less baggage than “liberal.”



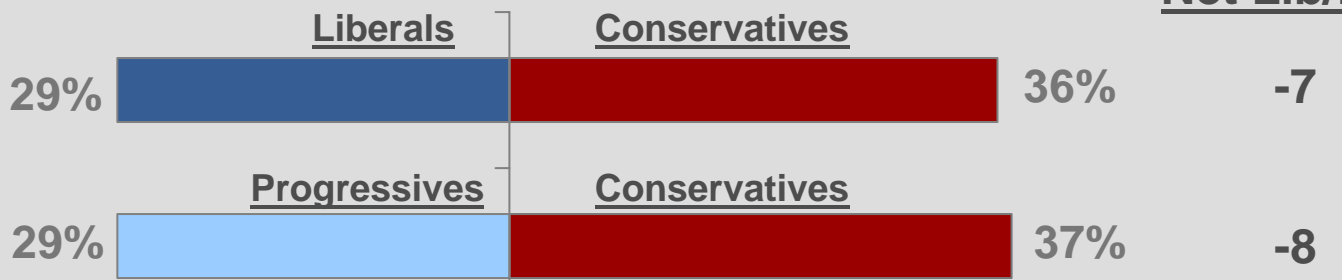
Compared to liberals or progressives, voters believe conservatives would do a better job handling their issue priority. Only a quarter of persuadable voters trust progressives more than conservatives to work on their top priority. The term “progressive” does better than does “liberal,” but

And who do you think would do a better job addressing that problem – [ROTATE] – conservatives or liberals?*

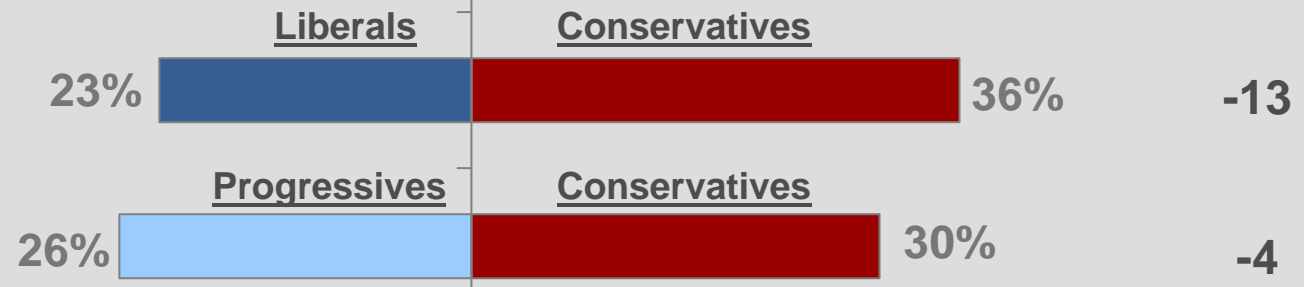
And who do you think would do a better job addressing that problem – [ROTATE] – conservatives or progressives?*

Net Lib/Prog

Total Voters

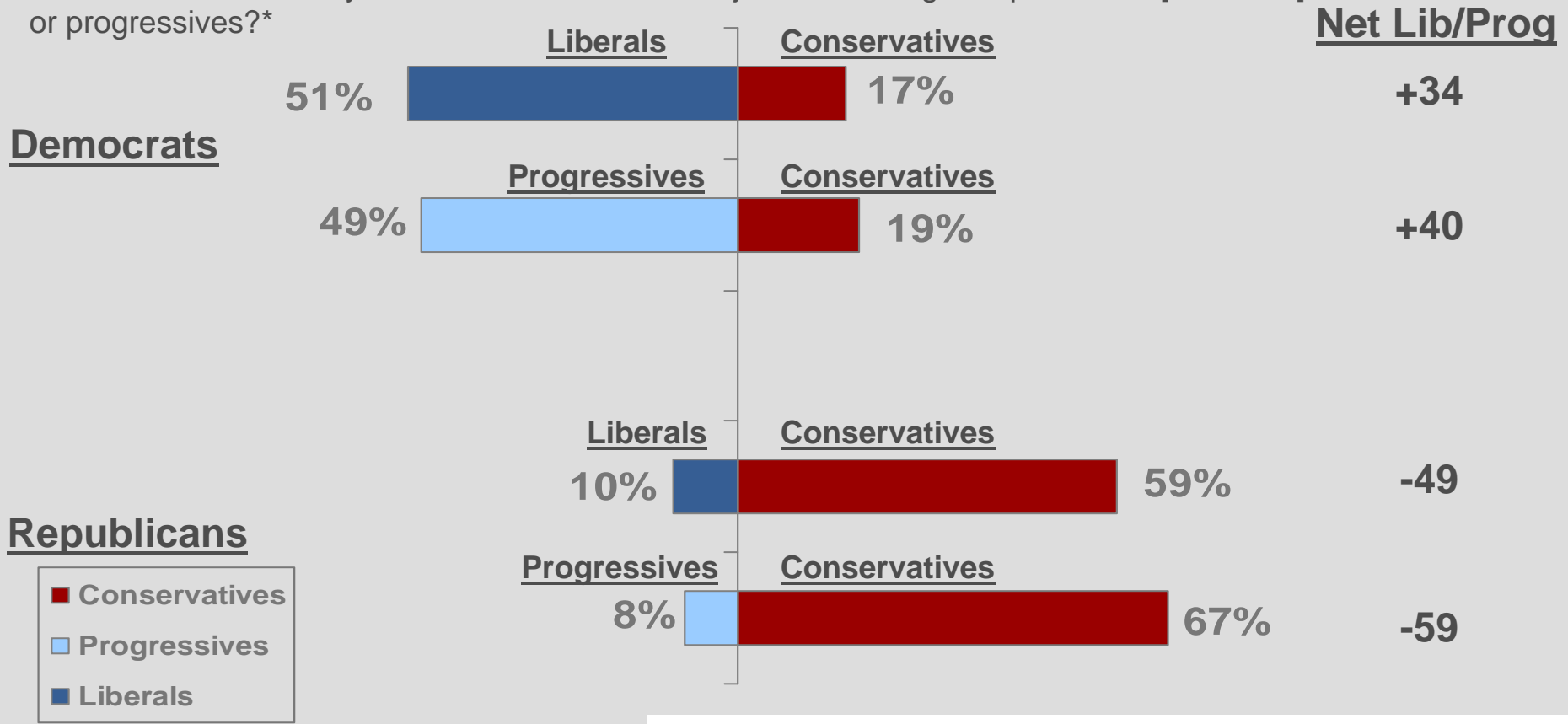


Persuadable Voters



.....Republicans are more polarized when we mention progressives. Democratic voters also lose some steam when we use the term “progressive.”

And who do you think would do a better job addressing that problem – [ROTATE] – conservatives or liberals?* And who do you think would do a better job addressing that problem – [ROTATE] – conservatives or progressives?*



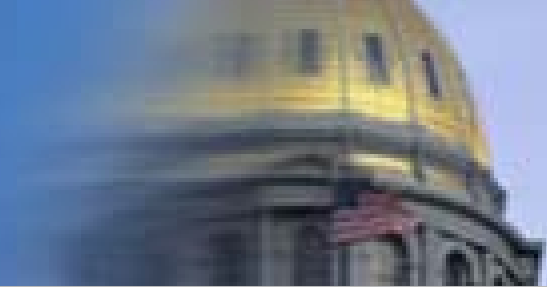
“Liberal” may be code for Democrats and “progressive” less intensely supported. On the other hand, “progressive” has more reach among persuadable voters and is their term of choice. Remember, also, that this issue references their “top priority.”



*Split sampled question

The progressive or liberal is preferred most by Democrats, women, younger, and single voters.

	% Progressive/Liberal	Net Progressive/Liberal
Weak Democrats	52%	+38
Democrats under 50	54%	+34
Kerry voters	48%	+31
Democrats	48%	+29
Women in the West	45%	+28
Independent Women	34%	+16
West region	37%	+12
African Americans	44%	+11
Singles	41%	+10
Moderates	31%	+7
No religious affiliation	39%	+6
Women in large metro areas	34%	+6
Voters under 30	37%	+2
Women under 50	35%	+2



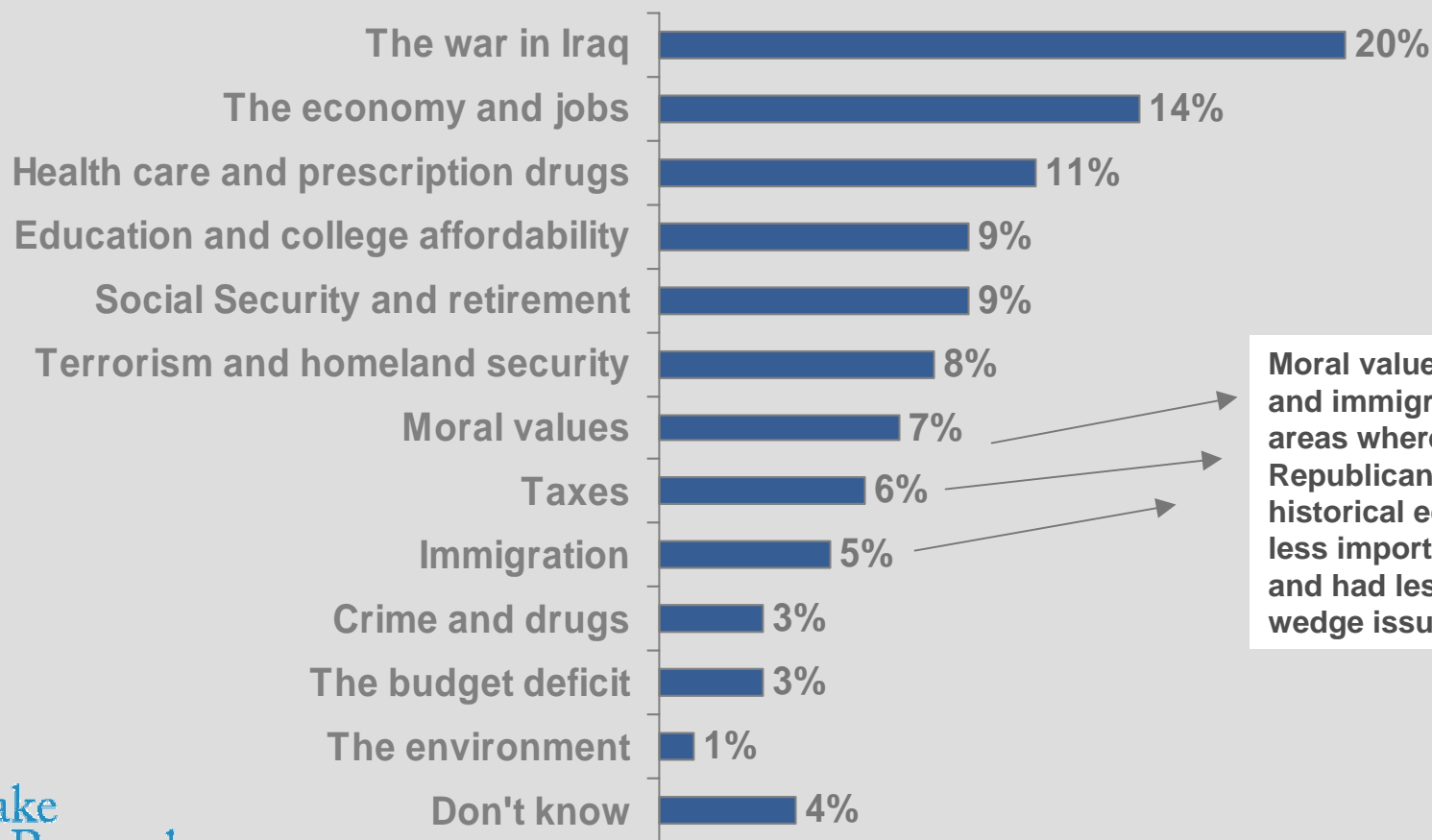
The Context

The post-election environment is one in which voters place importance on the war in Iraq, the economy and jobs and health care and prescription drugs.



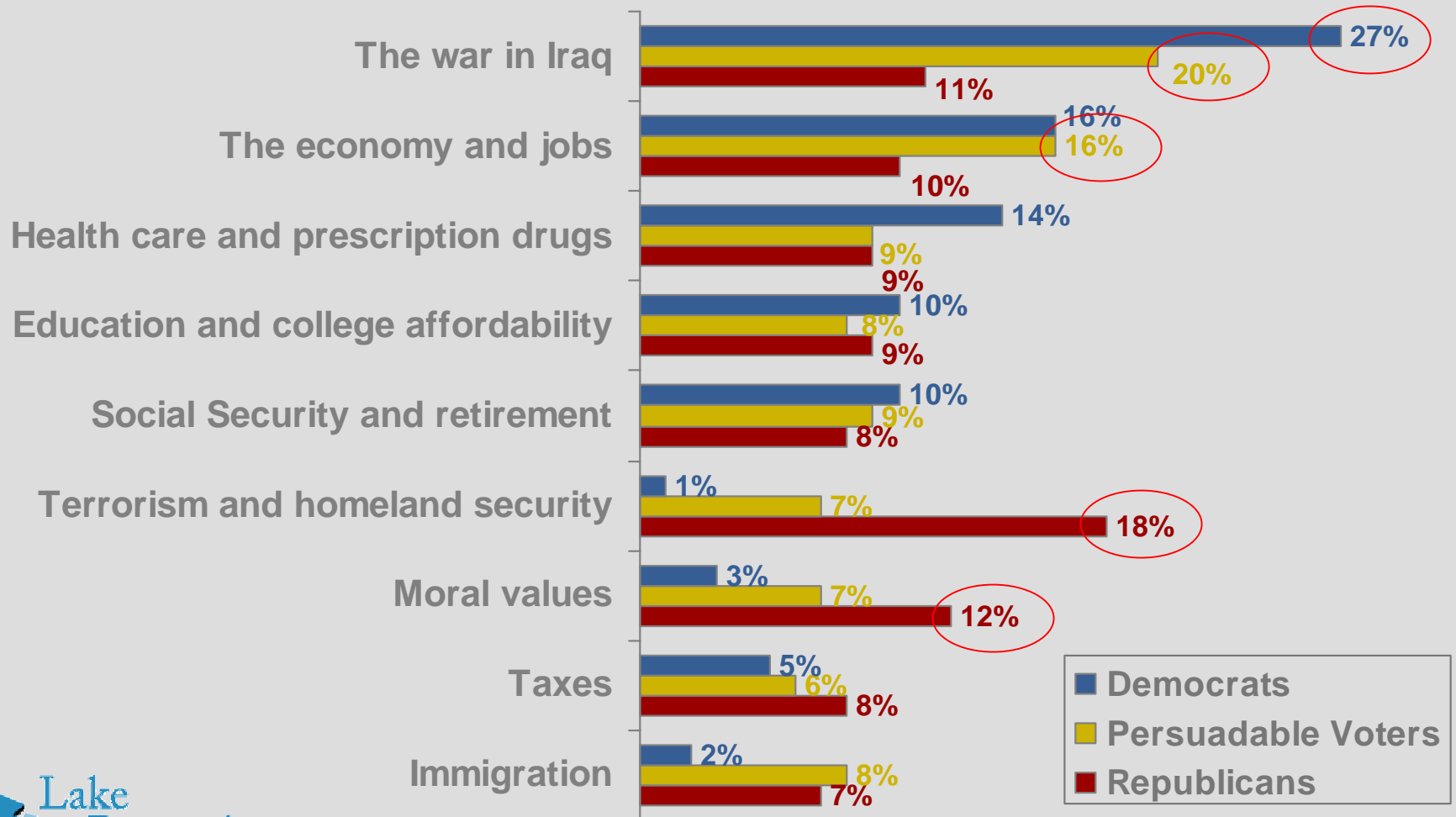
Voters prioritize the war in Iraq, the economy and jobs, and health care. This agenda is similar to what we saw immediately following the election and relevant to the criterion voters used to decide their vote on Election Day.

I am going to read you a list of concerns that some people have. Please tell me which one of these you personally think is most important to do something about:



Moral values, taxes, and immigration – areas where Republicans have a historical edge—were less important this year and had less value as wedge issues.

Democrats and persuadable voters drive the the war in Iraq as their top issue. Republicans have a distinct agenda; they prioritize terrorism and homeland security and moral values more than other voters.





- » **A war constituency is:** older women (25% most important issue), college-educated women (28%), Democrats (30%), and liberal and progressive women (45%).
- » **A jobs and economy constituency is:** younger women (20%), younger blue-collar voters (21%), Democratic men (20%), and African Americans (20%).
- » **A health care and prescriptions drugs constituency is** broader, but the base is Democratic women (17%) and liberals (18%).



Values That Work

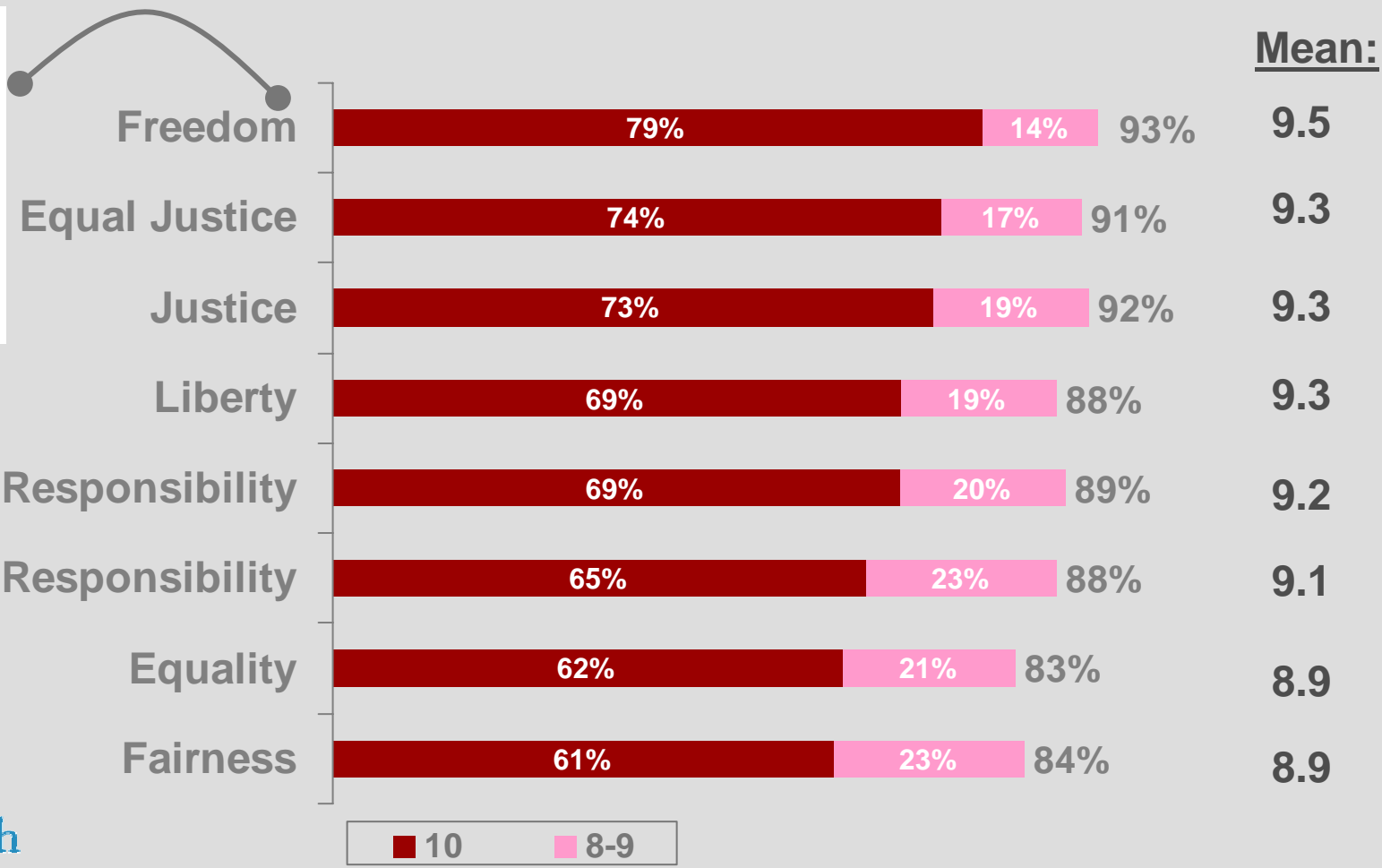
Freedom is the “hot” value, while opportunity has recently lost some of its appeal. To compete on values, progressives need to tap into the freedom framework.



Voters make careful distinctions on values. Freedom is the top value. If progressives fail to compete on this value it will be difficult to overcome other weaker framings that the opposition may use. We need to learn how to get control of it and build some energy around it from our side of the debate. Equal justice is also important to many voters and there is a clear distinction between it and fairness and equality.

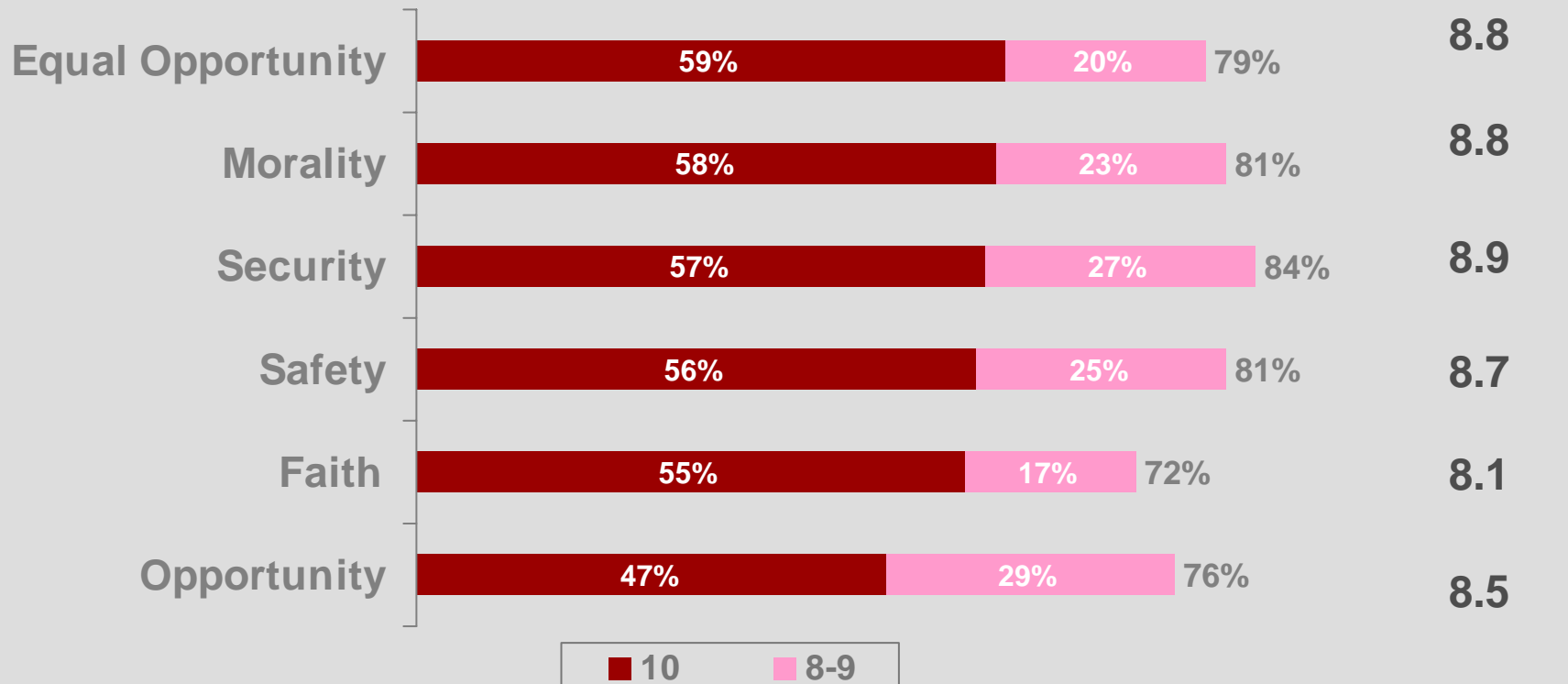
I'd like you to tell me how important that value is for our country on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important and 10 is extremely important. You can use any number in between.

The mean rating for freedom does not drop below 9.1 among any demographic group. Its reach is broad and deep.



Our progressive framework has long held opportunity as a strong value – it still is. However, it has lost intensity over the last year, especially when compared to “equal opportunity.” Faith and morality are lower values comparatively, but in many ways, they remain code-language since Republican and conservative voters prioritize them.

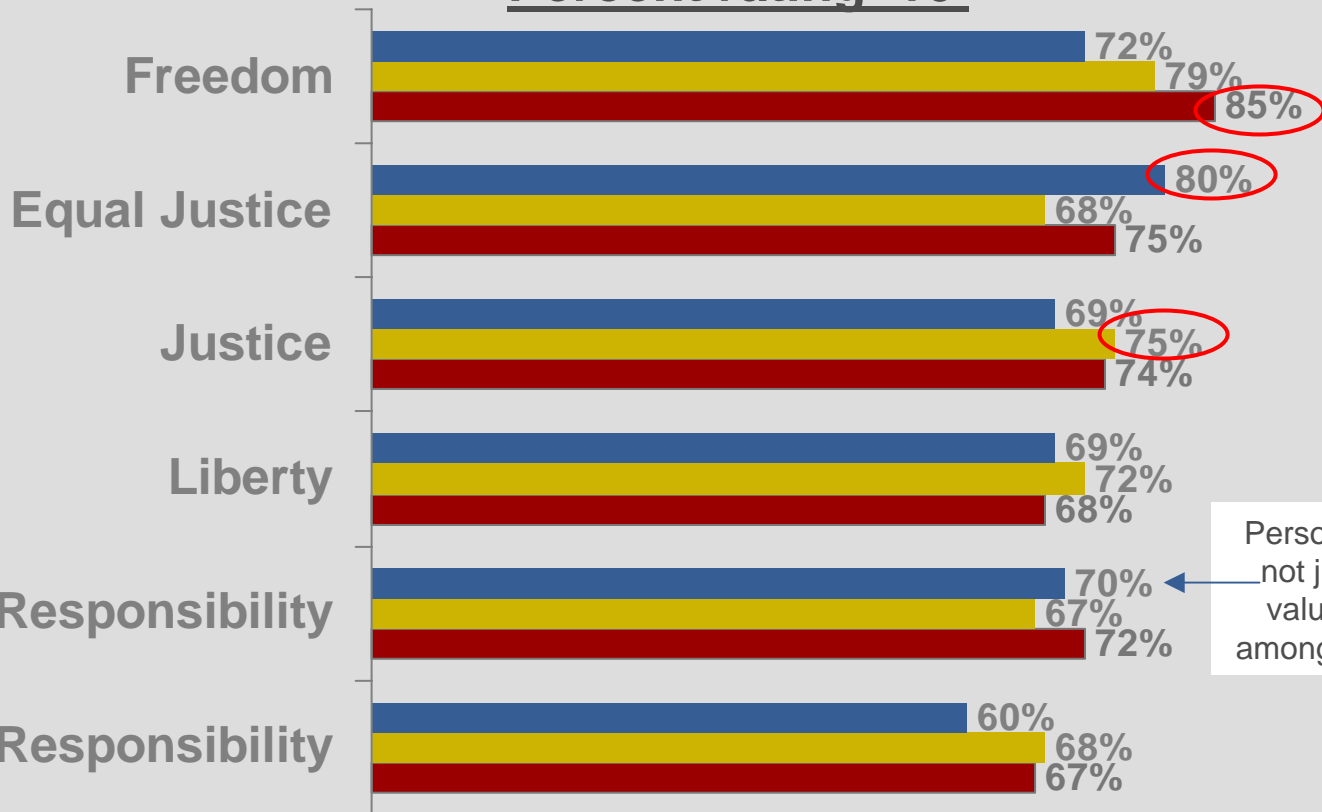
I'd like you to tell me how important that value is for our country on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important and 10 is extremely important. You can use any number in between.



Equal justice is driven by the Democratic base, but even Republicans respond well to it. Persuadable voters prefer simply “justice.” Personal responsibility is not just a conservative value, and Democrats rate it highly as well. Freedom is strongest for Republicans and persuadable voters, but it is still the second strongest value for Democrats.

I'd like you to tell me how important that value is for our country on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important and 10 is extremely important. You can use any number in between.

Percent rating '10'



Personal responsibility is not just a conservative value. It has strength among Democrats as well



■ Republicans ■ Persuadable Voters ■ Democrats

Women put more intensity behind equal justice and justice than do men. Older voters give more intensity to equal justice, justice, and liberty than younger voters. White voters put more value on freedom while minority voters place more values on equal justice.

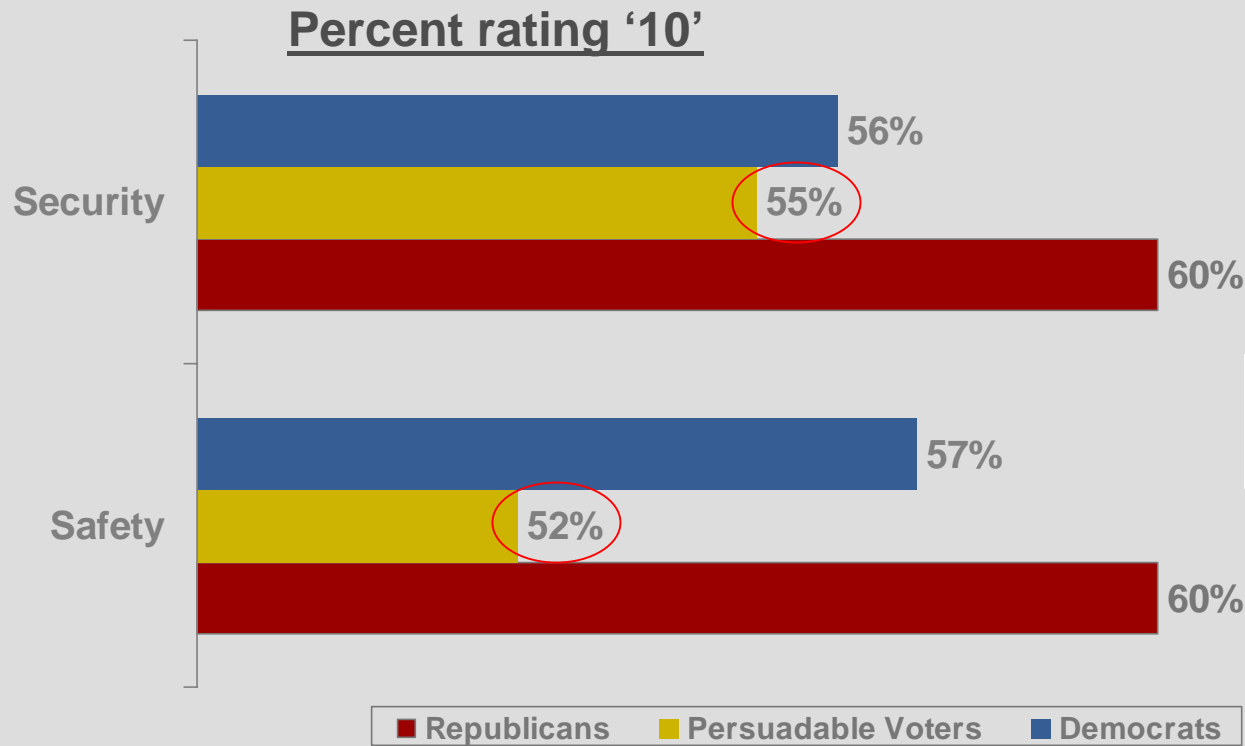
I'd like you to tell me how important that value is for our country on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important and 10 is extremely important. You can use any number in between.

Percent rating '10'

	Freedom	Equal Justice	Justice	Liberty
Men	78%	70%	69%	71%
Women	79%	77%	76%	68%
Under 50	78%	69%	67%	63%
50 and older	80%	76%	76%	73%
White voters	83%	71%	72%	70%
Minority voters	66%	83%	74%	65%

Although both security and safety are on a lower tier of values, it is important to note that security is slightly better language than safety among persuadable voters.

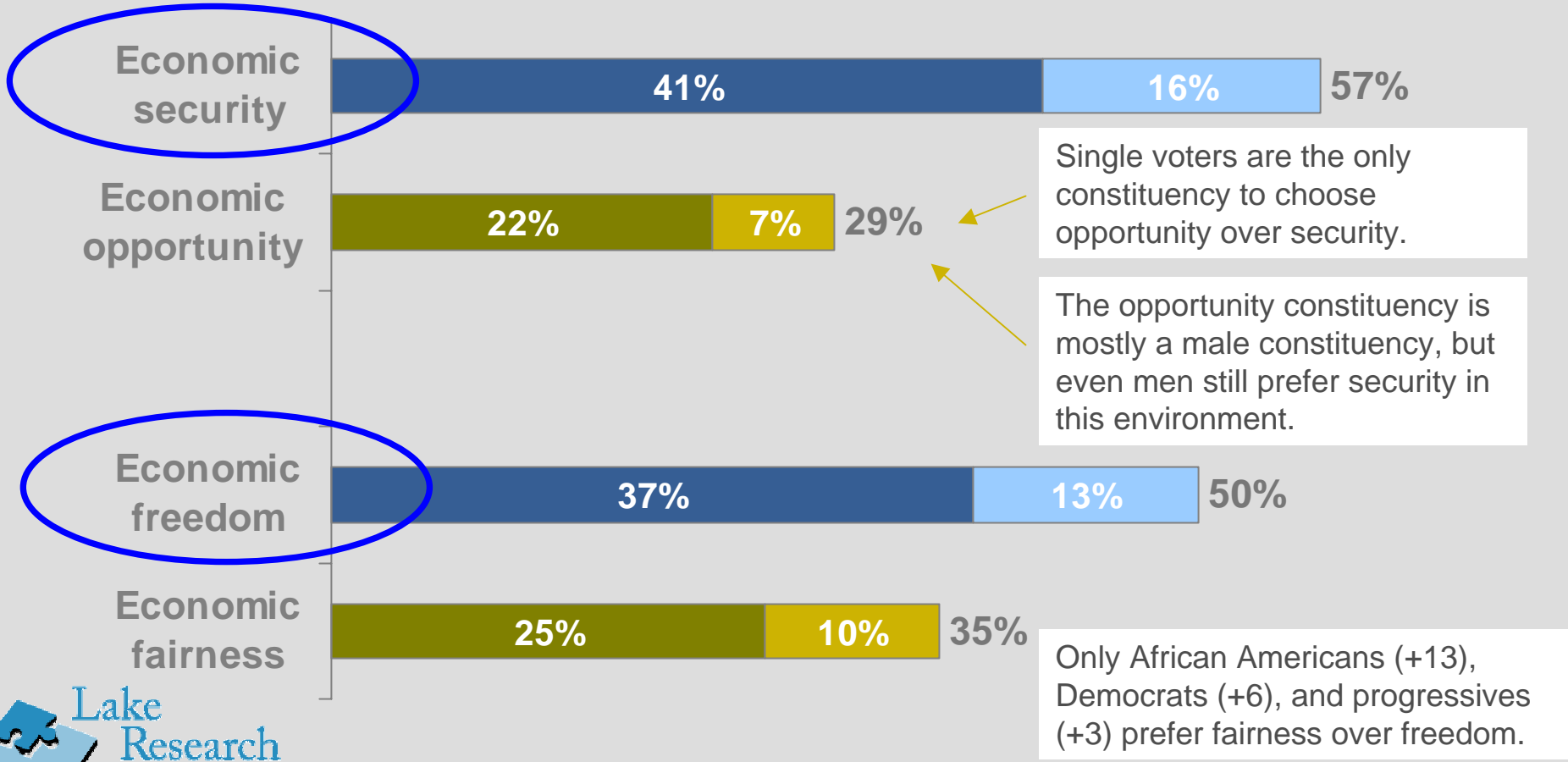
I'd like you to tell me how important that value is for our country on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is not at all important and 10 is extremely important. You can use any number in between.



Women also rate security slightly higher than safety (59% to 57%).

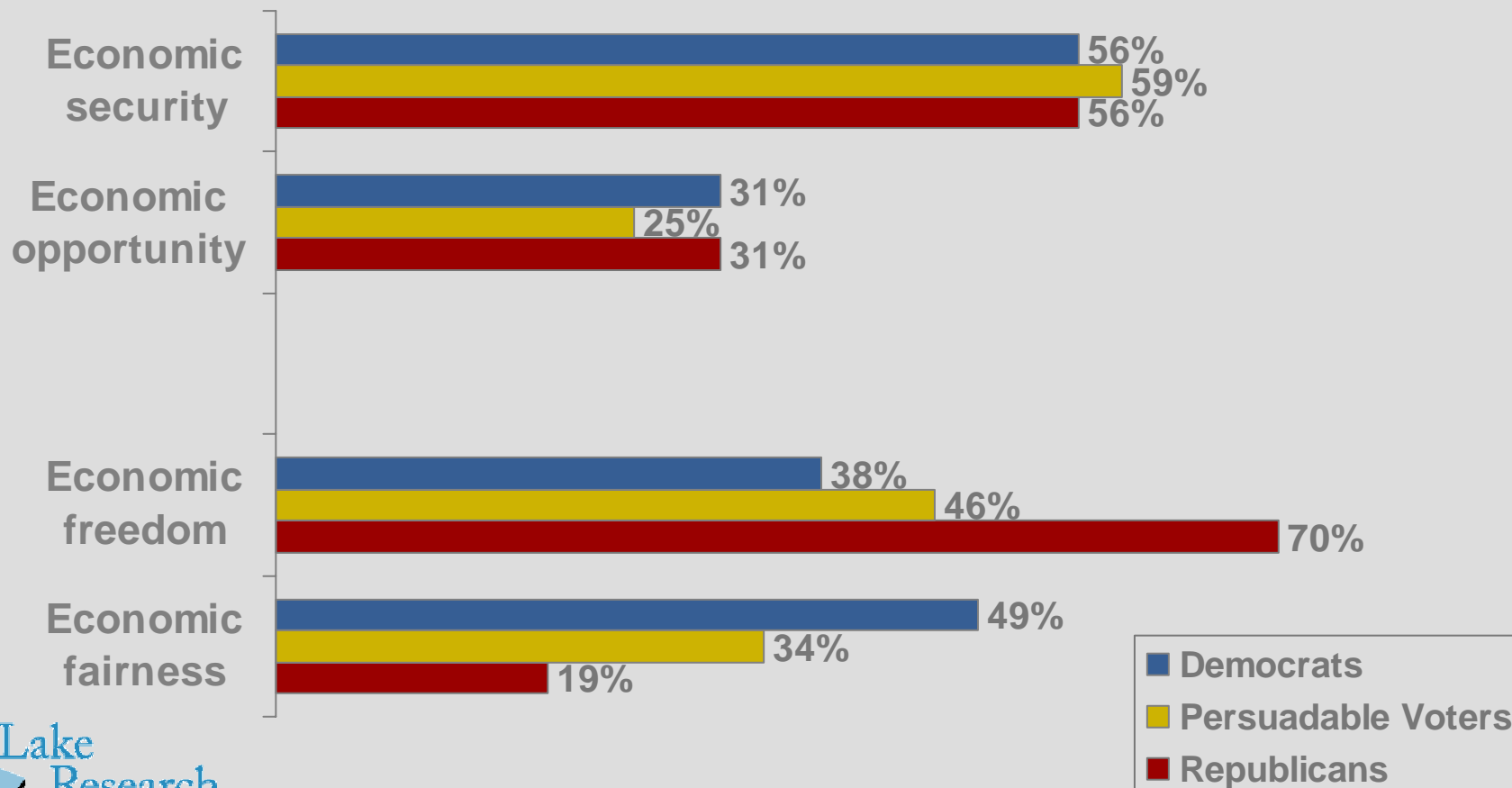
Economic security is a powerful frame, more powerful than economic opportunity or economic freedom. However, the frame that conservatives operate from – security and freedom – is more powerful than our competing traditional framework of opportunity and fairness. To compete, we must gain influence by including freedom in our dialogue with voters.

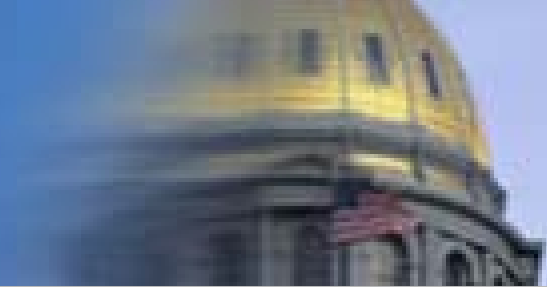
Which is more important to you personally—[ROTATE] _economic OPPORTUNITY or _economic SECURITY? * Which is more important to you personally—[ROTATE] _economic FAIRNESS or _economic FREEDOM? *



Economic fairness has some strength among Democratic voters, but growth is limited elsewhere. Persuadable voters believe economic security is the most important to them personally. Economic opportunity is less powerful in reaching persuadable voters.

Which is more important to you personally—[ROTATE] _economic OPPORTUNITY or _economic SECURITY?* Which is more important to you personally—[ROTATE] _economic FAIRNESS or _economic FREEDOM?*





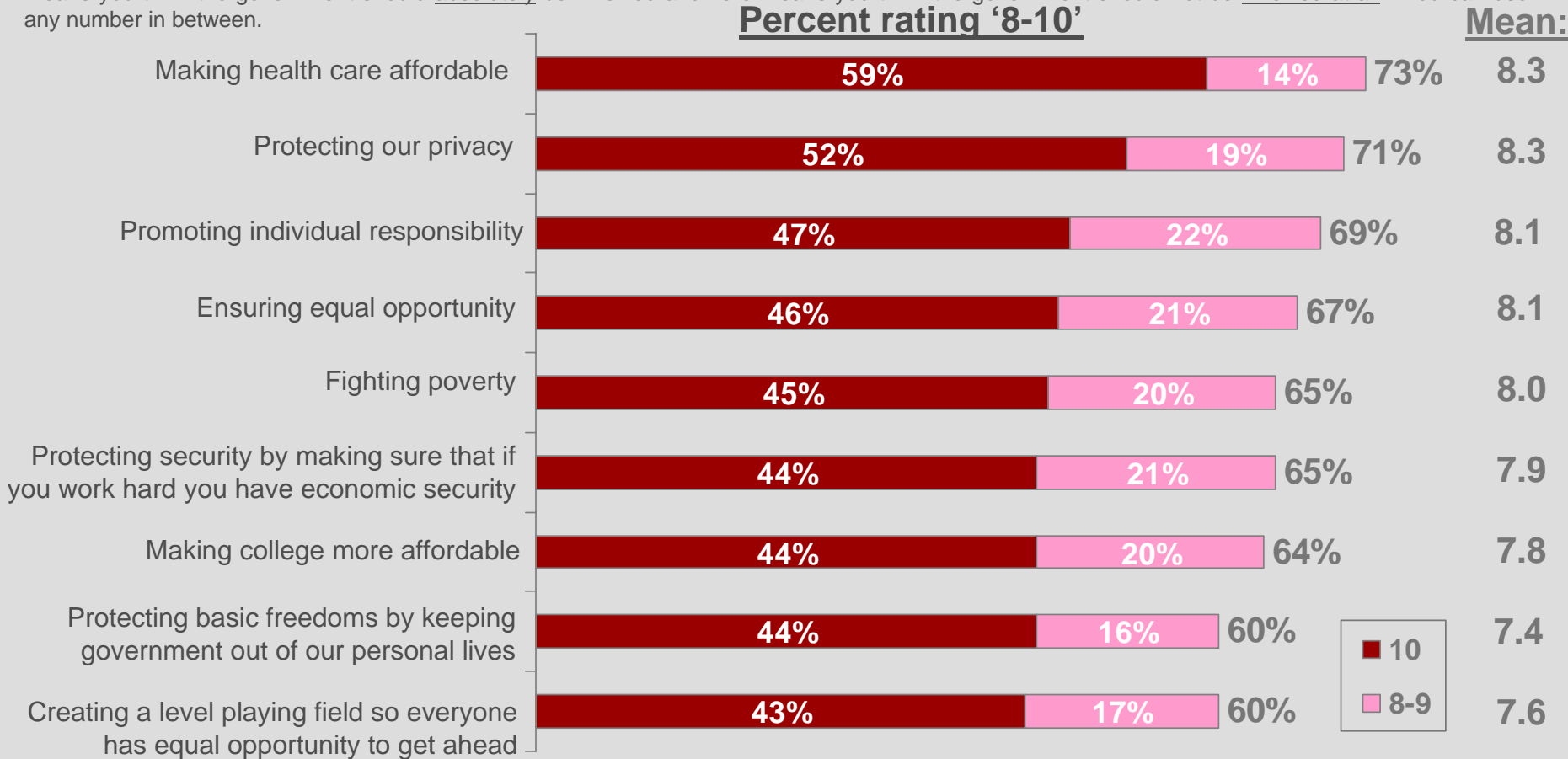
Conceptualizing Good Government

Voters want government to be small and involved in only a few areas.....but they also want government to make health care more affordable, protect our privacy, and enforce basic rules and minimums.



Voters believe government ought to make health care more affordable, protect our privacy, and promote individual responsibility. There is also a constituency that believes government ought to fight poverty and ensure equal opportunity. A second tier of priorities for the government includes economic security and college affordability.

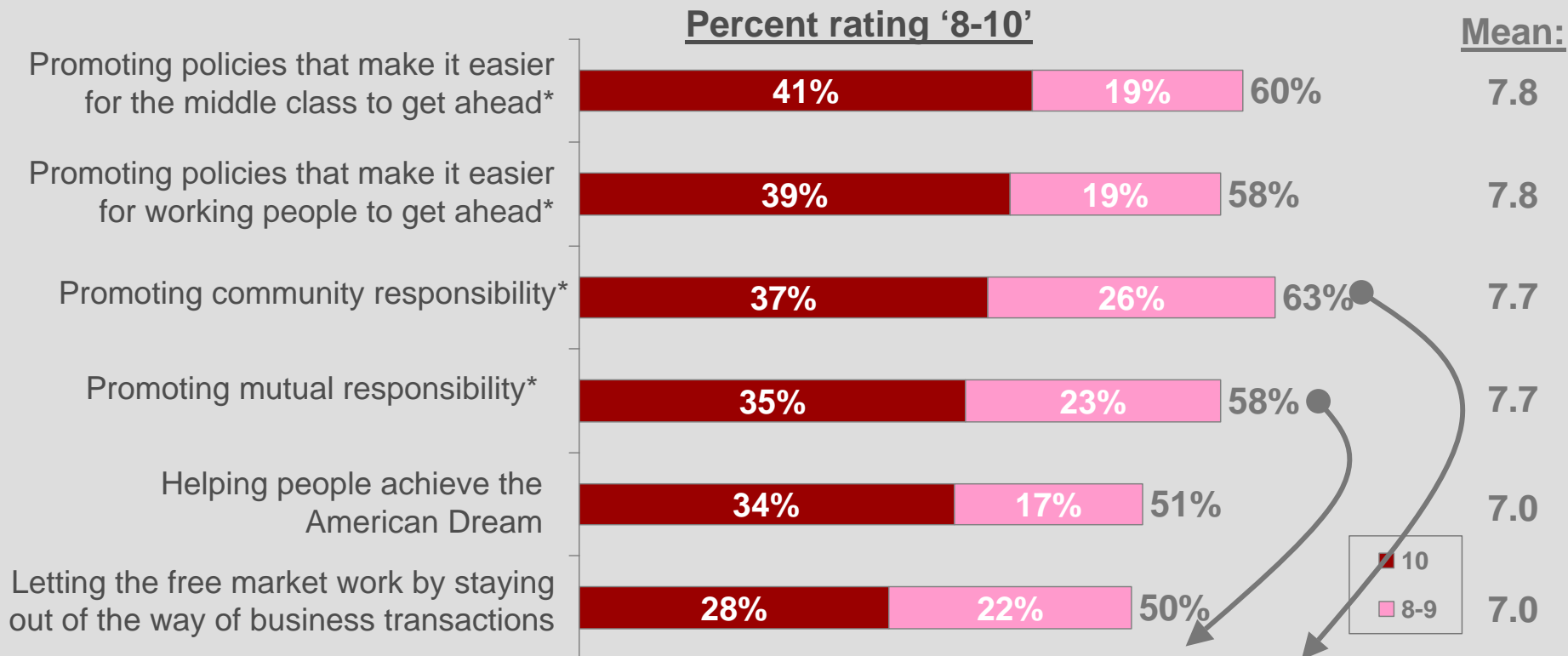
Here are some things people think government ought to be involved in. For each one, please tell me what you think using a scale from zero to ten. Ten means you think the government should absolutely be involved and zero means you think the government should not be involved at all. You can use any number in between.



Ensuring equal opportunity is most intense among minority voters (65% '10'), Democrats (57%), unmarried voters (55%), and voters 65 and older (54%). Fighting poverty is most intense among minority voters (60%), Democrats (57%), and voters with a high school education or less (55%).

The American Dream, as a place for government involvement, is a weaker than expected concept. While the components of the dream test well – college, health care, privacy, opportunity – it may be more elusive as a package. The good news is that voters do not think letting the free market reign is necessarily a governmental priority. As a policy alone, it is weak. It has more strength in a values framework.

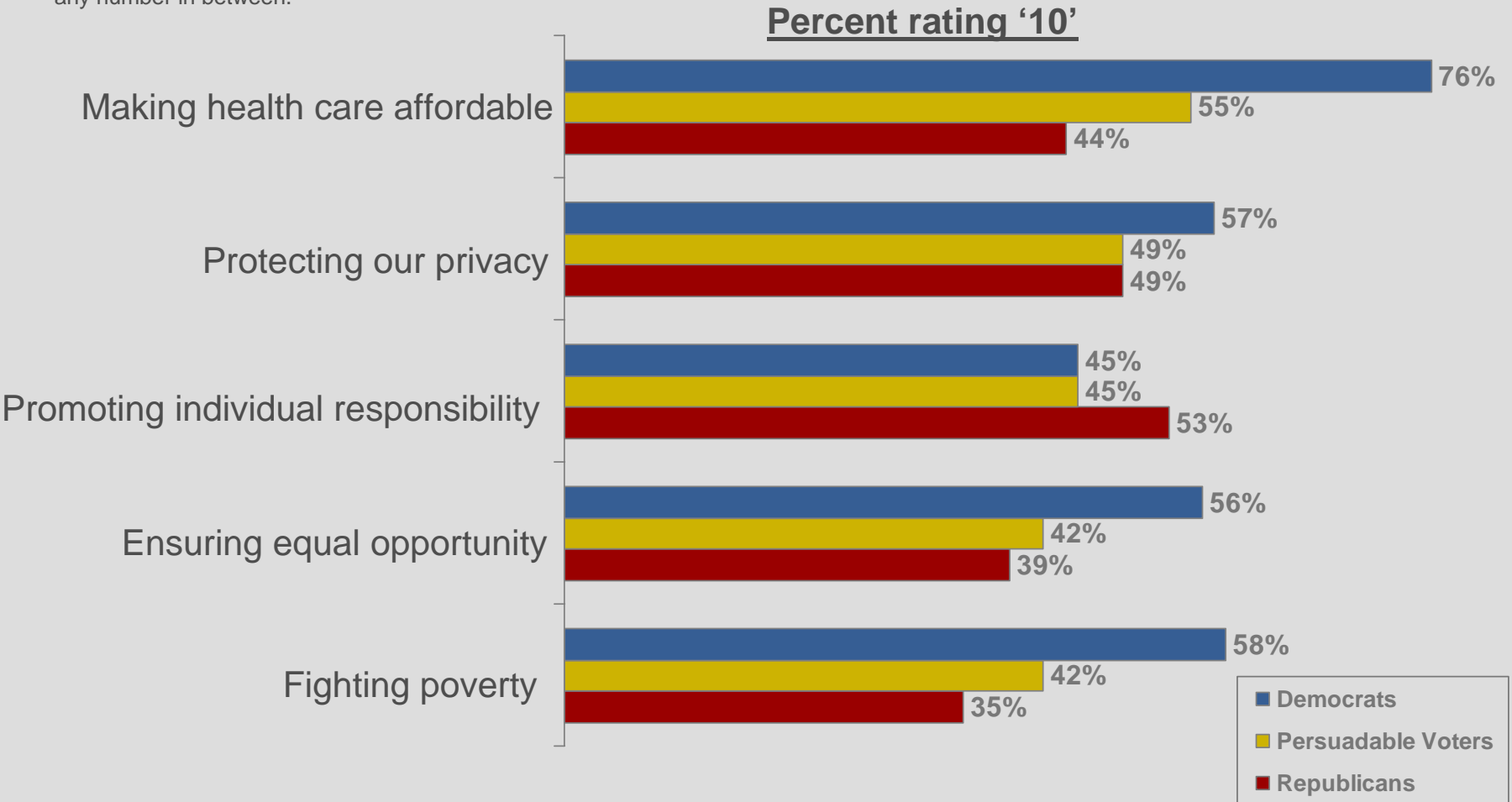
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Mutual responsibility is stronger among Democratic voters while community responsibility is stronger with persuadable and Republican voters. Remember, however, that "individual" responsibility bests both of these planks. Voters are individually focused even in this environment.

Republicans support government involvement in protecting privacy – this is an important issue for us to engage. It has potential as a wedge issue to help peel away softer Republicans.

Here are some things people think government ought to be involved in. For each one, please tell me what you think using a scale from zero to ten. Ten means you think the government should absolutely be involved and zero means you think the government should not be involved at all. You can use any number in between.



Women are more adamant than men that the government be involved in health care affordability, individual responsibility, and fighting poverty. Minority voters have more intensity than white voters for government involvement on several issues.

Here are some things people think government ought to be involved in. For each one, please tell me what you think using a scale from zero to ten. Ten means you think the government should absolutely be involved and zero means you think the government should not be involved at all. You can use any number in between.

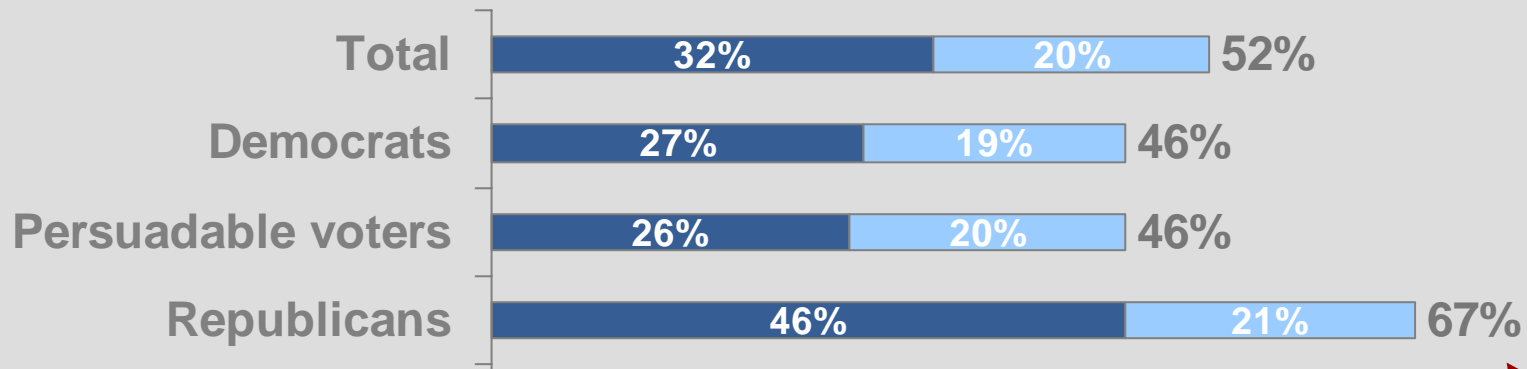
Percent rating '10'

	Making health care more affordable	Protecting our privacy	Promoting individual responsibility	Ensuring equal opportunity	Fighting poverty
Men	52%	50%	44%	45%	42%
Women	65%	53%	50%	47%	49%
Under 50	55%	48%	41%	38%	40%
50 and older	58%	53%	51%	50%	47%
White voters	55%	50%	47%	41%	41%
Minority voters	71%	57%	49%	65%	60%

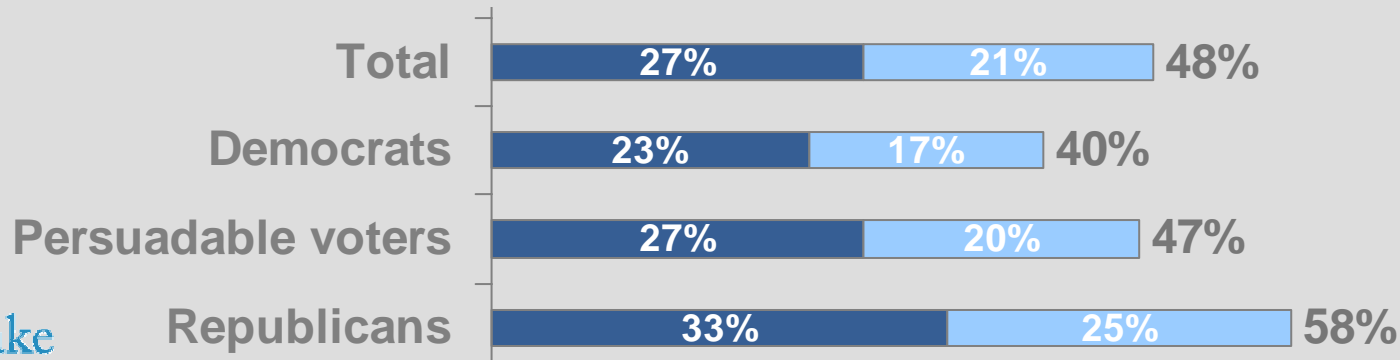
Only Republicans shift slightly regarding the areas in which government is involved. Those who heard examples of government involvement first place less importance on limiting areas in which the government is involved. Democrats also become slightly less likely to think government ought to have a limited area of involvement if they heard the area context first.

On scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is NOT AT ALL important and 10 is EXTREMELY important, how important is it to you personally to limit the areas in which government is involved?

Among those asked **BEFORE** government involvement battery*:



Among those asked **AFTER** government involvement battery*:

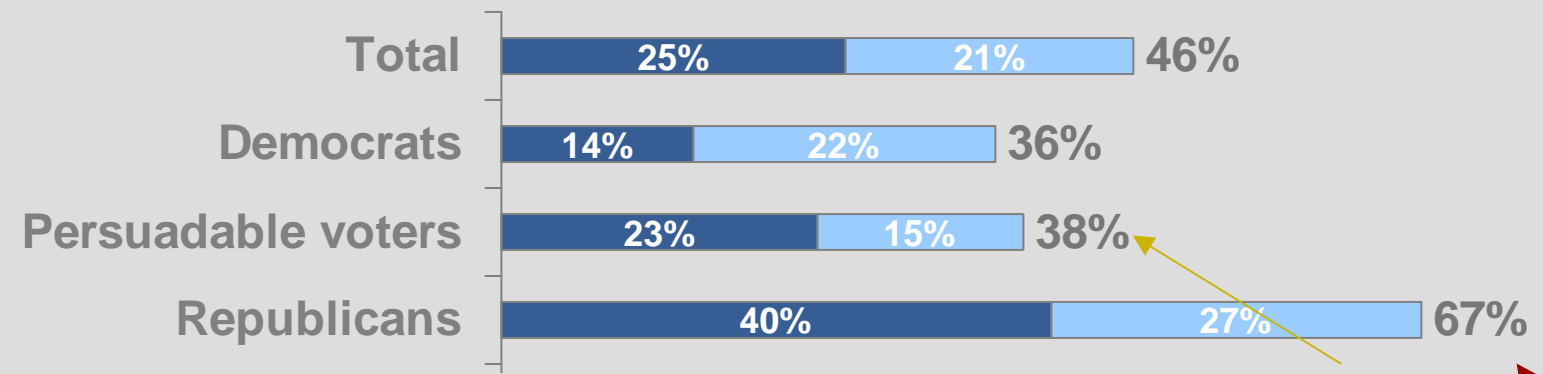


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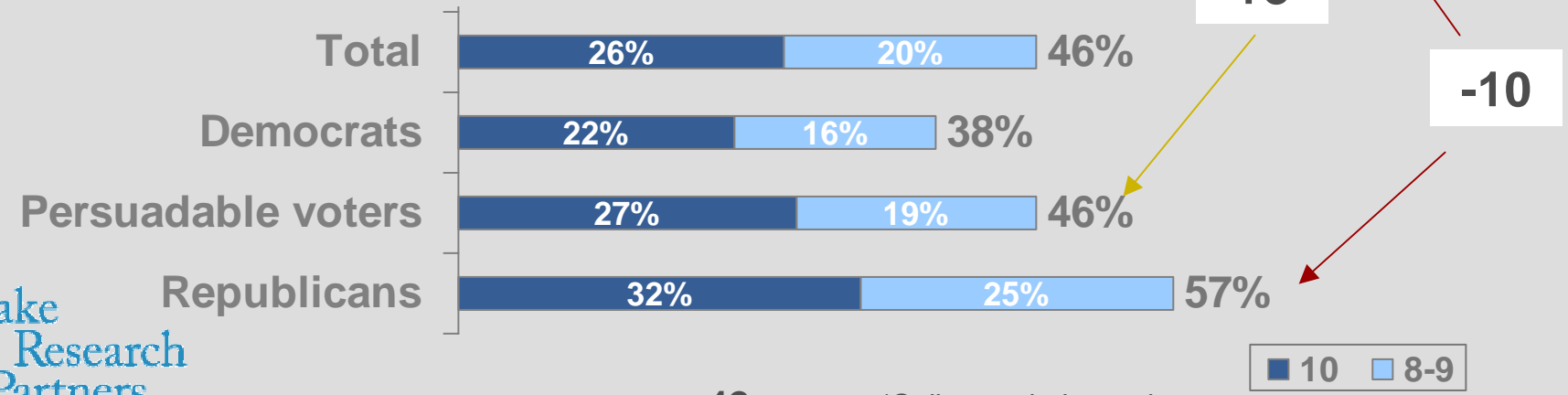
The dynamics of keeping government small are interesting. Persuadable voters who heard the issue battery first were more likely to think government ought to be kept small, compared to persuadable voters who heard the battery last. However, Republican voters who heard the battery first were more likely to feel that way compared to Republicans who heard the battery last. Democratic voters had similar opinions regardless of when they heard the issue context.

On scale of 0 to 10, where 0 is NOT AT ALL important and 10 is EXTREMELY important, how important is it to you personally that government be kept small?

Among those asked BEFORE government involvement battery*:



Among those asked AFTER government involvement battery*:



Voters want the government to act as an enforcer in economic matters. Leveling the playing field for everyone is important. An “enforcer” is stronger than a “referee,” especially among women.

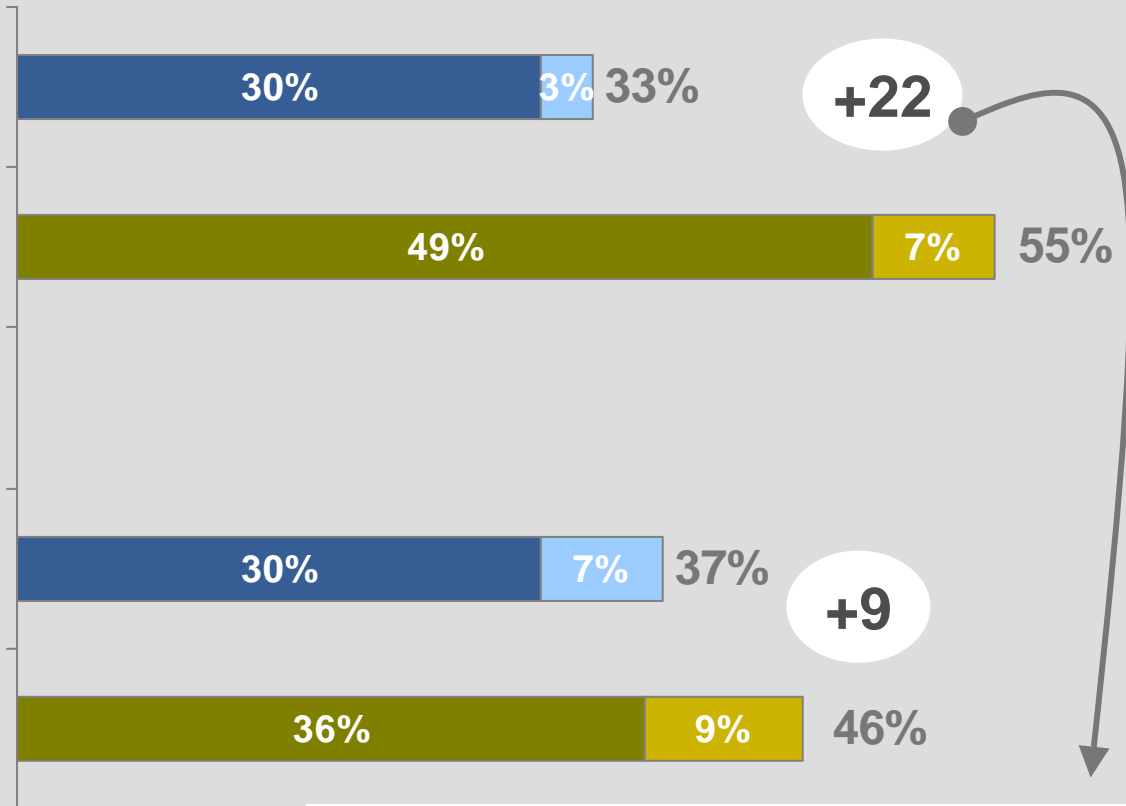
Here are pairs of statements about the government and the economy. For each pair tell me which one is closest to your opinion. **IF CHOICE:** Is that strongly or not so strongly?*

Is as small as possible and stays out of economic transactions

Acts to enforce the rules so that the playing field starts out level for everyone

Is as small as possible and stays out of economic transactions

Acts as a referee so that the playing field starts out level for everyone



Only Republicans (+12), especially Republican men (+20), rural men (+1), and those in the Mid-Atlantic region (+10) prefer the government staying out over being an enforcer.

A government that “enforces the rules” should be our agent of change. Democratic voters especially prefer the enforcer to the referee. Republicans are split when the scenario includes “an enforcer” but prefer that government stay out of the way rather than act as a referee. Persuadable voter prefer both the enforcer and the referee.

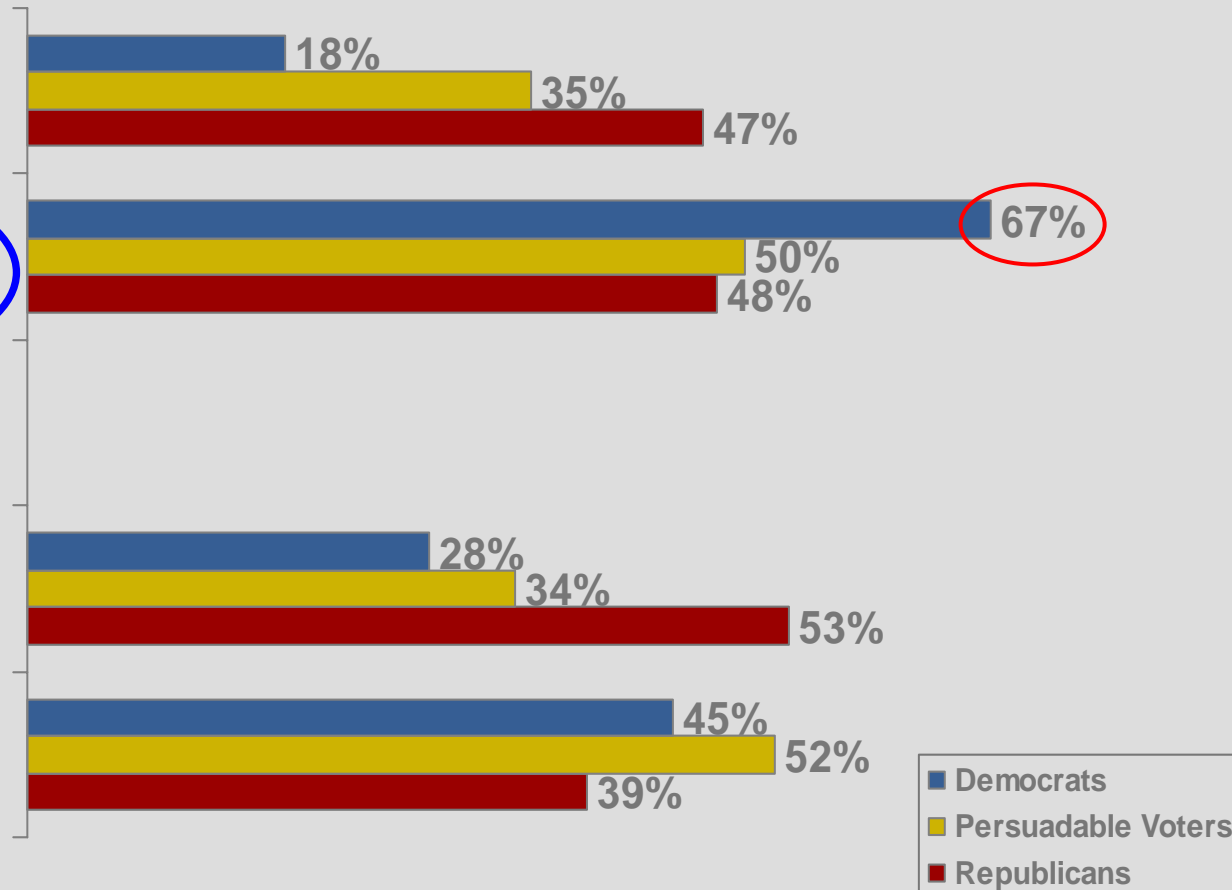
Here are pairs of statements about the government and the economy. For each pair tell me which one is closest to your opinion. **IF CHOICE:** Is that strongly or not so strongly?*

Is as small as possible and stays out of economic transactions

Acts to enforce the rules so that the playing field starts out level for everyone

Is as small as possible and stays out of economic transactions

Acts as a referee so that the playing field starts out level for everyone



Freedom wins again on economic matters, compared to fairness, though the comparisons are close. Voters want the government to value FREE competition, rather than FAIR competition. Surprisingly, they also want the government to stay out of the way rather than stop unfair competition, though again the gap is smaller.

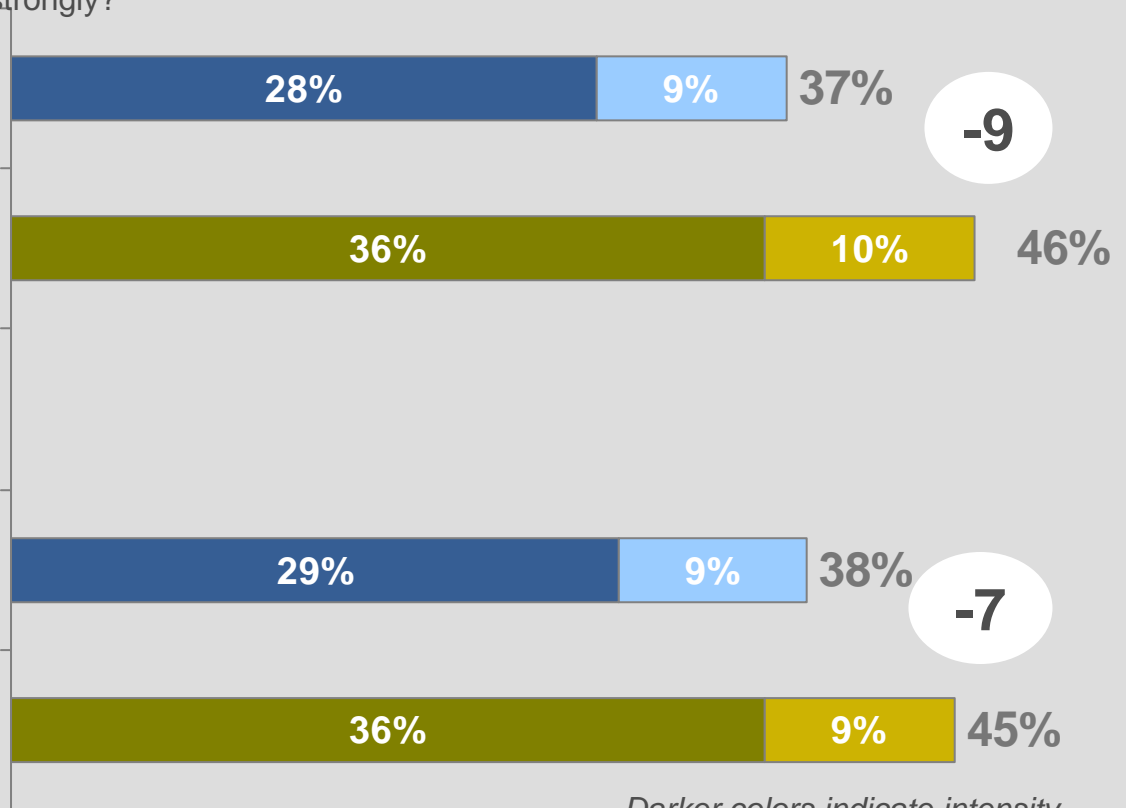
Here are pairs of statements about the government and the economy. For each pair tell me which one is closest to your opinion. **IF CHOICE:** Is that strongly or not so strongly?*

Values **FAIR** competition, because when it comes to the economy totally free often means unfair

Values **FREE** competition, because when it comes to the economy things cannot always be fair.

Steps in to stop unfair competition

Stays out of the way and lets the free market work.



Stopping unfair practices loses to letting the market work except among 30-39 year olds (+12), college graduates (+3), Democrats (+28), progressives (+16), African Americans (+29), separated and divorced voters (+29), and Catholics (+13).

*Split sampled question

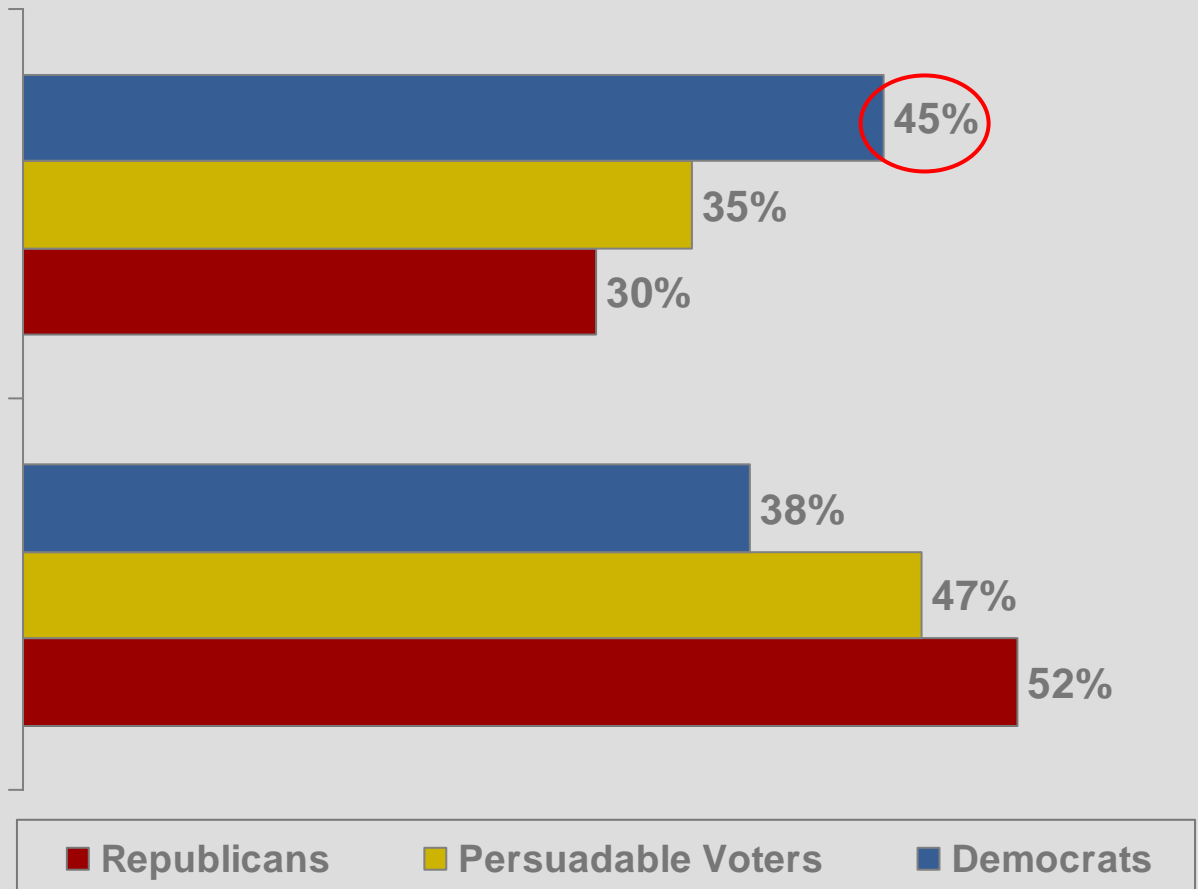


Fair competition is only strong among our Democratic base; it is a weaker term among other voters.

Here are pairs of statements about the government and the economy. For each pair tell me which one is closest to your opinion. **IF CHOICE:** Is that strongly or not so strongly?*

Values **FAIR** competition, because when it comes to the economy totally free often means unfair

Values **FREE** competition, because when it comes to the economy things cannot always be fair.

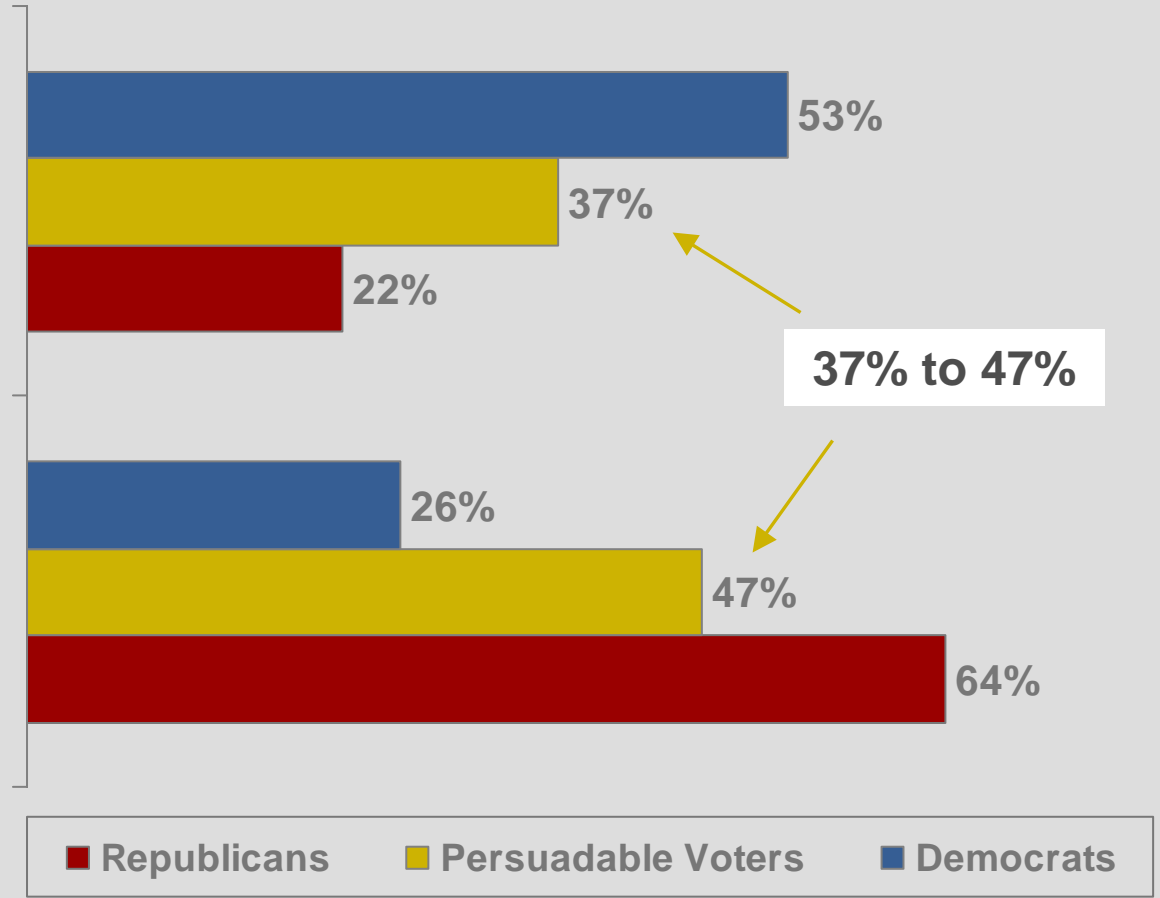


Surprisingly, persuadable voters prefer letting the free market win over language that says the government should step in to stop unfair competition.

Here are pairs of statements about the government and the economy. For each pair tell me which one is closest to your opinion. **IF CHOICE:** Is that strongly or not so strongly?*

Steps in to stop unfair competition

Stays out of the way and lets the free market work.



*Split sampled question

The phrase “basic protections” works better than “basic rules and minimums” when it comes to wages, health insurance and retirement. Our frame would also be stronger if we included “security” in our dialogue.

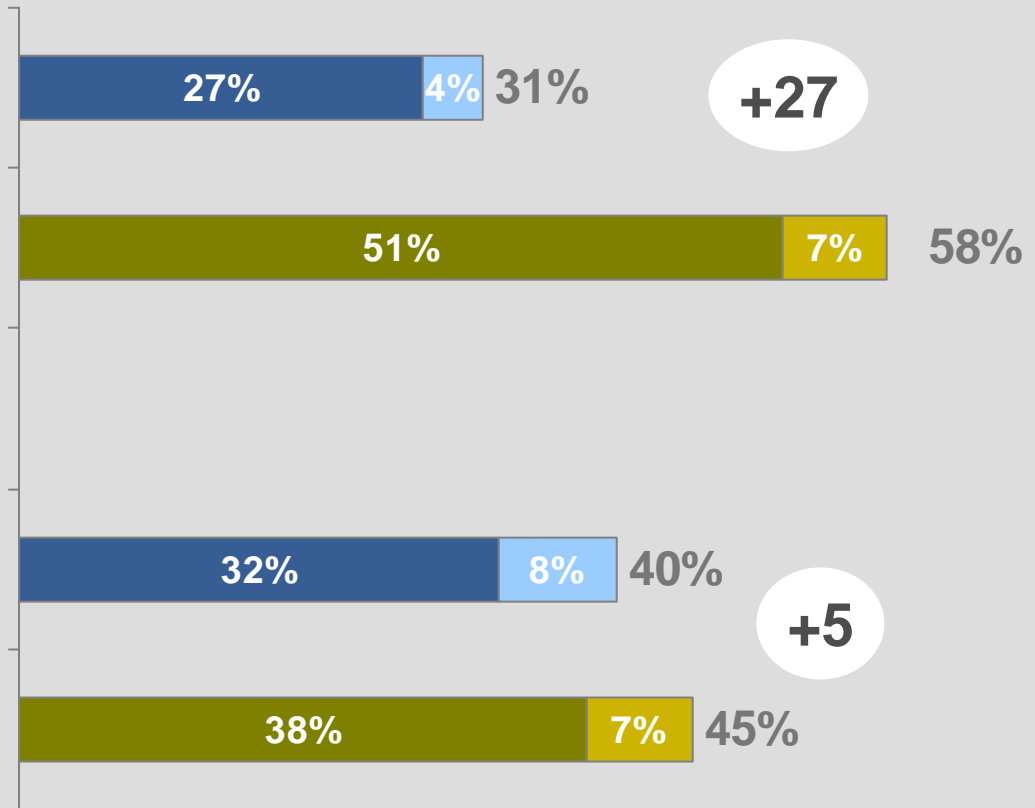
Here are pairs of statements about the government and the economy. For each pair tell me which one is closest to your opinion. **IF CHOICE:** Is that strongly or not so strongly?*

Asks individuals to take responsibility for their own affairs, like their wages, health insurance, and retirement.

Provides basic protections on wages, health insurance, and retirement

Asks individuals to take responsibility for their own affairs, like their wages, health insurance, and retirement.

Provides basic rules and minimums on wages, health insurance, and retirement



Darker colors indicate intensity.

Democratic voters drive the support for basic protections, while persuadable voters are equally in favor of basic protections and basic rules and minimums. Our framing should therefore include our earlier plank and read something like: "government should be an enforcer of the rules and provide basic protections."

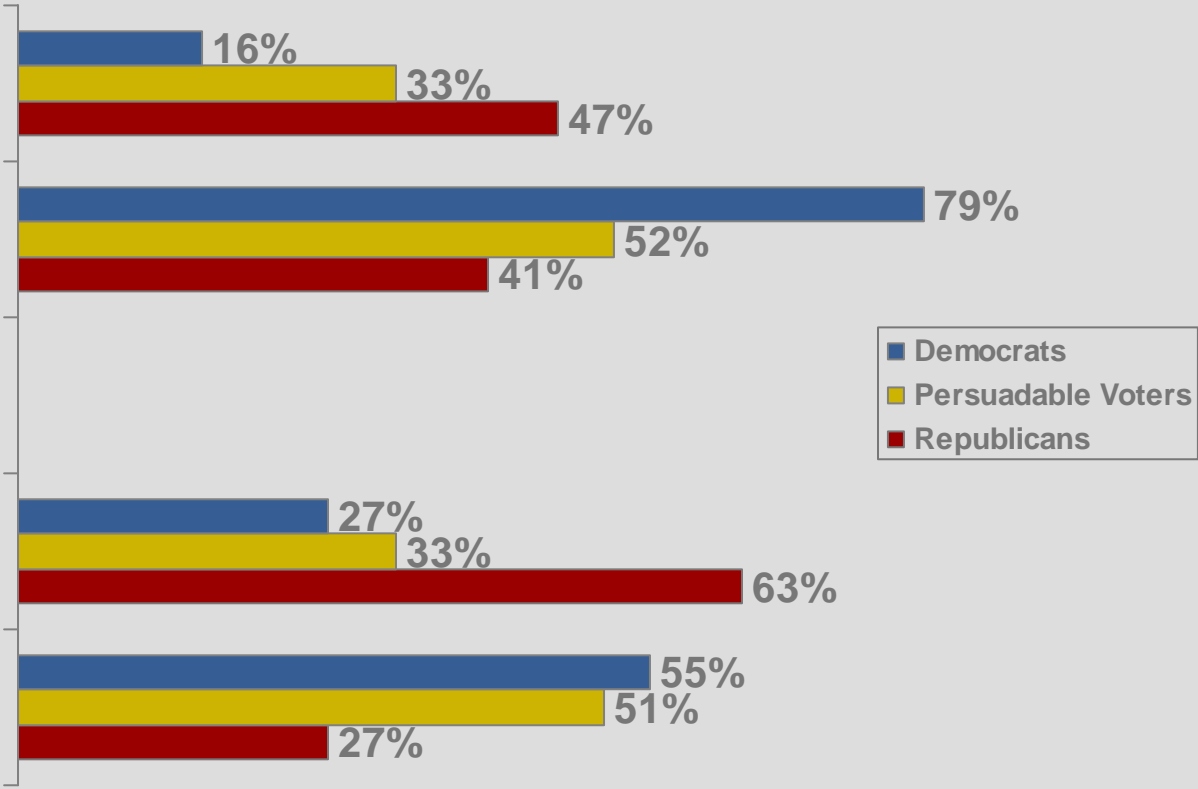
Here are pairs of statements about the government and the economy. For each pair tell me which one is closest to your opinion. **IF CHOICE:** Is that strongly or not so strongly?*

Asks individuals to take responsibility for their own affairs, like their wages, health insurance, and retirement.

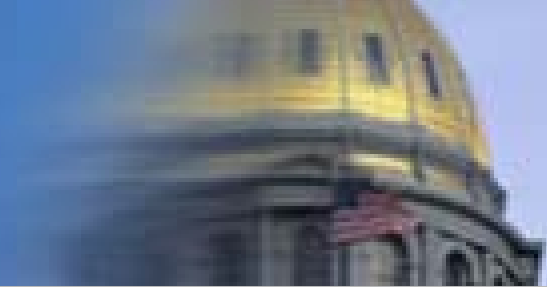
Provides basic protections on wages, health insurance, and retirement

Asks individuals to take responsibility for their own affairs, like their wages, health insurance, and retirement.

Provides basic rules and minimums on wages, health insurance, and retirement



*Split sampled question



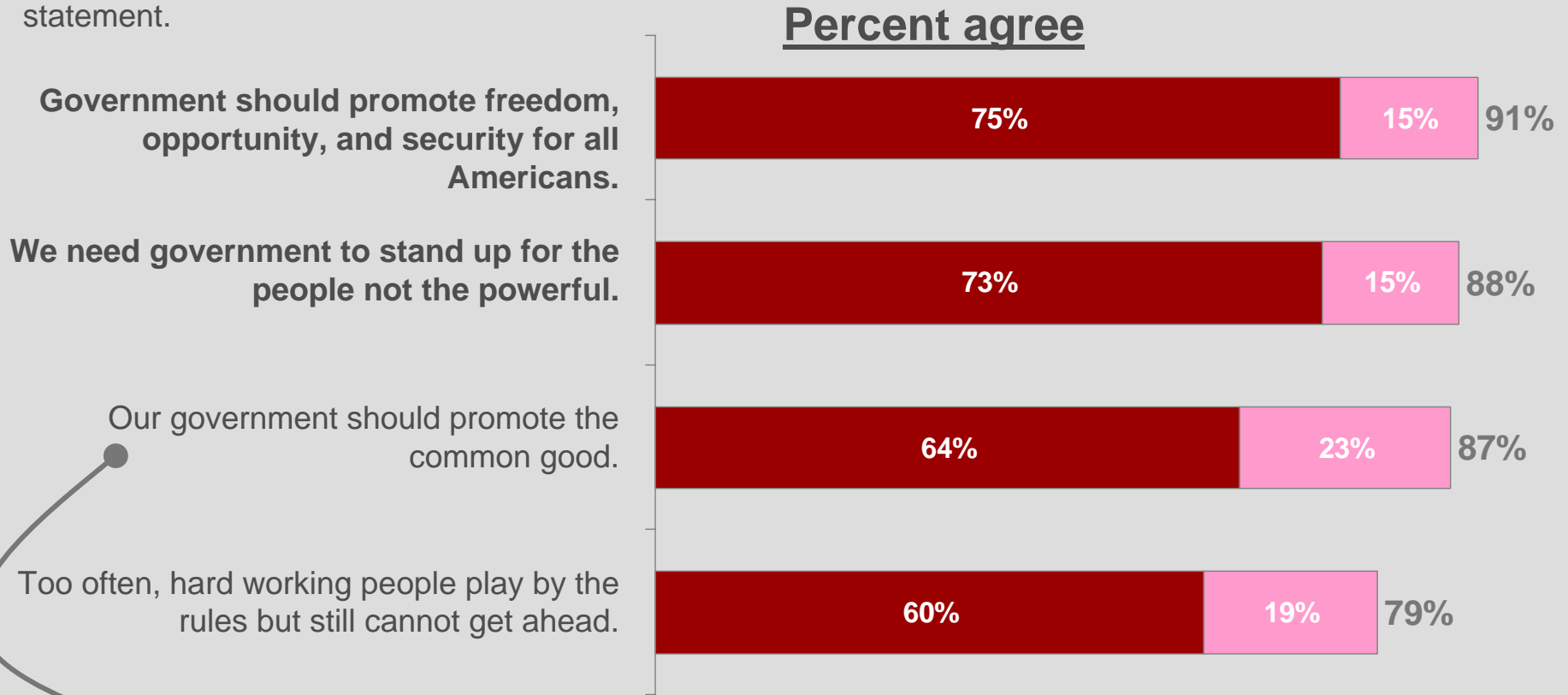
Progressive Messaging

Our message planks are stronger than our rhetoric.
We need to gain control of freedom and exploit our
strengths on equal access to security, opportunity,
and the common good.



The strongest message thematic is that government should promote freedom, opportunity, and security for all Americans. Voters also believe the government should stand up for the people, not the powerful. These thematics have strength across target groups, including persuadable and Republican voters.

Now I am going to read you some statements, and I want you to tell me if you agree or disagree with each statement.



Darker colors indicate intensity.



Promoting the “common good” is effective and works among Democratic and persuadable voters. However, the freedom, security, and opportunity framework is stronger and pulls in Republican voters.

The "Two Americas" frame is the weakest. Americans want there to be one America and rebel against messages that say otherwise. If we implicitly say there are two Americas, and one America is working America, the other should probably be corporations and conglomerates.

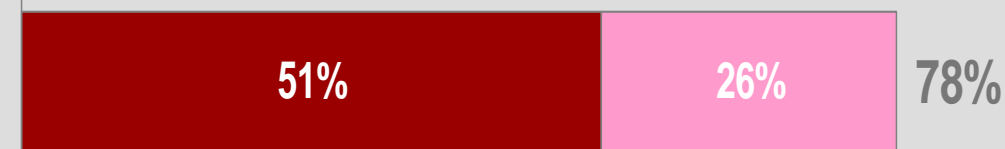
Now I am going to read you some statements, and I want you to tell me if you agree or disagree with each statement.

Percent agree

I don't have a problem with the government helping the vulnerable; I have a problem with the government helping the undeserving.



We cannot just depend on the marketplace. Government has a responsibility to make sure the rules are fair and enforced.*



Today there are two Americas. There is a working America whose needs are forgotten by the government and an America of wealthy special interests whose every wish is fulfilled by the government.*



Darker colors indicate intensity.

Standing up for ordinary people is appealing to Democrats and persuadable voters, but the corporate frame is stronger among persuadable voters. We should be specific about who the powerful are.

Now I am going to read you some statements, and I want you to tell me if you agree or disagree with each statement.

Percent agree

When it comes to the economy, the playing field is uneven, **with large corporations having too many advantages.***



When it comes to the economy, the playing field is uneven, **and the government needs to stand up for ordinary people again.***



Darker colors indicate intensity.

Democrats: 85% agree, 69% strongly
Persuadable voters: 71% agree, 50% strongly
Republicans: 52% agree, 28% strongly

Although the American Dream and getting ahead do not test well as themes of slogans, they do test well within broader messages.

- » **Freedom/Opportunity/Security***: Government should offer freedom, opportunity, and security to all. That means guaranteeing everyone's constitutional rights. It means all Americans having equal access to the American Dream. Security is essential to the American Dream, economic security as well as physical safety. **(mean: 8.3; 48% '10')**
- » **People vs. Powerful** Americans who work hard and play by the rules should be rewarded, but in recent years, the rules have favored big corporations at the expense of millions of Americans. We need to fight for the middle class against the forces of greed. We need government to stand up for the people, not the powerful. **(mean: 7.7; 46% '10')**
- » **Conservative***: We need to limit government and create space where private institutions, individual responsibility, and religious faith can flourish. That means less economic regulation and lower taxes, but it also means a return to traditional moral values, support for families, and protecting the sanctity of human life. **(mean: 7.9; 39% '10')**

Interestingly, the "American Dream" tests better when it is part of a message rather than the main component.

Although common good tested well as a slogan, it did not work as well in the messaging.

- » **Common Good (benefit everyone)*:** We are not going to fix our economy until the people and their government agree to provide opportunity for everybody. We can do better if we have a unified vision for the common good. It does not mean we all receive the same material benefits or the same outcome. It means we work to achieve social and economic conditions that benefit everyone and that the government makes sure the rules are fair. **(mean: 7.6; 37% '10')**
- » **Conservative (without sanctity)*:** We need to limit government and create space where private institutions, individual responsibility, and religious faith can flourish. That means less economic regulation and lower taxes, but it also means a return to traditional moral values and support for families. **(mean: 7.6; 33% '10')**
- » **Equal Opportunity/Protect*:** Government should offer freedom, opportunity, and security to all. That means guaranteeing everyone's fundamental rights. It means all Americans having equal opportunity to work hard and get ahead, and it means not only protecting us from criminals and terrorists, but also job security, healthcare security and retirement security. **(mean: 7.8; 33% '10')**
- » **Common Good*:** We need to commit ourselves to the common good. That means government policies should benefit all individuals and balance self-interest with the needs of the entire society. The common good approach would put an end to the kind of politics that leaves people to rise and fall on their own. **(mean: 7.5; 26% '10')**



**Split sampled question*

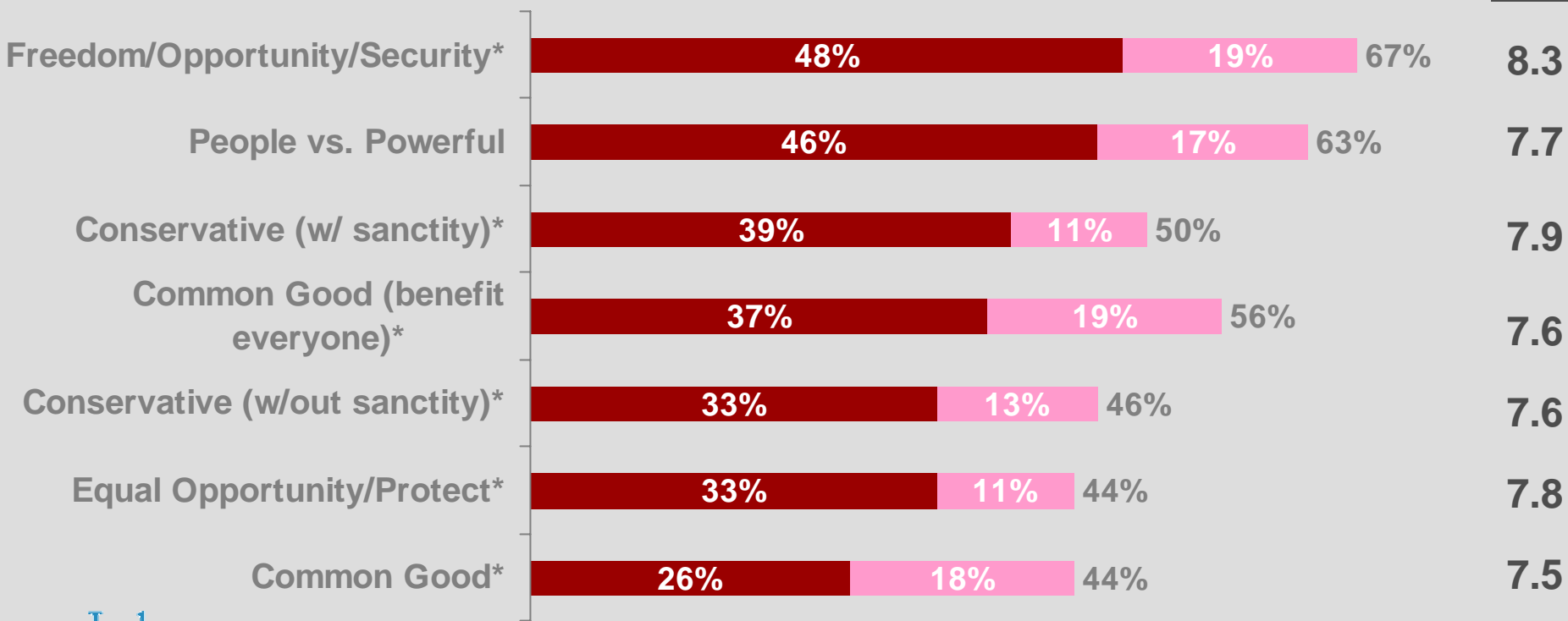
The conservative message with the sanctity of life language (previous slide) has strength with older Democrats (mean: 7.6; 41% '10'), and bares watching.

Our message framework tests better than our individual messages. This is a warning. Our core values work well, but our strongest messages have yet to be written. Overall, the strongest message focuses on offering freedom, opportunity, and security to all.

Now I am going to read you some statements about the economy and the proper role of government. For each one please tell me how convincing each statement is using a ten point scale. Ten means it is extremely convincing, zero means it is not convincing at all, and five is neutral. You can be anywhere in between.

Percent rating '8-10'

Mean:

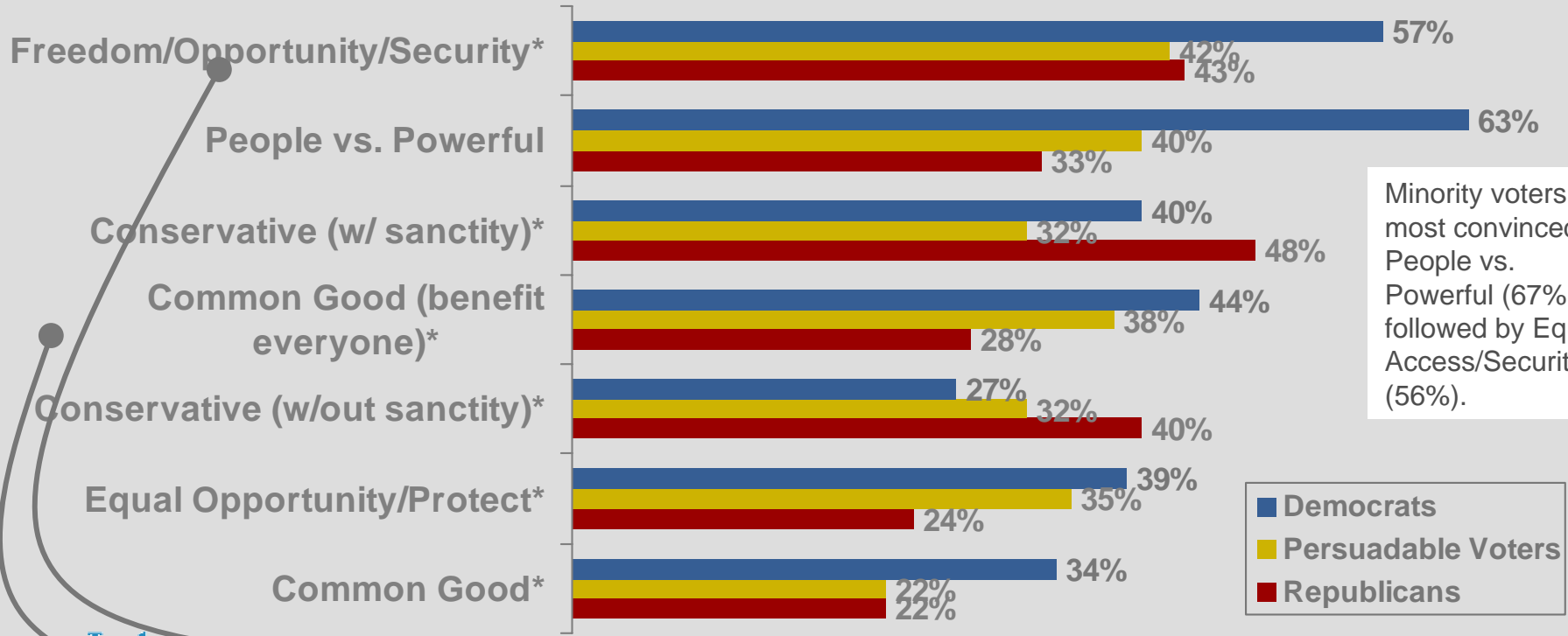


*Split sampled question

Persuadable voters also respond strongest to the freedom, security, and opportunity message. The messages work better among our base and less well among persuadable voters. Interestingly, Republicans give the security/freedom frame a boost and make it the strongest message.

Now I am going to read you some statements about the economy and the proper role of government. For each one please tell me how convincing each statement is using a ten point scale. Ten means it is extremely convincing, zero means it is not convincing at all, and five is neutral. You can be anywhere in between.

Percent rating '10'



Minority voters are most convinced by People vs. Powerful (67% '10') followed by Equal Access/Security (56%).

■ Democrats
 ■ Persuadable Voters
 ■ Republicans

The security and freedom message tested here is stronger than the common good message. Although the common good plank by itself tested well. We did not adequately capture voters' reference to "common good."

*Split sampled question





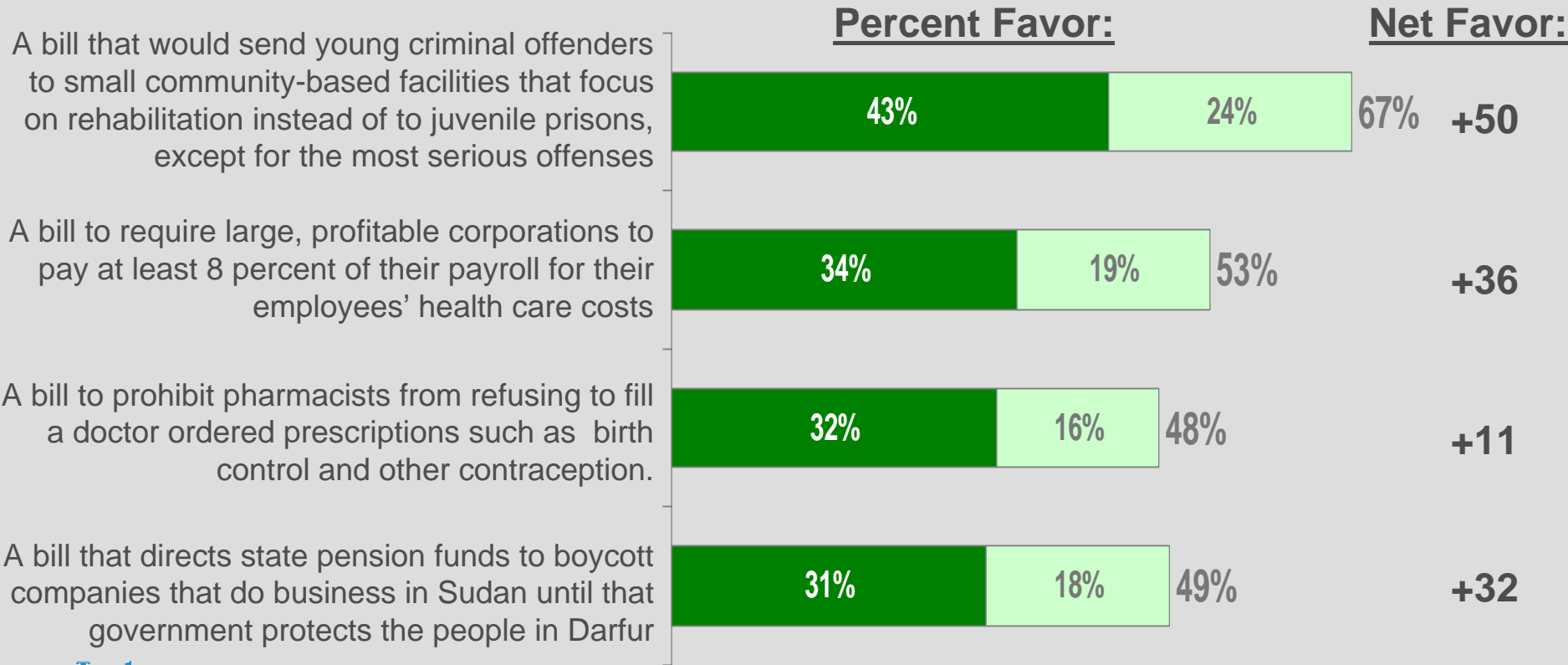
Policy Overview

Many proposals have broad support, including juvenile rehabilitation and health insurance. Others are more polarizing and still others are confusing in this context.



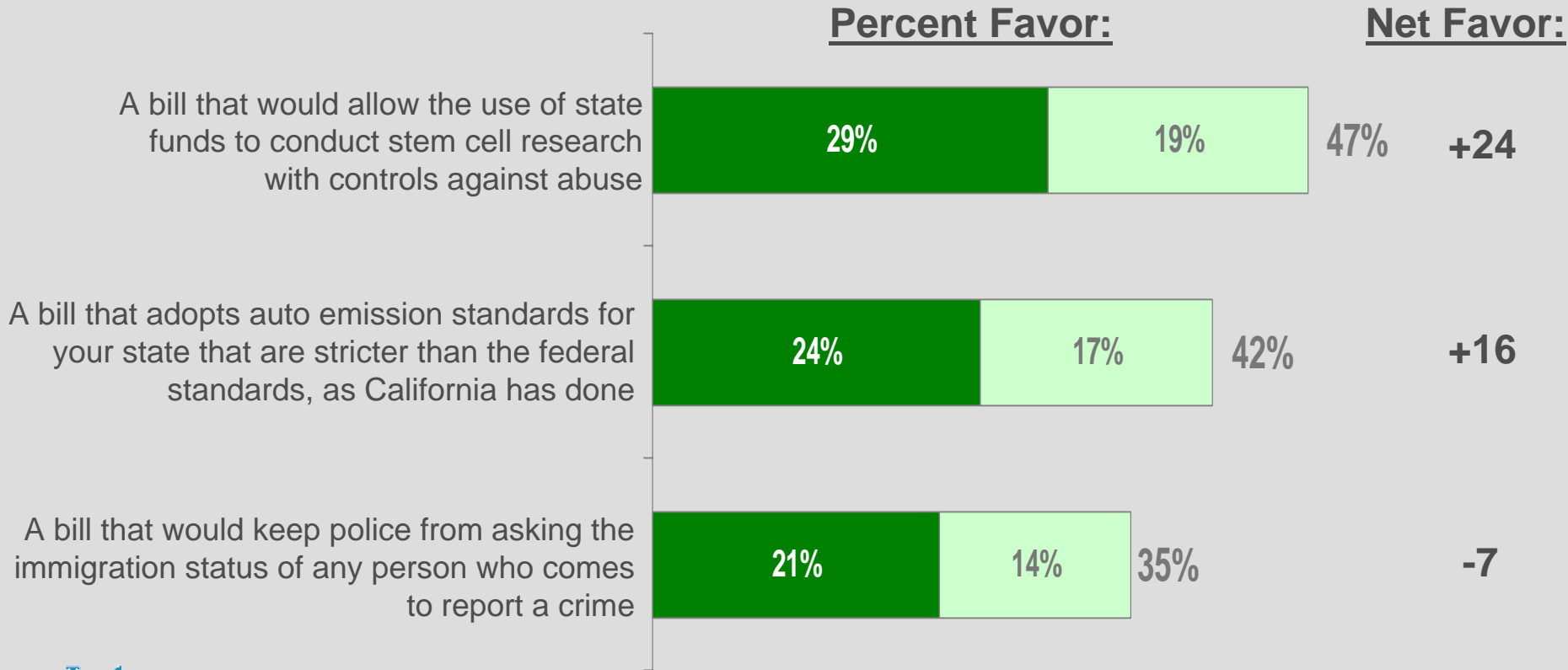
Surprisingly, juvenile rehabilitation receives the strongest support. The Fair Share Health Care Plan is a strong policy across the board.

Here are some proposals legislators may make in your state. For each one please tell me if you would strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that potential legislation. **PROBE:** Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that potential legislation?



A policy allowing stem cell research with controls is strong, but polarizing. Republicans lower its overall rating and effectiveness. Persuadable voters and Republicans oppose the immigration bill proposal.

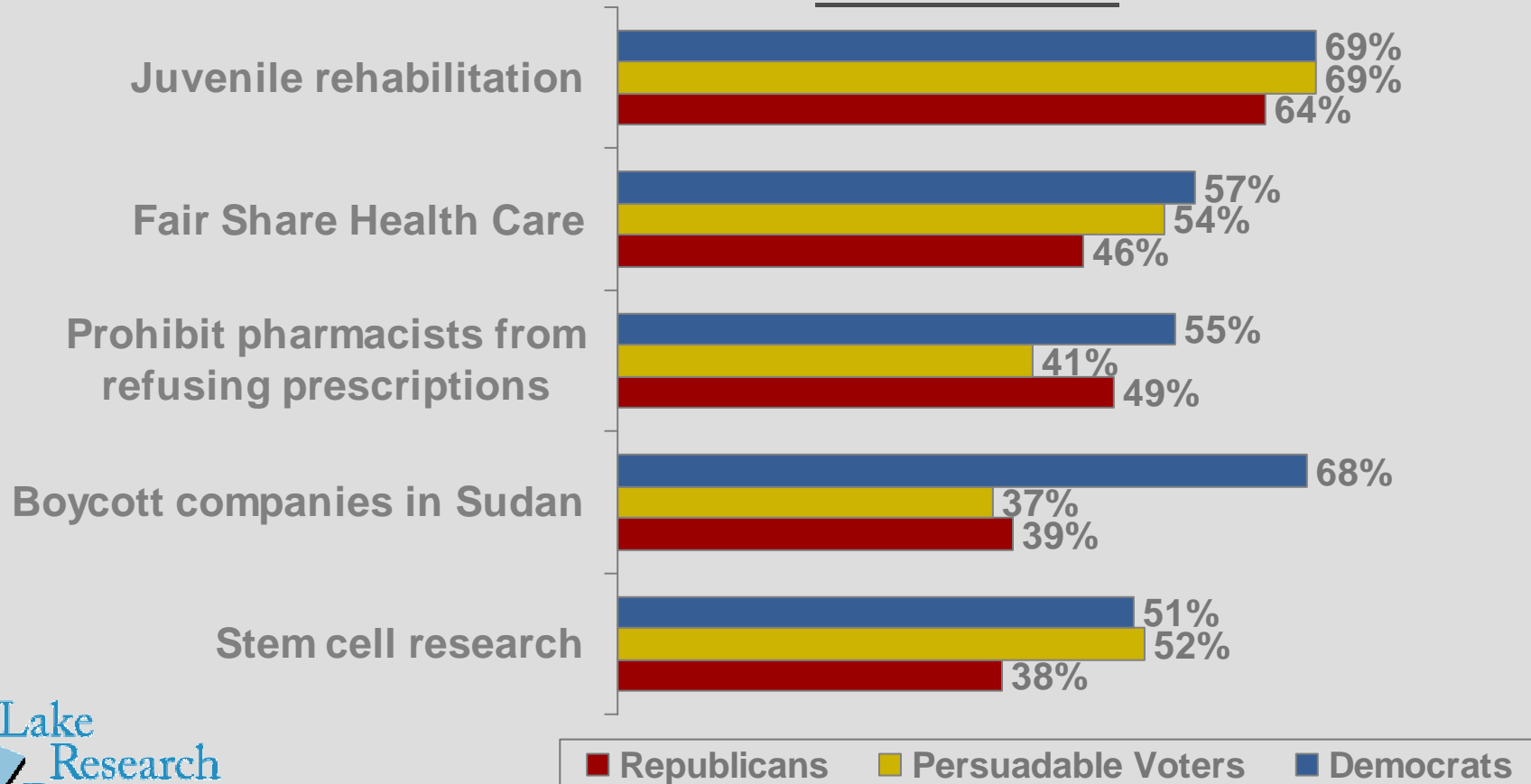
Here are some proposals legislators may make in your state. For each one please tell me if you would strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that potential legislation. **PROBE:** Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that potential legislation?

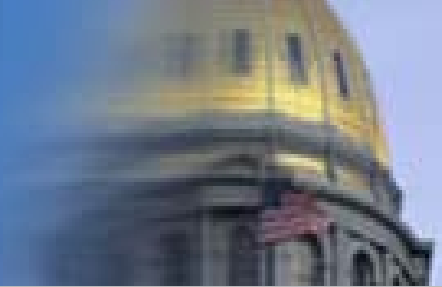


There is solid support from persuadable voters on policies for juvenile rehabilitation, required health care contributions from large corporations, and stem cell research with controls.

Here are some proposals legislators may make in your state. For each one please tell me if you would strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that potential legislation. **PROBE:** Do you strongly favor, somewhat favor, somewhat oppose, or strongly oppose that potential legislation?

Percent Favor:





- » In the end, our base supporters strongly support the Darfur and auto-emissions proposals, while Republican and persuadable voters are less sure about those policies.
- » Our base also supports the immigration proposal, but persuadable and Republican voters oppose it.