

Tapping into Voters' Core Values

Presentation by Celinda Lake

June 19, 2007

TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007



Lake
Research
Partners



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.

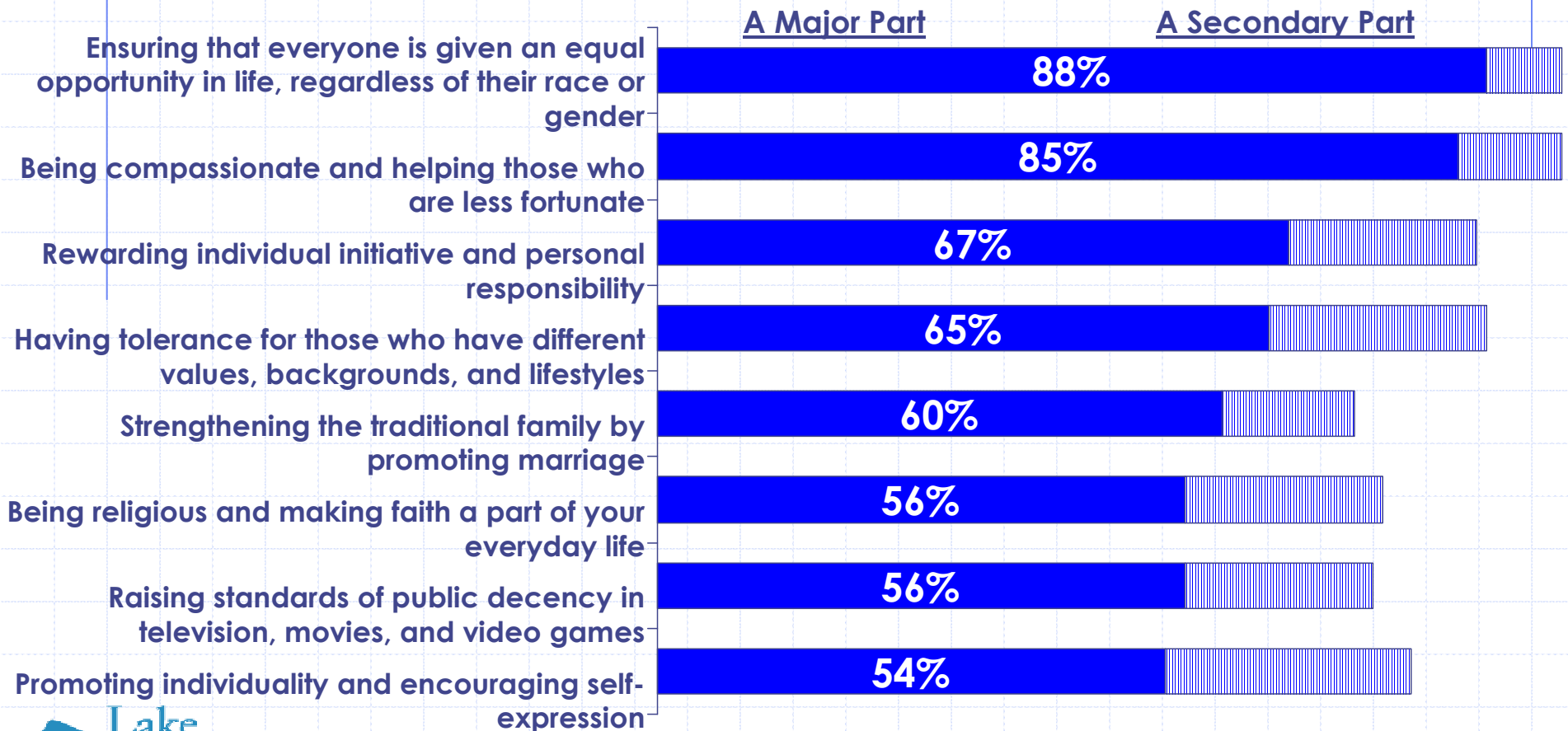
**TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007**



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

When Americans are asked how they personally define values, the top two qualities they select are opportunity and compassion, followed by personal responsibility, and tolerance.

Personal Definition of Values

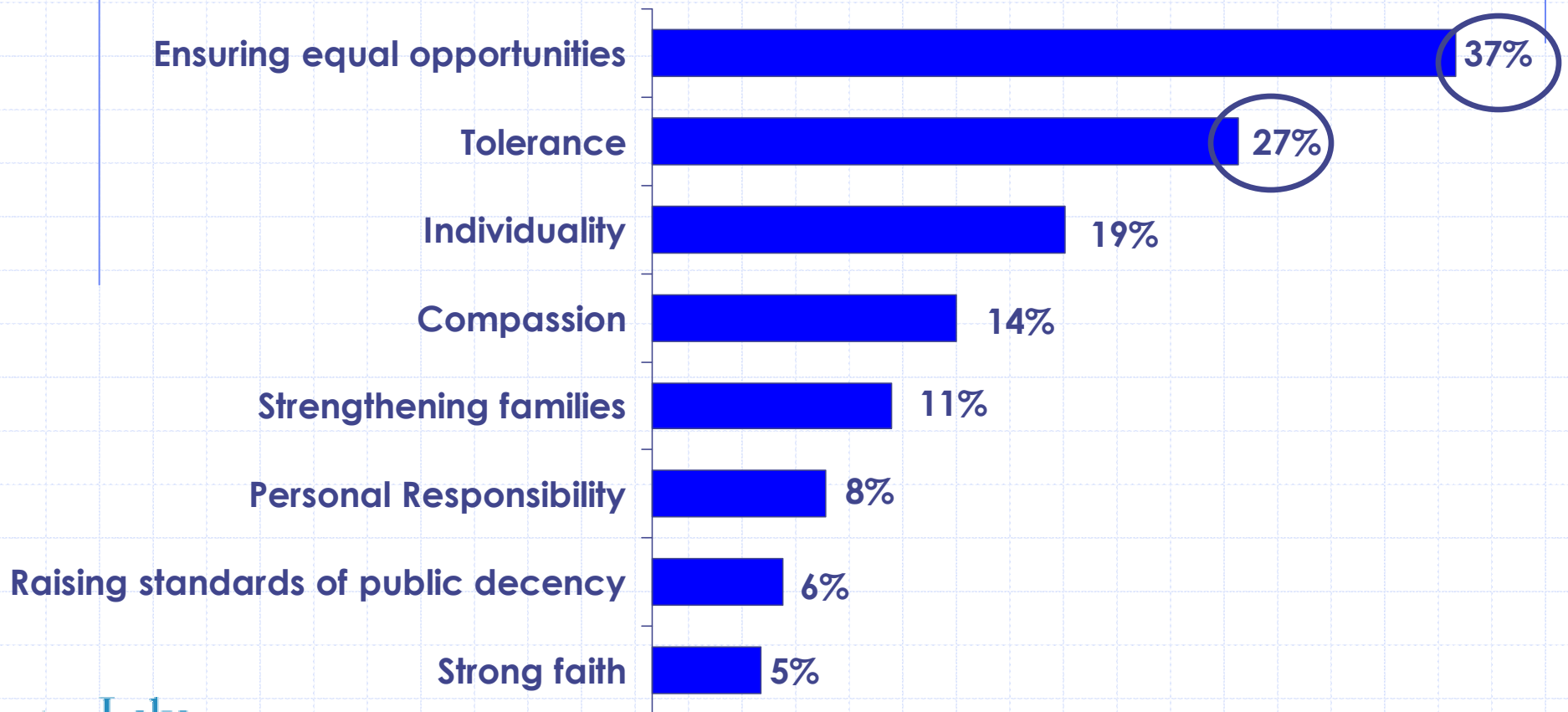


*NBC/Wall Street Journal Poll; December 9-13, 2004; 1,003 adults

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Americans see the Democratic party as the party of equal opportunity and tolerance.

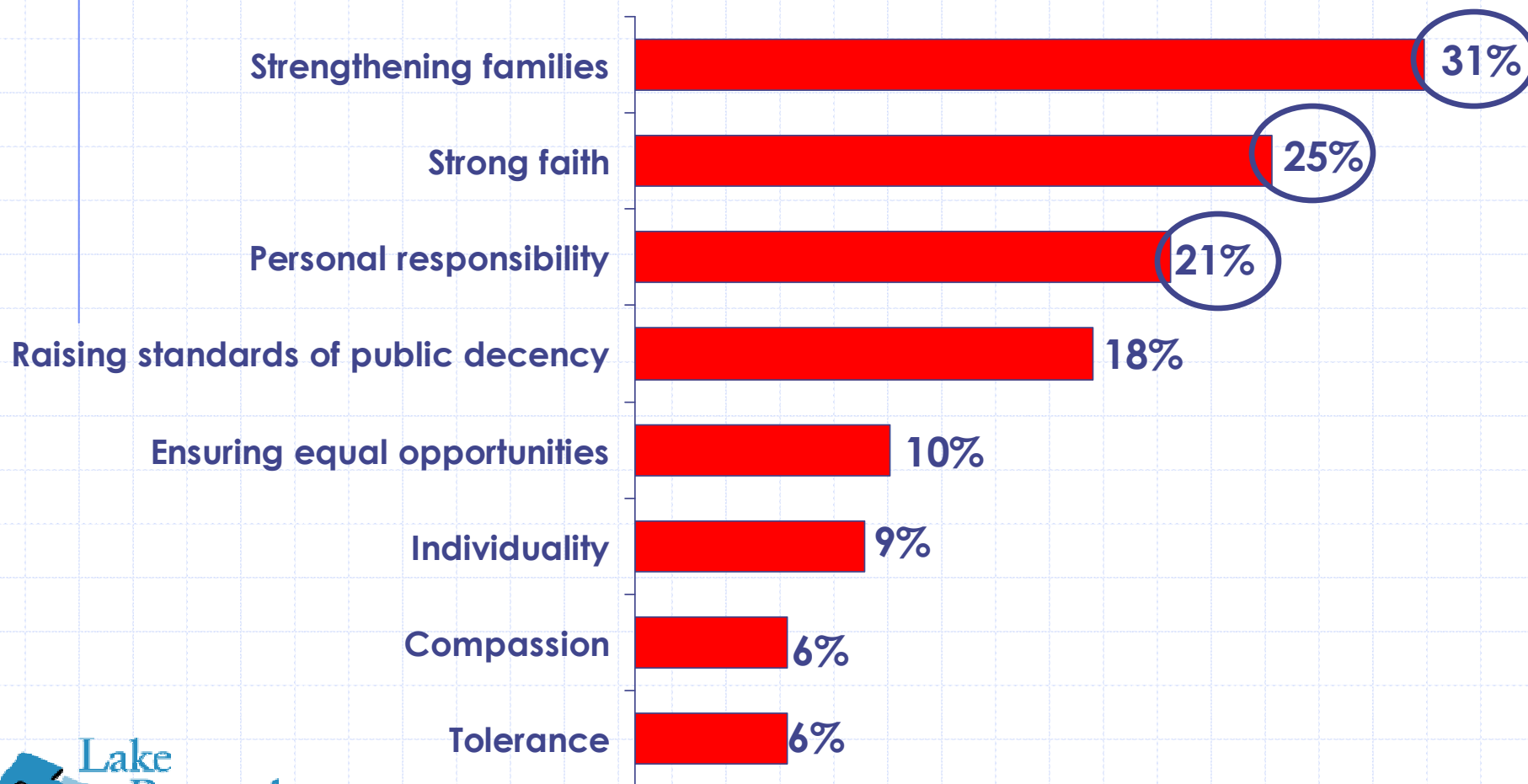
Values Americans Associate With The Democratic Party



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Americans see the Republican party as the party of families, faith, and personal responsibility.

Values Americans Associate With The Republican Party



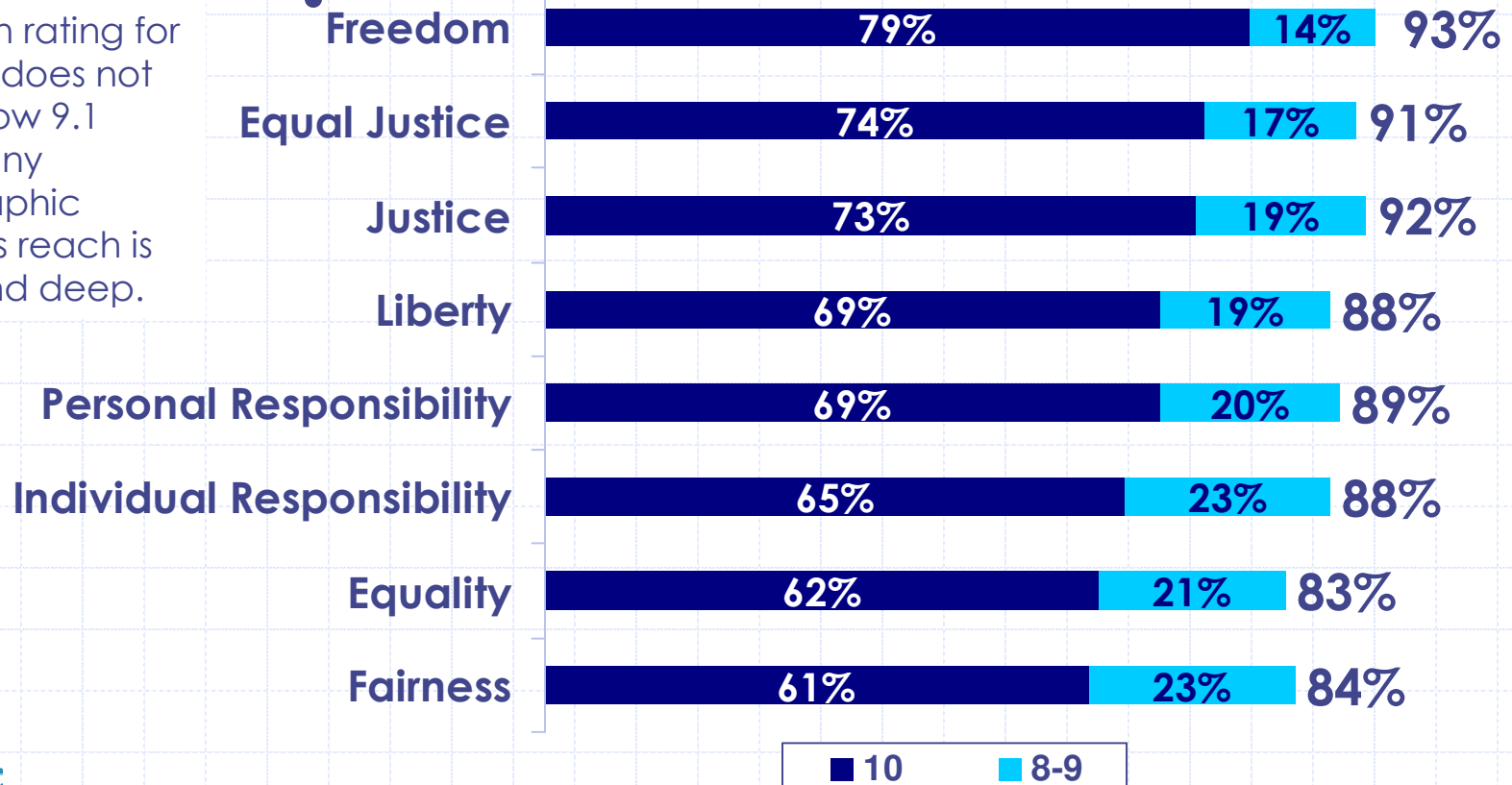
*NBC/Wall Street Journal Poll; December 9-13, 2004; 1,003 adults

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

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 the opposition may use.

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.



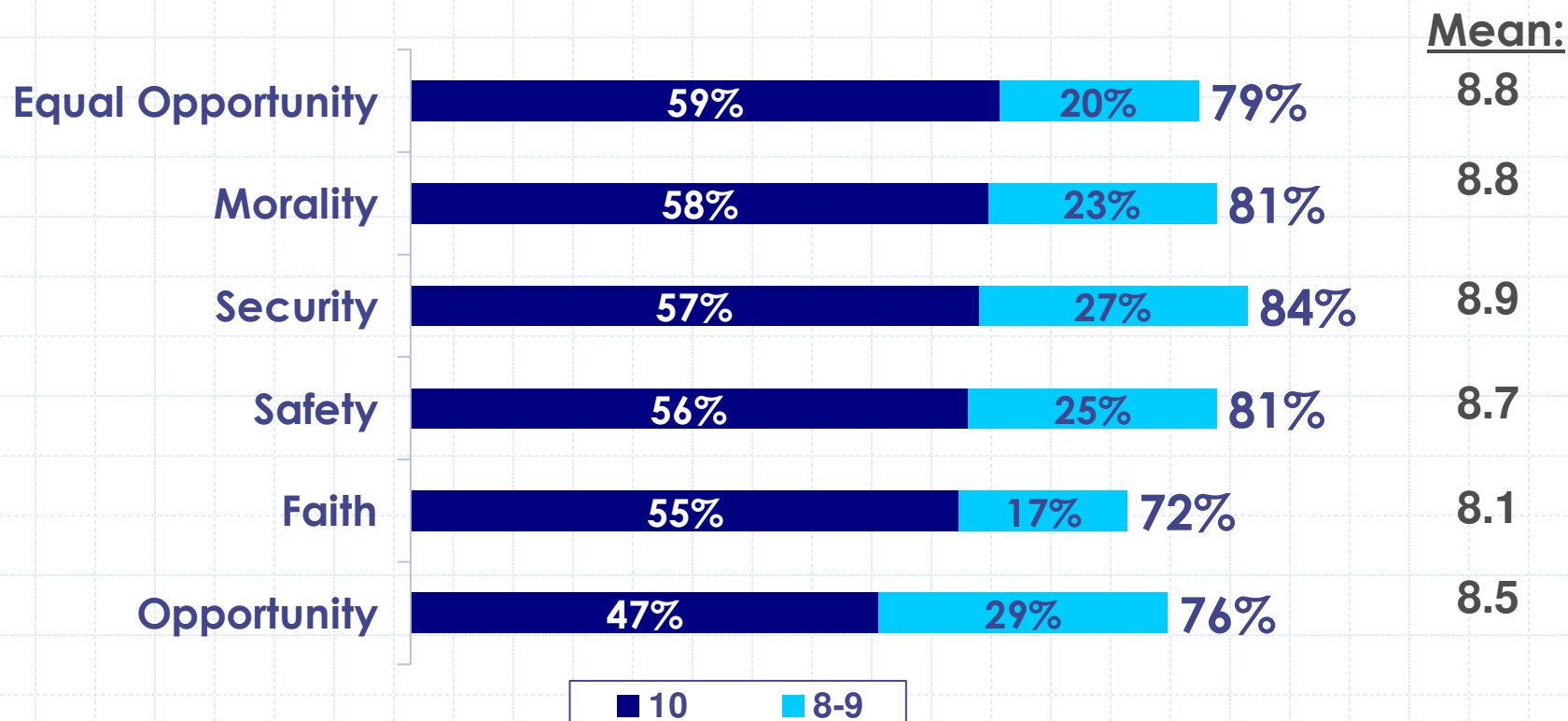
LRP: National survey of 800 2006 voters – November 9-15, 2006

All questions in this battery were split sampled.

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Our progressive framework has long held opportunity as a strong value – it still is. However, it has lost intensity, 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.



LRP: National survey of 800 2006 voters – November 9-15, 2006

All questions in this battery were split sampled.

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Accountability and New Direction are the top testing themes. Caring for children can tap into future generations. Results are hard to prove.

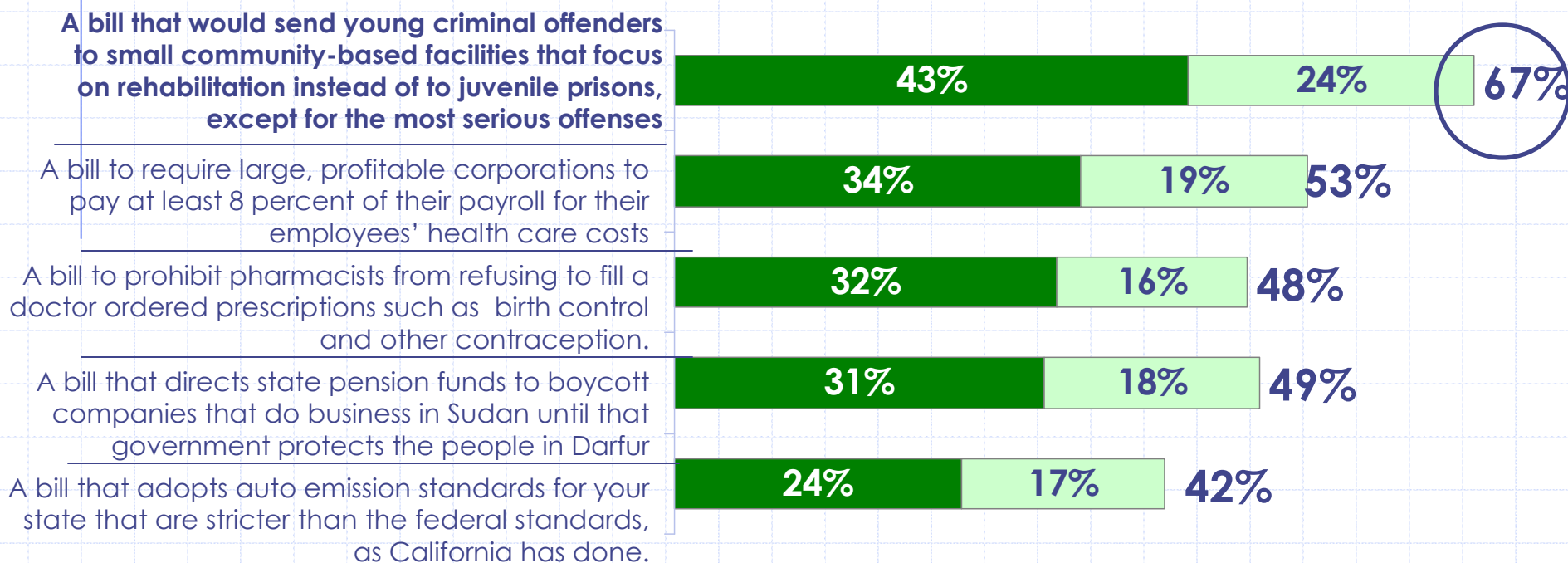
Top Themes	Mean	
	All Voters	Indep. Voters
Restoring Accountability to the Government of the People	63.1	60.0
Caring for our Children and Families	63.0	58.3
Results Matter	62.3	57.9
Defending the United States	62.3	58.4
A New Direction for America For All, Not Just the Special Interests	61.4	58.2
Economic Opportunity for All	60.6	57.7
Restoring Accountability	59.7	57.7
Achieving the American Dream	59.5	57.7
Renewing America's Future	59.3	56.3
A New Direction for All Americans, Not Just the Few	59.1	54.0



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Progressive policies work in today's environment.

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?



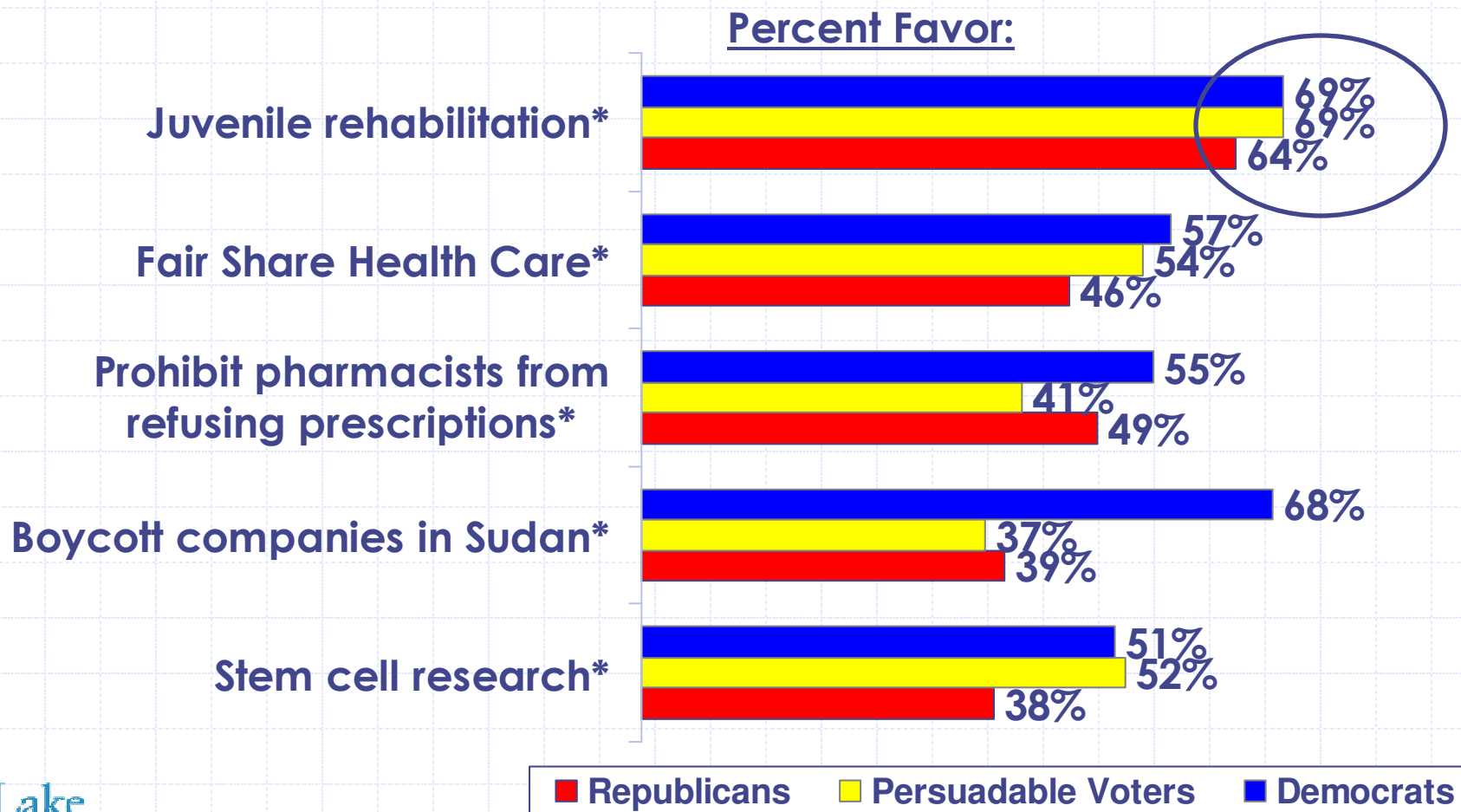
Darker colors = intensity



*Asked of half the sample
LRP: National survey of 800 2006 voters – November 9-15, 2006

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

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

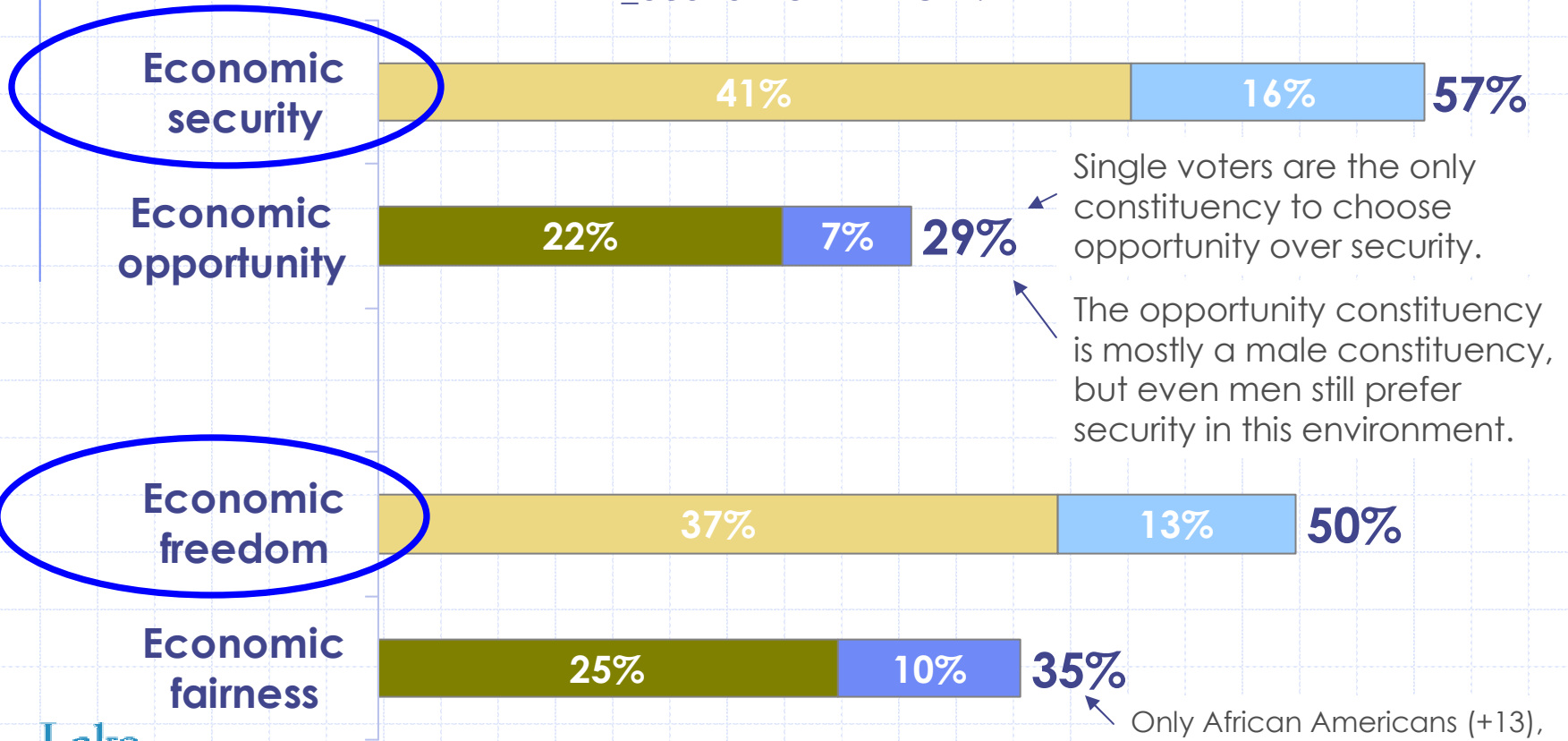


*Asked of half the sample
LRP: National survey of 800 2006 voters – November 9-15, 2006

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Economic security is a powerful frame, more powerful than economic opportunity or economic freedom. However, the frame from which conservatives operate – 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?*



Single voters are the only constituency to choose opportunity over security.

The opportunity constituency is mostly a male constituency, but even men still prefer security in this environment.

Only African Americans (+13), Democrats (+6), and progressives (+3) prefer fairness over freedom.



Reproductive Health and Rights

This is a divisive issue. Making it a personal decision free from government interference is the strongest theme.

**TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007**



Lake
Research
Partners

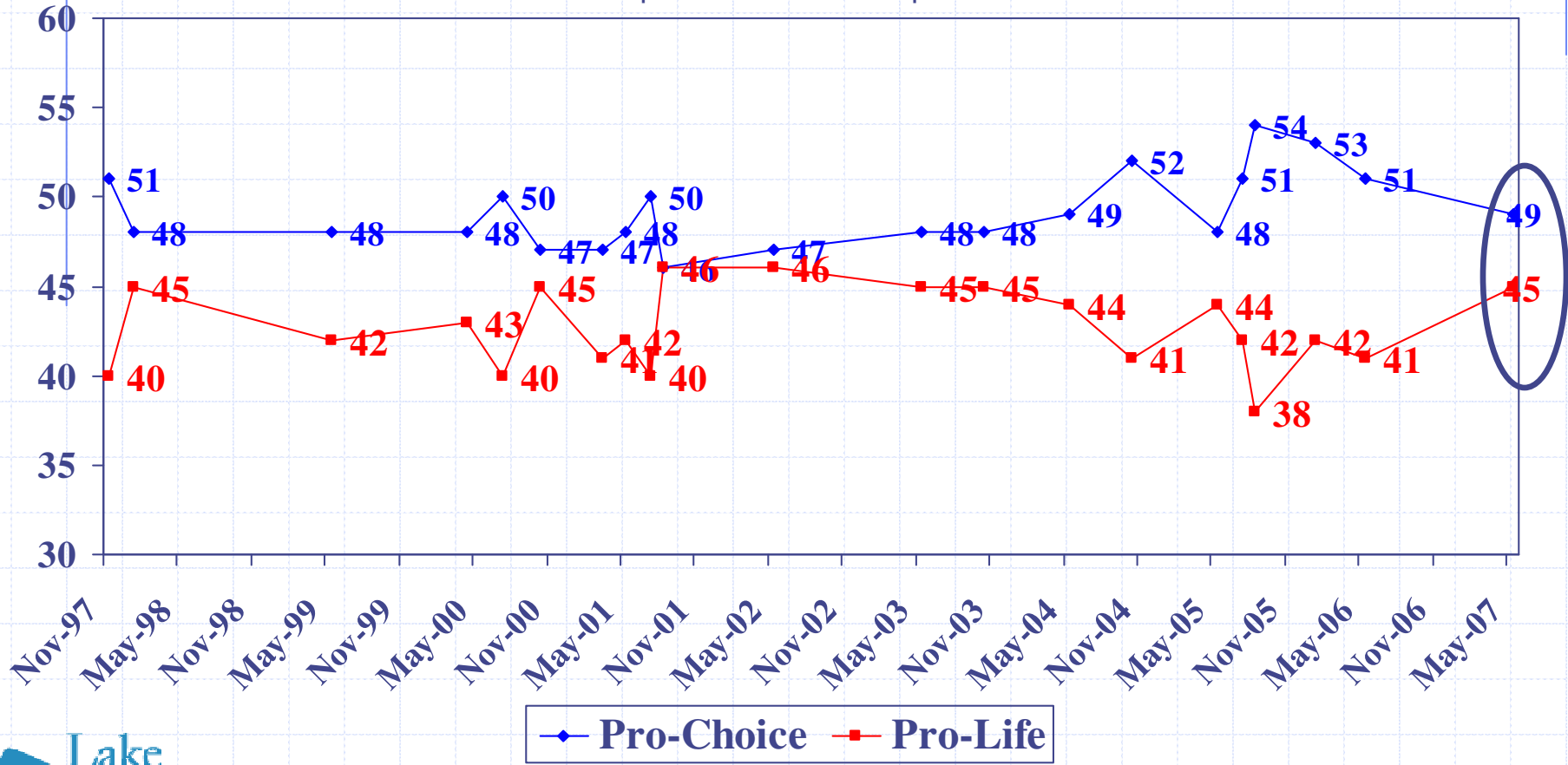
Setting the Stage

- ✓ Roughly three quarters of likely voters (77 percent) agree that the government and politicians should stay out of a woman's personal and private decision whether or not to have an abortion.
- ✓ 61 percent of voters disapprove when they hear Congress has voted 145 times in the last 10 years to restrict reproductive-health services, including abortion and birth control.
- ✓ Eight out of 10 voters agree that Americans are tired of divisive attacks over the issue of abortion and want their leaders to support real solutions to prevent unintended pregnancies.

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Generally, more Americans are pro-choice than anti-choice. While there was a margin of 11 points in 1997, there was an even split in 2001, and the current margin is 4 points.

With respect to the abortion issue, would you consider yourself to be pro-choice or pro-life?

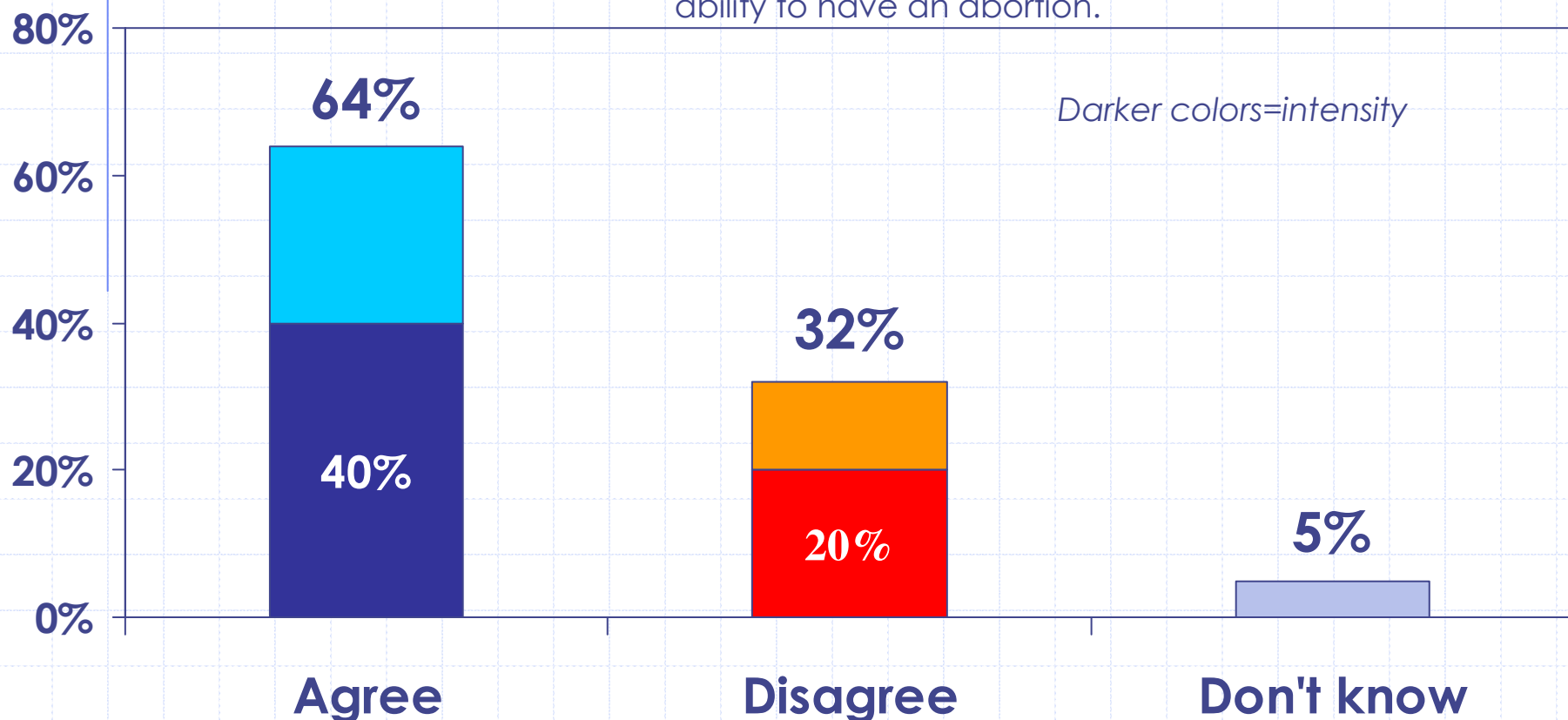


Gallup

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Nearly two-thirds of adults agree that the government should not interfere with a woman's ability to have an abortion.

(Please tell me whether you completely agree, mostly agree, mostly disagree or completely disagree with the following statements.)...The government should not interfere with a woman's ability to have an abortion.

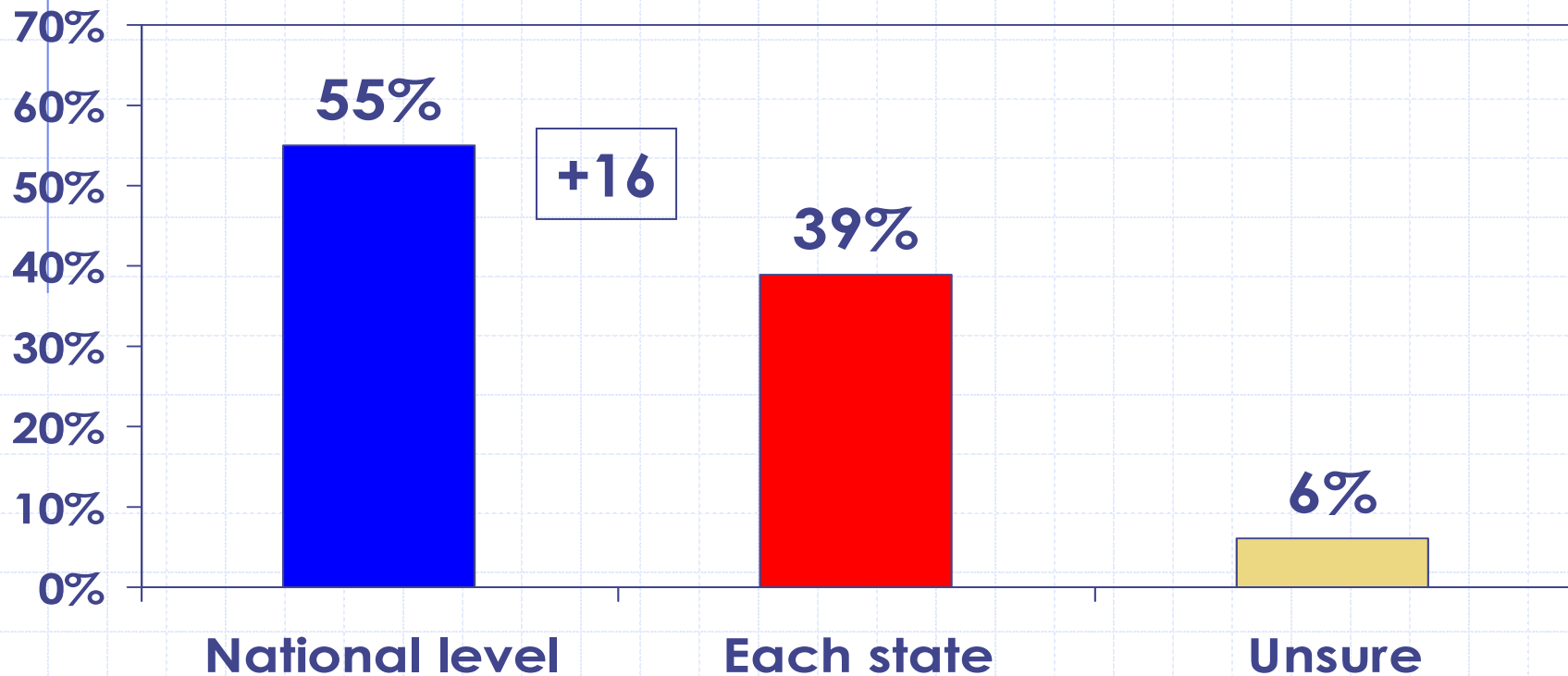


Survey by Pew Forum on Religion and Public Life. Conducted by Princeton Survey Research Associates International, July 20-September 7, 2006 with a national adult sample of 739. **15**

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Additionally, a majority of Americans sees the right to choose as an issue that should be decided on the national rather than the state level.

Do you think the question of whether abortion should be legally permitted is something that should be decided at the national level, or is it something that each state should decide for itself?



Pew Research Center for the People & the Press and Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life **16**
survey conducted by SRBI. July 6-19, 2006. N=996 adults nationwide. MoE \pm 3.5

Connecting to Policy

- ✓ Two-thirds of voters disapprove of the laws, such as the ones passed in South Dakota and Louisiana that would ban abortion in nearly all circumstances, even for victims of rape and incest or women whose health is at risk.
- ✓ Roughly half of adults favor the recent Supreme Court ruling that upheld the ban on partial birth abortion.*
- ✓ 65 percent of voters feel less favorable toward candidates who support allowing pharmacists to refuse to fill birth-control prescriptions.
- ✓ 61 percent of voters feel more negative toward a candidate who opposes making emergency contraception available in emergency rooms for rape and incest victims.
- ✓ 48 percent feel less favorable toward a candidate who supports using public funds to teach abstinence-only programs instead of sex education programs that include honest facts on birth control.
- ✓ Preserving funding for family planning services for low income people is important to voters. For example, three quarters of Missouri voters (75 percent) believe and a plurality of voters (42 percent) find it very important.

Messages and Framing: *A Personal Decision*



Framing choice as personal-decision making is strong.

- Voters express strong a preference for the candidate who supports women making personal decisions without intrusion from government and politicians, coupled with a strong emphasis on prevention (54 percent), over the competing anti-choice culture of life point of view (27 percent) from a candidate who is anti-choice.
- Taking on government and politicians who interfere in people's personal decisions is an important element that adds to the salience of the pro-choice candidate message.

Messages and Framing: Prevention and Keeping Government Out



Prevention and keeping government out of personal decisions soundly trumps culture of life.

- Voters also express strong intensity around candidate statements focused on the need for commonsense prevention measures like comprehensive sex education and access to birth control and contraception (67 percent more favorable, 45 percent much more favorable). They want their leaders in Washington to work toward real solutions aimed at preventing unintended pregnancies and reducing the need for abortion (80 percent agree, 54 percent strongly agree).
- There is also strong agreement around the idea that government and politicians should stay out of a woman's personal and private decision of whether or not to have an abortion (77 percent agree, 56 percent strongly agree). Additionally, a majority of voters say it would raise serious doubts for them if they heard that a candidate supports right-wing extremists who promote policies that take personal decisions away from women and doctors (72 percent doubts, 51 percent serious doubts).

Top themes among adults include making abortion less necessary and the importance of being a parent.

Rating 1-10 (Mean)	Theme	Arguments
8.1	Make abortion less necessary	We should be focused on making abortion less necessary, not more dangerous and difficult.
8.0	Importance of being a parent	Being or becoming a parent is the most important thing in my life.
7.7	Personal decision/Can't decide for others	There is just something about pregnancy – and everyone has feelings about it. Each circumstance is different so we should respect and support women and families who must make life altering decisions whether or not to have a child.
7.4	Being unprepared is not good enough reason	It might be really hard to have a baby when you are not ready, but that's not a good enough reason to have an abortion.
7.4	Personal decision/Can't decide for others	A woman has the right to make her own personal, private decisions about abortion without the government interfering.

Health Care

A salient issue that speaks to voters' values and pocketbooks.

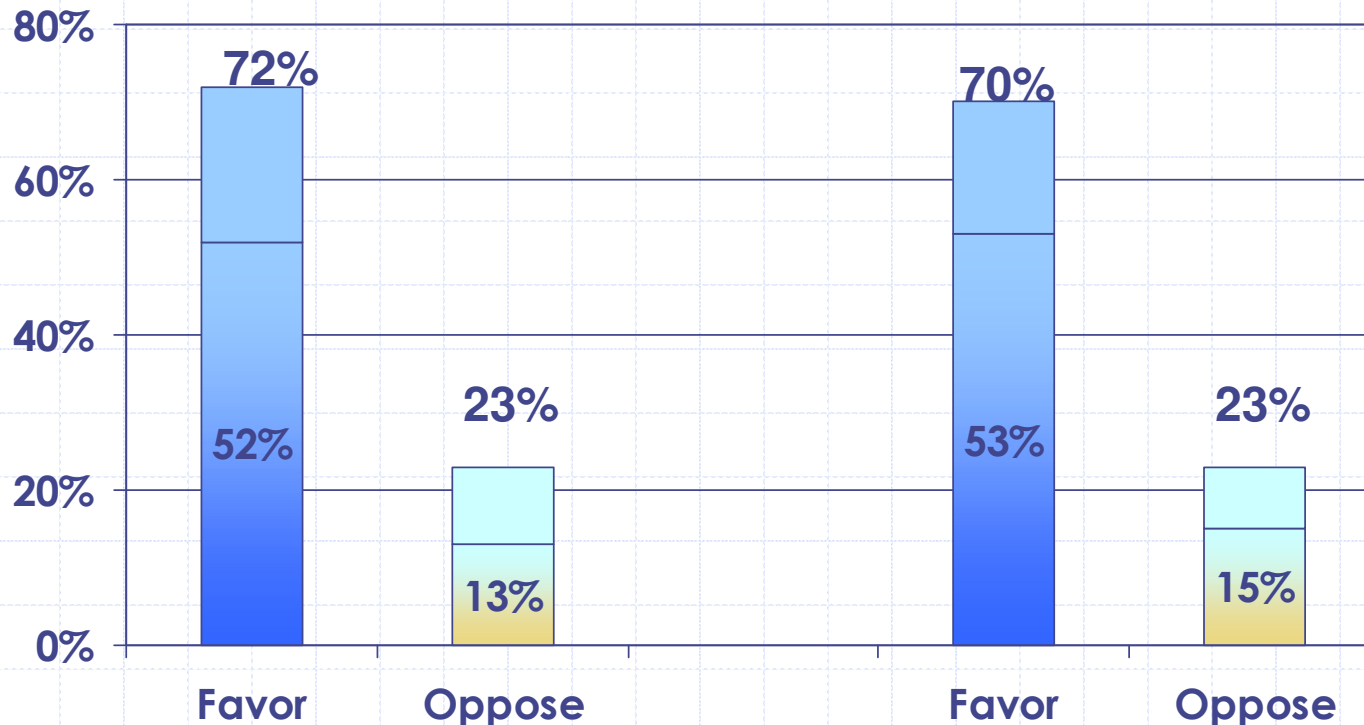
**TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007**



Lake
Research
Partners

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

In principle, over two thirds of all voters favor health care access for all Americans, a majority strongly, even if it means higher taxes or a major government role.



Do you favor or oppose providing access to affordable, quality health care for all Americans even if it means raising your taxes?

Do you favor or oppose providing access to affordable, quality health care for all Americans even if it means a major role for the federal government?



LRP conducted a national survey of 1300 voters October 10-November 6, 2006 in partnership with American Environics on behalf of the Herndon Alliance

The Context

- ✓ **Health care is clearly salient to voters. Rising costs are the top concern for voters**, the vast majority of whom are insured. A recent* Gallup poll shows health care is the top concern for 27% of voters – the highest level seen in more than a year.
- ✓ Voters connect to health care as consumers. They feel they are getting less for more. **However, we must get through consumer frame to be heard.**
- ✓ Voters often support reform proposals in principle — but pull away from policy specifics fearing higher costs or lower quality *for them personally*.
- ✓ The concept of “quality affordable health care” is more appealing than “universal coverage.” It bridges uninsured and underinsured to insured who are worried about rising costs.

* Gallup: February 22-25, 2007

Core beliefs:

- ✓ **Health care has become a core value** -- linked to the pursuit of the American Dream, our country's destiny, and each family's well-being and future.
- ✓ Voters talk about it in moral terms – no American should be denied access to health care.
- ✓ Yet, just calling this or that health care proposal a “moral issue” is insufficient to move voters.
- ✓ Voters see health care as a necessity. **They see a role for something beyond market forces to ensure affordable access.**
- ✓ Voters believe everyone should have access to quality, affordable health care — but they don't want to pay for those they perceive to be “undeserving”.
- ✓ Voters want an “American” solution.

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Health care is an example of advocates caring most about one thing (access) and voters another thing (costs).

- ✓ First and foremost, any health care reform proposal must be framed as an answer to the problem of rising health care costs. We need to position our opponents as blocking reform to protect their profits.
- ✓ Voters see a strong connection between the economy and health care concerns like rising costs and the uninsured as well as between jobs and health care. “Good jobs” to them implies jobs with decent benefits, including health care.
- ✓ We must stand for affordable, quality health care for all – after all, cost is what prevents the uninsured from buying insurance.
- ✓ Advocates are highly informed about their issues and have many things they want to say. But trying to tell voters everything about the issue means they will remember nothing.
- ✓ **Cost-shifting is not readily understood by voters.** Despite the seemingly strong argument linking cost-shifting to voters’ intense concerns about their own rising health care costs, the connection remains difficult for voters to make.

Barriers:

- ✓ Cynicism about government
- ✓ Fear of higher costs, higher taxes, lower quality care.
- ✓ Opposition to helping those perceived as undeserving.
- ✓ The ability of powerful interests to block action.
- ✓ Blocked altruism – what do I lose?
- ✓ Who is going to pay for it?

Overcoming the Barriers:

- ✓ Incorporate an Element of Personal Responsibility
- ✓ Include Options and Choices in Proposals
- ✓ Use Preventative Care as a Stepping Stone
- ✓ Find a Uniquely *American* solution
- ✓ Emphasize Security and Peace of Mind, Especially with Women
- ✓ Focus on Our Support for Small Business
- ✓ Propose Initiatives that Reflect Voter Values about Health Care
- ✓ Define a Role for Government as Watchdog and Rule Maker
- ✓ Animate Anger, not Fear

The Voters:

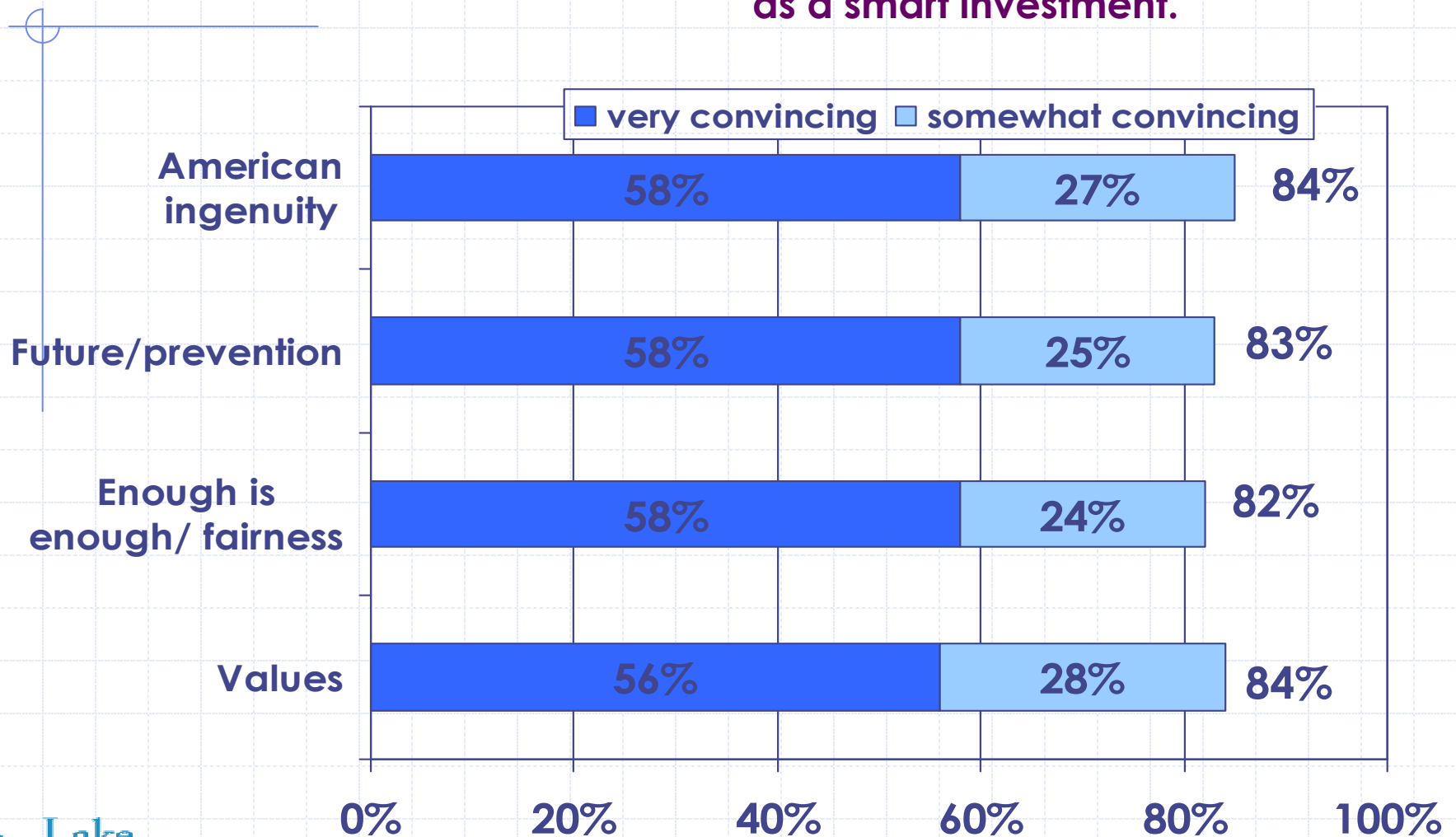
- ✓ Core health care voters supporting progressive reforms **include Democratic women, African-Americans, and Latinos.**
- ✓ **Older women and seniors are the most attentive voters on this issue**
They need to be reassured that reforms will not adversely affect the quality of their health care.
- ✓ **Small business owners are an important constituency on this issue.**
A small business voice on our side is an important signal to persuadable voters. Women-owned small businesses have **health care insurance for their employees** as one of their top issues.

Key values and themes that move voters:

- ✓ Responsibility as a two-way street
- ✓ American ingenuity; an American solution
- ✓ Prevention as a smart investment
- ✓ Control and peace of mind: better choices and real options
- ✓ An aspirational vision of the future
- ✓ Government as an enforcer or watchdog

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

The best messages highlight the value of fairness and use aspirational language. Voters value an “American” solution to the health care crisis. Screening and preventive care are seen as a smart investment.



LRP conducted a national survey of 1300 voters October 10-November 6, 2006 in partnership with American Envionics on behalf of the Herndon Alliance

Text of Messages

- ◆ **American Ingenuity** We live in the greatest country in the world, and we need an American solution to the health care crisis. We should use American ingenuity to develop a fair, common sense plan to make sure that every American has access to the highest quality health care in the world.
- ◆ **Future/ Prevention** We need to make smart investments in our families' and country's future. By guaranteeing everyone access to affordable early screening, standard health care, and prevention, we can start investing in a healthy future for our country and ensure healthier families and a healthy next generation. It's a smart investment in our future.
- ◆ **Enough is Enough/ Fairness** Enough is enough. Insurance and drug companies are making record profits. We're paying more and more, but you can't count on coverage when you really need it. We need to guarantee that people get the affordable quality care they deserve and have paid for.
- ◆ **Values** It's just wrong for anyone who works hard, pays taxes, and plays by the rules to go without decent affordable health care. America can and must do better.

Energy:

Now, much more than an environmental issue.

**TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007**



Energy is no longer just an environmental issue; it speaks to jobs, rising costs, security, and foreign policy.

- ✓ The American public overwhelmingly believes we have major problems or are in a state of crisis surrounding energy issues and we must move to cleaner more efficient energy now.
- Voters understand that cleaner energy and energy alternatives that could lead to energy independence are both possible and necessary for a secure future.
- ✓ The energy issue speaks to jobs, rising cost of living for middle class families, homeland security, and foreign policy.
- **It is a strong values oriented issue speaking to the future, independence, American superiority, patriotism, security, and a better future for the next generation.**

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

The energy issue provides Democrats an opportunity to show they have innovative ideas to address not only a pocketbook issue, but a national security issue.

- ✓ While rising gas prices pushed energy issues even more into the forefront, voters are focused on long term energy independence and renewable energy development as much as short term price gouging.
- ✓ Energy independence is a top national security concern for voters. They overwhelmingly favor proposals that invest in alternative energy as their preferred solution.

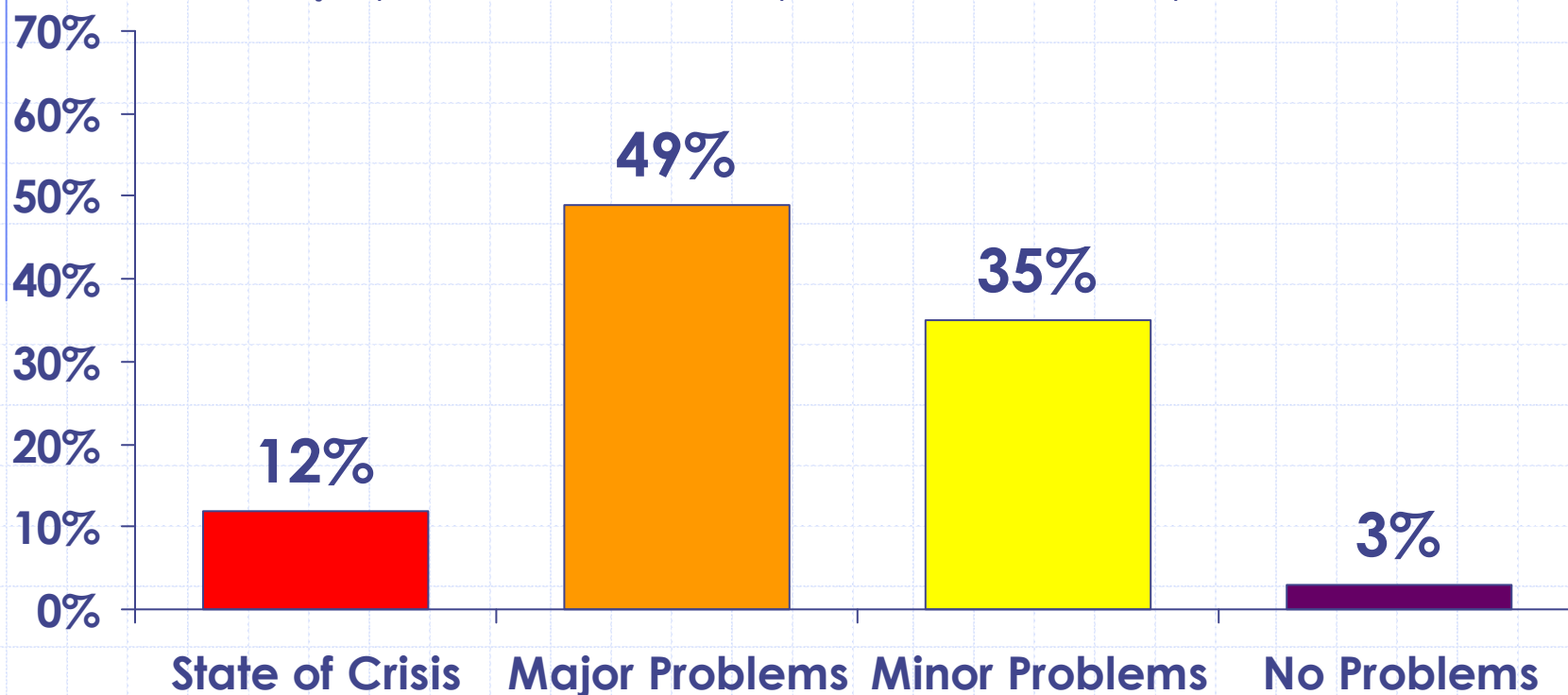
The energy issue speaks to change.

- ✓ Democrats were able to use alternative energy plans to increase the perception that they had new and innovative ideas that could bring about the change that voters were looking for.
 - This is an area where Democrats can follow through – alternative, renewable, and sustainable energy is an arena where voters support government taking the lead rather than allowing businesses and corporations to make the investment decisions.
 - Voters place the most blame for the energy problems we are facing on the oil companies and are unlikely to trust them to come up with solutions. However the Bush administration is next on their list – leaving the new Democratic Congress as a viable leader on these issues.

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

While only about one in ten Americans believe we are in an energy crisis, a majority believes we have at least *major* problems, and virtually no one says we have no energy problems at all.

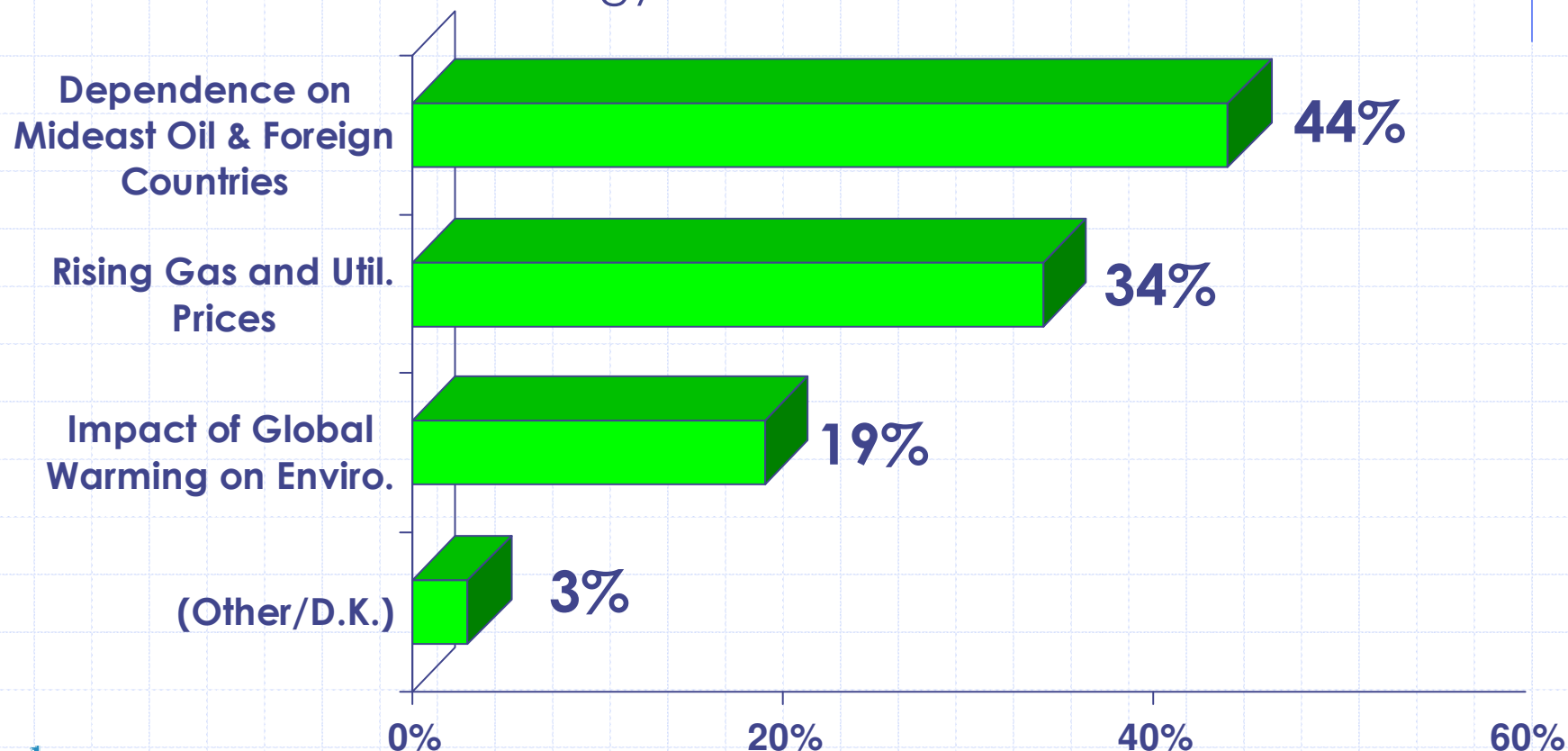
Now, thinking about the cost and availability of electricity, gasoline, natural gas, and other forms of energy, would you say the country is in a state of crisis, has major problems, has minor problems, or has no problems at all?



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Voters are most concerned about our dependence on Middle Eastern countries for oil, followed by rising gas and utility prices.

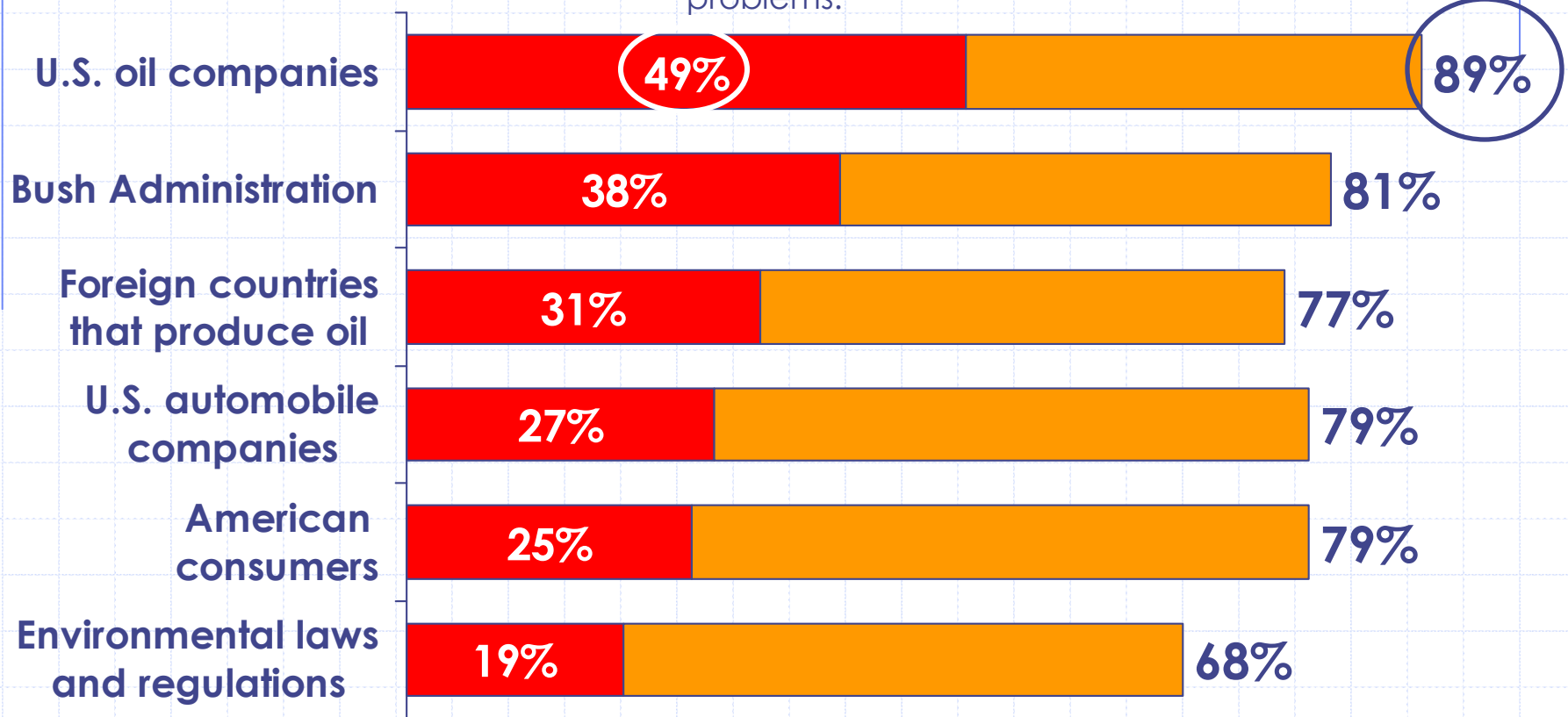
Which concerns you most when it comes to the direction of the energy situation in America?



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

When asked about America's energy problems in general, people blame U.S. oil companies the most, followed by the Bush administration and foreign, oil producing countries.

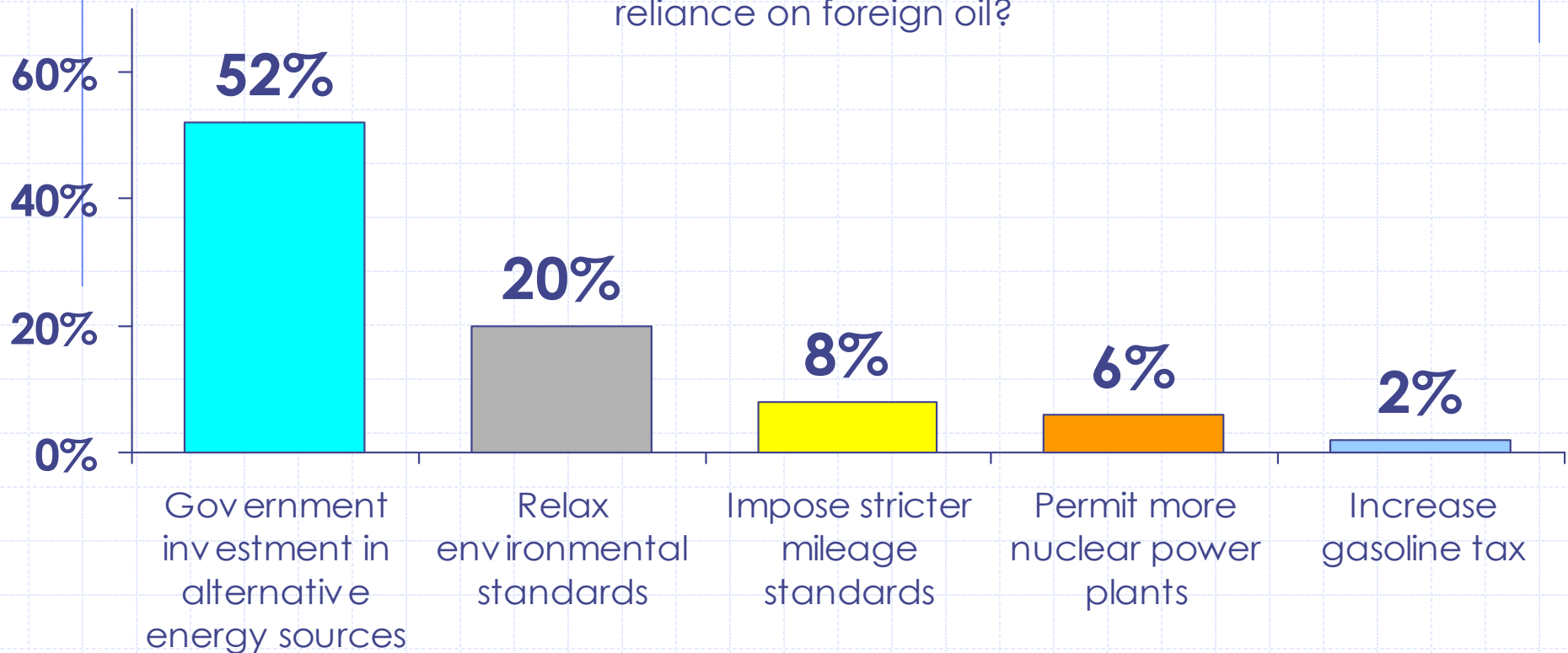
Please tell me whether you think each of the following deserves a great deal of blame, some blame, not much blame, or no blame at all for the country's current energy problems.



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

By far, the most popular tested solution to our dependence on foreign oil is for government to invest more in alternative energy sources.

As you may know, the United States depends on foreign countries for oil. Which of the following would be the best way for the U.S. to reduce reliance on foreign oil?



LGBT Rights:

Lessons Learned from Defeating
the 2006 Protect Marriage
Initiative in Arizona

**TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007**

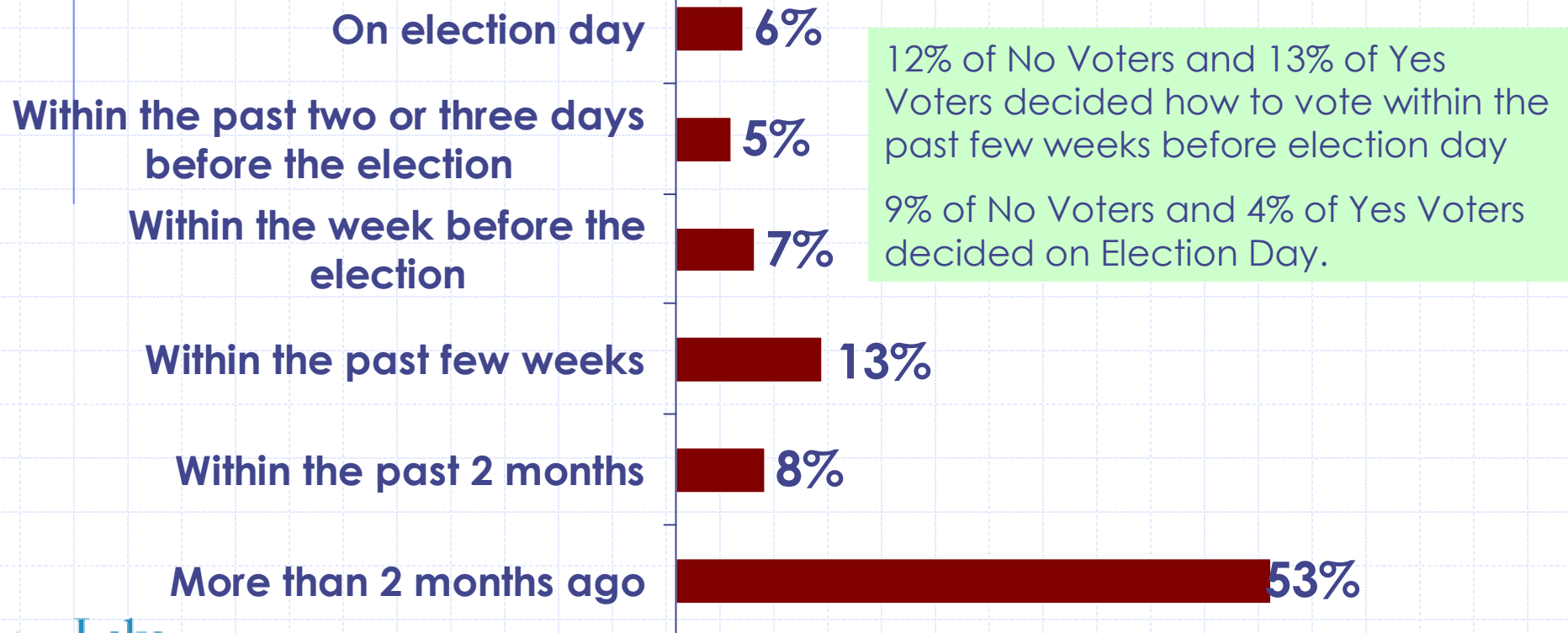


Lake
Research
Partners

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

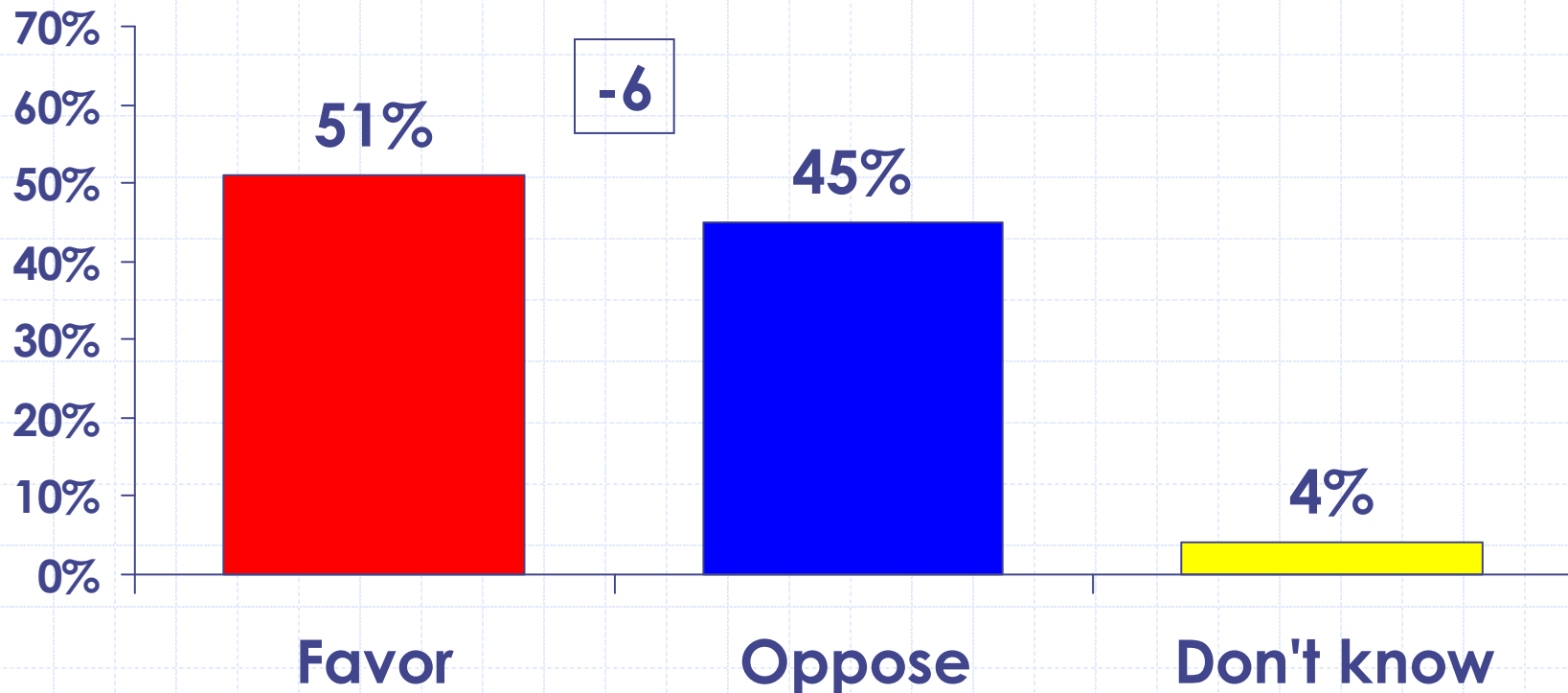
Voters tend NOT to be persuaded on the marriage issue – they feel as if they are already “experts” on what constitutes a marriage. They decide early on how they will vote. However, in this case 31% decided their vote in the closing weeks.

I know you voted last week, but about how long ago did you decided on your vote for Proposition 107the initiative about defining marriage and other legal status – more than two months ago, within the past two months, win the past few weeks, within the week before the election, within two or three days before the election, or did you not decide until election day?



An initial barrier to overcome is that a majority of adults start with the opinion that gay marriage should be banned.

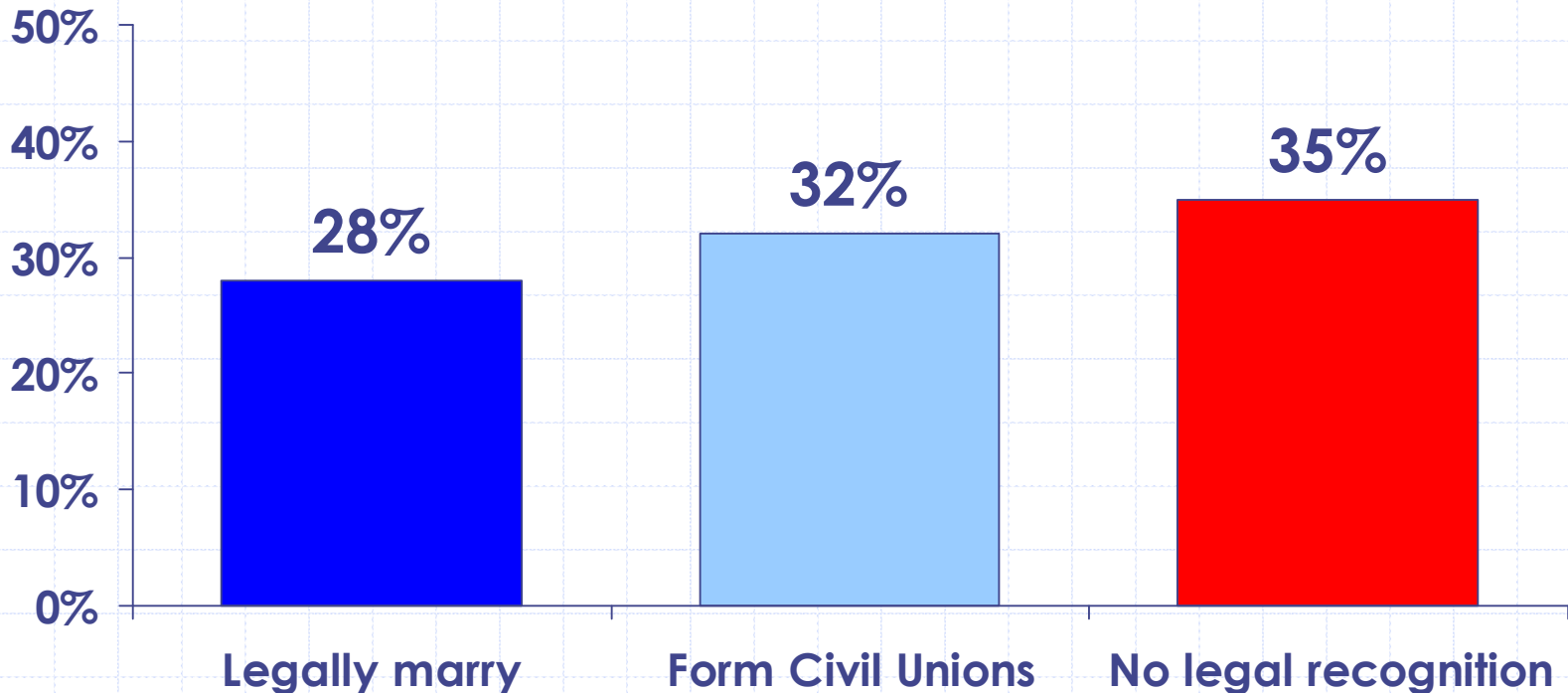
Would you favor or oppose a law that would ban gay marriage, requiring that marriage should be between a man and a woman?



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Among those who feel gay and lesbian couples have a right to some sort of legal recognition, they split on whether they should be allowed to legally marry or just form civil unions.

Which comes closest to your view?...Gay couples should be allowed to legally marry, gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not legally marry, there should be no legal recognition of a gay couple's relationship



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

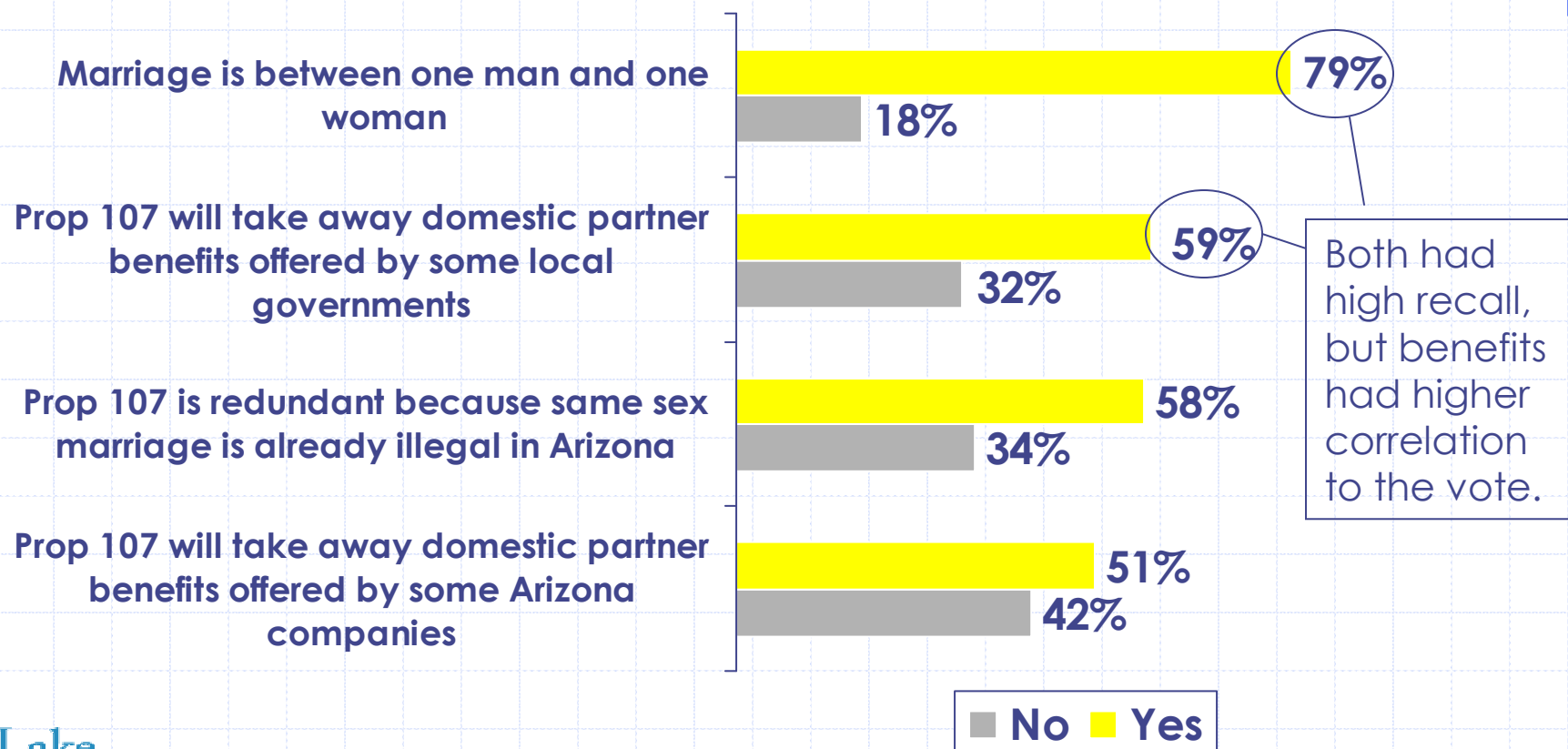
In Arizona, voters' overall positive reactions to the election's outcome meant two things:

- ✓ The way the No campaign was waged resulted in little backlash toward gay or lesbian Arizonans, and voters for the most part were not upset with the results.
- ✓ The campaign used language and themes that did not provoke more negative reactions, even with such a negative discussion from the Yes forces.
- ✓ The election was NOT won on trickery, confusion, or deception. Voters knew what they were voting on and chose to reject the initiative.

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

The Yes side's mantra of "marriage being between a man and a woman" had penetration among most voters, but it did not predict the vote. The No side's diffuse arguments broke through to majorities of voters.

Now I am going to read you some statements around Proposition 107 that you may have heard during the campaign. Please tell me for each statement whether you remember hearing or reading that statement. It is absolutely fine if you do not remember hearing or reading any of these statements.



TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Protecting legal rights, taking away benefits, harming seniors, and hurting real people were the strongest messages.

Here are some statements other people have made about why they voted NO on Proposition 107, which attempted to define marriage as between a man and a woman and outlaw domestic partnerships. REGARDLESS of how you voted, please tell me whether each statement is a very convincing, somewhat convincing, not very convincing, or not at all convincing reason to vote NO on Proposition 107.

Unmarried couples deserve the right to certain legal protections, just like everyone else, and Proposition 107 took some of those legal protections away.

Proposition 107 was unnecessary, gay marriage been illegal in Arizona for ten years

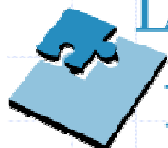
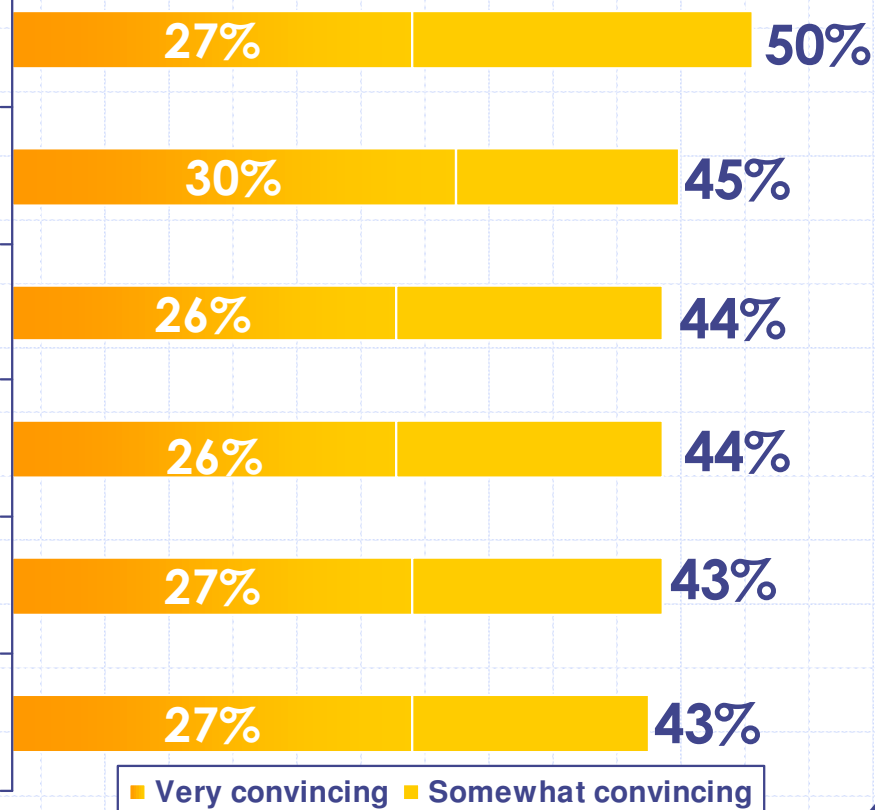
Proposition 107 hurt seniors in committed but unmarried relationship because they would have to choose between keeping their Social Security

Proposition 107 took away domestic benefits, legal protections, and health care benefits.

Proposition 107 hurts real people, even unmarried couples I know who are in good stable relationships.

Proposition 107 hurt families because adults in a committed relationship would have been in danger of losing their ability to provide health care

Top Tier Arguments to All Voters



Lake Research Partners

Lake Research Partners: Statewide survey of 400 2006 Arizona voters – November 14-16, 2007

Our strongest message had three important planks:

#1: Legal protections and domestic benefits

#2: “Taking away” these already offered and extended legal protections and domestic benefits

#3: Asking the simplest of questions – “why?”

The most effective frame combined all of these elements:

Why take away domestic benefits? Why take away legal protections?

Juvenile Justice

Concern about crime is on the rise.
Education, job training, and
prevention are the most effective
ways to discuss juvenile justice.

**TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007**



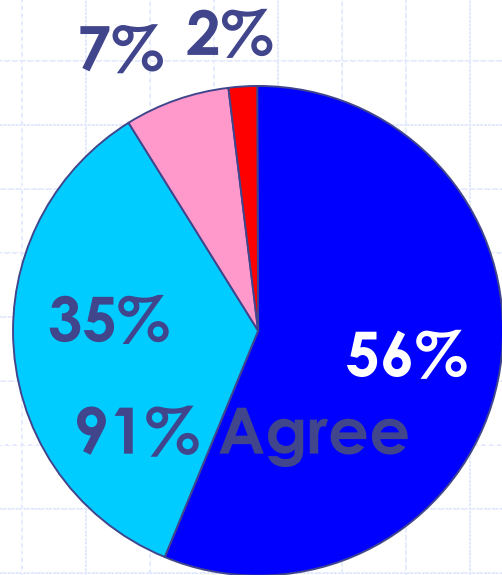
Lake
Research
Partners

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

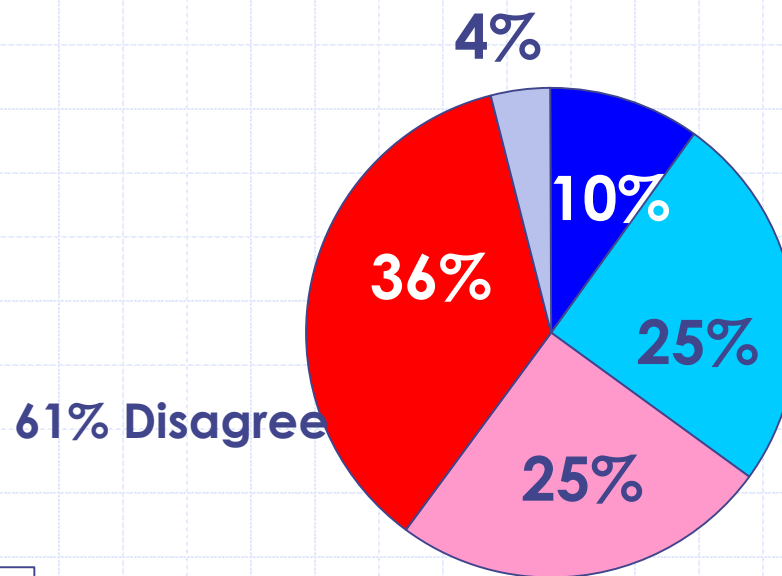
There is clearly high concern about crime committed by youths. However, there is doubt over whether the youth justice system is effective in stopping young people from committing crimes.

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

Crime committed by young people is a major problem in our communities



The juvenile justice system is effective in getting youth to stop committing violent crimes

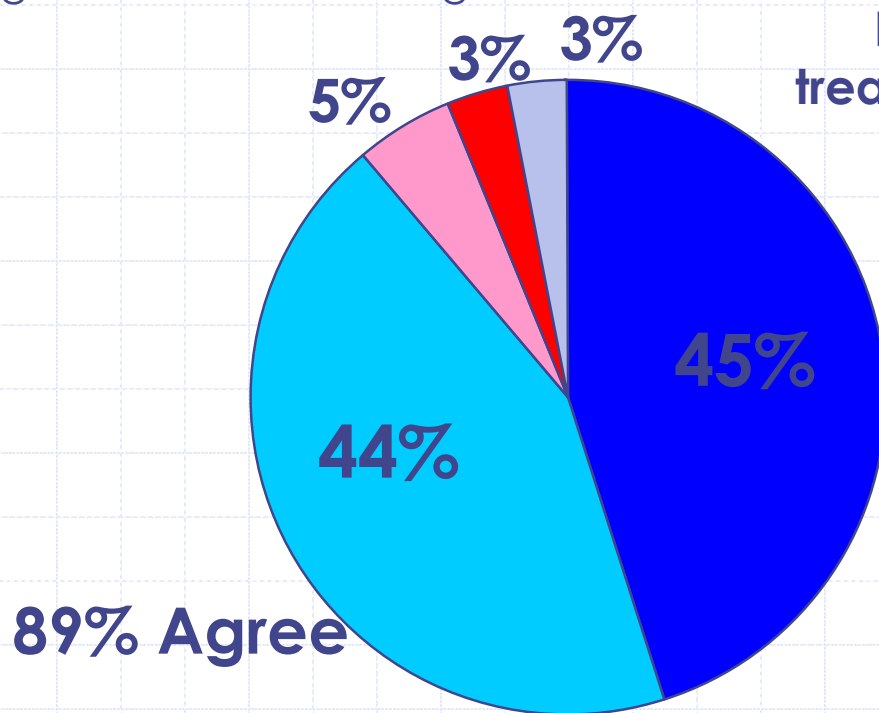


TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Nine out of ten Americans agree that rehabilitative services will help incarcerated youths from committing future crimes.

Do you strongly agree, somewhat agree, somewhat disagree, or strongly disagree with the following statements:

Rehabilitative services and treatment for incarcerated youths can prevent future crimes.



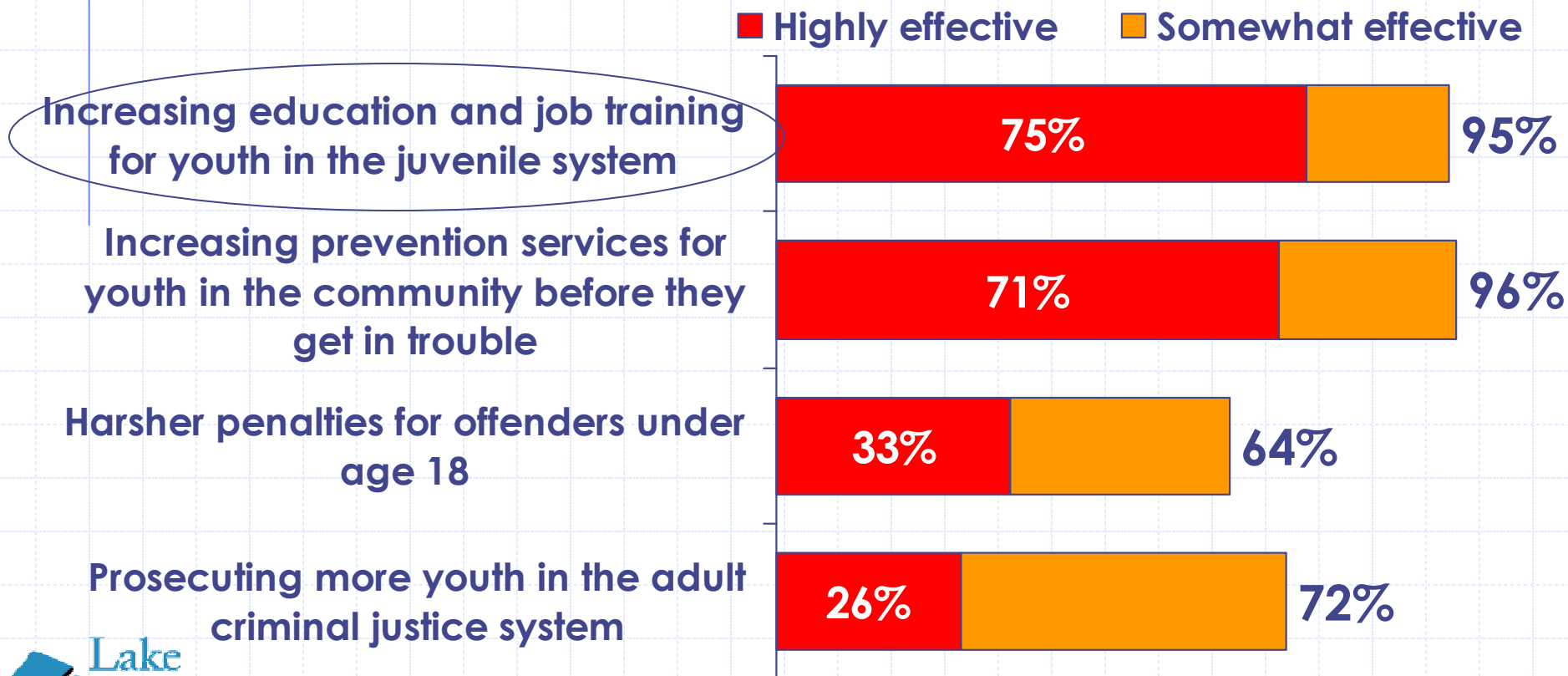
89% Agree

Strongly agree	Somewhat agree
Somewhat disagree	Strongly disagree
Unsure	

TAKE BACK AMERICA 2007

Education and prevention are the most effective ways to reduce juvenile crime. Americans do not think that harsher penalties or higher prosecution rates are as effective.

Please tell me if you think each of the following is a highly effective, somewhat effective, or ineffective way to reduce crime by juveniles?





Contact: Celinda Lake
202-776-9066

www.LakeResearch.com

TAKE BACK
AMERICA 2007

