

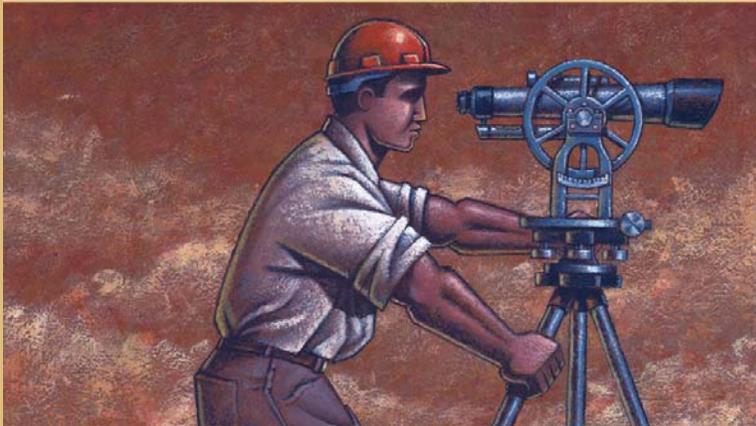


Together for Success:

Communicating Low-Wage Work as Economy
not Poverty

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for the Ford Foundation Project
For an Economy That Works for All

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Public Knowledge



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Background

The Ford Foundation's *For an Economy That Works for All* project set out to research the dynamics of public opinion regarding the issue of low-wage work, and to identify a cohesive message strategy to build support for a series of policies that will assist low-wage workers and their families. The first phase of this project, conducted in 2001-2002, resulted in four reports:

Between a Rock and a Hard Place, by Douglas Gould + Co., September 2001, analyzes news coverage of low-wage work, finding that many news stories position low-wage workers as sympathetic individuals stuck in a bad situation: between a rock and a hard place (32%); unable to climb the economic ladder (17%), falling behind (17%), or that they are freeloaders, prisoners and undeserving (15%). Fully one-third (33%) of stories position the government as incompetent. Due to the prevalence of the individual sympathy story in the news, understanding the impact of these stories on public opinion became a central question for research.

Achieving the American Dream, by Public Knowledge, August 2001, reviews trends across years of public opinion surveys and suggests that past efforts to address poverty have been hampered by a series of core American beliefs: each individual is responsible for his or her own success or failure; with hard work comes reward; the goal is equal opportunity, not equal outcome; and anyone can achieve the American Dream. While sympathetic to the plight of a struggling individual, the dominant news framing of low-wage workers as stories of individual problems and

solutions underscores these existing beliefs instead of helping the public get beyond a mental picture of individual success and failure to see systemic problems and solutions.

Responsibility and Opportunity, by Public Knowledge, March 2002, analyzes the results of a series of focus groups and one-on-one interviews, and recommends that the issue of low-wage work needs to be communicated within the category of the economy and prosperity rather than the category of poverty and the poor. Americans have a mental model of the economy as a "free market" meaning it should be unconstrained and free of government intervention. Unless an alternative model of the economy is put forward, the report found, policies to assist low-wage workers will always be positioned as government intervening inappropriately in business or as providing charity.

Responsible Planning for the Future, by Public Knowledge, June 2002, reports on the findings of a national survey of registered voters. The survey finds that while the public is supportive of policies to assist low-wage workers, support drops dramatically once a dialogue on both sides begins. Community stakeholders cannot assume that broad public support will stay firm in the heat of a policy debate. Thoughtful, planned communications that links the policies to broader values is central to continuing public support. The report states that the most convincing message across demographic groups is a responsible economic planning message – creating a better tomorrow requires responsible planning today

for building jobs and the economy for the long-term.

As the economy continued to worsen and corporate scandals dominated the news, the Ford Foundation sought to update the first phase of research and refine the earlier recommendations. This second phase, conducted in 2004, resulted in two reports:

Broken Communities, Planning for Tomorrow, by Public Knowledge, April 2004, discusses the findings of a series of focus groups. It states that the economic climate provides an opportunity to educate the public about how the economy works and the role of low-wage workers in the broader economy. To build support for policies to address the needs of low-wage workers, the public needs to stop seeing the economic problem as cyclical or moral, and instead begin to understand the problem as structural – one that government and society can address and one to which every person is connected.

This report, *Together for Success*, by Public Knowledge, August 2004, reports on the results of a priming survey, which is a unique and rigorous method to quantify the impact of various communications frames on the public's understanding of the issues and their support for policies. The findings from this research follow.

Introduction

This is an opportune moment to reshape the public's understanding of the structure of the economy and to convey a sense of shared responsibility in creating an economy that works for all. The public is paying attention to news about the economy and they are clamoring for action. Fully 70% say the country needs to act to affect the economy, and two thirds (63%) say there are things the government can do to improve economic prosperity.

The public is ready for action on the economy and looking to government for a solution. However, urgency alone will not cause the public to support policies for low-wage workers; public attitudes toward poverty and the role of the government in addressing poverty also need to change. Even in the current economic climate, the public remains divided about the causes of poverty and continues to cast some responsibility on the poor for their situation. Voters are equally divided concerning which is to blame for poverty – a lack of effort on the part of the person who is poor (40%) or circumstances beyond that person's control (39%). Slightly more than half of the voters surveyed (52%) believe that “the middle class is as attainable as ever for those who are willing to work hard,” while 45% believe that “the middle class is disappearing and we are turning into a society of haves and have nots.” If voters are unable to see the systemic issues that exacerbate poverty in the current weak economy, then continuing the safety net message strategy is unlikely to succeed in building long-term support. Instead, the public needs a new way of thinking about the issues facing low-wage working families and

the role of low-wage workers in the overall economy.

This report presents the findings of a unique survey methodology that differs from typical survey research. In addition to standard survey questions designed to assess which messages the public believes are most convincing, this survey also included a series of experiments to test the effect of three frames on public understanding and support for policy change. One frame, the Sympathy for the Poor Frame, was designed to reflect the dominant media and advocacy frame for discussing the issues affecting low-wage workers as a story of poverty and individual suffering. The other two test frames reflect different variations of a responsible planning message, meaning a frame emphasizing societal responsibility to work together to plan for future needs: 1) Economic Planning Frame – a long-term vision to secure future prosperity by rebuilding the nation's economic infrastructure and developing good paying jobs; 2) Community Planning Frame – a long-term vision to secure prosperous communities by rebuilding communities' economies and developing good paying jobs in those communities that need them.

The results demonstrate that the Sympathy for the Poor Frame is effective among core supporters who already understand the systemic influences on poverty and who already support a range of policy proposals at very high levels. These core supporters have a well-developed view of systemic influences, so any message will be effective in solidifying their support. However, expanding support beyond the existing core

supporters requires a new frame that will shift public perceptions of poverty, the economy, and the role of government in addressing these issues. The Economic Planning Frame builds new issue understanding and policy support among a range of target audiences, including strong opponents of policy change. The Community Planning Frame is weaker than the Economic Planning Frame, but it is effective with many of the same groups that are attracted to the Sympathy for the Poor Frame, suggesting that it may be an appropriate bridge from the individual sympathy story to a story about broader trends and influences.

Specifically, this research suggests that advocates communicate an Economic Planning Frame, supported by a secondary community message, and avoid the Sympathy for the Poor Frame. Frame elements to advance and avoid include:

Finally, the Economic Planning Frame, supported by a secondary message about communities, is the most effective strategy for the target audiences. The report reviews the dynamics of response for five target audiences. Core supporters to be activated include Democrats who respond to all three frames, particularly Community Planning, and working-class voters who respond most to the Economic Planning

Frame. Audiences of opportunity include latent supporters to expand the base of support, including union households that respond to both responsible planning frames, and men without a college education who only respond to the Economic Planning Frame. Finally, the report includes a review of Republican views to suggest a strategy to temper their active opposition by communicating an Economic Planning Frame.

ADVANCE	AVOID
<p style="text-align: center;">Elements of the Economic Planning Frame</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The issues are the economy jobs, and future prosperity • The relevant values are responsibility, vision, stewardship, interdependence • The economy is a system that can be influenced; humans have power to influence economic conditions • Trends, broader influences are integral to the story • The reader's relationships to the problem is connective; it is about "us" • Solutions are the focus; the problem is manageable • Responsibility for fixing the problem lies with citizens collectively • Strengthening communities is one of the objectives for action 	<p style="text-align: center;">Elements of the Sympathy for the Poor Frame</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • The issues are poverty, the poor, and the working poor • The relevant values are sympathy, disparities, the Golden Rule, generosity • The economy is irrelevant, or it is cyclical, uncontrollable • Profiles of poor individuals are integral to the story • The reader's relationship to the problem is separate; it is about "them" • Problems are the focus; the issue is overwhelming • Responsibility for fixing the problem rests with the individuals who are having the problem

Method

This survey was designed to quantify the effects of various frames on public attitudes toward low-wage workers and on public support for policies to benefit low-wage workers.

Throughout, the report will refer to the concept of “framing.” The FrameWorks Institute defines framing as referring to “the way a story is told — its selective use of particular symbols, metaphors, and messengers, for example – and to the way these cues, in turn, trigger the shared and durable cultural models that people use to make sense of their world” (Bales and Gilliam, 2002).

Research on how people think demonstrates that people use mental shortcuts to make sense of the world, and that new information provides cues to help people determine how to connect the new information to what they already know. This lens on the issue then quickly defines issue understanding, priority, consequences, solutions and responsibility for fixing the problem. This is framing. (Note: For more information on frames and framing, see the FrameWorks Institute web site at www.frameworksinstitute.org.)

This survey incorporated a series of “priming” experiments to cue specific frames, and then determine the extent to which exposure to the frames subsequently influenced reasoning and attitudes about low-wage workers and the economy. Specifically, survey respondents were exposed to a set of questions at the beginning of the survey designed to “prime” or predispose a particular way of thinking. Then all interviewees responded to the same set of core questions about low-wage workers and the economy. By comparing the responses of those exposed to

different priming language with the responses of a control group, we can determine the relative ability of each frame to advance a policy menu, thereby indicating the effects of a communications frame on public opinion.

Each framing experiment was tested with a national sample of adults drawn proportionate to population. Initially, the 3200 survey respondents were randomly assigned to either a control group, which received no deliberate framing, or one of three test frames. One test frame, the **Sympathy for the Poor Frame**, was designed to reflect the dominant media and advocacy frame for discussing the issues affecting low-wage workers. The other two test frames reflect different variations of a responsible planning message, meaning a frame emphasizing societal responsibility to work together to plan for future needs:

- 1) **Economic Planning Frame**—a long-term vision to secure future prosperity by rebuilding the nation’s economic infrastructure and developing good paying jobs;
- 2) **Community Planning Frame**—a long-term vision to secure prosperous communities by rebuilding communities’ economies and developing good paying jobs in those communities that need them.

A second experiment tested the effectiveness of creating a different perspective about how the economy works. In this experiment, the 3200 survey respondents were randomly assigned to a control group, which received no deliberate framing, or a test frame that exposed respondents to a short statement about the economic

effect of improving conditions for low income workers.

To isolate the effects of each experiment, the sample was carefully constructed to allow for an analysis of the second experiment in isolation as well as in combination with the effects of the first experiment. Quotas for gender and region were set for each cell (Table B).

After the first experiment in which the various primes were introduced, survey respondents were asked a series of key indicator questions designed to judge the frames’ ability to change public attitudes and move the public toward support for a range of policy goals. While the ultimate goal for communications is to build policy support, demonstrating a shift in attitudes is also an important indicator of the effectiveness of a frame, because certain attitudes correlate with policy support. The following questions were used as indicators of the effectiveness of the frames:

Please rate (a series of issues) for how important a priority you believe the issue should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority.

Of the following statements, which is closest to your view?

There is more opportunity to get ahead than there used to be;

The amount of opportunity to get ahead is about the same;

There is less opportunity to get ahead than there used to be.

Sample Design—Number of Interview by Split Sample Experiments

First Experiment		Control	Sympathy for Poor	Economic Planning	Community Planning	Total
Second Experiment	Control	400	400	400	400	1600
	Economic	400	400	400	400	1600
	Test					
	Total	800	800	800	800	3200

Table B

• *Note: an increase in the percentage responding “less opportunity” is an indication that the frame moves people in the right direction, because those who believe there is less opportunity to get ahead are significantly more supportive of policies for low-wage workers than those who say “more” or “the same opportunity.”*

Of the following statements, which is closest to your view?

There are things that state, local and federal government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all, like assisting small businesses that provide good jobs, encouraging the development of emerging industries, and setting minimum wage and benefits high enough to support families; or,

The best thing government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all is to limit regulations on business, cut corporate taxes, and allow the free market to lift the economy.

• *Note: an increase in the percentage choosing the first statement is an indication that the frame moves people in the right direction, because those who see an active role for government are significantly more supportive of policies for low-wage workers than those who choose the free market statement.*

After the second experiment in which a different view of the economy was introduced, survey respondents were asked to respond to additional attitudinal questions:

Please rate (a series of issues) for how important a priority you believe the issue should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority.

Which of the following is closest to your view?

The economy goes in cycles. If we wait, the economy will turn around and create good jobs with opportunity; or, We can affect the economy. If we want an economy based on good jobs with opportunity, we need to act.

• *Note: an increase in the percentage choosing the second statement demonstrates that the frame moves people in the right direction, because those who believe it is possible to affect the economy are significantly more likely to support policies for low-wage workers than those who believe the economy will turn around on its own.*

Which of the following government actions to stimulate the economy do you most favor?

Increasing the income of low-wage workers through increased wages, tax credits or work supports;

Creating jobs to build infrastructure such as roads, bridges, or public buildings;

Cutting federal income taxes for all taxpayers.

• *Note: an increase in support for actions on behalf of low-wage workers, and an increase in support for job creation programs both demonstrate movement in the right direction because people who select those actions are significantly more supportive of policies for low-wage workers than those who select broad-based tax cuts.*

Which of the following is closest to your view?

The middle class is disappearing and we are turning into a society of haves and have nots; or

The middle class is as attainable as ever for those who are willing to work hard.

• *Note: an increase in the belief that the middle class is disappearing is an indication that the frame is effective, because those who believe the middle class is disappearing are significantly more supportive of policies for low-wage workers than those who believe the middle class is as attainable as ever.*

In your opinion, which is generally more often to blame if a person is poor: lack of effort on his or her own part, or circumstances beyond his or her control?

- *Note: an increase in the percentage choosing “circumstances” demonstrates that the frame moves people in the right direction because those who select circumstances are significantly more supportive of policies for low-wage workers than those who point to lack of effort.*

Table C graphically illustrates the structure of the experiments, with the key indicators that demonstrate the effect of the experiments (*indicators to test effect*).

By analyzing the pattern of response to these questions within each experimental split and comparing test responses to a control split that received no frame, it is possible to begin to determine the impact of each frame on public attitudes.

The effects of each of the experiments are typically subtle, resulting in single digit shifts in response. Dominant models of understanding are developed throughout the course of our lives, and changing those models takes time and significant exposure to new frames. A short survey of this type can provide directional understanding, but will not fully represent the more significant shifts in public opinion that might occur over a long period of exposure to new frames.

The survey analysis is based on telephone interviews with 3205 registered voters nationwide, conducted June 24th – July 6th, 2004. Each main split or division consists of a national sample of adults drawn proportionate to population. Demographic characteristics (age, education, political party identification) were weighted when necessary to be consistent across splits. Most percentages in this document refer to a base sample size of at least 800 interviews, which results in a sampling error of no more than $\pm 3.5\%$. (Error decreases as opinion on a question becomes more polarized.) Unless otherwise noted, only statistically significant differences are included in this report.

The following analysis begins with a review of current public perceptions, based solely on the responses of the control group (or that group uninfluenced by the effects of the framing experiments). An analysis of the effects of each frame and the effects of the experiments on different target audiences follows. Finally, the paper ends with brief observations about the overall implications of this research.



Demographics

First Experiment	Control	Frame 1: Sympathy for Poor	Frame 2: Economic Planning	Frame 3: Community Planning
Prime Frame	No questions asked; no priming	Test language to prime frame: issue priority; issue concern; news attentiveness; cause of declining wages; statement		
Indicators to test effect	Rate Policy Priority on a 0–10 scale			
Re-prime	No questions asked; no priming	test language to re-prime frame: satisfaction with nation's efforts		
Indicators to test effect	Attitudes: Opportunity to get ahead; Government action on economy			
Second Experiment	No Model	No Model	No Model	No Model
	Economic Model	Economic Model	Economic Model	Economic Model
Indicators to test effect	Rate Policy Priority on a 0–10 scale			
Re-prime	None	None	None	None
	Test language: intro	Test language: intro	Test language: intro	Test language: intro
Indicators to test effect	Attitudes: Ability to affect economy; Economic stimulus (policy); Middle class attainability; Blame for poverty			

Table C

The Current State of Opinion

Prior to reviewing the effects of the message experiments, it is important to first understand the views the public currently holds. This section reports on the results of the control group, which is the group unaffected by any priming effects. Critically the perceptions that are reviewed in this section are intended to illuminate how the public thinks about these issues, not to recommend that advocates directly address these perceptions in their communications. Simply telling people that there is less opportunity to get ahead or that poverty is caused by circumstances beyond an individual's control will not convince them that these assertions are true.

There is less opportunity to get ahead.

In the qualitative phase of this project, voters expressed concern that opportunity in America is fading. While they believe that opportunity still exists, several people in the focus groups pointed to an eroding manufacturing base, lack of good jobs, and rising prices as proof that it is becoming more difficult to get ahead. This survey confirms that a significant percentage of voters believe that opportunity is disappearing. A plurality (40%) believes there is “less opportunity to get ahead than there used to be,” while 30% believes there is more opportunity and 29% believes the level of opportunity is about the same.

There are significant differences in response to this question among demographic groups. Those most likely to say that there is less

opportunity to get ahead include: Democrats (57% say there is “less opportunity”), lower income voters earning less than \$25,000 annually (53%), voters in the West (53%), and those who self-identify as working-class (48%). Only Republicans are significantly more likely to say there is “more opportunity to get ahead” (45% say there is “more opportunity”).

Laziness or circumstance, which is to blame?

As noted in the analysis of the qualitative phase of research, *Broken Communities Planning for Tomorrow*, Bostrom, April 2004, voters struggle between different worldviews. When they see the world through a lens of individual action or societal morality, people then prioritize sacrifice and hard work, and believe that greed and laziness contribute to the nation's economic problems and are the causes of an individual's failures. On the other hand, when people's attention is brought to systemic issues or structural problems in the state of the nation's economy, they are more likely to see that individual success or failure can be determined by outside forces.

These competing worldviews emerge out of the survey data. Voters are equally divided concerning which is to blame for poverty—a lack of effort on the part of the person who is poor (40%) or circumstances beyond that person's control (39%). Fifteen percent (15%) volunteer that both play a part.

Once again, response differs by political party affiliation. A majority of

Republicans blame poverty on a lack of effort (54%), while a majority of Democrats blame circumstances (56%). Men and women also respond very differently on this question. Men are more likely to blame poverty on a lack of effort, especially younger men (51%) and blue-collar men (48%). Women, on the other hand, point to circumstances: women (45%), younger women (49%), and blue-collar women (47%). Other groups of voters more likely to blame poverty on circumstances beyond a person's control include lower income voters earning less than \$25,000 annually (51%), and minority voters (53%).

With hard work, people can succeed.

At the same time, a slim majority continues to believe that with enough hard work, anyone can succeed. Slightly more than half of the voters surveyed (52%) believe that “the middle class is as attainable as ever for those who are willing to work hard,” while 45% believe that “the middle class is disappearing and we are turning into a society of haves and have nots.”

Opinion differs dramatically by party affiliation and socioeconomic indicators. Democratic voters are more likely to believe the middle class is disappearing (62%), while Republicans and Independents are more likely to say the middle class is as attainable as ever (69% and 56% respectively). Those who struggle more economically are more likely to say the middle class is disappearing (lower income voters earning less than \$25,000 annually (64%) and



those who self-identify as working class (53%), while self-identified middle-class voters say the middle-class is as attainable as ever (57%). Minority voters (57%) and those with some college education (53%) are also more likely to say the middle class is disappearing. Other demographic groups insisting that the middle class is as attainable as ever include college-educated men (61%), younger men (60%), working women (58%), and dual income families (58%).

Intervention is needed.

Three years ago when perceptions of the state of the economy were somewhat more optimistic, the public tended to view the economy as cyclical and largely unable to be affected by human intervention. In fact, many suggested that intervention would do more harm than good. The free market was considered to be the ideal state. In focus groups this summer, participants held a very different view. As noted in the focus group report (*Broken Communities*, Bostrom), “the recent economic downturn and significant news coverage concerning economic trends have resulted in a public that is beginning to see problems in the American economy that can and should be addressed.”

Findings from this survey substantiate that the public is ready for action on the economy. In the current economic environment, people are more likely to believe that “We can affect the economy; if we want an economy based on good jobs with opportunity, we need to act” (70% select this

statement). Far fewer select the alternative statement that waiting is the better approach: “The economy goes in cycles; if we wait, the economy will turn around and create good jobs with opportunity” (26%). A majority of all demographic groups believe that a good economy will require action. Those most likely to state this view include Democrats (81%), blue-collar women (79%), working women (78%), and dual income families (77%). Though still in the minority some groups are more likely than average to believe that the economy goes in cycles, and waiting is the appropriate action: Republican voters (38%), senior citizens (35%), and traditional families (33%).

Government should act.

Survey findings suggest that nearly two-thirds of voters support government action on behalf of the economy. However, the qualitative research would suggest caution in this regard. As noted in the focus group report, people want government action but worry that government is not up to the task:

“Even when the public begins to see the country’s economic problems as structural, there continue to be several perceptual barriers to public support for an active role for government: the task is overwhelming; the solutions are not significant enough to make a difference; government is ineffective; politicians are self-centered or corrupt and they do not listen to the people. Even so, the public is looking to government for

action.” (*Broken Communities*, Bostrom)

With that caution in mind, survey participants want government action to improve the economy. Nearly two-thirds (63%) of survey respondents side with a statement expressing support for government action on the economy: “There are things that state, local and federal government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all, like assisting small businesses that provide good jobs, encouraging the development of emerging industries, and setting minimum wage and benefits high enough to support families.” Only 31% side with the alternative statement that the best approach is to limit intervention and let the free market work: “The best thing government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all is to limit regulations on business, cut corporate taxes, and allow the free market to lift the economy.”

Again, party identification, gender, and socioeconomic indicators result in different responses. Democrats are far more likely to believe there are things government can do to address economic conditions (80%). Meanwhile, Republicans are the only demographic group with a plurality saying the government should allow the free market to lift the economy (48%). Women are particularly likely to look to government for solutions, particularly working women (75%) and younger women (78%). Men are more likely than average to look to the free market, especially younger men (39%) and college educated men (42%). Finally, those who self-identify as working class (71%) and minorities

(77%) also believe government can make a difference.

Economic stimulus = tax cuts.

A significant percentage of the electorate embraces the philosophy that tax cuts stimulate the economy, and prefers that action over other forms of intervention. Given three choices for government actions to stimulate the economy, a plurality (38%) prefers “cutting federal income taxes for all taxpayers” followed by “creating jobs to build infrastructure such as roads, bridges, or public buildings” (31%) and “increasing the income of low-wage workers through increased wages, tax credits or work supports” (28%).

Republican voters and dual income families show the highest levels of support for cutting taxes across-the-board (59% and 45% respectively). A job creation strategy is preferred by Independent voters (37%), college-educated men (37%), voters with some college education (36%), and middle income voters earning \$50 - \$100,000 annually (37%). The highest levels of support for increasing the income of low-wage workers occur among minorities (47%), and low-income workers earning less than \$25,000 annually (43%). Democrats also prefer the strategy of increasing the income of low-wage workers (39%), as do voters with a high school education (38%), blue-collar women (35%), and younger women (36%).



Table 1: Importance of Policy
Average Rating on a 0-10 Scale

Ensuring affordable healthcare coverage for all	8.3
Encouraging employers to provide wages and benefits at a high enough level to support a family	8.1
Assisting small businesses that provide good wages and invest in their communities	7.8
Giving companies incentives to start businesses in communities that need good jobs	7.7
Providing tax incentives to encourage the growth of new industries with good jobs	7.6
Creating more job training and skill development programs	7.5
Requiring companies to provide full-time employees with at least five paid sick days annually	7.4
Expanding the earned income tax credit, which results in more income for low income families	7.2
Increasing government grants to community colleges for job training for displaced workers	7.1
Expanding state and local earned income tax credits, which results in more income for low income families	6.9
Increasing the minimum wage	6.9
Determining what it really costs to live in different cities and towns, and using those standards to determine the training and support programs a worker needs	6.8
Adjusting the guidelines for public support programs to take into account an individual family's situation, as well as the area's cost of living	6.7
Expanding publicly-funded work supports for low-income workers, such as childcare subsidies, and healthcare assistance	6.6
Requiring companies to provide employees that work at least 25 hours per week with the same range of benefits as full-time employees	6.2

Voters rate a number of economic policies as very important priorities for the nation. Topping the list is addressing health-care coverage (8.3 average rating on a 10-point scale) and wage and benefit levels (8.1). Voters also prioritize a number of policies to create good jobs such as: assisting small businesses that provide good wages (7.8), giving incentives to start businesses in communities that need jobs (7.7), and encouraging the growth of new industries with good jobs (7.6). A mix of policies are prioritized at a fairly high level, including creating more job-training programs (7.5), requiring sick leave (7.4), expanding the earned-income tax credit (7.2), increasing grants for job-training (7.1), expanding the state earned-income tax credit (6.9), and increasing the minimum wage (6.9). Voters are less enthusiastic about policies to provide publicly-funded work supports, such as: self-sufficiency standards (6.8), adjusting guidelines for public support programs (6.7), and expanding publicly-funded work supports (6.6). The policy with the least support is requiring companies to provide benefits to part-time employees (6.2). Note that these are the issues referenced throughout the analysis as constituting issue priority. (Table 1).

Policy support correlates with party identification, with Democrats showing the highest levels of support, followed by Independents. Republicans rate all of these policies lower than other party identifiers.

Women, particularly younger women, are much more supportive of all the policies than men. There is also a correlation by education, with less

educated voters supporting the policies at higher levels than more educated voters. Combining these two variables demonstrates that women without a college education rate the highest levels of policy support, followed by college-educated women and non college-educated men. College-educated men are the least supportive.

In addition, class and income levels correlate with policy support. Lower income voters support these policies at higher levels than voters with higher income levels, and those who self-identify as working-class are more supportive than those who identify themselves as middle class. Interestingly, there are no significant differences by labor union status nor by supervisory status. Minority voters, however, strongly support the policies.

Encouraging new voices will be a critically important strategy in moving these policies forward. Those who have neither written nor spoken their opinion in the past are significantly more likely to support these policies than those who have previously voiced their opinion.

Perceptions of the issue influence support for policies.

As noted in the previous section on methodology, several attitudinal questions were included in the survey to indicate the effect of each frame. These attitudes correlate with policy support, so when a frame is able to shift response on an attitudinal question, it suggests that the underlying perception is being altered in ways that will enhance public support for policies.

Looking just at average policy priority, it is clear that each attitudinal indicator correlates with policy support. For example, those who believe there is less opportunity to get ahead rate the policies significantly higher on average (7.89) than those who believe there is more opportunity (6.98) or the same opportunity (6.94). In each instance, the response

correlating with the highest policy support is italicized:

Average Policy Support by Response to Key Indicator Questions	
<i>There is less opportunity to get ahead than there used to be.</i>	7.89
There is more opportunity to get ahead than there used to be.	6.98
The amount of opportunity to get ahead is about the same.	6.94
<i>There are things that state, local and federal government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all, like assisting small businesses that provide good jobs, encouraging the development of emerging industries, and setting minimum wage and benefits high enough to support families.</i>	7.92
The best thing government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all is to limit regulations on business, cut corporate taxes, and allow the free market to lift the economy.	6.19
<i>We can affect the economy. If we want an economy based on good jobs with opportunity, we need to act.</i>	7.66
The economy goes in cycles. If we wait, the economy will turn around and create good jobs with opportunity.	6.07
<i>Increasing the income of low-wage workers through increased wages, tax credits or work supports</i>	8.03
Creating jobs to build infrastructure such as roads, bridges, or public building	7.31
Cutting federal income taxes for all taxpayers	6.30
<i>The middle class is disappearing and we are turning into a society of haves and have nots.</i>	7.80
The middle class is as attainable as ever for those who are willing to work hard.	6.52
<i>Circumstances beyond control</i>	7.81
Lack of effort	6.63

Changing the Conversation

The objective of this research is to develop a communications strategy that will lead to increased public support for a range of policies to result in better lives for low-wage workers and their families. The first phase of research, conducted in 2001 and 2002, recommended that the conversation occur within the issue category of the economy rather than that of poverty and that it be communicated with a Responsible Planning Frame, not the Sympathy Frame that advocates had been communicating. Focus groups in early 2004 confirmed that this general direction continues to be effective in building support for economic policies for low-wage workers.

The current survey tested these message recommendations in two ways. First, the control group, consisting of voters who had not been exposed to any frames during the course of the survey, was asked to rate a series of messages. This approach demonstrates that the responsible economic planning messages continue to be far more compelling than approaches based on sympathy or poverty.

Voters give their highest ratings to a responsible planning message that juxtaposes a long-term planning orientation with the current short-term profit orientation (7.5 on a 10-point scale), and to a responsible planning message with a vision for laying a good foundation for future prosperity (7.3). (See Table 2 below). Nearly every demographic group gives these two messages the highest ratings. The Responsible Planning Frame even rates highly when translated to the self-sufficiency policy (6.9), a policy that was met with low levels of public

support. The fair economy message also continues to perform well (6.8).

The two messages that receive the lowest levels of support are messages about sympathy and poverty. A sympathetic message about the plight of a single mother working a low-wage job receives the second lowest rating (6.3), followed by a message about ending the cycle of poverty with subsidized child care (6.2). (See Table 2)

In addition to testing a series of messages, this survey included several experiments to determine the actual impact of different message frames on attitudes and policy support. Survey participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups and exposed to different survey versions designed to trigger distinct frames which might be assumed to affect public attitudes about low-wage workers and public support for a number of policies. The results of the experiments are reported below.



Table 2: Message Testing
 Convincing Reason - Average Rating
 on a 10-Point Scale

<p>Responsible Planning, Not Short-term Profits: Creating a better tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Instead of a short-term profit orientation, we need to think about building jobs and the economy for the long-term. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of the greater good. We need to change that thinking and create a future with a strong economy and good jobs for our communities.</p>	7.5
<p>Responsible Planning, Future Vision: Future prosperity requires that we start thinking today about the industries we want to develop, the infrastructure we will need, and the investments society makes in today's workforce. The foundation we lay today, in creating strong communities and a strong workforce, will result in a more prosperous future for the long-term.</p>	7.3
<p>Self Sufficiency: Let's strengthen our economy by getting people permanently on the road to self-sufficiency, which means paying wages and benefits that can really support a family, offering job training that enables workers to get better jobs, and ensuring that families receive the publicly-funded work supports that will help them retain jobs and advance in the workforce.</p>	6.9
<p>Fairness/Fair Economy: People who work hard shouldn't be poor, but many are because jobs that used to support a family, like janitors or healthcare workers, now only pay the minimum wage and frequently offer no benefits. The purchasing power of the minimum wage is lower than it was in the 1970s. What costs what it did in the 70s? We don't want an economy based on low-wage jobs, so we need to work together to rebuild our economy.</p>	6.8
<p>Sympathy: America is increasingly being separated into the haves and the have nots. One of every three Americans is poor, and two-thirds of those are single mothers with children. Try to imagine the plight of a single mother working a low-wage job. Even at \$10 an hour, twice the minimum wage, she earns only about \$20,000. Who could support a family on \$20,000 a year? It is up to each of us to help those in need.</p>	6.3
<p>Cycle of Poverty/Childcare: We can break the cycle of poverty by subsidizing quality childcare so that parents can work while being assured that their children are getting opportunities to discover and learn.</p>	6.2

The Sympathy for the Poor Frame

A central finding of the first phase of research was the dominance of the Sympathy for the Poor frame. Much of the news coverage of low-wage work consists of stories of sympathetic, poor individuals who need a helping hand. These stories are typically written as being about poverty, not the economy. Furthermore, they are told as individual episodes, not stories about broader trends.

To cause survey respondents to operate in the Sympathy for the Poor mindset, respondents were exposed to a series of questions that embedded the Sympathy Frame in the question wording. (See test language in Table 3). The response to these questions is less important than the effect that this mindset has on survey participants' policy priorities and their subsequent views of low-wage workers, the economy, and the role for government in addressing the economy.

In the current economic climate, people are somewhat predisposed to believing that a person can be poor through no fault of his or her own. While it does not undermine support, the Sympathy for the Poor Frame is primarily effective with core supporters, such as Democrats and lower-income voters. Finally, several groups respond to both the Sympathy for the Poor Frame and the Community Responsibility Frame, suggesting that the Community Responsibility Frame may help to bridge between the individual sympathy story and the story about broader trends and context.

Question	Test Language
Issue Priority	helping families who are working, but poor
Issue Concern	about workers who do not make enough to lift their families out of poverty
News Attentiveness	news about the issues facing the working poor
Cause of Declining Wages	In a weak economy the working poor have to take any jobs they can get OR In a weak economy businesses can only be competitive if they keep their costs and prices low
Agree/Disagree	Imagine the plight of a single mother working a low-wage job. Even at \$10 an hour, she earns only about \$20,000 a year with few benefits like healthcare and paid leave. Who could support a family on \$20,000 a year? The working poor frequently need to choose between buying food and paying the rent. We need to ask our government officials to find a way to address these problems and help those in need.
Satisfaction with Nation's Efforts	To deal with poverty

Few survey respondents see poverty as an important issue, and few closely follow news about the working poor. When asked to rate the priority of “helping families who are working, but poor” on a scale of 1 to 10, only 28% of voters say that issue should be among the highest priorities, a rating of 9 or 10. Furthermore, only about a third say they closely follow news “about

the issues facing the working poor” (36% closely, 10% extremely).

Respondents to the Sympathy for the Poor Frame are only slightly more likely to blame employer pressure over limited job opportunities as the cause of declining wages. Both statements were designed to create the Sympathy for the Poor mindset. Slightly more select the statement that wages and

benefits are declining because “In a weak economy businesses can only be competitive if they keep their costs and prices low” (42%), while nearly as many say wages are declining because “In a weak economy the working poor have to take any jobs they can get” (38%).

Though few prioritize helping the working poor, far more say they are concerned about “workers who do not make enough to lift their families out of poverty” (62% concerned, but only 28% extremely concerned). Two thirds (67%) are dissatisfied with the nation’s efforts to “deal with poverty” while only 28% are satisfied.

Finally, to bring together all the elements of the Sympathy for the Poor Frame, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a statement that exemplifies the Frame. Three-quarters (76%) agree (58% strongly agree) with the statement, “Imagine the plight of a single mother working a low-wage job. Even at \$10 an hour, she earns only about \$20,000 a year with few benefits like healthcare and paid leave. Who could support a family on \$20,000 a year? The working poor frequently need to choose between buying food and paying the rent. We need to ask our government officials to find a way to address these problems and help those in need.”

The Sympathy for the Poor Frame moves some attitudes in a beneficial direction. The Frame causes survey respondents to be more likely to say that America is becoming a society of haves and have-nots (+8 points) rather than believe the middle class is as attainable as ever. As noted earlier, this attitude correlates with policy support,

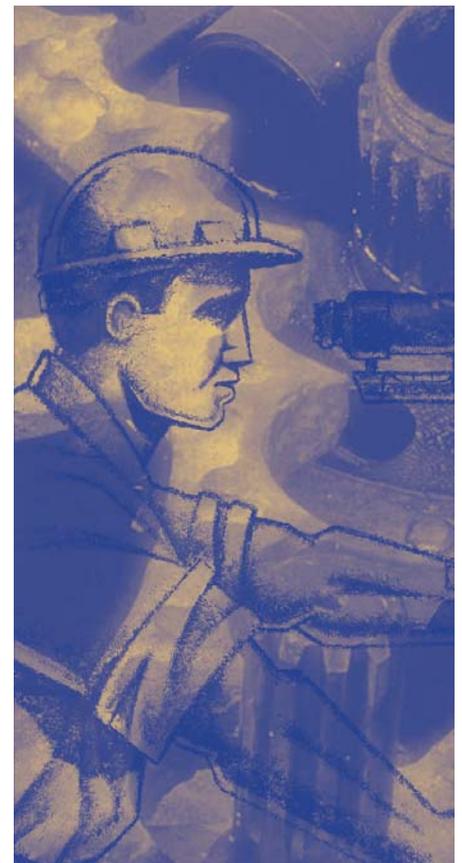
so increasing the percentage reporting that America is becoming a two-tiered society should be considered as a positive result. In addition, the Frame causes people to be less likely to blame poverty on a lack of effort (-5 points), but not significantly more likely to assert that circumstances beyond one’s control are to blame. Therefore, it moves people away from a mindset that works against the policy agenda (“lack of effort”) but does not go far enough because it does not move people into the beneficial mindset (“circumstances”).

From a policy perspective, the Sympathy for the Poor Frame moves people in the right direction on some indicators, but falls short in some ways. After being exposed to this Frame, the public demonstrated less support for broad tax cuts (-6 points). However, respondents were not significantly more likely to support increasing wages for low-wage workers, which would have demonstrated that the Frame built support for acting on behalf of low-wage workers. Finally, compared to the control group, the Frame increased support for three of eight policies in the first experiment’s policy battery (self-sufficiency standards, assisting small businesses that provide good wages, and tax incentives to encourage the growth of new industries), but reduced support for one (encouraging employers to provide wages at a high enough level to support a family).

There are some demographic groups that respond to all three frames, including the Sympathy for the Poor frame. These groups include core supporters, such as Democrats and

lower-income voters. Younger men also demonstrate some movement under all three frames. Some college-educated voters respond to the Sympathy for the Poor Frame, and college-educated women show some directional movement under the Community Planning Frame.

Several groups respond to both the Sympathy for the Poor Frame and the Community Responsibility Frame, suggesting that the Community Responsibility Frame may serve as a bridge from the old individual-level story to the broader systemic story. The demographic groups responding to both of these frames include non college-educated voters, particularly women, and older women.



The Economic Planning Frame

The recommendation that emerged from the first phase of research was to move the conversation about low-wage work away from poverty and toward the economy. In short, the research recommended that stories about the challenges faced by poor individuals should be replaced by stories about broader economic trends, the interdependence of all workers, and the planning that will lead to a more prosperous nation.

To cause survey respondents to operate in the Economic Planning mindset, respondents were exposed to a series of questions that embedded the Economic Planning Frame in the question wording. (See test wording in Table 4). Again, the response to these questions is less important than the effect that this mindset has on survey participants' views.

The Economic Planning Frame shifts perceptions and policy support in a positive direction. Most important, there are some demographic groups that only respond to this Frame: voters who self-identify as working-class, non college-educated men, and older men. In addition, some groups respond to both of the responsible planning frames: Republican voters, union households, and older voters without a college education. Therefore, the Economic Planning Frame is able to extend the base of support to new audiences that do not respond to the old Sympathy for the Poor Frame.

Survey participants report that they are paying close attention to

Table 4: Test Language for Economic Planning Frame

Question	Test Language
Issue Priority	Strengthening jobs and the economy
Issue Concern	about the nationwide trend of jobs in lower-paying service industries replacing jobs in higher-paying industries
News Attentiveness	news about what is happening with jobs and the economy across the nation
Cause of Declining Wages	The nation is relying too heavily on low-wage service sector jobs from national companies without insisting that they pay workers good wages and benefits OR We as a nation are not doing enough to encourage the growth of small businesses and emerging industries that create good-paying jobs with opportunity for growth
Agree/Disagree	Creating prosperity tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of our workforce. And when we allow one part of the workforce to weaken and struggle, it weighs down the economy for us all, resulting in a lower standard of living. Our nation needs to change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and a strong economy for the long-term. With better planning we can repair the nation's economic engine and create a future with a strong economy and good-paying jobs for our workers.
Satisfaction with Nation's Efforts	To plan for economic prosperity across the country

economic news and rate strengthening jobs and the economy as a high priority. A majority closely follows news “about what is happening with jobs and the economy across the nation” (52% closely, 15% extremely). In addition, fully 40% of voters say “strengthening jobs and the economy” should be among the highest priorities, and half are concerned about “the nationwide trend of jobs in lower-paying service industries replacing jobs in higher-paying industries” (50% concerned, 21% extremely concerned).

Most say low wages are due to a lack of national emphasis on encouraging good jobs and most are dissatisfied with the nation’s efforts to plan for economic prosperity. A majority of those exposed to the Economic Planning Frame says that declining wages and benefits are due to the fact that “We as a nation are not doing enough to encourage the growth of small businesses and emerging industries that create good-paying jobs with opportunity for growth” (58%). Far fewer say that it is because “The nation is relying too heavily on low-wage service sector jobs from national companies without insisting that they pay workers good wages and benefits” (30%). Furthermore, 63% are dissatisfied with the nation’s efforts to “plan for economic prosperity across the country,” while only 32% are satisfied.

Finally, to bring together all the elements of the Economic Planning Frame, respondents were asked to agree or disagree with a statement exemplifying the Frame. Fully 79% agree (59% strongly) with the statement, “Creating prosperity

tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of our workforce. And when we allow one part of the workforce to weaken and struggle, it weighs down the economy for us all, resulting in a lower standard of living. Our nation needs to change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and a strong economy for the long-term. With better planning we can repair the nation’s economic engine and create a future with a strong economy and good-paying jobs for our workers.”

Specific testing for words and phrases was incorporated into the paragraph above. All four versions of the statement (see Appendix) received very high levels of agreement. There was some increase in soft agreement with the statement that incorporated the word “thriving.” This test indicates that all of the words and phrases tested within the Economic Planning Frame are equally strong.

After being exposed to the Economic Planning Frame, some perceptions move in a beneficial direction and support for some policies increases. Survey respondents in the Economic Planning experimental group became far more likely to say there is less opportunity to get ahead than there used to be (+10 points), which demonstrates that the Frame is shaping perceptions in a way that should enhance policy support. Respondents also became more likely to say that America is becoming a society of haves and have-nots (+6 points) rather than believe the middle class is as attainable as ever—more

demonstration that the Frame has a beneficial effect. Finally, support increases for three of the eight policies in the first experimental battery (self-sufficiency standards, assisting small businesses that provide good wages, and requiring five sick days).

As noted earlier, some demographic groups respond to all three frames. These groups include core supporters such as Democrats and lower-income voters. Younger men also demonstrate some movement under all three frames.

Some demographic groups only shift their perceptions and policy support when exposed to the Economic Planning Frame. These groups include voters who self-identify as working-class, non college-educated men, and older men. In addition, several groups respond to both of the responsible planning frames. These include Republican voters, union households, and older voters without a college education.



The Community Planning Frame

The qualitative research in the current phase of investigation discovered that grounding economic concerns in the effects on communities might bring additional public support to low-wage issues. To cause survey respondents to operate in the Community Planning mindset, respondents were exposed to a series of questions that embedded the Community Planning Frame in the question wording. (See test language in Table 5). This Frame is very similar to the Economic Planning Frame, but it adds a community dimension to the message. Again, the response to these questions is less important than the effect that this mindset has on survey participants' views.

Overall, the Community Planning Frame moves opinion in a positive direction, but it is slightly less effective than the Economic Planning Frame. There are no demographic groups that only respond to the Community Planning Frame, but there are several that respond to both responsible planning messages: Republican voters, union households, and older voters without a college education. Furthermore, there are some groups that respond to both the Community Planning Frame and the Sympathy for the Poor Frame: women without a college education and older women. At the same time, some of the highest levels of response to the experiment set-up questions occurred in the Community Planning Frame. These patterns suggest the Community Planning Frame may be a secondary support frame for the broader

Responsible Economic Planning Frame.

Similar to the public's response to questions in the Economic Planning Frame, survey respondents also say they pay attention to news about struggling communities, and highly prioritize strengthening the economies of communities. A majority closely follows news "about what is happening with jobs and the economy in communities across the nation" (52% closely, 16% extremely closely) and 39% rate the priority of "strengthening jobs and the economy in our communities" as a 9 or 10. Nearly two-thirds are concerned about "communities that are struggling because good jobs are leaving the area" (64% concerned, 31% extremely concerned).

Most say low wages are due to a lack of community emphasis on encouraging good jobs and a strong majority is dissatisfied with the nation's efforts to plan for economic prosperity for communities. A majority of those exposed to the Community Planning Frame says that declining wages and job benefits are happening because "Communities are not doing enough to encourage the growth of small businesses and emerging industries that make the community stronger by creating good-paying jobs with opportunity for growth" (53%). Far fewer say that it is because "Communities are relying too heavily on the low-wage service sector jobs that national companies bring to an area without insisting that the national companies invest back into the community by paying workers good wages and benefits" (33%). Fully 61% are dissatisfied with the nation's efforts

to "plan for economic prosperity for communities across the country," while 35% are satisfied.

The statement exemplifying the Community Planning Frame received the highest level of agreement across the experiments, with 83% agreeing (61% strongly) with the statement "Creating prosperous communities tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of our communities. And when we allow one part of the community to weaken and struggle, it weighs us all down, resulting in a lower standard of living. Our nation needs to change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and strong communities for the long-term. With better planning we can repair our economic engine and create a future with good-paying jobs and strong communities."

Specific testing for words and phrases was incorporated into the paragraph above. All four versions of the statement received very high levels of agreement, but no one version was statistically higher than the others. This test indicates that all of the words and phrases tested with the Community Planning Frame are equally strong.

After being exposed to the Community Planning Frame, survey respondents shift positively in some attitudes. Respondents in the Community Planning experimental group became more likely to say that there is less opportunity to get ahead than there used to be (+6 points), which

Table 5: Test Language for Community Planning Frame

Question	Test Language
Issue Priority	Strengthening jobs and the economy in our communities
Issue Concern	About communities that are struggling because good jobs are leaving the area
News Attentiveness	News about what is happening with jobs and the economy in communities across the nation
Cause of Declining Wages	Communities are relying too heavily on the low-wage service sector jobs that national companies bring to an area without insisting that the national companies invest back into the community by paying workers good wages and benefits OR Communities are not doing enough to encourage the growth of small businesses and emerging industries that make the community stronger by creating good-paying jobs with opportunity for growth
Agree/Disagree	Creating prosperous communities tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of our communities. And when we allow one part of the community to weaken and struggle, it weighs us all down, resulting in a lower standard of living. Our nation needs to change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and strong communities for the long-term. With better planning we can repair our economic engine and create a future with good-paying jobs and strong communities.
Satisfaction with Nation's Efforts	To plan for economic prosperity for communities across the country

not significantly increase the percentage reporting that America is becoming a society of haves and have-nots which would have demonstrated more impact for this frame.

The Community Planning Frame also shifted some policy perceptions. After being exposed to this Frame, the public demonstrated less support for broad tax cuts (-5 points), but respondents were not significantly more likely to support increasing wages for low-wage workers, which would have demonstrated that the Frame built support for acting on behalf of low-wage workers. Finally, it lifted support for two of eight policies in the first experimental policy battery (self-sufficiency standards and assisting small businesses that provide good wages).

Again, some demographic groups respond to all three frames. These groups include core supporters such as Democrats and lower-income voters. Younger men also demonstrate some movement under all three frames.

No demographic group shifted perception or policy support with just the community planning frame and no other. As noted earlier, some demographic groups responded to both the Economic Planning Frame and the Community Planning Frame. These include Republican voters, union households, and older voters without a college education. Furthermore, some groups respond to both the Community Planning Frame and the Sympathy for the Poor Frame. These include women without a college education and older women.

demonstrated that the Frame is shifting some perceptions in a beneficial direction. The Frame also caused

survey respondents to be less likely to believe the middle class is as attainable as ever (-5 points), but did

A New Understanding of the Economy

As described earlier in this analysis, there are fundamental perceptions about economic opportunity that inhibit public support for policies. For example, people are just as likely to blame poverty on an individual's lack of effort as they are circumstances beyond that person's control. Similarly, most believe that with hard work anyone can succeed. When people are basing their view of economic opportunity on an individual's willingness to work hard, they are unlikely to support policies that advance systemic change. Furthermore, earlier research suggested that many members of the public tend to see the economy as something outside human control, which undermines support for government intervention. When voters try to think of ways that government can stimulate the economy, they are most likely to mention tax cuts.

These understandings of the economy and economic opportunity undermine public support for policies that would improve the lives of low-wage workers. To create the right environment for policy change, the public needs to think about the economy in a different way: 1) economic conditions can be positively influenced by government intervention; 2) conditions influence people's opportunity to succeed; and 3) the economy is interdependent, not hierarchical, meaning that every segment of society has a role to play in the health of the economy.

Two of the frames (the Economic Planning Frame and the Community Planning Frame) were designed to begin to address the public's understanding of the economy. Both place responsibility for action with a

collective rather than individuals, and both emphasize the conditions that inhibit success. In addition, the survey tested the influence of the concept of economic interdependence, based upon a policy description that tested well with focus group participants. A group of survey respondents was asked the following question which has economic interdependence embedded in the question wording:

Now I have a question about decisions that affect your local and state economy. Cities and states are finding that when more money is placed in the hands of those who need it most, the effect ripples throughout society. For example, several cities and states have increased the income of low-wage workers by increasing wages, expanding tax credits, increasing public subsidies, or other efforts. Studies show that increasing the income of low-wage workers results in four to five times as much impact in the economy because of the recirculation of spending in the community. From what you know, has your local or state government started efforts like this that put more money in the hands of low-wage workers to result in a ripple effect in the economy?

Very few were familiar with this approach. Only 17% of those who had not been exposed to a prior values frame said they had heard of this concept before.

Importantly, the success of this approach depends upon two factors. The idea of an interdependent

economy, rather than a "trickle down" economy, is a new idea for many members of the public. Therefore, the success of the concept depends upon the ability of the language to convey the concept well. The idea of interdependence could be the right approach to build public understanding and support, but if "ripple effect" is not clear and vivid enough, the idea may not be understood in the context of a telephone survey.

This survey research suggests that the concept has the ability to move public understanding in the right direction when it is understood. However, the language used to describe the concept needs improvement. For the most part, the model was only able to build support among highly educated voters — suggesting that the language was not clear and simple enough to be quickly grasped by the general public.

The model alone, compared to the control group, has limited influence on survey respondents overall. The model leads to increased support for "expanding publicly-funded work supports for low-income workers, such as childcare subsidies, and health-care assistance" (7.1 on a 10-point scale, compared with 6.6 in the control group).

However, the model has a clear impact among certain subgroups, particularly highly-educated voters who may grasp the idea more easily in the context of a telephone survey, and members of union households who may have had more exposure to the concept of the role of low-wage workers in the broader economy. From a policy

perspective, the model helps several demographic groups understand that it is possible to have an effect on the economy, which is a perception that correlates with policy support: post graduates (+13 points), older college-educated voters (+9 points), union households (+8 points), and older men (+7 points). It also builds support among post-graduates (+8 points) for increasing the income of low-wage workers as an economic stimulus.

In addition, the model creates an understanding of the two-tiered structure of society among some demographic groups. The model causes several to see that America is becoming a have and have-not society, which demonstrates that the model moves people in the right direction since this view correlates with policy support: older college-educated voters (+21 points), younger women (+18 points), older men (+16 points), those who self-identify as middle class (+11 points), and union households (+11 points).

Finally, it is critical to understand that the economic model is just one element of a broader communications frame. It has more effect when paired with a values frame than when it stands alone. It can even temper the negative effects of a poor frame. For example, among those who had first been exposed to the Sympathy for the Poor Frame, the economic model reinforces that human intervention is necessary for the economy to work properly. Without the influence of the model, those exposed to the Sympathy for the Poor Frame are more likely than voters in the other frames to say that the economy goes in cycles (30% without the model, 23% with). Those

exposed to the model are more likely to say the economy can be affected (66% without the model, 72% with).



Target Audiences

Perceptions of economic opportunity and government's role in developing a prosperous economy differ dramatically among demographic groups. The objectives for communications and the message that will best meet the objectives need to be tailored to particular audiences.

Core Supporters

Several groups already hold perceptions that allow them to see the role of government and policy in creating opportunity. These voters readily point to circumstances that lead to poverty, believe there is less opportunity in America and support a range of policies to address inequities. The communications objectives for core supporters should be to solidify support and to turn their support into action in the political arena. Since they already hold beneficial perceptions and support a range of policies, they frequently respond well to all three frames.

Democrats respond to all three frames, but Community Planning is particularly effective. Democrats already see the systemic issues that can determine an individual's economic success and support a role for government in addressing these systemic issues. They believe there is less opportunity to get ahead, that circumstances beyond one's control can lead to poverty, and that America is increasingly becoming a have and have-not society. They believe it is time to take action on the economy, see a role for government, are particularly likely to support efforts to increase the income of low-wage workers, and support a range of policies.

This group of core supporters would respond positively to any of the three frames. However, the Sympathy for the Poor Frame and the Economic Planning Frame improve perceptions among this group, while doing less to increase support for a role for government. The Community Planning Frame improves some perceptions and results in the most dramatic increase in policy support. This Frame increases the percentage of Democrats who say America is becoming a have and have-nots society (+8 points), who believe it is possible to affect the economy (+6 points), and lifts the priority of five of eight policies in the first policy battery.

Working-class voters respond most to the Economic Planning Frame. Voters who self-identify as working class already believe there is less opportunity to get ahead and that America is becoming a have and have-not society. They see a role for government in improving the economy and strongly support a range of policies. The Economic Planning Frame causes working-class voters to move even further away from the belief that the middle class is as attainable as ever (-9 points). Most importantly, this Frame builds support for political action. It increases the belief that it is possible to affect the economy (+11 points), decreases support for broad-based tax cuts as the preferred method for economic stimulus (-8 points), and significantly increases policy support. The Sympathy for the Poor Frame also moves working-class voters on two measures — that America is becoming a have and have-not society (+15 points) and their support for cutting taxes (-11 points).

Audiences of Opportunity

There is an opportunity to build support among certain demographic groups. Some audiences of opportunity are “latent supporters,” meaning that their current perceptions are average or mildly supportive, but the right message improves perception and creates strong increases in support. Other audiences are strong opponents; they express negative perceptions and show little policy support. It is not likely that strong opponents would ever become core supporters. However, this survey suggests that the right message can soften their opposition to policies and improve opponents' understanding of the systemic issues facing low-wage workers.

Latent Supporters:

Union households respond strongly to both responsible planning frames. In this survey, union households' perceptions are not significantly different from the perceptions of the population overall. However, their perceptions move significantly after the framing experiments. The Economic Planning Frame causes union households to believe there is less opportunity to get ahead (+21 points), to believe that America is becoming a have and have-not society (+20 points), and to believe it is possible to affect the economy (+7 points). The Community Planning frame causes union households to believe there is less opportunity to get ahead (+18 points), and to believe America is becoming a have and have-not society (+14 points). In comparison, the Sympathy for the Poor

Frame moves just one measure — that America is becoming a have and have-not society (+23 points). Support for policies improves with the Community Planning Frame and the Sympathy for the Poor Frame.

There is an opportunity to build support among voters without a college education, but less educated men and women currently hold different perceptions of this issue. Women without a college education believe that circumstances beyond one's control can lead to poverty, while their male counterparts are more likely to point to a lack of individual effort. Women without a college education want to see action on the economy, support a range of policies, and are more likely than average to support increasing the income of low-wage workers to stimulate the economy.

Overall, those with a high school education respond to all three frames but are most moved by the Sympathy for the Poor Frame and the Community Planning Frame. The Sympathy for the Poor Frame causes high school educated voters to believe there is less opportunity to get ahead (+11 points), to believe America is becoming a have and have-not society (+13 points), and to be less likely to believe that poverty is due to a lack of individual effort (-12 points). It also reduces support for broad-based tax cuts as an economic stimulus (-13 points). The Community Planning Frame causes high school educated voters to believe there is less opportunity to get ahead (+9 points), to support policies to increase wages for low-wage workers (+10 points), and to drop their support for federal

income taxes as an economic stimulus (-14 points). The Economic Planning Frame causes high school educated voters to become more likely to say there is less opportunity to get ahead (+9 points), and more likely to believe America is becoming a have and have-not society (+8 points).

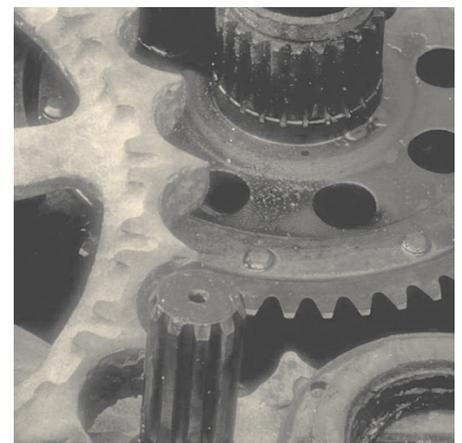
Importantly, less educated men and women respond differently to these frames. Less educated women respond to all three frames, but particularly to the Sympathy for the Poor Frame. However, men without a college education only respond to the Economic Planning Frame. This suggests that advocates should communicate with less-educated voters using the Responsible Planning Frame, but add a morality-based appeal when speaking specifically with less-educated women.

Opponents:

Republican voters respond most strongly to the Economic Planning Frame and the Community Planning Frame. Republican voters are far more likely than voters overall to hold problematic perceptions of low-wage workers. They are more likely to believe that the middle class is as attainable as ever, that people are poor due to a lack of effort, and that there is more opportunity to get ahead. More than most voters, Republicans believe the economy is cyclical and the best role for government is to support a free market. They show much lower levels of support for a range of policies, and most prefer broad-based tax cuts to stimulate the economy.

The two responsible planning frames begin to soften Republicans' harsh

views and move them in the right direction in considering a role for government. The Economic Planning Frame increases the perception that America is becoming a have and have-not society (+7 points), that there are things government can do (+4 points) and builds support for taking action to improve the wages of low-wage workers (+6 points). It lifts support for 3 policies across both policy batteries: adjusting guidelines for public support, determining self-sufficiency standards, and providing publicly funded work supports. The Community Planning Frame reduces Republicans' attitude that there is more opportunity to get ahead (-8 points) and increases support for improving wages for low-wage workers (+6 points). While the Community Planning Frame helps to move Republican attitudes, it does not result in policy shifts as the Economic Planning Frame does, indicating that it would be a helpful secondary frame, but not the primary frame.



Communicating low-wage work as economy, not poverty

Conclusions

Core supporters respond to any of the messages tested, but to broaden the base of support, advocates need a new

conversation based upon the Economic Planning Frame:

This strategy means that advocates would avoid individual profiles of working poor families and instead work for news stories that provide more context and highlight solutions, for example:

A story about the national shift away from good-paying jobs toward service jobs, profiling a mayor of a mid-size city who is reversing the trend in his community by investing in job training for new industries, attracting “good” employers, and setting minimum wage and benefit standards for employers who get tax breaks

A story about the improved local economy due to the ripple effect of a newly instituted EITC at the local level, profiling the community advocates who worked to make it happen and the university economist who conducted a study

A story about a CEO who was fired for risking the long-term stability of the corporation by laying off workers, gutting benefits, and delaying maintenance to show short-term profits

A story about the “new Henry Ford” who promotes the idea of paying workers well enough so they can buy the products they make; his company is profitable due to low turnover, higher quality, etc.

A story about the revitalization of a neighborhood due to publicly-funded work supports to draw new employers, rebuild the local economy and improve quality of life in the community.

Elements of the Economic Planning Frame	Elements of the Sympathy for the Poor Frame
The issues are the economy, jobs, and future prosperity	The issues are poverty, the poor, and the working poor
The relevant values are responsibility, vision, stewardship, interdependence	The relevant values are sympathy, disparities, the Golden Rule, generosity
The economy is a system that can be influenced; humans have power to influence economic conditions	The economy is irrelevant, or it is cyclical, uncontrollable
Trends, broader influences are integral to the story	Profiles of sad individuals are integral to the story
The reader's relationships to the problem is connective; it is about "us"	The reader's relationship to the problem is separate; it is about "them"
Solutions are the focus; the problem is manageable	Problems are the focus; the issue is overwhelming
Responsibility for fixing the problem lies with citizens collectively	Responsibility for fixing the problem rests with the individuals who are having the problem
Strengthening communities is one of the objectives for action	

About the Author

Meg Bostrom, President of Public Knowledge LLC, is a veteran communications strategist with a unique perspective resulting from her rich and varied experiences as communicator, public opinion analyst, advertising agency executive, and political consultant. With degrees in both communications and public opinion research, Bostrom's work is grounded in a cross-disciplinary focus.

She started her career as a political pollster: Senior Analyst at Greenberg Lake, Vice President at Mellman Lazarus Lake. In both of these

capacities, Bostrom consulted for a variety of nonprofit groups, political candidates, foundations, national associations, and corporations. Desiring a better understanding of how communications is developed and implemented, Bostrom joined Trahan, Burden and Charles, an advertising and communications agency headquartered in Maryland. As Executive Vice President of Strategic Planning at Trahan, she was responsible for determining communications strategy for a variety of national and international

corporations as well as non-profit organizations.

With practical communications experience added to her background in research, Bostrom launched her own business in 1998 to bring her personal passion for social issues to bear on specific communications challenges. The organization has researched public opinion and analyzed communications strategies on a variety of social issues, including the environment, children's issues, foreign policy, healthcare, and the working poor, among others.

Appendix—Registered Voter Survey

June 2004—Final
in percent

Split 1

C1	Control 1	n=801
P	Poverty/Sympathy	n=799
R	Economic Planning	n=799
M	Community Planning	n=806

Split 2

C2	Control 2	n=1601
E	Economic model	n=1604

Hello. My name is (caller name). I'm calling for National Opinion Surveys. I would like to ask you a few questions about some national issues. The survey will only take about 15 minutes. This is for research purposes only. Could I please speak with the person 18 or older in your household who celebrated a birthday most recently?

Record Respondent's Gender (DO NOT ASK).

Male	49
Female	51

1. First of all, are you registered to vote at this address?

Yes	100
No registered voter	(TERMINATE)

2. Think for moment about the issue of (INSERT). Please rate the priority of (INSERT) on a scale from one to ten, with ten meaning the issue should be among the highest priorities and one meaning the issue should be among the lowest priorities. Or you can rate anywhere between one and ten.

Average Rating	
C1: Control 1: skip question	
P: Poverty/Sympathy: helping families who are working, but poor	7.1
R: Economic Planning: strengthening jobs and the economy	7.9
M: Community Planning: strengthening jobs and the economy in our communities	7.8

3. How concerned are you (ISSUE) – extremely concerned, very concerned, somewhat concerned, or not at all concerned?

	% Extremely Concerned	% Very Concerned
C1: Control 1: skip question		
P: Poverty/Sympathy: about workers who do not make enough to lift their families out of poverty	28	34
R: Economic Planning: about the nationwide trend of jobs in lower paying service industries replacing jobs in higher-paying industries	21	29
M: Community Planning: about communities that are struggling because good jobs are leaving the area	31	33

For each of the following topics, please tell me if you follow it extremely closely, very closely, somewhat closely, not very closely, or not at all.

DO NOT ROTATE

	% Extremely Closely	% Very Closely
4. national news (% Control Group)	18	44
5. local news (% Control Group)	17	41
6. (test language)		
C1: Control1: skip question		
P: Poverty/Sympathy: news about the issues facing the working poor	10	26
R: Economic Planning: news about what is happening with jobs and the economy across the nation	15	37
M: Community Planning: news about what is happening with jobs and the economy in communities across the nation	16	36

7. Think for a moment about declining wages and job benefits in our economy. Which of the following statements is closer to your view:

(STATEMENT 1) Some people say that wages and benefits are declining because:

(STATEMENT 2) Other people say that wages and benefits are declining because: Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement. (FOLLOW UP) And do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?

C1: Control1: skip question	
P: Poverty/Sympathy:	
1: In a weak economy the working poor have to take any job they can get	38
2: In a weak economy businesses can only be competitive if they keep their costs and prices low	42
R: Economic Planning:	
1: The nation is relying too heavily on low-wage service sector jobs from national companies without insisting that they pay workers good wages and benefits	30
2: We as a nation are not doing enough to encourage the growth of small businesses and emerging industries that create good-paying jobs with opportunity for growth	58
M: Community Planning:	
1: Communities are relying too heavily on the low-wage service sector jobs that national companies bring to an area without insisting that the national companies invest back into the community by paying workers good wages and benefits	33
2: Communities are not doing enough to encourage the growth of small businesses and emerging industries that make the community stronger by creating good-paying jobs with opportunity for growth	53

8. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement. (FOLLOW UP) And do you feel strongly or not so strongly about that?

	% Strongly Agree	% Not Strongly Agree
C1: Control1: skip question		
P: Poverty/Sympathy: Imagine the plight of a single mother working a low-wage job. Even at \$10 an hour, she earns only about \$20,000 a year with few benefits like health care and paid leave. Who could support a family on \$20,000 a year? The working poor frequently need to choose between buying food and paying the rent. We need to ask our government officials to find a way to address these problems and help those in need.	58	17
R: Economic Planning: combined	59	20
R1: Creating prosperity tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of our workforce. And when we allow one part of the workforce to weaken and struggle, it weighs down the economy for us all, resulting in a lower standard of living. Our nation needs to change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and a strong economy for the long-term. With better planning we can repair the nation's economic engine and create a future with a strong economy and good-paying jobs for our workers.	59	19
R2: Creating prosperity tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Too many grab-and-go companies...	61	18
R3: Creating prosperity tomorrow...change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and a thriving economy for the long-term...and create a future with a thriving economy and good-paying jobs for our workers.	58	26
R4: Creating prosperity tomorrow...change its short-term thinking and start building jobs that provide opportunity and a strong economy for the long-term...and create a future with a strong economy and jobs with opportunity for our workers.	58	18
M: Community Planning: combined	61	22
M1: Creating prosperous communities tomorrow, requires responsible planning today. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of our communities. And when we allow one part of the community to weaken and struggle, it weighs us all down, resulting in a lower standard of living. Our nation needs to change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and strong communities for the long-term. With better planning we can repair our economic engine and create a future with good-paying jobs and strong communities.	65	18
M2: Creating prosperous communities tomorrow, requires responsible planning today. Too many grab-and-go companies...	56	25
M3: Creating prosperous communities tomorrow...change its short-term thinking and start building good-paying jobs with benefits, and thriving communities for the long-term...create a future with good-paying jobs and thriving communities.	58	25
M4: Creating prosperous communities tomorrow...change its short-term thinking and start building jobs that provide opportunity and strong communities for the long-term...create a future with jobs with opportunity and strong communities.	64	19

Please rate each of the following for how important a priority you believe it should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority (MARK 11 FOR DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED)

	Average Rating			
	Control	Sympathy	Economy	Community
9. Increasing the minimum wage	6.9	7.1	7.2	7.0
10. Expanding the earned income tax credit, which results in more income for low-income families	7.2	7.4	7.1	7.1
11. Requiring companies to provide full-time employees with at least five paid sick days annually	7.4	7.7	7.7	7.6
12. Adjusting the guidelines for public support programs to take into account an individual family's situation as well as the area's cost of living	6.7	7.1	7.1	7.0
13. Encouraging employers to provide wages and benefits at a high enough level to support a family	8.1	7.6	8.3	8.1
14. Increasing government grants to community colleges for job training for displaced workers	7.1	7.4	7.2	7.3
15. Assisting small businesses that provide good wages and invest in their communities	7.8	8.0	8.1	8.0
16. Providing tax incentives to encourage the growth of new industries with good jobs	7.6	7.9	7.6	7.6

17. Would you say you are generally satisfied or dissatisfied with the nation's efforts to:

	Satisfied	Dissatisfied
C1: Control1: skip question		
P: Poverty/Sympathy: deal with poverty	28	67
R: Economic Planning: plan for economic prosperity across the country	32	63
M: Community Planning: plan for economic prosperity for communities across the country	35	61

18. Which of the following is closest to your view?

RANDOMIZE ORDER

	Control	Sympathy	Economy	Community
There is more opportunity to get ahead than there used to be.	30	24	23	25
The amount of opportunity to get ahead is about the same.	29	29	26	27
There is less opportunity to get ahead than there used to be.	40	44	50	46

19. Which of the following is closest to your view?

	Control	Sympathy	Economy	Community
There are things that state, local and federal government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all, like assisting small businesses that provide good jobs, encouraging the development of emerging industries, and setting minimum wage and benefits high enough to support families	63	66	67	64
The best thing government can do to improve economic prosperity for us all is to limit regulations on business, cut corporate taxes, and allow the free market to lift the economy	31	28	29	31

NEW SPLIT

C2: Control 2 (skip question)

E: Economic model

20. Now I have a question about decisions that affect your local and state economy. Cities and states are finding that when more money is placed in the hands of those who need it most, the effect ripples throughout society. For example, several cities and states have increased the income of low-wage workers by increasing wages, expanding tax credits, increasing public subsidies, or other efforts. Studies show that increasing the income of low-wage workers results in four to five times as much impact in the economy because of the recirculation of spending in the community.

From what you know, has your local or state government started efforts like this that put more money in the hands of low-wage workers to result in a ripple effect in the economy?

Yes	18
No	66
Don't know	15

Please rate each of the following for how important a priority you believe it should be, on a scale where zero means not a priority and 10 means an extremely important priority. (MARK 11 FOR DON'T KNOW OR REFUSED)

	Control	Model
21. Increasing the minimum wage	6.9	6.9
22. Expanding state and local earned income tax credits, which result in more income for low-income families	6.9	7.0
23. Requiring companies to provide employees that work at least 25 hours per week with the same range of benefits as full-time employees	6.2	6.4
24. Expanding publicly-funded work supports for low-income workers, such as child care subsidies, and health care assistance	6.6	7.1
25. Creating more job training and skill development programs	7.5	7.7
26. Giving companies incentives to start businesses in communities that need good jobs	7.7	7.8
27. Determining what it really costs to live in different cities and towns, and using those standards to determine the training and support programs a worker needs	6.8	6.9
28. Ensuring affordable health care coverage for all	8.3	7.9

C2: Control 2 (skip intro)

E: Economic model Still thinking about things that state, local and federal government can do to result in a ripple effect in the economy...

29. Which of the following is closest to your view?

	Control	Model
The economy goes in cycles. If we wait, the economy will turn around and create good jobs with opportunity.	26	28
We can affect the economy. If we want an economy based on good jobs with opportunity, we need to act.	70	69

30. Which of the following government actions to stimulate the economy do you most favor:

	Control	Model
Increasing the income of low-wage workers through increased wages, tax credits or work supports	28	28
Creating jobs to build infrastructure such as roads, bridges, or public buildings	31	29
Cutting federal income taxes for all taxpayers	38	39

31. Which of the following is closest to your view?

	Control	Model
The middle class is disappearing and we are turning into a society of haves and have-nots.	45	50
The middle class is as attainable as ever for those who are willing to work hard	52	48

32. In your opinion, which is generally more often to blame if a person is poor? Lack of effort on his or her own part, or circumstances beyond his or her control?

	Control	Model
Lack of effort	40	38
Circumstances beyond control	39	42

And now, just a few more quick questions for statistical purposes. This information will only be used for analysis of this study, and will be kept completely confidential.

33. Do you consider yourself a Democrat, Republican or Independent? (IF INDEPENDENT, DON'T KNOW)

Would you say you are closer to the Democrats or Republicans?

Democrat	33
Lean Democrat	9
Independent, no lean	17
Lean Republican	9
Republican	29
Don't know/Refused	3

34. If the election for president were held today, would you vote for (ROTATE ORDER) George Bush, the Republican candidate OR John Kerry, the Democratic candidate? (IF UNDECIDED) Well which candidate are you leaning toward?

George Bush/Republican	41
Lean Bush	2
Lean Kerry	2
John Kerry/Democrat	43
Ralph Nader (vol.)	1
Can't vote	0
Won't vote	1
Don't know	9

35. I am going to read you a list of activities that some people have done and others have not. Please tell me which of the following you can recall ever having done. (IF YES) Did you happen to have done that in the last 12 months or so?

	Ever Done	Past 12 months	Never	Don't know
Expressed your opinion by writing a letter to a newspaper or contacting an elected official	32	25	43	1
Spoken in public for an organization or cause you cared about	21	15	64	1

C1/2: Pure control group only, n=400

Now let me read you some things that different people have said about issues in the news. Please tell me how convincing you would rate each statement on a scale of one to ten, with one being a totally UNCONVINCING reason and 10 being an extremely CONVINCING reason for you personally to support policymakers taking major steps to address jobs and the economy. Or, you can rate anywhere in between 1 and 10. (Neither/Don't know vol. response—11)

	Average
36. Creating a better tomorrow requires responsible planning today. Instead of a short-term profit orientation, we need to think about building jobs and the economy for the long-term. Too many companies and decision makers focus on short-term profits and short-term thinking to the detriment of the greater good. We need to change that thinking and create a future with a strong economy and good jobs for our communities.	7.5
37. People who work hard shouldn't be poor, but many are because jobs that used to support a family, like janitors or health care workers, now only pay the minimum wage and frequently offer no benefits. The purchasing power of the minimum wage is lower than it was in the 1970s. What costs what it did in the 70s? We don't want an economy based on low-wage jobs, so we need to work together to rebuild our economy.	6.8
38. America is increasingly being separated into the haves and the have-nots. One of every three Americans is poor, and two-thirds of those are single mothers with children. Try to imagine the plight of a single mother working a low-wage job. Even at \$10 an hour, twice the minimum wage, she earns only about \$20,000. Who could support a family on \$20,000 a year? It is up to each of us to help those in need	6.3
39. Future prosperity requires that we start thinking today about the industries we want to develop, the infrastructure we will need, and the investments society makes in today's workforce. The foundation we lay today, in creating strong communities and a strong workforce, will result in a more prosperous future for the long-term.	7.3
40. We can break the cycle of poverty by subsidizing quality childcare so that parents can work while being assured that their children are getting opportunities to discover and learn.	6.2
41. Let's strengthen our economy by getting people permanently on the road to self-sufficiency, which means paying wages and benefits that can really support a family, offering job training that enables workers to get better jobs, and ensuring that families receive the publicly-funded work supports that will help them retain jobs and advance in the workforce.	6.9

And now just a few more quick questions about you for statistical purposes.

Control Group, n=801

42. In what year were you born? 52.1 average age

43. What is your employment status?

Employed full time	43
Employed part time	5
Self employed	7
Not employed but looking	5
Homemaker	5
Student	2
Retired	29
Other, not working	3
Refused	1

(If employed full-time, part-time or self employed)

44. In your work, do your responsibilities include hiring or supervising employees?

Yes	47
No	53
Refused	

45. Are you married, single, separated, widowed, or divorced?

Married	62
Single, never married	16
Separated/divorced	12
Widowed	9
Refused	1

46. (IF MARRIED) Does your spouse work, part-time or more, outside the home or would you say that your spouse’s work is mainly at home?

Employed	64
At home	35
Refused	1

47. Do you have any children?

Yes	78
No	21
Refused	1

48. (IF YES) in which of the following age groups do they belong? (CHECK ALL THAT APPLY)

Under 2 years old	5
2–5 years old	11
6–11 years old	15
12–18 years old	19
Over 18 years old	70
Refused	

49. What is the last year or schooling that you have completed?

1–11th grade	5
High school graduate	23
Non-college post H.S. (e.g. tech)	4
Some college (jr. college)	27
College graduate	25
Post-graduate school/Ph.D.	15
Don't know	1

50. About how often do you attend a place of worship—at least once a week, almost every week, about once a month, seldom, or never?

At least once a week	38
Almost every week	13
About once a month	12
Seldom	22
Never	14
Don't know	1

(If codes 1, 2, or 3 above)

51. Which religion do you follow? (if Christian) What denomination is that?

52. Are you a member of a labor union? (IF NO) Is any member of your household a union member?

Yes: Respondent belongs	12
Household member	6
No member belongs	80
(Don't know/refused)	2

53. What is your race?

White	83
Black	7
Hispanic (Puerto Rican, Mexican-American, etc.)	5
Asian/Pacific Islander	1
Other	1
Mixed race	1
Don't know/refused	2

54. And are you of Spanish or Hispanic descent? (Included above)

55. Sometimes people refer to different social classes. People usually identify with the working class, middle class, or upper class. How about you? Would you say you identify most with the working, middle, or upper class?

Working	35
Middle	57
Upper	3
None/Don't know/refused	5

56. And lastly, which of the following categories reflects your total household income before taxes?

Less than \$15,000	8
\$15–25,000	11
\$26–35,000	12
\$36–50,000	16
\$51–75,000	18
\$76–100,000	11
\$101–150,000	6
Over \$150,000	4
Refused	13

THANK YOU VERY MUCH FOR YOUR TIME (TERMINATE)