



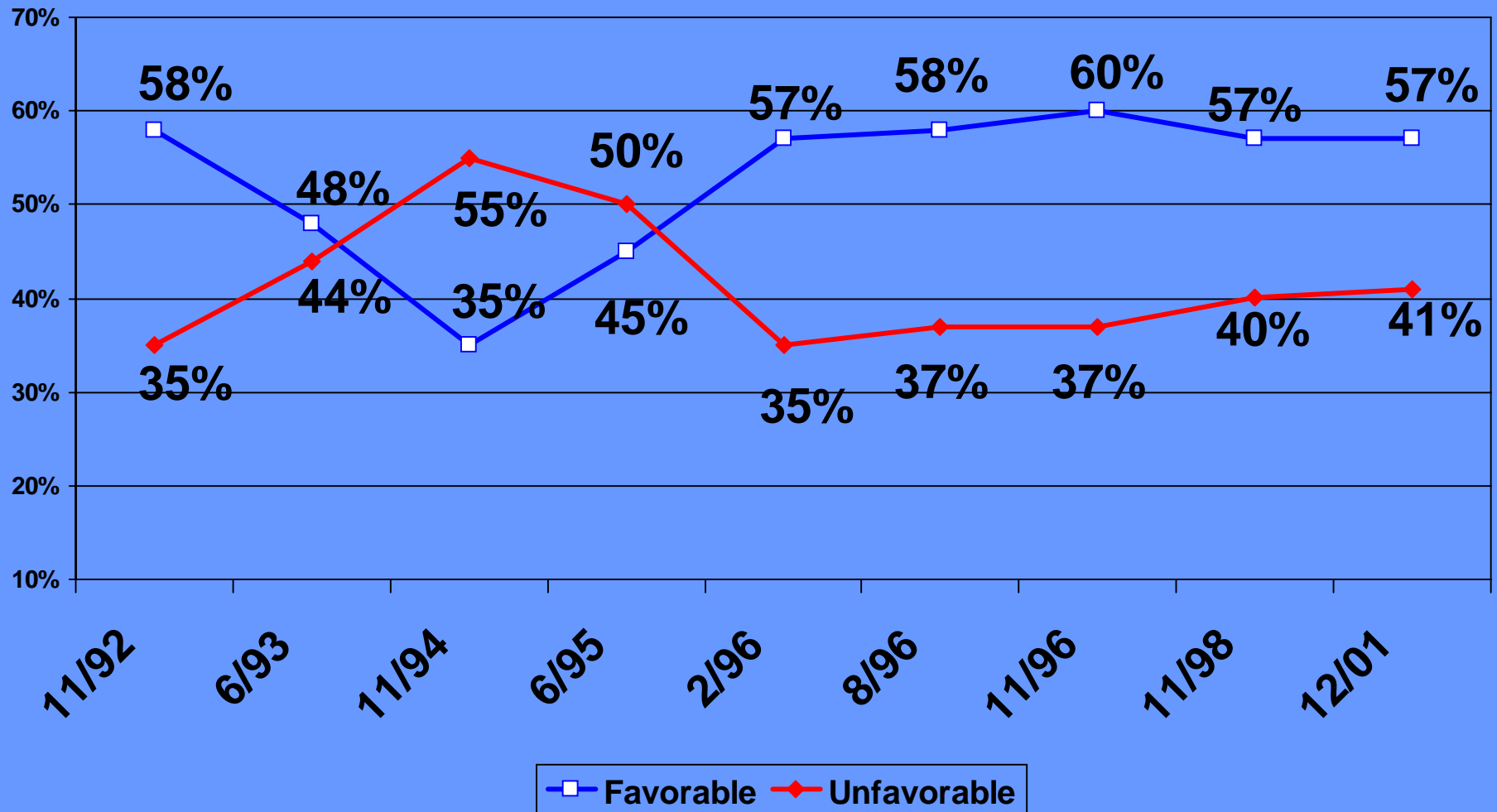
**2002 DLC National Conversation**  
**New York City**

**Mark Penn**  
**Penn, Schoen and Berland Associates**  
**July 29, 2002**

# **Learning from the 1996 Reelection of President Clinton**

# Clinton Favorability 1992-2001

Do you have a favorable/unfavorable view of Bill Clinton?



# Repositioning Principles in 1996

- **Economic Optimism. Strongest economy in 35 years.**
- **Values Orientation. Protecting our children, honoring our parents. Opportunity, Responsibility, Community.**
- **Willingness to tackle the issues that helped elect him in 92 – tax cuts, welfare reform, crime policies, balanced budget**
- **Adopt the idea that bite-sized changes more believable than huge programs**
- **Express public values through policies**
- **End use of class warfare rhetoric**

# **Campaign Targeted the Two Centers**

- **Divided electorate into Swing I, Swing II voters.**
- **Swing I Policies:**
  - **New programs for aging parents**
  - **Patient's bill of rights**
  - **Raising the minimum of wage**
  - **Strengthening family leave**
  - **Banning smoking advertising for kids**
  - **Protecting SS, Medicare, Education**

# Swing II Voters in 1996

- **Swing II voters**
  - **Balanced Budget**
  - **Death Penalty/tough crime measures**
  - **Welfare reform**
  - **Tougher trade policy with Japan**
- **For every 2 swing I voters, we needed 1 swing II voter to pull us over the finish line.**

# Who Are Predominately Swing I and Swing II Voters?

## Swing I

*Suburban Women*

Socially Progressive

Strongly Pro-Choice

Family-Centered  
Values

Less Sensitive to  
Fiscal Issues

Less Concerned  
Cand. Attributes

## Swing II

*Men*

Fiscally Conservative

Grumpy Seniors

Border States

Middle Income

Practical

Responsibility  
Oriented

# **But the Party Took a Step Backward in 2000**

- **Attempted to win with just Swing I voters.**
- **Key centrist issues took a backseat to populism**
- **Won enough votes, but lost the key border states Clinton won in 1996**
- **Kept the Soccer Moms, but lost the Office Park Dads**

# **Office Park Dads Who Are They?**

- **Broke for Bush late in the 2000 election. Now they prefer the GOP.**
  - **About 15% of the electorate.**
  - **Location: Tend to live in Suburbs**
    - **Party: Mostly Independents**
    - **Status: age 25-50, non-union**
- **Socioeconomic: 72% own stock, two-career couples**
  - **Ideology: Moderate**
  - **Very concerned about fiscal/pocketbook issues**

# 2002 and Beyond

- **Seeing massive lifestyle and demographic changes**
- **180 degree change in voter mood -- shift from the satisfied voter to the anxious, reform-minded voter.**
- **Have a President who is like an Internet stock before the bubble burst – high ratings, no earnings.**
- **But winning will take more than wishing for a Bush fall – it takes seizing the future and targeting the fastest growing electoral segments.**

# **America Has Changed in 10 Years**

- **More voters own stock than have a full time job -- 66% own stock; 53% have a full-time job.**
- **Best educated generation - More than half go to college, up from a third**
- **Voters are increasingly knowledge workers  
Zero growth in manufacturing jobs**
- **Most working households have two jobs.  
Majority of families with kids have both spouses working**

# Critical Trends in the Electorate Include:

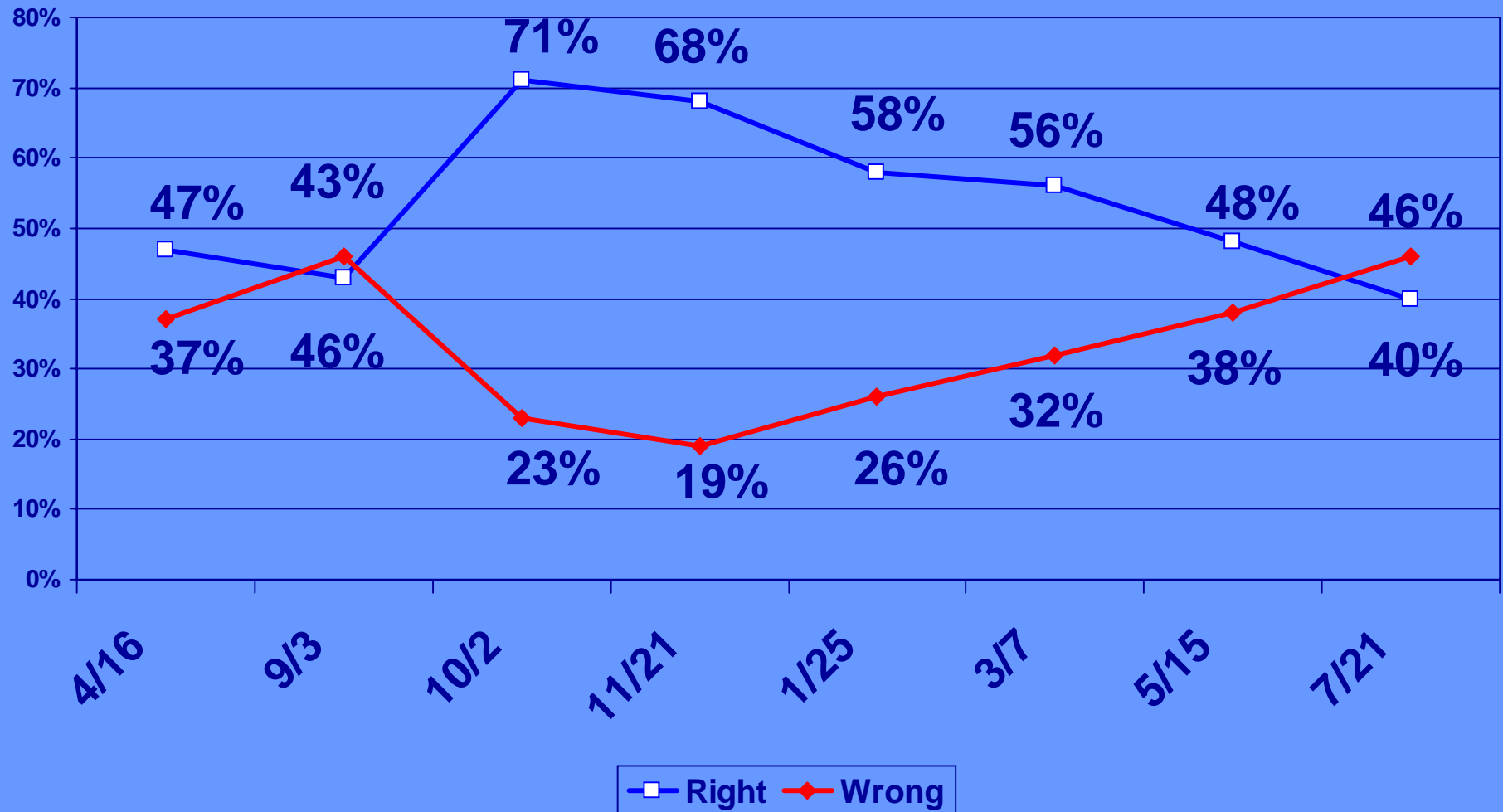
- **New Workers, New Affluence**
  - Better educated, two-career couples push the median income to \$60K of families with kids
- **Reagan Seniors**
  - Most senior voters now remember Reagan, not FDR as their presidential role model. And they are living longer than ever before.
- **New Diversity**
  - While black voter share is about 10% and steady; Hispanic voters have grown from 2% to 7%.
- **The Biggest Party is No Party**
  - The largest party in America is no party – Independents. Nearly 38% of voters identify as Independents. Elections decided by swing voters, not party faithful.

# **Changes Bring Opportunities**

- **Speaking just to downscale manufacturing non-college educated voters and FDR voters is the past.**
- **Talking in addition to the fastest growing segments – Soccer Moms, Office Park Dads, success-oriented Hispanics is critical.**
- **And recognizing the renewed desire for reform and change that are brewing after 18 months of Bush.**

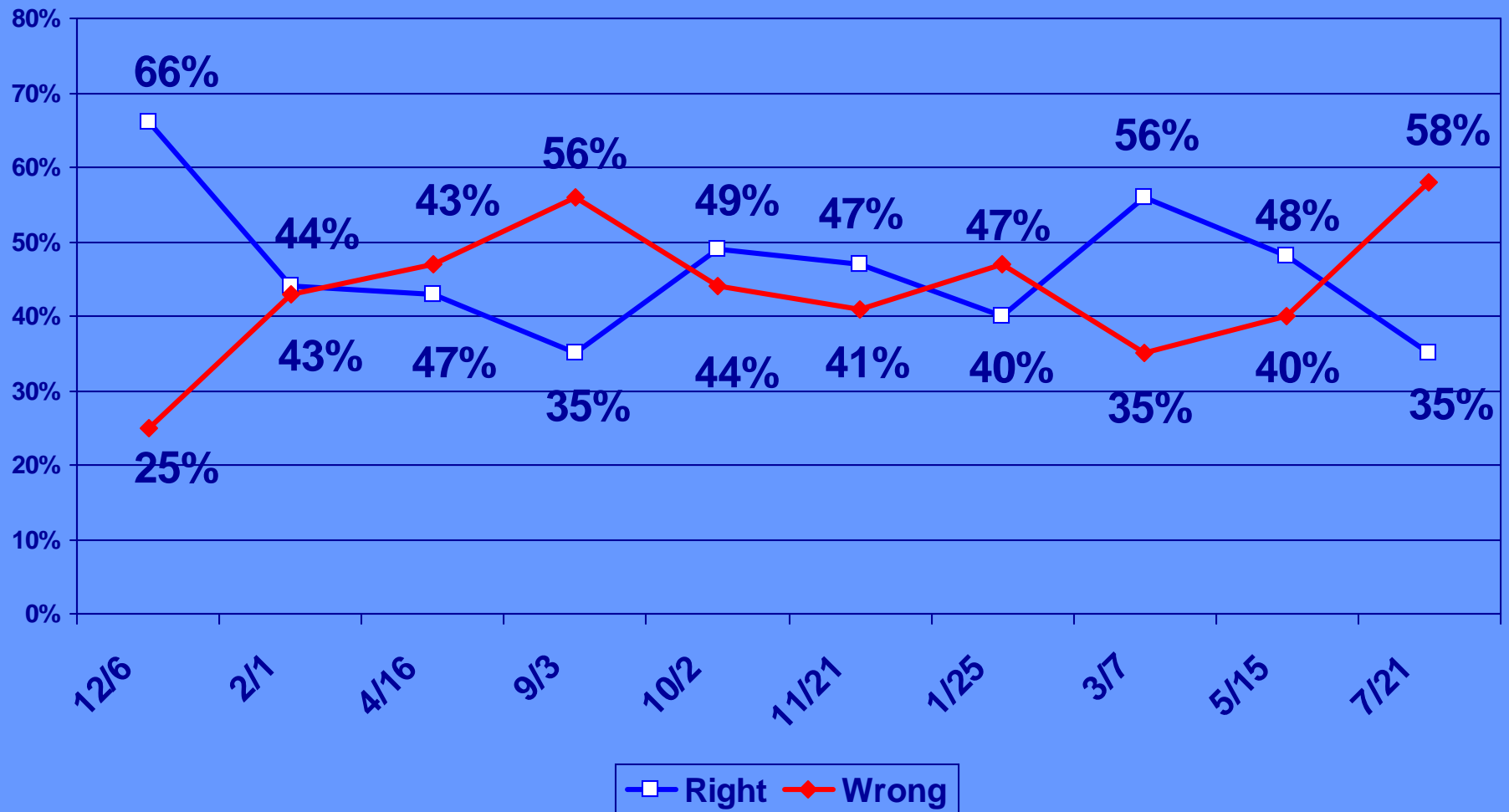
# Direction of Country

In general, do you think our country is on the right track or off on the wrong track?



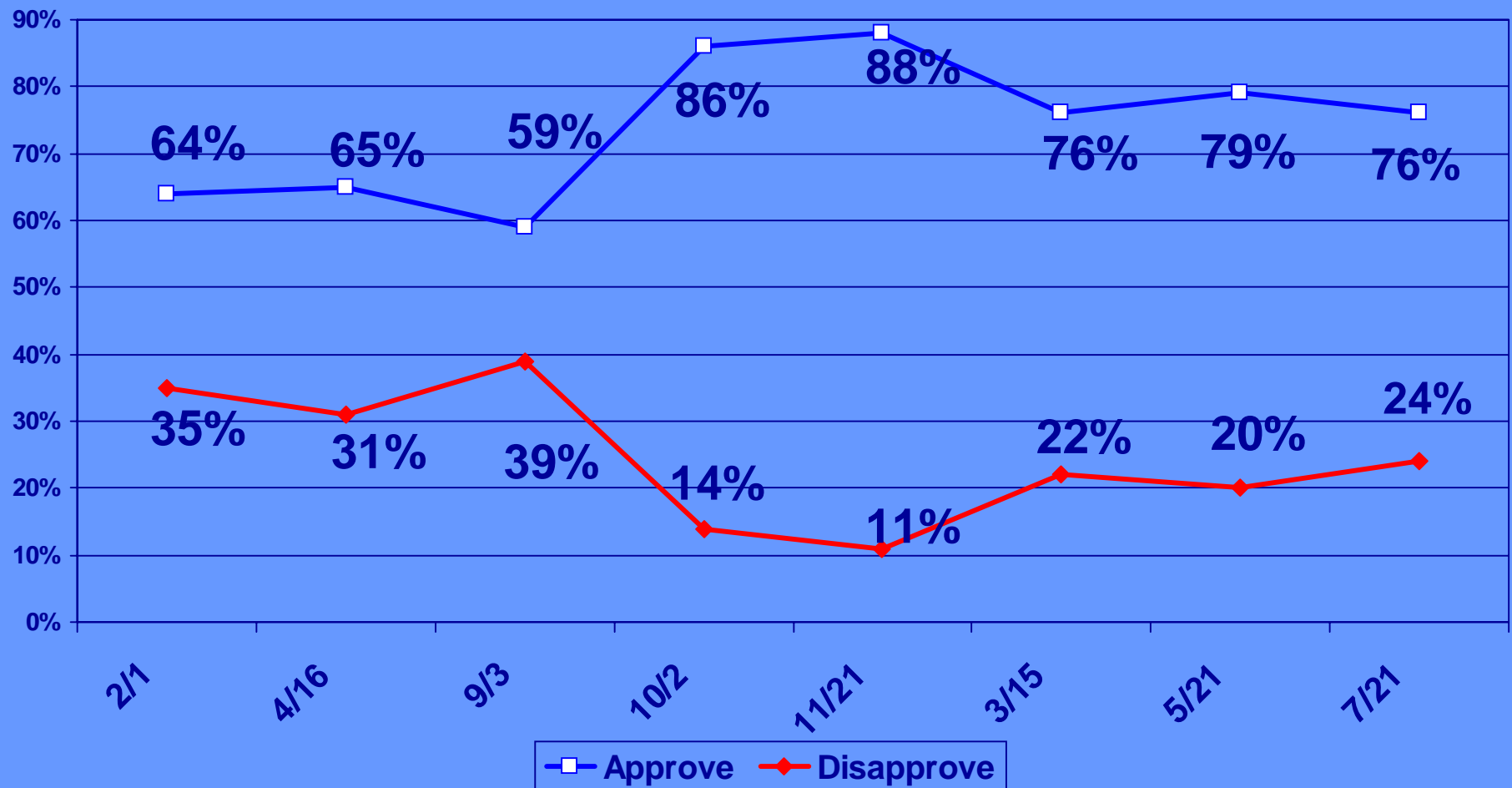
# Direction of Economy

In general, do you think our economy is on the right track or off on the wrong track?



# Bush Job Approval

Thinking in general, would you say that you approve of the job George W. Bush has been doing as president or disapprove of it?



# Most Important Problem

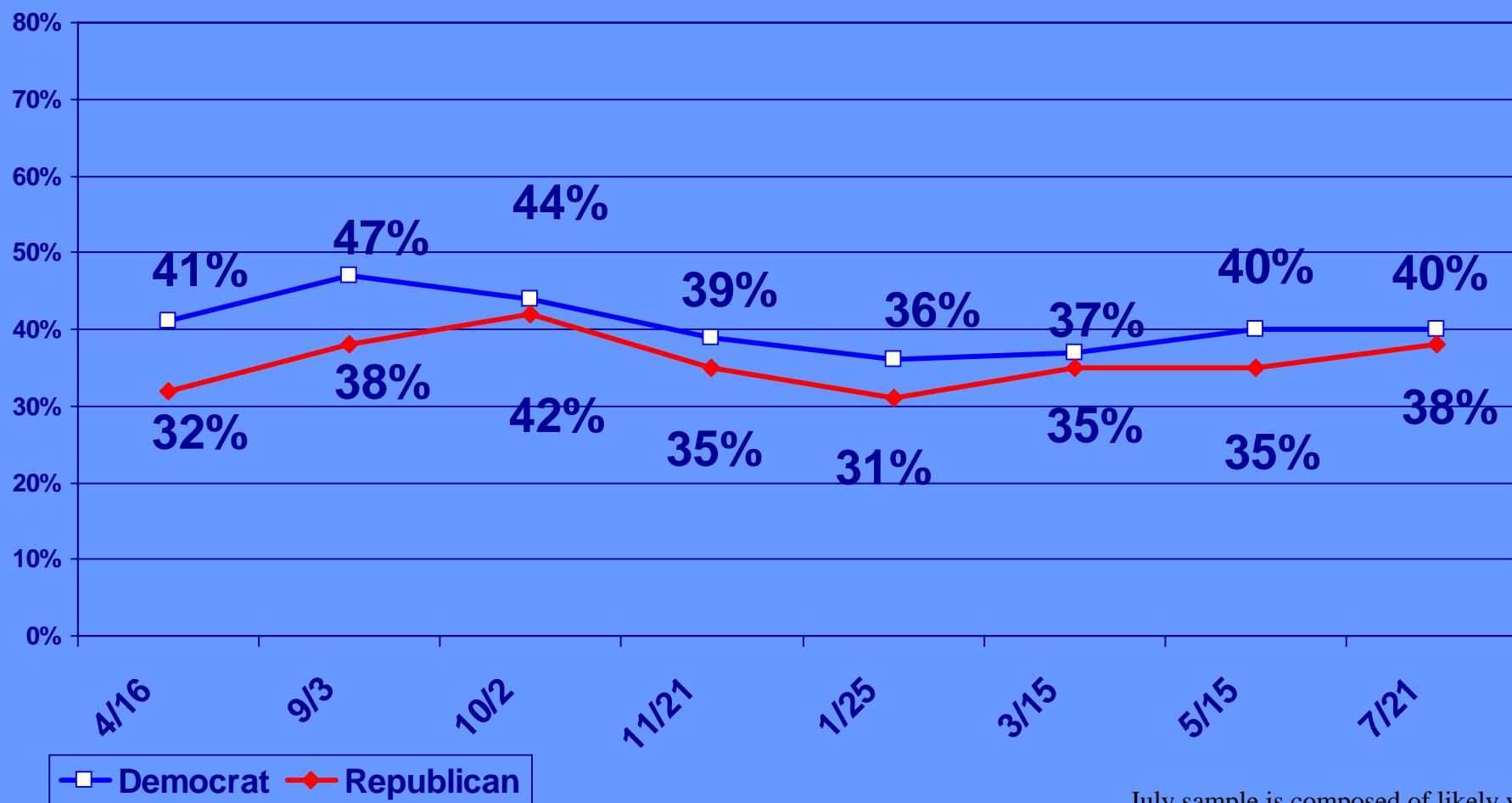
<i><b>What is the most important problem facing the country? OPEN ENDED</b></i>	<b>All</b>	<b>Dem</b>	<b>Rep</b>	<b>Indy</b>	<b>May 21</b>
Economy/Jobs	30	<b>36</b>	24	<b>29</b>	<b>21</b>
Fighting terrorism	20	16	<b>24</b>	20	<b>21</b>
Education	5	7	3	6	7
Morality/Family Values	4	2	7	4	5
Balancing budget	3	3	4	2	3
Healthcare	3	4	3	2	3
Crime	2	1	1	2	2
Taxes	2	1	1	2	1
Drugs	1	2	1	1	2

# Concerns About Economy

<i>What is your biggest concern about how the economy in general?</i>	All	OPD
Cost and availability of health care coverage	26	23
Stock market drop	21	16
Lack of good jobs	13	16
Fear of losing a job	11	7
High tax burden	6	3
Lack of growth	5	13
Lack of job training	5	10
Not concerned about economy	2	5
High interest rates	1	0

# Generic Congressional Horserace

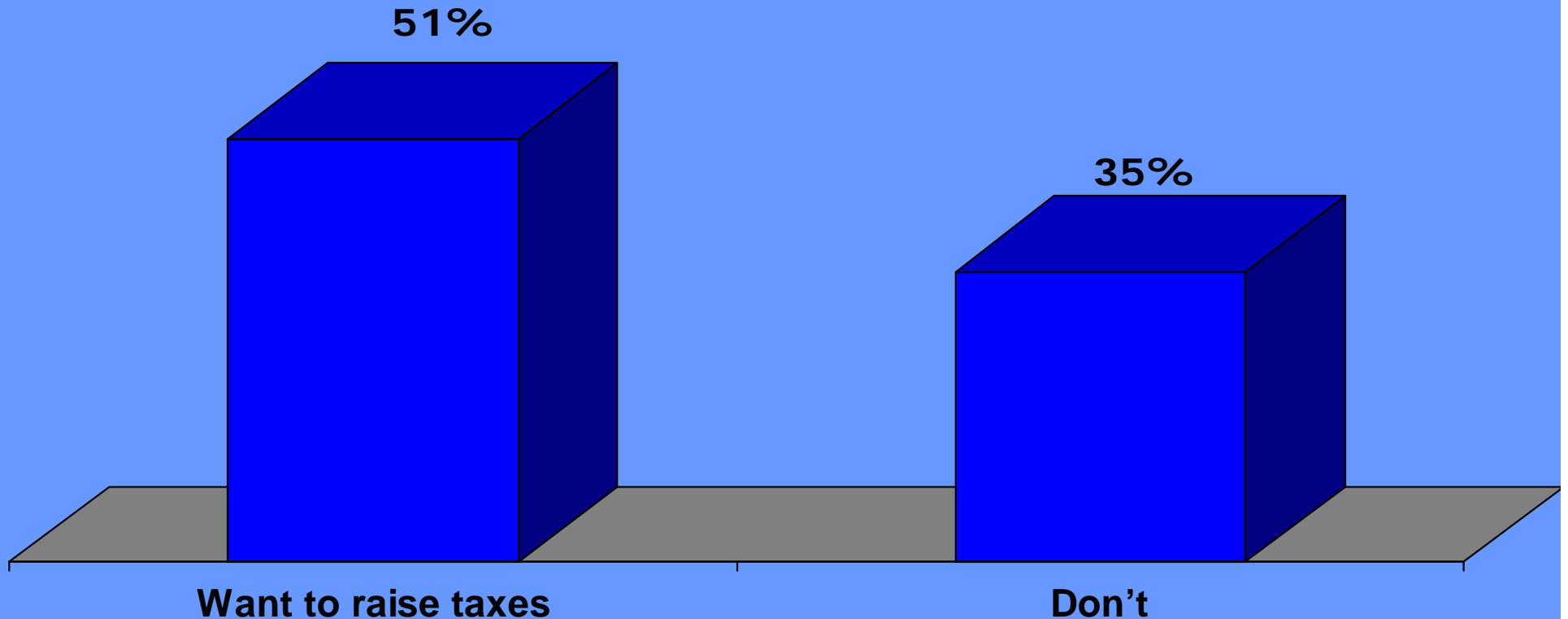
If the election for Congress were held tomorrow, do you think you would vote for a Democrat or Republican to represent you in Congress?



July sample is composed of likely voters

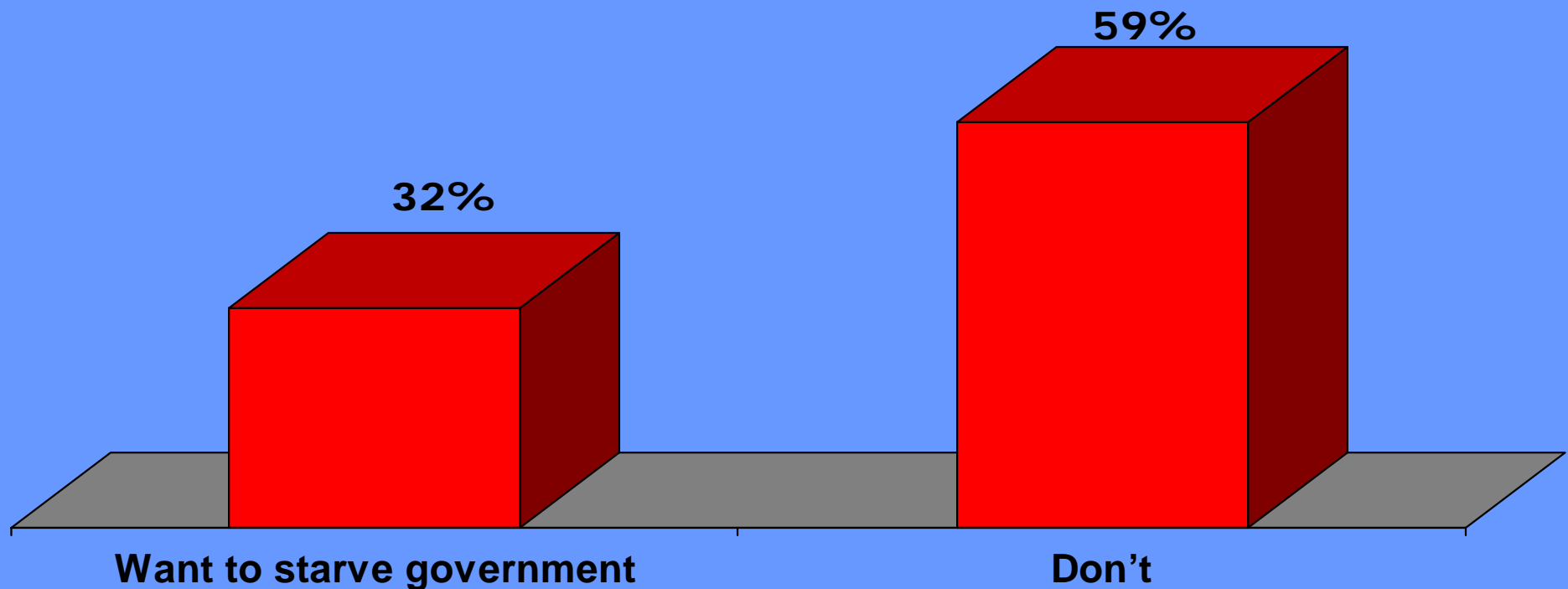
# Voters Still See Democrats as Big Taxers

Do you think Democrats want to raise taxes or not?



# **GOP Has Repaired Their Fiscal Liability**

**Do you think Republicans want to starve the federal government of the resources it needs for Social Security and Medicare as a way to shrink government or not?**

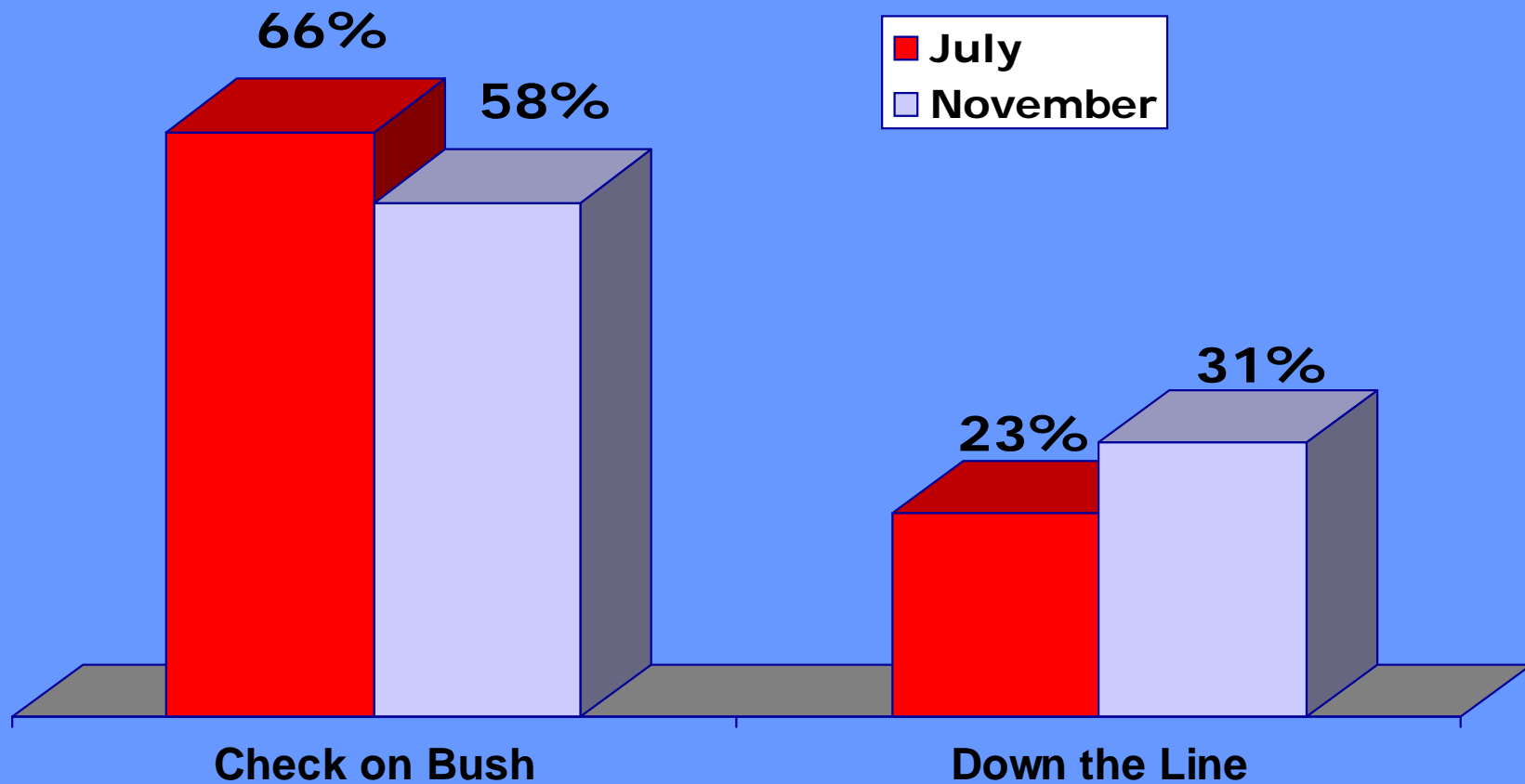


# Generic Ballot: Key Voter Groups

If the election for Congress were held tomorrow...	% All	Dem	Rep	Dem Margin
All	100%	40	38	+2
Catholic	22%	43	33	+10
Soccer Mom	16%	42	33	+9
White Women	41%	42	35	+7
<b>Religious Services Less Than A Week</b>	<b>48%</b>	<b>47</b>	<b>44</b>	<b>+3</b>
<b>Suburbs</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>39</b>	<b>38</b>	<b>+1</b>
<b>Independent</b>	<b>38%</b>	<b>30</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>-1</b>
<b>Non-Union</b>	<b>72%</b>	<b>40</b>	<b>45</b>	<b>-5</b>
White	79%	35	41	-6
<b>Hispanic</b>	<b>5%</b>	<b>33</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>-9</b>
<b>Office Park Dads</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>42</b>	<b>-11</b>
White Men	38%	27	46	-19

# Check on Bush

Do you want your representative in Congress to be someone who will be a check on a Bush or someone who will vote down the line with George W. Bush?



# **Party Perceptions**

# Trust on Issues – Cong. Dems v. Reps

Who do you trust to handle the following issues? Dems or Reps in Congress	All Dem Margin	Office Park Dads
Protecting the environment	+37	+62
Expanding access to quality & affordable healthcare	+27	+36
Strengthening Medicare	+23	+39
<b>Strengthening Social Security</b>	<b>+7</b>	<b>+9</b>
<b>Asking people to give something back to country</b>	<b>+9</b>	<b>-29</b>
<b>Improving education</b>	<b>+4</b>	<b>-4</b>
<b>Moving people from welfare to work</b>	<b>0</b>	<b>-40</b>
<b>Maintaining fiscal discipline</b>	<b>-3</b>	<b>-5</b>
<b>Getting the economy growing again</b>	<b>-12</b>	<b>-17</b>
Protecting America from terrorist attack	-29	-40
Strengthening the military	-39	-64
Fighting terrorism	-40	-78

# Trust on Issues – Cong. Dems v. Bush

Who do you trust to handle the following issues? Dems in Congress or President Bush	All Dem Margin	Office Park Dads
Protecting the environment	+29	+26
Expanding access to quality & affordable healthcare	+21	+9
Strengthening Social Security	+16	+27
Strengthening Medicare	+12	+6
<b>Improving education</b>	<b>-6</b>	<b>-11</b>
<b>Moving people from welfare to work</b>	<b>-5</b>	<b>-43</b>
<b>Getting the economy growing again</b>	<b>-7</b>	<b>-42</b>
<b>Maintaining fiscal discipline</b>	<b>-11</b>	<b>-30</b>
Asking people to give something back to country	-14	+2
Protecting America from terrorist attack	-46	-46
Fighting terrorism	-52	-76
Strengthening the military	-56	-69

# Value Attributes

## Dem Party vs. Rep Party

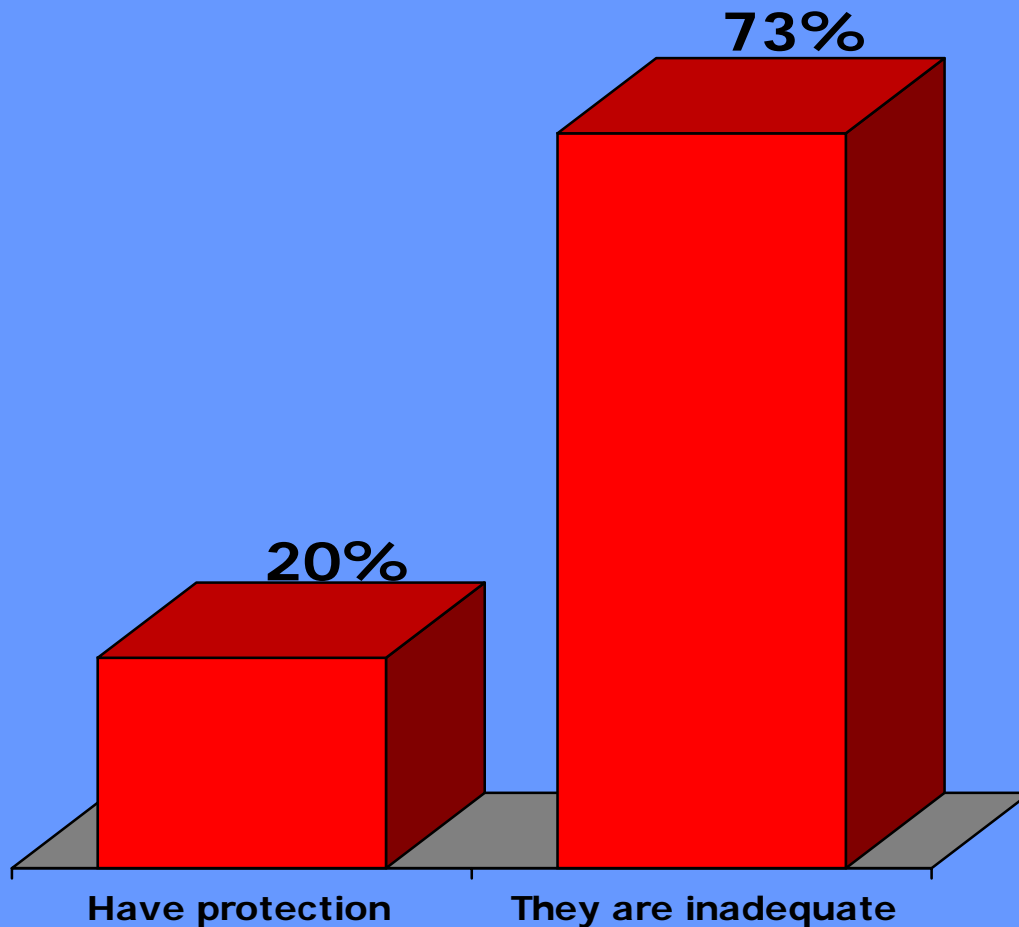
Who do you think each phrase applies to most? Democrats or Republicans	All Dem Margin	Office Park Dads
Works to increase opportunity for all	+28	-10
Works to strengthen our communities	+21	+14
Demands responsibility from all	-20	-39

# **America Wants Reform In:**

- **Corporate America**
  - **Healthcare**
  - **Tax System**
- **Security and Intelligence**

# Voters Want New Rights for Workers

Do you think workers in the new economy are getting the kind of protections they need or are those protections inadequate?

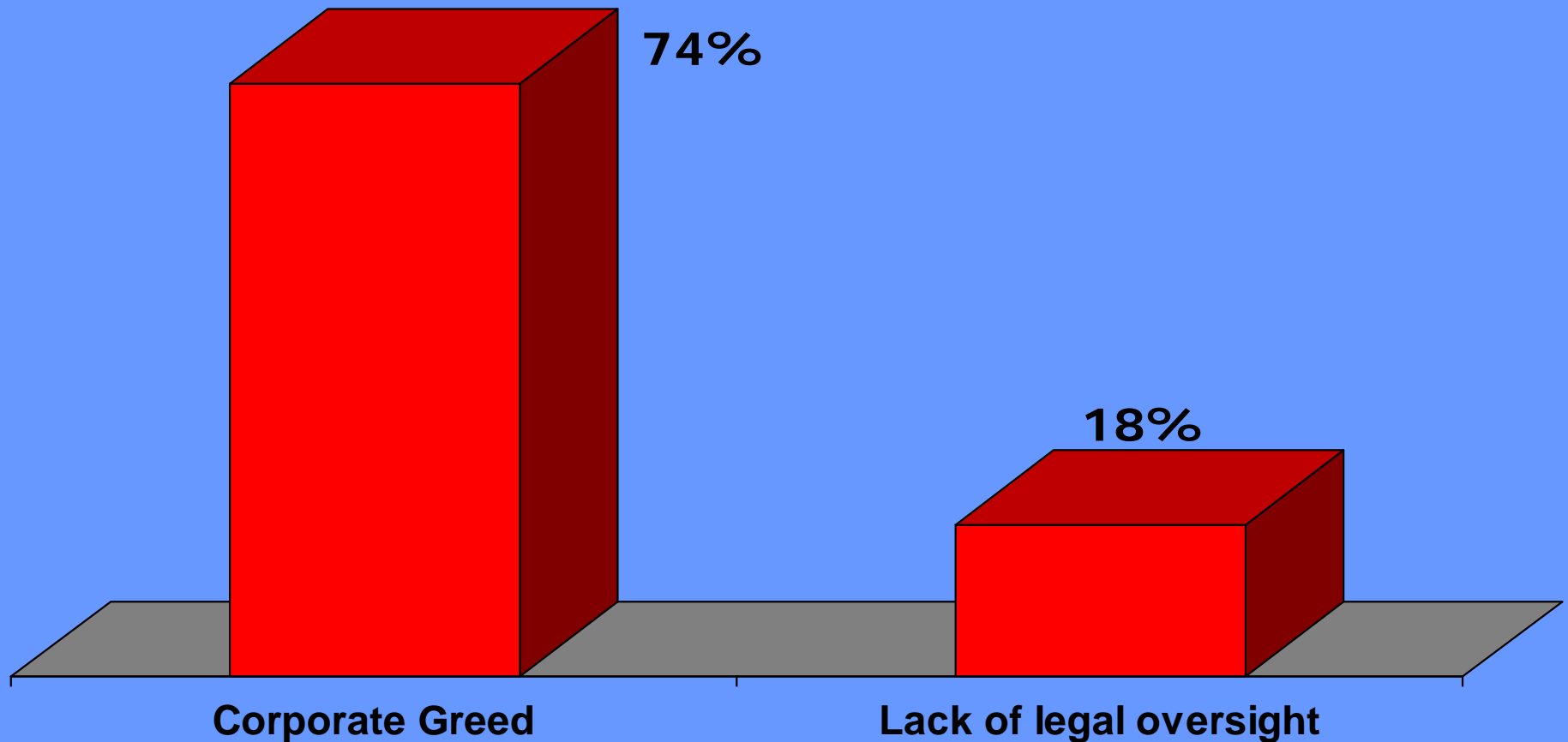


	Do Have	Do Not Have
Men	24	73
Female	16	74
Dem	12	84
Rep	28	62
Indy	21	73
OPD	13	85

**65% want Major Reform**

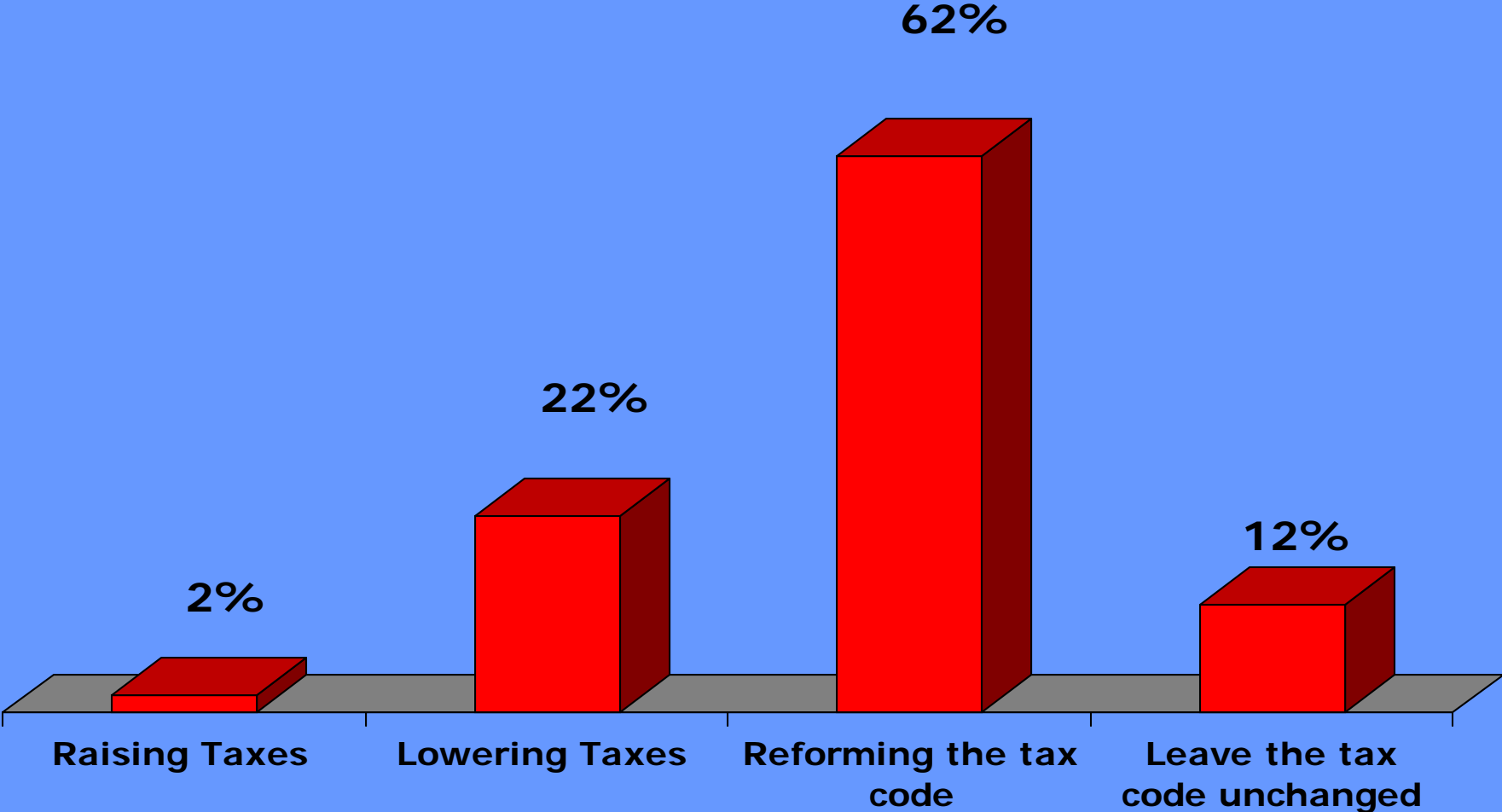
# Public Sees Corporate Greed

Do you think the recent problems in corporate America stem from a lack of morals and greed in the system or do you think bad legal oversight from the appropriate authorities?



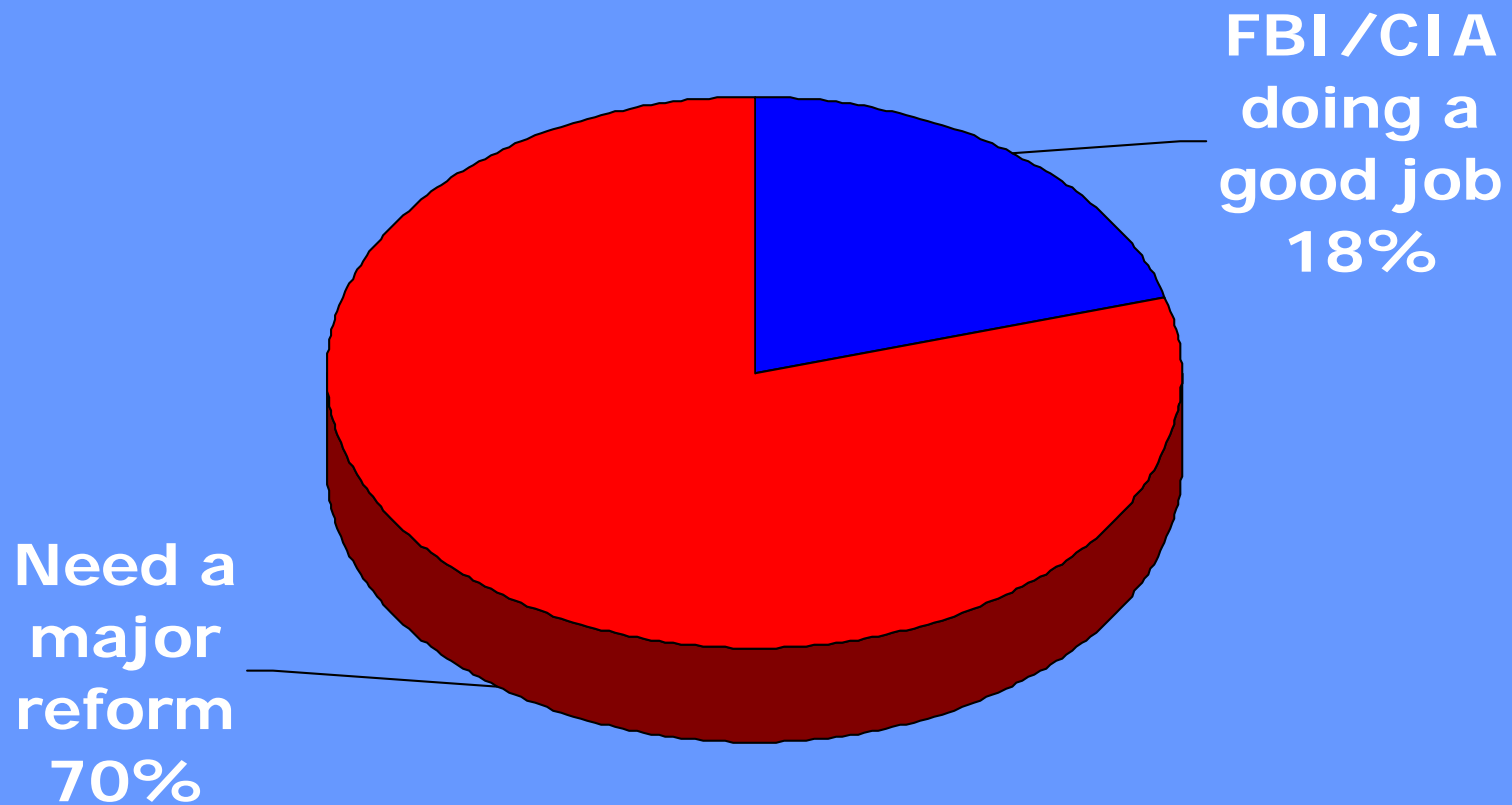
# Voters Want Tax Reform

Which should be a higher priority for Congress?



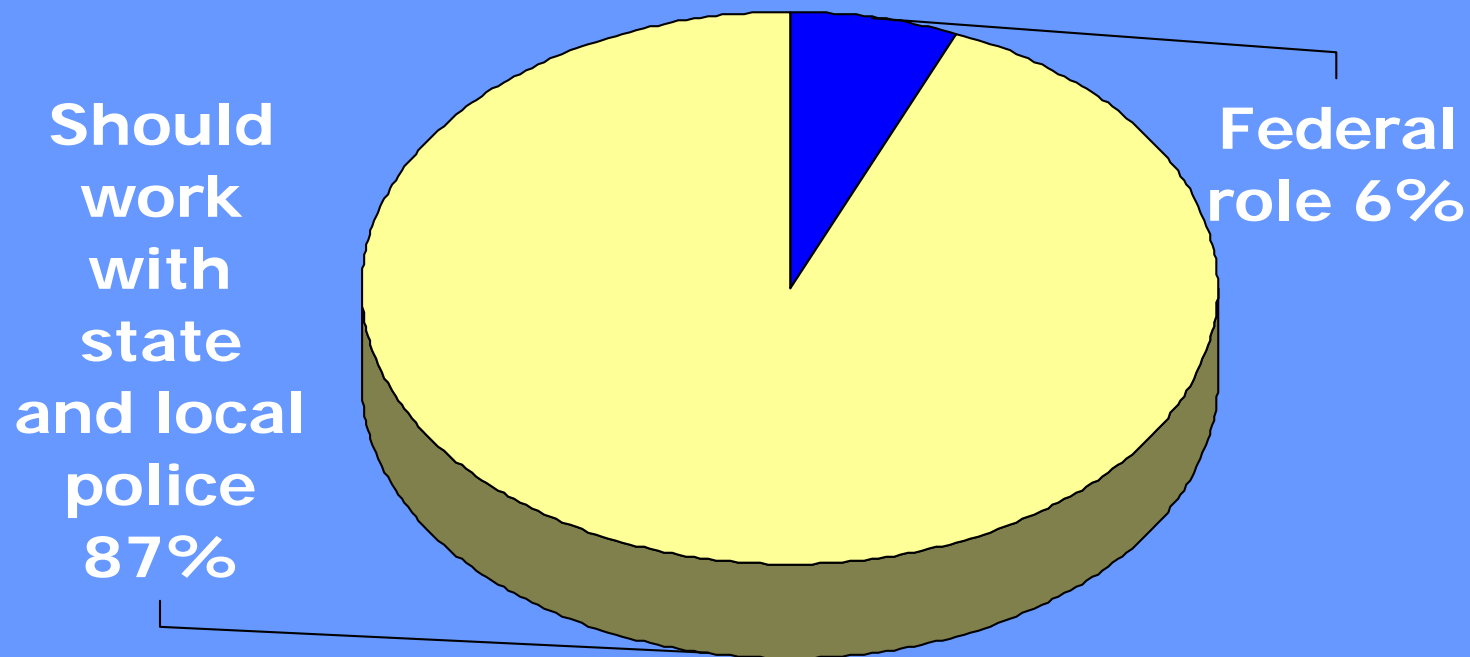
# Public Still Looking for Intelligence Reform

Do you think the FBI/CIA are doing a good job of preventing terrorism or do you think we need a major reform of our intelligence agencies?



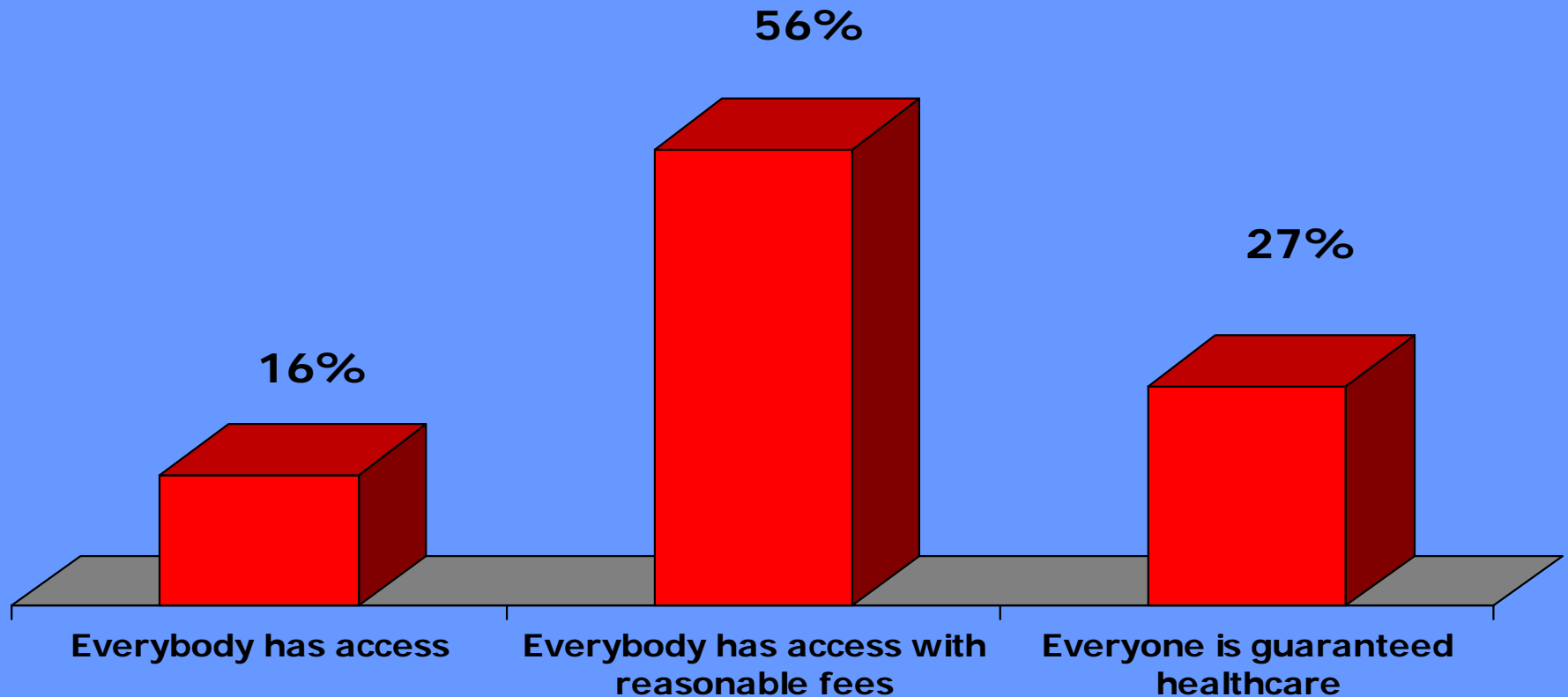
# Role for State and Local Police

Do you think preventing and disrupting terrorism in the US is a federal responsibility or do you think it is everyone's responsibility and FBI and federal law enforcement should work with state and local police?



# Healthcare Reform Access for All

What kind of healthcare system do you support?



# Message Principles

- **Entering a time when the party can be more aggressive**
- **But can not return to class warfare and old issues**
- **It has to move forward with a message about the future.**

# Conclusion

- **Need to reach out to not just but two new Swing II voters – Office Park Dads.**
- **Need to appeal to growing, not just shrinking segments of the electorate.**
- **Need to once again tackle issues of security, taxes, along with traditional Democratic issues.**
- **Bush and Republicans are increasingly vulnerable but to win Democrats need a message that not only takes them but takes the election to the future and the reform Americans are looking for.**