

### PTP's Power On Network presents a

#### **REVERB Online Presentation**

# Which comes first, the frame or the audience?

with Katherine McFate, Ford Foundation

ReadyTalk Call info: 1-866-740-1260; Access code: 7242600



### PTP Webinar

# **Developing Frames that Work**

June 2009 Katherine McFate

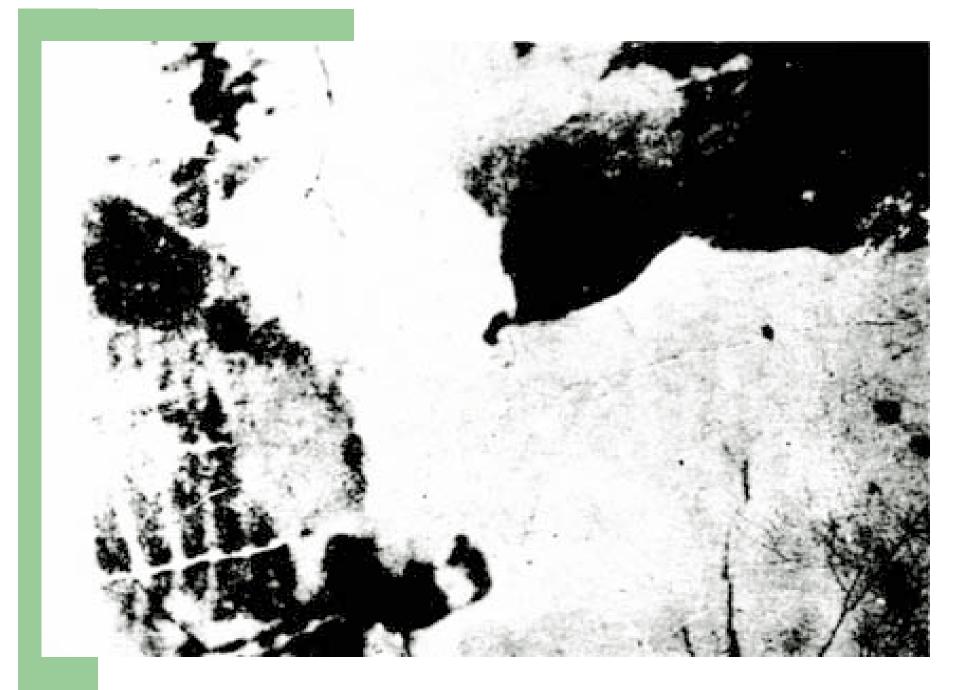
### The Structure of this Presentation

- Why frame?
- Underlying values, beliefs, and opinions
- Building and testing frames that feed your strategic choices
- New public opinion data: Old challenges, new openings

# Why frame?

- Whoever frames the issue, wins the fight!
- A transformative frame includes an implicit solution
- A frame needs to be tight, coherent, authentic, and point toward action
- Frames work best when they are grounded in real world experiences

- Progressives and liberals tend to talk past each other and focus on differences instead of the positive change they hope to promote
- Developing a joint communications plan can help create the common understandings necessary for sustained long-term collaborative action



### Frames are

- Understandings of the world that filter and shape what people see
- More flexible than values; can shape opinions about policy issues and options
- They start from where people are, build on familiar, but provide an explanation – create an "aha!"
- You beat a bad frame with a <u>new</u> frame

### Frames that can work

- Use metaphors that explain how the world works
- Tell mini-stories (hero villain victim solution) that move your target audience toward the perspective you want them to have

## **Tips from Frank Luntz**

- Simplicity small words
- Brevity short sentences
- Credible, authentic spokespeople
- Consistency and repetition are important
- Use visual metaphors
- Sound and texture matter bring it home
- Speak aspirationally!
- Provide a context and explain relevance

## Values, Beliefs, Opinions and Frames

# Deep Values..

Trust in others

Fear of others

### Predispose toward certain beliefs about government

Nurturing view of Govt Trust in others

#### Local opinion leaders/ lived experiences

Increase Environmental Regulations

Ensure Living Wages **Oppose Privatization** 

Public Health Insurance Close Corporate Loopholes

Nurturing view of Govt Trust in others

#### **Media FRAMES**

#### **Local opinion leaders/ lived experiences**

Increase Environmental Regulations

Ensure Living Wages Oppose Privatization

Public Health Insurance

Close Corporate Loopholes

Nurturing view of Govt
Trust in others

### **Economic Context (perceived self-interest)**

#### **Media FRAMES**

#### **Local opinion leaders/ lived experiences**

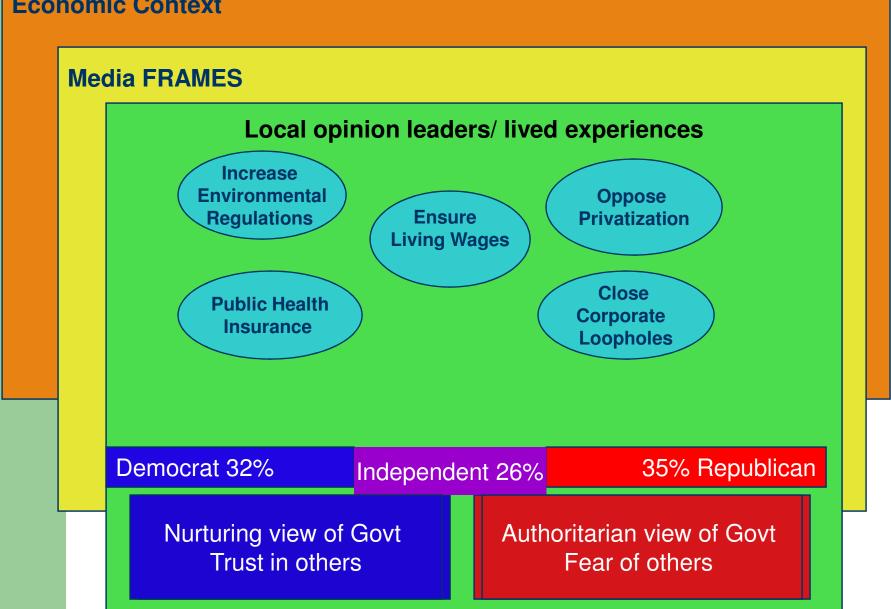
Increase Environmental Regulations

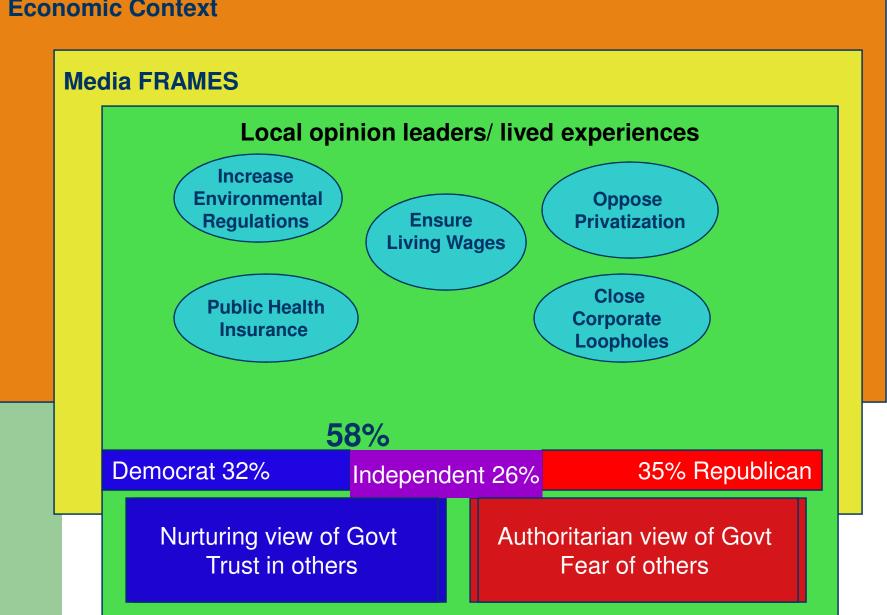
> Public Health Insurance

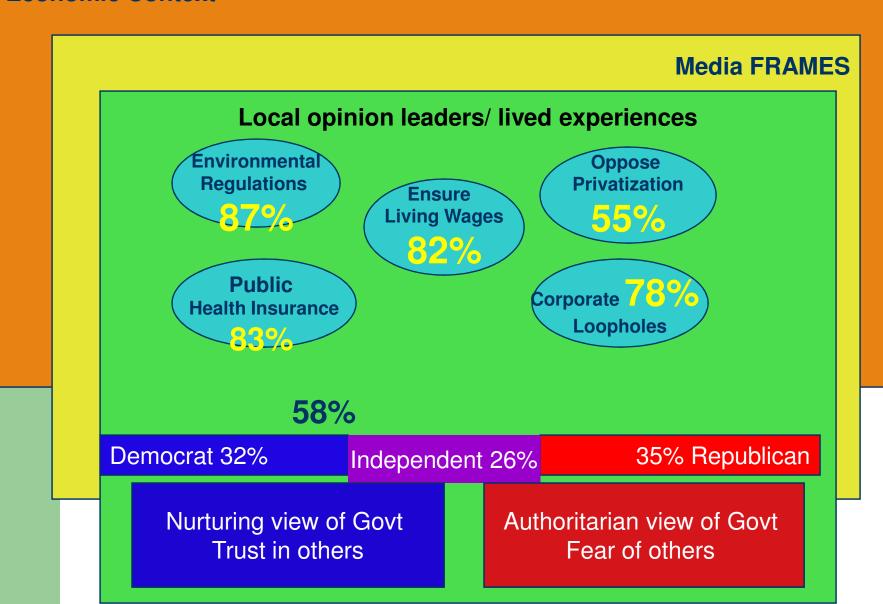
Ensure Living Wages Oppose Privatization

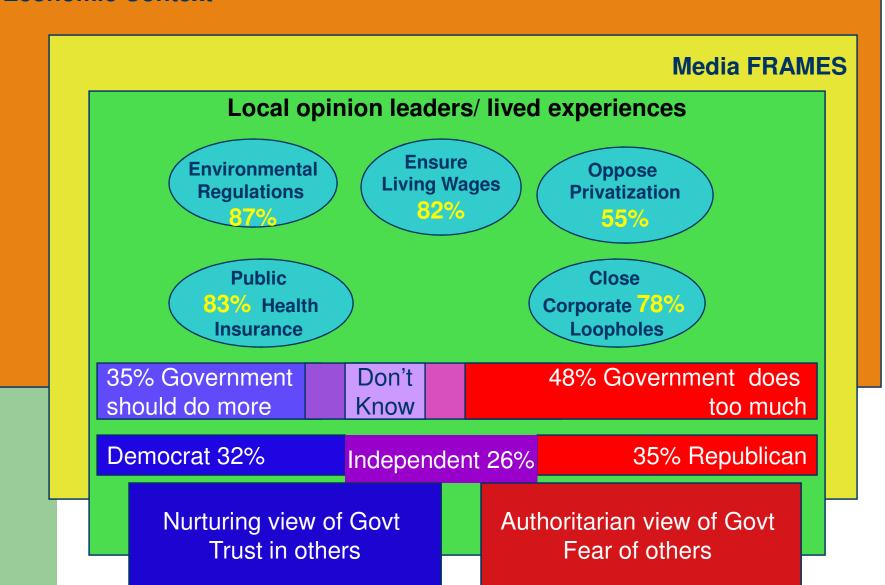
Close Corporate Loopholes

Nurturing view of Govt Trust in others



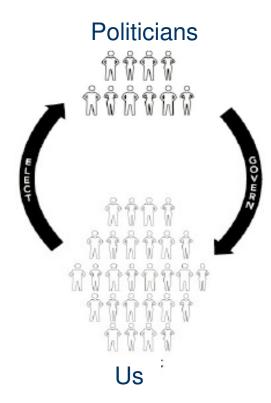






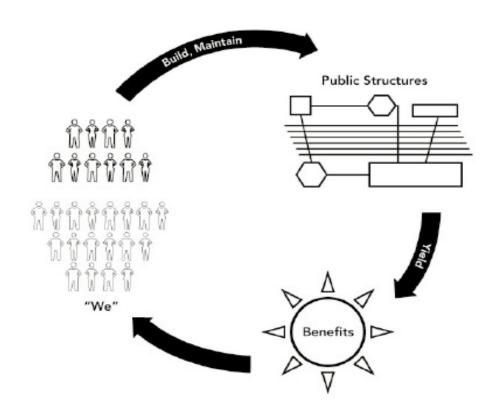


# Views of Government





# Views of Government





# **Tennessee Framing Project**

- Investment: TN needs to invest in training, education, jobs in order to create a strong economy.
- Faith: TN'ans are children of the same creator and will be judged by how they treat each other.
- Common Good: Our collective prosperity and quality of life depend on the "public structures" we build.
- Opportunity: Some TN'ans are being shut out of the American dream because of who they are.
- Community: We're all in this together, and we thrive when we come together to solve problems.

# Tennessee framing project

- Small group discussions reduced to 3 frames
- Polling tested more than support for statements – whether shifted policy support
- The frame used depends on the strategy mobilize your base, build out support, educate the public
- But the policy campaign messages should feed a larger narrative about government, people, the society we want to build together

### **Test Frame 1: Investment**

#### Investment

"The best thing Tennessee can do to get the state on the right track is focus on making sound investments in the state's future. That means providing the resources to ensure everyone has access to affordable health care, to make sure the next generation gets a solid education, and to develop the communications and transportation infrastructure that will lead to a strong economy. Our quality of life and future prosperity require smart investments today."

# **Test Frame 2: Interdependence**

#### Interdependence/Compassion

"The best thing Tennessee can do to get the state on the right track is to make the well being of all people in our state our top priority. That means recognizing that when we leave people behind, we all suffer. We will all move forward if we make sure that that all Tennesseans have access to affordable health care, that all public schools are providing a solid education, and that the communications and transportation infrastructure reaches all communities. Our quality of life and prosperity depend upon coming together to work for the state as a whole."

### **Test Frame 3: Public Structures**

#### Common Good/Public Structures

"The best thing Tennessee can do to get the state on the right track is revitalize the things that benefit the common good. That means supporting and improving the public structures we build together and that we all count on, such as the health system that improves public health, the public schools that prepare the next generation, and the communications and transportation infrastructure that supports a strong economy. Our collective prosperity and quality of life depend on strengthening the public structures that benefit all of us."

Choose the message that fits your strategy

# **Developing Your Own Frames**

- Organizing and community meetings
- Listen for how people think, their implicit assumptions
- Try to come up with vivid juicy metaphors to illustrate your explanation
- Re-frame don't deepen by negating their frame
- Test your frames in meetings and canvassing
- Use focus groups and polling to test the reach of your frames and messages
- Frames are only an entry point to a conversation with the American people about the future they want to see

### Frames for the Economy

Helpful Distracting

Citizen Consumer

Structure/systems Individuals/families

**How** it works Who gets what

Individual living standards Quality of life

Interdependence Self interest or altruism

Standards, regulation, Hard work, individual policies

behavior norms

### A New Era for American Government?

Findings from a National Survey and Focus Groups
March 2009

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# Support for the President has not translated into a more positive view of government more generally

- President Obama enjoys the good will of a majority of the public but voters express ongoing concern about the continued influence of special interests in Washington and the deteriorating economy.
- Americans have <u>not</u> enthusiastically embraced a stronger role for government, as they question who it serves. But they believe government <u>can</u> be made more accountable and are ready for significant political reform.
  - These sentiments largely cross traditional partisan divides, affording us the opportunity to frame this agenda as bi-partisan, as far as voters are concerned.

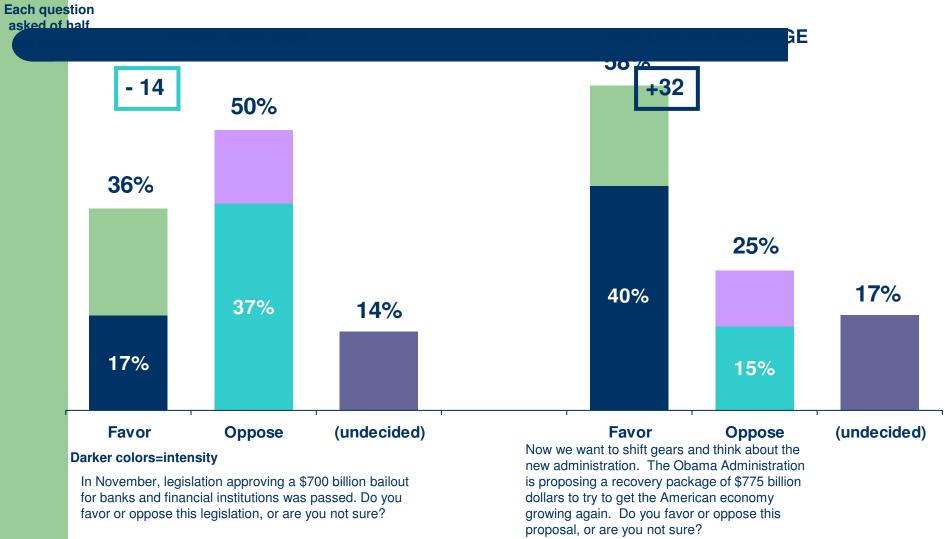
# Voters Support the Economic Recovery Package

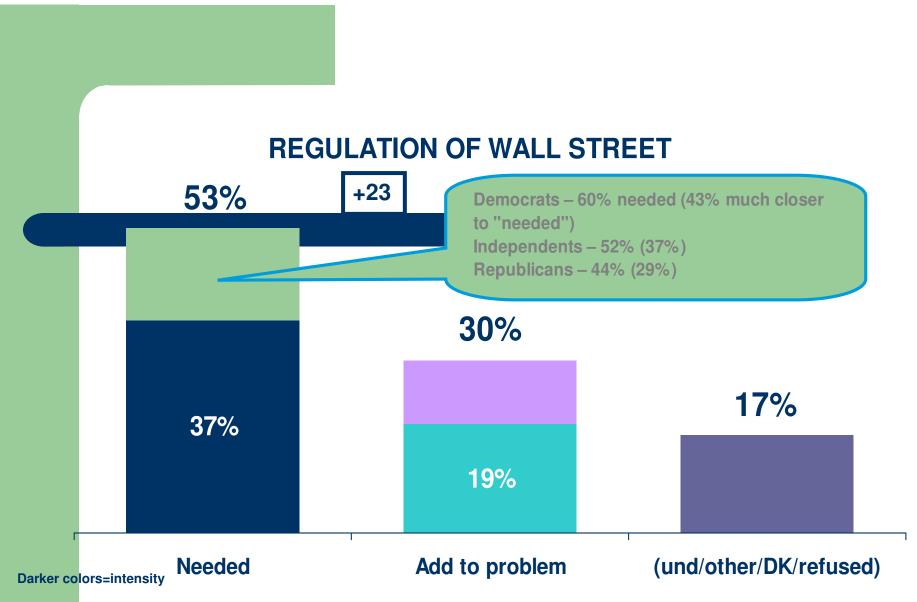
- In January 09, a solid majority of Americans supported the Obama Administration's proposed economic recovery package. Support for the stimulus united voters across traditional demographic and regional divides.
  - In fact, the only major subgroup of voters for whom opposition to the economic recovery package outweighed support was Republicans. Democrats and independents supported the package by commanding margins.
  - Majorities of voters in all four regions of the U.S. supported the package, with the Northeast the most supportive, followed by the West, the Midwest and the South.
- However, though voters support the economic recovery package, they
  want stimulus spending to be open and accountable to citizens.
  Republicans, independents, and Democrats alike strongly support the
  creation of tracking and reporting requirements in the recovery package
  to ensure federal money is effectively spent and has a positive impact
  on the economy.

### **But Oppose the Bank Bailout**

- In January, fully half the public (50%) opposed the bailout of the financial institutions, and an April NYT poll showed that 58 percent now oppose the bank bailout.
- An overwhelming majority believes that businesses that get government assistance should have to obey strict limits on items like executive pay and shareholder dividends. In addition, more than eight in ten voters from every major demographic, political, and regional subgroup agree.

#### BANK BAILOUT VS. RECOVERY PACKAGE

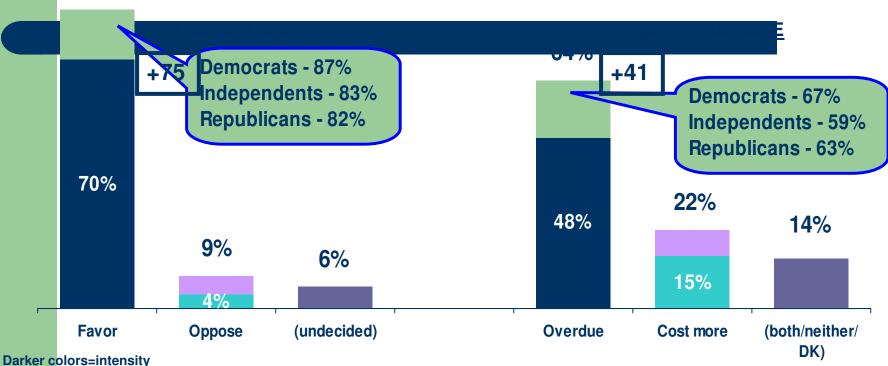




Now, I'm going to read you two statements. Please listen to both of them, and tell me which one is closer to your own point of view: \_Some people/ Other people say... The current financial crisis and the chaos on the stock market shows that Wall Street needs to be regulated better. We need new laws that set reasonable controls on how the stock market operates to ensure that our investments and retirement accounts are safer. \_Some people/ Other people say... When government starts meddling in the affairs of private businesses, it usually ends up making the problem worse. Even though stock prices fall every so often, over the long run, the American stock market has given consumers the greatest return on their investment. We should not fool with it now. Which statement is closer to your own point of view?

### CONDITIONS ON PRIVATE FIRMS RECEIVING GOVERNMENT ASSISTANCE

84%

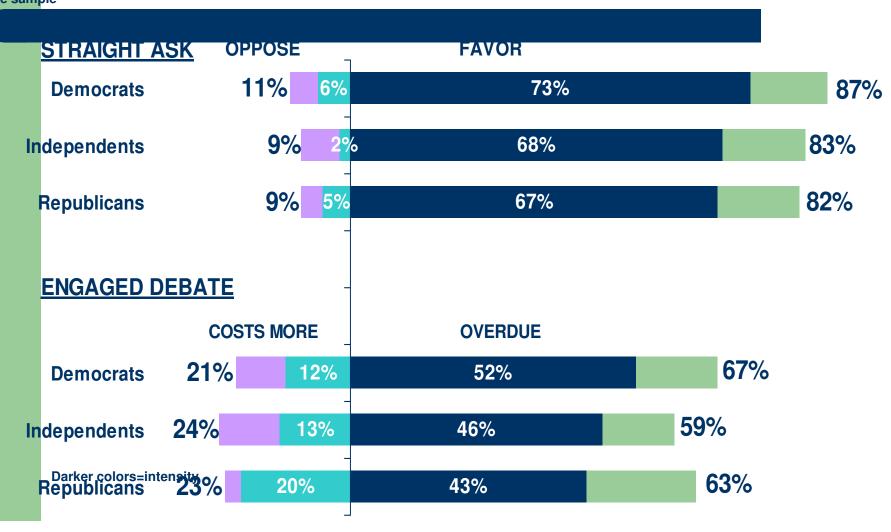


Some people have proposed that private companies, like banks and auto manufacturers, should have to agree to certain conditions when they receive financial assistance from the government. This would include limiting executive pay, bonuses, and dividends to shareholders. Would you favor or oppose this proposal, or are you not sure?

Some people have proposed that private companies, like banks and auto manufacturers, should have to agree to certain conditions when they receive financial assistance from the government. This would include limiting executive pay, bonuses, and dividends to shareholders. Some people/ Other people say... This is long overdue. This is taxpayer's money that these companies are receiving, and we have a right to know that it is being spent on jobs and wages, not on bonuses for the top executives. \_Some people/ Other people say... Our economy will never get turned around if the government is micromanaging American businesses. These regulations will end up costing taxpayers a huge amount of money. Which statement is closer to your own point of view?

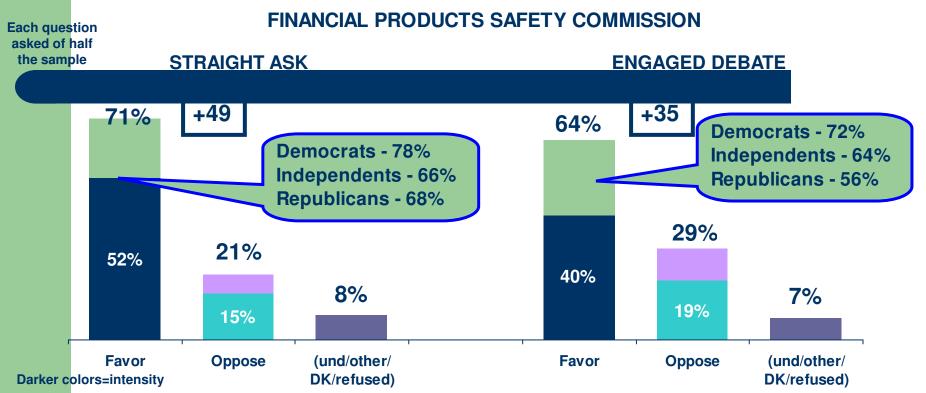
Each question asked of half the sample

### CONDITIONS FOR FINANCIAL ASSISTANCE BY PARTY ID



# **Voters Support Regulation of Financial Products and Assistance to Homeowners**

- The Financial Products Safety Commission is a very popular proposal; a solid majority of voters support creating this commission.
  - The FPSC draws the strongest support from the progressive base (Democrats, liberals, and minorities), but Southern voters also show strong support for it in an engaged debate.
- There was also overwhelming support (72%) for helping individual homeowners who are having trouble renegotiate their mortgages.

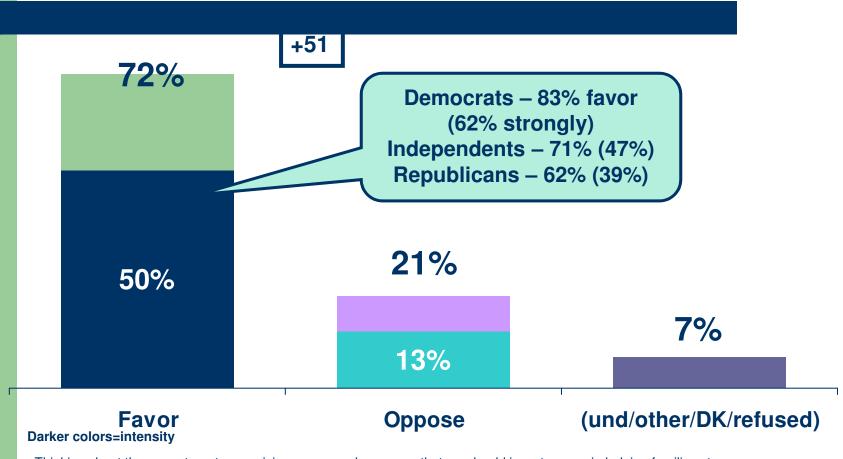


Some people are proposing that the United States government create a Financial Products Safety Commission that would protect consumers from dangerous financial products like unfair credit terms and sub-prime mortgages. Overall, would you favor or oppose the creation of a Financial Products Safety Commission?

Some people are proposing that the United States government create a Financial Products Safety Commission that would protect consumers from dangerous financial products like credit cards with hidden costs and sub-prime mortgages with exploding interest rates.

\_(Some/others) say that the current financial crisis shows that America needs a Financial Products Safety Commission. Sub-prime mortgage lenders and the credit card companies have been misleading and ripping off consumers for far too long, with dangerous consequences for families and for our entire economy. \_(Some/others) say that this commission would be just another expensive, inefficient government bureaucracy that would do nothing to help America's economy. The taxpayers should not have to baby-sit people who take out mortgages they can't afford or don't spend their money wisely. How do you feel about it - would you favor or oppose the creation of a Financial Products Safety Commission?

### **HELP FAMILIES RE-NEGOTIATE MORTGAGES**



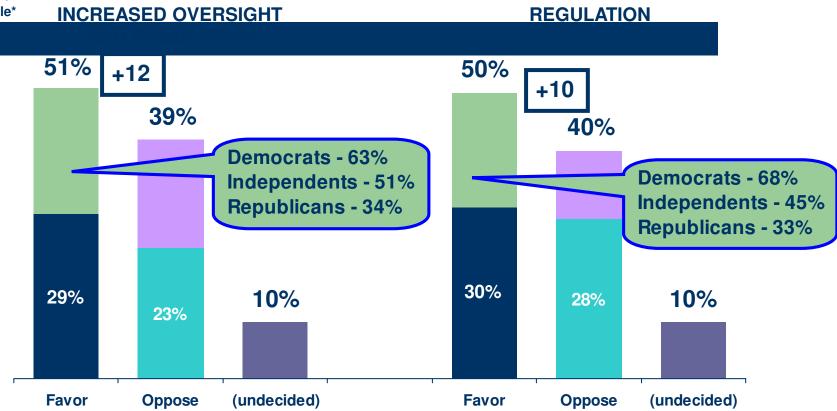
Thinking about the current mortgage crisis, some people propose that we should invest money in helping families stay in their homes and re-negotiate their mortgages instead of buying up the bad loans that banks hold. Overall, would you favor or oppose this idea?

# But People Are Skeptical about Government, Oversight, and Regulation

- A slight majority of voters believe the government should take a more active role in the "oversight of business," but only Democrats show strong support for more government oversight or regulation as a general goal.
- But when the debate shifts from the general to the specific, voters across the board strongly support a host of policy proposals.
  - Government protections, safeguards, and oversight are better frames than "regulation" which elicits a strong negative reaction in some groups, especially men..
- Successful positioning would frame the debate as improving American government and American business, rather than pitting government against business.

Each question asked of half the sample\*

### **OVERSIGHT/REGULATION OF BUSINESS**



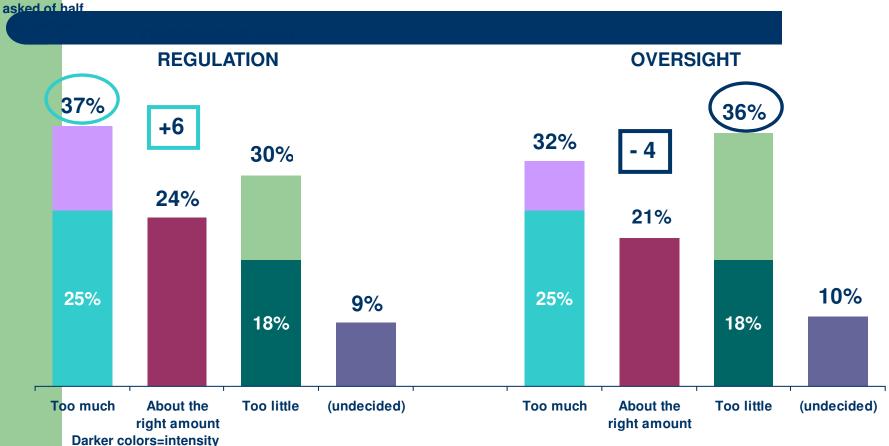
### Darker colors=intensity

And would you say you generally favor or oppose a more active role for government when it comes to [increased oversight and regulation/regulation] of private businesses?

\*Respondents are chosen randomly to answer only one of these two questions. No respondents are asked both of these questions. This is done to test the effects of alternate question wording (in this case "more accountable" is tested against "more open").

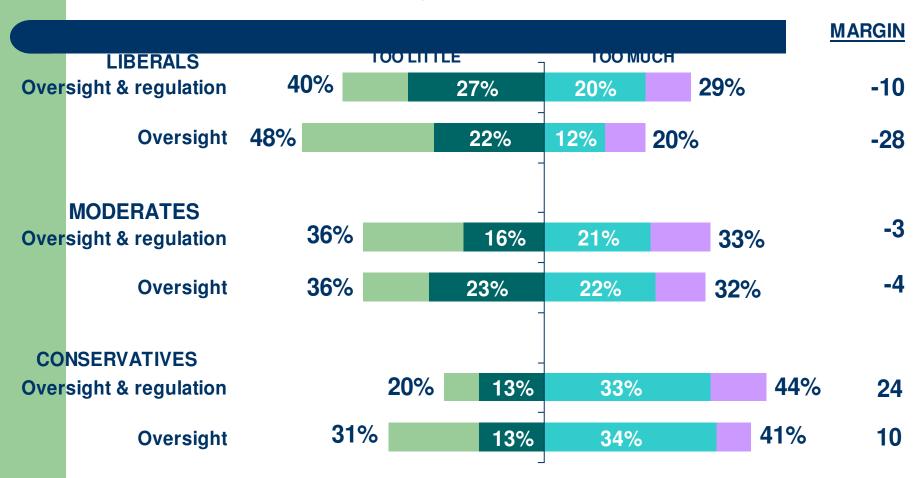
# Regulation elicits more negative responses

than oversight **Each question** 



Now thinking about government [oversight and regulation/oversight] of private businesses, would you say there is too much government [oversight and regulation/oversight], about the right amount of government [oversight and regulation/oversight], or too little government [oversight and regulation/oversight]? Do you feel that way strongly or not-so-strongly?

### OVERSIGHT/REGULATION, TOO MUCH/LITTLE BY IDEOLOGY

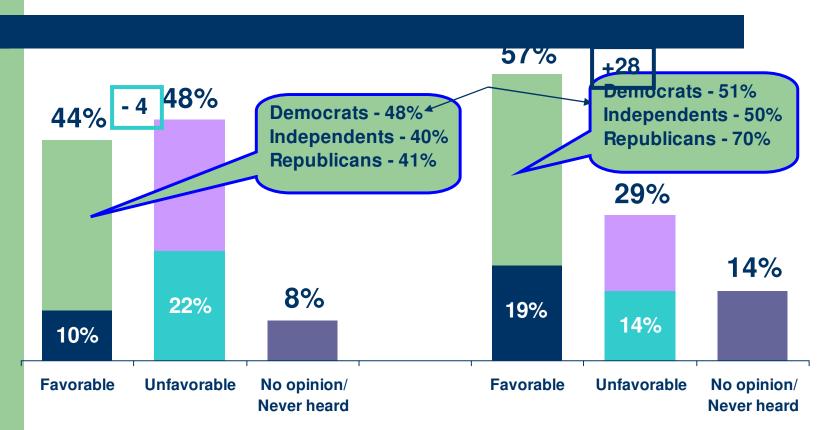


Darker colors=intensity

# IMPRESSIONS OF GOVERNMENT AND PRIVATE BUSINESSES

**GOVERNMENT** 

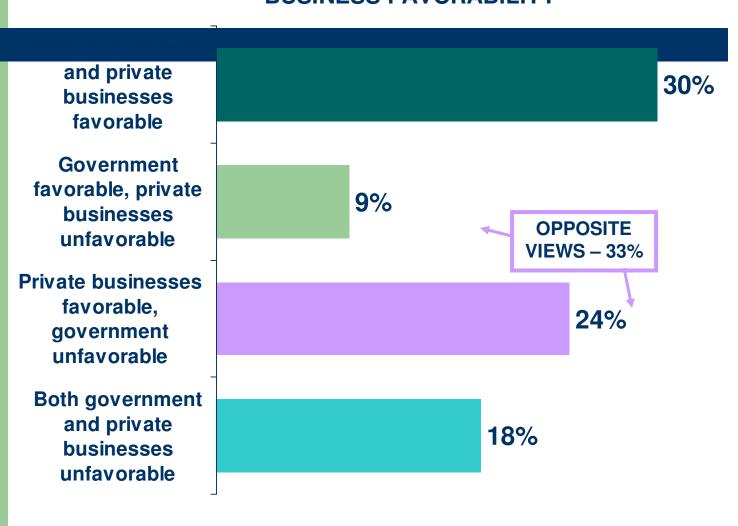
**PRIVATE BUSINESSES** 



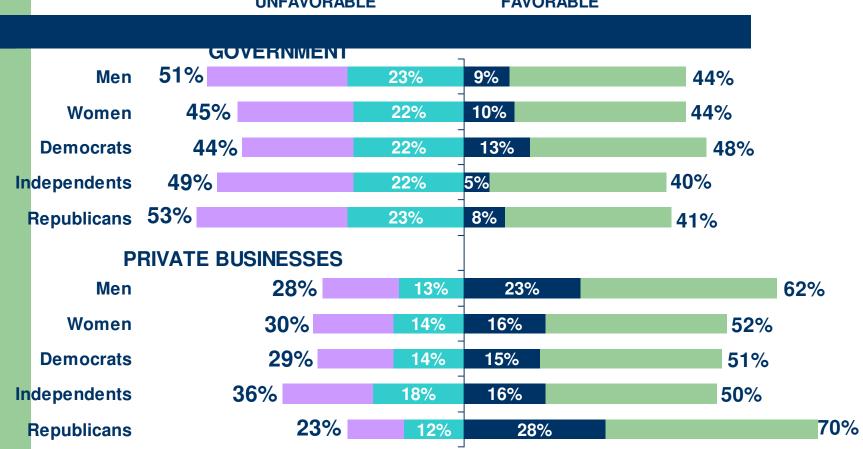
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Now I'd like to ask you about some public institutions. For each one, please tell me whether you have a VERY favorable, SOMEWHAT favorable, somewhat UNFAVORABLE, or VERY unfavorable impression of that institution. If you haven't heard of them {6}, or if you don't know enough about them to have an impression {5}, just say so and we will move on.

# CORRELATION BETWEEN GOVERNMENT AND BUSINESS FAVORABILITY







Darker colors=intensity

# **Negative Impressions of Government**

### Not "our" government

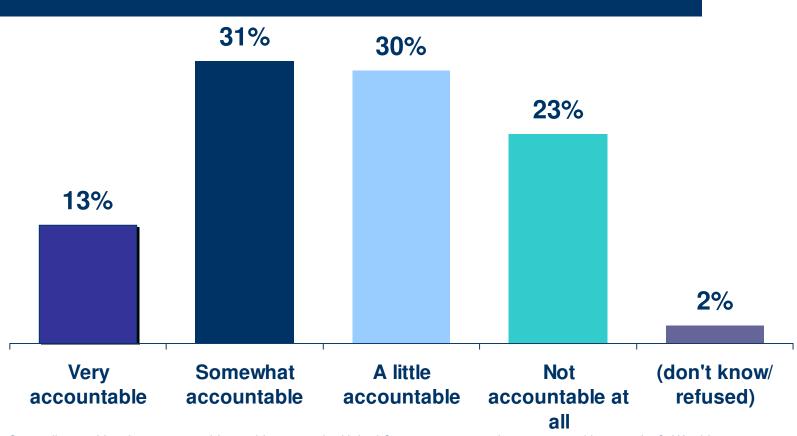
We're supposed to be running the government...but basically the people are not in charge. The government is basically doing whatever they want to do. (Democratic professional woman, Pasadena, CA)

### Out of reach and out of touch

...democracy is in here somewhere but it's out of reach. We don't know how to get to it... (African American woman, Cincinnati, OH)

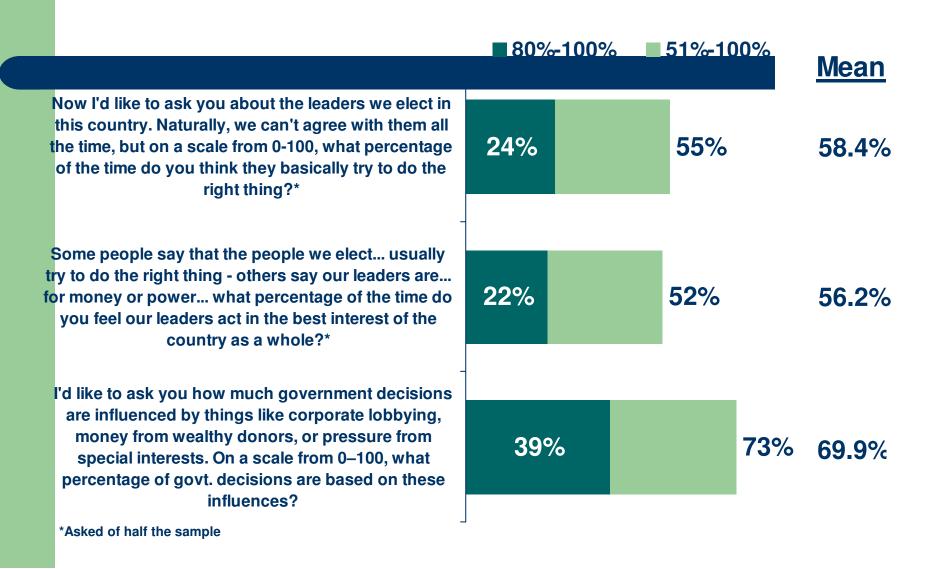
They're more self-serving than they are serving the people. Making themselves rich and not serving the people who they are supposed to serve. (Younger man, Farmington, CT)

### **CURRENT GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY**

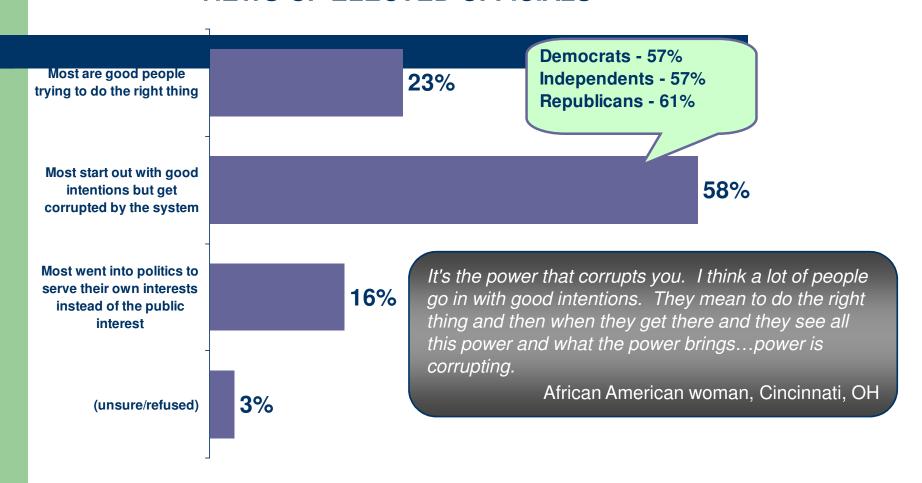


Generally speaking, how accountable would you say the United States government is to average citizens today? Would you say it is VERY accountable, SOMEWHAT accountable, A LITTLE accountable, or not accountable AT ALL?

### VIEWS OF ELECTED OFFICIALS

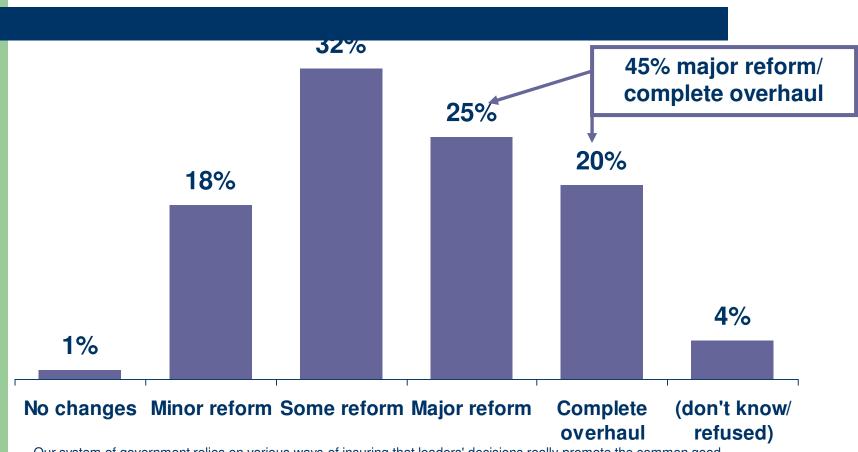


### **VIEWS OF ELECTED OFFICIALS**



There are frequently 3 different views of elected officials. Which do you think best matches your view?

### **NEED FOR GOVERNMENT REFORM**



Our system of government relies on various ways of insuring that leaders' decisions really promote the common good – from checks and balances between different branches of government, to involved citizens, a vigilant press and Supreme Court review. Would you say this system is basically operating well and needs no changes, it needs minor reform, it needs some reform, it needs major reform, or it needs a complete overhaul?

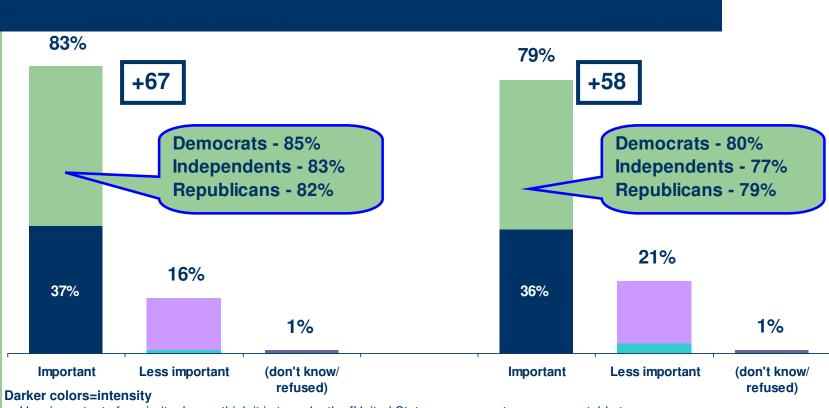
# NEED FOR GOVERNMENT REFORM 45% total (20% complete overhaul)

- West South Central 56% (21%)
- Blacks under 55 54% (27%)
- Blacks 53% (27%)
- Very conservative 53% (24%)
- Liberal under 55 52% (23%)
- Hispanics 52% (20%)
- Strong Democrats 52% (19%)
- Midwest independents 51% (31%)
- South women 51% (27%)
- Minority men 51% (26%)
- Conservative women − 51% (24%)
- Black women 51% (21%)
- Democratic men 51% (20%)

- West North Central 50% (32%)
- Minorities under 55 50% (27%)
- Minorities 50% (24%)
- Women 55 and over 50% (22%)
- 4-year college grads 50 (22%)
- South under 55 50% (22%)
- West Democrats 50% (22%)
- Very liberal 50% (20%)
- Northeast women 50% (12%)

### IMPORTANCE OF MORE ACCOUNTABLE/OPEN GOVERNMENT

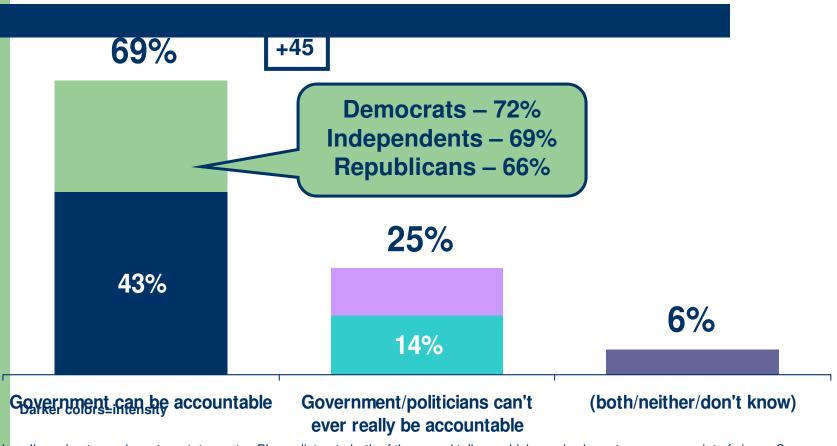
Each question asked of half



How important of a priority do you think it is to make the [United States government more accountable to average citizens/government more open to the public]? Would you say it is ONE OF THE MOST important priorities, a VERY important priority, SOMEWHAT important, A LITTLE important, or not important AT ALL?

\*Respondents are chosen randomly to answer only one of these two questions. No respondents are asked both of these questions. This is done to test the effects of alternate question wording (in this case "more accountable" is tested against "more open").

### POTENTIAL FOR ACCOUNTABILITY



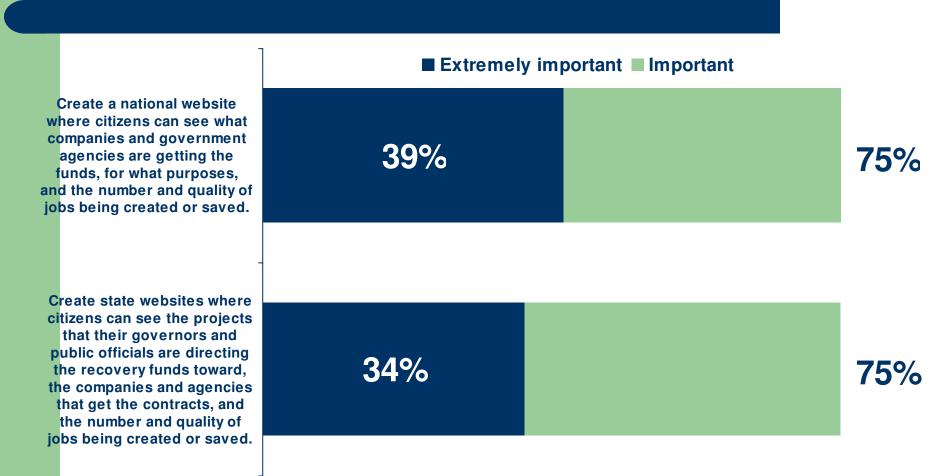
Now, I'm going to read you two statements. Please listen to both of them, and tell me which one is closer to your own point of view: \_Some people/Other people say... Government, with the right rules and the right people serving, can be made more accountable to the people. \_Some people/Other people say... Government is just too inefficient and public officials are too self-interested for government to ever be really accountable to the people. Which statement is closer to your own point of view? And is that much closer or somewhat closer to your own point of view?

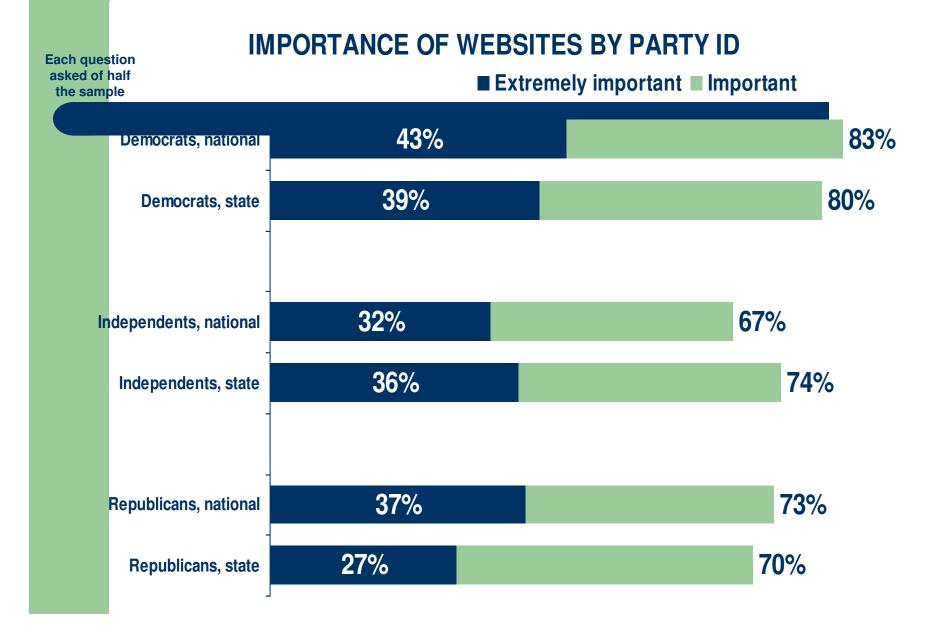
# **Voters Support a Host of Political Reforms**

- Voters of all political stripes strongly support the creation of web-based tracking and reporting requirements.
- Majorities support proposals designed to ensure better oversight of private contractors receiving government contracts or subsidies.
- They support stopping the revolving door of lobbyists and special interests: Voters want members of Congress to be prevented from becoming lobbyists until at least five years after they retire from Congress, and they want lobbyists kept off the floor of Congress and Congressional committee rooms.
  - In the qualitative research, we also found intense support at the statewide level for keeping the influence of lobbyists and special interests out of state legislatures.

# Strong Bipartisan Support for Web-based Reporting on Recovery Act Spending

Each question asked of half the sample





### GOVERNMENT CONTRACTING PROPOSALS BY PARTY ID %Extremely Important (%Important)

|  | DEMS  | INDS  | REPS  |
|--|-------|-------|-------|
| Any contractor who has failed to deliver or over-billed on a publicly funded project three times will not be allowed to bid for another contract.              | 49%   | 60%   | 59%   |
|  | (72%) | (81%) | (82%) |
| Ensure all public contracts are based on multiple bids, and awarded based on best prices, quality, and contract terms.   | 51%   | 53%   | 61%   |
|  | (78%) | (76%) | (81%) |
| Insist that companies that receive government contracts make wage and hiring information open to the public.   | 52%   | 58%   | 53%   |
|  | (76%) | (73%) | (70%) |
| Insist that companies that receive government contracts pay their employees a living wage and ensure employees have health benefits.                           | 61%   | 41%   | 42%   |
|  | (87%) | (70%) | (58%) |
| Public servants negotiating government contracts cannot work for the company that receives the contract for at least 3 years after leaving government service. | 46%   | 55%   | 50%   |
|  | (69%) | (72%) | (71%) |
| Do not allow private contractors to provide campaign contributions to elected officials involved in contracting decisions.                                     | 47%   | 35%   | 51%   |
|  | (74%) | (64%) | (77%) |

# \*ETHICS REFORM PROPOSALS BY PARTY ID \*Extremely Important (%Important)

**DEMS INDS REPS** 46% 51% 52% Don't allow former members of Congress to become lobbyists for five years, and keep all lobbyists off the floors of Congress (71%) (73%) (77%) and out of Committee rooms. Require that ethics review boards for Congress and the White 46% 33% 40% House be comprised of independent citizens, not people who (72%) (67%) (68%)are or were employees of those bodies. Post every earmark in the federal budget on-line, along with the 35% 46% 46% member who requested it and the people who would benefit (63%) (68%) (67%)from it. 38% Ensure political appointees are selected for their management 41% 36% experience in the field of the government agency to which they (67%) (68%) (67%)are appointed. 31% Include consumers, not just industry representatives, on federal 35% 32% advisory boards for setting rules and standards for industries. (65%) (55%) (65%)

# **Voters support Campaign Finance**

 A Lake/Tarrance group poll found more than 67% of voters (69% of Dems, 64% of Repub, and 66% of Indep) supported a campaign finance reform proposal that would increase the weight of small donors (those contributing \$100 or less to elections) and provide public funding to candidates who refused to take large donations.

# **Target Audiences**

- The base of voters who are the most supportive of oversight and reform are Democrats, African Americans, Hispanics, younger voters, and voters who are liberal or moderate in their political ideology.
- The arguments against a reform agenda were quite weak, and generate little intensity from the voters. By staying focused on our own messaging we can make a compelling case for change without getting bogged down in the details of the opposition's attacks.

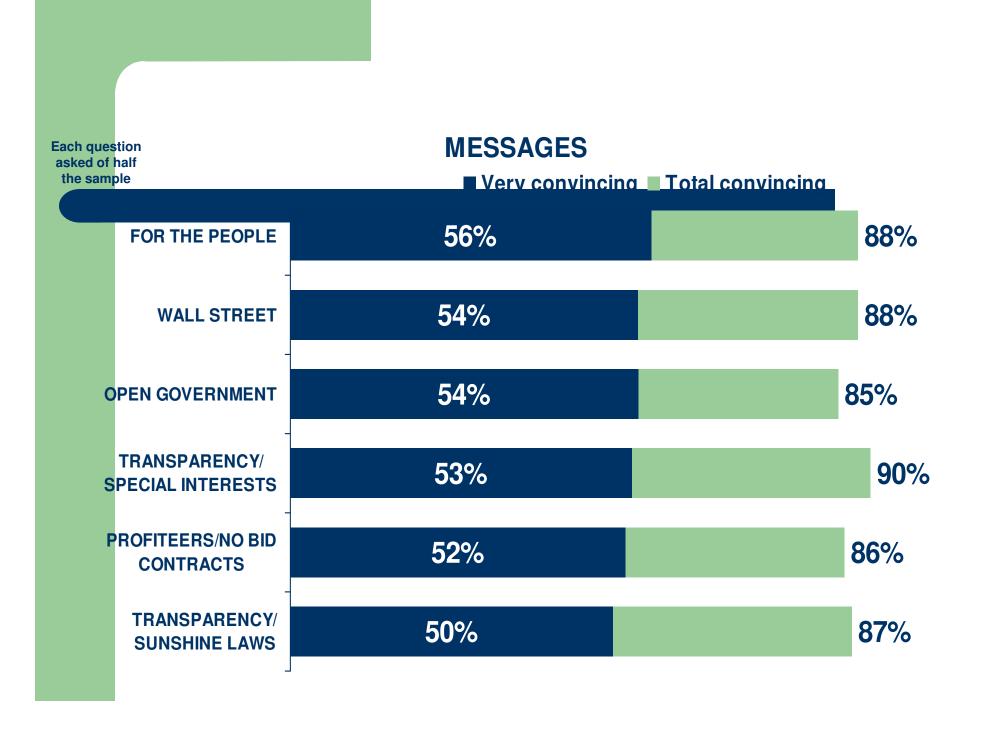
# Messaging

# **TEXT OF MESSAGES**

- **[FOR THE PEOPLE]** Ours is supposed to be a government of, by and for the people. It is time to open up government to the people, because in America, the government is us. We need government ethics review boards to be comprised of independent citizens, not co-workers and buddies of those being investigated. Only then can we be sure that public servants are truly accountable to the public for their actions.
- **[WALL STREET]** While American families are facing financial crisis, Wall Street has gotten a 700 billion-dollar bailout, paid for by the U.S. taxpayers. We need Congress to pass tight standards for accountability and transparency in the use of those funds, so Americans are reassured that the money is used to strengthen our economy, rather than as a handout for Wall Street.
- **[OPEN GOVERNMENT]** It is time for change, and it is time for government to work for the people again. Too many important governmental decisions that affect you are made in secret, so we need to make government more open. Using simple, common-sense ideas for greater openness in government will help Americans take control of their government again and make it work for all of us.

# TEXT OF MESSAGES

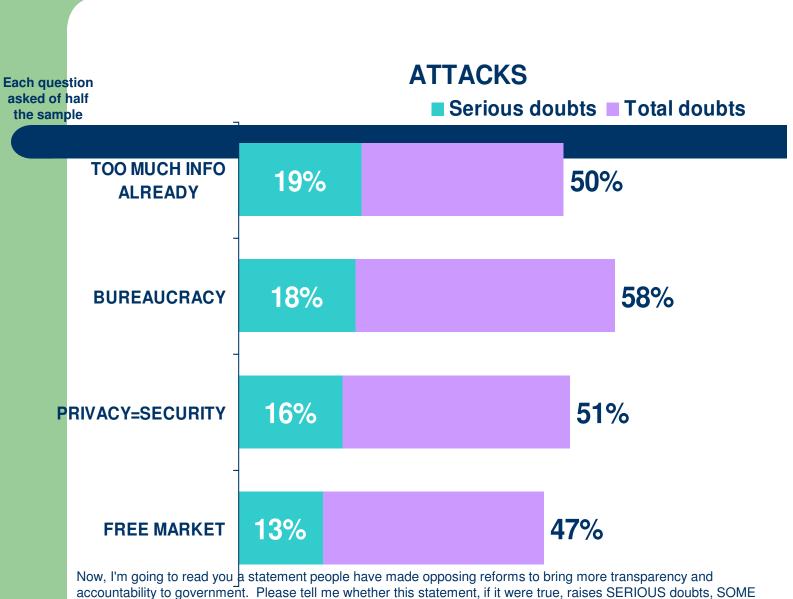
- [TRANSPARENCY/SPECIAL INTERESTS] Special interests shouldn't be able to mee with public officials in secret, bury pork-barrel projects in the budget, or push through no-bid contracts. To make sure government is serving the public interest, we need more "sunshine measures" like posting public records, transcripts of meetings, and budget details. Citizens should have the right to know about the relationship between special interests and elected officials.
- [PROFITEERS/NO BID CONTRACTS] No-bid contracts have allowed certain companies to profiteer off of the war in Iraq and Hurricane Katrina, swindling U.S. taxpayers out of tens of billions of dollars. We need to require competitive, multiple bidding on all public contracts and transparency in billing so that companies like Halliburton no longer get sweetheart deals from insiders while the taxpayers are forced to pay the bills.
- **[TRANSPARENCY/SUNSHINE LAWS]** If our government is to serve the people, we need to make sure the operations of government are transparent and open to all citizens. Transparency means supporting more "sunshine measures" like posting public records, transcripts of official meetings, and budget details online for the public. Citizens should have the right to know about the actions of our government and electer officials.



| MESSAGES BY PARTY ID % VERY CONVINCING (% TOTAL CONVINCING) |                         |                         |                         |
|---|-------------------------|-------------------------|-------------------------|
|   | Democrats               | Independents            | Republicans             |
| FOR THE PEOPLE  | <u>55%</u> (90%)        | <u><b>56%</b></u> (78%) | <u><b>57%</b></u> (93%) |
| WALL STREET   | <u>58%</u> (91%)        | 42% (88%)               | <u>58%</u> (85%)        |
| OPEN GOVERNMENT   | <u><b>56%</b></u> (90%) | 50% (83%)               | <u><b>56%</b></u> (83%) |
| TRANSPARENCY/ SPECIAL INTERESTS                             | <u>57%</u> (92%)        | <u><b>55%</b></u> (89%) | 49% (89%)               |
| PROFITEERS/NO BID CONTRACTS                                 | <u><b>61%</b></u> (90%) | 47% (82%)               | 48% (86%)               |
| TRANSPARENCY/ SUNSHINE LAWS                                 | 53% (88%)               | 46% (92%)               | 48% (83%)               |

### TEXT OF ATTACKS

- **[TOO MUCH INFO ALREADY]** We already have more than enough information about government and politics there are entire news networks devoted to nothing but reporting every little thing that politicians do. We already have access to all the information we need.
- **[BUREAUCRACY]** More regulations increase the size of government and create expensive, inefficient bureaucracies that taxpayers have to pay for. More government spending and big government are not the answer. They will only make our economy worse.
- [PRIVACY=SECURITY] If everything that advisors say in a meeting is on the record for the public, then advisors won't feel free to provide the hard-hitting, tough advice that our elected officials need to hear. For the good of everyone, some conversations and decisions need to be kept private.
- **[FREE MARKET]** One of the bedrocks of American freedom is the free market system and the innovation of private business. Regulations limit companies' flexibility and their ability to develop new products, and cost us jobs.



Now, I'm going to read you a statement people have made opposing reforms to bring more transparency and accountability to government. Please tell me whether this statement, if it were true, raises SERIOUS doubts, SOME doubts, MINOR doubts, or NO REAL doubts in your own mind about a more active role for government. If you are not sure how you feel about it, please say so.

# Words That Work, Preliminary Assessment\*

### **WORDS TO USE**

### **WORDS TO AVOID**

Standards for accountability and

openness

Regulations, rules

Americans need to know/have the

right to know

Boards, commissions

Common sense ideas

Sweeping reforms

Hold government contractors

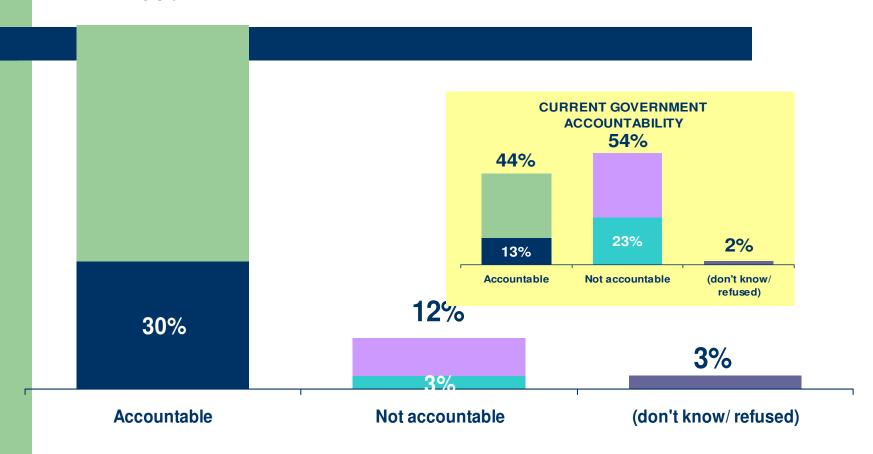
accountable

Hold businesses accountable

\*Communicators should use all terms and phrases with caution, and pay attention to the context and the long-term consequences of communications frames. For example, "citizen oversight to hold government accountable" may set up an adversarial relationship between citizens and government. However, "citizens ensuring government puts oversight mechanisms in place" in all its contracts, etc., is less likely to encourage citizens to view government with suspicion.

# EFFECT OF PROPOSALS ON GOVERNMENT ACCOUNTABILITY

85%



### Darker colors=intensity

Thinking about the proposed reforms that I have told you about, how accountable would you say the United States government would be to its citizens if these reforms were enacted? Would you say the government would be VERY accountable, SOMEWHAT accountable, NOT VERY accountable, or not accountable AT ALL?

# So remember

- Start from where people are, build on the familiar, provide an explanation, create an "aha!"
- Use visual metaphors to explain how the world works
- Tell mini-stories (hero villain victim solution) that move your target audience toward the perspective you want them to have

# **Working frames**

- Beat a bad frame with a <u>new</u> frame
- Use credible, authentic spokespeople
- Sound and texture matter use vernacular for your audience
- Inspire your audience!
- Repeat your frame ... over and over and over again

The Audio / Visual Recording of this session will be posted in 24 hours on:



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