Hey Guys, See attached from Atlas. Useful but we should still do our due diligence on it.

--------- Forwarded message ---------
From: Crystal King <cking@atlasproject.net>
Date: Jan 17, 2008 7:23 PM
Subject: FW: Meet and polling design
To: tmattzie@gmail.com
Cc: Andy Meyer <ameyer@atlasproject.net>, georgerakis@gmail.com
Attached are the state by state polling and research recommendations from the ATLAS product that have been compiled into one document. Please let Andy or I know if you have any questions or need additional information.

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----- Original Message -----
From: tmatzzie@gmail.com <tmatzzie@gmail.com>
To: georgerakis@gmail.com <georgerakis@gmail.com>; Andy Meyer
Subject: Meet and polling design

Hey, when can we meet? I also want to get your Atlas folks to recommend oversamples for our polling before we start in February. By market, regions, etc. I want to get this all compiled into one set of recommendations so we can maximize what we get out of our media polling.

-Tom
Tor is an encrypted anonymising network that makes it harder to intercept internet communications, or see where communications are coming from or going to. (https://www.torproject.org/)

Tails is a live operating system, that you can start on almost any computer from a DVD, USB stick, or SD card. It aims at preserving your privacy and anonymity. (https://tails.boum.org/)

The Courage Foundation is an international organisation that supports those who risk life or liberty to make significant contributions to the historical record. (https://www.couragefound.org/)

Bitcoin uses peer-to-peer technology to operate with no central authority or banks; managing transactions and the issuing of bitcoins is carried out collectively by the network. (https://www.bitcoin.org/)

SELECTED POLLING & MEDIA RECOMMENDATIONS

January 16, 2008
Arizona

Things to remember:

- Arizona will have three competitive congressional races in 2008 and, depending on circumstances, additional polling and focus group research in CD1, CD5, and CD8 may be useful to augment the research of the individual campaigns.

Research, microtargeting & polling projects

- Over-sample Hispanics
- Use Spanish language interviewing. (Monolingual Spanish-speaking voters are among the lowest turnout Democratic targets.)
- Over-sample the Native American population.
  - The ratio of voters-to phone numbers is higher in areas with high Native American populations.
- Consider modeling independents to discern how many of them are strong Republican, strong Democrat, or swing. Statewide Democrats since 2002 have carried the independent vote, but the margins have been too narrow. It will be critical to move independents 12 to 15 points to bring the Democrats closer to 65% and 66%.
- In 2008, there must be a concerted effort to target moderate Republican women early and often, particularly those in Maricopa and Pima counties. Historically, campaigns communicated heavily with moderate Republican women in rural Arizona. Polling should be conducted to determine whether or not this should be expanded to portions of Pinal and Yavapai counties.
- VBM poll. In 2006, the coordinated campaign (using Grove Insight) conducted a poll of potential VBM targets to determine the right messaging for the various groups within the VBM universe. This was very effective in developing the best message for this targeted universe, which turned out to be convenience. A similar poll should be done to determine what the best message in 2008 will be.

Suggested Polling Schedule:

January-February 2008

- Statewide benchmark poll, 800 sample.
- Large micro-targeting/modeling survey, 5000 voters, including likely voters and low-propensity turnout targets.

May-July 2008

- Targeted tracking polls statewide and in key races, such as CD1, CD5, and CD8.
- Phoenix and Tucson focus group messaging research among key swing groups.

Mid-September-October 2008

- General election benchmark, 800 sample, with potential over samples in key districts/regions.
- Focus group research in key races among swing voter groups.
- Benchmark polling in targeted races, with ethnic over samples as needed.
- Targeting tracking polls in key races, with ethnic over samples as needed.
Issues:

- In the past, certain messages and issues helped candidates gain credibility with voters, but voters don’t necessarily cast their votes because of water, rural economic development, and land use.
- Issues that voters will be listening hard for: immigration, health care, and improving education. Messaging by organizations around these issues will need to be further developed with more current polling and timely data specific to candidates.
Colorado

Things to remember:

- Unaffiliated voters are key swing voter targets and almost all should be considered persuadable.
- Groups should build on the 2006 America Votes modeling project when considering projects for 2008. The 2006 project was used extensively for both persuasion and turnout programs. Colorado groups and parties should explore a subscription model where both candidates and independent groups can purchase the same microtargeting data. This might allow a more extensive modeling project with more sophisticated issue modeling.
- Voter registration is more important than Democratic performance. Democrats can be turned out blindly in most parts of the state for statewide campaigns, even in a heavily Republican county such as El Paso. The Western Slope and Plains regions are areas where Democrats may not be turned out blindly.

Research, microtargeting and polling projects:

- A specific Hispanic, bilingual, microtargeting project may also be appropriate to focus resources and refine the mix of Spanish-language versus bilingual communications and persuasion versus GOTV targeting among this critical voting bloc.
- Hispanic focus groups and research should take place in May or June (but after microtargeting so that information can be utilized in the polling). Hispanic focus groups should occur in Adams County, Pueblo, and the San Luis valley. Polling, following the focus groups, should occur statewide with a sample of 600 to 800 voters.
- Suburban focus groups should occur in areas with the largest drop-off from Salazar to Kerry in 2004 to develop an understanding of voters’ feelings toward Democrats.
- Microtargeting to score Democrats who might defect.
- Microtargeting to score Republicans who are likely to cross over. The vote goals require about 14% of the Republican vote to win. The microtargeting project needs to determine three target audiences: statewide persuasion targets, statewide GOTV targets, and statewide ticket-splitter targets.
- Microtargeting to develop targets among unaffiliated voters who are key swing voter targets and almost all should be considered persuadable.
- A specific Hispanic, bilingual, microtargeting project may also be appropriate to focus resources and refine the mix of Spanish-language versus bilingual communications and persuasion versus GOTV targeting among this critical voting bloc.

Issues/Messaging:

- In 2008, we would assume that campaigns would focus on candidate specific persuasion and candidate-specific pushes around early voting and GOTV to audiences that require that specific candidate message push. Independent groups have a tremendous opportunity to educate their
constituencies on key issues and motivate participation in a decisive election. We would recommend that the independent efforts focus on early issue education, early base motivation, VBM recruitment, early vote turnout and Latino education and turnout.
Florida

Things to remember:

- Miami & Tampa media markets lost 0.7% and 0.9%, respectively, in terms of vote share. It is possible that Tampa will rebound somewhat in 2008, as the market has seen population growth around the level of the state average. West Palm Beach also lost a small 0.2% of the state share.

Research, microtargeting and polling projects:

- Effective statewide polling in Florida requires large sample sizes (1200 or more target market breakdowns) and bilingual interviewing in Miami-Dade, Broward, Orange, Osceola, and Hillsborough counties. Pay attention to the composition of each market to evaluate messages; do not focus on the statewide number. Too often, decisions are made to run ads with the highest testing number statewide, a number that is driven up by responses in the Miami and Palm Beach media markets. Basic rules of thumb for effective use of research are as follows:
  - Always conduct bilingual interviewing and complete (not “weight up”) at least 3% of the total sample in Spanish.
  - Break the state into media markets and regions that mirror the key regional breakdowns and allow targeting in the big three markets of Tampa, Orlando, and Miami.
  - Conduct microtargeting to maximize support among white Democrats in north Florida or the Trending GOP, Local Democrat/State GOP counties. A majority of these white Democrats support the Democratic candidate; the goal is to move that support from 60 to 70% into the 80% range.
  - Do not use Spanish-language research from other states in Florida. Microtargeting to Hispanics should be bilingual, with a goal of accounting for country of origin when possible. Do not buy into the misconception that the Miami-Dade Latino vote is changing linearly toward support for Democrats; instead, measure that support with a targeting and scoring project that measures the differences among Hispanics between media markets.
  - Statewide microtargeting should help identify Republicans open to persuasion.
  - Conduct frequent media market studies in key markets or regions to refine the buy in each market, rather than relying on a statewide poll where the sample may or may not effectively reflect the demographics of each market.
  - A listed sample asking for the individual will yield an exceptionally old result and will not be reflective of demographics in the state. Consistently monitor the sample to ensure it is not too old, and that it has enough African American and Hispanic voters to reflect the state.
  - On Independents: Tampa and Orlando are better persuasion targets than north or south Florida (check your polls before concluding this). If there are budget questions or oversamples, make sure that Tampa and Orlando are included first.
  - Persuasion programs should be targeted regionally within the state. This might require a variety of research that goes beyond statewide polling to help determine the overall targets. For example:
    - Statewide benchmark and trend polls with a large enough sample (600–800) to see changes in the Tampa and Orlando markets.
    - A microtargeting project with oversamples in specific regions or with Independents.
    - Focus groups by region or demographic group (Hispanics particularly).
• Polls focused solely on a region or a demographic group.

Issues/Messaging:

• Same-sex marriage. (Initiative likely to be on the ballot.)
• Hometown democracy. There is a “hometown democracy” initiative in the works to require that all zoning changes at the local level be put to a vote of the people.
Iowa

Things to remember:

- Increased young voter turnout is likely given the new Election Day Registration (EDR). Researchers Michael Alvarez and Jonathan Nagler estimate that overall voter turnout will increase by 4.9% in Iowa — by 10.7% among voters age 18 to 25. Consider a poll to determine how best to reach Iowa’s young voters.

Research, microtargeting and polling projects:

- Conduct qualitative and quantitative research beginning in March or April 2008 – soon after both parties have presumptively settled on their nominees.
- Conduct microtargeting analysis of: No Party voters (for the persuasion program); Republican women; Probably same-day registration targets
- Expand topics in tracking polls beyond candidate attributes and issues batteries to include:
  - An absentee voting question, specifically about whether the respondent has voted and, if so, for whom. This would be very helpful in analyzing voting trends earlier on and may even identify problematic areas for the Democratic candidates, particularly given the emphasis both parties place on absentee voting. Additionally, this additional polling question could illustrate trends amongst key demographics like No Party, senior, and women voters.
  - Oversample of No Party registrants and “soft” supporters of Democratic and Republican nominees.

Issues/Messaging:

- Conduct in-state focus groups with:
  - No Party and Republican women regarding national issues and also Iowa-specific concerns, like:
    - Rural development, including attitudes toward health care access, farm consolidation, fair trade, conservation, and alternative crops.
    - Cultural wedge issues including abortion, gay marriage, gun control, illegal immigration, and the English-only debate.
    - Economic diversification, including the development of ethanol and other alternative and renewable energy sources.
    - Education.
    - Environmental protection, specifically including attitudes toward hog lots and pollution caused by fertilizer runoff.
    - Governmental accountability, including fiscal responsibility and public ethics.
    - Labor issues, including Right-To-Work and “fair share.”
    - National Guard deployments, specifically attitudes toward effects on homeland security and Iowa families.
Michigan

Things to remember:

- Michigan registers a persuasion index several points higher than most other swing states.
- Pollsters and political strategists familiar with Michigan voters contend that the volatility and late decision-making of the Michigan electorate are heavily influenced by the stagnant economy.
- Don’t assume you’ve won it until the votes are counted. In 2004, the state was rated a win for Kerry in September. Then four critical weeks passed with a minimum of paid media and candidate activity and limited other nonparty-based activities. The lead vanished. It was only through an expensive game of catch-up that Kerry was able to pull off the close win on Election Day.
- Michigan is an older state and, since the mid-1990s, the senior vote has become increasingly more of a swing group. Exit polls in Michigan show seniors (65 and older) with an increasing share of the vote (8% in 2000 to 15% in 2004).
- Geographic differences should be considered. There are some issues that play differently in different parts of the state. In the northern Michigan markets, the more Detroit-specific, urban messaging will need to be revised. In fact, in those markets, some of the issues in the rural parts of Wisconsin and Minnesota may be better fits.
- Don’t embark on any new microtargeting without talking to the groups that have done it in the past. EMILY’s List and the NEA poured enormous resources into a statewide modeling project in 2006. Based on an extensive post-election evaluation (see The Atlas Top Files), EMILY’s List would like to update this work so that it is applicable for 2008.

Research, microtargeting and polling projects:

- Conduct a state-specific poll. In 2004, it was only after a state-specific poll had revealed the potency of the Canadian trash issue that the national campaign began using the message.
- Democrats should investigate slippage among upper-income voters to determine whether it is an ongoing trend, what is causing it, and how best to address it. If polling indicates continuing weakness, Democrats may need to shore up support among voters with higher incomes.
- Critical swing voters. The Democratic base areas of the state (cities of Detroit, Flint, and Saginaw and Washtenaw County, where Ann Arbor is located) are still strong areas for the party, but the declining population in each of those areas makes moving swing voters even more critical.
- There is an urgent need for expanded persuasion programs in geographic areas (like Oakland County) and among demographic groups (like unmarried women) that are swinging the Democrats’ way.
- Add two new questions to in-state polls: a question about whether anyone in the household was once a union member, and a crosstab for voters who plan to vote absentee.
- According to some pollsters, Michigan voters, more than those in other states, for the most part hold their governor more responsible than the president for the state of the economy. Consider poll questions to discern how voters feel about Gov. Jennifer Granholm (D).
- Future microtargeting efforts should evaluate what information is most useful to model a voter. Those involved in the project had the sense that using the more permanent aspects of a voter’s life to model — for example, marital status, family status, church membership, gun ownership, etc. — seemed to be more
effective than issue/values modeling, specifically in Michigan, where the economy and jobs are far and away the most salient issues to voters (creating one big cluster). Certain issues are more fleeting and time-sensitive (for example, voters are likely to care about education more in the fall when their kids are going back to school, but less so later in the year), making it hard to create clusters around this. However, the candidate scoring information proved effective for those particular candidates (less so for the rest of the ticket), and turnout scores improved the efficiency of voter contact. The other challenge with modeling is that voters at the extremes were easier to categorize, while those in the middle (the swing voters) had characteristics that could have put them in several different groups, making message decisions more difficult.

- One of the challenges for 2008 modeling will be to provide something that can be used up and down the ticket, not just at the top (unlike the 2004 DNC modeling, which was Kerry-specific and not applicable to other races).

**Issues/Messaging:**

- While there are less infrequent voters to motivate in a presidential election, a September 2007 statewide poll done by Celinda Lake, did indicate that a health care message could be a very effective message and turnout device, particularly among independent and swing voters.
- Cultural conservatism. Michigan has a streak of cultural conservatism on issues like guns, immigration, abortion, gay marriage, and affirmative action. In particular, labor union members and retirees are targets for Republican efforts to utilize wedge issues. They can’t trump a good economic message, but a race fought on social issues will likely result in Democrats’ losing more of our base than Republicans do.
- Environment. Generations of Michigan families have grown up with this. It is part of their heritage, and they will fight like crazy to protect it from oil drilling, water diversion, invasive species, or pollution. Beyond just appreciating the lakes and outdoors, Michigan residents are active in all manner of outdoor pursuits.
- The northern border. Their border between Detroit and Windsor, Ontario, is the largest, most active northern border crossing in the nation. An additional crossing at Port Huron (one hour north of Detroit) is significant as well. These border crossings bring with them a host of homeland security issues, but also issues of commerce, Canadian trash. Any candidate running in Michigan needs to get up to speed on the issue of Ontario trash (specifically Toronto, as the largest offender) being dumped in Michigan. It has been used very effectively by both state and congressional Democrats against Republicans. It was an issue in the 2004 and 2006 elections and is certain to be an issue in 2008.
- Tax sensitivity. Michigan is a very tax-sensitive state. This has become an increasingly difficult issue in 2007 given that recent votes by the legislature and governor to raise taxes to help balance the budget will only make it more so. These recent votes may lead to recalls of some of these elected officials, which will extend the issue’s salience. The tax issue and the economy feed into why 70% of state voters feel the state is going in the wrong direction, and both Democrats and Republicans are to blame. Any Democrat running risks charges of being a tax-and-spend liberal. It is very important that the label not stick. Republicans in-state are already aggressively using this message against in-state Democrats.
- Immigration. Massive manufacturing job losses to countries like Mexico (and China) only amplify well-reported national concerns that more open immigration policies could put our way of life at risk. Immigration was the key wedge issue for Republicans in 2006 and still looks to be one in 2008 (according to some polls done this year).
- Female candidates. Given the difficult economic times, Michigan voters want their leaders to be tough (or at least perceived as tough) and this applies in particular to female leaders.
- Understand Michigan’s economy.
• It is not just the automotive industry. Michigan is the center of American manufacturing, and ALL manufacturers are facing similar challenges from expanding globalization.

• Democrats often feel compelled to “blame” the auto companies for perceived failures to adapt that have led to this current situation. Organizations should resist the urge to do this, even in passing. Despite the current difficulties facing the industry, voters are still very proud of their automotive heritage and will rebel against candidates that are seen as disparaging that heritage.

• Despite poll numbers showing Michigan residents approve of increases in Corporate Average Fuel Economy (CAFE) standards, do not assume that support gives candidates a pass on the issue. Auto companies, unions, and most of the statewide media are still united in their opposition to CAFE increases. Presidential candidates may have a record of supporting increases — but they should tread lightly and take some time to develop talking points on the issue before campaigning in Michigan.

• It’s not just Detroit. There are major manufacturing facilities in every area of the state (except the far north and the UP). Flint, Lansing, Grand Rapids, Muskegon, Jackson, Saginaw, and many other cities are essentially manufacturing-based economies. Western Michigan (centered in Grand Rapids) is one of the world leaders in furniture manufacturing.

• Don’t try to explain globalization to the voters. They understand it and have lived with it for years. They know it is cheaper to produce overseas (or in the American South), but feel there is a compelling interest to preserving domestic manufacturing in spite of the bottom line. They think manufacturing is important. They think other countries fight for their industries (with tariffs, government health care, state-run research and development, and even support for billion-dollar counterfeiting markets), while America turns a blind eye.

• Management and labor work very closely together on the major issues affecting manufacturing.
Minnesota

Things to remember:

• It is recommended that outside groups wanting to run issue ads about key progressive policies work with ABM (Alliance for a Better Minnesota, a 501(c)(4) organization with a sister 501(c)(3)) to develop a paid media campaign strategy, which ABM could then execute in Minnesota. ABM, led by Denise Cardinal, will be working with local, state, and national entities — along with America Votes — to ensure that the polling conducted in the state is as coordinated as possible, with cost savings for the participating groups. ABM will also be sharing the message frames with the broader community so these other groups can best develop their own direct voter contact/membership recruitment/issue-based campaign work in the coming months. One role of ABM in the Minnesota progressive community is to link state and national efforts through its message development work to help organizations have integrated, layered messages. If an outside group (i.e.: outside of the party/candidates) would find ABM’s polling useful for its own activities in Minnesota, that group should work with ABM and contribute to the polling program rather than pay for another poll. If that’s not possible, then the group should at least coordinate its polling schedule and questions with ABM to reduce/eliminate duplication and keep the polls as accurate and helpful as possible. This means, for example, ensuring the geographic and demographic breakouts by region in statewide polls is consistent.

• Since eligible voter turnout is so high in Minnesota, a challenge for pollsters is making sure samples do not exclude groups of likely voters. For this reason, pollsters who do a lot of work in Minnesota recommend using random digit dialing of residents and not drawing samples from the voter file.

• The Minnesota persuadable electorate has a history of being fluid up until the final weeks of an election, so it is dangerous for campaigns to poll Minnesota voters before three weeks out.

• The “Lake Wobegon” effect — in reference to the popular Garrison Keillor radio show “A Prairie Home Companion,” which refers to a mythical small town in western Minnesota where “all the men are good-looking, all the women are strong, and all the children are above average.” Minnesotans generally believe that their quality of life is “above average” (despite the cold winter weather). Minnesotans generally score the quality of education, health care, and stewardship of the environment high.

Research, microtargeting and polling projects:

• Since there is no party registration, continued modeling is an essential component to maintaining and improving the Minnesota voter files and to targeting efforts. On the America Votes file, EMILY’s List invested in a substantial modeling project which became a very helpful targeting tool. In 2008, the modeling needs to become further refined and more precise to better sort the large pools of unidentified voters on both voter files. The Minnesota America Votes Table is developing a plan for modeling on the voter file in 2008, and we recommend that it be funded.

• Consider focus groups or an oversampling of the following blocs of infrequent progressive voters: youth (18-29) vote (96,000 infrequent progressive voters), urban apartment dwellers (45,000), urban African Americans (24,000), Somali, Native American, and Urban Hmong (5,000).
• In March, a 2008 round of micro-targeting to create candidate scores will need to be done for both the America Votes and DFL voter files. A subscription model for this work should be explored. These new rounds of micro-targeting should build on the substantial data in both voter files and good scoring work in 2006 to achieve a higher level of precision to better target within the unknown/no information segments of the voter files.

• To aid messaging, targeting, and candidate scoring efforts for all organizations, two rounds of thorough polling should be conducted, first when the nominee is known and then again after the Republican National Convention. For candidate scoring and messaging focused on the U.S. Senate race, a thorough poll should be conducted just after the Sept. 9 primary, if it is contested. A targeting scheme that divides the state into 11 regions and helps explain the nuances of the electorate should be uniformly utilized for targeting: Urban: Duluth, St. Paul, and Minneapolis; Ramsey County Suburban; Hennepin County Suburban (the state’s largest county without Minneapolis included); Inner Suburbs; Inner Exurbs; Outer Exurbs; Rural Northeast; Rural South; Rural West.

• For the organizational sector, ABM operates as a message contact point and collective message research and dissemination operation for the Minnesota America Votes Table as well as the Minnesota Voter Engagement Table (the 501(c)(3) Table). Lisa Grove is the pollster for ABM. It is recommended that ABM’s research plan be fully funded at $100,000, and national organizations planning to poll in Minnesota share in or sync up with ABM’s polling and research program.

• An early research project for ABM is to gain a better understanding of voters within the large pool of voters currently in the unknown and persuadable pool. Focus groups will be held with voters who have Hatch for Governor scores between 4 and 7.5 in the suburbs and exurbs to understand the sets of issues at play with this group and better understand how economic security, taxes, and spending are working with this segment of the electorate.

• Identify, persuade, and turn out new progressive voters primarily in suburbs.

• Conduct voter research to determine who are swing, persuadable voters in 2008 through polling and other research instruments.

• Conduct modeling in June 2008 to better predict who are the likely swing and base pick-up voters.

• Conduct research to identify non-candidate messengers and messages for swing voters.

• Real-time field testing should be conducted along the way across a random, valid sample of the targeted swing universe to gauge effectiveness and determine what, if any, additional work is needed.

**Suggested Polling Schedule:**

- Thorough pre-convention/late-spring poll once there is a presumptive nominee. This poll should be done with the micro-targeting program in mind.
- Need to be mindful of the timing of the late primary (September 9).
- Weekly tracking.
- Thorough poll three weeks out from Election Day.
- Tracking schedule determined by the results of the three-week-out poll.

**Issues/Messaging:**

• Polling has shown the state to be consistently pro-choice, but more ambivalent when probed about late-term abortion and parental notification. Research has found that voters, even pro-choice, have a negative reaction to the issue being discussed at all in a campaign context.

• Minnesota is a fiscally conservative state that frowns on deficit spending. People believe in public investment but are tax sensitive as well. The Minnesota Taxpayers League is an influential anti-tax organization that has pushed to keep Republicans in line around no new taxes.

• There is a schism between environmentalists and outdoor advocates and some industries that want to use motorized transport and allow more access to federal lands. Minnesota is one the largest manufacturers of...
snowmobiles in the country. The NRA has a presence and attacks Democratic candidates on gun issues in the rural, exurban, and northeastern parts of the state. Conservation groups (e.g., Ducks Unlimited, Pheasants Forever) set themselves apart from environmental groups, and more and more are opening up to Democrats.

- Minnesotans associate immigration with terrorism more than in other places because Zacarias Moussaoui, one of the 9/11 plotters, took flight lessons in Minnesota and was arrested here. The issue was expected to play out negatively for Democrats in the 2006 elections, but it did not seem to have much effect.

- The economic frustrations of middle-class voters played a large role in Amy Klobuchar’s win in 2006.

- Issues that resonated with MN voters the most in the 2006 governor’s race: making college more affordable, health care affordable & accessible, paying for better roads and transportation, creating good-paying jobs, improving public schools, lowering taxes (esp. property taxes).

- While Gov. Tim Pawlenty (R) claims that he’s kept his “no new taxes” pledge, the fact is most Minnesotans don’t believe they pay any less (or even the same) in taxes. The services Minnesotans rely on — education, health care, transportation infrastructure, etc. — have declined in quality. This challenge could emerge as an opportunity if handled correctly.

- An independent, private poll of 500 likely voters conducted for progressive groups in Minnesota by Lisa Grove in June (after the legislative session) in key legislative districts — most of them in the suburbs and southeastern Minnesota — found:
  - Expanding health care coverage to 78,000 additional Minnesotans, requiring increased auto fuel efficiency standards, and increasing education funding are all very popular. These three proposals garner support from around two-thirds (66%) of the electorate.
  - Increasing taxes on the wealthiest Minnesotans is supported with or without the reduced property taxes. These voters don’t seem to find any problem with either idea. Even a majority of Republican voters support both concepts.
  - Other popular proposals include requiring auto insurance companies to reimburse policyholders for the full cost of damage suffered in an accident, and increasing education funding by 3% and using most of the money for special education costs. Note that the education dollars were not attached to a specific funding mechanism.
  - It should be noted that support for increasing education funding appears to be somewhat conditional. While voters are extremely supportive of this concept in and of itself, attaching this money to increased funding for special education faces greater scrutiny. In this case, support drops by 10 percentage points to just over six in 10 voters. While this is by no means a poor showing for this proposal, Democrats should keep this decline in support in mind — especially given that “strong” support for this education plan declines from one-half of the electorate to just one-third if voters learn about the earmark for special education. Support for education funding when it is dedicated to special education is most likely to decline among college graduates, downscale voters, women, Democrats, greater Minnesota residents and voters under 50.
  - Swing district voters support efforts to reduce dependence on foreign oil. More than six in 10 believe we need to “act now” to reduce this dependence, while just over half hold this opinion “strongly.” Only around one-quarter endorse the view that we must go more slowly to avoid harming the economy. This concept is supported across the board, even by a majority of Republicans. Every major region that encompasses this swing territory can be counted as supportive of an aggressive renewable energy policy — though it is interesting to note that union members are less likely to support this proposal than non-union members by a margin of 15%.
  - Support for an aggressive renewable energy policy is mirrored in voters’ aversion to a gas tax. These voters are clamoring for relief from high costs at the pump and are not supportive of raising those costs even further. A majority oppose raising the gas tax by 5 cents to pay for both roads and transit.

Pollsters working in MN include: Diane Feldman; Lisa Grove; Donna Victoria; Greenberg/Quinlan; Celinda Lake.
Missouri

Things to remember:

- Winning Missouri requires slight improvements in media markets that do not constitute a large enough share of the vote to produce meaningful polling data from polls with typical sample sizes. The Springfield market amounts to about 14% of the statewide vote share, but contains 18.6% of the persuadable vote. It is important that the campaign use research methods and appropriate tools to accurately assess where the candidate stands in this and other smaller markets. True movement must be distinguishable from fluctuations that could be the result of sample size variations.
- The St. Louis and Kansas City media markets are large enough to get meaningful crosstabs in a poll of typical sample size.
- Secondary markets like Springfield, Columbia, and Cape Girardeau can all play a key role in helping to mitigate the losses that will accrue in the rural parts of the state. Television buys in these markets should be designed to counter the negative image that Republicans will be pushing — that Democrats are not only out of touch with people from these parts of the state, but actually affirmatively hostile to them and their life choices.
- Messages should be catered to urban, suburban, and rural audiences.
- Segment universe (i.e. African American urban, suburban, rural) with targeted messages based on polling.

Research, micro-targeting and polling projects:

- The campaign may wish to conduct larger sample polls, region-specific polls, or selected oversamples to gather data at a micro-level to make informed media decisions.
- Micro-targeting is necessary due to lack of party reg.
- Consider individual polls for specific media markets, or at least oversamples for important regions.
- Conduct early focus groups in the smaller markets. Given that Democrats must improve in the rural and exurban portions of the state, consider focus groups in those areas to better understand the preconceived notions that these voters bring to candidates running as Democrats.
- Consider a research project to identify a means to cross-pressure “values voters.” It is important to deliver media that connects with voters’ values.
- We recommend early analysis to determine whether it makes sense to buy cable in some of the smaller markets, either as a substitute for or an enhancement of broadcast television.
- Consider polling questions on how voters feel about measures and issues that may be on the ballot: stem cells, affirmative action, immigration, English only, health care, TABOR, anti-courts measure, eminent domain, prohibition in judges raising taxes.

Prominent Democratic pollsters who have done significant and recent work in Missouri include: Garin Hart Yang, Greenberg Quinlan, The Feldman Group, and Lake Research.
Nevada

Things to remember:
- The large number of early voters
- The growth and influx of new residents
- Irregular work schedules
- Differences among Clark County, Reno, and the rural counties
- The growing population of Latino voters.
- Differences between base Democrats, new voters, and rural voters.

Research, micro-targeting and polling projects:
- Yucca Mountain continues to be one of the largest federal issues in Nevada. There are mixed views from instate experts as to its effectiveness as a campaign issue, but it should continue to be researched and tested for effectiveness.
- Surrogate activity. Third party groups and Reid continue to be the best in-state surrogates to present. Out-of-state surrogates should be recognizable figures or regional leaders, as opposed to people with strong titles, especially in Las Vegas, where big names are in town every day. In-state experts have suggested the following big names as top surrogates, who should be poll tested: President Bill Clinton, Former TN Congressman Harold Ford Jr., Georgia Congressman John Lewis, P. Diddy, Leonardo DiCaprio, entertainers/performers booked to play Las Vegas, country music performers, AZ Gov. Janet Napolitano, MT Gov. Brian Schweitzer (Washoe, rural), MT Sen. Jon Tester (Washoe, rural), Los Angeles Mayor Antonio Villaraigosa, former Sen. Max Cleland (vets); NY Gov. Eliot Spitzer, and NM Gov. Bill Richardson.

Suggested Polling Schedule:
May/June: Focus Groups
- Las Vegas media market: 1 for base voters. 1 for swing voters.
- Reno media market
- Rural
June/July: Benchmark polls.
- Las Vegas media market.
- Reno and Salt Lake City media markets.
September: Niche surveys
- Early voters (Clark and Washoe counties)
- Rural voters (outside Clark and Washoe counties)
- New registrants (early October.)
October: Tracking polls
New Hampshire

Things to remember:

- Although the state has been trending Democratic in recent years, it is important to remember that the margin is still small, and effective messaging to undeclared, persuadable voters is the key to victory.
- According to pollsters familiar with the state, New Hampshire natives and non-natives are very different voters and respond to different campaigns.
  - Native voters are more likely to be older, more economically downscale, and blue collar. They are more likely to live in the northern parts of the state. These voters tend to be very responsive to populist oriented messaging.
  - Non-natives tend to be concentrated in the Boston media market (particularly the southeastern portion of the state). They tend to be younger, have families, and frequently commute to jobs in Massachusetts. Given their typically busy lives, these voters tend to decide late and are more likely to be swing voters. As they tend to relate less to a New Hampshire identity, they are usually not as responsive to populist oriented messages as native voters.

Research, micro-targeting and polling projects:

- State-specific polling should be used to develop state-specific messaging. In 2008, we anticipate that the national party will be pushing Iraq/Bush 24/7, and although it will remain a powerful message, it cannot be to the exclusion of a positive local message.
- Third party organizations should carry the anti-war message and other messages that might be seen as negative (or comparative), while allowing candidates to emphasize their positive message. For example, MoveOn.org has already run ads on Sununu’s support of the war and they have been effective. Early polling is necessary, in order to fine tune the message.

Issues/Messaging:

- Immigration was the key wedge issue for Republicans in 2006 and still looks to be one in 2008 (according to some polls done this year). The immigration issue may cut with Democrats in the swing areas of Manchester and Nashua and to a lesser extent in Rochester.
- A potential challenge, especially with three of the five major candidates in New Hampshire likely to be women, is whether they will be perceived by voters as tough enough to deal with issues like the war in Iraq, homeland security and the war on terrorism.
- New Hampshire voters care about all the same things that voters nationally care about: the war in Iraq, national security, health care, education, the environment, etc.
- As message development is undertaken, particular attention should be given to:
  - Tax sensitivity. New Hampshire is a very tax sensitive state, and the recent increase in highway tolls and the vote in this year’s municipal election in Dover to impose a tax cap will only make it more so. There is a movement in many communities to also impose tax caps that will keep the issue salient even longer. Democrats will be at risk for falling under charges of being tax-and-spend liberals. It is very important that the label not stick.
• Cultural conservatism. NH still has a streak of cultural conservatism on issues like guns, immigration, abortion, gay marriage, and affirmative action. Swing areas like Manchester, Nashua, and Rochester are targets for Republican efforts to utilize wedge issues in today’s elections. A good economic message helps, but a race fought on social issues will likely be more damaging to our base than to theirs.
• Environment. NH is a beautiful state that is very environmentally sensitive and friendly. Concern for the environment is deeply ingrained and cuts across party lines. Often leading Republicans have excellent records on the environment and will sometimes break with the national Republican Party. This issue may be most effective for the top of the ticket.
• Economy. The economy will continue to be an important issue, particularly with the subprime loan crisis and the extremely high cost of gasoline and home heating oil (which have recently reached record highs of over three dollars per gallon).
• Crime and education. In the recent municipal elections, the three issues that predominated debate were taxes, crime, and education.

• Unique local concerns worth noting:
  • Manchester. Immigration and crime.
  • Nashua. Immigration, the railroad and transportation, environmental concern, and opposition to building a water bottling plant in the area.
  • Portsmouth Area. Keeping the Navy shipyard open. Part of Governor Lynch’s popularity is based on his role in successfully reversing the decision by the federal government to close the shipyard, early in his first term.
  • Seacoast Area. Protection of ground water and recent tax cap referendum that passed in Dover.
  • Coos County. Loss of 300 jobs with recent closing of the Wausau Paper Mill in Groveton.
New Mexico

Things to remember:

- Groups looking to do research in New Mexico and other western states are advised to consult with Project New West (PNW) about their past polling results, schedule for future polling, and insight to what they have learned.
- Democratic registration is only half the story; the other half is persuasion.
- While campaigns should try to isolate the most persuadable segments of Republicans (pro-choice women), the bulk of persuasion lies with Democratic and decline-to-state voters.
- The large Democratic Party registration advantage in New Mexico belies the truly swing nature of the state. This makes it critical for pollsters to include both party registration and self-identification in surveys. Party registration is essential for voter contact programs, but party self-identification is critical for understanding the true partisan nature of the electorate and its various sub-groups. If pulling samples from a voter file, the pollster should include party registration data from the file, while asking party identification in the survey.
- If conducting a random digit dialing survey, the pollster should ask questions that enable them to match the data back to the voter file to pull party registration. If this is not possible, the pollster should ask both party registration and self-identification, although this is less than ideal, as voter recall of party registration is less than perfect.
- The state divides in three main ways: partisanship, ethnicity, and region. No cross-tabular analysis is more important than those three. Moreover, the interaction between ethnicity and region is critical. Particularly important is segmenting urban vs. rural Hispanics. Pollsters should aim for a sample of at least 600 voters (ensuring about 200 Hispanics). Well-funded organizations should consider larger samples for baseline surveys to allow for differentiation between urban and rural Hispanics.
- A sample size of at least 600 should be used if possible to ensure at least 200 Hispanics. If possible, organizations should do larger baseline surveys to allow for distinctions between rural and urban/suburban Hispanics.
- Media markets: Set a quota to get the right proportion of the electorate from each media market. The two smaller markets (Amarillo and El Paso) are very different from each other and from Albuquerque. El Paso (Dona Ana County) is particularly important. If you are not careful, it is very easy to under-represent this area.
- Interviewing Hispanics. The electorate in New Mexico is usually 30-33% Hispanic. Surveys typically attain 25-30% Hispanic unweighted and are adjusted to reach the right proportion. Voter files in the state have a flag for Hispanic surnames, but as elsewhere, it is not perfect.
- Nearly 9% of the population is Native American. Run ads on Navajo Radio (KTNN and the Gallup country station KGLX).
- Media-wise, base messages broadcast over mass media are similar to persuasion messages. Past successful base messages about education and job creation were nearly identical for base and persuasion universes because both issues are so important in the state. There really is no division according to universe. Everyone recognizes the education system needs vast improvement and
everyone recognizes how the state has historically lagged when it comes to creating high-wage jobs. Therefore, a message to a base universe on jobs or education need not be different than the message to the persuasion universe, because these issues generally move both universes. An exception to the one message for both persuasion and base universes can be found in certain northern and southern Hispanic communities. In the north, successful base media and messages have focused on preserving heritage, culture and the land and water resources of the rural Hispanics who can trace their heritage back hundreds of years. Popular grassroots stations include KDCE in Rio Arriba County, KNMX and KFUN in San Miguel County, and KSWV in Santa Fe. In the south, successful base messages focus on opportunity and the ability of Democrats to speak to the issues being faced by working New Mexicans. This is typically broadcast in more Mexican Spanish while ads in the north should be written in more New Mexican Spanish, with some English peppered in.

- Radio is an important mode of communications in the rural parts of the state. Rural radio buys should begin in July and run throughout the campaign, with metro radio starting in August, mainly because of increased cost.
- Television buys often begin in late July or early August. The Republicans have often gone on the air earlier than Democratic candidates, allowing them to define statewide Democrats before those Democrats could go up on TV. Campaigns and organizations should not be afraid to go on TV early (it is a relatively inexpensive state) and then make later decisions on buys based on up-to-date polling information.
- With slightly more than 50% of voters expected to cast their votes early, either by mail or by voting early at designated locations, it will be critical to launch persuasion and GOTV efforts well in advance of October 7, which is the first day to vote by mail.

Research, micro-targeting and polling projects:

- Focus groups are important in NM, given the importance of authenticity to NM voters. Focus groups should be done early in the campaign and again later to test ads. Given the large percentage of the population living in the Albuquerque metro area, most of the focus groups conducted in New Mexico occur in Albuquerque. The facility there can also attract people from the surrounding areas. Las Cruces and Santa Fe are the other two areas where pollsters often do focus groups. Outside of those three areas, the towns are small and spread out, making it harder to conduct focus groups. Of course, Anglo and Hispanic focus groups should be done separately with appropriate moderators.
- Democratic candidates need to persuade conservative Democrats to remain loyal to the party. This might require a persuasion program targeting these Democrats with a specific regional message. Albuquerque Democrats, Santa Fe Democrats, and rural Democrats all respond to unique messages.
- Democratic candidates in 2008 should look to increase the Democratic vote from women. Consider doing a research project to determine how best to do that.
- Consider doing a Hispanic only baseline survey in early 2008 to accurately capture the mood of the community and draw out the differences between Northern Hispanics in CD3 and Southern Hispanics in CD2. Bush greatly improved in his share of the Hispanic vote, winning 44% as opposed to 32% in 2000. A Democratic priority should again be to win close to 70% of the Hispanic vote in 2008. After the baseline survey, re-assess after the June primary. Poll every two to three weeks. Then, poll weekly for the last five weeks.
- Bush scored strong gains in voters under the age of 60, while older voters remained strongly Democratic in 2004. This is an important trend to watch in the future as it runs somewhat counter to national trends. Consider a research project to determine how Democrats can improve their support from young voters in NM, as it may be more difficult to maintain an 11% lead among older voters.
- A micro-targeting survey should be considered given the difference between Democratic registration and Democratic voting. The survey should probably take place early in the summer after the primaries, as we would want to generate candidate scores for both presidential and Senate candidates.
The survey should take place relatively soon after the primary, as field campaigns will want to use the data in their summer base vote and persuasion programs.

**Issues/Messaging:**

- From an issue standpoint, a handful of these stand out for poll testing:
  - **Iraq, security, veterans.** As elsewhere in the country, we can expect Iraq to play a large role in the 2008 elections. It is currently the top issue for voters here and like elsewhere, they are frustrated with Bush’s failed policy there. But NM is also a state where veterans’ issues and military bases are important. In 2006, some of Richardson’s most powerful ads focused on his efforts to save Cannon AFB and to provide additional life insurance to military families from New Mexico.
  - **Education and jobs.** When it comes to state politics, education has long been the top issue for voters in New Mexico. They understand that public schools in the state are sub par and view education as key to success. The power of education, especially when tied to jobs, is strong enough that it can play a role in federal elections as well.
  - **Health care.** As we are seeing elsewhere, voter concerns about health care no longer divide simply between access and affordability but are fundamentally about security. The question is no longer do you have health insurance, but do you fear that you might not have it if you lose your job or that it will become prohibitively expensive?
  - **Energy.** Although NM is an oil and gas state, it is also quickly becoming a leader in alternative energy, such as wind and solar power. For a state with a history of self-esteem problems, the notion of leading the country in alternative energy is appealing and should be part of any Democrat’s strategy.
  - **Crime and drugs.** Albuquerque suffers from crime problems and many parts of the state suffer from drunk driving and meth problems, issues that often pop up in surveys in state races.
  - **Immigration.** New Mexico Republicans have increasingly focused on illegal immigration in an effort to energize their base, particularly in the state’s small-town and rural areas. Having a Hispanic culture in New Mexico produces an electorate with nuanced views on the issue of immigration. The Albuquerque Journal’s series on the issue in 2005, based on a Brian Sanderhof poll, provides context.
  - **Water.** New Mexico’s dearth of water is a political issue that has been around for some time and, remains powerful. Water is a resource issue but also a cultural issue in parts of the state. In 2002, Richardson ran an effective ad where he stood by an acequia (the communal irrigation system that exists in parts of the state) as he talked about his water policy plans.
  - New Mexicans cherish the state’s quality of life, most pronounced in its outdoor beauty and easy pace. But this warm embrace of the state is coupled with voters’ recognition of the social woes afflicting New Mexico. Voters do not want their political candidates to rub their noses in NM’s problems by repeating the painful statistics
  - In other western states, “Latino” is an acceptable and agreed-upon term. In NM, the Hispanic community prefers Hispanic over Latino, because many can trace their roots back hundreds of years.
  - In NM, a poor state with a history of never quite getting over the hump in terms of developing a modern economy, this is not, “I wish we had better jobs.” This is, “I wish we had jobs, period.” Therefore, consistently winning messages in NM have always centered on economic issues.
  - Accurately portraying New Mexicans in the media. New Mexicans tend to be very sensitive about how they are portrayed. They are not all cowboys wearing John Deere hats, Native Americans wearing feathers, or Hispanics driving low-riders. In-state experts stressed that New Mexicans should be portrayed the way they really are: as ordinary Americans, just like everyone else in the country.
  - No saguaro cactuses. They are not native to NM. In the 2006 cycle, the Albuquerque Journal thought it was so important that they ran a front page story on the DCCC’s independent expenditure committee’s use of a Saguaro in a commercial.
Pollsters who have worked in NM: Al Quinlan and Mike Bocian; Lake Research Partners; Guy Molyneaux (at Garin-Hart-Yang); Brian Sanderoff (Research and Polling, Inc.)
Ohio

Things to remember:

  Ten distinct polling regions. Clustered samples off the voter file with quotas or stratification by age have proven accurate across several recent elections and have been used by multiple polling firms. The challenge in understanding the state through polling is in capturing its regionalized nature, with distinct concerns, religious beliefs, and cultures in different segments. The regionalization is not well defined by media markets, which cross regional and cultural divides. Understanding polling in the state requires understanding the unique dynamics of each of (at least) ten distinct areas.

- A quick rundown of the regions follows:
  - Southeast Appalachian Ohio is rural with a history of small manufacturing and mining. It is Protestant, populist, and culturally conservative.
  - Southwest combines Cincinnati and Hamilton County, with its white German Catholic and fiscally conservative and African American core, and is surrounded by Butler, Clermont, and Warren counties, which are one of two hearts of the Christian Right movement in the state.
  - Dayton and west central combine Montgomery County, which is marginally Democratic, with the rural counties that surround it and give it history as a market town. The Wright-Patterson AFB and a notable military and pro-military population are here.
  - North comprises the rural counties that border Indiana and Michigan.
  - Moving east to industrial Toledo and its more conservative but still industrial neighbors of Sandusky and Seneca, the following is true:
    - East to Cuyahoga, including Cleveland, and Democratic Lorain, and further east to more Republican and swing suburbs like Geauga, Lake, and Medina counties.
    - South to Canton-Akron and Youngstown, the rest of Mahoning and Trumbull counties. The former are swing and the latter are Democratic and form the most Catholic parts of the state and, with Cleveland, are the most white-ethnic-dominated areas.
    - West again to the central part of the state, including the farms and Amish country of central Ohio, and small towns and rural areas that lie between Cleveland and Columbus and outside the exurban Columbus ring.
    - Franklin County, the Democratic heart of the Columbus market.
    - The rapidly growing exurban Columbus counties of Delaware, Licking, and Fairfield, with the latter two the other heart of the Christian Right.

- The average of the state’s regions produces an even divide on partisanship that remained largely unchanged through the 2006 election. The state does not have party registration outside of primary elections, and partisan self-identification on both sides is low. The 16 most urban counties (which the Democrats won in 2004) are the only reliably Democratic counties, although 72 out of 88 counties voted for Governor Ted Strickland (D) in 2006 and 46 counties voted for Senator Sherrod Brown (D).

- Analysis of the ten regions requires a minimum sample size of 1200 to 1500 respondents. In 2006, polling for the Strickland and Brown campaigns was conducted twice a week after Labor Day, with small samples of 600 in each of two discrete polls (a 15-minute instrument Sunday through Tuesday and a shorter ten-minute poll on Wednesdays and Thursdays). The two samples were rolled together
for a regional analysis at the end of each week. With that model, we had a twice-weekly look at major markets and demographics and any changes in attitudes in them, and a weekly look at smaller regions, markets, and rural areas (polling inadvertently discovered a Democratic response bias in longer polls as well).

- Budget for all three media phases: spring to convention, post-convention to Labor Day, and Labor Day to Election Day.
- Create an Ohio free and paid media table in addition to a 501(c)(4)/527 field table.
- The “right time to buy” is an open question. The last week of the campaign has huge media clutter, with up to a dozen spots in a row being wedged together before newscasts. The exit polls in 2004 show that 78% of Ohioans made their decision more than 30 days before Election Day. It is possible that early uncluttered media could have affected some voters earlier. While Kerry narrowly won those who decided in the last three days, the question is whether some of this late money could have been more effective if used earlier.
- We need to anticipate that the GOP will go up early, and so we need to create and test early messaging on likely GOP candidates.
- Match the Republican buys, but consider moving our buys back from Election Day to avoid clutter and to complete our messaging to viewers who are using early vote.
- Look at national cable and satellite TV, especially to reach specific persuadable voters or clusters across a series of state. A national cable buy is cheaper than a series of local cable buys across a series of states.
- Consider layering traditional media with new media and word-of-mouth organizing techniques to reach voters in high-growth exurban communities that are difficult to reach through traditional voter contact techniques.
- The six major markets are Cleveland (covers 34.3% of state), Columbus (18.7%), Cincinnati (15%), Dayton (10.9%), Toledo (8.9%), and Youngstown (5.2%). Although Columbus has surpassed Cleveland as Ohio’s largest city, the Cleveland metropolitan area is still the largest and the Cleveland media market is still almost twice the size of the Columbus market.
- Do not ignore smaller markets! There are two small Ohio markets: Lima (1.3%) and Zanesville (0.4%). There are four markets that spill into Ohio from neighboring states but represent 5% of Ohio’s VAP: Charleston/Huntington, West Virginia (2.5%); Wheeling, West Virginia (1.6%); Parkersburg, West Virginia (0.5%), and Fort Wayne, Indiana (0.4%).
  • Developments in neighboring states (an opponent’s event or ad buy) will have repercussions in Ohio.
  • While the small and spill markets represent about 7% of the 2004 presidential turnout, they accounted for an outsized portion of 2004 Kerry loss margin (41%).
  • Make adequate TV buys in the WV media markets that spill into OH.
- To reach the southeast Ohio region: Reallocate media resources to include out-of-state markets that bleed into Ohio, including broadcast and cable television and radio. Maintain a steady media stream; reinforce field/voter contact with radio, mail, and targeted cable where appropriate.
- To reach exurban voters: Maintain steady media stream; reinforce field/voter contact with radio, mail, and targeted cable where appropriate; local issues/values oriented; exurban/commuter radio; impartial, issues/values-based, or negative messaging.
- To reach rural voters: Make adequate rural radio buys.
- To reach big city and urban centers, consider making targeted cable buys where appropriate, especially in cable systems that are more ‘persuadable’ by NCEC analysis.
- Recognize the growth of cable and reallocate paid media resources accordingly. Historically, thirdparty groups and the coordinated campaign have relied on broadcast. This must change to reflect trend realities. The decision to do this should be made early since prime cable spots will go quickly. This
should also be put on the table early in the effort for groups messaging in Ohio. The cost of buying national may be less expensive than cobbling together spot buys to cover a state or region, especially in states with top 20 markets.

- Ten weeks of broadcast and ten weeks of targeted cable, radio, mail, and field to four key clusters of voters may be more effective than twelve weeks of broadcast TV to all voters, especially early in the cycle.
- Don’t overlook the fact that many of the small cities around the state like Steubenville, Lima, Chillicothe, and Mansfield also have smaller — but dense — African American populations. The bulk of the African American population resides in major cities including Cleveland, Columbus, Cincinnati, Youngstown, Akron/Canton, Dayton, and Toledo. African Americans make up 11.5% of OH’s VAP. Don’t take the African American vote for granted. This constituency can trend more conservative in OH, especially on social issues, than in other states. There are some potentially persuadable targets within the community. The 2004 exit polls indicated a drop-off in this base community. Make adequate buys on African American radio and not just in the closing weeks of the campaign.

Research, micro-targeting and polling projects:

- Begin with a large sample poll once the nominees are known (perhaps a sample of 2000, but potentially replaceable by even larger sample microtargeting polls). Then add some region-specific polling in addition to regular looks at the larger regions. While the regions and media markets of the state are not the same, the exigencies of media buying require polling by market as well.
- Some media-market-specific polling would be useful for planning buys and for tailoring messages.
- With more resources, samples of 800 twice a week would have been preferable, but combining polls allowed adequate periodic analysis.
- Consider doing focus groups to understand response to candidates and media and to fine-tune language and messages. In 2006, statewide campaigns conducted focus groups once a month beginning in June.
- Test paid media messages early, but also change the way in which message testing is done. Move toward creating a series of spots that move a single reinforcing negative or positive message arc (as opposed to previous testing, which produced individual spots that tested well but did not reinforce or relate to each other).
- Women make up slightly more than half of Ohio’s population and have been a widely sought-after voting bloc in past statewide elections. There are differences between married and unmarried women. Consider a research project on how best to reach these voters.
- More than 1.3 million voters are seniors and, at 13.3% of Ohio’s VAP, these represent a slightly higher percentage of the electorate than the national average of 12.4%. According to a CNN exit poll, Bush’s performance among seniors (aged 65+) improved 12% in 2004. In 2006, seniors voted overwhelmingly for Brown and Strickland at 65% and 67%, respectively, according to a CNN exit poll. More research is needed to explore the dramatic decrease in senior support in 2004 and see if they have returned to Democrats.
- Microtargeting and modeling has been conducted in OH. Survey research in 2007 showed that the candidate scores did not succeed as well in identifying persuadable voters. It would be useful to model voters who report voting for Strickland or Brown in 2006, and for Bush in 2004, to gain a better understanding of what issues might move them to support Democrats in 2008 — possibly how some of the Ohio-specific issues on fiscal responsibility and corruption can be applied to the 2008 contest.

Issues/Messaging:

- One of the most disappointing findings of the 2004 exit poll was that Ohio voters — residents of the one state that had suffered more job losses than any other state in the preceding 10 years — preferred
George W. Bush to John Kerry when asked who had the best plans for the economy. Message development on the economy is job number one for future campaigns. The ability to speak in a compelling way to the hopes and aspirations of Ohio’s middle-class families will determine who wins races in Ohio up and down the ticket. Therefore, we recommend that progressives use more Ohio-specific messaging in 2008. This includes developing a negative message about Republicans to be presented in communications that are emotionally compelling and reinforcing.

- OH’s top three issues: Jobs/economy, Education, the War in Iraq. Also on the docket is Governor Strickland’s energy proposal.
- Understand the state’s unique economic challenges, including job losses and the deterioration of the education system; cultivate an identity of being for the middle class and ordinary people, ideas key to Governor Strickland and Senator Brown’s success.
- Avoid the culture wars.
- Ohio is a highly regionalized state; Democrats will need to communicate effectively on local issues in a way that resonates with local culture.
- When in Ohio, include Ohio-specific content in national messaging.
- For 2008, the principal opportunity is to brand Democrats with Strickland’s personal popularity, style, and fiscal responsibility. Strickland uses the language of “investing in the things that matter” and cutting funds for things that do not. The principal challenge for 2008 will be to imbue candidates up and down the ticket with the same identity of being for the middle class and ordinary people as are Strickland and Brown, and to address the state’s still dismal economic realities.
Pennsylvania

Things to remember:

- Based on the experiences of 2004 and 2006, we recommend a persuasion program that starts early, contains many different types of communication, and is flexible enough to accommodate changes in the nature of the campaign. We recommend a wave of late-summer persuasion prior to the Republican convention, continued communication during their convention, and a large wave of statewide attention immediately following the convention to prevent the types of historical loss Democrats have experienced. The message should be based on up-to-date polling and make extensive use of nontraditional messengers.

- There are 11 media markets in Pennsylvania. A cursory look shows that all the media markets overlap with other states.
  - Erie media market covers three counties in Pennsylvania. This market makes up approximately 3.1% of the statewide vote.
  - Youngstown, Ohio media market covers one county in Pennsylvania and four counties in Ohio. This market makes up approximately 0.93% of the statewide vote.
  - Pittsburgh media market covers 13 counties in Pennsylvania, one county in Maryland, and two counties in West Virginia. This market makes up approximately 23.3% of the statewide vote. This is considered the most efficient persuadable market in the country. The market covers highly persuadable areas of two showdown states.
  - Buffalo, New York media market covers two counties in Pennsylvania and eight counties in New York. This market makes up approximately 0.41% of the statewide vote.
  - Johnstown/Altoona media market covers 10 counties in Pennsylvania and no counties in Maryland. This market makes up approximately 7% of the statewide vote.
  - Washington, D.C. media market covers one county in Pennsylvania, 15 counties in Virginia, seven in West Virginia, and eight in Maryland. This market makes up approximately 1.17% of the statewide vote.
  - Elmira, New York media market covers one county in Pennsylvania and three counties in New York. This market makes up approximately 0.31% of the statewide vote.
  - Wilkes-Barre/Scranton media market covers 17 counties in Pennsylvania. This market makes up approximately 11.16% of the statewide vote.
  - Harrisburg media market covers 10 counties in Pennsylvania. This market makes up approximately 13.4% of the statewide vote.
  - Philadelphia media market covers eight counties in Pennsylvania, two in Delaware, and eight in New Jersey. This market makes up approximately 4% of the statewide vote.
  - New York media market covers one county in Pennsylvania, 13 in New Jersey, and 13 in New York. This market makes up 0.34% of the statewide vote.

- In the 2006 Senate race, Casey won five out of eleven media markets (Pittsburgh, Johnstown/Altoona, Erie, Wilkes-Barre/Scranton, and Youngstown). Rendell won six out of the eleven media markets (Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, Wilkes-Barre/Scranton, Erie, Youngstown, and New York).
York). Out of the media markets that they both won, Casey bested Rendell in four (Pittsburgh, Johnstown/Altoona, Erie, and Youngstown).

- Big-button voting (straight party line) is key in Philadelphia. Extensive advertising and promotion of this voting feature should be a prominent aspect of GOTV in Philadelphia.

**Issues/Messaging:**

- Rendell is not as well received in the Pittsburgh area as he is elsewhere. Casey strongly outpolled Rendell in the Pittsburgh area.
- Pennsylvania is experiencing significant economic hard times, which should be the basis for 2008 messaging. Historically, we’ve won when we’ve made it partisan, so these issues should be related to Republican failures at the national level. People are looking for economic opportunity, not just security.
- Need to address Pennsylvania-specific concerns so that the campaign doesn’t feel overly nationalized or, worse, Washington-centric.
  - Brain drain: there are lots of colleges and universities in the state, but many graduates leave the state after receiving their degrees.
  - Education is a major issue in Philadelphia.
  - Pittsburgh is a struggling blue-collar area and has vastly different issues than the eastern part of PA.
  - The explosion of crystal meth use is a big concern, especially in the economically depressed rural areas of the state.
  - Overdevelopment and congestion are concerns in the Philadelphia suburbs and are related to environmental concerns and gas price sensitivity.
  - The gun issue splits voters. Urban and close-in suburbs are strongly pro-gun control. The rest of the state is against gun control. Consider NRA messaging.
  - Review and experiment with veteran/active duty messaging.
  - There is a deep depression in the western part of Pennsylvania.
- Public opinion suggests that issues of government accountability, waste, fraud and inefficiencies must be addressed before making spending-based policy propositions.
- Non-urban Pittsburgh area population is about 5% older than the U.S. average and getting older still. This places a strain on health care, transportation, and other programs related to aging.
- While the war is a big concern today and drives soft Republican votes to us, we don’t know how this will play in the fall of 2008.
- Philadelphia has the highest rate of poverty in the U.S. (25%). This makes for a difficult tax base, which leads to further budget cuts and problems.
- Stress education and moral development as ways to create opportunity.
- Environmental and energy conservation concerns are high-visibility concerns.
- There are problems with bureaucratic red tape and a lack of ingenuity from government.
- Recent Rendell polling showed a concern that America is falling behind as an innovation and economic leader.
- Rendell’s 2006 winning message and issue highlights:
  - Lid on government spending — people are tax dollar–spending sensitive.
  - Established a perception of:
    - Fiscal accountability.
    - Emphasis on improvement and building trust in government.
    - Cutting out nonessential bureaucrats.
    - Energy progress.
  - Hybrid cars, energy for the future.
  - Making Pennsylvania more competitive and prepared for the future.
• Educational improvement and investment.
• Seniors, health care plan.
• Address taxes, spending, and government accountability — build trust in government; then address:
  • Creating jobs.
  • Prescription drug plan, health care.
  • Education: training kids for a developing economy.

• In the urban areas, gun violence is a growing concern.
• Suburban issues:
  • Government accountability and concerns about government spending are a big concern.
  • Harrisburg was the butt of huge voter backlash in 2006 after legislators passed a pay raise. Almost half of all State House members were either forced into retirement or defeated in 2006. The top State Senate leadership was also defeated.
  • Immigration concerns and animosity toward immigrants is a growing and potent issue.
  • School violence and abortion are concerns.
Virginia

Things to remember:

- Virginia is a state where extensive micro-targeting has been conducted. Micro-targeting is crucial since there is no party registration. The state requires absolute targeting and message precision to win. For example, the 2005 Kaine gubernatorial campaign used 14 major surveys in all. Very importantly, spend the resources necessary to conduct a full-scale polling program to pinpoint message/issue positioning and inoculation strategies, coupled with localizing all broadcast and print paid advertising and candidate appearances.

- Start early. There must be a distinct, very early/first out-of-the-box, ongoing, and well crafted political marketing and communications program targeted to all party and constituency group insiders and potential sources of new, active support (e.g., the growing Hispanic and Asian communities in the D.C. inner region in particular and trending Democratic communities in the emerging suburbs especially in the D.C. outer region).

Research, micro-targeting and polling projects:

- Identify a single pollster to meet the needs of the 2008 Virginia campaign and execute a polling program beginning in March that seeks to define positioning in the context of the “Virginia Democrat” versus “National Democrat” schism.

- In-depth research will require two spring polls combined with focus group research.

- A check-in survey during the summer and then every ten days beginning in September and weekly in October are optimal.

- A rolling tracking survey during the last ten days is also recommended.

Issues/Messaging:

- Nuanced positioning on hot-button social issues is critical. This is especially true with respect to guns and Second Amendment rights, illegal immigration, the death penalty, crime, and gay rights.

- Issues that have been clearly resonant with voters in recent elections, or where a large constituency in the state has a focused interest in national security and defense, fiscal responsibility, education, overdevelopment/traffic congestion/transportation improvements/quality of life, and jobs and economic development.

- Centrism, moderation, and bipartisan appeals work in Virginia and should be built into messaging/issues presentations as feasible.

- Identification with Virginia cultural symbols and appropriate values are strongly recommended.

- On the “Virginia Democrat” brand: All successful state top-ballot Democrats since 2001 have been centrists and run campaigns that are attuned to the state’s large socially conservative voting bloc and emphasize aspects of Virginia culture. Positioning as a “Virginia Democrat” (as opposed to ingrained voter perceptions of a liberal “National Democrat”) was essential to the 2001 Warner, 2005 Kaine, and 2006 Webb victories.
• Victory in Virginia necessitates exceedingly careful navigation to avoid being portrayed as culturally hostile to rural, working class, and socially conservative white voters primarily in the Richmond and Norfolk region suburbs/exurbs and Roanoke and Tri-Cities regions. Closing the “Virginia Democrat” versus the historical “National Democrat” gap as much as possible is key to success and will require message advertising innovation.

• It is strongly recommended that messaging/issues be as localized as possible. Broadcast and print paid advertising that highlight a specific “Virginia Agenda” is a potentially unique way of approaching this.

• Use statewide and major Democratic officeholders to sell the message.

• Increasingly large Democratic margins in Northern Virginia are making the state much more competitive. The division of the Washington, D.C. market into “D.C. inner” and “D.C. outer” has been a common practice in recent statewide campaigns. Oversample these voters
West Virginia

Things to remember:

- To win in West Virginia, the Democrats will have to improve on Kerry’s performance by substantial margins across the state.
- West Virginia’s rural areas have the highest Democratic performance (60.3%) and persuasion percentage (25.7%) of any county class in the state, indicating that voters there are open to supporting Democrats but must be persuaded.
- The Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, and Wheeling, West Virginia/Steubenville, Ohio markets lie in swing states and will see ads in 2008. These two markets account for 15.5% of the 2008 vote goal. Three other markets — Bluefield-Beckley-Oak Hill, Charleston-Huntington, and Clarksburg-Weston — account for more than two-thirds of the state’s 2008 vote goal. These five markets cover 84% of the total vote goal and all have Democratic performance between 53 and 60%. However, more than in any other state, it’s important to contextualize Democratic performance in West Virginia. Historically, these areas have not been terribly friendly to national Democratic candidates.
- Satellite penetration in West Virginia is higher than the national average and must be taken into consideration when media purchases are made.
- In 2004, West Virginia was treated as a single political entity, while it is clear from speaking with in-state experts that a differentiated message based on geography is in order.
- West Virginia has eight media markets, seven of which overlap with other potential battleground states (Virginia, Pennsylvania, and Ohio). The question may be who gets to decide what ads run in West Virginia — the West Virginia operation or those in surrounding states. This does create a challenge, as other states’ messages might not be right for West Virginia. Determining who controls the message agenda there should be done early.
- Veterans’ vote. According to the American Community Survey conducted by the U.S. Census, there are 178,121 civilian veterans in West Virginia, or 12.5% of the population — compared to 10.4% nationwide. The first “Swift Boat Veterans for Truth” television ad was aired in West Virginia on August 5, 2004. Around the time the first ad aired, Bush established a lead in public polling that would be maintained throughout the rest of the election.
- Many West Virginians and operatives who have done significant work in the state mentioned the importance of faith and religion to voters in West Virginia during field interviews conducted by Atlas.
- Experts in West Virginia have suggested that we spend more money advertising in daily and small weekly newspapers.
- While both houses of the legislature are solidly Democratic, there are more anti-choice than pro-choice members in both those bodies. Abortion is not the third rail of West Virginia politics, but it is more sensitive than in most blue states. The current governor is anti-choice, as is the speaker of the House and the Senate President.

Research, micro-targeting, and polling:

- Kerry performed 13% lower than Gore among low-income voters ($15,000 - $30,000 annual income). Those middle/upper-middle-income and lower-income voters made up 20% and 23% of the 2004 electorate, respectively. Given their past support for Democrats, these two income groups could very
well be among the persuadables in 2008 and should be considered targets. Consider a research project or questions designed to determine whether these voters are persuadables, and then, how to target them.

- Regional differences in jobs and coal in West Virginia should be explored by micro-targeting programs, oversamples in regions and focus groups. (See the Issues/Messaging section for more.)
- Conduct an ID project early. In addition to being helpful from a voter contact planning perspective, the confidence level assigned to the micro-targeting score goes up as the number of ID’s that are put on the file increases.
- Hire a pollster for the overall effort early and let them be part of, or direct, the design of the ID project/microtargeting effort. Retest the IDs/model before summer/fall persuasion efforts and retest again prior to GOTV.
- Focus groups will be essential in the D.C. market where we have very little data on the new voters and where we may be able to pick up a few points if we run a smart targeted campaign. In reviewing Manchin focus groups from the region, it is clear these voters feel a disconnect with the state in general. It will make sense to build a D.C. market-specific message campaign that takes this into account.
- Focus groups in the southern region of the state. We have to be able to effectively find issues that take away the sting of the Republican attacks on guns and social issues and redirect the discussion back to a series of economic arguments that favor Democrats. Focus groups may give us insight on effective counters to the issue of guns and social concerns.

**Issues/Messaging:**

- Both of Bush’s wins in the Mountain State were rooted in voter concerns about Democratic positions on social issues, perhaps most significantly guns. Exit polling from the 2004 election showed that 71% of West Virginia voters either owned a gun or lived in a household with a gun owner. Of this group, 59% voted for Bush, and 40% voted for Kerry. Individuals from households without guns voted 54% for Kerry and 46% for Bush.
- A West Virginia values voter is pro-gun, anti-choice, anti-gay marriage, and opposed to liberal immigration policies. This voter is very sensitive to economic messages.
- Democrats need to work hard to win back middle-aged and older voters — by stressing commitment to protecting Social Security, for instance — while at the same time pushing to build on the 2004 momentum among younger voters. According to the Catalist voter file, there are 323,934 registered voters in West Virginia over the age of 60 (28% of the electorate).
- Health care affordability is a top issue. Since the state has the second oldest population next to Florida, health care accessibility is a major concern for West Virginians covered by Medicaid. Because of our aging population, hospitals and health care delivery are also an economic development issue, with a substantial number of jobs coming from this industry.
- Retirement and pension issues are important in this state. Weirton Steel employees recently learned that they may not have the pensions they thought they had since a federal bankruptcy court allowed the company to drop its commitment to the pension plan.
- Jobs. The regions around Fremont as well as the three Eastern Panhandle counties in the D.C. market have actually created quite a number of well-paying jobs. The dominant issues there are likely to prove to be different than the statewide preoccupation of jobs and expanding economic opportunity. Jobs is the strongest issue in all other parts of the state.
- The coal issue is likely to be more sensitive in the south, but mountain-top removal as a subset of the issue is likely not as big an issue in the northern coal fields as it is in the south. “Mountain-top removal” is best referred to as strip-mining when in West Virginia. It is the dominant method of mining in the south, unlike deep mining which is prevalent in the northern coal fields.
• “Clean Coal Technology” and “Coal Gassification” are viewed as ways to extend coal’s importance in a national energy scheme. In addition, energy derived from coal is viewed as helping to limit our reliance on foreign oil. The *Wheeling Intelligencer* recently ran an editorial that suggested that whoever wins the Democratic nomination would be wise to consider Manchin for Secretary of Energy, since he understands the importance of coal to national energy policy.

• The coal miner is an idealized figure — even for those whose families have never had a member underground. This is especially true after the Sago mine disaster in 2006, when 13 miners were trapped underground for nearly two days (only one survived).

• West Virginians have seen too many of their children graduate from school and leave the Mountain State because of a lack of economic opportunity. They favor candidates who understand this diaspora and who will fight for policies that will end it.

• West Virginians are distrustful of outsiders.

• Brownfields, sites whose expansion, redevelopment, or reuse may be complicated by the presence of hazardous pollution or contaminants, are important in the Northern Panhandle, where economic development is hindered because of a lack of developable land.

• Education. Many West Virginians view education as a key to a better life and better jobs for the next generation. Teacher pay is a key issue. In annual surveys, West Virginia ranks near the bottom for teacher pay. Teachers marched on the capitol building during the last legislative session urging a substantial pay raise. While they didn’t get what they wanted, they succeeded in convincing the legislature to improve on the governor’s proposal. The teacher pay crunch is felt most acutely in the Eastern Panhandle, where schools are suffering as teachers take jobs in adjoining border states like Maryland and Virginia, lured by bigger pay checks.

• The state just allowed table games for the first time through the passage of a local referendum. The only place that said no to the expansion of gambling was the Eastern Panhandle, where residents feared more runaway growth.
Things to remember:

- Winning requires mobilizing base Democratic voters in urban communities in Milwaukee and Madison, and undecided swing voters who populate growing exurban areas of the state.
- Treat Dane County and the Madison media market like a growing population base. Dane County has become an increasingly reliable and growing base for Democrats, and has the second-largest share of persuadable voters. There are new voters moving into this region. According to several pollsters with expertise in Wisconsin, there is no reason to assume that new residents to this region are as Democratic as the long-term residents.
- Target Milwaukee County, with an emphasis on both the city and its suburbs.
- Milwaukee, Madison, and Green Bay represent roughly 77% of the electorate and will see a tremendous amount of travel and activity. The other WI media markets are the Wausau/Rhinelander media market and the La Crosse/Eau Claire market. Spill over markets are the Minneapolis-St. Paul market, Duluth-Superior market and the Marquette market. The Madison and Minneapolis markets provide increasing vote shares, while the Green Bay market market is increasingly vulnerable.
- Milwaukee media market is where the Democratic and Republican parties go to seek their edge in a statewide election. It covers CD1, CD4, CD5, and parts of CD6 and has the most ethnically diverse population, the most economic disparity among its citizens, and a rapidly changing population. Counties in the market include Milwaukee, Waukesha, Washington, Ozaukee, Racine, Kenosha, Sheboygan, Dodge, Jefferson, and Walworth. Political campaigns talk about this market by discussing it in two parts: Milwaukee County and non-Milwaukee County. See pages 18-22 of the WI roadmap for more detail.
- Madison media market covers all of CD2 and portions of CD1, CD3, CD5 and CD6. Contains Dane County, which is discussed above. See pages 22-24 of the WI roadmap for more details.
- Green Bay media markets covers CD8. This has been a key swing target, and is the second-largest market in the state. It has the state’s second-highest share of persuadable voters and has the second-highest persuasion percentage at 14%. See pages 24-26 of the WI roadmap for more details.
- Wausau/Rhinelander media market covers CD6 and CD7. This market has 10.3% of the persuadable voters in the state. See page 27 of the WI roadmap for more details.
- The La Crosse/Eau Claire media market, because of population growth, has seen its importance in statewide presidential contests rise in the last two contests. Covers CD3. See page 26-27 of the WI roadmap for more details.
- Target the Minneapolis-St. Paul media market. This is the fastest-growing region of the state. This market was 4% of the statewide vote total in 2004 and will likely increase its vote share in 2008. If Minnesota drops out of the competitive category, plans should be in place to address the paid media component of this. It reaches a traditionally GOP area that is seeing tremendous growth in WI’s largest county, St. Croix. This media market spills into CD3 and CD7. The market has begun to trend slightly more Democratic since 2000, and Governor Doyle won the market in 2006. See pages 27-28 of the WI roadmap for more details.
• Duluth-Superior and Marquette spill markets. Duluth-Superior spills into CD7, and covers the northern part of the state with a major bleed into MN. It is a strongly Democratic area. Marquette spills into CD8 and reaches only Florence county. See pages 28-29 of the WI roadmap for more details.

• CD8 is going to be the key battleground in this battleground state. Freshman Rep. Steve Kagen (D) is running for re-election. If 2008 is anything like 2006, the Green Bay media market for television advertising will be extremely competitive and expensive, with the potential of being bought out early.

• WI has many culturally conservative Democrats.

Research, micro-targeting and polling:

• Democrats must be able to win swing voters in GOP counties. Consider a microtargeting project for Waukesha County. Additional counties that should be targeted for swing voters are Ozaukee, Outagamie, Kenosha, and Brown.

• Consider a voter modeling program to identify persuasion targets in CD8, as there are not many base wards to target.

• Democratic candidates are posting large %age gains among the college-educated, while losing significant raw numbers among those without a college degree. Consider research on how we can reverse the trend.

• Democrats have lost huge pieces of the upper-income levels, a group whose numbers have swelled. Consider research on how we can reverse the trend.

• The middle class is the most sharply split group of voters in Wisconsin and presents great potential because of its share of the population. Consider research on how we can win more of these voters.

• Among male voters, Kerry outpaced both Clinton and Gore, while reversing some of those candidates’ successes with women. Consider research on this.

Issues/messaging:

• WI has a virulently anti-tax climate. The Republican Party has been very effective at creating a near-hysterical atmosphere around taxation and has successfully defined many state-level Democrats on this issue alone, creating an environment where voters see a choice between a Republican who wants them to pay less in taxes and a Democrat who wants them to pay more — with no other issues being discussed at any level of resonance. This is particularly true in the Milwaukee media market, where the targeted voter on this message is often a high-school-educated, blue-collar, white homeowner — a demographic key to winning statewide in Wisconsin. The tax issue requires aggressive pushback, and can be combated as the campaigns of Senator Feingold and Governor Doyle show. The most effective campaigns have co-opted the tax issue and pledged in some way not to raise taxes.

• While Democrats will of course rely on polling to set and assess their message delivery in Wisconsin, they should not at all assume that Wisconsin is an environment where “progressive” messaging can succeed. The Wisconsin electorate overwhelmingly passed a 2006 ballot measure to ban gay marriage and civil unions, despite a well-organized and well-funded campaign to defeat it. That campaign targeted Wisconsin largely on the false pretense that progressive values could win the day.

• School voucher program in Milwaukee. Many community leaders and African American ministers and pastors strongly support continuing this program. This issue has given Republicans an opening to address African American congregations in the past two elections. There are a lot of politics surrounding the issues of voucher schools; many of the schools generate tremendous revenue for the corresponding churches, and local pastors view their ability to provide a safe and quality learning environment as paramount over other concerns. Other leaders, moved by more political and economical concerns, have built large business ventures from the voucher school structure and are willing to give Republican leaders a platform to speak on this issue. Although it has not yet cost
Democrats votes, it is extremely important for Democrats to handle their politics and message on this issue very carefully. It may and likely will cause them a few headaches, and it will require a little handholding and an examination of the magnitude of the problem facing parents who want their children to get a good education in the city of Milwaukee.

- WI is susceptible to NRA-style attack messaging.
Hey Guys, See attached from Atlas. Useful but we should still do our due diligence on it.

---------- Forwarded message ----------
From: Crystal King <cking@atlasproject.net>
Date: Jan 17, 2008 7:23 PM
Subject: FW: Meet and polling design
To: tmatzzie@gmail.com
Cc: Andy Meyer <ameyer@atlasproject.net>, georgerakis@gmail.com

Attached are the state by state polling and research recommendations from the ATLAS product that have been compiled into one document. Please let Andy or I know if you have any questions or need additional information.

Crystal King
cking@atlasproject.net
(202) 974-8285 Direct
(202) 316-1299 Mobile
(202) 974-8361 Fax

----- Original Message ----- 
From: tmatzzie@gmail.com <tmatzzie@gmail.com>
To: georgerakis@gmail.com <georgerakis@gmail.com>; Andy Meyer
Subject: Meet and polling design

Hey, when can we meet? I also want to get your Atlas folks to recommend oversamples for our polling before we start in February. By
market, regions, etc. I want to get this all compiled into one set of recommendations so we can maximize what we get out of our media polling.

-Tom

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Hey Guys, See attached from Atlas. Useful but we should still do our due diligence on it.

----- Original Message ----- From: Crystal King &lt;cking@atlasproject.net&gt; Date: Jan 17, 2008 7:23 PM Subject: FW: Meet and polling design

Attached are the state by state polling and research recommendations from the ATLAS product that have been compiled into one document. Please let Andy or I know if you have any questions or need additional information.

Crystal King

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