Polling and qualitative research from...





What the poll will show



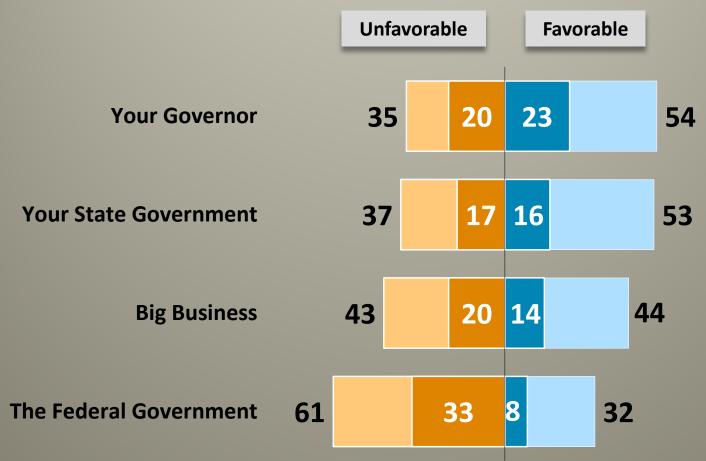
Although voters are in a foul mood about government gridlock, and the economy, they are very supportive of stronger regulatory enforcement.

Voters have a favorable view of rules, regulations, and many regulatory agencies. They think regulatory enforcement is a good thing and there is too little of it. In fact, voters want tougher enforcement that is applied equally.

Even when presented with an engaged debate with negative information about regulations and enforcement, voters do not waiver. They think fair enforcement will help prevent deadly mistakes, protect seniors and children, reduce pollution and hold big business accountable.



People rather like state government





Q Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable impression.

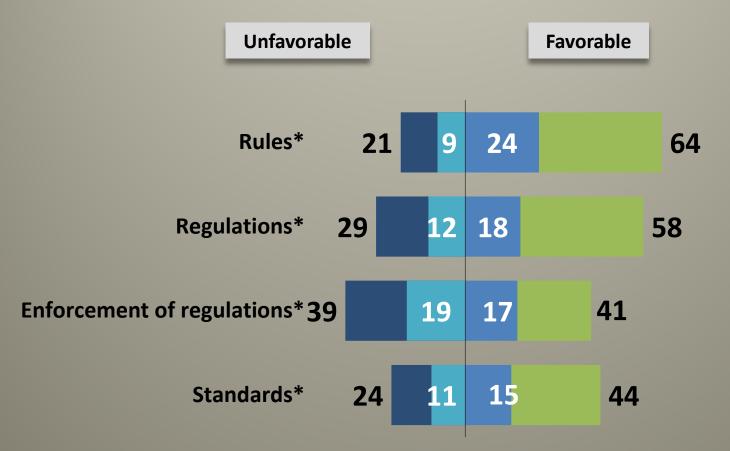
Federal agencies are popular

	Unfavorable	•	Fa	vorable	
Occupational Safety and Health Administration*	17	6	26		57
The United States Department of Agriculture*	26	11	21		58
The Food and Drug Administration*	31	15	19		58
The U.S. Environmantal Protection Agency	33	18	19		52
The Consumer Product Safety Commission*	18	7	18		55
The National Highway Transportation Safety Administration*	25	11	18		55
The Consumer Finance Protection Bureau*	18	7	11	36	



Q Please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable impression.

Views of Rules and Regulations





Q14-17: For each, please tell me whether you have a very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable impression.

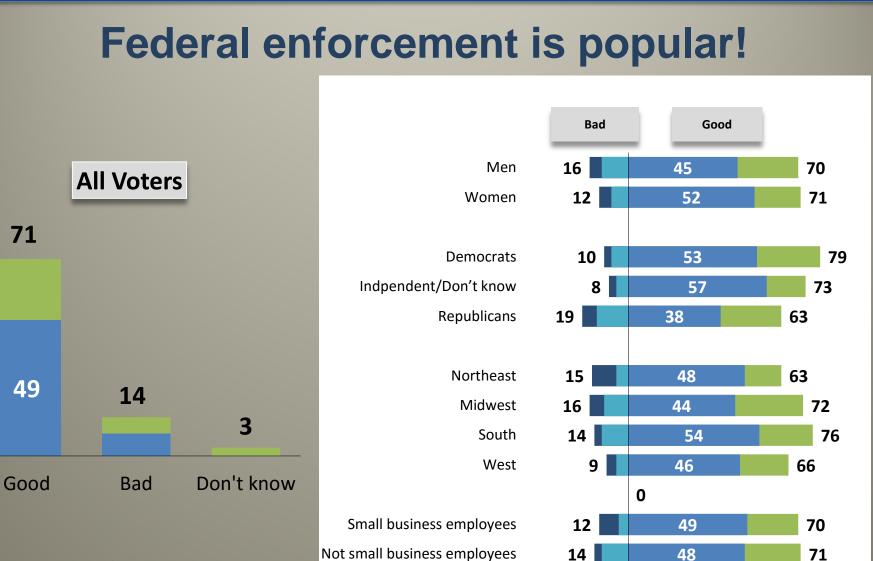
Why are rules and regulations popular? Because people are cynical about favoritism!

"Laws, favoritism, crime, lawmakers, that's about it... Just letting some get away with things that others would never be able to get away with." – Swing white woman





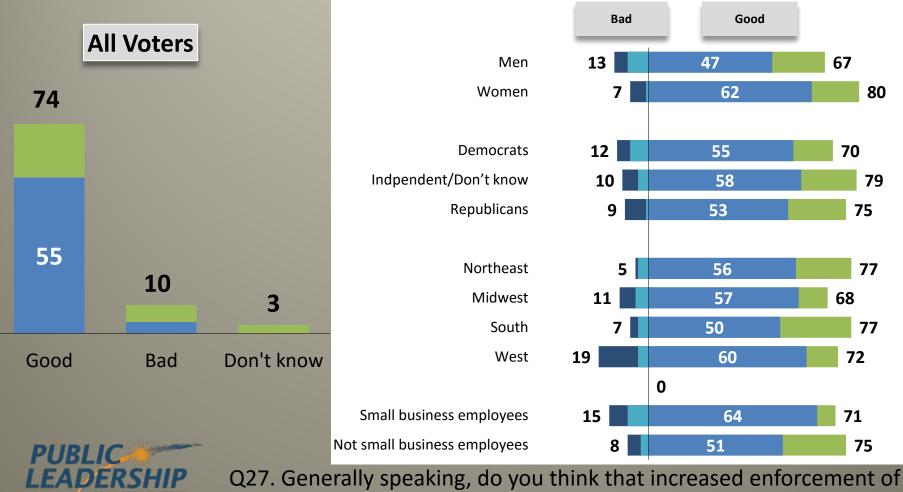
"I mean I was kind of like talking earlier about the haves and have-nots. It's like you know if your company's rich enough you can pollute anything you want as long as you pay the fine you know. So and that's ludicrous." – Swing white man



PUBLIC LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE

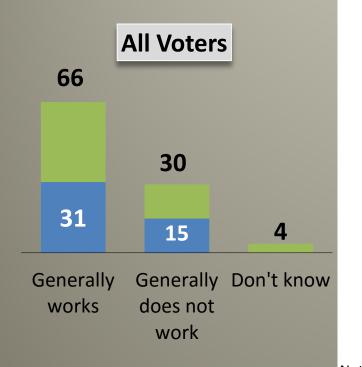
Q27. Generally speaking, do you think that increased enforcement of our national laws and regulations is a good thing or a bad thing?

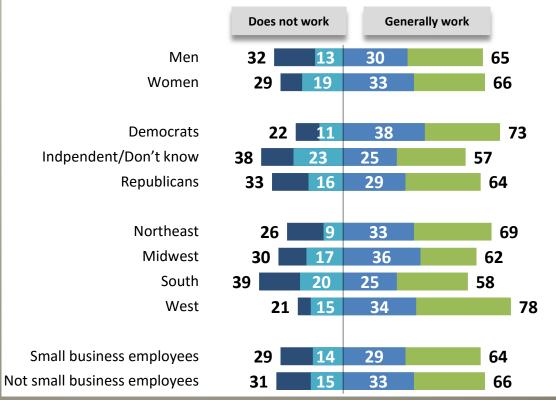
State enforcement is more popular!



your state's laws and regulations is a good thing or a bad thing?

Laws and regulations actually work

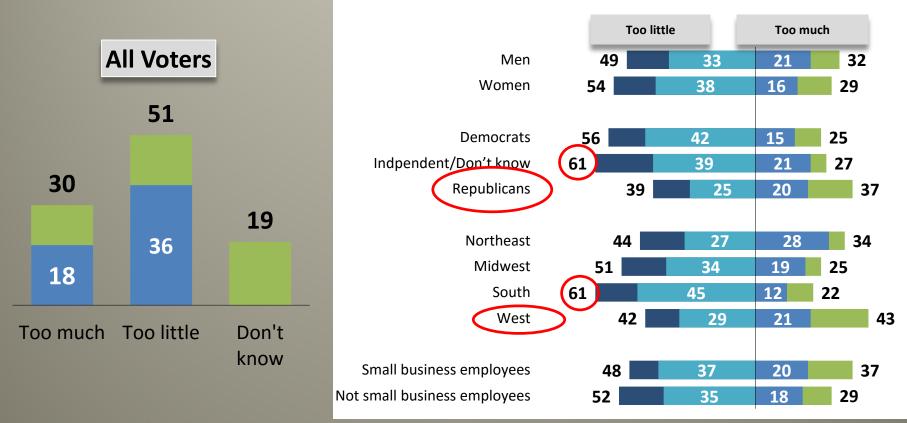






Q18. In your opinion, does the enforcement of our laws and regulations in the U.S. generally work or generally not work?

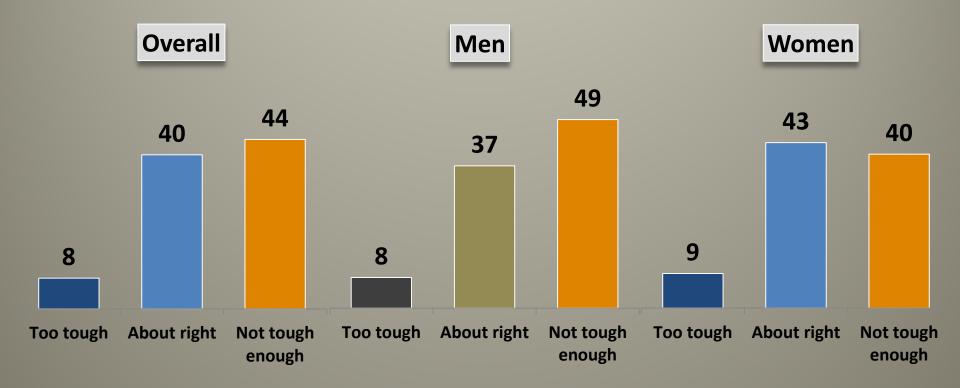
Too little enforcement





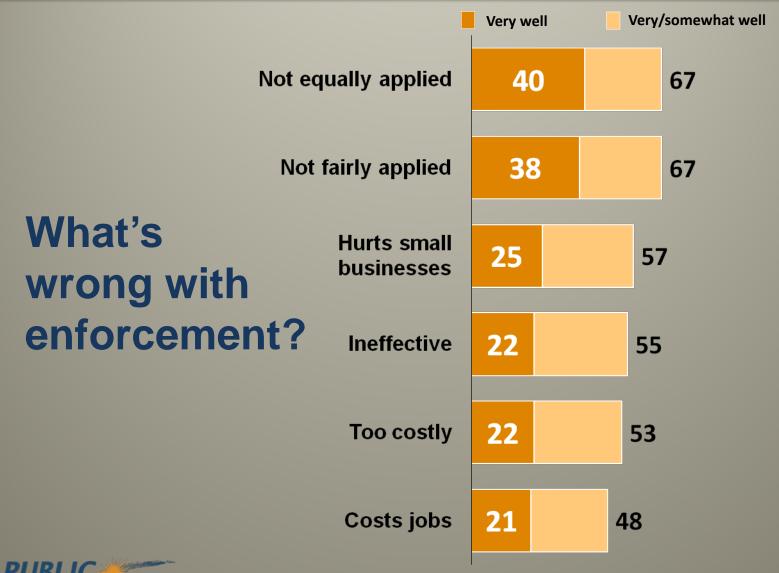
Q19. And which of the following concerns you more: Too much enforcement of laws and regulations in the U.S. or Too little enforcement of laws and regulations in the U.S.

Enforcement is not tough enough





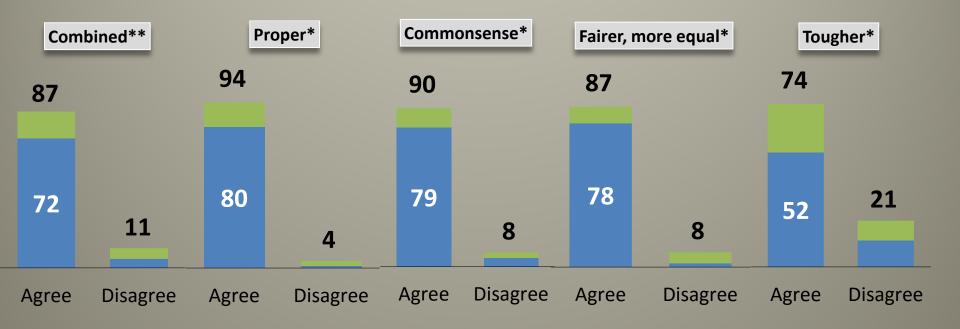
Q21: In your opinion, do you think that enforcement of our laws and regulations in the U.S. is too tough, not tough enough, or about right?





Q49-54. And now for a different list of words and phrases that have been used to describe the enforcement of laws and regulations.

Best word to describe enforcement





Q: Do you agree or disagree with this statement: we need [INSERT WORD] enforcement of our laws and regulations in the U.S.? And do you feel that way strongly or not-so strongly.

How do we use this information?

- 1. Avoid talking about government as an abstraction and focus on talking about what government accomplishes.
- 2. Find examples of specific state or local enforcement failures where you can explain the problem and call for a specific enforcement solution.
- 3. Use this language to create an overall theme for your current political efforts. Explain there are serious problems to fix and we can fix them (optimistically, like Bernie Sanders).



Policy areas to consider

Agriculture: farms, foods, and markets

Civil rights: voting rights and ballot access issues, LGBT and transgender protections

Criminal Justice: corrections, public safety, police training, victim services

Disability: disability and aging services, independent living

Education: charter schools, required student testing

Emergency services: emergency preparedness planning

Energy: fracking, siting renewable energy projects (wind, solar), natural gas pipeline regulation and inspection

Environmental: Drinking water -- 1) lead, PFOA, atrazine contamination; 2) protection of small streams, wetlands, groundwater. 3) Overall drinking water and waste water infrastructure. Clean air -- phasing out coal usage, moving to natural gas and/or alternative energy; regulating toxic emissions from power plants

Financial services: banking, insurance, payday lending, auto loans with exorbitant interest **Health:** health care/Medicare access, public health (Zika virus, opioid abuse) emergency response

Labor: workplace safety rules on silica exposure, minimum wage and wage theft



Populist message

Text of Engaged Debate Messages

PRO MESSAGE: POPULIST/FAIR, JUST APPLICATION

(80% Agree, 16% Disagree, 4% Don't Know)

(Some people say/Other people say) proper enforcement of our laws and regulations can ensure that everyone plays by the same set of rules. Today, the system is too often rigged to favor the wealthy and powerful over ordinary Americans, or big corporations over small businesses. That's an argument for better enforcement. Whether prohibiting big banks from destroying our economy, stopping the credit card industry from charging hidden fees, or preventing the wealthiest 1% from hiding billions of tax dollars in offshore tax havens—we need stronger, more just enforcement of our laws and regulations to ensure that everyone has a fair shot.

OPPONENTS' MESSAGE

(Some people say/Other people say) protecting consumers is important but government regulation has gone too far, so that some politicians seem to think government is the answer to every problem. Increased regulation, bureaucratic red tape, mandates, and uneven enforcement hold back economic growth and destroy jobs. America was built on the free market and free enterprise. Forcing entrepreneurs, small business owners, and citizens to submit to arbitrary government regulations puts all the power in the hands of out-of-touch bureaucrats. It raises the costs of goods and services at a time when we can't afford higher prices.



Protection message

Text of Engaged Debate Messages

PRO MESSAGE: PROTECTION/PREVENTION

(75% Agree, 21% Disagree, 4% Don't Know)

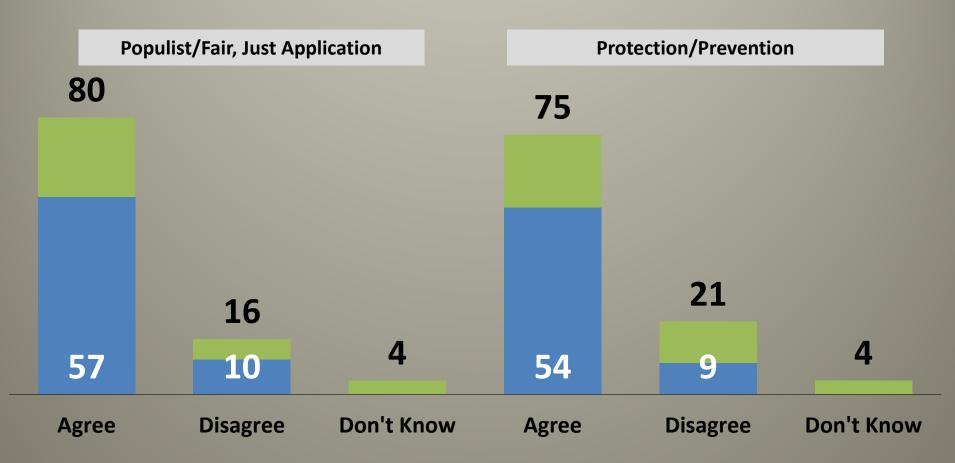
Some people say/Other people say) enforcement of our laws and regulations is about safeguarding Americans. And when done properly, enforcement can prevent economic catastrophe, protect our health, and save lives. Whether it's preventing dangerous foreign imports and food products—affected by e.Coli and salmonella poisoning—from coming to U.S. markets. Preventing dangerous pollutants from contaminating our land, air and drinking water. Or ensuring nuclear and toxic waste facilities safely contain their content. Proper enforcement of our laws helps keep Americans and our communities safer from physical and economic harm.

OPPONENTS' MESSAGE

(Some people say/Other people say) protecting consumers is important but government regulation has gone too far, so that some politicians seem to think government is the answer to every problem. Increased regulation, bureaucratic red tape, mandates, and uneven enforcement hold back economic growth and destroy jobs. America was built on the free market and free enterprise. Forcing entrepreneurs, small business owners, and citizens to submit to arbitrary government regulations puts all the power in the hands of out-of-touch bureaucrats. It raises the costs of goods and services at a time when we can't afford higher prices.

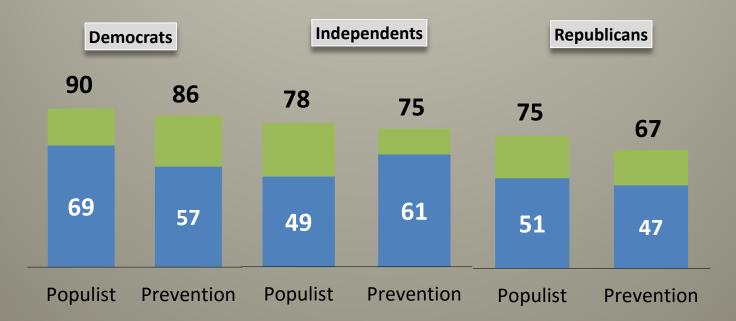


After simulated debate





Populist Economics vs. Prevention messages





Engaged Debate Messaging – Populism

Pro Message (Populist/Fair/ Just Application) – 80% agree, 16% disagree, 4% don't know	Opposition
 Proper enforcement of our laws and regulations can ensure that everyone plays by the same set of rules. 	• Protecting consumers is important but government regulation has gone too far, so that some politicians seem to think government is the answer to every problem
 The system is too often rigged to favor the wealthy and powerful over ordinary Americans, or big corporations over small businesses 	 Increased regulation, bureaucratic red tape, mandates, and uneven enforcement hold back economic growth and destroy jobs
• Whether prohibiting big banks from destroying our economy, stopping the credit card industry from charging hidden fees, or preventing the wealthiest 1% from hiding billions of tax dollars in offshore tax havens	 Forcing entrepreneurs, small business owners, and citizens to submit to arbitrary government regulations puts all the power in the hands of out-of-touch bureaucrats



Engaged Debate Messaging – Protection

Pro Message (Protection/ Prevention) - - 75% agree, 21% disagree, 4% don't know	Opposition
• Enforcement of our laws and regulations is about safeguarding Americans. And when done properly, enforcement can prevent economic catastrophe, protect our health, and save lives	• Protecting consumers is important but government regulation has gone too far, so that some politicians seem to think government is the answer to every problem
 Proper enforcement of our laws helps keep Americans and our communities safer from physical and economic harm. 	 Increased regulation, bureaucratic red tape, mandates, and uneven enforcement hold back economic growth and destroy jobs.
	• Forcing entrepreneurs, small business owners, and citizens to submit to arbitrary government regulations puts all the power in the hands of out-of-touch bureaucrats



Why do voters care about enforcement?

Voters believe that enforcement of laws and regulations can be most effective when it comes to preventing deadly mistakes, protecting seniors and children, reducing pollution and holding big business accountable, and that there is a critical role for enforcement and regulations in a number of areas of American life.

Voters are concerned that laws are not equally or fairly applied or enforced and that enforcement can hurt small business. They are also concerned about costly, ineffective enforcement.





Regulation—Positive Descriptions-Top Tier

	Can prevent deadly mistakes, saving lives	26	68
Very well Very/somewhat well	Can protect seniors and children	26	66
	Can protect against deadly mistakes, saving lives	25	71
	Can reduce pollution of our air, land, and water	24	59
	Can prevent pollution of our air, land, and water	23	63
	Can ensure oversight of dangerous foreign imports	23	57
	Can hold big businesses and corporations accountable	23	51
	Can force the government to be accountable	22	47
	Can force big businesses and corporations to be accountable	21	51
PUBLIC LEADERSHIP	Can prevent the financial markets from harming the U.S. economy	21	44

Regulation—Positive Descriptions

55

52

51

51

Can keep dangerous foreign imports from coming to the U.S.	20	
Can protect the most vulnerable among us	20	5
Can level the playing field for working people	20	48
Can hold government accountable	20	43
Can level the playing field for communities of color	19	48
Can prevent costly mistakes, saving the public money	18	51
Can safeguard against costly mistakes, saving the public money	18	46
Can make life better for communities of color	17	51
Can protect the U.S. economy from harm caused by financial markets	16	45
Can level the playing field for small businesses	15	43



Top Priorities for Enforcement







Strong majorities believe enforcement is extremely important when it comes to clean water, food and drugs from other countries, and government officials. While voters believe it is important to enforce laws and regulations regarding lobbyists and special interests, there is a noticeable lack of breadth and intensity. This may be an instance however of voters' priorities taking a backseat to their cynicism.



Importance of Enforcing

Clean water	64	81
The food and drugs imported from other countries	56	76
Government officials Rated 10	50	67
Civil rights Rated 8-10	49	71
Discrimination	49	67
The drugs produced in the U.S.	46	72
Nuclear energy and power plants	46	67
The products that the United States imports from other countries	44	67
PUBLIC LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE Wall Street banks and the financial industry	44	64

Importance of Enforcing

	Clean air	43	67
	The safety of workplaces	42	73
Rated 10	The food grown and produced in the U.S.	41	67
Rated 8-10	Credit card companies	40	67
	Oil companies	39	59
	Gas prices	39	57
	The lending industry	37	60
	Special interests and lobbyists	34	52
PUBLIC LEADERSHIP	The home mortgage industry	33	56

Effectiveness of telling the story

	West Virginia Case Study	70	90
	West Texas Case Study/Last Visited in 1985	66	90
Very Convincing Total Convincing	West Texas Case Study/Once every 136 years	61	88
	CPSC Case Study	60	89
	CFPB - Deceptive Marketing	60	88
	Wage and Hour Enforcement/Criminal Penalties	59	90
And a	Economic Populist/CEO's	59	83
PUBLIC LEADERSHIP INSTITUTE	CPSC Case Study/Not Enough Teeth - Chinese Toys	58	87

Positive Messages

Text of Positive Messages (in order of intensity)

West Virginia Case Study

Just this year, an estimated 10,000 gallons of toxic chemical waste leaked from a private storage facility into a West Virginia river due to lax enforcement. The leak contaminated the drinking water supply of over 300,000 residents, putting pregnant women, seniors, and children at risk. States are required to test public water systems regularly, but this water system hadn't been tested in over a decade, and warnings of contamination were ignored. We need proper enforcement to ensure disasters like this don't happen again.

CPSC Case Study

U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission investigators analyze data to focus their inspections on high-risk cargo. During one six-month period in 2013, the CPSC identified more than 600 shipments containing illegal or defective products from other countries, totaling about 8.2 million units, which inspectors prevented from moving into U.S. markets and into the hands of unsuspecting consumers. When enforcement is done right, it can save Americans dollars and lives.

CFPB – Deceptive Marketing

Recently, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau ordered Bank of America to pay nearly \$727 million in fines because of the bank's deceptive practices, including charging consumers for products they never agreed to. It also ordered JPMorgan Chase to pay customers \$309 million, and American Express to pay customers \$59.5 million for deceptive and unauthorized billing. This agency saved consumers nearly \$3.5 billion in excessive fees and interest since its creation two years ago. We need to strengthen enforcement of these laws, not weaken enforcement.



Positive Messages-tier 2

Text of Positive Messages (in order of intensity)

Wage and Hour Enforcement/Criminal Penalties

The Fair Labor Standards Act bans oppressive child labor, requires workers be paid a minimum wage, and entitles workers to overtime pay. Even so, many employers break the law, don't pay workers for their time and illegally deduct money from their paychecks. The Department of Labor collected \$250 million in this kind of wage theft last year, but still lacked the resources and manpower to investigate thousands of other complaints. We need stronger enforcement, and CEOs who engage in wage theft should be held accountable with criminal penalties if found guilty.

Economic Populist/CEOs

As Americans, we prize innovation, entrepreneurship, and hard work—but all of that means little when multinational corporations are allowed to operate unchecked and take advantage of us. The CEOs who wrecked our economy, wrote themselves bonuses from our bailout money and don't pay their fair share of taxes, should be held accountable and not allowed to commit the same crimes again. It's past time we started protecting regular working families. Because if CEOs continue playing by their own rules, our shrinking middle class will disappear entirely.

CPSC Case Study/Not Enough – Chinese Toys

U.S. Consumer Product Safety Commission investigators analyze data to focus their inspections on high-risk cargo. During one six-month period in 2013, the CPSC identified more than 600 shipments containing illegal or defective products from other countries, totaling about 8.2 million units and prevented them from entering our markets. But hundreds of thousands of dangerous lead-based Chinese toys still made their way into U.S. stores and into the hands of our children. We need improved and expanded enforcement to protect America's youngest citizens.

Inadequate Penalties/Need Teeth

Enforcement of our laws needs to be updated regularly to reflect new threats in a rapidly changing world. We can't trust Wall St. CEOs, big polluters, or foreign companies to police themselves when penalties are so low. Currently, employers who have a death in their workplace are fined an average of \$7,000. We owe it to our families to make sure enforcement measures have real teeth and are updated to meet new realities and new threats.

Small Business/Little Guy

Small businesses are the engine of the American economy. But one of the biggest threats to small businesses comes in the form of big corporations using their political influence and armies of paid lobbyists to negotiate fines down to nothing and squeeze small businesses out of the marketplace. Universally enforcing clear, simple standards helps small businesses compete on equal turf. Big corporations already have enough advantages. Our small businesses need someone looking out for the little guy.



Positive Messages—tier 3

Text of Positive Messages (in order of intensity)

Wage and Hour Enforcement/Politicians Cutting Enforcement

The Fair Labor Standards Act bans oppressive child labor, requires workers be paid a minimum wage, and entitles workers to overtime pay. Even so, many employers break the law, don't pay workers for their time and illegally deduct money from their paychecks. The Department of Labor collected \$250 million in this kind of wage theft last year, but still lacked the resources and manpower to investigate thousands of other complaints. And politicians in over a dozen states have cut enforcement just at the time we need stronger enforcement of our laws.

Small Business/Economic Boom

Small businesses are the engine of the American economy. But one of the biggest threats to small businesses comes in the form of big corporations using their political influence and armies of paid lobbyists to negotiate fines down to nothing and to squeeze small businesses out of the marketplace. Universally enforcing clear, simple standards helps small businesses compete on equal turf, encourages innovation and growth, and ensures the highest quality products and services for consumers.

Security: Families

Most American families are too busy and simply don't have the tools they need to protect themselves against dangerous foreign imports, toxic industrial pollution of our air and water, or the predatory practices of unsavory corporations. When enforcement is underfunded, weakened or unevenly applied, our families are all put at risk. We need proper enforcement of our laws and regulations to protect our families and keep them safe.

Economic Populist/Rigged/Specifics

As Americans, we prize innovation, entrepreneurship, and hard work—but too often the system is rigged to favor the wealthy and powerful over ordinary Americans. Whether prohibiting big banks from destroying our economy, stopping the credit card industry from charging hidden fees, or preventing the wealthiest 1% from hiding billions of tax dollars in offshore tax havens—we need stronger, more just enforcement of our laws and regulations to ensure that everyone has a fair shot.

Inadequate Penalties/Criminal Penalties

Enforcement of our laws needs to be updated regularly to reflect new threats in a rapidly changing world. We can't trust Wall St. CEOs, big polluters, or foreign companies to police themselves when penalties are so low. Currently, employers who have a death in their workplace are fined an average of \$7,000. CEOs should be held criminally responsible if they're found responsible for workplace deaths, not just have to pay a minor fine that's built into the cost of doing business.



Message Triangle

Disasters Resulting from Lack of Enforcement

An estimated 10,000 gallons leaked from a private storage facility in West Virginia due to lax enforcement. The leak contaminated the water supply for over 300,000 residents, putting pregnant women, seniors and children at risk. States are required to test public water systems regularly, but this one had not been tested in a decade. In 2013, an explosion at a fertilizer facility in West, Texas killed 15 people and destroyed three schools, a nursing home, and hundreds of homes. The last time that facility was inspected by OSHA was In 1985, and despite a serious violation, it got just a \$30 fine.



Expanded Enforcement

Enforcement Success Stories

During one six-month period in 2013, the CPSC identified more than 600 shipments containing illegal or defective products from other countries, totaling about 8.2 million units, which inspectors prevented from moving into U.S. markets and into the hands of unsuspecting consumers. When enforcement is done right, it can save Americans dollars and lives. The CFPB saved consumers nearly \$3.5 billion in excessive fees and interest since its creation two years ago. It forced Bank of America to pay nearly \$727 million in fines because of the bank's deceptive practices.

Need for Increased Enforcement

With near unanimity, voters believe there should be increased enforcement of laws and regulations in the U.S. Voters believe that increased enforcement of the nation's or state's laws and regulations is a good thing and see a critical role for enforcement of laws and regulations it comes to protecting "clean water", "food and drugs from other countries", and can also help in redressing the fundamental imbalance and inequality in American life. Small businesses, entrepreneurship, and hard work are the engine of the American economy. But that means little when multinational corporations are allowed to use their political influence to squeeze small businesses out of the marketplace.