



CALIFORNIA ROAD MAP FOR A TAX AND FISCAL MAJORITY: A VALUES-BASED APPROACH

by

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THE CALIFORNIA TAX AND FISCAL POLICY PROJECT

CALIFORNIA ASSOCIATION OF COMMUNITY ORGANIZATIONS FOR REFORM NOW (ACORN),
STRATEGIC CONCEPTS IN ORGANIZING & POLICY EDUCATION (SCOPE), URBAN HABITAT,
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I. INTRODUCTION

Since the passage of Proposition 13 nearly 30 years ago, California's system of taxation and fiscal decision-making has increasingly been in disarray. The state's essential infrastructure has deteriorated; its schools have declined; its health and human services have endured cutback after cutback with tragic consequences. Instead of adopting necessary structural changes to repair this collapsing framework, California's electorate has relied on the excessive use of bonds and the adoption of narrowly crafted initiatives that further complicate an already complex and confusing design.

New coalitions that cross party lines and transform public perceptions around the role of government are needed to create the long overdue structural changes in California's tax system. A powerful multi-regional, multi-issue alliance will be needed. No single interest group or ideological constituency has the capacity to impose a new paradigm on the rest of the state. A new system designed to benefit the few will not secure approval from the many.

The California Tax and Fiscal Policy Project (TFPP) is composed of four grassroots, progressive organizations—California ACORN, SCOPE, Urban Habitat, and Working Partnerships USA—determined to improve the economic well-being and the political capabilities of low-income constituencies, working families, and people of color. In their organizing and policy campaign efforts, these organizations find themselves struggling to achieve their public policy and community empowerment goals in a convoluted tax and fiscal system that generates either adverse decisions or, more commonly, no decisions at all. Through organizing experience and analytical efforts directed at changing the current framework, the nature of the kind of replacement system the TFPP would prefer has become evident. Similarly, the obstacles to the creation of that new structure have also revealed themselves.

Where We Want to Go

The TFPP envisions a tax and fiscal system that generates adequate resources to meet community needs, such as affordable housing, safety net health care services, and quality education. In addition, in a growing state, it seeks an investment in infrastructure—from mass transit to health clinics to universities. From a political process perspective, the TFPP supports a structure that is responsive to grassroots input. Because the initiative process at the state level tends to be dominated by groups with enormous resources, TFPP organizations prefer the primacy in fiscal decision-making of legislative bodies. Since public funds are unlikely to be adequate to satisfy all competing needs, the TFPP believes the combination of grassroots organizing and functioning representative democracy is theoretically most likely to generate budgets and a tax structure that reflects community priorities.

Obstacles to Tax and Fiscal Reform

In California, the actual framework of decision-making demonstrates a reality far removed from the TFPP's vision. Local legislative bodies are not allowed to raise taxes at all. At the state level, a third of the legislature can block the adoption of taxes and the state budget. The costs of statewide initiative campaigns can reach 20 to 30 million dollars or more, and a dazed electorate rejects most initiatives. In consequence, school funding lags well behind other states, transportation infrastructure lacks hundreds of billions in needed investment, and health services for the uninsured teeter on the brink of crisis. Moreover, state government as a whole experiences an ongoing structural fiscal imbalance that is as chronic as it is apparently unsolvable.

This dysfunctional arrangement is the result of a decades-long conflict between three major coalitions, all of which have strongly divergent views regarding optimal tax and fiscal policies, structures, and outcomes. The first of these is an anti-tax, conservative network of organizations, including the heirs to the Jarvis/Gann movement that produced Proposition 13, and much of Republican Party leadership. A second group, comprised of unions, advocates for schools, health services or other government services and liberal constituencies, has sought to increase taxes and expand state and local budgets. The third grouping is composed of pragmatic business sectors that recognize the importance of functioning education and transportation systems to a viable economy. On a highly selective basis, they support state and local tax increases and statewide modifications of supermajority voting requirements on fiscal issues.

Introduction

In its recent publication, *An Historical Analysis of Tax and Fiscal Propositions in California, 1978–2004*, member organizations of the TFPP examined the interplay of these coalitions over two and a half decades. The adoption of Proposition 13 in 1978 produced both structures and political dynamics that placed proponents of a strong public sector on the defensive. Following 1978, local governments lost a 20-year effort to retain some minimal capacity to generate needed revenues without resorting to elections. As a result, they have little capacity to do more than allocate the harm associated with chronically inadequate funding.

At the state level, with the legislature often in stalemate, fiscal decision-making moved to the arena of initiative campaigns. Bonding proved to be by far the most successful strategy with nearly 75% of the measures securing approval by the voters, thereby generating resources for infrastructure and contributing to the structural imbalance noted earlier. Overreaching efforts to force through either massive tax cuts or general tax increases were seldom attempted and adopted even less often as opposition coalitions mobilized against them. Structural reforms also rarely achieved success with exceptions being the final elimination of local government taxing power (a conservative reform) and the reduction of the voter margin needed for school bonds from two-thirds to 55% (a liberal reform). More recently, the attempt by unions to allow the state legislature to raise taxes and approve budgets with a 55% majority failed disastrously in 2004, as did Governor Schwarzenegger's attempt to pass a severe spending cap in the Special Election of 2005.

The November 2006 elections demonstrated the continuing failure of traditional approaches to tax and fiscal issues. The defeat of Proposition 86 marked the first time that a proposed tax on tobacco, heretofore the most reliable of "sin taxes," proved unable to secure majority support. Proposition 87, the severance tax on oil, succumbed to an industry-funded barrage of media despite its own campaign budget of over 40 million dollars and the energetic endorsements of Bill Clinton and Al Gore. With regards to the fate of candidates, State Treasurer Phil Angelides was soundly vanquished by Governor Arnold Schwarzenegger who made his opposition to taxes the cornerstone of his re-election message.

California voters did support a host of new bonds, generating resources needed for transportation, housing, education, and other infrastructure. However, the Legislative Analyst's Office indicates these decisions will require the state general fund to pay for 43 billion dollars in principal plus an estimated 41 billion dollars in interest. By 2015, an extraordinary 6.1% of state revenues will be required simply for debt service. Unfortunately, bonding does nothing to resolve the state's ongoing structural shortfall in its operating budget. Also, proponents of new bonds have no obligation to demonstrate how the state will pay for education, health care and other essential services while billions of dollars are earmarked as a first priority to pay off voter-approved debt.

To overcome these obstacles, the TFPP aims to create strategic initiatives, defined by their ability to promote certain values, reframe debates, expand base constituencies, and place opponents on the defensive while picking apart rival base constituencies. Such initiatives may contain very limited direct applications, but reliably create broad multi-sector coalitions while setting the stage for more sweeping policy changes. Rather than short-sighted measures with limited objectives that leave an overall malfunctioning system in place, the TFPP calls for innovative approaches that benefit more than single targeted populations.

Underlying the repeated failures of tax measures and proposed structural reforms is the anti-government and anti-tax sentiment of the public. Since the early 1980s conservative political forces have constructed multiple-impact strategic initiatives to generate an anti-tax fervor in the United States that has resulted in a pool of state and local funds insufficient to meet public needs. Progressive organizations advocating for policies and programs that require adequate financial support of the public sector consistently run up against distrust of, if not disdain for, government. Even the traditional bases of support of progressive organizations register mixed views of the role of government and lack motivation to raise taxes to secure the resources government needs to provide vital services. Thus, strategic initiatives must address the widespread perceptions of government to gain majority support for fiscal reform at the ballot box.

II. Who We Are

The California Tax and Fiscal Policy Project is composed of four organizations—California ACORN, SCOPE, Urban Habitat, and Working Partnerships USA—engaged in an effort to reshape the direction and the tenor of the debate around tax and fiscal policy, to produce new ideas that cut across ideological and political boundaries, and to help form a broad coalition that can achieve the adoption of effective progressive reforms. Each organization demonstrates unique capacities that combine policy analysis with grassroots organizing.

As part of the California State Alliance, the TFPP is also directly linked to over a dozen other grassroots organizations clustered in five regions of California: Inland Valley, Los Angeles, San Diego, San Jose, and San Francisco/Oakland. The mission of this statewide body is to develop a multi-sector alliance of organizations in strategic geographic areas of California with the individual and collective capacities, the relationships and trust, and the strategic clarity to effectively exercise progressive power in the state's public policy arenas. In addition to tax and fiscal policy, the Alliance also works on civic participation, environmental justice and low-wage worker issues.

CA Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN)

California ACORN is a statewide affiliate of community-based organizations in ten counties and 96 neighborhoods working together for social justice and stronger communities. In California, ACORN has waged successful multi-regional campaigns to curb predatory lending practices, improve financial literacy and access to credit in low-income and minority neighborhoods, and lift working families out of poverty through raising the minimum wage and increasing access to the earned income tax credit (EITC). ACORN has built coalitions between grassroots community groups and major financial firms including Ameriquest, Citicorp, H&R Block, Liberty Tax, and Bank of America, and has successfully spearheaded efforts to pass comprehensive statewide regulation of predatory lending practices, notably the passage of AB 489, an ACORN sponsored bill. Additionally, California ACORN's efforts to increase education and outreach efforts for the earned income tax credit helped almost 6,000 working families claim \$7 million in refunds this year.

Strategic Concepts in Organizing & Policy Education (SCOPE)

SCOPE's mission is to eliminate structural barriers to social and economic opportunities for low-income and communities of color. Over the past 14 years, SCOPE has successfully waged regional public policy and civic participation campaigns through a multi-dimensional strategy that integrates community organizing, alliance building, research, policy analysis, political education, and capacity-building. Campaign victories include the creation of model job training and placement programs that have placed thousands of low-income residents in high paying careers in entertainment, health care and the public sector; transforming LA's welfare reform and workforce development policies from a "work first" to a targeted industry approach; and educating and mobilizing over 350,000 residents to vote. In 2006, SCOPE convened the Los Angeles Apollo Alliance, made up of community, labor, environmental and business sectors, to shape a new sustainable, equitable and clean energy economy that delivers thousands of quality green jobs to inner city communities.

Urban Habitat (UH)

Urban Habitat builds power in low-income communities and communities of color by combining education, advocacy, research and coalition building to advance environmental, economic and social justice in the Bay Area. By creating a broad, communitywide coalition, UH organized a campaign for a Local Employment Policy in the City of Richmond. The policy requires developers receiving substantial city subsidies to provide a first opportunity for employment to Richmond residents. Acknowledging concerns from smaller businesses, the coalition exempted firms with fewer than 10 employees from the new obligation. UH also plays a leadership role in the Bay Area Alliance for Sustainable Communities, a coalition including business interests (the Bay Area Council), environmentalists (the Sierra Club), and local officials (ABAG). Currently, UH and the Bay Area Council co-chair a \$200 million double-bottom-line initiative that seeks to target investments into Bay Area low-income communities while achieving market-rate returns.

Working Partnerships USA (WPUSA)

WPUSA is a research, policy and advocacy institute that builds coalitions with community groups, labor unions, and faith based organizations dedicated to improving the lives of working families. By combining a powerful grassroots base, nontraditional allies ranging from environmental advocates to high-tech business leaders, and the ability to develop effective policy, WPUSA creates innovative, practical solutions to problems facing working people and the middle class. Accomplishments include one of the strongest living wage ordinances in the U.S. and the Santa Clara County Children's Health Initiative, the nation's first county-wide universal health system for children, insuring over 120,000 children thus far and widely replicated in 17 other California counties. In collaboration with the hotel industry, downtown interests, the San José Convention and Visitors Bureau, and the South Bay AFL-CIO Labor Council, WPUSA also played a leadership role in creating Team San José, a public benefit corporation that is now successfully managing the San José Convention Center and nearby theatres. Recently, WPUSA worked with many of the major for-profit residential housing developers in Silicon Valley to create a landmark affordable housing program for the city's 1,700-acre urban reserve in the Coyote Valley.

III. The Search for an Innovative Approach: The California Tax and Fiscal Policy Project

The question the TFPP member organizations must ask is—can proposals be designed for tax and fiscal policy that will break the current deadlock? Exploring this question has both a policy component and a political component. A policy solution must meet the TFPP’s objectives but also satisfy enough other constituencies to yield the power of a majority. Since the progressive tax base is a minority in California, any success requires winning support of constituencies with which TFPP organizations are not firmly allied and that, in some cases, do not have a record of support for the TFPP’s positions. Moreover, these constituencies may not even perceive that they have any need to meet or negotiate with groups that hold the TFPP’s views. What is required, therefore, is a fundamental challenge to the traditional approach to social change and a new approach to issue development, coalition-building, and communication with those outside of the typical progressive base.

An Information-Based versus Values-Based Approach

Progressive organizations are overwhelmingly oriented towards narrowly-defined “issues” (e.g., the environment, housing, education), technical policy solutions (e.g., pollution controls, more money for services), and demographic identities (e.g., race, class and geography). The traditional progressive approach to social change is based on a set of assumptions, including the following:

- ▶ Ordinary people spend a lot of time thinking and talking about “the issues.”
- ▶ People decide where they stand on the issues based on a careful consideration of the facts.
- ▶ Social change occurs by presenting people with the facts and explaining to them how our position on the issues is in their self-interest.

Beginning in the 1960s and 70s, social scientists have wrestled with the complex ways in which an individual’s personal values consolidate into particular worldviews, which are best understood as the framework within which people construct and reason about the world. An approach based on this social values research offers a new set of assumptions:

- ▶ The things that really matter to people are their relationships, their jobs, and their communities (usually in that order). They rarely think about “the issues.”
- ▶ People think about the world, themselves, and their interests in radically different ways, which is commonly called “mixed consciousness,” or “multiple rationalities” in social values terminology.
- ▶ People tend to think about the world through the use of stories, metaphors, and images—not logic, argument, and facts.
- ▶ It is almost always easier to win people over with proposals that are *consistent with*—rather than contradictory to—their underlying worldviews, beliefs, and values.

A Values-Based Approach to Tax and Fiscal Policy Reform

The TFPP has chosen to examine the potential of social values research to advance a progressive agenda by focusing on values and vision, not problems and policies, and to seek breakthrough social change strategies through innovation and experimentation. The TFPP recognizes the need and opportunity to identify linkages between values and policy proposals that would induce shifts in people’s attitudes on the role of government and taxes, develop more coherent political consciousness within our base constituencies that translates into consistent action, and alter the political behavior of “swing constituencies” whose material or other self-interests matches those of our base but who often take contradictory actions.

The Search for an Innovative Approach: The California Tax and Fiscal Values Project

Nowhere is it more important to understand the unconscious and often contradictory drivers of opinion than in the domain of tax and fiscal policy. Voters who would benefit from particular economic policies frequently act “irrationally” in opposing or voting against them. This can be seen in working- and middle-class opposition to: the estate tax; tax increases on the wealthiest Americans; and higher cigarette taxes to support health care. Progressives often believe these are errors of logic—as though the voters were simply tricked or confused into voting against their self-interest—and continue creating policy proposals that depend on people making rational calculations about their material well-being. The reality, however, is that Americans are highly diverse and reason in dramatically different ways about their lives, politics, and policy. A progressive tax and fiscal policy agenda must speak to several different worldviews, mental postures, and values.

To take advantage of the widely employed Environics market research methodologies developed in Canada, the TFPP has partnered with social values research specialists American Environics (AE) to perform interviews with several hundred Californians focusing on both their basic values frameworks and their more specific opinions on tax and fiscal issues. Used by Fortune 500 companies from GM to Procter and Gamble to L’Oreal, the Environics Values Survey has been conducted in California every four years since 1992, but for the first time in 2005, respondent viewpoints on tax and fiscal policy were correlated with the social values data.

This research was used to create a values road map to be used to:

- ▶ Bring together progressive institutions in California to articulate a common vision and strategic initiatives that advance a progressive tax and fiscal policy agenda; and
- ▶ Develop a strategy to coalesce traditionally-divided constituencies around a commitment to progressive statewide tax and fiscal reforms.

The Project has produced a solid base of understanding of the tax and fiscal system and of the multitude of players and external factors that shape the outcomes of that system. By the end of 2006, the Project had successfully:

- ▶ Published *An Historical Analysis of Tax and Fiscal Propositions in California, 1978–2004*, a comprehensive overview of budget-related state ballot propositions over the past 25 years. The *Historical Analysis* provides an account of each proposition, analyzing the factors that led to a measure’s success or failure.
- ▶ Completed the *2006 Tax and Fiscal Policy Briefing Book*, which examines every government committee at the state and federal levels that deals with tax and fiscal policy, and a presentation that explains a strategic power analysis of California’s tax and fiscal policy landscape to deepen understanding of what it will take to achieve real reform.
- ▶ Introduced the Project to over 178 organizations in California and 80 grassroots leaders through several regional meetings.
- ▶ Conducted experiments in the 2006 General Elections to test the application of values analysis utilizing strategic themes, issue framing, and message development with specific values-based constituencies in Los Angeles, San Jose, and San Diego.

These undertakings have been built around the central mission of the TFPP—the combination of values polling with surveys of opinions on public policy to produce a greater understanding of California’s base of support for progressive tax and fiscal reform as well as the values and policy perspectives held by other constituencies. The following sections of this report discuss the background and context for the California Tax and Fiscal Majority Road Map, the preliminary findings of the Road Map, the study’s initial conclusions, and next steps envisioned for the Project.

IV. Developing the Road Map for a Tax and Fiscal Majority: Lessons from National Trends

Social Values Map

The social values map, developed by Environics, provides a basis for understanding patterns and changes in the values that are manifested in social and political behaviors. This understanding is invaluable for the development of programs and strategic interventions to encourage values development within certain groups and in certain directions. The map is defined by axes on which constituencies can be located in relationship to two significant socio-cultural variables: “Authority vs. Individuality” and “Survival vs. Fulfillment.”

Authority-Individuality is measured on the vertical axis. Placement high on the Authority scale indicates conformity to the expectations of legitimated figures or institutions; it also registers a willingness to obey the customs and demands of traditional ideologies. At the Individuality end of the spectrum, are those interested in making their own choices about all aspects of life.

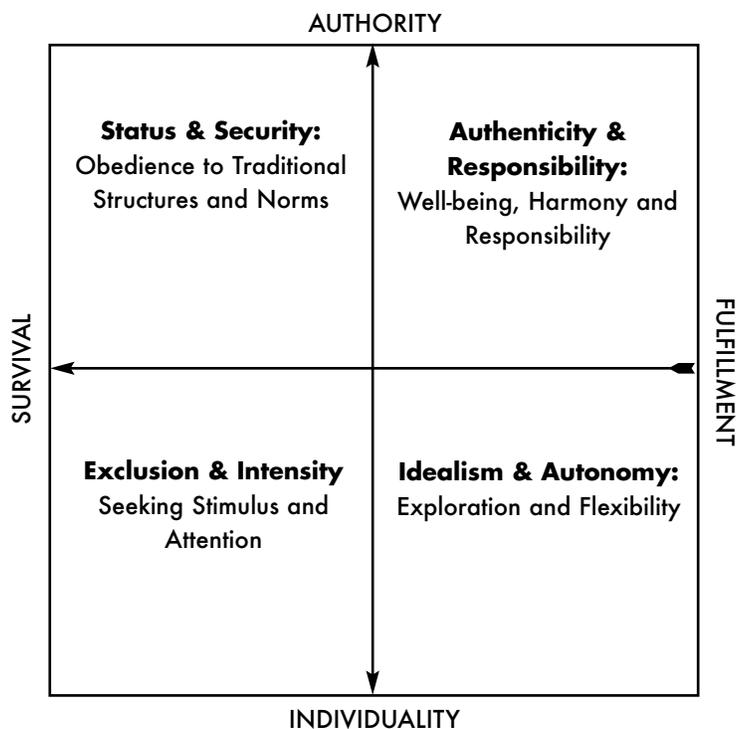
The horizontal axis weighs a constituency’s Survival vs. Fulfillment orientation. At the Survival end, are values associated with raw, basic needs and material gain. On the Fulfillment side can be found values more concerned with quality of life than with standard of living. These constituencies are less interested in getting ahead and more interested in personal growth and well-being as well as improving society at large.

See Appendices I and II for a more detailed description of the survey methodology and analytical approach used in the production of the map. See Appendix III for a glossary of values measured by the AE survey.

Needs- and Values-Based Politics

The AE methodology draws from more than a century of psychology and sociology and decades of behavioral economics that show people often hold certain beliefs in order to meet particular psychological *needs* to feel strong, secure, high-status, important, powerful, and in control. For example, middle-class people who support tax cuts for the rich know perfectly well they will not get the tax cuts themselves and that the rich will. They support the tax cuts for the rich because they identify with the rich. Many say they expect to benefit from the tax cuts one day—a belief that meets their need to feel rich, high status, and financially secure, even (and often *especially*) if their material lives are marked by financial instability. Telling these people that they will never be rich and thus should oppose the tax cuts denies the satisfaction of this need without replacing it with something else.

The Socio-Cultural Map



Developing The Road Map For A Tax And Fiscal Majority: Lessons From National Trends

Human needs are universal, but social values are particular, and thus it is essential to understand both. What is required is a needs- *and* values-based approach. In recent decades, social values in the United States have been evolving in two directions. On the one hand, social values are becoming increasingly oriented toward individualism, and new forms of belonging, and away from traditional religious, employment, and familial authorities and belief systems. This trend is consistent with the tendency of Americans to increasingly use the initiative process—direct democracy seemingly unmediated by politicians—to decide major public policy questions.

On the other hand, starting in the 1970s, as financial insecurity increased, wages declined, and pessimism grew, social values also moved back toward a lower, dog-eat-dog, survival outlook. This tendency constituted a reversal of the postwar movement toward higher, win-win, fulfillment-oriented values that correlated strongly with rising financial security and optimism. Combined with increasing materialistic consumerism associated with the continuing decline of prices for what had once been luxury goods, this heightened insecurity often manifests as status competition and the desire to feel above those perceived to be lower in the social order. Such a trend is not likely to reverse until there is greater health, employment, and retirement security for everyone. But this is not the whole picture, just one significant overall trend.

V. The Road Map: Identifying California Constituencies from a Tax and Fiscal Policy Framework

The challenge for progressive tax and fiscal strategies is thus not simply to advocate a policy agenda that is in people's material self-interest but also to create a strategic initiative that satisfies people's need to feel more *secure, high-status, powerful, and in control*.

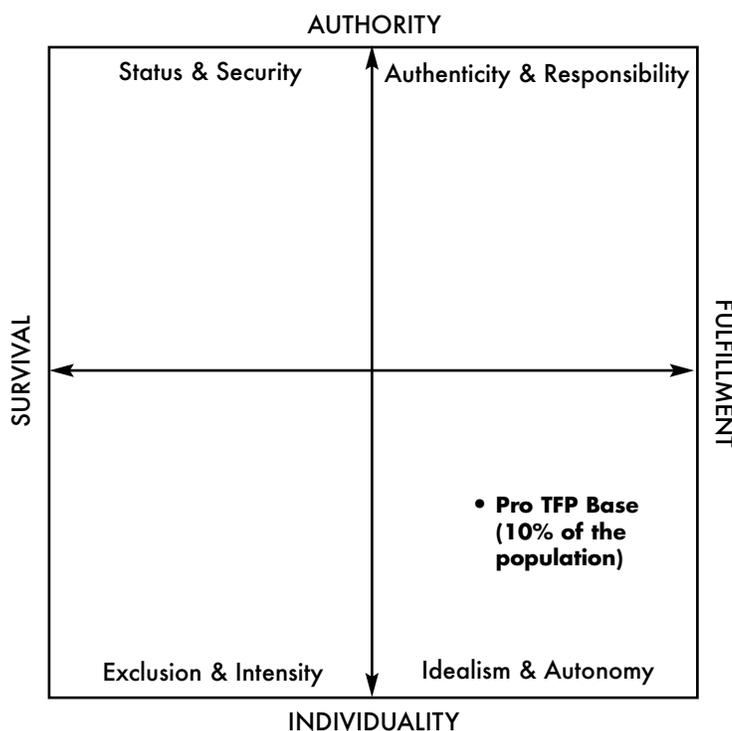
What do Californians think about tax and fiscal issues? Which Californians view taxation as a critical part of supporting public investment in community needs? How do other Californians differ when evaluated on a values level?

Using social values methodology, the Road Map identifies a Pro-Tax and Fiscal Policy (Pro-TFP) Base (10% of Californians), an Anti-Tax and Fiscal Policy (Anti-TFP) Base (16% of Californians), and five other groups of California constituencies. In order to build the Pro-TFP Base into a true majority, the five "Constituencies of Opportunity" must be closely analyzed. Constituencies of Opportunities are those constituencies who hold some but not all of the key values of the Pro-TFP Base and those who may not hold any key values but look like the Pro-TFP Base in other ways. For each constituency, the Road Map indicates a socio-economic-political profile and a set of worldviews and values that shape attitudes on tax and fiscal issues.

Pro Tax and Fiscal Policy Base (10% of Californians)

Representing 10% of Californians, the Pro-TFP Base is located squarely in the lower-right quadrant of Idealism and Autonomy. AE describes this quadrant as much less deferential to traditional forms of authority than is the Authenticity and Responsibility quadrant, but sharing in the latter's drive toward fulfillment. Thus, we find those in the Idealism and Autonomy quadrant seeking personal fulfillment not through traditional institutional channels such as the church, and not necessarily through the traditional family, but through avenues they craft themselves: social, familial, spiritual and professional. The values of this region of the map indicate that the penchant for personal fulfillment here does not rest upon a worldview that is closed to the world, but contains the trends *Global Consciousness, Ecological Concern, and Culture Sampling*. This quadrant boasts the most broad-minded, least self-centered values in America. These are individualists who have a healthy tolerance for the individualism of others. We find a great deal of flexibility and openness to change in this quadrant.

The Pro-Base is middle-class, middle-aged, well-educated, and racially diverse. Its members are the most politically active of all the groups (71% are self-identified likely voters), and they identify as liberals (48%) and Democrats (42%) more often than the general California population.



The Road Map: Identifying California Constituencies From A Tax And Fiscal Policy Framework

Those that fall in the Pro-Base believe that the government, rather than private charities and individuals, should be helping those in need and that taxes are a critical part of this responsibility:

- ▶▶ 94% believe the government has a responsibility to help the least fortunate in society;
- ▶▶ 90% agree that California is not spending enough on critical services such as education and roads;
- ▶▶ 31% strongly disagree that they pay more in taxes than they receive in services
- ▶▶ 86% believe the rich do not pay enough in taxes;
- ▶▶ 89% believe that corporations do not pay enough in taxes.

People in the Tax and Fiscal Policy Base have a strong focus on personal autonomy, social responsibility, and meaningful fulfillment. Liberal and progressive in general worldview, they prefer more flexible and individualized orientation (embracing values such as *Flexible Families*, *Rejection of Order*, *Religion à la Carte*, and *Cultural Sampling*) over traditional cultural norms (scoring low on values such as *National Pride*, *Religiosity*, and *Patriarchy*). Nonetheless, they do seek out rules and boundaries. While they do not want to live by strict rules imposed by others, they believe that life works better with some constraints. The Pro-Base holds 26 core values, including *Ecological Concern*, *Global Consciousness*, *Social Responsibility*, and *Civic Engagement*.

SUMMARY TABLE: Pro Tax and Fiscal Policy Base (10% of Californians)

Demographics

46% Male
 54% Female
 54% White
 22% Hispanic/Latino
 17% Asian
 5% African-American
 62% Under 50
 69% Some College or More
 15% Post Graduate
 38% Professional/Manager
 35% Work Full-time
 20% Retired
 49% Less than \$40K in Household Income
 16% Not Religious
 60% Homeowners
 34% Self or Family Member Belongs to a Union

Politics

71% Self-Identify as Likely Voters in 2006
 32% Pay a Great Deal of Attention to Politics
 42% Self-Identify as Democrat
 23% Self-Identify as Republican
 14% Self-Identify as Independent
 53% Voted for Kerry in 2004
 29% Voted for Bush in 2004
 5% Voted for Nader in 2004
 7% Contribute Money to Conservative Causes
 22% Contribute Money to Liberal Causes

Core Values

Ecological Concern
 Aversion to Complexity
 Flexible Families
 Personal Control
 Emotional Control
 Global Consciousness
 Equal Relationship with Youth
 Rejection of Order
 Social Responsibility
 Attraction for Crowds
 Skepticism Towards Advertising
 Civic Engagement
 Traditional Gender Identity
 Flexible Gender Identity
 Time Stress
 Buying on Impulse
 Everyday Ethics
 Religion à la Carte
 Living Virtually
 Culture Sampling
 Importance of Spontaneity
 Active Government

Tax & Fiscal Attitudes

94% believe that government has a responsibility to help the least fortunate in society
 90% believe that California is not spending enough on critical services such as education and roads
 31% strongly disagree with the statement that they pay more in taxes than they receive in government services
 86% believe that the rich do not pay enough in taxes
 89% believe that corporations do not pay enough in taxes

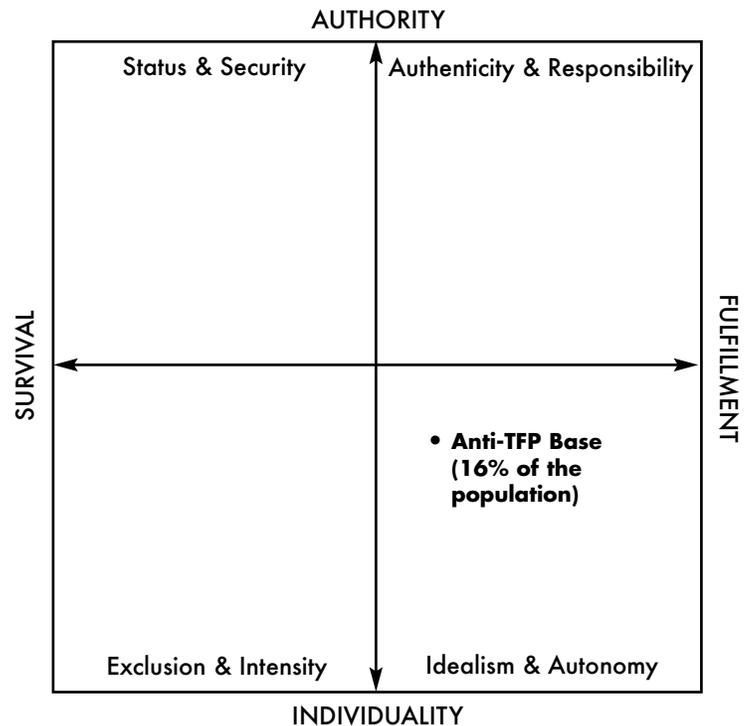
Anti-Tax and Fiscal Policy Base (16% of Californians)

Representing 16% of Californians, the Anti-Tax and Fiscal Policy Base is also located in the lower right quadrant of Idealism and Autonomy but lies closer to the Authority and Survival axes than the Pro-Base. The Anti-Base is higher income, not as well educated, and less racially diverse (63% white) than the Pro-Base. They vote (61% likely voters) and are more likely to identify as conservative. In 2004, 42% voted for Republican George Bush while 29% voted for Democratic presidential candidate, John Kerry. Only 5% self-identified as liberal.

Those that fall in this group look to government as a stabilizer rather than as an equalizer. In contrast to the Pro-Base, people in this group view taxes as a financial burden and believe that government is wasteful and inefficient with hard-earned money:

- ▶ 83% say they will vote against any increase in taxes;
- ▶ 90% are distrustful of politicians;
- ▶ 90% believe the government is wasteful;
- ▶ 91% believe that they pay more in taxes than they receive in services.

People in the Anti-Tax and Fiscal Policy Base believe strongly in the traditional American definitions of status and success. Reflecting strongly held values such as *Cultural Assimilation*, *Xenophobia*, *Parochialism*, and *Modern Racism*, they believe in a version of the California Dream that does not include newcomers, whom they believe threaten their comfortable, settled, and suburban way of life. They are fiscally conservative and have a drive for professional success that is fueled by both a desire for financial security (reflective of their values of *Financial Security* and *Saving on Principle*) and a desire for validation from others (*Need for Status Recognition* and *Status via Home*). Additional values strongly held by this group include *National Pride*, *Work Ethic*, *Entrepreneurialism*, and *Social Mobility*.



SUMMARY TABLE: Anti-Tax and Fiscal Policy Base (16% of Californians)(Values in bold type = **Bridge Values**; Values in italics = *Wedge Values*)**Demographics**

51% Male
 49% Female
 63% White
 26% Hispanic/Latino
 5% Asian
 3% African-American
 49% Under 40
 9% Over 65
 25% High School Graduate
 23% Some College/University
 27% College/University Graduate
 37% Professional/Manager
 11% Technical/Semi-Professional
 57% Work Full-time
 72% Over \$40K in Household Income
 33% Over \$80K in Household Income
 14% Not Religious
 67% Married
 27% Self or Family Member Belongs to a Union

Politics

61% Self-Identify as Likely Voters in 2006
 32% Pay a Great Deal of Attention to Politics
 31% Self-Identify as Democrat
 32% Self-Identify as Republican
 17% Self-Identify as Independent
 29% Voted for Kerry in 2004
 42% Voted for Bush in 2004
 5% Voted for Nader in 2004
 20% Contribute Money to Conservative Causes
 5% Contribute Money to Liberal Causes

Core Values¹

Cultural Assimilation
Emotional Control
Xenophobia
Parochialism
 Search for Roots
American Entitlement
National Pride
 Modern Racism
Time Stress
 Duty
Need for Status Recognition
Status via Home
Flexible Families
 Entrepreneurialism
Everyday Ethics
 Work Ethic
 Heterarchy
Personal Control
Equal Relationship with Youth
 Personal Expression
 Sexual Permissiveness
 Gender Parity

Tax & Fiscal Attitudes

83% responded that they will vote against any increase in taxes
 90% believe that politicians cannot be trusted with taxpayers' money
 90% believe the government is wasteful and inefficient
 91% believe that they pay more in taxes than they receive in government services

1. Values in bold type are Bridge Values, or values held both by the Pro Tax and Fiscal base and constituents of opportunity; values in italics are Wedge Values, or values that can move the constituency further from the progressive base.

Constituency of Opportunity #1: Stable Suburbans (26% of Californians)

Overview

Representing 26% of Californians, Stable Suburbans are evenly positioned on the Authority-Individuality axis and lie towards the Fulfillment axis. Given that they are the largest constituency of opportunity, Stable Suburbans are a critical group with whom progressives must seek to develop contacts and build coalitions.

Slightly more female and white than the California population in general, this group is one of the oldest (nearly half are over 50). They are middle class with average levels of education and appear to be comfortable and settled in their own lives. Many are retired, and many are stay-at-home moms.

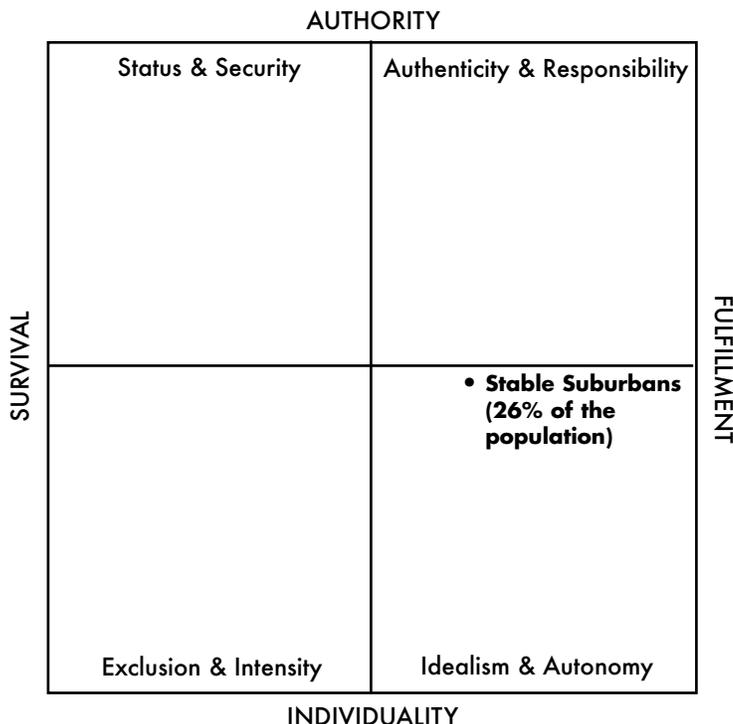
Stable Suburbans are less likely to vote or pay attention to politics than the Pro-Base. Though they are much more conservative than the Pro-Base, they do not have a strong political identity (25% did not know if they were a Democrat, Republican or Independent).

Stable Suburbans do not see the government as a protector or equalizer, nor do they view taxes as necessary to fund the social contract. On tax and fiscal issues, opinions of Stable Suburbans reflect their focus on their private lives:

- ▶ 44% disagree that the California Dream was made possible by investments in public education and infrastructure;
- ▶ 28% disagree that California is not spending enough on schools, roads, and public safety;
- ▶ 90% are distrustful of politicians;
- ▶ 86% believe that government is wasteful;
- ▶ 86% agree that corporations do not pay enough in taxes.

Of all constituency groups, Stable Suburbans are the most likely to disagree that the California Dream was based on past public investments and that the state is not spending enough schools, roads, and public safety. They view their own taxes as excessive, see the public sector as wasteful and inefficient, and are unconvinced the government has a responsibility to help the poor. Their closest perspective to that of the Pro-Base is agreement with the view that the rich do not pay enough in taxes.

As an older, more settled group, Stable Suburbans hold neither strong core values (with average scores on most indicators) nor strong opinions on tax and fiscal matters. These are private, non-political people who are comfortable in their own immediate environment. The values that they do hold strongly are traditional and parochial. *Cultural Assimilation*, the belief that people should adopt a culture that is “American,” constitutes their strongest value response while support for *Multiculturalism* ranked as their lowest. Nevertheless, they



The Road Map: Identifying California Constituencies From A Tax And Fiscal Policy Framework

lack the deep hostility of the anti-tax constituency. Neither are they particularly libertarian. They reject *Community Involvement*, *Global Consciousness* and *Social Responsibility*. They are probably more concerned about the kids' gymnastics practice or the weekly bridge game than a budget crisis in Sacramento much less student strikes in Europe.

Implications for a Tax and Fiscal Majority

At 25% of the state, the Stable Suburbans are people who progressives must increasingly win over in order to build a lasting, governing majority. In their best moments, Stable Suburbans feel *in control*. And when they are in control, they are more generous and more open to progressive change. At their worst, Stable Suburbans feel out of control and overwhelmed by the complexity of modern life.

In order to bring out the generous and progressive nature of Stable Suburbans, it is, first and foremost, necessary to enable them to feel in control and able to manage complexity. This is a group that will look to rules, norms, proxies, and shortcuts to eliminate complexity. If we do not provide them with rules that make sense to them, that help them determine who is deserving of government assistance and who is not, who is part of “us” and who is not, what a “job well done,” by government or individuals receiving assistance or benefits means, others will give them those rules, and we should not expect that they will lead to progressive social outcomes. Faced with unresolved complexity, this group, left to its own devices, will resort to traditional social norms, traditional morality, and zero sum assumptions, none of which are likely to drive them in the direction of embracing progressive tax and fiscal policies. A priority strategy should be to offer them an alternative set of rules for resolving moral and social complexity, rules that are consistent with their moral reasoning but that have progressive political and policy entailments.

To the Suburbans, government is essentially a provider of goods and services. They will reject claims to spend their funds for what they perceive as ideological purposes such as redistribution or redress for the poor and/or exploited. But they do recognize the role that government plays in providing many of the components of a suburban lifestyle—streets and traffic control, energy and water supplies, education, and public safety. To reach the Suburbans, it is necessary to tie taxes to government products that benefit them. To satisfy the TFPP, taxes must assist those at the base of the state's hourglass economy. The solution needs to be programs universal in nature, such as community colleges or hospital emergency rooms.

Offering services they might need will not be enough to move the Suburbans towards support of the public sector. They view government not merely as a provider of products but a provider with a poor quality and service record. The effort to reach this constituency cannot succeed unless their negative views towards government performance are modified. That change will almost certainly require more than advertising or token guarantors of accountability such as citizen oversight committees. The TFPP must take seriously the task of developing techniques to improve government efficiency that are compatible with the TFPP's other goals—serving low-income communities and fairness to public employees.

Moving beyond these “goods and services” approaches will require the difficult task of persuading the Stable Suburbans to support fiscal policies for which they are not the primary beneficiaries, to accept sacrifice for the common good. One possible approach is to seek opportunities in which they feel their suburban order is threatened by institutions or economic forces also opposed by progressives. Tax policies that prevent tobacco companies from addicting their children or that force oil companies to generate reliable and “independent” energy supplies may motivate the Suburbans in this direction.

SUMMARY TABLE: Stable Suburbans (26% of Californians)

(Values in bold type = **Bridge Values**; Values in italics = *Wedge Values*)

Demographics

45% Male
 55% Female
 62% White
 25% Hispanic/Latino
 5% Asian
 3% African-American
 46% Over 50
 18% Stay at Home
 23% Retired
 26% Under \$20K in Household Income
 68% Under \$60K in Household Income
 52% Protestant
 59% Married
 37% Self or Family Member Belongs to a Union

Politics

58% Self-Identify as Likely Voters in 2006
 24% Pay a Great Deal of Attention to Politics
 28% Self-Identify as Democrat
 32% Self-Identify as Republican
 16% Self-Identify as Independent
 25% Don't Know
 34% Voted for Kerry in 2004
 36% Voted for Bush in 2004
 16% Contribute Money to Conservative Causes
 5% Contribute Money to Liberal Causes

Core Values

Cultural Assimilation
Parochialism
 Traditional Family
 Consistent Self
Emotional Control
Skepticism Towards Advertising
Brand Apathy
Traditional Gender Identity
Buying on Impulse
Aversion to Complexity
Rejection of Order
Everyday Ethics

Tax & Fiscal Attitudes

44% disagree with the statement that the California Dream was made possible mainly by wise investments that the state made in education, roads, highways, and water
 28% disagree with the statement that California is not spending enough on schools, roads and public safety
 86% believe that corporations do not pay enough in taxes
 19% strongly disagree with the statement that poor people and people on welfare get most of the money that government spends
 90% believe that politicians cannot be trusted with taxpayers' money
 86% believe that government is wasteful and inefficient
 91% believe that we all have an obligation to pay our fair share of taxes

Constituency of Opportunity #2: Angry Youth of Color (19% of Californians)

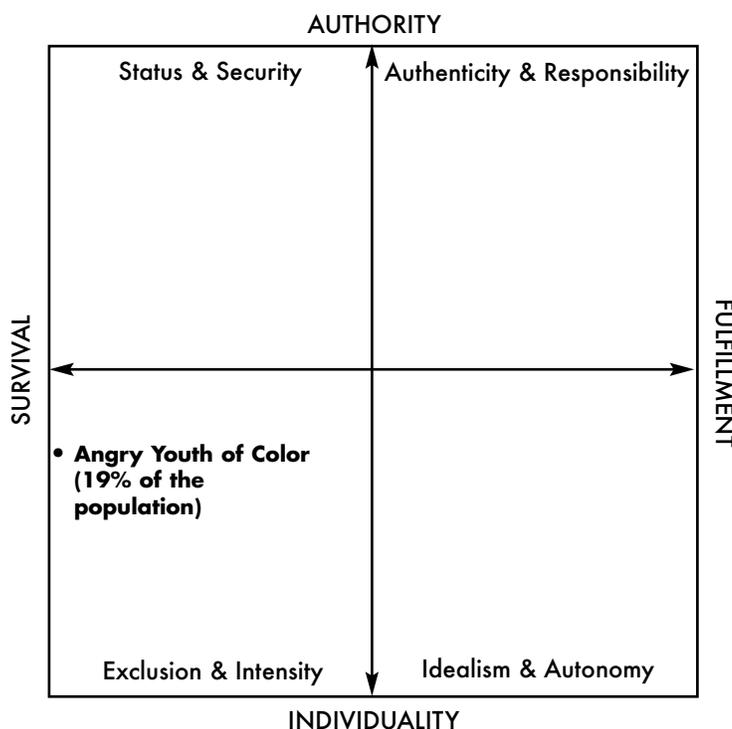
Overview

The second Constituency of Opportunity, Angry Youth of Color, is located in the lower left quadrant of Exclusion and Intensity. They are so close to the Survival Axis that they are nearly off the map. Populations in this segment exhibit values informed by a rejection of authority, and also by an outer-directed emphasis on survival and materialism. The left-hand side of this quadrant represents the most nihilistic space on the social values map. People in this quadrant are the most socially disconnected of any on the map. The trends of *Civic Apathy* and *Anomie-Aimlessness* both reside here, as do *Everyday Rage* and *Acceptance of Violence*.

While this group represents 19% of Californians, they comprise a much smaller percentage of the participating electorate. This constituency group is younger (66% under 40), more racially diverse (67% non-white), less educated, and lower income than the general California population. They are most likely to be stuck in blue collar and service industry jobs with low prospects for advancement.

Not surprisingly given their disaffected role in society, Angry Youth of Color have the lowest levels of civic participation. Only 31% of them are likely voters and a substantial 42% remain unregistered. However, when they do engage in political activity, their responses are usually in the progressive direction. They are predominantly Democrats and supported Kerry over Bush by a better than 2 to 1 margin.

Many of the viewpoints of the Angry Youth of Color on tax and fiscal issues reflect the preferences of the political Left. They are reliably enthusiastic about taxing corporations and the rich. A powerful government role in assisting the poor, protecting the weak, and reducing inequality meets with broad approval. Interestingly, they are the strongest constituency in their preference for local government fiscal decisions versus those of the state or federal government. Nonetheless, certain aspects of their situation move them towards less progressive attitudes. As a low-income group, they experience taxes as painful and burdensome. Their doubts as to the effectiveness of politics are reflected in high levels of distrust towards virtually all participants in the electoral system—legislators, politicians, and voters. In addition, more than other constituencies, they view the tax system as part of the general unfairness that permeates their environment. They reject the notion that we all have an obligation to pay our fair share of taxes and indeed believe they actually pay more than others. Also, they endorse the notion that people should keep the money they make and are not averse to cheating to accomplish that aim. Finally, their positive impression of successful business enterprises combined with a perception of government's failure to deliver results produces support for privatization



The Road Map: Identifying California Constituencies From A Tax And Fiscal Policy Framework

Some aspects of their value framework are highly compatible with a progressive vision. They endorse an active government role in the economy and are comfortable with a multicultural polity. However, other characteristics of their culture present challenges. These young men and women hunger strongly for status and recognition. Such drives induce them to identify with those who are powerful and high status including business elites. At the same time, they may be willing to defend their own identity by scapegoating others who they can define as lower status—immigrants, gays, blacks, whites, women, or others. In addition, they feel pressures for an intensity and immediacy for gratification that can be volatile when combined with a willingness to express rage and an acceptance of violence as a common, and often functional, aspect of life.

Implications for a Tax and Fiscal Majority

At a time in which government budgets are under stress, it is hardly realistic to envision the kind of massive redistributionist program that would attract the energetic commitment of this constituency. Moreover, their deep cynicism, derived from experience, suggests they might not believe in the viability of such a project even if the TFPP could create one. But if massive economic reform is not a viable short run objective, designing innovative ways to encourage participation has genuine potential. The task for the TFPP is to meet the focus on immediacy of response and status enhancement of this constituency. For example, consider a program in which young people who register 100 peers to vote are given a 60 second spot on an ethnic radio station. If they actually deliver 50% of these registrants to the polls (or the mail box for absentee ballots), the positive exposure is expanded. Similar tactics could be generated.

Regarding policy initiatives to which they might respond, the Angry Youth are by far the strongest supporters of local control in California. Programs that bring resources to the level of decision making closest to the people and that can involve youth in allocation decisions may offer them a role they value even if the funds involved are limited in scale.

SUMMARY TABLE: Angry Youth of Color (19% of Californians)

(Values in bold type = **Bridge Values**; Values in italics = *Wedge Values*)

Demographics

48% Male
 52% Female
 33% White
 40% Hispanic/Latino
 15% Asian
 7% African-American
 66% Under 40
 29% Less than HS Grad
 47% Trade/semi, unskilled
 23% Office/retail/service
 10% Unemployed
 32% Less than \$20K in Household Income
 59% Less than \$40K in Household Income
 2% Not Religious
 30% Single
 62% Renters
 38% Self or Family Member Belongs to a Union

Politics

31% Self-Identify as Likely Voters in 2006
 42% Not Registered to Vote
 37% Self-Identify as Democrat
 17% Self-Identify as Republican
 22% Self-Identify as Independent
 45% Voted for Kerry in 2004
 21% Voted for Bush in 2004
 5% Did Not Vote
 18% Contribute Money to Conservative Causes
 15% Contribute Money to Liberal Causes

Core Values

Acceptance of Violence
Ecological Fatalism
Everyday Rage

Civic Apathy

Acknowledgment of Racism

Anomie-Aimlessness

Joy of Consumption

Active Government

Xenophobia

Fatalism

Malleable Self

Multiculturalism

Modern Racism

Sexism

Penchant for Risk

Ostentatious Consumption

Fear of Violence

Pursuit of Intensity

Confidence in Big Business

Upscale Consumerism

Intuition & Impulse

Reverse Sexism

Confidence in Advertising

Enthusiasm for New Technology

Voluntary Simplicity

American Entitlement

Technology Anxiety

Vitality

Just Deserts

Tax & Fiscal Attitudes

76% believe that the rich should be highly taxed to help the poor

88% believe that corporations do not pay enough in taxes

61% agree with the statement that everyone cheats on their taxes so it's okay

86% believe that the legislature & politicians cannot be trusted with taxpayers' money

Constituency of Opportunity #3: Young Green Professionals (14% of Californians)

Overview

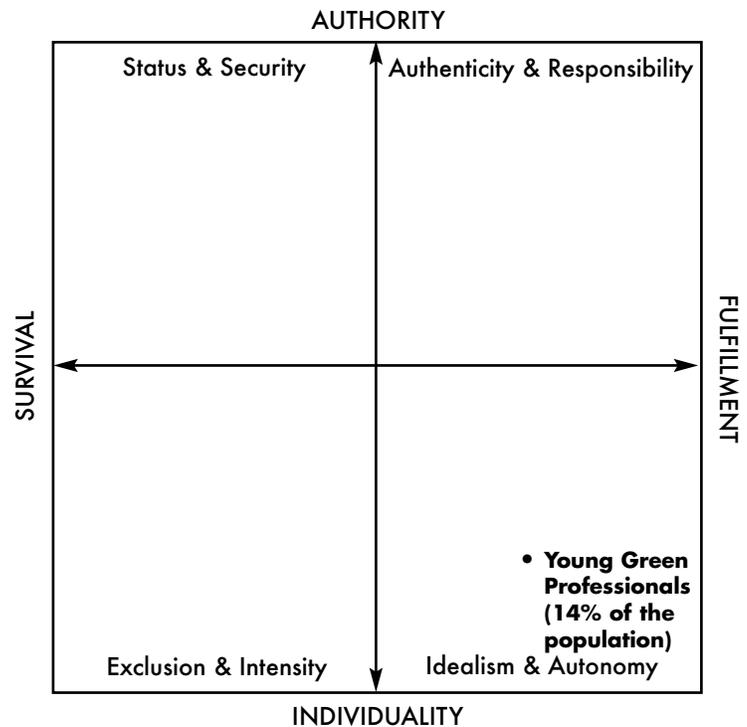
The third Constituency of Opportunity, Young Green Professionals, is more firmly in the lower right quadrant of Idealism and Autonomy. They share many of the same values and characteristics with the Pro Tax and Fiscal Policy Base.

This constituency is largely white (61%), highly educated, and at the peak of their earning power. Although affluent, these people are not obsessed with earning additional income. They were most likely born into fortunate circumstances and have stayed that way. They hold high-status jobs (50% are professionals or managers) and earn high incomes (62% earn over \$40,000 and 27% earn over \$80,000).

Politically active, 67% are likely voters. They are predominantly Democrats and supported Kerry over Bush by a large margin. Despite their tendency to identify as and vote Democratic, they rank low on nearly all tax and fiscal index scores. Of all constituencies, the smallest percentage of this group sees government as a protector and equalizer and believes that taxes are necessary to fund the social contract:

- ▶ 89% believe that California is not spending enough on schools, roads, and public safety;
- ▶ 82% agree that corporations do not pay enough in taxes;
- ▶ 37% strongly agree that the rich don't pay enough taxes;
- ▶ 13% strongly agree that the rich should be highly taxed to help the poor.
- ▶ 17% strongly agree government has a responsibility to lift up the poor.

Young Green Professionals have been comfortable enough throughout their lives that they prefer to explore non-material experiences and score high on such values clusters as *Introspection*, *Empathy*, and *Ecological Concern*. In many of their lifestyle preferences, they are close to the Pro-Base and are tolerant and open to experimentation (*Flexible Families*, *Flexible Gender Identity*, *Religion a la Carte*, *Cultural Sampling*), but they seek to create a moral order that provides meaning and structure to life (scoring high on values of *Personal Control* and *Aversion to Complexity*).



Implications for a Tax and Fiscal Majority

The Green Professionals do not resent the burden of taxation nor are they as alienated from the functioning of representative democracy as other constituencies. While they are not fervent supporters of deep redistributive measures, they will support government spending for a wide variety of purposes from schools to transit systems to environmental protection programs. For the TFPP to merge its objectives with those of this grouping, what is needed is to add progressive standards, such as living wage requirements or local hiring regulations, to proposals for the expansion of public sector programs. In fact, the addition of such standards helps meet the Green Professionals desire for the generation of moral limits to public and private behavior. It is likely this constituency will be the easiest with which the Pro-Base can establish coordinated action and coalitions.

SUMMARY TABLE: Young Green Professionals (14% of Californians)

(Values in bold type = **Bridge Values**; Values in italics = *Wedge Values*)

Demographics

57% Male
 43% Female
 61% White
 20% Hispanic/Latino
 9% Asian
 7% African American
 35% 40-49
 72% Under 50
 35% College Graduate
 17% Post Graduate
 50% Professional/Manager
 27% Over \$80K in Household Income
 62% Over \$40K in Household Income

Politics

67% Self-Identify as Likely Voters in 2006
 33% Pay a Great Deal of Attention to Politics
 84% Registered to Vote
 49% Self-Identify as Democrat
 24% Self-Identify as Republican
 18% Self-Identify as Independent
 50% Voted for Kerry in 2004
 27% Voted for Bush in 2004
 7% Voted for Nader in 2004
 11% Contribute Money to Conservative Causes
 18% Contribute Money to Liberal Causes

Core Values

Ecological Concern
Importance of Spontaneity
Personal Control
Rejection of Order
Flexible Families
Equal Relationship with Youth
Culture Sampling
Civic Engagement
Need for Uniqueness
Flexible Gender Identity
Aversion to Complexity
Entrepreneurialism
Skepticism Towards Advertising
Enthusiasm for Consumption
Faith in Science
Religion à la Carte
Introspection & Empathy

Tax & Fiscal Attitudes

89% believe that California is not spending enough on critical services such as education and roads
 82% believe that corporations do not pay enough in taxes
 37% strongly agree with the statement that the rich do not pay enough in taxes
 13% strongly agree with the statement that the rich should be highly taxed to help the poor.
 17% strongly agree with the statement that the government has a responsibility to lift up the poor

Constituency of Opportunity #4: Responsible Religious (10% of Californians)

Overview

Situated higher on the map than all other constituencies is the fourth Constituency of Opportunity, Responsible Religious. Although located in the upper right Authenticity and Responsibility quadrant, this group is still the closest to the center of the two axes.

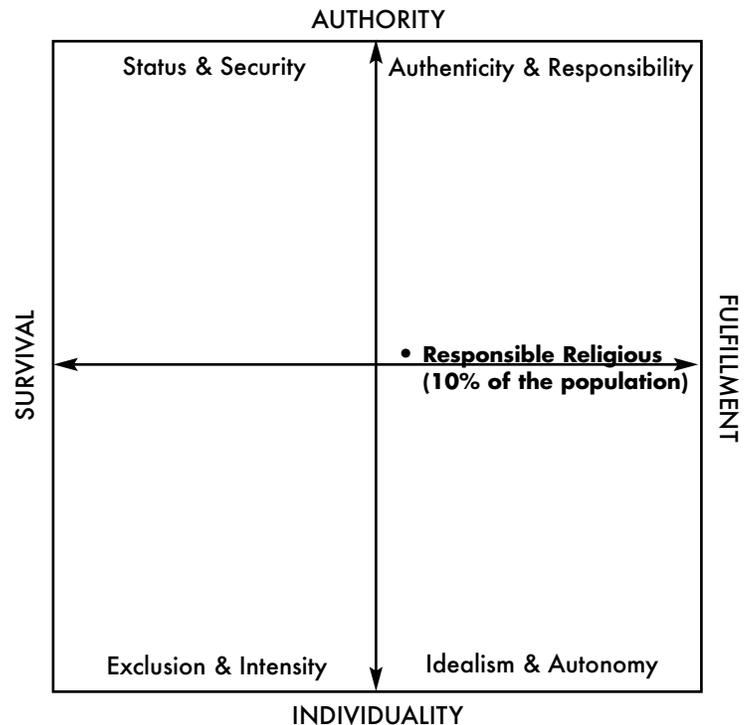
At first glance, this constituency seems typified by diversity. It is 34% White, 33% Latino and 21% Asian. While 26% have less than a high school diploma and 21% are unemployed, a substantial 34% earn more than \$80,000 a year. What connects the members of this group is their religious and social conservatism. Twenty-nine percent of the constituency identify themselves as Conservative Protestants. Religiosity, including an affiliation with an organized faith, is one of their primary values.

Their political preferences reflect their overall ethical framework. While 43% of the Responsible Religious are Democrats and 23% Republican, in the 2004 election 34% of the group voted for Bush as opposed to 27% for Kerry. More members of this constituency contribute funds to conservative causes than liberal ones.

The Responsible Religious acknowledge the validity of a basic social contract. Moreover, this constituency reveals a pronounced anti-corporate viewpoint. Responses to specific questions on tax and fiscal policy indicate the Responsible Religious are likely to support progressive taxation:

- ▶▶ 91% agree government has a responsibility to lift up the poor;
- ▶▶ 88% agree children and seniors must depend on the rest of us;
- ▶▶ 88% believe that government is the only thing that keeps corporations from being in control of everything;
- ▶▶ 50% strongly agree corporations don't pay enough taxes.

While this constituency may have some progressive ideas regarding taxes and social need, their social conservatism and concern for moral values (high on *Primacy of the Family* and *Traditional Family*) tends to trump their economic liberalism. The value they hold the strongest is *Social Responsibility*. The group's involvement with their faith appears to be part of a quest for community, meaning, and service. Along with *Religiosity*, their deep values range from *Social Intimacy* and *Networking* to *Community Involvement*. Reflected in their diverse backgrounds, the group holds flexible ideas about what it means to be an American, generating high scores for *National Pride* and *American Entitlement* as well as *Multiculturalism*.



Implications for a Tax and Fiscal Majority

The Responsible Religious constituency shares numerous bridge values with the Pro-Base. Both groups believe in social responsibility and the duty to engage in public life to improve one's community. Both groups also embrace a commitment to alleviate the plight of the poor. However, the Responsible Religious membership is highly skeptical of government's effectiveness in achieving moral aims in general and through taxation in particular, as they are painfully aware of the costs that taxes impose on the payer while benefits to the recipient may be diluted. Moreover, they prefer to be personally engaged in the fulfillment of their responsibilities, preferably through participation with like-minded co-religionists rather than through a reliance on government staff.

One basis for common ground might be expansions of government services that require community involvement such as tutoring youth or immigrants or organizing emergency preparedness outreach at the neighborhood level. Because these kinds of programs may combine a time consuming interaction with each client with a potentially vast number of service recipients, they are unlikely to ever be implemented using only professional government staff. However, public employees would be required to coordinate and train volunteers, thus the progressive interest in supporting the public sector workforce can be joined with the Religious constituencies' desire for the direct experience of service.

Another fruitful opportunity for engagement might be over the use of tax policy to impose ethical standards on corporate behavior. The Responsible Religious constituency exhibits a noticeably negative attitude towards corporate power and is philosophically comfortable with the concept of imposing standards on behavior. Thus, this group may be open, for example, to the use of tobacco taxes to prevent corporations from inducing youth to smoke or to higher taxes on firms that fail to provide health insurance.

Despite the presence of bridge values and some similar populist economic attitudes, dialogue between progressives and this constituency will be complicated by the presence of numerous wedge issues, such as gay rights and abortion. However, the progressive movement has managed to work collaboratively with the Catholic community on social justice issues despite serious disagreements over sexual morality and the prospect of a similar working relationship with other elements of this religious constituency deserves to be explored.

SUMMARY TABLE: Responsible Religious (10% of Californians)

(Values in bold type = **Bridge Values**; Values in italics = *Wedge Values*)

Demographics

45% Male
 55% Female
 34% White
 33% Hispanic/Latino
 21% Asian
 6% African American
 38% 30-39
 26% Less than a High School Degree
 21% Unemployed
 34% Over \$80K in Household Income
 29% Conservative Protestant
 3% Not Religious
 30% Self or Family Member Belongs to a Union

Politics

61% Self-Identify as Likely Voters in 2006
 44% Pay a Great Deal of Attention to Politics
 43% Self-Identify as Democrat
 23% Self-Identify as Republican
 10% Self-Identify as Independent
 23% Don't Know
 27% Voted for Kerry in 2004
 34% Voted for Bush in 2004
 7% Did Not Vote
 23% Contribute Money to Conservative Causes
 16% Contribute Money to Liberal Causes

Core Values

Social Responsibility

Multiculturalism

Heterarchy

Religiosity

Personal Creativity

Fatalism

Sexism

Pursuit of Intensity

Civic Engagement

Culture Sampling

National Pride

Ecological Fatalism

Discerning Hedonism

Sexual Permissiveness

Importance of Brand

Ethical Consumerism

Look Good Feel Good

Sensualism

Introspection & Empathy

Faith in Science

Everyday Ethics

Community Involvement

Joy of Consumption

American Entitlement

Primacy of the Family

Tax & Fiscal Attitudes

91% believe that the government has a responsibility to lift up the poor

88% believe that children and seniors have to depend on the rest of us

88% believe that government is the only thing that keeps corporations from being in control of everything

50% strongly agree with the statement that corporations do not pay enough in taxes

Constituency of Opportunity #5: Alienated Older Men (4% of Californians)

Overview

The fifth Constituency of Opportunity, Alienated Older Men, are so orientated towards Survival that they are off the map. This last constituency is small, only 4% of the population, but it holds intense views.

Overwhelmingly male (90%), older (49% over 65), and non-white (49% African American and 31% Latino), its members have low education levels and low incomes. Nearly half only work part-time.

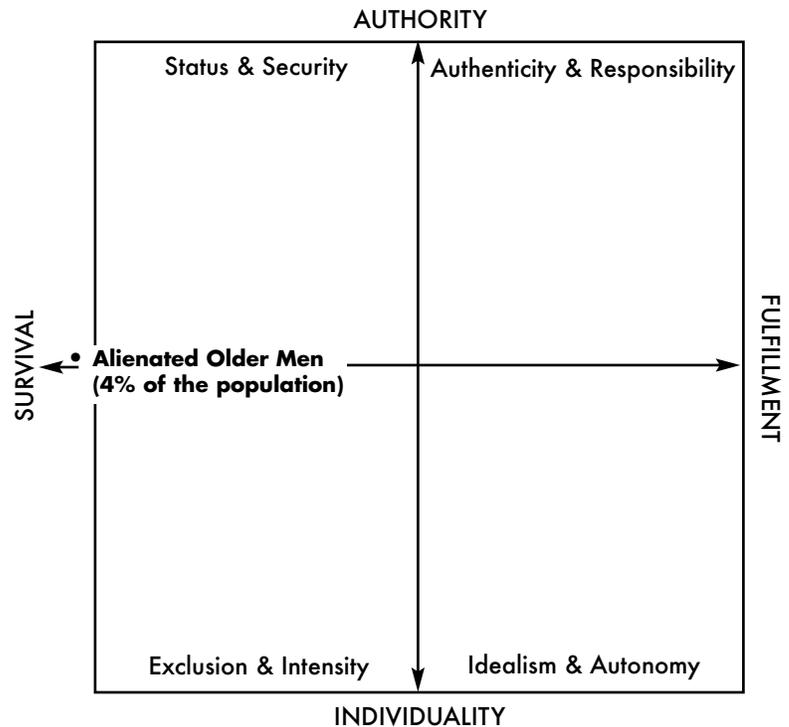
Eighty-two percent are Democrats, 49% are very liberal, and the group supported Kerry over Bush by a margin of 69% to 3%.

This constituency is likely to be supportive of progressives on policy issues. Many of their opinions on tax and fiscal issues mirror the Pro-Base or exceed it in fervor. The group's support of government as an institution is firm:

- ▶ 100% believe that government has a duty to assist the poor;
- ▶ 100% strongly agree the rich should be taxed to accomplish that goal.

Over half strongly disagree that government is wasteful; the corresponding figure for the Pro-Base is 4%. They also deeply oppose privatization and have higher trust in the legislature than other constituencies. However, they also display a profound cynicism towards the operations of the current social order that may reduce their level of political participation and open them to anti-progressive messages. Eighty-one percent strongly agree voters cannot be trusted with taxpayers' money. Expressing a similar distrust of the political process, 97% strongly agree that requiring large majorities to approve taxes is needed to prevent people who don't pay taxes from increasing taxes on those who do.

In terms of a values framework, this group holds attitudes that are either dramatically stronger or dramatically weaker than other Californians in virtually every category. Many of these views reflect the group's frustration at life's hardships including *Everyday Rage*, *Acceptance of Violence*, *Anomie–Aimlessness*, *Civic Apathy*, *Ecological Fatalism*, and *Need for Status Recognition*. To some extent, these strong feelings lead to negative views of other groups as reflected in strong scores on *American Entitlement*, *National Pride*, and *Xenophobia*. However, they also generate a desire for outside help, demonstrated by the fact that they hold the value *Largesse Oblige* at over eight times the propensity of the average Californian and the value *Active Government* over six times higher.



Implications for a Tax and Fiscal Majority

At the end of their lives, the members of this constituency are poor and have few prospects. They have seen the hopeful political movements of their youth fail to dramatically improve the quality of their lives. While they are likely out of habit to vote for proposals to assist low-income populations, they are unlikely to bring much energy or enthusiasm to the fray. In addition, policy initiatives that seek to transfer enough resources to the poor to excite them with hope would undoubtedly disturb other larger constituencies like the Stable Suburbans. Demographics may help the Pro-TFP Base reignite the commitment of this group. As the boomer generation ages in a world without pensions, older Americans under economic stress will have a lot of company. Meeting the needs of the state's growing senior population may be one issue around which broad coalitions can be built. Twenty-three percent of the Stable Suburbans are already retired. The Responsible Religious will acknowledge a duty to aged parents. More than 75% of all of these groups believe corporations do not pay enough in taxes. The TFPP may be able to help craft messages and tactics that enable the Alienated Older Men to redefine their political identity and reenter politics with new allies.

SUMMARY TABLE: Alienated Older Men (4% of Californians)

(Values in bold type = **Bridge Values**; Values in italics = *Wedge Values*)

Demographics

90% Male
 10% Female
 49% African American
 31% Hispanic/Latino
 15% White
 5% Asian
 49% Over 65
 62% Less than a High School Degree
 74% Professional/Manager
 49% Work Part-time
 13% Student
 49% Between \$20–39K in Household Income
 0% Over \$80K in Household Income
 49% Conservative Protestant
 33% Catholic
 70% Married
 67% Homeowners
 64% Self or Family Member Belongs to a Union

Politics

66% Self-Identify as Likely Voters in 2006
 10% Ineligible to Vote
 7% Pay a Great Deal of Attention to Politics
 82% Self-Identify as Democrat
 6% Self-Identify as Republican
 10% Self-Identify as Independent
 69% Voted for Kerry in 2004
 3% Voted for Bush in 2004
 64% Contribute Money to Conservative Causes
 66% Contribute Money to Liberal Causes
 79% Contribute Money to Environmental Causes

Core Values

Largesse Oblige
Active Government
Penchant for Risk
Intuition & Impulse
Upscale Consumerism
Attraction for Crowds
 Sexual Permissiveness
 Importance of Brand
Reverse Sexism
 Adaptability to Complexity
Living Virtually
Malleable Self
Confidence in Small Business
Global Consciousness
 Celebrating Passages
Flexible Gender Identity
 Voluntary Simplicity
Interest in the Unexplained
 Adaptive Navigation
Religion à la Carte
Time Stress

Tax & Fiscal Attitudes

100% believe that government has a responsibility to help the least fortunate
 100% strongly agree with the statement that the rich should be highly taxed to help the poor
 100% believe that corporations do not pay enough in taxes
 100% believe that they pay more in taxes than they receive in government services
 100% strongly agree with the statement that without a well-funded government, life would be much less safe and secure
 100% believe that voters and politicians cannot be trusted with taxpayers' money

V. Summary

The task for the TFPP is to create new public policies that take seriously the psychological needs, social values, and patterns of reasoning associated with tax and fiscal policy. People do not make up their mind about specific policies based on “messages” or “framing” so much as the policies themselves. Or, more to the point, there is no separating the framing from the conceptual content of a policy initiative itself. Thus, in order to advance a progressive agenda, the policy proposal itself must be a natural and logical entailment of existing ways of reasoning about the world.

Each values-defined constituency offers its own organizing challenges, but the road map provides insights on what core progressive values need to be elevated. The first step in moving forward will be to craft policy initiatives that activate the values of target constituencies in a manner that begins to move them towards holding consistent and coherent views that look more like those of the progressive base.

While there are many implications resulting from the values-based analysis, there are three key lessons learned thus far. The Pro Tax and Fiscal Base is dramatically different from the traditional, demographic bases of progressive organizations. While the size of the Pro Tax and Fiscal Policy Base (10%) is small, there are opportunities to reach deeply within traditional bases of support, primarily Angry Youth of Color, Alienated Older Men, and some segments of the Responsible Religious and to reach more broadly into non-traditional constituencies (Stable Suburbans and Green Professionals). “Bridge values” that cut across several constituencies can provide opportunities to craft issues, framing, themes, and messages in ways that can both develop more coherent political consciousness within traditional bases and build connections to non-traditional constituencies.

The TFPP aims to use this analysis of values in order to grow its base—ultimately reaching out to all five of the constituencies of opportunity, not just the low-hanging fruit. The TFPP plans to start with those constituencies that overlap with the traditional demographic bases, namely Angry Youth of Color and Responsible Religious, and with the constituency that must be won over due to its sheer size, Stable Suburbans. The following are key implications for each target constituency that should be taken into account in creating a tax and fiscal majority:

Stable Suburbans (26% of Californians):

- ▶ Stable Suburbans hold neither strong core values nor strong opinions on tax and fiscal matters.
- ▶ In order to bring out the generous and progressive nature of Stable Suburbans, they must feel in control and able to manage complexity. They should be offered an alternative set of rules that resolve moral and social complexities but have progressive political and policy entailments.
- ▶ To the Suburbans, government is essentially a provider of goods and services. It is necessary to tie taxes to government products that benefit them.
- ▶ A possible strategy is to seek opportunities in which they feel their suburban order is threatened by institutions or economic forces opposed by progressives. Tax policies that prevent tobacco companies from addicting their children or that force oil companies to generate reliable and “independent” energy supplies may motivate the Suburbans in this direction.

Angry Youth of Color (19% of Californians):

- ▶ Not surprisingly, given their disaffected role in society, Angry Youth of Color have the lowest levels of civic participation.
- ▶ They are the strongest constituency in their preference for local government fiscal decisions versus those of the state or federal government. They endorse an active government role in the economy and are comfortable with a multicultural polity.

Summary

- ▶▶ However, more than other constituencies, they view the tax system as part of the general unfairness that permeates their environment. These young men and women hunger strongly for status and recognition. Such drives induce them to identify with those who are powerful and high status including business elites.
- ▶▶ They feel pressures for an intensity and immediacy for gratification that can be volatile when combined with a willingness to express rage and an acceptance of violence as a common, and often functional, aspect of life.

Responsible Religious (10% of Californians):

- ▶▶ Their social conservatism and concern for moral values are likely to trump their economic liberalism.
- ▶▶ They believe in social responsibility and the duty to engage in public life to improve one's community.
- ▶▶ The Responsible Religious membership is highly skeptical of government's effectiveness in achieving moral aims in general and through taxation in particular.
- ▶▶ One basis for common ground might be expansions of government services that require community involvement such as tutoring youth or immigrants or organizing emergency preparedness outreach at the neighborhood level.
- ▶▶ Another opportunity for engagement might be over the use of tax policy to impose ethical standards on corporate behavior.

The initiatives that result from the TFPP could be “thin,” such as a tax that affects a small sector of the population but serves as an escalator to wider impact—or “thick,” such as initiatives that would remake the tax system. What matters is that they be consistent with people's needs, values, and rationalities. Through the use of social values research, the TFPP is forming the foundation upon which to build a powerful crosscutting coalition with the ability to deliver far-reaching policy change.

VII. Moving Forward

When the TFPP began the Road Map project, it did so with the long-term hope of discovering sets of values and creating policy proposals that would coalesce numerous previously divided constituencies towards a revised tax and fiscal system for the state. That objective remains the TFPP's target. However, the sheer diversity of California and the depth of the cultural and political chasms between its communities indicate that interaction between two previously separate constituencies will likely need to proceed before interactions between three or four. Tailored themes around specific policy proposals will have to be tried and hopefully succeed before broad messages that cover numerous whole categories of policy can be produced.

In the context of contemporary California, the TFPP recognizes that it must begin the task of constructing the roadmap and simultaneously walking down the pathways it is building step by step. The next steps of the Tax and Fiscal Values Project are to:

1. Update the analysis of the Road Map with AE's latest survey data that incorporates new social values constructs and merges it with a consumer behavior segmentation system that allows for more accurate targeting of and outreach to selected constituencies;
2. Deepen understanding of needs, social values, and patterns of reasoning associated with tax and fiscal policy of at least the three target constituencies through values-based, cognitive focus groups;
3. Craft strategic initiative proposals to activate the core progressive values that can be elevated and that are natural and logical entailments of the ways the target constituencies already reason about the world through a series of Strategic Initiatives workshops;
4. Test the resonance and viability of the strategic initiative proposals through convenings with regional and statewide allied organizations and policymakers and through a statewide poll;
5. Conduct regional experimental projects to test the effectiveness of potential strategic initiatives, including themes and messages while understanding that statewide change must begin at the local level;
6. Involve a broader set of regional and state organizations, policymakers, grassroots leaders, and other stakeholders in the project and build broad-based support.

Appendix I. California Values Survey Methodology

The California data consisted of an amalgamation of data from three different sample sources: from an internet panel (n=1083), from a mall intercept exercise (n=153), and California respondents from the 2004 US 3SC in-home sample (n=307), for a total N=1543.

These various subsamples were captured with different sampling frames and objectives in mind. For example, the in-home 3SC respondents were captured based on location-based (geographic) sampling, whereas the mall intercept respondents were captured under quota assumptions needed to increase the sample representation (in this case, of Hispanics).

The task of weighting the CA data was to draw the collective subsets of data which varied by sample frame and mode of data collection back in line with the California census demographics based on gender, age, education, and race. In addition, a large oversample of Santa Clara county residents (n=805) that was included in the sample was weighted back to its appropriate county to state proportion. All of this was accomplished in a number of steps:

1. The mall and internet samples, being of California residents only and unique for omnibus client work, were combined and a weight developed specifically for this joined sample (n=1236). With a very large purposive over-sample from Santa Clara county (n=805), the first step was to shrink that portion (over 65% of sample) to its appropriate proportion within California (<5%).
2. Once Santa Clara was proportioned, the sample was adjusted in successive stages for age, education, race and gender in accordance with the California Census.
3. Within the sub-sample of Santa Clara itself (n=805) a second weight was developed to be used for research involving only Santa Clara residences. The same four demographics were used to adjust this subsample to Santa Clara census proportions according to age, education, race and gender taken in successive steps. Note that this weight was not used for the overall CA analysis.
4. The 3SC data (California residents from our National survey, n=307) were treated the same as the above (i.e., iterative weighting adjustments according to the four demographics listed above to bring them in line with census proportions) and were appended subsequently to the data.

The net affect was to approximately maintain the size of the “Rest of California” sample while dramatically adjusting down the Santa Clara sample.

Appendix II. California Values Survey Analytics

There were three phases of more advanced analytic work:

Social Values Assessment: One hundred and sixty-seven values questions were aggregated to form 117 values constructs according to our proprietary formulae. These 117 values measures were then used to understand the normative response patterns within California (as compared to national norms on these values), the values correlates of those standing high or low on the tax and fiscal factors extracted (see below), and the values profiles of the resulting roadmap segments (also see below).

Tax and Fiscal Factor Identification: Principal Components Analyses (PCA) were conducted—in concert with various structural rotations to aid interpretation—on the numerous tax and fiscal attitude questions assessed in the on-line and mall intercept surveys. This analysis produced 12 interpretable factors. These factors were used as the basis for creating 12 summative indexes comprising those items loading highest on each of the factors. Items were used to define one and only one factor (and therefore not used multiply in such definitions). These indexed factors were then identified and named, and more fully described and interpreted by profiling against demographics and social values. For the purposes of later analysis, the top 20% of individuals scoring most in favor of the progressive tax and fiscal attitudinal positions represented on each of the separate 12 continua were identified. In addition, those 20% of individuals most opposed to the progressive stance on each factor were also identified.

Roadmap/Segmentation Modeling: In order to conduct a values-based segmentation that would be most pertinent to tax and fiscal attitudes and persuasion, the set of values to be used as the mathematical basis of segmentation were winnowed down to only those that are empirically related to the tax and fiscal factors. This step establishes empirical relevancy and ensures that the homogeneous social values-based groups designed to emerge from the segmentation algorithms will differ systematically in their tax and fiscal attitudes and orientations.

Analytically, this was accomplished by conducting stepwise discriminant function analyses (DFA) to identify those social values most predictive of whether respondents were or were not among the most ardent progressive tax and fiscal supporters. (Note that these analyses were conducted on that subset of respondents where tax and fiscal attitude data were available to do so, namely the on-line and mall intercept respondents). In order to define ardent supporters or opposers of tax and fiscal progressivism to be used in this analysis, base groups of such respondents were defined. Membership (either ‘yes,’ 10% of sample, or ‘no’) in the progressive tax and fiscal base group was then used as the grouping variable to be predicted by the DFA using values. On judgment, and guided by the predictive statistics, those values most consistently and robustly related to the propensities to strongly support or to strongly oppose progressive tax and fiscal attitudes and concepts were selected from the stepwise list of 37 significant differentiating values. The final list, comprising the following 12 values, was able to predict membership in the pro base group with 93% accuracy, and it was these that were used in all subsequent segmentation modeling:

Active Government	Rejection of Order
Confidence in Big Business	Living Virtually
Global Consciousness	Heterarchy
Sexism	Social Responsibility
Effort Toward Health	Attraction For Crowds
Discriminating Consumerism	American Entitlement

California Values Survey Analytics

Next all non-base respondents' scores were submitted (i.e., including now the additional 3SC 2004 social values survey Californian subsample) on these 12 values to Latent Class Analysis segmentation routines (conducted under Statistical Innovations' commercially available software package named "Latent Gold") to produce a variety of solutions of differing sizes (i.e., segmentations into between 3 and 10 groups). The final solution, the 5-segment model among the non-bases, was chosen primarily on the basis of the Bayes Information Criterion (BIC), which balances variance explained by the solution against its parsimony. Secondary choice criteria included the actionability of the number of segments and the substantive interpretability/imageability of the segments contained in each solution. In the end, the solution chosen was the BIC optimal choice. When the pro and anti progressive tax and fiscal base groups were added back in, this resulted in an overall segmentation solution numbering seven groups. These groups were then thoroughly profiled against all the information available and inferences made about their differences.

Appendix III. American Environics Values Glossary

TREND	DEFINITION
Acceptance of Violence	People highest on this trend believe that violence is an inevitable fact of life that must be accepted with a certain degree of indifference. Belief that violence can be both cathartic and persuasive.
Acknowledgement of Racism	Acknowledging that racism not only exists, but that Americans should make amends to African Americans and other minorities who have been discriminated against in the past. Belief that systemic racism has held African Americans back.
Active Government	Tendency to believe that government efficaciously performs socially beneficial functions. A desire for more government involvement in resolving social issues.
Adaptability to Complexity	Tendency to adapt easily to the uncertainties of modern life, and not to feel threatened by the changes and complexities of society today. A desire to explore this complexity as a learning experience and a source of opportunity. <i>(R of Aversion to Complexity)</i>
Adaptive Navigation	Having the flexibility to adapt to unforeseen events that interfere with the realization of one's goals. Being flexible in defining one's expectations and ways of meeting one's objectives.
Advertising as Stimulus	Tendency to enjoy viewing advertising for its aesthetic properties; to enjoy advertising in a wide range of venues, from magazines to television to outdoor signs and billboards.
American Dream	The belief that the United States is the "land of opportunity" and that anyone can make it, and make it big, if they try hard enough. The belief that even in middle age, one can start anew, launching new initiatives or changing one's way of life.
American Entitlement	A belief that all Americans deserve the ample material wealth they enjoy and should not feel guilty about it. Believing that Americans should not have to compromise their nation's interests or their standard of living for the benefit of others in the world.
Anomie & Aimlessness	The feeling of having no goals in life. Experiencing a void of meaning with respect to life in general. A feeling of alienation from society, having the impression of being cut off from what's happening.
Attraction to Crowds	Enjoyment of being in large crowds as a means of deindividuation and connection-seeking
Aversion to Complexity	A desire to keep one's life simple and predictable. People strong on this trend are intimidated and threatened by the changes in society and the complexities of modern life. They seek stability and simplicity. <i>(R of Adaptability to Complexity)</i>
Brand Apathy	Placing little importance on the brand name of a product. <i>(R of Importance of Brand)</i>

American Environics Values Glossary

TREND	DEFINITION
Buying on Impulse	Tendency to purchase products on impulse, enticed by exciting advertising or packaging. Rarely seeking out information on products before buying. <i>(R of Discriminating Consumerism)</i>
Celebrating Passages	A need to perform certain rituals or small acts to demarcate the passing of various phases of one's life. A desire to celebrate traditional passages (e.g. birth, marriage, death), or invent new ones.
Civic Apathy	Reflects a disinterest in the political process and participation in the democratic process. Recognition of the division of society between the "haves" and the "have nots," and a willingness to accept the inevitability of the status quo. <i>(R of Civic Engagement)</i>
Civic Engagement	A belief that active involvement in the political process can make a difference in society. People strongest on this trend reject the notion that inequities in society are inevitable and should be expected. <i>(R of Civic Apathy)</i>
Community Involvement	Measure of the interest in what's happening in one's neighborhood, city, town, or region. Reflected in activities ranging from reading the weekly community newspaper to socio-political involvement in community organizations.
Concern for Appearance	Placing a great deal of importance on appearing "attractive," and concerned about the image projected by one's appearance. People who are strong on this trend are image-driven.
Confidence in Advertising	Tendency to trust and use advertising as a source of reliable information. Also, a tendency to identify with the fashions and the role models promoted by advertising and the consumer society. <i>(R of Skepticism of Advertising)</i>
Confidence in Big Business	The belief that big businesses strive to strike a fair balance between making profit and working in the public's interest. Expressing a certain level of faith that what serves the interest of big business also serves the interest of society, and vice-versa. Associating good quality and service with big companies and well known products.
Confidence in Small Business	Confidence in the commitment of small business-owners to the provision of quality goods and services. Belief that small business owners are not just profit-driven.
Conformity to Norms	A desire to conform to existing social norms. People strongest on this trend express concern about what others might think of them and make efforts to avoid standing out from others.
Consistent Self	Remaining true to one's own ideals and convictions, even in the face of social pressure. People who are strongest on this trend do not feel compelled to modify their beliefs, attitudes, or behavior to conform to different social situations. <i>(R of Malleable Self)</i>

TREND	DEFINITION
Crude Materialism	Placing great importance on the accumulation of material possessions. Feeling a need to constantly buy new products and services
Cultural Assimilation	E Pluribus Unum. Belief that people should adopt a culture that is “American” first and foremost. Believing that in coming to America, immigrants should let go of their languages and customs and embrace the American way of life. <i>(R of Multiculturalism)</i>
Culture Sampling	This trend identifies the view that other cultures have a great deal to teach us, and measures people’s inclination to incorporate some of these cultural influences into their own lives.
Deconsumption	The willingness to adopt a lifestyle in which consumption plays a less dominant role. This attitude is expressed in a desire to limit or reduce one’s consumption of goods and to spend less than before
Discerning Hedonism	The capacity to savor pleasures; the appreciation of complex emotions and the ability to link enjoyment to other realms of experience in everyday life.
Discount Consumerism	Preferring to buy discount or private label brands, often from wholesalers, discount outlet stores or the sale displays at national retailers <i>(R. of Upscale Consumerism)</i>
Discriminating Consumerism	Seeking objective, comparative product information and carefully evaluating one’s needs before making purchases. Preference for practical and functional products, satisfying real needs. <i>(R of Buying on Impulse)</i>
Duty	Belief that duties and obligations to others should be fulfilled before turning to one’s personal pleasures and interests.
Ecological Concern	A tendency to believe that today’s environmental problems are a result of industrial and personal disregard for the environment. These people feel that the trend towards environmental destruction is unacceptable and reject the notion that job protection or economic advancement should be allowed at the expense of environmental protection. <i>(R of Ecological Fatalism)</i>
Ecological Fatalism	People highest on this trend believe that some amount of pollution is unavoidable in industrial societies and accept it as a part of life. They feel that there is little they can do to change this fact. <i>(R of Ecological Concern)</i>
Effort Toward Health	The commitment to focus on diet and exercise in order to feel better and have a healthy, wholesome lifestyle. A willingness to transform one’s lifestyle through exercise and radical changes to diet.

American Environics Values Glossary

TREND	DEFINITION
Emotional Control	A propensity to give priority to reason as the principal way of understanding life. A desire to keep one's emotional life "on an even keel," to use logic and reason to control one's feelings and emotions and to base day-to-day decisions on reason and logic. A reluctance to experience or express emotions. <i>(R of Pursuit of Intensity)</i>
Enthusiasm for Consumption	Displaying an enthusiastic attitude toward consumption. Consumers strong on this trend intend to buy as much or more than they did before. They like to explore the marketplace and are always on the look out for whatever is new on the market.
Enthusiasm for New Technology	Fascination with the possibilities offered by modern technology. Seeks information about the latest products and innovations. Excitement about the ways technology can better their lives.
Entrepreneurialism	Taking steps to fulfill the dream of becoming self-employed, rather than a 9 to 5 employee. Feeling that the freedom and opportunity that comes with owning one's own business is more rewarding than working for someone else.
Equal Relationship with Youth	Breaking down traditional hierarchical and patriarchal relationships by giving the youth equal freedoms as those of adults. Discipline, as that issued by adults over young people, is therefore replaced by freedom and increased individualism.
Ethical Consumerism	A focus on the perceived ethical and social responsibility policies and practices of the companies from which they buy. Consideration of labor policies, mistreatment of animals, etc. Desire to see companies be good corporate citizens in terms of these social concerns.
Everyday Ethics	A measure of how individuals respond in situations that put their ethical beliefs to the test. When a person sees a way of turning a situation to his advantage at the expense of another person, institution or company, how does he respond? Will he report mistakes made in his favor by a waiter, a bank or the government?
Everyday Rage	A willingness to express anger and dissatisfaction towards others. This ranges from a refusal to accept bad service, to arguing with others in public, or even engaging in "road rage." Implicit in this is a feeling that people can no longer expect fair treatment by being polite or quiet.
Faith in Science	The belief that science and technology can work in a positive way by expanding natural resources to meet future demand, and that new technologies can repair past damage to the natural world. Excitement in the possibilities offered by new technologies and modern medicine.
Fatalism	The tendency to believe that one's life is shaped by forces beyond one's control. Feeling unconcerned with trying to change the inevitable direction of one's life. <i>(R of Personal Control)</i>

TREND	DEFINITION
Fear of Violence	Fear of violence occurring in today's society. Feeling insecure about personal safety, feeling vulnerable to attack in the city or in one's neighborhood, especially at night. Tendency to believe that one must be on constant alert against gratuitous violence.
Financial Security	A feeling of security and optimism about one's financial future. A sense of being personally responsible for and in control of one's financial situation.
Flexible Families	Willingness to accept non-traditional definitions of "family," such as common law and same-sex marriages. The belief that "family" should be defined by emotional links rather than by legal formalities or institutions. The belief that society should be open to new definitions of what constitutes a "family." <i>(R of Traditional Families)</i>
Flexible Gender Identity (R of Traditional Gender Identity)	The feeling that one has both a feminine and masculine side to one's personality. The desire to actively explore and express these different facets of one's personality. Having a feeling of being more masculine at times and more feminine at others.
Gender Parity	Seeking fairness and equal treatment for men and women in work roles. A desire to transcend sexual stereotypes and to see an end to discrimination, tempered by a belief that a job should go to the best candidate, man or woman, rather than employing reverse-discrimination to achieve equal representation of men and women in all professions.
Global Consciousness	Considering oneself a "citizen of the world" first and foremost, over a "citizen of one's community and country." Non-ethnocentricity, feeling affinity to peoples in all countries. <i>(R of Parochialism)</i>
Heterarchy	Tendency to think that leadership in organizations should be flexible and fluid, that a single leader should not take control of everything and that initiatives and leadership should emerge from different individuals as a function of their strengths. A belief that teamwork is more effective than autocracy.
Holistic Health	Taking a holistic approach to health and well-being. Individuals who are high on this trend are sensitive to the linkage between their mental, spiritual, and physical well-being. They feel that they can exert control over their health, and feel that the choices they make today will pay off in later years.
Importance of Aesthetics	Tendency to base purchase decisions on aesthetic rather than utilitarian considerations. Measures the attention given to the beauty of objects and products purchased. People strong on this trend often buy products purely for their appearance.
Importance of Brand	Giving great weight to the brand name of a product or service, a tendency to have favorite brands. <i>(R of Rejection of Brands)</i>

American Environics Values Glossary

TREND	DEFINITION
Importance of Spontaneity	Tendencies to enthusiastically embrace the unexpected and spontaneous events that temporarily interrupt daily routines.
Interest in the Unexplained	Tendency to reject the assumption that all valid knowledge must be logical, rational or scientific in favor of an acceptance of beliefs or phenomena that remain mysterious or unexplained by modern science.
Introspection & Empathy	Tendency to analyze and examine one's actions and those of others, rather than being judgmental about variances from the norm or from one's own way of doing things. An interest in understanding life rather than taking sides.
Intuition & Impulse	A way of understanding and transacting with the world that largely leaves aside controlled and critical rational thought. A tendency to be guided less by reason and ideology than by one's own emotions and feelings. Impulsive and spontaneous, able to change one's opinions easily.
Joy of Consumption	Intense gratification through the purchase of consumer goods (rather than basic necessities). Enjoying consumption for the pleasure of consumption. People who are strong on this trend are often more excited by the act of buying than by the use of the products they buy.
Just Deserts	Confidence that, in the end, people get what they deserve as a result of the decisions they make, both positively and negatively.
Largesse Oblige	Social conscience of the economic variety. The "haves" have a moral duty to help or share with the "have nots."
Living Virtually	People strong on this trend are spending an increasing amount of time watching TV, using computers, or at the movies. Reflects a more virtual than real connection to the world.
Look Good Feel Good	A belief that, by taking care to look their best, one will feel and project confidence, thereby helping to achieve one's goals in life.
Malleable Self	Social chameleonism, feeling the need to adapt to different social settings by modifying one's beliefs, attitudes and behaviors. Having few strongly held convictions that are maintained in the face of social pressure. <i>(R. of Consistent Self)</i>
Meaningful Moments	Cherishing the ordinary moments in everyday life over once-in-a-lifetime, grand-scale events. Taking time to indulge in individual pleasures. The sense of impermanence that accompanies momentary connections with others does not diminish the value of the moment.

TREND	DEFINITION
Modern Racism	A modern definition of racism based on the belief that racism is largely a thing of the past and that African Americans in particular have gained more than they deserve.
More Power for Business	Belief that business institutions (e.g., banks, foreign companies) should have a greater influence in society.
More Power for Media	Belief that celebrities and those in the media should have a greater influence in society.
More Power for Politics	Belief that government institutions and political parties should have a greater influence in society.
Multiculturalism	Openness toward the diverse cultures, ethnic communities and immigrants that make up America. A belief that ethnic groups should be encouraged to preserve their cultural identities, and that others should seek to learn about them. <i>(R of Cultural Assimilation)</i>
Mysterious Forces	The impression that forces greater than ourselves control our destiny and that mysterious forces that we cannot understand affect our lives.
National Pride	Defining one's identity through national pride and believing that America should hold a strong position in the world.
Need for Status Recognition	Desire to be held in esteem and respect by others, and to express one's social standing or aspired status, through a display of fine manners, good taste, style or "chic."
Need for Uniqueness	A desire to be individualistic and stand out in the crowd. People strongest on this trend do not worry about what others might think about them but tailor their appearance, behavior and activities to be different.
Networking	The desire to assemble a diverse network of friends and associations based on one's own personal interests. Often these friends and associations will share little in common between each other, apart from the fact that they are all connected to person's own interests.
Obedience to Authority	A belief in playing by the rules. The belief that persons or organizations in positions of authority should be deferred to at all times. There are rules in society and everyone should follow them. Feeling that young people in particular should be taught to obey authority rather than question it. <i>(R of Rejection of Authority)</i>
Ostentatious Consumption	Desire to impress others and express one's social standing through the display of objects that symbolize affluence.

American Environics Values Glossary

TREND	DEFINITION
Parochialism	Feeling of connectedness one's town, city, region or country. A disregard for what is happening in other countries, and a preference for seeing symbols of home, such as a McDonalds restaurant, when traveling abroad. <i>(R of Global Consciousness)</i>
Patriarchy	Belief that "the father of the family must be the master in his own home."
Penchant for Risk	Desire to take risks in order to get what one wants out of life. Also, indulging in dangerous and forbidden activities for their associated emotional high.
Personal Challenge	Setting difficult goals, even if just to prove to themselves that they can do it. People strong on this trend finish what they start, persevering until their self-assigned task is completed to their satisfaction. Rejecting personal failure.
Personal Control	Striving to organize and control the direction of one's future, even when it feels that there are forces beyond one's immediate control. <i>(R of Fatalism)</i>
Personal Creativity	Desire to use one's imagination and creative talents in daily life, both at work and at play.
Personal Escape	Interest in mystery, romanticism and adventure, as a means of distracting one's self from everyday challenges and burdens. People strongest on this trend feel that their dreams and imagination are important driving forces in their daily lives and long for that which is beyond the practical, and desire to experience beauty and pleasure in surprise and astonishment.
Personal Expression	The desire to develop and express one's personality, combined with a desire to communicate in an authentic and sincere manner with others.
Primacy of the Family	Centrality of family; making personal sacrifices and providing for one's children over all else.
Propriety	The importance of dressing so as not to give offence, but rather to elicit and communicate respect in more formal relationships, in public, and at work. Behaving in a way that respects oneself and others. A preference for the formal over the casual.
Protection of Privacy	Great concern about the fact that in databases, among other ways, government and business are amassing increasingly large banks of information about people's private lives.
Pursuit of Intensity	Desire to live intensely. Also, a tendency to be guided less by reason and ideology than by one's own emotions, feelings and intuition. A need to constantly experience new sensations. <i>(R of Emotional Control)</i>
Racial Fusion	People who are strongest on this trend are accepting of ethnic diversity within families, such as inter-racial marriage, believing that it enriches people's lives.

TREND	DEFINITION
Rejection of Authority	Desire to transcend the rigid framework of traditional authority. Possessing a questioning orientation, critical of and willing to look beyond the status quo. (<i>R of Obedience to Authority</i>)
Rejection of Order	Living with a certain amount of disorder as an expression of oneself. Also, a desire to distance oneself from society's traditional moral code governing good manners and the golden rule in favor of a more informal and relaxed approach to life.
Religion a la Carte	A selective, personal, adaptive and eclectic approach to the adoption of religious beliefs. Spiritually questing, seeking personal fulfillment through learning about other faiths.
Religiosity	Placing great importance on religion as a construct which guides one's life. Also, placing great significance on having an affiliation with an organized religious faith. Tendency to consider that religion represents the essential values and education that should be transmitted to the next generation.
Reverse Sexism	Belief that women, not men, are the superior gender. Feeling that women are more adaptable and intelligent than men, better equipped to function in the modern world.
Saving on Principle	The tendency to save and accumulate money, motivated by a moral impulse for future security. A preference for frugality and denial to self of "luxuries." Displaying tendencies towards inhibition.
Search for Roots	Desire to preserve and maintain one's cultural and ethnic roots and to live in accordance with one's own traditions and customs. Also, a yearning to return to one's cultural roots in order to rediscover, and participate in, the fundamental values that give meaning to one's life.
Selective use of Personal Services	Deferring to experts for advice when needed, but maintaining contact with them. Those highest on this trend seek opportunities to learn from them or even play an active role in the decision making process.
Sensualism	Tendency to give priority to the sensorial perceptions aroused by the non-visual senses. A more sensual, intuitive, and affective approach to life.
Sexism	Belief that "the father of the family must be the master in his own home." Believing in traditional, male-dominated views on the division of gender roles—that men are naturally superior to women. These views carry into economic issues such as the belief that, when both partners are working, the husband should be the main bread-winner.

American Environics Values Glossary

TREND	DEFINITION
Sexual Permissiveness	A tendency to be sexually permissive regarding oneself and others. Fidelity within marriage or between partners and the prohibition of premarital sex are of little importance.
Skepticism of Advertising	Distrust that advertising messages are truthful or even helpful for making purchasing decisions. <i>(R of Confidence in Advertising)</i>
Social Intimacy	A desire to be around and connect with smaller, closely knit groups of people. Feeling that smaller organizations are better than larger ones.
Social Mobility	Feeling that social advancement is both desirable and available to those with the skills and/or connections to make it happen. Reliance on 'hard skills' like education and training, as well as 'soft skills' like personal relations to advance.
Social Responsibility	A belief that society, and the individual, has a responsibility to help those less fortunate. Tendency to believe that quality of life can improve when people work together.
Spiritual Quest	A desire for an intense spiritual life, contemplating questions of existence and meaning.
Status via Home	Feeling a strong sense that one's home represents an extension of one's image. People strongest on this trend make great efforts to decorate and equip their homes in a manner that will impress others, and pay particular attention to the way they entertain in the home
Strategic Consumption	An attitude adopted by consumers to get the best price for whatever they buy. The methods vary and can include, for example, making a better assessment of their needs in order to be more selective in their purchases, hunting for special promotions, discounts, bargains or other forms of price reduction, switching to cheaper brands, or postponing purchases.
Technology Anxiety	People strong on this trend are intimidated and threatened by technological changes and express high concern regarding the ethical and moral dimensions towards which science is advancing.
Time Stress	Feeling overwhelmed by the demands on one's time. A desire to obtain better control of one's life stress, particularly as it applies to better time management.
Traditional Family	Defining "family" in traditional terms as a man and a woman, married with children. Unwilling to expand the traditional concept of "family" beyond the legal formality of a marriage license to include same sex couples or unmarried couples. <i>(R of Flexible Family)</i>
Traditional Gender Identity	The belief that normal gender behavior is clearly delineated—men are masculine and women are feminine. That men and women have particular characteristics inherent in gender. The rejection of the notion that masculine and feminine behavior and roles can, or should, cross the traditional gender line. <i>(R of Flexible Gender Identity)</i>

TREND	DEFINITION
Upscale Consumerism	Preferring to buy mostly exclusive or prestigious brands that are more expensive and often only available from higher-end stores and boutiques
Vitality	The sense that one has a great deal of energy and is in contact with this energy. Measures an energetic, lively approach to life, a feeling that one has more vigor and initiative than most other people.
Voluntary Simplicity	Balancing quality vs. quantity in life. The desire to achieve a sense of quality of life combined with the willingness to scale back one's material expectations or concentrate on those things that are truly important in life.
Work Ethic	Following the "golden rule" and guiding one's life according to the principles of deferring pleasure in order to realize greater gains in the future. Individuals who score high on this trend believe that children should be taught to work hard in order to get ahead.
Xenophobia	The sense that too much immigration threatens the purity of the country. The belief that immigrants who have made their new home in the United States should set aside their cultural backgrounds and blend into "the American melting pot."

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