

## Corporate Oregon: A Narrative Study of Measure 97

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### *Précis*

Everyone likes a good story. Narratives compel us to believe the best and worst in people and have formative power in fostering our individual belief systems. Increasingly, narratives have been examined as they pertain to public policy. On some of the most important and divisive of these public policy issues, policymakers utilize elements of narrative, provoking our emotions to shape policy preferences and, ultimately, decisions.

The Narrative Policy Framework (NPF) provides one approach to address and quantify the power of narratives within public policy. Introduced to policy process literature by McBeth, Jones, and Shanahan in 2014, the NPF is a quantitative, structuralist, and positivist approach to the study of policy narratives. It contends that the narrative framing of a policy issue has measurable effect in the outcome of decisions being made. The framework utilizes four basic elements of analysis, Setting, Characters, Moral of the Story, and Plot. Through these essential narrative elements, policy beliefs and policy change can be qualified and quantified.

This paper seeks to operationalize the NPF by examining the narratives surrounding Measure 97, a contentious citizen-petition measure on the Oregon 2016 ballot that sought to raise taxes on corporations with sales over 25 million dollars within the state of Oregon. Predictably, there was a considerable amount of dialogue with the public, as well as lobbying among elites, to promote or block the measure. Theoretically, this research applies the NPF to both describe these communications in terms of the active narratives within the discourse and to also assess their potential effect on the general public. I pose the questions, *What narratives exist and are being pushed to voters about Measure 97? What factors contribute to a person's persuasion by the narratives of Measure 97?* and *How do voters respond to the narratives of Measure 97?* Methodologically, this research leverages qualitative interviews to describe the active narratives; next, the potential effects of those same narratives are assessed within a survey experiment administered to an online pool of registered Oregon voters. Findings are explored through NPF hypotheses and in light of the recent election results.

Innovation is displayed in this paper through the unique exploration of Measure 97 and a theoretically-grounded application of the NPF. It is also the first known NPF study to examine policy decision-making in the form of a public ballot measure. By testing the influence of narratives in a ballot measure election, this study bridges a gap recognized by NPF scholars between public opinion and policy decisions. In the case of Measure 97, the public was the decision-maker, and hence narratives were more important than ever. Perhaps future NPF scholars will look towards ballot measures, and this research, as critical piece of the policy-making process that uniquely blends public opinion, hearty campaign narratives, and real policy consequences.

# **Corporate Oregon: A Narrative Study of Measure 97**

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## **Introduction**

In the context of an important and impactful policy decision made by the vote of the public, narratives and information are intentionally manipulated to sway the opinion of a voter and potentially skew the process of democracy (Le Chemiant and Parrish 2010). Scholars have recognized the necessity and ubiquity of narratives in the policy making process and how elites, interest groups and media shape public opinion. One approach to understanding the influence of narratives can be found in the Narrative Policy Framework (NPF).

This paper applies the NPF to understand narratives surrounding a major public policy decision determined through a popular vote. By examining the narratives driven by various stakeholders of this measure I will be able to assess what versions of the narrative are pushed to voters, and how Oregon voters respond to and are persuaded by these narratives. While previous NPF studies have focused on micro level public opinion related to policy (Jones 2010) or the narratives of elites and interest groups used to craft policy opinions (Shanahan et al. 2013), there is a gap in the literature regarding the general public acting as the direct policy makers and how they respond to narratives directed by stakeholders. This paper seeks to address that gap.

Thus, in this research I will test hypotheses to answer the following questions:

- What narratives exist and are being pushed to voters about Measure 97?
- What factors contribute to a person's persuasion by the narratives of Measure 97?
- How do voters respond to the narratives of Measure 97?

The next sections proceed as follows: First, literature on the NPF and the role narratives play in shaping public opinion and policy decisions are examined. Next, I explore the first research question through qualitative interviews with Measure 97 stakeholders. Then, I outline how I developed an experimental quantitative survey by analyzing qualitative interviews. The experiments are then used to test hypotheses related to my second two research questions. Lastly, I discuss findings and draw conclusions from the research.

## **Literature Review**

### *NPF Basics*

The NPF was first introduced in 2010 as “a quantitative, structuralist, and positivist approach to the study of policy narratives” (McBeth et al. 2014). Like previous versions of narrative analysis (e.g. Stone 2002; DeGregorio 2009; Layzer 2006), the NPF assumes that the power of stories is worth understanding in policy debates. Unlike many interpretivist narrative theories, however, the NPF specifies discrete narrative elements that explicitly facilitate the empirical study of narrative (McBeth et al. 2014), challenging the long held assertion of narrative relativism by post-positivists (e.g., Fischer 2003). These narrative traits are generally divided into four elements, setting, characters, moral of the story, and plot, as detailed below. Similar to the construction of a piece of good literature, many story elements are used to connect the components of the policy narrative (Shanahan et al. 2013).

**Table 1: Policy Narrative Elements**

<b>The Setting</b>	Consists of specific policy contexts and realities the narratives may have been derived in. Also may include legal, constitutional, economic and sociological factors.
<b>Characters</b>	The relevant actors of a policy narrative, consisting of victims, heroes, and villains.
<b>Moral of the Story</b>	The policy solution that is promoted by the policy narrative.
<b>The Plot</b>	The links between the setting, characters, and moral of the story to establish motive and story arc.

Informed by these essential components of policy narratives, the NPF is divided into three levels of analysis, the macro-, meso-, and micro-levels (McBeth et al. 2014). The macro-level seeks to understand institutional and cultural policy narratives; the meso-level seeks to understand coalitional and interest group policy narratives, and the micro-level seeks to understand how individuals are influenced by policy narratives. The micro-level, primarily relies on surveys and experiments to examine the effect of policy narratives (Jones and Song 2014), while on the meso-level, content analyses and qualitative measures are used to assess strategic use and generation of policy narratives (Gray and Jones 2016).

Within the micro-level NPF, five hypotheses are specified regarding narrative breach, transportation, congruence and incongruence, narrator trust, and the power of characters (McBeth et al. 2014). The hypothesis of congruence, that a person is more likely to be persuaded by a narrative when they perceive a narrative to be aligned with their beliefs or values, has been substantiated in several studies (e.g. McBeth et al. 2010). Additionally, scholars (e.g. Shanahan

et al. 2014) found that policy narratives can have a persuading effect on individuals previously neutral or in disagreement with the policy. Congruence and the quantifiably persuasive effect of narratives are essential components to the application of the Narrative Policy Framework to Oregon Measure 97.

### *Voter Initiatives and Oregon Measure 97*

As the legislative bodies of our federal, state, and local democracies become more gridlocked, the public has eyed the ballot initiative process as a popular and useful force of direct democracy, displaying widespread support in the twenty-six states for the ballot initiative process (Magelby 1994).

Oregon Measure 97 was brought forward by *A Better Oregon*, a coalition comprised of public unions and progressive advocacy groups for the 2016 General Election. The idea was to increase taxes on corporations in the state to support education, healthcare, and senior service programs. It would impose a 2.5% flat tax on sales from C-Corporations that make over \$25 million in Oregon annually (Oregon Legislative Revenue Office 2016). In an analysis compiled by the non-partisan Oregon Legislative Revenue Office, it was estimated that Measure 97 would bring in \$6.1 billion of revenue to the State of Oregon in the next budget biennium (2017-19), a revenue growth of almost 30 percent. If passed, however, they predicted it could have potentially rocky effects on Oregon's business and economic climate.

This proposal sharply divided Oregon's interest groups, elites, and citizens. Unions and politically dominant progressives in the state called for the corporate tax reform to "make corporations pay their fair share of taxes" and to move Oregon up from "50<sup>th</sup> in the United States for corporate taxes" (A Better Oregon 2016). Increased money for Oregon's most essential

programs would not only easily fill the expected \$1.4 billion state budget deficit, but could boost the state's nationally low high school graduation rates and poor social service system, according to the proponents (A Better Oregon 2016). Opposition quickly grew from the business community on this intense change in taxation. They argued it wouldn't just be Comcast and Walmart paying this tax, but that homegrown Oregon businesses would suffer to meet this tax requirement without increasing direct prices to consumers (Defeat the Tax on Oregon Sales 2016). It was a hidden "tax on sales;" equating it to a sales tax, a proposition that Oregon voters have voted down nine times in the past through the same initiative process (Defeat the Tax on Oregon Sales 2016).

The fight for and against Measure 97 became the most expensive campaign, of any kind, in Oregon's history, spending more than \$42.3 million, or around \$22.00 per voter, on advertisements, research, phone banking, and social media that permeated the Oregon political psyche (Foden-Vencil and Leasia 2016). It was a matter that deeply connected story with legitimate policy change, and turned narratives into agents of public opinion persuasion.

#### *NPF, Public Opinion, and Policy Change*

Public opinion and the frames people interpret policy issues through are intrinsically connected (Benford and Snow 2000). In divisive political debates, such as a voter initiative campaign, policy elites and interest groups often attempt to polarize public opinion through targeted frames and narratives (Fischer 2003). For these stakeholder groups, narrative becomes a tool to achieving political success and may not necessarily represent the realities of the issue. Interest groups, media, and elites do not seek to link the public to policy decisions, but "market" public opinion to citizens who buy narratives as "the truth" (McBeth and Shanahan 2004). By

testing how, and by whom, public opinion is formed, the NPF can better specify narrative saliency and effectiveness as it pertains to the public policy process.

In this study I assume the importance of public opinion to this policy debate because of its necessity to the outcome of the ballot measure election. The magnitude of this measure has elicited increased narrative usage from political elites—in many cases, actors who would likely not normally engage the public to such an extent. By applying the NPF to a contentious citizen-initiated ballot measure I will explore the ways that messages from elite stakeholders (campaigns) connect with the public (voters). I will also be able to determine what narrative components are utilized to sway registered Oregon voter's opinions, and what compels the formation of that opinion. This study also utilizes qualitative NPF methods through semi-structured interviews with stakeholders and quantitative NPF methods through an experimental public opinion survey, in line with other recent NPF study designs (Gray and Jones 2016; Jorgenson et al. 2017). Unlike other studies of its kind, by analyzing a ballot measure campaign, I blend micro- and meso- levels of analysis. Interest groups push narratives to the public who act as micro-level individuals, but as a whole, the voting populous becomes the meso-level direct decision makers themselves.

**Research Question 1: *What narratives exist and are being pushed to voters about Measure 97?***

To understand how voters were interacting and responding to the narratives of Measure 97, I first needed to unearth what those narratives were. This includes identifying their core narrative elements, such as plot, victim, villain, and moral of the story, and what type of cultural values they incorporated. Instead of relying on campaign materials, or secondary analysis to

derive these narratives, qualitative NPF methods, in the form of semi-structured first hand interviews were conducted with key stakeholders of Measure 97. Below, literature regarding the use of qualitative NPF and cultural theory is reviewed.

### *Qualitative NPF*

Qualitative methods are recognized as a legitimate way to operationalize the NPF. In Gray and Jones' 2016 study on elite narratives of campaign finance reform, they determined steps for effective data collection and analysis in qualitative NPF studies. These included defining the policy issue, determining a research design and method congruent with Lincoln and Guba's Naturalistic Qualitative Standards of research trustworthiness. The last step outlined is how analysis of qualitative NPF data takes place to ensure policy narrative elements are presented properly. Qualitative and quantitative frames can be mixed to utilize both empirical and interpretive epistemological approaches, strengthening both methods within the NPF (Gray and Jones 2016). By extending the NPF into both methods it not only grounds the theory into more realistic interpretations and experiences of the policy narratives, but demonstrates that the theory can be flexible in maintaining interpretive and natural science research values.

### *Cultural Theory*

Grid-group cultural theory may be used in NPF studies to alleviate the problem of content narrative relativity by attaining a general view of an individual's political, social, and cultural preferences (Jones and McBeth 2010). Cultural theory identifies two dimensions to evaluate belief systems. The group dimension assesses levels of group interaction, while the grid dimension measures the degree to which the assigned groups prescribe beliefs and behavior (Thompson et al., 1990). The intersection of grid and group produces four distinct cultural types



with separate views about the nature of society and how one interacts with it. According to Mamadouh (1999) these groups are hierarchs, who respect strong group boundaries, the whole over the part, and fairness in equality through the law; egalitarians, who have strong group boundaries with few regulations, value group relationships, and the concept that fairness is the equality of the result; individualists, who have weak group relationships, feel free in entering into whatever negotiations may benefit themselves, and reject many ideas of common regulation; and finally, fatalists, who have weak group relationships, a strong consideration of regulations, feel as if they have little control in what happens in their life because fairness does not exist on Earth. Cultural theory has been used in several NPF studies (e.g., Jones and Song 2014) as a belief system foundational basis of policy narratives. It aims to test the effects of congruence between cultural theory based narratives and an individual's cultural orientation. When asking what narratives exist about Measure 97, cultural theory can be used to facilitate a structural understanding of the values these narratives tap into. By engaging in qualitative interviews to address the first research question, I was able to trace both the narrative elements that drove the fight on Measure 97, and the cultural theory that grounded those beliefs.

## **Qualitative Methods**

Interviewees consisted of 14 Ballot Measure 97 stakeholders representing those active in support or opposition of the measure. Participants were invited to an interview via email. I reached out to certain individuals based on their organizations, involvement in advocacy for or against Measure 97 including *A Better Oregon* (supporting) campaign, *Defeat the Tax on Oregon Sales* (opposing) campaign, five Oregon state legislators, two members from Oregon worker's unions, four representatives from the business community, and one from a non-governmental

organization. Their anonymity was promised as part of the interview agreement. Interviews were completed between July 12<sup>th</sup> and August 4<sup>th</sup>, 2016.

A semi-structured interview containing a set of ten open-ended questions was used to derive specific views and preferred policy narratives of Measure 97 (see Appendix A for full set of interview questions). Each interview lasted between thirty and ninety minutes. Methods used were similar to other qualitative NPF research studies (Gray and Jones 2016). At the end of the interview I also asked for references to snowball the subject population. Once the interviews were completed, they were transcribed and analyzed for the narrative elements outlined in the NPF (McBeth et al. 2014).

## **Qualitative Findings**

Of the 14 interview participants, seven publically supported Measure 97, six publically opposed it, and one had a neutral stance. There were several differences in how these stakeholders spoke about Measure 97, emphasizing the arguments and elements of Measure 97 narrative they found most convincing. Placement in each side of the issue helped to determine the prevailing narratives that drove support or opposition to the measure.

When analyzing for narrative, two elements were assumed. Since this is largely a ‘yes’ or ‘no’ stance issue, the moral of the story is assumed to be ‘vote yes on Measure 97’ for the proponents and ‘vote no on Measure 97’ for the opponents. Secondly, the hero of the story is assumed to be those in favor or against Measure 97, respectively.

### *Supporting Measure 97*

Those who supported Measure 97 invoked the following narrative elements in their interviews:

TABLE 2

*N* = 7

	<i>Lots of failed attempts in past, Measure 97 finally gets it right</i>	<i>This is Oregon's only realistic chance for more funding</i>	<i>People of Oregon are suffering; we need more funding to fix the issues</i>
<b>Setting</b>	1	3	3

	<i>Corporations</i>	<i>Locked Legislature</i>
<b>Villain</b>	5	3

	<i>Everyday Oregonians receiving inadequate services</i>	<i>Oregon loses an opportunity to fix the budget</i>	<i>Victims don't exist in the game of politics</i>
<b>Victim (if does not pass)</b>	4	2	1

From these narrative identifications, a clear and common narrative supporting Measure 97 emerges. The supporters identify the setting for Measure 97 as a policy opportunity to address a pressing issue. The villain character was largely considered to be the “evil” corporations. The most commonly invoked victim was the “everyday” Oregonian. This included school children, seniors, and in-need citizens.

In order to connect these narratives to cultural theory preferences, each interview was analyzed for inclinations towards the four cultural preference categories, *Egalitarianism*, *Individualism*, *Hierarchy*, and *Fatalist* outlined by Mamadouh (1999). Sections of the interview were coded for cultural traits aligning with the interviewee’s argument through the criteria below (see Appendix B for full analysis):

**Table 3:****Egalitarianism**

- Societal well-being is more important than individual prosperity
- Government should exist to protect the weak and promote fairness

**Individualism**

- Society should value individual success
- Regulation should exist in a limited capacity

**Hierarchy**

- Respect the political system as it currently operates
- Rules should be followed

**Fatalism**

- Negative outlook on future, with little control on what will happen
- Fairness doesn't exist

*Results:***Table 4:**

<b>Egalitarian</b>	<b>Individualist</b>	<b>Fatalist</b>	<b>Hierarch</b>
5	0	0	2

Egalitarians expressed sentiments towards the necessity of accountability and fairness in the tax system. Overwhelmingly, the arguments supporting Measure 97 were perceived to be Egalitarian. The Hierarch identifications were determined by a reliance on the idea that the rule of politics and fairness should be followed.

### *Opposing Measure 97*

Those who opposed Measure 97 invoked the following narrative elements in their interviews:

**Table 5:**

*N* = 6

	<i>Oregon needs a tax solution, but this isn't the right one</i>	<i>Measure 97 is the biggest threat ever seen to the Oregon Economy</i>	<i>Oregon unions feel threatened and are trying to defend themselves</i>
<b>Setting</b>	2	3	2

	<i>Unions</i>	<i>The measure itself</i>	<i>The Legislature misusing the funds</i>
<b>Villain</b>	5	3	1

	<i>Everyday Oregonians paying higher prices "hidden sales tax"</i>	<i>Businesses in Oregon</i>	<i>Policy collaboration in Oregon</i>
<b>Victim (if does not pass)</b>	2	3	1

When identifying elements of the opposing position, alternative narrative approaches arise. In the setting, most opponents took a very urgent stance, that if Measure 97 passed, the entire state economy would be in jeopardy. Others thought that tax reform may be necessary, but this proposition is too much, and that the motives of Measure 97 were driven by self-interested public employee unions. The villain in this “anti-” policy position was ambiguously centered around the measure itself. Besides the unions or the State Legislature there was no particular fear monger except for the implication of the measure passing. The victims in the opposing scenarios

were equally distributed around local businesses and Oregonians who would pay a “hidden sales tax.”

The cultural preferences were assessed by the same criteria as supporting argument interviews (see Appendix B).

*Results:*

**Table 6:**

<b>Egalitarian</b>	<b>Individualist</b>	<b>Fatalist</b>	<b>Hierarch</b>
0	5	0	1

The cultural preference of those opposing Measure 97 was largely Individualist, supporting the ideals of limited taxes and in some cases, anti-union sentiments. One saw the issue through a Hierarchical lens.

These qualitative interviews successfully addressed the first research question on what narratives exist about Measure 97. With these distinct narratives in hand, the second and third research questions regarding how Oregon voters interact and are influenced by the narratives of Measure 97 can now be tested. The two distinct narratives derived above, including the narrative elements and prevailing cultural preference, are used to create an experimental narrative instrument to test narrative congruence and persuasion of registered Oregon voters on Measure 97.

The purpose of using a mixed methods approach is to cross-validate and ensure potency of the narratives through multiple levels of institutional actors. This design is similar to those put forth in emerging NPF research (Jorgenson et al. 2017). Timing was also a critical factor in this

study, as Measure 97 was on Oregon's November 8th General Election ballot. In order to get the most powerful and complete narratives, I worked as close as I could to the election deadline.

### *Crafting the Instrument*

From qualitative interview analysis, two core narratives on Measure 97 were derived. The structure of these narrative frames intends to emphasize many factors deemed important by the interview respondents, and include top cultural preferences, Egalitarian for the supporting argument, and Individualist for the opposing argument. They outline why Measure 97 is the right or wrong solution, the setting that plays into that decision, heroes and villains of the issue, and victims if it does or does not pass. As has been done in other experimental designs applying the NPF (e.g. Lybecker et al. 2013), I used an identical structure for each narrative segment, with only specific narrative aspects changed (see Appendix C for full narratives). Segments of these narratives can be seen in the table below.

**Table 7:**

Supporting Framework	Opposing Framework
<p>Example:</p> <p>"Measure 97 is the <b>right</b> solution to Oregon's historic instability in revenue funds and record low corporate taxes. Currently Oregon ranks last in the country for corporate taxation, meaning that with every purchase, Oregonians are paying more into the pockets of corporations than any other American. The 2.5% tax on companies making more than \$25 million in sales within in the state is imperative to fulfill our outstanding needs in education, healthcare, and senior services."</p>	<p>Example:</p> <p>"Measure 97 is the <b>wrong</b> solution to Oregon's historic instability in revenue funds. This measure could result in damaging economic impacts that threaten the economic improvement Oregonians worked so hard to achieve since the Recession of 2008. The 2.5% tax on companies making more than \$25 million in sales within the state will be detrimental to all businesses, and harmful to everyday consumers."</p>

By operationalizing these narratives as a treatment within an experimental survey, hypotheses can be tested regarding research questions two and three.

**Research Question 2: *What factors contribute to a person's persuasion by the narratives of Measure 97?***

In this research question, the micro-level narrative hypothesis of congruence is tested between cultural preference and persuasion by narrative exposure. Thus, the following hypotheses are offered:

*Hypothesis 1: Respondents with congruent cultural type to the narrative treatment will report persuasion by that narrative.*

*Hypothesis 2: Respondents with incongruent cultural type to the narrative treatment will not report persuasion by that narrative.*

**Research Question 3: *How do voters respond to the narratives of Measure 97?***

To assess how voters respond and react to the narratives of Measure 97, the following three hypotheses are tested. These hypotheses would support the idea that narratives have the power to shape political decisions.

*Hypothesis 3: The 'vote' of some respondents will change to support the narrative they were exposed to in the experiment.*

*Hypothesis 4: Egalitarians will support Measure 97 across narrative treatment.*

*Hypothesis 5: Individualists will oppose Measure 97 across narrative treatment.*

**Quantitative Methods**



The next element of research design was to test how Oregon voters responded to polar narratives of Measure 97 and what factors contributed to a person's persuasion, as the research questions pose above. I conducted an experimental survey where half the respondents were exposed to the supporting narrative and half the respondents were exposed to the opposing narrative. The survey was administered by Qualtrics, a survey research software and host site that pairs survey studies with targeted audiences. The appropriateness of an online survey experiment is valid in social science research (Berrens et al. 2003; Best et al. 2001) and has been used in other NPF studies (Lybecker et al. 2013). Between October 10 and October 17, 2016, 660 responses were received from registered Oregon voters over the age of 18.

Recruitment for this study was completed by Qualtrics. Participants were recruited from various sources, including website intercept recruitment, member referrals, targeted email lists, and social media. All Qualtrics panel members were third party verified. Once the survey was completed by a participant they were given an online cash or gift reward, approximately equivalent to \$3.00, and the data was automatically sent to the researchers through the Qualtrics program.

The survey also assessed cultural preference through twelve questions, three questions aligning to each cultural type: Individualist, Hierarch, Egalitarian, and Fatalist (Thompson et al. 1990; Jones 2010). These questions were presented to the respondent before the control treatment. In each question, the respondents are presented with a statement in which they have to place themselves from 1, "strongly disagree," to 7, "strongly agree." The ranking on each question was then aggregated for each cultural category to assess cultural type. Respondents also reported how much and what type of exposure they previously had to Measure 97. Next,

respondent knowledge of Measure 97 was evaluated through three multiple choice questions with one correct answer for each.

Once participants entered the survey they were randomly separated into one of two experimental tracks, displaying either a supporting or opposing narrative.

**Table 8:**

<i>Survey Design</i>	
Supporting – 330 participants	Control Narrative Supporting/Egalitarian Narrative
Opposing – 330 participants	Control Narrative Opposing/Individualist Narrative

Prior to being exposed to the narrative tracks, supporting or opposing, all participants were asked to respond to a neutral narrative, serving as a preliminary assessment and pre-test of their stance on Measure 97 (see Appendix C). The pre-test treatment explains the ballot measure using factual statements that favor neither of the policy narratives contained in the experimental treatments. Following exposure to the neutral narrative, participant's stance on Measure 97 is initially assessed with the question: "If the November 8<sup>th</sup> General Election were held today, based on what you now know, how would you vote on Measure 97?" The response options were "Yes" "No" and "Abstain."

After responding to the neutral narrative pre-test, participants entered into the randomly assigned supporting or opposing Measure 97 track. These narratives highly favored one side and rejected the opposite view. After being exposed to one of these narratives respondents were asked to rate their agreement with the article, persuasion by the article, their views of the proponents and opponents based on the article, and again how they would vote on the measure if

the election were held today. This measurement was considered the post-test of the narrative treatment.

Lastly, I asked participants a range of demographics questions including age, region, education level, sector, union membership, gender, political party, ideology, race, and income.

### *Statistical Analysis*

For the purposes of testing the hypotheses above, ordinary least squares (OLS) regressions was conducted that included the independent control variables of ideology, issue knowledge, and types of arguments previously exposed to, all of which were operationalized similarly to existing NPF studies (eg. Jones 2014). For ideology, participants were asked to rank themselves from one to seven, where one means strongly liberal and seven means strongly conservative. Issue knowledge was derived from a three question series on facts about Measure 97 with zero for an incorrect answer and for a correct answer. The sum of correct answers received on these questions determined their knowledge score, a range from zero to three. For the previous types of arguments heard by participants, respondents were asked whether they had heard mostly supporting, opposing, an equal amount of arguments from either side, or don't know. This variable was recoded on a scale from negative one to one, where negative one meant having heard opposing arguments, one was hearing supporting arguments, and zero being an equal amount of for or against arguments, or didn't know.

The core variables of narrative persuasion, cultural theory, and the pre- and post-narrative test were operationalized in the following ways: Respondents rated their level of agreement with the post-narrative treatment article from one to five, with one meaning definitely not in agreement, and five meaning absolutely in agreement. This became the narrative persuasion

variable used in this study. Cultural theory was assessed through an aggregate score of 12 statements, ranked one through seven, one meaning strongly disagree, seven meaning strongly agree, with three statements representing each cultural type. Each participant was then given a score 3-21, for each cultural category (egalitarian, individualist, hierarch, and fatalist).

Frequencies and cross-tabulations were run to associate demographic factors with narrative responses and cultural type. In order to determine which factors correlated with narrative cognition and opinion on Measure 97, I ran OLS regressions to test the different hypotheses. To test *H1* and *H2* OLS was run with narrative persuasion as the dependent variable, and ideology, issue knowledge, types of previous arguments heard (controls), and cultural preferences run as the independent variables. *H3* was tested through descriptive statistics and chi-square analysis by determining how many people changed their vote between the pre- and post-test measurements. To test *H4* and *H5*, descriptive statistics was utilized to compare cultural preferences across the pre- and post-test measurement. Since there were two experimental tracks, all data analysis was kept within those sets, meaning two regressions are run for each independent variable of interest for both the supporting and opposing narrative tracks.

## **Quantitative Findings**

### *Sample Representation*

Appendix D displays key demographic information from participants in the survey versus the voting populous of Oregon. This information highlights several potential discrepancies between the experimental sample and the Oregon demographics more generally. First, while Oregon is a state with a large white population, people identifying as white are slightly overrepresented in this study. Latinos, one of Oregon's fastest growing minority populations

(Parks 2016), are underrepresented in this survey. Among education level, this survey sees a much higher education profile than the typical population of Oregon. 52.2% of the survey takers had a Bachelor's degree or higher, while the reality in Oregon is 31% of residents have a Bachelor's degree or higher. The educated demographic of this survey may have implications to this study. Democrats were largely overrepresented in this survey, at 51.2% of participants, in comparison to their 38.3% majority of all Oregon voters. Non-affiliated voters, often considered key participants in a contested election, were underrepresented in this survey.

**Research Question 2: *What factors contribute to a person's persuasion by the narratives of Measure 97?***

To address this research question, I focus on how cultural preference may have an effect on a person's response to a narrative on Measure 97. *H1* and *H2* aim to analyze the effect cultural type has on narrative persuasion. Table 9 below illustrates the relationships between cultural preference's influence on narrative persuasion.

These OLS regression results show significant relationships between several key independent variables regarding cultural preferences and level of persuasion by the given narrative. Along the supporting track of the narrative, those with high Egalitarian values are more likely to be persuaded by the pro-Measure 97 narrative, the congruent narrative (+0.090,  $p < 0.000$ ). No other cultural preferences (individualism, hierarchy, fatalism) showed significant relationships in the Supporting track. Notably, individualism did not express a negative relationship with persuasion by the supporting narrative. In the opposing track, three of the four cultural preference variables showed significant relationships. Those with a high cultural preference for individualism felt persuaded by the anti-Measure 97 narrative, their congruent

narrative, with some movement in the dependent variable (+0.070,  $p < 0.01$ ). Egalitarians did not feel persuaded by the opposing narrative, incongruent with their beliefs. The model shows that there was negative movement in the dependent variable when that independent variable was increased (-0.054,  $p < 0.05$ ). Fatalism, also expressed significance in the Opposing track, though their cultural preference was not directly tied with either track, with positive movement in the dependent variable (+0.041,  $p < 0.05$ ). Hierarchy did not show significant relationship to either narrative persuasion variable.

Table 9:

	Narrative Persuasion <i>Supporting</i>	Narrative Persuasion <i>Opposing</i>
<b>Constant</b>	2.803*** (0.459)	2.069*** (0.521)
<b>Controls</b>		
Ideology	-0.204*** (0.044)	0.148** (0.053)
Issue Knowledge	-0.015 (0.070)	-0.084 (0.080)
Types of previous arguments heard	0.111 (0.098)	0.037 (0.102)
<b>Cultural Preferences</b>		
Individualism	0.000 (0.022)	<b>0.070**</b> (0.024)
Egalitarianism	<b>0.090***</b> (0.019)	<b>-0.054*</b> (0.022)
Hierarchy	-0.002 (0.022)	0.013 (0.025)
Fatalism	0.006 (0.020)	<b>0.041*</b> (0.022)

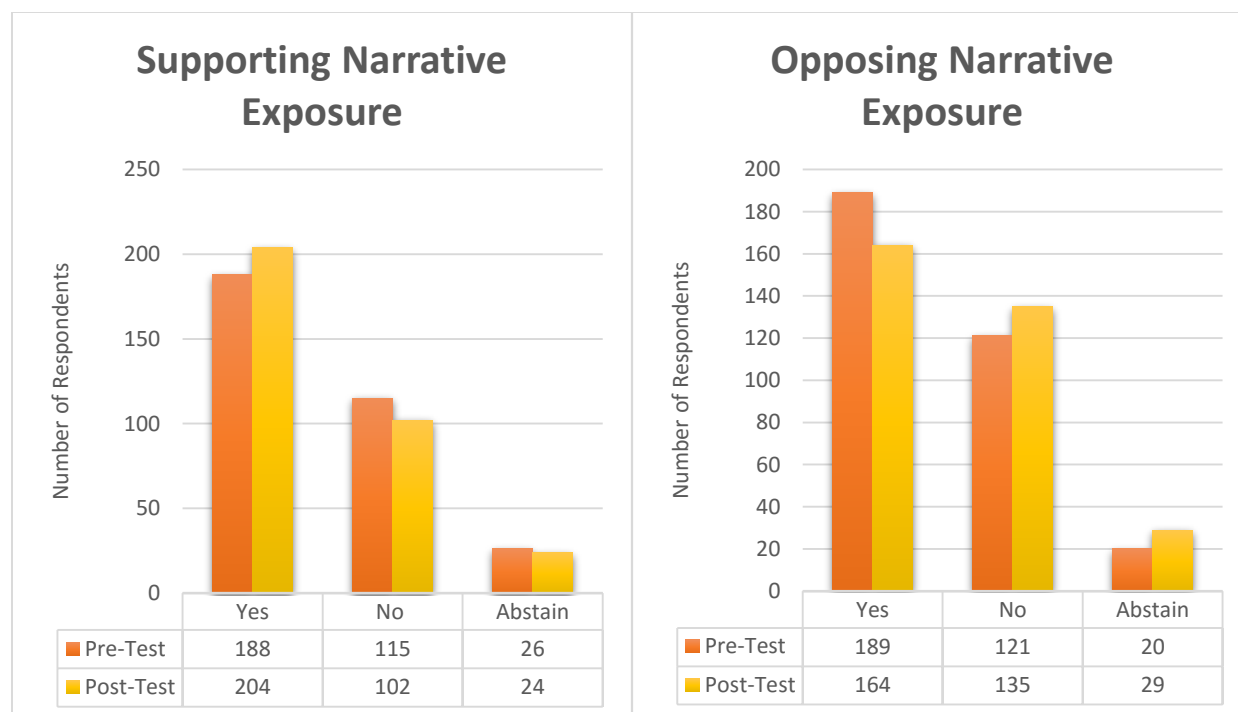
Beta values reported, \*  $p < 0.05$ , \*\*  $p < 0.01$ , \*\*\*  $p < 0.001$  one-tailed test (std. errors reported in parentheses)

These findings are partially consistent with *H1* and *H2*. Regarding *H1*, the null hypothesis is rejected. Egalitarians remained true to their congruent narrative in the Supporting track, as did Individualists in the Opposing track. In *H2*, however, which assumes that

incongruence, or non-persuasion by the narrative not of your cultural preference, is somewhat rejected and somewhat accepted. While Egalitarians in the Opposing track showed negative significance towards persuasion by the opposing narrative, Individualists in the Supporting track had no significant relationship, or even movement, with the dependent variable. This may be partially explained by the discrepancy between the number of Egalitarians and Individualists who were in the Supporting track of the survey.

### **Research Question 3: *How do voters respond to the narratives of Measure 97?***

To assess this research question, I utilize descriptive statistics to analyze the data relevant to *H3*, *H4*, and *H5*. The chart below shows the reported votes in the pre- and post-narrative question across both narrative tracks.



From these data meaningful movement can be seen through the pre- and post-narrative vote question. In the Supporting track 16 participants switched their vote to “yes on Measure

97,” while the “no” vote lost 13. The number of those abstaining also lost 2 votes. In the Opposing track, 14 votes were added to the vote “no on Measure 97” after narrative exposure, and 25 votes were lost in the “yes” response. The abstain category gained 9 votes. The tables below show the degree by which respondents switched their vote pre-test to post-test.

**Table 10:**

**Movement on vote question pre/post-narrative exposure**

*Supporting track*

<b>Vote Shift</b>	<b>Total</b>
Yes → No	3
Yes → Abstain	1
Abstain → No	6
No change	293
Abstain → Yes	5
No → Abstain	8
No → Yes	14

*Opposing track*

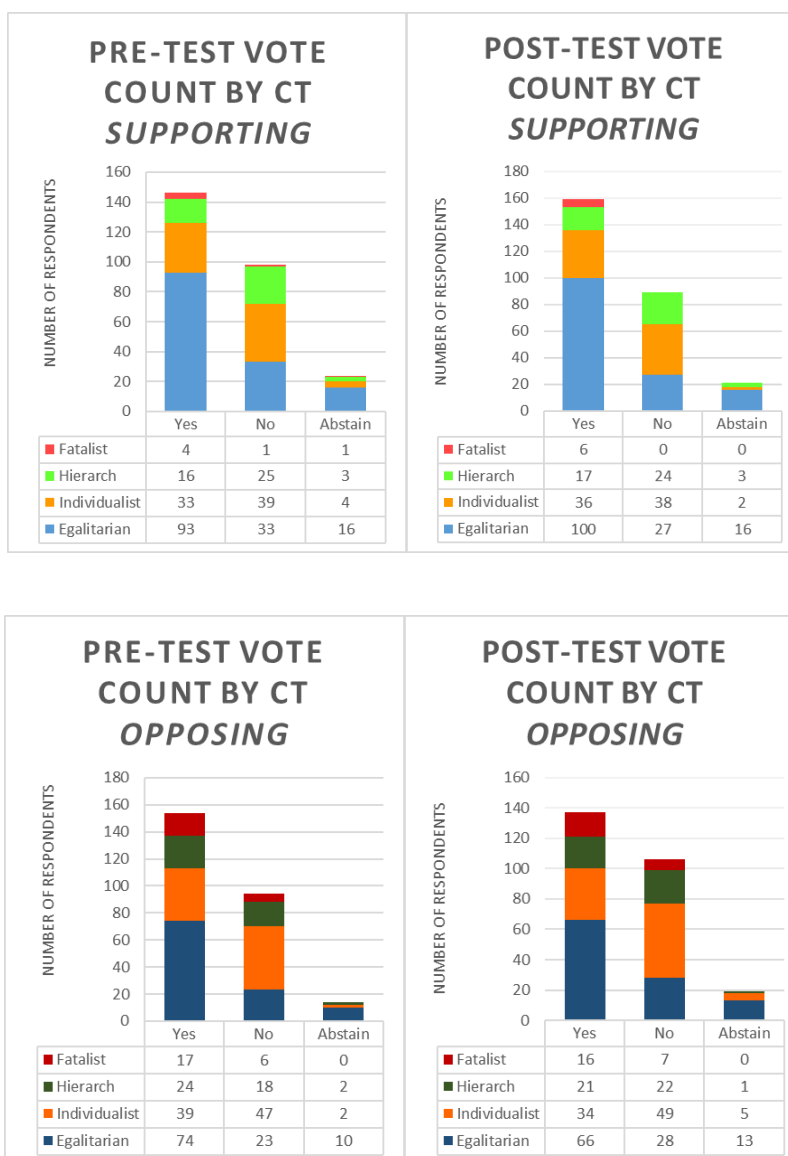
<b>Vote Shift</b>	<b>Total</b>
Yes → No	18
Yes → Abstain	10
Abstain → No	2
No change	289
Abstain → Yes	3
No → Abstain	4
No → Yes	2

In the experiment as a whole, 11.5% of respondents switched their vote opinion after narrative exposure. Of all that switched, 5.9% of respondents moved into the response promoted by their given narrative. This is measured through the cross tabulations above as those moving into the “yes” vote in the Supporting track from the pre-test response of “no” or “abstain” and those moving into the “no” vote response in the Opposing track from their pre-test vote of “yes”



or “abstain.” This shows meaningful movement towards the provided narratives. The hypothesis of  $H3$  fails to be rejected and it can be upheld that the ‘vote’ of some respondents will change to support the narrative they were exposed to in the experiment.

The vote shift of respondents can be tracked along cultural preference groups to test  $H4$  and  $H5$ . Pre- and post-narrative vote questions are broken down by cultural preference.



In general, for the Supporting and Opposing tracks which corresponded with Egalitarianism and Individualism, the respondents stayed congruent to their culturally corresponding narrative track. In the Supporting track pre-test, 93 Egalitarians reported they would vote “yes” on Measure 97, compared to 33 “no.” Individualists in the Supporting track conversely had 39 reporting “no” and 33 reporting “yes.” After the narrative treatment in the Supporting track, the Egalitarian support for Measure 97 grew, 100 “yes” to 27 “no,” and the individualists largely retained their slightly lean towards not supporting the measure, 36 “yes” to 38 “no.” In the Opposing track, 74 Egalitarians reported they would vote “yes” and 23 “no.” Individualists opposed the measure in the pre-test, 47 “no” to 39 “yes.” After the narrative treatment with an opposing viewpoint, Egalitarians lost some support, but maintained strength in supporting the measure, 66 “yes” to 28 “no.” Amongst Individualists, the opposing narrative made them gain some support, 34 “yes” to 49 “no.” This data shows consistency among the dominant cultural preferences in their opinions about Measure 97. Not one of these groups (Egalitarian and Individualist) lost congruence to their pre-supposed viewpoint because of the narrative treatments. These data support *H4* and *H5*, that Egalitarians will support the pro-Measure 97 stance through narrative treatment and narrowly provides non-trivial evidence that Individualists will support the anti-Measure 97 stance.

### *Additional Findings*

Additionally, when considering what external reasons why a person may have switched their voting opinion, it was found that prior exposure to information about Measure 97 gave insight into this phenomenon.

**Table 11:***Supporting Track***Prior exposure to Measure 97**

<b>Changed vote after narrative exposure</b>	<i>Had Exposure</i>	<i>No Exposure</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Changed vote</i>	24	13	293
<i>Kept vote</i>	244	49	37

*Opposing Track***Prior exposure to Measure 97**

<b>Changed vote after narrative exposure</b>	<i>Had Exposure</i>	<i>No Exposure</i>	<i>Total</i>
<i>Changed vote</i>	21	17	291
<i>Kept vote</i>	231	60	38

These tables show a consistent number of people who did not have prior exposure or change their vote after narrative exposure to Measure 97. From this cross-tabulation it can also be seen how it was more likely for respondents without prior exposure to change their vote after narrative exposure (an average of 21.25 percentage points more likely). Pearson's chi-square analyses were used to confirm the close relationships between these two variables across both supporting and opposing tracks. Both Supporting ( $p < 0.005$ ) and Opposing ( $p < 0.001$ ) tracks show a strong positive correlation between previous exposure and changing vote after narrative exposure.

## **Discussion & Conclusion**

Interested in highlighting the ways narratives can be used to influence public opinion policy changes, this research set out to examine Oregon Measure 97 and poses the questions, *what narratives exist and are being pushed to voters about Measure 97, what factors contribute*

*to a person's persuasion by the narratives of Measure 97, and how do voters respond to the narratives of Measure 97?* By qualitatively and quantitatively testing these research questions, meaningful conclusions can be made to better understand the way narratives affected voter's view of Measure 97 and how the narratives pushed during the campaign ultimately translated into votes and thus, a real policy decision.

The narratives that existed about Measure 97 were divided on the position to vote “yes” or “no” on the measure itself. By using semi-structured interviews, the core elements of the narratives, including setting, hero, villain, victim, and moral of the story were deduced. Through cultural preference classification of the interviews, the cultural identity of Egalitarian was giving to the side supporting Measure 97, and Individualist to the opposing side. By extracting these narratives, statements were created to test the next research questions using quantitative means.

By operationalizing an experimental survey testing the prominent for and against (Egalitarian and Individualist) narratives surrounding Measure 97, several factors were identified as contributing to narrative persuasion. Respondents with congruent cultural preferences to the narrative they were exposed to led to increased support for the goals of that narrative, *support of* or *opposition to* Measure 97. It was also asked how voters responded to the narratives of Measure 97. By analyzing the cultural preference breakdown of the pre- and post-narrative exposure vote questions, it was identified that respondents with congruent cultural preferences are less swayed by a narrative incongruent with their views. When examining how many participants switched their reported vote intention on Measure 97 after being exposed to the narrative treatment, non-trivial movement is observed. Furthermore, a significant correlation is identified between a participant's prior exposure to information regarding Measure 97 and changing their vote post-narrative treatment. This finding juxtaposes the findings from the OLS

regression that issue knowledge, a control variable, did not play a factor in a person's opinion about Measure 97. In other words, the type of exposure that someone received about Measure 97 in the past played a bigger role in their decision on how to vote than actual knowledge about the measure itself.

This research also provides further insight into the utility of the Narrative Policy Framework. It upholds findings related to narrative congruence found in other micro-level NPF studies (Jones & Song 2013; Lybecker et al. 2013). And by testing the influence of narrative in a ballot measure election, this study adds knowledge to a gap in understanding recognized by NPF scholars between public opinion and policy decisions. In the case of Measure 97, the public was the decision-maker, and hence the narratives were more important than ever. Perhaps in the future NPF scholars should look towards ballot measures as critical piece of the policy-making process that uniquely blends public opinion, hearty campaign narratives, and real policy consequences.

The fickle nature, yet broad power of narratives in vote-based policy making has implications in the era of initiative petition ballot measures. Oregon Measure 97 was able to take a tax code change and make it an all-out moral public opinion battle. It was called a "civil war" by some and though it ultimately failed to pass public vote (40% - Yes, 59% - No), it left rifts through the Oregon policy community, especially between labor and business sectors. Measure 97 gives a vivid example of how these socio-political narrative aspects can be qualified, quantified, and used to understand the complex world of public policy.

## APPENDIX A

### Interview Questions:

1. My name is Claire McMorris and I am an undergraduate student in the University Honors College at Oregon State University conducting a capstone thesis research project. I will be interviewing you about Measure 97 which will likely be on the ballot for Oregon's November 2016 election. It has to do with increasing corporate taxes. The interview should take from an hour to an hour and a half. Would that work for you? If at any point you feel uncomfortable answering a question just let me know and we can skip it. Would it be ok if you sign this consent form for the interview so I can use it in my analysis? Audio recording is required for this interview so I can analyze it in the future. I will not be using any names in my final report. Can we start?
2. Now let's start with the basics. Tell me what you know about Initiative Petition 28 and how you feel about it. Will you support the measure?
3. How do you think IP28 will affect the people of Oregon? What about the state of Oregon?
4. Do you think taxes are necessary and important? Explain.
5. Do corporations currently pay too little in taxes in Oregon? Explain.
6. Do the people of Oregon need more financial support from the state for statewide programs? Explain.
7. What types of people think IP28 is a good idea?
8. What types of people think IP28 is a bad idea?
9. Is there a victim if the measure does pass?
10. Is there a victim if the measure does not pass?
11. Are there good guys and bad guys here?
12. Is there anything of importance that you don't think I've covered?
13. Is there anyone else that you think I should interview and would add to this study?
14. Thank you so much for the time to sit down for this interview. Please follow-up if you have any additional questions about this project.

## APPENDIX B

### Qualitative Interview Analysis – Cultural Preference

Cultural Preference Criteria:

<u>Egalitarianism</u> <b>E1:</b> Societal well-being is more important than individual prosperity <b>E2:</b> Government should exist to protect the weak and promote fairness
<u>Individualism</u> <b>I1:</b> Society should value individual success <b>I2:</b> Regulation should exist in a limited capacity
<u>Hierarchy</u> <b>H1:</b> Respect the political system as it currently operates <b>H2:</b> Rules should be followed
<u>Fatalism</u> <b>F1:</b> Negative outlook on future, with little control on what will happen <b>F2:</b> Fairness doesn't exist

#### Supporting Measure 97

##### **Interview 1:**

“Our students deserve better and our professionals deserve better. This measure is designed to be able to catch up and then keep up and meet the descriptors that Oregonians have said they want to have in public schools.” (E2)

“In my ideal world, with the passage of this, Oregonians will feel more proud of what we have as a state, as far as our education systems. That our public services will be higher quality, so we will see less people in dire straits because they are elderly and don't have the care that they need in order to stay healthy or that they are young and uninsured and don't have what they need to stay healthy. That will be subtle, but it will really make a difference. The quality of life in Oregon will go up.” (E1)

“As a public employee, I am acutely aware that I benefit from us paying taxes because those tax dollars come back to my job. I feel like I do a really good job of reinvesting folk's money into the work that I do. I think that as a community, if we didn't have taxes we wouldn't be able to keep our roads upgraded. We wouldn't be able to have enough safety systems in place.” (E1, H1)

“The one thing that I have been saying to people as I talk about this ballot measure is that people are desperate. People who are working in social services and specifically schools are really desperate because there has been nothing that has been proposed that really gets to the solutions that we need.” (E1)

**Classification: Egalitarian**

**Interview 2:**

“So basically we have these looming and present funding crises that we have to figure out a way to invest. And ultimately, that’s all what it boils down to. We need to make a decision, if we care about these things, we have to find a way to invest in them.” (H1)

“That money is going to be invested in Oregon’s economy and it is going to be a huge economic stimulus. There are going to be a lot of people who are back to work or can actually get a good job, and for those folks it’s going to make a huge immediate difference. There are a lot of people whose families are really struggling, like seniors and people who are having a hard time affording healthcare, being able to afford those investments, being able to actually help those families out I think will provide immediate and much needed relief to tens of thousands of Oregonians. And then finally when it comes to schools and early education, this is another area that is really huge.” (E1)

“I feel that everybody should chip in because these are things that everyone benefits from and I think it is reasonable that the people who have more, and are more successful and have higher incomes should be asked to chip in a little more because they benefit more from how the system in right now. The goal is also to create system that is progressive where everybody chips in and everybody is invested and has a part to play and is bought in to this society we live in, but that also recognizes that those that can pay a little more should pay a little more.” (E2)

“Those are things that tax dollars pay for and if they weren’t there then those companies would not be able to make money and do business. We’re all invested and we all rely on having these public goods that exist.” (E2)

“So ultimately it is like look, if you are serious about paying for these programs that we know are effective, that are good for the economy, that are good for Oregonians, and that everybody, even across the aisle, Republicans and Democrats are always talking about how we need more education, that we need to do a better job with schools, and if their serious about I’m telling you this is the only way, the only solution that we can actually get passed.” (E1, H1)

**Classification: Egalitarian**

**Interview 3:**



“One of the reasons why we felt like we wanted to support it was because there hasn’t been dialogue in Salem around corporate taxes and finding a path forward to really fund education, so I think everybody has really for years had a conversation about how to find stable funding around education and we think this is really thought through and a thoughtful process on how to get there.” (H1)

“...it’s continued to be a conversation around keeping corporations accountable and so I think when you look at how much corporations are making as profits and the corporate responsibility that we think corporations should have, we think this is a good way to keep their feet to the fire.” (E2)

“I think that as we are anticipating a budget shortfall next legislative session, I think that this is a really great opportunity for Oregon voters to close that budget shortfall and find a stable funding solution to better Oregon’s future by hiring more teachers and protecting our most vulnerable, which is most often our seniors.” (H1, E1)

“I think that people look to Oregon to lead the progressive way and I think that we are seeing a lot of businesses not want to come to Oregon because they have children and we have a poor education system. So I think in a lot of ways this is a way to correct that. We lead on a so many issues like voting and women in politics and a ton of different things and I think this is an opportunity for us to have a better education system for Oregon’s future and I think that only makes us stronger as a state.” (E1, H1)

“I think that in our Constitution and in our society we expect to have basic, fundamental education provided, we assume that there are going to be basic protections, we assume that there’s going to be these basic, fundamental principles and I think we provide mandates that say ‘we should increase college graduation, or we should have x amount of people graduate from a school district each year,’ but without a stable funding mechanism that ensure those happen, we’re just providing unfunded mandates.” (H1)

“I think that most Oregonians want compromise and we want to find a solution.” (H1, H2)

### **Classification: Hierarch**

#### **Interview 4:**

“So as you look at all these various complications we have a certain revenue we have the difficulties of putting something through the legislature and then we have once even if it got passed the Legislature we’d have to pass it through the voters. Those are significant obstacles and there are the political implications which are why you haven’t seen significant revenue reform in such a long time as we find ourselves at this point in our state’s history where we have a choice to make. We can construe to do the same and if we do the same you’re going to get the same results over and over again, the fluctuation in revenue, as someone who sits on the Ways

and Means process you are going to continue to sit there and cut services, and in good years you are going to add services back, but you are never going to have the money to do the things that quite frankly, everybody is going who elects you expects you to do. Or you can try something and that's where we're at right now, trying something to try and move in the right direction." (H1)

"With that said, then comes IP28 [Measure 97], which is a reaction to this underlying problem. The legislature can't act, then we start moving in this direction and even if we could move something it probably wouldn't raise the type of revenue we need in this state to be able to do what we wanted to. Number 2, even if it did, could it pass on a political, by voters." (H2, E2)

"In looking at this long term in Oregon, you have these two paths, which one is better to go down? It is much easier to have this lump sum and then cater it to Oregon. So you have basically a large block of clay and then you mold it to fit Oregon, as opposed to unable to do anything or patchwork of clay through the Legislative process that we've rarely been able to get anything meaningful done. So that's essentially how I came through to this thing." (H1)

"We as society make a choice on what we want our state to look like, so it's one way or the other to me. I mean I can take a personal standpoint on that, but I can also approach it from a logical standpoint and say 'ok this is just a choice. One way or another we're making it on how we're going to operate this state,' and we're also making a choice on what services we are going to be providing to our citizens and that is a decision that everybody this electorate gets to make." (F1)

### **Classification: Hierarchy**

#### **Interview 5:**

"Oregon will end up with the lowest graduation rates and the largest classroom sizes if something isn't done." (E2, F1)

"Measure 97 would make the life of individual Oregonians a lot better through more affordable higher education and increased financial aid, three times the amount of early childhood education including quality preschool programming and the highest availability and affordability of childcare in the nation. I would be a night and day change." (E1)

"Corporations are paying too little in taxes and are subsidizing low paying jobs, like Walmart. They need to start paying their fair share." (E2)

### **Classification: Egalitarian**

#### **Interview 6:**

"I do not believe there will be a significant impact on individual Oregonians. Tax structures are different all across the country, yet the price of beans at a Walmart is generally the same. And

the impact is really on these larger out-of-state corporations for whom, for us the impact is huge, for them, most of them it's very negligible." (F1, E2)

"We have kids dying because we don't invest in our child welfare programs to the degree that we should. We have elderly disabled that are injured and abused because we don't have adequate people there. We need more people in licensing, we need more people in investigations, we need better rates so we're paying and retaining the workforce that serve these individuals. Hopefully the measure will allow us to do some of that so we have a safer, better state." (E1)

"I would not say that every business is paying their fair share, I do believe very large, out-of-state businesses get benefits that small Oregon businesses don't get under our current tax structure."

"I think we lose the opportunity [if Measure 97 does not pass]... it's a big gamble to go out for a big tax measure because it becomes a referendum on state budget and revenue. I think the state budget becomes the loser in the process, education and human services." (E2)

"The state definitely needs more revenue. It's not a perfect measure and I wish that we could be in a place where we trusted our elected leaders to make smart choices about revenue and structure that allows them to do that. And by not having a legislature that can do it, we end up having to address problems with a hatchet instead of a scalpel to figure out how do we make things work. And it's not just about tax increases, there are places where you maybe could reduce taxes, but there is no confidence in doing that because there is no way to make up that other piece if you want to make the system fairer. It really across the board is a bad policy to tie the hands of the Legislature in terms of doing tax policy. The Legislature should do tax policy and in Oregon our Constitution has made that near impossible and as a result we have ballot measures and at this point we desperately need the revenue and that's why I'm voting for the measure." (H1, H2)

### **Classification: Egalitarian (with Hierarch tendencies)**

#### **Interview 7:**

"So that's how we come at this issue and as we worked on this measure our goal was to say 'okay, who's not paying their taxes?' and really trying to focus on the bigger corporations and the corporations who have consistently found tax loopholes to pay as little tax as they possible could." (E2, H2)

"And the fact that we're 50<sup>th</sup> in the country in corporate taxes means that these same corporations are paying these taxes in other states, and they don't pay here. So they pay in Washington but they don't pay here and Oregonians suffer from that. So that's really where we come at from the issue and that's what I think the issue does, I think it funds services and I think

it makes the biggest, out-of-state corporations and the largest corporations in Oregon pay some taxes.” (E2)

“Yeah, it will infuse money in services, so we will hire potentially thousands of teachers. I think that if hiring thousands of teachers does not have an impact on our schools then we have a problem and if it doesn’t mean that kids are doing better in our school then clearly we have a problem. So I do think it will have an impact on the institutions, I think it will have a huge impact and the way it will have an impact is will ensure that the people who rely on services.” (E1)

“My gut on this is Oregonians want good services, they need good services, they time and time again really want to see a difference in their schools and what they know and what I think everybody knows right now is they feel really strapped. They feel like they can’t pay their bills, they feel like they are paying their fair share and that other people are not and I think that’s what this really comes down to. Why a working family does everything they are told to do, they pay their taxes, they don’t find loopholes, it comes straight out of their check and these corporations who are not paying their fair share in Oregon do.” (E2)

### **Classification: Egalitarian**

#### Opposing Measure 97

#### **Interview 8:**

“There are three things that I strongly believe in when new move forward with any type of policy. Whether it be a repeal, an amendment, a new law, whatever it is; whatever the policy is in Salem that is going to affect the whole.” (H2)

“Just remember that consumers do pay, it does trickle down. So you say, how does that make sense, how would they do it. Yes, it does. Because if you’re going to increase the taxes here on corporate, they somehow have to make up for it, and how do they make up for it? Well, they increase the cost, but who pays for that increased cost? It is you and I, the consumer. So it is actually kind of hidden sales tax, so to speak, and you can call it whatever you want to, but it will impact all of us.” (I1, I2)

“Government will grow bigger as a result of it, obviously. They’ve already been talking about 30,000 jobs being created in a 10-year period of time, I can see that happen and you don’t need to grow government. I do believe that government is necessary to meet with people and businesses, that type of thing, but it is getting flipped, where businesses are now supporting government. That’s not the way it was designed 240 years ago.” (H1, H2, I2)

“I think corporations pay their fair share of taxes.” (H2, I2)

### **Classification: Hierarch**

**Interview 9:**

“I feel that for economic development that if passed it could be the single most damaging thing in my 25 years in Oregon.” (F1)

“And then if you happen to buy through a grocery store, then the grocery store is also going to tack that on, so at the end of the day you could have anywhere from a 10-12 percent tax on that which is going to be passed right on to the consumer.” (I1)

“This measure represents a 27% increase in government spending and a 20% increase in revenues and that’s a step in the wrong direction in our opinion.” (I2)

“At the end of the day it is still a free country, it is not a command economy so those businesses don’t have to stay in Oregon and they don’t have to sell in Oregon if they are going to be taxed at that kind of a rate, others will just pass it on. I mean look at utilities, they are going to stay in Oregon, they’re not going anywhere; grocery stores are the same, they are not going to stop selling groceries to local residents, but they’ll pass all that on to the local customers.” (I2)

“Taxes are a necessary evil. Death and taxes. Something that we always get to pay, particularly in a democracy.” (I2)

**Classification: Individualist****Interview 10:**

“It has such a huge impact in companies that are focused on their sales in Oregon, which means they are focused on selling to Oregon consumers and to the extent that it can, it’s going to get passed through to Oregon consumers, and not everybody can do that, they might not have the pricing power for it.” (I2)

“So there’s a lot of concern about that will be \$6 billion and it will be spent everywhere and then we’ll get into another budget crisis because we’ve built up some programs that might not be sustainable, so it’s a bit directionless.” (I1, H2)

“So we will have a good year of back and forth potentially tax battles that will result in no extra money for the state, tens of millions spent on campaigns and everybody just being mad. And I don’t know how somebody could come into one of these businesses and say ‘will you write me a check to pass this thing and then protect this thing?’ and this all is going to happen in the middle of the two gubernatorial campaigns. It’s just a recipe for division.” (H1, F2)

“Students are bearing the risk of the state’s major policy being done by interest groups on ballot measures.” (I1)

**Classification: Individualist**

**Interview 11:**

“I think what we're aiming to do is communicate with voters that this is actually an impact to Oregon consumers, that the least hard-hit are the folks they've intended, two thirds of this tax will be carried on to consumers.” (I1)

“So, every product, every industry in Oregon will see some sort of increase in their cost to function, literally every single thing. Because there's no exemptions for anything like gas, or electricity, or utilities, medicine, medical insurance, healthcare, food... everything that we touch every day. I mean, sitting in my house and going and coming back, there's four different times that my cost to be an Oregonian would increase, and I'm not a large out-of-state sea corporation.” (I2)

“It's the largest tax increase in Oregon's history, it's 25% of our budget, it's the largest tax increase that we've been able to find across the country proportional to a state budget. And that's a really significant thing to ask people to pay for, when there's no guarantee for where that money will go or how it will be spent, and that's another fundamental problem with the initiative as well.” (I1, F1)

“I'm not an anti-tax person, our campaign is not anti-tax approach. I think all of us want good taxes, we want productive taxes, and we want to know that the money we're asking businesses and Oregonians to pay is actually being well spent. And I think time and time again, you know, we've increased taxes or we've... introduced tax policy that we've said "Ok, we're going to get behind this because we need new roads", and then the money doesn't get spent on roads, and everybody gets mad about where it goes.” (E2, F2)

**Classification: Individualist****Interview 12:**

“I think for me what is important is what Measure 97 is and the outcome of it because I do believe it has got huge implications across the board both politically, culturally, economically and frankly from a policy perspective. But I would also say that what happens after the election on Nov. 9<sup>th</sup> matters as much if not more. That if measure 97 passes there is a set of choices and a set of dynamics for both elected officials and for private citizens and business leadership and public employees. And if it fails there's different set of choices and options and I worry that the tone and tenure of this campaign may at the end of the day really change our ability to do what we so often refer to as the Oregon way; have conversations, wrap our arms around problems and make sure there's room for everybody in the discussion and hopefully solve the problem.” (F1, H1)

“I think that from an economic perspective that the major companies that are frankly headquarter here, not out of state companies and others that have major presences here and would be

impacted but are not headquartered here are going to have to make fundamental structural and/or operational decision about how they manage to mitigate the tax as great as possible.” (I2)

“And then there is the inevitable waterfall impact on citizens and on small business. As large companies make these kinds of changes and as the economy kind of freezes up around the gears because of it, smaller companies that depend on larger companies are going to suffer and if you’re on fixed income, we’ll just get to the very personal side of the equation, and you face an increase of cost in your utility bill or your pharmaceutical prescriptions or your food or your clothing or eventually your rent, all of that has an order of magnitude impact on those who can least afford it, so the regressive nature of this thing seems fundamentally anti-Oregonian to me.” (I1)

### **Classification: Individualist**

#### **Interview 13:**

“Fundamentally, it’s the amount, it’s how, and it’s the impact both on consumers, but also it does real damage to the economy. \$6 billion is way more than anyone is perceiving the government needing in Oregon, I think there is a case for more revenue, but at this amount is unheard of. It’s basically a 30% increase in state general fund revenue without any plan to spend it, without a sense of if you’ve got a hole how do you deal with a flip side of it with what are the priorities you’re setting, what are the cost-containment strategies, it basically creates an open-ended source of funding for services, especially in light of public employee compensation has been going at a higher rate than the general, private compensation, it’s this open-ended check on just spending money on all kinds of things that may or may be what the public is interested in.” (I2, F1)

“It’s a very simplistic proposal to dramatically change the state tax structure, without any thought from the people who wrote it. The idea that we would be doing this type of tax policy without anybody ever having a serious conversation, is just incredible. It’s highly irresponsible by the proponents and it’s very disappointing. For me, this doesn’t mean that we don’t need some tax policy changes, but this is not it, remotely.” (H1, H2)

“It will raise the process of most everything people buy. In terms of how we see this playing out, it will, and this is what we believed all along, but it is certainly confirmed by LRO report, it fundamentally is a consumption tax. It will raise the prices of essential prices that everyone buys every day, and primarily things like food, prescription drugs, electricity, gasoline, and just all kinds of products and services people buy like insurance products, retirement plans, everything. It will generally raise the prices on an order of about \$600 a family with a higher impact on lower income people, so it’s a regressive consumption tax, really is what it is.” (I1)

“Well, you cannot compete in the construction industry with a 2.5% cost differential, so the C-corps have basically said ‘we will have to leave Oregon’ because they... and that company is putting in a lot of money to kill this because they think it would be a stupid, terrible tax policy,

but they would be at an incredible advantage, they would basically wipe out all the competitors if it were to pass. Now they know that it's not good for Oregon, but that's the effect." (I2, F1)

**Classification: Individualist**



## APPENDIX C

### MEASURE 97 SURVEY 2016

My name is Claire McMorris and I am an undergraduate Honors student in Political Science at Oregon State University. I am requesting that you volunteer to participate in a research study on Oregon public policy. You were selected as a participant because you volunteered to participate in online surveys through Qualtrics.

The purpose of this study is to measure the opinions and preferences of Oregonians regarding Oregon public policy. If you agree to participate in this study, you will be asked to respond to an internet survey that takes an average of 15 minutes to complete. There are no risks associated with participation in this study.

The study will ask questions about public policy in Oregon. In the unlikely event that any of these questions make you uncomfortable, you may skip that question and continue with the survey. You may also quit the survey at any time, should you desire to do so. Should you complete the survey, you will receive compensation through Qualtrics.

The records of this study will be kept private. In published reports, there will be no information included that will make it possible to identify you as a research participant. Research records will be stored securely. The data will not include any information that would make it possible to identify you. Only approved researchers will have access to the records.

If you have any concerns or complaints about the research, the primary investigator conducting this study is Dr. Michael Jones of Oregon State University, who can be contacted at 541-737-3655, or at [Michael.Jones@oregonstate.edu](mailto:Michael.Jones@oregonstate.edu). You are encouraged to contact the researcher if you have any questions. If you have any questions, concerns, or complaints about the research and wish to talk to someone other than the researcher, or if you cannot reach the researcher, you may contact Oregon State University Institutional Review Board (IRB) Office, at (541) 737-8008 or by email at [IRB@oregonstate.edu](mailto:IRB@oregonstate.edu)

*Please print this information sheet for your records. By completing and submitting this questionnaire, you are agreeing to participate in this study.*

---

Q1\_Age Screening: Are you 18 years or older?

1. Yes
2. No [Exit: Thank you for participating]

Q2\_Voter: Are you a registered Oregon voter?

1. Yes
2. No [Exit: Thank you for participating]

**Lead-in:** First I would like to know how feel about values in American society. On a scale from one to seven, where one means you strongly disagree, and seven means you strongly agree, please respond to each of the following statements.

Q3\_hier1\_ahead: The best way to get ahead in life is to do what you are told to do.

- 1 - Strongly disagree
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 - Strongly agree

Q4\_hier2\_authority: Our society is in trouble, because we don't obey those in authority.

- 1 - Strongly disagree
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 - Strongly agree

Q5\_hier3\_rules: Society would be much better off if we imposed strict and swift punishment on those that break the rules.

- 1 - Strongly disagree
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7 - Strongly agree

Q6\_ind1\_fail: Even if some people are at a disadvantage, it is best for society to let people succeed or fail on their own.

- 1 - Strongly disagree
- 2
- 3

4

5

6

7 - Strongly agree

Q7\_ind2\_disadvantaged: Even the disadvantaged should have to make their own way in the world.

1 - Strongly disagree

2

3

4

5

6

7 - Strongly agree

Q8\_ind3\_indv: We are all better off when we compete as individuals.

1 - Strongly disagree

2

3

4

5

6

7 - Strongly agree

Q9\_egal1\_Fair: What our society needs is a fairness revolution to make the distribution of goods more equal.

1 - Strongly disagree

2

3

4

5

6

7 - Strongly agree

Q10\_egal2\_Power: Society works best if power is shared equally.

1 - Strongly disagree

2

3

4

5

6

7 - Strongly agree

Q11\_egal3\_Income: It is our responsibility to reduce the differences in income between the rich and the poor.

1 - Strongly disagree  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7 - Strongly agree

Q12\_fat1\_random: Most of the important things that take place in life happen by random chance.

1 - Strongly disagree  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7 - Strongly agree

Q13\_fat2\_fate: No matter how hard we try, the course of our lives is largely determined by forces outside our control.

1 - Strongly disagree  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7 - Strongly agree

Q14\_fat3\_plans: It would be pointless to make serious plans in such an uncertain world.

1 - Strongly disagree  
 2  
 3  
 4  
 5  
 6  
 7 - Strongly agree

---

**Lead-in:** Measure 97 is an Oregon ballot measure that will be voted on in the November 2016 General Election. I would like to ask you a few multiple-choice questions about the measure. Please answer to the best of your knowledge, and feel free to guess even if you aren't completely sure of your answer.

Q15\_type: What type of tax does Measure 97 increase?

1. Personal Income tax
2. Corporate tax
3. Property tax
4. Consumer Sales tax

Q16\_affect: What type of businesses are affected by Measure 97?

1. Those making \$100,000 or less in sales per year
2. Those making \$100,000 or less in profits per year
3. Those making \$25 million or more in sales per year
4. Those making \$25 million or more in profits per year

Q17\_services: Measure 97 intends to increase funding for three state-supported programs. What service below does Measure 97 **NOT** aim to support?

1. Transportation
  2. K-12 Education
  3. Senior Services
  4. Healthcare
- 

***Track 1: Support (a)***

***Track 2: Oppose (b)***

**\*Respondents will answer Q18-24 on one of the respective tracks and then go to Q25**

### **TRACK 1: SUPPORT (a)**

**Lead-in:** I would now like to get your opinion on a short article regarding Measure 97. The article is divided into two sections, each followed by a set of questions.

Though Oregon continues to experience a booming economy and increasing popularity, the state will inevitably face a budget shortfall in the coming years if revenue is not increased or spending is not cut. Measure 97 attempts to address this issue by changing the Oregon corporate tax structure, imposing a 2.5% tax on publicly traded corporations that make more than \$25 million in sales within Oregon every year.

In a recent nonpartisan report on the measure, the Oregon Legislative Revenue Office predicted that Measure 97 would bring over \$3 billion of revenue a year for Oregon, increasing the financial stability of the state. The report also predicted that if passed, Measure 97 will likely lead to higher prices on some items and services and more employment in the public sector, but ultimately many of the actual economic effects of the measure remain unknown. In the campaigns for and against Measure 97 the proponents include public employee unions, such as

the Oregon Educator's Association and the Service Employees International Unions (SEIU), and the key opposition groups include the Oregon Business Association and many Oregon Chambers of Commerce.

Q18a\_familiarity: On a scale of one to five, *where one means you previously knew none of the information provided and five means you previously knew most all of the information provided*, please indicate your familiarity with the information provided in the article above.

- 1 – previously knew none of the information provided
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – previously knew most all of the information provided

Q19a\_election: If the November 2016 General Election were held today, based on the above information how would you vote on Measure 97?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Abstain

---

Measure 97 is the right solution to Oregon's historic instability in revenue funds and record low corporate taxes. Currently Oregon ranks last in the country for corporate taxation, meaning that with every purchase, Oregonians are paying more into the pockets of corporations than any other American. The 2.5% tax on companies making more than \$25 million in sales within the state is imperative to fulfill our outstanding needs in education, healthcare, and senior services. Oregon has the third largest class sizes in the nation and one of the shortest school years, drastically impairing our children to be competitive and prepared for the future. By providing proper funding for these programs, we can raise the quality of life for Oregon's present and future generations.

The creation of Measure 97 was a thorough and deliberate process that used voter's perspectives and polling to achieve a strongly supported policy. While the Oregon Legislature might be the better place to generate all-encompassing tax policy such as Measure 97, a politically locked legislative body makes a ballot measure the only chance Oregon has to drastically improve funding for crucial programs in the state. Economists also agree that Oregon's positive economic trends make it the perfect time to invest in schools and public services. If Measure 97 passes, policymakers in Salem will ensure that the law will not harm unintended industries and keep Oregon businesses prosperously located within the state, though there is really no threat to local businesses in this measure. It was specifically designed to target big, out-of-state corporations and research shows that it will do just that.

Opponents may argue that the cost will be passed onto consumers and that businesses will try to leave the state, but they must be lying to voters, since these are the same arguments used in previous ballot measures, all of which failed to be true. According to experts, this measure is estimated to have a minimal, less than one percent impact on consumers and jobs in the state. In the end, Measure 97 is a huge step towards financial stability that needs to be passed to support Oregon kids, families, and seniors. Large, out-of-state corporations need to start paying their fair share in taxes in Oregon. Oregonians should vote ‘yes’ on Measure 97 this November.

Q20a\_argument: On a scale of one to five, *where one means you have never heard the above arguments about this measure and five means you have frequently heard the above arguments about this measure*, please indicate your familiarity with arguments in the article above.

- 1 – have never heard these arguments
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – have frequently heard these arguments

Q21a\_pro: On a scale of one to five, *where one means completely negative and five means completely positive*, please indicate your reaction towards the proponents of Measure 97.

- 1 – completely negative
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – completely positive

Q22a\_opp: On a scale of one to five, *where one means completely negative and five means completely positive*, please indicate your reaction towards the opponents of Measure 97.

- 1 – completely negative
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – completely positive

Q23a\_persuasion: On a scale of one to five, *where one means definitely not in agreement with the above argument and five means you were absolutely in agreement with the above argument*, please indicate your feelings on the article above.

- 1 – definitely not in agreement
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – absolutely in agreement

Q24a\_election: If the November 2016 General Election were held today, based on the above information how would you vote on Measure 97?

1. Yes
  2. No
  3. Abstain
- 

## TRACK 2: OPPOSE (b)

**Lead-in:** I would now like to get your opinion on a short article regarding Measure 97. The article is divided into two sections, each followed by a set of questions.

Though Oregon continues to experience a booming economy and increasing popularity, the state will inevitably face a budget shortfall in the coming years if revenue is not increased or spending is not cut. Measure 97 attempts to address this issue by changing the Oregon corporate tax structure, imposing a 2.5% tax on publicly traded corporations that make more than \$25 million in sales within Oregon every year.

In a recent nonpartisan report on the measure, the Oregon Legislative Revenue Office predicted that Measure 97 would bring over \$3 billion of revenue a year for Oregon, increasing the financial stability of the state. The report also predicted that if passed, Measure 97 will likely lead to higher prices on some items and services and more employment in the public sector, but ultimately many of the actual economic effects of the measure remain unknown. In the campaigns for and against Measure 97 the proponents include public employee unions, such as the Oregon Educator's Association and the Service Employees International Unions (SEIU), and the key opposition groups include the Oregon Business Association and many Oregon Chambers of Commerce.

Q18b\_familiarity: On a scale of one to five, *where one means you previously knew none of the information provided and five means you previously knew most all of the information provided*, please indicate your familiarity with the information provided in the article above.

- 1 – previously knew none of the information provided
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – previously knew most all of the information provided

Q19b\_election: If the November 2016 General Election were held today, based on the above information how would you vote on Measure 97?



1. Yes
2. No
3. Abstain

Measure 97 is the wrong solution to Oregon's historic instability in revenue funds. This measure could result in damaging economic impacts that threaten the economic improvement Oregonians worked so hard to achieve since the Recession of 2008. The 2.5% tax on companies making more than \$25 million in sales within the state will be detrimental to all businesses, and harmful to everyday consumers. Measure 97 essentially works like a hidden sales tax, raising prices on everyday items that all Oregonians need. Like the sales tax that Oregon voters have consistently opposed, Measure 97 would disproportionately hurt low-income families, those most in need of our help. By opposing this measure, we protect millions Oregonians from suffering the consequences of this terrible public policy.

The creation of Measure 97 was a flawed process that let interest groups capitalize on voter's perspectives and polling, instead of collaborating with businesses, which resulted in an extreme policy. The Oregon Legislature is a much better place to generate and collaborate on all-encompassing tax policy so we don't end up with a "chainsaw" law in a place where we need to use a "scalpel," such as is the case with Measure 97. If Measure 97 passes, policymakers in Salem will need to ensure that the law will not harm unintended industries and keep Oregon businesses from leaving the state. This measure doesn't only affect large, out-of-state corporations, but will hit every part of the production process, even down to small businesses. This giant tax increase would result in 38,000 lost jobs in the private sector and cost Oregonians \$600 more a month in products and services.

Proponents may try to argue that the cost will not be passed onto consumers and business will not leave the state, but they must be lying to voters because this is simply not true. There is also no legal way that this measure can require the funds go to education, healthcare, and senior services, making it unclear as to where the funds would go. According to experts, this measure would have huge economic ramifications for everyone in the state, not just the out-of-state corporations. In the end, Measure 97 is a threat to Oregon's economy that needs to be defeated to protect Oregon businesses and consumers. Oregonians should vote 'no' on Measure 97 this November.

Q20b\_argument: On a scale of one to five, *where one means you have never heard the above arguments about this measure and five means you have frequently heard the above arguments about this measure*, please indicate your familiarity with arguments in the article above.

- 1 – have never heard these arguments
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – have frequently heard these arguments

Q21b\_pro: On a scale of one to five, *where one means completely negative and five means completely positive*, please indicate your reaction towards the proponents of Measure 97.

- 1 – completely negative
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – completely positive

Q22b\_opp: On a scale of one to five, *where one means completely negative and five means completely positive*, please indicate your reaction towards the opponents of Measure 97.

- 1 – completely negative
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – completely positive

Q23b\_persuasion: On a scale of one to five, *where one means definitely not in agreement with the above argument and five means you were absolutely in agreement with the above argument*, please indicate your feelings on the article above.

- 1 – definitely not in agreement
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5 – absolutely in agreement

Q24b\_election: If the November 2016 General Election were held today, based on the above information how would you vote on Measure 97?

- 1. Yes
- 2. No
- 3. Abstain

**Lead-in:** Lastly, I would like to ask you a few questions about your demographics.

Q25\_age: How old are you? [Verbatim]

Q26\_Education: What is your highest level of education?

1. Elementary or some high school
2. High School Graduate/GED
3. Some college/vocational school
4. College graduate
5. Some graduate work
6. Master's degree
7. Doctorate (of any type)
8. Other degree (please specify) [verbatim]

Q27\_Gender: What is your gender?

1. Male
2. Female
3. Other (please specify) [verbatim]

Q28\_party: With which political party do you most identify with?

1. Democratic Party
2. Republican Party
3. Independent
4. Non-affiliated
5. Other (please specify) [verbatim]

Q29\_Ideology: On a scale of political ideology, individuals can be arranged from strongly liberal to strongly conservative. Which of the following categories best describes your view?

1. Strongly liberal
2. Liberal
3. Slightly liberal
4. Middle of the road
5. Slightly conservative
6. Conservative
7. Strongly Conservative

Q30\_Race: Which of the following do you most associate with your own ethnicity or race?

1. American Indian
2. Asian
3. Black or African American
4. Hispanic
5. White Non-Hispanic
6. Other (please specify) [verbatim]

Q31\_Income: Which of the following income categories approximates the total estimated annual income from your household for the previous year?

1. Less than \$50,000
2. At least \$50,000 but less than \$100,000
3. At least \$100,000 but less than \$150,000
4. \$150,000 or more

Q32\_Region: Which region in Oregon do you live in?

1. Portland Metro
2. Coast
3. Willamette Valley
4. Southern Oregon
5. Eastern Oregon
6. Other (please specify) [verbatim]

### **Survey Closing Message**

Thank you for participating in this survey and remember to vote this November!

## APPENDIX D

### Demographic Information

	Age	Sex			Race/Ethnicity						Education Level				
	Median Age	Male	Female	Other	Caucasian (White)	African American (Black)	Latino(a)/Hispanic	East Asian/Pacific Islander	American Indian or Alaska Native	Other	Less than high school	High school graduate/ GED	Some College	2-year degree	4-year degree or higher
<b>Survey Population n = 660</b>	43.76	323 (48.9%)	329 (49.8%)	8 (1.2%)	609 (92.3%)	6 (0.9%)	16 (2.4%)	10 (1.5%)	4 (0.6%)	13 (2.0%)	3 (0.5%)	60 (9.1%)	180 (27.3%)	71 (10.8%)	345 (52.2%)
<b>Oregon Population (U.S. CENSUS) * n = 4,013,845</b>	36.3	2,026,265 (49.5%)	2,067,200 (50.5%)	N/A	2,961,623 (86.6%)	55,662 (1.6%)	275,314 (8.0%)	109,326 (3.2%)	45,211 (1.3%)	144,832 (4.2%)	409,347 (10%)**	941,497 (23%)	777,758 (19%)	695,889 (17%)	1,268,974 (31%)

Continued:

	Income	Region		Political Affiliation				
	Median Income	Portland Metro	Rest of state	Democrat	Republican	Independent	Non-Affiliated	Other
<b>Survey Population n = 660</b>	\$58,599	289 (43.8%)	370 (56.1%)	338 (51.2%)	149 (22.6%)	112 (17.0%)	52 (7.9%)	9 (1.4%)
<b>Oregon Population (U.S. CENSUS) * n = 4,013,845</b>	\$51,243	2,389,228 (59.5%)	1,624,617 (40.5%)	988,848 (38.3%)*	716,953 (27.8%)	119,664 (4.6%)	687,585 (26.7%)	64,667 (2.5%)

\*Based on Oregon population as a whole, not just registered voters

\*\*Oregon Higher Education Coordinating Commission

\*\*\*Oregon Secretary of State, Oct. 2016

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