

# Finding Common Ground in a Divided Political Culture

## Summary Report

PolicyInteractive Research, August 2018

Appendix 1: Table Key

Appendix 2: Brief Methodology

Appendix 3: Shared and Contested Territory

Political polarization is at one of its highest levels in our nation's history. This project explores this circumstance, with particular attention to how it affects Oregon politics and policy. Our objective is to better understand the policy issues that divide us, but more importantly, where we find unity and room for progress.

### Pilot Project Research Questions:

- How politically polarized are we?
- How much common ground is there?

Following is a summary explanation of this stage of research.

**Phase 1:** To get at this topic, we began by asking 1103 registered voters a battery of 12 political ideology questions developed by Pew Research Center (Table 1):

Table 1. For each of the 12 pairs below, which statement, A or B, comes closest to your view even if you don't agree with it exactly?		
	A. [Liberal-leaning Statements]	B. [Conservative-leaning Statements]
1	Governmental regulation of business is necessary to protect public interest	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good
2	Poor people have hard lives because gov. benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return
3	Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care
4	Business corporations make too much profit	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit
5	Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy
6	Homosexuality should be accepted by society	Homosexuality should be discouraged by society
7	Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people	Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard
8	In foreign policy, the US should take into account the interests of it's allies even if it means making compromises	In foreign policy, the U.S. should follow its OWN national interests even when its allies strongly disagree
9	It is best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs	We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home
10	Our country needs to continue making changes to give black people equal rights with whites	Our country has made the changes needed to give black people equal rights with whites
11	The economic system in this country unfairly favors powerful interests	The economic system in this country is generally fair to most Americans
12	There are still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than men	The obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now largely gone

Survey respondents were asked to choose their preference out of each pair of statements using "feel strongly" or "lean towards" in an online survey. Statistical software was employed to analyze the answer choices of the 1103 registered voters, which disaggregated respondents into affinity clusters based on common answer tendencies, shown below in the Typology Scoring Table (Table 2). The liberal and conservative paired statements are displayed on the left (blue; liberal-leaning) and right (red; conservative-leaning) sides of the matrix table (Table 2). The colored cells within the twelve row by eight column matrix represent how strongly people are on a liberal - conservative spectrum; dark blue being the most liberal, light blue leaning liberal, light red leaning conservative, and darker red being the most conservative. Individual cell scoring is the average response for each named cluster archetype group (on a scale from -3 to +3) for each paired statement, archetype names (in diagonal yellow at the top). Beyond the 12 core typology questions, the survey also included 60 additional questions relating to social and demographic topics so we can gain a more detailed picture of who voters are and where their values reside. (See Appendix 1 for a visual interpretation of reading Tables 2 and 3.)

**Table 2. Oregon Political Culture 12 Item Typology Scoring Table**

Liberal-leaning statements (-)		1- Solid Liberals 2- Opportunity Democrats 3- Disaffected Democrats 4- Moderates 5- Devout & Diverse 6- New Era Enterprisers 7- Market Skeptic Rs./Country first 8- Core Conservatives var. row SUM								Conservative-leaning statements (+)	
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8		
1	Governmental regulation of business is necessary to protect public interest.	-2.08	-1.20	-0.52	0.11	-1.19	1.16	0.89	1.31	-1.53	Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.
2	Poor people have hard lives because gov. benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently.	-2.40	-0.84	-1.34	0.34	0.48	1.44	1.36	1.92	0.96	Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return.
3	Immigrants today strengthen our county because of their hard work and talents.	-2.32	-2.06	-0.02	0.01	-1.04	0.05	2.12	1.52	-1.73	Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care.
4	Business corporations make too much profit.	-2.43	-1.21	-1.86	-0.04	-0.88	1.21	-1.26	2.06	-4.42	Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.
5	Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost.	-2.59	-2.07	-0.89	0.36	-0.21	0.12	1.45	2.15	-1.69	Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.
6	Homosexuality should be accepted by society.	-2.87	-2.63	-1.42	-1.06	0.34	-1.28	0.70	1.64	-6.58	Homosexuality should be discouraged by society.
7	Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people.	-1.88	1.61	-1.08	0.91	1.60	2.06	1.36	2.36	6.94	Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard.
8	In foreign policy, the US should take into account the interests of its allies even if it means making compromises.	-2.08	-1.80	-0.08	-0.17	-1.49	0.08	1.66	1.40	-2.48	In foreign policy, the U.S. should follow its OWN national interests even when its allies strongly disagree.
9	It is best for our future of our country to be active in world affairs	-1.21	-2.07	0.47	0.13	-1.04	0.13	1.61	0.01	-1.96	We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home.
10	Our country needs to continue making changes to give black people equal rights with whites.	-2.56	-1.58	0.43	-0.82	1.38	1.64	2.47	2.09	3.05	Our country has made the changes needed to give black people equal rights with whites.
11	The economic system in this country unfairly favors powerful interests.	-2.81	-2.12	-2.12	-1.25	-1.03	1.42	-1.93	1.31	-8.54	The economic system in this country is generally fair to most Americans.
12	There are still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than for men.	-2.64	-1.30	-1.06	-0.93	1.33	0.54	1.47	2.23	-0.36	The obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now largely gone.
<b>Cluster column score</b>		<b>-27.9</b>	<b>-17.3</b>	<b>-9.5</b>	<b>-2.4</b>	<b>-1.8</b>	<b>8.6</b>	<b>11.9</b>	<b>20.0</b>	<b>-18.3</b>	
<b>Cluster n count</b>		<b>227</b>	<b>158</b>	<b>144</b>	<b>160</b>	<b>118</b>	<b>112</b>	<b>90</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>1103</b>	
<b>Cluster % of total</b>		<b>21%</b>	<b>14%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>15%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>10%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>100%</b>	

**Quick-take findings from Table 2:**

- In this Phase 1 analysis, the two ideologically consistent core liberal and conservative clusters (columns "1-Solid Liberals" and "8-Core Conservatives") represent only 30% of these registered voters
- The six middle political clusters, consisting of the remaining 70% of these registered voters, do not exhibit uniform ideology, but rather a checkerboard of conservative and liberal beliefs
- Issues that exhibit liberal leanings: corporate greed (row 4), acceptance of homosexuality (row 6), and unfair economic system (row 11)
- Issues that exhibit conservative leaning: resistance of support for the poor (row 2), value of hard work (row 7), and sufficiency of efforts to address black inequality (row 10)
- The "Cluster Column Score" left to right (-27.9 to +20) exhibits Oregon's politically blue or leftist tilt

**Phase 2:** Along with Pew's core 12 typology questions, we added 13 additional typology items for a total of 25 worldview questions. We also asked 47 additional questions of topical policy and demographic questions. Table 3 (below), which reads like Table 2, displays the results of the 25 typology questions, as well as selected policy and demographic questions, organized by archetypal clusters.

**Quick-take findings from Table 3 (next page):**

- Additional issues that exhibit broad liberal characteristics: American consumption (row 13), gun regulations (row 17), campaign finance limits (row 18), tiny home building rules (row 24), opioid treatment (row 25)
- Additional issue that exhibit broad conservative characteristic: government inefficiency (row 23)

**Note on reading Table 3:** Table 3's initial 12 typology questions are identical to Table 2 although these 12 variables score differently than the Table 2 items because the Table 3 cluster analysis draws from 25 variables instead of 12, creating different cluster compositions. The Table 2 assigned cluster names were faithful to Pew's eight cluster titles because of strong comparability to Pew scores but Table 3 cluster output was sufficiently different to justify renaming several cluster titles. It is noteworthy that Table 2 "Solid Liberal" and "Core Conservative" clusters total 21% and 9% whereas Table 3 totals 17% and 17% respectively. Furthermore, the liberal/conservative cluster respondent counts (n) in Table 2 is n = 227 and 94 respectively while Table 3 is n = 192 and 184 respectively. The comparatively close Table 3 Liberal-Conservative balance was unintentional although may suggest improved discriminate opportunity for evaluating ideological divisions. Nonetheless, the total cluster column mean score for the 25 variables on Solid Liberal and Core Conservative clusters is -53 and +31, affirming Oregon's political culture blue (liberal) slant.

**Table 3. Oregon Political Culture 25 Item Typology Scoring Table**

Row Reference #	Liberal-leaning statements (-)	Typology								Row SUM	Conservative-leaning statements (+)
		1-Solid Liberals	2-Opportunity Dems	3-Disaffected Dems	4-Young Liberal Consumers	5-Apolitical Country First Libertarians	6-Market Skeptic Ps	7-Progressive Conservatives	8-Core Conservatives		
1	*Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.	-2.2	-1.2	-1.0	-0.5	0.3	-0.4	0.1	1.5	-3.5	*Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.
2	*Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them...	-2.5	-0.9	-1.2	-0.5	-0.7	0.9	1.0	1.9	-1.9	*Poor people today have it easy because they get benefits without doing anything in return.
3	*Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents.	-2.6	-1.7	-0.5	-0.6	0.3	-0.4	0.0	1.4	-4.1	*Immigrants today are a burden on our country... they take our jobs, housing and health care.
4	*Business corporations make too much profit.	-2.5	-1.1	-2.2	0.2	-1.3	-0.3	0.1	1.0	-6.1	*Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.
5	*Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost.	-2.8	-1.9	-1.4	-0.1	-0.2	0.8	-0.6	1.8	-4.3	*Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.
6	*Homosexuality should be accepted by society.	-2.9	-2.4	-2.1	-0.8	-0.7	0.3	-1.3	0.8	-9.2	*Homosexuality should be discouraged by society.
7	*Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people.	-1.8	1.1	-0.5	1.2	-1.1	1.6	1.8	2.2	4.5	*Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard.
8	*In foreign policy, the U.S. should take into account the interests of its allies even if it means	-2.4	-1.8	-0.3	-0.5	0.4	-0.9	-0.3	1.4	-4.5	*In foreign policy, the U.S. should follow its OWN ... interests even when its allies strongly disagree.
9	*It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs.	-1.5	-1.8	0.1	-0.8	0.9	-1.0	0.2	0.8	-3.1	*We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems at home.
10	*Our country needs to continue making changes to give black people equal rights with whites.	-2.6	-1.6	-0.3	-1.5	0.7	1.2	1.1	2.3	-0.8	*Our country has made the changes needed to give black people equal rights with whites.
11	*The economic system in this country unfairly favors powerful interests.	-2.9	-2.1	-2.4	-1.0	-1.6	-0.9	-0.1	0.5	-10.6	*The economic system in this country is generally fair to most Americans.
12	*There are still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than men.	-2.6	-1.7	-1.2	-0.6	-0.8	0.7	0.5	1.8	-3.8	*The obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now largely
13	Our country would be better off if we all consumed less.	-2.0	-0.8	-1.1	1.1	-0.8	-0.8	-0.7	0.0	-5.1	We need to buy and consume to support a strong economy.
14	*Society is just as well off if people have priorities other than marriage and children.	-2.3	-1.3	-1.4	0.7	-0.7	0.6	-0.6	0.8	-4.3	*Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority.
15	*Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control.	-0.6	1.2	0.4	1.0	0.0	0.2	1.7	2.1	6.0	*Everyone has it in their own power to succeed.
16	*People in this country should learn to live with less.	-1.2	0.2	-0.4	0.6	-0.9	0.7	-0.1	1.0	-0.1	*There are no real limits to growth in this country today.
17	Combat-style firearms should be illegal to buy or own by the general public.	-2.7	-2.4	-1.7	-1.1	0.7	-1.3	-0.9	1.8	-7.5	The U.S. constitution broadly protects gun ownership regardless of the type of firearm.
18	A...constitutional amendment...be passed to regulate unlimited money in political campaigns.	-2.6	-1.0	-2.4	-0.3	0.4	-1.6	-0.2	-0.4	-8.1	Campaign spending should be constitutionally protected as freedom of speech.
19	...inappropriate or offensive sexual verbal or physical gestures become socially unacceptable.	-2.5	-2.4	-1.3	-0.6	0.1	-1.2	-1.1	0.7	-8.3	People have become far too sensitive about what is mostly harmless flirtation.
20	Toxic political discourse risks destroying our democracy.	-1.5	-2.1	-0.6	0.7	0.7	-1.9	0.9	1.0	-2.7	Our future demands tough talk and telling it the way we see it.
21	(Which you prefer:) Bigger government providing more services	-1.6	-0.7	0.2	-0.3	-0.2	1.4	0.5	2.3	1.5	Smaller government providing fewer services
22	*Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get ahead these days.	-2.4	-0.9	-0.3	-0.6	1.0	0.4	1.2	2.4	0.8	*Black people who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition.
23	*Government often does a better job than people give it credit for.	-0.4	0.2	1.5	0.4	0.8	1.5	0.6	2.1	6.8	*Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient.
24	Building codes which discourage tiny homes should be reformed.	-2.0	-1.5	-1.4	-0.4	-0.6	-0.9	-0.6	-0.6	-8.0	Tiny homes promote second class citizens and slums.
25	Drug addiction in our country requires a broader understanding about root causes of addiction.	-2.7	-1.9	-2.1	-0.9	0.2	-0.9	-0.1	0.7	-7.8	Drug addiction...overly permissive society requiring ... discipline, penalties and
	<b>Cluster column score</b>	<b>-53</b>	<b>-31</b>	<b>-24</b>	<b>-5</b>	<b>-3</b>	<b>-2</b>	<b>3</b>	<b>31</b>	<b>-84.2</b>	
	<b>Cluster n count</b>	<b>191</b>	<b>145</b>	<b>139</b>	<b>91</b>	<b>101</b>	<b>129</b>	<b>122</b>	<b>184</b>	<b>1103</b>	
	<b>Cluster % of total</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>17%</b>		
	<b>Supplemental Survey Responses</b>	<b>% within cluster column membership</b>									
26	Prefer Republican candidates (41% of total sample)	1%	11%	12%	54%	49%	70%	64%	98%		
27	Very Dissatisfied with Trump (53% of sample)	99%	87%	82%	47%	40%	26%	30%	2%		
28	Unaffiliated or independent (28% of sample)	23%	25%	36%	22%	41%	29%	33%	23%		
29	% Male (44% of sample)	40%	36%	39%	50%	35%	64%	34%	53%		
30	18-34 (22% of sample)	16%	19%	23%	34%	31%	24%	26%	16%		
31	Age 65+ (25% of sample)	24%	29%	18%	29%	19%	29%	26%	27%		
32	% with at least a 4-year college degree (31% of sample, 31% of Americans, Census 2016)	42%	43%	22%	28%	20%	39%	24%	24%		
33	Income in 2016 \$75,000 or more (31% of sample)	21%	41%	24%	22%	30%	34%	35%	39%		

## Appendix 1. Interpreting the Typology Table, upper portion

Cluster titles in yellow highlight are cluster archetypal names assigned by researcher observations, based on survey answering characteristics and demographics. A summary description of each archetype is available.

Table 3. Oregon Political Culture 25 Item Typology Scoring Table											
Row number	Liberal-leaning statements (-)	1-Solid Liberals	2-Opportunity Dems	3-Disaffected Dems	4-Liberal Consumers	5-Apolitical Country-First Libertarians	6-Market Skeptic R's	7-New Era Enterprisers	8-Core Conservatives	var. row SUM	Conservative-leaning statements (+)
1	*Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.	-2.24	-1.22	-1.01	-0.49	0.29	-0.40	0.08	1.49	-3.5	*Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.
2	*Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return.	-2.49	-0.91	-1.15	-0.53	-0.65	0.92	1.01	1.88	-1.9	*Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently.

Liberal and Conservative statements positioned left and right of the scoring matrix table. \* Asterisk indicates if statement choice is from Pew Research.

Scoring Matrix Table: Numbers in individual cells represent the average response of that cluster group to the particular row statement. A greater minus score indicates stronger liberal response, greater plus score stronger conservative statement. Maximum cell average is plus or minus 3. Cells are color coded -3 to -1.5 dark blue, -1.5 to zero light blue, zero to +1.5 light red, +1.5 to +3 dark red.

Var. Row Sum column cells are the sum of the rows, providing indication of the liberal-conservative response slant to the particular question choice of all respondents. Greater minus score indicates stronger aggregated Liberal lean, greater plus score greater Conservative lean.

### Lower Portion of Table 3:

Cluster column score is the average of all the cluster cells of the individual archetype, indicating that archetype's combined level of liberal-conservative strength.

Cluster n count is the number of respondents in each column archetype out of the 1103 sample.

Cluster % of total is the percentage distribution of each archetype within the total sample-- for example 17% of the sample is Strong Liberal and 17% is Core Conservative.

25	The addictive drug and opioid epidemic in our country requires a broader understanding about root causes and treatment of addiction.	-2.78	-1.93	-2.14	-0.91	0.20	-0.90	-0.12	0.72	-7.8	Drug addiction is a symptom of an overly permissive society which requires greater discipline, penalties and confinement.
<b>Cluster column score</b>		-53.48	-30.78	-23.67	-5.09	-3.17	-2.12	2.76	31.35	-84.2	
<b>Cluster n count</b>		19	145	139	91	101	129	122	184	1103	
<b>Cluster % of total</b>		17%	13%	13%	8%	9%	12%	11%	17%	100%	
Supplemental Survey Responses		% within cluster column membership									
26	Prefer Republican candidates (n=449; 41% of sample)	1%	11%	12%	54%	49%	70%	64%	98%		
27	Very Dissatisfied with Trump (n=588; 53% of sample)	99%	87%	82%	47%	40%	26%	30%	2%		
28	% Male (n=483; 44% of sample)	40%	36%	39%	50%	35%	64%	34%	53%		
29	18-34 (n=246; 22% of sample)	16%	19%	23%	34%	31%	44%	26%	16%		

Supplemental Survey Response rows provide insights on cluster archetype membership characteristics. For example, for row 26, observe that 449 of 1103 (41% of the sample) responded that they prefer Republican candidates although within the individual archetypes 1% of Solid Liberals prefer Republican candidates, and 98% Core Conservatives prefer Republican candidates. This confers validation that cluster assignments conform to conventional expectations. Similarly, row 28 exhibits 44% of the total sample is male and the male gender percentage within Core Liberals is 40% (below average) and 64% of the Market Skeptic R's archetype are male (well above average). A full evaluation of the breakouts by typological archetype is available within cross tabulations, on request.

## Appendix 2: Methodology Summary

1. Examined Pew Research's 2014 ( $N=10,000$ ) and 2017 ( $N=5000$ ) typology and ideology study reports<sup>1, 2</sup>
2. Acquired raw data from Pew's 2014 and 2017 typology surveys and ran analyses to replicate methods and findings
3. Designed and ran a unique PI pilot survey using a select group of Pew and PI questions on a sample population of those living in states that are in line with the Oregon political culture of active voters (OR, WA, CA, CO; conducted December 2017)
4. Ran analyses on PI's pilot survey data ( $N=1103$  registered voters) for comparisons to Pew and to explore the data for confirmatory or unique findings
5. Compiled results in a report for the purpose of sharing useful results to interested researchers and policymakers

Great care was taken in question design and survey implementation to yield valid results. Validation of survey results may be observed through comparisons with other surveys displayed in Supplement Document 5 survey results.

Pew's A-B statement choices as true indicators of liberal-conservative attitudes are debatable, as are most survey questions, But due to Pew's large research team, reputation, and decades of experience, we accept them as a jumping off point for exploration. With survey results on the A-B choice questions set to a 4-point scale, we conducted a k-means cluster analysis using SPSS software to disaggregate respondents into discrete groupings based on similar response characteristics, much like how people who share commonalities might cluster together in a social setting or place of residence. We examined groupings ranging from 3 to 9 clusters, looking for the least number of groupings which gave clear distinctions of useful categorization. We subjectively determined that six and eight cluster selections provided the best explanations, arriving at 8 clusters providing maximum explanatory power. Coincidentally, Pew Research also preferred eight clusters.

This project surveyed 1200 registered voters from four states, which was reduced to a sample size of 1103 after we removed invalidated respondents. Of the 1103 respondents, 518 are registered to vote in Oregon. The four states, Oregon, Washington, California and Colorado, were mainly chosen to increase respondent numbers as well as to examine how Oregon might share political values with specific western states for collaborative purposes. This comports with political scientist Daniel Elazar's formulation of three U.S. political cultures<sup>3</sup>; Oregon groups with 17 other states that Elazar considers culturally "moralistic." These 4 states share common policies such as vote-by-mail and the state constitutional limits of road fuel tax revenue allocation.

Participant addresses were obtained through two suppliers commonly used by opinion researchers: (1) Amazon MTurk with ~500,000 participants, and (2) RN SSI, a market research company with ~3 million participants. The survey is not a random statistical sample as defined by American Association of Public Opinion Researchers although participants were screened to yield representativeness of Oregon voting demography based on U.S. census and Oregon State benchmark data except for education attainment level which was mathematically weighted to match census statistics. Based on 10 years of testing evaluating parallel results of telephone and internet population sampling, we believe this sample is representative except for a slight skew toward conservative participants compared to conventional random telephone sampling. More extensive discussion of representativeness and participation is provided in the Document 5 survey results, methodology section.

We consider this a work in progress, meaning we intend to field another survey in the near future for validation purposes taking account of findings and feedback. Nonetheless the 1103 current respondents are real people with solid representativeness. We are accepting critique and suggestions going forward toward the next phase of this typology exploration for Oregon.

The complete unabridged survey questions and results are available on request at [info@policyinteractive.org](mailto:info@policyinteractive.org) or at [https://www.policyinteractive.org/public/PI\\_Nov\\_Dec17TypoToplines7.12.28Final\(4\).pdf](https://www.policyinteractive.org/public/PI_Nov_Dec17TypoToplines7.12.28Final(4).pdf).

Corresponding authors:

Tom Bowerman: [tom@policyinteractive.org](mailto:tom@policyinteractive.org)

Robin Quirke: [robin@policyinteractive.org](mailto:robin@policyinteractive.org)

---

<sup>1</sup> [Pew - Beyond Red and Blue 2014](#)

<sup>2</sup> [Pew - Deep Fissures Left and Right 2017](#)

<sup>3</sup> <https://courses.lumenlearning.com/amgovernment/chapter/state-political-culture/>, see also:

### Appendix 3: Shared Agreement and Contested Territory: Where is agreement found and what do the archetypes reveal?

Because this Oregon Political Typology project is subtitled "Finding Common Ground in a Divided Political Culture," this document reorganizes the typology summary table into three categories of commonality: strong agreement, modest agreement and contested territory. These tables read the same as described in the prior documents (visit table key in summary report, Appendix 2, if necessary).

Before getting to the tables, it bears repeating that the terminology of liberal and conservative as used herein is not precise - the distinctive differences between the pairs of statements as liberal/conservative is subject to legitimate critique. However, the statements are largely drawn from decades of respected research and conventional thinking about the liberal - conservative distinctiveness in common cultural engagement. A brief narrative summary follows each table.

Topics of Strong Agreement (at least 6 of 8 archetypes agree)												
Row Reference	Liberal-leaning statements (-)	1-Solid Liberals 2-Opportunity Dems 3-Disaffected Dems 4-Young Liberal Dems 5-Apolitical Country-first Consumers 6-Market Skeptic Ps 7-Progressive Conservatives 8-Core Conservatives								Conservative-leaning statements (+)	row strength SUM	% total sample population
		STRONGEST SHARED AGREEMENT - LIBERAL DIRECTION (-)										
1	*The economic system in this country unfairly favors powerful interests.	-2.87	-2.11	-2.41	-1.02	-1.63	-0.86	-0.12	0.45	*The economic system in this country is generally fair to most Americans.	-10.6	78%
2	*Homosexuality should be accepted by society.	-2.93	-2.44	-2.09	-0.77	-0.71	0.29	-1.30	0.76	*Homosexuality should be discouraged by society.	-9.2	73%
3	It's high time that inappropriate or offensive sexual verbal or physical gestures become socially unacceptable.	-2.46	-2.39	-1.25	-0.63	0.05	-1.16	-1.09	0.69	People have become far too sensitive about what is mostly harmless flirtation.	-8.3	72%
4	A federal constitutional amendment should be passed to regulate unlimited money in political campaigns.	-2.58	-1.01	-2.39	-0.29	0.37	-1.55	-0.23	-0.41	Campaign spending should be constitutionally protected as freedom of speech.	-8.1	74%
5	Building codes which discourage tiny homes should be reformed.	-2.01	-1.50	-1.38	-0.42	-0.55	-0.94	-0.60	-0.57	Tiny homes promote second class citizens and slums.	-8.0	77%
6	The addictive drug and opioid epidemic in our country requires a broader understanding about root causes and treatment of addiction.	-2.70	-1.93	-2.14	-0.91	0.20	-0.90	-0.12	0.72	Drug addiction is a symptom of an overly permissive society which requires greater discipline, penalties and confinement.	-7.8	73%
7	Combat-style firearms should be illegal to buy or own by the general public.	-2.69	-2.43	-1.68	-1.09	0.68	-1.28	-0.87	1.84	The U.S. constitution broadly protects gun ownership regardless of the type of firearm.	-7.5	68%
8	Our country would be better off if we all consumed less.	-1.96	-0.79	-1.11	1.12	-0.81	-0.83	-0.74	-0.02	We need to buy and consume to support a strong economy.	-5.1	66%
9	*In foreign policy, the U.S. should take into account the interests of its allies even if it means making compromises	-2.37	-1.83	-0.33	-0.51	0.36	-0.94	-0.29	1.36	*In foreign policy, the U.S. should follow its OWN national interests even when its allies strongly disagree.	-4.5	65%
10	*Stricter environmental laws and regulations are worth the cost.	-2.77	-1.92	-1.36	-0.07	-0.15	0.78	-0.62	1.78	*Stricter environmental laws and regulations cost too many jobs and hurt the economy.	-4.3	62%
STRONGEST SHARED AGREEMENT - CONSERVATIVE DIRECTION (+)												
11	*Government often does a better job than people give it credit for.	-0.37	0.21	1.48	0.45	0.84	1.48	0.57	2.11	*Government is almost always wasteful and inefficient.	6.7	71%
12	*Success in life is pretty much determined by forces outside of our control.	-0.63	1.16	0.43	1.05	-0.04	0.18	1.69	2.13	*Everyone has it in their own power to succeed.	6.0	69%
<b>Cluster % of total population sample</b>		<b>17%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>17%</b>			

Strong Agreement Table Discussion: The "Strongest Shared Agreement" in the "Liberal Direction" appears to represent egalitarian and fairness issues. The items of strong "Conservative Direction" are areas of governmental efficiency and personal efficacy. Looking back and forth between the strong liberal and conservative shared agreements, the strongest liberal variable row sum of -10.6 speaks directly to a cultural perception that our economic system is not fair, lending collateral support for addressing topics of poverty, homelessness, and improvements in redistributive economics. However,

the conservative direction of shared agreement suggests that redistributive economic policy faces resistance in confidence of public policy efficiency ("government is almost always wasteful") as well a culturally shared value that people should be self-responsible for their success and not be looking for unearned public assistance. This tension between egalitarianism and efficacy or self-reliance is certainly a longstanding one and not easy to resolve when deciphering who benefits and who pays for redistributive policy. Bridging such tension might be exemplified in a recent building code policy adoption where advocates found support for homeless housing goes up dramatically when policy proposal includes discussion of earned ownership (equity) of the dwelling, wherein the beneficiary of support is seen as retaking a position of responsibility and bootstrapping back into economic self-reliance.

Strong Agreement is especially notable for the Progressive Conservative archetype demonstrating a liberal lean throughout the 10 liberal statement rows, suggesting that a Tom McCall type Oregon progressive conservative electorate may be alive and well, although closed primary elections may largely exclude them from electoral office. Market Skeptic R's also tilt liberal on 8 of those 10 items yet agree strongly with Progressive and Core Conservative's belief in 'government inefficiency' and support for personal efficacy (rows 11 & 12), two topics also joined by most political lefties. Apolitical Libertarians, although favorable to Republican political candidates, split evenly left and right on all twelve of the strongly shared agreement although exhibit a strong liberal response on the 'economic fairness' topic.

TOPICS OF MODERATE AGREEMENT

Moderate Level of Agreement Topics (5 of 8 archetypes agreement)											Row Strength SUM	% total sample population
Liberal-leaning statements ( - )		1-Solid Liberals	2-Opportunity Dems	3-Disaffected Dems	4-Young Liberal Consumers	5-Apolitical Country Aft & Libertarians	6-Market Skeptic R's	7-Progressive Conservatives	8-Core Conservatives	Conservative-leaning statements ( + )		
1	*Business corporations make too much profit.	-2.48	-1.14	-2.23	0.23	-1.30	-0.34	0.11	1.02	*Most corporations make a fair and reasonable amount of profit.	-6.1	66%
2	*Hard work and determination are no guarantee of success for most people.	-1.76	1.07	-0.47	1.18	-1.06	1.63	1.75	2.18	*Most people who want to get ahead can make it if they're willing to work hard.	4.5	62%
3	*Society is just as well off if people have priorities other than marriage and children.	-2.33	-1.30	-1.43	0.69	-0.71	0.63	-0.64	0.83	*Society is better off if people make marriage and having children a priority.	-4.3	61%
4	*Immigrants today strengthen our country because of their hard work and talents.	-2.59	-1.73	-0.51	-0.60	0.28	-0.41	0.02	1.40	*Immigrants today are a burden on our country because they take our jobs, housing and health care.	-4.1	64%
5	*There are still significant obstacles that make it harder for women to get ahead than men.	-2.57	-1.68	-1.22	-0.56	-0.76	0.73	0.45	1.85	*The obstacles that once made it harder for women than men to get ahead are now largely gone.	-3.8	60%
6	*Government regulation of business is necessary to protect the public interest.	-2.24	-1.22	-1.01	-0.49	0.29	-0.40	0.08	1.49	*Government regulation of business usually does more harm than good.	-3.5	62%
7	*Poor people have hard lives because government benefits don't go far enough to help them live decently.	-2.49	-0.91	-1.15	-0.53	-0.65	0.92	1.01	1.88	*Poor people today have it easy because they can get government benefits without doing anything in return.	-1.9	54%
8	<b>Cluster % of total population sample</b>	<b>17%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>13%</b>	<b>8%</b>	<b>9%</b>	<b>12%</b>	<b>11%</b>	<b>17%</b>			

Moderate Agreement Table Discussion: Rows 1 & 2 mimic political tension between liberal economic fairness and conservative personal efficacy observed more strongly in Table 6, rows 1 & 12, although Progressive Conservatives and Market Skeptic R's equivocate on general economy vs. corporate fairness. The liberal-leaning archetypes tilt into conservative identity territory on corporate profit fairness, institution of marriage, immigrant and women's rights, and governmental regulation of business. The conservative-leaning archetypes vein into the liberal territory, especially with Young Liberal Consumers, on traditional values of work, profit motive and traditional marriage while they swing back moderately liberal on immigration and governmental services.

Comparing row 2 'personal efficacy' value to row 7 'government benefits to help the poor' indicates policy that embraces both values could gain traction while assisting the abysmal view the public has of government and personal efficacy in the Strong Agreement table, rows 11 & 12.

Contested Territory (4 of 8 archetype agreement, not greater than 59% sample agreement)												
Row Reference	Liberal-leaning statements ( - )	1-Solid Liberals	2-Opportunity Dems	3-Disaffected Dems	4-Young Liberal Conservatives	5-Apolitical Country First Libertarians	6-Market Skeptic Rs	7-Progressive Conservatives	8-Core Conservatives	Conservative-leaning statements ( + )	Row Strength SUM	% total sample population
1	*It's best for the future of our country to be active in world affairs.	-1.47	-1.84	0.10	-0.75	0.87	-0.96	0.15	0.80	*We should pay less attention to problems overseas and concentrate on problems here at home.	-3.1	58%
2	Toxic political discourse risks destroying our democracy.	-1.51	-2.06	-0.64	0.73	0.73	-1.92	0.89	1.03	Our future demands tough talk and telling it the way we see it.	-2.7	59%
3	*Our country needs to continue making changes to give black people equal rights with whites.	-2.59	-1.61	-0.32	-1.51	0.67	1.16	1.06	2.35	*Our country has made the changes needed to give black people equal rights with whites.	-0.8	51%
4	*People in this country should learn to live with less.	-1.17	0.22	-0.44	0.61	-0.90	0.72	-0.15	1.02	*There are no real limits to growth in this country today.	-0.1	51%
5	*Racial discrimination is the main reason why many black people can't get	-2.38	-0.91	-0.29	-0.65	1.04	0.38	1.24	2.36	*Black people who can't get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own	0.8	51%
6	(Which you prefer:) Bigger government providing more services	-1.56	-0.71	0.16	-0.34	-0.24	1.44	0.50	2.28	Smaller government providing fewer services	1.5	53%
7	Cluster % of total population sample	17%	13%	13%	8%	9%	12%	11%	17%			

The Contested Territory table includes the six of the 25 ideological worldviews within which we cannot characterize as shared agreement. The Oregon worldview of racial discrimination (rows 3 & 5), each show 4 blue and 4 red cells with .8 row sum variation-- almost symmetrically balanced left-right. Those who study racial discrimination often distinguish explicit vs. implicit discrimination, a conversation suggesting that Oregon's white culture does not openly perceive itself as racist but which feels racist to the black community. As may be observed in the survey results (document 5), Oregon-only results are notably more contested than the other three states, perhaps indicating a vestige of Oregon's historical racism. The contested view of racism clearly begs for more qualitative research than this typology has provided.

Row 4, a 'frugality vs. economic growth' question, is an almost perfectly symmetrical blue-red checkerboard row. This balanced view should be viewed alongside Table 1 row 8, which yielded 7 of 8 archetypes agreeing "our country would be better off if we all consumed less."

With only 6 of the 25 cultural worldviews exhibiting contested territory, our perceptions of a highly-divided culture may be overemphasized in media or cultural dialogue, especially considering 19 of these iconic worldview 'arguments' exhibit above 60% agreement. Nonetheless, the Contested Territory table exhibits that it is not all kumbaya in Oregon. Furthermore, the 19 topic areas indicating shared agreement rarely exhibit unanimous archetypal cluster agreement.

The purpose of researching and reporting this methodology of a more nuanced exploration of our supposed differences is to prospect for improved, if not total, support for rebuilding shared purpose. The takeaway from this set of 25 topics is there is more common ground than commonly perceived, if only we have the will to work with it.

2018 Typology supplements available at [policyInteractive.org](http://policyInteractive.org)

- Supplement 1 - Climate Policy Typology Supplement Bar Charts
- Supplement 2 - Health Care Policy Typology Supplement Bar Charts
- Supplement 3 - Typology Survey unabridged results questions, results & benchmarks