# INTELLIGENCE

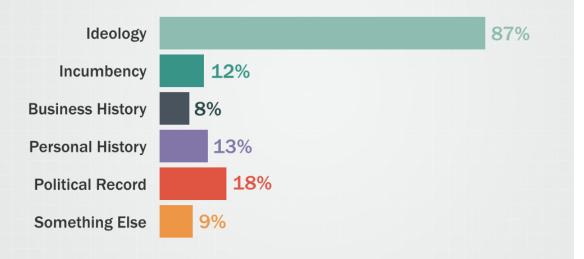
The Texas Weekly/Texas Tribune insider poll

for the week of 9 May 2014

INSIDE INTELLIGENCE: The Texas Weekly/Texas Tribune insider poll for May 2014

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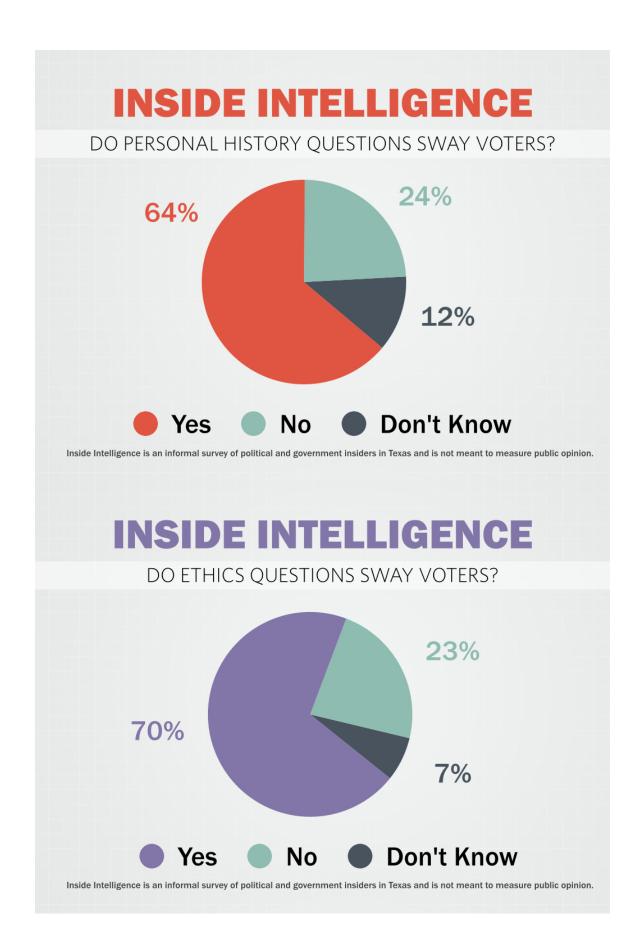
MOST IMPORTANT CANDIDATE ATTRIBUTES?



Inside Intelligence is an informal survey of political and government insiders in Texas and is not measure public opinion.



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## Which candidate attributes will be most persuasive to voters in the May runoffs? (Choose all that apply)

• "If you ain't to the right, you won't win the fight."

• "If this is about the Lite Gov race, Patrick clearly wants it to be about ideology, while Dewhurst needs the voters to focus on personal history and political record."

• "What matters most is the slate card endorsement if MQS. Pure and simple."

• "Which candidate is the most outrageous and hates the largest number of people? That's the winner!"

• "Common name."

• "Incumbency can be a blessing or a curse. Motivated voters turn out, making ideology a key to a low turnout runoff."

• "Voters today rely on slate cards and other lists compiled by those they agree with. If political record mattered there would be fewer incumbents like Dewhurst, in runoffs!"

• "Tea Party Purity trumps all."

• "Ability to effectively communicate any or all of the above."

• "Any or all could be at issue. Just depends on the race and who is running. If an aspect of business or personal history can be identified by an opponent, they will use it. Same for political history. Obviously incumbency has been shown to be an issue of late, even if masquerading as ideology."

• "Ideology is good, but voters must take care to NOT believe only rhetoric. The runoff voters will be mostly ideologues."

• "Endorsements from Conservative Organizations"

• "It's all about loyalty to the cause for the true believers."

• "These are the diehards that are voting. They know if you've been naughty or nice on their issues from your statements to your past votes."

• "Do you remember when Republican voters considered business success to be a candidate's strength? Now the term 'millionaire' is used in primary ads as ominously as 'pro-choice' or 'pro-immigration'."

• "Outside of the statewide offices none of these things will be the most persuasive. The most organized campaigns will be the most effective. The only persuasion needed in a lowturnout election is the persuasion to go vote."

• "Unfortunately, ideology seems to be the biggest factor. It's hard to believe that a candidate who has failed in business numerous times and changed his name to avoid creditors is still in a runoff for Lt. Governor in this great State of Texas." • "Attack ads are the only way to possibly change this at this point."

• "GOP Voters remain anti-incumbent to a fault -- the old right track/wrong track question is no longer an indicator of what voters will do. There is broad agreement that Texas is on the right track and yet 'throw the bums out' remains a strong rallying cry."

• "Texas is showing the decaying signs of being a one-party state for too long. We have two disasters running for Lt. Governor, a governor candidate who's afraid of his own shadow, a genuine crook running ahead for Attorney General (chief law enforcement officer), and a generally lackluster comptroller candidate with his own ethical shortcomings just beneath the surface. I don't believe Democrats can win in Texas, at least yet, but it appears the GOP can lose."

• "Ideologues are the most committed. So they vote."

• "In an R primary it is very important.... in a D primary not so much...."

• "Depends which primary. Democratic run-off voters will be focused on electability in the US Senate race (or a bizzaro world relative measure thereof, at least), Republicans will be focused who hates lesbian immigrant abortion doctors the most."

• "Ability to get their base to the polls."

• "Our choices include: the radio host who changed his name to run for office; the lawyer accused of unethical if not criminal activity; and, the financial adviser who wants to regulate energy; we should all be absolutely terrified about the future."

• "The Kool-Aid drinkers don't wish to be confused by the facts."

• "The runoff will likely feature a higher proportion of ideologues and thereby raise the impact of ideology"

• "Honesty and integrity."

• "Perception is reality, so I guess the difference will be 'perceived' ideology - not actual policy or voting differences."

• "I'm amazed how far voters have gone away from caring about candidates community, business and public service involvement. Too many voters only care about how much candidates froth at the mouth when they speak."

• "In a post-Tea world, it's all about ideology."

#### Are voters swayed by attacks on a candidate's business failures late in a campaign?

• "Only if you have the \$\$\$ to saturate the message."

• "Any late-breaking negative attack can be effective if it calls into question a candidate's fitness for office." • "Slate card voters don't think for themselves."

• "They have already decided, however, the information which has come out on Paxton may cause me to rethink this answer!"

• "To some extent, yes. Ideology trumps virtually anything with the true believers."

• "Marginally. Typically the timing is bad, too little too late."

• "It looks a little desperate. But there is probably good reason for that desperation."

• "Unless the attack comes from an 'incumbent."

• "If not they should be."

• "Texas was founded on second chances. I think most folks are willing to forgive business failures--many remember the 1980s and the harsh lessons we all learned."

• "Not the business failure but how he/she handled the adversity and does the public believe all were treated fairly."

• "They can be, but not absolutely. Most voters assume that if an issue is only raised late in a campaign there must be a reason and give these attacks a bit less credence. Of course, if the failure can be characterized in terms of a personal or moral failure, so much the better."

• "Texas business climate deserves an experienced, successful candidate. Voters should be cautious of

candidates who've FAILED in business."

• "It depends on the particular candidates involved, how much is known about them, and the larger dynamics of the race."

• "No. Everyone goes through ups and downs in business, or know someone who has."

• "The effect of an attack campaign depends on the circumstances of the contest, on the candidate being attacked, on the candidate making the attacks and on whether others join in the attacks or help defend the candidate being attacked. Dan Patrick is well known to Republican primary voters. David Dewhurst's attacks based on Patrick's bankruptcy and name change don't offer a great deal of new information compared to what's already available for those voters. Dewhurst is not a particularly trusted messenger and no one else seems to be joining him in attacked Patrick. Dewhurst's attack ads will almost certainly suppress Patrick's final vote count but they won't come near to erasing Patrick's 41-28 edge from the initial primary."

• "Tea Party folks don't care . . ."

• "The extent the voters are swayed is directly correlated with the money that is spent informing voters of the business failures. A story in a major state newspaper -- or even in every major newspaper -- has very little impact on its own. Unless it is blown up in paid media, most Republican voters will pay little attention."

• "A good deal of negative attacks are filtered out by voters, but at some

point a mass of unrefuted charges accumulates and sticks. That seems to be the case with Paxton, and now increasingly with Patrick."

- "But it depends on how the message is conveyed and how much money is behind it."
- "Depends on candidate and the context."
- "It depends on the issue and the issue must be more than just being unsuccessful."
- "Sadly no"

• "Ordinarily, yes. But these are not ordinary times."

• "The attacks can be more effective if business acumen were a big part of the narrative of the candidate being attacked"

• "Better question is whether the voters who will vote in the runoff and are committed to a candidate (i.e., the only ones who will bother to vote) will be swayed. The answer to that question is no. If what you asked is right...whether voters in general going to be swayed, I'd say probably, but they aren't going to vote in this runoff."

• "Right what happened 30 years ago done legally is a big issue-not. When a 20 year office holder has nothing positive to say it means it's time for them to go." • "Yes, they can be because repetition literally brainwashes a person into believing that anything can be true."

• "Crazies only listen to 'dog whistles'."

• "Tea Party voters don't react the way we've always expected voters to react. Any late attack launched by someone they perceive as an insider seems to cause TP voters to harden their views, not to reconsider or to switch. In other words, hard to imagine what Dewhurst could say that would be believed and would make any difference."

• "Too little, too late for Dewhurst. If he had gone negative earlier, it might have worked."

• "Yes, but barely if the candidate froths at the mouth."

• "It used to be considered a character flaw. Makes one wonder if character matters anymore or do the spoils go to those who promise to never ask any sacrifices of voters."

• "Depends on the facts. The attacks on Paxton show a clear pattern of playing fast and loose with the law. Not exactly what you wan from your AG! Also can we expect him to hide each time something tough comes up."

• "By the runoff, those who are going to take the time to vote largely know what they care to about the candidates."

## Are voters swayed by attacks on a candidate's personal history late in a campaign?

• "Only if you have the \$\$\$ to saturate the message."

• "Many voters begin focusing on campaigns late in the race, so with negative ads, voters may be hearing about a candidate's personal history (or attacks upon that history) for the first time."

• "See above"

• "Again, perhaps if Paxton goes down my answer would be incorrect."

• "See previous comment."

• "Non-traditional sources of information seem to be lessening these types of attacks."

• "Unless the attack comes from an 'incumbent."

• "If the attacks are true, then yes. After all, didn't we learn early on in life that a leopard can't change its spots? It used to be that if you can't out-drink the other fella, take his money at cards, and sleep with his girlfriend, then you didn't belong in Texas politics. Nowadays, if you engage in some or all of that stuff, then you don't belong."

• "They can be, but the later it comes, the more scandalous it has to be."

• "I hope so. Every voter should know ALL the facts he can muster before voting."

• "See previous comment."

• "Since you're referring to people who have already been elected multiple times it's hard to see why it would matter now."

• "It's too late. Voters have picked their teams and in at least the Lt. Gov. primary run-off there has been very little presented that isn't re-hashed from the general primary election. If voters weren't swayed then, they won't be now. In the lower ballot races, the only people paying attention are those who have picked their teams already - making it almost impossible to gain traction."

• "It depends entirely on the particular attack and if it is part of a bigger pattern that has already been established."

- "Negative attacks do work."
- "Same caveat as above."
- "If the attacks are credible, factbased and in line with previouslysuppressed voter doubts about the target."

• "Tightrope to walk is to make sure attacks are honest and fair, even if they are personal."

- "Depends on the attack, the context, and the candidate."
- "If substantive and easily comprehended"

• "Once again, it depends on the issue and the issue must have validation independent of the campaign making the charge." • "Some may become discouraged and decide to not vote."

• "Late character attacks are normally not credible with voters."

- "See comment above"
- "Same reasoning."
- "Crazies only listen to 'dog whistles'."

• "Maybe. Is it information that is new to the voters, is seen by them as credible, and is serious enough to shake their faith in the candidate being attacked? A lot of the mud flying around right now isn't serious enough to make a difference and/or isn't being believed."

• "Yes, but barely if the candidate froths at the mouth."

#### Are voters swayed by attacks on a candidate's ethics late in a campaign?

• "Only if you have the \$\$\$ to saturate the message."

• "Paxton's run for AG is the case study of this question. Stay tuned...."

• "I'm afraid that they way that voters will be swayed by attacks is to stay home."

• "The only thing that would matter is if one of the candidates said he didn't support guns or was gay (or supported gay marriage)."

- "See previous comment."
- "Don't know, but it should."

• "Unless the attack comes from an 'incumbent."

• "There's a reason nobody likes or wants the 'unethical' tag--the voters don't like unethical politicians."

• "They can be, especially if the ethical violations fall within that category of those 'we can no longer afford to

remain silent about for the good of the district."

• "FACTS should matter. No one has come up with a better way to expose them, than to present the facts."

• "The interesting question is: Did Dewhurst wait too late to bombard Patrick with (well-done) negative ads? Love the shirtless photo!"

• "Again, if they don't know much about the candidate, then maybe."

• "Questionable ethics are what people dislike about politicians and the ONE thing that could hurt late in a campaign."

• "I think it works if the ethical challenges are legit and not speculative. There has to be more than just smoke at this stage in the election."

• "Most voters think all politicians are corrupt."

• "Ethics -- such as we define them in Texas political campaigns -- from a late filing to making money off public office -- to buying gas with your state officeholder account -- are always a great hit."

• "Again, if the charges are fact based and credible."

• "Depends on the attack and how the attacked responds."

• "If it's substantive, and not just one of those routine ethics complaints people file for technical filling errors, etc."

• "Again, depending on what is meant by 'ethics' but if you mean the standard 'he did/ no he did not' stuff that arises from the bewildering morass that we know as the state's 'ethics' regulatory infrastructure, pretty much nobody cares about it outside of those directly affected."

• "Sadly no"

• "Yes, unless they're Kool-Aid drinkers. They've been brainwashed to believe that it is simply a conspiracy by the liberal media." • "Voters suspect that many in the public arena are ethically challenged--so these often turn into 'he said, she said' exchanges."

- "See comment above"
- "Could be a factor if it is explained clearly to the people voting"
- "Crazies only listen to 'dog whistles'."

• "Where is the answer choice for, 'it depends?' Regarding Paxton, he certainly has time to recover and he seems to be taking some of the necessary steps. But if Paxton mishandles it, it could be fatal. Regarding Sitton, his too-little-too-late efforts aren't the issue because he doesn't have the votes (ethics problem or no ethics problem)."

• "Dan Branch did his best to look like a Tea Party non-thinker, but only Ken Paxton's greed shall bring him down."

• "Yes, but barely if the candidate froths at the mouth."

• "Yes, but ethical lapses are probably the LEAST damaging types of attacks in a run-off."

*Our thanks to this week's participants:* Cathie Adams, Brandon Aghamalian, Jenny Aghamalian, Victor Alcorta, Clyde Alexander, George Allen, Christian Archer, Jay Arnold, Charles Bailey, Tom Banning, Walt Baum, Dave Beckwith, Andrew Biar, Allen Blakemore, Tom Blanton, Chris Britton, David Cabrales, Lydia Camarillo, Kerry Cammack, Snapper Carr, William Chapman, Elna Christopher, Harold Cook, Beth Cubriel, Randy Cubriel, Curtis Culwell, Denise Davis, Hector De Leon, June Deadrick, Nora Del Bosque, Glenn Deshields, Holly DeShields, Tom Duffy, David Dunn, Richard Dyer, Jack Erskine, Wil Galloway, Neftali Garcia, Norman Garza, Dominic Giarratani, Bruce Gibson, Stephanie Gibson, Eric Glenn, Kinnan Golemon, John Greytok, Michael Grimes, Jack Gullahorn, Clint Hackney, Wayne Hamilton, Bill Hammond, Ken Hodges, Steve Holzheauser, Billy Howe, Deborah Ingersoll, Richie Jackson, Cal Jillson, Mark Jones, Robert Jones, Robert Kepple, Richard Khouri, Tom Kleinworth, Ramey Ko, Nick Lampson, Pete Laney, James LeBas, Donald Lee, Luke Legate, Leslie Lemon, Ruben Longoria, Matt Mackowiak, Luke Marchant, J. McCartt, Kathy Miller, Steve Minick, Bee Moorhead, Mike Moses, Keir Murray, Richard Murray, Nelson Nease, Keats Norfleet, Pat Nugent, Todd Olsen, Nef Partida, Gardner Pate, Jerod Patterson, Robert Peeler, Tom Phillips, Wayne Pierce, Allen Place, Gary Polland, Jay Pritchard, Ted Melina Raab, Patrick Reinhart, David Reynolds, Carl Richie, Jeff Rotkoff, Grant Ruckel, Jason Sabo, Luis Saenz, Andy Sansom, Jim Sartwelle, Barbara Schlief, Stan Schlueter, Bruce Scott, Robert Scott, Steve Scurlock, Bradford Shields, Christopher Shields, Jason Skaggs, Ed Small, Martha Smiley, Larry Soward, Leonard Spearman, Dennis Speight, Jason Stanford, Bill Stevens, Bob Strauser, Colin Strother, Sherry Sylvester, Gerard Torres, Trey Trainor, Vicki Truitt, Corbin Van Arsdale, Ware Wendell, Ken Whalen, David White, Darren Whitehurst, Seth Winick, Peck Young, Angelo Zottarelli.