



# RACE CLASS

## NARRATIVE ACTION

# Pennsylvania



For Our Future PA

# Methodology

- Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey that was conducted online from January 31 – February 9, 2020. The survey reached a total of 600 registered voters in Pennsylvania.
- The data were weighed slightly by gender, region, region by gender, age, educational attainment, race, and party identification to reflect attributes of registered voters in Pennsylvania.
- The margin of error for the total sample is +/-4.0%.

# Defining Base, Opposition, and Persuasion

Throughout the report we refer to targets as base, opposition, and persuasion. They were created using responses to questions around worldviews toward race, wealth, and the role of government

## Base – 24% of Pennsylvania voters

- Believe that wealthy Americans achieved success because they were given more opportunities than others, that people of color face greater barriers to economic success than white people, and that government should create opportunities for advancement
- Very motivated to be a voter in November
- Strongly support policy agenda
- More likely to be under the age of 50, Democratic, African American, and reside in Philadelphia

## Opposition – 27% of Pennsylvania voters

- Think wealthy Americans achieved success on their own, people of color who cannot get ahead are responsible for their own condition, and that the government should get out of the way
- Oppose policy agenda
- Agree that the wealthy create jobs and prosperity for everyone and that movements like #MeToo and Black Lives Matter are divisive
- More likely to be male, over age 50, white, independent or Republican, and reside in Pittsburgh or the Central region of the state
- PA has a larger share of opposition voters. In other states, the opposition is around 23 – 26 percent of the population

## Persuadable – 48% of Pennsylvania voters

- Have views that at times reflect base voters and at times reflect opposition voters
- More likely to be women, while partisan identification, age, region, and racial composition more closely reflect demographics of registered voters in Pennsylvania

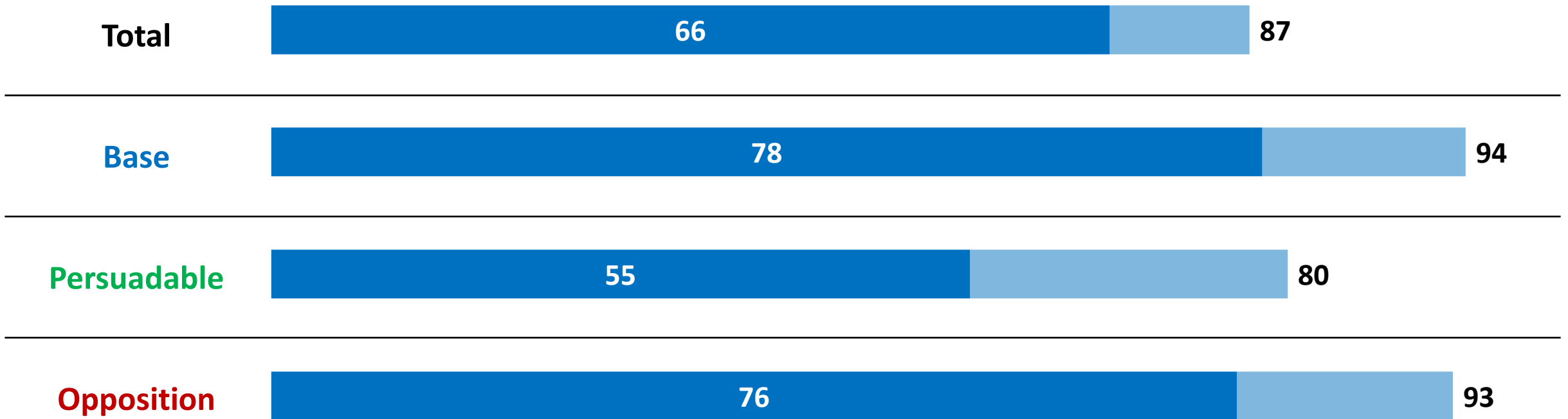
Demographics	Total	Base	Pers.	Opp.
Men	47	44	40	62
Women	53	56	60	38
Under 30	13	14	13	12
30-39	15	17	16	11
40-49	16	22	16	11
50-64	29	25	30	32
Over 65	26	23	24	33
White	84	75	86	90
AA	9	18	8	2
Latino	2	2	2	2
Asian	3	4	3	2
Pittsburgh	21	16	21	26
Johnstown/Altoona	7	7	8	6
Northwest	5	6	3	8
Central	14	13	13	17
Northeast	10	10	12	7
Lehigh Valley	9	10	10	8
Philadelphia	12	17	13	6
Philly Suburbs	21	23	19	23
Democrat	47	83	49	12
Indep/DK	8	3	8	13
Republican	43	13	41	74

# Political Context



# Both base and opposition voters are equally as motivated to be a voter in November. Persuadables are less motivated. The opposition in Pennsylvania is more motivated to vote than in other states, notably Minnesota, Michigan, and Wisconsin.

Some people are very motivated about being a voter in this November election while others don't feel motivated at all, and many are in between. How about you--how motivated are you to be a voter in November?

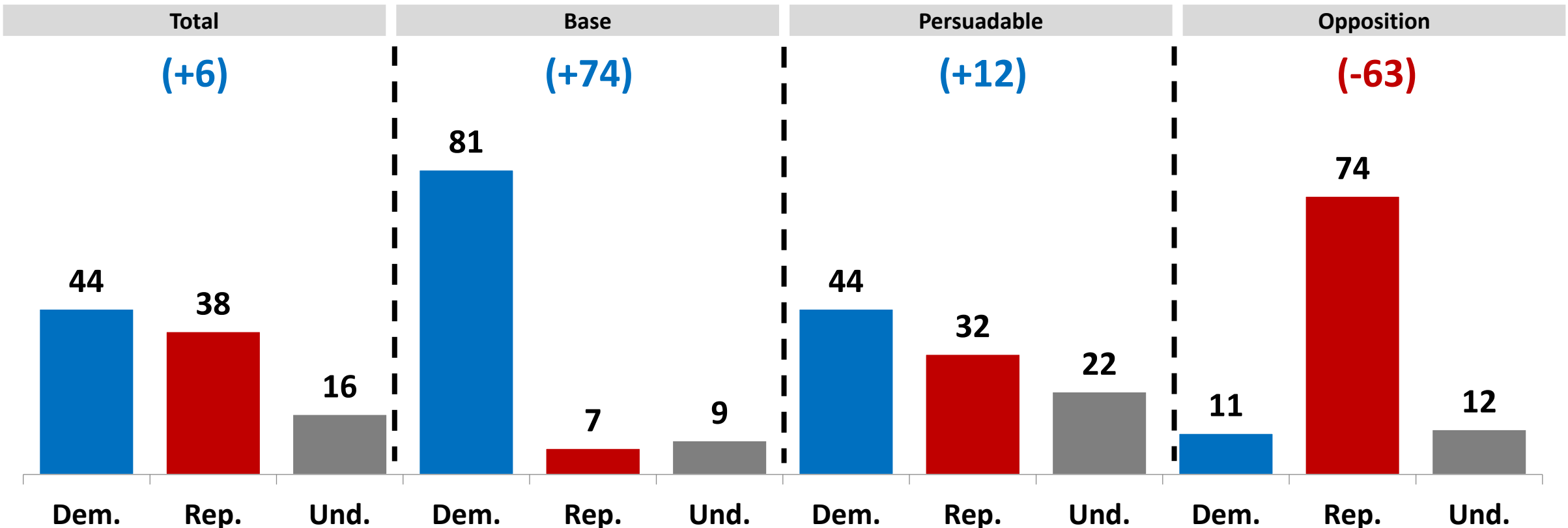


Rated 10, Very Motivated

Rated 6-9, Motivated

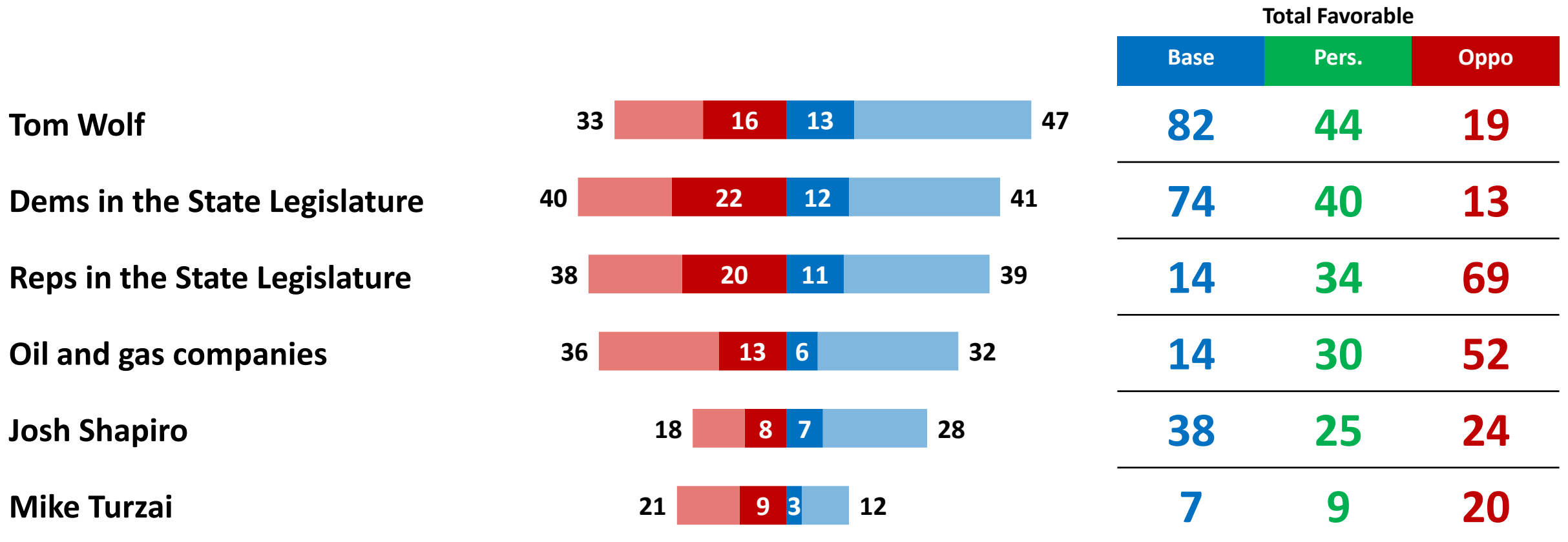
# A generic Democratic candidate leads in the congressional ballot in Pennsylvania by 6 points, and by 12 points among persuadables.

And if the election for Congress were held today, would you vote for the Democratic candidate in your district, the Republican candidate in your district, or are you undecided?



# Voters view Tom Wolf favorably. Persuadable voters are more favorable of Democrats in the State Legislature than Republicans but neither earn majority favorability.

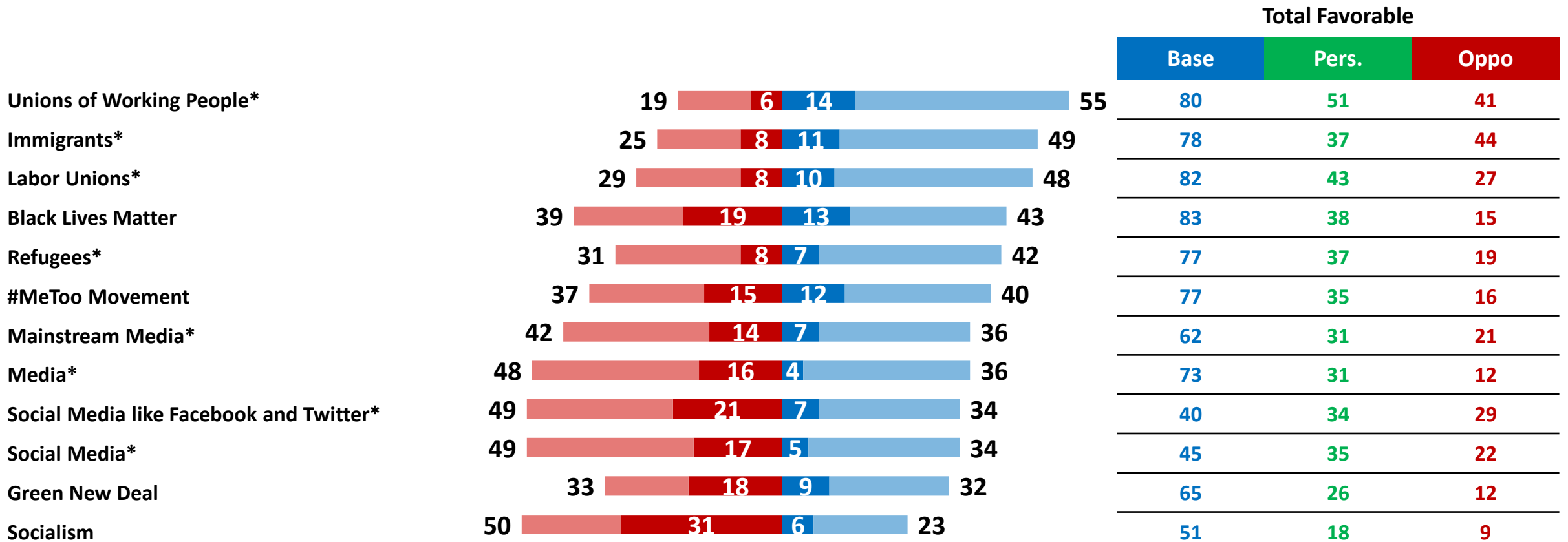
Please indicate how favorable you are of each person:



■ Rated 6-9, Favorable     ■ Rated 1-4, Unfavorable  
■ Rated 10, Very Favorable     ■ Rated 0, Very Unfavorable

Unions of working people, immigrants, and labor unions are the most favorable groups across the state, with base voters finding the Black Lives Matter movement and labor unions to be the most favorable, and with persuadable voters finding unions of working people to be the most favorable. Persuadables are mixed on immigrants and refugees and less favorable to the former in Pennsylvania than in other states, except Missouri.

Please indicate how favorable you are of that group or concept:

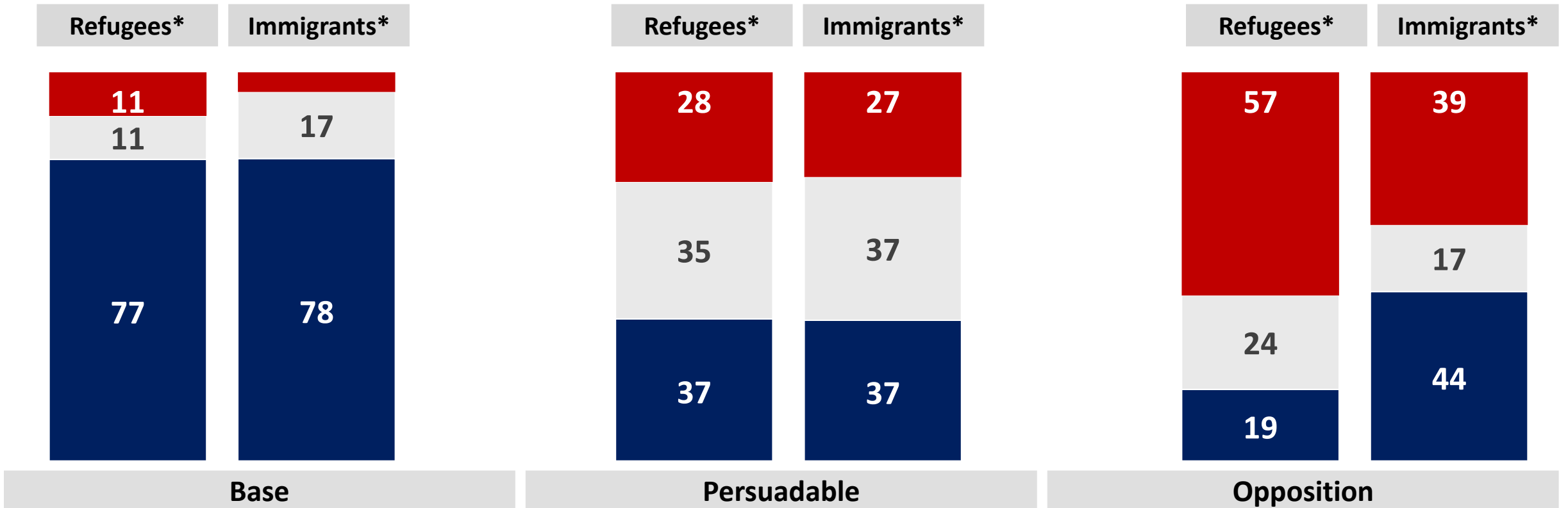


■ Rated 6-9, Favorable      ■ Rated 1-4, Unfavorable  
■ Rated 10, Very Favorable      ■ Rated 0, Very Unfavorable      \*Split-sampled question



Base voters view refugees and immigrants favorably and at similar levels. Persuadables are mixed toward both and (except for in Missouri) are less positive to immigrants than in other states. Opposition voters view refugees very unfavorably.

Please indicate how favorable you are of that group or concept



■ Total Unfavorable  
■ Total Neutral/Not Sure  
■ Total Favorable

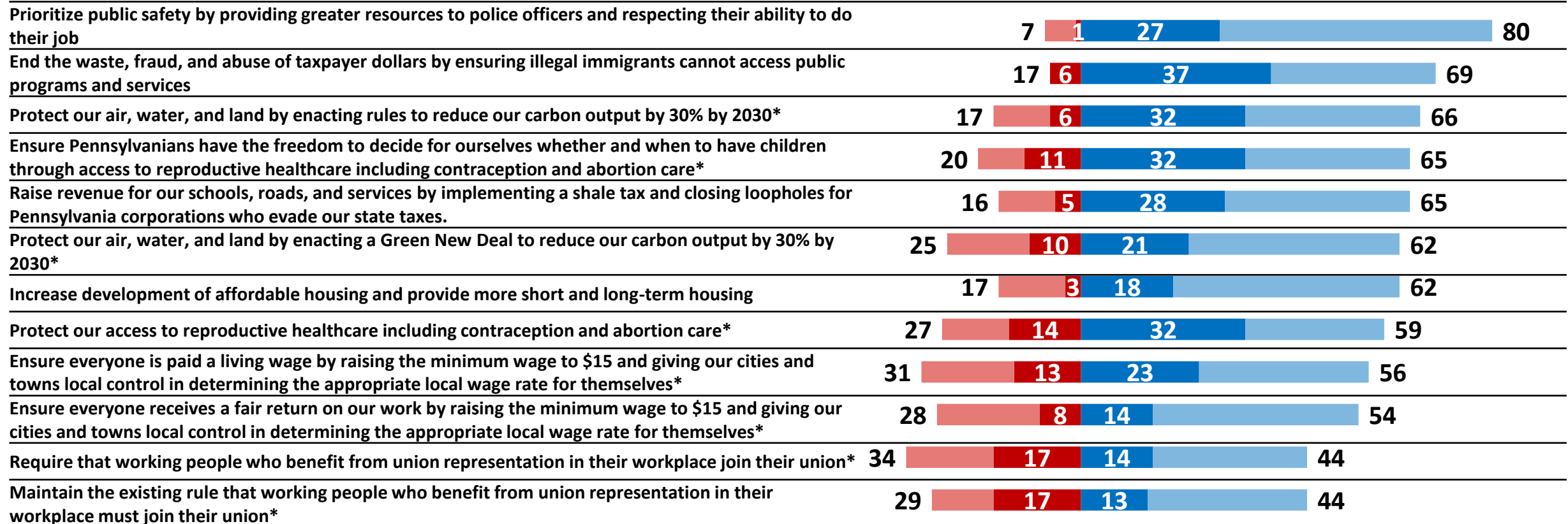
*\*Split-sampled question*

# Policies



# Pennsylvanian voters favor providing police officers greater resources and restricting immigrants from public programs. Pro environment and reproductive healthcare are the most popular progressive policies. Despite the popularity of unions, supporting unionizing is a less popular policy.

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following policies:



Rated 6-9, Favor

Rated 10, Strongly Favor

Rated 1-4 – Oppose

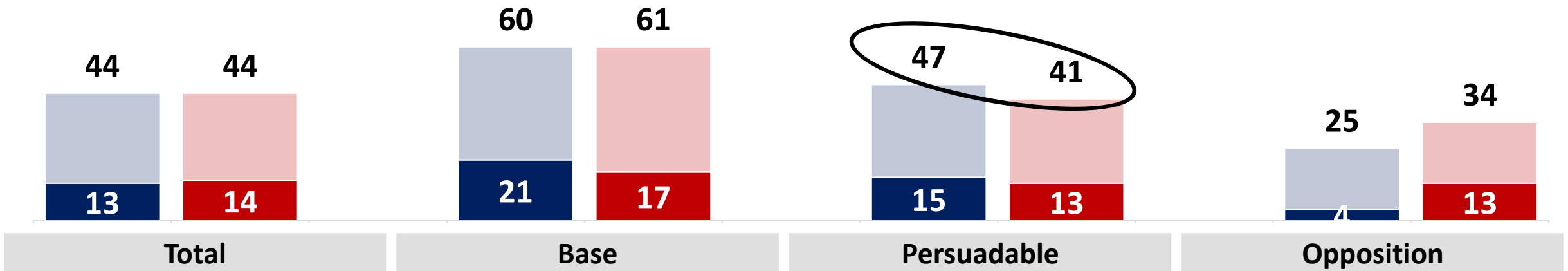
Rated 0 – Strongly Oppose \*Split-sampled question

# Persuadables are more favorable to workplace representation when we say “maintain the existing rule” instead of “require.”

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

**Maintain the existing rule** that working people who benefit from union representation in their workplace must join their union\*

**Require** that working people who benefit from union representation in their workplace join their union\*



Rated 6-9, Favor  


 Rated 10, Strongly Favor

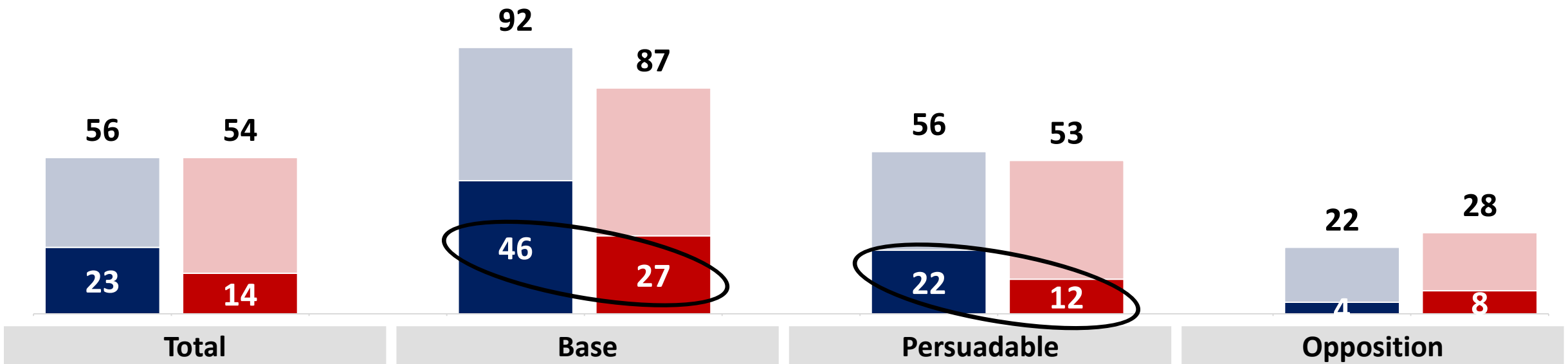
\*Split-sampled question

# The active action of paying everyone a living wage generates greater support for raising the minimum wage than employers passively receiving a fair return on work for base and persuadables.

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Ensure everyone **is paid a living wage** by raising the minimum wage to \$15 and giving our cities and towns local control in determining the appropriate local wage rate for themselves\*

Ensure everyone **receives a fair return on our work** by raising the minimum wage to \$15 and giving our cities and towns local control in determining the appropriate local wage rate for themselves\*



Rated 6-9, Favor  
 Rated 10, Strongly Favor

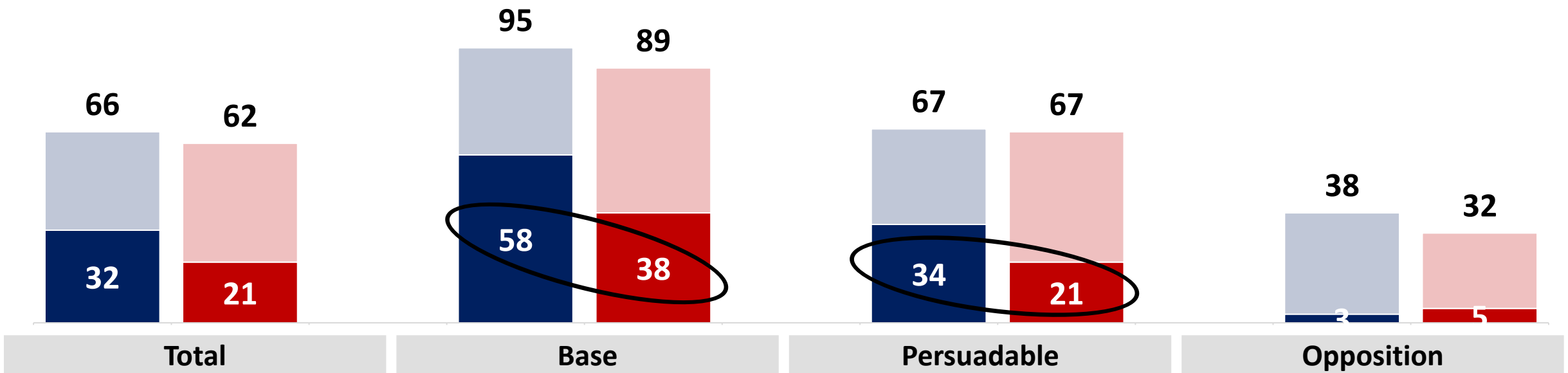
\*Split-sampled question

# Branding rules to reduce carbon output as “a Green New Deal” erodes the intensity of support among base and persuadable voters. Many voters are worried about the Green New Deal.

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Protect our air, water, and land by enacting rules to reduce our carbon output by 30% by 2030

Protect our air, water, and land by enacting a Green New Deal to reduce our carbon output by 30% by 2030



Rated 6-9, Favor  

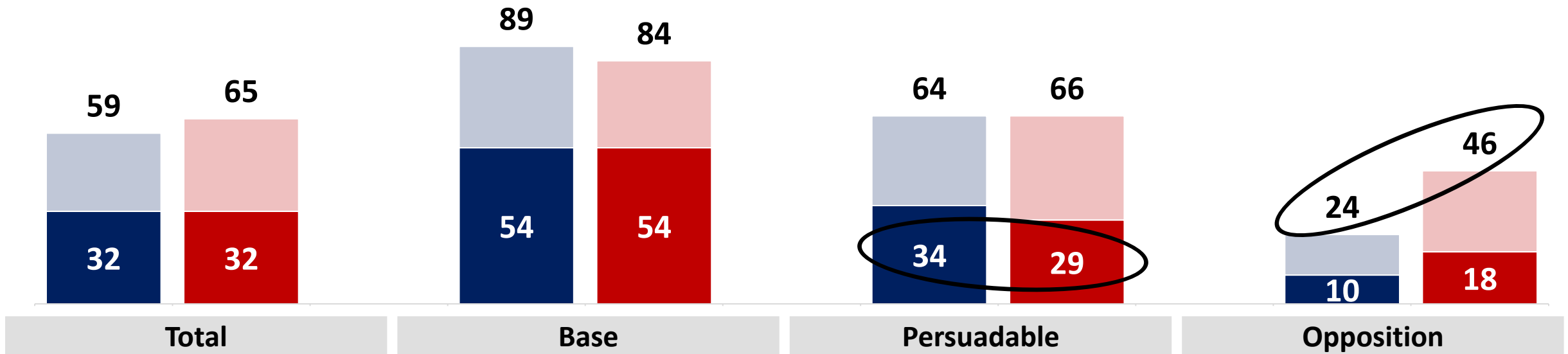

 Rated 10, Strongly Favor
 *\*Split-sampled question*

# Linking the value of “freedom” to reproductive care increases support among the opposition, who otherwise oppose access to abortion care, but does not grow the base or persuadables.

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Protect our access to reproductive healthcare including contraception and abortion care\*

Ensure Pennsylvanians have the freedom to decide for ourselves whether and when to have children through access to reproductive healthcare including contraception and abortion care\*



Rated 6-9, Favor  

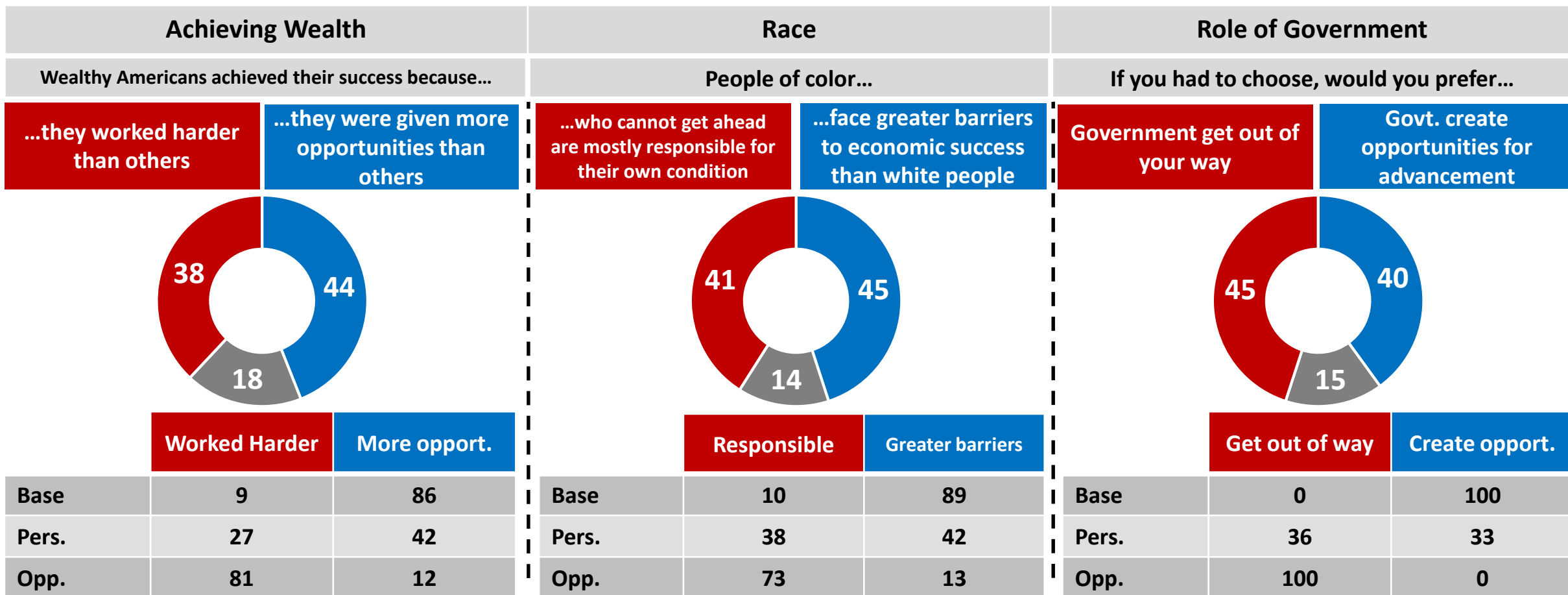

 Rated 10, Strongly Favor
   
*\*Split-sampled question*

# Core Dynamics





Views toward achieving wealth, race, and the role of government define base and opposition attitudes. Persuadable voters divide more evenly on each dimension, though lean toward base viewpoints on wealth and race. In Pennsylvania and other Midwest states, unlike the national survey from 2018, persuadables are more reserved about a role for government.



Gray is not sure

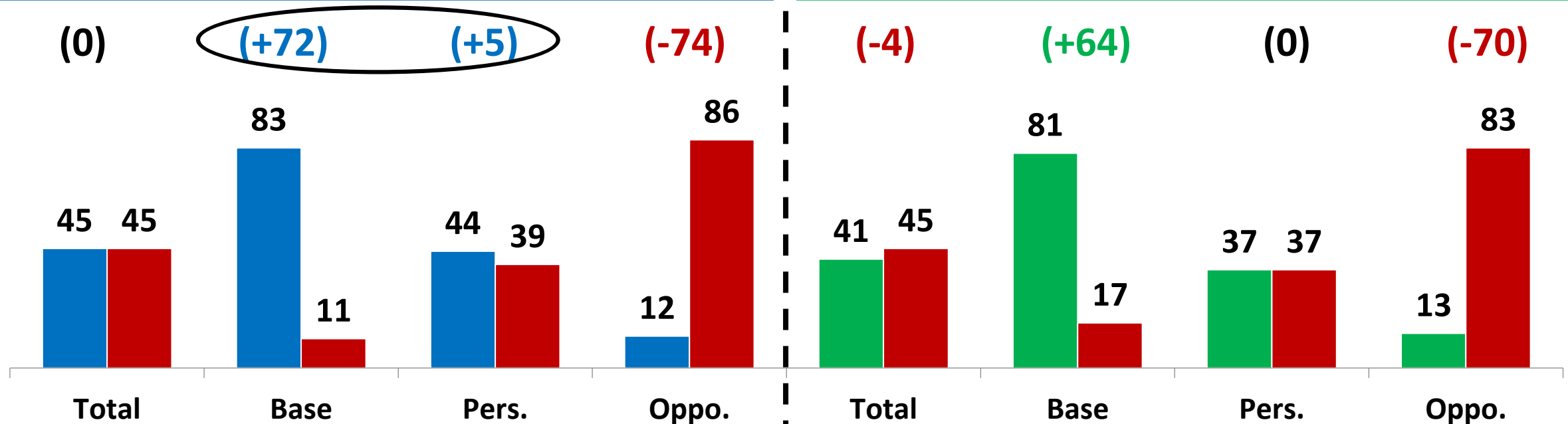
# Base and persuadable voters are even more likely to think it necessary to focus on and talk about race in order to move toward greater equality, rather than to make things better.

Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

Focusing on and talking about race doesn't fix anything and may even make things worse

Focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move toward greater equality\*

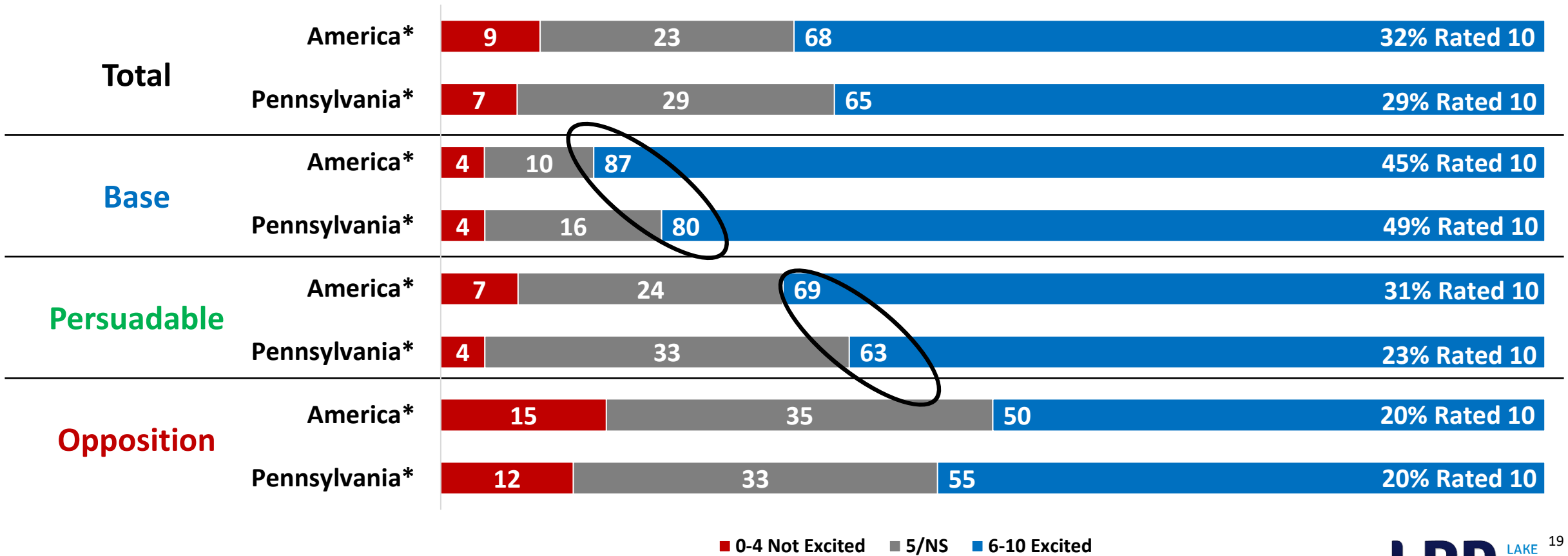
Focusing on and talking about race is necessary in order to come together and make things better\*



\*Split-sampled question

# Both base and persuadable voters in Pennsylvania are more excited to join together with people across racial differences to bring about positive change in America than they are in their state, unlike in other states.

Generally speaking, how excited are you to join together with people across racial differences to bring about positive change in...



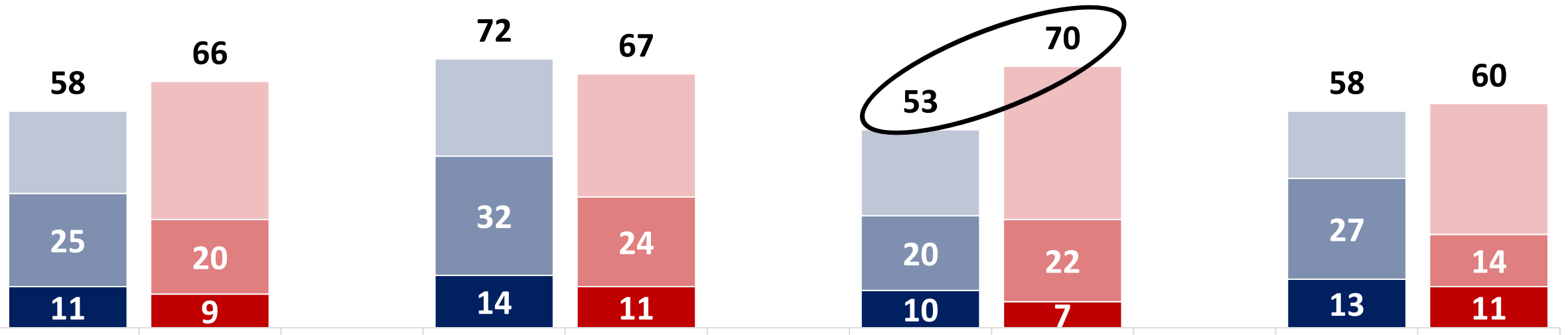
\*Split-sampled question

However, persuadable voters are more optimistic that it is possible to have a government that represents and governs for all of us in Pennsylvania than in America. The base are slightly more optimistic about America.

How possible do you think it is to have a government in...that represents and governs for all of us?

In America\*

In Pennsylvania\*

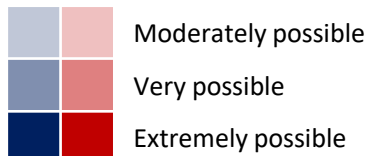


Total

Base

Persuadable

Opposition



\*Split-sampled question

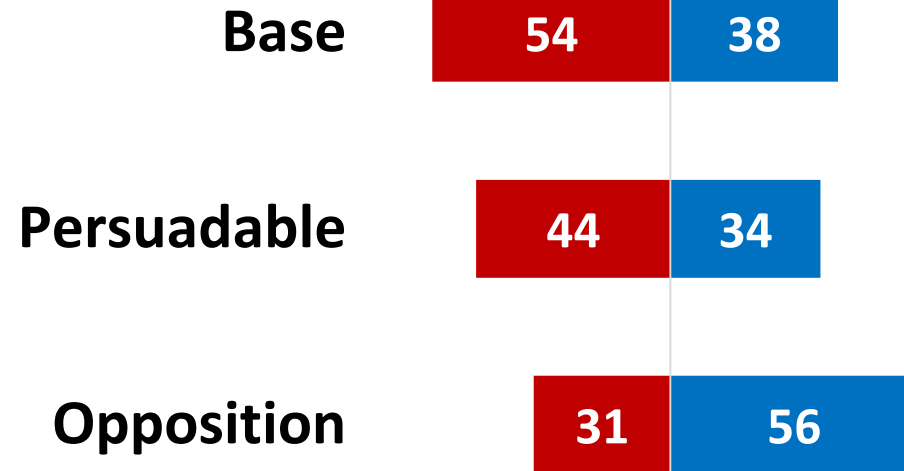
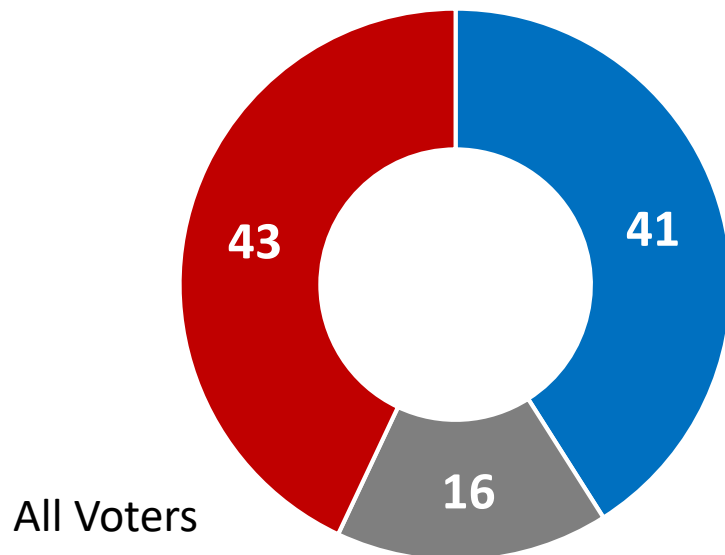
# Voters in Pennsylvania divide on whether differences among people are inherent or exaggerated. Views slightly correlate with base and opposition worldviews but divide all of the groups.

Which statement is closer to your opinion?

The differences among people of different races, faiths, and nationalities come from deep within

The differences among people of different races, faiths, and nationalities are largely exaggerated

- Differences are largely exaggerated
- Differences come from deep within



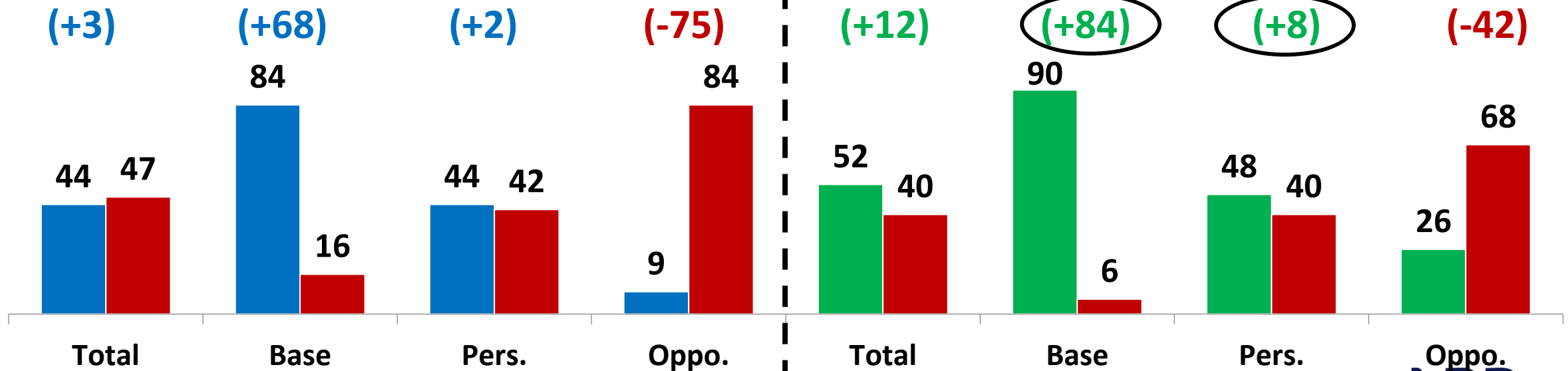
# Calling on people to respect and embrace those who move here and connecting this to the values of freedom and bravery finds stronger agreement with persuadables more so than asserting that people who move here make this a stronger and more prosperous nation.

Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

Today we have too many illegal immigrants who bring crime into our communities, exploit our laws, and weaken our nation

People who move here to make a better life for their families help make this a stronger, more prosperous nation\*

For America to be the 'land of the free and home of the brave' we need to respect and embrace people with the courage and tenacity to move for a better life\*



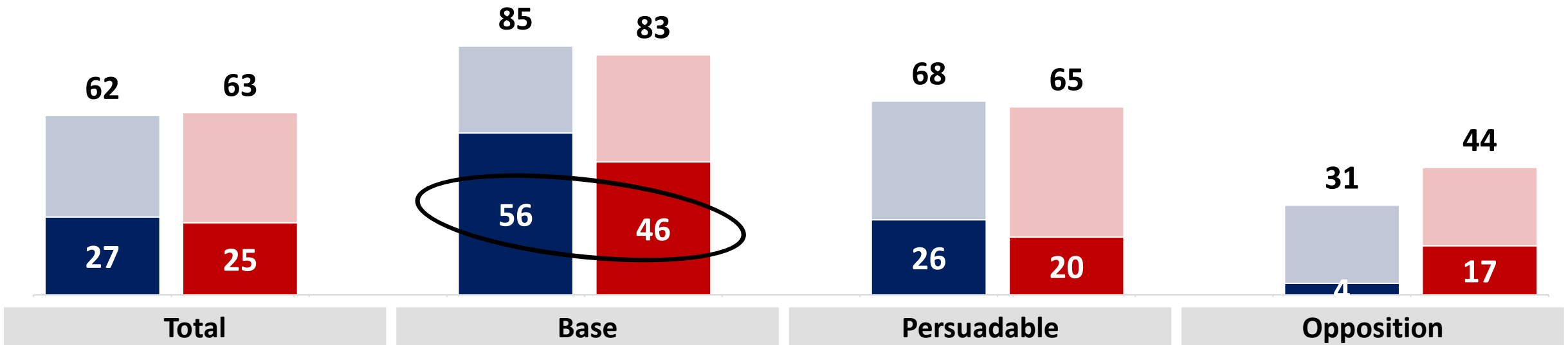
\*Split-sampled question

# Saying “richest 1%” generates more agreement with base and persuadables, while also alienating the opposition, and is a stronger villain than “billionaires.”

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

The richest 1% have rigged the economic rules in their favor\*

Billionaires have rigged the economic rules in their favor\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  

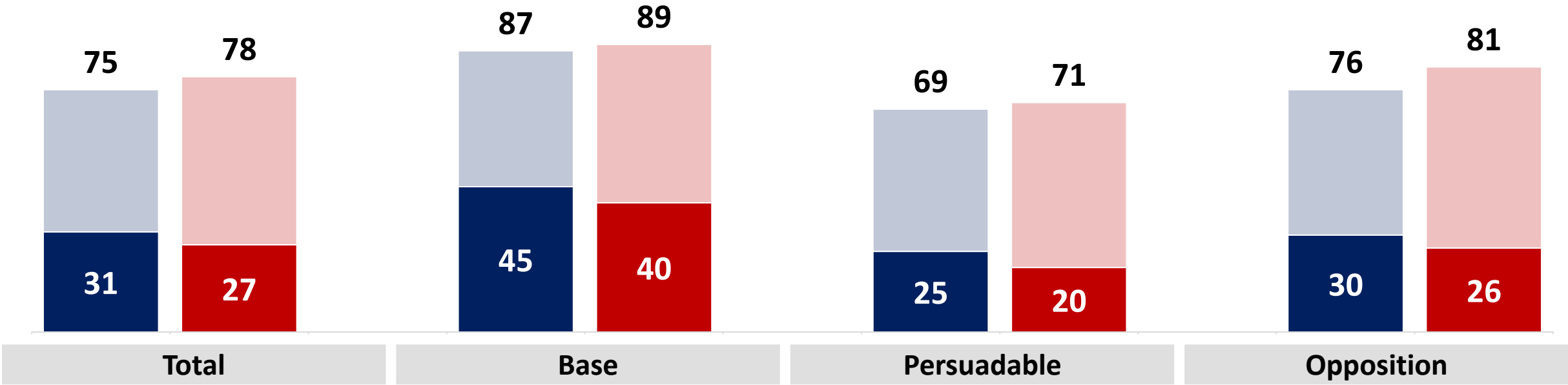
 Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

# Adding gender into the RCN on division generates more intense agreement.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Certain politicians and the corporate media divide us based on our race, nationality, or gender while they enrich themselves at our expense\*

Certain politicians and the corporate media divide us based on our race or nationality while they enrich themselves at our expense\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  


 Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

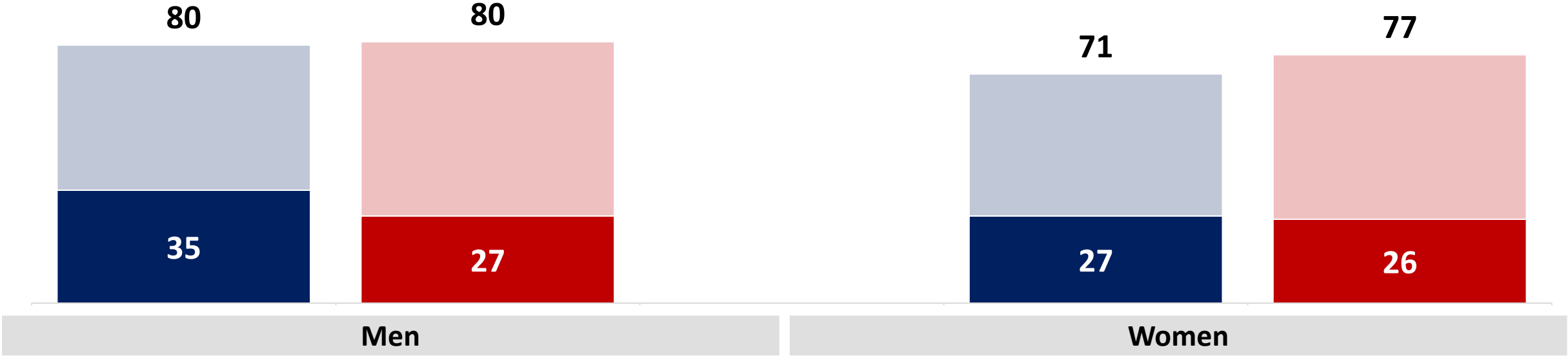


# Adding gender into the RCN narrative on division also generates more intensity among men.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Certain politicians and the corporate media divide us based on our race, nationality, or gender while they enrich themselves at our expense\*

Certain politicians and the corporate media divide us based on our race or nationality while they enrich themselves at our expense\*



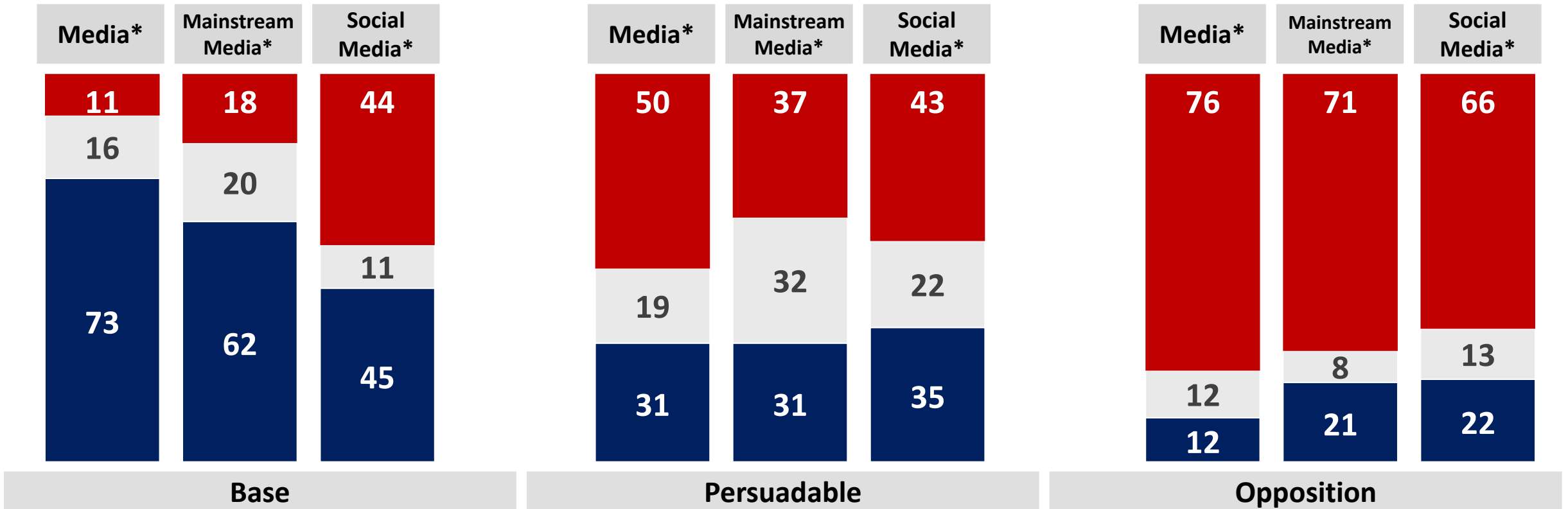
Rated 6-9, Agree

Rated 10, Strongly Agree

\*Split-sampled question

“Social media” is a more effective villain than “media” and “mainstream media” for base voters. “Media” is the most negative of all three among persuadables, and they are more unfavorable of the media than they are in other states.

Please indicate how favorable you are of that group or concept



■ Total Unfavorable  
■ Total Neutral/Not Sure  
■ Total Favorable

*\*Split-sampled question*

# Values and Language

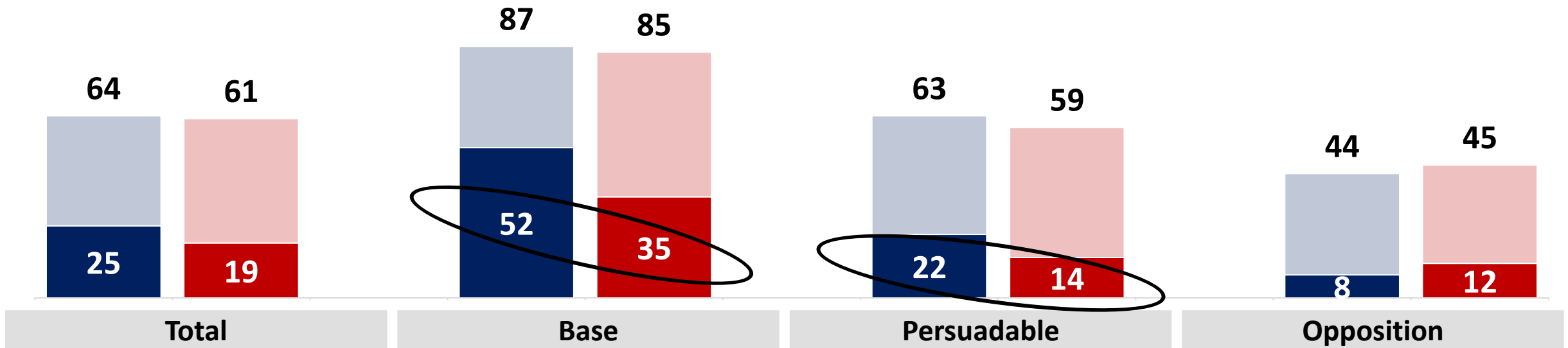


# Both base and persuadables respond with more intensity to describing a villain's actions as "exploiting divisions."

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

The powerful few benefit by **exploiting divisions** while they rig the economic rules to benefit themselves\*

The powerful few benefit by **fueling divisions** while they rig the rules to benefit themselves\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  
Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

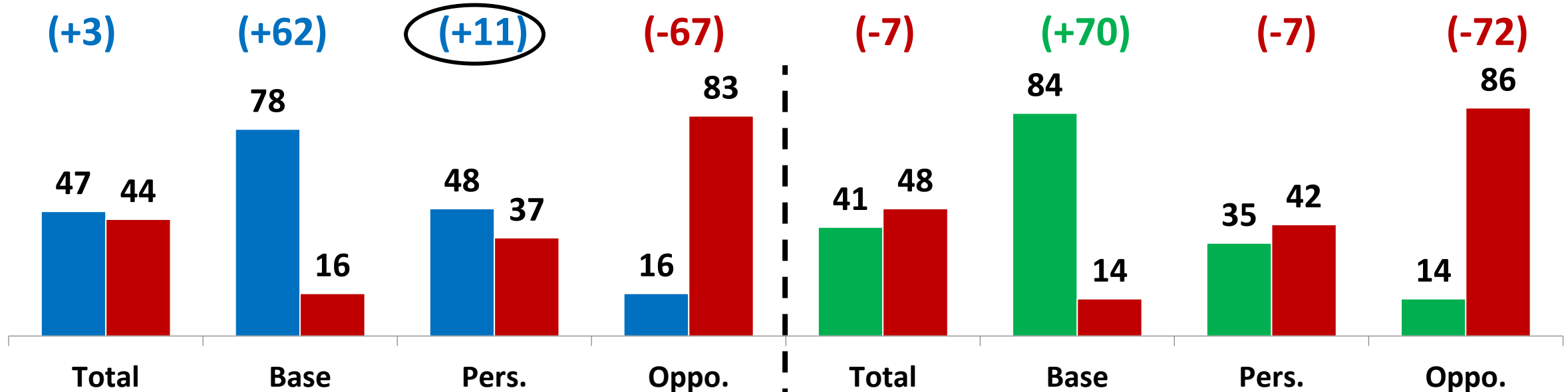
# Calling out greedy special interests who “fuel divisions” wins among persuadables in Pennsylvania, the only state where we win the argument with persuadables against a culture of people expecting to have everything handed to them.

Which of the following do you think holds us back as a nation more?

A culture of people expecting to have everything handed to them instead of working hard for themselves

Greedy special interests who fuel divisions among us by blaming poor, Black, or Brown people for our problems so they can rig the rules in their favor\*

Greedy special interests who divide us against each other by blaming poor, Black, and Brown people for our problems so they can rig the rules in their favor\*



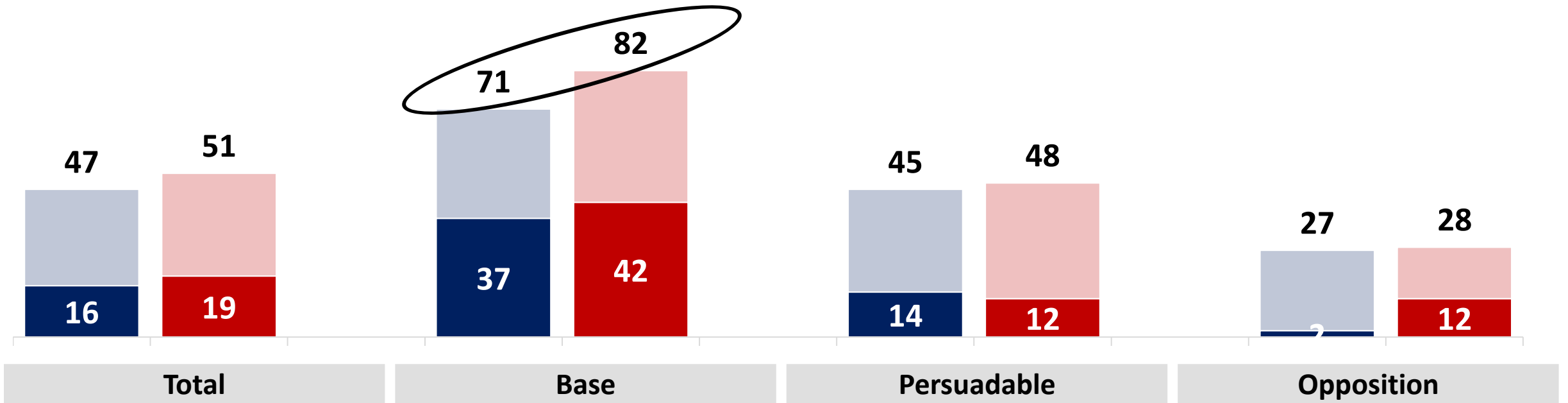
\*Split-sampled question

# Calling attention to scapegoating resonates with base voters, who are more responsive in the context of immigrants specifically.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

The wealthy and powerful benefit when certain politicians shame and blame **people of color** for the hard times all working people face\*

The wealthy and powerful benefit when certain politicians shame and blame **immigrants** for the hard times all working people face\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  


 Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

# In Pennsylvania, calling out Trump specifically helps solidify the base. As in other states, there is little to no downside among persuadables in namechecking Trump.

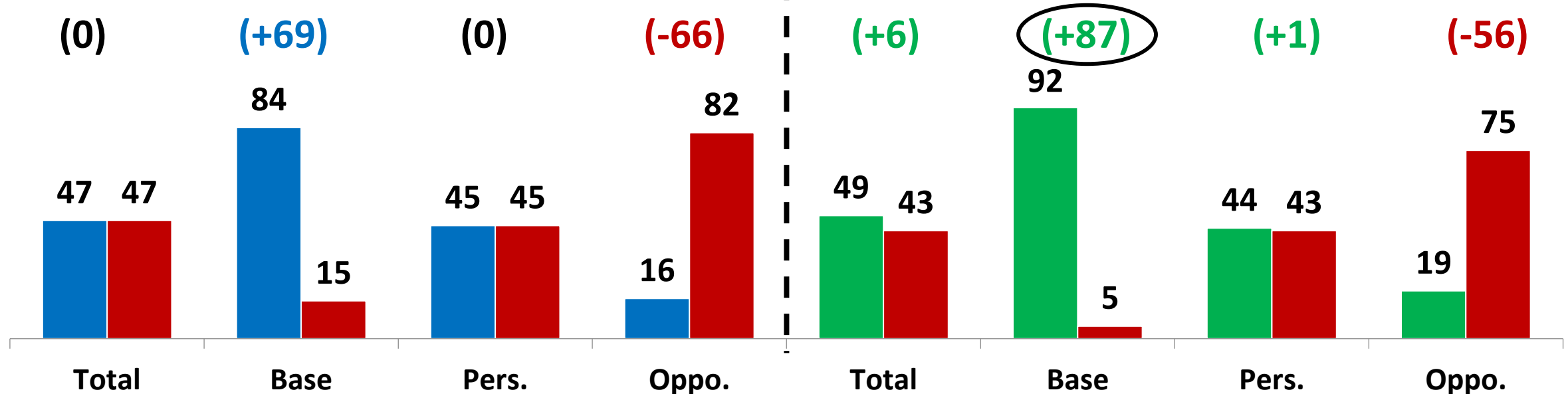
Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

We need elected leaders who will keep us safe from terrorists, secure our borders, and prevent illegal immigrants from taking advantage of our country\*

We need elected leaders like Trump and his allies who will keep us safe from terrorists, secure our borders, and prevent illegal immigrants from taking advantage of our country\*

We need elected leaders who will reject divide and conquer tactics and put working people first, whether we're White, Black, or Brown\*

We need elected leaders who will reject Trump's divide and conquer tactics and put working people first, whether we're White, Black, or Brown\*



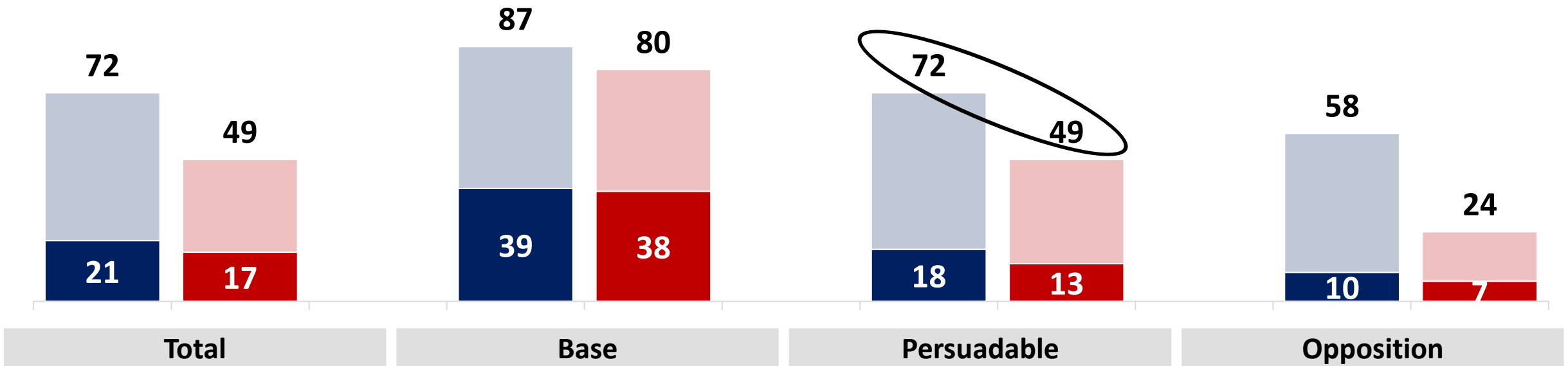
\*Split-sampled question

# Explicitly naming Democratic leaders erodes a call to action among persuadables.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

By joining together to elect new leaders, we can make this a place where fairness, freedom, and prosperity are for all of us\*

By joining together to elect new Democratic leaders, we can make this a place where fairness, freedom, and prosperity are for all of us\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  


 Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

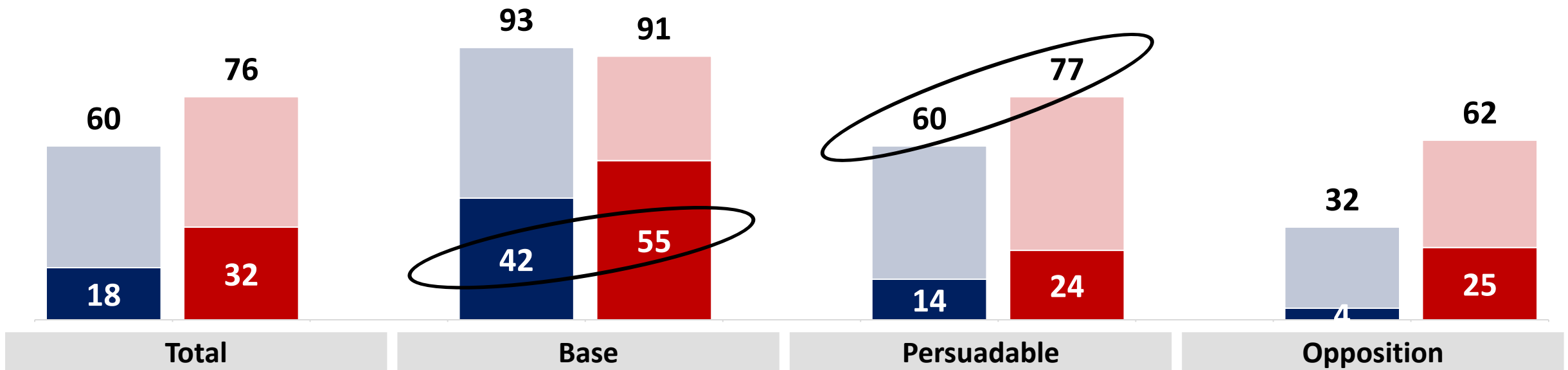


# A more aspirational appeal for equality generates much stronger agreement with base and persuadable voters than calls to end 'isms, though it does bring along opposition voters too.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Tackling the racism and sexism promoted by some political leaders should be a key priority for our nation\*

Making sure our political leaders treat people of all races, backgrounds, and genders equally should be a key priority for our nation\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  

 Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

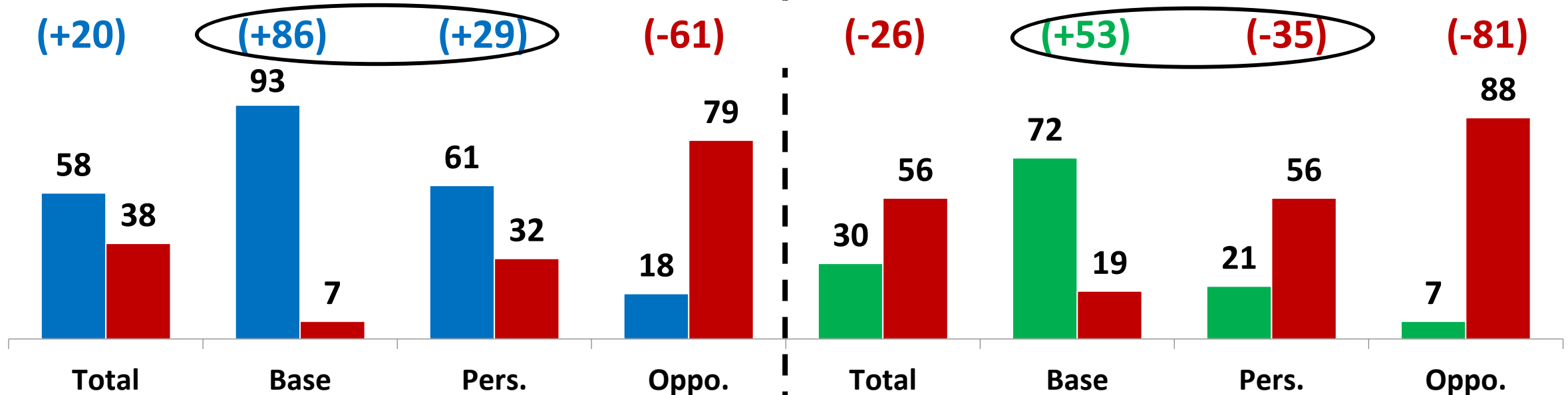
# A race-class narrative approach to solutions finds strong agreement with base and persuadables. Persuadables reject a racial-repair frame, and base voters agree at a lower margin.

Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

To make life better for working people, we need to cut taxes, reduce regulations, and get government out of the way of business

To make life better for working people we need to invest in education, create better paying jobs, and make healthcare more affordable for White, Black, and Brown people struggling to make ends meet\*

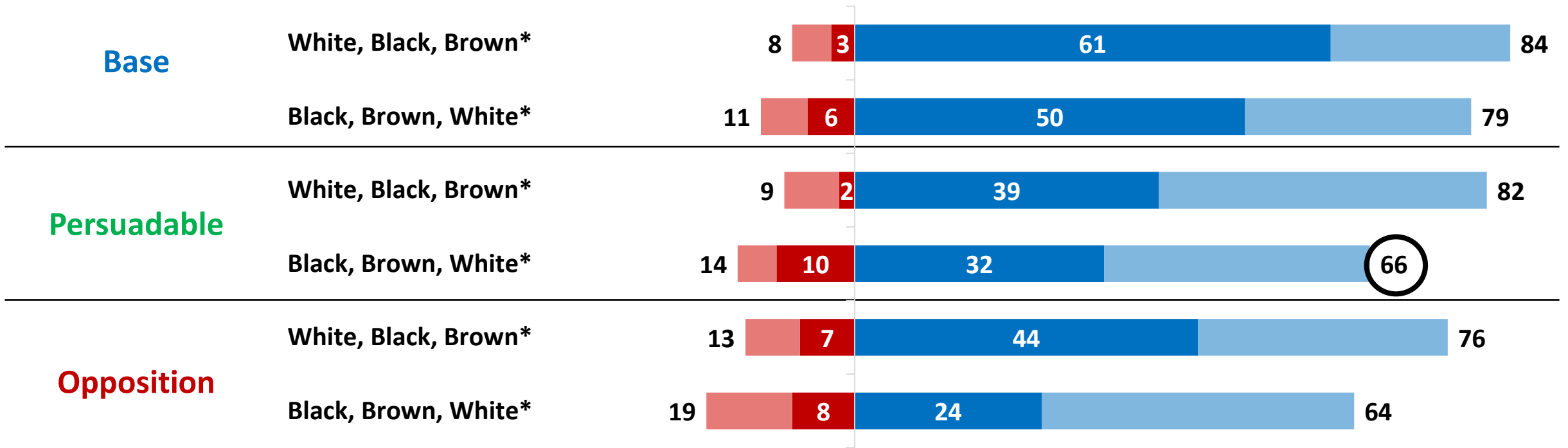
To make life better for working people we need to make things right for those who are being harmed the most today, especially African Americans and immigrants\*



\*Split-sampled question

# Voters feel included in the phrases “White, Black, or Brown” or “Black, Brown, or White,” but in Pennsylvania persuadable voters feel less included when ordered “Black, Brown, or White” than voters in other states do.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statement: “I feel included in the phrase ‘working people who are...’



\*Split-sampled question

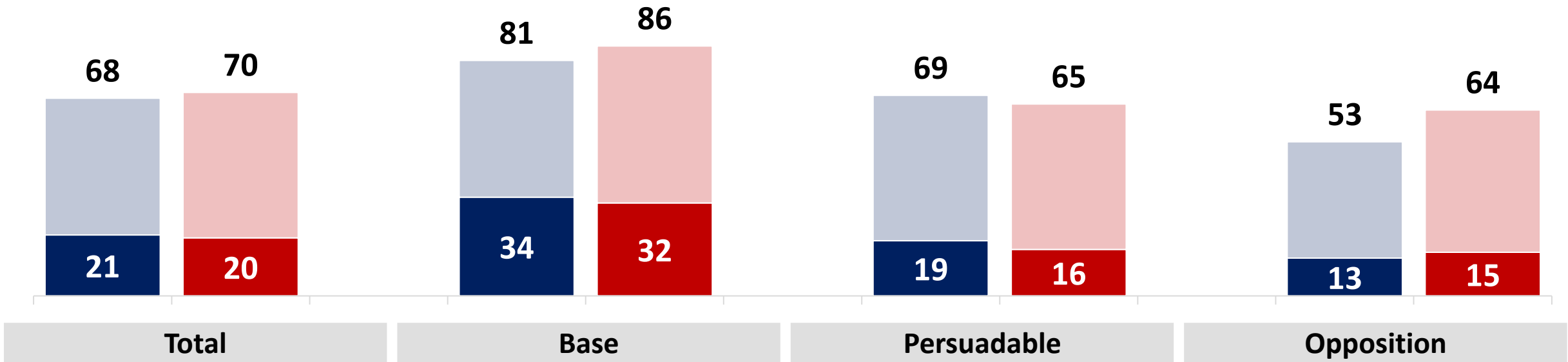
■ Somewhat agree      ■ Somewhat disagree  
■ Strongly agree      ■ Strongly disagree

# Calls to join together find broad agreement. Adding “including whites” generates stronger agreement with opposition voters and makes little difference with base and persuadable voters.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

As the country’s population changes, we are more likely to make life better for working people when people across racial lines join together\*

As the country’s population changes, we are more likely to make life better for working people when people across racial lines join together, including whites\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  

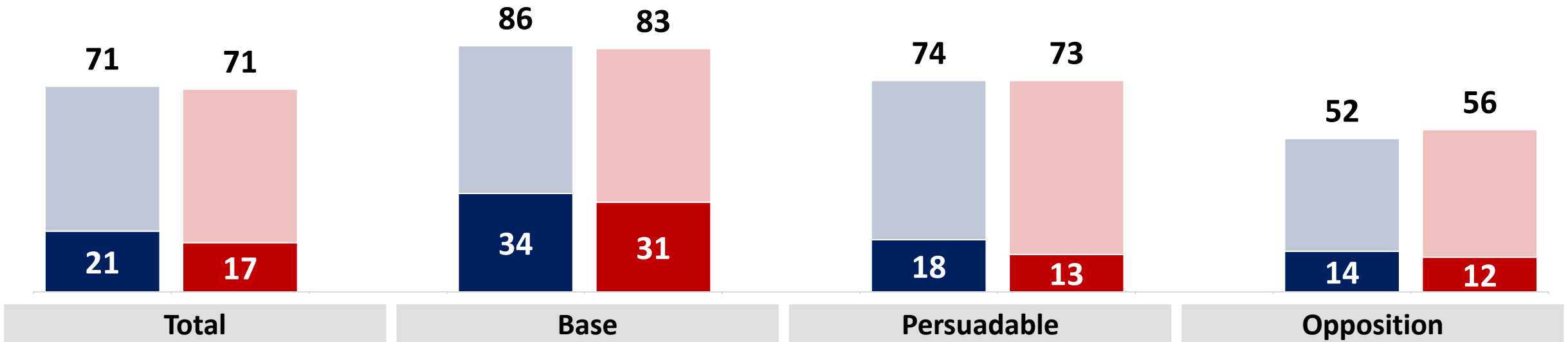

 Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

# Base and persuadables agree that we can rewrite the rules so everyone can thrive. There is little difference between saying “working together” and “working toward a common purpose.”

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

By working **together** we can rewrite the rules so that everyone can thrive\*

By working **toward a common purpose**, we can rewrite the rules so that everyone can thrive\*



Rated 6-9, Agree

Rated 10, Strongly Agree

\*Split-sampled question

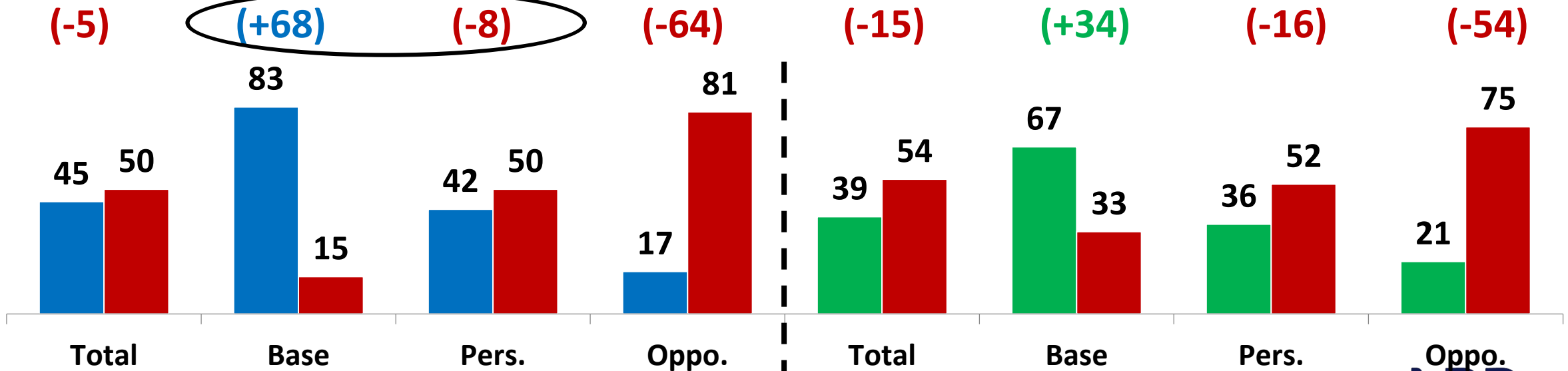
# Messaging on criminal justice that is focused on solutions is more effective than a problem-centered approach.

Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

We need to reduce crime and that requires supporting, respecting, and resourcing our police force, not harassing them for doing their job

We need to ensure the safety and wellbeing of our communities and that requires training police in de-escalation and anti-bias and ensuring they uphold their oath to protect and serve all\*

We need to ensure the safety and wellbeing of our communities and that requires rejecting certain politicians' attempts to have us fear each other and investing in the people and places these politicians shut out of opportunities\*



\*Split-sampled question

# Messaging



# Summary of Message Ratings

“Soft Gender” and “Working people – Solutions” are the top messages for base voters, and are top tier messages for persuadables. “America’s Strength” is the top message for persuadable voters.

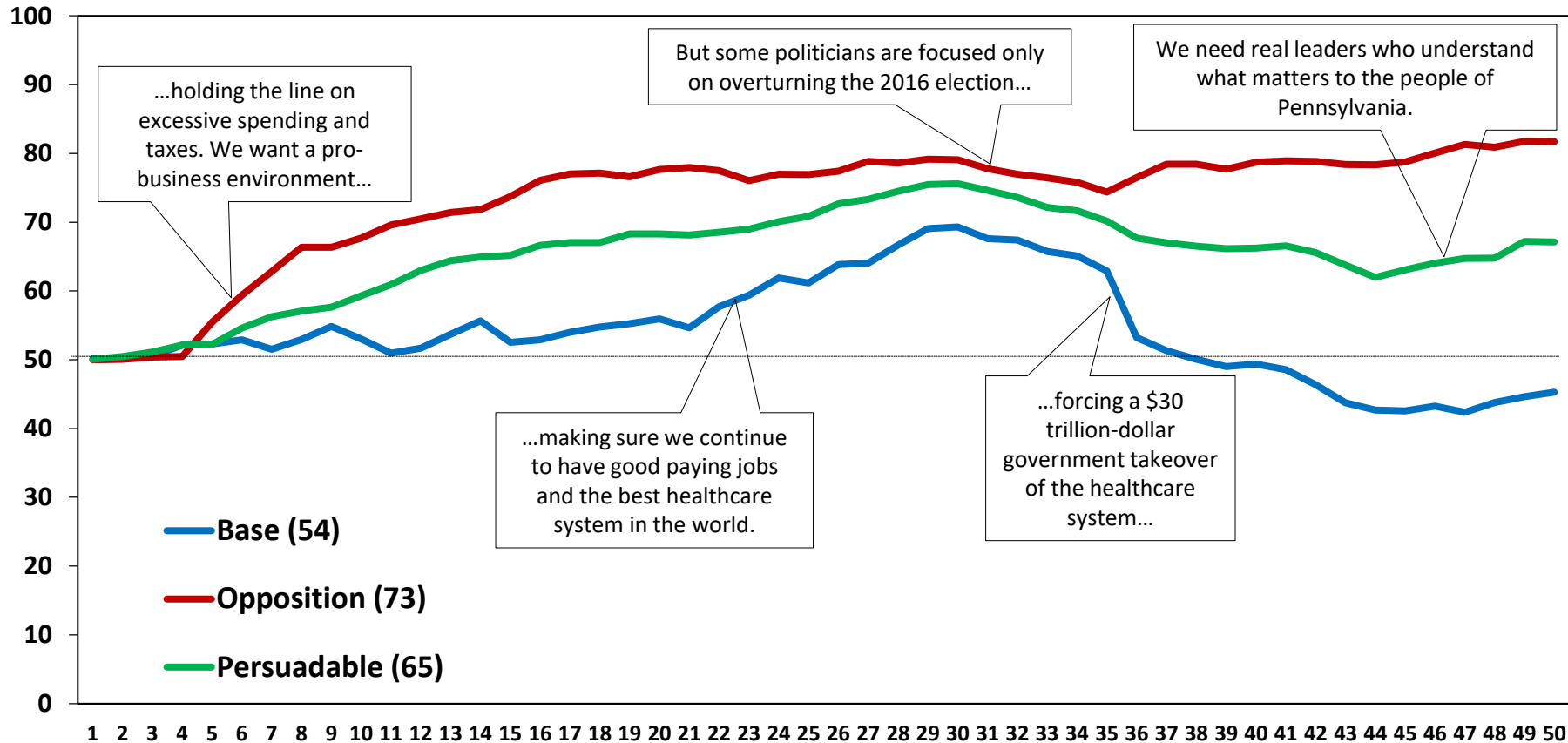
Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Persuadable Dial Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating				Mean Dial Rating			
	Total	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Total	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
America’s Strength	66	80	68	53	67	74	68	60
Race, Class, Gender (White Man)*	67	81	69	53	66	76	67	57
Working People Solutions*	64	81	68	42	65	76	66	53
Race, Class, Gender (White woman)*	63	80	65	45	64	71	65	55
Opposition	61	42	62	74	65	54	65	73
Working People*	61	80	65	37	62	73	64	50
Standard Progressive	60	81	64	34	62	74	64	46
Environment	58	79	62	33	60	73	62	45

\*Split-sampled question





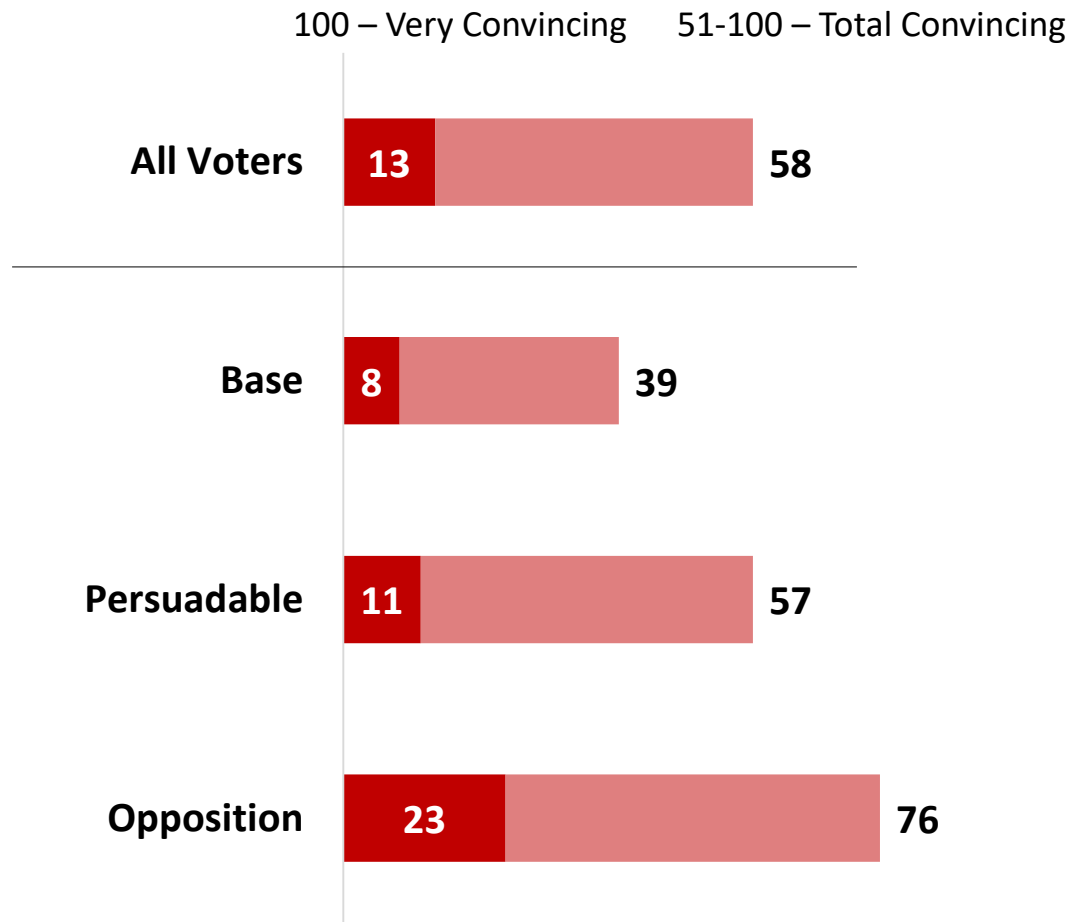
# Opposition



Pennsylvanians value limited government and holding the line on excessive spending and taxes. We want a pro-business environment that will create good paying jobs instead of encouraging dependence on government handouts. We need political leaders in Pennsylvania focused on making compromises with the other party to get things done, making sure we continue to have good paying jobs and the best healthcare system in the world. But some politicians are focused only on overturning the 2016 election, forcing a \$30 trillion-dollar government takeover of the healthcare system, and opening our borders to illegal immigrants. We need real leaders who understand what matters to the people of Pennsylvania.

# Opposition

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS (for them)

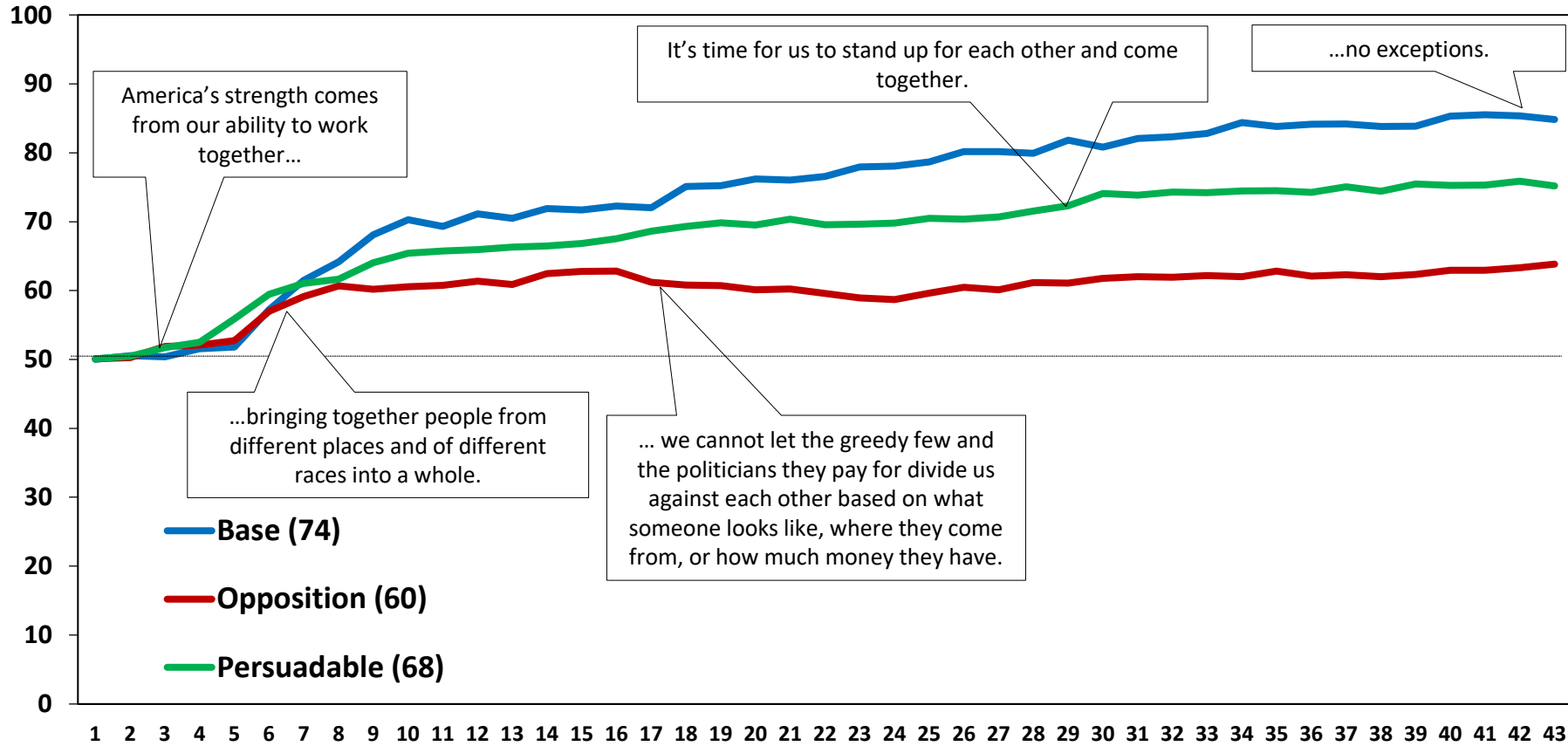
- ✓ Everyone dials up to “making sure we continue to have good paying jobs and the best healthcare system in the world”
- ✓ Everyone dials up at the call to action to elect real leaders who understand Pennsylvania
- ✓ The “forcing a \$30 trillion-dollar government takeover of the healthcare system” and discussion of “illegal immigrants” energizes the opposition

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Everyone dials down at the discussion of certain politicians only wanting to overturn the 2016 election
- X Weak conscious rating for persuadables



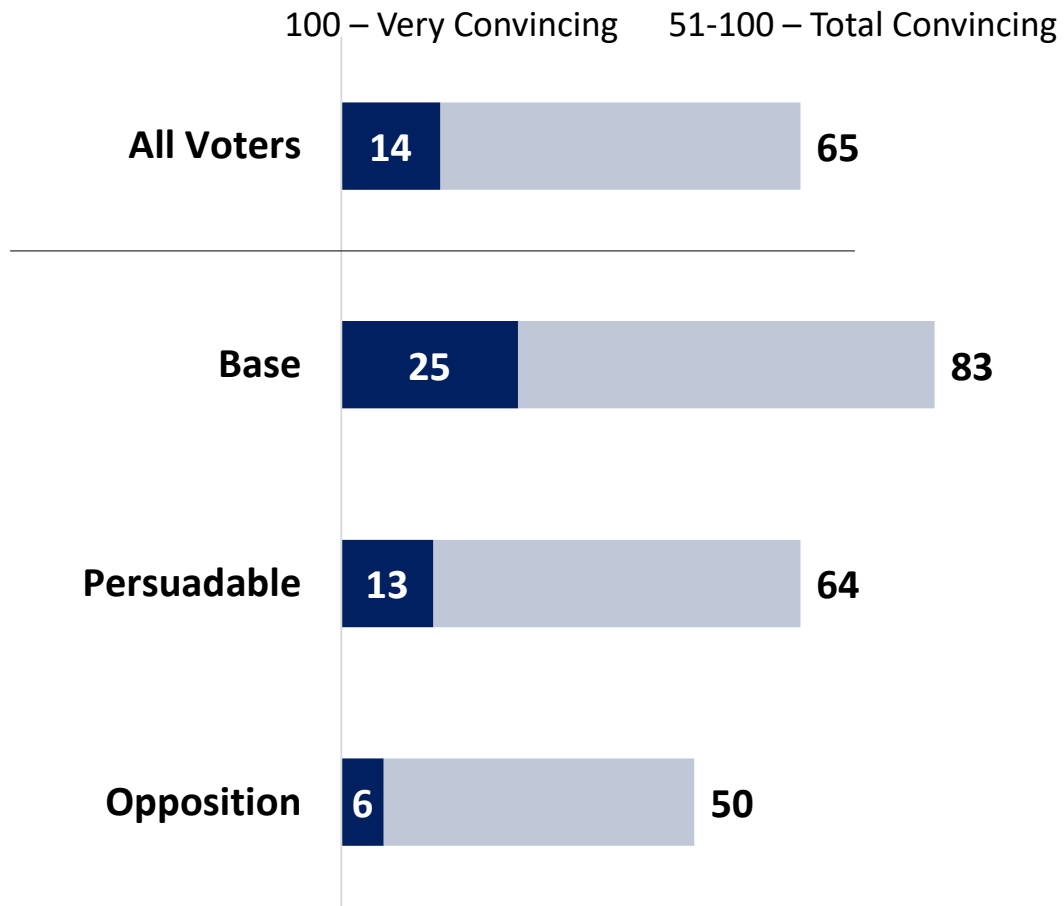
# America's Strength



America's strength comes from our ability to work together – bringing together people from different places and of different races into a whole. For this to be a place where everyone can thrive, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against each other based on what someone looks like, where they come from, or how much money they have. It's time to stand up for each other and come together. It is time for us to pick new leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of American. Together, we can make this a place where everyone can thrive, no exceptions.

# America's Strength

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS

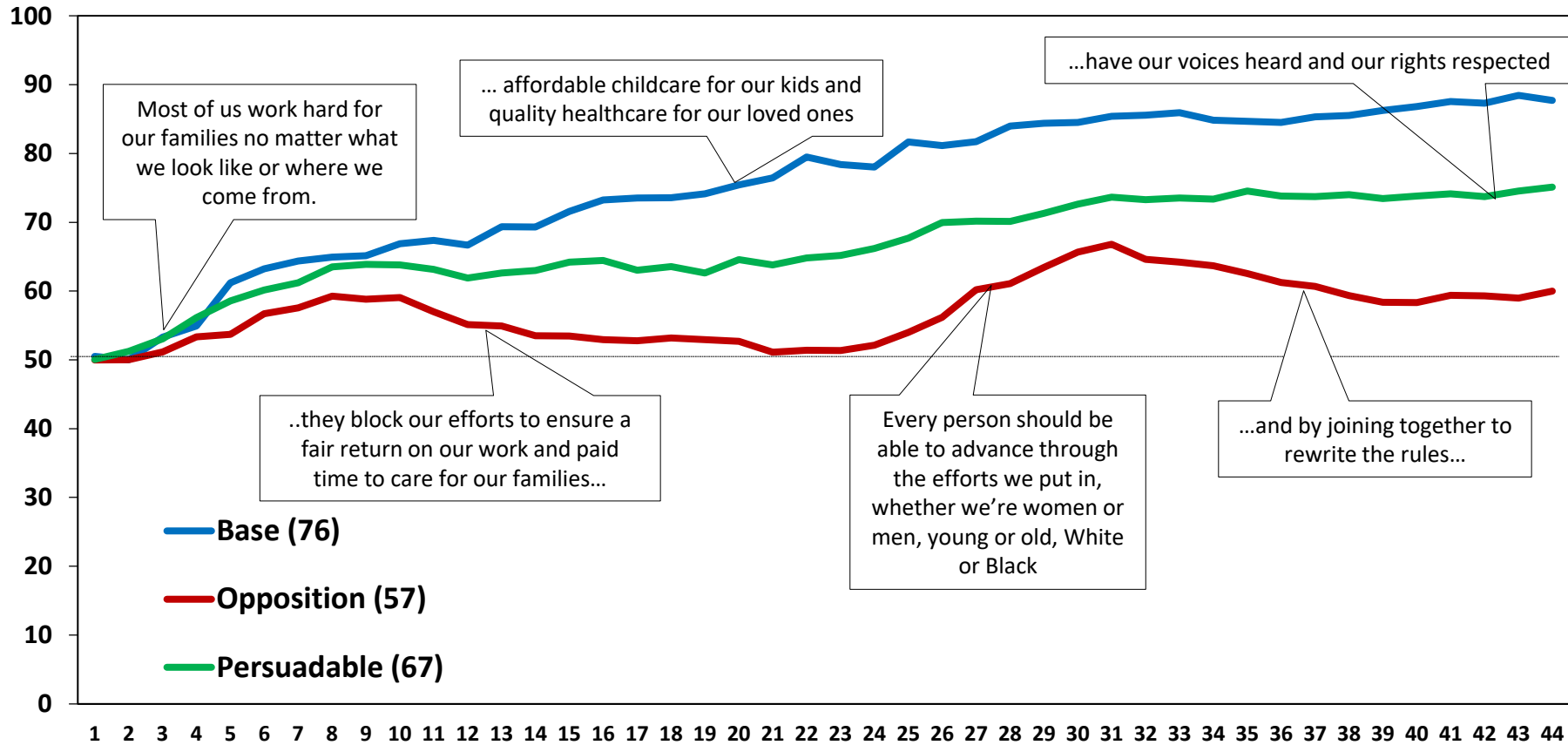
- ✓ Everyone dials up at “...bringing together people from different places and of different races into a whole”
- ✓ Mention of villain as the greedy few and the politicians they pay for alienates the opposition while the base and persuadables dial up
- ✓ Persuadables dial up on call to “It’s time for us to stand up for each other and come together”
- ✓ Base continuously dials up through the call to action
- ✓ High unconscious and conscious convincing ratings among persuadables

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✓ Slow take off; there is no reaction that America’s strength comes from our ability to work together
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial down slightly at “no exceptions”
- ✓ Abstract language is testing weaker than it was 2 years ago



# Race, Class, Gender (White Man)\*

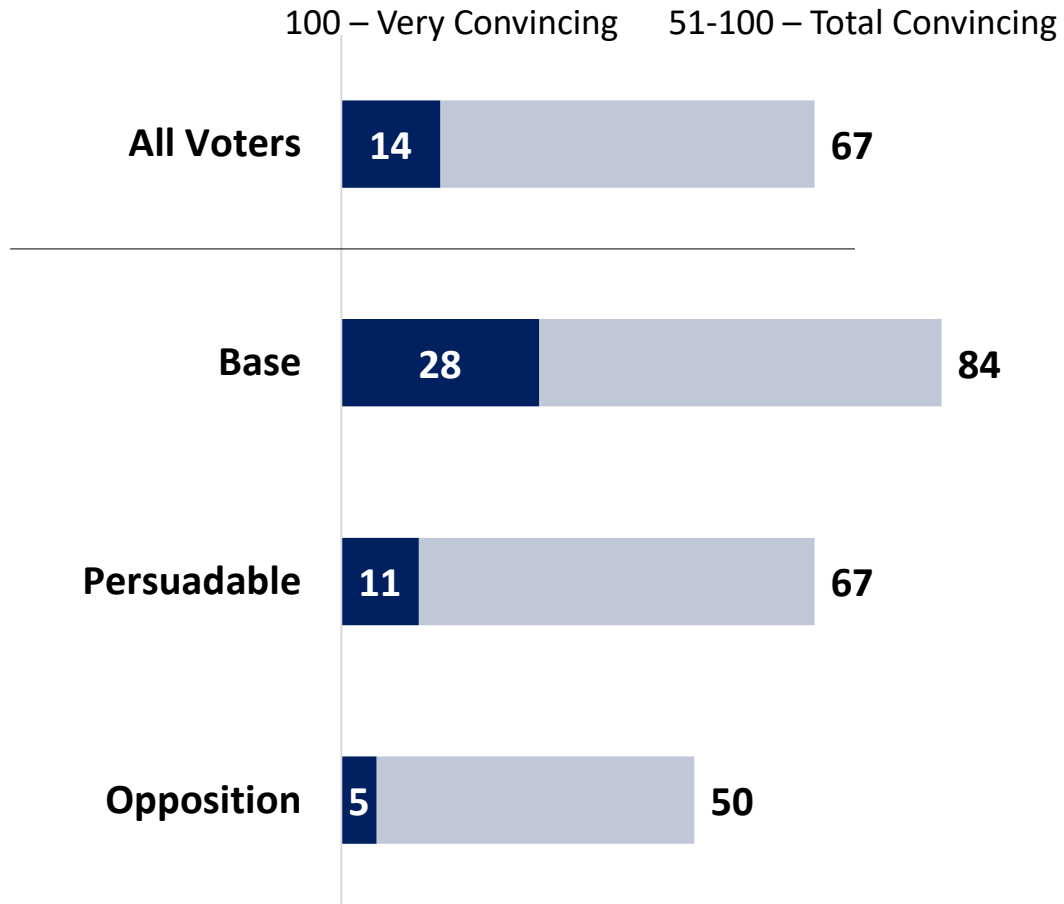


Most of us work hard for our families no matter what we look like or where we come from. But today, when a powerful few divide us, they block our efforts to ensure a fair return on our work and paid time to care for our families, affordable childcare for our kids and quality healthcare for our loved ones. Every person should be able to advance through the efforts we put in, whether we're women or men, young or old, White or Black, and by joining together to rewrite the rules, we can ensure every one of us can care for our families, have our voices heard and our rights respected.

\*Split-sampled question

# Race, Class, Gender (White Man)\*

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off by starting with the shared value
- ✓ Mention of the powerful few as villain alienates opposition and excites the base
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at the description of the villain’s action, and in particular blocking “affordable childcare for our kids and quality healthcare for our loved ones” excites the base
- ✓ Everyone dials up at “Every person should be able to advance through the efforts we put in, whether we’re women or men, young or old, White or Black”
- ✓ “Joining together to rewrite the rules” alienates the opposition
- ✓ Persuadables dial up slightly at the values of having our voices heard and our rights respected
- ✓ Base, and to a lesser extent persuadables, rates the message higher when delivered by a man

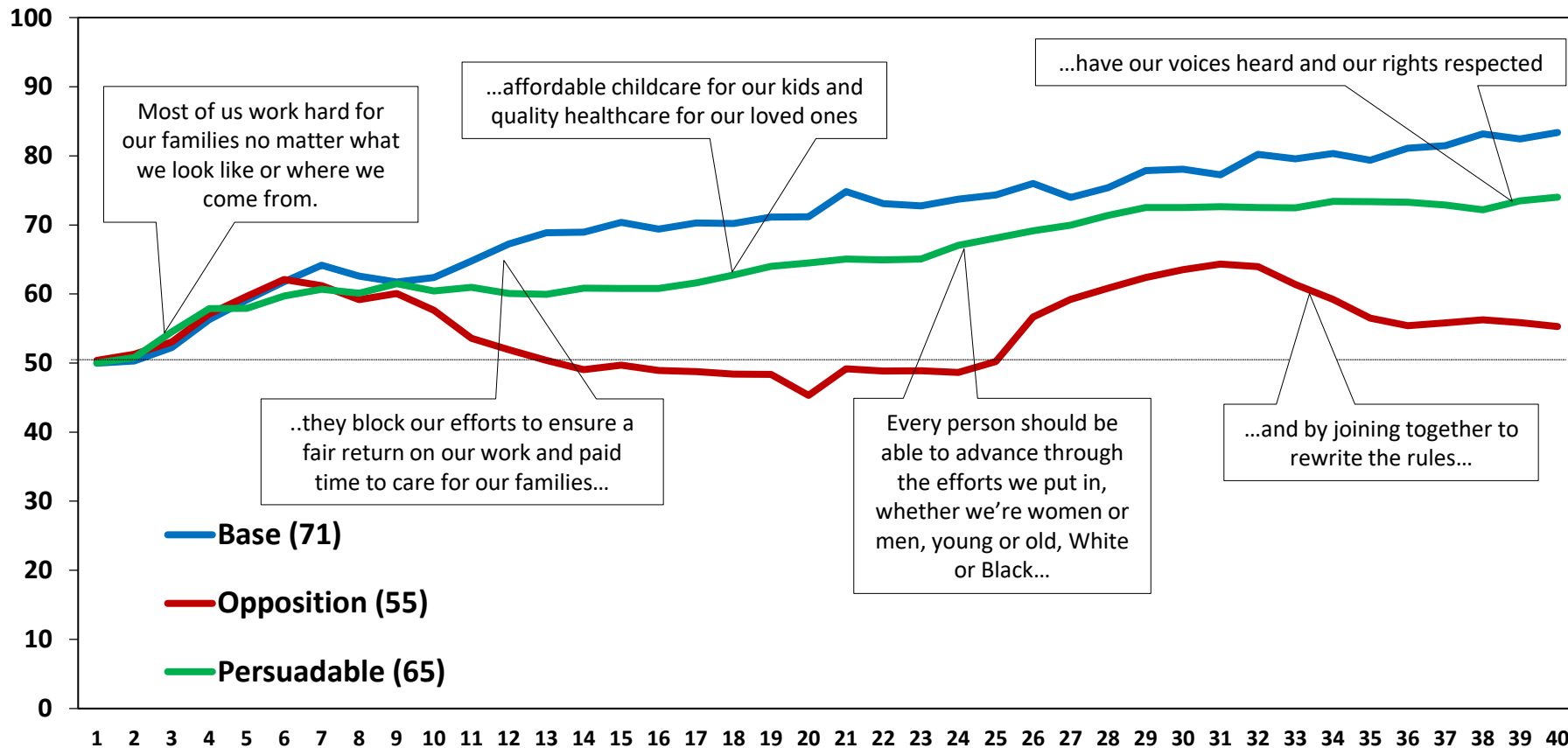
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Opposition also dials up at our description of the problem “every person should be able to advance through the efforts we put in”

\*Split-sampled question



# Race, Class, Gender (White Woman)\*

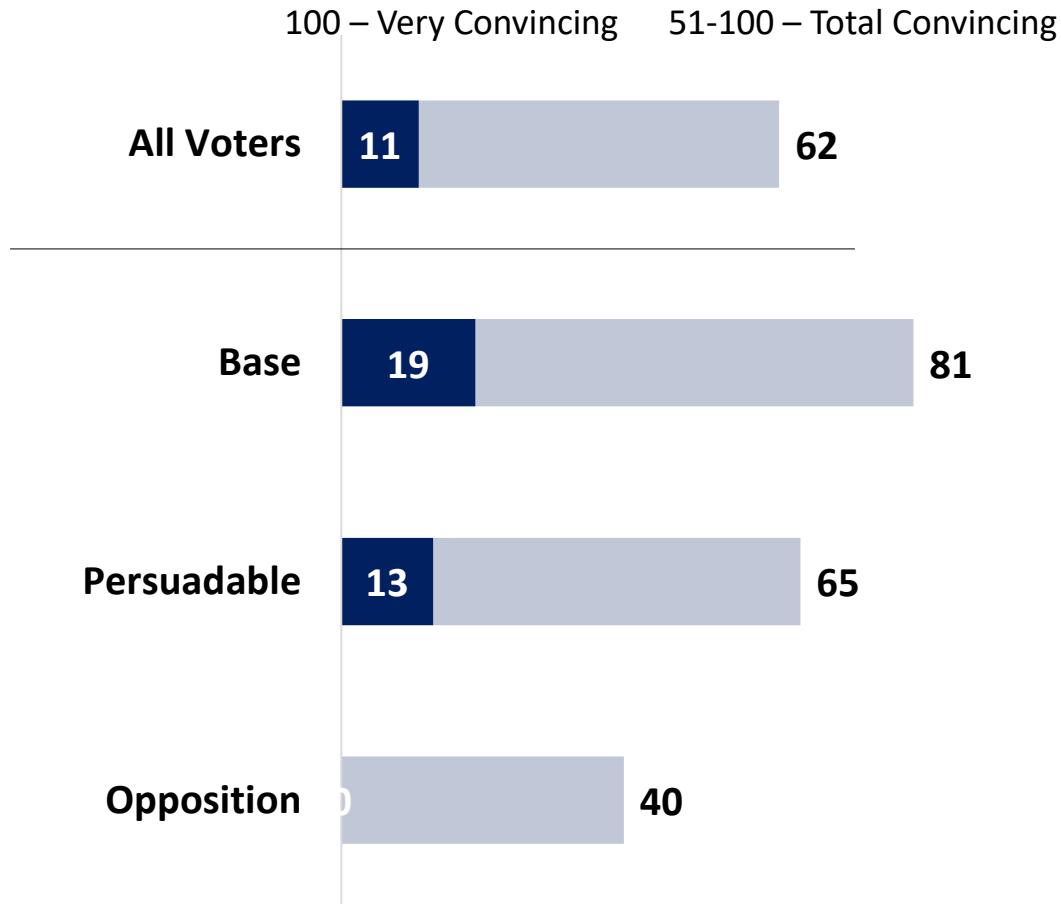


Most of us work hard for our families no matter what we look like or where we come from. But today, when a powerful few divide us, they block our efforts to ensure a fair return on our work and paid time to care for our families, affordable childcare for our kids and quality healthcare for our loved ones. Every person should be able to advance through the efforts we put in, whether we're women or men, young or old, White or Black, and by joining together to rewrite the rules, we can ensure every one of us can care for our families, have our voices heard and our rights respected.

\*Split-sampled question

# Race, Class, Gender (White Woman)\*

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off by starting with the shared value
- ✓ Mention of the powerful few as villain alienates opposition and excites the base, though it has no effect on persuadables
- ✓ Persuadables dial up at the action of the villain blocking “affordable childcare for our kids and quality healthcare for our loved ones”
- ✓ Everyone dials up at “Every person should be able to advance through the efforts we put in, whether we’re women or men, young or old, White or Black”
- ✓ “Joining together to rewrite the rules” alienates the opposition
- ✓ Persuadables dial up at the values of having our voices heard and our rights respected
- ✓ Having a woman deliver the message alienates the opposition more than when a man delivers it especially in conscious ratings

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

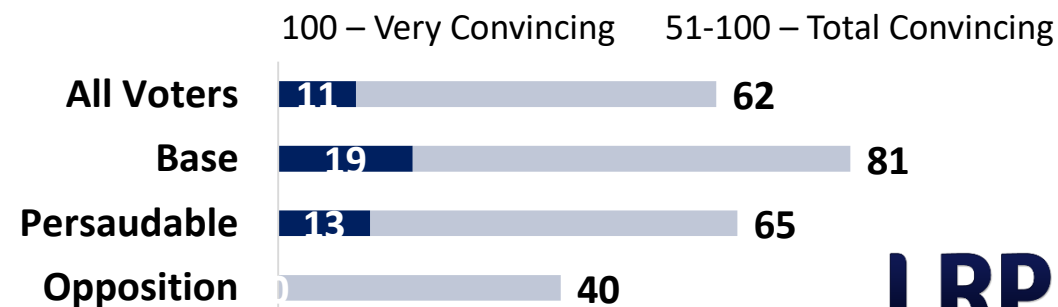
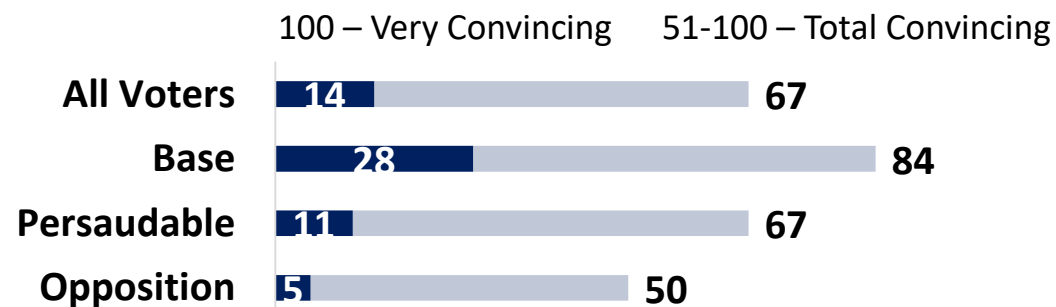
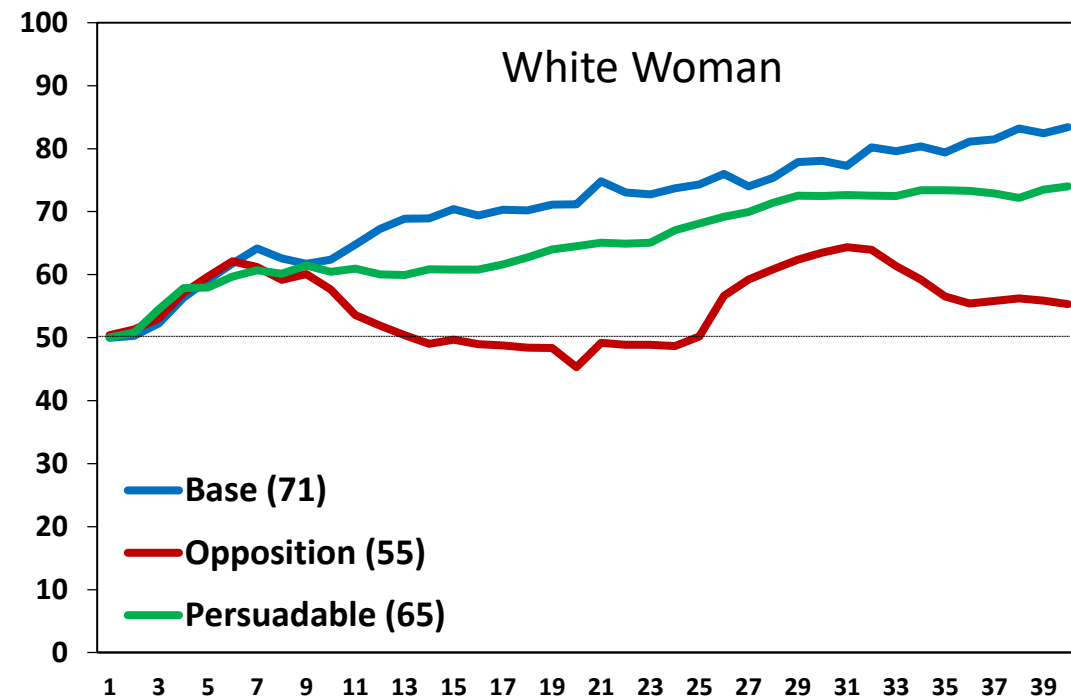
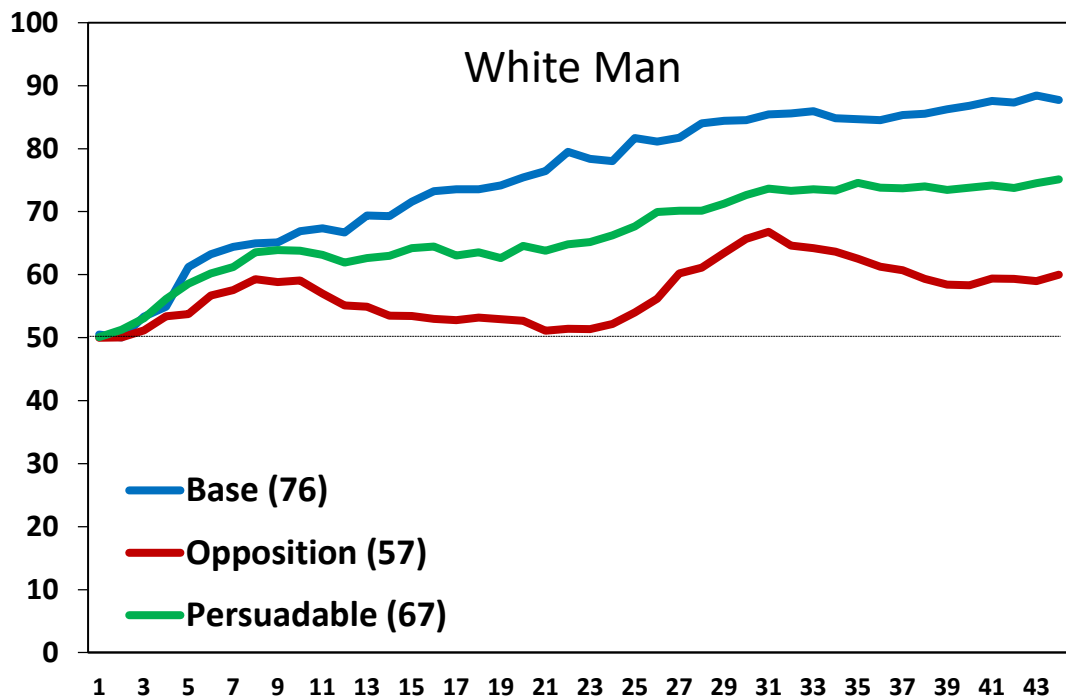
- X Opposition also dials up at our description of the problem “every person should be able to advance through the efforts we put in”

\*Split-sampled question





# Base voters respond slightly more positively to a white man as the messenger. A white woman messenger alienates opposition voters somewhat more than a white man as the messenger.



\*Split-sampled question

# Base and persuadable voters agree more strongly on a call for equality that asks more of men than asserts what women deserve.

Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?

Men should treat women equally and fairly, but things have shifted too far\*

Women deserve equality and fairness, but things have shifted too far\*

Men should treat women equally and fairly, and we need to do more to make this happen\*

Women deserve equality and fairness, and we need to do more to make this happen\*

(+38)

(+80)

(+46)

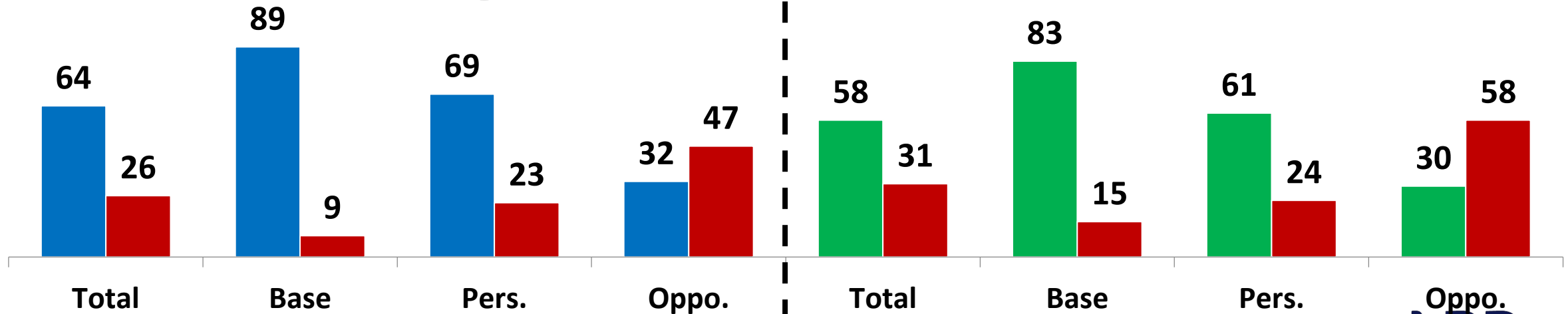
(-15)

(+27)

(+68)

(+37)

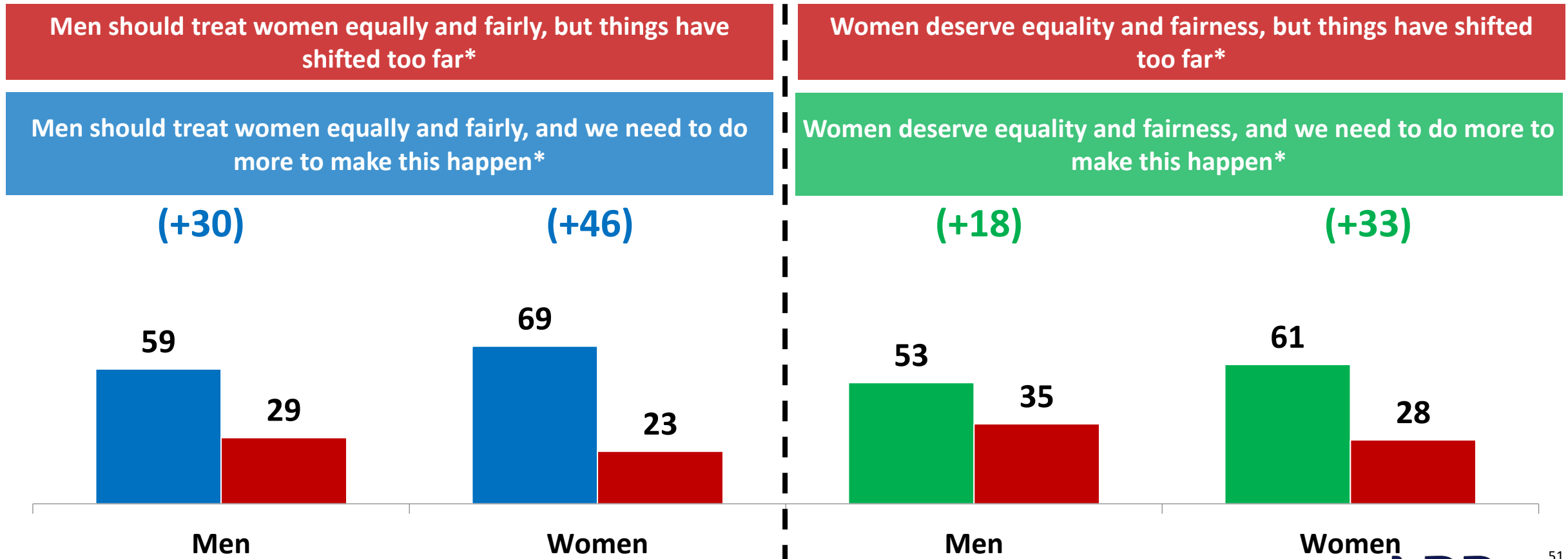
(-28)



\*Split-sampled question

# Both men and women are more likely to value equality and fairness for women when framed as what men should do.

Which of the following statements is closer to your opinion?



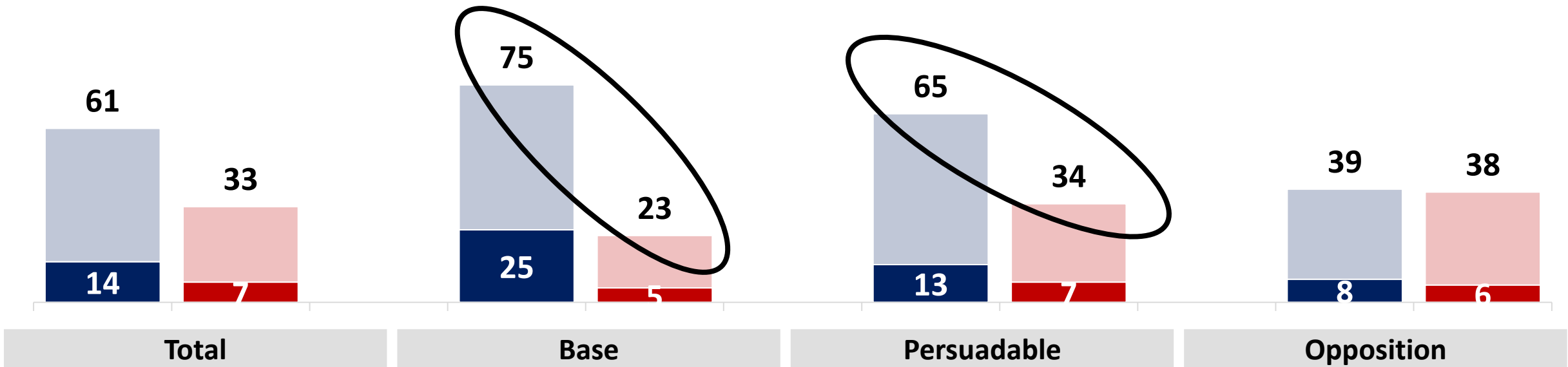
\*Split-sampled question

Further, putting the onus on men to change how they treat women finds significantly more agreement with base and persuadable voters than asking women to change their expectations.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Ensuring women and men are equal in our society is largely a matter of men changing how they treat the women in their lives\*

Ensuring women and men are equal in society is largely a matter of women changing what they expect of the men in their lives\*



Rated 6-9, Agree  

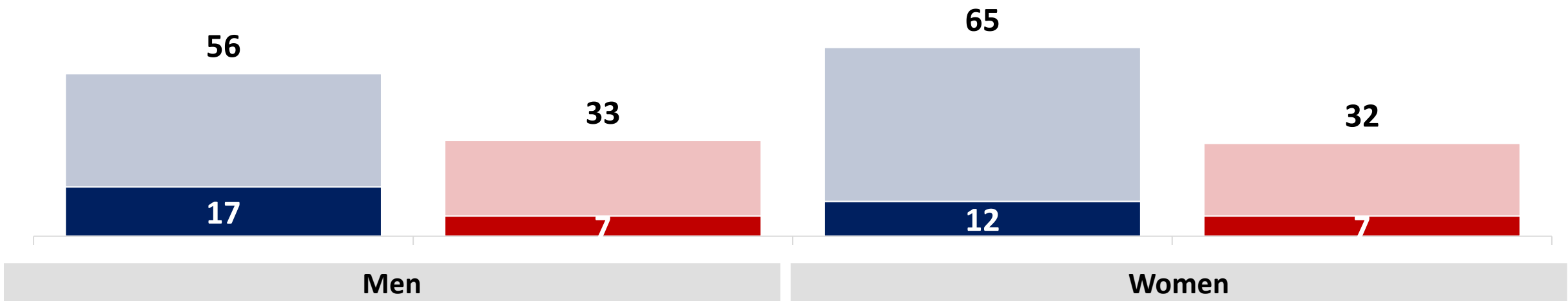

 Rated 10, Strongly Agree \*Split-sampled question

# Putting the responsibility on men to change how they treat women also finds more agreement among men and women, though more women are likely to hold this belief than men.

Please indicate if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements:

Ensuring women and men are equal in our society is largely a matter of men changing how they treat the women in their lives\*

Ensuring women and men are equal in society is largely a matter of women changing what they expect of the men in their lives\*

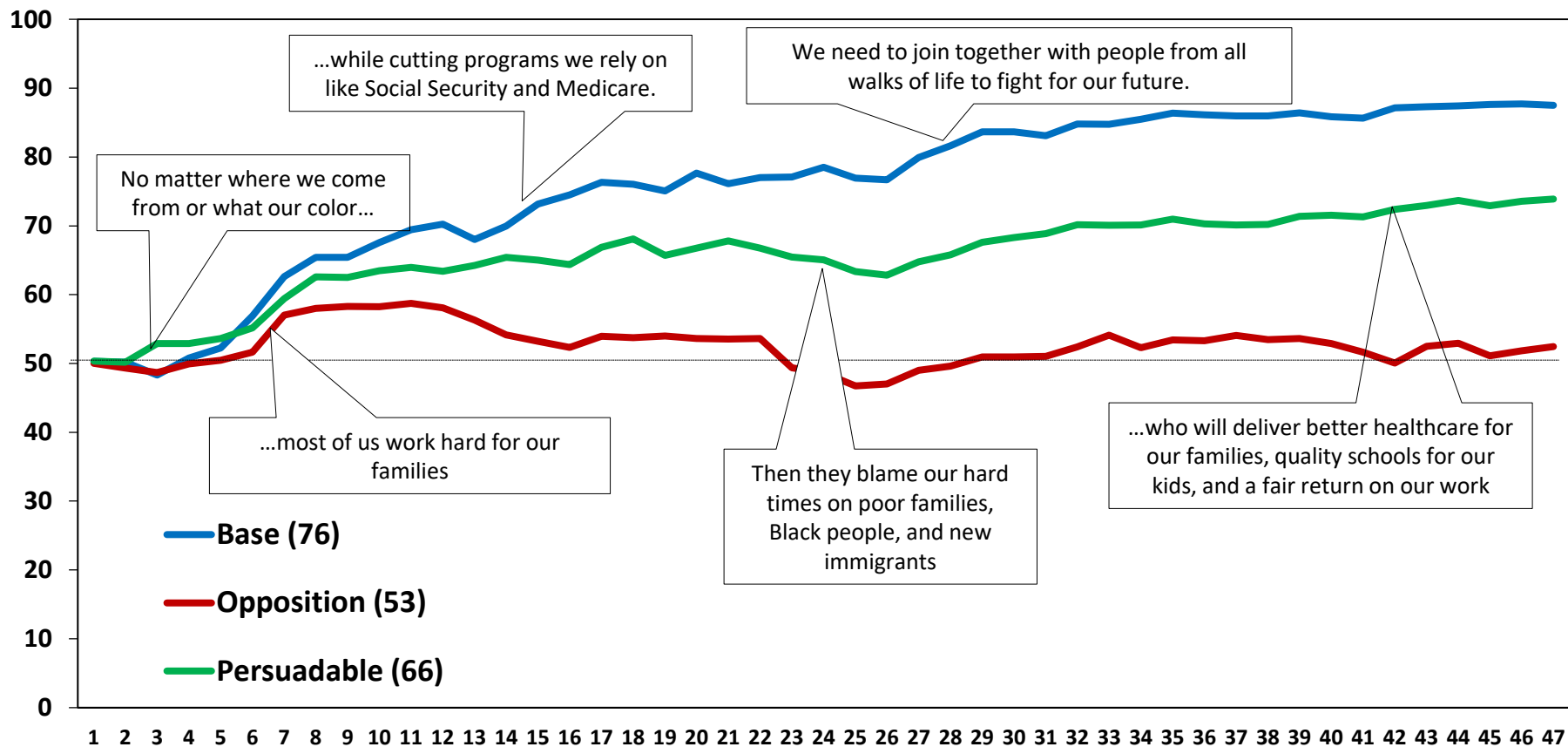


Rated 6-9, Agree  


 Rated 10, Strongly Agree *\*Split-sampled question*



# Working People Solutions\*

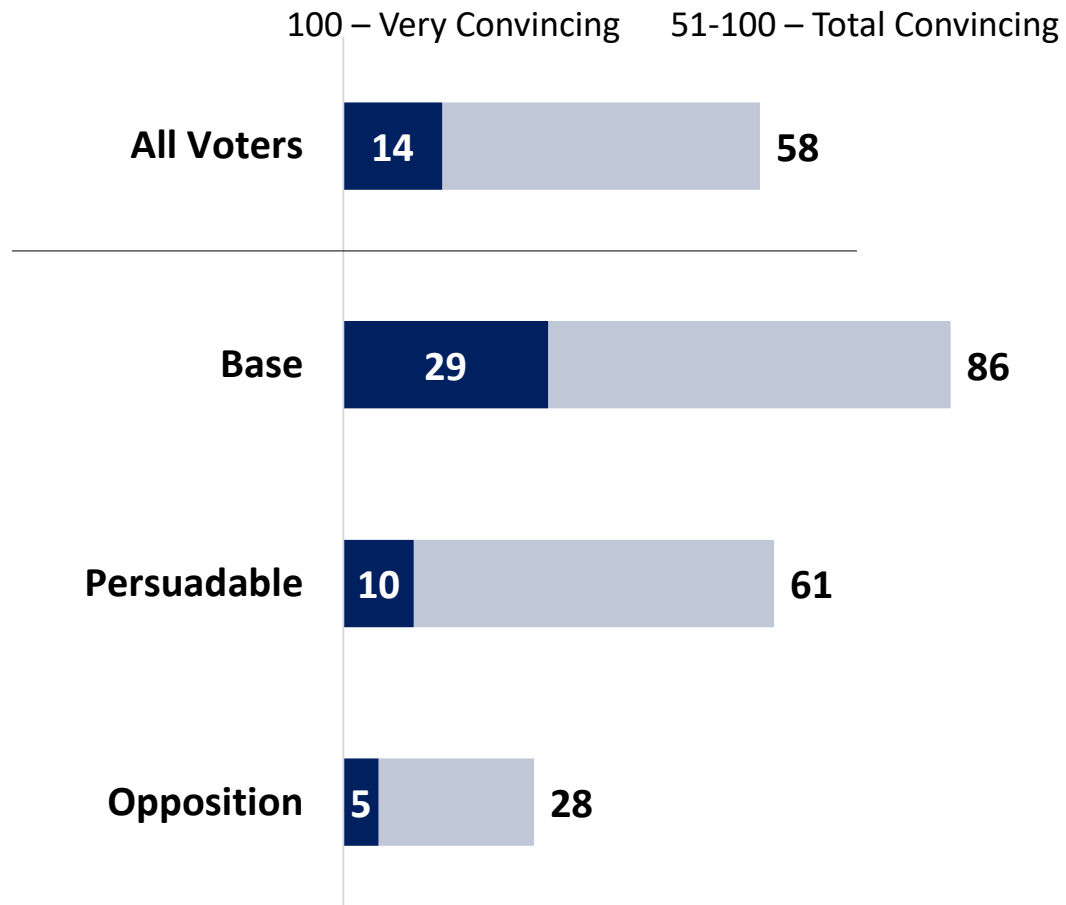


No matter where we come from or what our color, most of us work hard for our families. But today, certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hand kickbacks to the rich, while cutting programs we rely on like Social Security and Medicare. Then they blame our hard times on poor families, Black people, and new immigrants. We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future, just like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past. Coming together, we can elect new leaders who will deliver better healthcare for our families, quality schools for our kids, and a fair return on our work.

\*Split-sampled question

# Working People Solutions\*

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Mention of villain as certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists alienates the opposition, while base and persuadables dial up at the mention of the villain and when we describe their actions
- ✓ Good call to action for persuadables
- ✓ Base continuously dials up throughout the entire message
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on call to “We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future” and continue to dial up through describing our past successes
- ✓ Persuadables continue to dial up through the end when we describe the solutions new leaders can bring (“better healthcare for our families, quality schools for our kids, and a fair return on our work”)
- ✓ Higher unconscious and conscious means for base and persuadable voters than “Working People”
- ✓ Opposition gives a lower convincing rating than “Working People”

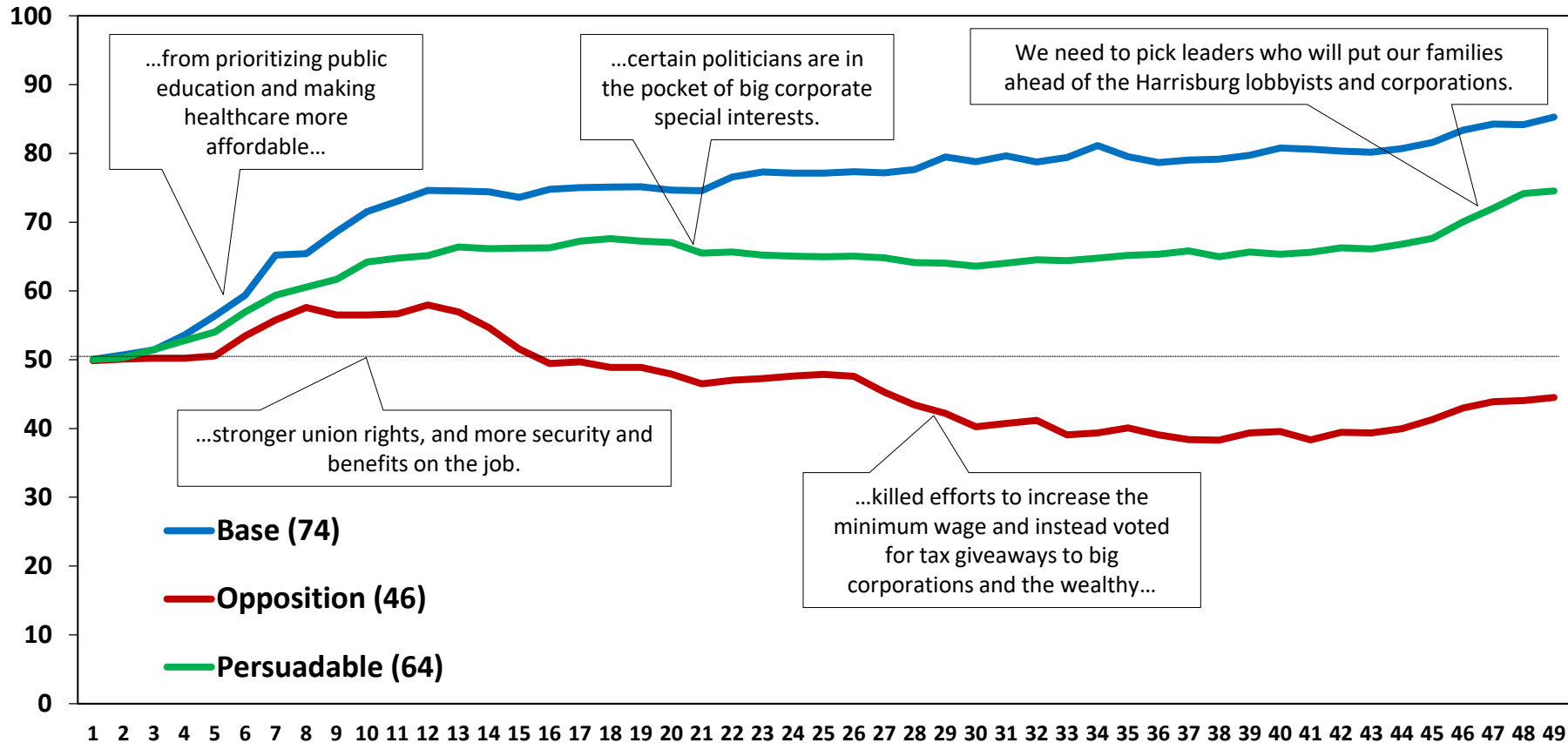
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables, and base to a lesser extent, follow the opposition in dialing down when we describe the racial scapegoating that certain politicians use to divide us

\*Split-sampled question



# Standard Progressive

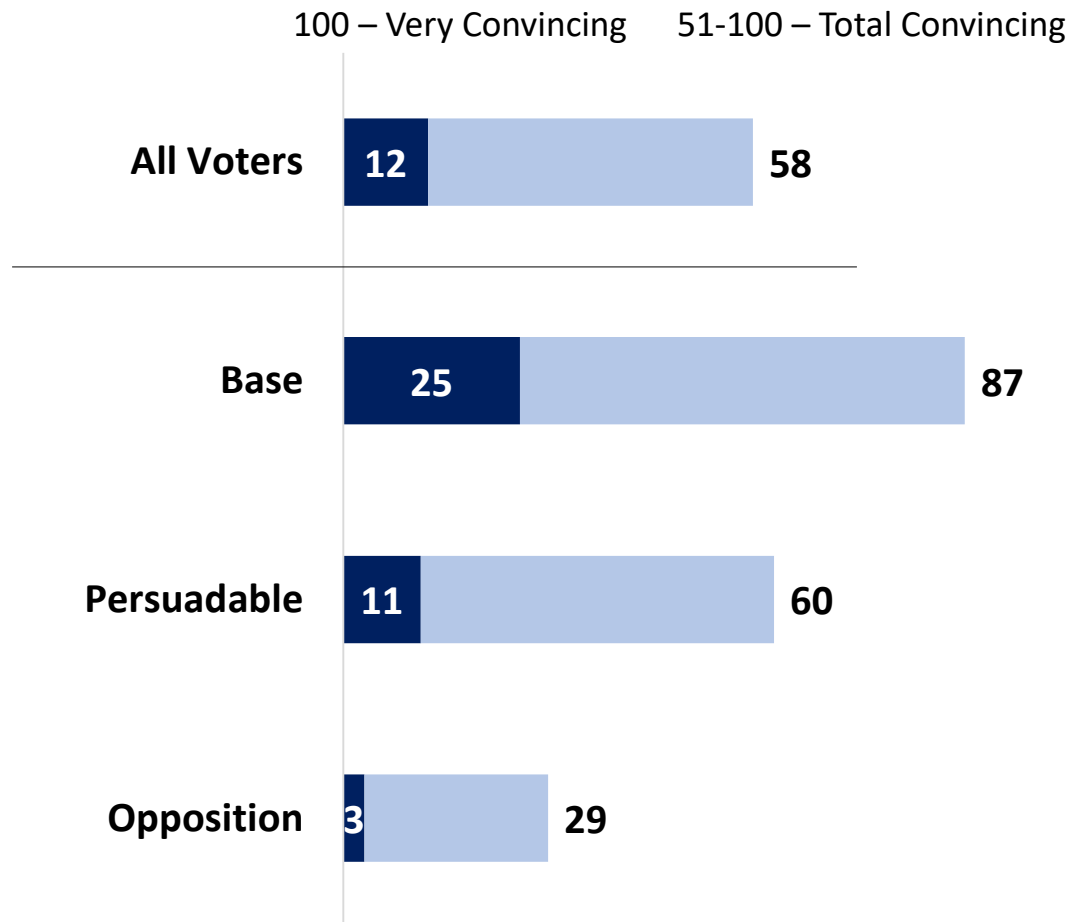


Pennsylvanians want an agenda that puts working families first, from prioritizing public education and making healthcare more affordable, to pushing for better wages, stronger union rights, and more security and benefits on the job. But today, certain politicians are in the pocket of big corporate special interests. They have killed efforts to increase the minimum wage and instead voted for tax giveaways to big corporations and the wealthy, to kill a severance tax on the oil and gas industry in Pennsylvania, and to dismantle union rights and make it harder for workers to fight for wages and benefits. We need to pick leaders who will put our families ahead of the Harrisburg lobbyists and corporations.



# Standard Progressive

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS

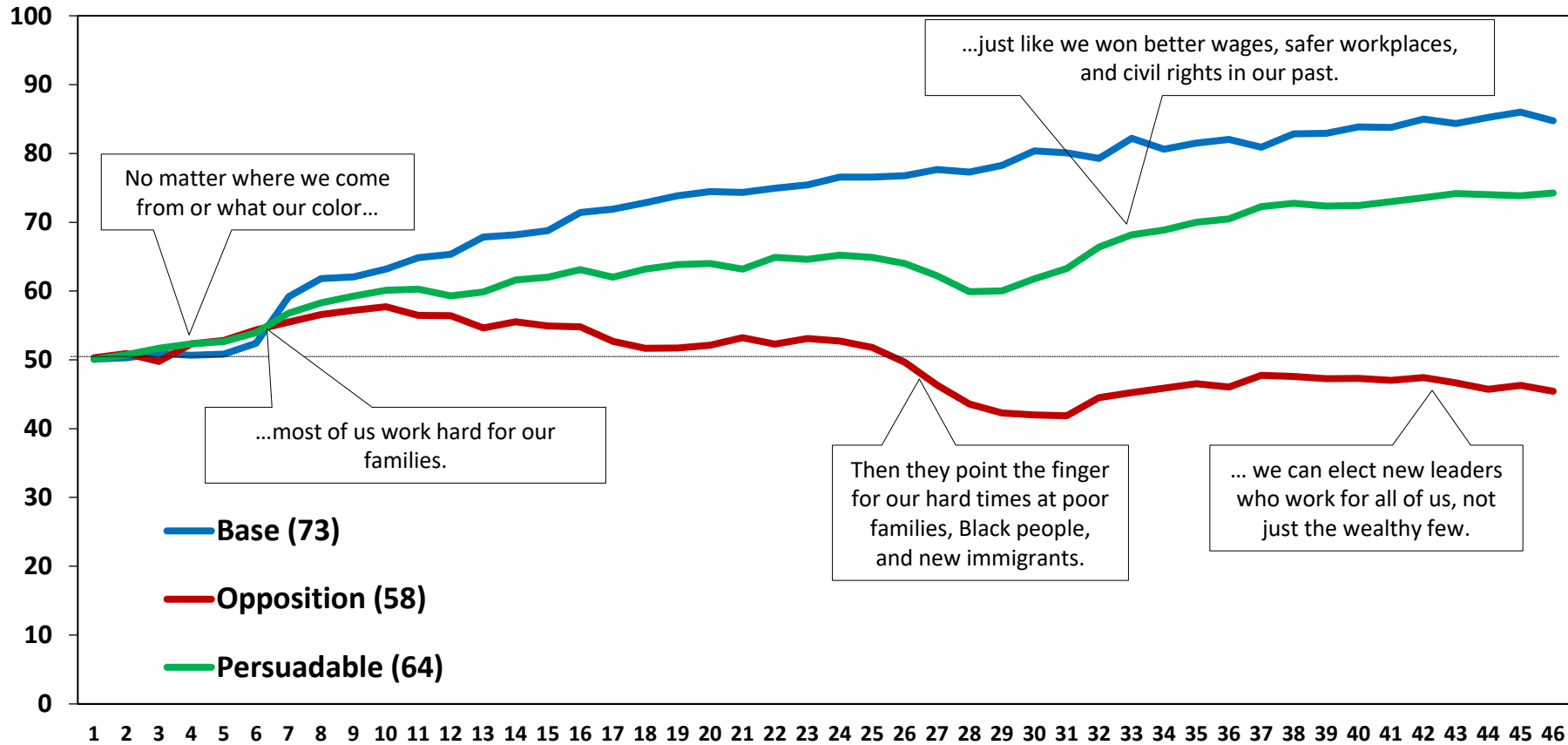
- ✓ Quick take-off on goals of putting working families first, prioritizing public education and making healthcare more affordable
- ✓ Discussing stronger union rights alienates the opposition
- ✓ Describing the actions of the villain further alienates the opposition
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at the call to action (“We need to pick leaders who will put our families ahead of the Harrisburg lobbyists and corporations”)
- ✓ Good ending call to action for leaders who will put our families ahead of Harrisburg lobbyists and corporations

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables plateau after hearing the problem (certain politicians being in the pocket of big corporate special interests) until the final call to action
- X Too focused on the problems



# Working People\*

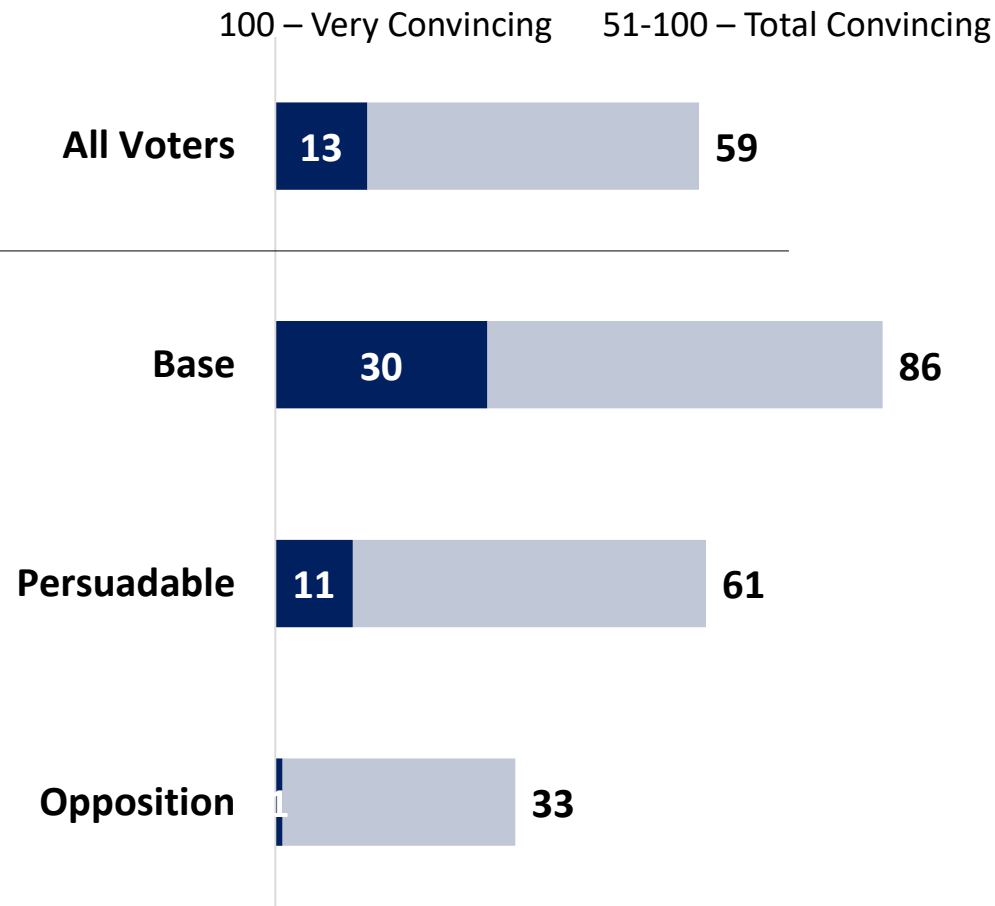


No matter where we come from or what our color, most of us work hard for our families. But today, certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich, defunding our schools, and threatening seniors with cuts to Medicare and Social Security. Then they point the finger for our hard times at poor families, Black people, and new immigrants. We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future, just like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past. Coming together, we can elect new leaders who work for all of us, not just the wealthy few.

\*Split-sampled question

# Working People\*

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS

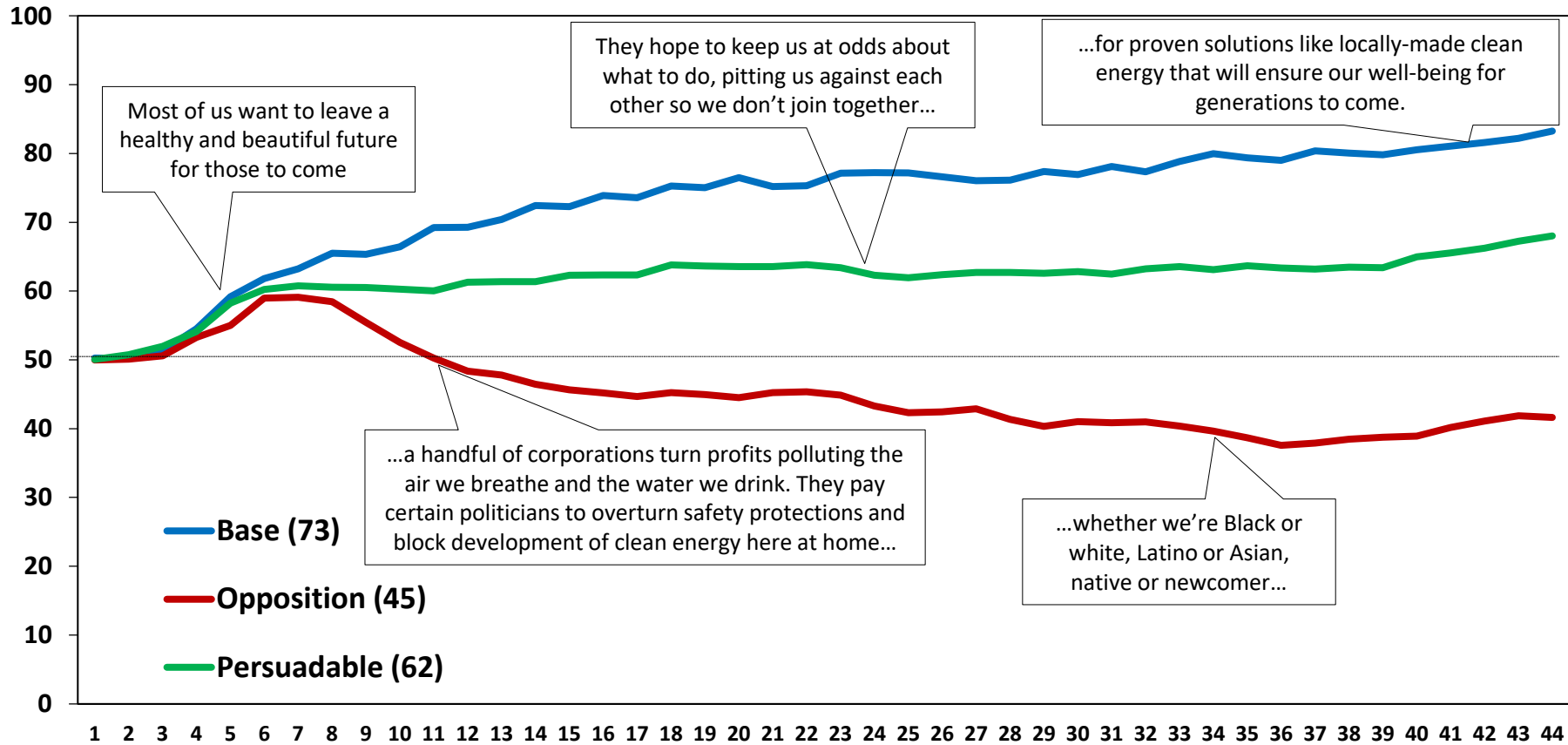
- ✓ Mention of villain as certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists alienates the opposition. While persuadables dial down at the mention of the villain, they dial up with the base when we describe their actions
- ✓ Base continuously dials up throughout the entire message
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on call to “join together with people from all walks of life” and continue to dial up through describing our past successes
- ✓ Base dials up on “Coming together, we can elect new leaders who work for all of us, not just the wealthy few” Opposition dials down on this.
- ✓ The earlier version that emphasized solutions tests better than this one especially in the unconscious ratings

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables follow the opposition in dialing down when we describe the racial scapegoating that certain politicians use to divide us



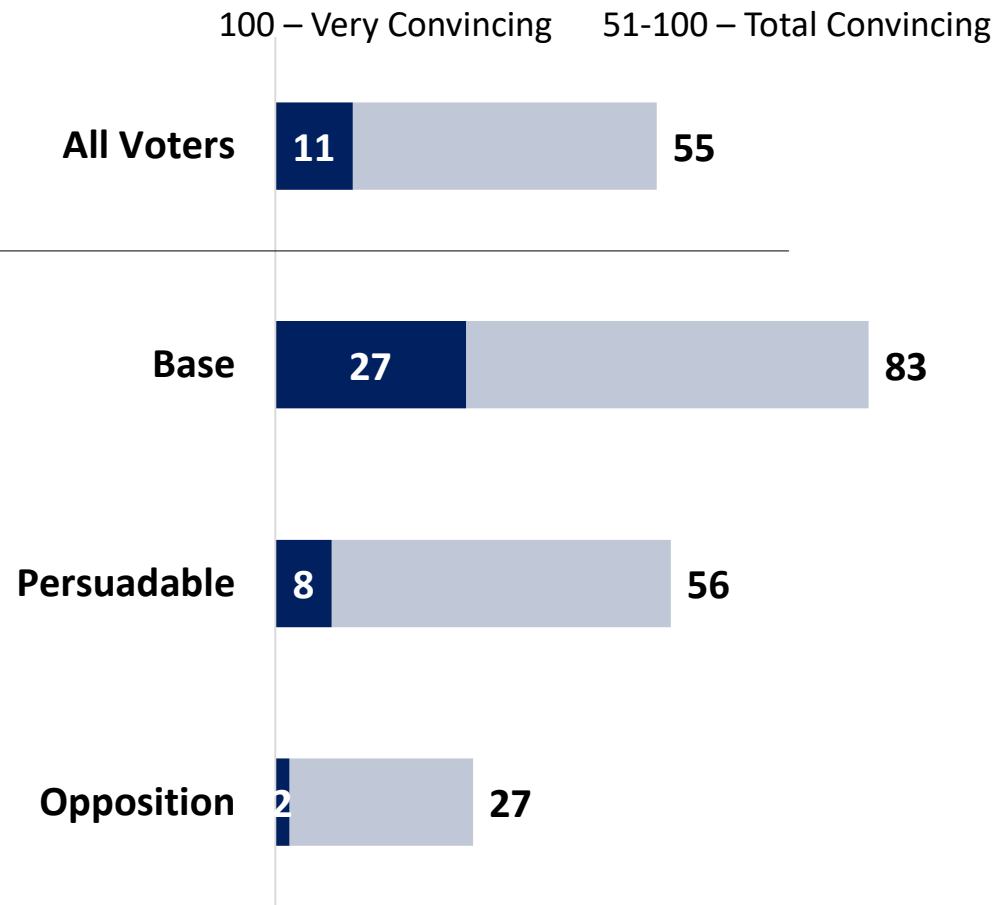
# Environment



Most of us want to leave a healthy and beautiful future for those to come. But today, a handful of corporations turn profits polluting the air we breathe and the water we drink. They pay certain politicians to overturn safety protections and block development of clean energy here at home, brushing aside the violent storms and severe droughts across our country that come from changing our climate. They hope to keep us at odds about what to do, pitting us against each other so we don't join together - whether we're Black or white, Latino or Asian, native or newcomer – for proven solutions like locally-made clean energy that will ensure our well-being for generations to come.

# Environment

## How convincing did you find this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ Base continuously dials up
- ✓ Blaming corporate polluters and the politicians they pay alienates the opposition while exciting the base
- ✓ Opposition dials down at “whether we’re Black or white, Latino or Asian, native or newcomer” while the base dials up but persuadables do not respond
- ✓ Everyone dials up at the description of solutions for future generations at the end

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

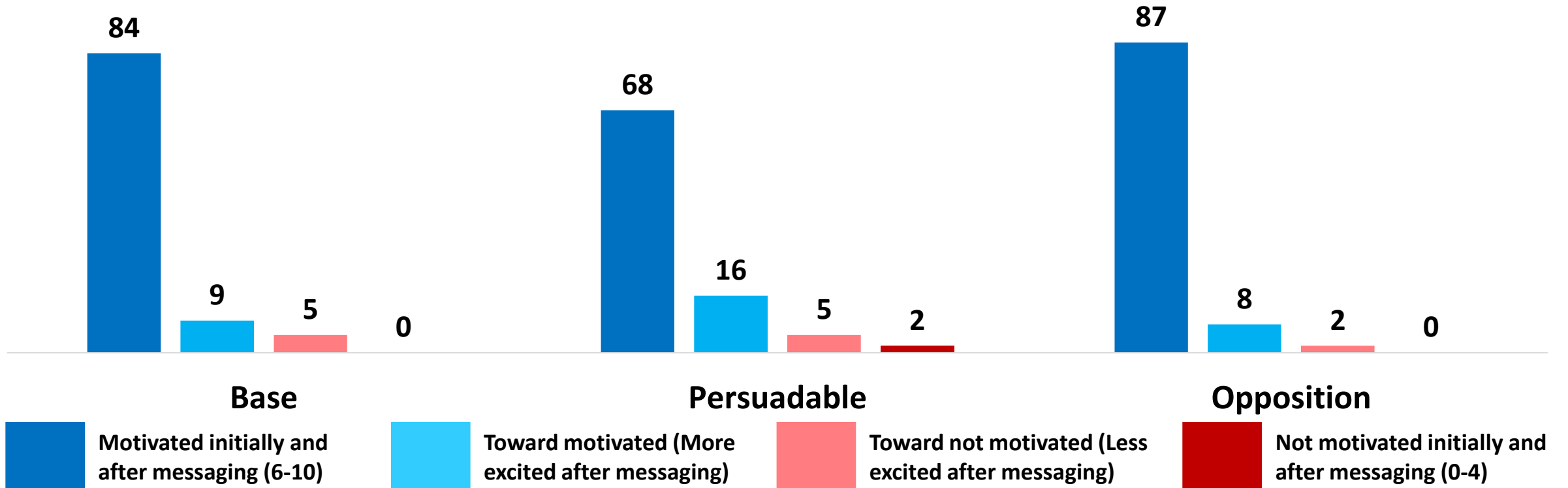
- X Persuadables dial down and plateau when we describe the division (“they hope to keep us at odds about what to do, pitting us against each other so we don’t join together”)

# Movement



# Both base and opposition voters are solidly motivated to be a voter, and after messaging, 16 percent of persuadable voters shift to being motivated to be a voter.

Some people are very motivated about being a voter in this November election while others don't feel motivated at all, and many are in between. How about you--how motivated are you to be a voter in November?



After messaging, voters are more supportive of all of our policies, but they are also more supportive of the conservative policies. Base voters are more likely to shift toward favoring raising the minimum wage to \$15, increasing development for short-term housing, and enacting rules to reduce our carbon output. Persuadable voters are more likely to shift toward favoring requiring that working people join their union and enacting rules to reduce our carbon output. At the same time persuadable voters are also likely to move on their side on providing more resources for police.

Please indicate whether you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

	Net Toward Favor			
	Total	Base	Pers	Oppo
Prioritize public safety by providing greater resources to police officers and respecting their ability to do their job	+7	0	+10	+8
End the waste, fraud, and abuse of taxpayer dollars by ensuring illegal immigrants cannot access public programs and services	+3	-6	+4	+8
Protect our air, water, and land by enacting rules to reduce our carbon output by 30% by 2030*	+15	+23	+18	-1
Ensure Pennsylvanians have the freedom to decide for ourselves whether and when to have children through access to reproductive healthcare including contraception and abortion care*	+7	+13	+7	-1
Raise revenue for our schools, roads, and services by implementing a shale tax and closing loopholes for Pennsylvania corporations who evade our state taxes.	+11	+20	+12	+1
Protect our air, water, and land by enacting a Green New Deal to reduce our carbon output by 30% by 2030*	+7	+7	+13	-4
Increase development of affordable housing and provide more short and long-term housing	+13	+26	+17	-3
Protect our access to reproductive healthcare including contraception and abortion care*	+8	+8	+14	-3
Ensure everyone is paid a living wage by raising the minimum wage to \$15 and giving our cities and towns local control in determining the appropriate local wage rate for themselves*	+11	+11	+16	+2
Ensure everyone receives a fair return on our work by raising the minimum wage to \$15 and giving our cities and towns local control in determining the appropriate local wage rate for themselves*	+16	+32	+15	+3
Require that working people who benefit from union representation in their workplace join their union*	+12	+17	+19	-5
Maintain the existing rule that working people who benefit from union representation in their workplace must join their union*	+15	+20	+18	+6

\*Split-sampled question

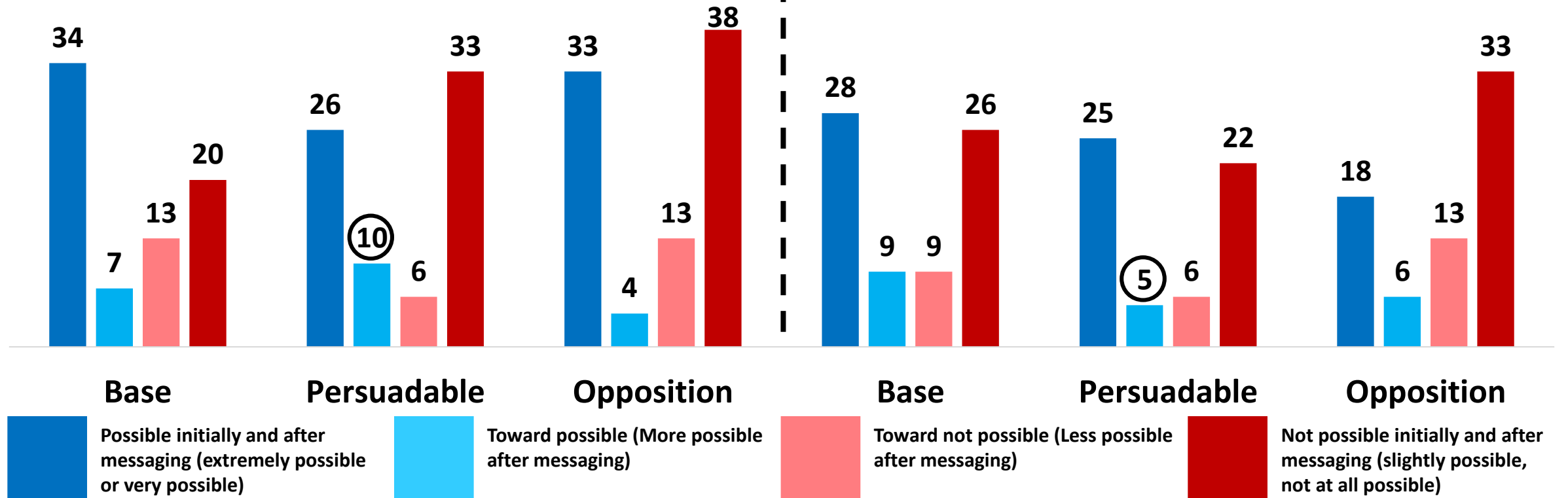


Base voters are more likely to say that it is possible to have a government in America than in Pennsylvania that represents and governs for all of us before and after messaging. Persuadable voters are twice as likely to shift toward saying this is possible in America than they are in Pennsylvania.

How possible do you think it is to have a government in...that represents and governs for all of us?

In America\*

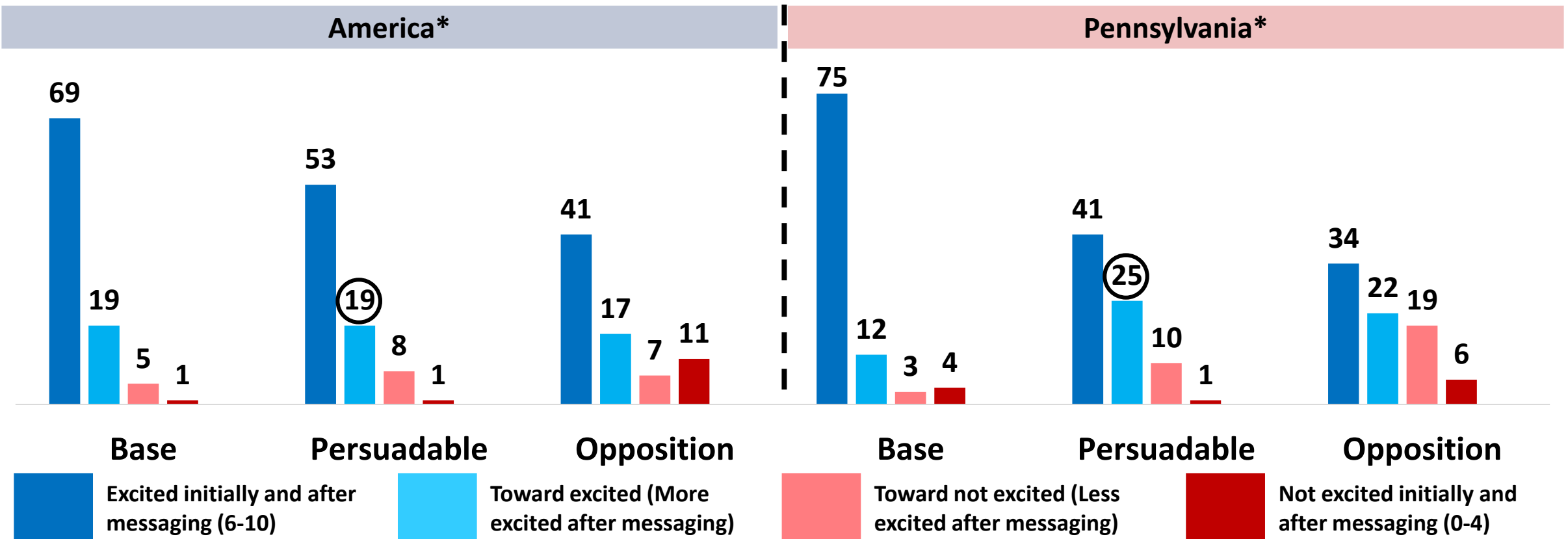
In Pennsylvania\*



\*Split-sampled question

# Though more persuadable voters are solidly excited to join together with people across racial differences to bring about positive change in America, messaging is more likely to cause them to shift toward being excited in Pennsylvania.

Generally speaking, how excited are you to join together with people across racial differences to bring about positive change in...



\*Split-sampled question

# LRP

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