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**COMMUNITY CHANGE**

# **Toward a Good Jobs Agenda**

**Economic Justice Messaging Research**

**July 2015**

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# Methodology

In 2015 Lake Research Partners and ASO Communications designed and administered a survey which was conducted online March 22-31, 2015. The survey reached a total of 1043 likely 2016 voters including oversamples of African Americans (100), Hispanics (120), and voters under 30 (50). The data was weighted to reflect the true proportion of the population. 100 policy activists on the issues of poverty and inequality took the survey and are treated as a separate sample. The samples for the base survey and oversamples were drawn from an online panel. The data was weighted slightly by gender, region, race, party identification, and income level to reflect the attributes of the actual population. The sample for the poverty activist oversample was drawn from a client supplied sample. The margin of error for the total survey is +/-3.0%.

In January of 2015, Lake Research Partners conducted focus groups in Columbus OH (January 12<sup>th</sup>) among married white women, African American men and women, and non-college white men, and in Baltimore MD (January 14<sup>th</sup>) among unmarried women between 35-50, women under 30 with a mix of race, and Latina women. Participants were recruited from the local area to reflect a mix of educational attainment and employment status.

In 2014 Lake Research Partners and ASO Communications designed and administered a survey which was conducted online April 19-30, 2014. The survey reached a total of 1,726 adults including a base of 1023 registered voters with oversamples of 404 people under 200% of the Federal Poverty Level (FPL), 100 African American voters, 100 Latino voters, 100 voters under age 30, and 100 progressive activists who work in the poverty issue space. The people at or below 200% FPL, African Americans, Latinos and under 30 oversamples were weighed down to reflect their proportion of the population. 100 policy activists on the issue of poverty also took the survey, and are treated as a separate sample throughout. The samples for the base survey and oversamples were drawn from an online panel. The data was weighted slightly by gender, region, race, party identification, and income level to reflect the attributes of the actual population. The sample for the poverty activist oversample was drawn from a client supplied sample. The margin of error for the total survey is +/-2.3%. For the voters under 200% FPL, the margin of error is +/- 6.9%. For the African American, Hispanic, voters under 30 samples, and poverty activists, the margin of error is +/-9.8% for each individually.

Prior to the surveys, ASO Communications conducted a language analysis of how people talk about poverty and inequality which was informed by one-on-one interviews with activists working in the poverty and inequality issue space.

Throughout the report we refer to the “Rising American Electorate,” or RAE. This refers to a demographic definition of voters who have become a larger share of the electorate in Presidential elections over time, who disproportionately drop-off in greater numbers in mid-term elections, and who are progressive in their attitudes. They include voters under 30, unmarried women under 55, African Americans, and Latinos.

# Defining Base, Persuadable, and Opposition

% Total 8-10, Agree Strongly	Total	Targets		
		B	O	P
Americans ought to earn a wage that allows us to sustain a family	67	97	32	66
We need to invest in creating jobs, especially in places with high unemployment and low wages	64	95	25	64
Americans ought to earn a wage that allows us to raise a family	63	89	35	63
The economic rules in this country unfairly favor the rich	47	86	2	47
We need to invest in creating jobs, especially in places with high unemployment and low wages, including communities of color	53	84	21	53
Women have made strides in and out of the workplace but still don't receive equal treatment at work	52	84	16	51
C-E-O's and huge corporations have rigged the economic rules in their favor and it is time to restore balance in the rules so everyone can prosper	48	79	5	49
The economic rules in this country are out of balance	52	72	14	56
African Americans and Latinos face greater economic obstacles than whites	34	69	6	31
Our government should ensure a job for anyone who wants to work when the private sector fails to do so	36	64	2	37
If we had the right policies in place almost no one would be poor in America	36	48	19	37
Our government should guarantee a job for anyone who wants to work when the private sector fails to do so	32	45	0	36
Americans just can't afford any tax increases right now, no matter what it is for	55	37	70	57
The best economic policy is for government to get out of the way so small businesses and entrepreneurs can operate most effectively	47	7	93	48
The best way to create good jobs is for government to get out of the way so small businesses and entrepreneurs can operate most effectively	46	6	86	48

In 2015 we conducted a cluster analysis to determine the base, persuadable, and opposition targets that are mentioned throughout the report in reference to 2015 data.

A cluster analysis is a statistical tool that groups people based on their responses to a set of questions. In this case, we looked at responses to a series of value statements.

Base voters disproportionately agreed with the statements highlighted in blue, which centered on values of fairness and family. Opposition voters disproportionately agreed with the statements highlighted in red, which center on getting the government out of the way of entrepreneurs.

# Defining Base, Persuasion, and Opposition Targets

## Base (19%)

Base voters overwhelmingly agree with statements centered around the values of fairness and family:

- Americans ought to earn a wage that allows us to sustain a family. (97% rate 8-10)
- We need to invest in creating jobs, especially in places with high unemployment and low wages. (95% rate 8-10)
- Americans ought to earn a wage that allows us to raise a family. (89% rate 8-10)
- The economic rules in this country unfairly favor the rich. (86% rate 8-10)

### Demographics:

More likely Democrats, Women, People of Color.

- 55% Women (+3)
- 76% Democrat (+35)
- 32% Unmarried women (+7)
- 26% African American (+13)
- 57% Rising American Electorate (+12)

(The number in parenthesis represents the difference with the overall population)

## Opposition (16%)

Opposition voters overwhelmingly agree with statements around getting government out of the way of small businesses and entrepreneurs, and show strong tax sensitivity:

- The best economic policy is for government to get out of the way so small businesses and entrepreneurs can operate most effectively. (93% rate 8-10)
- The best way to create good jobs is for government to get out of the way so small businesses and entrepreneurs can operate most effectively. (86% rate 8-10)
- Americans just can't afford any tax increases right now, no matter what it is for. (70% rate 8-10)

### Demographics:

More likely to be older, Republican, and men.

- 58% Men (+10)
- 79% Republican (+44)
- 32% Over 65 (+10)
- 59% College graduates (+12)
- 58% Over \$50K (+12)
- 90% White (+18)
- 81% Non Rising American Electorate (+26)

## Persuadable (62%)

Persuadable voters agree with statements around the same levels as all voters overall.

### Demographics:

- These voters more closely resemble the overall population

# Defining Base, Persuadable, and Opposition

The table below displays the demographics of the base, persuadable, and opposition targets.

Demographics	Total	Targets		
		Base	Opposition	Persuasion
Total	100	19	16	62
Men	48	45	58	46
Women	52	55	42	54
Under 30	15	15	6	17
30 to 39	16	16	13	17
40 to 49	17	16	13	18
50 to 64	30	36	35	27
Over 65	22	17	32	21
White	72	60	90	71
African American	13	26	2	12
Latino	11	11	6	12
Asian	3	1	1	4
Democrat	41	76	4	40
Independent	21	14	14	25
Republican	35	8	79	32
Non College Graduate	53	50	41	57
College Graduate	47	50	59	43
Married men	27	21	35	26
Married women	27	22	25	28
Unmarried men	21	24	23	20
Unmarried women	25	32	17	26
Children under 18	33	26	23	37
No children under 18	67	74	77	63
Income below \$50K	52	52	41	55
Income above \$50K	46	47	58	43
“Rising American Electorate”	45	57	19	48
Non “Rising American Electorate”	55	43	81	52

# Executive Summary

Over the past two years, the Center for Community Change has been in collaboration with partners across the country on a bold new campaign to confront poverty in America. We're fighting to improve pay and conditions at existing jobs while pushing to create new ones. In this, we discovered that the ways people – advocates, policymakers, politicians and experts – talk about wages, benefits, access to employment and economic injustice aren't breaking through. The messaging is often too bland, relying on abstractions, trying to please all at the expense of energizing the base, inspiring people to sustained action and persuading the middle to our view. We want audacious change; we need language to match it.

Because our campaign puts low-income people at the center, we made their voices and insights central to our message exploration and testing. And, our research shows that low-income people do not see themselves or their lives represented in current language. We also looked at how to frame the gender and racial elements of economic struggles as well as the impact language has on people of color and women.

To engage and sustain the interest of a powerful coalition with our messages, we knew we had to do things differently. We had to develop messages that do the following:

- Draw a clear contrast between our position and our opposition and bring the middle to us
- Challenge dominant conservative notions of the purpose of the economy
- Build a common identity for the purposes of asserting political power
- Find powerful ways to explicitly refer to major points of contention, such as race and gender
- Move our target constituencies to action

Our multi-year process began with linguistic analysis of current advocacy, opposition and media discourse as well as what popular culture pitches about wealth and poverty. Through listening sessions and advocate interviews, we uncovered how people reason about the issues and what language comes naturally to affected communities. We tested our values and messages in focus groups and two online surveys with robust samples and significant oversamples of African Americans, Latinos, people under 30, and people at or below 200% of the poverty line. These messages handily beat the best of the opposition and standard Democratic approaches with persuadable voters and galvanize our base to action.

# Executive Summary

Six years into an economic recovery Americans continue to harbor significant economic anxieties. Nearly 3 in 4 rate the national economic situation negatively and more than half rate their own situation poorly. Today, Americans are more likely to believe that wealthy Americans achieved their success because they were given more opportunities than others, and that poor Americans have fewer opportunities to be successful than others.

Americans believe that government should play a role in ensuring that every person who wants to work has a job and a good standard of living. People support government programs that bring people out of poverty, but many Americans show strong sensitivity toward paying for it through increased taxes. Americans strongly support government investment in infrastructure, clean energy, and early childhood education. They favor gradually phasing in the minimum wage and expanding tax credits for caregivers who care for children, the sick, disabled, and elderly. People want the government to focus on creating jobs in places with the highest unemployment.

There are several core values that are key toward mobilizing supporters and persuadable voters toward a robust agenda that would ensure everyone has a job and good standard of living. Chiefly these are fairness and family. Americans agree that everyone ought to earn a wage that allows them to sustain a family. They believe that the economic rules in this country are out of balance, and that CEO's and huge corporations have rigged the economic rules in their favor. People believe these economic rules unfairly favor the rich.

Middle class values are strong, but do little to differentiate between conservative and progressive narratives. Rather, a populist contrast that highlights how the wealthy benefit from a rigged system helps more clearly define the problem and provide space for a solution.

# Executive Summary

Family emerges as an important starting point to build the progressive case. The reason we endure the challenges and struggles of work is to provide for our families. Grounding a discussion in family, in terms of who is harmed by a system that unfairly favors the rich, and who benefits from positive change establishes an important foundation. Wages and work are a means toward the end of providing for family.

Messaging should embrace and lead with progressive values like family, freedom, and fairness. Metaphors that describe the problem as a barrier – “trapped” or “can’t get ahead” – and balance “economy has swung out of balance” are more powerful metaphors than those traditionally employed by advocates such as “gap” or “top and bottom”.

Describing lived experiences proves more valuable than focusing in abstractions. For example, people identify with labels such as “doing best to make ends meet” or “struggling to keep my head above water” rather than labels that focus on poverty or equality.

Opposition statements offer the caution that defining the problem must connect to our solutions. Base and persuadable voters as well as activists react positively to the conservative explanation of the problem: “Too many Americans believe the American dream is slipping away. They see their cost of living rise while their paychecks remain stagnant. They see an economy that benefits stockbrokers, not stock clerks. They see the ladder of economic opportunity remaining out of their reach. We need to revive the American dream...”

We must own the solution in part by naming the cause of the harms, which provides agency: “CEO’s who decided” or “leaders who chose.” We need to name the ends of our solutions: “setting kids off to a bright future” and “building things that America needs” in order to generate support for the policies that get us there.

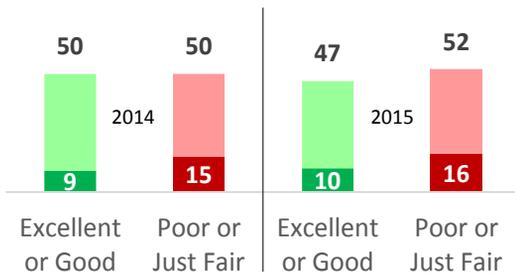


# **Economic Context**

# Economic Context

## Americans remain pessimistic about the economy, and are less optimistic about their own situation.

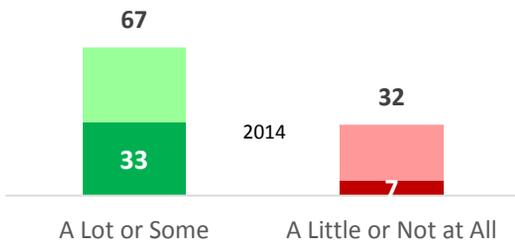
How would you describe your own economic situation today?



More than 5 years after the Great Recession, a majority of Americans describe their economic situation negatively and nearly 3 in 4 rate the economy of the nation negatively.

Believing you have control over your own and your family's economic situation correlates with economic perceptions. Among those who rate their situation as excellent or good, 89 percent say they have a lot or some control over their economic situation. Among those who rate their situation as just fair or poor, just 45 percent say they have a lot or some control, while 55 percent say they have a little or no control at all.

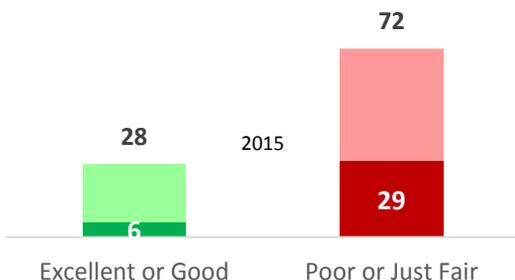
How much control do you feel you have over you and your family's economic situation?



Self perceptions differ across age, education, income level, and urbanicity:

Older voters, post graduates, households earning more than 200% FPL, and voters in suburban areas are more likely to say they have control and rate their situation positively.

How would you describe the economic situation here in America today?



Younger voters, Hispanics, those with a high school education or less, households earning less than 200% FPL, and people who live in small towns are more likely to say they have no control and rate their situation negatively.

2014	Total	Gender		Age		Race				200% FPL		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	API	<	>	B	O	P
<b>Have Control + Positive Situation</b>	44	46	43	28	58	48	41	28	46	21	60	30	59	44
<b>Lack Control + Negative Situation</b>	28	27	29	38	23	27	27	37	22	43	18	37	20	28

# Perceptions of Causality

## Americans are more likely now to believe opportunities matter more than one's work ethic.

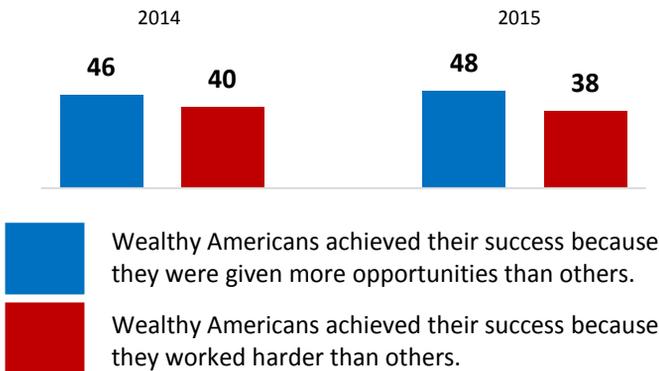
Perceptions on how wealthy Americans became that way is a key distinction between our base and our opposition. More Americans today believe that the wealthy and the poor got that way because of the opportunities they had available compared to what they believed in 2014.

Younger voters, African Americans, and Latinos continue to be more likely to believe that both the wealthy and poor were born into wealthy and poor families respectively.

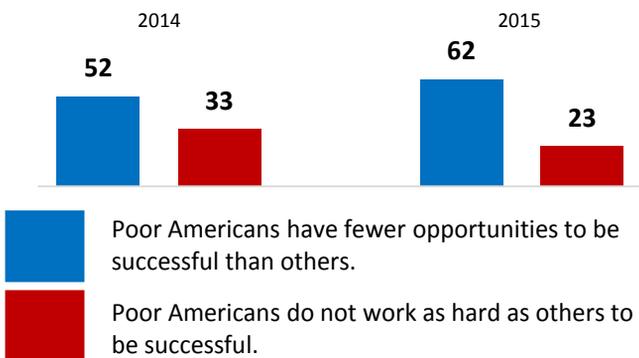
Older voters, men, and whites are more likely to believe that wealthy Americans worked harder to be successful. Older voters and higher income earners are more likely to believe that poor Americans were born into poor families relative to other cohorts.

Party affiliation strongly correlates with perceptions of the reasons how people become rich and poor. Republicans believe that in both cases causality is the work ethic of the individual. Democrats and African Americans believe that the causality is the family one is born into.

In your opinion which of the following is the primary reason wealthy Americans have achieved financial success?



In your opinion which of the following is the primary reason poor Americans have not achieved financial success?



2015	Total	Gender		Age		Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
Wealthy given more opportunities	48	45	50	57	36	43	63	54	53	42	79	7	48
Wealthy worked harder	38	45	32	34	45	42	25	33	30	48	7	84	36
Poor Americans have fewer opp.	62	61	63	70	52	58	83	65	69	55	93	17	64
Poor Americans do not work as hard	23	27	20	22	32	25	11	25	18	30	2	51	23



# **Government and Policy**

# Support for Government Programs

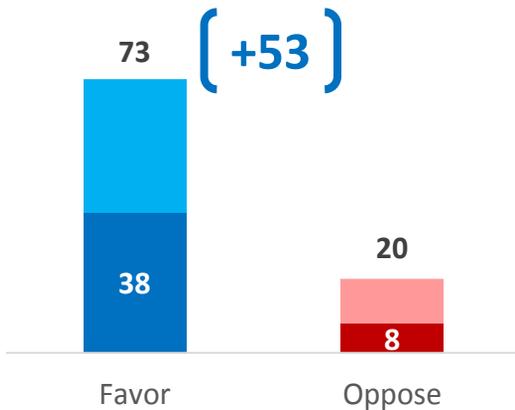
## Tax Sensitivity Emerges

As seen on many other issues explored outside the context of this survey, a familiar pattern emerges of tax sensitivity. In 2014 nearly three quarters of voters favored government programs geared toward bringing people out of poverty, including 38 percent who strongly favored programs. However when asked “if it increased your taxes,” support eroded considerably, and in fact, a majority opposed government programs in that context, and only 16 percent strongly favored. Erosion was across the board with the strongest intensity among Latinos and Asian and Pacific Islanders.

This erosion on taxes helps explain the salience of the opposition statement, “how one becomes rich.” Persuadable voters dialed up on the phrase “*And when you do work hard and get ahead, the government should not take your earnings and just give them to people who don’t.*” These voters favored government programs by 76 percent to 16 percent who oppose. When these programs were tied to an increase in their taxes, persuadable voters divided evenly with 46 percent who favor and 48 percent who oppose.

Taxes remain a powerful villain used by opponents of government action, and a strong motivator against us for older voters (particularly older men) and Republicans.

Do you favor or oppose government programs geared toward bringing people out of poverty? (2014)



Do you favor or oppose government programs geared toward bringing people out of poverty if it increased your taxes? (2014)



2014	Total	Gender		Age		Race				200% FPL		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	API	<	>	B	O	P
<b>Favor – Oppose (w/OUT Taxes)</b>	+53	+44	<b>+62</b>	<b>+62</b>	+45	+44	+90	+63	+63	<b>+64</b>	+46	+93	-15	<b>+61</b>
<b>Favor – Oppose (WITH TAXES)</b>	-7	-10	-3	+1	-13	-17	+51	-8	-22	+5	-14	+46	-73	-2

# Government and Jobs

## Saying “ensure” stronger than saying “guarantee”

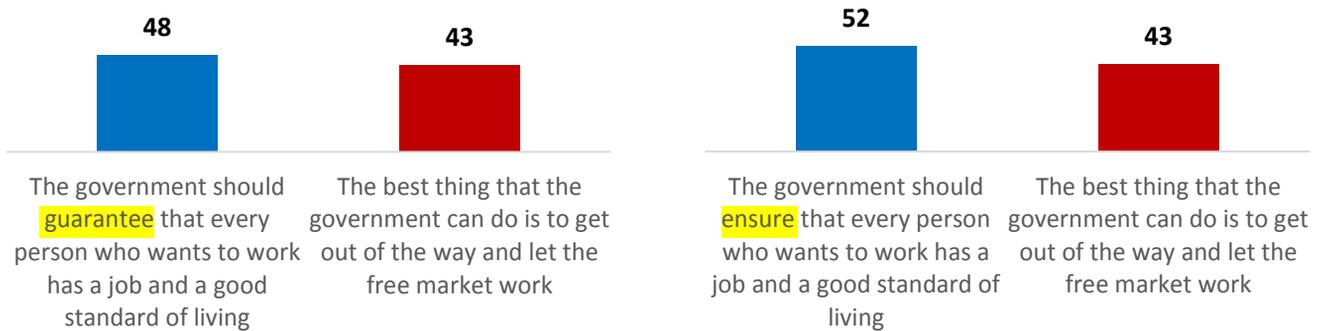
Slight pluralities of voters, including a plurality of persuadable voters, believe the government should guarantee that every person who wants to work has a job and a good standard of living. The word “guarantee” however generates some reservations.

Majorities say the government should “ensure” every person who wants to work has a job. Young voters, African Americans, Latinos, and women are more likely to hold this view. African Americans overwhelmingly agree when we say “ensure” instead of “guarantee.”

For opposition voters, this is a non-starter. They are firmly of the mind to get government out of the way of the free market.

Seniors are resistant to a government guarantee or assurance, but millennials overwhelmingly believe government has an important role in creating a good standard of living for everyone.

Which of these statements better describe what you would like to see national leaders and the Federal government doing? (2015)

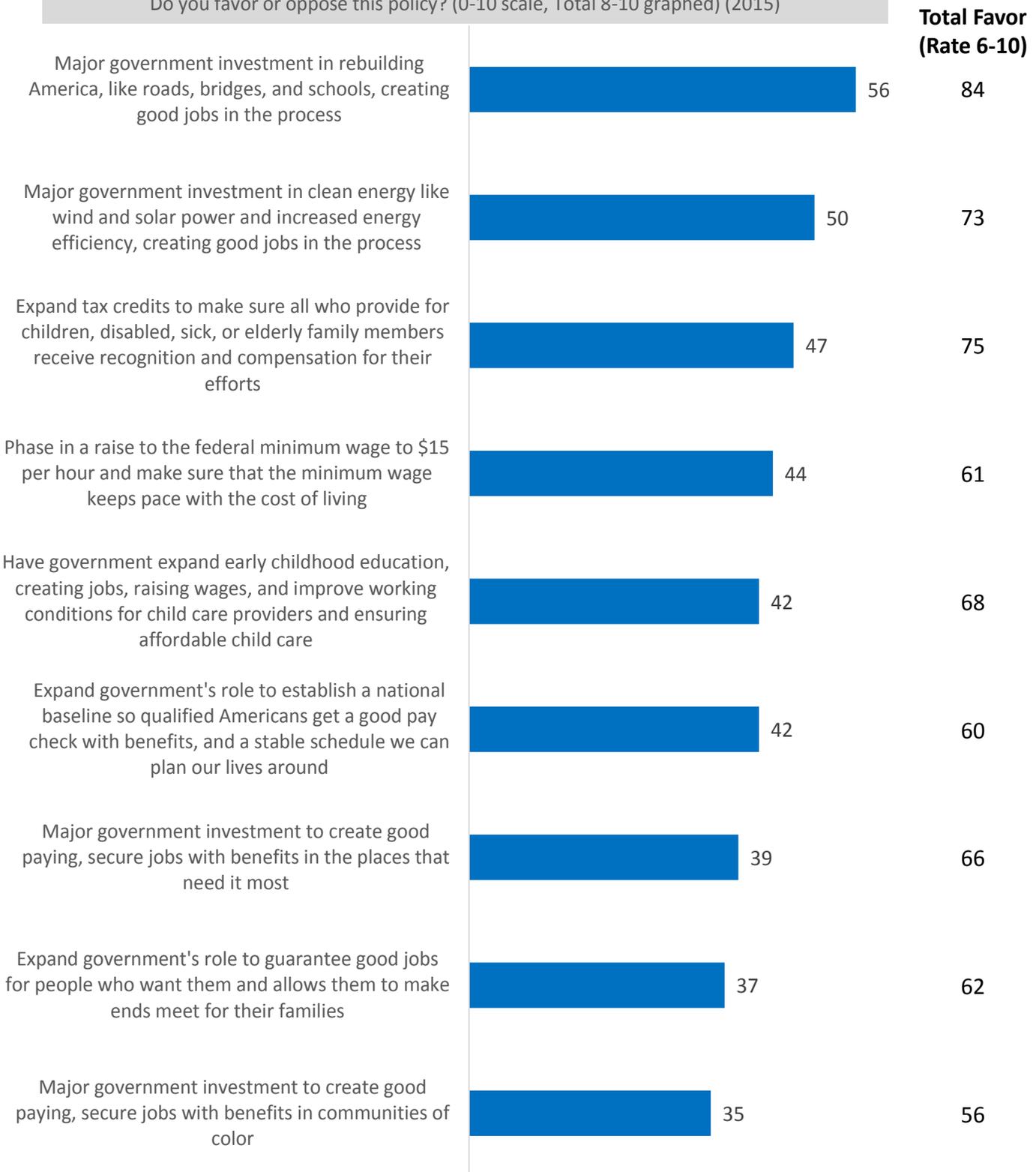


2015	Total	Gender		Age					Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
Gov't should guarantee	48	43	53	67	65	46	45	29	42	69	59	52	43	91	3	47
Gov't should get out of the way	43	51	36	27	34	43	39	67	50	19	36	38	50	4	96	41
Gov't should ensure	52	46	58	73	61	53	52	33	45	87	63	53	50	90	1	53
Gov't should get out of the way	43	52	34	25	36	43	44	59	50		34	40	47	5	99	40

# Support for Government Policies

## Major Investment in Infrastructure and Clean Energy Tops Priorities

Do you favor or oppose this policy? (0-10 scale, Total 8-10 graphed) (2015)



# Support for Government Policies

## Variation in Support of Government Policies

At the top of the agenda for base and persuadable voters is major government investment in infrastructure or clean energy. Clean energy investments alienate opposition voters more so than infrastructure.

Phasing in a raise to the minimum wage is a top tier policy for base voters and strong with persuadable voters. “Phasing in” builds support for a higher level.

Expanding tax credits for care givers and expanding early childhood education are strong policies for base and persuadable voters, while also alienating opposition voters.

African Americans and Latinos are strong supporters of this entire agenda. They strongly favor government investment to create jobs in communities of color, and to establish a national baseline so qualified Americans get a good pay check with benefits.

% Total 8-10, Strongly Favor (2015)	Total	Gender		Age		Party ID			Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	D	I	R	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
Major government investment in rebuilding America	56	56	57	44	56	68	46	49	55	66	57	56	56	80	33	55
Major government investment in clean energy	50	49	50	52	39	67	51	28	44	67	59	48	50	81	14	49
Expand tax credits for caregivers	47	44	49	48	38	61	42	34	43	65	52	50	43	70	14	48
Phase in a raise to the federal minimum wage to \$15 per hour	44	39	50	55	32	64	40	23	39	69	49	49	39	77	9	44
Have government expand early childhood education	42	39	45	49	34	61	41	21	37	63	45	45	39	73	7	42
Expand government's role to establish a national baseline	42	40	44	43	28	63	39	22	34	76	53	44	40	71	4	42
Government investment to create jobs in places that need it most	39	36	42	39	29	54	32	24	35	57	44	42	35	63	6	40
Expand government's role to guarantee good jobs	37	31	43	43	23	56	37	15	33	60	41	45	27	66	2	38
Government investment to create jobs in communities of color	35	36	34	45	23	56	27	18	25	73	52	37	33	60	0	36

# Best Role of Government

## For a Third of Voters the Best Role for Government Is a Conservative Role

What do you think the best role for the government is when it comes to the economy? (2015)



Base voters have clear preferences for the best role of government. They want government to enforce rules and regulations to protect our safety, and to manage the economy to ensure everyday Americans can make ends meet.

For opposition voters, government is best when it stops rewarding people who do not work and lets the rest of us keep more of what we earn.

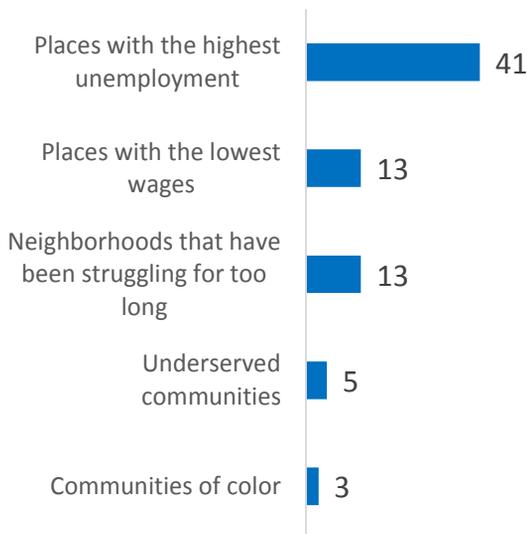
This position finds agreement among persuadable voters too, and highlights the strong tax sensitivity that exists in wide swaths of the electorate.

2015	Total	Gender		Age		Party ID			Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	D	I	R	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
Stop rewarding those who do not work	30	30	30	31	45	13	29	50	36	9	19	32	29	7	67	28
Enforce rules and regulations to protect our safety	16	18	14	14	15	22	15	9	13	24	21	13	20	28	4	15
Help people in bad times get on their feet	15	16	14	14	14	13	20	15	14	15	20	15	15	11	19	15
Manage the economy to ensure everyday Americans can make ends meet	13	13	14	13	7	19	14	6	13	16	11	15	10	22	0	14
Be a partner and investor in creating good, secure jobs	10	11	10	14	7	16	5	8	9	15	13	11	10	13	0	12
Manage the economy to ensure there is balance	9	7	10	10	7	13	7	5	8	14	10	7	10	15	1	8

# Government Investing in Creating Jobs

## Voters Want to Invest in Places with Highest Unemployment

If the government were to invest in creating jobs, for which of the following do you think should be the highest priority? (2015)



Government investment in creating jobs is popular. Voters would focus on places with the highest unemployment.

Base and persuadable voters believe that the government should invest in places with the highest unemployment.

Places with the lowest wages and those that have been struggling for too long are important, but reducing unemployment is the top priority.

African Americans are more likely than others to prioritize communities of color, but do so below places with high unemployment, places with the lowest wages, and neighborhoods that have been struggling for too long.

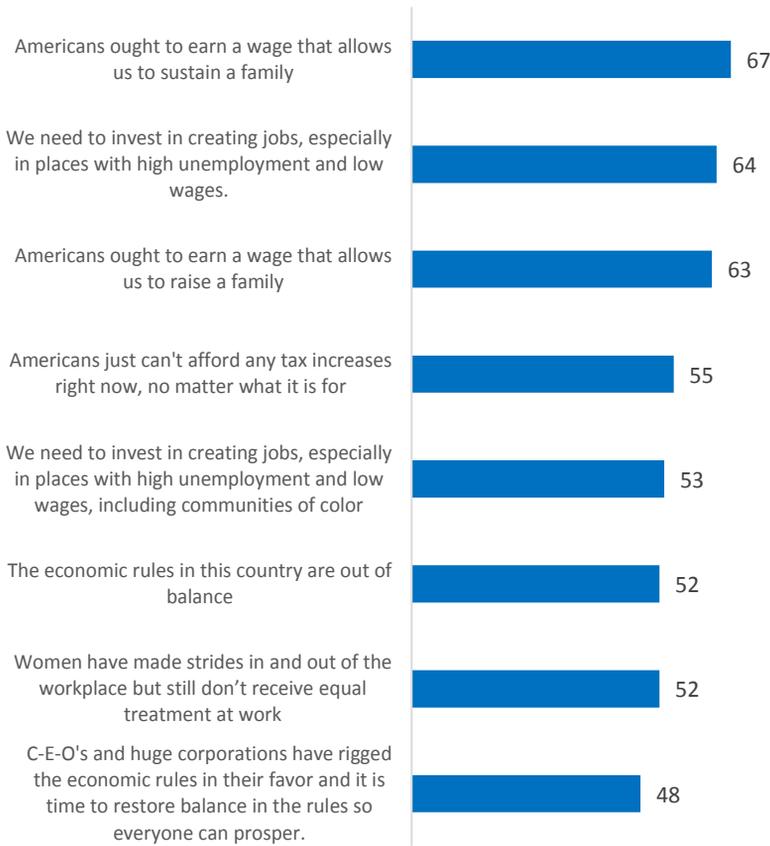
2015	Total	Gender		Age		Party ID			Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	D	I	R	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
<b>Places with the highest unemployment</b>	41	41	41	40	43	46	39	35	42	36	40	41	42	46	27	43
<b>Neighborhoods that have been struggling for too long</b>	13	13	13	16	11	15	14	11	12	15	15	15	11	15	5	15
<b>Places with the lowest wages</b>	13	11	14	14	7	15	13	9	11	16	17	14	12	12	6	14
<b>Underserved communities</b>	5	5	6	8	7	6	4	5	5	9	8	5	6	5	5	6
<b>Communities of color</b>	3	3	3	9	1	5	3	1	1	12	4	3	3	6	0	3

The background features a repeating pattern of interlocking puzzle pieces in a light gray color. Overlaid on this pattern is a faint, light gray line graph with several peaks and valleys, suggesting economic data or trends. The overall aesthetic is clean and professional.

# **Values Toward The Economy**

# Value Statements – 1<sup>st</sup> Tier

How convincing is this statement? (0-10 Scale, 8-10 Shown, Very Convincing) (2015)



The top value statements revolve around a living wage that allows us to sustain a family and investing in creating jobs, especially in places with high unemployment and low wages.

As mentioned previously, our base and opposition definitions emerged from a cluster analysis of statements on the economy.

Values of fairness and family define the base. These voters strongly believe that Americans ought to earn a wage that allows them to raise or sustain a family.

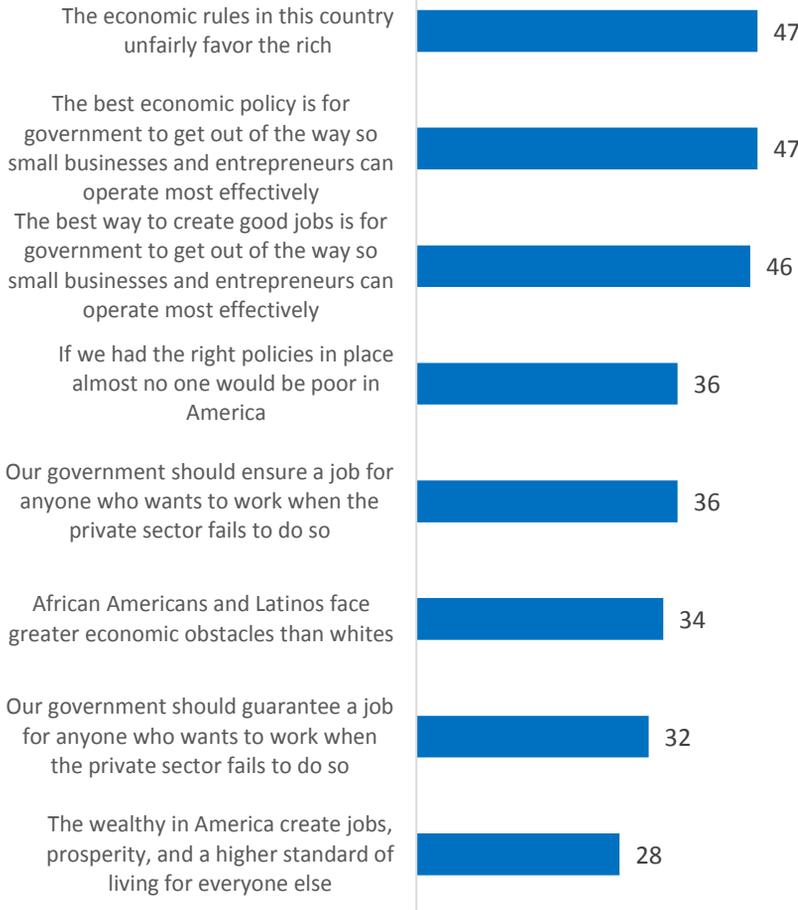
Voters support investing in job creation. African Americans support racial references. They also firmly believe that the economic rules in this country are out of balance.

These values are also top values for persuadable voters and provide messaging direction. Base and persuadable voters also agree with populist statements, and believe that the economic rules in this country are out of balance, and that CEOs and huge corporations have rigged the economic rules in their favor.

% Total 8-10, Agree Strongly (2015)	Total	Gender		Age					Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
Americans ought to earn a wage that allows us to sustain a family	67	64	70	73	67	76	69	51	62	86	78	68	66	97	32	66
Americans ought to earn a wage that allows us to raise a family	63	57	69	60	64	63	69	58	63	77	55	72	54	89	35	63
We need to invest in creating jobs, especially in places with high unemployment and low wages	64	62	66	58	61	65	71	60	59	82	75	67	61	95	25	64
Americans just can't afford any tax increases right now, no matter what it is for	55	52	58	42	52	58	59	58	56	51	52	61	49	37	70	57
We need to invest in creating jobs, especially in places with high unemployment and low wages, including communities of color	53	49	57	57	54	56	54	47	50	73	49	61	45	84	21	53
The economic rules in this country are out of balance	52	50	55	49	40	56	63	47	51	68	42	58	47	72	14	56
Women have made strides in and out of the workplace but still don't receive equal treatment at work	52	43	60	52	46	56	54	51	49	71	52	55	48	84	16	51
C-E-O's and huge corporations have rigged the economic rules in their favor and it is time to restore balance in the rules so everyone can prosper	48	45	51	38	48	51	52	47	44	62	54	54	42	79	5	49

# Value Statements – 2<sup>nd</sup> Tier

How convincing is this statement? (0-10 Scale, 8-10 Shown, Very Convincing) (2015)



On a second tier are more specific references to guaranteeing jobs, explicit references to race and the assertion that the wealthy create jobs.

Opposition voters are defined by their believe that the best economic policy is for government to get out of the way so small businesses and entrepreneurs can operate most effectively. While persuadable voters tend to agree with this statement, they are more inclined to agree with base voters that the economic rules are out of balance, Americans ought to earn a wage that allows them to sustain or raise a family, and that we need to invest in creating jobs.

Persuadable voters are less inclined to believe that the wealthy in America create jobs and prosperity. Base voters disagree strongly.

Tax sensitivity resonates strongly with opposition voters, as well as persuadable voters, as previously mentioned.

% Total 8-10, Agree Strongly (2015)	Total	Gender		Age					Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
The best way to create good jobs is for government to get out of the way so small businesses and entrepreneurs can operate most effectively	46	50	43	46	34	41	48	58	52	35	35	48	47	6	86	48
The best economic policy is for government to get out of the way so small businesses and entrepreneurs can operate most effectively	47	51	44	29	49	41	52	56	49	37	47	47	47	7	93	48
The economic rules in this country unfairly favor the rich	47	43	51	41	51	57	51	34	43	63	51	52	41	86	2	47
Our government should ensure a job for anyone who wants to work when the private sector fails to do so	36	31	41	43	59	32	34	21	33	52	38	40	32	64	2	37
Our government should guarantee a job for anyone who wants to work when the private sector fails to do so	32	32	32	47	29	33	33	21	24	53	47	34	30	45	0	36
African Americans and Latinos face greater economic obstacles than whites	34	36	33	41	40	36	31	29	25	75	49	35	35	69	6	31
If we had the right policies in place almost no one would be poor in America	36	34	38	33	37	42	43	25	33	50	40	38	36	48	19	37
The wealthy in America create jobs, prosperity, and a higher standard of living for everyone else	28	31	25	25	24	27	31	29	29	21	31	25	32	1	61	28

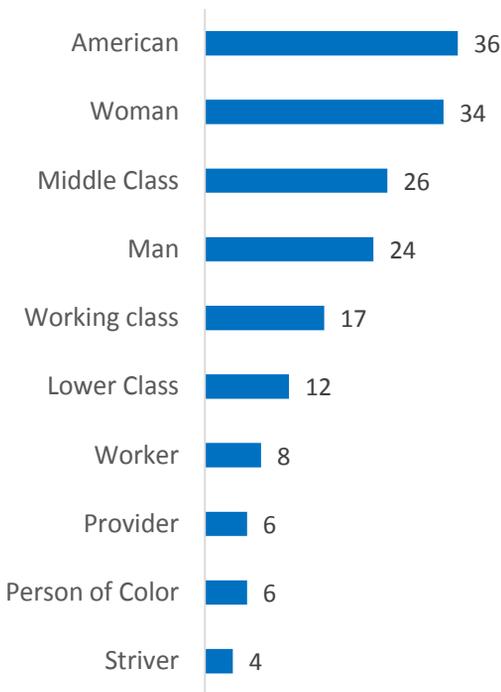
The background features a repeating pattern of interlocking puzzle pieces in a light gray color. Overlaid on this pattern is a faint, light gray line graph with several peaks and valleys, suggesting economic data or trends. The overall aesthetic is clean and professional.

# **People in the Economy**

# Self Descriptions

## People Call Themselves Americans

Which one or two of the following best describes you? (2015)



Men and women describe themselves as man and woman, but across demographics people are most likely to describe themselves as American.

People earning over \$50K are more likely than those earning less than \$50K to refer to themselves as middle class. Roughly the same proportion by income call themselves working class, but people earning less than \$50K are much more likely to call themselves lower class.

People under 30 and Latinos are more likely than others to call themselves worker, and Latinos are more likely than others to call themselves provider.

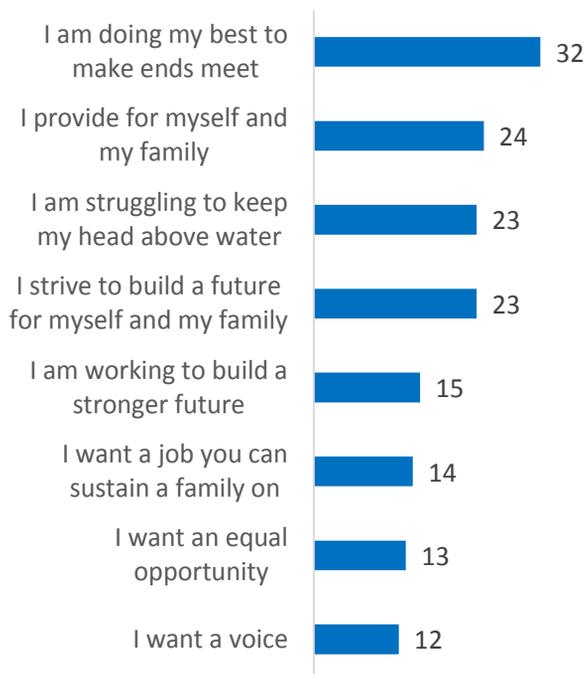
African Americans are much more likely than Latinos to refer to themselves as a person of color.

2015	Total	Gender		Age					Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
American	36	39	34	27	25	39	38	45	39	26	29	36	35	35	44	34
Woman	34	1	64	29	31	31	37	36	34	34	32	42	25	44	31	32
Middle Class	26	29	24	23	19	25	25	35	28	10	22	17	37	23	28	26
Man	24	49	1	20	27	19	26	26	25	20	24	18	31	30	27	22
Working Class	17	20	15	16	18	26	15	13	19	11	15	18	17	14	23	17
Lower Class	12	8	14	13	26	7	8	7	12	12	9	19	4	10	6	13
Worker	8	8	7	16	12	4	7	2	7	5	14	6	10	1	8	9
Person of color	6	5	7	10	5	7	5	4		38	7	7	5	16	1	4
Provider	6	8	4	3	9	4	8	3	5	5	12	6	6	5	5	6
Striver	4	4	4	10	3	2	4	2	3	5	7	4	4	7	6	3

# Self Descriptions

## Behavioral Descriptions are More Effective

Which one or two of the following best describes you? (2015)



Descriptions of behavior resonate more strongly than labels, consistent with what 2014 data showed. A third of people say “I am doing my best to make ends meet” best describes them. Persuadable voters list this as the top description.

People earning under \$50K are much more likely to describe themselves this way, whereas people earning over \$50K are more likely to say they “strive to build a future for myself and my family.”

Base voters are likely to describe themselves using language of struggle, such as “I am doing my best to make ends meet” or “I am struggling to keep my head above water.”

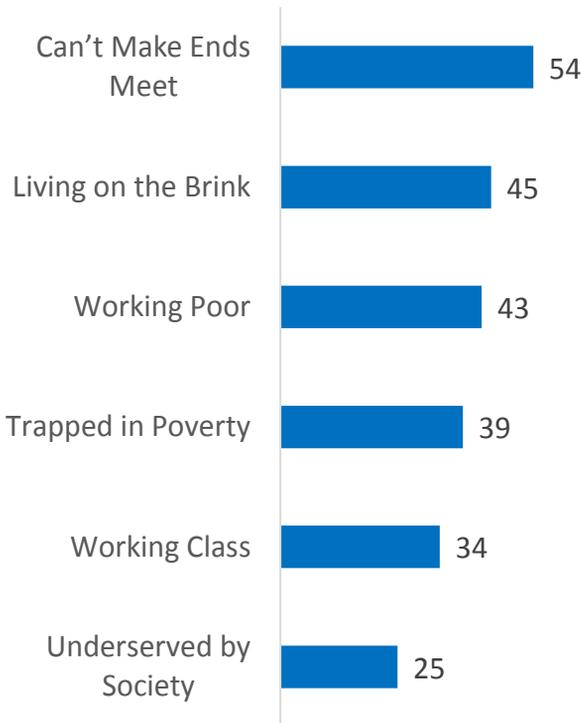
Opposition voters are most likely to say “I provide for myself and my family” best describes who they are.

(2015)	Total	Gender		Age					Race			Income		Targets		
		M	W	<30	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	B	O	P
I am doing my best to make ends meet	32	31	33	21	24	45	36	31	36	26	21	42	21	33	27	33
I provide for myself and my family	24	31	17	19	30	20	21	29	24	15	26	19	29	14	47	21
I strive to build a future for myself and my family	23	27	19	32	28	21	19	21	23	19	28	14	34	23	26	23
I am struggling to keep my head above water	23	16	29	15	12	28	27	27	24	26	17	34	11	30	12	24
I am working to build a stronger future	15	18	13	26	22	11	14	9	13	12	27	12	20	14	14	16
I want a job you can sustain a family on	14	13	14	17	17	18	13	6	13	12	20	16	11	16	1	16
I want an equal opportunity	13	10	16	30	14	7	13	6	10	23	18	12	15	19	3	14
I want a voice	12	12	13	15	4	13	13	16	12	18	11	14	11	18	8	12

# Negative Labels

## Shared Experiences Trumps Collective Associations

How well does this describe people living at or below the Federal Poverty Level?  
(Negative Labels) (2014)



Labels that describe shared experiences of daily life – cant make ends meet, living on the brink – resonate more strongly than attempts to connect to a broader collective label – working poor, working class. This is especially true with persuadable voters.

Negative labels outperform positive labels overall even though the aspirational messages test more strongly throughout.

For those earning less than 200% of the Federal Poverty Level, “cant make ends meet” and “working to provide for family” are the strongest descriptors of people earning at or below the poverty level.

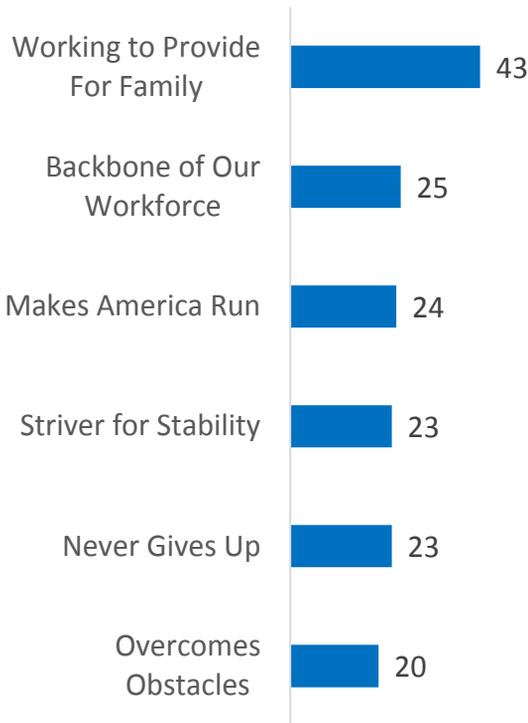
Base voters respond strongly to “working poor” compared to “working class.” For opponents, these terms elicit the same response. Persuadable voters also respond more to “working poor” than to “working class.”

% Total 8-10, Describes Well (2014)	Total	Gender		Age		Race				200% FPL		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	API	<	>	B	O	P
<b>Can't Make Ends Meet</b>	54	49	58	50	54	50	69	61	45	61	48	74	36	53
<b>Living on the Brink</b>	45	44	47	38	46	42	64	47	31	53	40	69	24	45
<b>Working Poor</b>	43	37	48	36	41	38	62	47	33	51	37	70	19	42
<b>Trapped in Poverty</b>	39	35	43	40	38	34	54	49	36	49	32	66	16	39
<b>Working Class</b>	34	31	38	36	33	30	51	44	28	45	27	58	16	34
<b>Underserved by Society</b>	25	22	28	23	22	21	46	28	19	34	20	55	4	24

# Positive Labels

## We Work for Our Family

How well does this describe people living at or below the Federal Poverty Level?  
(Positive Labels) (2014)

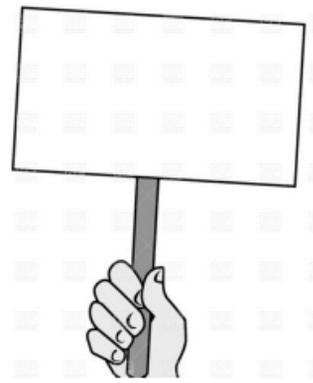


By far the strongest positive label across demographics is “working to provide for family.”

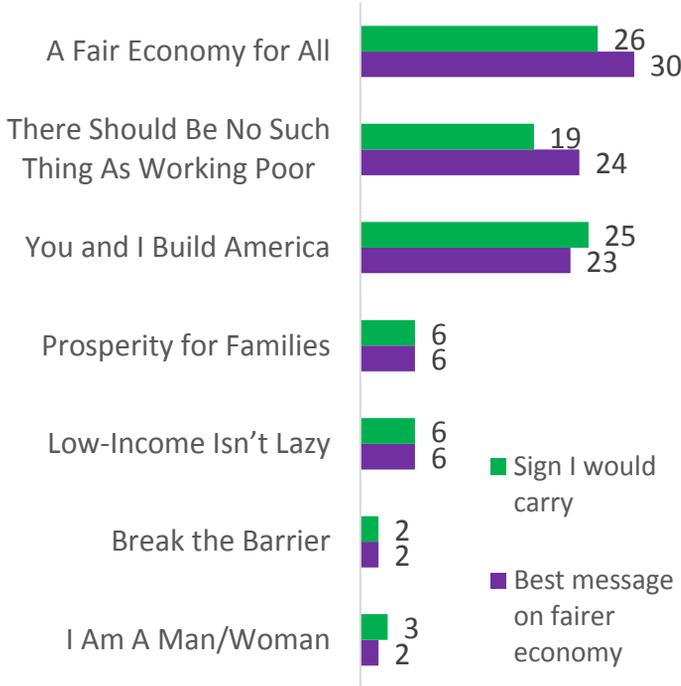
Family emerges here and in the messages as an important organizing symbol. Too often this debate has referred to wages and workplaces. But the data suggests that a more powerful backdrop for this debate is the reason people go to work: to provide for their family.

% Total 8-10, Describes Well (2014)	Total	Gender		Age		Race				200% FPL		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	API	<	>	B	O	P
<b>Working to Provide For Family</b>	43	38	48	45	41	37	64	60	43	56	35	66	24	42
<b>Backbone of Our Workforce</b>	25	22	29	29	18	19	47	40	25	36	18	49	6	25
<b>Makes America Run</b>	24	21	26	27	21	18	43	35	24	33	18	44	8	23
<b>Striver for Stability</b>	23	19	26	30	17	17	44	32	25	32	16	42	11	22
<b>Never Gives Up</b>	23	19	26	28	21	17	40	38	25	33	16	37	11	23
<b>Overcomes Obstacles</b>	20	17	23	24	17	15	40	33	21	29	15	37	8	20

# Key Value: Fairness



Imagine you are at an event promoting a fairer economy:  
 (purple) What's the best message to promote a fairer economy?  
 (green) Which sign would you want to personally carry?  
 (2014)



“A Fair Economy for All” best encapsulates promotion of a fair economy, perhaps not surprisingly.

Base and persuadable voters also indicated they'd carry a sign saying there should be no such thing as working poor. Considering the values displayed elsewhere, this is still about fairness and correcting the fact that the economic rules favor the rich.

Opposition voters lean toward the individualistic “you and I build America” which is also true with persuadable voters.

## % Believe Best Captures Message to Promote Fairer Economy

	Total	Gender		Age		Race				200% FPL		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	API	<	>	B	O	P
<b>A Fair Economy for All</b>	30	29	31	32	30	28	39	33	46	33	28	35	21	31
<b>There Should Be No Such Thing As Working Poor</b>	24	22	26	25	17	24	29	19	12	26	23	37	7	25
<b>You and I Build America</b>	23	25	20	14	31	25	12	22	15	17	26	8	35	23

## % Who Would Carry At An Event

	Total	Gender		Age		Race				200% FPL		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	API	<	>	B	O	P
<b>A Fair Economy for All</b>	26	25	27	28	26	24	35	28	30	30	24	34	16	27
<b>There Should Be No Such Thing As Working Poor</b>	19	18	21	20	14	19	26	18	11	20	19	28	4	21
<b>You and I Build America</b>	25	27	22	15	35	27	18	20	20	21	27	12	36	25



# Top Dial Messages

# Summary Table of 2015 Message Ratings

## Convincing Ratings (80-100) After Reading Messages & Mean Dial Rating

Sorted by Total Convincing Rating	80-100 Convincing				Mean Dial Rating			
	Total	Targets			Total	Targets		
		B	O	P		B	O	P
Family Comes First	52	75	20	53	66.8	68.8	62	67.4
Patriotism with Discrimination	49	75	21	48	67.3	70.3	61.1	68
Patriotism	48	61	27	49	66.5	67.7	62.9	67.1
Fairness /Low Wage	47	80	18	45	63.3	69.1	51.7	64.5
Out of Balance	47	77	4	49	64.7	75.1	44.8	66.4
Jobs as Respect	47	76	16	46	65.2	71.6	55	66
Through Tough Times - Caring Economy	47	68	25	46	67.3	71.8	61.9	67.3
Community	47	62	22	48	66.3	68.6	60.5	67
People Need	45	67	14	46	66.2	72.4	56.9	66.5
Wages and Profit	44	73	7	45	63.7	71.6	45	65.8
Republican Message /American Dream	44	42	31	47	65.2	70.2	55.2	66.1
Consumption	42	62	16	43	64.1	69.2	52.5	65.5
Through Tough Times - Energy	42	60	17	43	66.8	68.8	62	67.4
Decisions	41	61	17	41	62.9	68.9	50.2	64.5
Two Americas	39	65	1	41	61.9	69.7	42.1	64.4
Republican Dream /Inequality	37	46	15	40	59.7	70	41.8	61.3
Social Service /Benefits	36	57	4	38	64	69.4	51.6	65.6
Social Service	34	49	7	36	64.1	68.5	54.7	65

Several of our messages outperform Republican messages among persuadable voters both consciously (convincing rating) and unconsciously (mean dial rating), however the American Dream language remains strong for persuadable voters, and even base voters.

Our top messages are “Fairness/Low Wage,” “Out of Balance,” “Jobs as Respect,” “Patriotism with Discrimination,” and “Family Comes First.” These messages have strong conscious and unconscious ratings with base voters, as well as with persuadable voters. They beat the opposition messages and they draw strong distinctions between base and opposition voters.

# Summary Table of 2015 Message Ratings

## Convincing Ratings (80-100) After Reading Messages by Demographics (Messages Sorted by Base Convincing Rating)

Total 80-100 convincing	Total	Gender		Age					Race			Income		Party ID		
		M	W	<30	30-39	40-49	50-64	65+	W	AA	L	<\$50k	\$50k+	D	I	R
Family Comes First	52	46	57	53	46	56	54	49	49	71	49	57	45	62	51	41
Patriotism with Discrimination	49	45	52	53	39	54	49	49	45	67	49	50	47	62	52	32
Patriotism	48	42	53	39	43	56	50	48	44	67	54	51	44	59	49	37
Fairness /Low Wage	47	43	51	49	39	42	54	45	43	72	44	53	40	61	48	31
Out of Balance	47	42	52	44	46	50	55	37	43	61	58	51	44	65	48	28
Jobs as Respect	47	40	53	51	37	42	53	46	43	70	45	53	39	59	49	32
Through Tough Times - Caring Economy	47	42	51	51	41	46	48	47	44	68	45	53	39	58	45	36
Community	47	42	51	42	47	41	53	47	43	62	55	48	46	61	46	35
People Need	45	38	51	40	43	58	47	38	41	60	54	46	43	60	46	29
Wages and Profit	44	37	51	42	38	53	51	35	39	63	59	50	39	64	43	26
Republican Message /American Dream	44	39	48	32	39	54	47	43	42	52	43	43	45	47	47	41
Consumption	42	41	42	40	33	45	47	41	39	59	40	46	37	55	37	31
Through Tough Times – Energy	42	36	48	39	36	44	49	38	38	58	50	45	40	59	34	30
Decisions	41	36	45	39	32	32	48	45	39	62	33	46	34	54	37	29
Two Americas	39	34	44	47	41	42	42	27	32	65	54	41	37	56	40	22
Republican Dream /Inequality	37	35	39	41	24	30	43	41	36	54	27	42	31	46	42	24
Social Service /Benefits	36	32	40	40	29	32	44	32	32	62	37	42	29	50	33	22
Social Service	34	26	41	33	44	33	40	20	28	54	49	39	30	50	35	17

“Family Comes First” is the top message with women and men, seniors and millennials.

Latinos respond to different messages than African Americas. They especially respond to “out of balance” and “wages and profit.”

# Core Messaging Recommendations

- ✓ Describe lived experience - “can’t make ends meet”, “can’t pull ahead no matter how hard they try;” avoid abstractions like “inequality” and “poverty.”
- ✓ Embrace and lead with progressive values like family, freedom, and fairness.
- ✓ Barrier — “trapped,” “can’t get ahead” — and balance — “economy swung out of balance” — are better metaphors than “gap” or “top and bottom.”
- ✓ Name cause of harms to show causality — “CEOs decided” or “leaders chose;” avoid passive constructions like “wages have stagnated” or “wealth was lost.”
- ✓ Use verbs like produce, manufacture, create, decide to imply economic conditions deliberately created.
- ✓ Name ends, not means: e.g. “setting kids off to a bright future,” “building the things America needs” — not policies that accomplish these ends.
- ✓ Worded right, \$15 minimum wage is popular — key is “phased in” and “keeps up with cost of living.”
- ✓ Populism is effective but aspirational call is better for mobilizing.
- ✓ Temper “game is rigged” with “we can change the rules.”
- ✓ Get comfortable alienating opposition - energize your base and persuade the middle to your view.

# Messaging Do's and Don'ts

Words to Replace	Words to Embrace
Marginalized, underserved	Americans/People struggling to get ahead
Increase minimum wage, adequate wage	Paid enough to sustain a family, make ends meet, set kids off to bright future
X <b>earn</b> less than Y	X <b>are paid</b> less than Y
We can't survive on \$X, low pay not ok	Respect people's real contributions with fair wages
Wages you can <b>raise</b> a family on	Wages you can <b>sustain</b> a family on
Good for the economy	Good for the nation/for Americans
Conditions persist, X experience	Lawmakers make rules, employers deny X
<b>If</b> we do X	<b>When</b> we do X
We <b>should</b> do X	We <b>can</b> do X
Wages have fallen, gains were lost	Greedy few rigged the game, CEOs decided
A, B, C, <b>policies</b>	Different set of <b>rules</b> that give everyone a chance, Changes the <b>rules</b> about work and wages
Including communities of color	Everyone means everyone – no exceptions Places that need it most

## WHAT WORKS

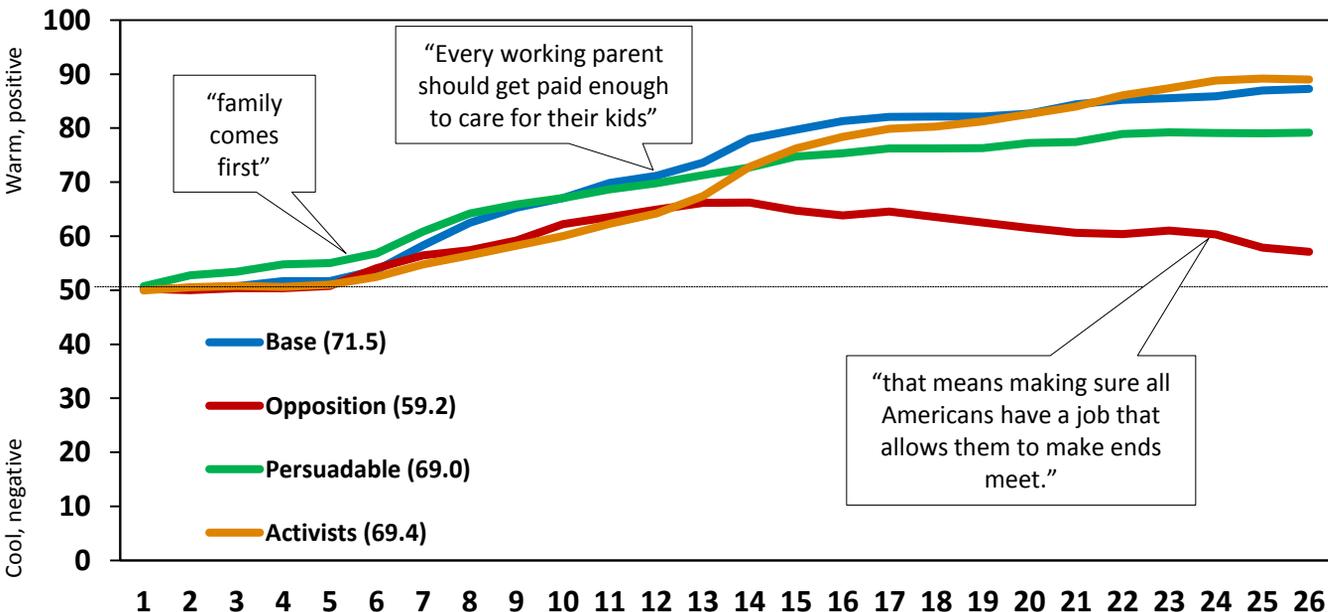
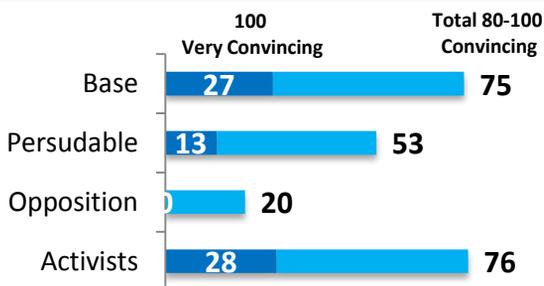
- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ “Every working parent” alienates opposition
- ✓ Strong conscious rating for both base and persuadables
- ✓ We own “family” values
- ✓ Alienates opposition with call for policies that help working parents, which are very popular with persuadables

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Persuadable plateau on “making sure all Americans have a job”

They may drive you crazy but everyone knows, **family comes first**. Providing for your family and being there when they need you isn't negotiable. **Every working parent should get paid enough to care for their kids and set them off toward a great future. If politicians want to talk “family values”, it's time they start valuing families – and that means making sure all Americans have a job that allows them to make ends meet.**

## Convincing Rating



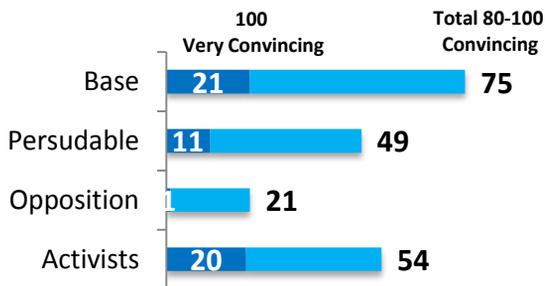
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Base and persuadable respond to “create good stable jobs,” which alienates opposition
- ✓ “End racial and gender discrimination” strong with base
- ✓ Strong conscious and unconscious rating with base
- ✓ Between order and context, strong way to refer to gender and race for persuadables

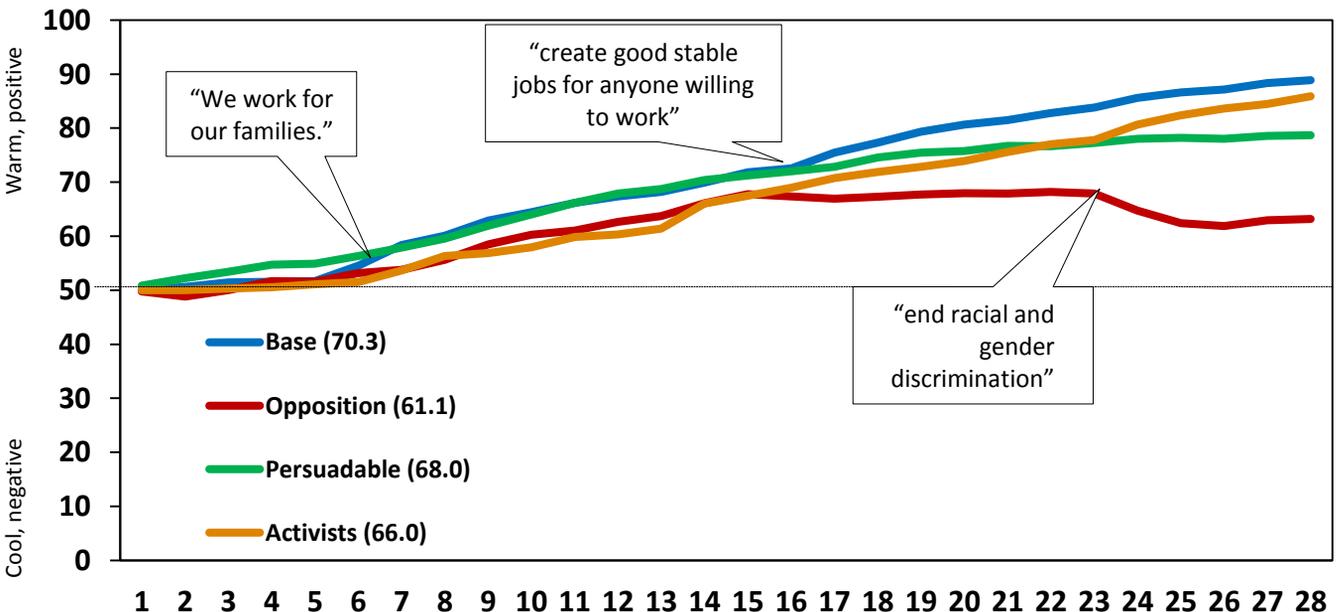
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Slow take off
- ✗ Low intensity
- ✗ Opposition with us too long

## Convincing Rating



You wouldn't know it from politicians but Americans stand largely united. **We work for our families.** We pitch in for our communities and we believe in America. We want to leave things better for our children. To get there we have to **create good stable jobs for anyone willing to work**, that provide benefits and pay you can **sustain a family on and end racial and gender discrimination.** We believe everyone means everyone, no exceptions.



## WHAT WORKS

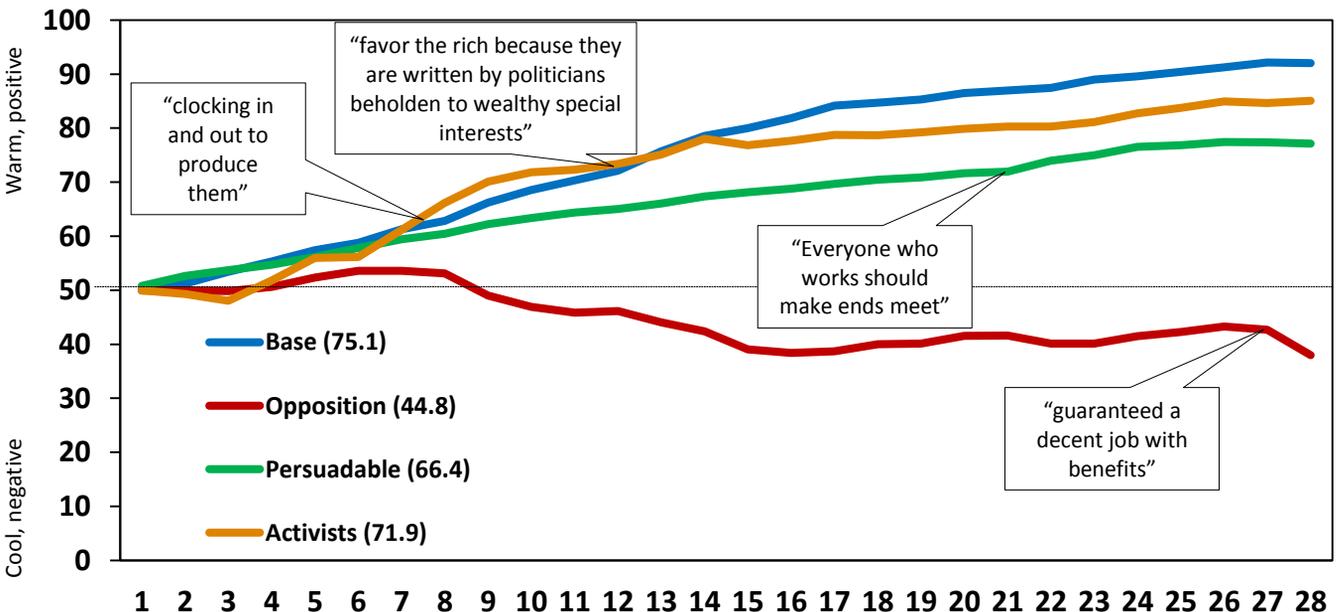
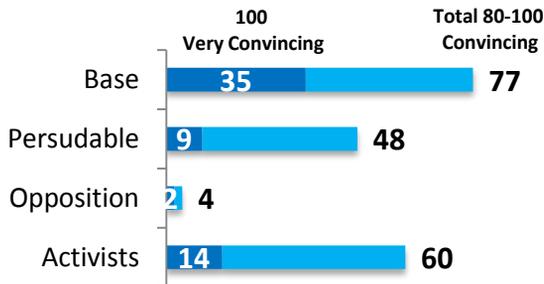
- ✓ Very strong conscious and unconscious rating for base
- ✓ Quick alienation of opposition with “working people,” “guarantee a decent job with benefits,” “everyone who works should make ends meet”
- ✓ Provides clear definition of causality
- ✓ Clean distinction between base and opposition with high unconscious ratings

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Weak conscious rating for persuadables

America has swung out of balance. Our work creates record wealth, **but profits don't get to the people clocking in and out to produce them.** Our economic rules unfairly **favor the rich because they are written by politicians beholden to wealthy special interests.** No one lobbies for average Americans. **Everyone who works should make ends meet,** have a say about their futures, and everyone who wants to work should be **guaranteed a decent job with benefits.**

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

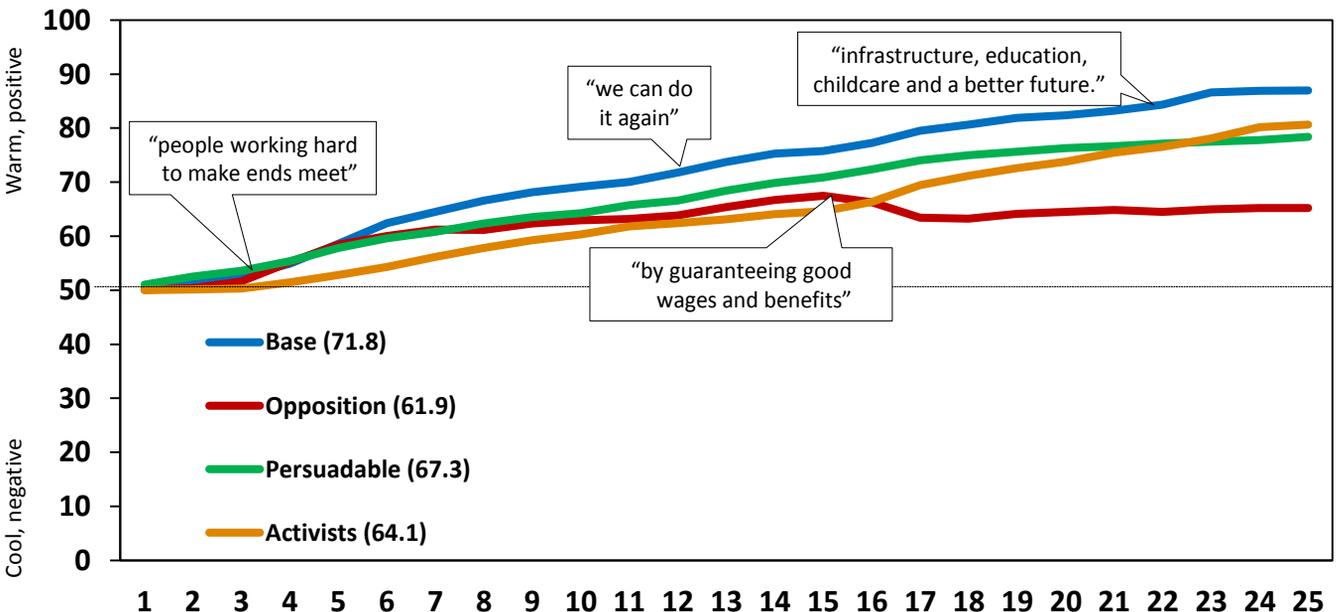
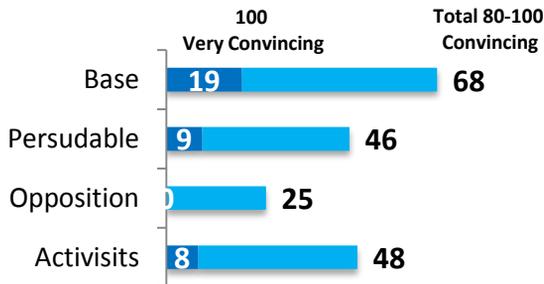
- ✓ “Education, childcare” stronger with base than energy future
- ✓ Quickly dialing up on “people working hard to make ends meet”
- ✓ “Guaranteeing good wages and benefits” alienates opposition, and moves base and persuadable
- ✓ Clearly articulates good jobs agenda

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Persuadables plateau
- ✗ Weak conscious ratings with persuadables
- ✗ Opposition high unconscious ratings though much lower conscious.

America is a nation of strivers -- **people working hard to make ends meet**, offer their children a better future and support their elders. America has come through tough times before and **we can do it again**. We can improve our jobs by **guaranteeing good wages and benefits** while also creating new jobs that sustain our families by meeting America's needs for **infrastructure, education, childcare and a better future**.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

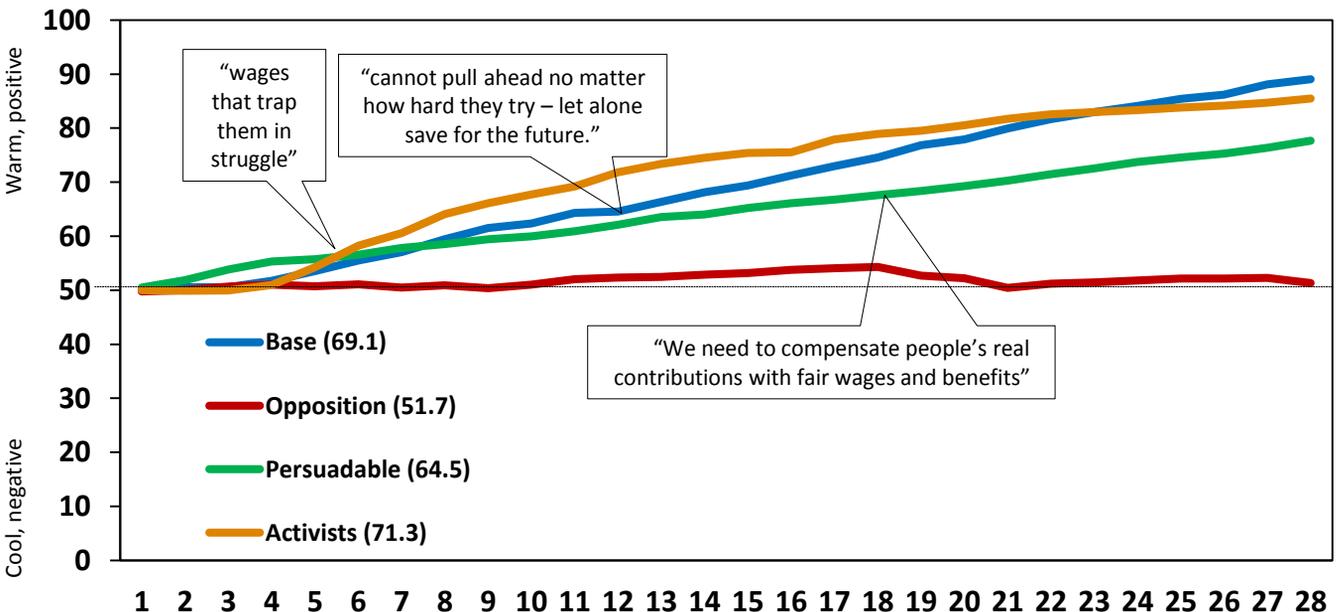
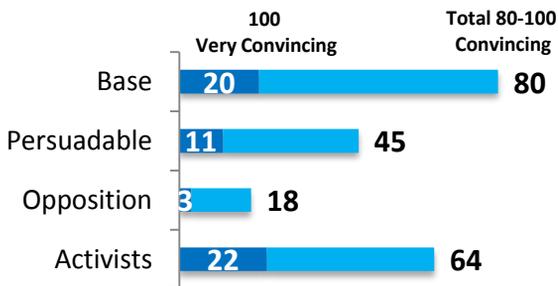
- ✓ Continuous dialing up for both base and persuadables
- ✓ Very strong conscious ratings for base
- ✓ “Compensate peoples real contribution with fair wages and benefits” strong language for base and persuadables

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Slow take off for persuadable
- ✗ Weak conscious rating for persuadables

Many Americans juggle jobs with unpredictable schedules and **wages that trap them in struggle**. Others look for work only to find no one is hiring. These families **cannot pull ahead no matter how hard they try** – let alone save for the future. **We need to compensate people’s real contributions with fair wages and benefits**. We need to create new jobs meeting America's needs for health, clean energy and care for children and elders.

## Convincing Rating





**Appendix  
Our Messages  
(2015)**

## WHAT WORKS

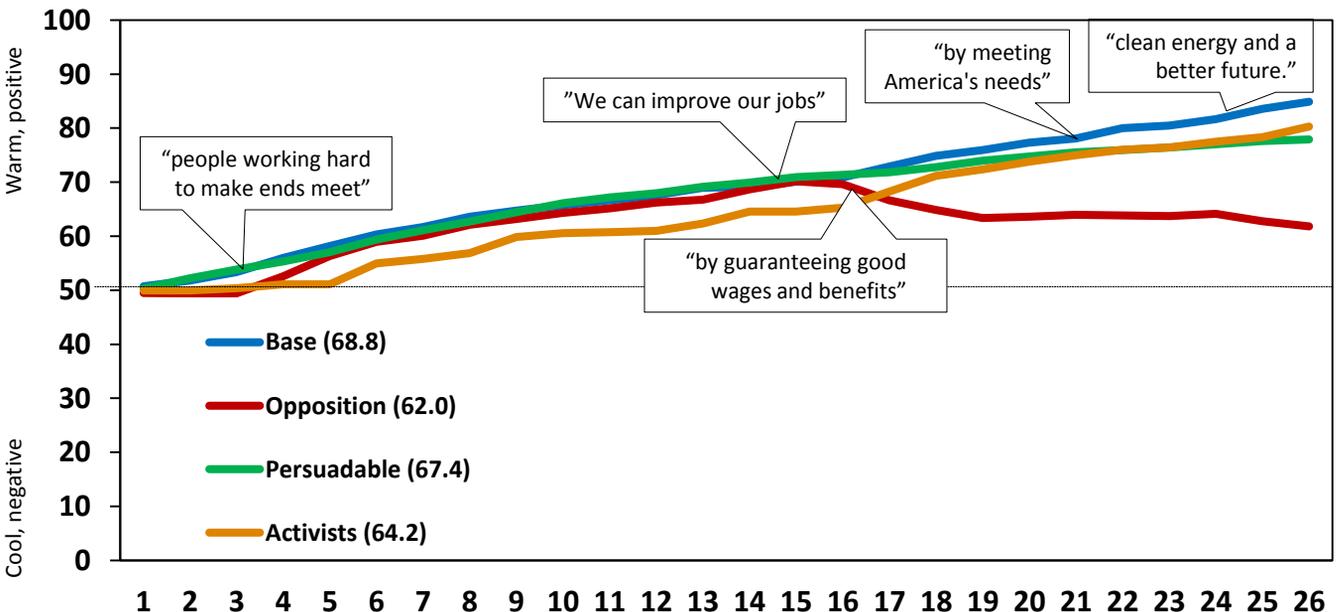
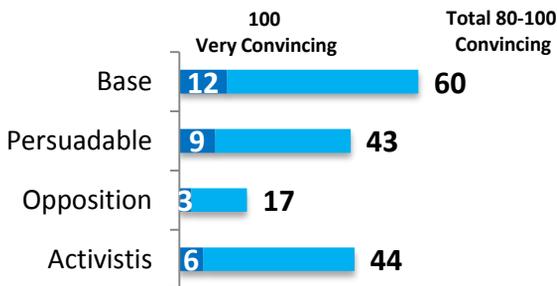
- ✓ “Guaranteed good jobs” alienates the opposition
- ✓ Base quickly dialing up
- ✓ Steady positive dialing for base and persuadable
- ✓ “Clean energy future” strong with base

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Weak conscious ratings
- ✗ Not alienating opposition in dials
- ✗ Conscious ratings with energy are less strong than with childcare

America is a nation of strivers -- **people working hard to make ends meet**, offer their children a better future and respect for their elders. America has come through tough times before and we can do it again. **We can improve our jobs by guaranteeing good wages and benefits** while also creating new jobs that sustain our families by **meeting America's needs for infrastructure, education, clean energy and a better future.**

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

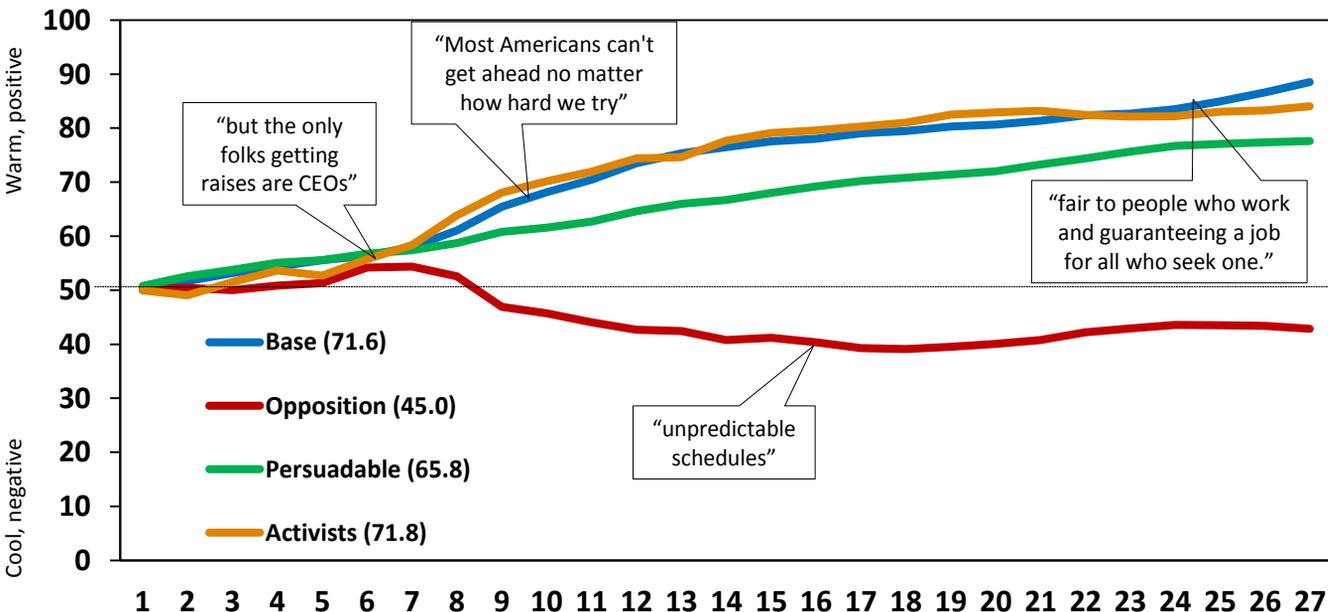
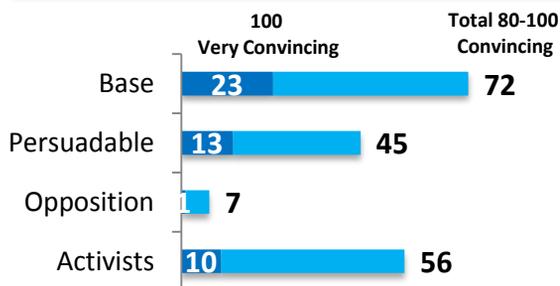
- ✓ Strong conscious ratings with base
- ✓ Mention of “CEOs” alienates opposition
- ✓ Base dials up on “guarantee a job for all who seek one”
- ✓ Quick alienation of the opposition

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Weak persuadables conscious rating
- ✗ Slow to dial up

Today we have record profits from record effort of working people, **but the only folks getting raises are CEOs. Most Americans can't get ahead no matter how hard we try.** With wages held down, benefits cut, **unpredictable schedules**, we're asked to do more with less. We need to get America on track to freedom and prosperity by making existing jobs **fair to people who work and guaranteeing a job for all who seek one.**

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

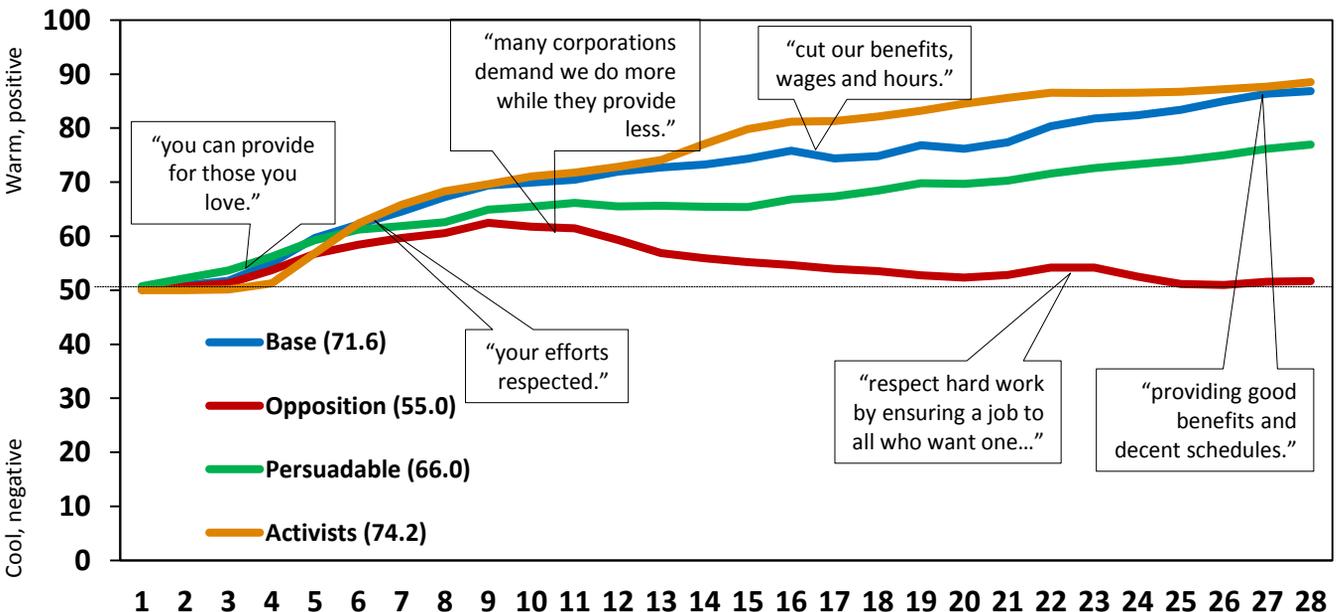
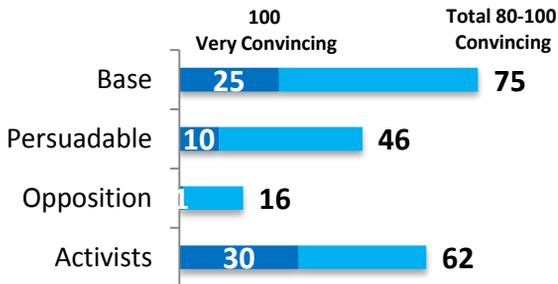
- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ Strong base conscious ratings
- ✓ “Corporations demand we do more while they provide less” alienates opposition
- ✓ “You can provide for those you love” strong language

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Persuadables plateau after mention of corporations

A good job means **you can provide for those you love**. Your contributions are valued, **your efforts respected**. But today, **many corporations demand we do more while they provide less**. They **cut our benefits, wages, and hours**. They hold record profits but refuse to create jobs. We need to **respect hard work by ensuring a job to all who want one** and by paying fair wages, **providing good benefits and decent schedules**.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

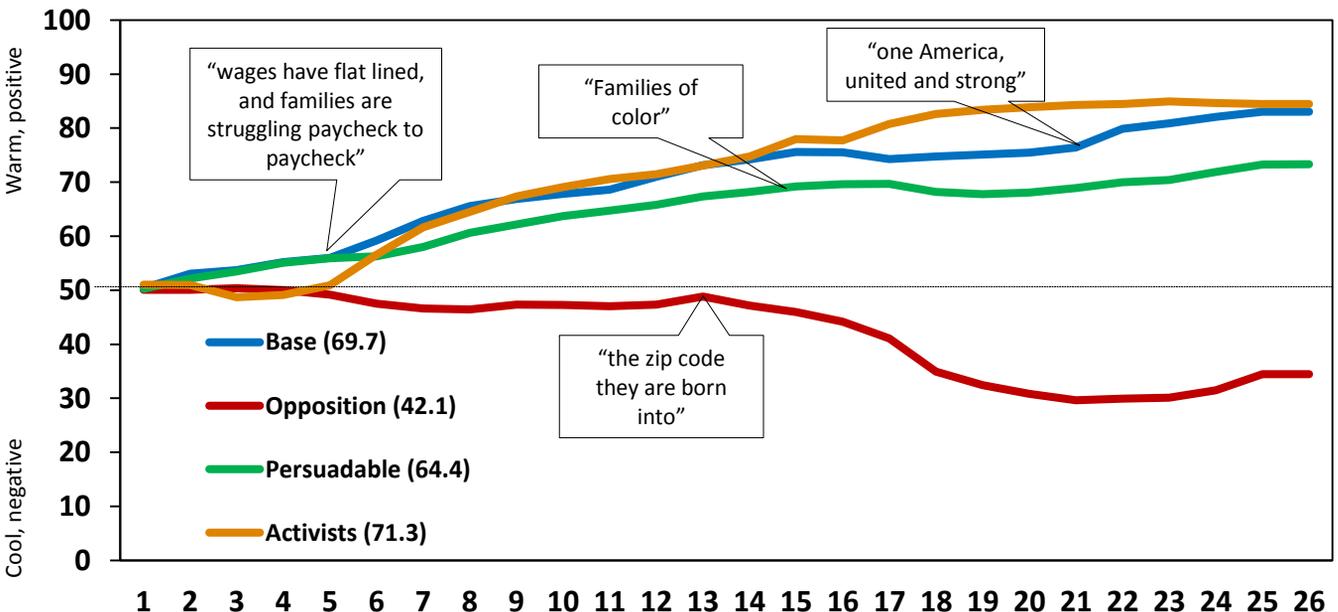
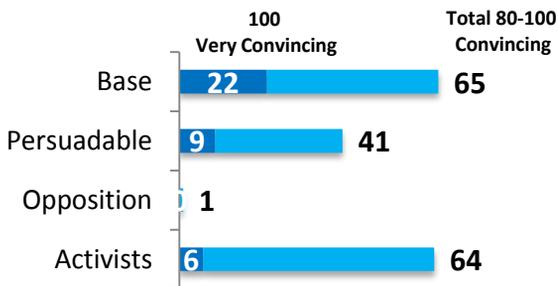
- ✓ Quick take off for base
- ✓ “Zip code” alienates opposition while base and persuadables dial up

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Base and persuadables plateau on “families of color”
- ✗ Weak conscious ratings for persuadables

For all but the wealthiest Americans, **wages have flat lined, and families are struggling paycheck to paycheck.** The fate of our children should not depend on a choice they never get to make: **the zip code they are born into.** Families of color often face the toughest obstacles. We need to change our rules **so we can be one America, united and strong,** where the desire to work hard means you can provide and be there for family.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

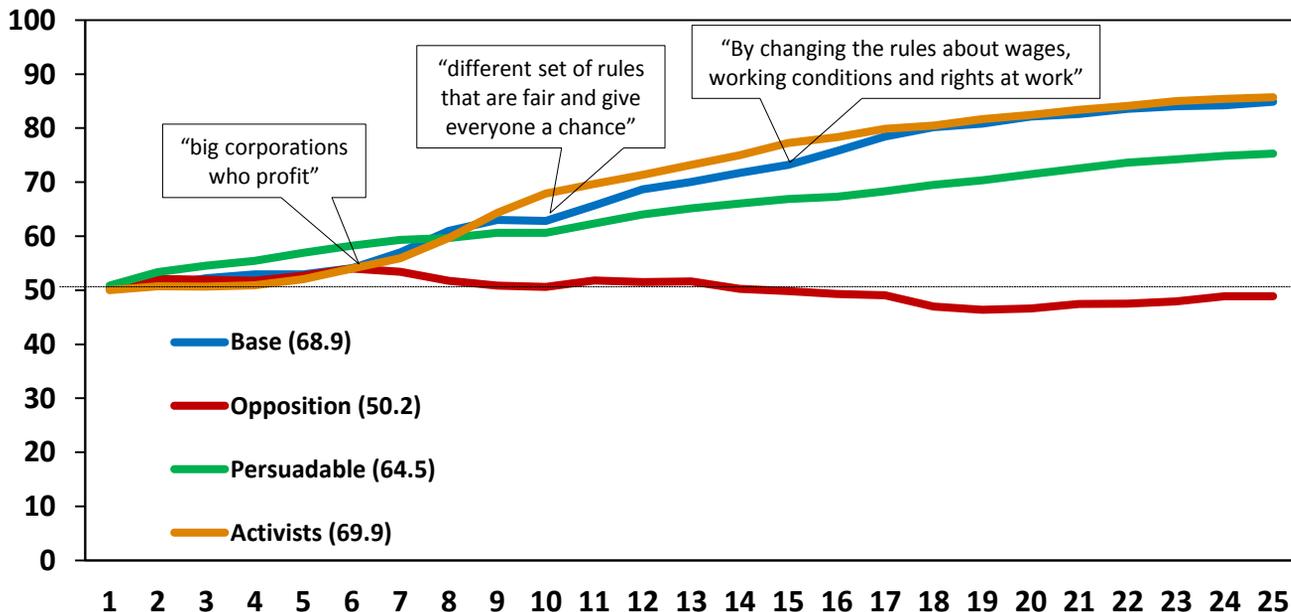
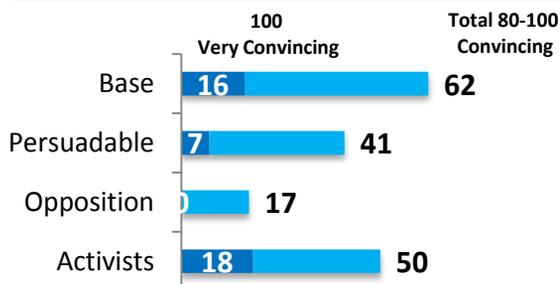
- ✓ “Big corporations who profit while sending jobs overseas” strong language with base while alienating opposition
- ✓ “Rules that are fair and give everyone a chance” strong language with base and persuadables

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Weak conscious ratings for base and persuadables
- ✗ Does not beat opposition messaging on conscious convincing ratings

The economy we have today was created by choices - influenced by **big corporations who profit while sending jobs overseas**. But we can make a **different set of rules that are fair and give everyone a chance**. **By changing the rules about wages, working conditions and rights at work** and by creating new jobs, we can live up to the promise of opportunity, prosperity and security for every American family.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

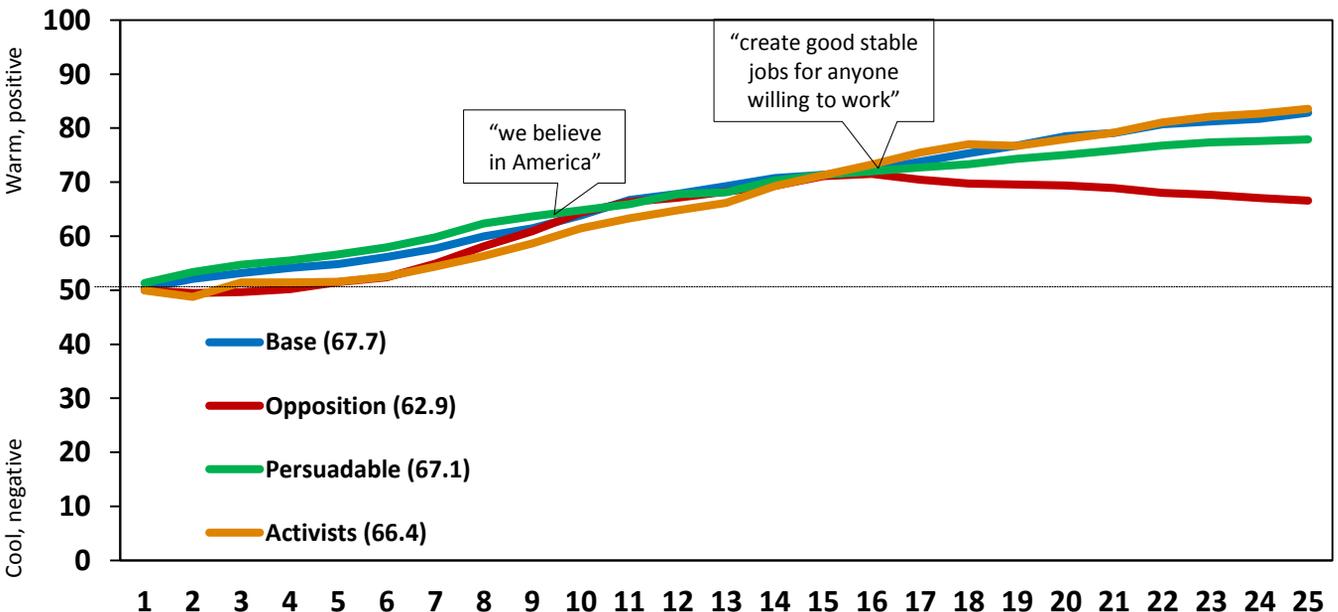
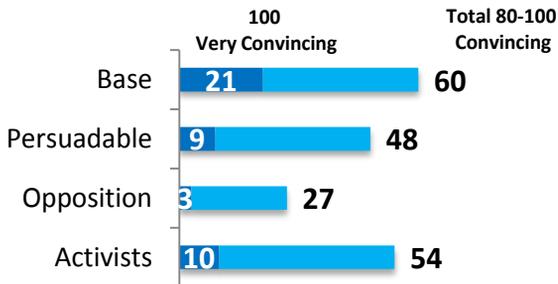
- ✓ “Good stable jobs for anyone willing to work” strong language for base and persuadables, alienates opposition

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Little differentiation with opposition otherwise
- ✗ Slow take off

You wouldn't know it from politicians but Americans stand largely united. We work for our families. We pitch in for our communities and **we believe in America**. We want to leave things better for our children. To get there we have to **create good stable jobs for anyone willing to work**, that provide benefits and pay you can sustain a family on. We believe everyone means everyone, no exceptions.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

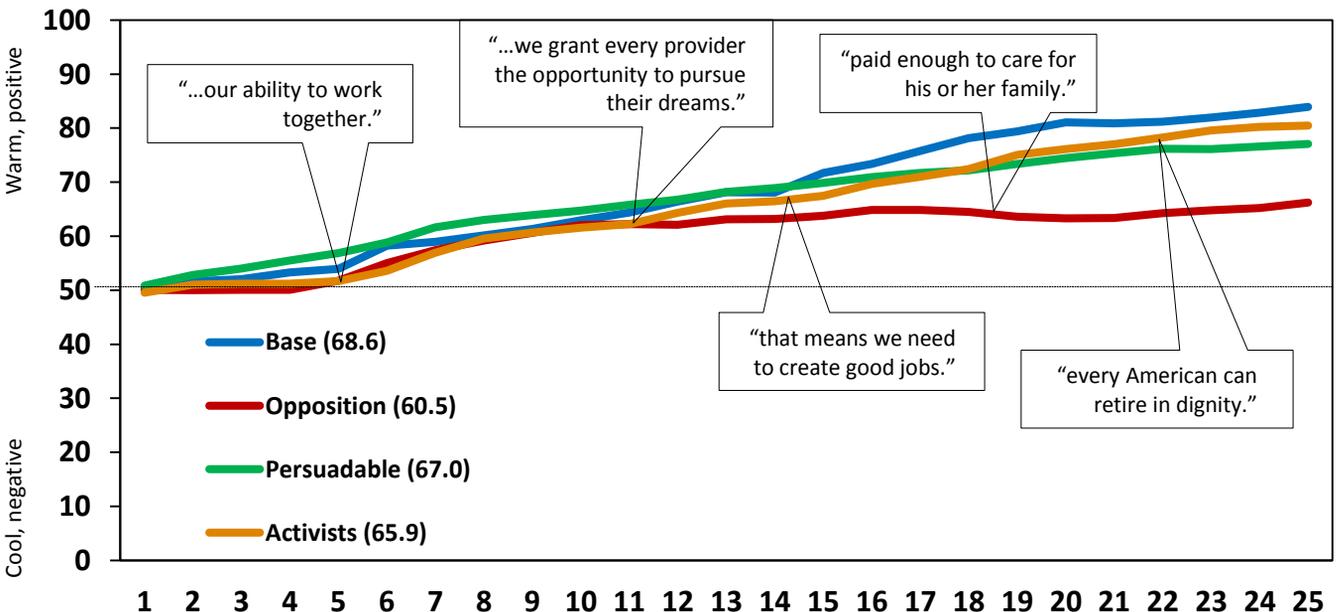
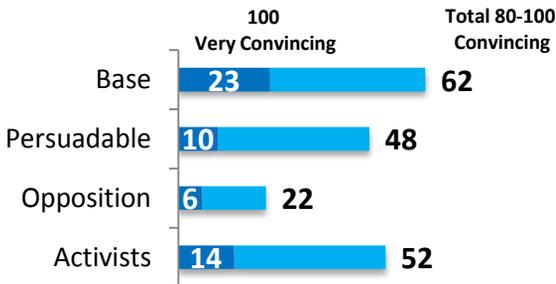
- ✓ Everyone is paid enough to care for his or her family” strong language with base.
- ✓ Action orientated policy language “grant” “paid enough” and “create” alienate opposition
- ✓ Persuadables dial up on “our ability to work together”

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Opposition dials up and plateaus, with weaker alienation
- ✗ Slow start with base

Our country's strength is grounded in **our ability to work together**. You and I know, our society is at its best when **we grant every provider the opportunity to pursue their dreams**. And that means **we need to create good jobs**. America succeeds when everyone is **paid enough to care for his or her family**, when every entrepreneur has the tools to make their vision a reality, and when **every American can retire in dignity**.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

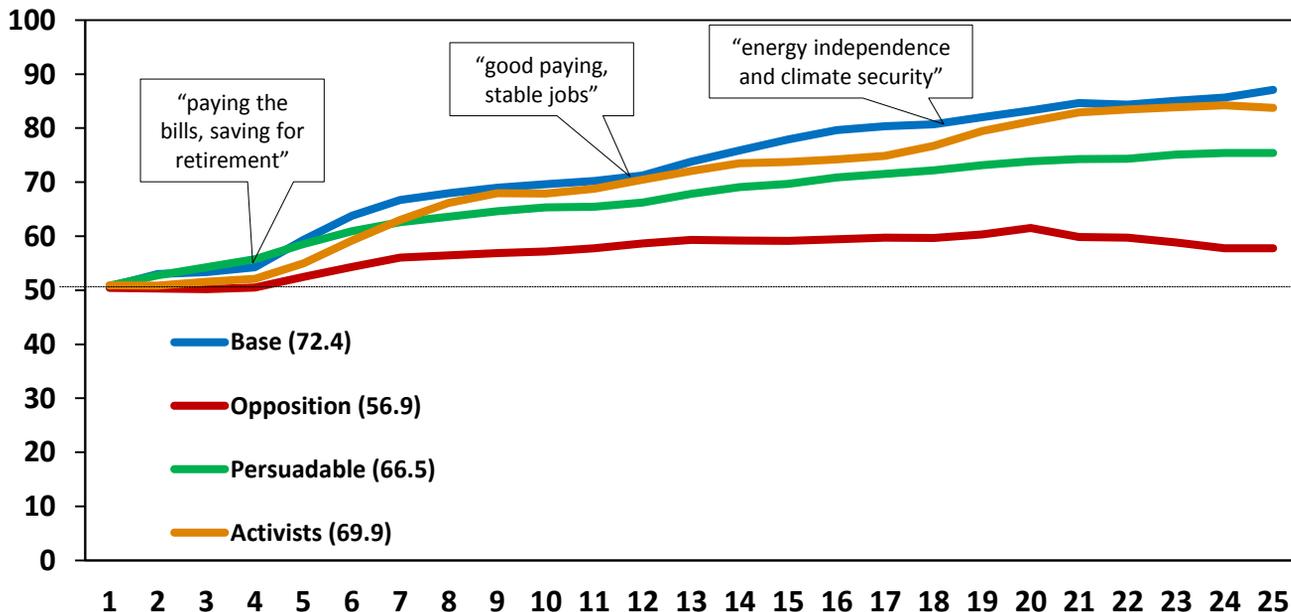
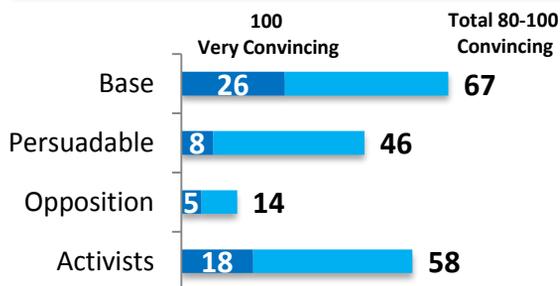
- ✓ Quick take off with base and persuadables
- ✓ Refers to real-lived experience – paying bills, saving for retirement, leaving things better for our kids
- ✓ Base like “energy independence and climate security” which alienates opposition

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Persuadables plateau around “guaranteeing a job with benefits”

Too many Americans worry about **paying the bills, saving for retirement, and leaving things better for our kids.** Things don't need to be this way. We can create **good paying, stable jobs** by building and providing exactly the things America needs: new roads and bridges, **energy independence and climate security;** guaranteeing a job with benefits for anyone who wants to work while we make America better than ever.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ “when profitable companies can get away with paying so little” alienates opposition and mobilizes activists
- ✓ “when workers cant afford the basics, spending slows down” strong language with base
- ✓ “economy boosting jobs” strong language with base

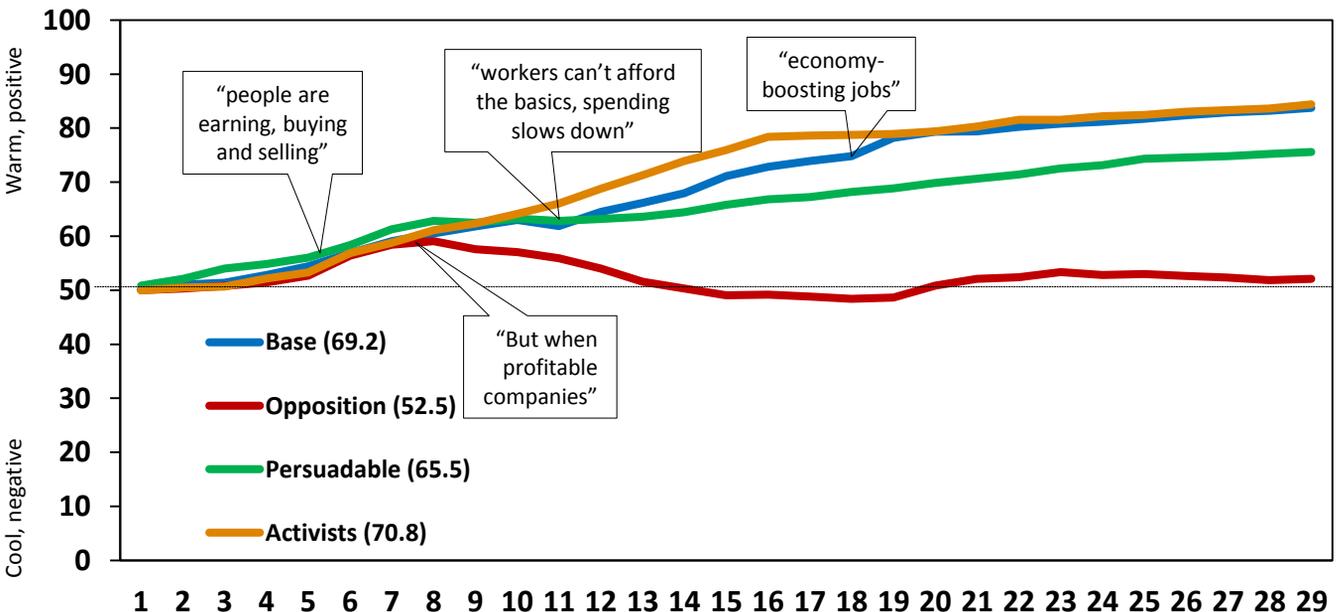
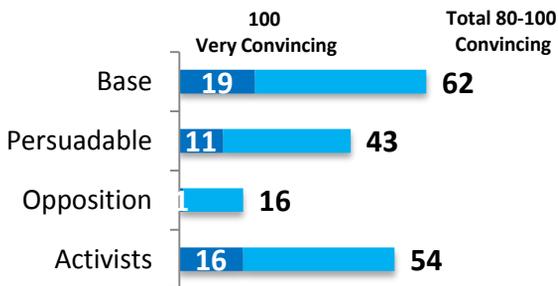
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Weak conscious ratings with base and persuadables

Communities thrive economically when money is moving, and **people are earning, buying and selling.** But when profitable companies can get away with paying so little that their **workers can't afford the basics, spending slows down, hurting our economy.**

Economists say we need **economy-boosting jobs** where people keep up with basic spending that allow communities to thrive. If we set standards so that more jobs are economy-boosting jobs it benefits our communities.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

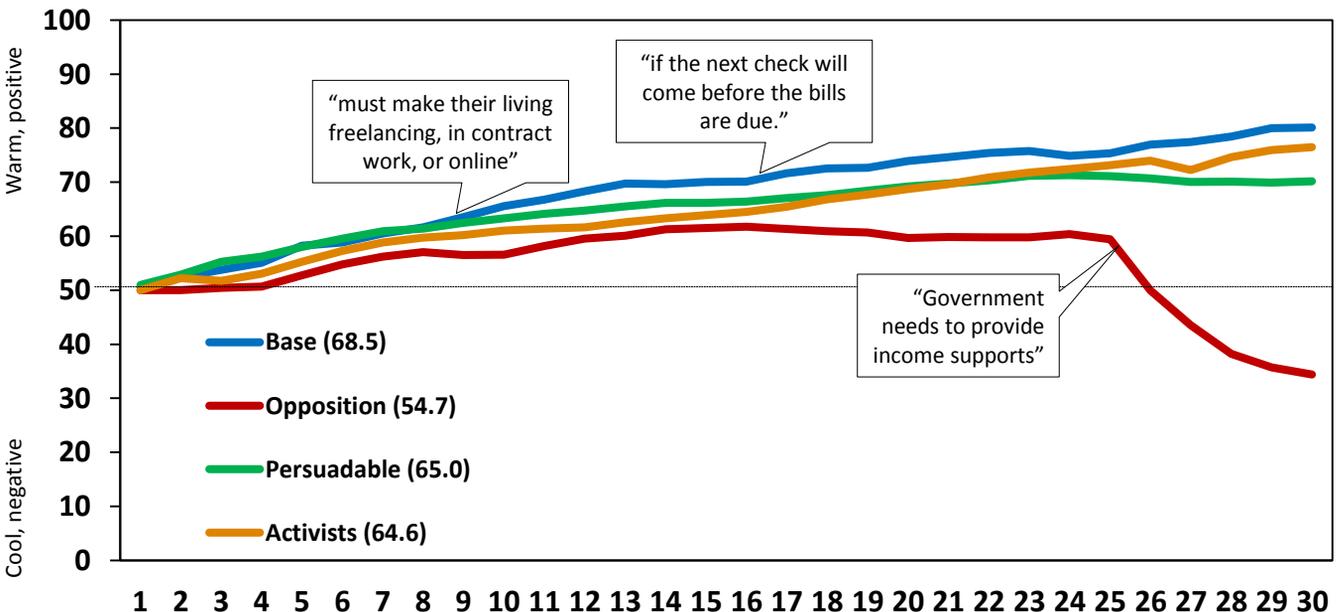
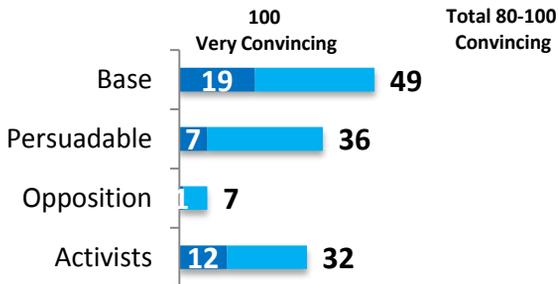
- ✓ Government providing “income supports” alienates opposition

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Slow take off
- ✗ Persuadables plateau
- ✗ Weak conscious rating for both base and persuadable
- ✗ Base does not react strongly to “income supports”
- ✗ Opposition stays with us too long
- ✗ Not as successful triggering values
- ✗ Beat by opposition messages

Gone are the days of spending your life at one job and retiring with a gold watch and pension. Many Americans **must make their living freelancing, in contract work, or online.** This leaves many go-getters wondering **if the next check will come before the bills are due.** Work is changing, and our policies need to sprint to catch up. **Government needs to provide income supports that bring stability and security for those struggling with these new ways to make a living.**

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

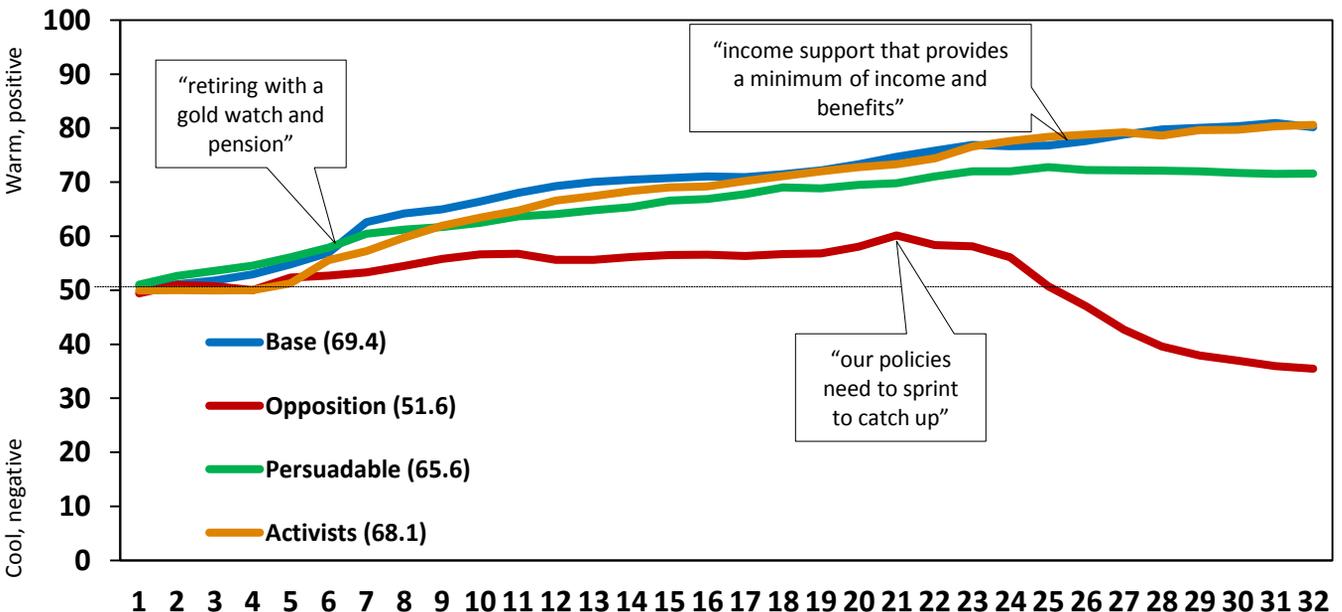
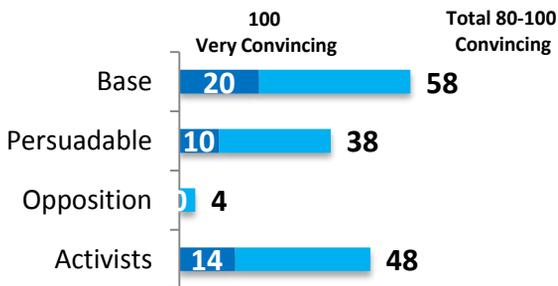
- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ Alienates opposition, particularly around “income support that provides a minimum of income and benefits”

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Weak conscious ratings for persuadables.
- ✗ Persuadables plateau on “income support that provides a minimum of income and benefits”
- ✗ Same weaknesses as “social service” but including benefits does not improve the message

Gone are the days of spending your life at one job and **retiring with a gold watch and pension**. Many Americans must make their living freelancing, in contract work, or online. This leaves many go-getters wondering if the next check will come before the bills are due. Work is changing, and **our policies need to sprint to catch up**. Government needs to provide **income support that provides a minimum of income and benefits that bring stability and security** for those struggling with these new ways to make a living.

## Convincing Rating





**Appendix  
Opponent Messages  
(2015)**

## WHAT WORKS

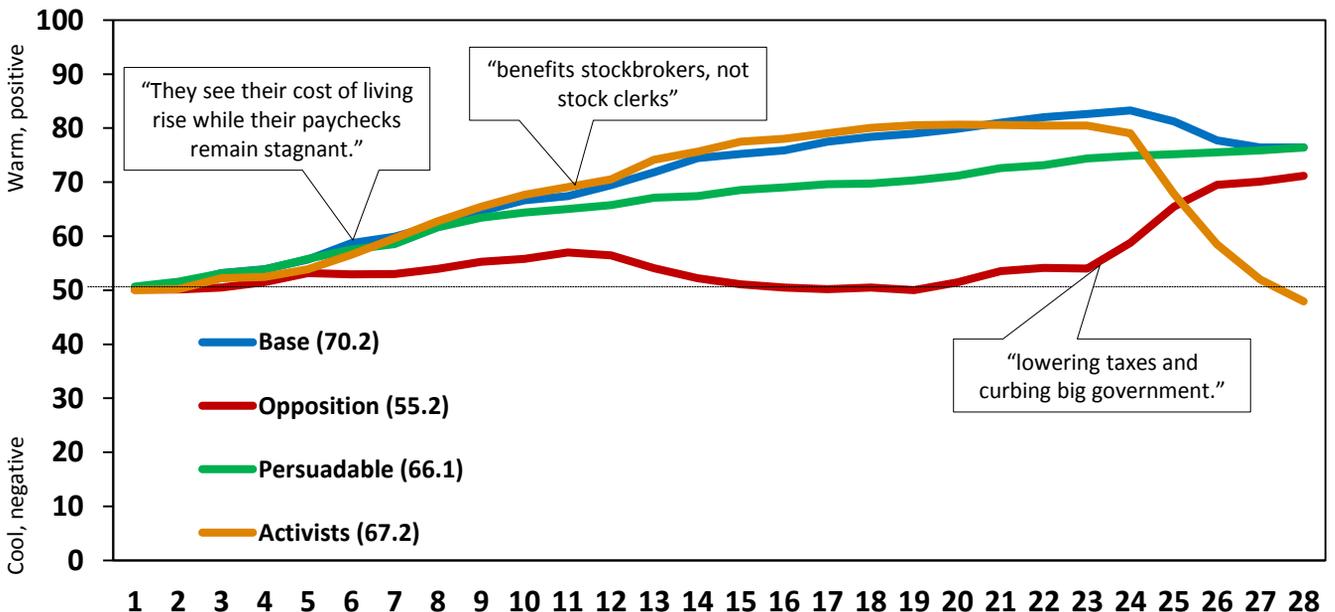
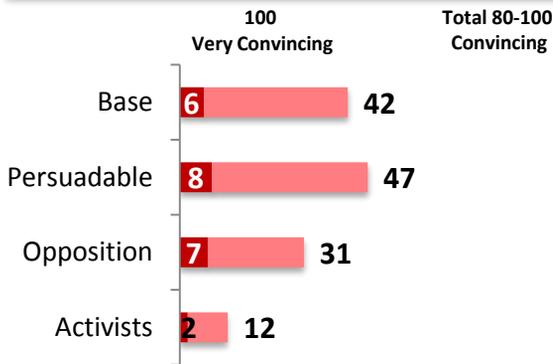
- ✓ Republican solutions if tax cuts does not work with base and alienates activists
- ✓ Persuadables give high ratings that compete with our best messages

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Persuadables do NOT dial down on Republican solutions
- ✗ Persuadables not turned off consciously or unconsciously

Too many Americans believe the American dream is slipping away. **They see their cost of living rise while their paychecks remain stagnant.** They see an economy that **benefits stockbrokers, not stock clerks.** They see the ladder of economic opportunity remaining out of their reach. We need to revive the American dream, making it attainable by **lowering taxes and curbing big government.** We know government can do good by focusing on what it does well.

## Convincing Rating



## WHAT WORKS

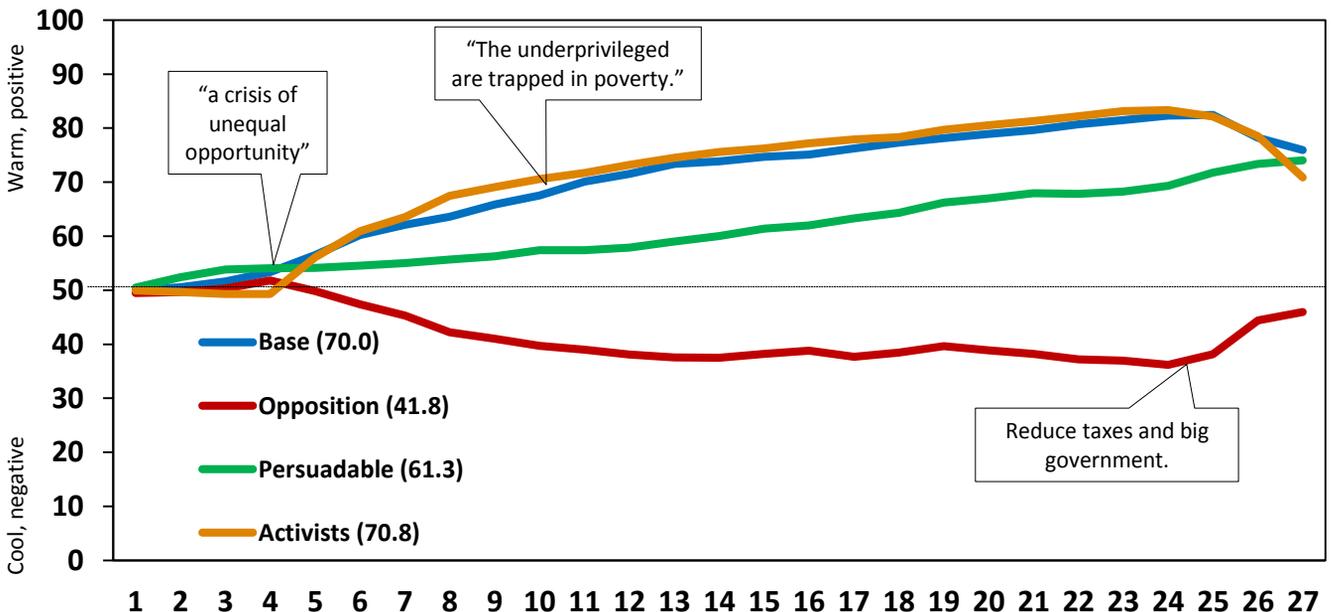
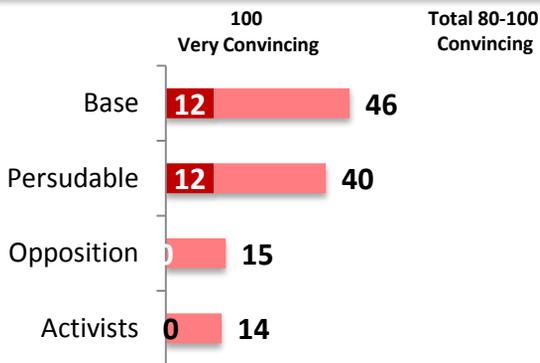
- ✓ Republican solutions if tax cuts does not work with base

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Persuadables dial up on Republican solutions
- ✗ Persuadables not turned off consciously or unconsciously

The United States is in an inequality crisis – **a crisis of unequal opportunity**. We see it up and down American society. **The underprivileged are trapped in poverty**. The middle class is caught on a treadmill, running harder every year trying to maintain economic security, while we find the economic elite increasingly exempted by law. We need to **reduce taxes and big government so government can focus on doing what it does well**.

## Convincing Rating





**Appendix  
Our Messages  
(2014)**

# 2014 Target Definitions

In 2014 base, opposition, and persuadable voters were defined as per the charts below.

## Base (15%)

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Believe</b> wealthy Americans achieved their success because they were born into wealthy families or had more opportunities than others, <b>AND</b></li> <li>• <b>Agree:</b> If we had the right policies in place almost no one would be poor in America, <b>AND</b></li> <li>• <b>Disagree:</b> The wealthy in America help create jobs, prosperity, and a higher standard of living for everyone else.</li> </ul> | <p><b>Demographics:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 59% Women (+7)</li> <li>• 63% Democrat (+23)</li> <li>• 20% Under 30 (+4)</li> <li>• 31% College women (+6)</li> <li>• 55% Under 200% FPL (+15)</li> <li>• 24% African American (+10)</li> <li>• 13% Hispanic (+4)</li> <li>• 47% Urban (+10)</li> </ul> |
|--|---|

(The number in the parenthesis reflects the difference from the overall sample) 

## Opposition (15%)

- |  |  |
|--|--|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• <b>Believe</b> wealthy Americans achieved their success because they worked harder than most others to be successful, <b>AND</b></li> <li>• <b>Disagree:</b> If we had the right policies in place almost no one would be poor in America, <b>AND</b></li> <li>• <b>Agree:</b> The wealthy in America help create jobs, prosperity, and a higher standard of living for everyone else.</li> </ul> | <p><b>Demographics:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 63% Men (+15)</li> <li>• 77% Republican (+41)</li> <li>• 34% Over 65 (+11)</li> <li>• 36% College men (+14)</li> <li>• 73% Over 200% FPL (+13)</li> <li>• 86% White (+16)</li> <li>• 45% Suburban (+8)</li> </ul> |
|--|--|

## Persuadable (69%)

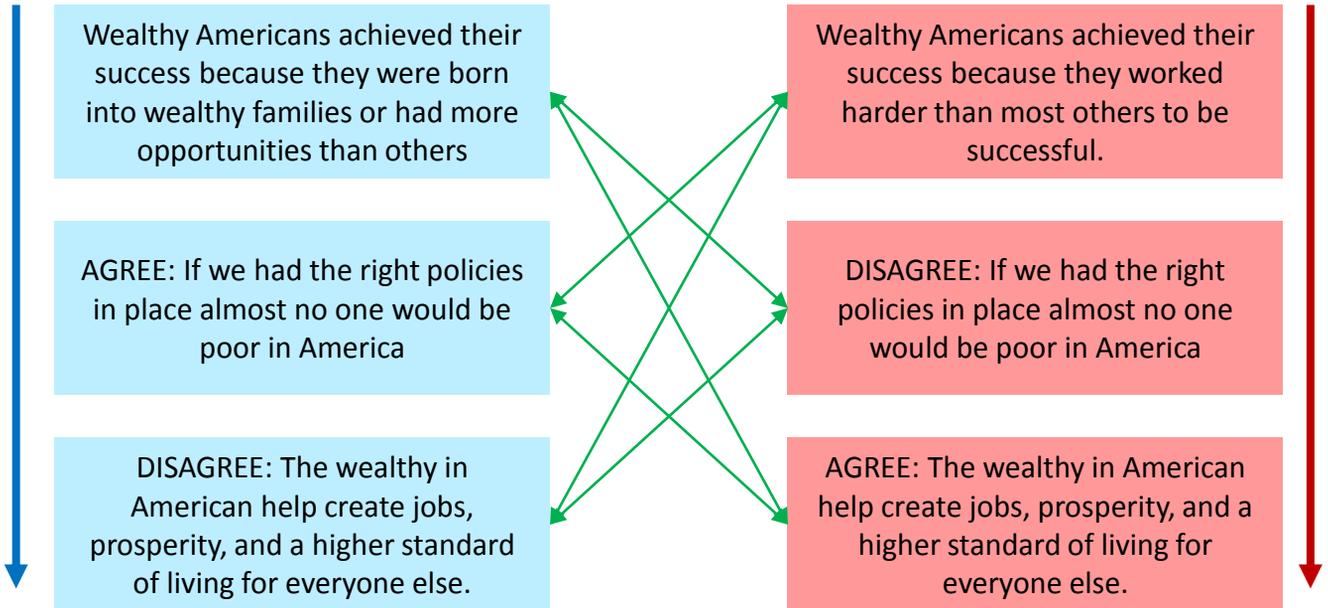
- |  |   |
|--|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Everybody Else (meaning they agree with some base positions and some opposition positions as defined by these three value statements).</li> </ul> | <p><b>Demographics:</b></p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• These voters more closely resemble the overall population</li> </ul> |
|--|---|

# Defining Base, Persuasion, and Opposition Targets 2014

## BASE

## PERSUADABLE

## OPPOSITION



### Persuadable Demographics (69%)

- |   |   |
|---|---|
| <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 46% Men (-2)</li> <li>• 54% Women (+2)</li> <li>• 43% Under 50 (+2)</li> <li>• 57% Over 50 (-2)</li> <li>• 69% White (-1)</li> <li>• 15% African American (+1)</li> <li>• 10% Latino (+1)</li> </ul> | <ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• 43% Democrat (+3)</li> <li>• 17% Pure Independent (+1)</li> <li>• 32% Republican (-4)</li> <li>• 55% Non-college (+3)</li> <li>• 45% College grad (-3)</li> <li>• 40% Under 200% FPL (same)</li> <li>• 60% Over 200% FPL (same)</li> </ul> |
|---|---|

# Summary Table of 2014 Message Ratings

## Convincing Ratings (80-100) After Reading Messages & Mean Dial Rating

	80-100 Convincing				Mean Dial Rating			
	Total	Targets			Total	Targets		
		B	O	P		B	O	P
Family Comes First (Woman of Color)	57	83	20	60	70.7	77.9	59.6	71.5
Family Comes First (White Man)	58	84	28	60	71.2	78.7	64.5	71.5
Community (White Woman)	51	72	21	55	67.1	75.2	60.5	67.2
Community (White Man)	50	74	22	51	67.5	73.8	62.1	67.3
Breaking Out of Container w/Gender (White Woman)	48	78	13	48	60.8	70.3	43.2	62.5
Breaking Out of Container (White Man)	46	78	9	49	59.6	72.6	42.3	61.0
We Can Do It (Man of Color)	49	71	10	54	64.8	73.3	54.3	65.6
We Can Do It (White Man)	47	73	15	48	64.9	69.9	57.6	65.4
Two Americas w/o Race (White Man)	45	75	11	47	61.0	73.4	41.1	63.3
Two Americas w/Race (Man of Color)	40	65	9	41	56.2	68.1	31.2	59.2
Capitalism (White Man)	44	74	12	44	56.8	65.7	40.2	58.6
Capitalism (White Woman)	44	73	8	47	56.2	66.1	40.2	58.1
How One Becomes Rich (White Man)	47	27	80	44	65.6	57.3	75.9	65.0
Government Keeps People Poor (White Man)	46	25	76	43	56.9	42.5	72.7	56.2
Faith (White Man)	39	60	16	38	57.1	62.7	46.1	58.3
RFK/Materialism (White Man)	36	71	8	36	56.9	72.0	38.5	58.4

Nearly all of our messages resonate more strongly, both consciously (convincing ratings) and unconsciously (mean dial ratings), than the oppositions best messages.

The top messages on our side are “Family Comes First,” “Community,” and “Breaking Out of Container.”

Messengers matter. Opposition voters respond more positively when a white man reads the messages.

Our base voters respond strongly regardless of the messenger. For “We Can Do It” base voters react more favorably to a man of color, while for “Two Americas” they react more favorably to a white man.

Persuasion voters like a man of color for “We Can Do It” and “Two Americas.” Women messengers work well with persuasion voters throughout.

# Summary Table of 2014 Message Ratings

## Convincing Ratings (80-100) After Reading Messages Across Demographics

%80-100, Very Convincing	Total	Gender		Age		Race			200% FPL		Targets		
		M	W	<30	65+	W	AA	L	<	>	B	O	P
Family Comes First (Woman of Color)	57	47	66	50	48	52	81	70	65	52	83	20	60
Family Comes First (White Man)	58	53	63	63	53	52	81	70	65	53	84	28	60
Community (White Woman)	51	46	56	56	52	46	77	61	61	45	72	21	55
Community (White Man)	50	46	54	44	44	46	67	59	58	45	74	22	51
Breaking Out of Container w/Gender (White Woman)	48	37	57	42	43	41	73	65	60	40	78	13	48
Breaking Out of Container (White Man)	46	38	53	50	37	38	75	64	60	37	78	9	49
We Can Do It (Man of Color)	49	41	57	54	43	42	80	58	59	42	71	10	54
We Can Do It (White Man)	47	44	50	37	42	41	68	59	57	40	73	15	48
Two Americas w/o Race (White Man)	45	37	52	49	40	36	74	63	57	37	75	11	47
Two Americas w/Race (Man of Color)	40	35	45	36	37	31	73	62	50	34	65	9	41
Capitalism (White Man)	44	39	49	38	33	40	61	58	54	38	74	12	44
Capitalism (White Woman)	44	35	52	48	35	37	69	56	52	39	73	8	47
How One Becomes Rich (White Man)	47	49	45	37	56	50	32	45	43	50	27	80	44
Government Keeps People Poor (White Man)	46	47	44	37	49	50	27	45	39	50	25	76	43
Faith (White Man)	39	35	42	38	33	34	59	43	45	34	60	16	38
RFK/Materialism (White Man)	36	30	42	39	28	30	61	45	43	31	71	8	36

# “Family Comes First” (Woman of color voice)

## WHAT WORKS

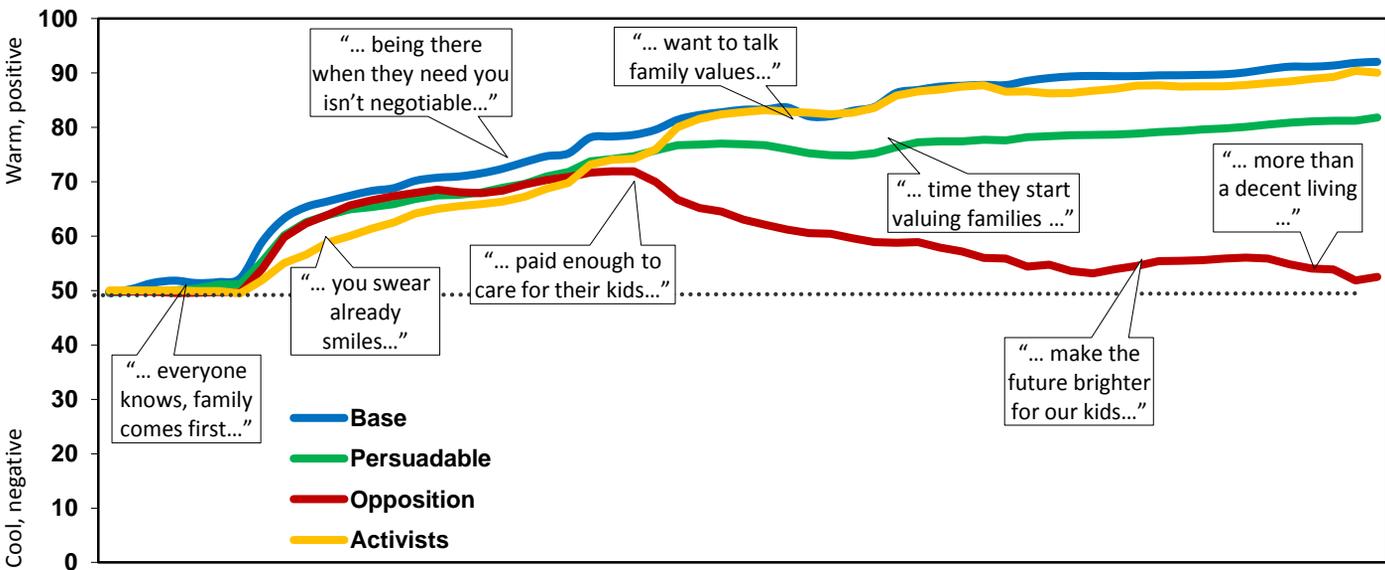
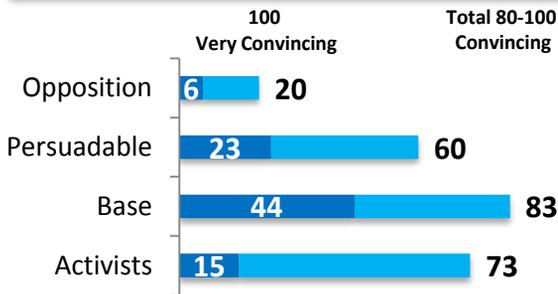
- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ Details pop
- ✓ Strong with target demographic groups
- ✓ Alienates the opposition, particularly with woman of color messenger

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Activists dial up slowly, less clear whether family being used by our side or theirs.

They may drive you crazy but everyone knows, family comes first. Whether it’s for that newborn you swear already smiles, your elderly mom or your spouse who got laid off, providing for your family and being there when they need you isn’t negotiable. Every working parent should get paid enough to care for their kids and set them off toward a great future. If politicians want to talk “family values”, it’s time they start valuing families – and that means making sure America’s dedicated strivers and builders make ends meet. We work in order to make the future brighter for our kids and more secure for our families. Hard working Americans deserve to make more than a decent living -- they deserve to have a decent life.

## Convincing Rating



# “Family Comes First ” (White male voice)

## WHAT WORKS

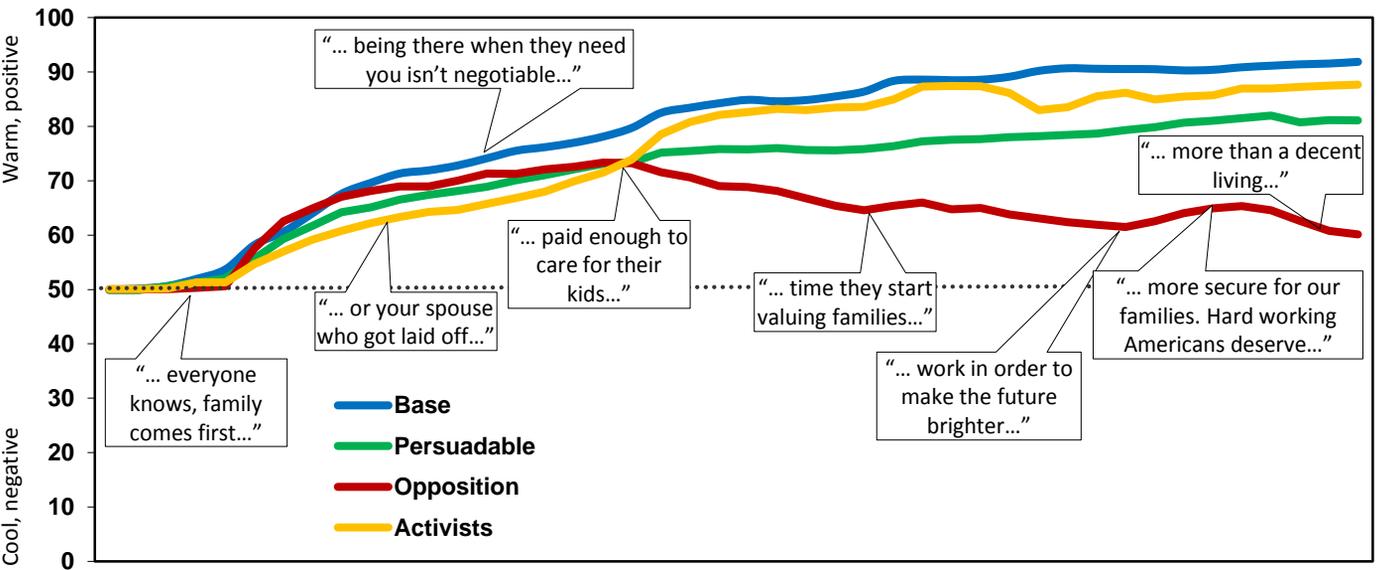
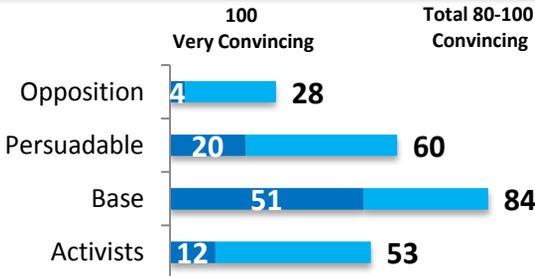
- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ Details pop
- ✓ Strong with target demographic groups
- ✓ Alienates the opposition

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Activists dial up slowly

They may drive you crazy but everyone knows, family comes first. Whether it’s for that newborn you swear already smiles, your elderly mom or your spouse who got laid off, providing for your family and being there when they need you isn’t negotiable. Every working parent should get paid enough to care for their kids and set them off toward a great future. If politicians want to talk “family values”, it’s time they start valuing families – and that means making sure America’s dedicated strivers and builders make ends meet. We work in order to make the future brighter for our kids and more secure for our families. Hard working Americans deserve to make more than a decent living -- they deserve to have a decent life.

## Convincing Rating



# “Community” (White female voice)

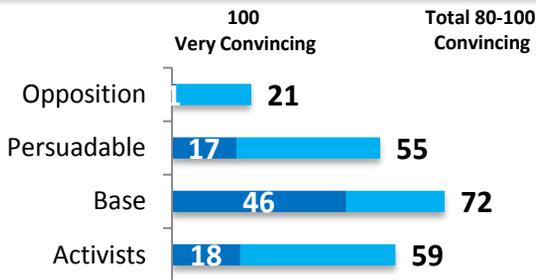
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ High convincing ratings from base and persuadable voters
- ✓ Shows opposition’s true colors as they dial down on “every worker is paid enough”

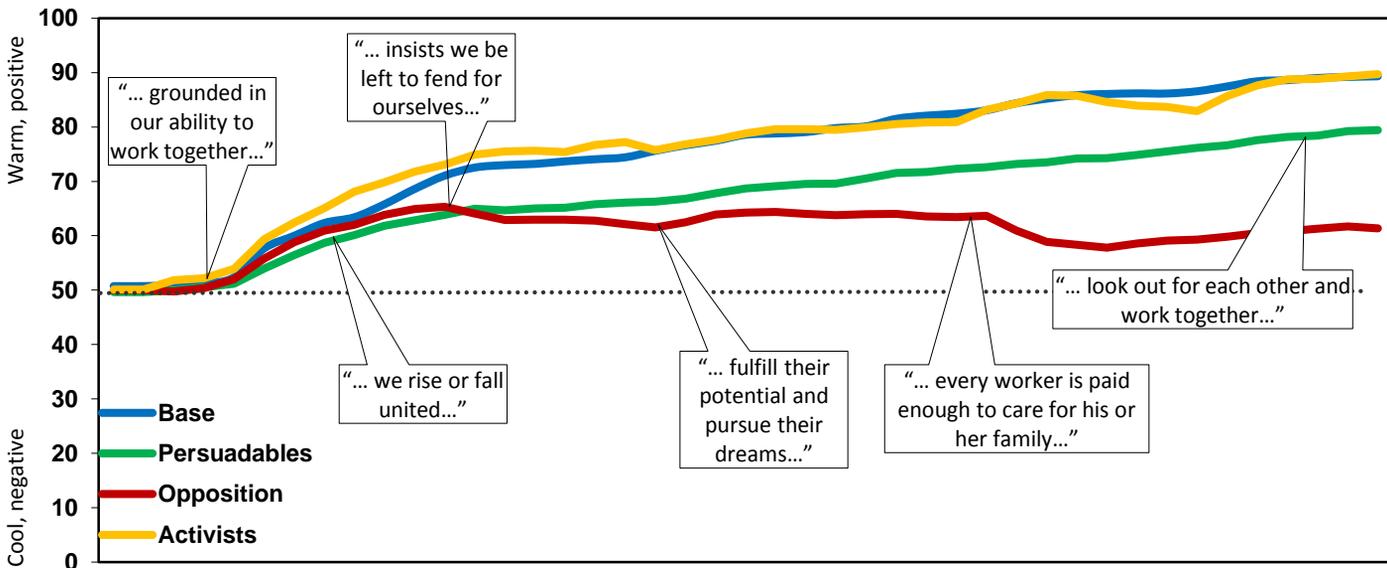
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Distances but does not alienate opposition
- ✗ Persuadable voters dial strongly but are not as enthusiastic in their conscious reaction.

## Convincing Rating



Our country's strength is grounded in our ability to work together. We are stronger when we recognize we rise or fall united, and are weaker when greed insists we be left to fend for ourselves. You and I know, our society is at its best when we grant every striver the opportunity to fulfill their potential and pursue their dreams. The USA cannot stand for You Stand Alone, but must stand for “us”. America succeeds when every worker is paid enough to care for his or her family, when every entrepreneur has the tools to make their vision a reality, and when every American can retire in dignity. America works best when we look out for each other and work together as one nation, indivisible.



# “Community” (White male voice)

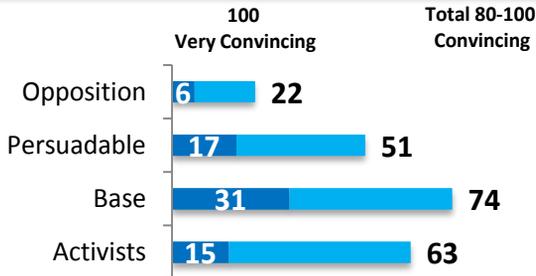
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off
- ✓ High convincing ratings from base and persuadables
- ✓ Shows opposition’s true colors as they dial down on “every worker is paid enough”

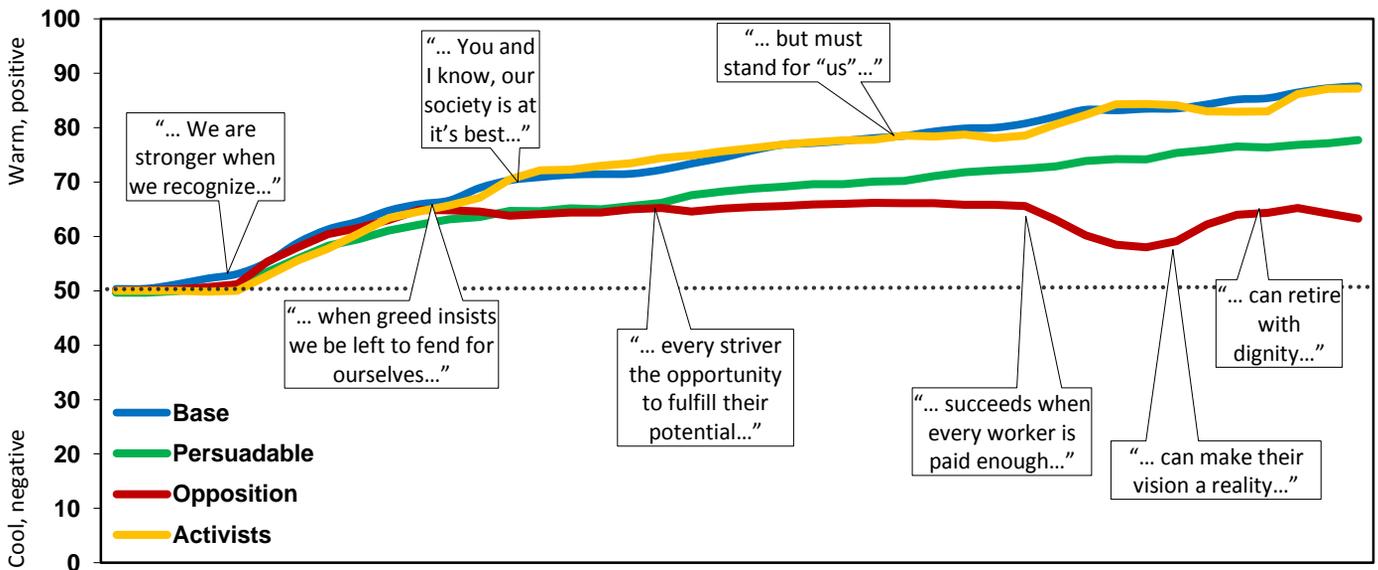
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Distances but does not alienate opposition
- ✗ Persuadables not enthusiastic

## Convincing Rating



Our country's strength is grounded in our ability to work together. We are stronger when we recognize we rise or fall united, and are weaker when greed insists we be left to fend for ourselves. You and I know, our society is at its best when we grant every striver the opportunity to fulfill their potential and pursue their dreams. The USA cannot stand for You Stand Alone, but must stand for “us”. America succeeds when every worker is paid enough to care for his or her family, when every entrepreneur has the tools to make their vision a reality, and when every American can retire in dignity. America works best when we look out for each other and work together as one nation, indivisible.



# “Breaking out of container” (with gender) (White female voice)

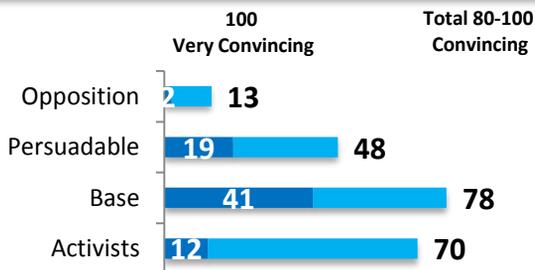
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Alienates opposition
- ✓ Overt reference to gender works
- ✓ Activists approve
- ✓ Base and persuadables find it convincing

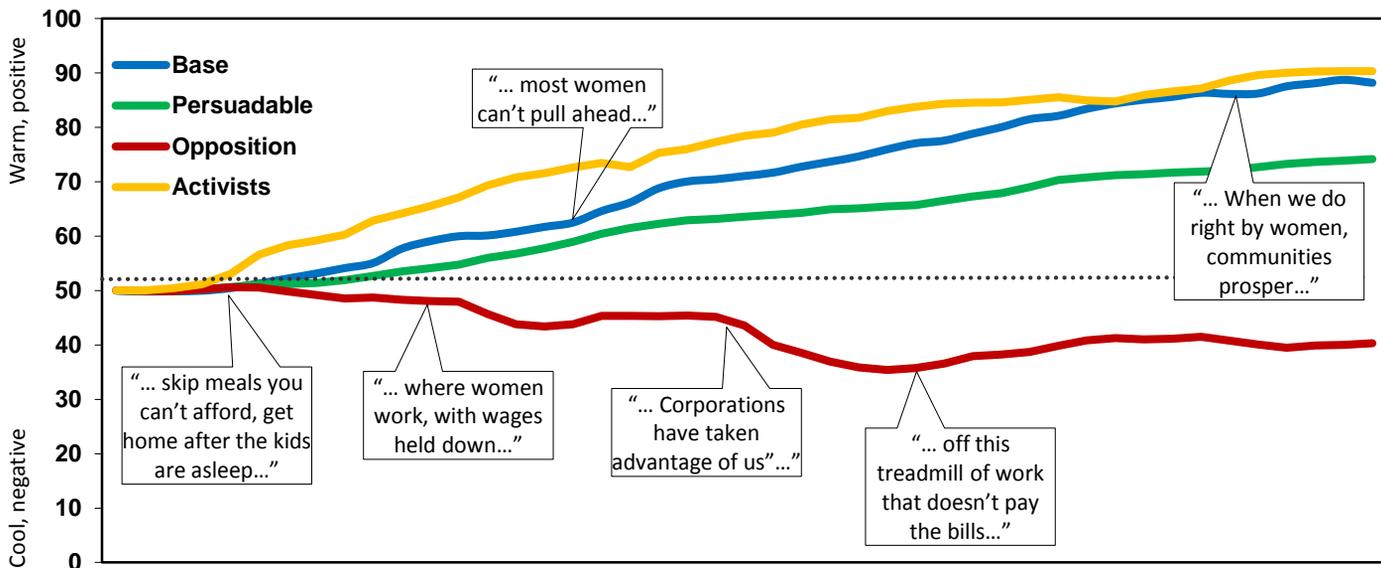
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Only mildly persuasive
- ✗ Not as strong with base as others
- ✗ Slow start

## Convincing Rating



You wake up at 4:30, take two buses to work, skip meals you can't afford, get home after the kids are asleep – to come up short at the end of the month. Especially in industries where women work, with wages held down, irregular schedules and childcare that costs a paycheck, most women can't pull ahead – no matter how hard we try. Corporations have taken advantage of us, raking in profits by cutting everything our families need to survive. We need to get women off this treadmill of work that doesn't pay the bills so moms can see their kids, customers have money to spend in our stores and all of us can come together to build stronger communities. When we do right by women, communities prosper. It's time we got America back on track by changing the rules about work and wages.



# “Breaking out of container” (White male voice)

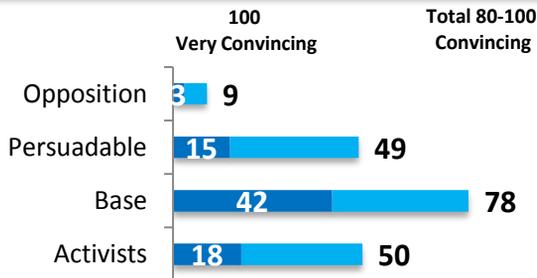
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Alienates opposition
- ✓ Overt reference to gender works
- ✓ Activists approve
- ✓ Base and persuadables find it convincing

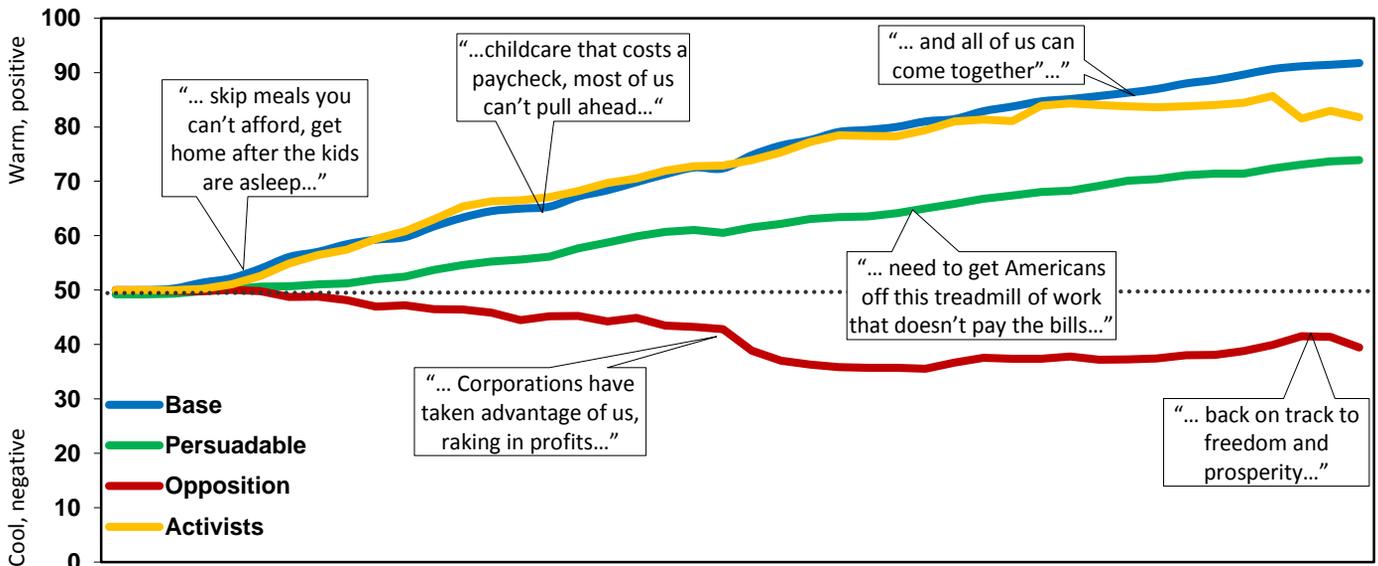
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Only mildly persuasive
- ✗ Not as strong with base as others
- ✗ Slow start

## Convincing Rating



You wake up at 4:30, take two buses to work, skip meals you can't afford, get home after the kids are asleep – to come up short at the end of the month. With wages held down, irregular schedules, and childcare that costs a paycheck, most of us can't pull ahead – no matter how hard we try. Corporations have taken advantage of us, raking in profits by cutting everything our families need to survive. We need to get Americans off this treadmill of work that doesn't pay the bills so parents can see their kids, customers have money to spend in our stores, and all of us can come together to build stronger communities. It's time we got America back on track to freedom and prosperity for all by changing the rules about work and wages.



# “We can do it” (Man of color voice)

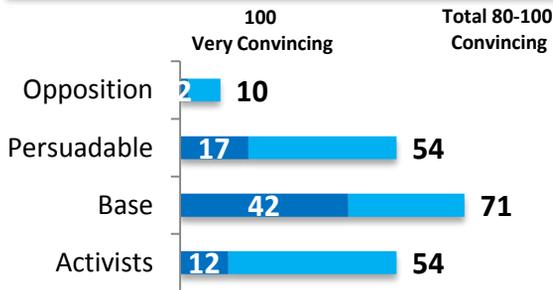
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong advocate favorability, especially with man of color voice
- ✓ Key base words: opportunity, dreams, freedom
- ✓ “Greedy few rigged game”
- ✓ Opposition messenger sensitive
- ✓ “Adequate pay for our work” and “time to be with family” is powerful combination

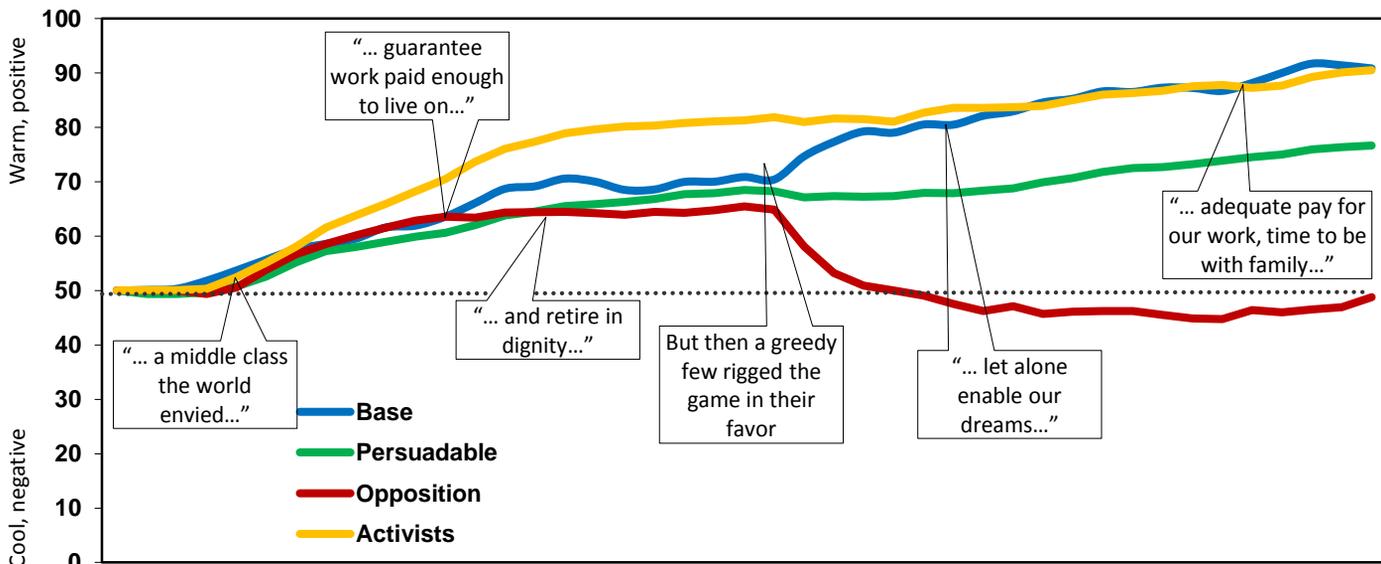
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Populist sentiment should come sooner
- ✗ Stalls out in middle for persuadable voters, stalling our momentum

## Convincing Rating



America’s gone through tough times before and came back to build a middle class the world envied. After the Great Depression, we banded together through government to build roads, open schools and guarantee work paid enough to live on and retire in dignity. We unleashed opportunity for most Americans and became a better country for it. But then a greedy few rigged the game in their favor. Today, many jobs don’t cover our needs – let alone enable our dreams. It’s time to do right by those who clock in and out everyday to keep America working. If we value everyone’s freedom, we need adequate pay for our work, time to be with family and a secure foundation on which to build a good life.



# “We can do it” (White male voice)

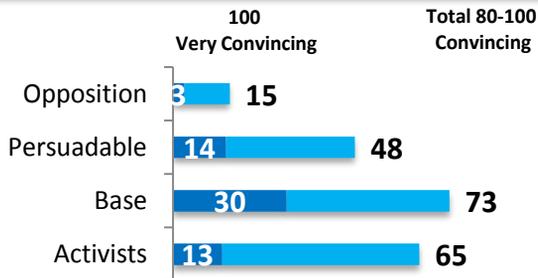
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Heavy advocate favorability, especially with MOC voice
- ✓ Key base words: opportunity, dreams, freedom
- ✓ “Greedy few rigged game”
- ✓ Opposition messenger sensitive
- ✓ “Adequate pay for our work” and “time to be with family” is a powerful combination

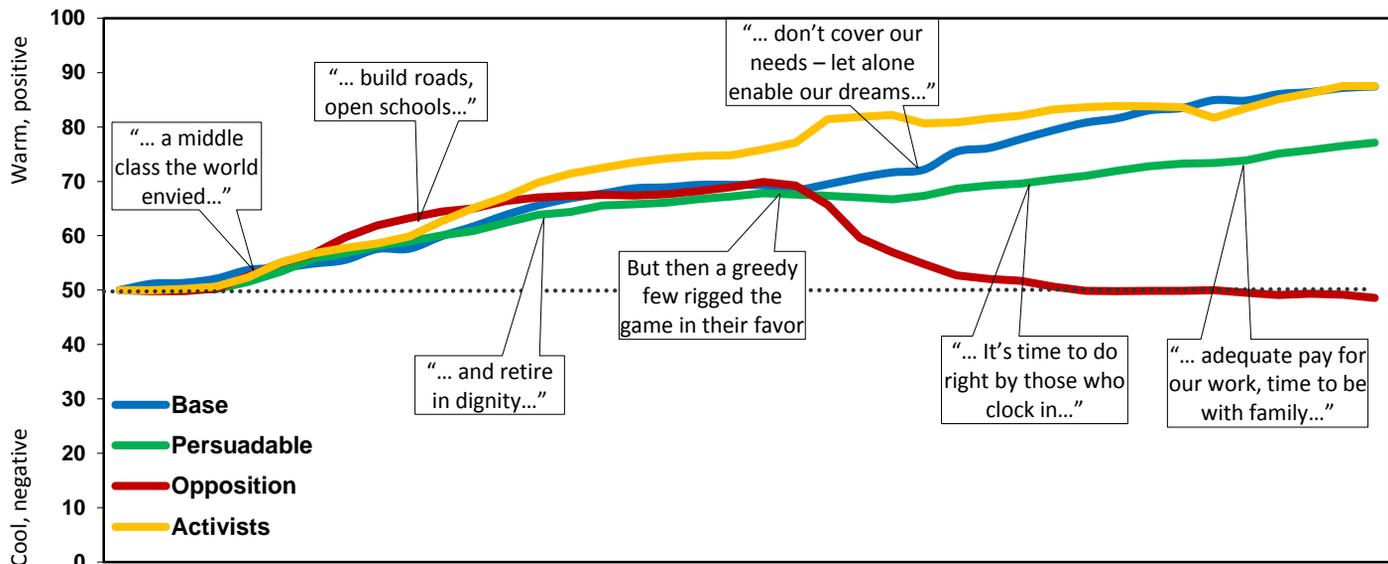
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Populist sentiment should come sooner
- ✗ Stalls out in middle for persuadables

## Convincing Rating



America’s gone through tough times before and came back to build a middle class the world envied. After the Great Depression, we banded together through government to build roads, open schools and guarantee work paid enough to live on and retire in dignity. We unleashed opportunity for most Americans and became a better country for it. But then a greedy few rigged the game in their favor. Today, many jobs don’t cover our needs – let alone enable our dreams. It’s time to do right by those who clock in and out everyday to keep America working. If we value everyone’s freedom, we need adequate pay for our work, time to be with family and a secure foundation on which to build a good life.



# “Two Americas” (with race) (Man of color voice)

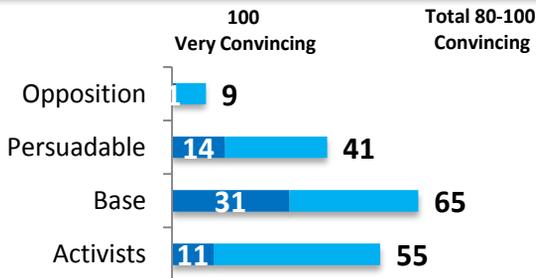
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Base dial up quickly
- ✓ Persuadables stay positive throughout.
- ✓ Resonates strongly with activists
- ✓ Framing of “wealthy America” with mention of race isolates opposition even more

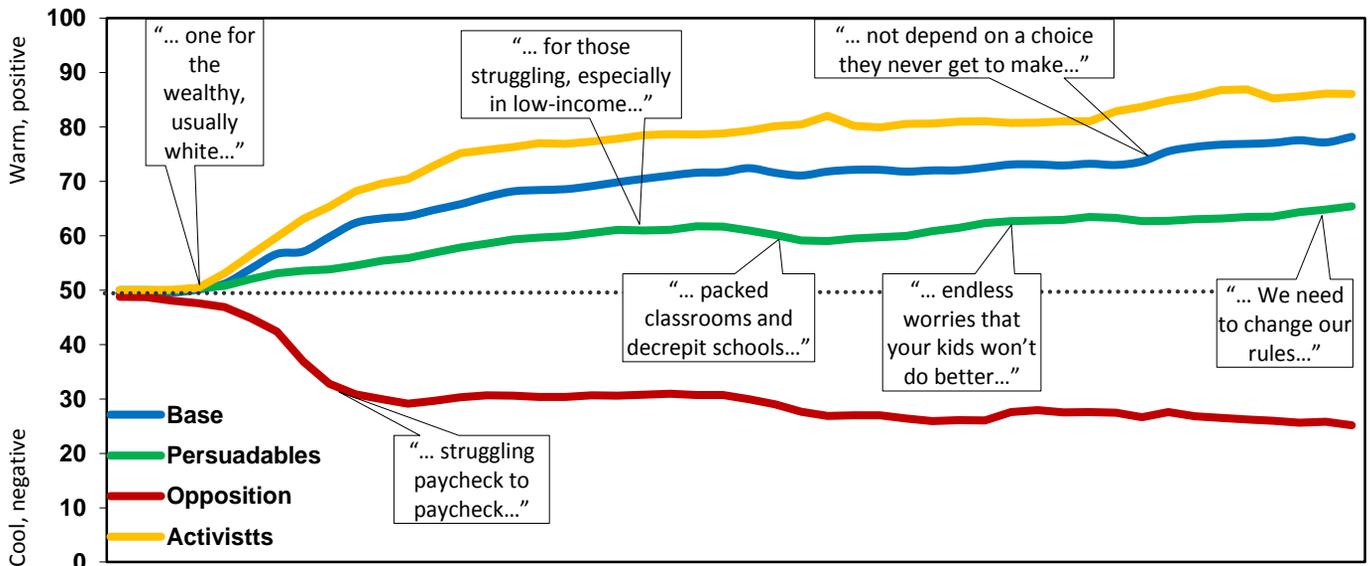
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Addition of race blunts the message with persuadables somewhat

## Convincing Rating



Today there are two Americas; one for the wealthy, usually white, and one for the rest of us, struggling paycheck to paycheck. In the wealthy America there are desirable schools, easy access to healthcare, banks eager to lend for new ventures, gated communities and the comfort of knowing your kids can dream big and achieve success. For those struggling, especially in low-income communities of color, there are packed classrooms in decrepit schools, wages that stay the same or barely rise, pay day lenders and pawn shops charging triple digit interest and endless worries your kids won't do better. The fate of children of color should not depend on a choice they never get to make: the family they're born into. We need to change our rules so we can be one America, united and strong.



# “Two Americas” (without race) (White male voice)

## WHAT WORKS

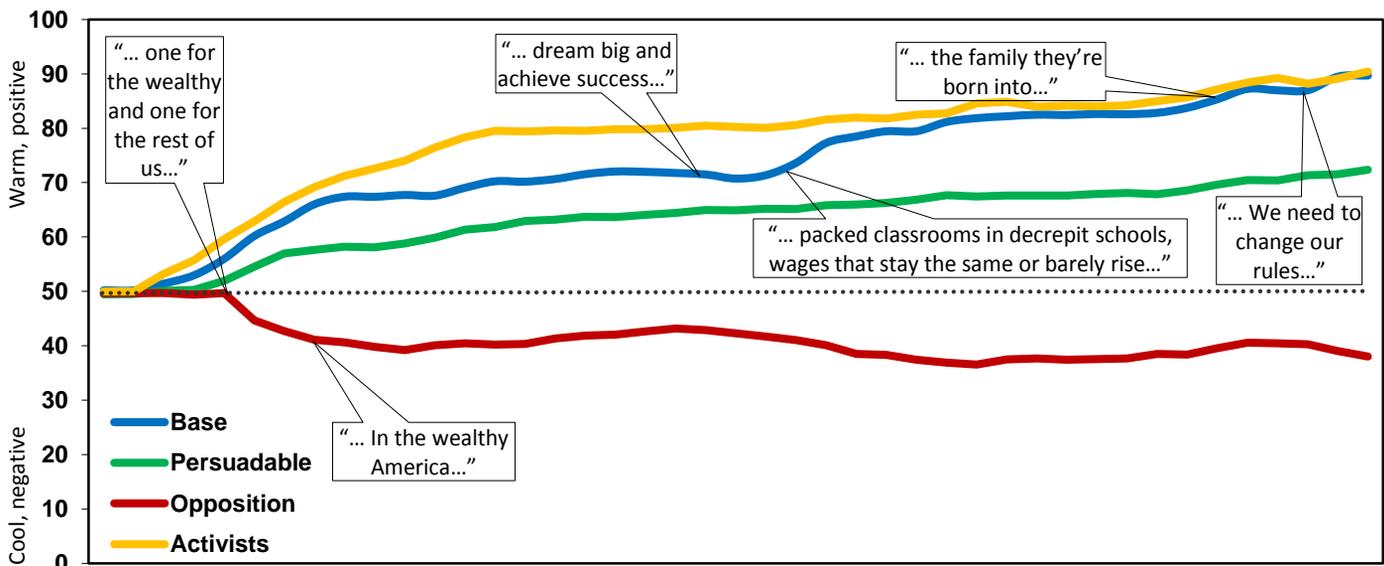
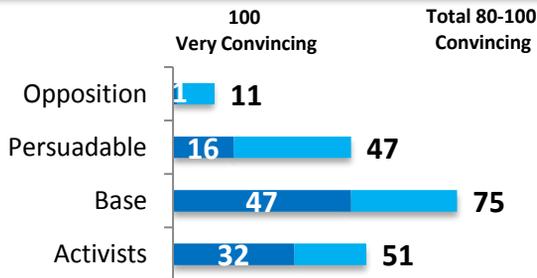
- ✓ Base dial up quickly
- ✓ Persuadables stay positive throughout.
- ✓ Resonates strongly with Activists
- ✓ Framing of “wealthy America” isolates opposition.

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Persuadables dial up slowly

Today there are two Americas; one for the wealthy and one for the rest of us, struggling paycheck to paycheck. In the wealthy America, there are desirable schools, easy access to healthcare, banks eager to lend for new ventures, gated communities and the comfort of knowing your kids can dream big and achieve success. For those struggling, there are packed classrooms in decrepit schools, wages that stay the same or barely rise, pay day lenders and pawn shops charging triple digit interest and endless worries your kids won't do better. The fate of our children should not depend on a choice they never get to make: the family they're born into. We need to change our rules so we can be one America, united and strong.

## Convincing Rating



# “Capitalism” (White female voice)

## WHAT WORKS

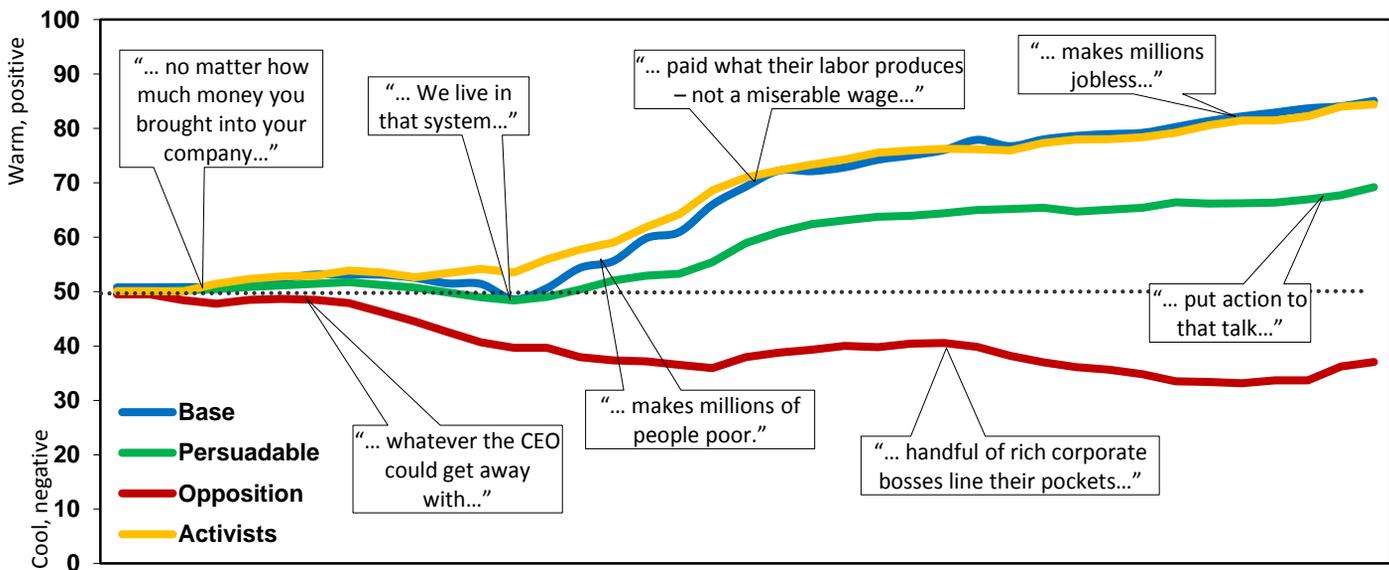
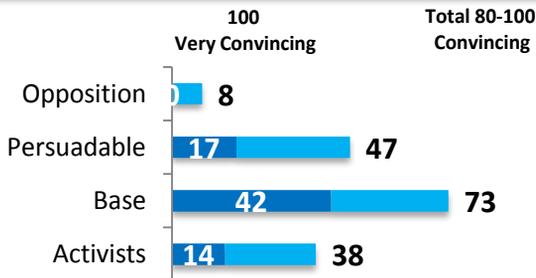
- ✓ Isolates opposition
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up aspirational call to action

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Framing for capitalism is not as powerful as call to action

Imagine a system where, no matter how much money you brought into your company, you got paid whatever the CEO could get away with while he or she kept the difference plus a bonus for driving down costs. We live in that system. And it makes millions of people poor. Everyone who works should get paid what their labor produces – not a miserable wage with irregular hours and no paid time off, no matter how productive your work. Letting a handful of rich corporate bosses line their pockets with the wealth our labor produces throws the economy out of balance and makes millions jobless. We say we value “hard work” in this country – it’s time we put action to that talk.

## Convincing Rating



# “Capitalism” (White male voice)

## WHAT WORKS

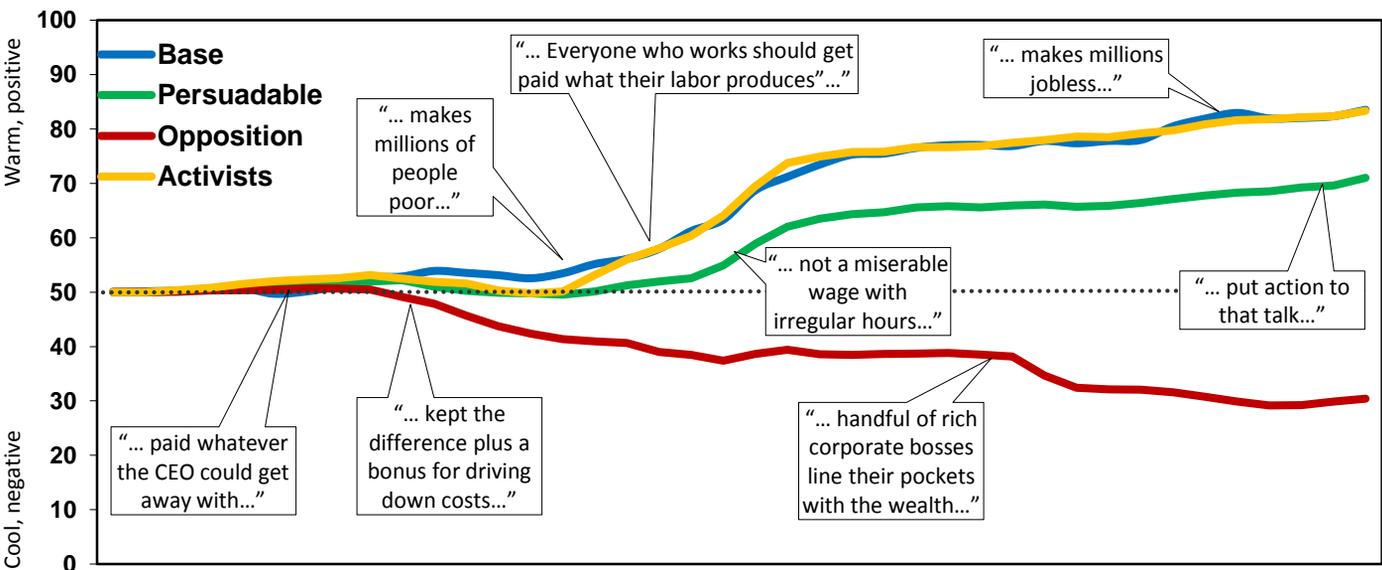
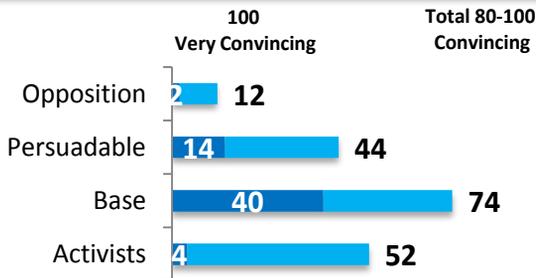
- ✓ Isolates opposition
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up aspirational call to action

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Framing for capitalism is not as powerful as call to action

Imagine a system where, no matter how much money you brought into your company, you got paid whatever the CEO could get away with while he or she kept the difference plus a bonus for driving down costs. We live in that system. And it makes millions of people poor. Everyone who works should get paid what their labor produces – not a miserable wage with irregular hours and no paid time off, no matter how productive your work. Letting a handful of rich corporate bosses line their pockets with the wealth our labor produces throws the economy out of balance and makes millions jobless. We say we value “hard work” in this country – it’s time we put action to that talk.

## Convincing Rating



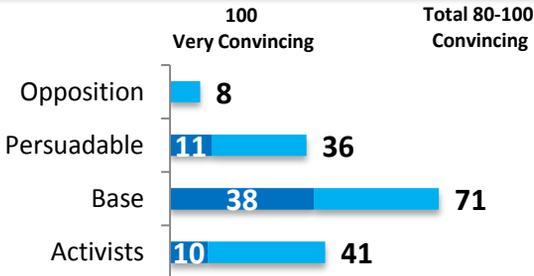
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Isolates opposition

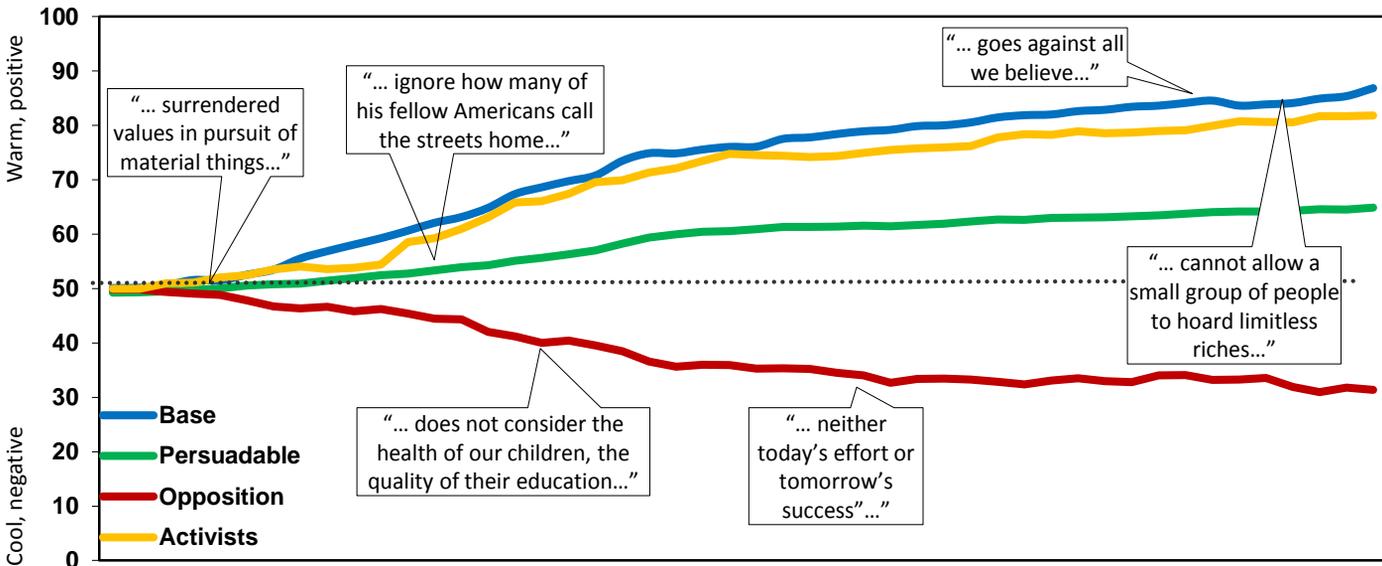
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Base respond slowly
- ✗ Weak with persuadables

## Convincing Rating



For too long, a powerful minority surrendered values in pursuit of material things. We marvel at how many houses one billionaire has and ignore how many of his fellow Americans call the streets home. Letting the wealthy put profits before people does not consider the health of our children, the quality of their education, or the joy of their play. It contributes to neither our courage nor our society’s security; neither today’s effort nor tomorrow’s success. It provides a few people every material thing and the vast majority only great hardship. In a country with so much, that anyone struggles to make it goes against all we believe. We cannot allow a small group of people to hoard limitless riches no matter what that demands of the rest of us.



## WHAT WORKS

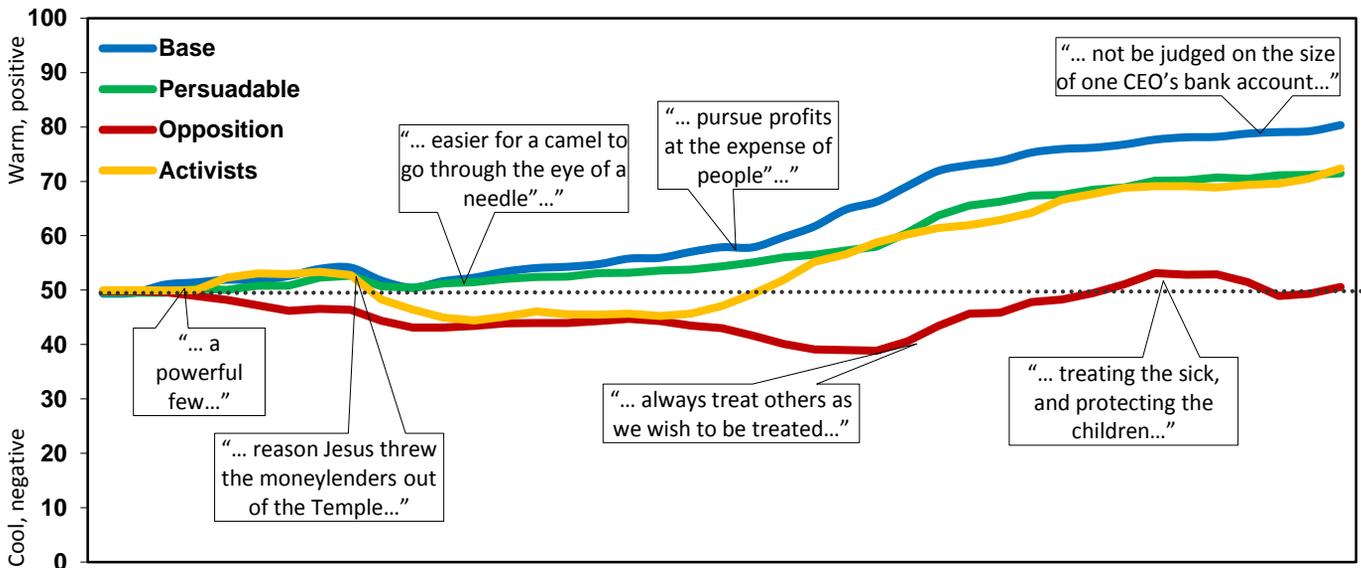
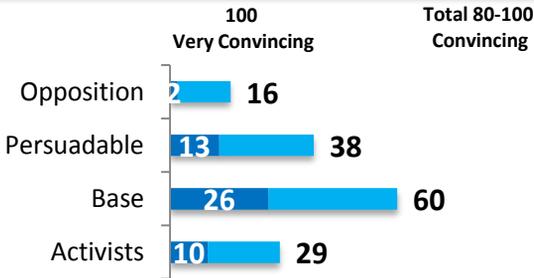
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on connection of profits to golden rule

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Activists dial down on religious citations

For too long, a powerful few wandered from the true path to chase the almighty dollar. There is a reason Jesus threw the moneylenders out of the Temple. As he said, it is easier for a camel to go through the eye of a needle than for a rich man to enter the Kingdom of God. Allowing an elite handful to pursue profits at the expense of people has made us forget the golden rule; that we must always treat others as we wish to be treated. This means feeding the hungry, welcoming the stranger, treating the sick, and protecting the children. We shall not be judged on the size of one CEO’s bank account but rather on how we care for those with the least among us.

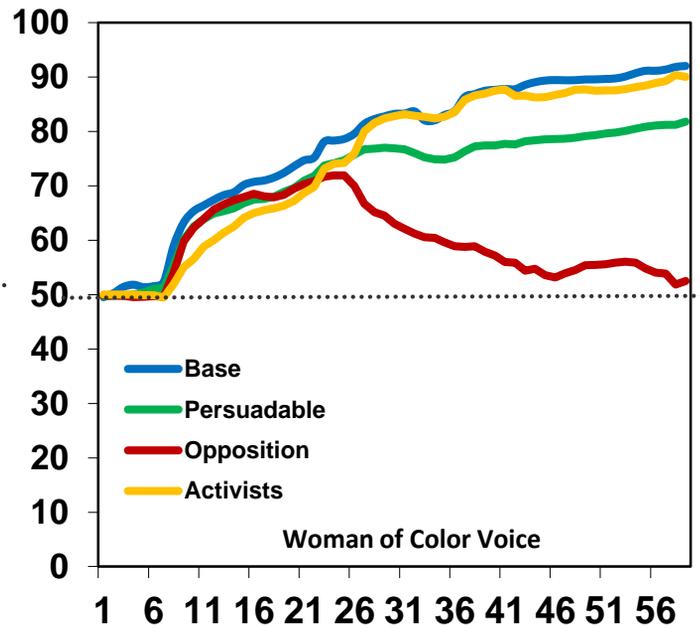
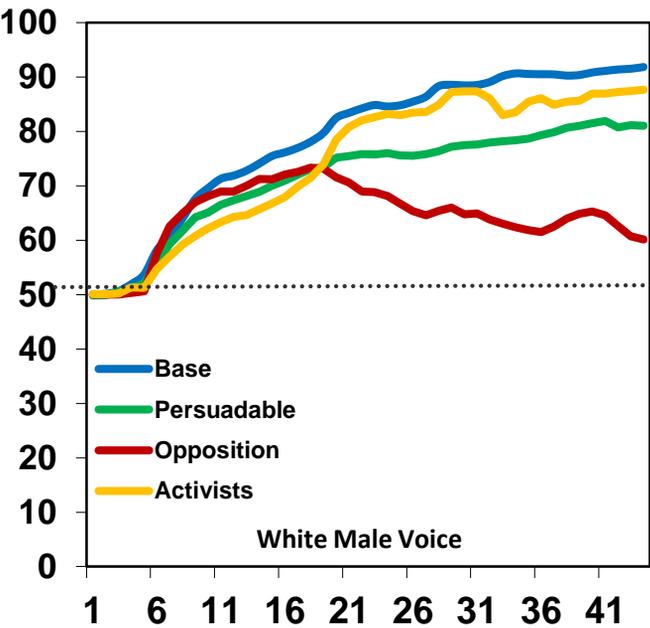
## Convincing Rating



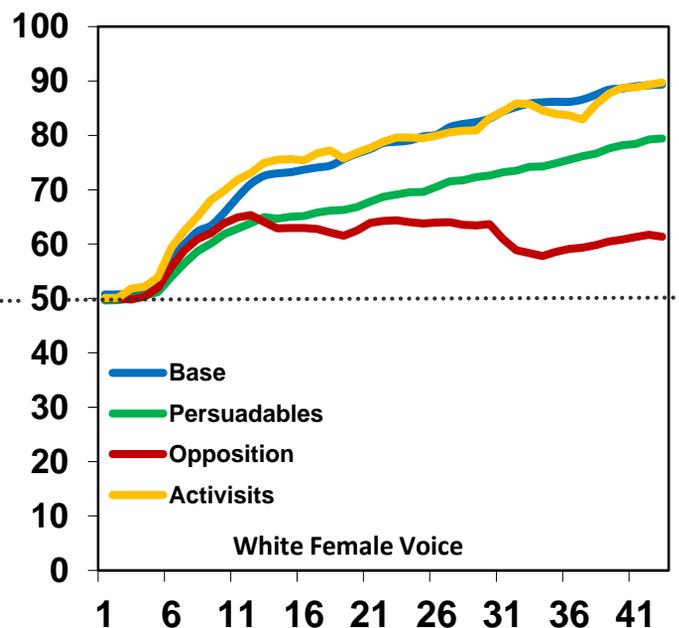
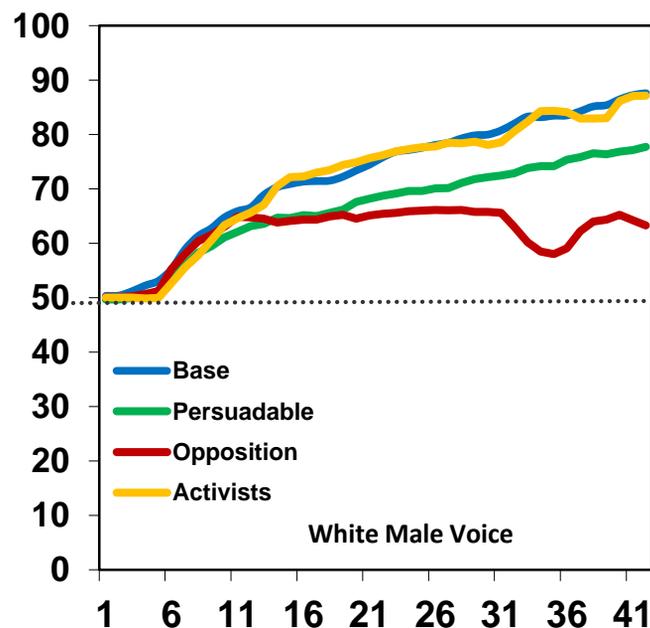
# Messenger Impacts Opposition

Opposition dials down more when messenger is a woman or man of color.

## "Family Comes First"



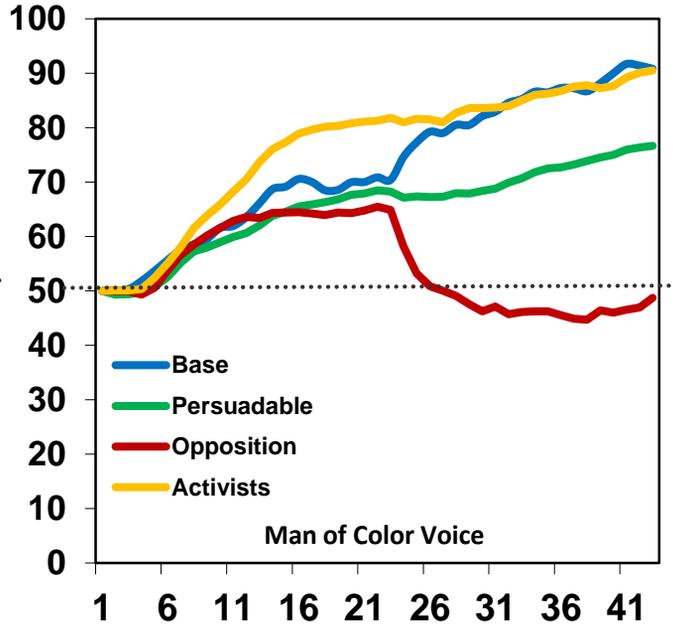
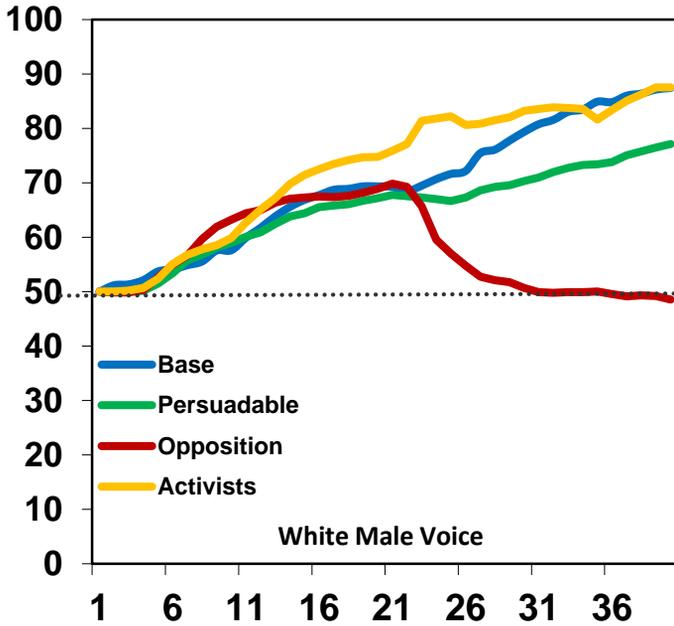
## "Breaking out of Container"



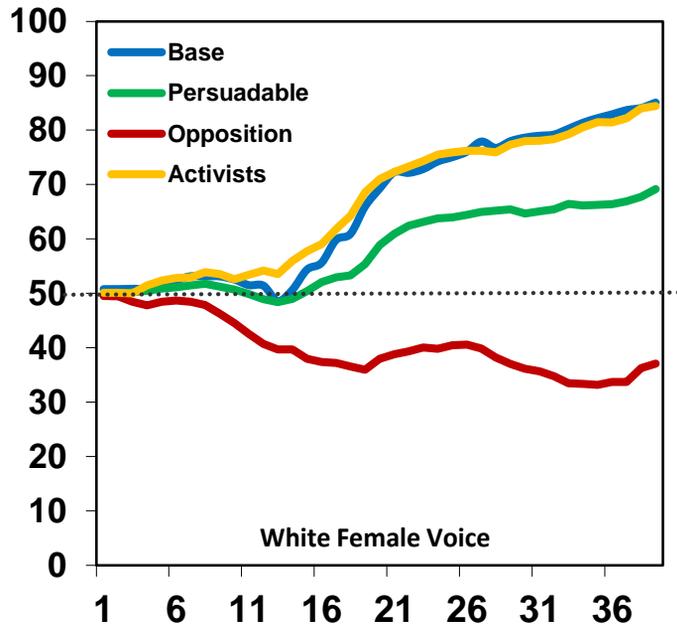
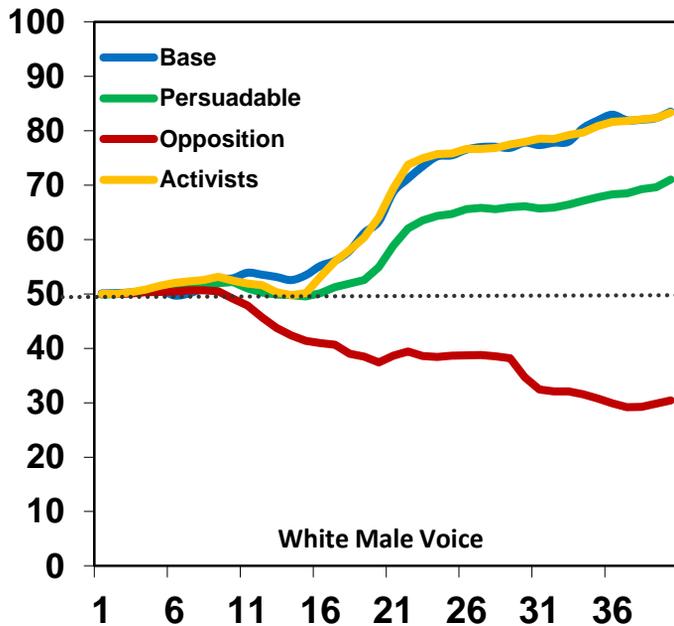
# Messenger Impacts Opposition

Opposition dials down more when messenger is a woman or man of color.

“We can do it”



“Capitalism”





**Appendix  
Opponent Messages  
(2014)**

# “How One Becomes Rich” (White male voice)

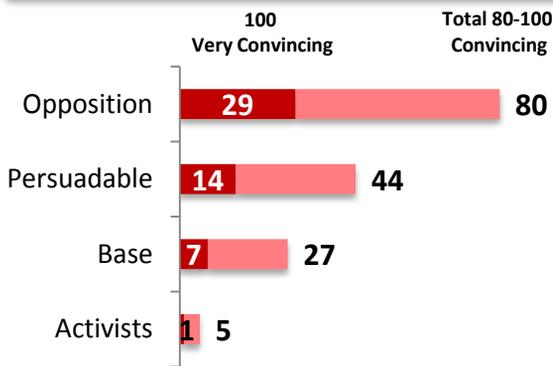
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Compelling vision of rewarding hard work, as an American promise, that even resonates with activists
- ✓ Puts programs in an effective tax frame
- ✓ Effective use of American Dream
- ✓ Some pull on our base, but isolates activists

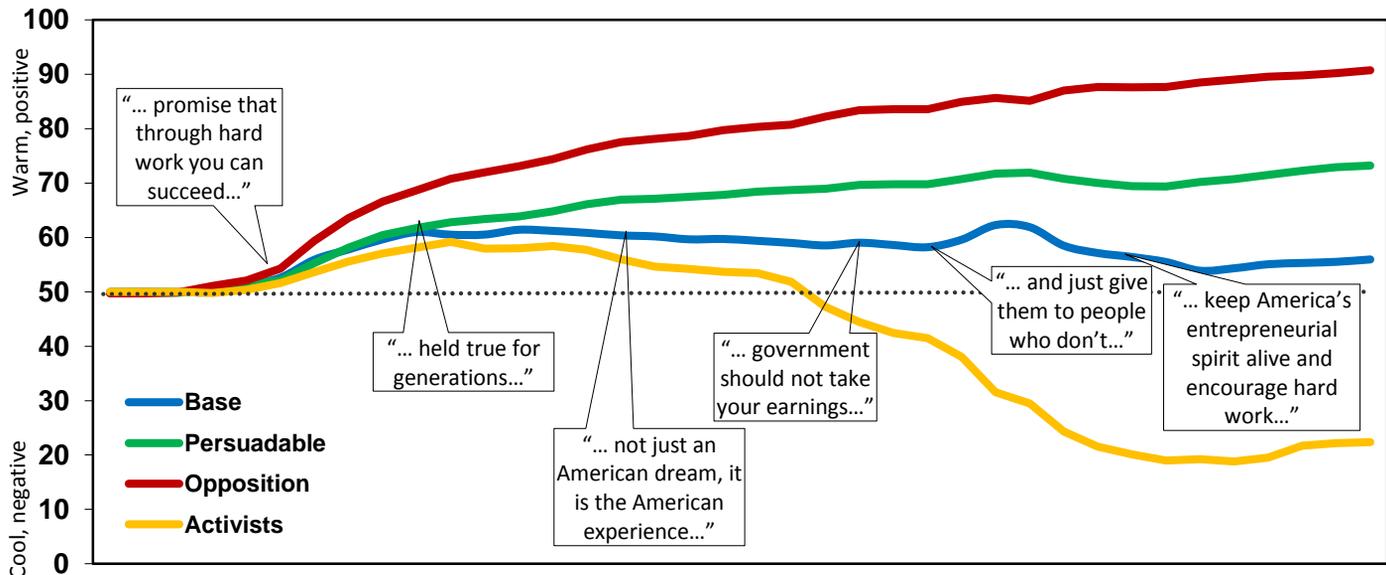
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Slow take off
- ✗ Only mildly persuasive

## Convincing Rating



Since our founding, people have come to America because it provides freedom and the promise that through hard work you can succeed. This has held true for generations. Only in America can someone come here with nothing, work hard, and become a success. This is not just an American Dream; it is the American experience. It is up to the individual. And when you do work hard and get ahead, the government should not take your earnings and just give them to people who don't. We need to do everything we can do to keep America's entrepreneurial spirit alive and encourage hard work so that people who want to succeed and prosper have the opportunity to do so.



# “Government Keeps People Poor” (White male voice)

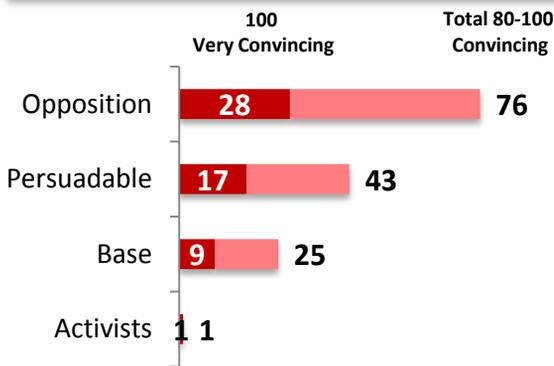
## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Isolates our base
- ✓ “Culture of dependency” is ‘red meat’ for opposition

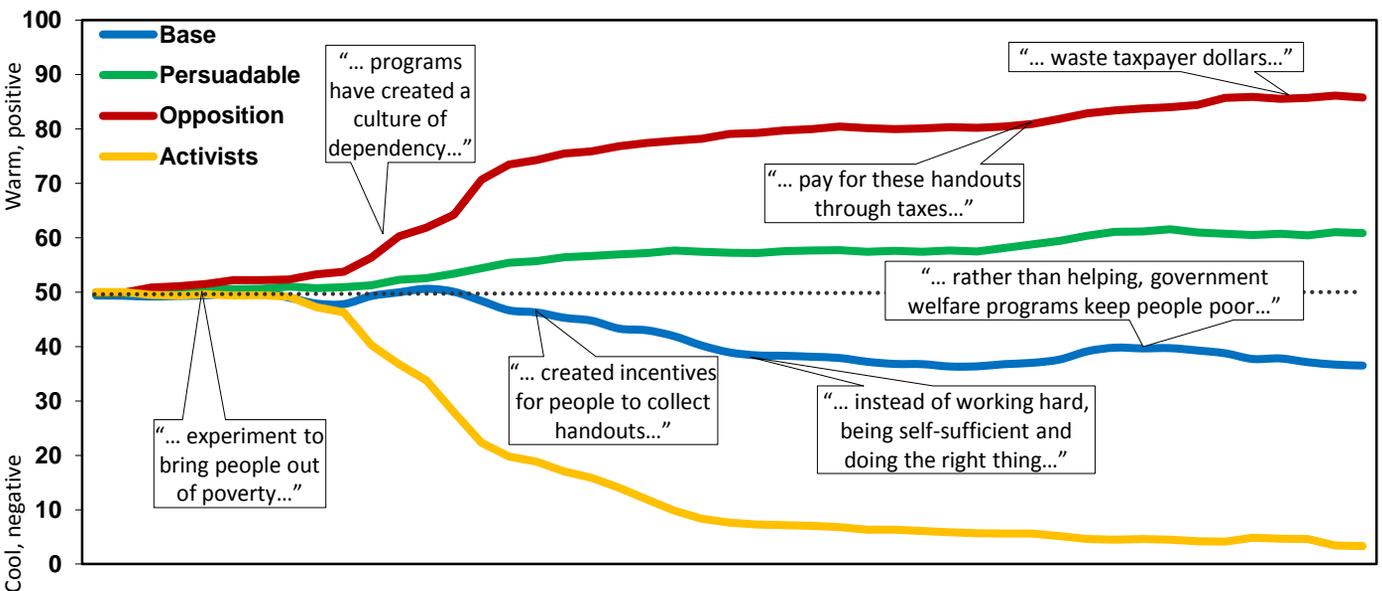
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- ✗ Less persuasive to persuadables than other opposition message
- ✗ Persuadables flat line on more accusatory language

## Convincing Rating



For the past 50 years, our government has tried a grand social experiment to bring people out of poverty. Results are in and this experiment has failed. Government programs have created a culture of dependency handed down from generation to generation. We’ve created incentives for people to collect handouts and have babies out of wedlock instead of working hard, being self-sufficient and doing the right thing. That has led to problems like drugs, crime, and teen-age pregnancy. And, unfortunately, hard-working middle-class families and small business owners pay for these handouts through taxes. Rather than helping, government welfare programs keep people poor and dependent on more aid. And in the process, waste taxpayer dollars and shackle our children with enormous debt.





Celinda Lake  
Alysia Snell  
Jonathan Voss  
Flora Lethbridge-Cejku



Anat Shenker-Osorio