

# Center for Popular Democracy Action & Working Families Organization Joint National Proposal for NGC C4 RFP

## Program Overview and Electoral Priorities

Working Families Organization and Center for Popular Democracy Action (CPDA) are working in 2016 to elevate an ambitious progressive agenda, elect candidates who will stand up for the issues that matter most to working families, and build towards progressive majorities in Congress and in statehouses across the country.

We are applying for funding for work in all states on the NGC RFP list. We will run a GOTV canvassing and organizing program to mobilize Rising American Electorate voters, with a message focused on economic populism and climate (particularly clean energy jobs and a safe, healthy climate). We will also engage in voter persuasion if voter research and experiments indicate that is a worthwhile strategy this fall.

## Organizational Descriptions

Center for Popular Democracy Action, a 501(c)(4) organization based in New York and Washington, DC, is building a rising movement of people fighting for a future of opportunity, equality, and inclusion. CPD Action works on campaigns that expand the voice and power of workers, communities of color, and immigrants on issues of economic and racial justice. CPD Action's network comprises 43 local organizations in 31 states, upwards of 450,000 members, and more than 800 full-time staff across the country. For several years now, CPD Action and its state partners have been building a climate justice program, focused on creating a political movement in states for aggressive, equitable solutions to the climate crisis. The CPD Action network is also heavily involved in electoral politics and nonpartisan voter engagement, with plans to touch 2.5 million doors in the 2016 cycle (and a very efficient cost per net vote!).

Working Families Organization, a 501(c)(4) organization, is a national progressive group with members and supporters in every state. We are fighting for a brighter future for America: where the economy works for everyone, not just the wealthy and well-connected; where politicians are accountable to working people, instead of Wall Street lobbyists and corporate CEOs; where the future of our planet is worth more than all the coal and oil in the ground; and where all of us, no matter where we come from, can find a good job, get healthcare when we need it, afford a home, send our kids to good schools, and have a secure retirement.

Additionally, we are in the early phases of a conversation about collaborating with MoveOn.org. We're exploring whether MoveOn could bring a surge of volunteers in the final few weeks before

the election, which would lower our canvassing costs during the GOTV phase and reduce our cost per vote. If our proposal is selected, we will continue to pursue this possible collaboration.

Lastly, we are frequent collaborators with 350.org Action, and while they're submitting a separate proposal, we are eager to find opportunities to collaborate with and support their work.

## Partnership

CPD Action and Working Families Organization have chosen to partner on this program because we share a deep strategic partnership and a long history of grassroots organizing in RAE communities, and because our existing capacity complements each other well to cover the states that are part of the proposal. There are a few places where we have significant overlapping capacity (for example Philadelphia), where we could divide up turf, but otherwise our strengths are in different states and cities.

In addition, each organization brings key strengths to the partnership:

- CPDA has more geographic scale and local organizations with real history in certain cities. CPDA also has deep experience working in communities of color. Though most CPDA partners are community organizing groups first, most have a long history of running winning electoral strategies; some have more experience in c3 voter engagement.
- Working Families has more experience with partisan political organizing and voter persuasion. Working Families also has more experience with white working class and middle class voters, and has a brand that resonates with both RAE voters and swing voters, as an independent and credible messenger.

## Program Description

Over a combined six decades of experience running field programs that win elections, we have developed a reliable model of repeated person-to-person contacts, led by a paid, professional canvass operation to get infrequent voters to the polls. We will run that layered-contact program in the targeted states, enhancing it with the latest technologies for peer-to-peer digital organizing, to improve the impact of the operation.

Each targeted voter in our program will receive at least ten contacts, with a core series of in-person canvass contacts supplemented by phones, voter-specific mail, and text messaging. Here is the life cycle of a typical voter in our program:

1. Initial canvasser conversation at the door. Voter signs a self-addressed pledge postcard, including cell phone capture.
2. Follow-up personalized text message from a local organizer (usually their canvasser).
3. Second canvasser conversation at the door, usually by the same canvasser, reminding them of their pledge and distributing literature. (Second canvass pass will also hit initial not-homes with second attempt on voter pledge card.)
4. Personalized text message from their organizer, giving an update on the campaign
5. Third canvass contact, in the final four days, talking through a voting plan with that voter (when they are voting, how they are getting there etc).
6. Personalized text message from their organizer in the final four days.
7. Mailed self-addressed voter pledge postcard, so every pledged supporter would receive the pledge form in their own handwriting with their own signature, as a reminder of their pledge to vote. Postcard will include mild social pressure language.
8. Fourth canvass contact, on Election Day or the day before, a reminder of voting plan
9. Doorhanger
10. Election Day personalized text message from their organizer, reminding them of their voting plan and asking whether they've voted.
11. Additional personalized text messages from their organizer if they haven't voted yet.

## Voter Targeting

Our focus is on the Rising American Electorate (RAE). Polling shows that the Working Families brand and message has strong appeal and moves the dial with these voters - a brief description of the Working Families Party garnered 85% support among RAE voters in our December 2015 battleground state poll, 11 points higher than Hillary Clinton's support. (All the polling discussed here was on the Working Families Party, but we expect that similar brand resonances will apply to our c4, Working Families Organization.) Likewise, CPD Action state partners have indigenous brands in their communities, tied to a robust membership, often with many organizing years and millions of dollars in brand equity.

Our core universe will be RAE voters (people of color, unmarried women, people under 30), limiting to those who are low- to moderate-vote propensity (20- 70%) and moderate- to high Democratic partisanship (above 60%), and excluding Republicans. We will also include voters with 0-20% vote propensity who are in the same neighborhoods where we are canvassing.

Our brand and message has also shown strong resonance as an independent validator with independent-leaning voters. Persuasion could also become part of our program depending on general election voter research on a Trump candidacy.

- In a March 2016 poll of likely voters in swing legislative districts in Washington State, 45% of Independent voters support the Working Families Party based on a brief description, while just 36% oppose it.
- Likely voters in this survey don't think the Party is extreme liberal. Just over a third of people (36%) rate it the liberal third of 1-3 on a scale from 1 to 9 (where 1 is extremely

liberal and 9 is extremely conservative). More than a quarter (27%) rate it in the moderate third of 4-6, and many (11%) rate it in the conservative third of 7-9. A plurality of people who support the party rate it in the moderate third (26% liberal / 37% moderate / 14% conservative), while people who oppose it tend to think it's more liberal (57% liberal / 17% moderate / 8% oppose).

- This polling closely tracks 2006 polling in Ohio and Washington that finds the Working Families Party strongly appeals to moderate voters.

## Message

As you know, our December 2015 battleground states poll of RAE voters used focus groups followed by a MaxDiff issue ranking exercise to identify the core concerns of RAE voters. We found strong support for an overarching narrative about building an economy that works for middle class and working families. The top issues in our survey that fell within this frame were expanding Social Security, debt-free college, a \$15/hour wage, clean energy jobs, and a family economic agenda including affordable childcare and paid sick days. We found consistent support for this narrative and set of issue priorities across the RAE, without significant variance by race, income, age, or marital status.

We will review additional public opinion data closer to the start of the program. We anticipate that this core narrative and set of issues will remain at the heart of our program, but we are prepared to be flexible as the political environment shifts during the year, or to adapt to different contexts in different states.

## Program Scale and State Capacity

Each of the CPDA groups has assessed its capacity for this work. For a number of states it's 15,000 voter pledge cards, and in some states it is more or less than that.

Working Families is proposing 15,000 voter pledge cards in each of five states for the purposes of determining net cost per vote. WF can run programs in more states than that, and can run programs significantly larger or smaller than that depending on the state and the total number of states that we are funded to do work in.

Some of our collective capacity is fixed in place based on existing organizational strength, and some capacity is flexible, e.g. to run multiple offices at that scale in a state with more than one major metro area.

Following is a table of our capacity in each place. Our total request is for \$5,938,400.

State	CPDA Partner(s)	Working Families?	CPDA pledge cards	WF pledge cards	Total pledge cards	Total Program Cost
Arizona	Lucha		15,000		15,000	\$428,250
Colorado	FRESC		15,000		15,000	\$428,250
Illinois	Action Now, ICIRR	Working Families	15,000	15,000	30,000	\$856,500
New Hampshire	RAD	Working Families	15,000	15,000	30,000	\$856,500
North Carolina	Action NC		9,000		9,000	\$256,950
Ohio	Stand Up for OH (c4 to OOC)		25,000		25,000	\$713,750
Pennsylvania	Action United, Make the Road, One Pittsburgh	Working Families	24,000	15,000	39,000	\$1,113,450
Wisconsin	WJN	Working Families	15,000	15,000	30,000	\$856,500
Nevada		Working Families		15,000	15,000	\$428,250
<b>Totals</b>			<b>119,000</b>	<b>60,000</b>	<b>179,000</b>	<b>\$5,938,400</b>

## Cost Per Net Vote

### Assumptions:

- We plan our voter canvassing around an average number of voter pledges per shift, based on our past experience.
- To calculate net turnout boost, we are layering several tactics:
  - 3-4 canvass contacts: estimate 2.2% boost ITT or 8% boost TOT (see explanation below)
  - 3-4 personalized text messages: estimate 2% boost
  - Self-addressed voter pledge postcard: estimate 2% boost
  - Social pressure language on the postcard: estimate 0.2% boost
  - Voter plan-making: estimate 1% boost
  - Doorhanger: estimate 1% boost
- We are unaware of data on how to precisely estimate the positive or negative interference effects of layering different GOTV techniques. There are surely some ways in which those layers reinforce each other, and at the same time the effects may be reduced because of overlap (e.g. by the time we mail the postcard in the final weekend

we've already captured some of the low-hanging fruit). To be conservative, we estimate a modest reduction of impact compared to each of these tactics in isolation.

- We estimate that this sequence of layered voter contacts will increase net turnout by 8% for people successfully treated with the canvass (even those positive IDs who don't sign a voter pledge but are still recanvassed in GOTV), and 5.3% for the combination of other GOTV touches.
- Our projected cost is \$28.55 per voter pledge. Though it will vary based on costs in different labor markets, voter density, and other factors.
- Among RAE voters we estimate an average candidate support of 80%, though obviously we will need to revise those estimates based on the candidates and the actual state of the race later this year. For voters who have signed our issue-based voter pledge, we estimate candidate support of 92%.

Our cost per net vote, based on an average of 15,000 voter pledges per metro area, is \$197:

Tactics	Canvass universe	pledge cards (treated voters)	Positive IDs (canvass yes but no pledge card)	Cost per pledge card	Cost	Net turnout increase	Avg candidate support	Net votes	Cost per net vote
Canvass	80,000	15,000	7,500	\$0.00		8%	80%	1440	
Text, doorhanger, postcard, voter plan		15,000				5.3%	92%	731	
<b>COMBINED</b>					<b>\$428,250</b>			<b>2171</b>	<b>\$197</b>

Net vote calculation:

canvass (22,500 x 8.0% x 80%) + other contacts (15,000 x 5.3% x 92%) = 2171 net votes

As organizations that are committed to building an economy that works for everyone, we pay our canvassers \$15 per hour, and Working Families pays for health insurance. Our experience is that this approach has several benefits:

- More voter contacts: Our productivity tends to be higher than other campaigns. Based on past experience with other campaigns in the states where we work, we find we get as many as twice as many voter pledges per canvasser-hour, because of our experienced, skilled organizers.
- Better data: Data is more accurate when it's collected by career organizers who are part of our movement, rather than temps, and better data helps win this election and build stronger organizations.
- Less PR exposure: If messaging talks about increasing wages but the canvassers are all paid minimum wage, there's potential for a damaging media story pointing out the hypocrisy.

- **Better quality contacts:** We believe that the high-quality canvassers and canvass leadership we are able to train and retain are more effective at connecting with and mobilizing voters. You surely can relate to that experience--think of the last fundraising call you got, and whether it was from a caller who mumbled and rushed through a canned script, or a caller who connected with you and asked questions and made the script feel like their own words. That effect reduces our cost per net vote beyond what is shown here, but we have not run our own randomized controlled trials to prove whether that effect exists or how large it is.

## Responses to guiding questions not covered above

### **What is your current timeline for beginning work in targeted states:**

The voter mobilization program described here will begin around Labor Day. CPD Action is building on existing year-round organizing capacity in their states.

Working Families state organizations are several years old in Pennsylvania and Illinois, nearly a year old in Wisconsin and brand-new in Nevada and New Hampshire. We are building permanent, year-round political operations where we use our legislative work to fuel our electoral work and vice versa.

### **What is your existing infrastructure in the states where you are proposing to work:**

Working Families state organizations:

- **Wisconsin:** We have a State Director, a Deputy Director and a Field Director who is currently running a 20-canvasser field operation in a local Milwaukee city and county races, where we recently won an upset victory in the primary. We have a board made up of community, labor and other progressive groups, including: SEIU Healthcare Wisconsin, Wisconsin Jobs Now, AFSCME, 9to5, Milwaukee Teachers Association, Voces De La Frontera, and CWA.
- **Pennsylvania:** We have a State Director, Communications Director, and four regional organizers. Our board is made up of community, labor and other progressive groups, including SEIU 32BJ, PASNAP, 1199C/AFSCME, Action United, SEIU Healthcare PA, and CWA and Make the Road PA
- **Nevada:** We have an emerging and robust volunteer base, launched by key leaders from the Nevada campaign for Bernie Sanders. At our founding meeting, 50 people participated in the launch event for Las Vegas Working Families. Our operation is specific to Clark County, which is the main population center of the state.
- **Illinois:** We have a State Director. Our board is made of community and labor organizations and led by community and labor organizations including the Chicago

Teachers Union, Action Now Chicago, Grassroots Illinois Action and SEIU Healthcare Illinois-Indiana.

CPDA partner organizations:

- **Pennsylvania:** Action United is a statewide organization with more than 50,000 members in Philadelphia, Pittsburgh, and other parts of the state. Founded in 2010, Action United has a long history of running electoral programs. The executive director is Craig Robbins, a long-time veteran of ACORN. Make the Road PA is a relatively new, fast growing, immigrant community organization in the crucial Lehigh Valley of the state. AJ Marin, the organization's director, is the former political director for SEIU Healthcare PA. One Pittsburgh is a vibrant organizing group that was the SEIU FFE organization in that community. Lead by SEIU veteran Erin Kramer, the organization ran a highly effective political program in 2015 around the Supreme Court races, in conjunction with Action United and Make the Road PA.
- **Illinois:** Action Now, founded in 2010 and led by veteran organizer Katelyn Johnson, is among the key organizations in the network of community organizations that do politics in Chicago and in the state. Action Now has led on issues too numerous to list, including minimum wage, racial justice, education, and much more. The organization co-led a massive political program in 2014 tied to a state advisory referendum on minimum wage. Just last week, Action Now played an instrumental role in the defeat of DA Anita Alvarez. The Illinois Coalition for Immigrant and Refugee Rights (ICIRR) is one of the most vibrant immigrant community organizations in the country, and a key national leader in the fight for comprehensive immigration reform. One of ICIRR's key contributions here are its reach into key suburban and exurban counties outside of Chicago proper.
- **New Hampshire:** Rights & Democracy (RAD) is a new organization founded in 2015 by longtime NH and VT progressive and labor leaders, including James Haslam, the longtime executive director of the Vermont Workers' Center. This fast-growing grassroots organization is geared to engage people in local democracy and create long-lasting change. Already, their work in Vermont has led to victories for paid sick days, election day voter registration, and likely soon automatic voter registration. In NH, they have gathered over 3,000 support cards for Family Friendly Economy and have been partnering with a range of labor and climate action groups (including NextGen-NH) to build a broad multi-issue people's movement for progressive change.
- **Colorado:** FRESC, a c3 organization, is an economic justice organization rooted in the relationship between labor and community, and with a broad social justice perspective. FRESC is currently working in partnership with CPDA to launch its new c4 this cycle. FRESC Action is a leader in a new formation with SEIU, PICO and others called Coloradans for a Fair Economy. FRESC Action is also a leader in the 2016 minimum wage ballot initiative campaign in Colorado, which will be integrated with the climate work in this proposal.



- **Arizona:** LUCHA, led by Tomas Robles, is a mainstay of the c4 and c3 tables in the state. This year, LUCHA is putting together a minimum wage and paid sick days ballot initiative for the November ballot, and will also integrate portions of its field with the Clean Elections ballot in the state.
- **Ohio:** Stand Up for Ohio, the c4 associated with the Ohio Organizing Collaborative, led by Kirk Noden, is one of the strongest community organizations in the country, and is well versed in electoral politics. The OOC helped lead the ballot campaign to defeat right to work in the state, has a robust climate program, and has a very large political program this cycle.
- **Wisconsin.** Wisconsin Jobs Now, led by Martha de la Rosa, has a tremendous track record of accomplishment and a strong recent record in the electoral arena. WJN emanates from the SEIU Fight for a Fair Economy (FFE) program, and was transitioned into an independent organization with support from CPDA starting in 2011. In the 2014 cycle, WJN ran a massive voter program combined with advisory ballot referenda on minimum wage across the state.
- **North Carolina:** Action NC, led by veteran organizer Pat McCoy, is an anchor group at the c3 and c4 tables in the state. With a years-long record on immigrants' rights, health care, and social safety net issues, the organization has long engaged its base in Charlotte and Durham in electoral work.

**If necessary could you expand that capacity:** We can expand our capacity in each state. CPDA can scale up its field operations building on its existing foundation in each state. Working Families Organization has built a large national infrastructure and staff of organizers who are mobile and ready to go where we need them to go, and can expand in existing states or go deeper in other battleground states addition to the five core Working Families states listed here.

**What kind of voter engagement have you done in the past:** We've run hundreds of campaigns over decades of work and have a very strong track record of winning elections. Our bread and butter is grassroots voter engagement. We've invested millions of dollars over the years in building our canvassing and organizing operations, and have face-to-face conversations with hundreds of thousands of voters every year.

**What tactics are you strongest at executing:** Targeted persuasion and GOTV canvassing operations. We believe in a layered, multi-contact approach, utilizing best practices developed with the Analyst Institute.

**Explain your assumptions about GOTV operations of other organizations and a Presidential year and how that affects your strategy:** We propose to target low- and moderate-propensity RAE voters in targeted states, primarily in urban and suburban areas. We will collaborate with other independent-side campaigns, to minimize duplication of targets with

any other organization running a similar field program with a similar message. We will look at areas with less-contested congressional races to see if less canvassing may be going on.

We obviously do not and cannot know what voters the candidate and Democratic coordinated campaigns are targeting, but we can assume they may be targeting many of these same turnout targets. However, as described here, Working Families polling demonstrates that our role as an independent validator gives us the ability to squeeze votes out of this target universe that the candidates cannot. This is particularly true with white working class voters, white unmarried women, and millennials. At the same time, CPDA's deep year-round experience in African-American and Latino/a communities will help them find voters who other programs simply cannot find, e.g. by working through existing relationships with church networks.

**Please explain whether your program is materially affected by the identities of the Presidential Candidates:** There's obviously not yet general election research to know this with confidence, but it is likely that a Trump-Clinton race will require more voter persuasion than most organizations have planned for this cycle.

We are familiar with the mixed and unpredictable results of RCTs on persuasion canvassing, but much of that work has been done around organizations like Planned Parenthood whose very identity provokes a reaction in swing voters. Our polling discussed here shows that the Working Families brand is viewed as a credible messenger and a moderate voice rather than one on the far left. We have considerable experience and success with persuading voters in down-ballot races.

If voter research indicates a significant persuadable segment and there is sufficient funding, we will run an experiment-informed program (EIP) on voter persuasion and determine if we can find an audience that will respond positively to our persuasion efforts.

**How has your program incorporated messaging around climate change in the past:**

After several years of intermittent climate work, and after growing interest from local partners, CPDA made the decision two years ago to build a permanent climate justice program. We mobilized east coast affiliates for the September 2014 climate march, bringing more than 1,000 members -- mostly low- and moderate-income families of color -- to the People's Climate March. And in the past year, we have added capacity to this work. We recently hired our first Director of Climate Justice, Aura Vasquez, based in Los Angeles. Aura joins Steve Dooley, who as part of CPDA's organizing team helped build our climate program from the ground up.

In the past six months, CPDA has begun seeding and/or providing support to a set of new state and local climate campaigns. In New York, the NY Renews coalition, led by WFO and ALIGN, includes our state partners (NYCC and Make the Road NY), and builds on work done collectively in 2014-5. In Florida, we're working with New Florida Majority and Organize now to build on recent climate campaigning to launch a new effort that aligns political work with a climate message. And some of our strongest new climate work comes out of Pennsylvania,

where in 2015 we incorporated climate messaging into our successful work on the state Supreme Court races. Now, however, we are working with our three partners in the state to build a climate political plan that overlays with a big fight in metro Philadelphia over dirty energy infrastructure. CPDA is working with partners in a host of other states to build climate campaigns and/or climate political work, including: CO, MN, NH, MO, IL, AZ, NC, WI, OH, VA.

The dominant thread of Working Families' issue organizing and campaigns has been economic justice issues. In recent years, however, we have deliberately sought to expand our work in both racial justice and environmental justice, in particular around climate change.

On climate change, Working Families has had particular success when we've been able to focus a broad value on a specific fight that has an easily understandable and deeply felt impact on people's lives. One example was the fight against hydrofracking in New York State, where WFP was a founder of New Yorkers Against Fracking. We found that the clear danger of poisonous, flammable water combined with the more abstract but moral call to stop climate change made the campaign effective.

Working Families believes a message about public investment to create millions of clean energy jobs can be very effective as part of our broad narrative. It connects with those people who feel personally compelled by climate change, but it also has a material upside in hard-hit communities. (That was the outline of the formula for winning a housing retrofits policy.)

Working Families is also developing a narrative that connects climate change to racial justice on two fronts. First, we spotlight instances in which the worst impacts of climate change often fall on communities of color, from the Rockaways to Louisiana. Second, we call for public investment for clean energy job creation specifically in hard-hit communities of color.

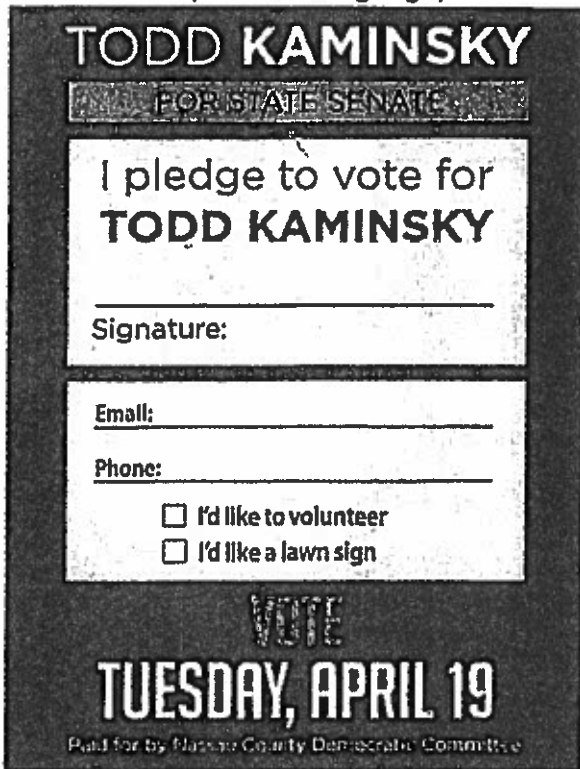
**What technology and systems do you use for voter contact:** Our mantra is that if it hasn't been entered in the database then it didn't happen. We are relentless about focusing on positive ID's and making sure those assessments and codings are honest and accurate. We place a high emphasis on training and recruiting people who are committed to our vision and values. We don't place hard quotas on canvassers because we don't want incentivize exaggerated or inaccurate reporting. We do most of our electoral work through VAN and NationBuilder and in most cases use mobile applications (e.g. MiniVAN) to eliminate paper and allow for real-time tracking. We will also use the peer-to-peer text messaging app Hustle to facilitate personalized text messaging.

## Evidence to support our organizing strategy

As you all well know, there are many studies of some of these tactics, often with conflicting results, and often in a different electoral context than the one we'll face this year. Thus calculating impact can often be fraught. We take an optimistic approach--e.g. If some studies show an impact and others don't, we assume that that impact exists with our program--while still grounding our estimates in the literature.

- Canvassing: estimate 8% boost (TOT), 2.2% (ITT)
  - Canvassing studies summarized in Gerber & Green, "Get Out The Vote, 2nd ed." average 7% effect Treatment on Treated (TOT).
  - MoveOn's 2004 volunteer-driven precinct organizing program included an RCT that assessed the cumulative effect of repeated canvass contacts, in many cases by the same individual. That program found a turnout boost of 9% (TOT). That is not identical to our program--their program relied on volunteers, often from the same neighborhood, ours on professional canvass organizers--but it's probably the closest to the program we describe here.
  - Note that it is appropriate to use treatment on treated effect here since we are applying it to the universe of people who we successfully contact and are positive IDs, not to the entire canvass universe.
  - We convert this to intent to treat as follows: 80,000 canvass universe x 28% positive IDs (of whom 2/3 sign pledge cards) = 15,000 pledge cards + 7,500 positive IDs without pledge cards. 8% TOT x 28% treatment application rate = 2.2% ITT
- Personalized, repeated text messaging for turnout: estimate 2% boost
  - <https://dash.harvard.edu/bitstream/handle/1/10471523/Rogers-TextMessages.pdf?sequence=1> 2% effect in high-salience election
  - Of course there are a variety of studies on this topic that show a variety of impacts. We are unaware of any studies yet public of the kind of peer-to-peer personalized text messaging (let alone a sequence of such messages) that we are proposing here, though it is very reasonable to estimate that this will produce a higher impact than other GOTV texts. We understand that such a study was conducted in the Virginia 2015 election and is awaiting the voter file update for analysis, so we will modify our program as needed based on the results of that RCT.
- Self-addressed voter pledge postcards: estimate 2% boost
  - <https://analystinstitute.org/presentation/2008-experiments-on-the-efficacy-of-vote-pledge-reminders> 4.7% effect with young voters in 2008 presidential; no turnout effect but boost in early voting with Latino voters
  - 3% in non-public 2010 study
  - 1.9% in Faith in Public Life 2014 study
- Voting plan study: estimate 1% boost
  - 2014 State Voices study on plan-making in text messages, 1.4% effect
  - 2010 LCV study found statistically insignificant 2.3% effect.
  - 2008 AFL-CIO study in PA primary and general, 0.8% effect
- Social pressure language on postcard: estimate 0.2% boost
  - 2010 study of generic language on voting history being public and promising a post-election call: <https://analystinstitute.org/presentation/gotv-testing-accountability-threats-and-the-next-best-practices/> 0.23% effect
  - Replication in 2011 Wisconsin recall found 0.7% effect
- Doorhanger: estimate 1% boost

- 2004 study of partisan doorhangers in mid-salience election:  
<http://hks.harvard.edu/fs/dking/PartyMobilization.pdf> 1.2% effect
- Working Families Polling--available on request
  - December 2015 battleground states fusion poll--NextGen has this data
  - March 2016 Washington State fusion poll--source for the data on appeal to independent voters and party positioning
  - 2006 Ohio and Washington Working Families poll--similar data on appeal to independent voters and party positioning
- Voter pledge postcard sample (showing front and back of an old version without any social pressure language):



500 Old Country Rd #103  
Garden City, NY 11530

\_\_\_\_\_  
Name

\_\_\_\_\_  
Address

\_\_\_\_\_  
City State ZIP



**REMEMBER YOUR PLAN TO VOTE  
TUESDAY, APRIL 19**

**WHEN:** Tuesday, April 19 | Polls open 6am - 9pm

I'm voting in the:

MORNING  AFTERNOON  EVENING

**WHERE:** If you don't know where your polling place is, look it up at [www.elections.ny.gov](http://www.elections.ny.gov)

I'm voting to elect Todd Kaminsky for State Senate because:

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