



A Practical Handbook to

WINNING THE WORKING CLASS



WELCOME TO WFP'S PRACTICAL HANDBOOK TO WINNING THE WORKING CLASS.

The goal of this document is to be a useful resource for practitioners to apply the lessons from more than a year's worth of research into the values and priorities of the American working class to this year's elections.

Starting in the spring of 2023, Working Families Power has led the Multiracial Working Class Research Project along with research partners at HIT Strategies and the Justice Research Collaborative. With a battery of values-based questions (on race, gender, corporate power and more) we've defined the working class electorate and developed seven clusters of working class voters, including two clusters that lean strongly towards Democrats, one that is overwhelmingly Republican and four cross-pressured groups.

Over the past several cycles, WFP has been proud to participate in and learn from several innovative progressive messaging projects. We've endeavored to build on that body of research for this project. We're grateful for insights and wisdom developed by [We Make the Future](#) and [ASO Communications](#), [Amplify Freedom](#), the [Winning Jobs Narrative](#) and many more.

What our new research uniquely brings to the table is the following:

We have constructed profiles of discrete clusters of the working class electorate, and built experimental knowledge about which messages perform best with each one.

Each of the message frames, the Harris biography elements, and the Biden-Harris administration accomplishments is available to read in full in the Appendix.

This Handbook shares some lessons that are broadly applicable across the working class, but the bulk of this document is dedicated to two-page profiles of each of the seven clusters, complete with a description, a set of priorities for those voters, message frames that are most effective with those voters, and more.

Want to use the clusters in the field? In partnership with HayStaqDNA and the Justice Research Collaborative, we're modeling the clusters and mapping them onto the national voter file. If you want to run a phonebank to "Tuned Our Persuadables" or target a digital ad to "Diverse Disaffected Conservatives" – pretty soon you'll be able to! Stay tuned for more information: we aim to release cluster scores by the end of September.



FREQUENTLY ASKED QUESTIONS

Who can use this Handbook?

We've made it public so that anyone can use its lessons. Our aim is for this research to be as useful across the progressive movement as possible. We're happy to share our data modeling with anyone who has the data infrastructure to accept it and is part of the anti-MAGA majority. We're happy to make recommendations to anyone in constructing scripts or content working on the independent expenditure side.

How were the clusters constructed?

Rather than organize clusters around partisanship, race, age or other demographic factors, we built the clusters around a set of around 40 values based questions, covering attitudes on race, gender, corporate power and more. We identified ten questions that can accurately predict the clusters, making the same clusters replicable across research instruments.

How do partisanship and demographic factors intersect with the clusters?

There are at least some Democratic voters and some Republican voters in each cluster, and several of the cross-pressured clusters are pretty evenly divided. What does that mean? One way to think of it is this: A Secure Suburban who is a registered Republican may still mainly vote for Republicans but is probably *cross-pressured* and finds themselves agreeing more with Democrats on issues like abortion. A Democrat who is an Anti-Woke Traditionalist may mainly vote for Democrats but still may find themselves agreeing more than not with Republicans on some reactionary views of gender roles. Understanding these clusters and what drives them can be a powerful way to maximize support for our candidates and potentially fracture some voters from the opposition.

Who is defined as a member of the working class?

Rather than define working class status by college education, we define working class by an amalgam of factors that incorporate education, income and job type. In total, we define about 63% of all registered voters as members of the working class. There's a lengthy research paper that explains that definition. Reach out if you want to read it.

Can I see the research myself?

Yes, we're happy to share more in-depth research, including a 70-page report, with anyone. There are some elements of the research that are explicitly partisan and can only be shared with people working on the independent expenditure side.



CHEAT SHEET

CLUSTER	WINNING MESSAGE	BEST ISSUE AREA OF ALIGNMENT	GOAL
Next Gen Left	Next Gen Change Class Conflict Two Futures	Broadly share progressive worldview across all issues	Mobilize to vote, ensure they don't fracture to vote for left spoilers
Mainstream Liberals	All Together Class Conflict WFP Validation	Broadly share progressive worldview across almost all issues	Maximize (already high) turnout, recruit to volunteer
Tuned Out Persuadables	Two Futures Class Conflict Next Gen Change	Progressive economics, pro-choice, pro-LGBTQ	Persuade using shared frames and mobilize
Anti Woke Traditionalist	Class Conflict Two Futures	Populist/progressive economics	Persuade by using shared frames
Diverse Disaffected Conservatives	Next Gen Change Class Conflict	Pro public investments like affordable housing, comparatively progressive on policing	Persuade by using shared frames, and mobilize supporters to vote
Secure Suburbans	Next Gen Change Class Conflict Backwards	Opposition to abortion bans	Persuade by using shared frames
Core MAGA	None	They oppose our issues and worldview across the board	Avoid



TAKEAWAYS ON THE WORKING CLASS

The working class is huge and diverse – by our definition 63% of the electorate qualifies. Working class voters don't look any one way, and they hold many different opinions, beliefs and worldviews. That's why the best way to use this Handbook is to use the seven clusters we've developed.

However, there are some lessons about the working class as a whole that are worth understanding for any broad-based communications or voter outreach plans.

Some key takeaways from our research:

1. **Working class voters are to the left of the middle and upper classes on issues of economic justice**, public investment, taxing the rich and corporate power.
2. **On issues of race, gender and immigration, the difference between working class voters as a whole and the rest of the electorate is very small.** There are pockets of reactionary views within the working class and pockets of progressive views too, just as there are among the middle and upper classes. Taken as a whole, the working class is not more conservative.
3. Despite the two factors above, **the working class electorate voted more for Trump in 2020 than the middle and upper classes did.**
4. **When communicating with the working class as a whole**, the message frame we found that most consistently performed well across segments was **CLASS CONFLICT**. Also strong were TWO FUTURES, NEXT GEN CHANGE and BACKWARDS. (The full message frame statements are all available in the appendix in the back of this document.)
5. **When communicating about VP Harris, the most popular attributes are her accomplishments** and policy plans like her record securing money for unfairly foreclosed homeowners as California DA, her work standing up to pharmaceutical companies and tie-breaking vote on the IRA as opposed to statements about her identity. (The full Harris attributes tested are available in the appendix.)
6. **The accomplishments of the Biden-Harris administration show surprising strength in driving vote choice towards Harris over Trump.** Voters who heard a battery of administration accomplishments moved meaningfully towards Harris over those who didn't. This is surprising because statements about the administration's record were *not* useful arguments when Biden was at the top of the ticket; however, since the switch from Biden to Harris, voters are much more open to hearing about what the administration has accomplished, and are responding positively.



NEXT GENERATION LEFT

Next Generation Left is the most progressive cluster. They are not always consistent voters and feel their vote has little ability to make a positive impact. Enthusiastic support for Medicare for All, Green New Deal, a jobs guarantee and other progressive priorities.

STRATEGY: MAXIMIZE THEIR (SOMETIMES LOW) VOTER PARTICIPATION – AND GET THEM TO JOIN ORGANIZATIONS AND VOLUNTEER.

Notable fact: Although typically among the most third-party curious voters, their interest and support for third party options in the Presidential race has cratered with Harris on the ticket. (Still, even a small number of votes for these candidates could swing a state.)

WINNING MESSAGE FRAMES:

- **[NEXT GEN CHANGE]** “We all want the people we elect to really represent us. But too many politicians have become reliant on big money. They answer to the demands of CEOs and corporations, instead of siding with workers and consumers. Sadly, it happens in both parties. We need to elect a new generation of Democrats who will side with working families 100% of the time and build an economy that works for all of us.”
- **[CLASS CONFLICT]** “Most of us believe that people who work for a living ought to earn a living. But today, the wealthiest people and corporations get richer and richer off our backs while our wages stay the same. We need to elect Democrats who will fight for working people to keep the money they earn by cracking down on price-gouging at the grocery store, making wealthy tax cheats pay their fair share, and lowering the costs of prescription drugs.”
- **[TWO FUTURES]** “Regardless of the candidates, this election is really a choice between two futures. Do we want to elect Kamala Harris and live in a future where we have the freedom to earn a good living and decide how we grow and care for our families? Or do we want to live in a future where a handful of wealthy corporations steal our wages for their own profits and MAGA politicians control who we can love and when we can have children?”

Best Facts about VP Kamala Harris:

- **Top message:** “Kamala Harris cast the tie-breaking vote that helped pass the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which directly targeted big corporate tax cheats by instituting a minimum tax that all corporations must pay.”
- Among this group, most of Harris’ policy achievements and record perform well, including: “fought drug companies on behalf of working families,” “visited Planned Parenthood,” and “fought for homeowners.”

Best Biden-Harris Administration Accomplishments (see full messages in appendix)

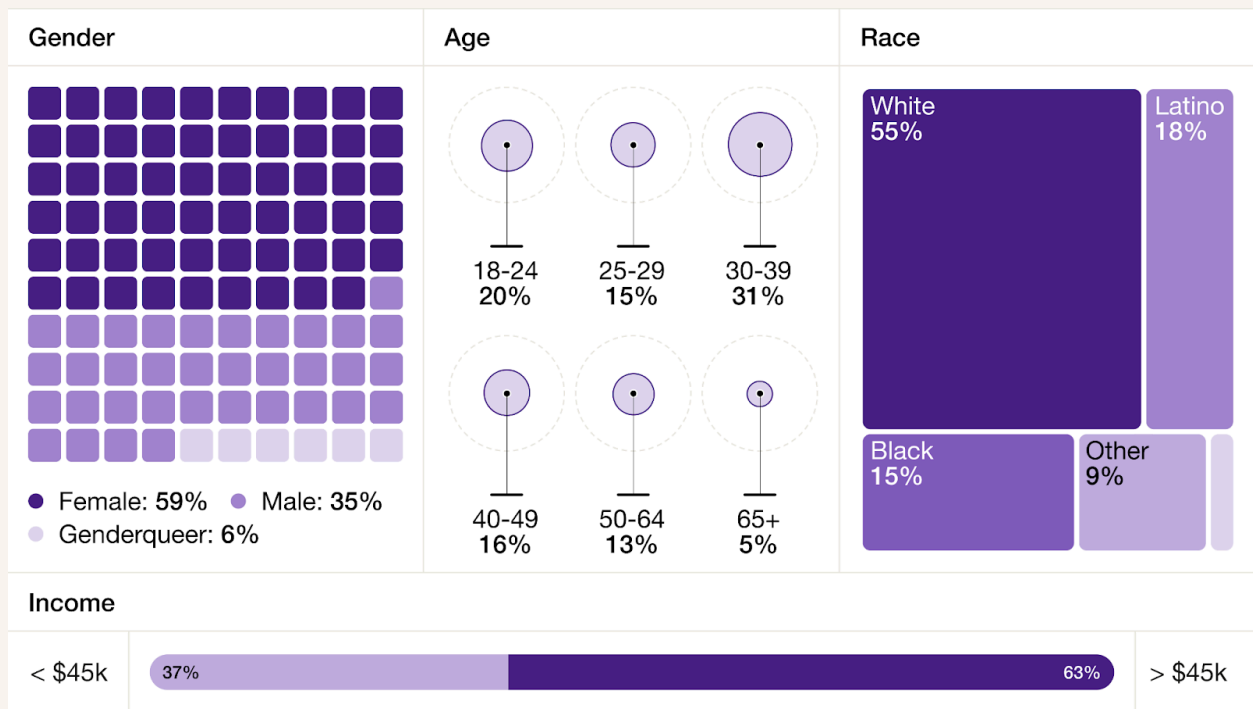
- Prescription Drugs
- Reproductive Justice

HIGHLY SUPPORT: Affordable housing; universal healthcare; free childcare & paid family leave; fixing racism & discrimination; clean energy & Green New Deal; taxing the corporations and wealthy.

HIGHLY OPPOSE: Abortion bans; removing “wokeness” from schools; backing Israel in Gaza.

VOTER PROFILE:

Younger, mostly **female**, typically a Millennial woman. **Multiracial**, disproportionately Latino and mixed race. High percentage of **LGBTQ+ and genderqueer** voters. Slightly more urban and suburban; significantly **less rural**. Majority **rent or live with friends/family**. More **college** educated than other working class clusters; majority claim **family income under \$75K**. Recognize the unequal distribution of wealth in America; likely to agree that the US is a racist and sexist country. Pro-immigrant views, favor investing in social services to reduce crime, and support gun control. Don't identify as strongly with the Democratic Party but more **aligned with Democrats**.





MAINSTREAM LIBERALS

***Mainstream Liberals** are the second most progressive cluster; mostly identify as liberal Democrats. Vote in almost every election and feel their vote has a lot of power to make a positive impact. High support for most progressive priorities.*

STRATEGY: MAXIMIZE THEIR (ALREADY HIGH) VOTER PARTICIPATION AND GET THEM TO JOIN AND VOLUNTEER.

Notable fact: Highest reported shift in enthusiasm in the shift from Biden to Harris, and highest enthusiasm for Gov. Tim Walz for Vice President.

WINNING MESSAGE FRAMES:

- **[ALL TOGETHER]** “No matter our color, background, or zip code, we all want to create a better life for our families. Democrats want that for all Americans: good jobs, quality schools, great communities. That’s why they’ve taken on corporations to make prescription drugs more affordable, tackle junk fees and cancel education debt. And they’ve put forward plans for common sense gun safety, a fair immigration process and keeping our communities safe. We need to elect Democrats who know that we deserve to make a good living and have a good life.”
- **[CLASS CONFLICT]** “Most of us believe that people who work for a living ought to earn a living. But today, the wealthiest people and corporations get richer and richer off our backs while our wages stay the same. We need to elect Democrats who will fight for working people to keep the money they earn by cracking down on price-gouging at the grocery store, making wealthy tax cheats pay their fair share, and lowering the costs of prescription drugs.”
- **[WFP VALIDATION]** “The danger of the authoritarian takeover of the Republican Party is so great that even the Working Families Party, a progressive political party independent of the Democrats, has endorsed Kamala Harris. Their endorsement acknowledges that despite some policy differences with Kamala Harris, her platform is far stronger than Donald Trump’s when it comes to looking out for working families.”

Best Facts about VP Kamala Harris:

- **Top message:** “Kamala Harris cast the tie-breaking vote that helped pass the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which directly targeted big corporate tax cheats by instituting a minimum tax that all corporations must pay.” (84% more likely)
- Among this group, most of Harris’ policy achievements and record perform well, including: “a prosecutor who makes communities safer,” “fought to protect union pensions,” “fought drug companies on behalf of working families”

Best Biden-Harris Accomplishment (see full messages in appendix)

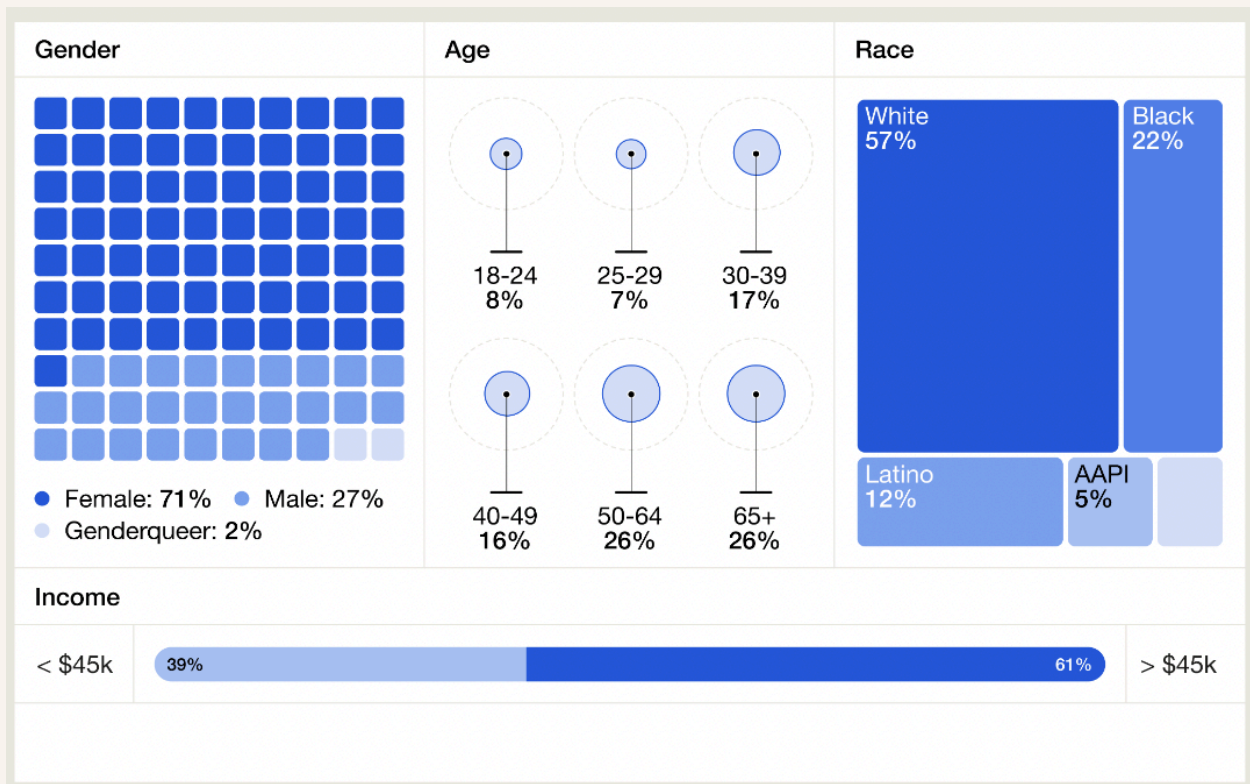
- Prescription Drugs
- Reproductive Justice

HIGHLY SUPPORT: Affordable housing; universal healthcare; clean energy & Green New Deal; taxing corporations/wealthy; common sense gun control; expanding Social Security/Medicare.

HIGHLY OPPOSE: Abortion bans.

VOTER PROFILE:

Older, heavily **female**, typically a Gen X or Boomer woman. **Multiracial**, disproportionately Black. Strongly reject homophobia and transphobia. Slightly more **urban and suburban**. **Homeowners**, more **college** educated, majority claim **family income under \$75K**. Proud Americans, but strongly agree that the US is a racist and sexist country. Open on immigration, also relatively strong support for securing the border. Favor investing in social services to reduce crime, also believe the US is too soft on criminals. **Highly motivated** to vote in 2024. Heavily **aligned with Democrats**.





TUNED OUT PERSUADABLES

***Tuned Out Persuadables** mostly see themselves as moderate independents, identifying slightly more with Democrats than Republicans. Vote infrequently, do not follow politics, and have the lowest belief that their vote will have an impact. Lean left on most issues, particularly class issues and progressive economic policies like a jobs guarantee and Medicare for All.*

STRATEGY: PERSUADE THEM TO SUPPORT PROGRESSIVE AND DEMOCRATIC CANDIDATES, AND MOTIVATE THEM TO VOTE.

Notable fact: Largest number (22%) say they don't know if they prefer Democratic or Republican control of Congress.

WINNING MESSAGE FRAMES:

- [TWO FUTURES]] "Regardless of the candidates, this election is really a choice between two futures. Do we want to elect Kamala Harris and live in a future where we have the freedom to earn a good living and decide how we grow and care for our families? Or do we want to live in a future where a handful of wealthy corporations steal our wages for their own profits and MAGA politicians control who we can love and when we can have children?"
- [CLASS CONFLICT] "Most of us believe that people who work for a living ought to earn a living. But today, the wealthiest people and corporations get richer and richer off our backs while our wages stay the same. We need to elect Democrats who will fight for working people to keep the money they earn by cracking down on price-gouging at the grocery store, making wealthy tax cheats pay their fair share, and lowering the costs of prescription drugs".
- [NEXT GEN CHANGE] "We all want the people we elect to really represent us. But too many politicians have become reliant on big money. They answer to the demands of CEOs and corporations, instead of siding with workers and consumers. Sadly, it happens in both parties. We need to elect a new generation of Democrats who will side with working families 100% of the time and build an economy that works for all of us."

Best Facts about VP Kamala Harris:

- **Top message:**
 - "Kamala Harris cast the tie-breaking vote that helped pass the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which directly targeted big corporate tax cheats by instituting a minimum tax that all corporations must pay."
- Among this group, Harris' record performs moderately well, including: "a prosecutor who makes communities safer," "fought for homeowners," and "fought drug companies on behalf of working families." They see her as a "trailblazer."

Best Biden-Harris Accomplishment (see full messages in appendix)

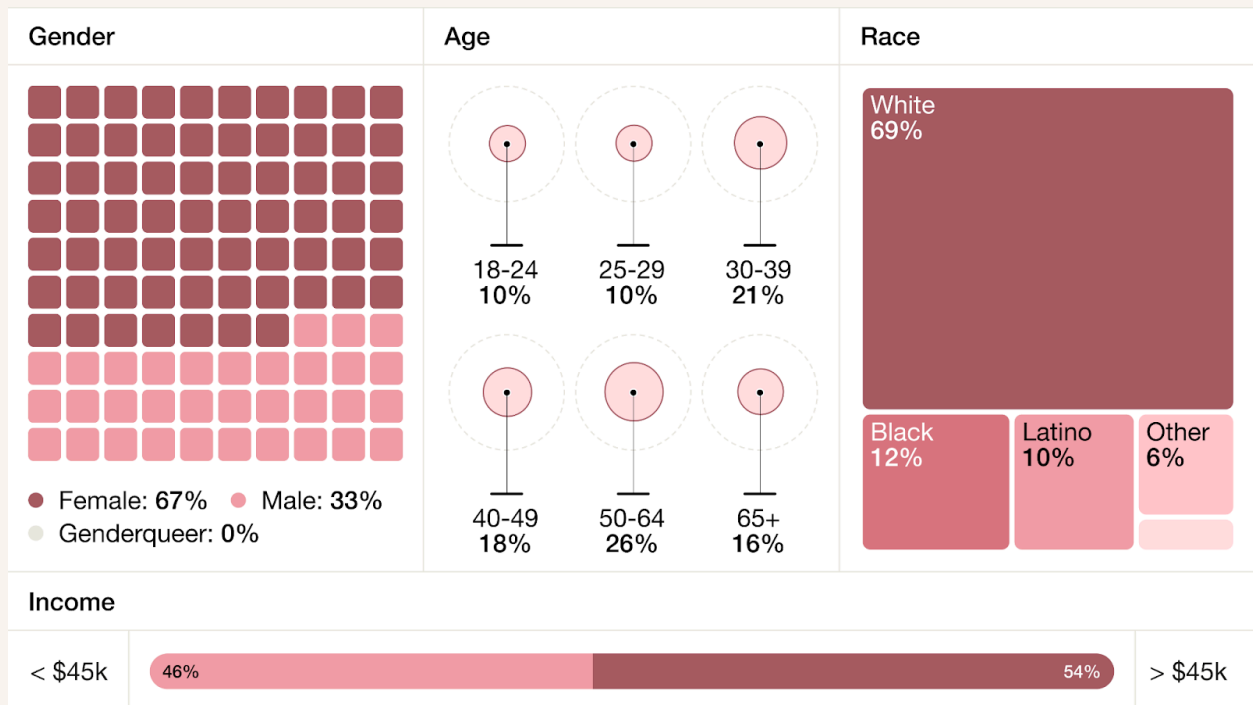
- Inflation Reduction Act

HIGHLY SUPPORT: Affordable housing; bringing back manufacturing jobs; expanding Social Security/Medicare; universal healthcare; clean energy & Green New Deal; taxing corporations/wealthy. *Also support some more conservative policy frames and priorities: getting tough on crime.*

HIGHLY OPPOSE: Abortion bans.

VOTER PROFILE:

Predominantly **white** and **female**, spanning Millennials to Boomers. Highly **suburban and urban** living. **Renters**, with a higher rate of **college education**. Economically stressed, nearly half with **family income under \$50K**. Recognize an unequal distribution of wealth in America' skeptical that hard work is enough to succeed, but believe people take advantage of government programs to avoid work. Lean left socially and culturally: strong support for abortion rights and LGBTQ+ rights. Slightly left on immigration, and slightly right on crime and policing. Less nationalistic than the working class as a whole. Voted **Biden +1** in 2020. Highest rate of **undecided voters**. Among the **least likely to vote** in 2024. Third party curious.





ANTI-WOKE TRADITIONALISTS

***Anti-Woke Traditionalists** generally self-identify as moderates, vote regularly, and feel their vote has a lot of power to make a positive impact. Lean left on economic issues (with a dose of “bootstraps” attitude) like a jobs guarantee, Medicare for All, and Green New Deal. Lean heavily right on certain social/cultural issues, and supported Trump by a 10-point margin in 2020. Can be reached by Democrats.*

STRATEGY: PERSUADE THEM TO SUPPORT OUR CANDIDATES BY ACTIVATING SHARED FRAMES.

Notable fact: Most likely to say a WFP endorsement is persuasive; tied for first in saying they'd consider voting for RFK.

WINNING MESSAGE FRAMES:

- [CLASS CONFLICT] “Most of us believe that people who work for a living ought to earn a living. But today, the wealthiest people and corporations get richer and richer off our backs while our wages stay the same. We need to elect Democrats who will fight for working people to keep the money they earn by cracking down on price-gouging at the grocery store, making wealthy tax cheats pay their fair share, and lowering the costs of prescription drugs.”
- [TWO FUTURES] “Regardless of the candidates, this election is really a choice between two futures. Do we want to elect Kamala Harris and live in a future where we have the freedom to earn a good living and decide how we grow and care for our families? Or do we want to live in a future where a handful of wealthy corporations steal our wages for their own profits and MAGA politicians control who we can love and when we can have children?”

Best Facts about VP Kamala Harris:

- **Top messages:**
 - “When Kamala Harris was California's Attorney General, she secured over \$20 Billion in judgments on behalf of homeowners who were improperly foreclosed on.”
 - “Before becoming Vice President and before being elected President, Kamala Harris was a prosecutor who dedicated her career to making communities safer and taking on companies who broke the law.”

Best Biden-Harris Accomplishment (see full messages in appendix)

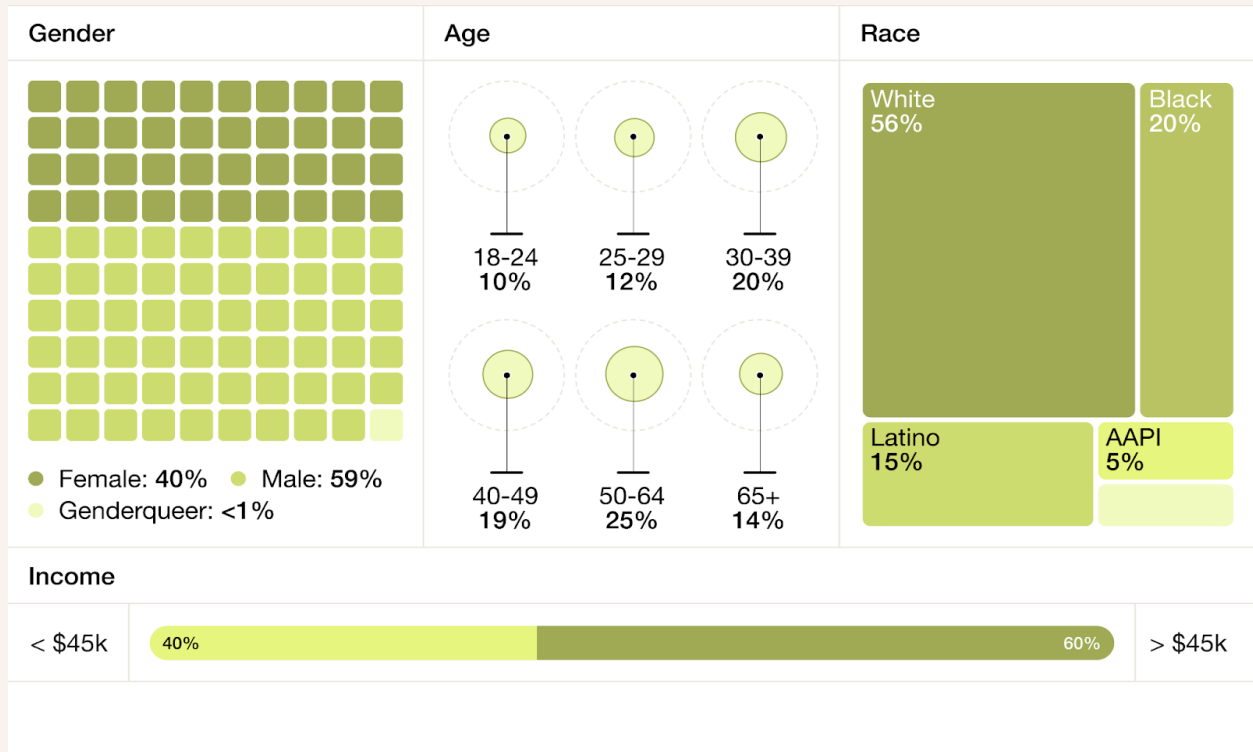
- Prescription Drugs

HIGHLY SUPPORT: Affordable housing; bringing back manufacturing jobs; expanding Social Security/Medicare; clean energy & Green New Deal; universal healthcare. *Also support some more conservative policy frames and priorities: getting tough on crime; securing the border.*

MODERATELY OPPOSE: LGBTQ+ rights. *Do not significantly oppose abortion bans.*

VOTER PROFILE:

Multigenerational cluster, typically a middle-aged man. **Multiracial**, disproportionately Black and AAPI voters. Highly **urban and suburban**. Slightly more than half homeowners. **Less college educated**, with two of three having **family income under \$75K**. Agree the wealthy get rich off workers' backs, but also that hard workers can make a better life and that people take advantage of government programs to avoid work. Embody **Judeo-Christian and traditional family values**. More sexist, homophobic and transphobic. Generally find abortion wrong. Believe the government shows more concern for immigrants than "ordinary working Americans." Support tough-on-crime law enforcement. **Highly motivated** to vote in 2024.





DIVERSE DISAFFECTED CONSERVATIVES

***Diverse Disaffected Conservatives** are a multiracial group that tends to lean right of center, with notably conservative social and cultural views. Vote infrequently, do not follow politics, and have a very low belief that their vote will have an impact. Lean left on economic issues, but with low intensity. Slight majority support WFP economic priorities, such as a jobs guarantee.*

STRATEGY: PERSUADE THEM TO SUPPORT OUR CANDIDATES BY ACTIVATING SHARED FRAMES AND MOBILIZE SUPPORTERS TO VOTE.

Notable fact: Biggest swing in vote from Biden support (May) to Harris (Aug), were tied for first in saying they'd consider voting for RFK.

WINNING MESSAGE FRAMES:

- [NEXT GEN CHANGE] "We all want the people we elect to really represent us. But too many politicians have become reliant on big money. They answer to the demands of CEOs and corporations, instead of siding with workers and consumers. Sadly, it happens in both parties. We need to elect a new generation of Democrats who will side with working families 100% of the time and build an economy that works for all of us."
- [CLASS CONFLICT] "Most of us believe that people who work for a living ought to earn a living. But today, the wealthiest people and corporations get richer and richer off our backs while our wages stay the same. We need to elect Democrats who will fight for working people to keep the money they earn by cracking down on price-gouging at the grocery store, making wealthy tax cheats pay their fair share, and lowering the costs of prescription drugs."

Best Facts about VP Kamala Harris:

- **Top message:** "When Kamala Harris was California's Attorney General, she secured over \$20 Billion in judgments on behalf of homeowners who were improperly foreclosed on."
- Among this group, Harris' record performs moderately well, including: "a prosecutor who makes communities safer" and casting "the tie-breaking vote that helped pass the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which directly targeted big corporate tax cheats." They see her as a "trailblazer."

Best Biden-Harris Accomplishment (see full messages in appendix)

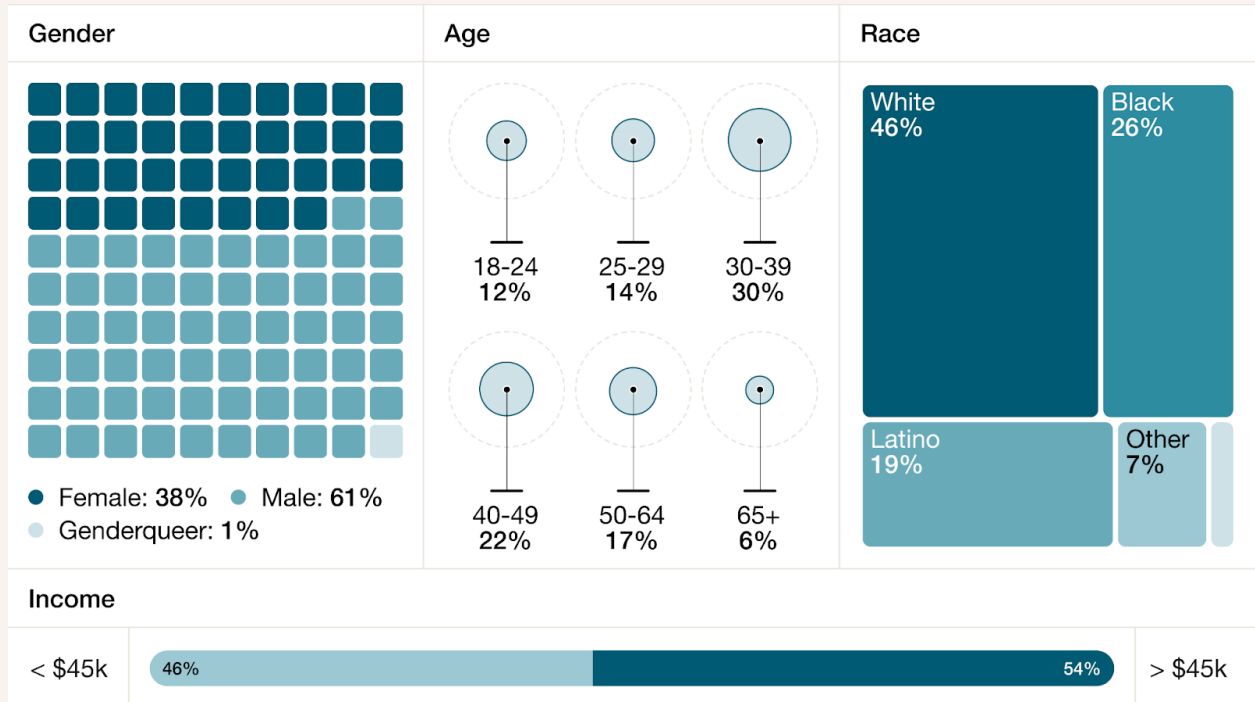
- Policing
- Reproductive Justice

HIGHLY SUPPORT: Affordable housing; bringing back manufacturing jobs.

HIGHLY OPPOSE: N/A.

VOTER PROFILE:

Younger, disproportionately **male**. Most **racially diverse** cluster, with lowest rate of white voters and highest rate of **Black** and **Latino** voters. **Urban, renters**, most likely to have **no college education**. Economically stressed, nearly half with **family income under \$50K**. Pro-worker, but less likely to blame corporations or the wealthy. Critical of corporate polluters profiting off harm to their communities. Lean right socially and culturally, with highest levels of hostile sexism and transphobia. Soft support for abortion rights. Less nationalistic, but conservative views on immigration. More progressive on policing, supporting investments to attack the roots of crime. Voted **Trump +8** in 2020. **Least likely to vote** in 2024.





SECURE SUBURBANITES

Secure Suburbanites are the second most conservative cluster: basically Republicans, but don't love Trump. Vote in most elections, and believe their vote has some power to have an impact. Lean right on questions of class, economic fairness and distribution of wealth, and do not support WFP's progressive economic policies. Generally pro-choice and relatively progressive on gender and sexuality.

STRATEGY: PERSUADE THEM TO SUPPORT OUR CANDIDATES BY ACTIVATING SHARED FRAMES.

Notable fact: This cluster is the second least interested in WFP or our ideas, next to Core MAGA. Mentioning WFP as the endorser or messenger to Secure Suburbans is likely not very persuasive to them.

WINNING MESSAGE FRAMES:

- [CLASS CONFLICT] "Most of us believe that people who work for a living ought to earn a living. But today, the wealthiest people and corporations get richer and richer off our backs while our wages stay the same. We need to elect Democrats who will fight for working people to keep the money they earn by cracking down on price-gouging at the grocery store, making wealthy tax cheats pay their fair share, and lowering the costs of prescription drugs."
- [BACKWARDS] "We may not like either party, but we need to decide if we want to keep progressing forward as a country or backward to the past. The MAGA justices appointed by Donald Trump stripped away the right to abortion for millions of Americans, taking us 50 years backward in time. Contraception, IVF and gay marriage are next on their list. WE need to fight to keep the progress we have made and vote to move forward."

Best Facts about VP Kamala Harris:

- **Top message:** "Throughout her career as a prosecutor and Attorney General, Kamala Harris has fought drug companies on behalf of working families – and won."
- Among this group, Harris' record performs well, including: "fought on behalf of homeowners," casting "the tie-breaking vote that helped pass the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which directly targeted big corporate tax cheats," and "a prosecutor who makes communities safer."

Best Biden-Harris Accomplishment (see full messages in appendix)

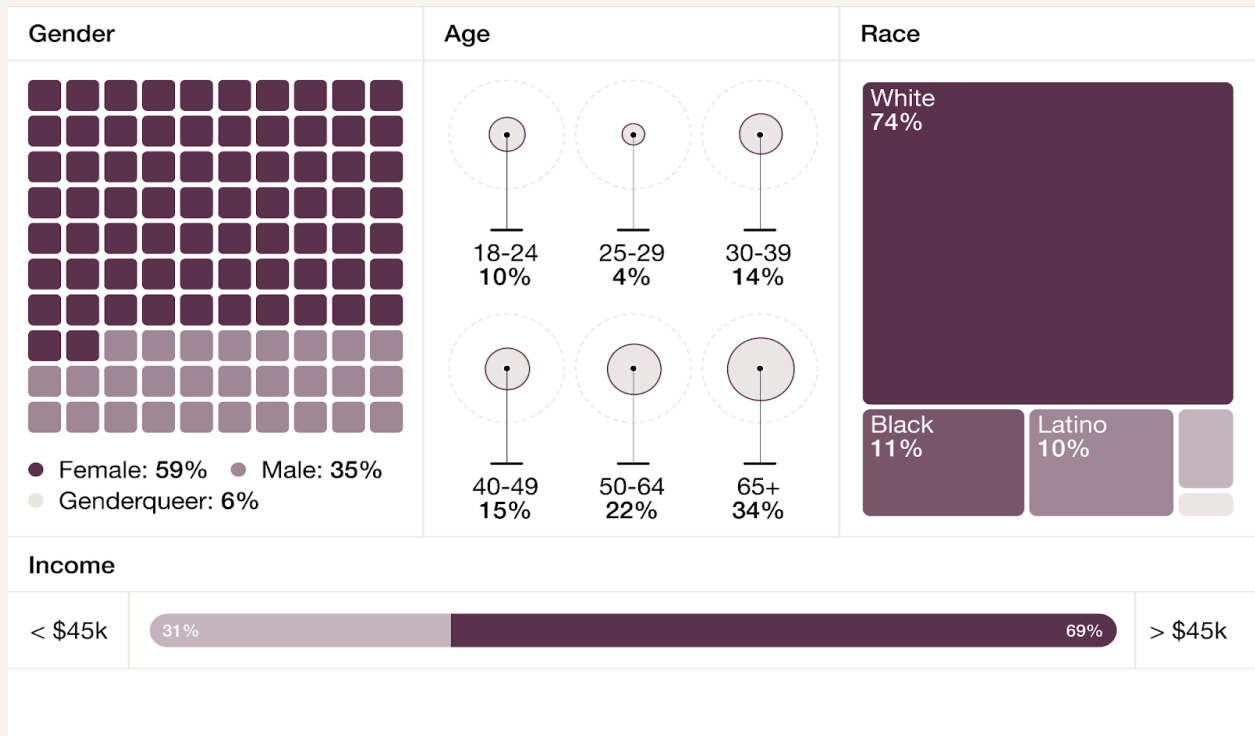
- Reproductive Justice

HIGHLY SUPPORT: Bringing manufacturing jobs back. Also support some more conservative policy frames and priorities: Getting tough on crime; securing the border.

OPPOSE: Abortion bans.

VOTER PROFILE:

Older, largely **female**, and disproportionately **white**. **Suburban homeowners**, with average level of working class educational attainment. Second most **economically secure** (after Core MAGA), with 40% having **family income over \$75K**. Least likely to see problems with corporations and the wealthy profiting off workers. Socially and culturally moderate: slightly left on gender and sexuality; not typically homophobic or transphobic; soft support for abortion rights. More nationalistic, seeing America as a generally fair country. Believe America benefits from immigration, but support securing the border. Mixed views on policing, supporting tough on crime measures. Voted **Trump +8** in 2020, with high turn-out. **Highly likely to vote** in 2024.





CORE MAGA

Core MAGA voters are the most conservative cluster, identifying as conservative Republicans. Vote in most elections, and believe their vote has modest power to have an impact. Unfavorable toward progressive economic, social and cultural policies.

STRATEGY: DO NOT ENGAGE. NON-PERSUADABLE.

Notable fact: Only group where we found no messages that persuade them to support Harris. The nomination of Harris made 18% of these voters less enthusiastic about the election (and 31% more enthusiastic).

WINNING MESSAGE FRAMES:

- None.

Best Facts about VP Kamala Harris:

- **Top message:** None.

Best Biden-Harris Accomplishment (see full messages in appendix)

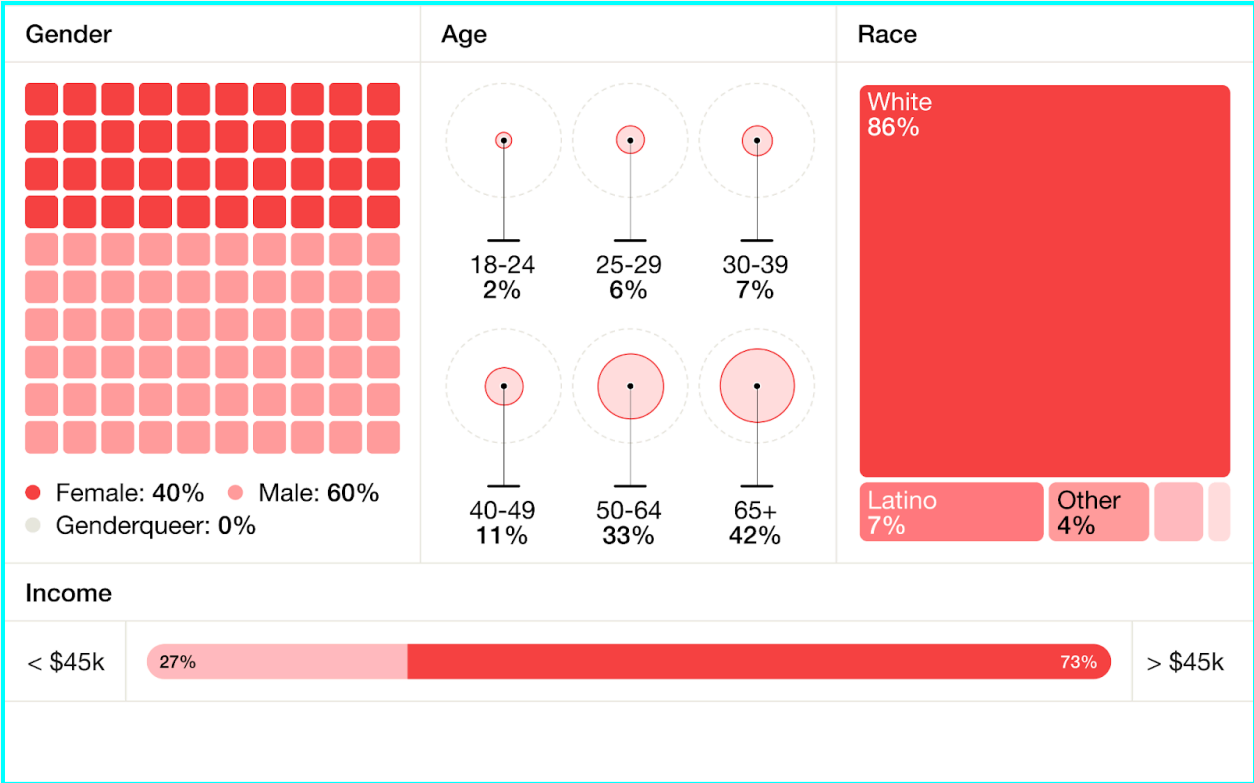
- None.

HIGHLY SUPPORT: Bringing manufacturing jobs back. Also policies *not aligned* with WFP priorities: *Securing the borders; tough on crime; removing “wokeness from schools”; standing up to international adversaries.*

HIGHLY OPPOSE: LGBTQ+ rights; relieving student loan debt; path to citizenship; universal healthcare.

VOTER PROFILE:

Overwhelmingly an **older white male. Suburban and rural homeowners.** Average level of working class educational attainment. Most economically secure, with nearly a quarter earning more than **\$100K in family income**; least likely to identify as lower or working class. **Self-identify as populists**, but embrace opposite views. Least likely to see problems with corporations and the wealthy profiting off workers. Lowest approval of labor unions. Most likely to believe people take advantage of government programs to avoid work. Highly nationalistic, critical of women and most homophobic and transphobic group. Do not support for abortion rights. Rightwing views on immigration and policing. Voted **Trump +75** in 2020. **Highly likely to vote** in 2024.





APPENDIX

MESSAGE FRAMES:

NEXT GEN CHANGE: We all want the people we elect to really represent us. But too many politicians have become reliant on big money. They answer to the demands of CEOs and corporations instead of siding with workers and consumers. Sadly, it happens in both parties. We need to elect a new generation of Democrats, like Kamala Harris, who will side with working families 100% of the time and build an economy that works for all of us.

Use with these clusters: Next Gen Left, Tuned Out Persuadables, Secure Suburbans, Diverse Disaffected Conservatives

BACKWARDS: We may not like either party, but we need to decide if we want to keep progressing forward as a country or go backward to the past. The MAGA justices appointed by Donald Trump stripped away the right to abortion for millions of Americans, taking us 50 years backward in time. Birth control, IVF, and gay marriage are next on their list. We need to elect Kamala Harris to fight to keep the progress we have made and vote to move forward.

Use with these clusters: Secure Suburbans

BETTER THAN THE ALTERNATIVE: The Biden-Harris Administration has sometimes disappointed us these last four years. They haven't lived up to his promises to the working class, have not done nearly enough to battle the climate crisis, and are perpetuating America's broken foreign policy by failing to address the Humanitarian crisis in Gaza. Still, Donald Trump has been far worse on all these fronts, and voting for anyone but Kamala Harris and Democrats is voting for a more aggressive foreign policy, tax cuts for the rich, and handouts to the fossil fuel industry.

Use with these clusters: Not a top performing message with any cluster. Works OK with Next Gen Left.

CLASS CONFLICT: Most of us believe that people who work for a living ought to earn a living. But today, the wealthiest people and corporations get richer and richer off our backs while our wages stay the same. We need to elect Kamala Harris, who will fight for working people to keep the money they earn by cracking down on price-gouging at the grocery store, making wealthy tax cheats pay their fair share, and lowering the costs of prescription drugs.

Use with these clusters: Next Gen Left, Mainstream Libs, Tuned Out Persuadables, Anti-woke traditionalists, Secure Suburbans, Diverse Disaffected Conservatives

TWO FUTURES: Regardless of the candidates, this election is really a choice between two futures. Do we want to elect Kamala Harris and live in a future where we have the freedom to earn a good living and decide how we grow and care for our families? Or do we want to live in a future where a handful of wealthy corporations and billionaires steal our wages for their own profits and MAGA politicians control who we can love and when we can have children?

Use with these clusters: Next Gen Left, Tuned Out Persuadables, Anti-woke Traditionalists

ALL TOGETHER: No matter our color, background, or zip code, we all want to create a better life for our families. Democrats want that for all Americans: good jobs, quality schools, great communities. That's why they've taken on corporations to make prescription drugs more affordable, tackle junk fees and cancel education debt. And they've put forward plans for common sense gun safety, a fair immigration process and keeping our communities safe. We need to elect Democrats who know that we deserve to make a good living and have a good life.

Use with these clusters: Mainstream Liberals

WFP VALIDATION: The danger of the authoritarian takeover of the Republican Party is so great that even the Working Families Party, a progressive political party independent of the Democrats, has endorsed Kamala Harris. Their endorsement acknowledges that despite some policy differences with Kamala Harris, her platform is far stronger than Donald Trump's when it comes to looking out for working families.

Use with these clusters: Mainstream Liberals, Next Gen Left, Diverse Disaffected Conservatives

KAMALA HARRIS BIO AND RECORD:

Fought for homeowners: When Kamala Harris was California's Attorney General, she secured over \$20 Billion in judgments on behalf of homeowners who were improperly foreclosed on.

Use with these clusters: Tuned Out Persuadables, Antiwoke Traditionalists, Secure Suburbans

Fought drug companies: Throughout her career as a prosecutor and Attorney General, Kamala Harris has fought drug companies on behalf of working families – and won.

Use with these clusters: Next Gen Left, Mainstream Liberals, Secure Suburban

Is a prosecutor: Before becoming Vice President and before being elected President, Kamala Harris was a prosecutor who dedicated her career to making communities safer and taking on companies who broke the law.

Use with these clusters: Tuned Our Persuadables, Mainstream Liberals, Diverse Disaffected Conservatives

Voted for the IRA: Kamala Harris cast the tie-breaking vote that helped pass the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA), which directly targeted big corporate tax cheats by instituting a minimum tax that all corporations must pay.

Use with these clusters: Next Gen Left, Tuned Out Persuadables, Antiwoke Traditionalists, Mainstream Liberals

Supports paid leave: Kamala Harris has fought for working families, supporting legislation that would cap childcare costs at 7% of a family's income and legislation to mandate six months of paid family leave.

Use with these clusters: Mainstream Liberals, Diverse Disaffected Conservatives

First VP to visit Planned Parenthood: Kamala Harris was the first sitting President or Vice President to visit a clinic that provides abortion services when she visited a Planned Parenthood location in Minnesota.

Use with these clusters: Next Gen Left

Fought for union pensions: As Attorney General of California, Kamala Harris fought to protect the union's pensions from corporate raiders and Wall Street banks.

Not a leading message

Protects reproductive rights: As Vice President, Kamala Harris has met with leaders in 18 states to help them protect reproductive rights.

Not a leading message

Trailblazer: Throughout her career, Kamala Harris has been a trailblazer, and her election as President is a continuation of her record of achievement.

Not a leading message

Fist Black Female/ SE. Asian: Kamala Harris would be the first female President, the first black woman, and the first person of South Asian descent to be elected President.

Not a leading message

BIDEN HARRIS ACCOMPLISHMENTS:

INFLATION REDUCTION ACT: The Biden-Harris Administration passed and implemented the Inflation Reduction Act (IRA) to meet the crushing reality of inflation on working families. The IRA has helped cut gas prices by \$1.60 since their high last year, ensured that wealthy corporations pay more of what they owe through minimum tax rates, and slowed inflation in the US more than any other major country.

Use with these clusters: Tuned Out Persuadables, Mainstream Libs

COMMUNITY SAFETY: To help keep our families and communities safe, the Biden-Harris Administration has signed Executive Orders on safe, effective, and accountable policing to ban chokeholds, restrict no-knock entries, create a national police accountability database, and restrict the transfer of military equipment into our local communities. In most major cities, the rates of murder and violent crime are down so far this year.

Use with these clusters: Diverse Disaffected Conservatives

PRESCRIPTION DRUGS: To help lower the cost of living for our families, the Biden-Harris Administration has done more to lower the costs of prescription drugs than any Administration in history. For the first time, Medicare is able to negotiate the price of certain high-cost drugs. Now, a month's supply of insulin for seniors is capped at \$35, Medicare beneficiaries pay \$0 out of pocket for recommended adult vaccines, and seniors' out-of-pocket expenses at the pharmacy will be capped at \$2,000 a year.

Use with these clusters: Next Gen Left, Anti-Woke Traditionalist, Mainstream Libs

ABORTION: To protect our reproductive freedom, the Biden-Harris Administration has signed Executive Orders to protect access to abortion and contraception and safeguard patient privacy and sensitive health

information. They have made it clear that he is committed to fighting any attempts to interfere with people traveling out of state for crucial reproductive medical care.

Use with these clusters: Mainstream Liberals, Diverse Disaffected Conservatives, Secure Suburbans

CLIMATE: To help ensure a future with clean air and water, The Biden-Harris Administration has positioned the United States to achieve our ambitious climate goals of cutting our emissions in half by 2030 and net-zero emissions by 2050. The Administration has taken executive action and signed legislation to develop clean energy at home, accelerate the adoption of electric vehicles, and reduce pollution that endangers overburdened communities.

Not a leading message with any group

INFRASTRUCTURE: The Biden-Harris Administration knew that he would need Republican votes to make any real change for Americans. Donald Trump talked about rebuilding our infrastructure, the Biden-Harris Administration actually did it. He worked across the aisle to forge consensus and passed the Bipartisan Infrastructure Law – a once-in-a-generation investment in our nation’s infrastructure.

Not a leading message with any group