

House Majority Forward Persuasion Test



Overview of Experiment

- House Majority Forward (HMF) is interested in measuring the effectiveness of mail and digital boosted news content in persuading voters to support members of Congress who support progressive legislation.
- This test looks to build off of 2016 and 2018 persuasion tests that found large persuasive effects of mail.
- This experiment aims to compare two different mail messages layered with Facebook boosted news.

Research Questions

- What is the persuasive effect of mail when delivered together with a Facebook boosted news program?
- Is a healthcare or ethics message delivered through the mail more persuasive when delivered together with a Facebook boosted news program?

Experiment Design:

Starting Universe

Individuals with cell phones across eight congressional districts:
CA-39, CA-48, GA-6, IL-14, MI-8, NJ-7, NY-19, and TX-7

Pre-Treatment Measurement

4,021 SMS-to-online pre-treatment surveys completed 10/10/19 to 10/18/19

Control

1,207 individuals were not attempted with any mail or digital content

Ethics Mail

+ FB Boosted News

1,406 individuals were sent mail focusing on ethics issues and attempted with Facebook boosted news content (10/31 to 11/27)

Healthcare Mail

+ FB Boosted News

1,408 individuals were sent mail focusing on healthcare issues and attempted with Facebook boosted news content (10/31 to 11/27)

Post-Treatment Measurement

944 post-treatment surveys completed with SMS linking to an online survey 11/23/19 to 12/2/19

Analysis & Results

Compared differences in weighted survey responses across treatment conditions, weighted to original survey universe of registered voters

The majority of the universe reported using social media every day

Self reported social media use	Weighted
Doesn't use social media	1%
Zero hours	20%
Less than 1 hour per day	30%
1-2 hours per day	26%
2-3 hours per day	13%
3-4 hours per day	5%
4 hours or more per day	5%

Mail Program

Front side of mailer focusing on issue of pre-existing conditions

Big health insurance companies deny coverage for Illinoisans with pre-existing conditions, like Dan.

Rep. Lauren Underwood fought back.

CANCER
DIAGNOSED
NOVEMBER 2017



Back side of mailer focusing on issue of pre-existing conditions



As a young child, Rep. Lauren Underwood was diagnosed with a heart condition. Since then, she has dedicated her life as a registered nurse, public health advisor, educator, and now legislator, to help others access quality, affordable health care.

That's why she co-sponsored the Protecting Pre-Existing Conditions & Making Health Care More Affordable Act, which would:

- Expand affordability of insurance plans and lower health insurance premiums.
- Stop big insurance companies from denying Americans with pre-existing conditions access to health insurance.
- Prevent big insurance companies from selling "junk" health insurance plans, including those that do not cover essential medical treatments.

Call **Lauren Underwood** at **(202) 225-2976**.
Thank her for voting to make sure every Illinoisan with a pre-existing condition can keep their health insurance coverage.

Front side of mailer focusing on issue of ethics and corruption



Lauren Underwood
is working to
put a stop to it.

Representative Lauren Underwood helped pass
"a sweeping anti-corruption and government ethics
package... weeding out government corruption
[and] curbing the influence of big donors"

USA TODAY, 3/8/19

Back side of mailer focusing on issue of ethics and corruption

Paid for by House Majority Forward.

HMP19005_E14

Lauren Underwood is fighting political corruption in both parties so our government works for the people, not corporate special interests.



Our Representative **Lauren Underwood:** **Taking on Corruption. Working for Illinois Families – Not Lobbyists.**



Call **Lauren Underwood** at
(202) 225-2976
and thank her for taking on
corruption in Washington.

Cracking Down on Washington's Corruption

Lauren Underwood voted for an anti-corruption package that would reduce the influence of big money and corporate lobbyists in politics. It would also require "dark money" groups to make their donors public.

[H.R. 1, Vote #118, 3/8/19; USA Today, 3/8/19; Vox.com, 1/4/19]

Making Congress Work for Us, Not Washington Insiders

Underwood is ensuring Congress works for us by voting to prohibit members from serving on corporate boards and using non-public information to enrich themselves.

[H.R. 1, Vote #118, 3/8/19; NPR, 1/5/19]

LAUREN UNDERWOOD:
Our Representative. Working for Us.

Facebook Boosted News Program

High performing
boosted news
article focused on
college education
and student loans



House Majority Forward

Like Page



Written by Lockwood Strategy [?] · October 28 at 5:34 PM · 🌐

This Representative believes that college should be affordable for EVERYONE.



NWHERALD.COM

U.S. Rep. Lauren Underwood calls student loans 'predatory'

Underwood talks higher education, tariffs, health care at NIU



3 Comments

High performing
boosted news
article focused on
gun safety



House Majority Forward

Like Page

Written by Lockwood Strategy [?] · November 4 at 7:14 PM ·

Rep. Underwood is pushing two bipartisan gun safety bills that close gun transfer loopholes and implement comprehensive background checks.



DAILYHERALD.COM

Underwood, local students call for Senate action on gun reform

12

9 Comments 1 Share

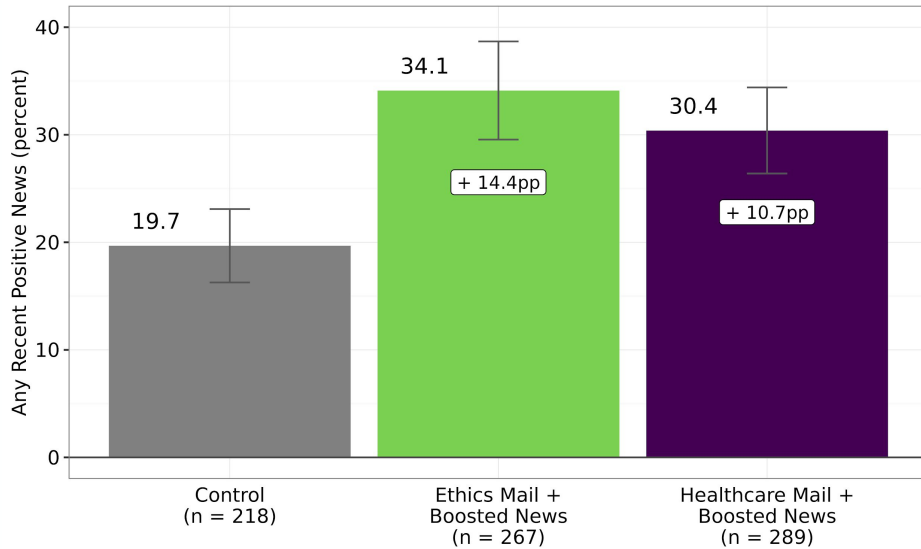
Overall, approximately 60% of targets were reached by the Facebook boosted news program, averaging over 30 impressions per target.

Implementation was fairly similar across congressional districts.

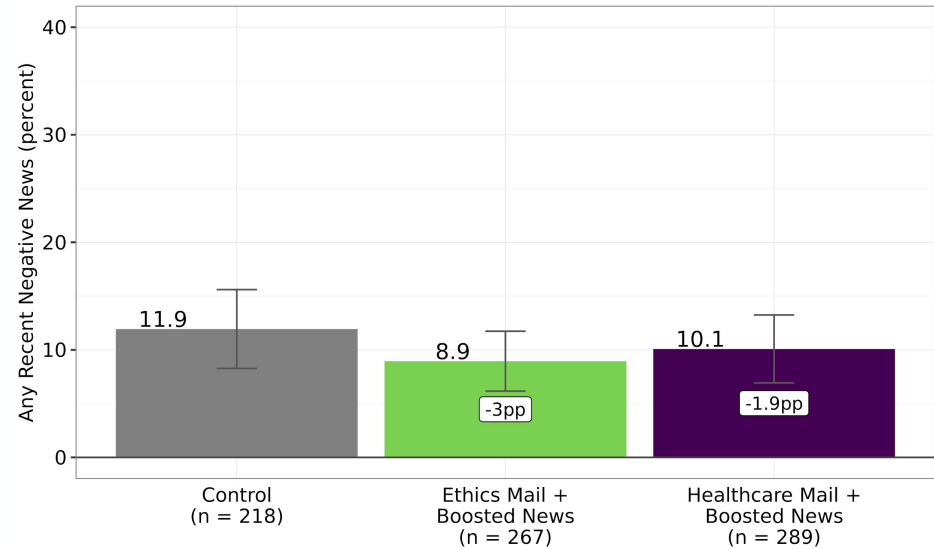
	Reach	Click-through	Frequency	Spent
CA-39	58%	0.3%	31.1	\$1,430
CA-48	58%	0.4%	28.4	\$1,420
GA-06	59%	0.4%	28.3	\$1,440
IL-14	64%	0.4%	33.1	\$1,500
MI-08	58%	0.4%	34.9	\$1,470
NJ-07	55%	0.5%	33.4	\$1,460
NY-19	62%	0.4%	35.4	\$1,480
TX-07	62%	0.5%	29.8	\$1,460
Total	60%	0.4%	32.0	\$11,660

Results

Voters targeted with the mail and boosted news were more likely to remember positive news, but not negative news, about their member of Congress



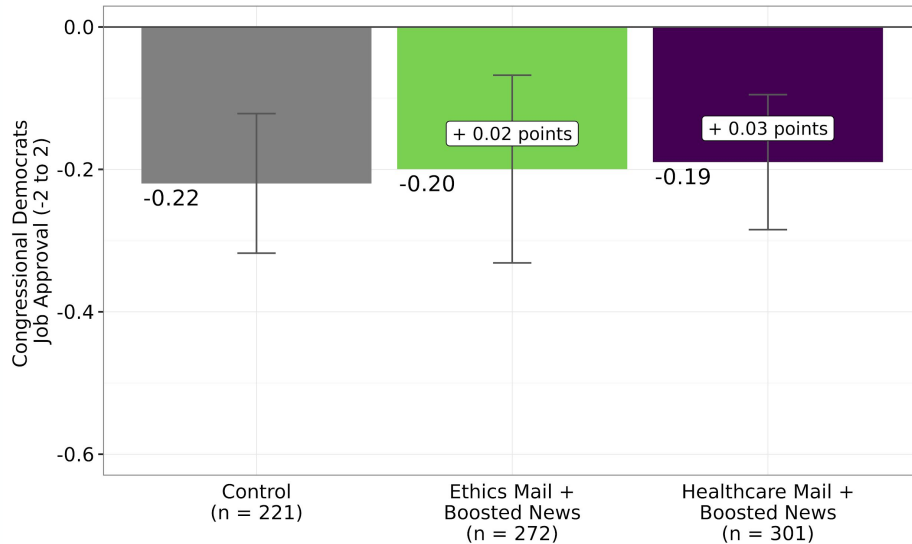
Positive News



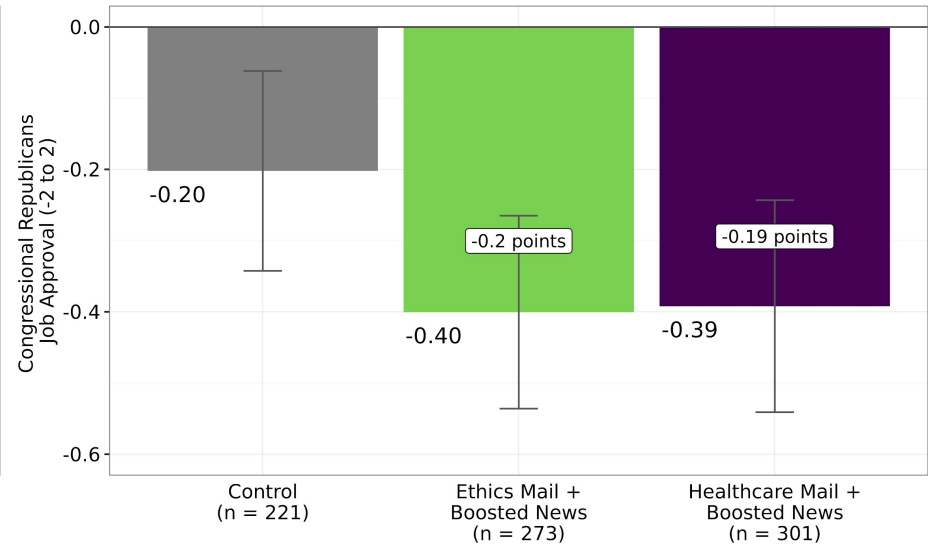
Negative News

In the last few weeks, have you heard or read things that are positive or negative about U.S. Representative [Member of Congress]?

Interestingly, the program did not impact approval of Democrats in Congress, but did likely decrease approval of Republicans in Congress



Congressional Democrats



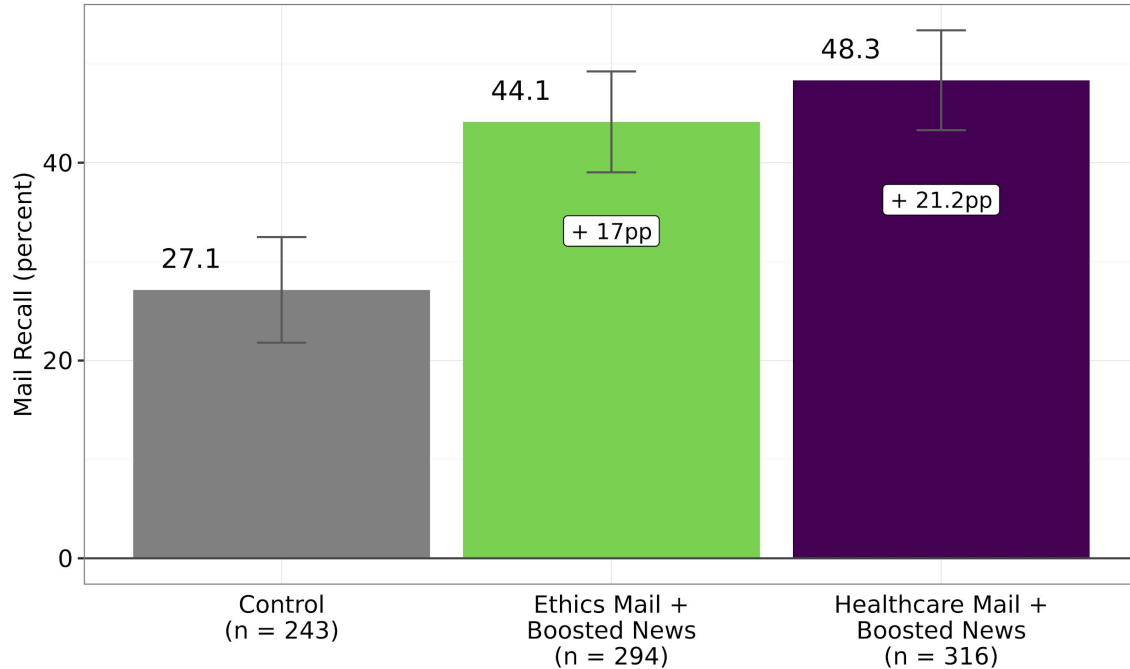
Congressional Republicans

How much do you approve or disapprove of the job that Democrats [Republicans] have been doing in Congress?

Mail Recall

Individuals were sent three mail pieces, and they were memorable.

Recall of the mail increased approximately 17pp and 21pp respectively in each treatment condition ($p < 0.1$ for both).

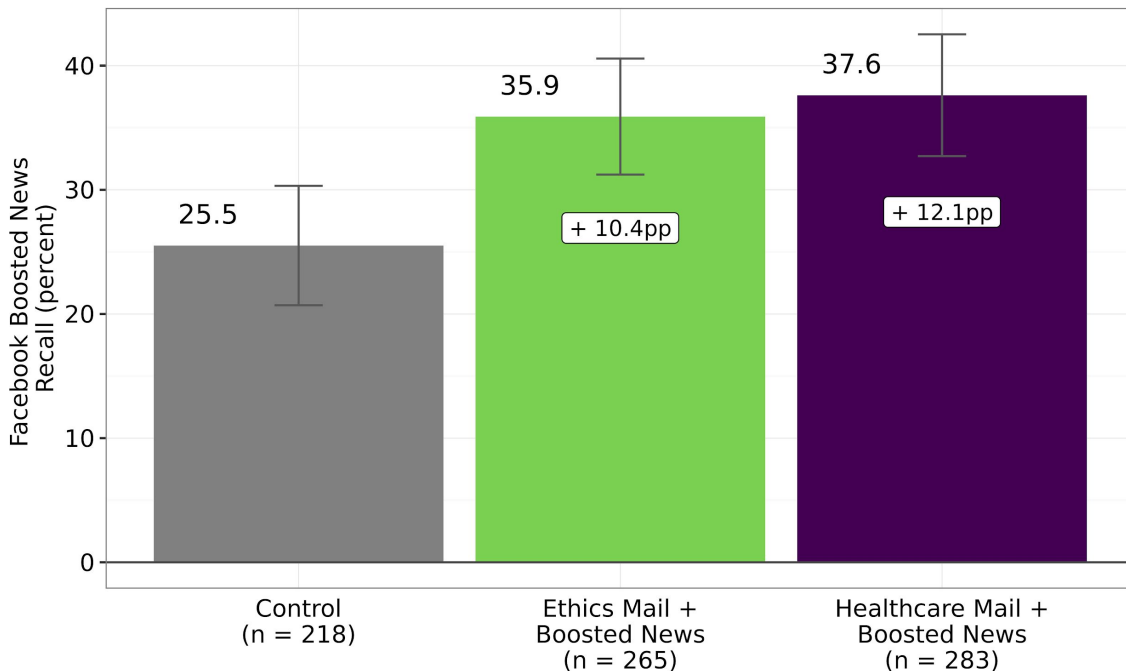


Over the last four weeks, do you recall receiving materials in the mail about U.S. Representative [Member of Congress]?

Boosted News Recall

The Facebook boosted news program was also memorable as it increased recall of those stories by 10pp and 12pp respectively in each treatment condition ($p < 0.1$ for both).

With around 60% of targets reached, this implies effects *among reached targets* similar to the recall effects of the mail.



Over the last four weeks, do you recall seeing news stories online about U.S. Representative [Member of Congress]?

Subgroup Results

Subgroup Analysis

- We pooled both treatment conditions and compared the effectiveness of the mail and boosted news program across characteristics of individual voters.
- There were no meaningful differences by:
 - Age
 - Race
 - Gender
 - 2020 Turnout Score
 - Pre-survey responses
- However, due to the small number of post-survey responses, it was unlikely we would be able to detect differences across types of voters.

Conclusions

Summary of Results

- Overall, the mail and boosted news program was memorable, and voters remembered more positive news about their member of Congress, which may have had increased their approval of their member of Congress.
- Although we cannot separately estimate the effects of the boosted news, the large recall effects and movement on healthcare approval in both conditions strongly suggest that the boosted news did some of the lifting.
- Somewhat surprisingly, although the program focused on promoting members of Congress that support progressive legislation, it only moved approval of Republicans in Congress but not Democrats.

Discussion

- Boosted news remains a promising avenue for persuading voters, especially those that spend more time on social media as it has the potential to crowd out negative stories.
- Consistent with past experiments, mail remains an important mode to reach and persuade voters.
- Low baseline recall rates highlight how moving voters is easier earlier in the year compared to closer to Election Day.
- Smaller effects on job approval than other outcomes in the test highlight the difficulties in persuading voters, as well as the need for further research on the types of messages that are most likely to resonate with voters.

Thank You

House Majority Forward, Deliver
Strategies, ACRONYM

Appendix

Mailer focused on Ethics

Seems like corruption in Washington is at an all-time high. Fortunately, our representative in Congress – Lauren Underwood – is actually doing something about it.

Representative Lauren Underwood helped pass “a sweeping anti-corruption and government ethics package... weeding out government corruption [and] curbing the influence of big donors”
USA Today, 3/8/19



Paid for by House Majority Forward.

IMPRESSIVE, D.D.

Our Representative **Lauren Underwood: Taking on Corruption. Fighting for Ethics Reform.**

Lauren Underwood is fighting political corruption in both parties so our government works for the people, not political elites.

Cracking Down on Washington's Corruption

Lauren Underwood voted for an anti-corruption package that would reduce the influence of big money and corporate lobbyists in politics. It would also require “dark money” groups to make their donors public.

[H.R. 1, Vote #118, 3/8/19; USA Today, 3/8/19; Vox.com, 1/4/19]

Making Congress Work for Us, Not Washington Insiders

Underwood is ensuring Congress works for us by voting to prohibit members from serving on corporate boards and using non-public information to enrich themselves.

[H.R. 1, Vote #118, 3/8/19; NPR, 1/5/19]



Call **Lauren Underwood** at **(202) 225-2976** and thank her for taking on corruption in Washington.

Lauren Underwood: Our Representative. Working for Us.

Mailer focused on ethics

Too many Washington politicians are looking out for themselves and their lobbyist friends—all while we get left behind.

Thankfully,

Elissa Slotkin
is fighting for us

and is working to stop
Washington corruption.

Representative Elissa Slotkin helped pass “a sweeping anti-corruption and government ethics package... weeding out government corruption [and] curbing the influence of big donors”

USA TODAY, 3/8/19



Paid for by House Majority Forward.

IMPACT 2018



Our Representative Elissa Slotkin:

Working for Michigan Families. Taking on Corruption and Lobbyists.

Elissa Slotkin is taking on corruption in both parties so government works for the people, not corporate special interests.



Taking on Corruption in Washington

Elissa Slotkin voted to require “dark money” groups to make their donors public. The anti-corruption package she supported would also reduce the influence of big money and corporate lobbyists in politics.

(H.R. 1, Vote #118, 3/8/19; USA Today, 3/8/19; Vox.com, 1/4/19)



Putting Our Families First—Not Lobbyists and Washington Insiders

Slotkin voted to prohibit members of Congress from serving on corporate boards and using non-public information to enrich themselves, because Congress should be focused on us, not padding their own bank accounts.

(H.R. 1, Vote #118, 3/8/19; NPR, 1/5/19)



Call Elissa Slotkin
at (202) 225-4872

and thank her for taking
on corruption in Washington.



Elissa Slotkin:
Our Representative. Working for Us.

Mailer focused on healthcare

I'm just grateful to have health care I can afford.

**Representative Lauren Underwood
fought to protect my coverage.**

So now I get to spend more time with him.



Paid for by House Majority Forward.




HMP19012_IL14



As a young child, Rep. Lauren Underwood was diagnosed with a heart condition. Since then, she has dedicated her life as a registered nurse, public health advisor, educator, and now legislator, to helping others access quality, affordable health care.



That's why she co-sponsored the Protecting Pre-Existing Conditions & Making Health Care More Affordable Act, which would:

-  Expand affordability of insurance plans and lower health insurance premiums.
-  Stop big insurance companies from denying Americans with pre-existing conditions access to health insurance.
-  Prevent big insurance companies from selling "junk" health insurance plans, including those that do not cover essential medical treatments.

Call **Lauren Underwood** at **(202) 225-2976**.

Thank her for voting to make sure every Illinoisan with a pre-existing condition can keep their health insurance coverage.

Rep. Lauren Underwood – Fighting for Us.

Mailer focused on healthcare and pre-existing conditions

**I have a
pre-existing
condition.**

Representative Elissa Slotkin

fought to allow me to keep my
health coverage.

**That doesn't just help me—it makes
a difference for my whole family.**



Paid for by House Majority Forward.

HMP19023.M08



Our Representative **Elissa Slotkin:**
Protecting Michiganders with Pre-Existing Conditions.

Elissa Slotkin co-sponsored the Protecting Pre-Existing Conditions & Making Health Care More Affordable Act, which would:

- Lower health insurance premiums and make health insurance plans more affordable.
- Prevent big insurance companies from denying access to health care to Michiganders with pre-existing conditions.
- Stop big insurance companies from selling "junk" health insurance plans, which do not cover essential medical treatments.



Call **Elissa Slotkin** at (202) 225-4872
and thank her for voting to make sure every Michigander with a pre-existing
condition can keep their health coverage.