



# Latino Winning Jobs Narrative MaxDiff Polling

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# Methodology

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From October 1 to October 15, 2023, on behalf of Equis Labs and Somos Votantes, Data for Progress conducted a pooled survey of 1,282 registered Latino voters in the battleground states of AZ, FL, NV, and TX using web panel respondents. The sample was weighted to be representative by age, gender, education, race, and geography. The survey was conducted in English and Spanish. The margin of error is  $\pm 3$  percentage points.

55% **Under 45** | 45% **Over 45**      26% **College** | 74% **Non-college**      53% **Female** | 47% **Male**

52% **Texas** | 34% **Florida** | 14% **AZ and NV**      42% **Democrat** | 26% **Independent** | 32% **Republican**

# MaxDiff Message-Testing Design

- MaxDiff is a survey design used to ordinally rank messages by measuring how often a feature was selected as best or worst and generating an expected ranking of the features based on repeated ranking by respondents.
- DFP and Priorities USA have validated this design against other common survey methods such as large RCTs.
- Respondents see randomized subsets of the messages tested and select which they view as “most convincing” and which they see as “least convincing.”
- We then output two results:
  - The percentage of voters who would choose each message as “most convincing” out of all the messages
  - The percentage of voters who would choose each message as “least convincing” out of all the messages
- Taking the most convincing and least convincing percentages, we display the net point difference for each message:
  - **A positive net** difference indicates that the message was preferred **more** by respondents.
  - **A negative net** difference indicates that the message was preferred **less** by respondents.

# Net Difference

- The **net difference** is the percentage of respondents who would choose the message as the best option (“**most convincing**”) minus the percentage who would choose it as the worst option (“**least convincing**”).
- This percentage represents the ordinal rank of messages **most preferred** and **least preferred** by a subgroup of respondents.
- For example, the message “Joe Biden believes **working people, including hardworking Latinos**, play a vital role in our economy” has a score of **+6.4** as the **most convincing** message and a score of **-3.4** as the **least convincing** message among Latino voters.
  - The **net difference** for this message is **+3.0**.
- This **positive net difference** means this message was **preferred more** by Latino voters when tested against other messages.
- In this particular project, Data for Progress tested messages developed by partners at Equis Labs and Somos Votantes leveraging the Winning Jobs Narrative Project.



**WINNING  
JOBS  
NARRATIVE  
PROJECT**

A working people-centered narrative architecture for talking about jobs, work, and the economy that resonates across race, geography, and issues.

Narrative is created through storytelling and messaging repeated over time. The five narrative elements below can be combined and layered to help build effective conversations with a broad range of audiences.

- 1 Center and lead with working people—the heroes—so they hear that they are a priority
- 2 Value and support work to connect around deeply held shared values.
- 3 Situate working people as the engines of our economy—the logic model for our policies.
- 4 Position government in a supporting (not starring) role, so that we respect and center personal agency.
- 5 Relate policy to the broader economy and broad benefits, to remind people that we're focused on the economy and shared prosperity.



# MaxDiff Message Testing Results

# Key MaxDiff Findings

- Overall, messages that prime Latino identity and center working people and their families are more effective than messages that do not.
  - But, inclusive messages (i.e. messages that center an audience that includes, but is not limited to, Latinos) test better than exclusive messages that don't.
- The top performing message **overall** emphasizes that “Joe Biden believes working people, **including hardworking Latinos**, play a vital role in our economy.”
- Thematically, the best performing messages emphasize **putting the government in a supporting role, rather than a starring role**.
- The messages that Latino voters found **least convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden emphasized that “**MAGA Republicans** don't care about working people” and “**Trump Republicans** don't care about working people.”
- Our model also reveals that Latino voter preferences around the various messages we tested are **largely consistent across demographic subgroups**, with very little variation across demographics such as age, language, gender, and state of residence.



# Messaging Recommendations

- When **naming the heroes of their story**, one of the best performing terms with Latino voters is:
  - “**working people, including** hardworking Latinos” or “**gente trabajadora, incluyendo** los latinos trabajadores”
- When **situating Latinos as heroes of the story and as the engines of the economy**, one of the best performing terms for Latino voters is:
  - “...play a **vital role** in our economy” or “...tienen una **función vital** en nuestra economía”
- When **putting the government in a secondary role instead of a starring role**, one of the best performing terms for Latino voters is:
  - “...the government should **focus on making life more affordable for working people like us**” or “...el gobierno debe enfocarse en **hacer que la vida sea más económica para la gente trabajadora como nosotros**”
- When **using a loss aversion component**, one of the best performing terms for Latino voters is:
  - “...need **MORE opportunities and tools, NOT less.**” or “...necesitan (necesitamos) **MÁS oportunidades y herramientas, NO menos**”

# The Most Convincing Messages to Support Joe Biden Among Latino Voters

Abbreviation	Message	Net difference
Working People Economy	Joe Biden believes working people, <b>including hardworking Latinos</b> , play a vital role in our economy.	+3.0
Working People Opportunities	Joe Biden believes the government should ensure that working people like us have the <b>opportunities and tools</b> we need to <b>build a good life for our families</b> .	+2.6
Working People Affordability	Joe Biden believes that the government should <b>focus on making life more affordable for working people</b> like us.	+2.3
Working People Foundation	Joe Biden believes that the government should ensure that working people like us have the <b>foundation we need to build a good life for our families</b> .	+1.9
Working People Economic Engine	Joe Biden believes that working people like us <b>keep our economy going</b> .	+1.6
Working People Like Us Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>working people like us</b> play a vital role in our economy.	+1.5

A message emphasizing that **working people, including hard working Latinos (an inclusive angle)** play a vital role in the economy is the most **convincing message** for supporting Joe Biden's political agenda.

Other **convincing messages** for Latino voters center on the government ensuring their lives are **more affordable** and that they have the **opportunities and tools** to build a good life.

## Other Convincing Messages to Support Joe Biden Among Latino Voters

Abbreviation	Message	Net difference
Working People Need Opportunities/Tools	Joe Biden believes that working people like us need <b>MORE opportunities and tools, NOT less.</b>	+1.2
Working People Backbone Economy	Joe Biden believes working people like us are the <b>backbone of our economy.</b>	+1.1
Middle Class Economy	Joe Biden believes the <b>middle class, including Latinos, play a vital role in our economy.</b>	+1.1
Latino Working Families Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>Latino working families and small businesses</b> play a vital role in our economy.	+0.7
Latino Families Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>Latino working families</b> play a vital role in our economy.	+0.7
Hard Work Equates Opportunities	Joe Biden believes that it's time <b>our hard work results in more opportunities, NOT less.</b>	+0.5

Other **convincing messages** for Latino voters include Joe Biden believing that working people **need more opportunities and tools** to succeed and are the **backbone of our economy.** Latino voters are also convinced by frames centered on the **middle class, including Latinos,** playing a vital role in our economy.

## The Least Convincing Messages to Support Joe Biden Among Latino Voters

Abbreviation	Message	Net difference
Working People Do Well	Joe Biden believes that if <b>hardworking people are doing well</b> , then the country is doing well.	+0.1
Latinos Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>hardworking Latinos</b> play a vital role in our economy.	-0.1
Economic Well Being	Joe Biden believes the <b>wellbeing of the economy</b> depends on <b>our wellbeing</b> .	-1.2
Working People Barriers	Joe Biden believes that working people like us need leaders who will <b>remove barriers that hold us back</b> .	-1.3
Protect Our Freedom	Joe Biden believes that the government should focus on <b>protecting our freedoms</b> .	-1.5
Trump Republicans Working People	<b>Trump Republicans</b> don't care about working people.	-6.8
MAGA Republicans Working People	<b>MAGA Republicans</b> don't care about working people.	-7.3

The **least convincing** arguments for Latino voters are two that focus on **MAGA Republicans** and **Trump Republicans** not caring about working people.

Other arguments that underperform, in relative terms, include the government focusing on **protecting freedoms** and that working people needing leaders to **remove barriers** that hold them back.

## Priming Latino Identity is Effective When Messages Are Inclusive

Abbreviation	Message	Rank
Working People Economy	Joe Biden believes working people, <b>including hardworking Latinos</b> , play a vital role in our economy.	1
Middle Class Economy	Joe Biden believes the <b>middle class, including Latinos</b> , play a vital role in our economy.	9
Latino Working Families Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>Latino working families and small businesses</b> play a vital role in our economy.	10
Latino Families Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>Latino working families</b> play a vital role in our economy.	11
Latinos Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>hardworking Latinos</b> play a vital role in our economy.	14

Priming **Latino identity** when communicating with Latino voters makes for **effective** messaging.

However, most effective messages **are inclusive**, not exclusive, and center hard working Latinos.



# Results: Partisanship

## Most Convincing Messages for Latino Voters Across Party Lines

Abbreviation	Message	D	I	R
Working People Economy	Joe Biden believes <b>working people, including hardworking latinos</b> , play a vital role in our economy.	+3.0	+2.9	+3.0
Working People Opportunities	Joe Biden believes the government should ensure that working people like us have the <b>opportunities and tools</b> we need to <b>build a good life for our families</b> .	+2.7	+2.9	+2.6
Working People Affordability	Joe Biden believes that the government should <b>focus on making life more affordable for working people</b> like us.	+2.4	+2.4	+2.2

Full maxdiff ranking by partisanship displayed in appendix

Across partisanship, Democrat, Independent, and Republican Latino voters are most convinced by arguments that Joe Biden believes **working people** play a **vital role in the economy**.

This message is also slightly **more effective among** Democrats and Republicans **than** Independents as a reason to support Joe Biden.

Latino voters across party lines are also convinced by messages about Joe Biden's political agenda that focus on working people's **opportunities and affordability** in life.

# Least Convincing Messages for Latino Voters Across Party Lines

Abbreviation	Message	D	I	R
Trump Republicans Working People	<b>Trump Republicans</b> don't care about working people.	-6.8	-6.8	-7.0
MAGA Republicans Working People	<b>MAGA Republicans</b> don't care about working people.	-7.3	-7.2	-7.4

*Full maxdiff ranking by partisanship displayed in appendix*

The least convincing arguments for Latino voters include **Trump** and **MAGA Republicans** not caring about working people.

Importantly, these messages were the **only negative frames** included in the MaxDiff experiment and that do not directly name Joe Biden, likely explaining why they were ranked the least convincing as a reason to vote for Biden (relative to the remaining messages).





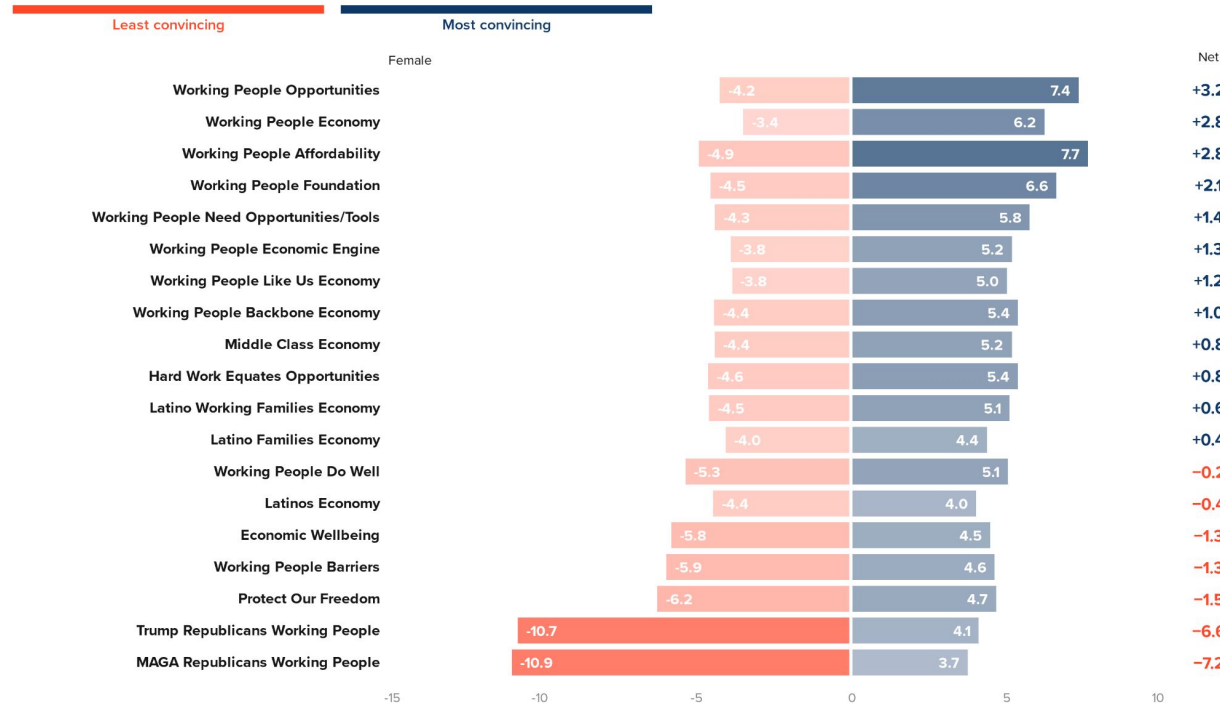
# Results: Gender

# Latina Women Are Most Convinced by the Working People Economy Frame

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Looking more specifically at how key demographic groups view different messages, Latina women find narratives that involve the government ensuring working people have the **opportunities and tools** to build a good life for their families as the **most convincing** to support Joe Biden.

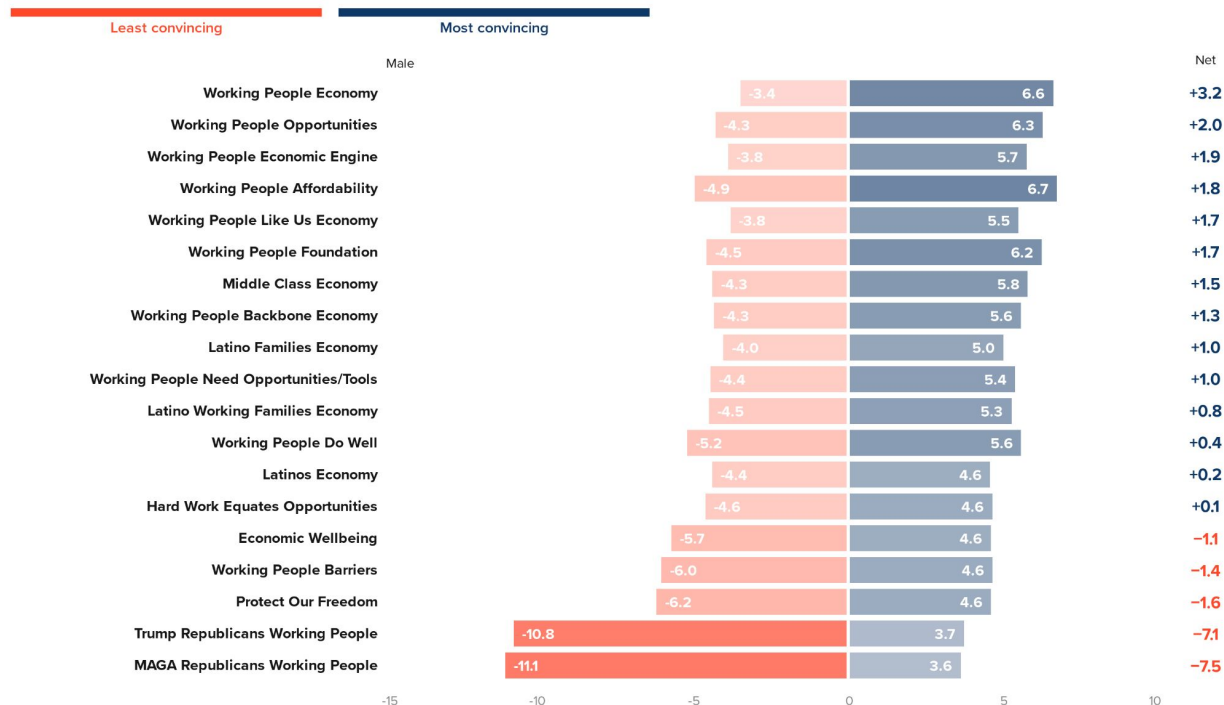
Frames centered around **Trump Republicans** and **MAGA Republicans** working people are **less convincing** for this group.

# Working People Economy and Opportunities Are the Most Convincing Frames Among Latino Men

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Messages around Joe Biden's belief in hard working Latino voters **being vital to the economy** perform slightly better with Latino men than Latina women.

Frames involving working people having **opportunities** to build a better life and being the **backbone of the economy** are also top performers among this group.



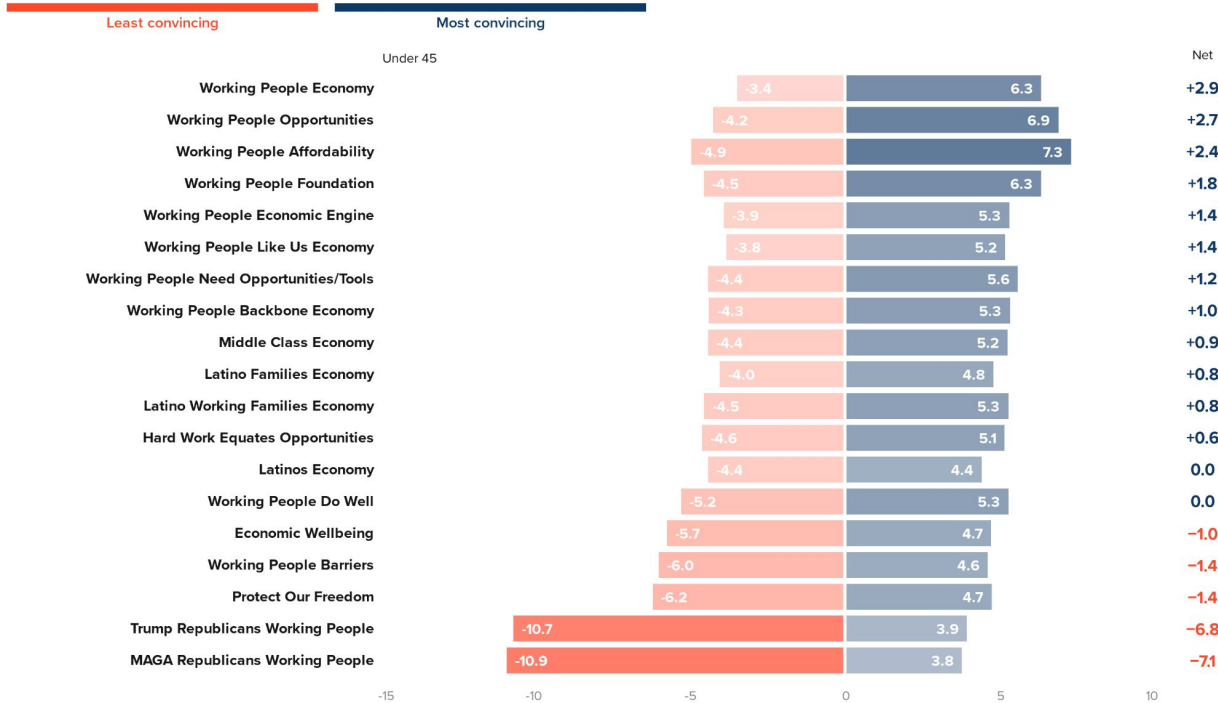
# Results: Age

# Young Latino Voters Are Most Convinced by Working People Economy and Opportunities Frames

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



The **working people economy** frame also performs well with young Latino voters, as do the **working people opportunities** and **affordability** messages.

The **Trump Republicans** and **MAGA Republicans working people** frames are the least convincing messages among this group.

October 1-15, 2023 survey of 1282 registered Latino voters pooled across the battleground states of AZ, FL, NV, and TX. Chart depicts results among 702 registered Latino voters under 45.

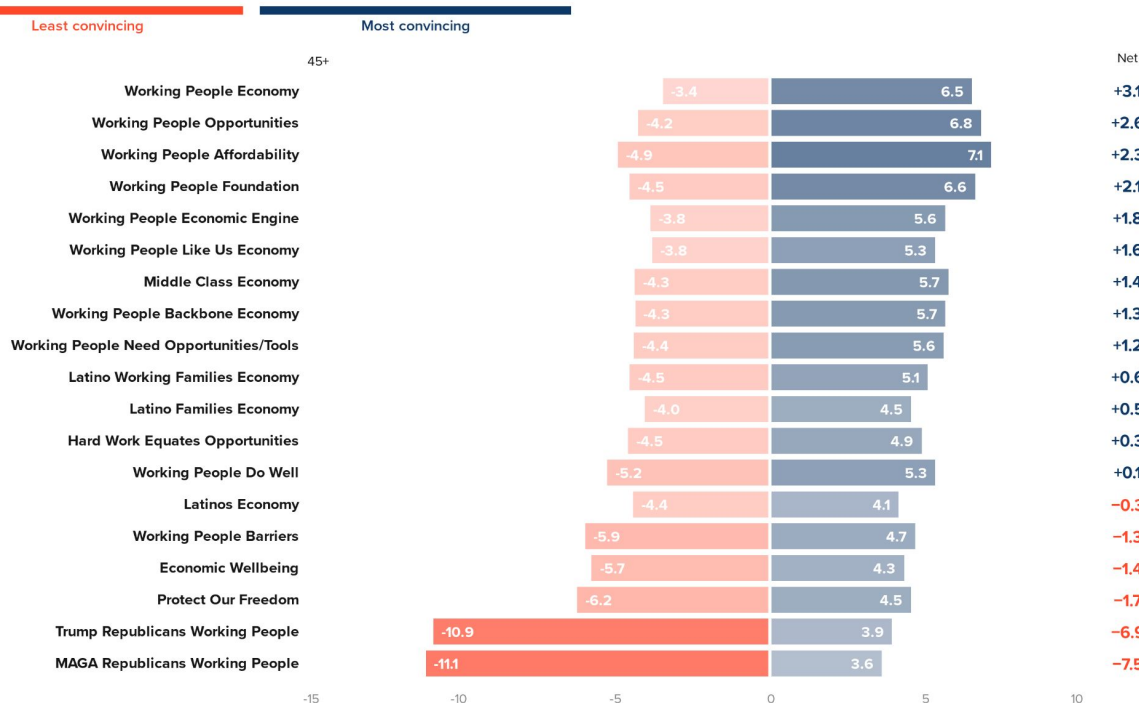
# Working People Economy and Opportunities Frames Perform Well With Older Latino Voters

## Latino Voters

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Messages around hard working Latinos **being vital to the economy** perform better with older Latino voters compared to younger Latino voters. The working people **opportunities** and **affordability** messages are also convincing among older Latino voters.

The **Trump Republicans** and **MAGA Republicans working people** frames are less convincing to older Latino voters than younger Latino voters.



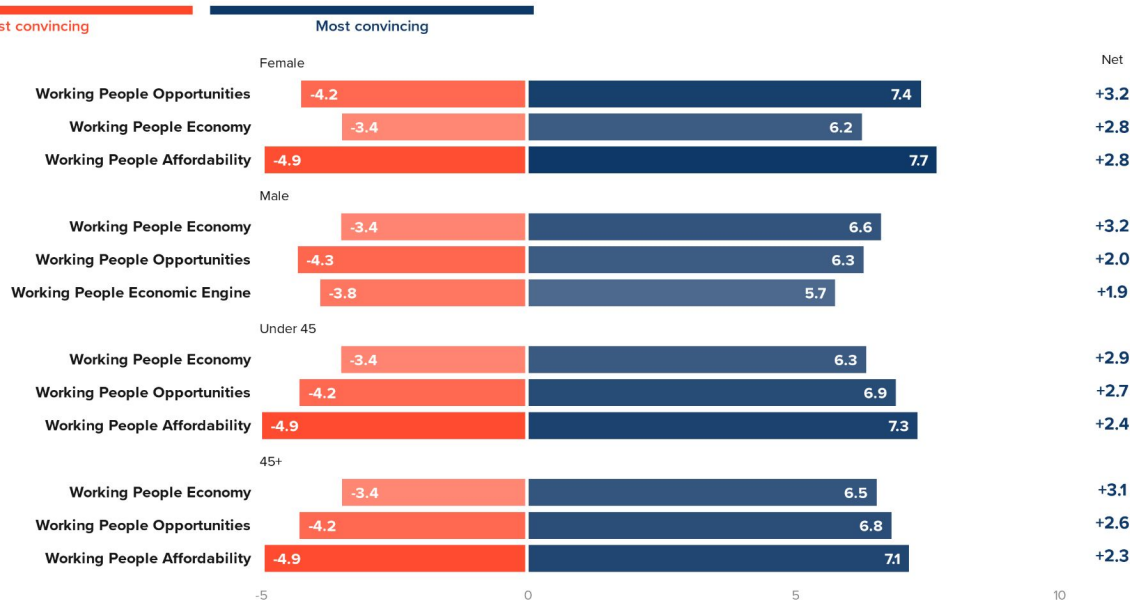
# Results: Gender & Age

# Latino Voters Across Gender and Age Share Common Preferences for Messages Centered Around Working People

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Hard working Latinos **playing a vital role in the economy** is the most convincing message among **Latino voters across gender and age**.

Latino voters across gender and age also **consistently favor** messages that center on ensuring working people have the **opportunities and tools** to build a good life and that make their lives are **more affordable**.



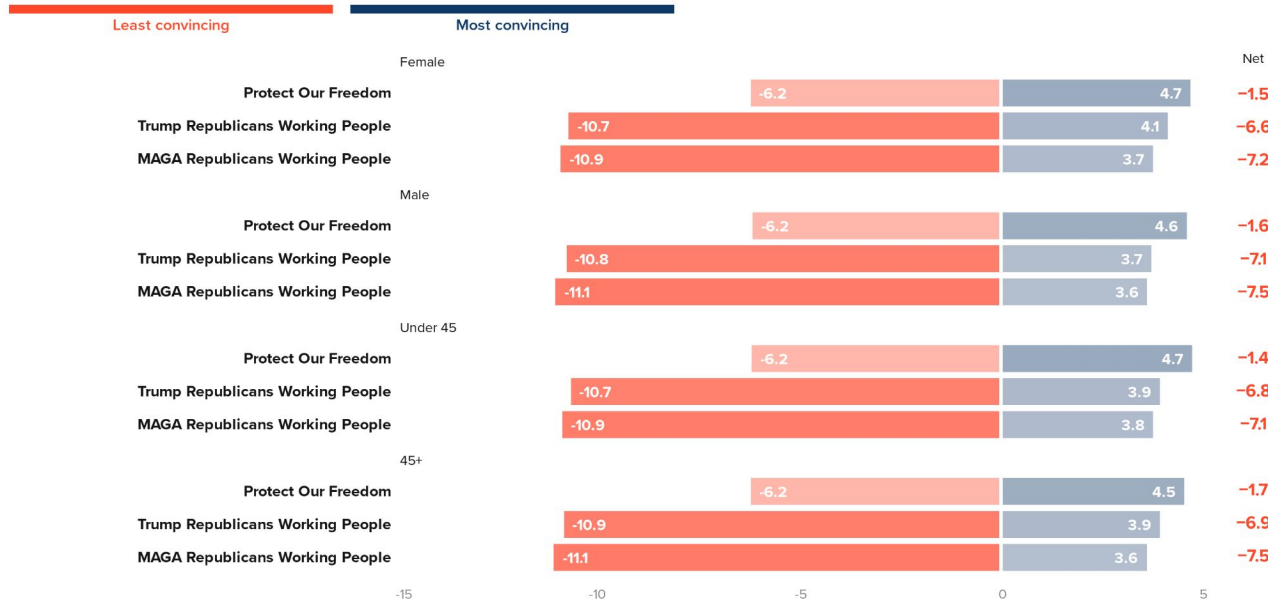
# Negative Frames Around Trump and MAGA Republicans Perform Poorly with Latino Voters Across Gender and Age

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.

We also observe that Latino voters across gender and age consistently find the same frames least convincing, including **Trump Republicans** and **MAGA Republicans** not caring about working people.



October 1–15, 2023 survey of 1,282 registered Latino voters pooled across the battleground states of AZ, FL, NV, and TX.



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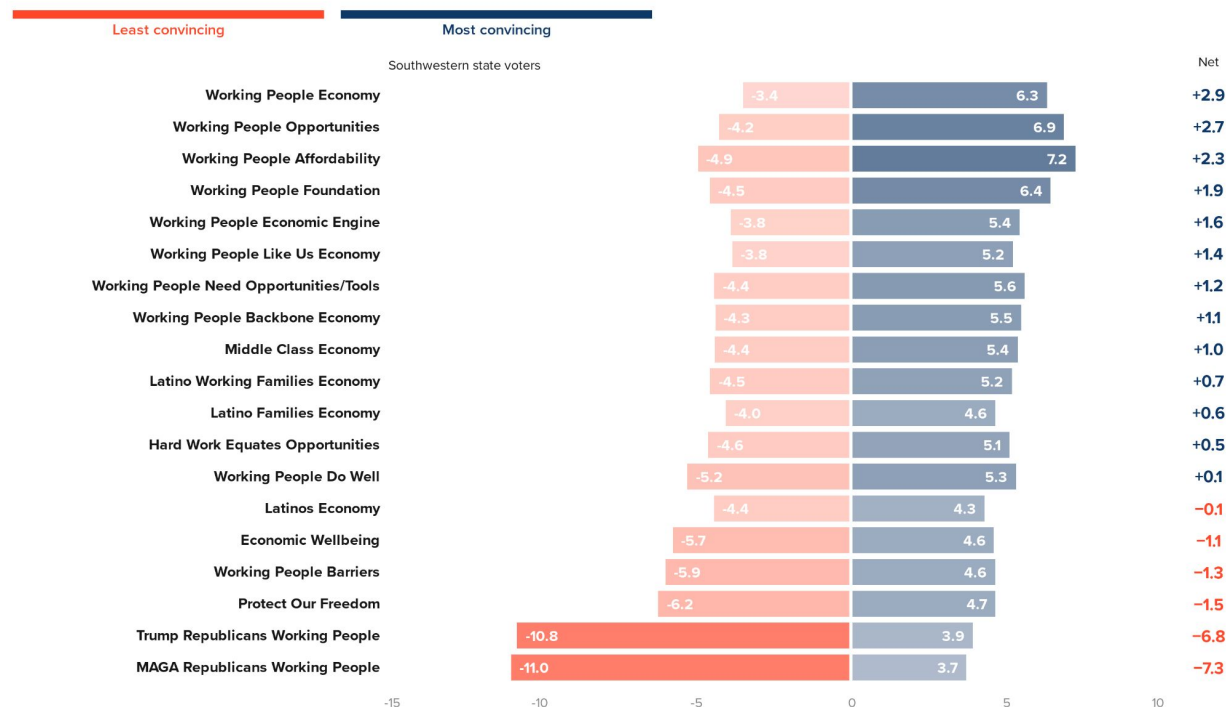
# Results: Battleground States

# Latino Voters in Nevada and Arizona Are Most Convinced by Working People Economy and Opportunities Frame

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



In the battleground states of Nevada and Arizona, Latino voters are also convinced by messaging involving Joe Biden's political belief that hard working Latinos are **vital to the economy** and need the **opportunities and tools** to build a better life for their families. These voters are also convinced by the **working people affordability** frame.

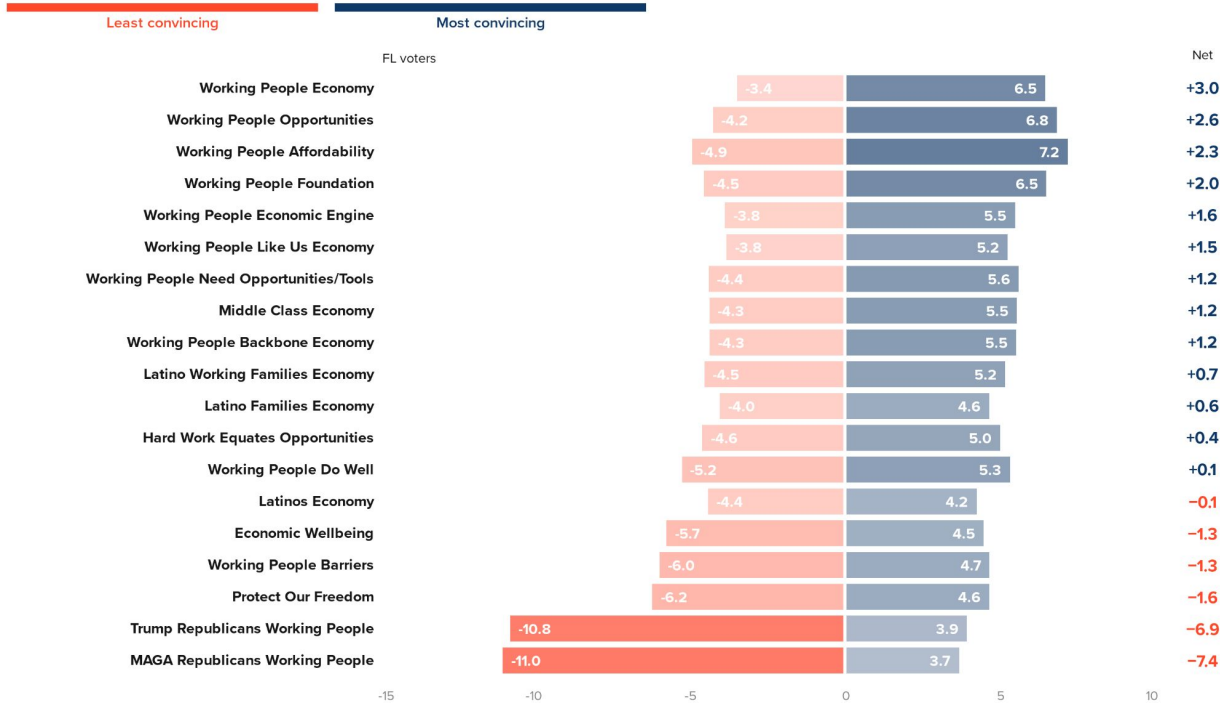
Like other groups, Latino voters in Nevada and Arizona find the **Trump Republicans** and **MAGA Republicans working people** frames as the least convincing messages.

# Working People Economy and Opportunities Frames Are the Most Convincing Frames Among Florida Latino Voters

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Compared to Latino voters in Nevada and Arizona, Latino voters in Florida are **more convinced** by messaging about Joe Biden's political belief that hard working Latino voters are **vital to the economy**.

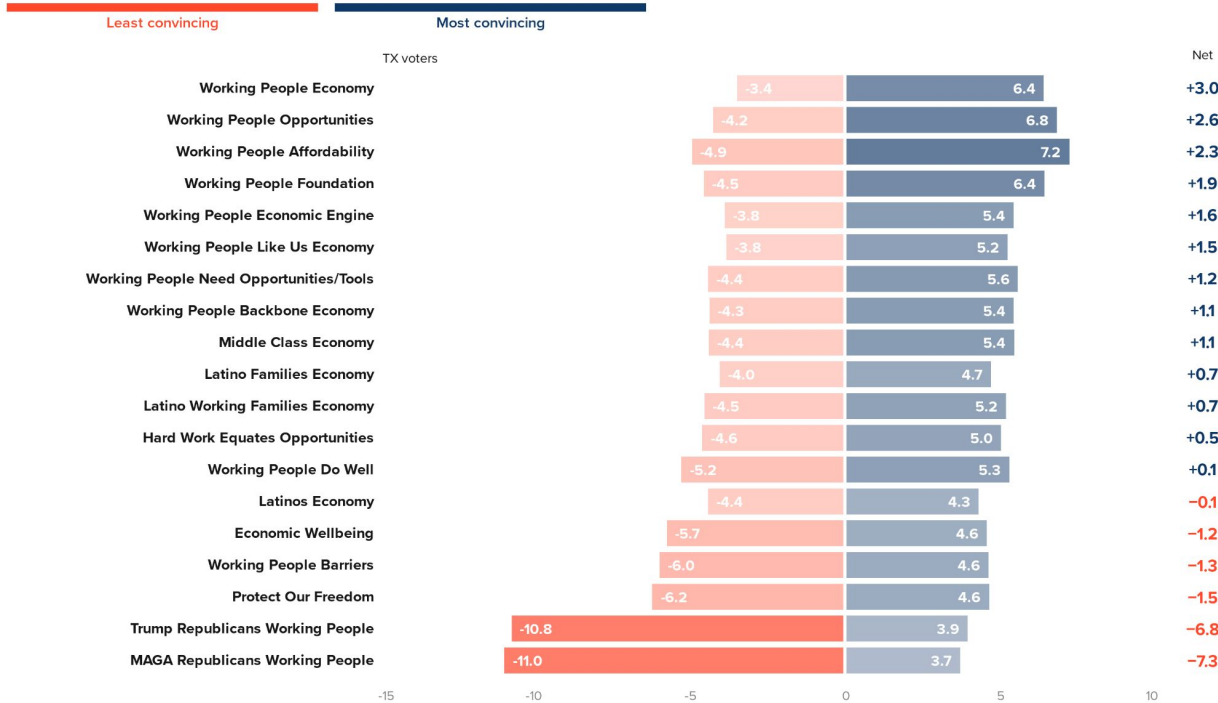
Similarly, frames centered on working people having **opportunities** and having life be **affordable** for them also perform well among Florida Latinos.

# Texas Latino Voters Are Most Convinced by the Working People Economy Frame

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Frames around hard working Latinos **being vital to the economy** and having **the opportunities and tools** to build a good life for their families also perform well for Latino Voters in Texas.

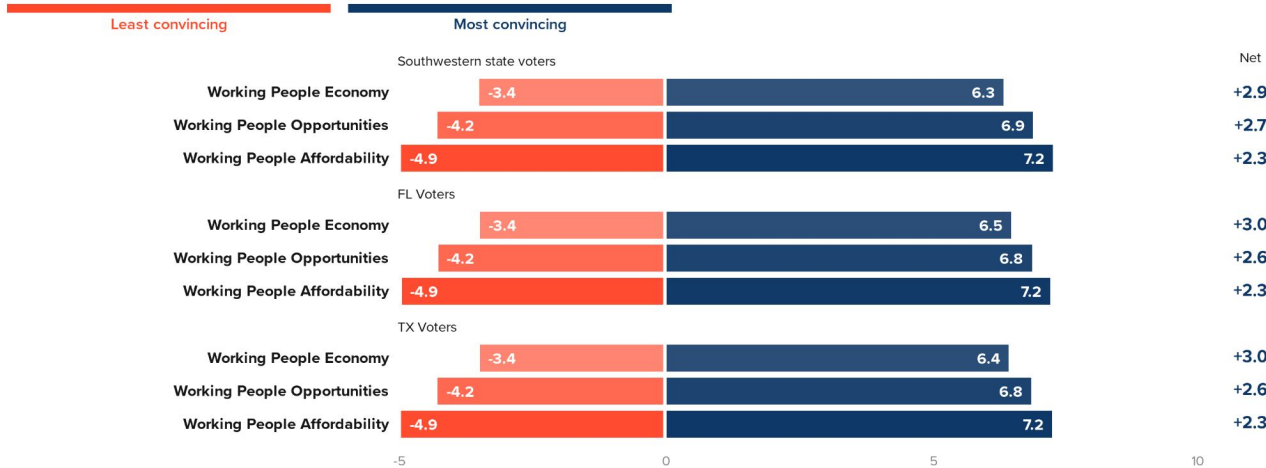
October 1-15, 2023 survey of 1282 registered Latino voters pooled across the battleground states of AZ, FL, NV, and TX. Chart depicts results among 666 registered TX Latino voters.

# Latino Voters in Battleground States Frequently Find These Winning Jobs Narratives as Most Convincing

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



We again find that there is **major consistency** in the effectiveness of frames among Latino voters across Texas, Florida, Nevada, and Arizona. Narratives that focus on **working people** and how they are **vital to the economy**, and having the **opportunities and tools** to build a good life are the most convincing messages among these voters.

October 1–15, 2023 survey of 1,282 registered Latino voters pooled across the battleground states of AZ, FL, NV, and TX.

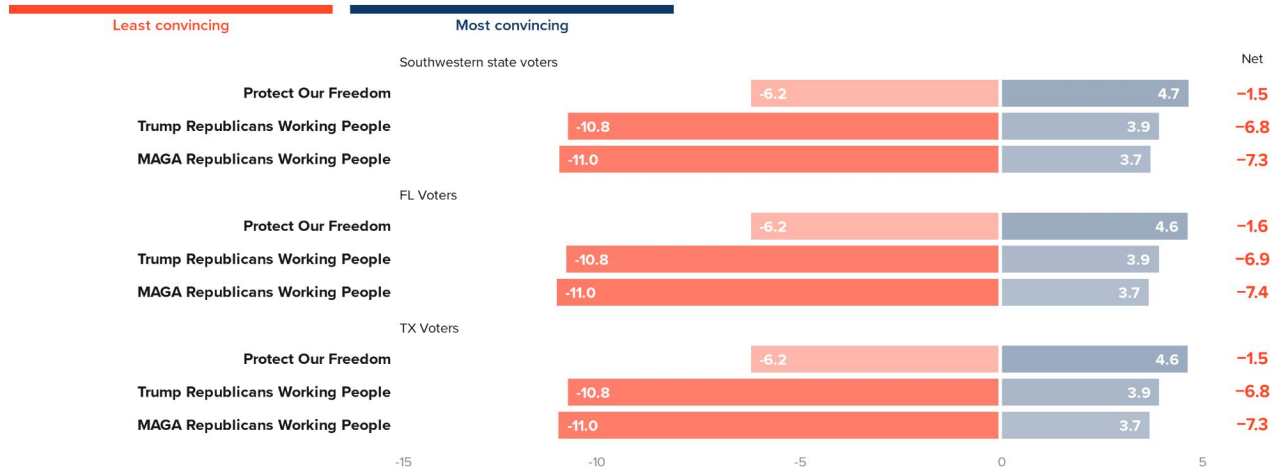
# Battleground Voters Consistently Find Negative Frames as Least Convincing

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.

We also find that Latino voters across these battleground states find negative frames like **MAGA Republicans** and **Trump Republicans not caring about working people** as the least convincing.



October 1–15, 2023 survey of 1,282 registered Latino voters pooled across the battleground states of AZ, FL, NV, and TX.



# Results: Language

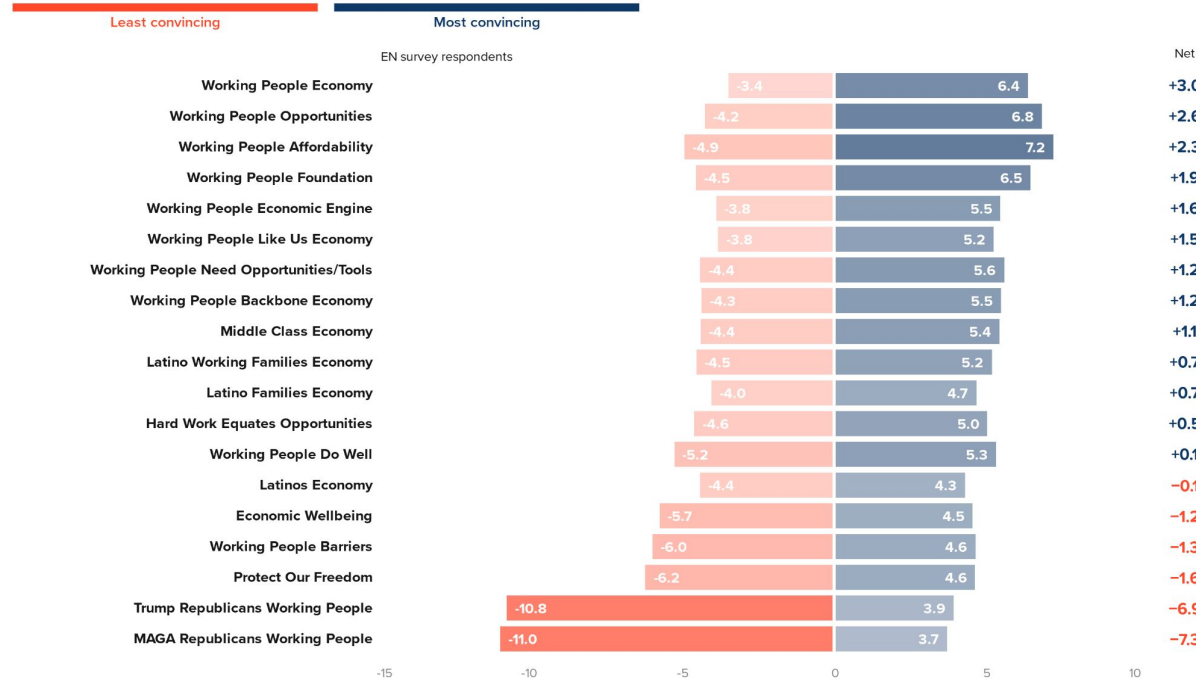


# English-Language Survey Respondents Are More Receptive to the Working People Economy and Opportunities Frames

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Messages that highlight hard working Latinos **being vital to the economy** are the most convincing to Latino voters who **completed** the survey in **English**.

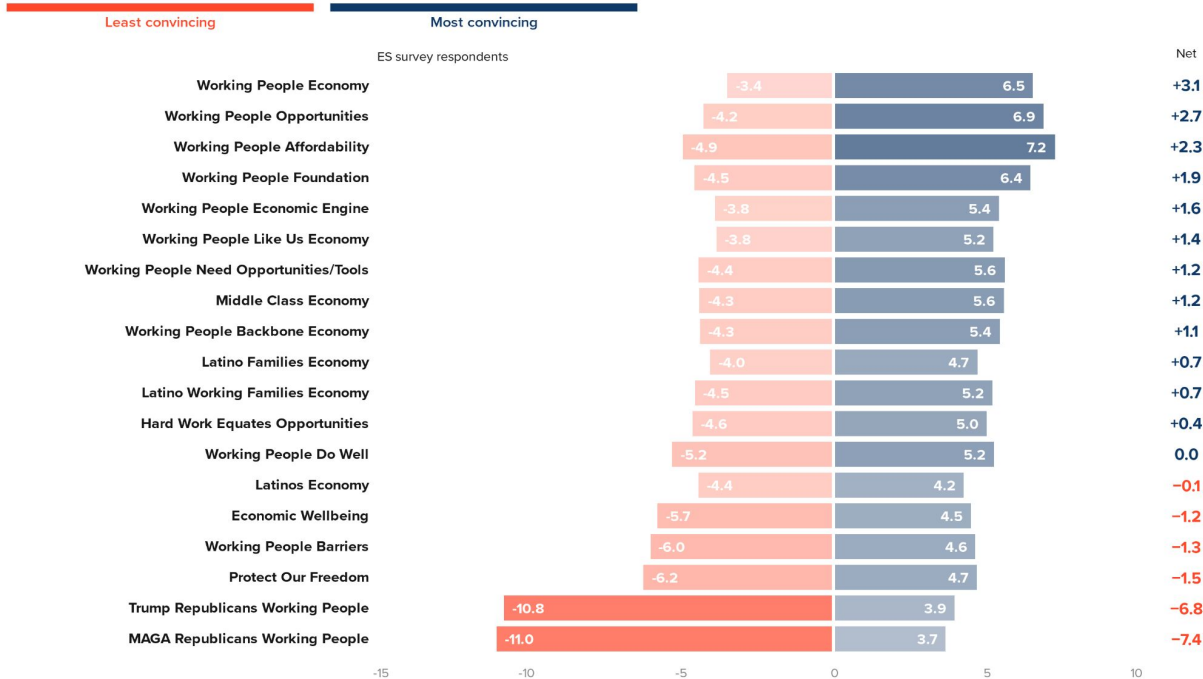
Other messages that perform well include working people having the **opportunities and tools** to build a good life, and the government focusing on making their lives **more affordable**.

# Working People Economy and Opportunities Are the Top Preferred Frames for Spanish-Language Survey Respondents

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Latino voters who **completed** the survey in **Spanish** are about 5x more convinced by the **working people economy** and **opportunities** frames as Latino voters who completed the survey in English.

Messages around Joe Biden's belief in ensuring that hard working people should have the **foundation** to build a good life for their **families** also perform well among this group.



# Conclusion

# Main Takeaways

- In general, we recommend leaning into pro-Biden messaging over anti-Trump/Republican messages when aiming to shore up support for Biden.
- Priming Latino identity is effective, but messages should be inclusive, not exclusive, and focus on working people.
- Lean into messages that embrace the role of government as a supporter and enabler of working people.
  - Enabling hardworking people, including Latinos and their families, to succeed in today's economy resonates with voters across various key demographics.
  - This finding is consistent with evidence from other messaging work on the Working Jobs Narrative.
- Latino voters are more responsive to messaging centered around the economy and their families over other messages.



# DATA FOR **PROGRESS**

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Data for Progress is a progressive think tank and polling firm which arms movements with data-driven tools to fight for a more equitable future. DFP provides polling, data-based messaging, and policy generation for the progressive movement, and advises campaigns and candidates with the tools they need to win. DFP polling is regularly cited by *The New York Times*, *The Washington Post*, *MSNBC*, *CBS News*, and hundreds of other trusted news organizations.

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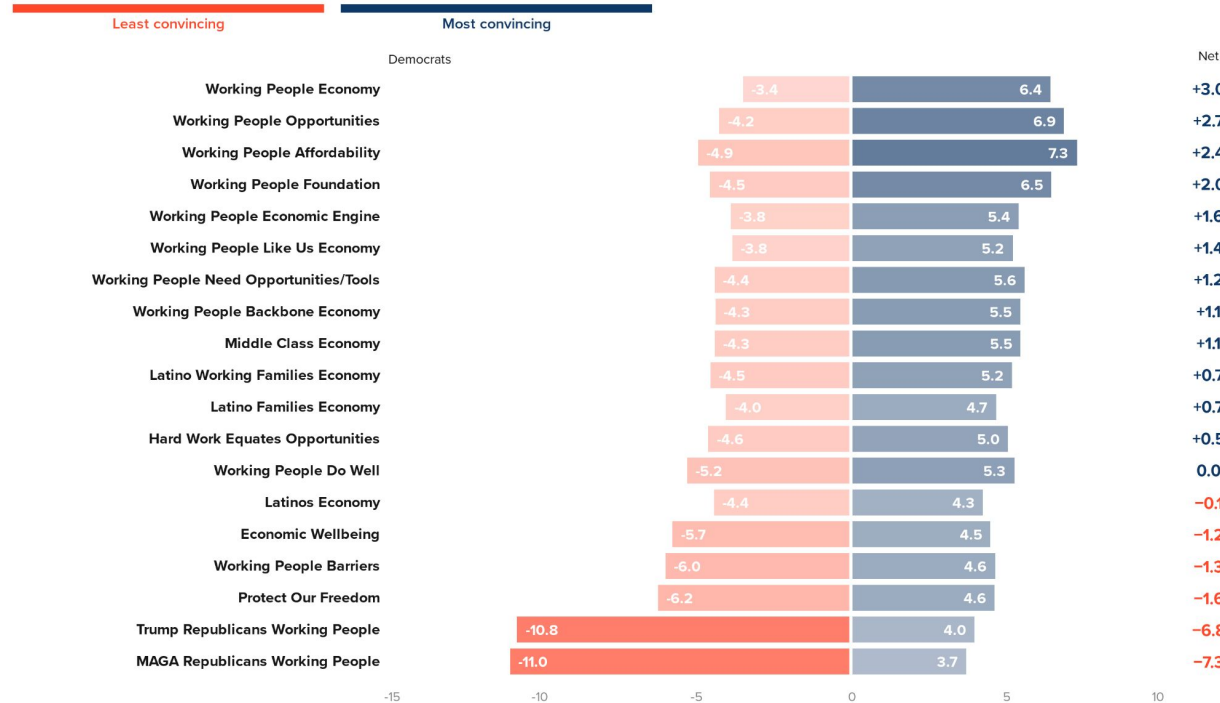
# Appendix

# Democrat Latino Voters Are Most Convinced by Working People Economy Frame

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



Arguing that Joe Biden believes **working people** are vital to the economy is the **most convincing** message for Democrat Latino voters to support Joe Biden's political agenda. Other top performing messages for Democrat Latino voters include frames focused on working people's **opportunities** and making their lives more **affordable**.

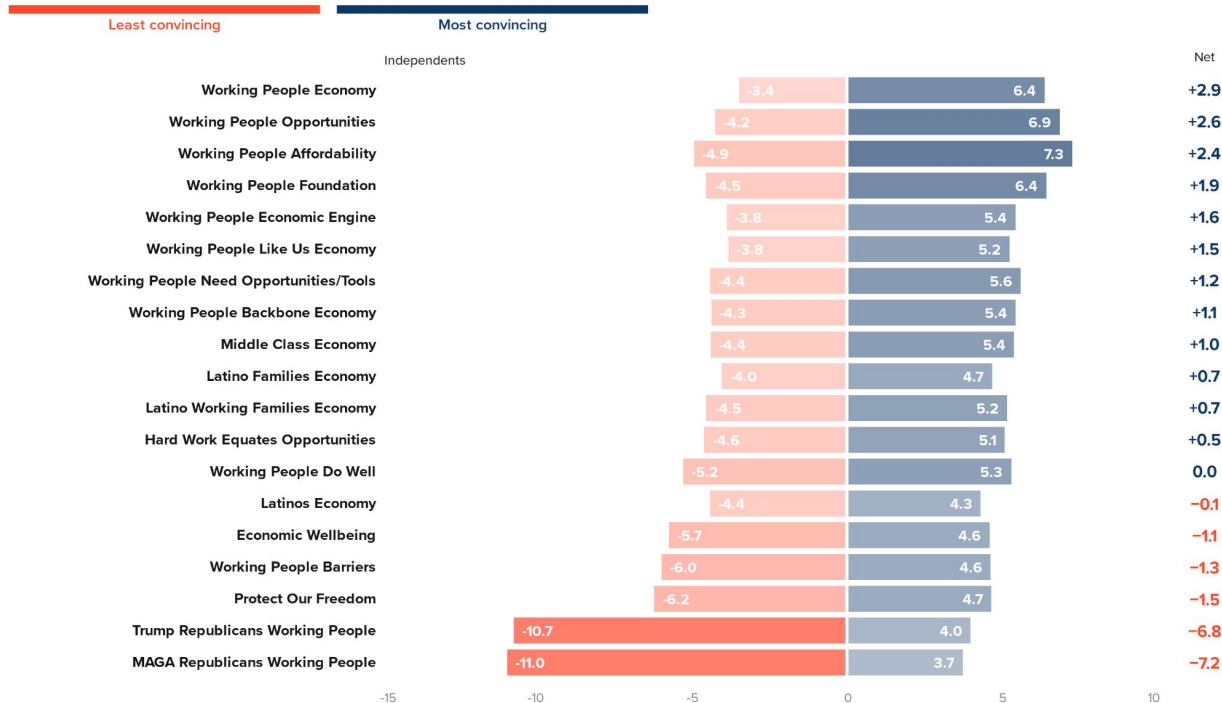
The **least convincing** arguments focus on **Trump** and **MAGA Republicans** not caring about working people.

# Working People Economy and Opportunities Are the Most Convincing Frames Among Independent Latino voters

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



The **working people economy** frame also performs well with Independent Latino voters. Frames that focus on the **opportunities** and **affordability** offered in life for working people are also top performing messages among this group.

Like Democrats, the **Trump** and **MAGA Republicans** working people frames are the least convincing among Independent Latino voters.

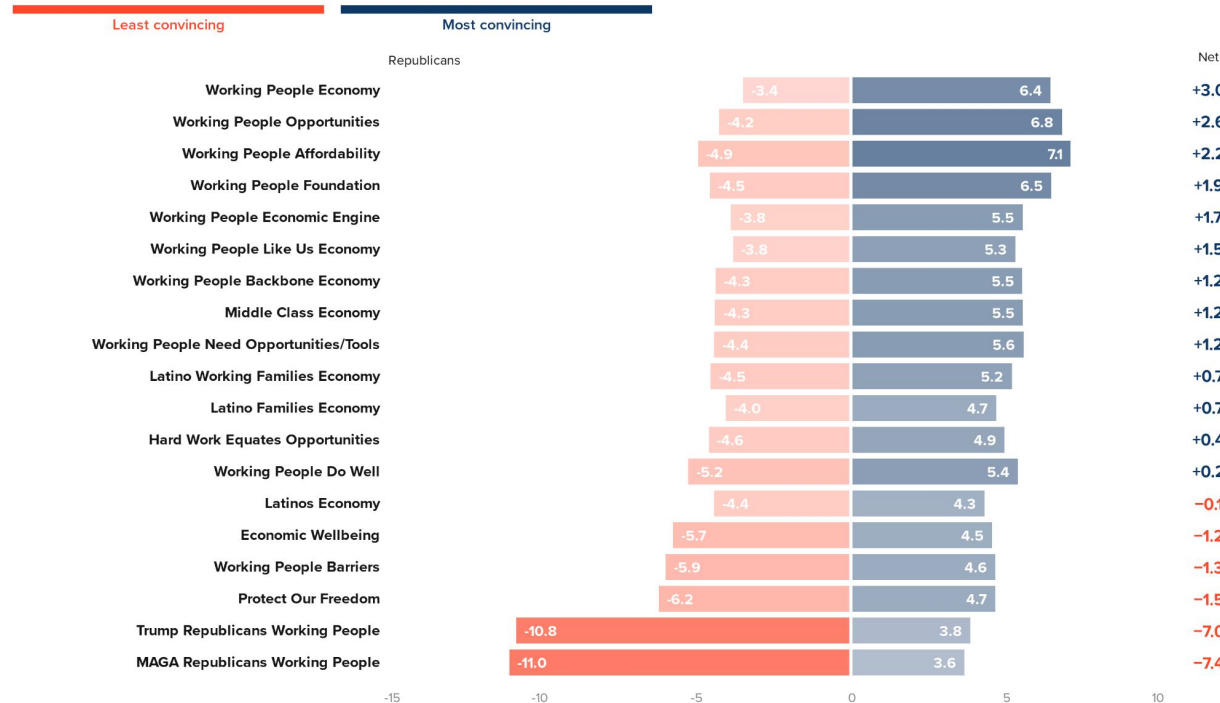


# Republican Latino Voters Are Most Convinced by Working People Economy and Opportunities Frames

Below are various messages about the Latino community, Joe Biden, politics, and the economy.

For each set of messages you see, say which message you believe is **most convincing** as a reason to support Joe Biden and which you find the **least convincing**.

You may see the same messages several times. Don't worry about remembering how you answered earlier. Just pick which message you most and least prefer when you see them.



The **working people economy** frame performs slightly better among Republican Latino voters compared to Democrat and Independent Latino voters. The working people **opportunities** and **affordability** messages are also convincing among Republican Latino voters.

The **Trump** and **MAGA Republicans** working people frames are even less convincing to Republican Latino voters compared to Democrat and Independent Latino voters.