

New Deep Canvassing Results: Including Undocumented Immigrants in Government Safety Net Programs

Joshua Kalla, Yale University

David Broockman, Stanford Graduate School of Business

What is a deep canvass?

- **Deep canvasses** are candid two-way conversations where canvassers ask voters to share voters' own relevant, emotionally significant experiences and reflect on them aloud.
- Deep canvasses typically involve:
 - **Non-judgmentally** soliciting voters' views and asking follow-up questions about voters' experiences.
 - **Sharing narratives** about personal experiences with the issue that reinforce values relevant to the issue.

Deep Canvassing Has Produced Durable Persuasion On Other Issues

- Increasing support for transgender-inclusive non-discrimination laws, including scale via phone conversations
- Increasing support for citizenship for undocumented immigrants and more humane enforcement policies
- Increasing support for access to abortion (though less durable)

Can Deep Canvassing Increase Support
for Undocumented Immigrants' Access to
Government Health Care Programs?

Persuasion is Challenging

- Individuals often resist persuasion because yielding to it would pose a threat to their self-image:
 - Admitting that one has held views that were in error
 - Recognizing inconsistencies in their views
 - Dislike seeing themselves as susceptible to persuasion and manipulation

Deep Canvassing May Overcome These Challenges

- **Non-judgmental listening**
 - Reduces perceived threat to self-image
 - Being heard increases feeling of respect
 - Promotes active processing and participation in a conversation
 - These increase openness to engaging with alternative viewpoints
- **Sharing narratives**
 - Perceived as less manipulative and more engaging than facts
 - Creates an emotional connection
 - Moves beyond cable TV's surface-level talking points

People's Action Deep Canvass Script

Elicit Current View on Healthcare

Hi, are you _____? **[CONFIRM CORRECT VOTER]** Great! I'm _____ with Down Home North Carolina.

[If not correct voter] We're out here today having face 2 face conversations about issues that impact our neighbors. May I speak with _____?

[If correct voter] We're out here today having face 2 face conversations about issues that impact our neighbors & all of us at a time when these conversations are too rare.

To start us off just given what you know, do you think you'd be in favor or against Universal Health Care, on this scale, where 0 is against and 10 is in favor and 5 is undecided, where would you put yourself?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Against		←Undecided →					In Favor			

Why is that the right number for you?

- Set non-judgmental tone

Elicit Current View on Undocumented Immigrants

Some people say that if we do have Universal Health Care, it should include undocumented immigrants. On the same scale, where would you put yourself on voting for Universal Health Care for everyone, including undocumented immigrants?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Against				←Undecided→			In Favor			

Why is that the right number for you now? What's on either side of the issue for you?

- Set non-judgmental tone

Narrative Exchange Part 1

Who do you know who has moved to the US?

☐ NO ☐ YES

- Non-judgmental exchange of narratives
- Perspective-taking

NO - Can't Think of Anyone

Maybe someone at work? or a friend of a friend?

Do you know much about how your family came to the US?

When in your life did you first think about immigration? Do you remember?

Did you grow up here? (Lot of people move for economic reasons and good chance ppl moved - national/international migration)

YES – Know Someone

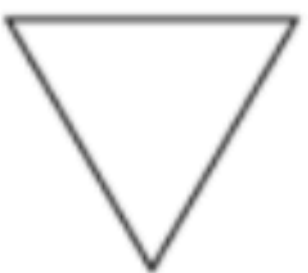
Who are you closest to? May I ask - What do you know about their story? How are they doing? What's their name?

Do you know if they have documentation?

When did you first realize the situation they were in?

CONE OF CURIOSITY

How did it feel learning about ___ 's story? Why?



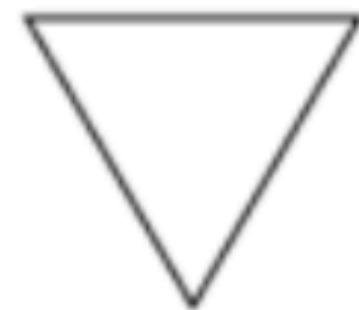
Ask questions, can't assume!

***** SHARE YOUR STORY to Help the Voter Identify with Immigrants *****

The reason I am out here today is because of.... Myself_____ My friend_____

Narrative Exchange Part 2

I think this is about how we treat all working people who contribute, whether we're immigrants or were born in the US. We have all faced tough times and needed support.

<u>Voter's Struggle and Support Story</u>	<u>CONE OF CURIOSITY</u>	<u>Your Needing Support Story</u>
<p>When was a time when you really needed care or support?</p> <p>Maybe a time when you were having social, emotional, or financial hardship?</p> <p>When was a time when you or a loved one had to pay for or access healthcare in the past?</p>	<p>What was the situation? How old were you? How did that feel? Why?</p>  <p>Did anyone give you the support you needed at that time? Who? How did that feel?</p>	<p>I remember when...</p> <p><i>Go slow... paint a picture</i></p> <p><i>Talk about the feeling</i></p> <p>Make a Clear Point.</p> <p>BE patient, may take time!</p>

- Non-judgmental exchange of narratives
 - Analogic perspective-taking
 - Values activation

Make the Case

[Discuss race overtly] No matter where we come from or what our color, we all want the same thing: safety, dignity and a better quality of life for our children and loved ones.

[Name racial scapegoating as a weapon that economically harms us all] ...But today, certain politicians and big pharma/insurance companies hurt everyone by prioritizing profit over the health of our loved ones and instead of taking responsibility and fixing our healthcare system, they turn around and point the finger at immigrants, black folks, poor folks, etc...they are telling us there isn't enough to go around while they are only getting richer. And it is the same billionaire class that also wants the immigration system to stay broken, so they can continue to take advantage of undocumented workers.

What do you think about that?

[Collective action to solve the problem] I think the only way to hold them accountable and actually get a better system is to join together with immigrants... *[Invoke cross-racial solidarity]* Just like we won better wages, a 9-5 work day, safer workplaces and civil rights in our past...

At DHNC, we've come together to stop Duke Energy Rate Hikes (they wanted us to pay for the problem they caused), to win living wages for city workers in WNC, and more! *[Government for all]* By joining together, we can build power in our communities and elect new leaders who prioritize us and provide healthcare for all us, not just the wealthy few!

Rehearse Opinion Change

What is on your mind now that we have been talking?

It sounds like on the one hand you said _____ and on the other hand _____. ((End with whichever hand is most positive - point out contradictions but positively pull them along, too!))

Example: On the one hand you want to make sure that we take care of our own first but on the other hand you see the people at the top only getting richer.

Thank you for talking to me today. To finish up back on that scale, where 0 is against and 10 is in favor, how do you think you'd vote on a universal health care plan that includes everyone and undocumented immigrants?

0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
Against		←Undecided →						In Favor		

[If moved] Why is that the right number? What makes you rate yourself differently?

•Self-persuasion

Field Experiment to Measure Persuasion

Experimental Design



Survey
Recruitment

$n = 369,319$

Experimental Design



Survey
Recruitment

$n = 369,319$



Online Survey

$n = 8,925$

Experimental Design



Survey
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Deep with direct story sharing
($n = 938$)

Deep with direct and
analogic story sharing
($n = 947$)



Placebo ($n = 953$)

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Online Survey

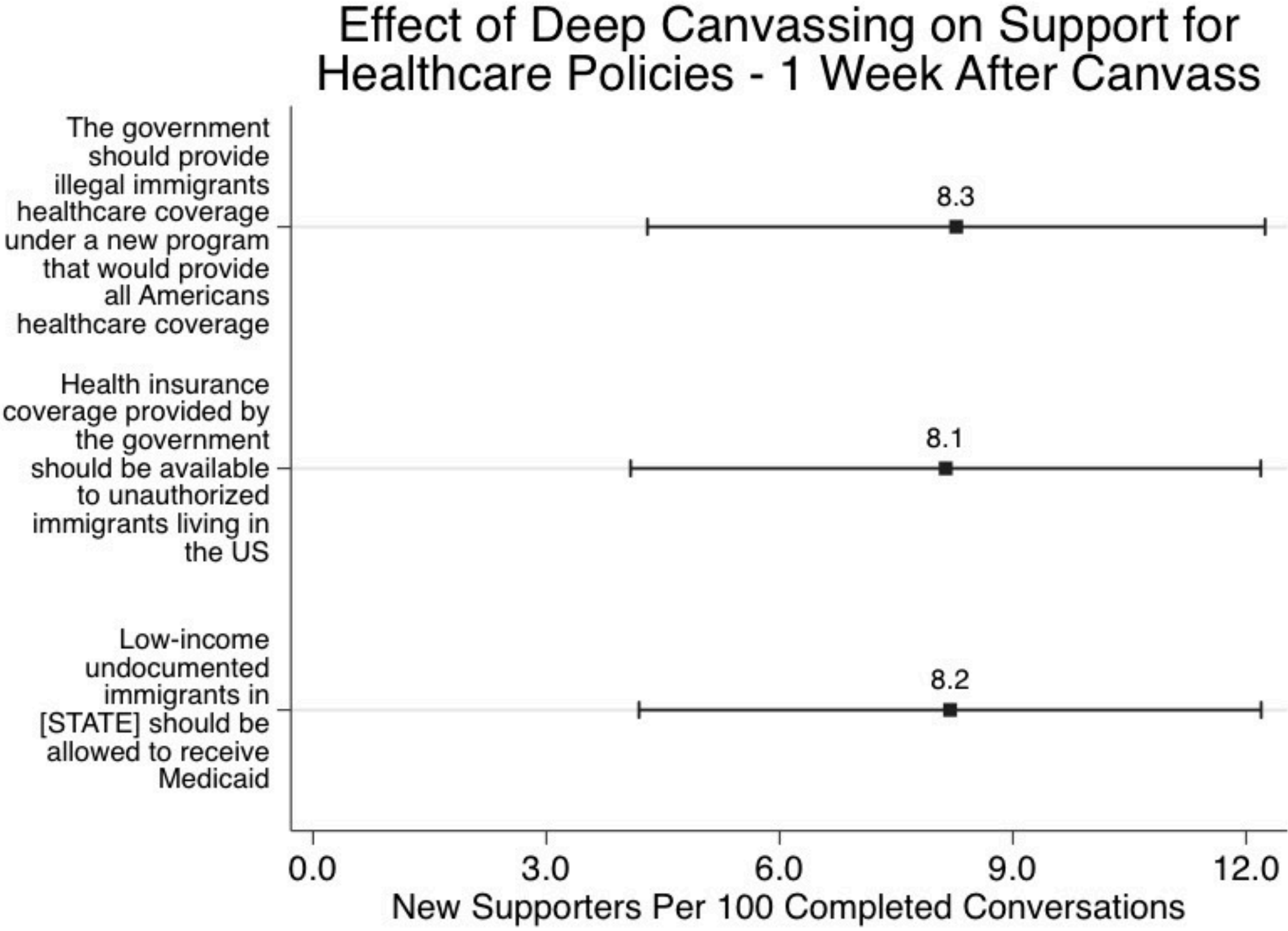
1 wk: $n = 1,738$
6 wks: $n = 1,110$
(and growing)
3-6 mo: $n = \text{TBD}$

Canvass Implementation Details

- Voters canvassed:
 - 89% white.
 - 47% college educated.
 - 43% conservative; 30% moderate; 27% liberal.
 - 44% approve of Trump
 - 21% support including undocumented immigrants under universal healthcare
- Canvassers:
 - 56% white.
 - 16% immigrants.
- Median deep conversation was 15 minutes

People's Action Deep Canvass Results

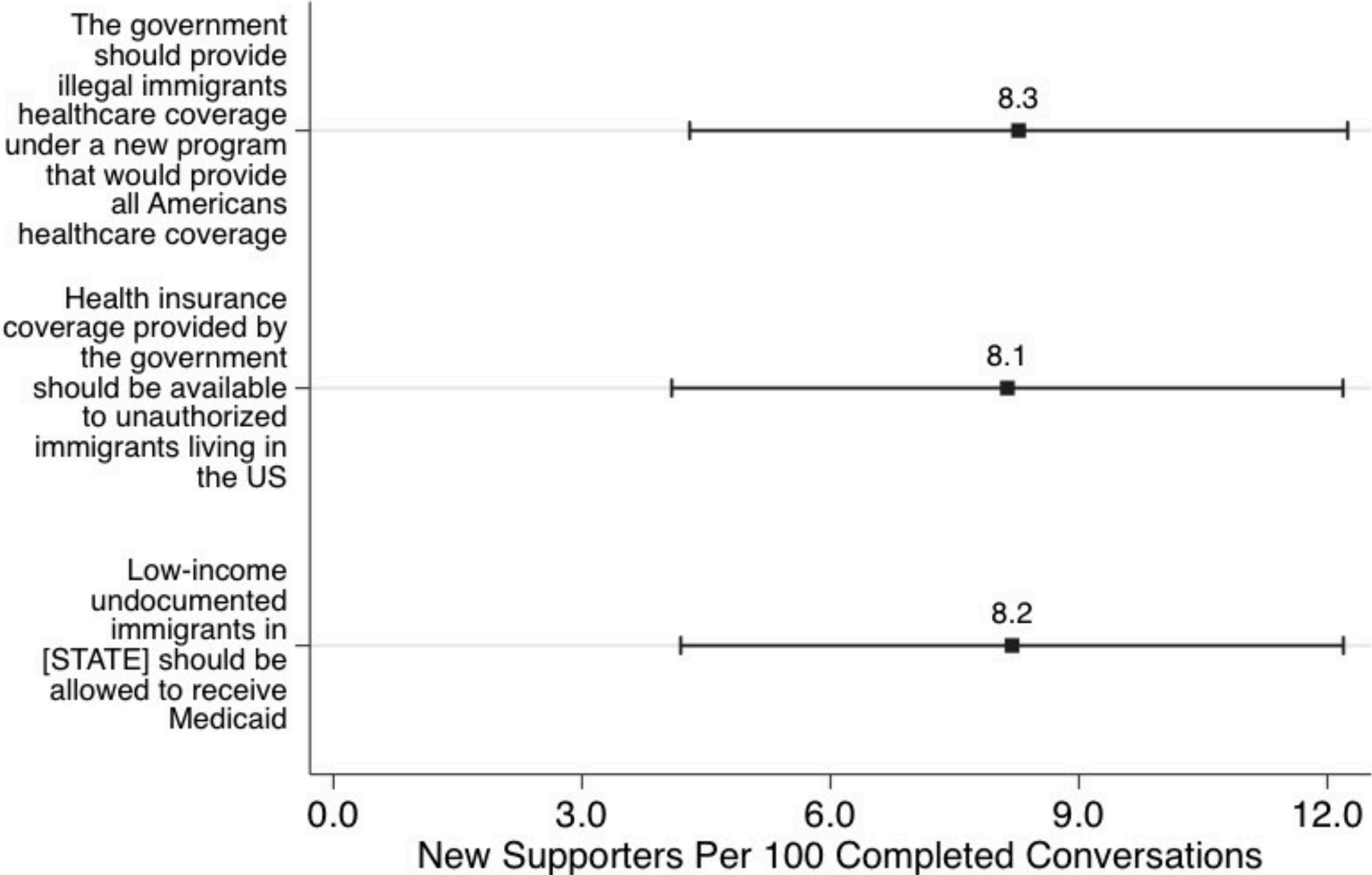
Results Overview: Healthcare Policy



For every 100 conversations completed,
~8 new supporters

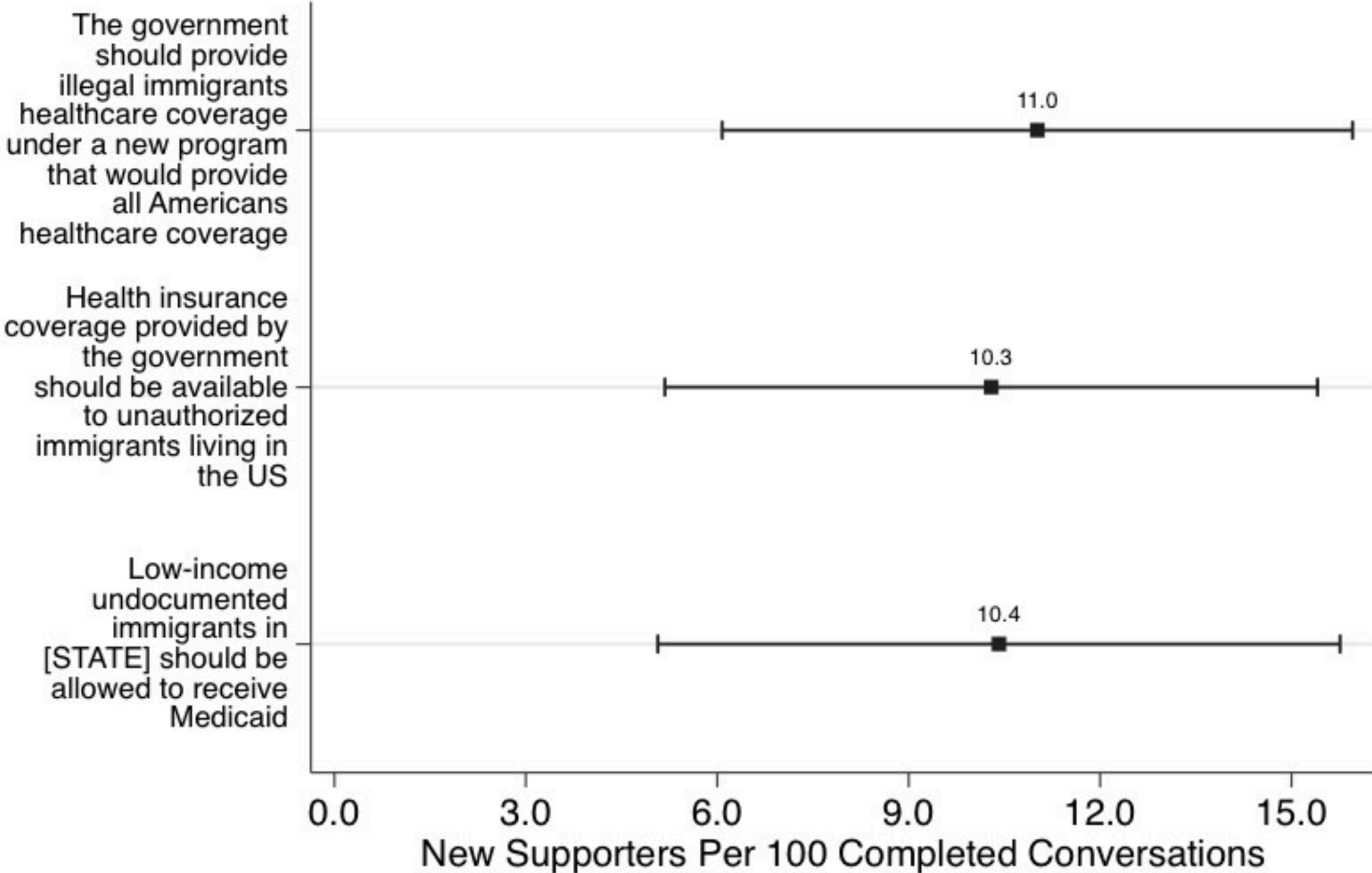
Results Overview: Healthcare Policy

Effect of Deep Canvassing on Support for Healthcare Policies - 1 Week After Canvass



For every 100 conversations completed,
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Effect of Deep Canvassing on Support for Healthcare Policies - 6 Weeks After Canvass

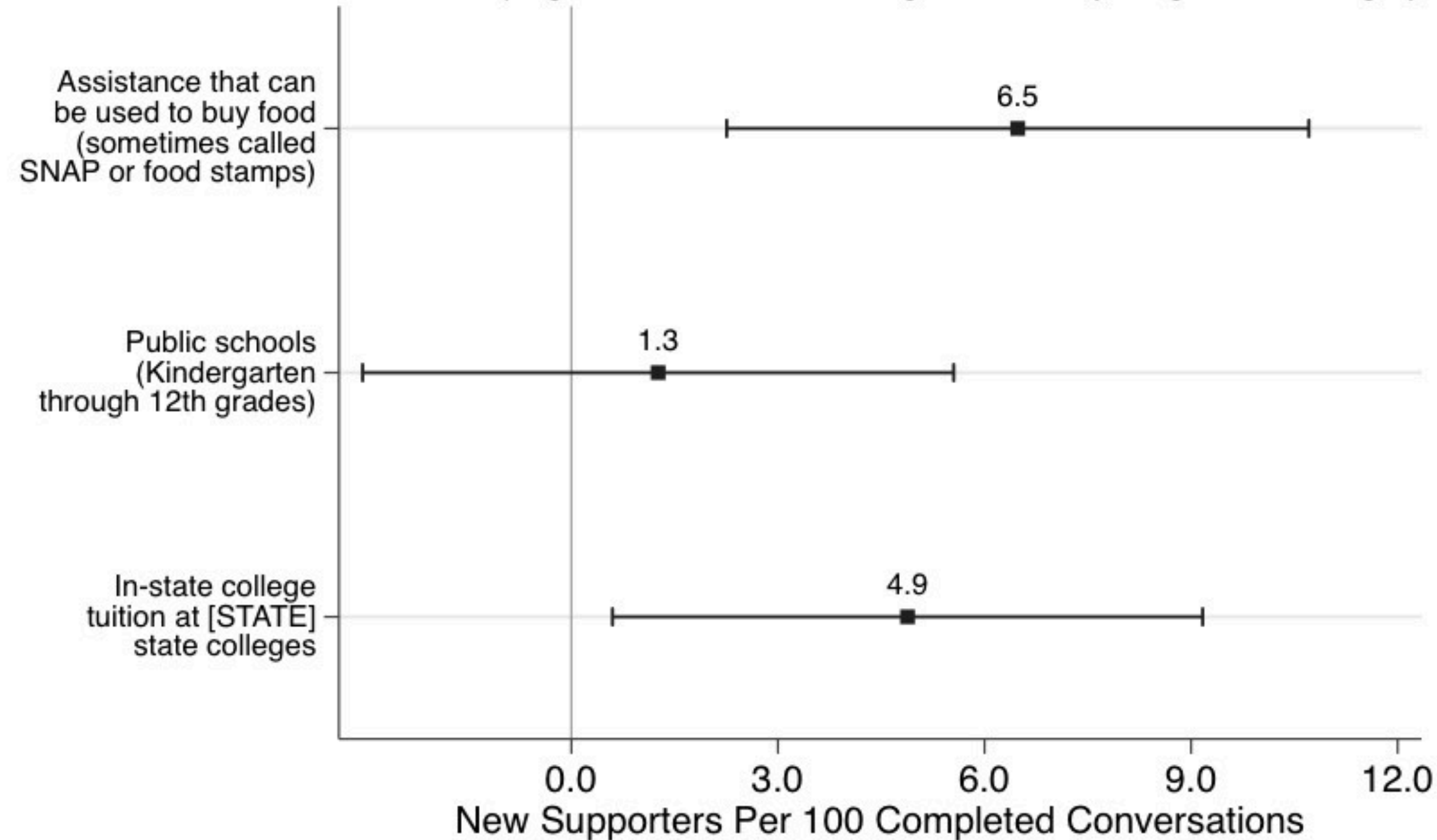


Deep canvass effects persist
at least 6 weeks

Results Overview: Other Policies

Effect of Deep Canvassing on Support for Other Policies - 1 Week After Canvass

Should these programs be available to immigrants currently living in the US illegally?

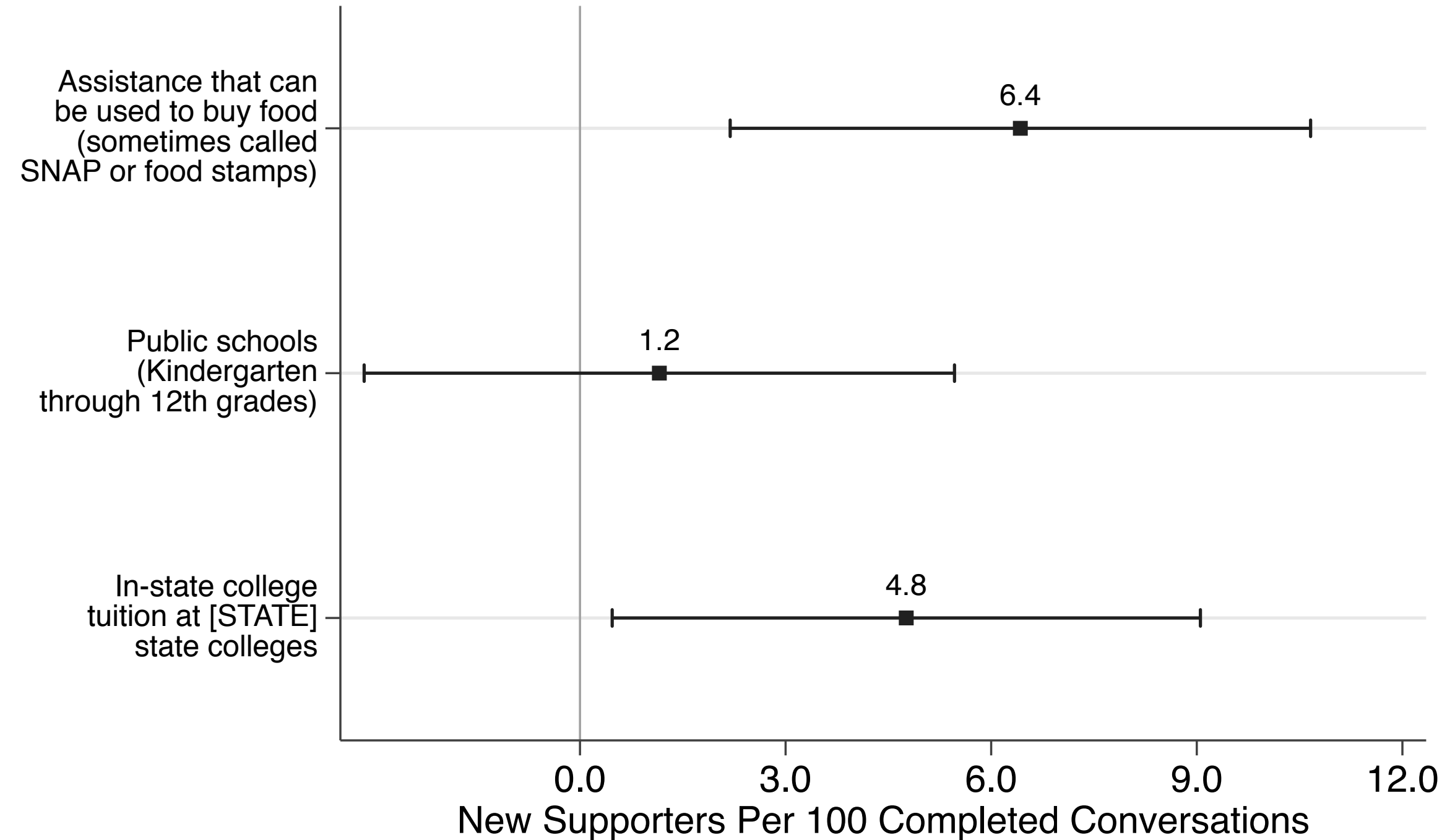


Despite not mentioning these other policies, deep canvassing generally increased support for including undocumented immigrants in government programs

Results Overview: Other Policies

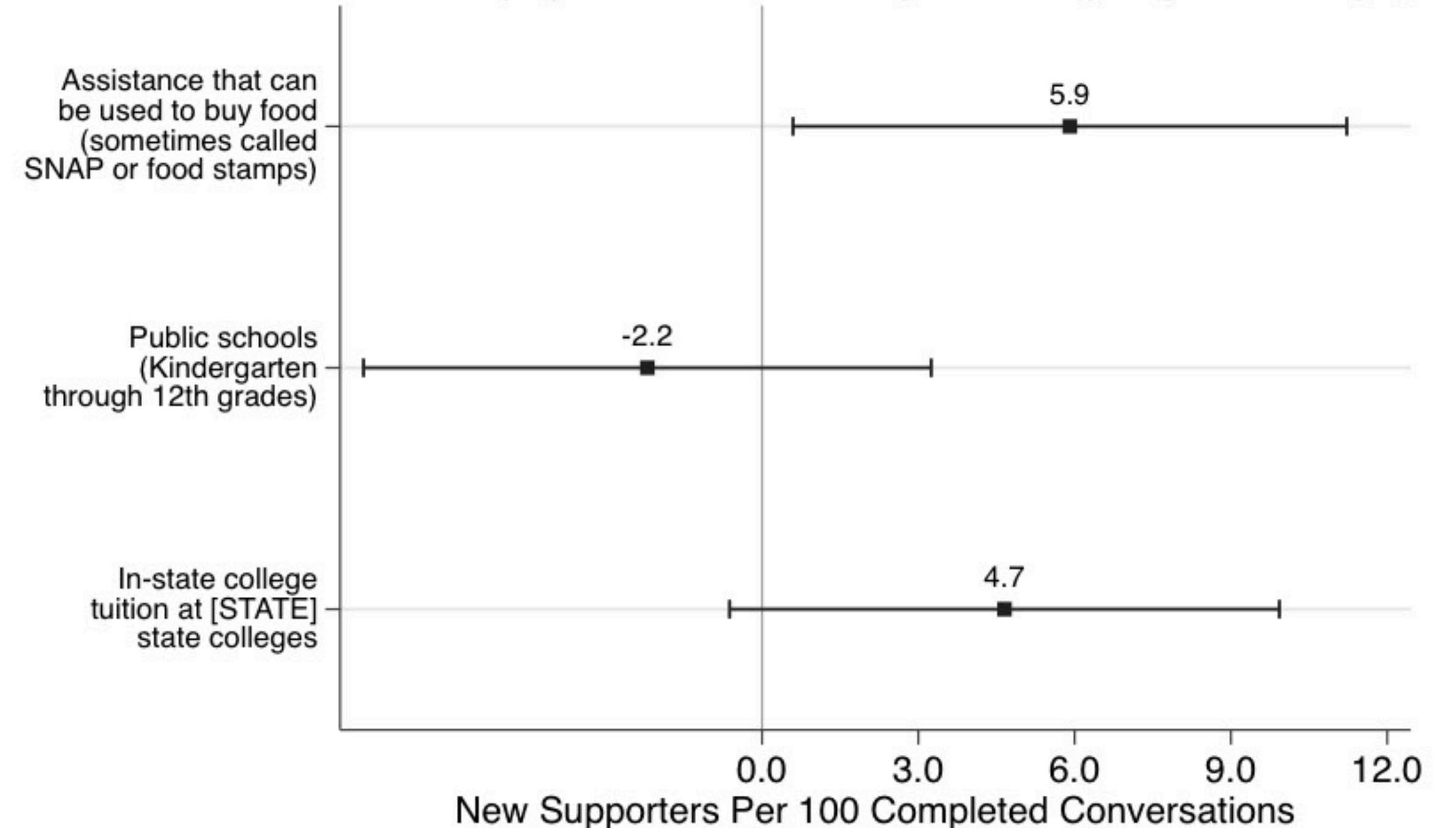
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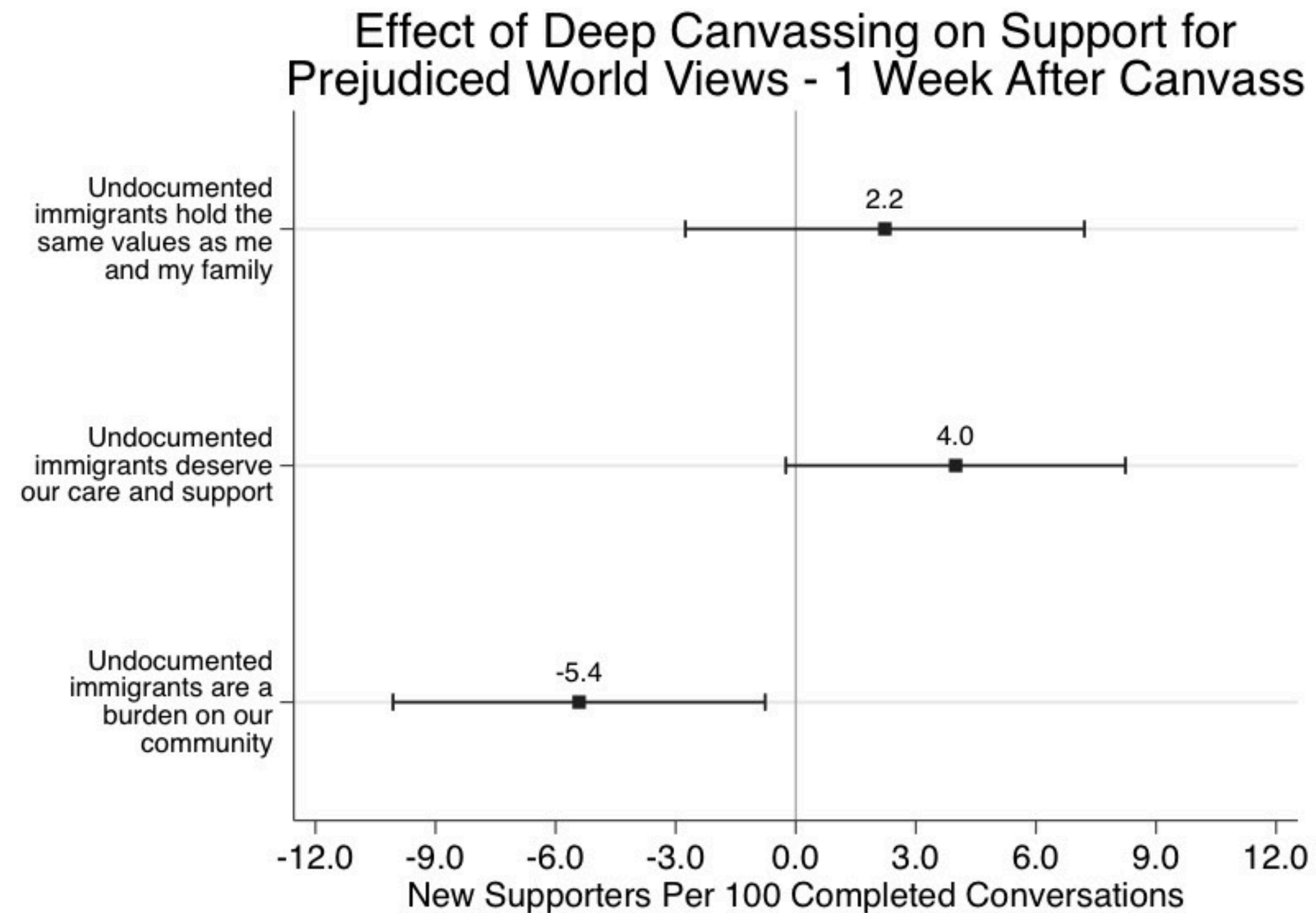
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Deep canvass effects persist at least 6 weeks

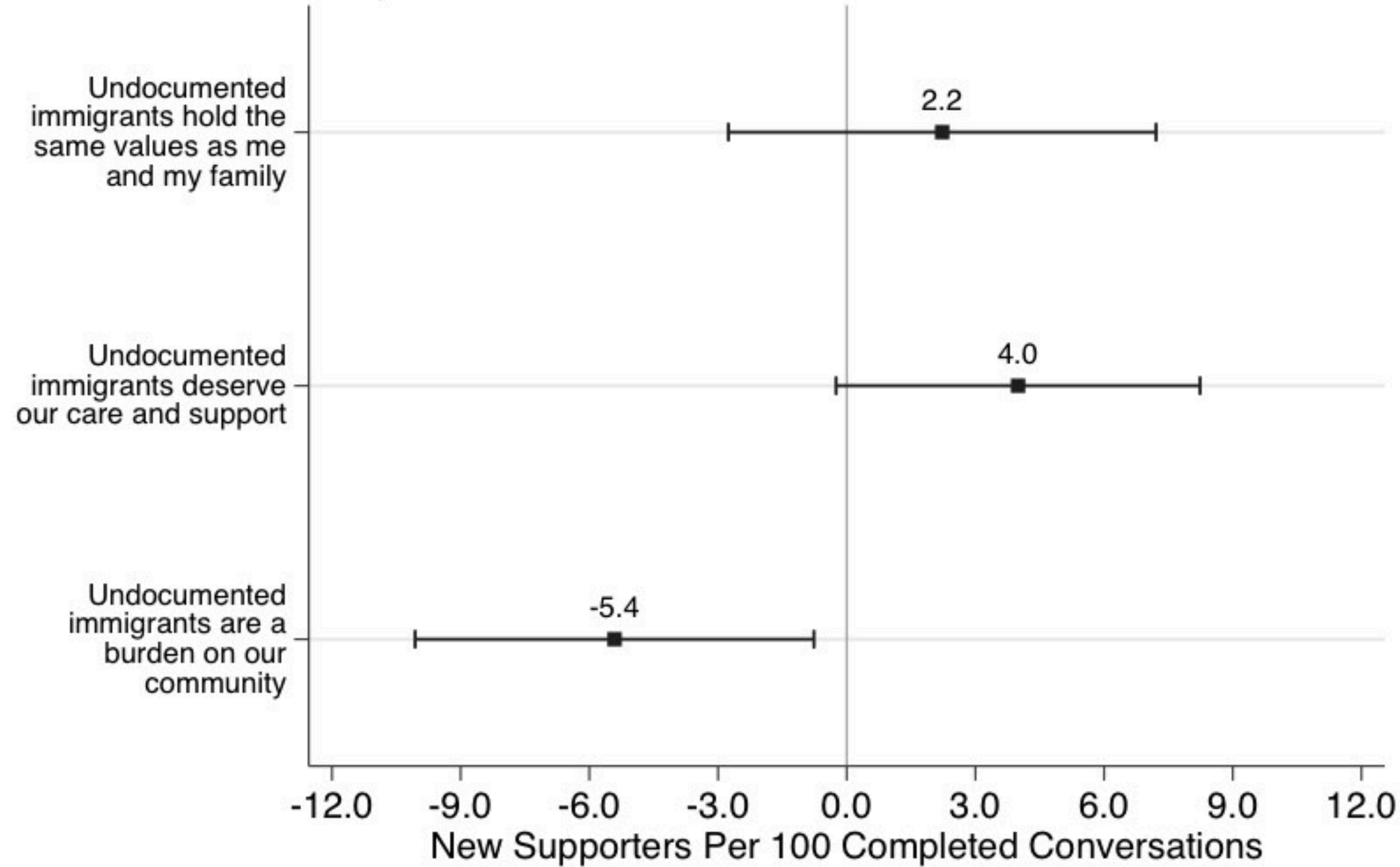
Results Overview: Views Towards Immigrants



Modest effects on reshaping respondents'
world views to be less prejudiced

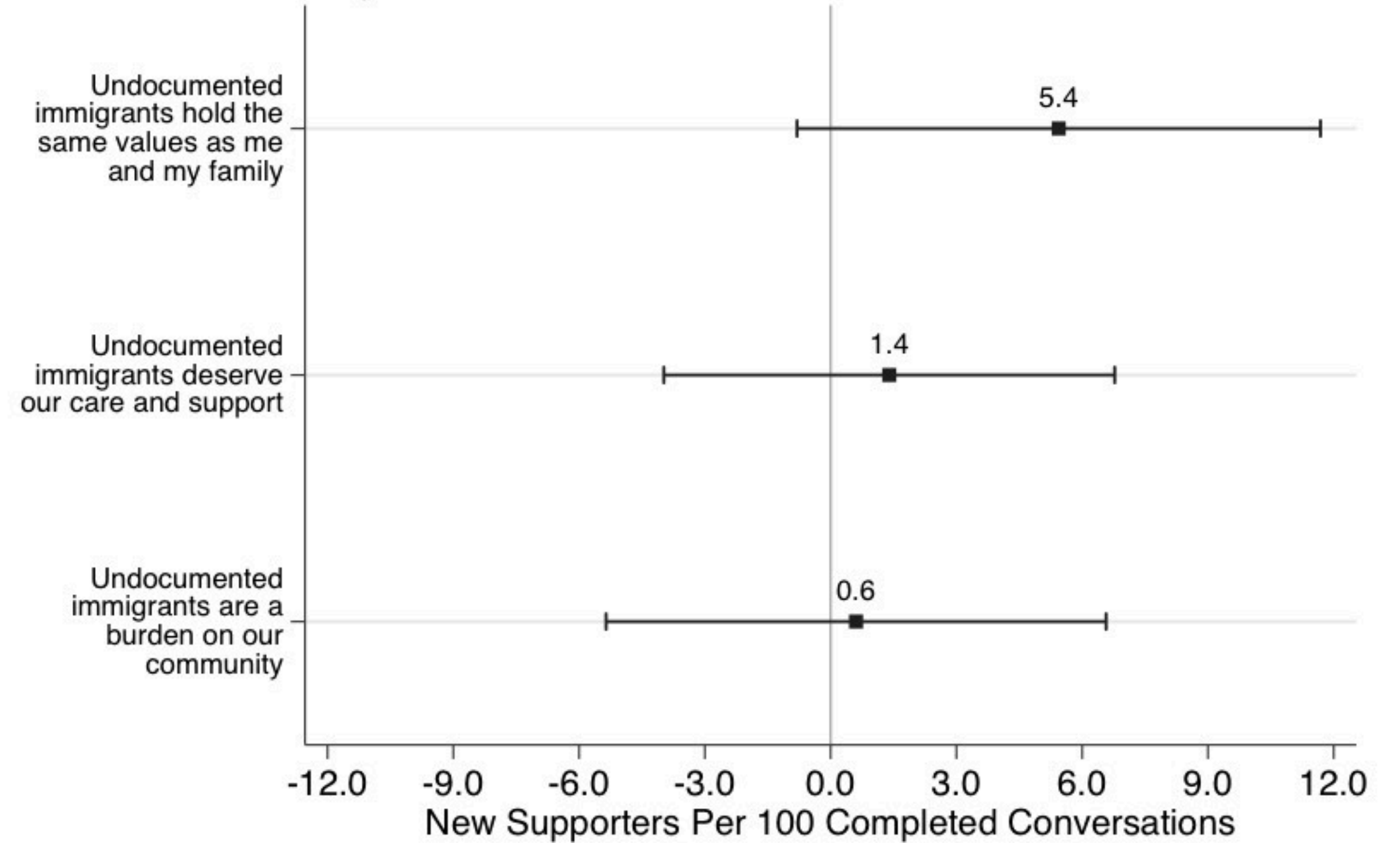
Results Overview: Views Towards Immigrants

Effect of Deep Canvassing on Support for Prejudiced World Views - 1 Week After Canvass



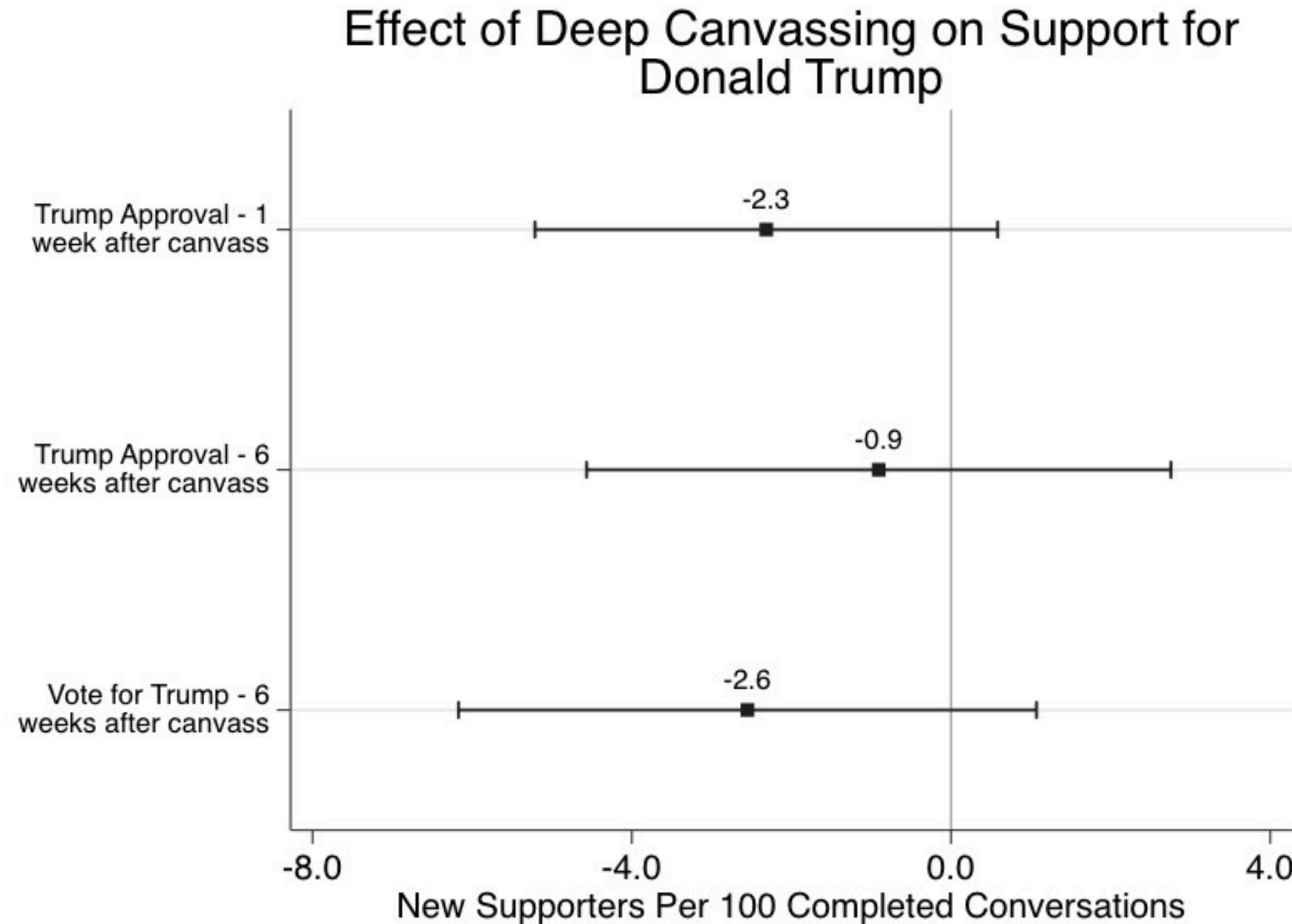
Modest effects on reshaping respondents' world views to be less prejudiced

Effect of Deep Canvassing on Support for Prejudiced World Views - 6 Weeks After Canvass



Though effects might not persist — too early to tell

Results Overview: Political Views



Despite not mentioning Trump, deep canvassing modestly decreased Trump approval and support, with effects appearing to persist

Effects by Canvasser and Voter Demographics

- **State:** Similarly effective across NC, MI, and PA.
- **Canvasser Race:** Similarly effective among both canvassers of color and white canvassers.
- **Canvasser Immigration Status:** Similarly effective with both immigrant and non-immigrant canvassers.
- **Voter Race:** Similarly effective among both voters of color and white voters.
- **Voter Gender:** Effective among both men and women, but particularly effective among women.
- **Voter Partisanship:** Effective among Republicans, Independents, and Democrats, but particularly effective among Democrats.
- **Voter Trump Approval:** Effective among voters who both approve and disapprove of Trump, but particularly effective among voters who disapprove of Trump.

Conclusion

- People's Action's deep canvass **successfully**:
 - *increased* voters' support for including undocumented immigrants in the social safety net and effects persist at least 6 weeks after the canvass
 - *decreased* prejudice towards undocumented immigrants but effects might not persist
- We will continue measuring long-term impact
- Why were the conversations effective?
 - Canvassers' view: non-judgmental listening and sharing stories about immigrants
 - Additional experimental results: not struggle stories

Thanks!

Questions? Comments?

josh.kalla@yale.edu

dbroockman@stanford.edu