

Race-Class Narrative



California



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**DOG
WHISTLE
POLITICS**



Findings and recommendations
from an online survey of adults
in California

May 2018

Demos

AN EQUAL SAY AND AN
EQUAL CHANCE FOR ALL

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Methodology

- Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey that was conducted online from April 26 – May 7, 2018. The survey reached a total of 800 adults in California.
- The data were weighed slightly by gender, region, age, education, and race to reflect attributes of the actual population.
- The margin of error for the total sample is +/-3.5%.

Defining Base, Opposition, and Persuadable

Throughout the report we refer to targets as **base**, **opposition**, and **persuadable**. They were developed using a statistical cluster analysis.

Base – 28% of adults

- More likely to be women, under 30, and Democratic.
- More likely to believe that there is not enough attention paid to race and racism in California and in our country.
- Prefer that government creates opportunities for advancement and sees wealth as a result of having more opportunities.
- Supportive of policy agenda such as rent control, environmental regulation, and criminal justice reform.

Opposition – 20% of adults

- More likely to be older, white, and Republican.
- More likely to believe that wealth is product of hard work, and prefers government stay out of their way.
- Believes there is too much attention paid to race and racism in California and in our country.
- Concerned about issues such as illegal immigration, high state taxes, and discrimination against whites.

Persuadable – 52% of adults

- More likely to reflect the views and demographics of the overall population, but are slightly more likely to be younger, male, and Independent.
- Hold nuanced and often conflicting views about race, racism, and wealth, such as being concerned about bias against people of color but also “reverse racism.”

Demographics	Total	Base	Opp.	Pers.
Men	49	44	48	52
Women	51	56	52	48
Under 30	23	26	10	27
30-39	18	13	13	23
40-49	17	18	14	18
50-64	24	23	32	21
Over 65	18	20	33	11
White	38	36	46	36
AA	6	6	6	6
Latino	38	41	33	39
Asian	14	11	12	16
LA County	27	24	26	28
Orange	8	12	7	6
Inland Empire	11	10	10	12
San Diego	9	9	10	8
Central Coast	5	6	5	4
Fresno	7	4	8	9
Sacramento	11	14	12	9
Bay Area	20	18	19	22
North	2	2	3	2
Democrat	56	82	35	51
Indep/DK	13	7	7	19
Republican	26	4	54	27



Summary of Key Findings

Key Findings

- There are three key dimensions that shape the base and opposition. First, base adults express strong concerns about racism and bias against Black people and Latinos, while opposition adults are less likely to express concerns. Persuadables express high levels of concern but with less intensity than base adults. Both base and persuadables by strong majorities agree that focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality, a position that the opposition are less likely to hold.
- Second, base adults want government to create opportunities for advancement while opposition adults want government to get out of their way. Persuadables look more like base adults, preferring government create opportunities by 20 points.
- Third, base adults believe that wealthy Americans achieved success because they were given more opportunities than others while opposition adults say it is because they worked harder than others. Persuadables tend to agree with base adults, that the wealthy were given more opportunities than others. However, persuadables also agree with opposition adults that the wealthy create jobs and prosperity.
- Importantly, both base adults and persuadables retain a sense that if we really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally, no matter their race, religion, or country of origin. Persuadables believe this even more when we invoke a Californian identity. However, aspirational messages are key, as is a call to action. As we saw in the focus groups and in the national survey, cynicism can be as a great an enemy as opposition.
- Lastly, base and persuadables strongly favor our policy agenda: corporate accountability, rent control, eliminating biases in the criminal justice system, creating a fair immigration process, and maintaining programs to protect air and water.

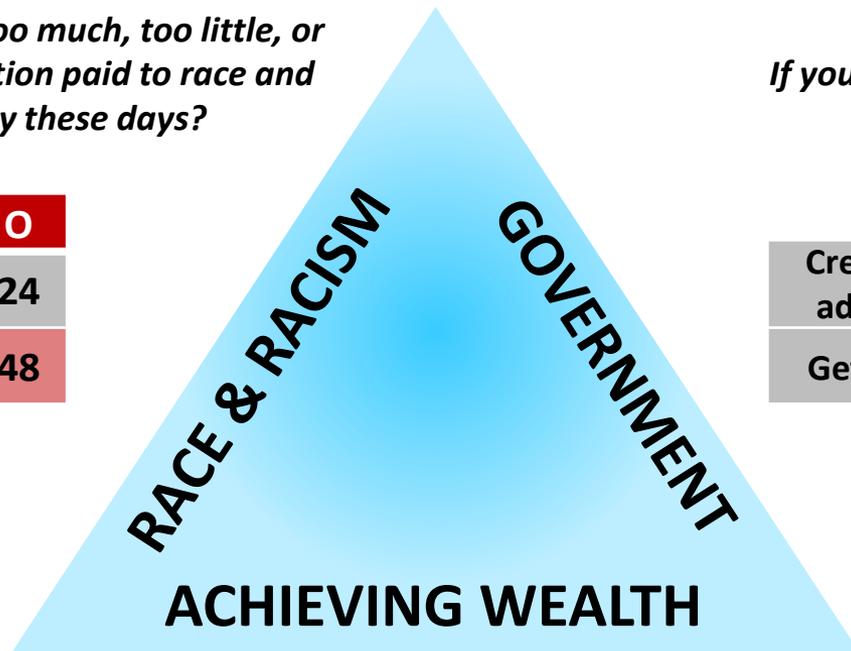
Three Core Dimensions: Racism, the role of government, and how people achieve wealth.

In general do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to race and racial issues in our country these days?

	B	P	O
Too little	73	39	24
Too much	8	33	48

If you had to choose, would you prefer government...

	B	P	O
Create opp. for advancement	78	51	38
Get out of way	13	31	49



Which of the following is the primary reason wealthy Americans have achieved financial success? Wealthy Americans achieved their success because they...

	B	P	O
Were given more opp. than others	76	48	21
Worked harder than others	14	35	62

Key Findings

- Racism, bias against Black people, bias against Latinos, and prejudice against Muslims are significant concerns for base adults, as is antisemitism. Persuadables hold concerns about these as well, but at lower levels. Persuadables also have concerns about “reverse racism” and discrimination against whites. Persuadables concern for “reverse racism” is stronger than the opposition’s concerns.
- While the persuadables side with us on many questions, this is contested space. The persuadables hold two competing schemas.
- Persuadables agree with the base on ending racial discrimination, the negative impacts of divide and conquer tactics in the context of fear mongering about immigration, the value of working together, and the reality that African Americans face greater obstacles than whites.
- But there are three barriers that hold persuadables back. First, persuadable adults hold competing views on the impacts of focusing on race. A sizable majority of persuadables agree with the notion that “focusing on race doesn’t fix anything and may even make things worse,” while also agreeing that “focusing on race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality.” A stronger majority agree with the latter.
- Secondly, as already noted, persuadables have concerns about racism, but they are also the only group with strong concerns about “reverse racism.”
- Thirdly, persuadable adults, unlike the base, believe at the same level as opposition adults that people of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition. In the context of traditional conservative fiscal arguments, invoking race does not help messaging among persuadables.

Key Findings

- One of the primary goals of this research was to develop ways at countering messaging appeals grounded in divide-and-conquer tactics. Qualitative research underscored the challenge of doing so, as merely highlighting the divisive tactics of others came across as divisive itself. However, there are several takeaways from this research that help, while differing from the national research.
- First, **calling out divide-and-conquer tactics is more effective when they are being used to appeal to fears based on terrorism**, but less so when being used to suggest there are people expecting things to be handed to them.
- Second, it helps to **connect divide-and-conquer tactics to what divisions produce**. It's not just that politicians divide us based on what we look like, but that they do it to rewrite the rules to line their pockets. It's not just that they generate fear based on race, but that they do it to benefit the wealthy few at our expense.
- Lastly, calling out intentional divisions and outcomes is not enough by itself. A **positive call to action that recognizes “we are stronger when we work together”** is more effective with base adults and persuadables than focusing solely on the politics of division.
- In the national research, persuadables responded more to an agenda making life better for working people when we evoked race. Here, this actually reduces agreement against a traditional conservative fiscal argument. In the context of making life better for working people, both persuadables and Latinos respond more favorably to a colorblind approach.

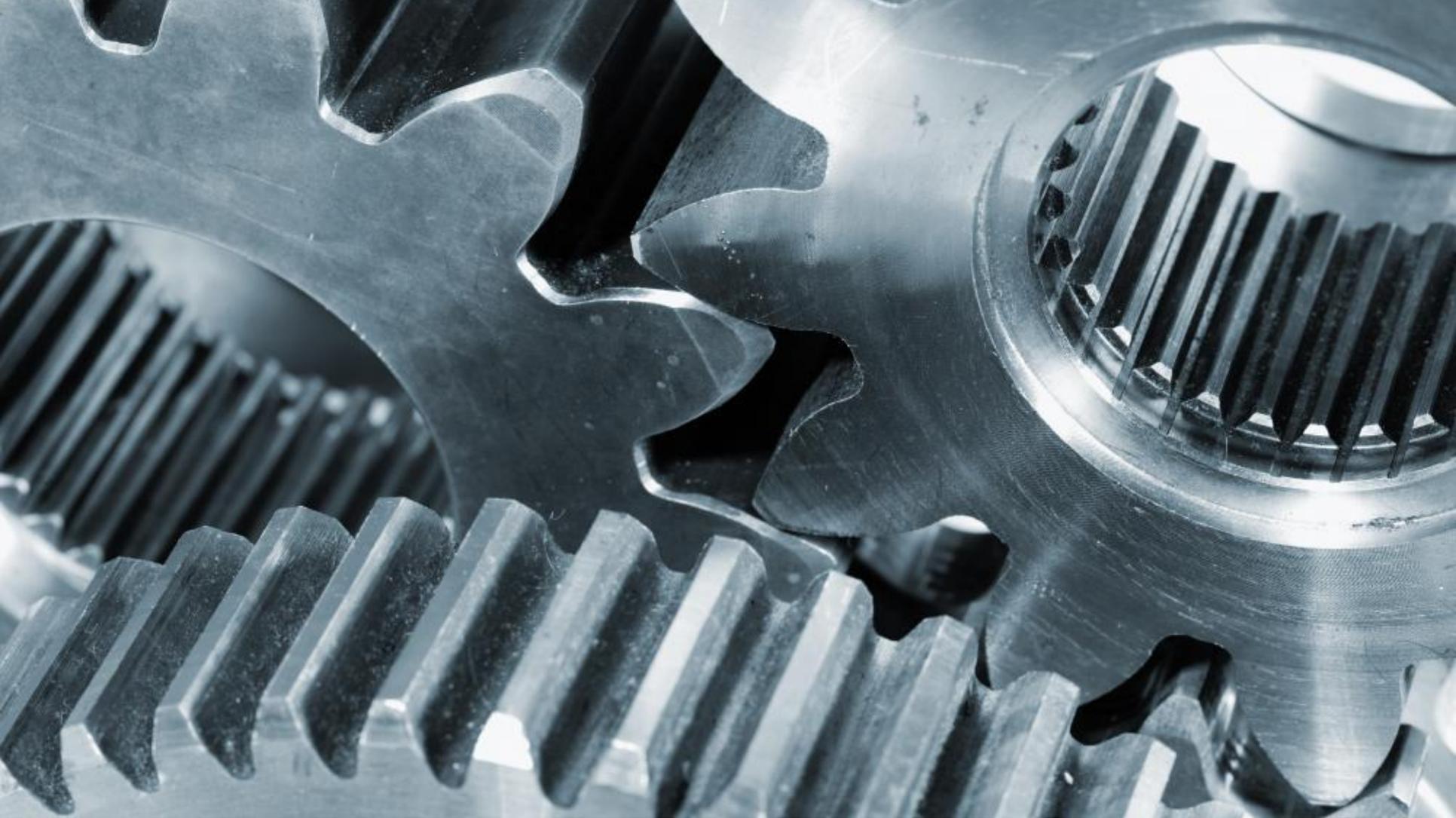
Messaging

- Our strongest messages are “California’s Strength” and “Working People.” “California’s Strength” has the highest convincing and dial ratings among base adults, and the version with the Latina messenger has the highest ratings with both base and persuadable adults.
- There are several keys to success in these messages. First, they create a foundation in a shared value. “Working People” unites us by focusing on what we all work toward: caring for our families. “California’s Strength” unites us by defining our strength in our ability to work together.
- Secondly, they carefully name a villain that is a barrier toward our shared values, while evoking the villain’s divisive tactics. “A greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against each other based on what someone looks like, where they come from, or how much money they have.” “Certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich...then they turn around and point the finger for our hard times at poor families, Black people, and new immigrants.”
- Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, they provide a positive aspirational call to action. For “Working People,” part of that is evoking past successes: “We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future, just like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past.” For “California’s Strength” it is a call for unity and a specific call to action: “It’s time to stand up for each other and come together It is time for us to pick leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of American.”
- These messages are stronger than a more traditional “Colorblind Economic Populism” for two reasons. First, these messages tap into people’s desire to come together and work together. Secondly, these messages include another dimension beyond inequality that resonates with both base and persuadables
- In both messages, base and persuadables respond favorably and similarly regardless of the messenger. However opposition adults are more likely to be alienated by an African American male or Latina messenger.

Messaging

- There are three messages that are a close second tier which are “Future,” “Come Together,” and “Reform/Reflective Democracy.” All of these share characteristics with the other top messages in that they focus more on positive aspirational themes and limit the amount of time they spend dwelling on problems. “Reform/Reflective Democracy” was re-written from the national to include more positive language and finds continued upward movement with base adults, and a faster take off with both base and persuadables.
- “Racial Justice” performs strongly with the base and alienates the opposition, especially when delivered by an African American woman. However it has lower ratings with persuadables, who plateau around the messages description of the problem, and find it less convincing than other messages. The version delivered by an African American woman does not beat the opposition message with persuadables.
- The opposition message is very strong with the opposition and also with persuadables. Among persuadables the opposition message has one of the lowest convincing ratings (second only to “Racial Justice” with an African American messenger). Persuadables average dial ratings for the opposition message are lower than all of our messages except for “Racial Justice” (regardless of messenger). Persuadables agree most with the economic fiscal passages in the opposition message When it pivots to safety from immigration they plateau, but do not dial down.
- While overall support remains about the same for our policy agenda, there is movement along the favorability scale toward support particularly for closing loopholes in corporate property taxes and clean air protections.

Say	Instead of	Because
No matter our differences, most of us want pretty similar things	United we stand, divided we fall	Overtly claiming universality can feel disingenuous in a narrative about intentional division. Focusing instead on common desires sets up a strong foundation for why intentional division is undesirable.
Our opponents point the finger for our hard times at Blacks, new immigrants and Muslims	Our opponents are racist against Blacks, new immigrants and Muslims	Framing scapegoating as tied to economic concerns allows audiences, including whites, to see that their well-being is tied to rejecting racial resentment.
Working people whether white, Black or brown	Working people	Making race explicit increases enthusiasm of our base and persuades a greater number in the middle toward our solutions.
Join together across racial differences	Join together with others in your community	Accusing our opponents of dividing us can come across as its own form of division; calls for unity are critical.
Come together like we did in our past	Come together in the hopes of a better future	Referencing past cross-racial solidarity with real gains helps make future possibilities seem more realistic and worth fighting to achieve.
Divide us against each other	Pit our communities against each other	“Pit against” implies audience is complicit in the continued antagonism.
Wealthy special interests who rig the rules; greedy few	Powerful elites	It’s useful to name villains by what they do, not the category they occupy.
Form Alliances	Work Together	Base and persuadables are activated more in both an economic and racial context when we say form alliances, which alienates opposition adults
Affordable healthcare	Medicare for All	Affordability is a more pressing priority for both base and persuadable adults.

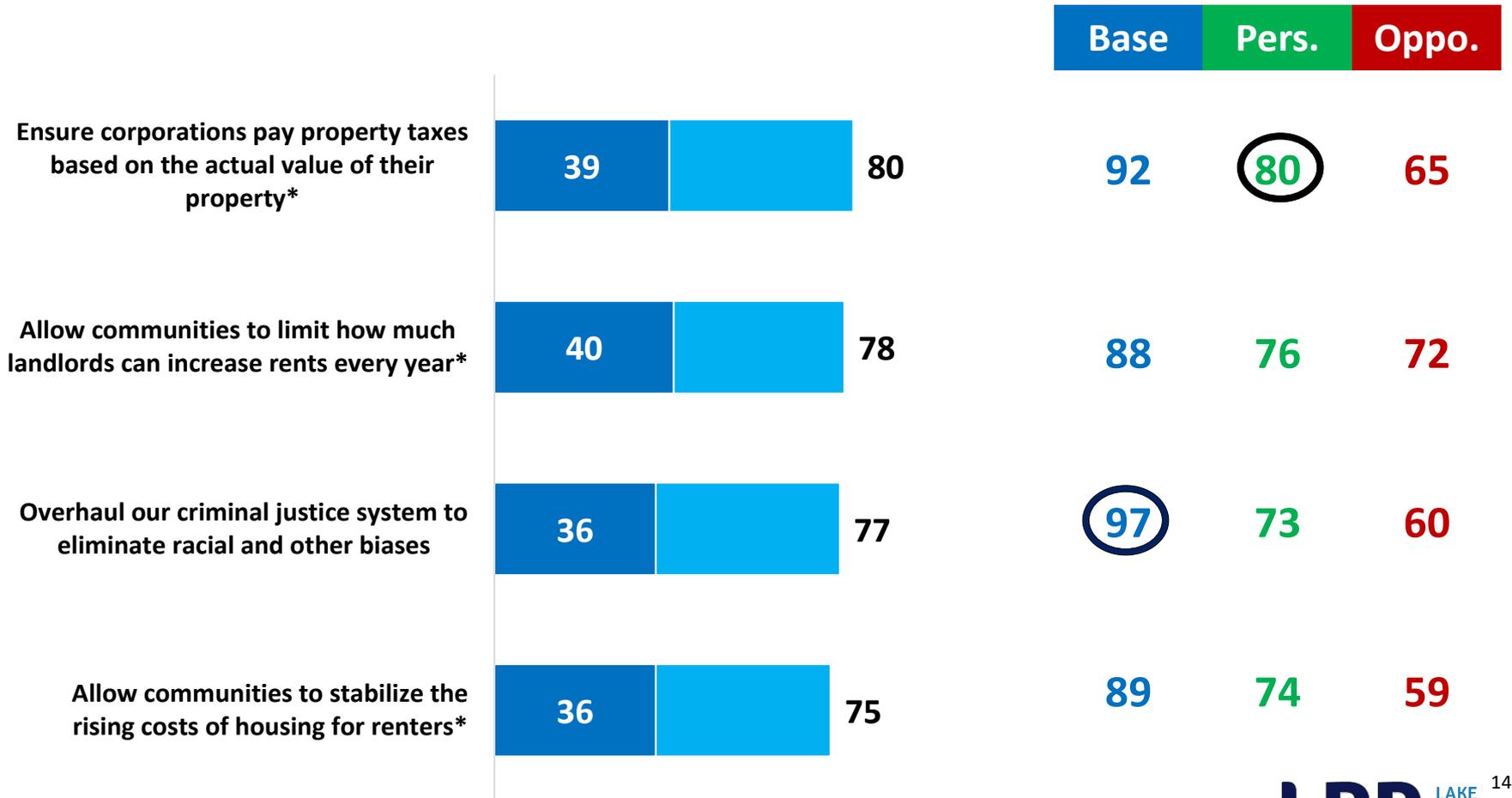


Key Dynamics

Base and persuadables strongly support policies regarding corporate accountability and rent control, but eliminating biases in the criminal justice system is most important to our base.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

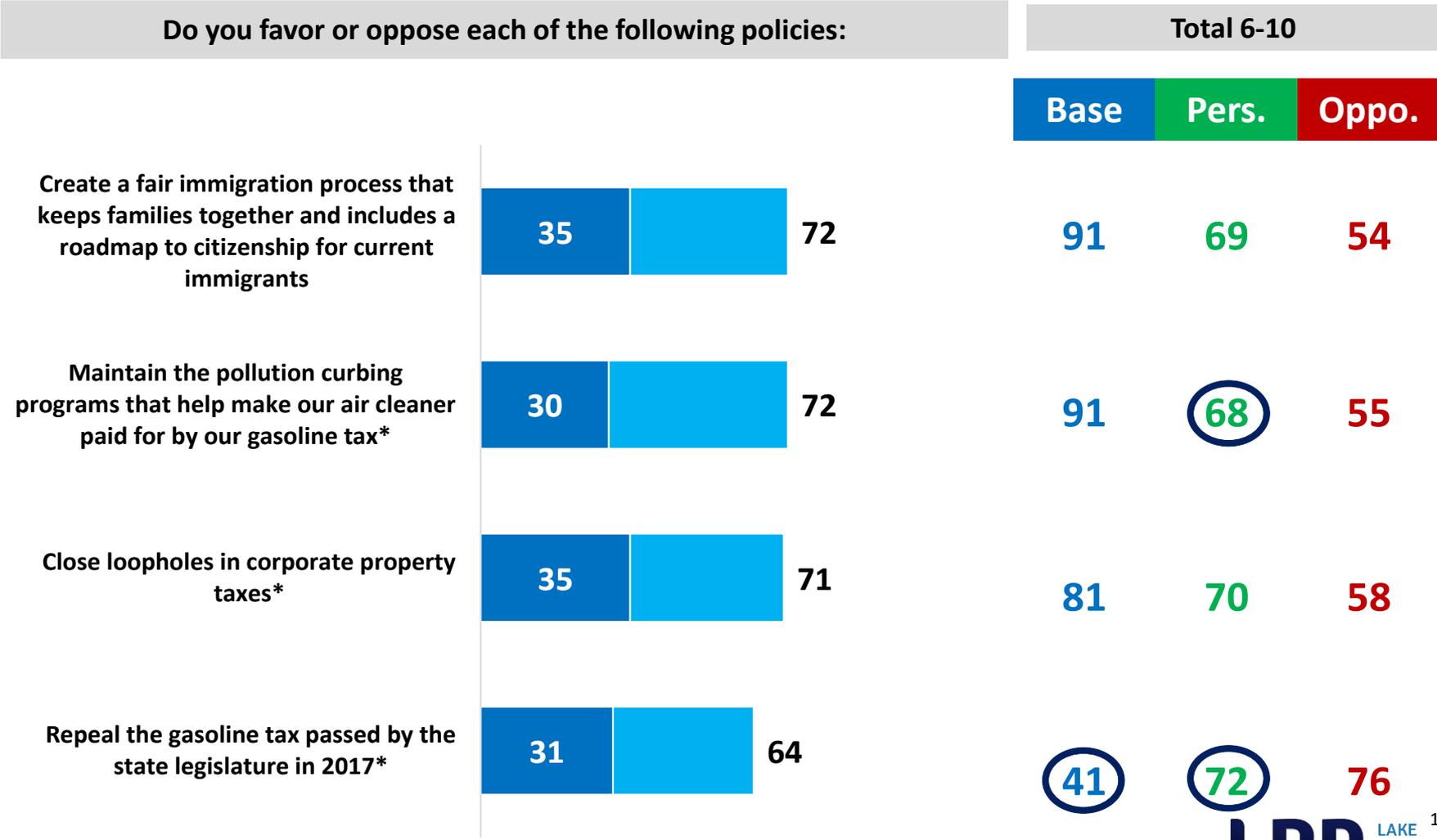
Total 6-10



Strongly Favor: 10

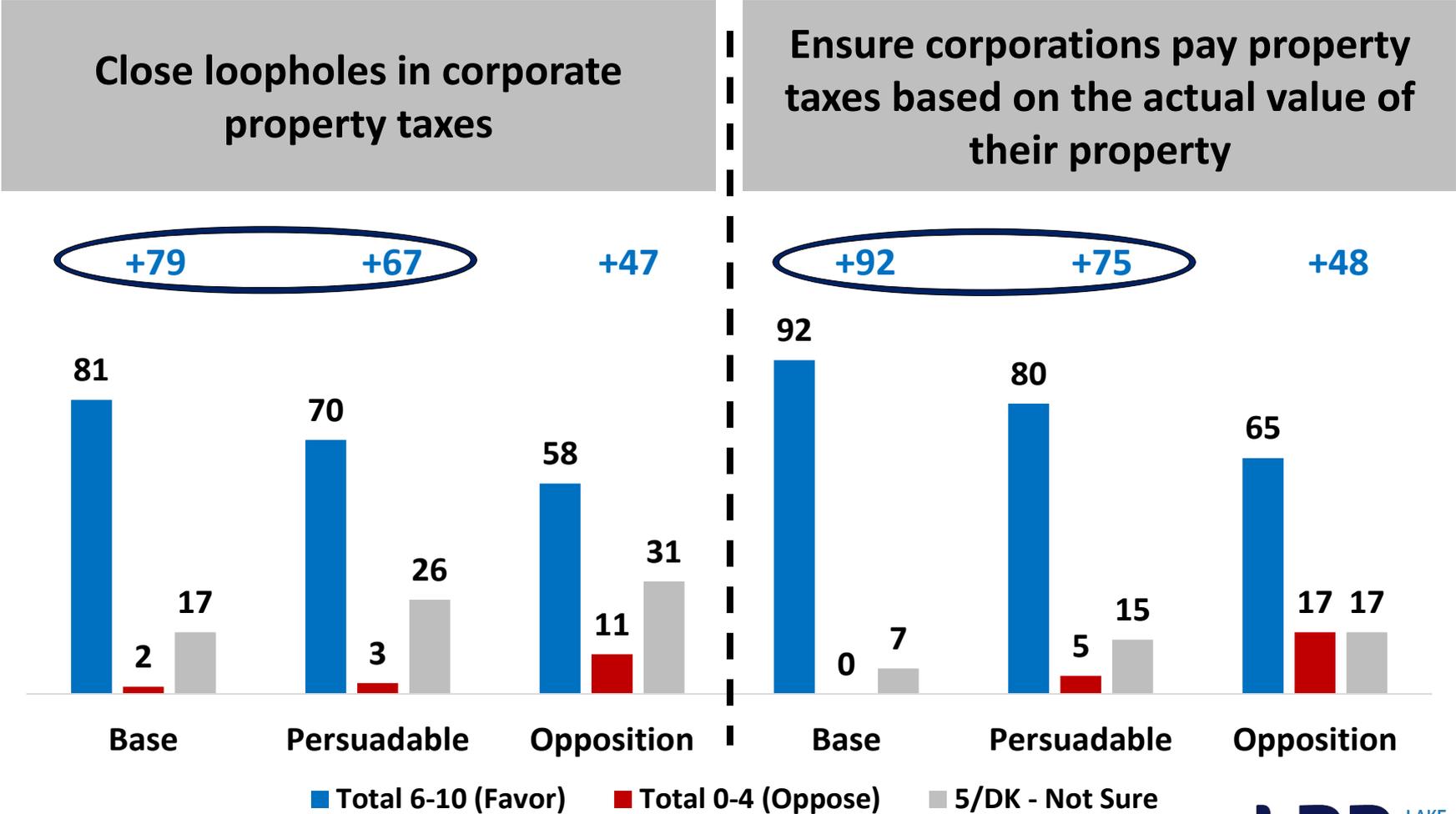
Total Favor: 6-10

Strong majorities of Californians favor creating a fair immigration process and maintaining a gasoline tax that aims to curb pollution.



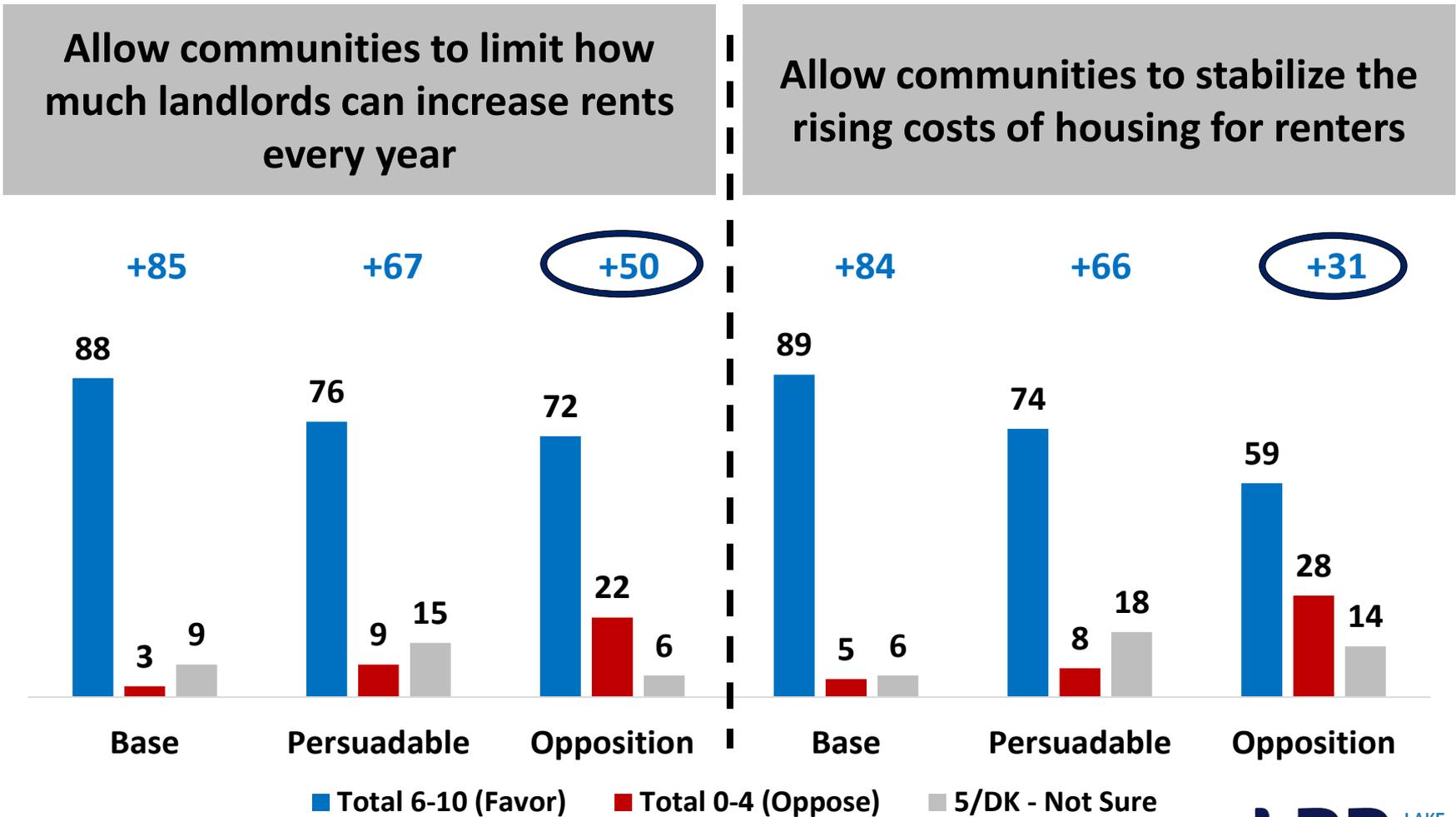
Strongly Favor: 10 **Total Favor: 6-10**

Base and persuadables see corporate property taxes as undervalued and are more likely to favor taxes matching the value of the property.



*Split Sampled

Base and persuadables strongly favor policies to reduce rising rents. Positioning increases as out of balance, and in need of stabilizing, alienates opposition adults.

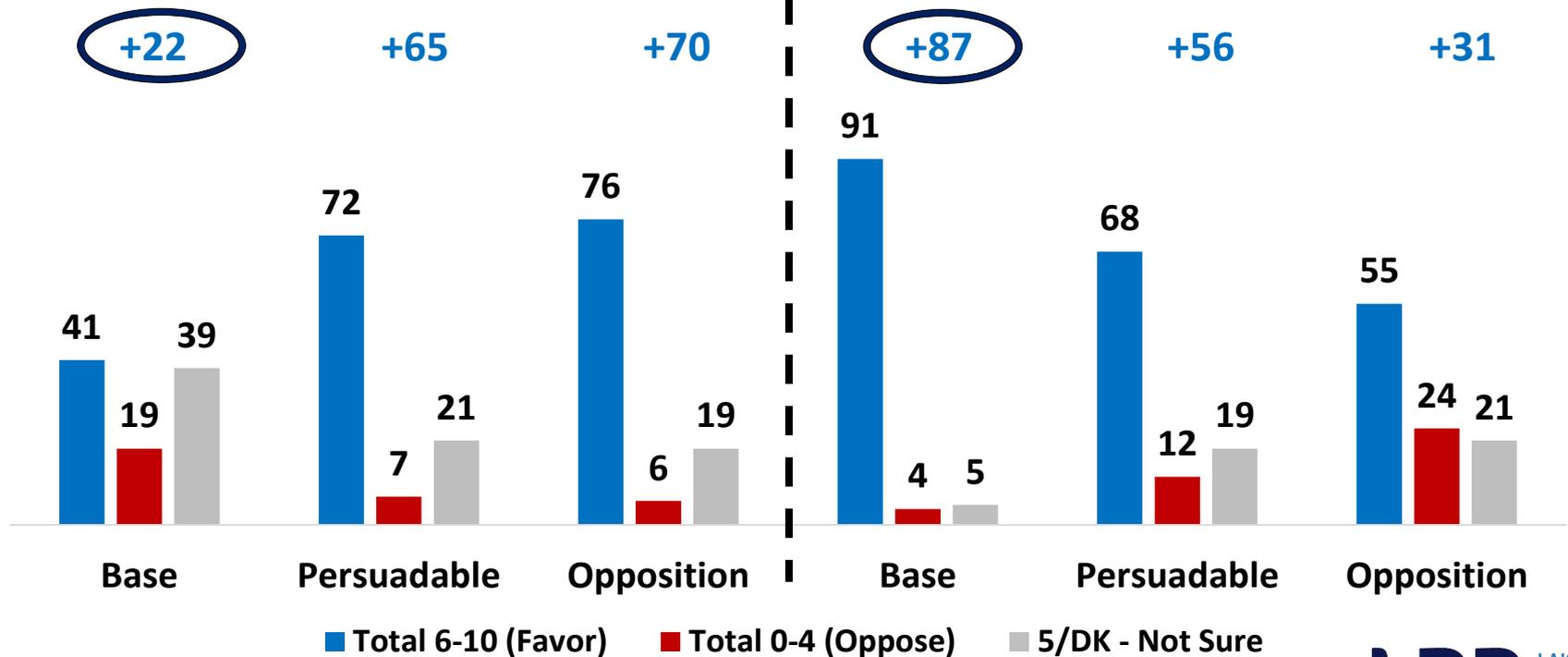


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Base adults strongly favor maintaining pollution curbing programs, but are less sure about repealing the gas tax. Opposition adults strongly favor repealing the gas tax.

Repeal the gasoline tax passed by the state legislature in 2017

Maintain the pollution curbing programs that help make our air cleaner paid for by our gasoline tax

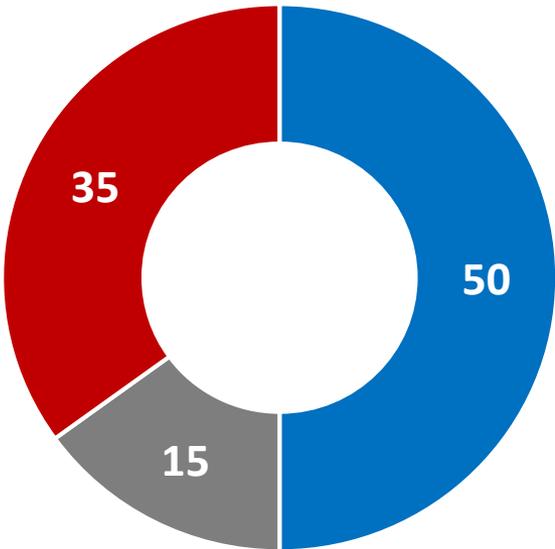


How wealthy Americans achieve their success is a core divide. Base adults say they were given more opportunities than others while opposition adults say they worked harder. Persuadables tend to agree with base adults.

Which of the following is the primary reason wealthy Americans have achieved financial success?

Wealthy Americans achieved their success because they worked harder than others

Wealthy Americans achieved success because they were given more opportunity than others



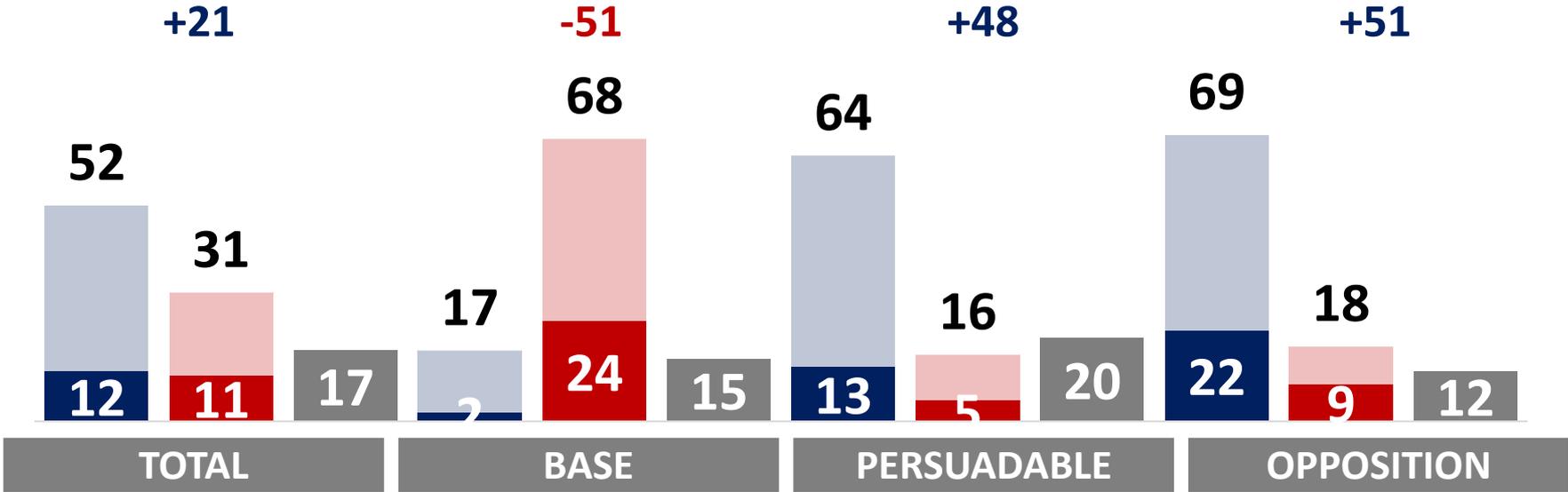
Not sure

	Worked harder	Given more opportunities
Base	14	76
Persuadable	35	48
Opposition	62	21

However, persuadables resemble opposition adults in believing that the wealthy create jobs and prosperity for everyone.

The wealthy in this country create jobs and prosperity for everyone

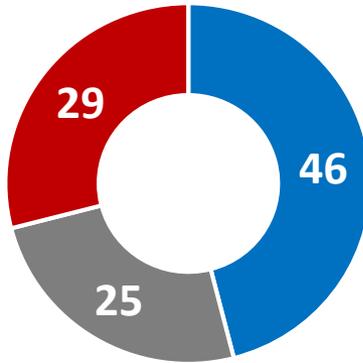
Nationwide
50 30



Total Agree: 6-10
 Strongly Agree: 10
 Total Disagree: 0-4
 Strongly Disagree: 0
 Neutral: 5/DK

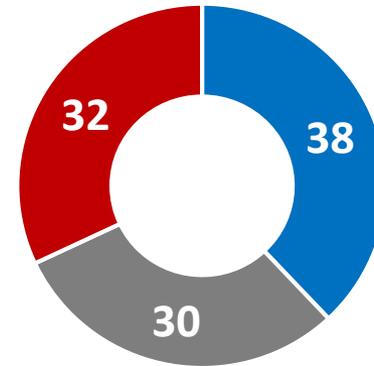
How much attention our country or California pays to race and racial issues is another core divide. Base adults overwhelmingly say too little attention is paid while opposition adults are more likely to say too much attention is paid. Persuadables are more divided.

In general do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to race and racial issues in our country these days?



	Too much	Too little
Base	8	73
Persuadable	33	39
Opposition	48	24

In general do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to race and racial issues in California these days?



	Too much	Too little
Base	13	58
Persuadable	34	30
Opposition	52	28

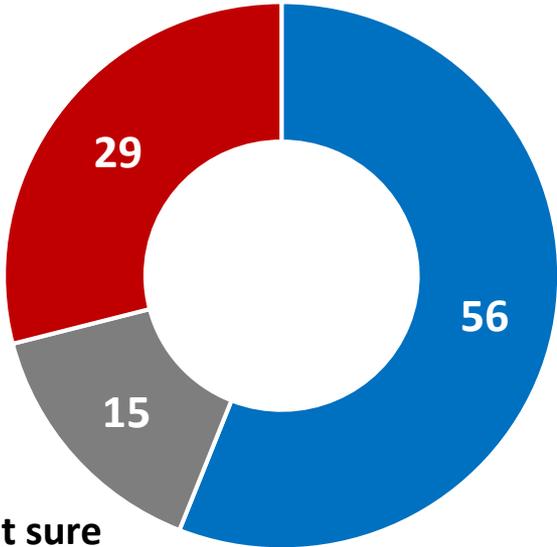


Base adults want government to create opportunities for advancement while opposition adults want government to get out of their way. Persuadables tend to favor government creating opportunities for advancement.

If you had to choose, would you prefer...

Government get out of your way

Government create opportunities for advancement



	Get Out of Way	Create Opportunities
Base	13	78
Persuadable	31	51
Opposition	49	38

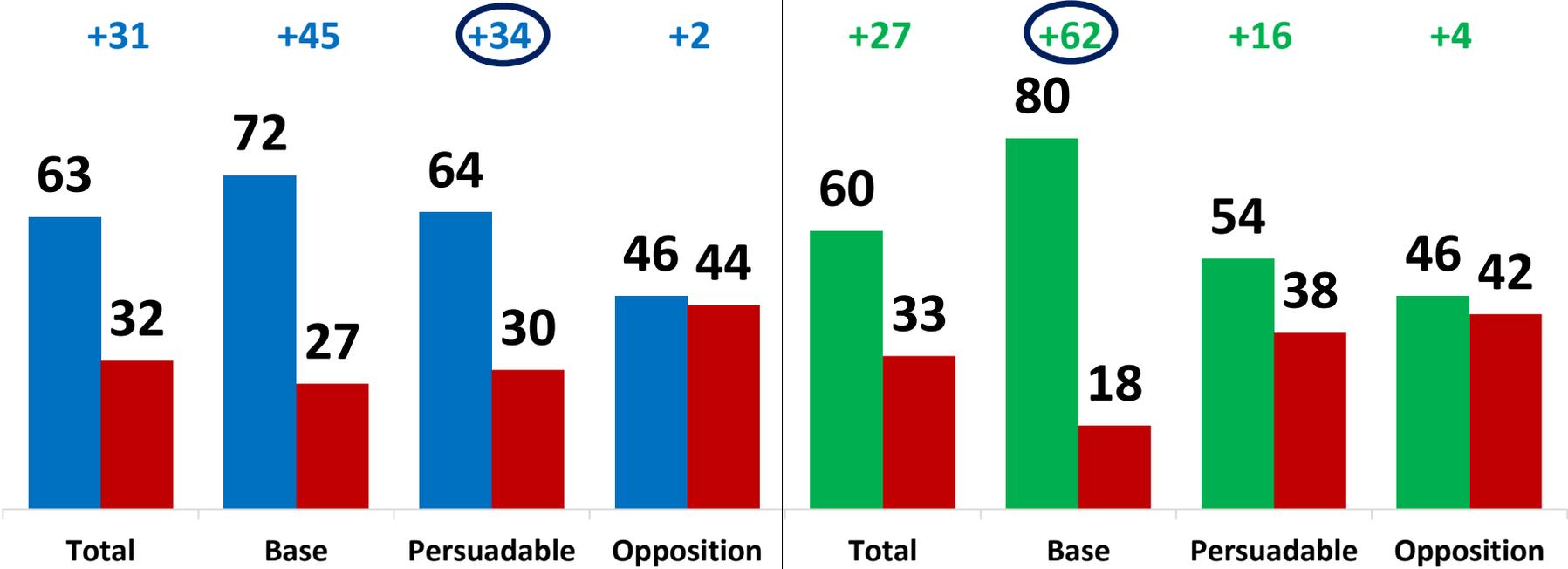
Base and persuadable adults express a sense of optimism about our ability to ensure all people are treated fairly. Persuadables respond even more when we invoke a Californian identity.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We will never achieve fair and equitable treatment for all people

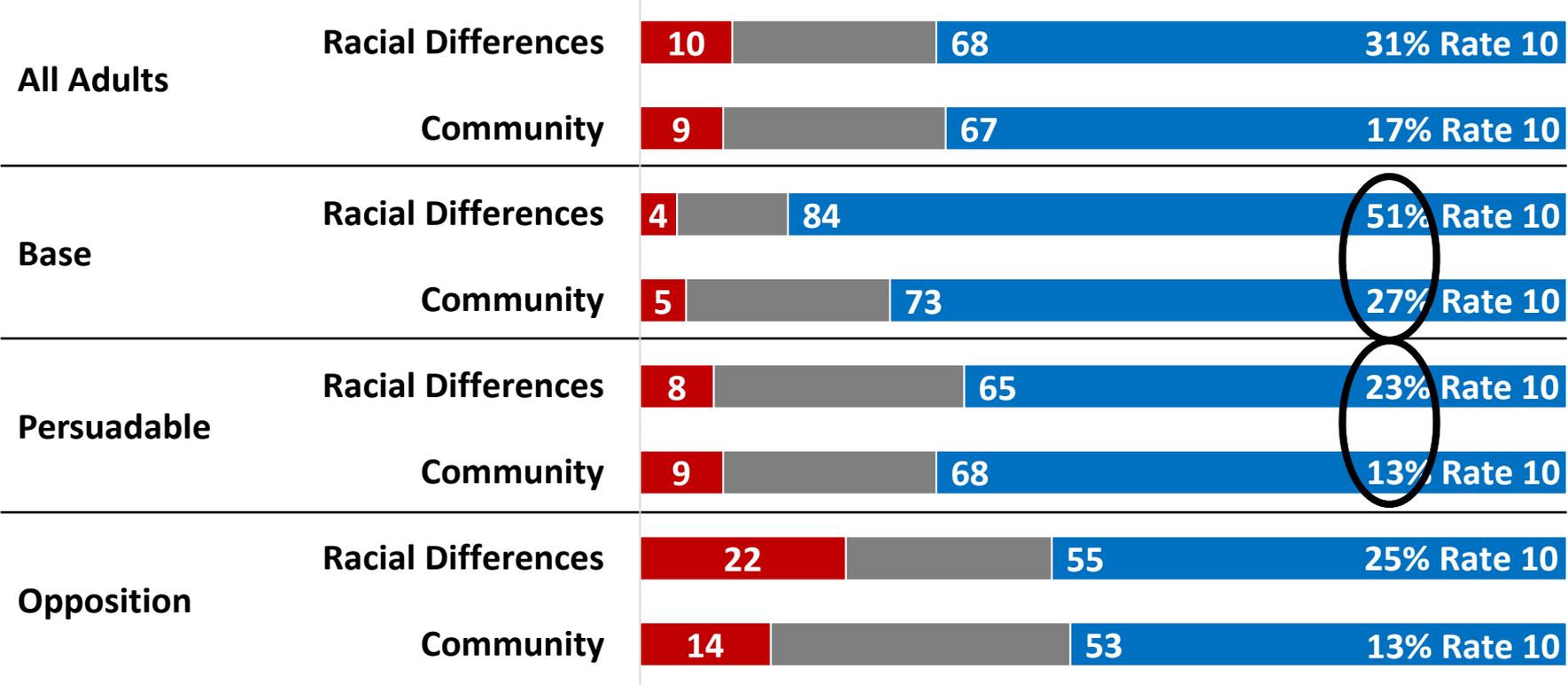
As Californians, if we were really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally no matter their race, religion, or country of origin

If we were really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally no matter their race, religion, or country of origin



Base and persuadables express greater intensity in excitement at joining together with “people across racial differences” than they do about joining together with “others in your community.”

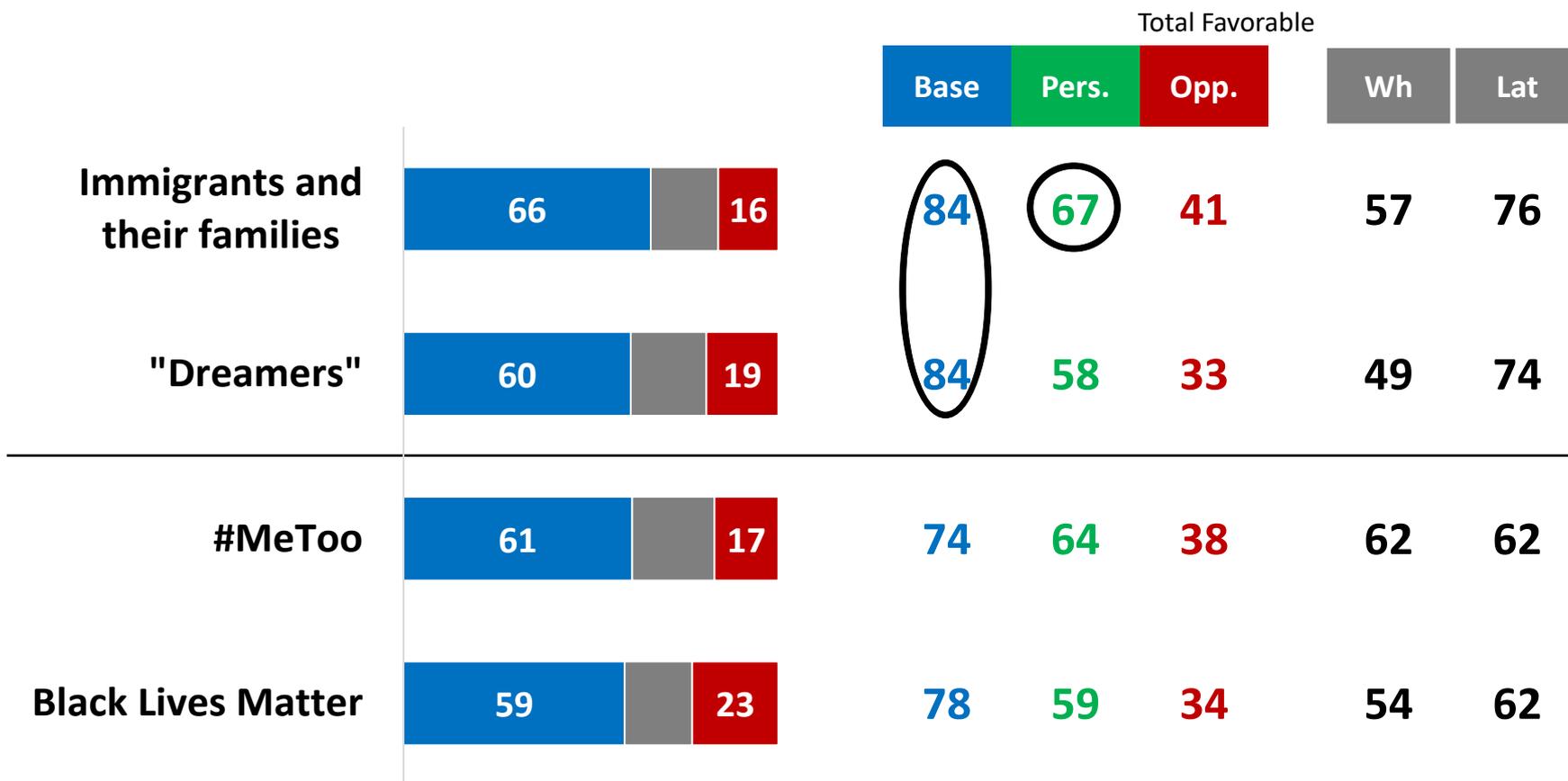
How excited are you to join together with others in your community/people across racial differences to take action and bring about change?



■ 0-4 Not Excited ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Excited

“Immigrants and their families” finds greater favorability among persuadables and whites than “Dreamers.” Base adults and Latinos favor each term strongly. Base and persuadables express favorability toward #MeToo and Black Lives Matter, while opposition adults are much less favorable.

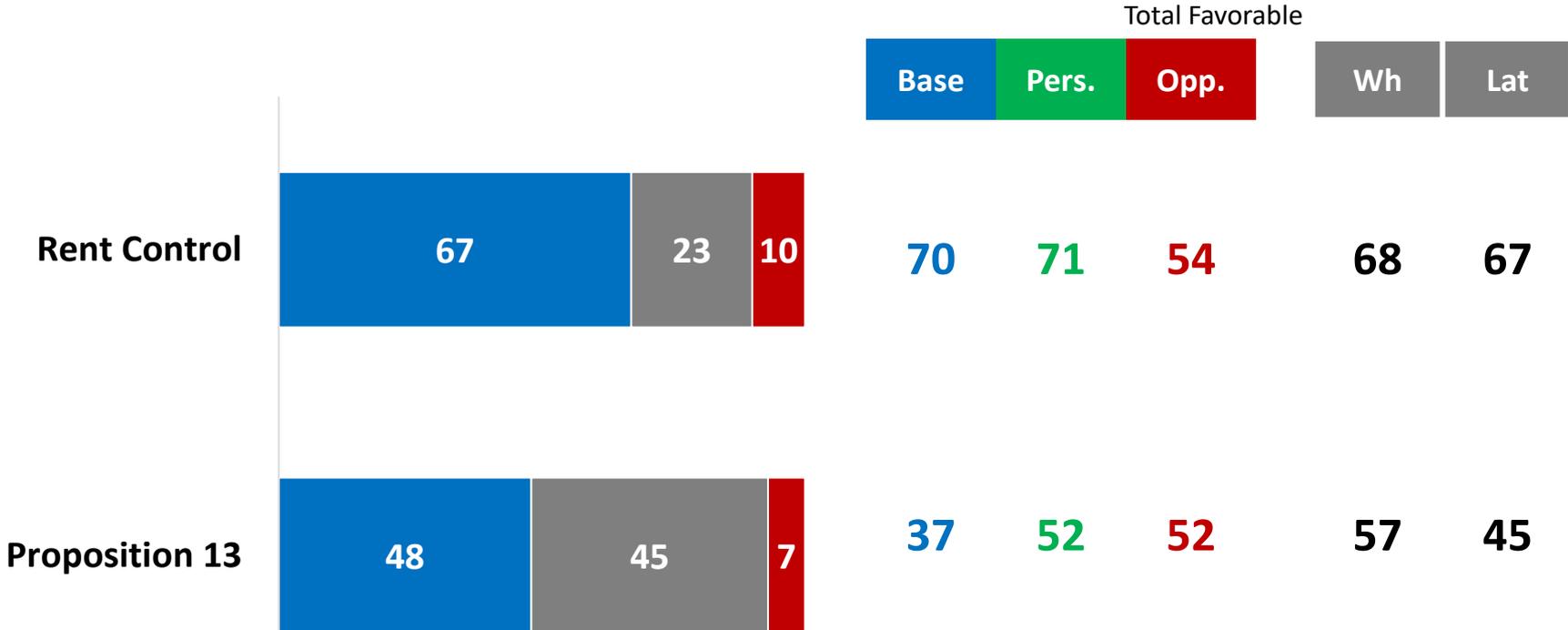
How favorable are you to each of the following?



- Total Favorable
- No Opinion/Never Heard
- Total Unfavorable

Proposition 13 is largely unknown among Californians overall. Base and persuadables are very favorable toward “rent control.”

How favorable are you to each of the following?



- Total Favorable
- Neutral/No Opinion/Never Heard
- Total Unfavorable

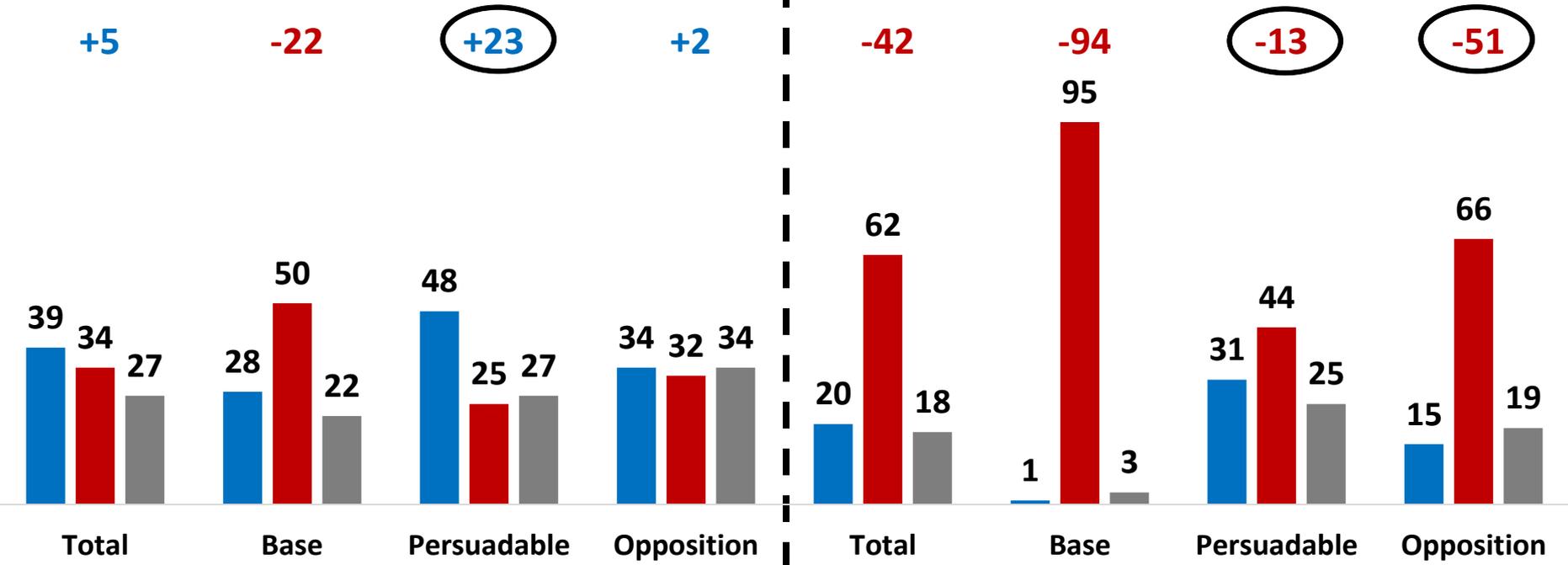
Nearly a third of Californians do not know what the alt right is. Persuadables are net favorable towards the alt right, while they reject white nationalist groups. Similarly, opposition adults divide on the alt right while rejecting white nationalist groups.

How favorable are you to each of the following?

Alt Right Groups

White Nationalist Groups

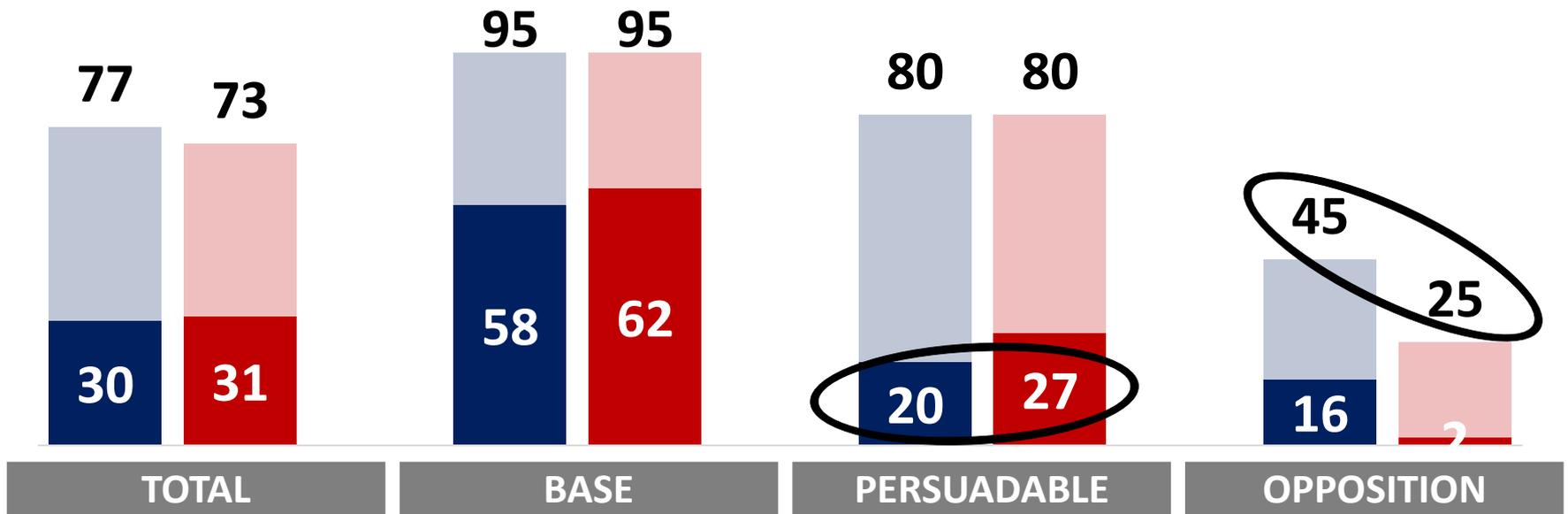
■ Total Favorable ■ Total Unfavorable ■ No Opinion



“The wealthy” resonates more strongly with base and persuadables in describing a villain and alienates opposition adults.

The greedy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor

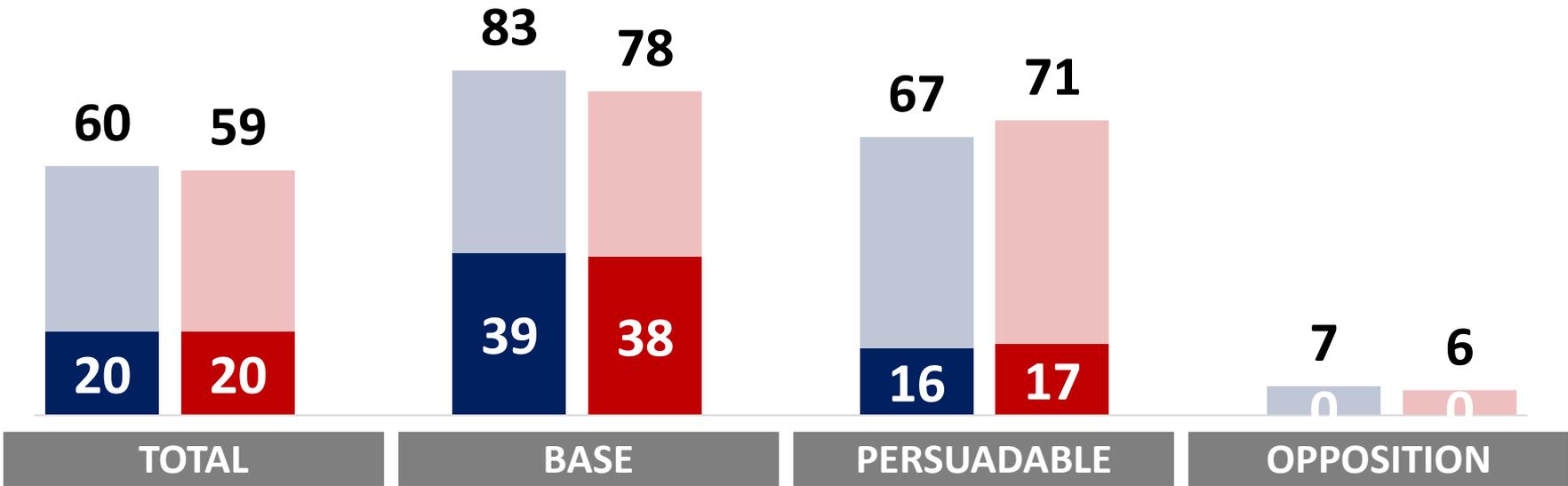
The wealthy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor



Base and persuadables agree that divide-and-conquer and dog whistle tactics benefit the wealthy, but with less intensity than a purely economic context (of rigging the rules in their favor). However, this idea completely alienates opposition adults.

Powerful elites benefit when they can shame and blame people of color for the economic hardships working people face

Wealthy special interests benefit when they can shame and blame people of color for the economic hardships all working people face



Total Agree: 6-10

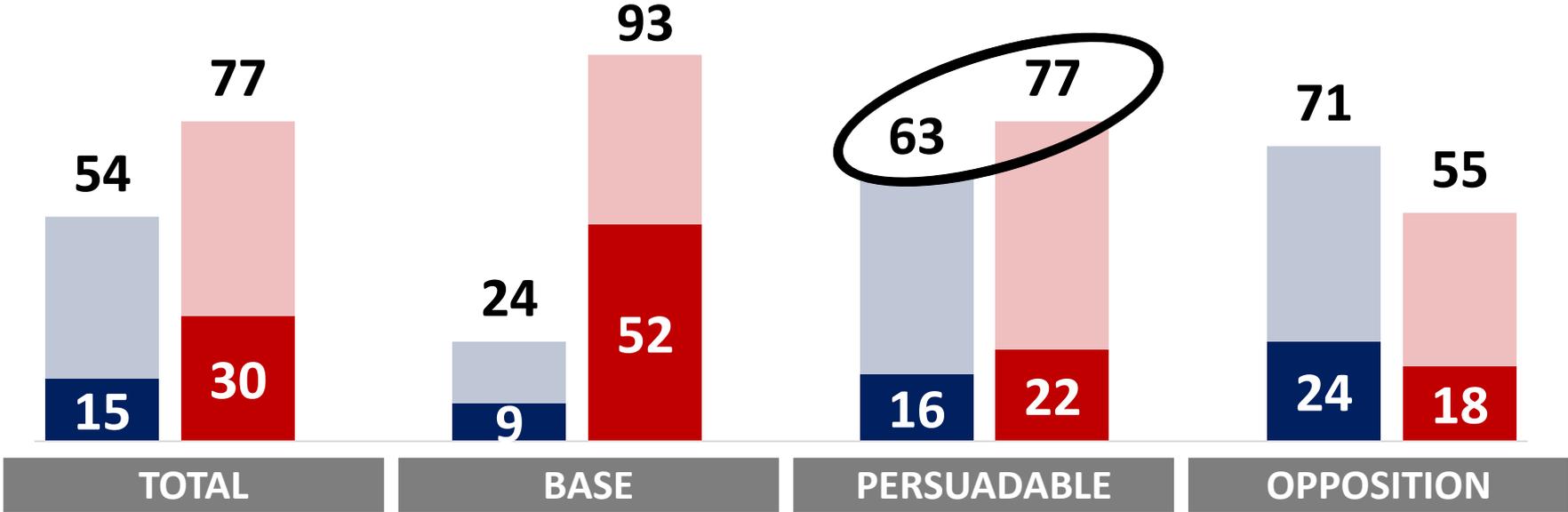
 Strongly Agree: 10



All audiences agree that talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality. Majorities of persuadables also agree that it might make things worse, but at lower levels.

Focusing on and talking about race doesn't fix anything and may even make things worse

Focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Base adults express strong levels of concern around racism and bias against many groups. Persuadables have strong concerns about racism, but also “reverse racism.”

How concerned are you personally about each of the following on a scale of 0 to 10?

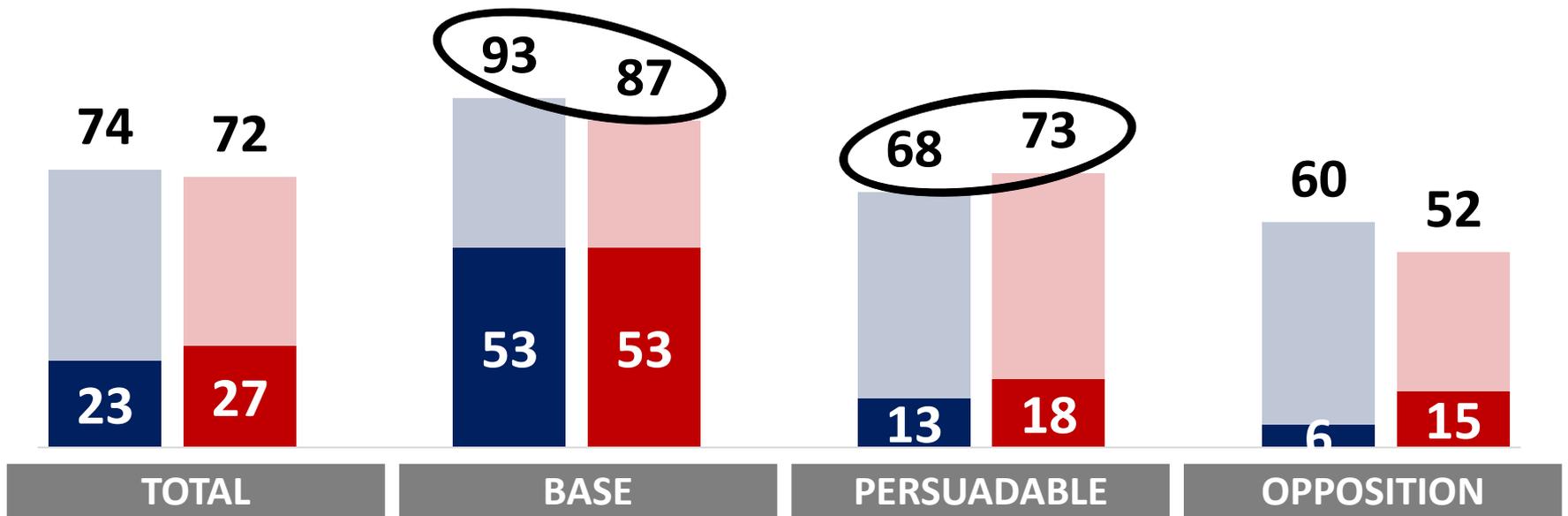
[Total 6-10, Concerned Shown]	All	B	O	P
Racism	79	99	71	72
Racial Fear	73	85	58	72
Bias against Black people	72	95	59	64
Bias against African Americans	72	92	51	69
Bias against Latinos	69	93	56	62
Bias against Hispanics	71	92	49	69
Reverse Racism	58	51	56	63
Discrimination against whites	50	36	59	54
Prejudice against Muslims	67	93	48	61
Prejudice against people who are Muslim	71	86	50	71
Prejudice against Jews	66	80	53	63
Antisemitism	65	82	54	61



Base and persuadables strongly agree Black people or African Americans face greater obstacles to success.

Black people face greater obstacles to economic success than whites

African Americans face greater obstacles to economic success than whites



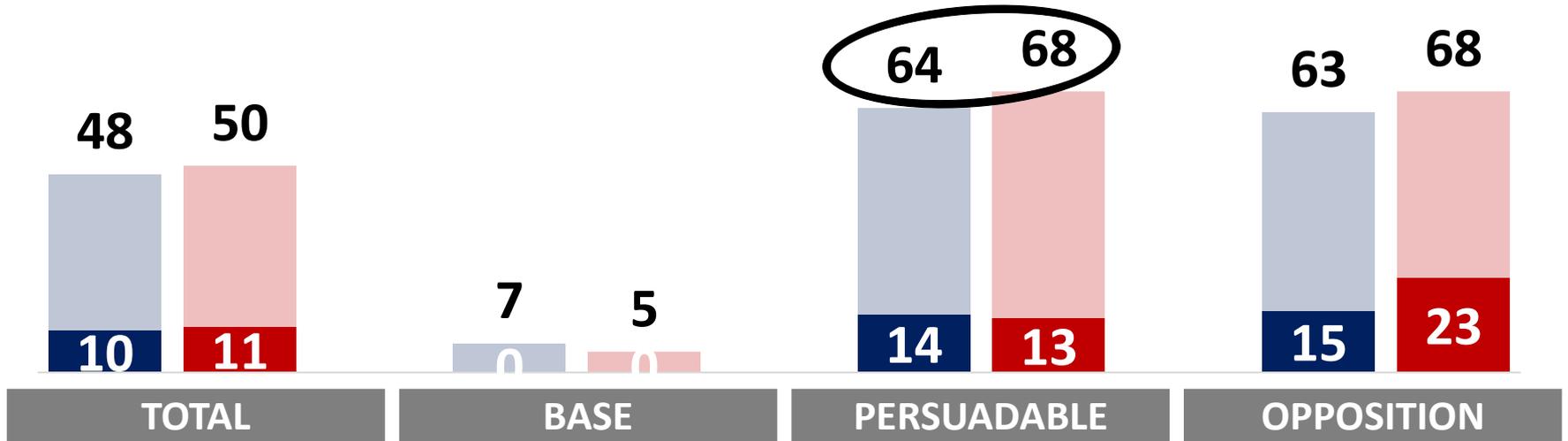
Total Agree: 6-10

Strongly Agree: 10

Persuadables however also believe people of color who cannot get ahead are responsible for their own condition, agreeing with opposition adults.

African Americans and Latinos who cannot get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition

People of color who cannot get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition



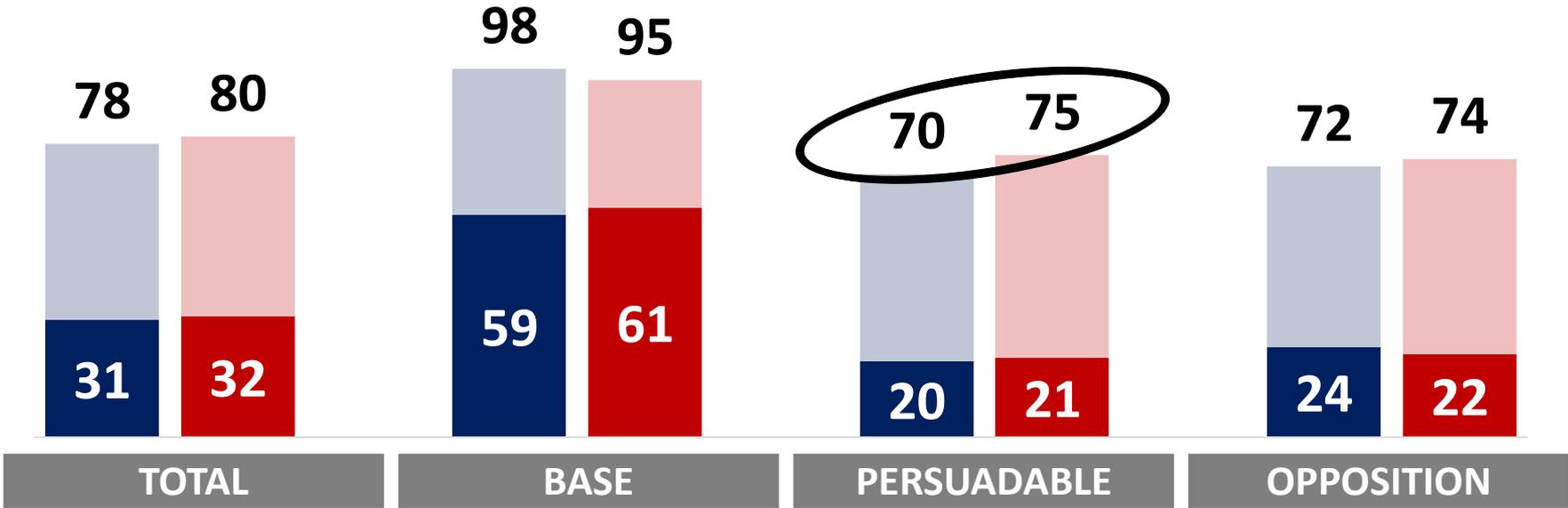

 Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

All audiences agree we should respect people who have moved here from other countries. Persuadables agree slightly more when we link to the value of caring, as opposed to a Californian identity.

As Californians, we should respect people who have moved here from other countries to build a better life for their family

As caring people, we should respect people who have moved here from other countries to build a better life for their family



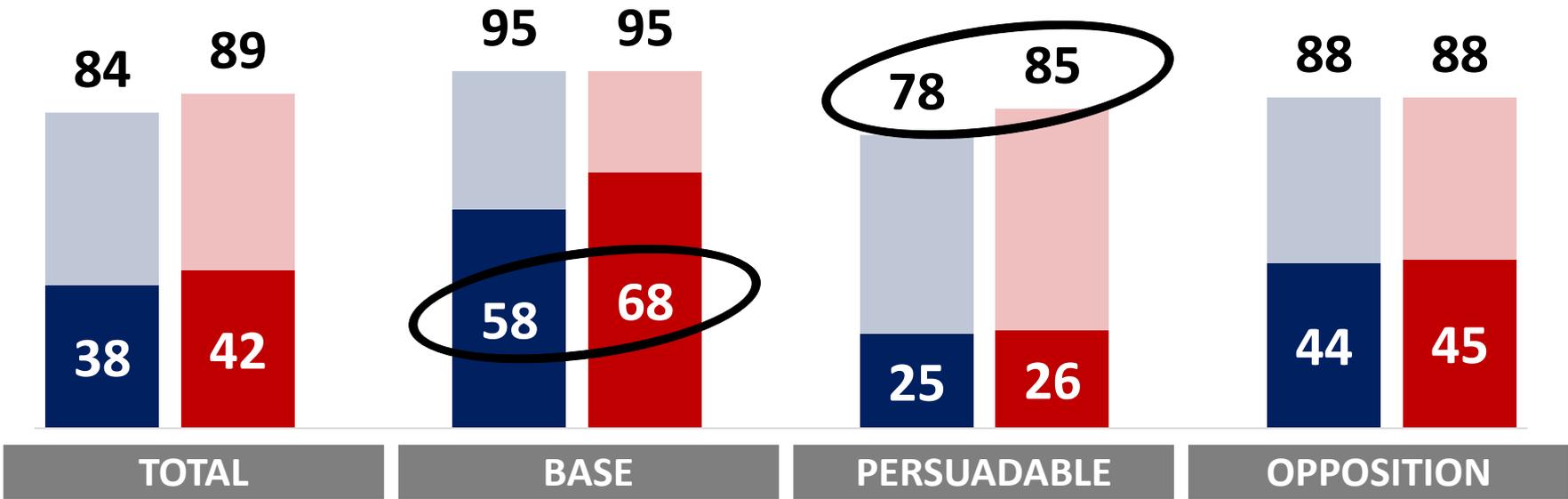
Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

All audiences agree we should protect people’s right to practice their religious beliefs. A Californian identity generates stronger agreement with both base and persuadables in the context of religious freedom.

As tolerant people, we should protect people's right to practice their religious beliefs

As Californians, we should protect people's right to practice their religious beliefs



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10



**Beating Divide-
and-Conquer**

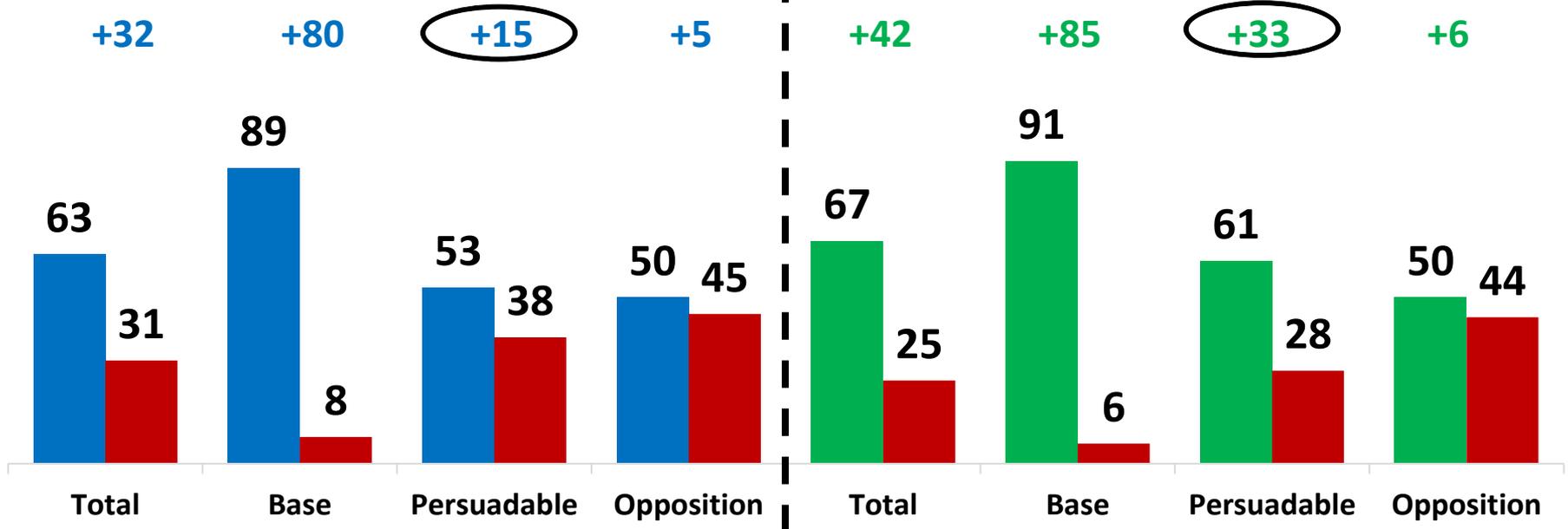
Invoking race slightly erodes support for a proactive agenda to make life better for working people among persuadables.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

To make life better for working people we need to cut taxes, reduce regulations, and get government out of the way of business

To make life better for working people we need to invest in education, create better paying jobs, and make healthcare more affordable for white, Black, and brown people struggling to make ends meet

To make life better for working people we need to invest in education, create better paying jobs, and make healthcare more affordable for people struggling to make ends meet



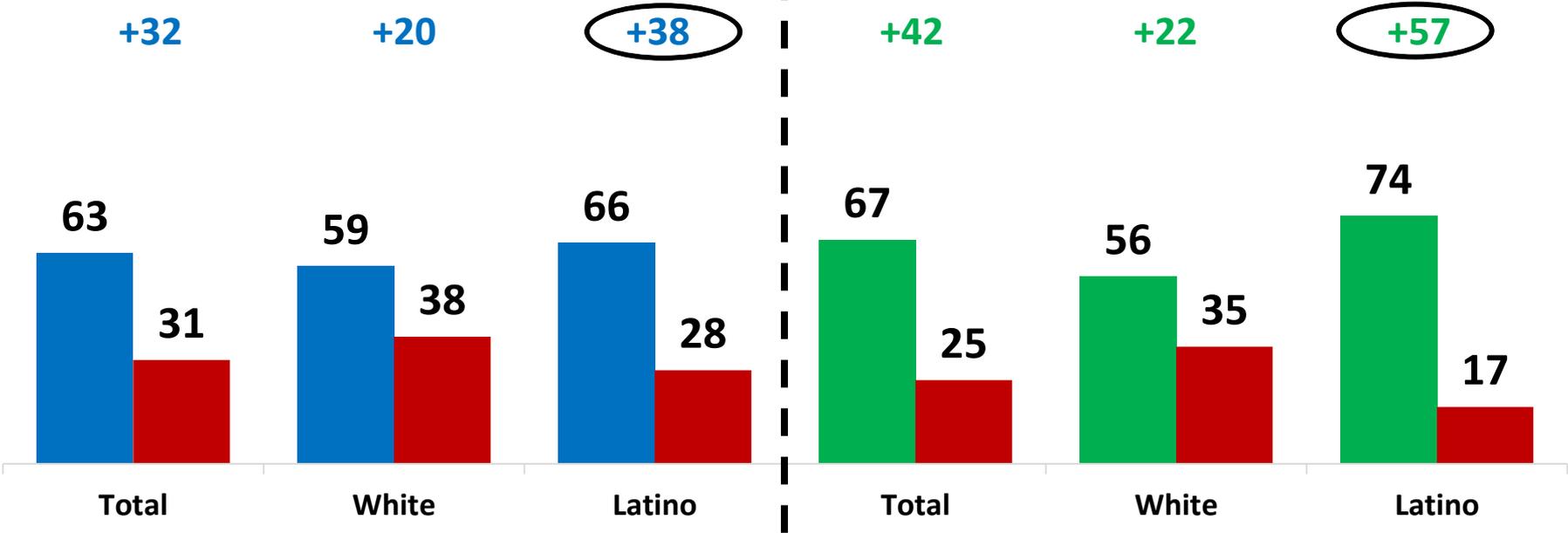
Latinos are less likely to agree with an agenda for working people when we invoke race against a traditional small-government conservative argument.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

To make life better for working people we need to cut taxes, reduce regulations, and get government out of the way of business

To make life better for working people we need to invest in education, create better paying jobs, and make healthcare more affordable for white, Black, and brown people struggling to make ends meet

To make life better for working people we need to invest in education, create better paying jobs, and make healthcare more affordable for people struggling to make ends meet



*Split Sampled

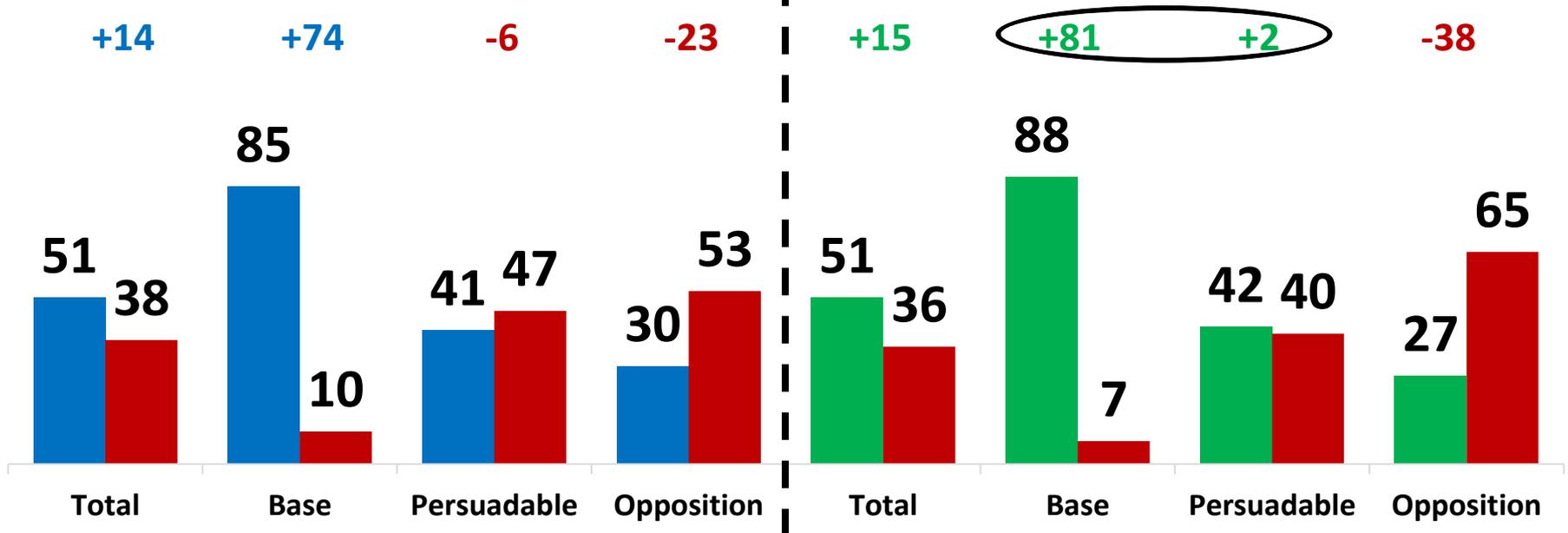
Calling out divisive tactics along racial lines more effectively counters conservative arguments about handouts.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

What holds us back as a nation is a culture of people expecting to have everything handed to them instead of working hard for themselves

Greedy special interests hold us back, damaging our economy by rigging the rules in their favor

Greedy special interests hold us back, rigging the rules in their favor while they divide us against each other by blaming black and brown people for our problems



*Split Sampled

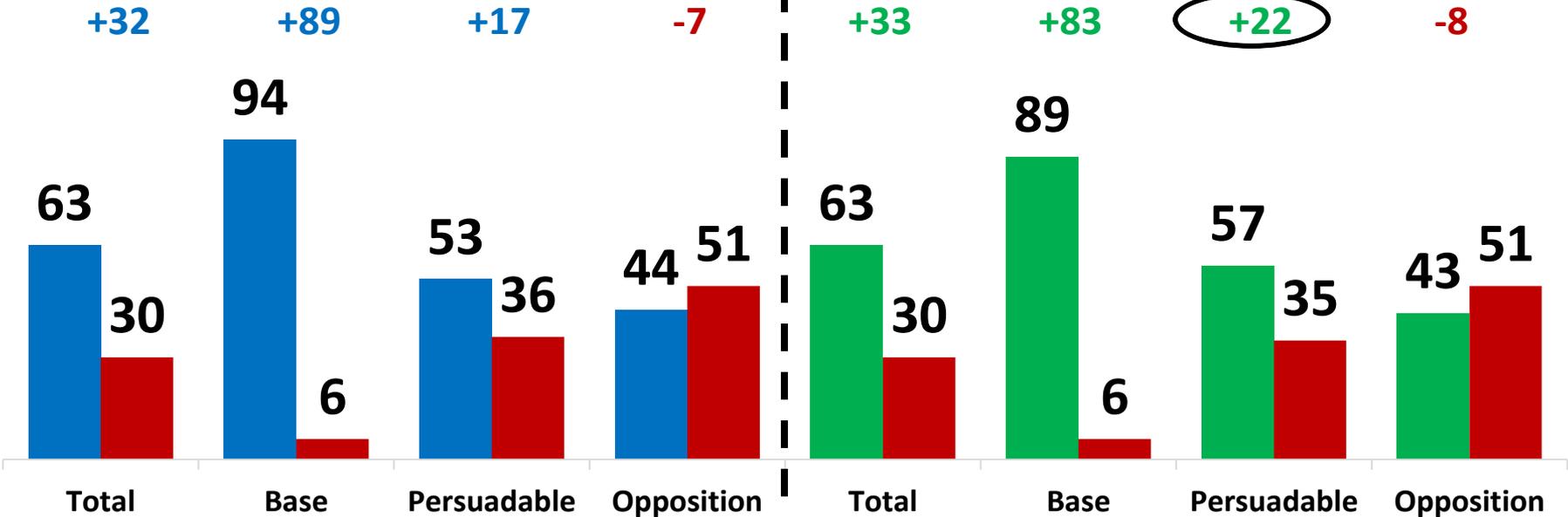
Persuadables want to move forward, tackle challenges, and ensure equal opportunities, not return to policies and values of the past.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We need to return to the policies and values of the past when America was more secure and hard work paid off

We need move forward, to tackle new challenges and ensure equal opportunities for people of every background, race, and religious belief

We need to tackle new challenges and ensure equal opportunities for people of every background, race, and religious beliefs

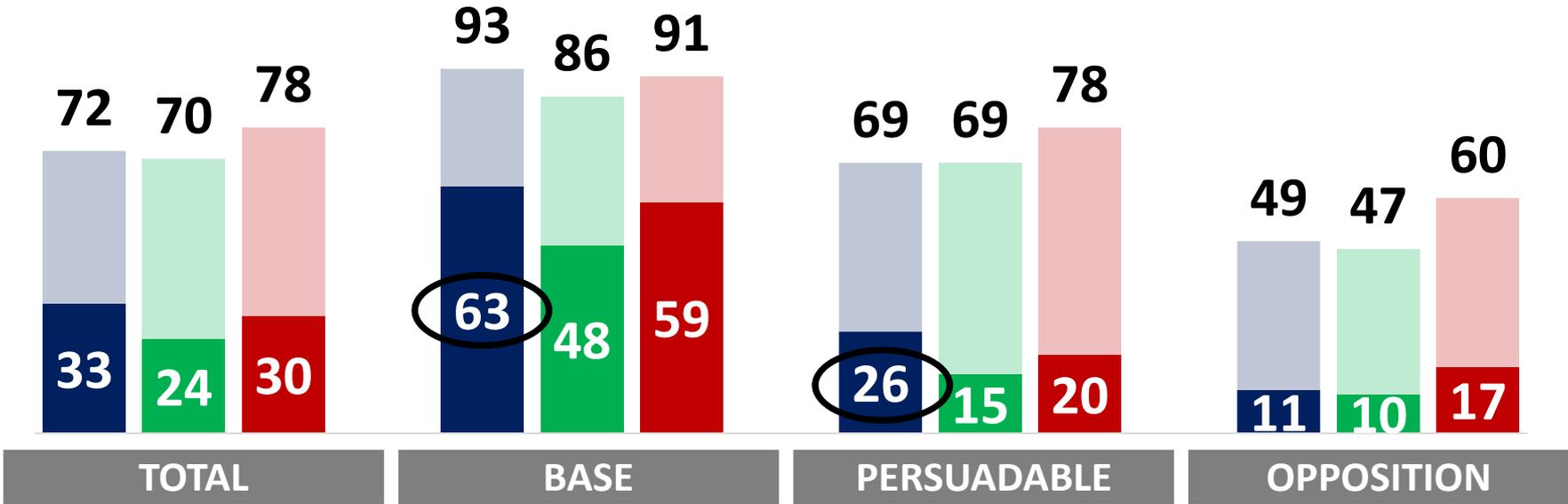


Saying the powerful “divide” the rest of us generates greater intensity with base and persuadables while alienating opposition adults who are less likely to agree.

The powerful benefit by **dividing** the rest of us while they rig the economic rules to benefit themselves

The powerful benefit by **creating chaos** for the rest of us while they rig the economic rules to benefit themselves

The powerful benefit by **distracting** the rest of us while they rig the economic rules to benefit themselves



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

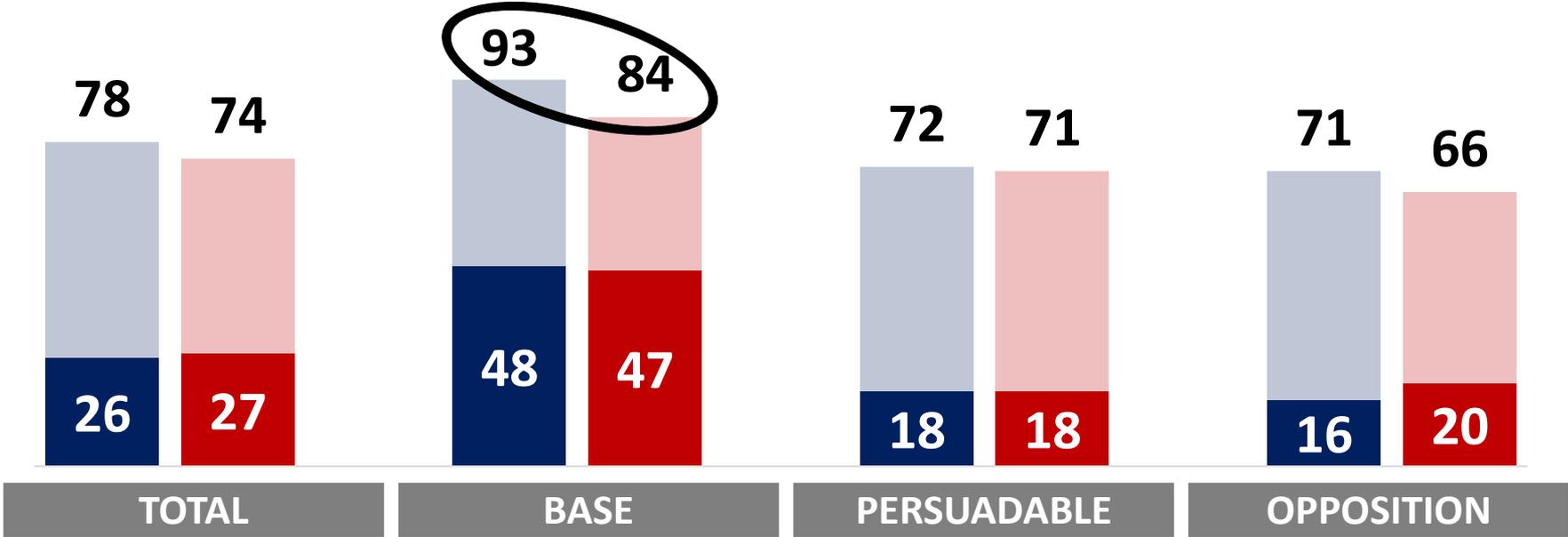


Values and Language

All audiences believe tired, old stereotypes about race hurt us. Base adults are somewhat more likely to agree in the context of learning from each other, but also strongly agree that stereotypes are a barrier.

Tired old stereotypes about different races keep us from really learning from each other

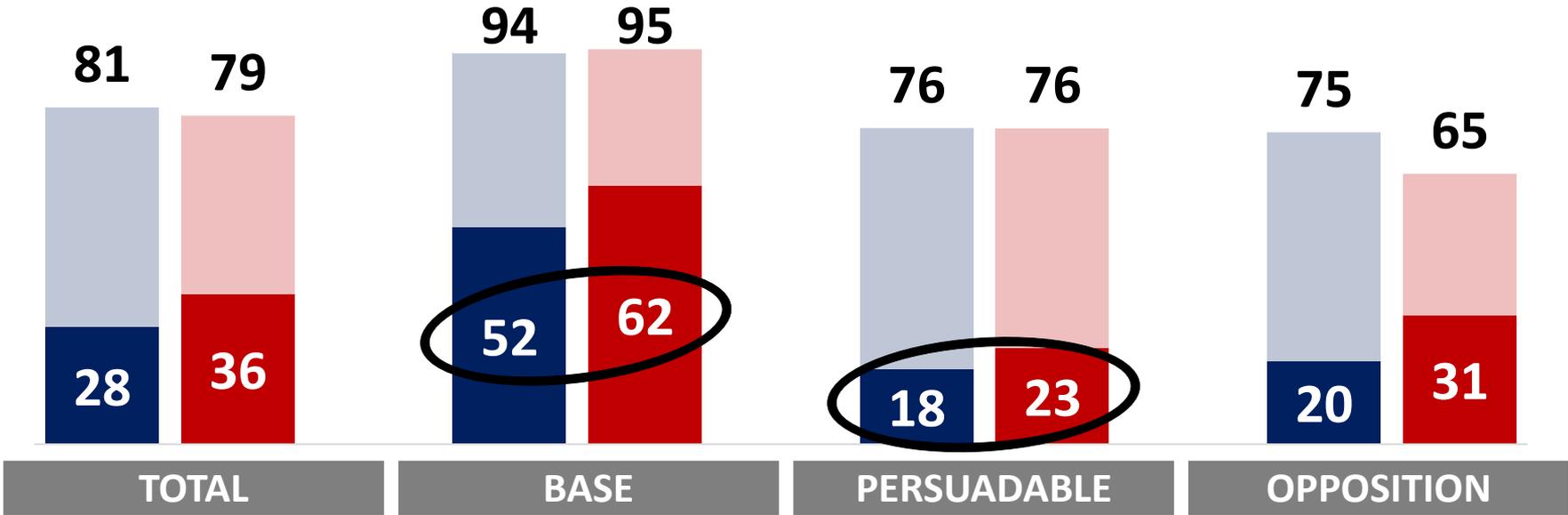
Tired old stereotypes about different races box people in, and make us less able to pursue our dreams



“Forming alliances” in the context of racial equality generates stronger agreement with base and persuadables while alienating opposition adults.

By **working together** across racial differences we can make our laws fair and equitable for everyone, regardless of where they come from or what they look like

By **forming alliances** across racial differences we can make our laws fair and equitable for everyone, regardless of where they come from or what they look like

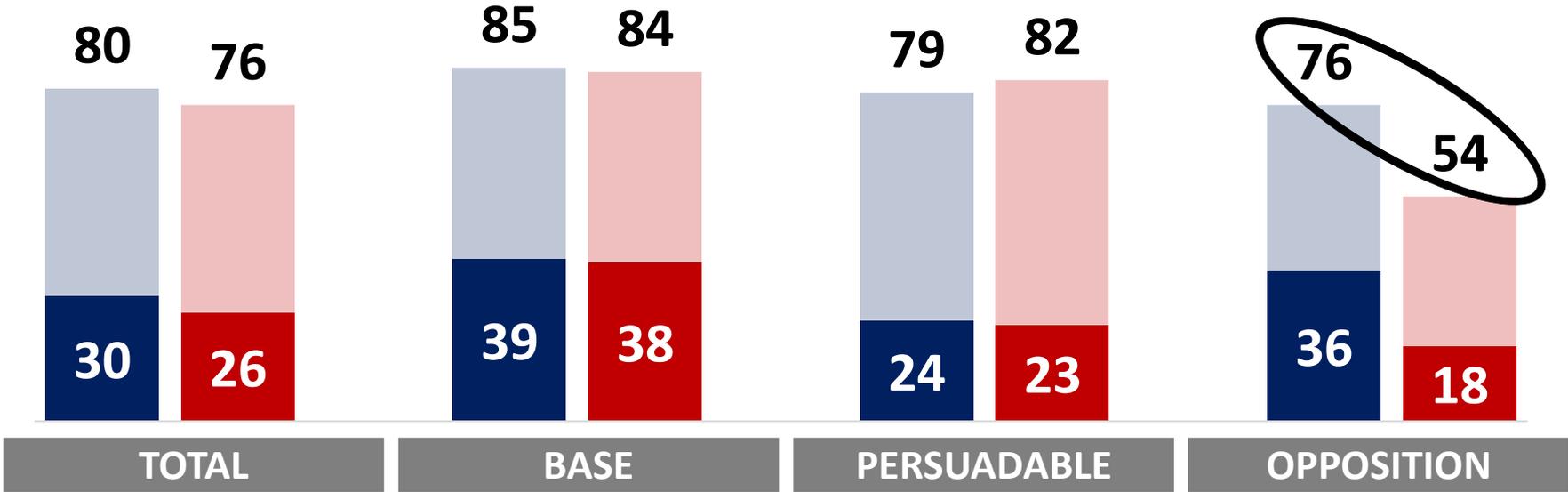


  Total Agree: 6-10
  Strongly Agree: 10

Saying “forming alliances” alienates opposition adults where “working together” does not. Base and persuadable adults agree strongly with both ideas in an economic context that does not mention race.

By working together we can restore the balance in our economy so that everyone can benefit

By forming alliances we can restore the balance in our economy so that everyone can benefit

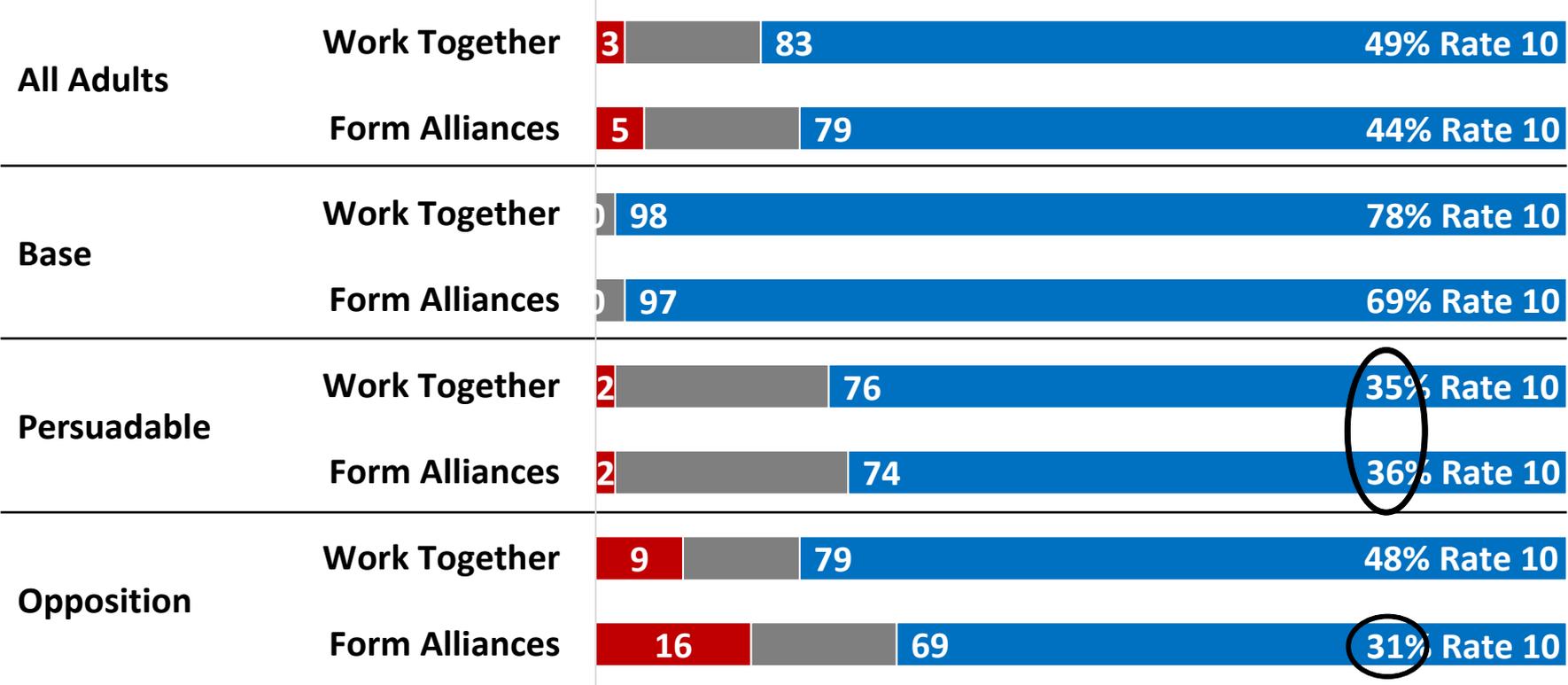


Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Base and persuadables believe it is very important to work together or form alliances across racial differences to create fair and equitable laws for everyone. “Form alliances” slightly alienates opposition adults.

How important is it that Americans work together/form alliances across racial differences to create fair and equitable laws for everyone?



■ 0-4 Not Excited ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Excited



Messaging

Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Base Convincing Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating				Mean Dial Rating				Mean Share Rating			
	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O
California's Strength – Latina	72	86	71	54	65	72	64	57	63	72	64	41
California's Strength – White Woman	71	84	68	61	65	72	64	59	62	66	62	53
Working People – White Man	69	82	68	55	65	71	64	56	61	66	63	47
Come Together – Latino	69	82	67	53	63	67	63	57	57	61	61	37
Future – White Man	71	81	70	59	64	70	64	58	59	62	62	44
Working People – AA Man	68	81	68	45	63	69	63	56	61	65	64	39
Racial Justice – White Woman	65	81	64	44	61	70	61	50	60	65	61	43
Racial Justice – AA Woman	61	80	60	35	60	69	60	48	57	69	58	31
Reform System – AA Woman	69	79	71	49	65	72	64	59	62	68	65	45
Colorblind Economic Populist	66	79	68	44	63	68	64	53	58	63	61	35
California Can-Do – White Man	65	76	65	51	64	70	64	57	60	64	61	46
Opposition	55	32	62	72	59	48	62	69	50	29	60	59

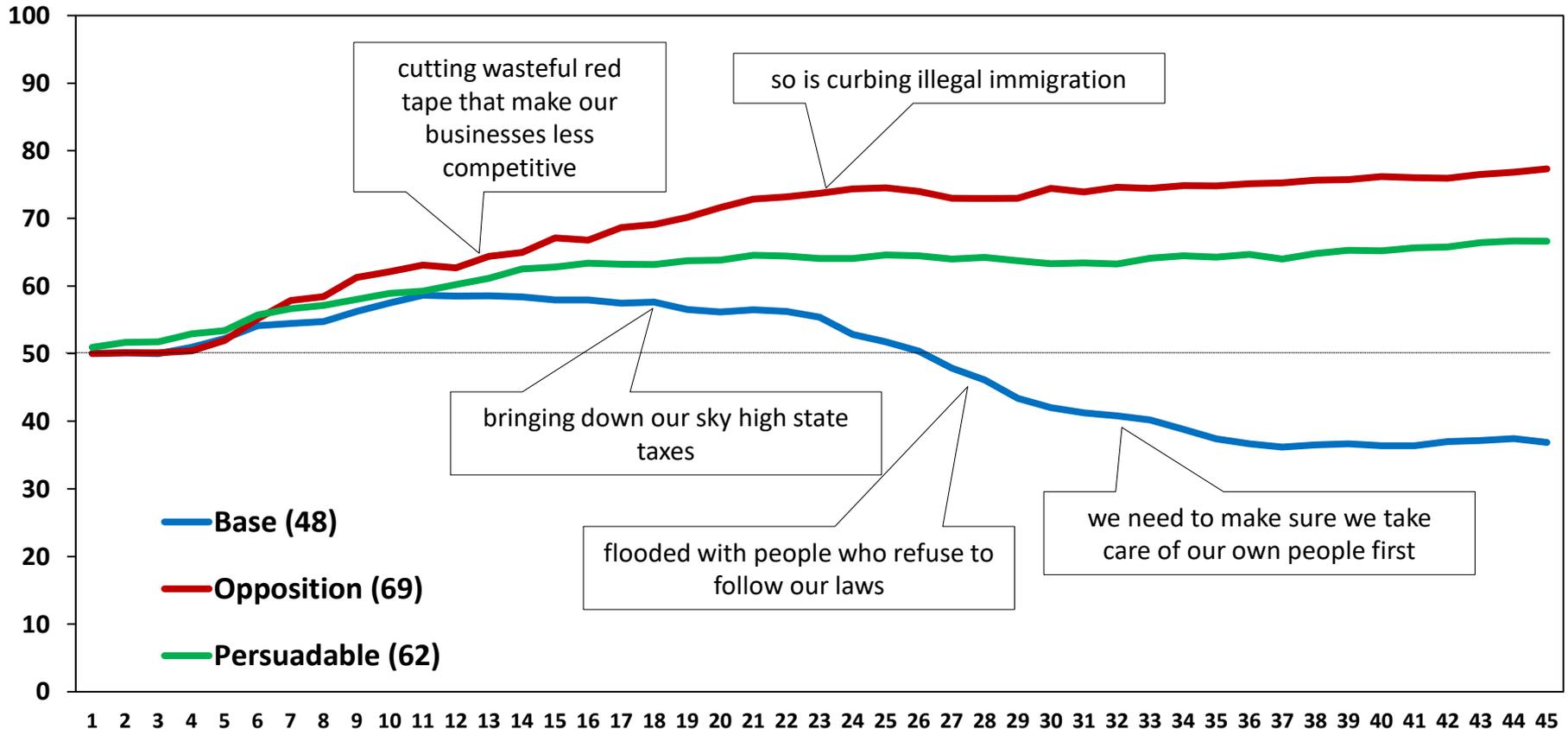
Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Base Convincing Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating			Mean Dial Rating			Mean Share Rating		
	All	Wh	Lat	All	Wh	Lat	All	Wh	Lat
California's Strength – Latina	72	70	75	65	64	66	63	57	67
California's Strength – White Woman	71	70	72	65	64	65	62	56	68
Working People – White Man	69	66	72	65	63	65	61	58	65
Come Together – Latino	69	67	70	63	62	65	57	54	60
Future – White Man	71	69	73	64	63	66	59	55	62
Working People – AA Man	68	65	73	63	62	66	61	56	65
Racial Justice – White Woman	65	59	67	61	58	61	60	54	63
Racial Justice – AA Woman	61	55	66	60	56	63	57	49	61
Reform System – AA Woman	69	65	71	65	65	65	62	57	66
Colorblind Economic Populist	66	61	70	63	63	63	58	52	60
California Can-Do – White Man	65	62	69	64	62	66	60	57	59
Opposition	55	60	48	59	62	56	50	55	43



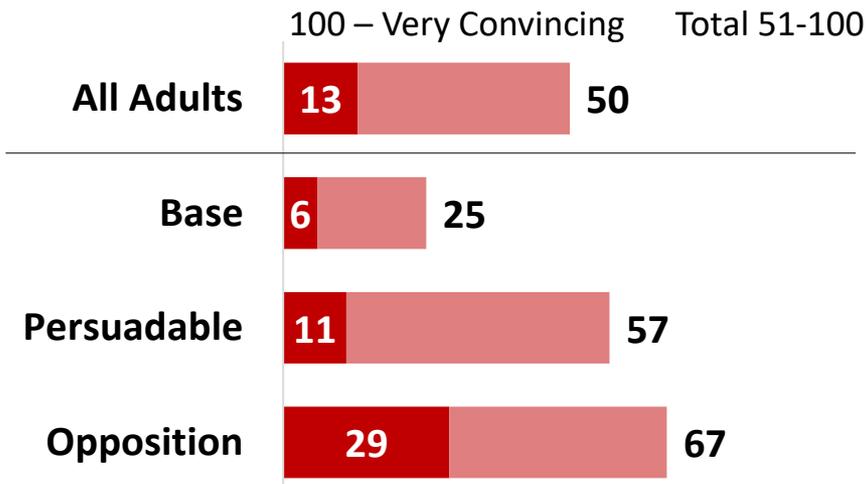
Opposition

Our leaders must prioritize keeping us safe and ensuring that hard working Californians have the freedom to prosper. Cutting wasteful red tape that make our businesses less competitive and bringing down our sky high state taxes is just common sense. And so is curbing illegal immigration, so our communities are no longer flooded with people who refuse to follow our laws. We need to make sure we take care of our own people first, especially the people who politicians have cast aside for too long to cater to whatever special interest groups line their pockets, yell the loudest, or riot in the street.

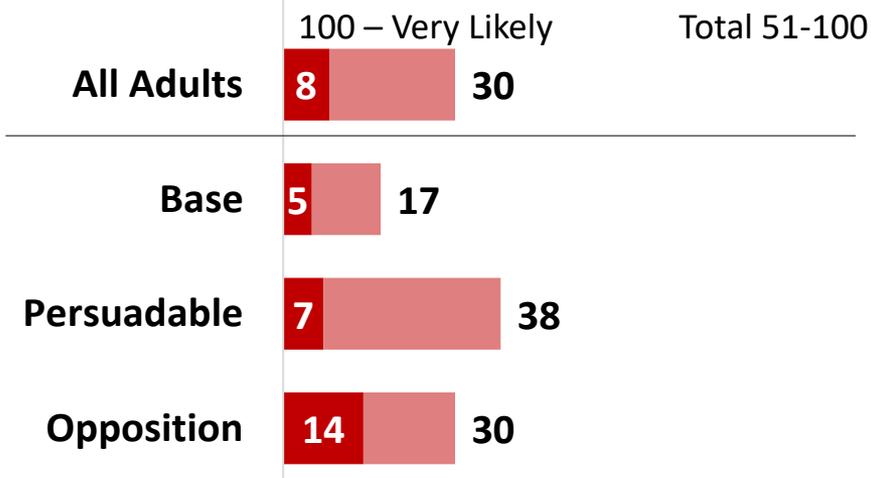


Opposition

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS (for them)

- ✓ Persuadables and opposition dial up at “cutting wasteful red tape that make our businesses less competitive.”
- ✓ Starting with an economic/fiscal conservative argument as “common sense” holds persuadables through more divisive language around immigration. Though they plateau, they do not dial down.
- ✓ Opposition dials up at “so is curbing illegal immigration.”

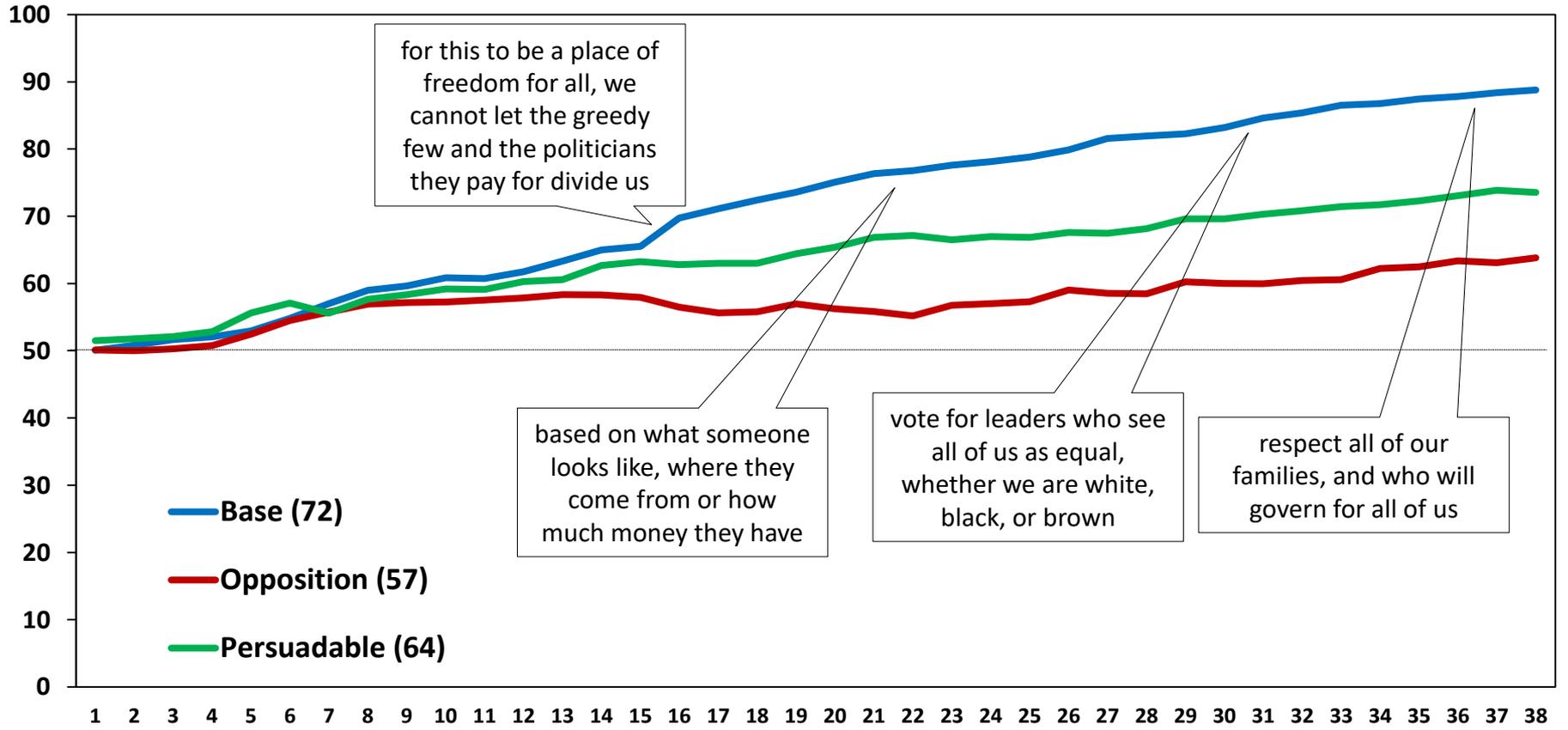
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables plateau on pivot to immigration.
- X Base begins dialing down at “bringing down our sky high state taxes,” and is alienated throughout the rest of the message.



California's Strength – Latina

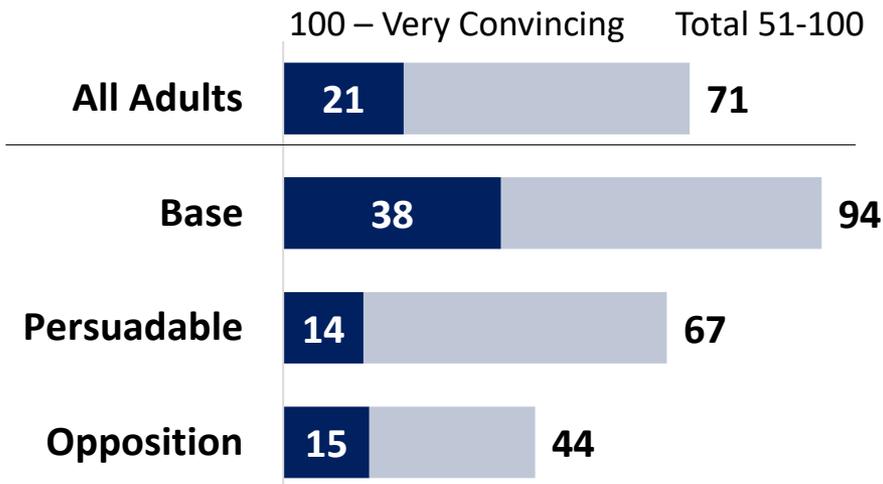
California's strength comes from our ability to work together – to knit together a landscape of people from different places and of different races into a whole. For this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against each other based on what someone looks like, where they come from or how much money they have. It's time to stand up for each other and come together. It is time for us to vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, whether we are white, black, or brown, who respect all of our families, and who will govern for all of us.



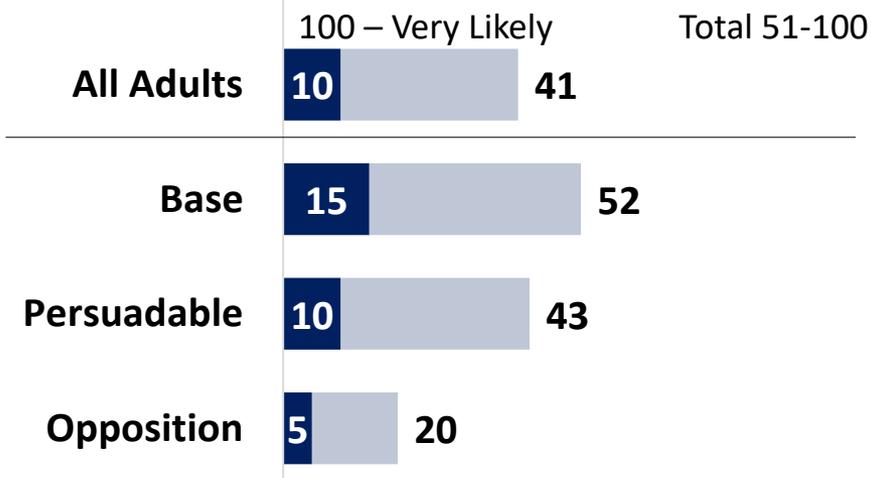
*Split Sampled

California's Strength – Latina

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong dial, convincing, and share ratings for both base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base dials up and opposition alienated at “for this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at call for unity: “it’s time to stand up for each other and come together.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on call to action that invokes race: “it is time for us to vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, whether we are white, black, or brown.”
- ✓ Latina messenger effective with base and persuadables but alienates opposition.

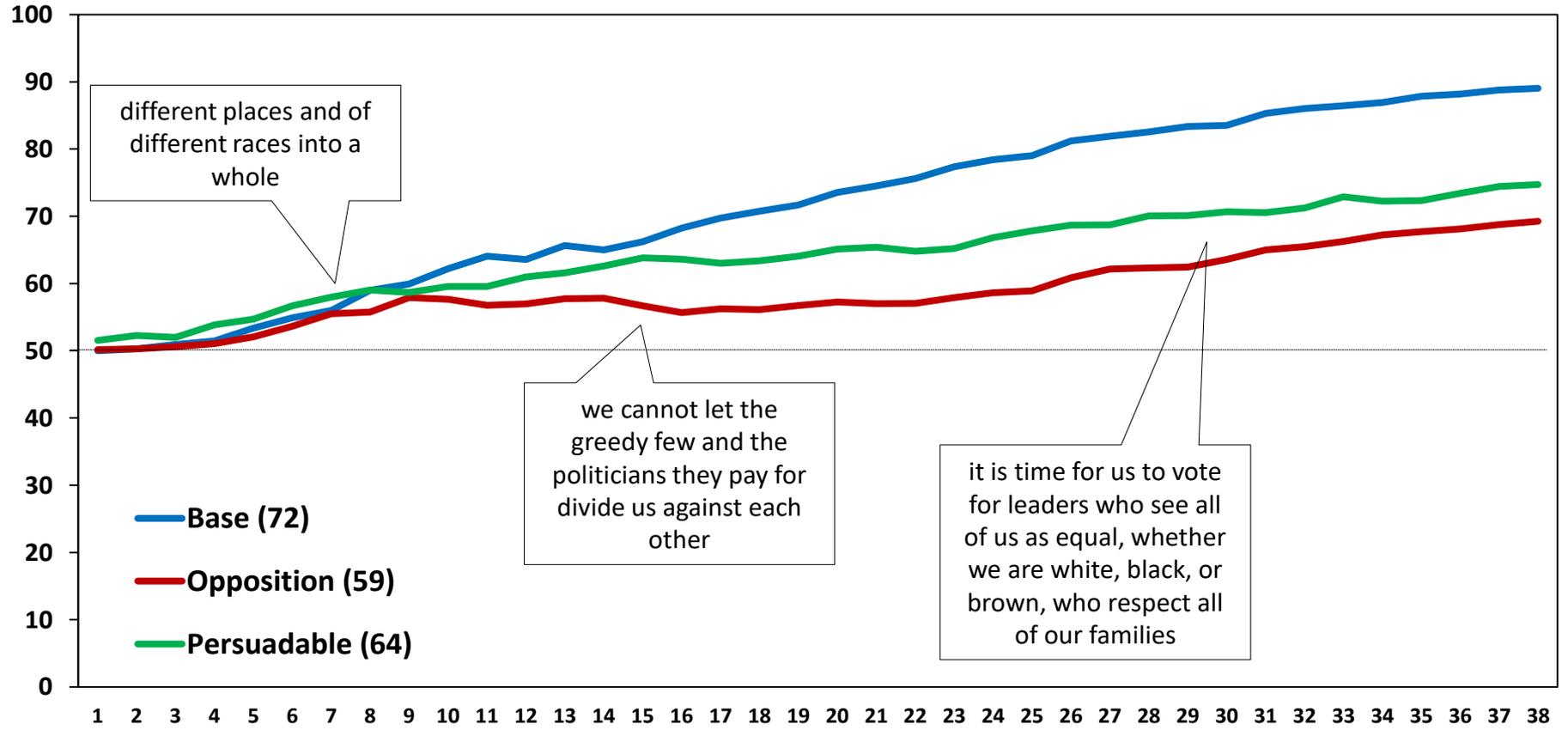
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow start.
- X Opposition stays positive for most of the message.



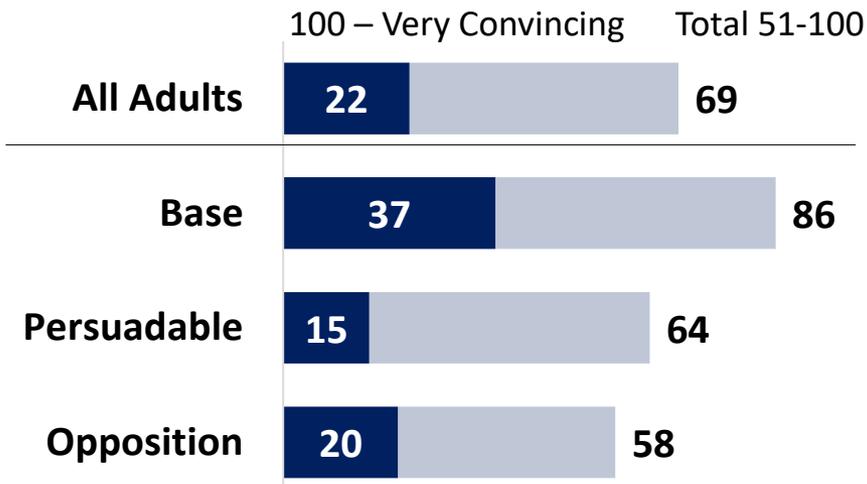
California's Strength – White Woman

California's strength comes from our ability to work together – to knit together a landscape of people from different places and of different races into a whole. For this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against each other based on what someone looks like, where they come from or how much money they have. It's time to stand up for each other and come together. It is time for us to vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, whether we are white, black, or brown, who respect all of our families, and who will govern for all of us.

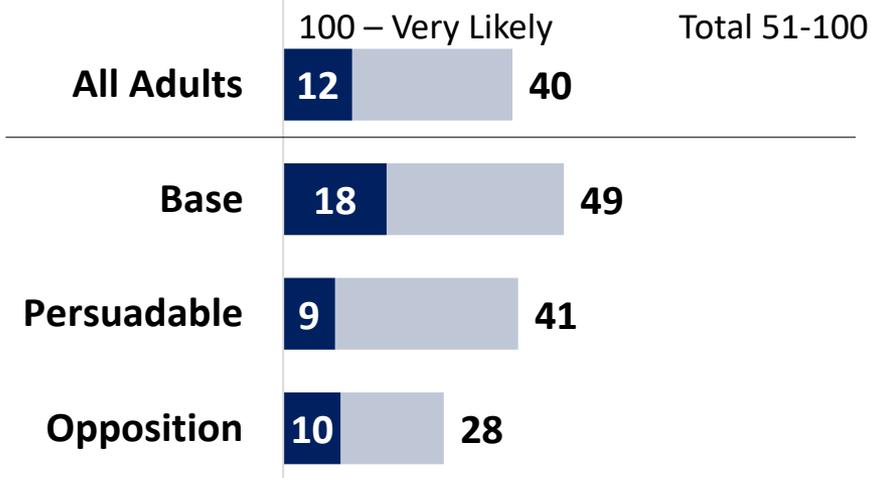


California's Strength – White Woman

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

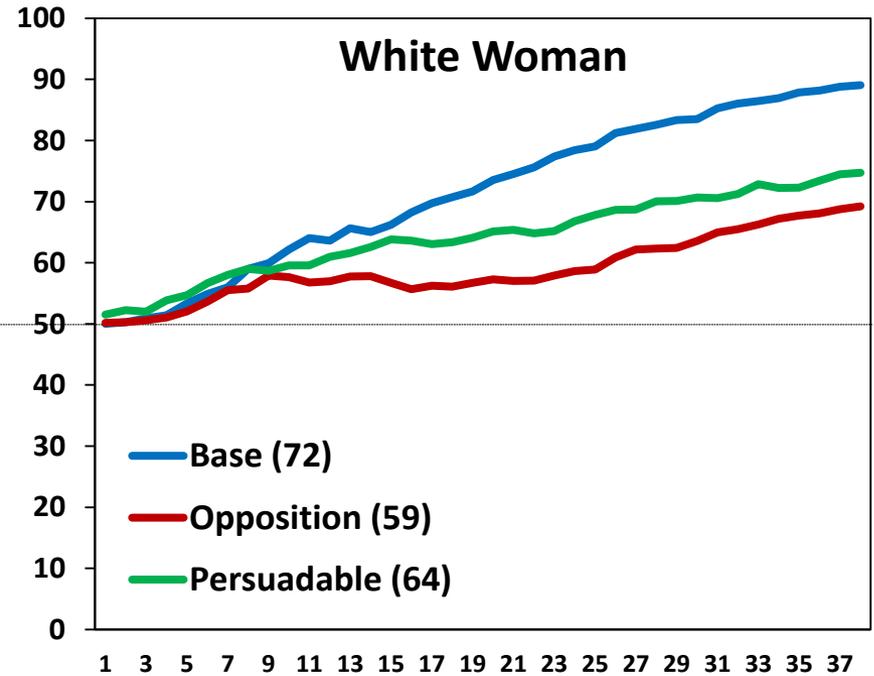
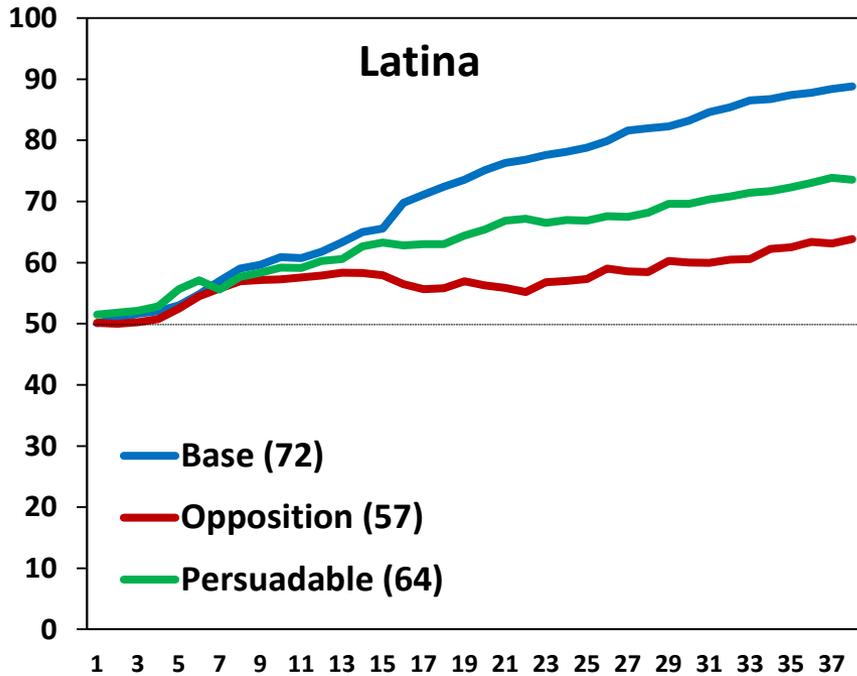
- ✓ Strong dial, convincing, and share ratings for both base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base dials up and opposition alienated at “for this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at call for unity: “it’s time to stand up for each other and come together.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on call to action that invokes race: “it is time for us to vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, whether we are white, black, or brown.”

WHAT FALLS SHORT

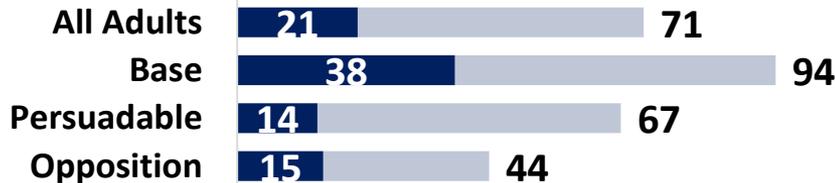
- X Slow start.
- X Opposition stays positive for most of the message.
- X Opposition rates message higher with white woman as messenger.

California's Strength

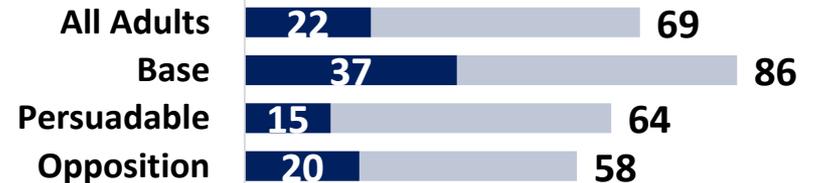
Base and persuadables respond more favorably to Latina messenger while the opposition adults react less favorably.



How convincing did you find this message?



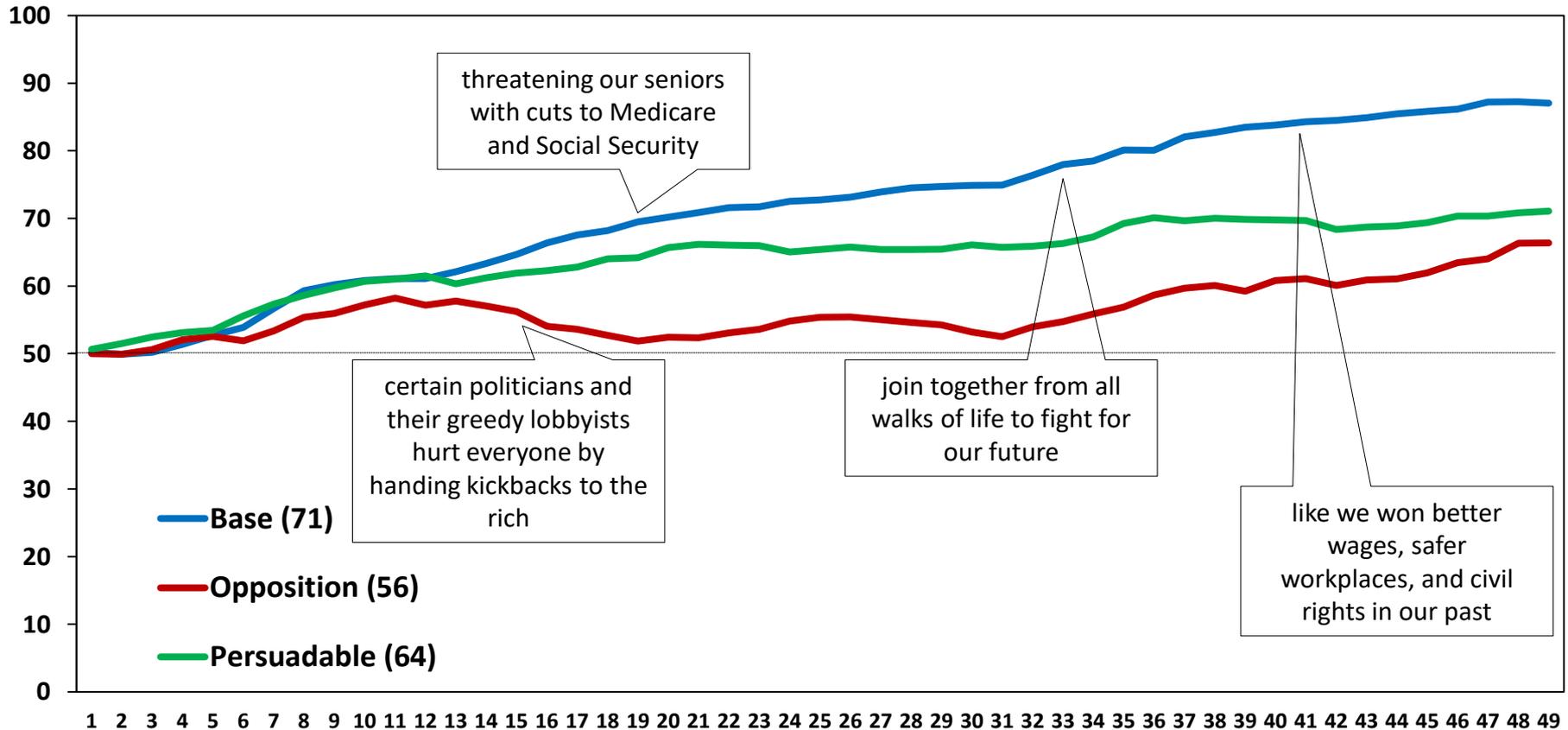
How convincing did you find this message?





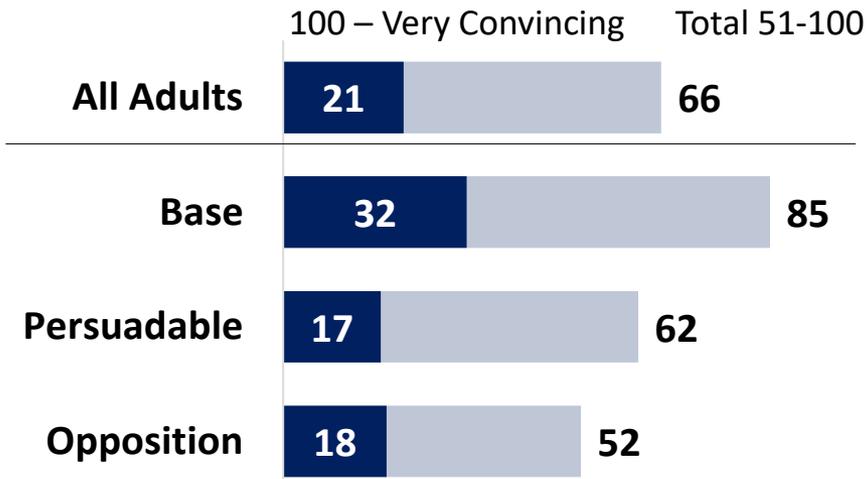
Working People – White Man

No matter where we come from or what our color, most of us work hard for our families. But today, certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich, defunding our schools, and threatening our seniors with cuts to Medicare and Social Security. Then they turn around and point the finger for our hard times at poor families, Black people and new immigrants. We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future, just like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past. By joining together, we can elect new leaders who work for all of us, not just the wealthy few.

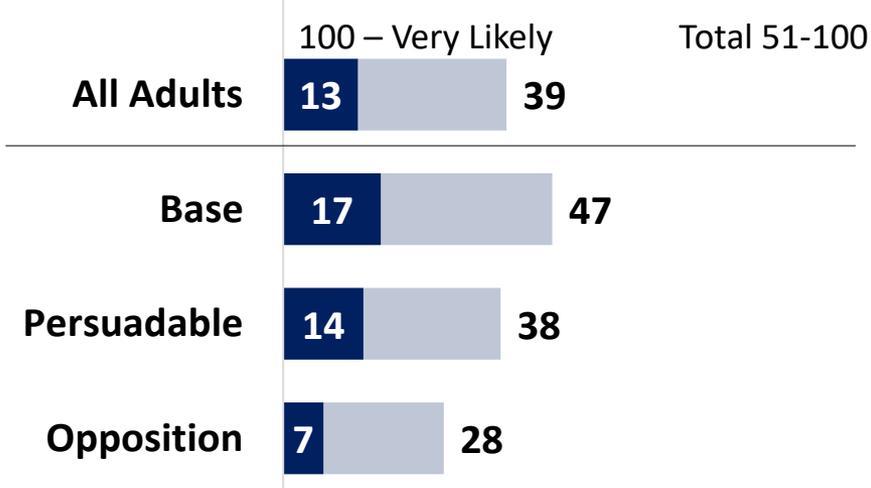


Working People – White Man

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick lift off.
- ✓ Strong dial and convincing ratings for both base and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables respond to call to action “join together from all walks of life to fight for our future.”
- ✓ Base responds strongly to mention of past victories, “like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past.”

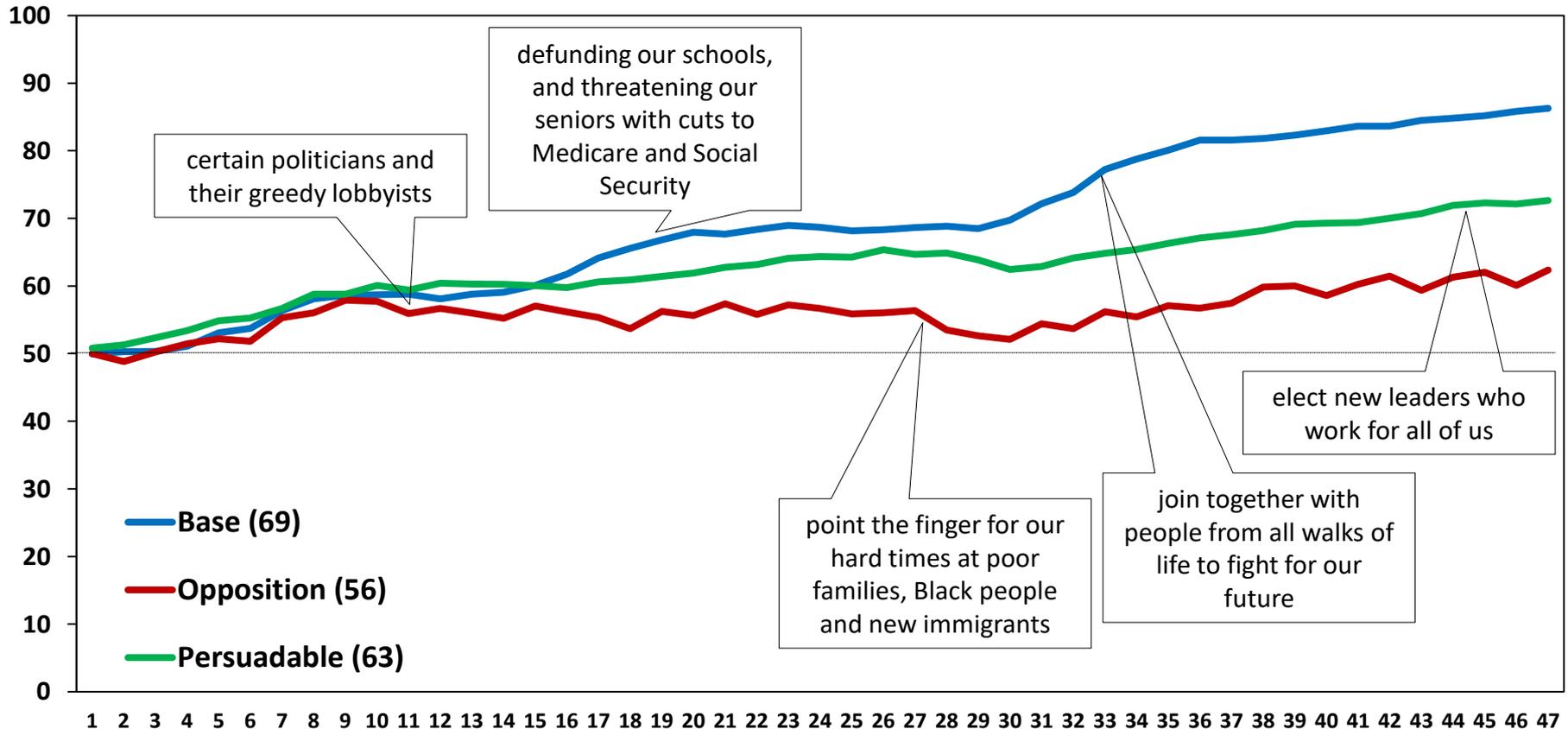
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Opposition not alienated by message, in dials or in convincing ratings.



Working People – African American Man

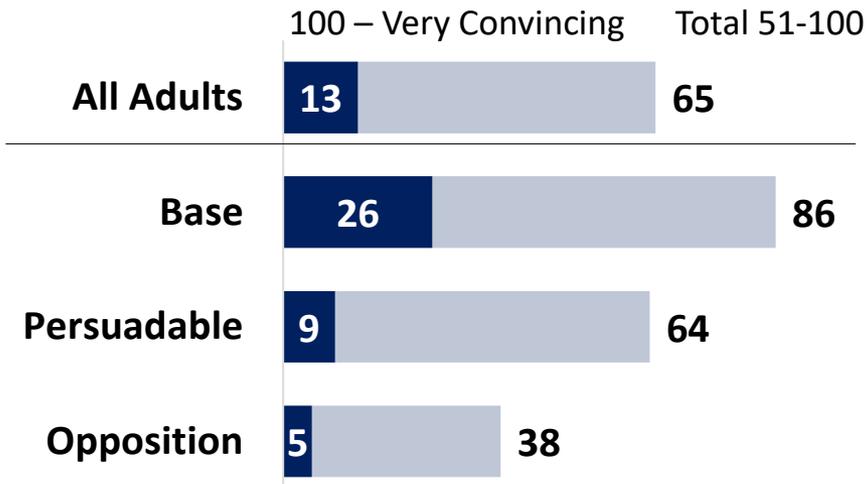
No matter where we come from or what our color, most of us work hard for our families. But today, certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich, defunding our schools, and threatening our seniors with cuts to Medicare and Social Security. Then they turn around and point the finger for our hard times at poor families, Black people and new immigrants. We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future, just like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past. By joining together, we can elect new leaders who work for all of us.



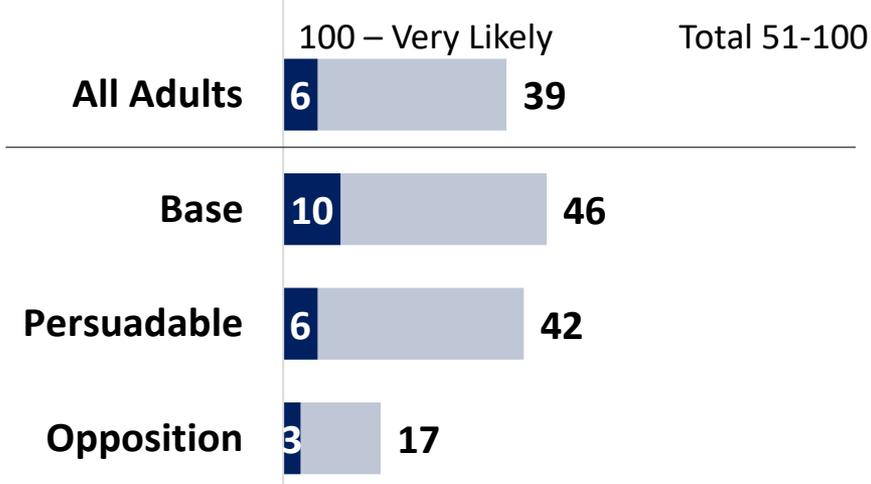
*Split Sampled

Working People – African American Man

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

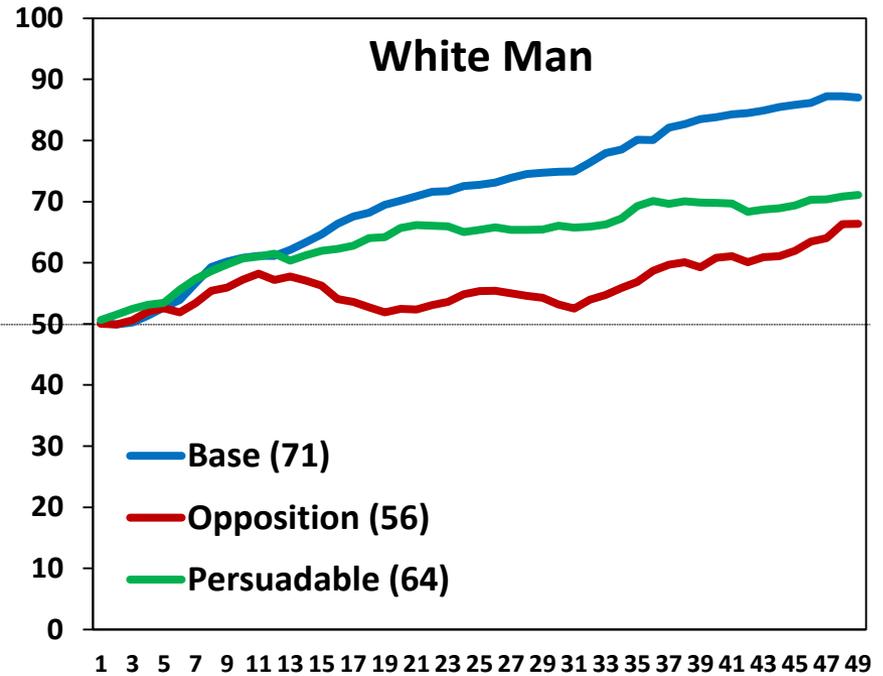
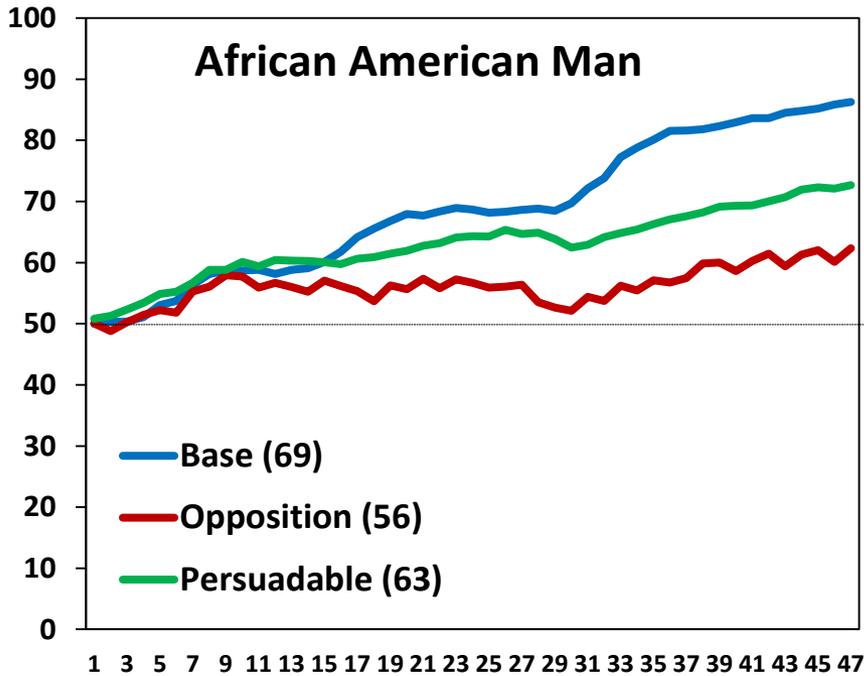
- ✓ Strong convincing rating among all Californians, base, and persuadables, though slightly less intensity than when delivered by white man.
- ✓ Base dials up at call to action to “join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future.”
- ✓ Opposition dials down at “point the finger for our hard times at poor families, Black people and new immigrants.”

WHAT FALLS SHORT

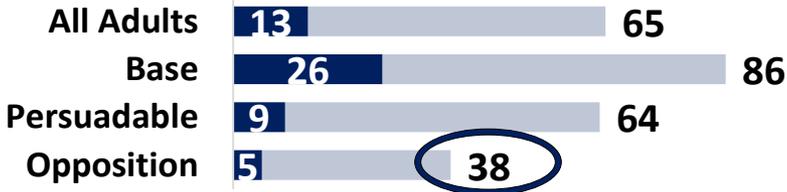
- X Slow take off.
- X Persuadables plateau on “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone.”

Working People

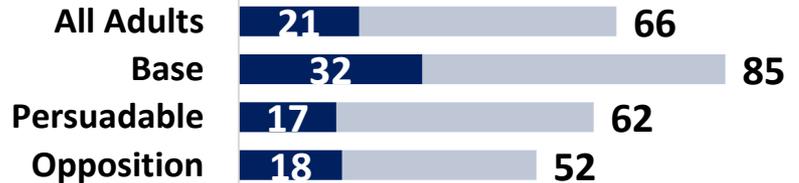
An African American man makes little conscious difference to base and persuadables but alienates opposition adults.



How convincing did you find this message?



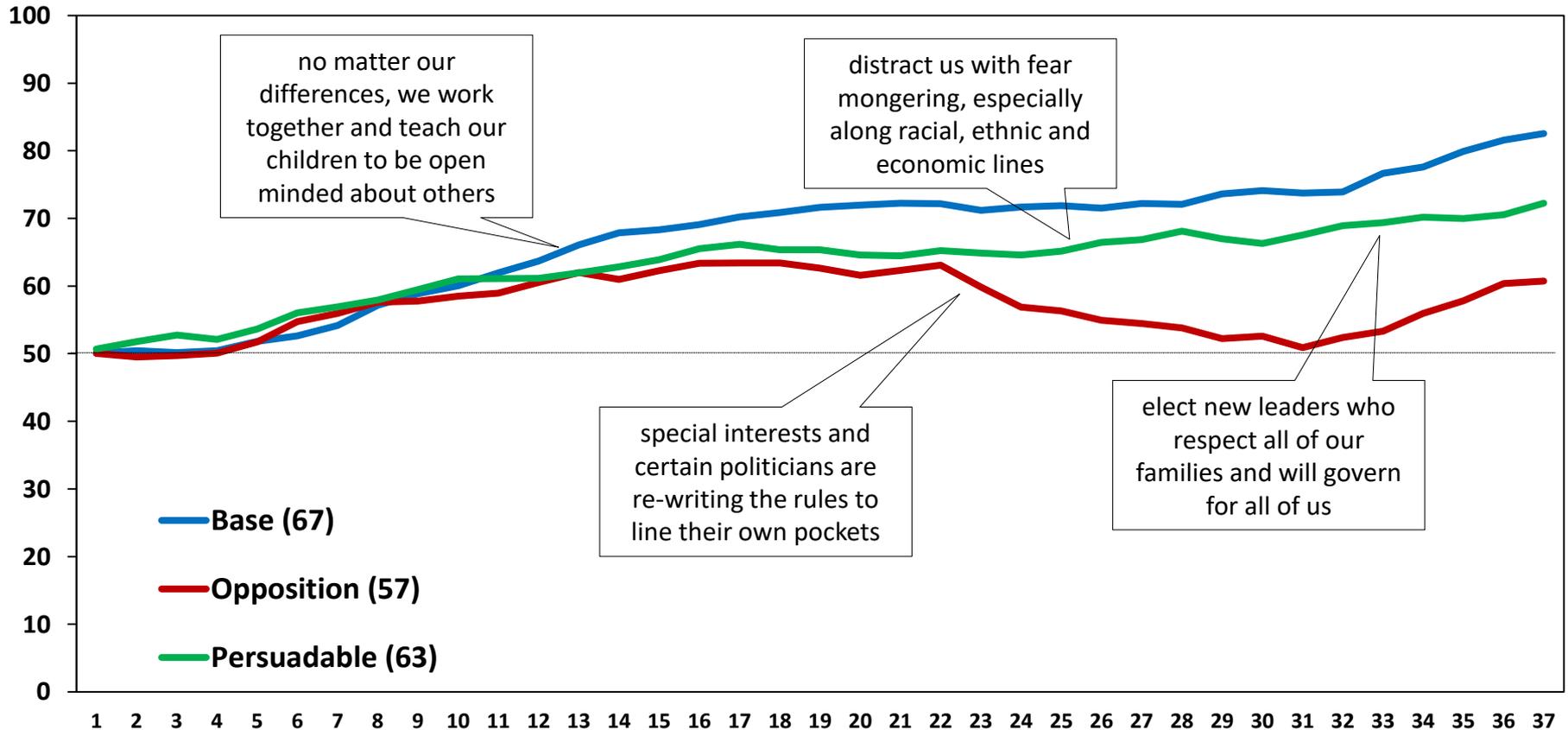
How convincing did you find this message?





Come Together – Latino Man

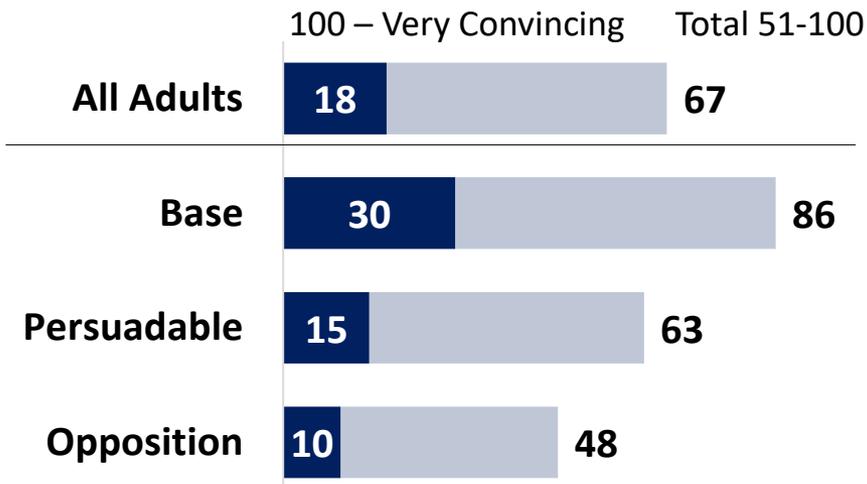
California is a place where people come together from different places and different races to make a better life for ourselves. No matter our differences, we work together and teach our children to be open minded about others, whether they're from down the street or across the globe. But now special interests and certain politicians are re-writing the rules to line their own pockets while they deliberately distract us with fear mongering, especially along racial, ethnic and economic lines. We need to come together and elect new leaders who respect all of our families and will govern for all of us.



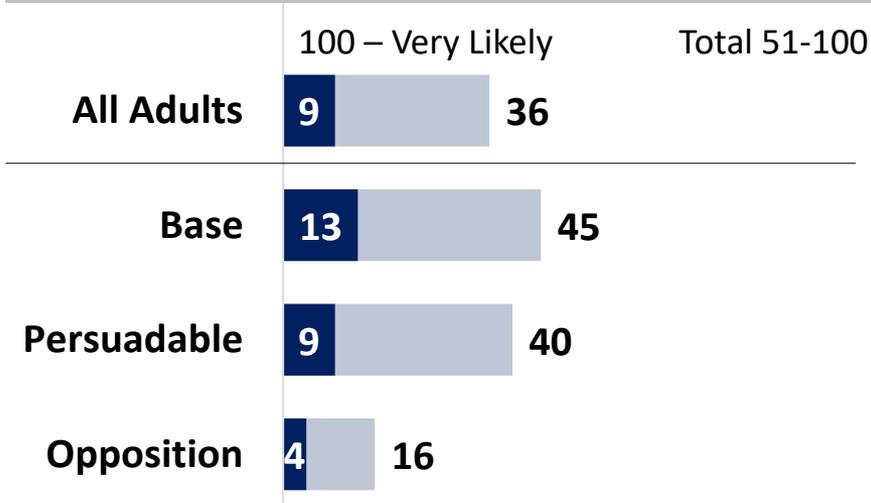
Split Sampled

Come Together – Latino Man

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick lift off.
- ✓ All groups dial up at “no matter our differences, we work together and teach our children to be open minded about others.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “special interests and certain politicians are re-writing the rules to line their own pockets while they distract us with fear mongering, especially along racial, ethnic and economic lines.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables motivated by “elect new leaders who respect all of our families and will govern for all of us.”
- ✓ Strong convincing rating among base, and persuadables.

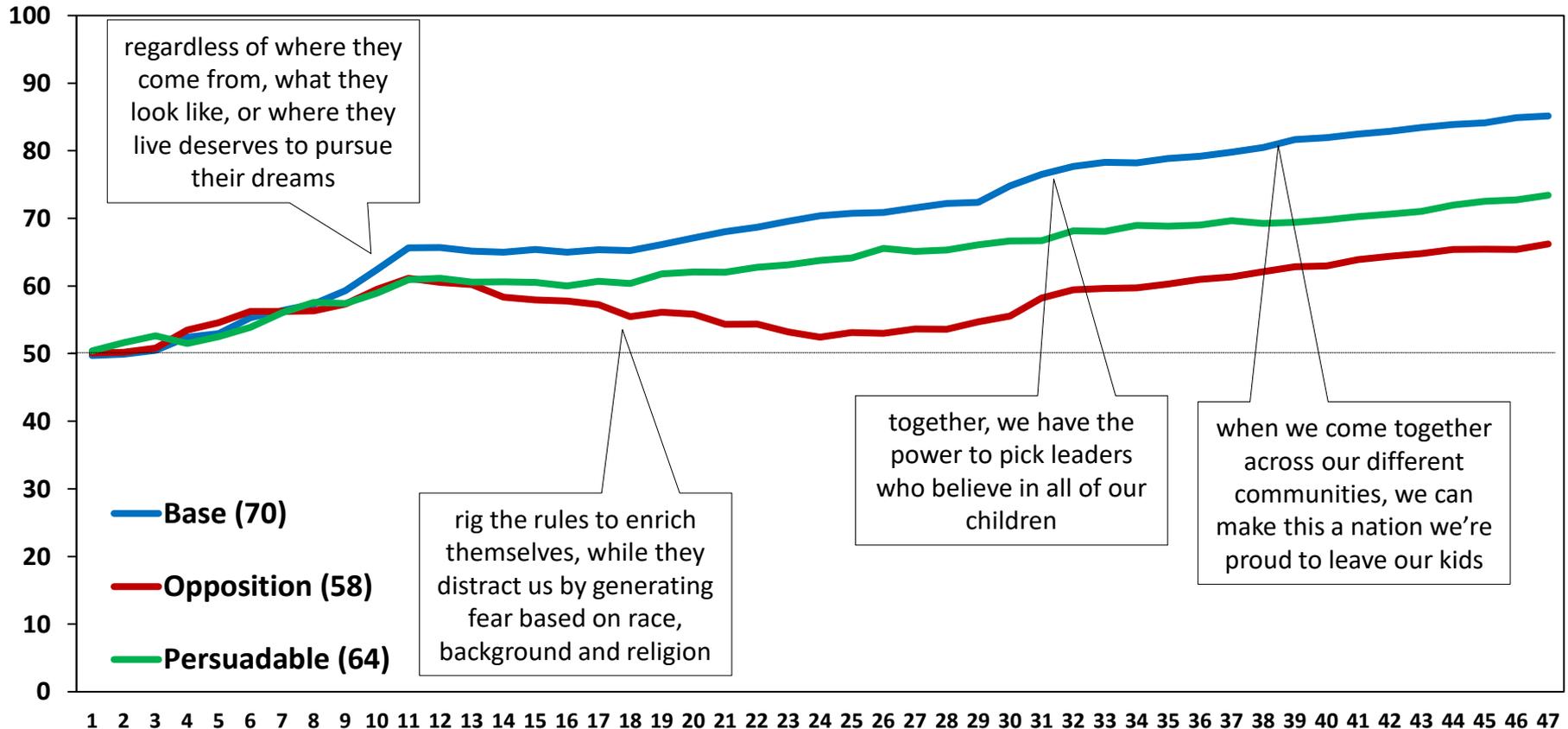
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Opposition dials up with base and persuadables throughout over half of the message.



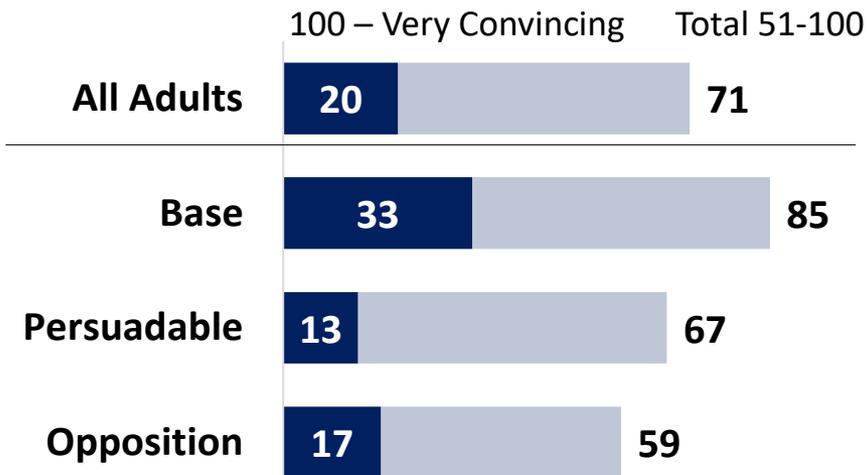
Future Children – White Man

Every child, regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live, deserves to pursue their dreams. But certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk. They rig the rules to enrich themselves, while they distract us by generating fear based on race, background and religion. Together, we have the power to pick leaders who believe in all of our children. When we come together across our different communities, we can make this a nation we’re proud to leave our kids, brimming with the new ideas that come from so many different people working together, for everyone’s benefit.

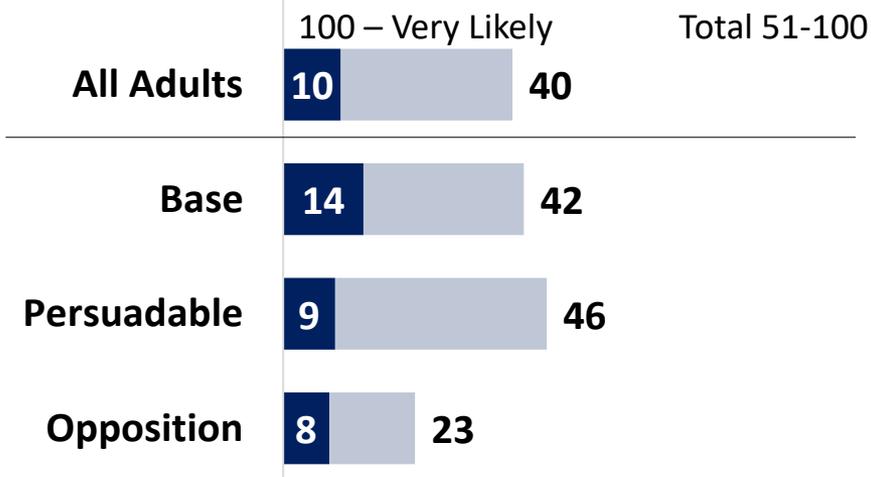


Future Children – White Man

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick lift off with base.
- ✓ Strong convincing ratings with base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live deserves to pursue their dreams.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “together, we have the power to pick leaders who believe in all of our children.”
- ✓ Mention of villain alienates opposition, while persuadables dial up around what they do: “they rig the rules to enrich themselves, while they distract us by generating fear.”

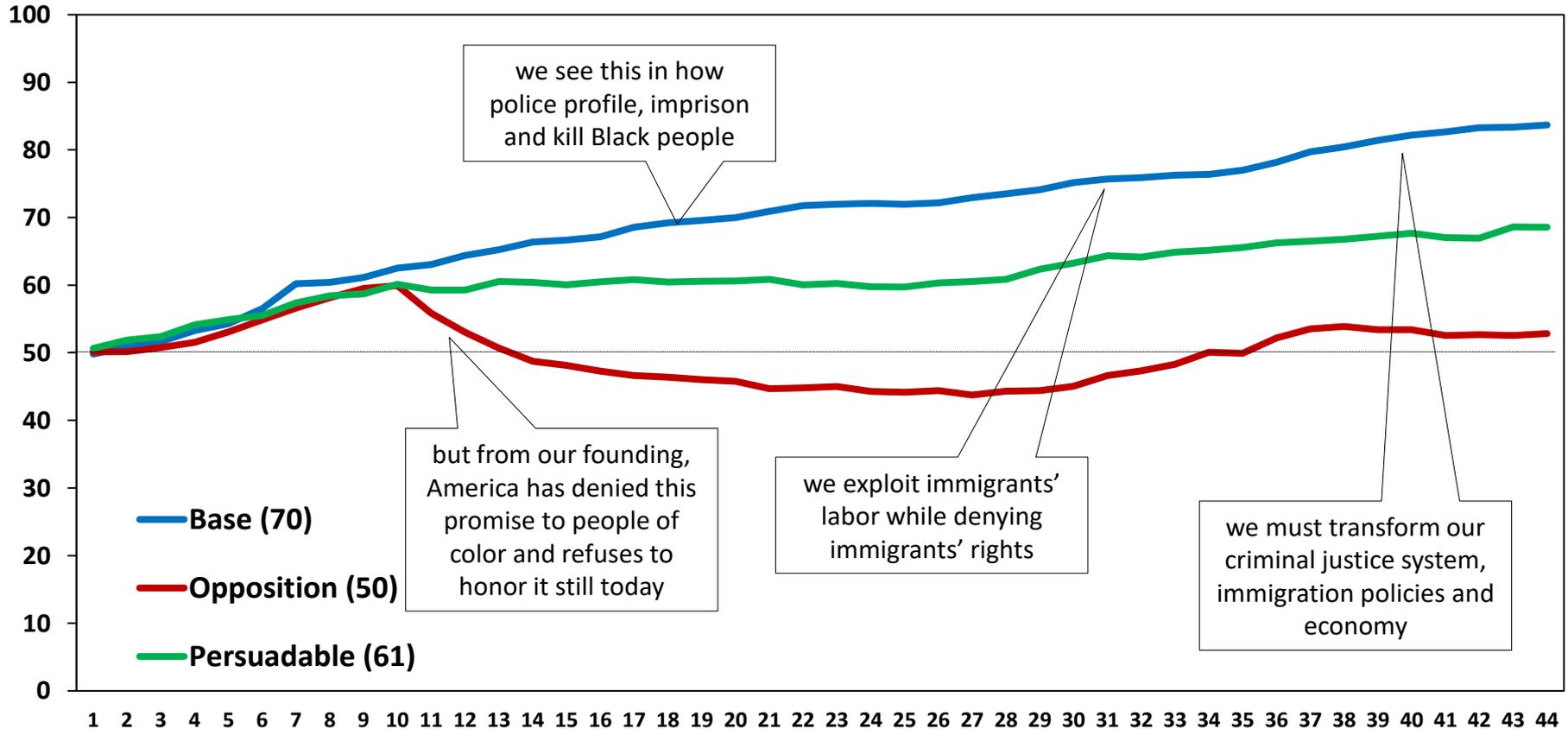
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Opposition dials up with base and persuadables at call to action and aspirational sentiment, “when we come together across our different communities, we can make this a nation we’re proud to leave our kids.”



Racial Justice – White Woman

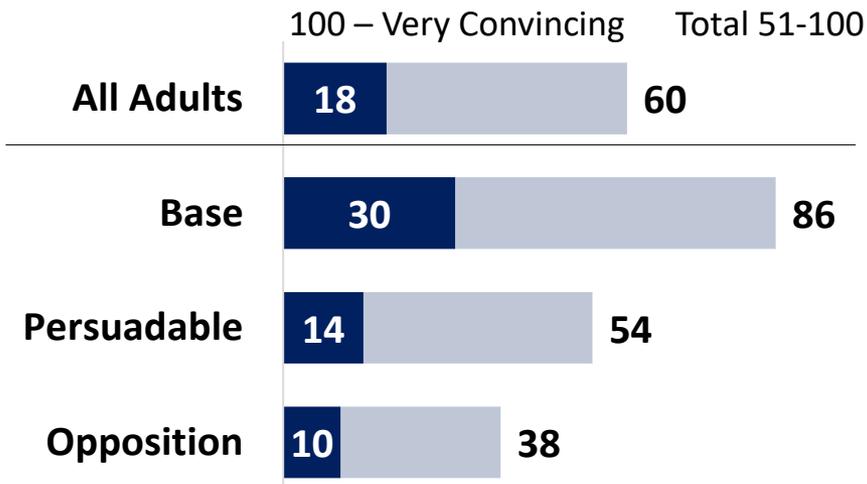
America is meant to be a nation founded on an ideal – that all are created equal. But from our founding, America has denied this promise to people of color and refuses to honor it still today. We see this in how police profile, imprison and kill Black people. It’s the reason why families of color struggle with lower wages and virtually no inherited wealth. And it’s present in how we exploit immigrants’ labor while denying immigrants’ rights. To make good on our belief of liberty and justice for all, we must transform our criminal justice system, immigration policies and economy to dismantle the barriers to well-being and opportunity for people of color in America.



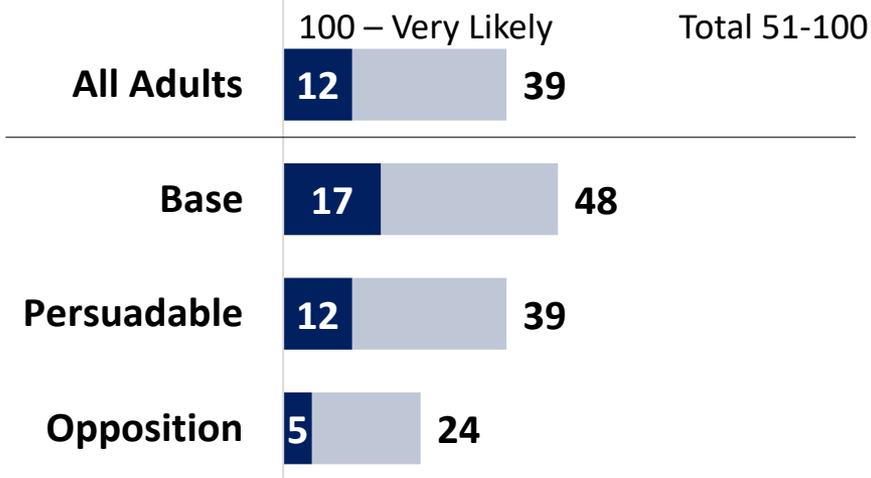
*Split Sampled

Racial Justice – White Woman

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong convincing and dial ratings among base.
- ✓ Assertion that “America has denied this promise to people of color” strongly alienates the opposition.
- ✓ Base dials up on “we exploit immigrants’ labor while denying immigrants’ rights,” and “we must transform our criminal justice system, immigration policies and economy.”

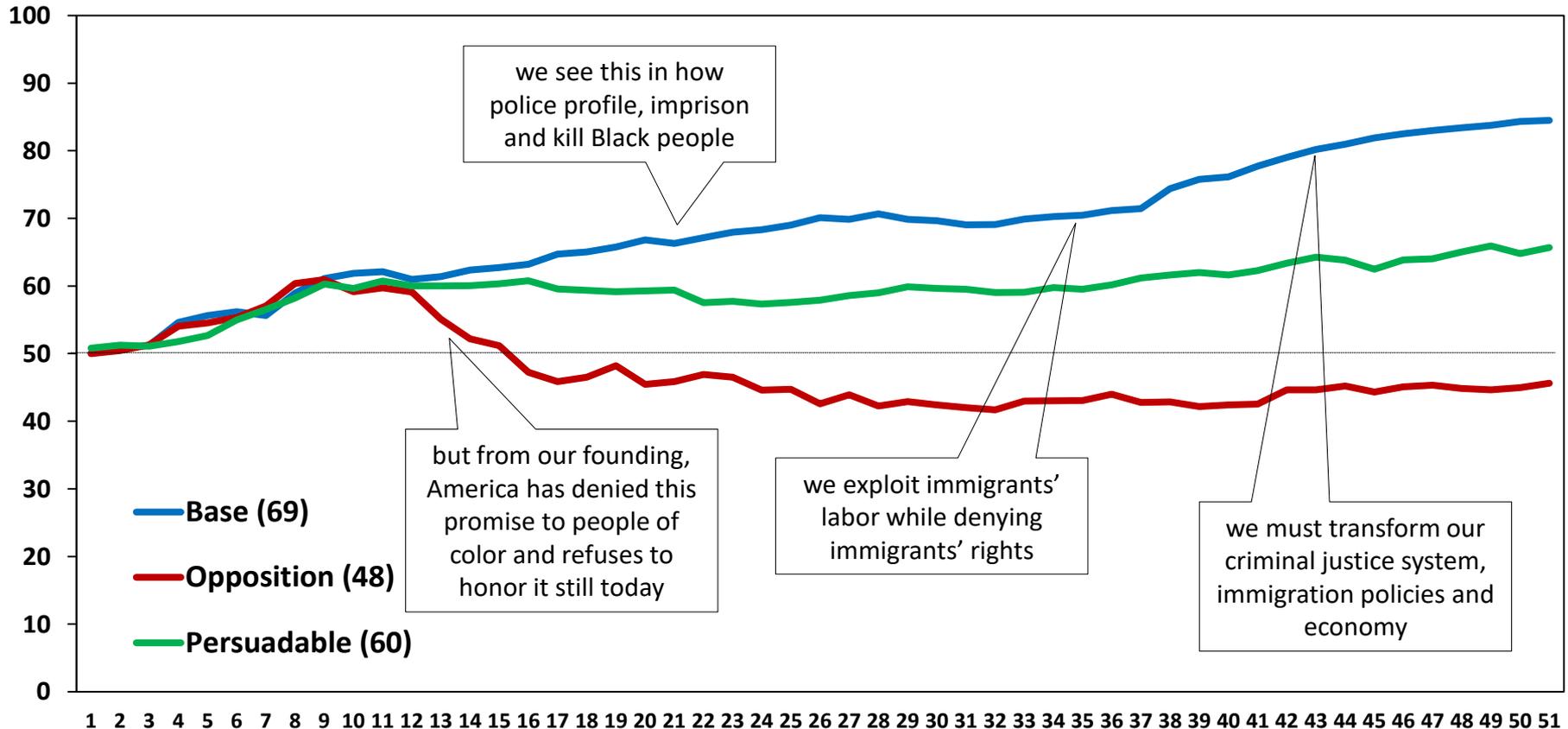
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables plateau during examples of how people of color treated.
- X When the messenger is a white woman, opposition adults dial up at “we must transform our criminal justice system, immigration policies and economy.”



Racial Justice – African American Woman

America is meant to be a nation founded on an ideal – that all are created equal. But from our founding, America has denied this promise to people of color and refuses to honor it still today. We see this in how police profile, imprison and kill Black people. It’s the reason why families of color struggle with lower wages and virtually no inherited wealth. And it’s present in how we exploit immigrants’ labor while denying immigrants’ rights. To make good on our belief of liberty and justice for all, we must transform our criminal justice system, immigration policies and economy to dismantle the barriers to well-being and opportunity for people of color in America.



we see this in how police profile, imprison and kill Black people

but from our founding, America has denied this promise to people of color and refuses to honor it still today

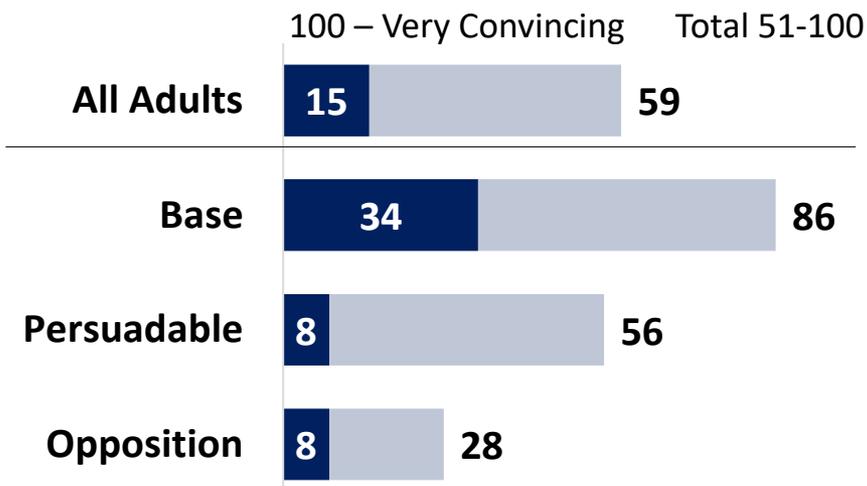
we exploit immigrants’ labor while denying immigrants’ rights

we must transform our criminal justice system, immigration policies and economy

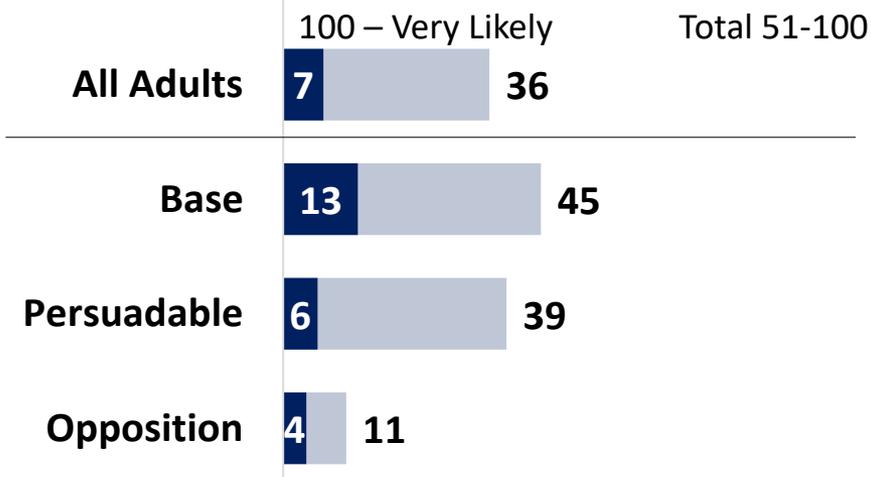
*Split Sampled

Racial Justice – African American Woman

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

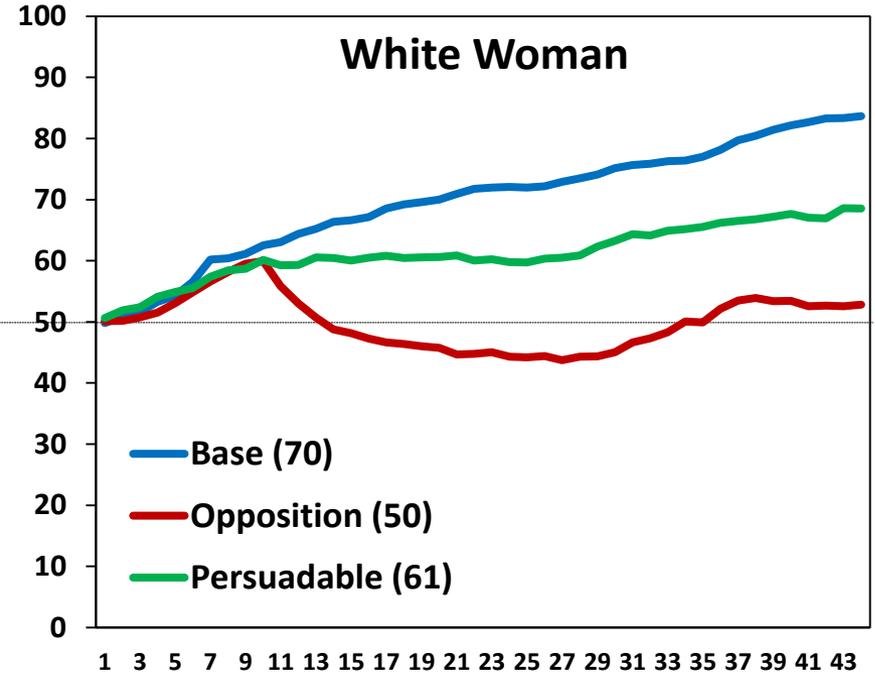
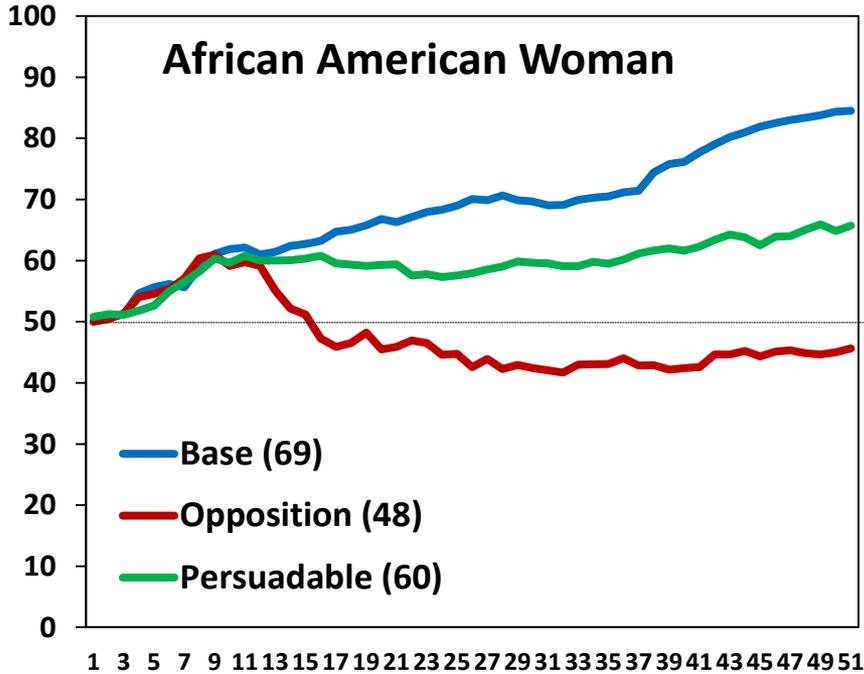
- ✓ Strong convincing and dial ratings among base.
- ✓ Assertion that “America has denied this promise to people of color” strongly alienates the opposition.
- ✓ Base steadily dials up throughout message, but sharply at “we exploit immigrants’ labor while denying immigrants’ rights,” and “we must transform our criminal justice system, immigration policies and economy.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated more successfully when messenger is an African American woman.

WHAT FALLS SHORT

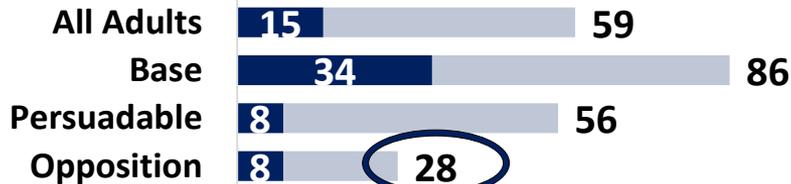
- X Persuadables dial down at “we see this in how police profile, imprison and kill Black people.”
- X Weak convincing and share ratings with persuadables.

Racial Justice

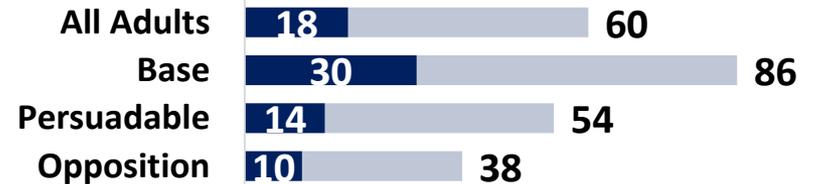
Base and persuadables react favorably to racial justice regardless of the messenger.
 Opposition adults are more likely alienated by an African American women.



How convincing did you find this message?



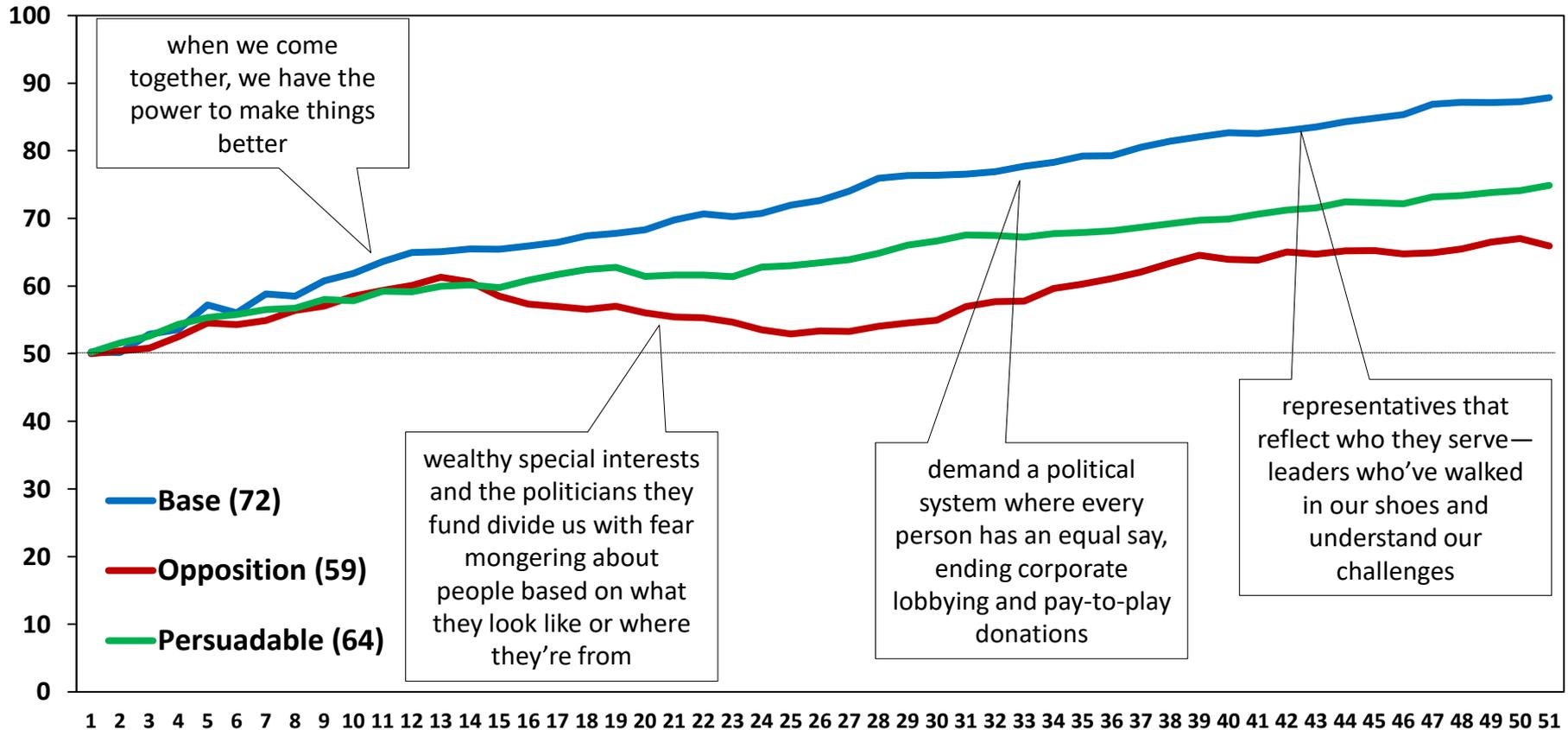
How convincing did you find this message?





Reform System – African American Woman

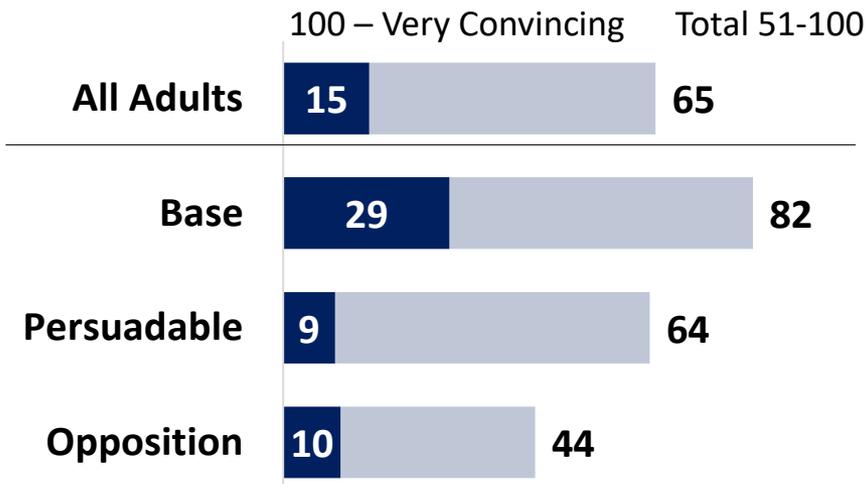
“United we stand, divided we fall.” This doesn’t mean we always agree. It means that when we come together, we have the power to make things better. But today, wealthy special interests and the politicians they fund divide us with fear mongering about people based on what they look like or where they’re from, while they rig the rules to benefit themselves. We must come together to demand a political system where every person has an equal say, ending corporate lobbying and pay-to-play donations. We deserve representatives that reflect who they serve—leaders who’ve walked in our shoes and understand our challenges. That’s how we ensure our schools, our workplaces and our society enable all of us to prosper.



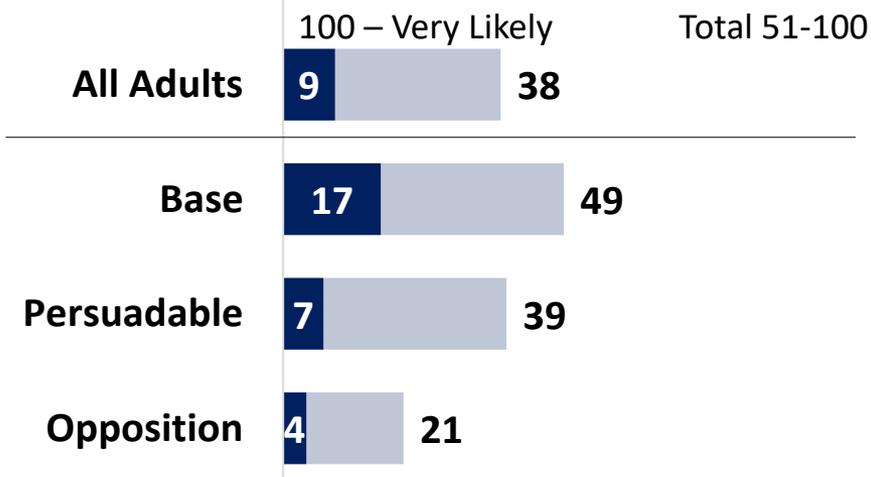
*Split Sampled

Reform System – African American Woman

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off with base.
- ✓ High convincing ratings with persuadables, strong with base.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “wealthy special interests and the politicians they fund divide us with fear mongering about people based on what they look like or where they’re from” which alienates opposition adults.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up throughout the message and for call to action to “demand a political system where every person has an equal say, ending corporate lobbying and pay-to-play donations.”

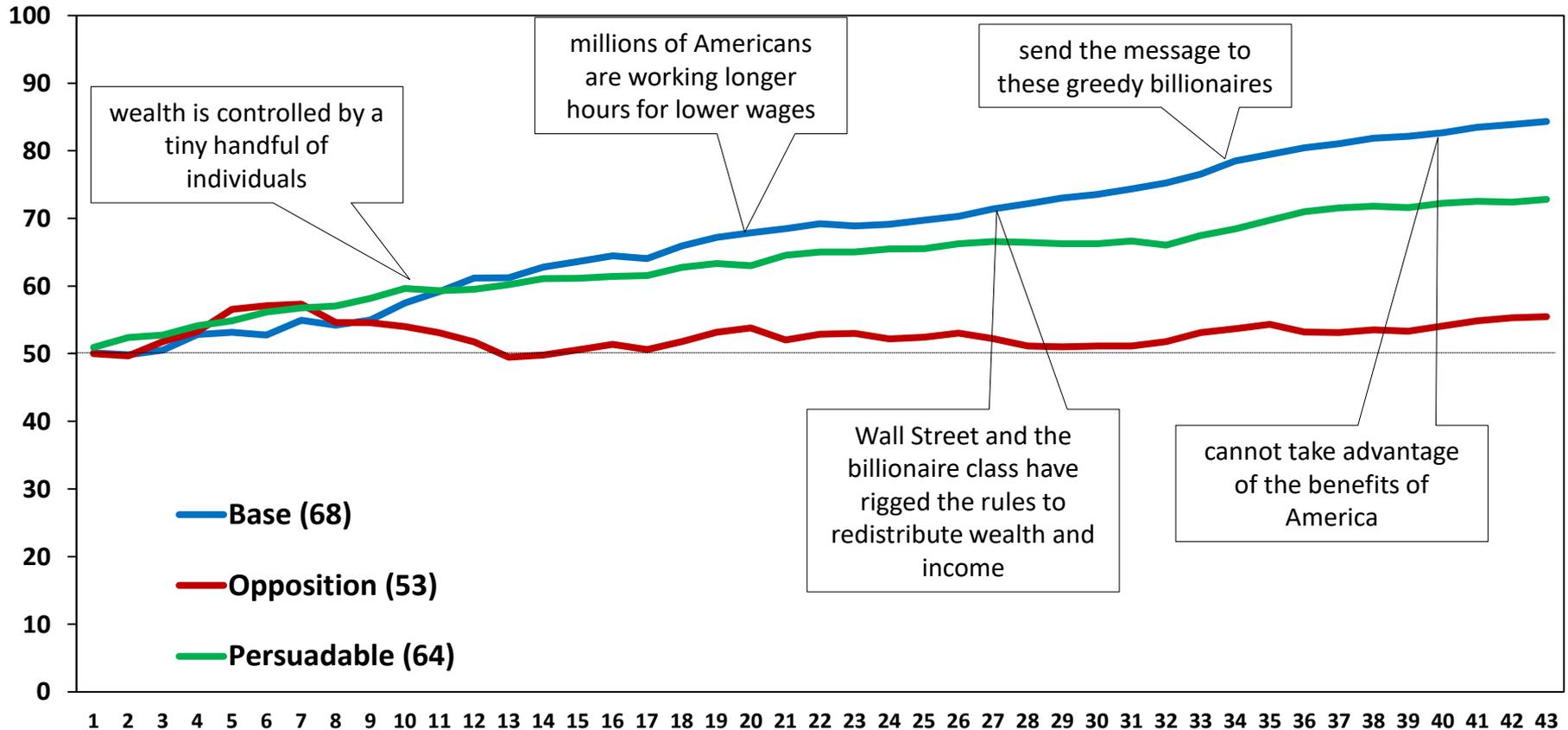
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Opposition is not as alienated as other messages, and dials up during call to action.



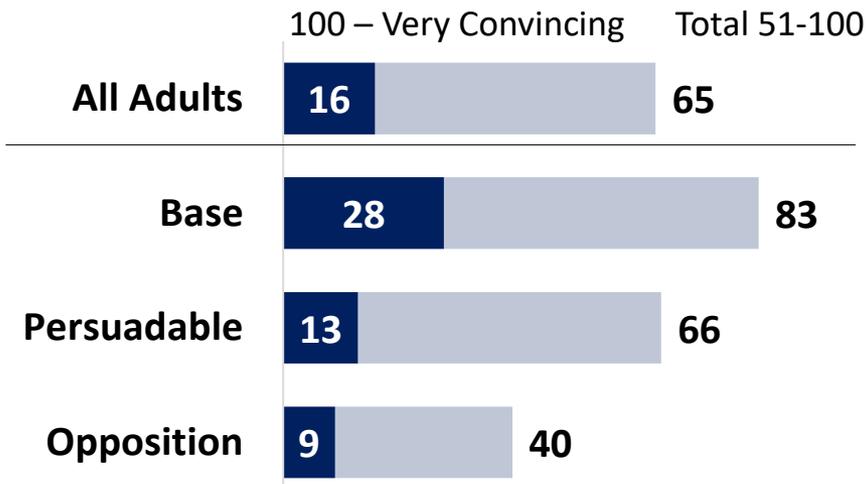
Colorblind Economic Populist – White Man

We live in the richest country in the history of the world, but that means little because much of that wealth is controlled by a tiny handful of individuals. Despite advancements in technology and productivity, millions of Americans are working longer hours for lower wages. Wall Street and the billionaire class have rigged the rules to redistribute wealth and income to the wealthiest and most powerful people of this country. We must send the message to these greedy billionaires that you cannot take advantage of all the benefits of America, if you refuse to accept your responsibilities as Americans.

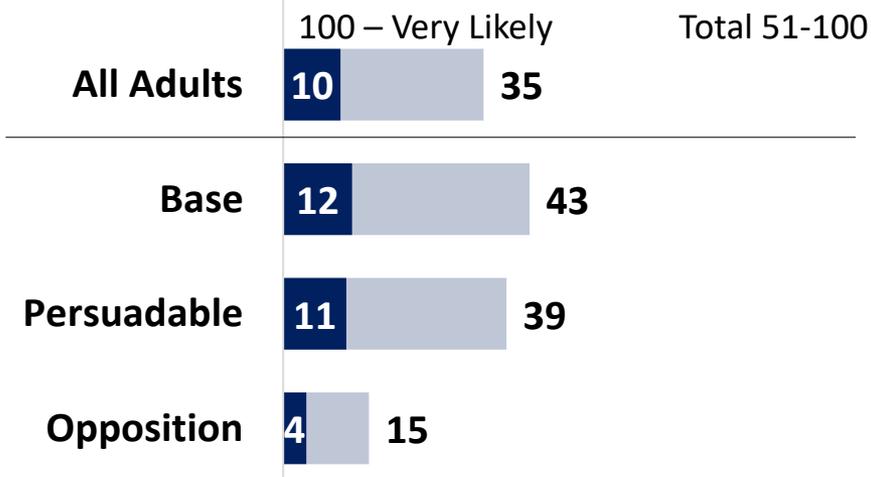


Colorblind Economic Populist – White Man

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “wealth is controlled by a tiny handful of individuals,” which alienates opposition.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “millions of Americans are working longer hours for lower wages” which alienates opposition.
- ✓ Call to action to “Send the message to these greedy billionaires” is strong with base and persuadable.
- ✓ Good convincing ratings with base and persuadables, but weaker than other messages.
- ✓ Alienates opposition adults.

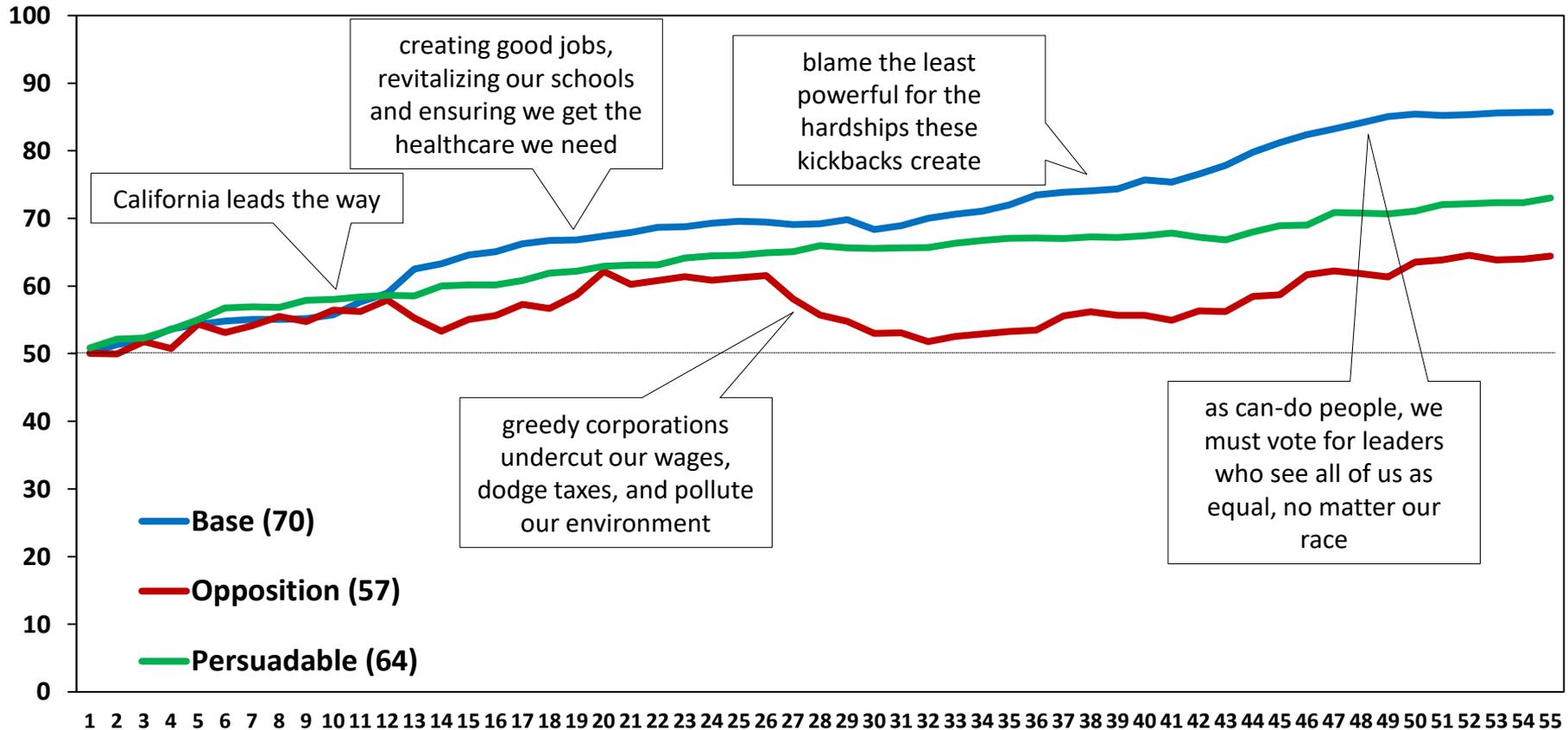
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Weaker convincing ratings with base compared to other messages.



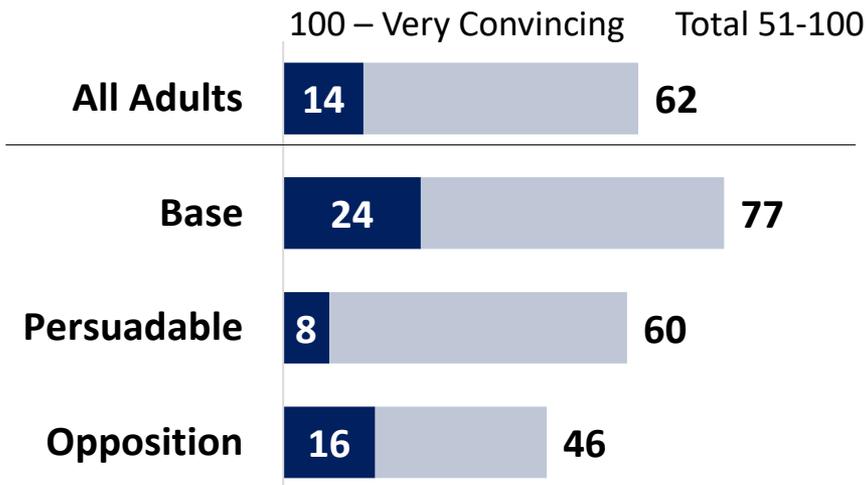
California Can-Do – White Man

Whether we're inventing technologies, creating entertainment or striving toward a more equal, open-minded and just society, California leads the way. Today we face many challenges: creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools and ensuring we get the healthcare we need. But instead of looking ahead and solving shared problems, greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and pollute our environment while the politicians they've purchased blame the least powerful for the hardships these kickbacks create. As can-do people, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, no matter our race or place of origin, and implement new solutions that will make this a more fair and prosperous place for everyone.

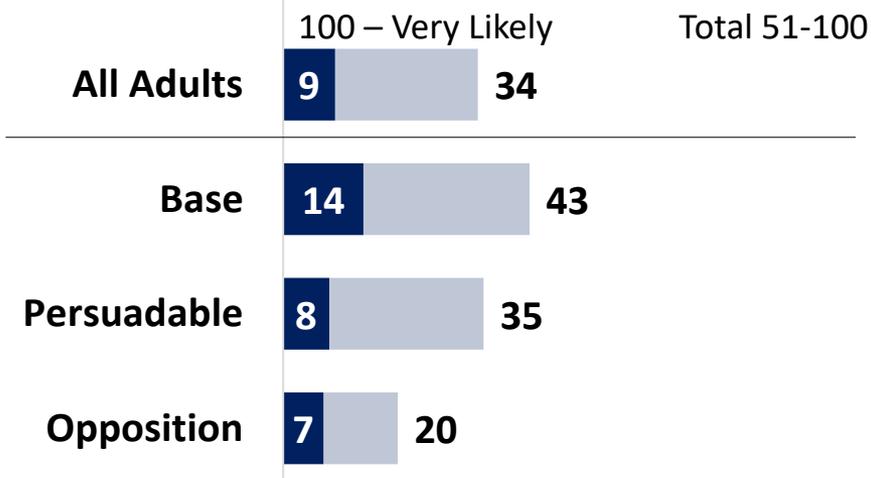


California Can-Do – White Man

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Expressing challenges as aspirational goals resonates with base “creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools and ensuring we get the healthcare we need.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and pollute our environment.”
- ✓ Base dials up on explanation of divide and conquer tactics “blame the least powerful for the hardships these kickbacks create.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at aspirational call to action, “as can-do people, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, no matter our race.”

WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Weak share ratings.
- X Opposition dials up with call to action.



Movement

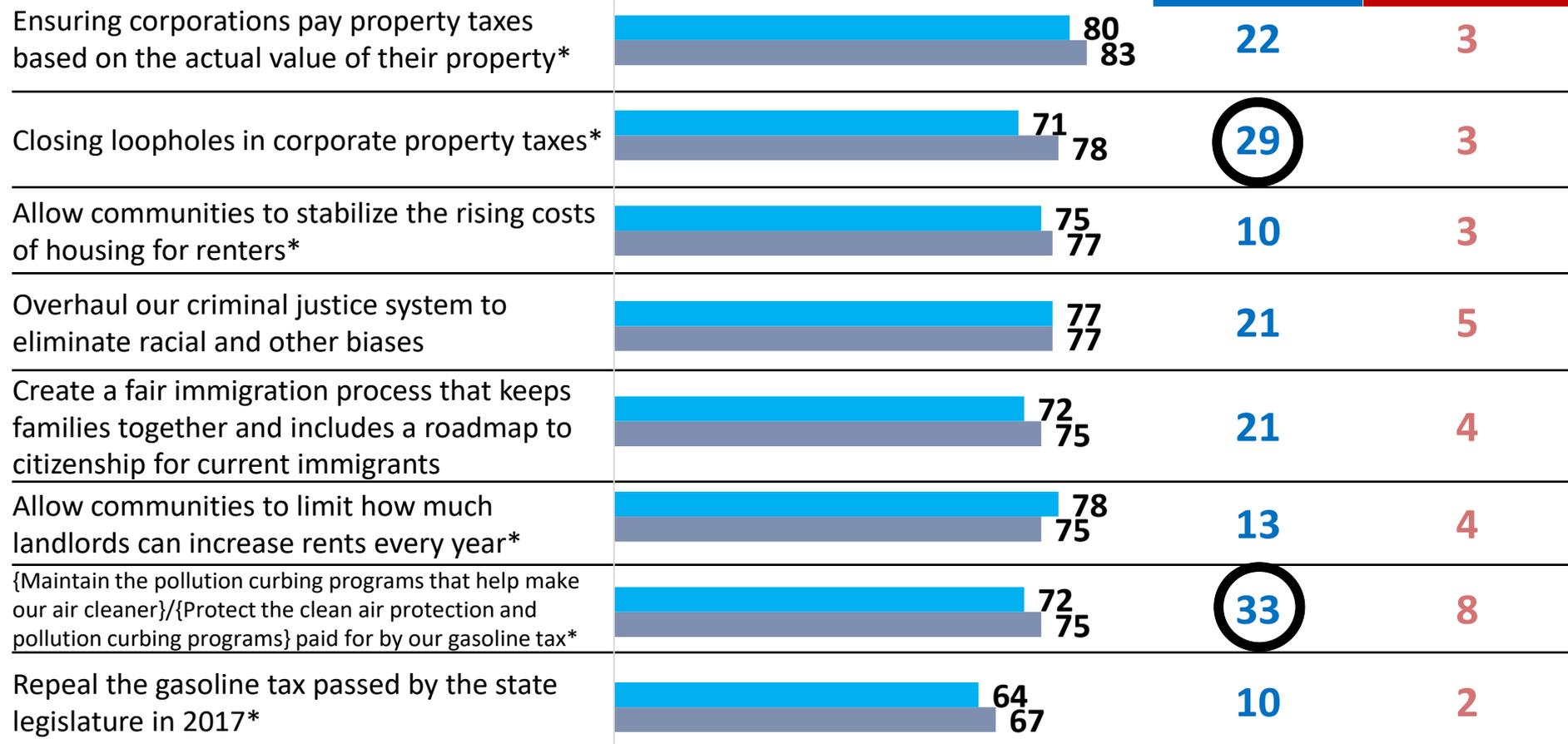
After messaging, people move toward increased support for the entire policy agenda, most notably closing loopholes in corporate property taxes and clean air protections.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Movement

Toward Favor

Toward Oppose



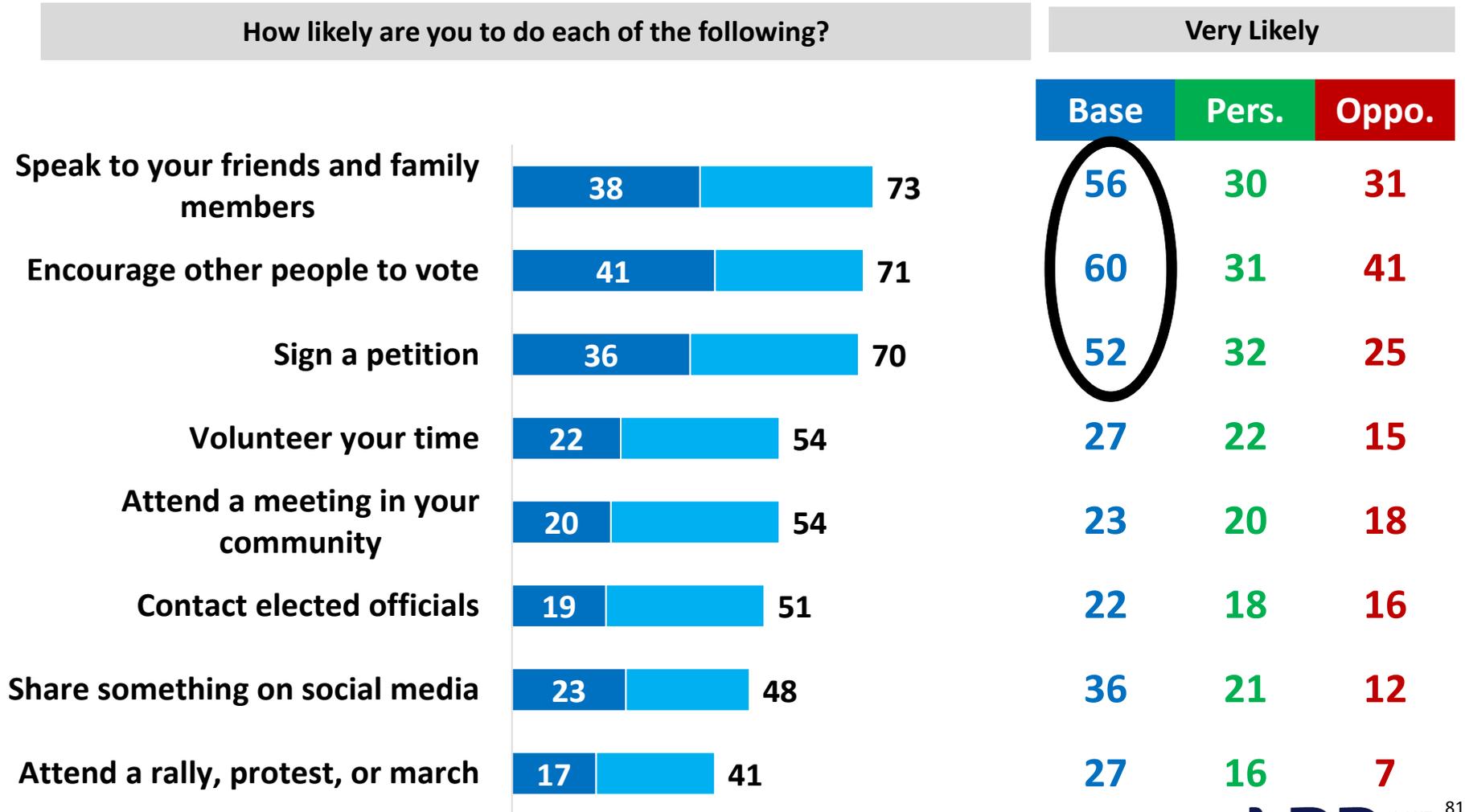
Total 6-10 – Total Favor

Final 6-10





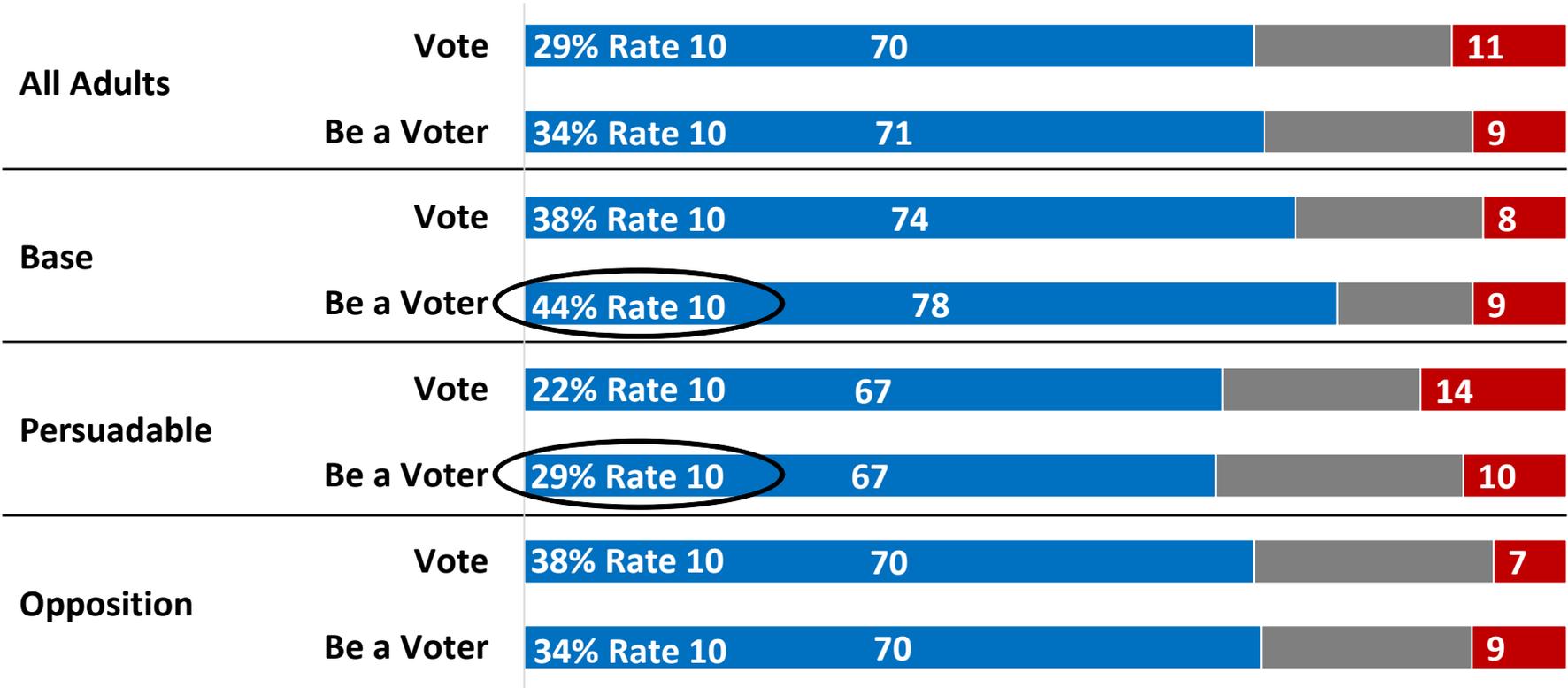
Base adults are the most likely to take action, particularly speak to their friends and family members, encourage others to vote, and sign a petition. They are also more likely to share something on social media.



Very Likely Total Likely

Base and persuadables are more enthusiastic to “be a voter” than to “vote.” The base are more enthusiastic than opposition adults in both cases.

How enthusiastic are you about to vote/be a voter in this November election?



■ 6-10 Enthusiastic ■ 5/DK ■ 0-4 Not Enthusiastic

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