



Race-Class Narrative

National Dial Survey Report



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**DOG
WHISTLE
POLITICS**

Findings and recommendations
from a national online survey
of adults









Demos
AN EQUAL SAY AND AN
EQUAL CHANCE FOR ALL



May 2018



Table of Contents

	Summary of Key Findings	5
	Key Dynamics	14
	Views on Race	23
	Beating Divide and Conquer	31
	Values and Language	37
	Messages	45
	Movement	71
	Taking Action	75

Methodology

- Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey in partnership with ASO Communications and Brilliant Corners Research and Strategy. It was conducted online from March 19 – March 26, 2018. The survey reached a total of 1,500 adults nationwide with oversamples of 100 African Americans, 100 Latinos, 100 millennials, 100 drop-off voters, and 100 unlikely voters.
- The data were weighed slightly by, age, region, race, and education to reflect attributes of the actual population. The oversamples were weighed slightly by gender to reflect the attributes of their actual populations. The oversamples were also weighed down into the base to reflect their natural proportion of the electorate.
- The margin of error for the total sample is +/-2.5%.

Defining Base, Opposition, and Persuadable

Throughout the report we refer to targets as base, opposition, and persuadable. They were created with a statistical cluster analysis that groups people by the patterns of their attitudes.

Base – 23% of adults

- Think not enough attention paid on race.
- Strong concerns about bias toward Blacks, Latinos, and people who are Muslim.
- Believe Blacks and Latinos face greater economic challenges than whites.
- Strongly support policy agenda.
- More likely to be women, African American, Latino, and Democratic.

Opposition – 18% of adults

- Think wealthy achieved success on their own.
- Oppose policy agenda.
- Concerned more with “reverse racism,” and think Blacks and Latinos are responsible for their own economic situation.
- More likely over 65, white, and Republican.

Persuadable – 59% of adults

- Have views that at times reflect base adults and at times reflect opposition adults.
- More likely to be men and younger. Partisan identification and racial composition more closely reflect demographics of the general public.

Demographics	Total	Base	Opp.	Pers.
Men	49	39	49	53
Women	51	61	51	47
Under 30	22	19	9	27
30-39	17	15	10	20
40-49	17	14	19	17
50-64	26	30	30	23
Over 65	18	21	32	13
White	65	56	84	63
AA	12	19	3	12
Latino	15	18	7	16
Asian	5	4	3	6
Northeast	18	19	14	19
Midwest	22	23	22	21
South	38	33	43	38
West	23	24	22	22
Democrat	47	82	8	45
Indep/DK	12	9	12	13
Republican	37	6	78	38



Summary of Key Findings

Key Findings

- There are three key dimensions that shape the base and opposition. First, base adults say that there is too little attention paid to race and racial issues in America today, while opposition adults say there is too much attention. Overall, Americans divide nearly evenly on this, and persuadables are slightly more likely to say too much attention is paid. However, 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 opposition adults reject.
- Second, base adults want government to create opportunities for advancement while opposition adults want government to get out of their way. Persuadables are more divided, though favor government creating more opportunities for advancement by 15 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.
- 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. However, aspirational messages are key, as is a call to action. As we saw in the focus groups, cynicism can be as a great an enemy as opposition.
- Lastly, base and persuadables strongly favor a policy agenda rooted in equality: ending discrimination against people of color in jobs, housing, and education; expanding Medicare to ensure healthcare for all Americans; overhauling our criminal justice system to eliminate racial and other biases; and, creating a fair immigration process that keeps families together and includes a roadmap to citizenship for current immigrants.

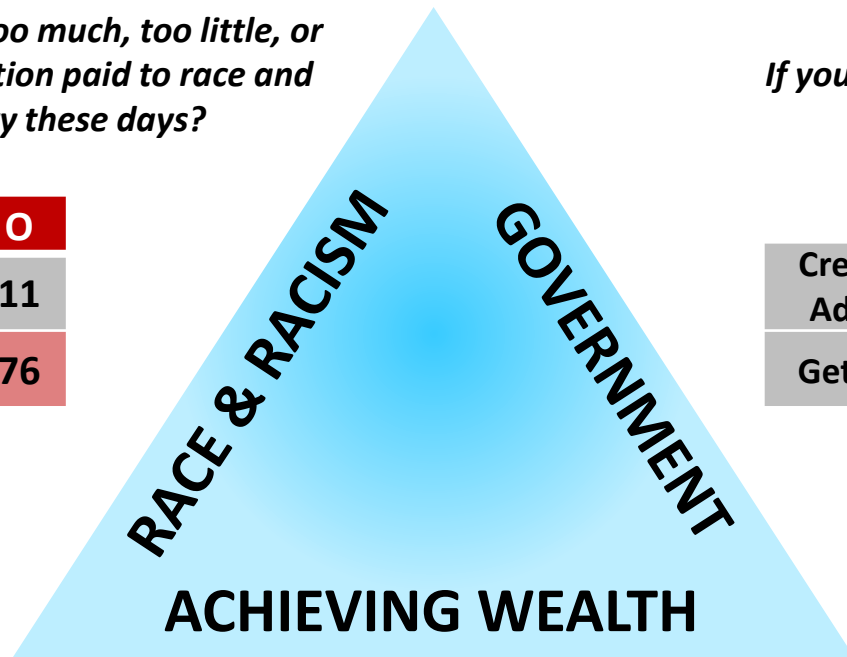
Three Core Dimensions: Racism, the role of government, and how people achieve wealth.

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	77	34	11
Too Much	9	39	76

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

	B	P	O
Create Opp. for Advancement	62	48	21
Get Out of Way	24	35	70



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	46	18
Worked harder than others	9	37	69

Key Findings

- Racism, bias against Black people, bias against Latinos, and prejudice against Muslims are significant concerns for base adults, and to a lesser extent persuadables. However, persuadables also have concerns about “reverse racism” and discrimination against whites.
- 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, the value of working together, the reality that African Americans face greater obstacles than whites, and support for unions.
- 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.”
- Secondly, persuadables have concerns about racism, but also they are the only group with strong concerns about “reverse racism.”
- Thirdly, persuadable adults, unlike the base, believe that people of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition.

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.
- First, it helps to **evoke race when articulating an agenda to make life better for working people**. For example, “put the interests of working people first, whether white, Black, and brown.” Doing so resonates more strongly with persuadables than simply articulating a positive agenda. It also alienates opposition adults, and thus better differentiates this positive agenda.
- Second, **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.
- Thirdly, 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. Its 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.

Messaging

- Our strongest message is “Working People.” This message registers the strongest convincing ratings among the base and persuadables. Our second strongest message is “America’s Strength – Divide.”
- 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. America’s Strength unites us by defining our country’s 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 point the finger for our hard times at poor families, Black people, and new immigrants.”
- Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, they then 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 America’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” message 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 the base and persuadables.

Messaging

- Regressions show that “Working People,” and “Colorblind Economic Populism” both increase people’s excitement to join together with others to take action and bring about change.
- Other messages are somewhat less effective for one of two other reasons. First, they linger on describing the problem. It is important that we find the right balance of positive to negative in the messaging frame. Or secondly, they provide an aspirational vision without a specific call to action (“When we come together we have the power” is not as effective as “We need to come together and elect new leaders.”).
- The opposition message is very strong with the opposition and also with persuadables. Among persuadables the opposition message has the lowest convincing rating, but their average dial rating is higher than several of our messages. Several themes of the opposition message resonate with persuadables including “keeping us safe” and “we need to make sure we take care of our own people first.”

Messaging Recommendations

Establish Shared Value

Establish a shared value before moving on to naming the problem.

Strong language: *“Most of us work hard for our families.” “Every child deserves to pursue their dreams.” “Our strength is our ability to work together.”*

Highlight Divisive Tactics

Call out divide-and-conquer tactics and connect them to the outcomes they create.

Strong language: *(tactics) “Divide us based on what we look like.” “Generate fear based on race.” (outcomes) “Re-writing the rules to line their pockets.” “Rig the rules for their own benefit.” “Rig the economic rules in their favor.”*

Name the Villain

It is more important to highlight the tactics they employ than merely naming them.

Strong language: *“wealthy special interests” or “the wealthy few” or “certain politicians and their lobbyists.”*

Work Together

Create a unity of purpose by describing people working together.

Strong language: *“working together” “knit together a landscape of people from different places into one nation.”*

Evoke Race

Talk about race when articulating an agenda to make life better for working people.

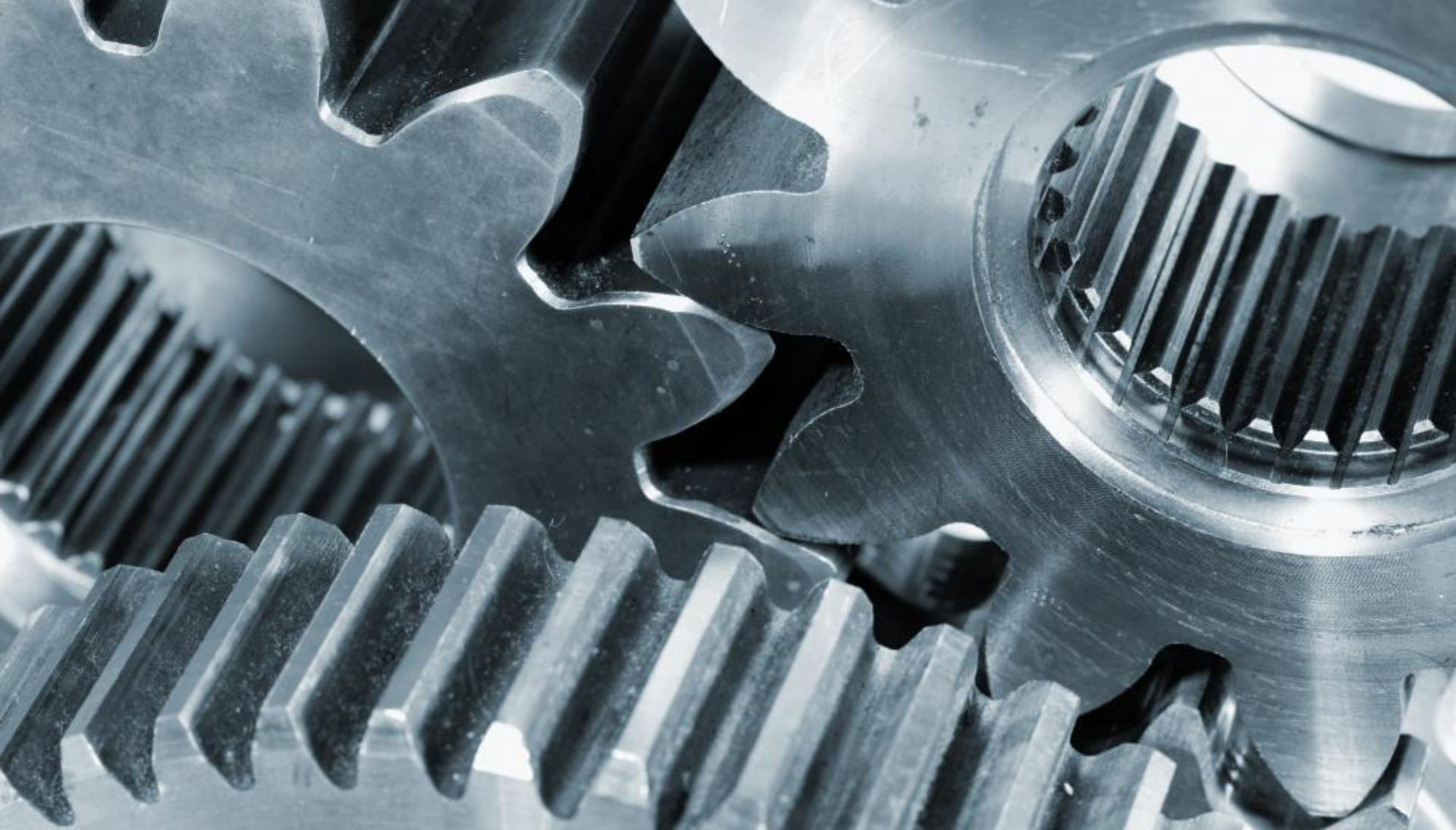
Strong language: *“put the interests of working people first, whether white, Black, and brown.”*

Provide a Call to Action

Don't dwell on problems. Provide a positive call to action around unity and change.

Strong Language: *“Stand up for each other and come together.” “Come together to elect new leaders.”*

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	Wealthy few, powerful elites	It’s useful to name villains by what they do, not the category they occupy.

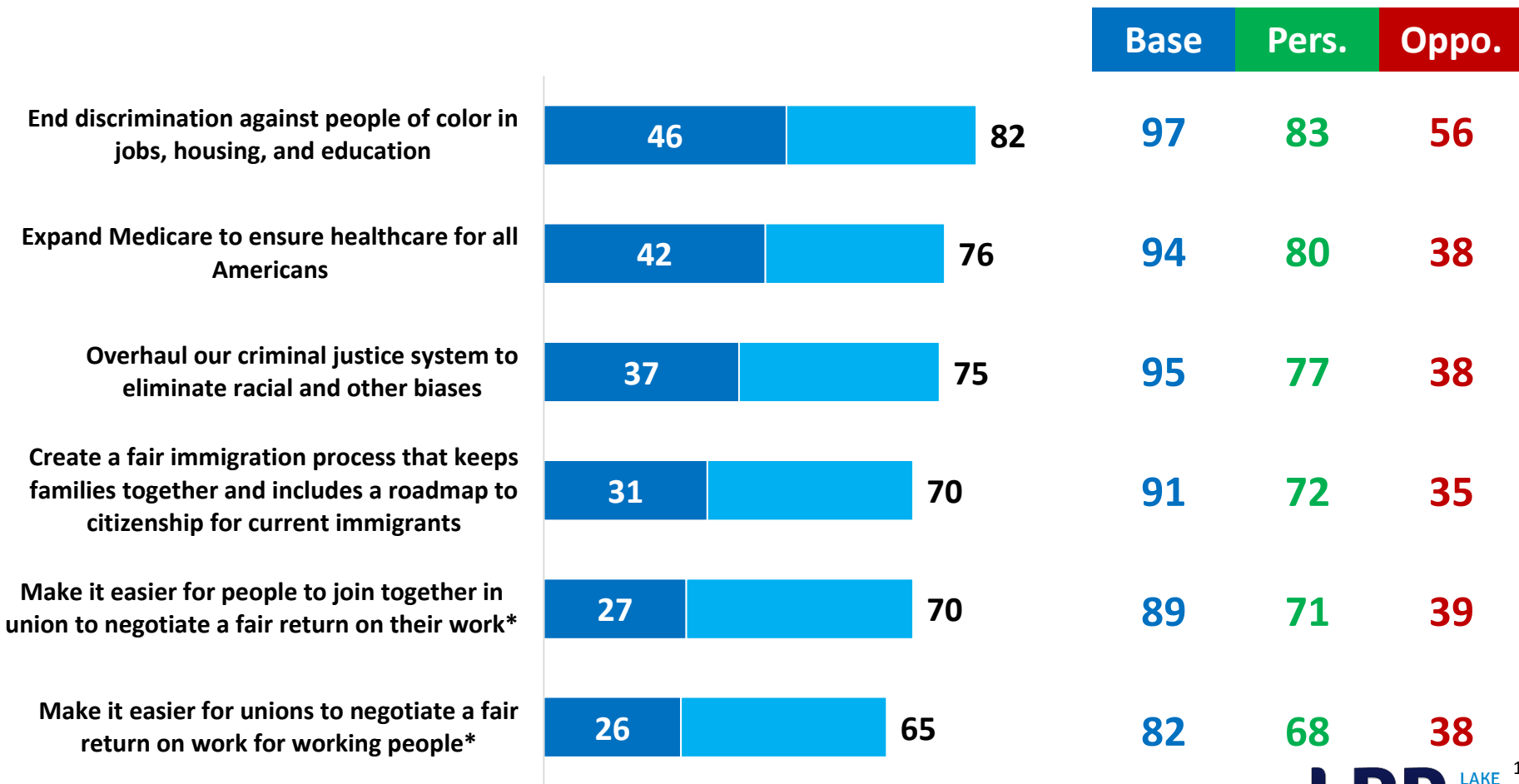


Key Dynamics

Base and persuadables strongly support policies to end discrimination, expand Medicare, overhaul our criminal justice system, and create a fair immigration process.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Total 6-10



10 – Strongly Favor

Total 6-10 – Total Favor

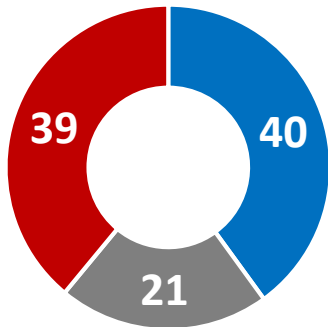
*Split Sampled

Perceptions on attention paid to race and racial issues, views on government, and how Americans achieve their wealth correlate strongly with base and opposition adults. Persuadables are more divided.

Race & Racism

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 Right Amount



Too Much Too Little

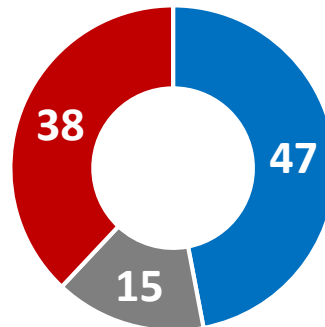
Base	9	77
Pers.	39	34
Opp.	76	11

Government

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

Gov. get out of your way

Gov. create opportunities for advancement



Out of Way Create More Opp.

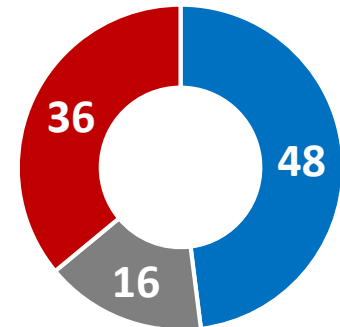
Base	24	62
Pers.	35	48
Opp.	70	21

Achieving Wealth

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

...because they worked harder than others

...because they were given more opportunity than others



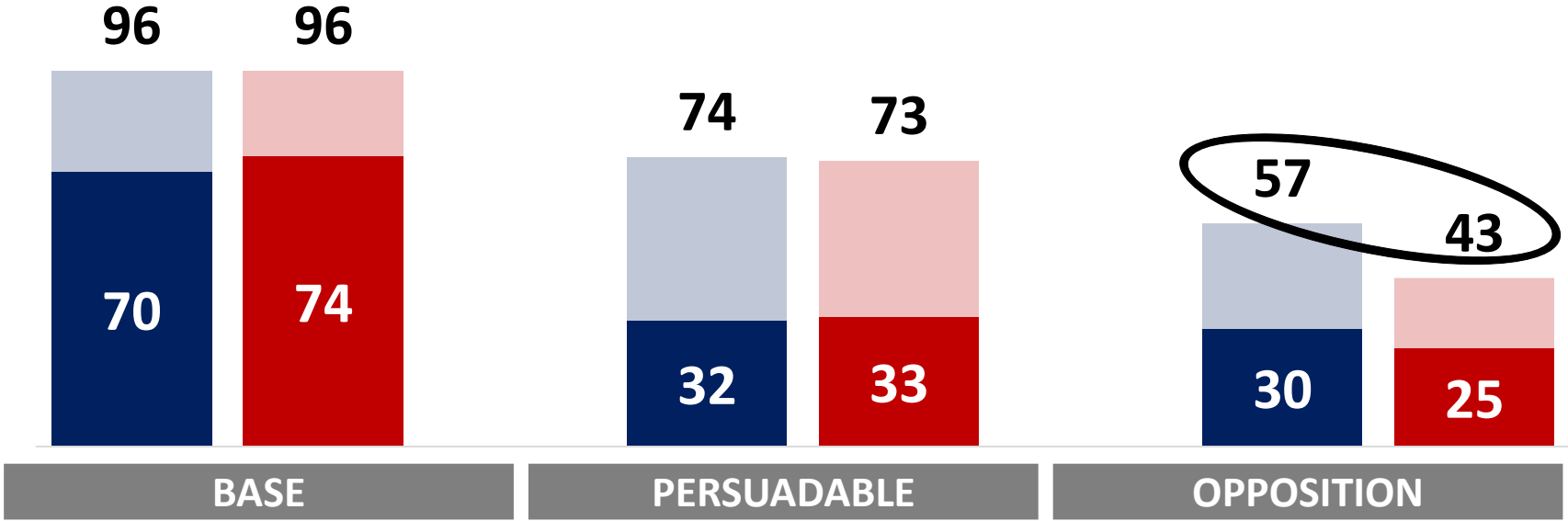
Worked Harder Given more opp.

Base	9	76
Pers.	37	46
Opp.	69	18

Base and persuadables believe it is important to create fair and equitable laws for everyone. “Form alliances” alienates opposition adults.

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

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



Total Important: 6-10
 Very Important: 10

Split Sampled

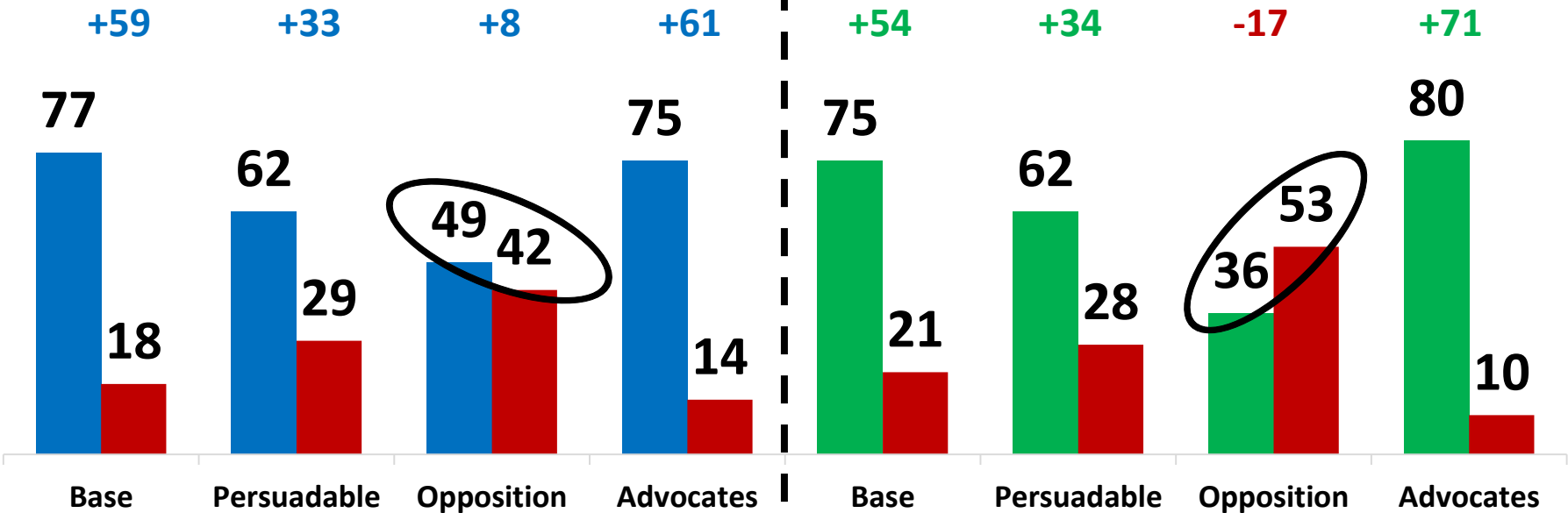
Base and persuadables remain optimistic. Asserting our commitment to treating people equally alienates the opposition, who respond more to an American identity. It also resonates more strongly with advocates, who are less inclined to agree when prefaced with “As Americans.”

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We will never achieve fair and equitable treatment for all people

As Americans, 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



Split Sampled

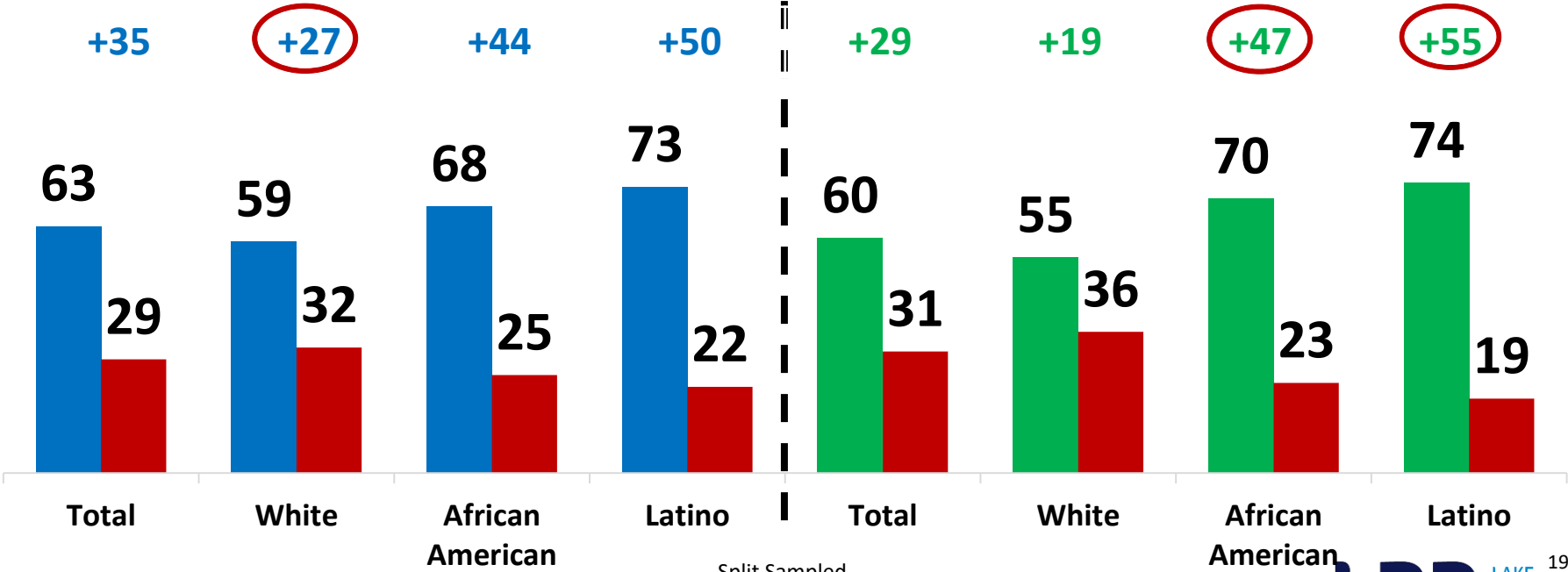
Whites agree more when we preface with “As Americans.” African Americans and Latinos agree more when we do not preface with “As Americans.”

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We will never achieve fair and equitable treatment for all people

As Americans, 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

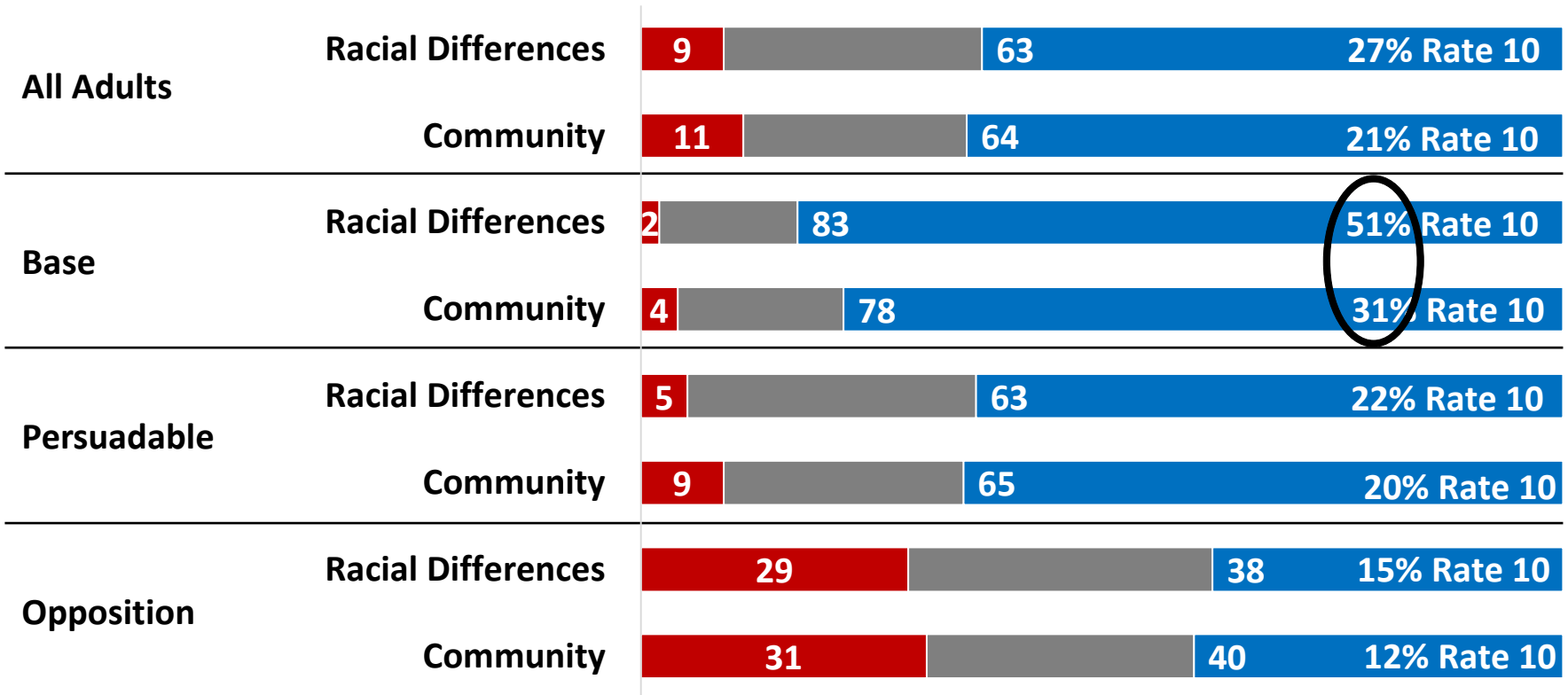
If we were really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally no matter their race, religion, or country of origin



Split Sampled

Base adults are more excited at joining together with “people across racial differences” to take action and bring about change. There is no difference in responses to referring to racial differences or community among persuadables.

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

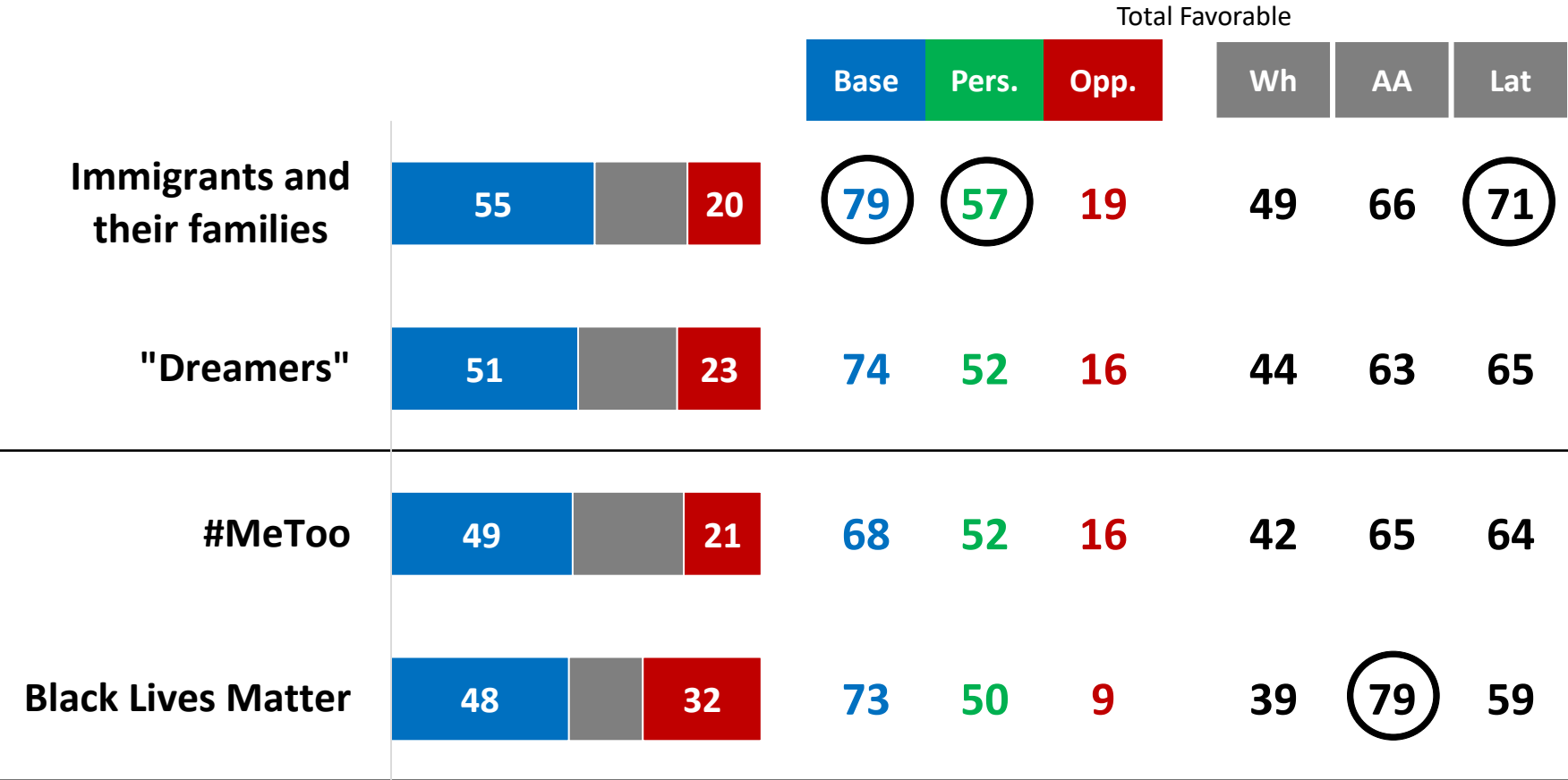


■ 0-4 Not Excited ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Excited

Split Sampled

Base, persuadable, and Latino adults are more favorable toward “immigrants and their families” than they are toward “Dreamers.”

How favorable are you to each of the following?



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

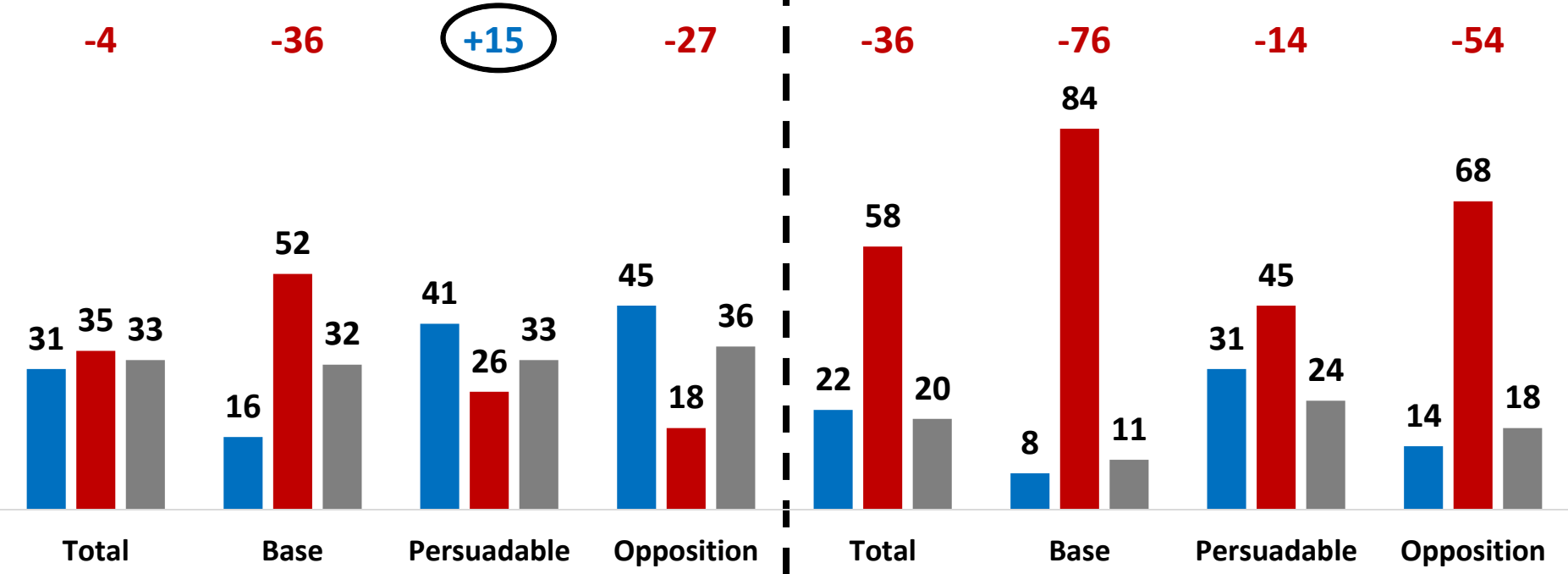
A third of people don't know what the alt right is. All groups are more negative to white nationalists than the alt right. However, troublingly, persuadables are more favorable to both, and net positive on the alt right.

How favorable are you to each of the following?

Alt Right Groups

White Nationalist Groups

■ Total Favorable ■ Total Unfavorable ■ No Opinion

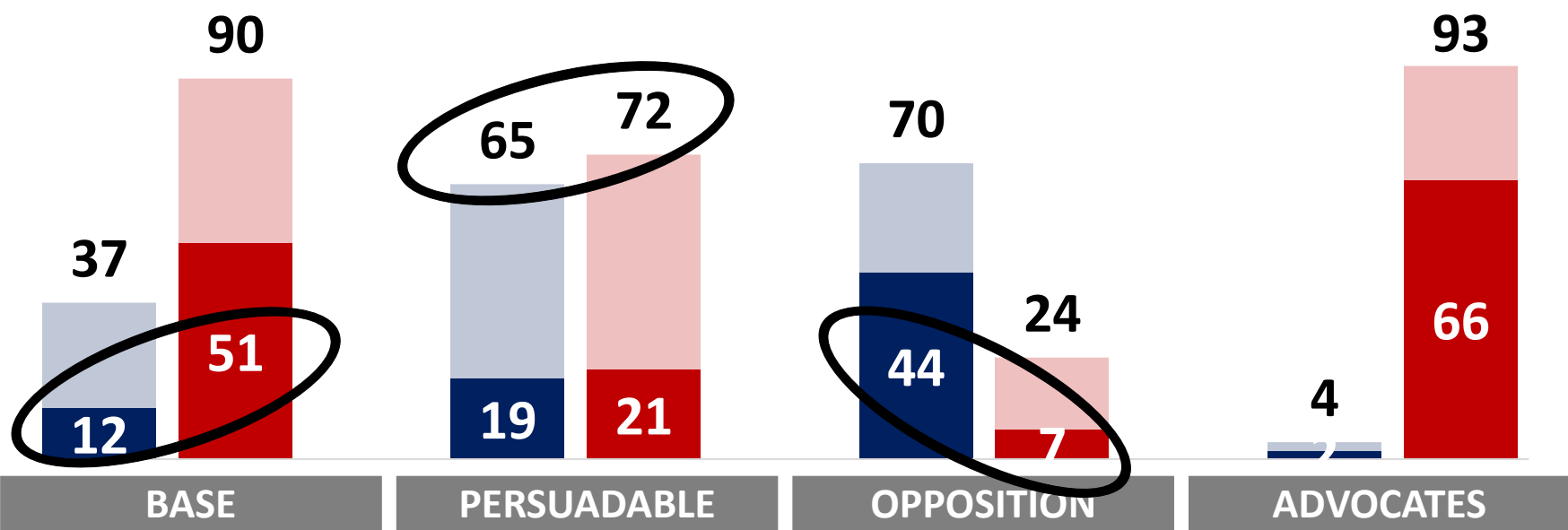




Base and persuadables are more likely to agree that focusing on and talking about race is necessary toward moving forward toward greater equality, and less likely to agree that it doesn't fix anything and may even make things worse.

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



Rated 6-10

 Rated 10

Split Sampled

Base adults have strong concerns about racism (more than racial fear) and bias against Black people (more than against African Americans). Opposition adults and persuadables have concerns about discrimination against whites.

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	72	97	32	73
Racial Fear	61	77	28	65
Bias against Black people	66	94	24	66
Bias against African Americans	63	89	22	66
Bias against Latinos	62	88	22	63
Bias against Hispanics	57	81	16	61
Reverse Racism	58	50	49	64
Discrimination against whites	57	36	66	64
Prejudice against Muslims	60	89	17	60
Prejudice against people who are Muslim	59	81	17	63
Fear of people who are Muslims	56	65	39	58
Fear of Muslims	53	63	30	57

African Americans are somewhat more concerned with bias against “Black people” than bias against “African Americans.” Latinos are somewhat more concerned with bias against “Latinos” than bias against “Hispanics.”

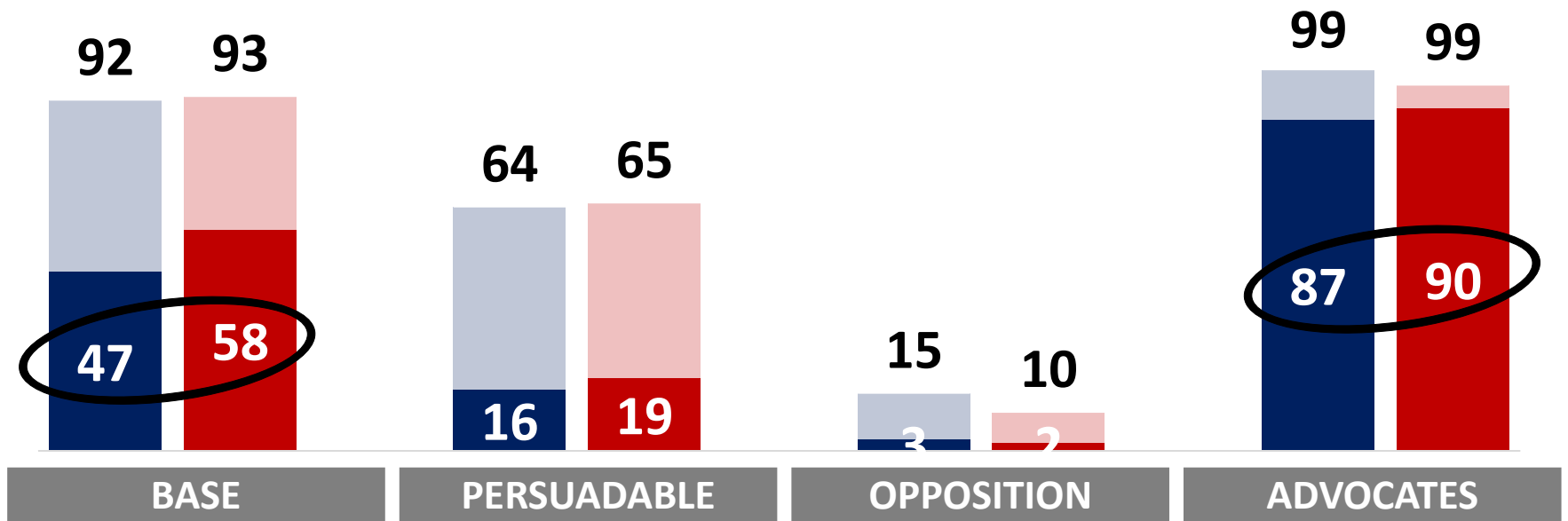
How concerned are you personally about each of the following on a scale of 0 to 10?

[Total 6-10, Concerned Shown]	All	Wh	AA	Lat
Racism	72	67	87	82
Racial Fear	61	56	71	69
Bias against Black people	66	59	86	78
Bias against African Americans	63	56	83	75
Bias against Latinos	62	54	74	81
Bias against Hispanics	57	50	67	72
Reverse Racism	58	58	52	63
Discrimination against whites	57	61	47	56
Prejudice against Muslims	60	53	73	76
Prejudice against people who are Muslim	59	52	67	75
Fear of people who are Muslims	56	52	55	65
Fear of Muslims	53	52	54	61

Both base adults and advocates respond more strongly to “African Americans” in terms of facing greater obstacles to economic 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

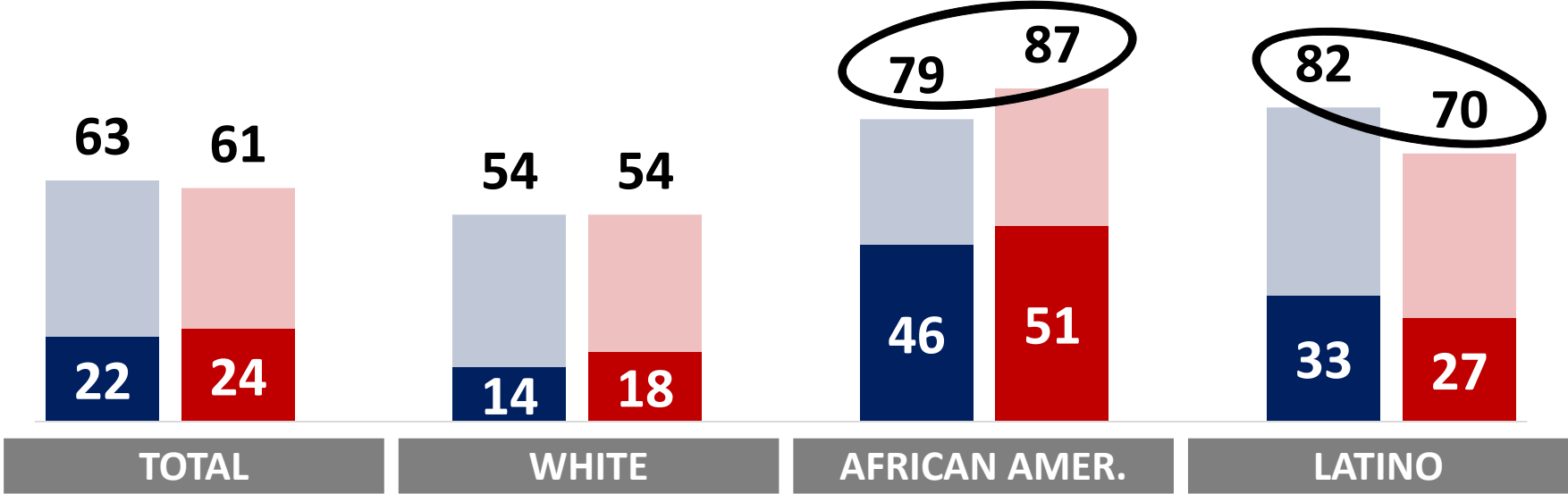
 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

African Americans agree more when we say “African Americans” than when we say “Black people.” Latinos agree more when we say “Black people.”

Black people face greater obstacles to economic success than whites

African Americans face greater obstacles to economic success than whites



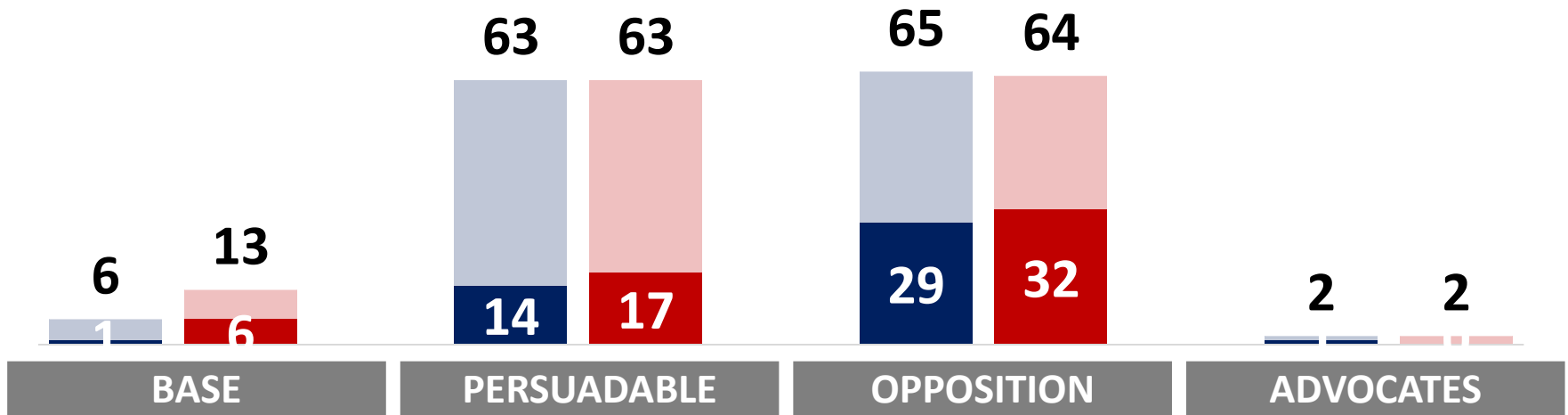
Total Agree: 6-10
 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

Nearly two thirds of persuadables agree that people of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition. Base and advocates reject this.

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

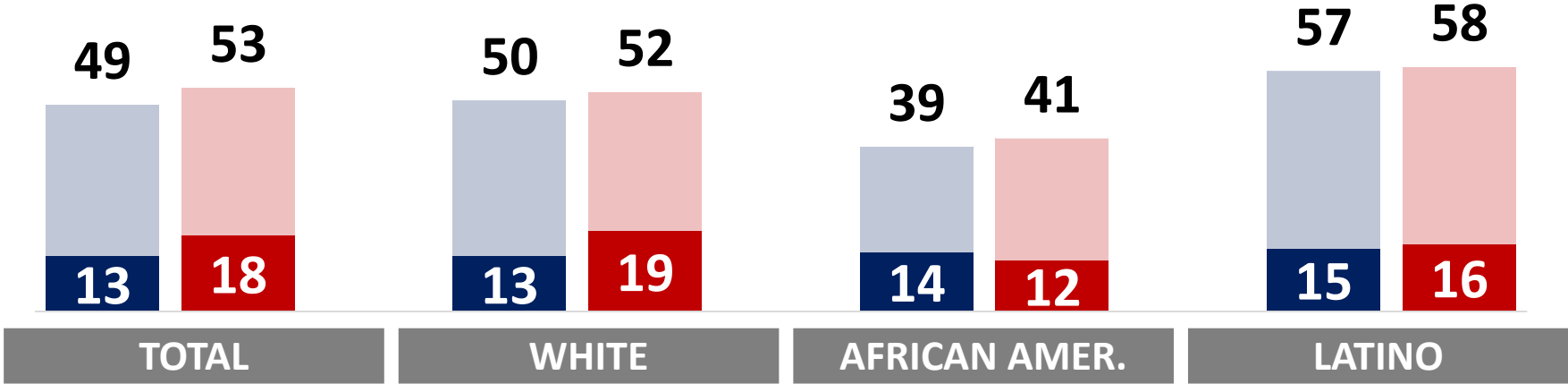
Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

When it comes to whether people of color or African Americans and Latinos who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition, African Americans are less likely to agree, while Latinos are more likely to agree.

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

Split Sampled



**Beating Divide
and Conquer**

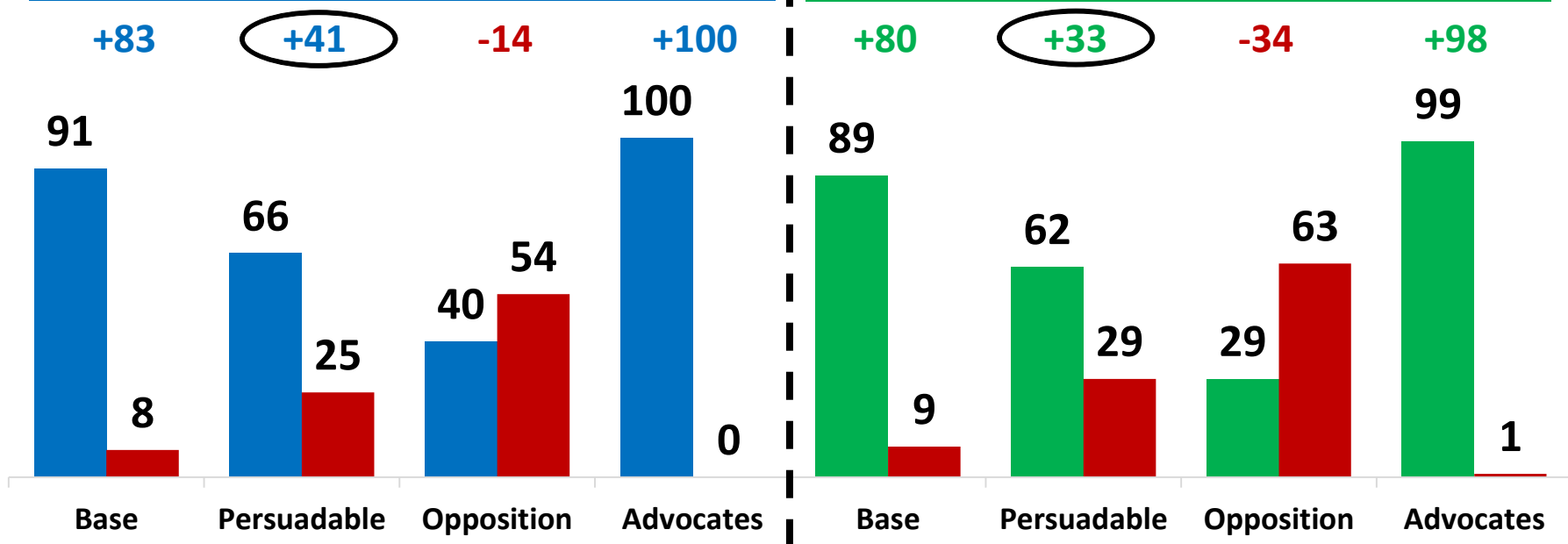
Evoking race with language “white, black, and brown” resonates more strongly with persuadables in the context of articulating an agenda to make life better for working people, beating an opposing agenda by a greater margin.

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 divide and conquer tactics is more effective with base adults and advocates but less so with persuadables against the notion that there are people expecting things to be handed to them.

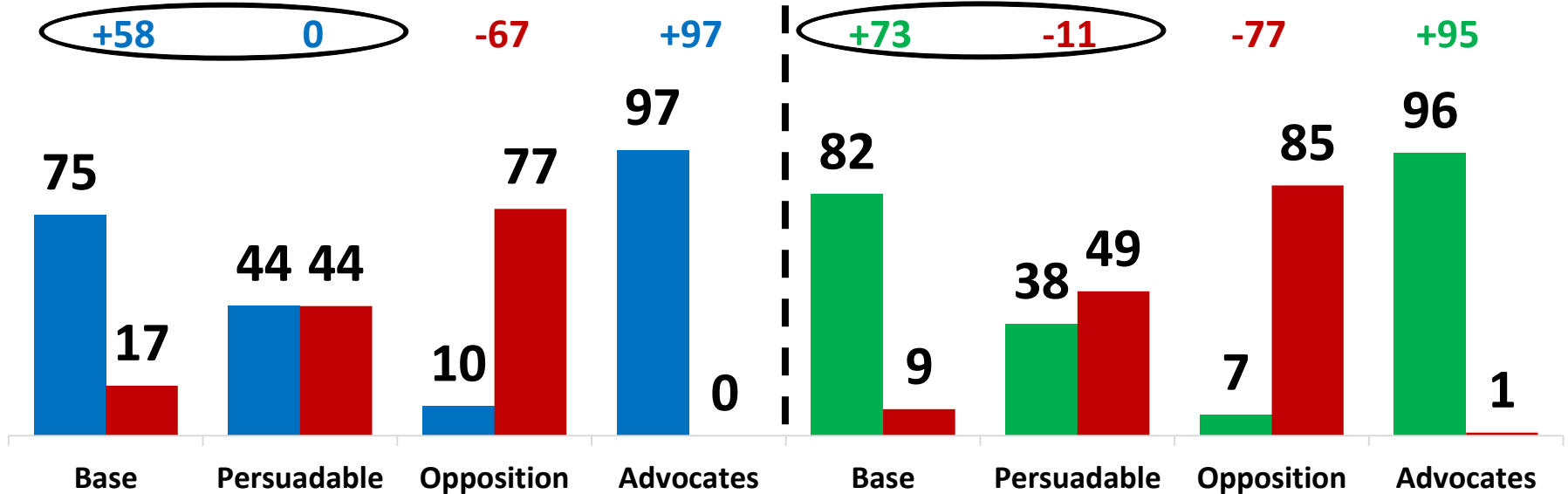
Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

People who expect to have everything handed to them are holding us back and damaging our economy by draining our public services

What hold 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, dividing us against each other by blaming black and brown people for our problems so they can rig the rules in their favor



Split Sampled

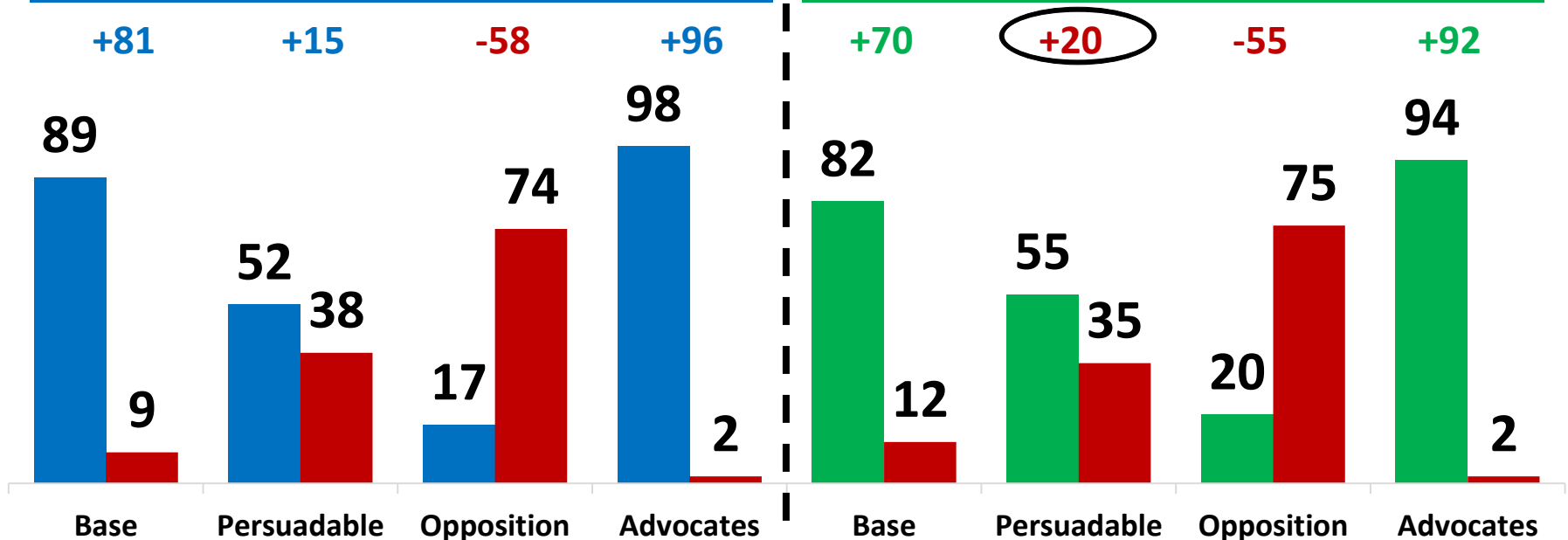
Aspirational language is key with base and persuadables. Persuadables are more likely to agree with a forward looking vision. They react slightly more strongly to solutions language.

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 beliefs

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

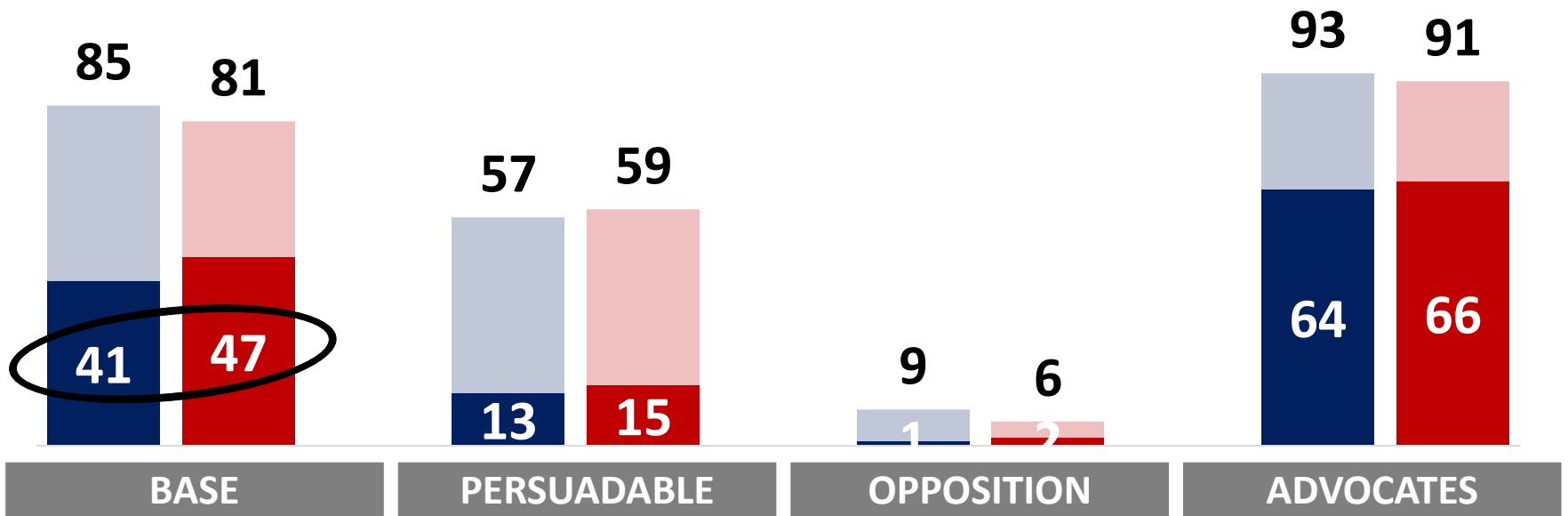


Split Sampled

“Wealthy special interests” evokes more intensity with base adults. Opposition adults reject the premise.

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

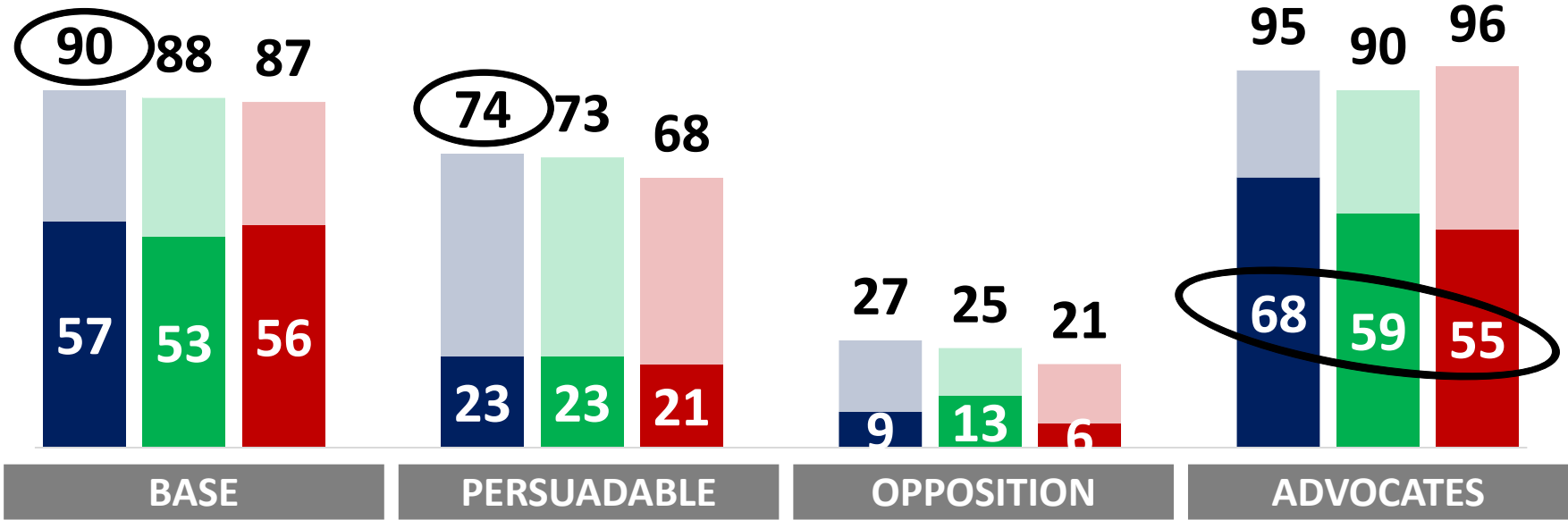
Split Sampled

“Dividing the rest of us” is the strongest descriptor for what the powerful do in order to rig the economic rules in their favor.

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

Split Sampled

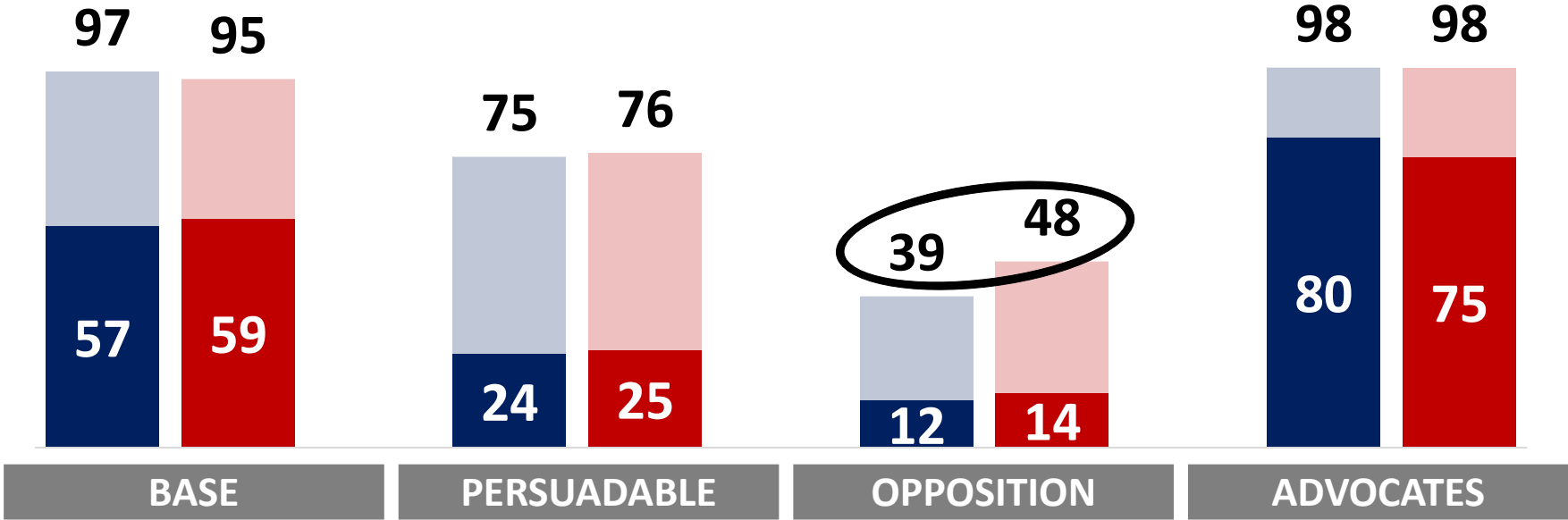


Values and Language

Opposition adults reject the notion that we should respect immigrants when framed as an American value, but agree when framed as a function of being caring people. There is no difference for base and persuadables.

As Americans, 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



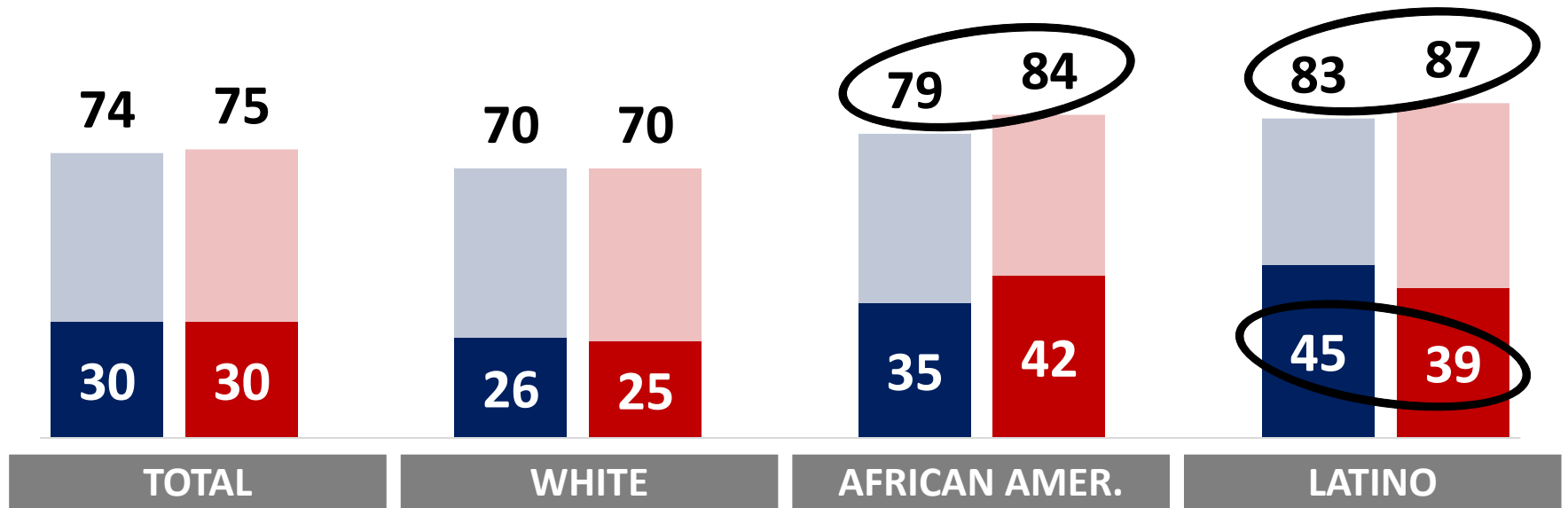
Total Agree: 6-10
 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

African Americans and Latinos are both more likely to agree that we should respect people who have moved here when framed as a function of being caring people. However Latinos agree when framed “As Americans” with greater intensity.

As Americans, 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

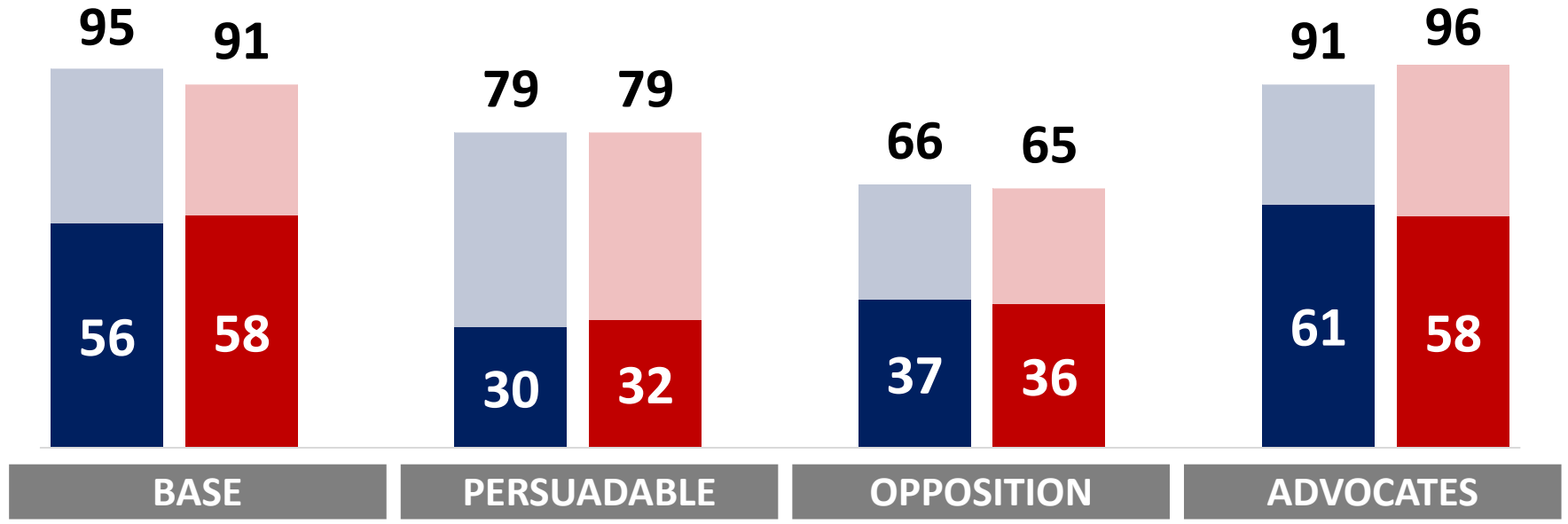
 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

There is little difference to nationalistic framing around protecting people's right to practice their religious beliefs. People are also more protective of religious freedom, it is a different schema.

As open-minded people, we should protect people's right to practice their religious beliefs

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




 Total Agree: 6-10

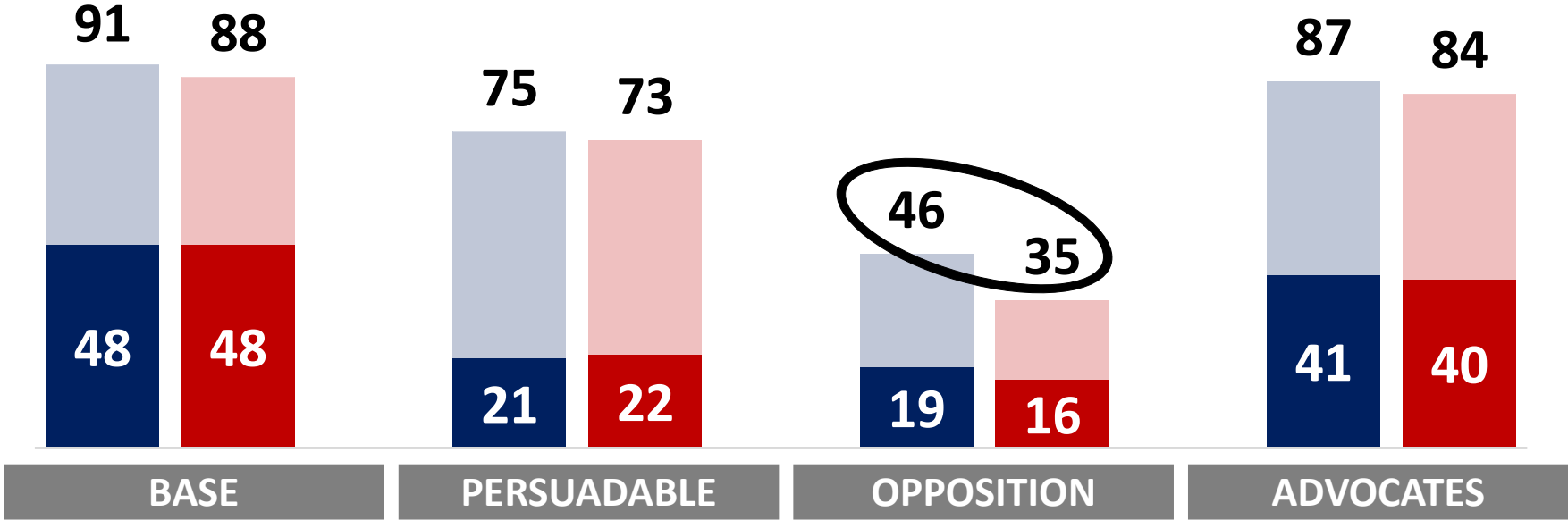
 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

“Boxing people in” resonates with base and persuadables and is more likely to be rejected by opposition adults.

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



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

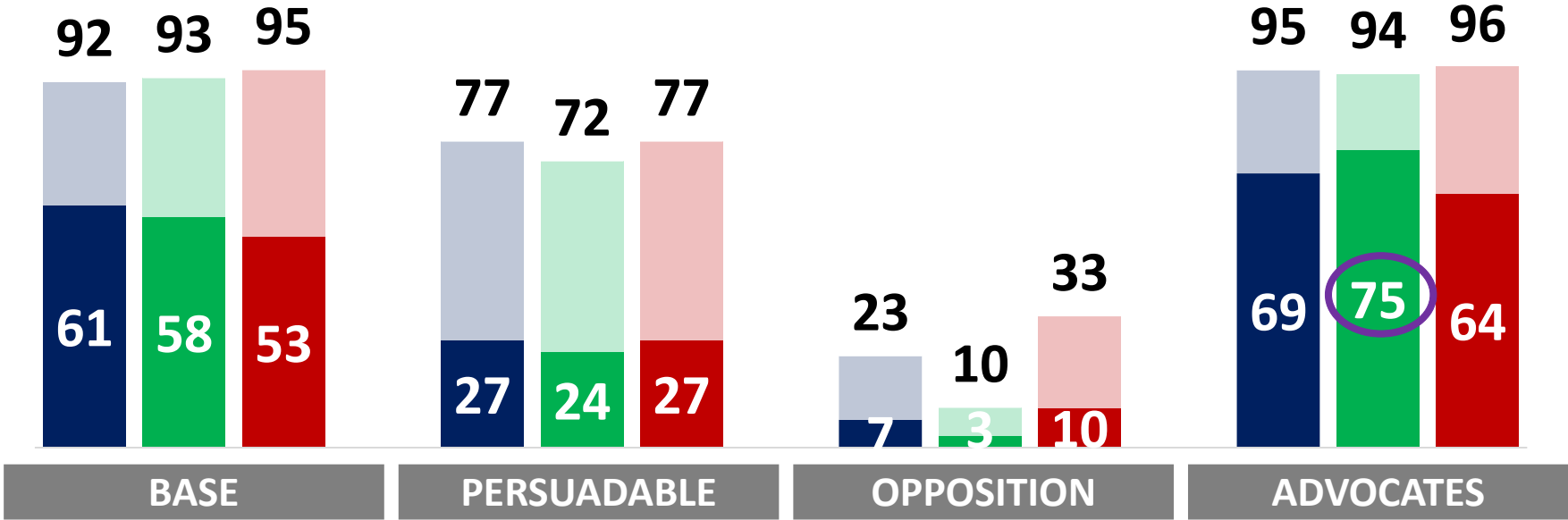
Split Sampled

The “wealthy few” most successfully alienates opposition adults and resonates most strongly with advocates. The “greedy few” is the slightly stronger language with base and persuadables.

The greedy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor

The wealthy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor

Greedy and powerful bosses have rigged the economic rules in their favor



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

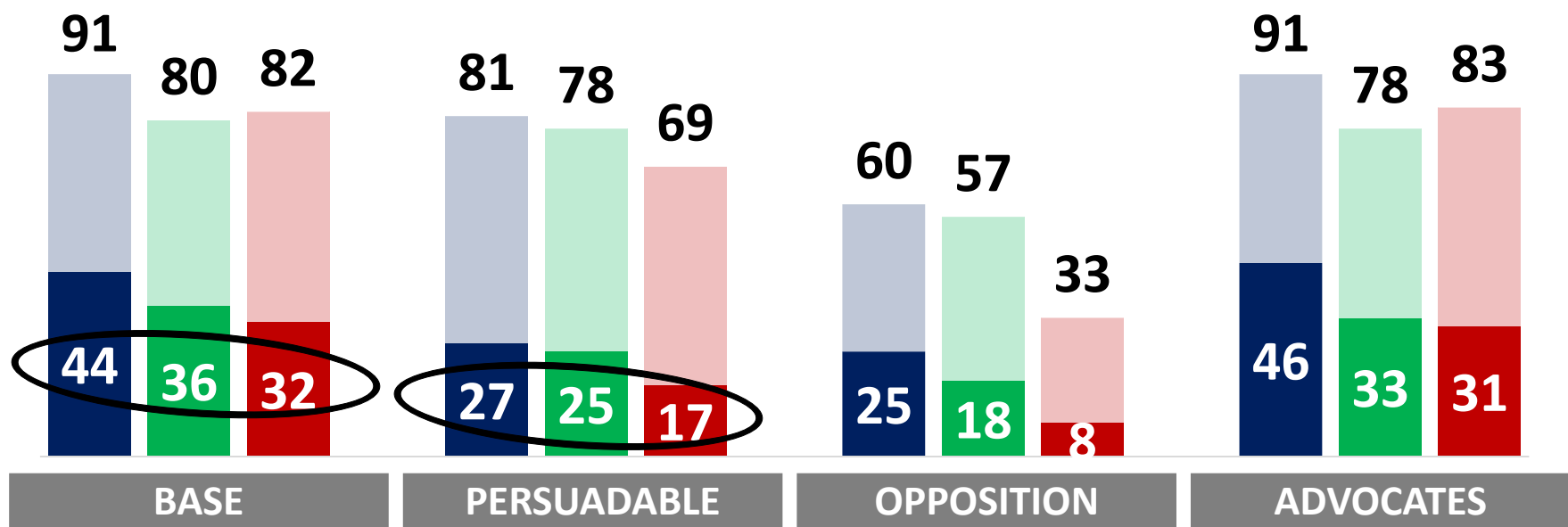
Split Sampled

“Working together” is the strongest with both base and persuadables, but also brings along the opposition, who are most likely to reject “joining in alliance.”

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

By acting as a team we can restore the balance in our economy so that everyone can benefit

By joining in alliance we can restore the balance in our economy so that everyone can benefit



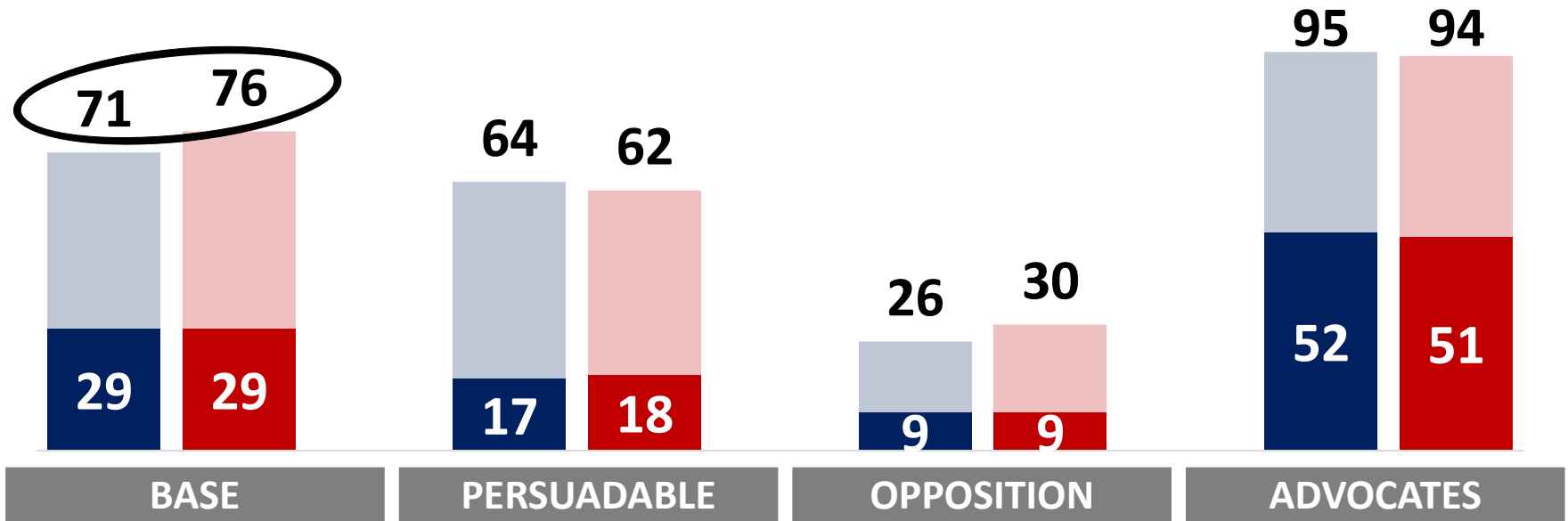
Total Agree: 6-10
 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

Highlighting membership creates a greater sense of union efficacy among base adults.

Labor unions improve the lives of working people

Through membership in our unions, we can improve the lives of working people



Total Agree: 6-10

Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled



Messaging

Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Base Convincing Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating					Mean Dial Rating					Mean Share Rating				
	All	Ad	B	P	O	All	Ad	B	P	O	All	Ad	B	P	O
Working People	70	82	87	73	42	65	75	73	67	49	63	61	77	67	29
America's Strength – Divide	72	78	85	74	52	68	70	74	70	58	62	57	76	66	28
America's Strength – Matter	71	81	85	72	48	67	71	74	68	54	61	61	69	66	28
Can Do – No More Blame	68	74	82	71	41	65	66	71	66	54	58	54	68	65	19
Come Together – With Race	71	76	82	71	50	66	68	69	67	57	61	53	68	65	34
Reform System – Reflective	69	80	82	70	46	64	73	71	66	51	60	58	71	66	19
Future Children – AA Woman	68	83	82	70	42	63	74	71	65	49	61	62	75	65	26
Future Children – White Woman	69	81	82	70	43	64	70	69	65	50	60	65	65	65	27
Divide – Come Together	71	78	81	72	51	65	70	70	66	56	61	59	69	64	36
Colorblind Economic Populist	68	77	81	71	40	62	71	68	64	48	60	56	68	65	25
Opposition	65	6	47	68	75	64	25	54	66	71	55	2	36	62	54

Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Base Convincing Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating		Mean Dial Rating		Mean Share Rating	
	All	Union	All	Union	All	Union
Working People	70	75	65	68	63	73
America's Strength – Divide	72	77	68	69	62	74
America's Strength – Matter	71	74	67	68	61	67
Can Do – No More Blame	68	70	65	69	58	66
Come Together – With Race	71	74	66	68	61	70
Reform System – Reflective	69	72	64	69	60	67
Future Children – AA Woman	68	74	63	66	61	73
Future Children – White Woman	69	70	64	66	60	67
Divide – Come Together	71	76	65	69	61	71
Colorblind Economic Populist	68	70	62	65	60	68
Opposition	65	65	64	65	55	65

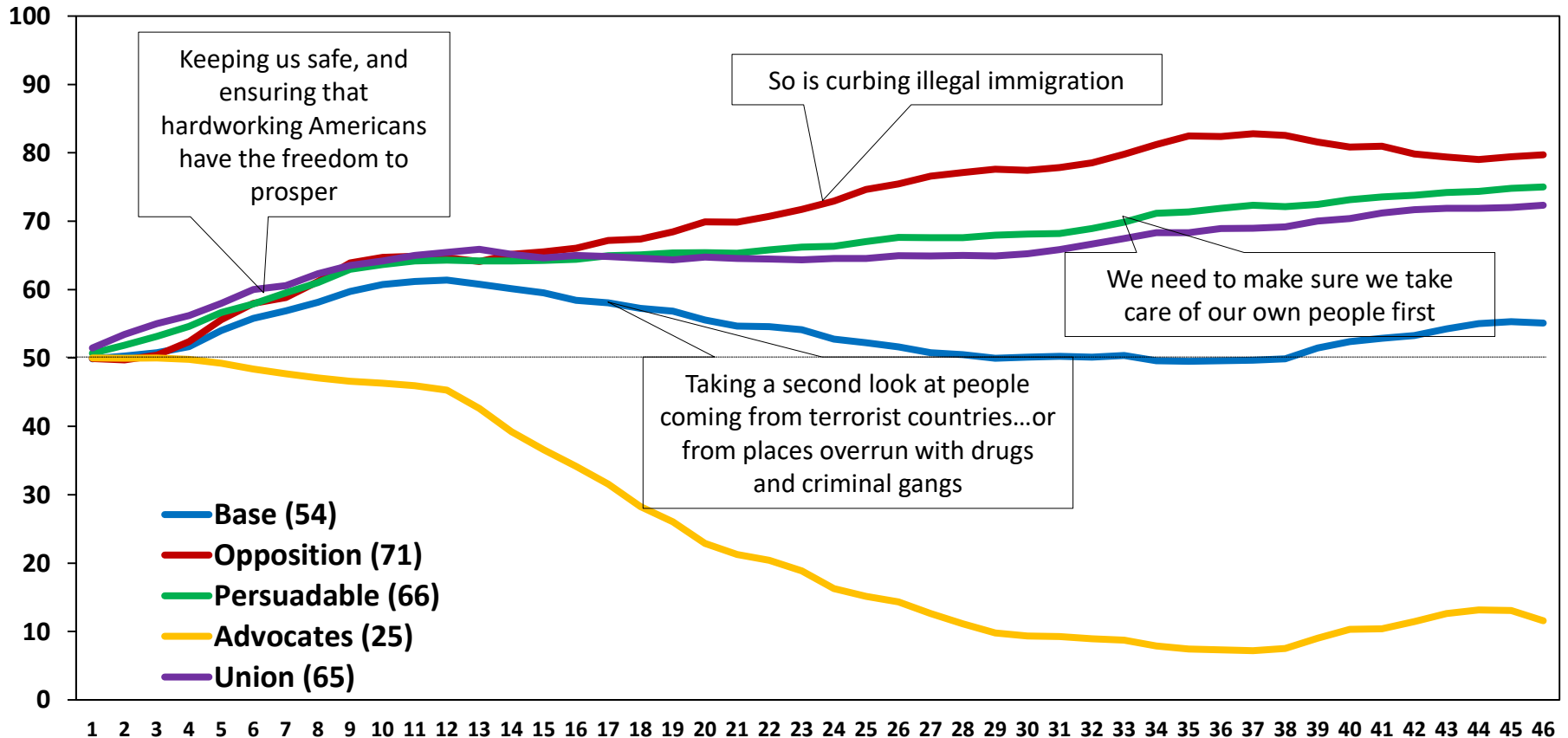
Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Base Convincing Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating				Mean Dial Rating				Mean Share Rating			
	All	Wh	AA	Lat	All	Wh	AA	Lat	All	Wh	AA	Lat
Working People	70	67	78	79	65	63	70	70	63	57	74	73
America's Strength – Divide	72	70	81	76	68	67	71	70	62	56	75	72
America's Strength – Matter	71	69	79	78	67	66	70	70	61	55	71	71
Can Do – No More Blame	68	65	77	75	65	63	68	70	58	51	72	69
Come Together – With Race	71	68	76	79	66	65	66	68	61	55	69	70
Reform System – Reflective	69	66	79	72	64	62	70	68	60	54	70	70
Future Children – AA Woman	68	64	74	74	63	61	68	68	61	54	69	72
Future Children – White Woman	69	65	78	76	64	62	68	67	60	53	70	71
Divide – Come Together	71	69	73	78	65	64	67	68	61	56	69	70
Colorblind Economic Populist	68	65	77	74	62	60	66	66	60	55	70	67
Opposition	65	66	63	62	64	65	63	63	55	54	58	59



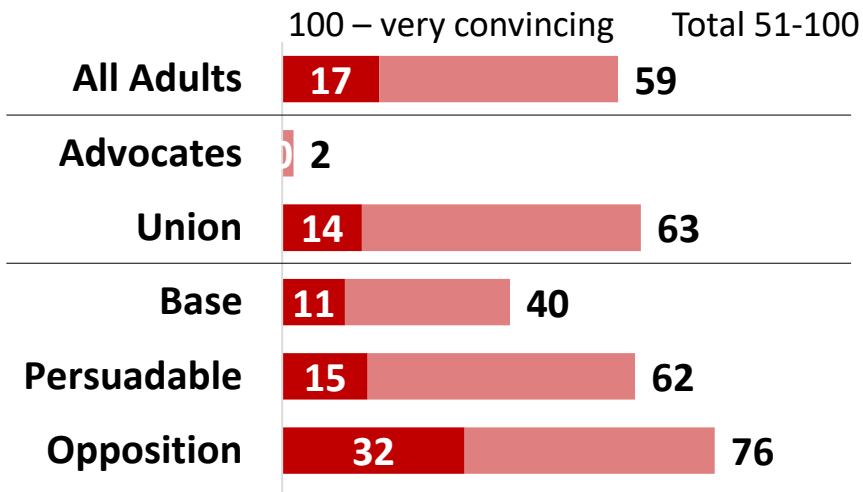
Opposition

Our leaders must prioritize keeping us safe and ensuring that hard working Americans have the freedom to prosper. Taking a second look at people coming from terrorist countries who wish us harm or at people from places overrun with drugs and criminal gangs 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.

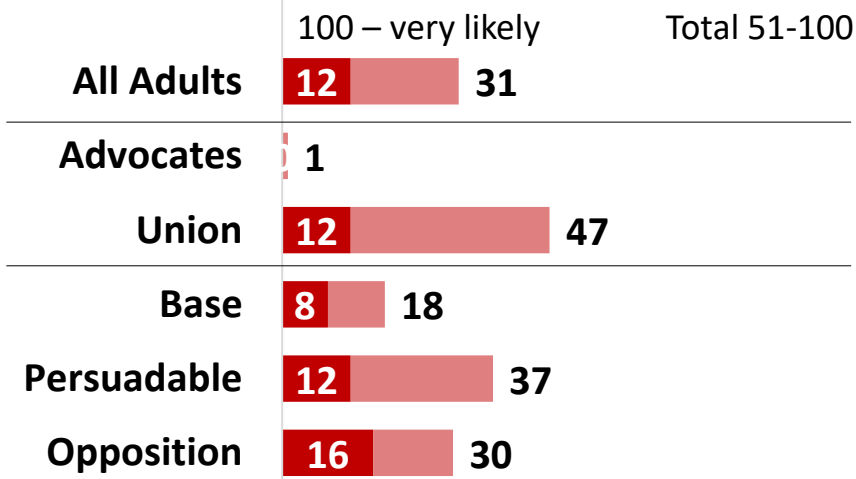


Opposition

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS (for them)

- ✓ Quick take off.
- ✓ Strong conscious and unconscious ratings for opposition.
- ✓ Persuadables dial up around “keeping us safe” and “we need to make sure we take care of our own people first.”

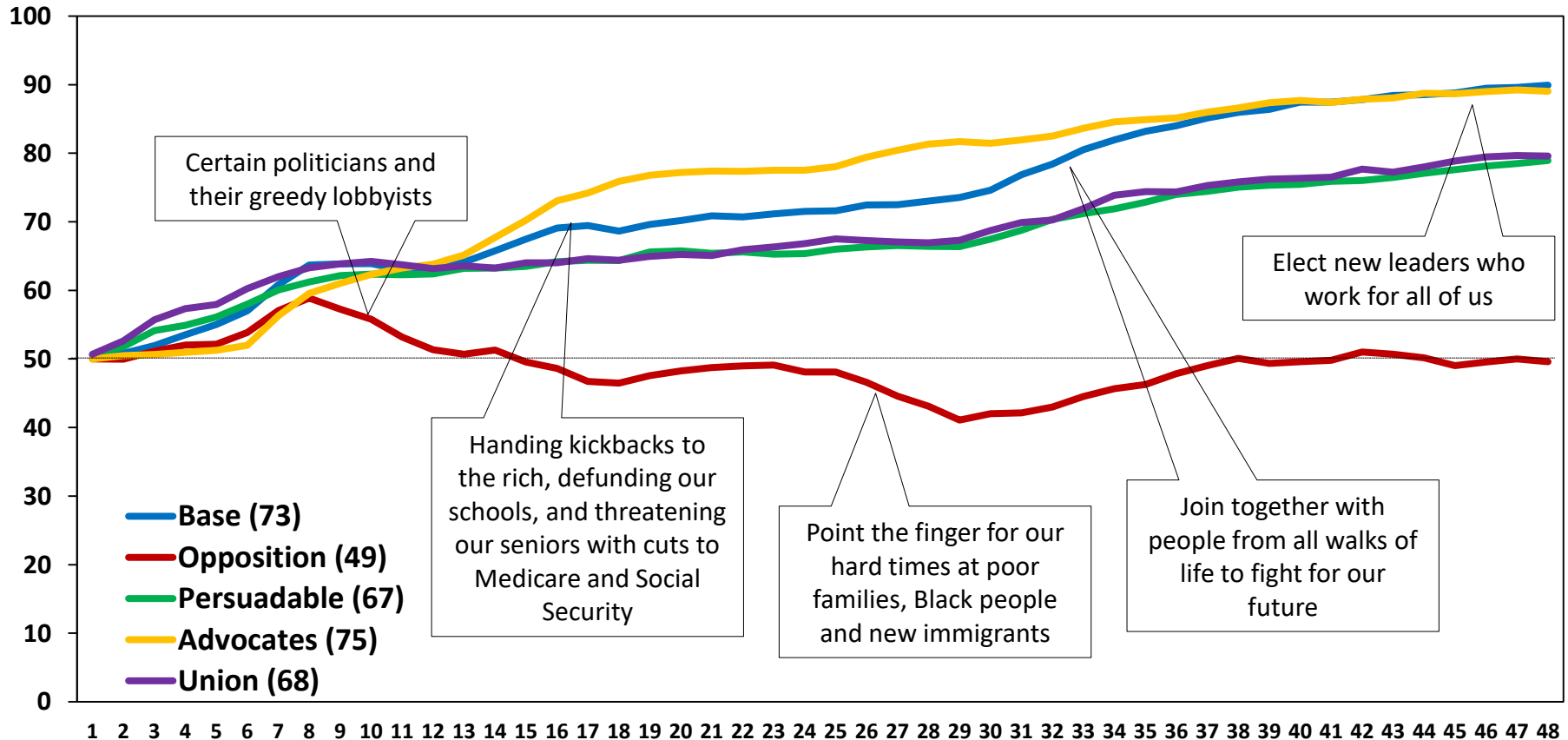
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak conscious ratings for persuadables.
- X Weak share ratings.



Working People

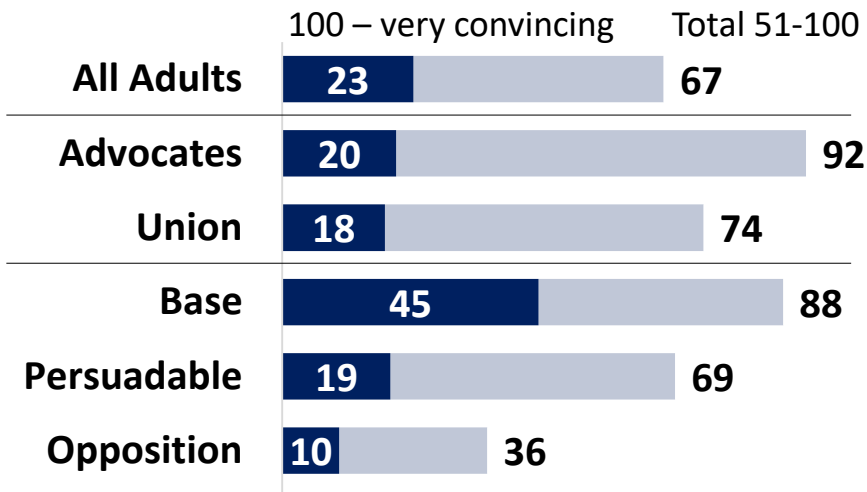
No matter where we come from or what our color, most of us work hard for our families. But today, certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich, defunding our schools, and threatening our seniors with cuts to Medicare and Social Security. Then they turn 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.



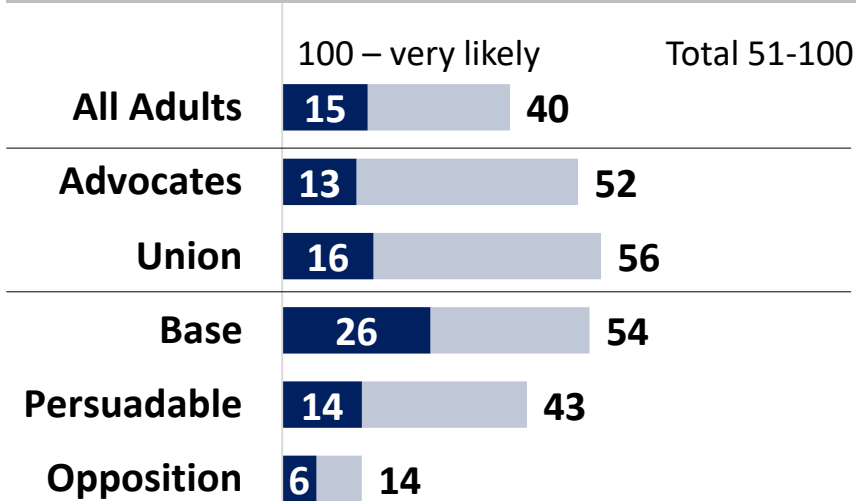
Split Sampled

Working People

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off.
- ✓ Sets up politicians as villain.
- ✓ Evoking past accomplishments like “better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past” resonates with base, persuadables, and advocates.
- ✓ Base dials up on “then they turn around and point the finger for hard times at poor families, Black people, and new immigrants.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up around “join together from all walks of life.”
- ✓ Good call to action with “elect new leaders who work for all of us.”
- ✓ Strong conscious ratings for base, persuadables, and advocates.
- ✓ Strong share ratings for advocates and base.

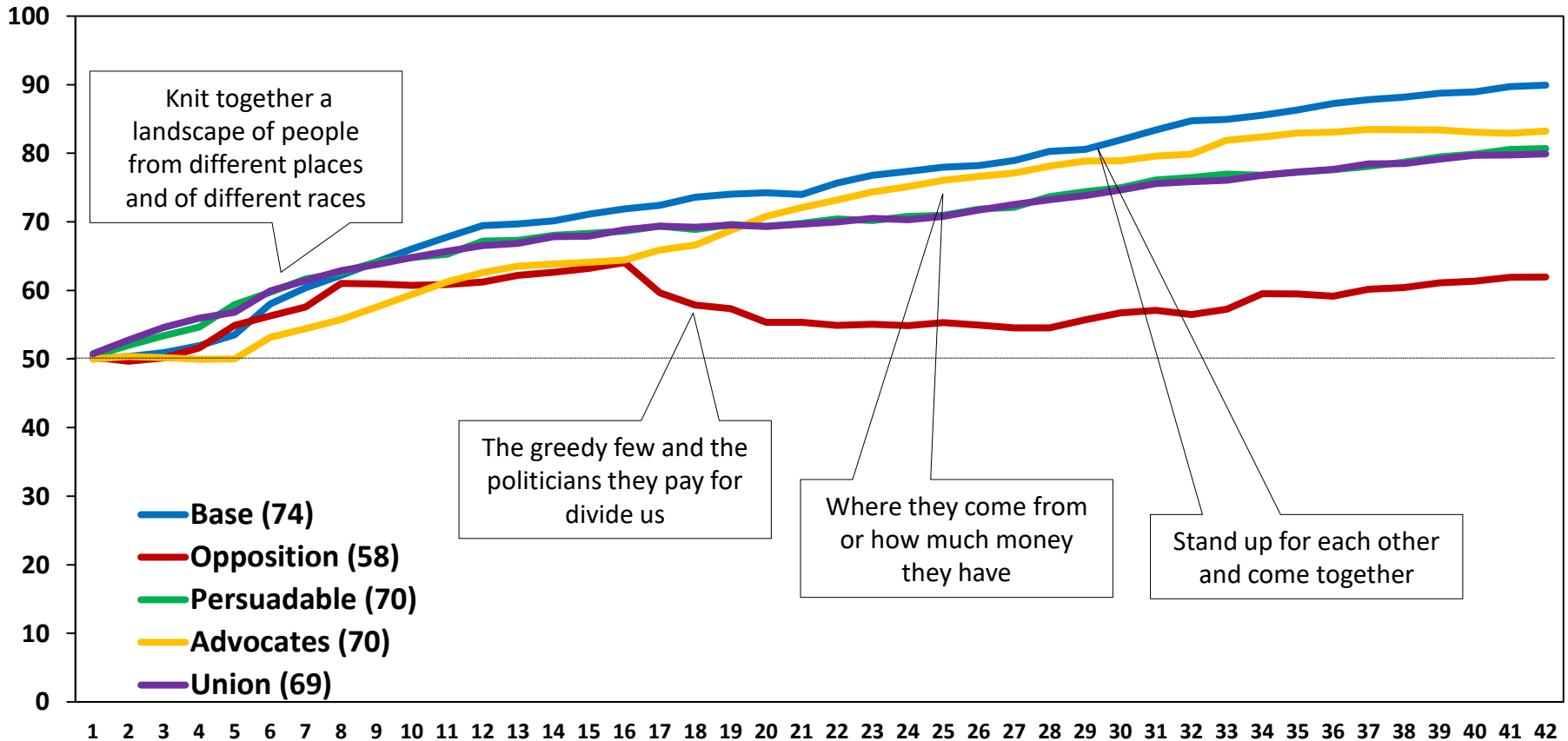
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Does not alienate opposition as effectively as other messages.



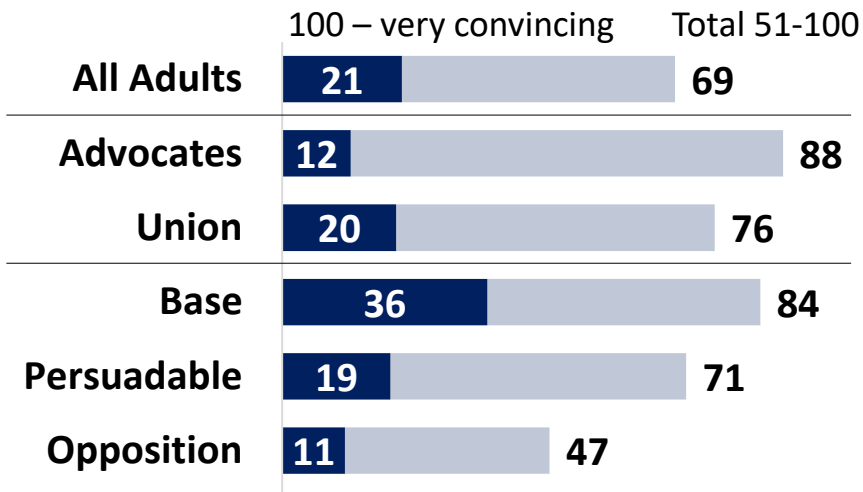
America's Strength – Divide

America's strength comes from our ability to work together – to knit together a landscape of people from different places and of different races into one nation. 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 pick leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of American. Together, we can make this a place where freedom is for everyone, no exceptions.

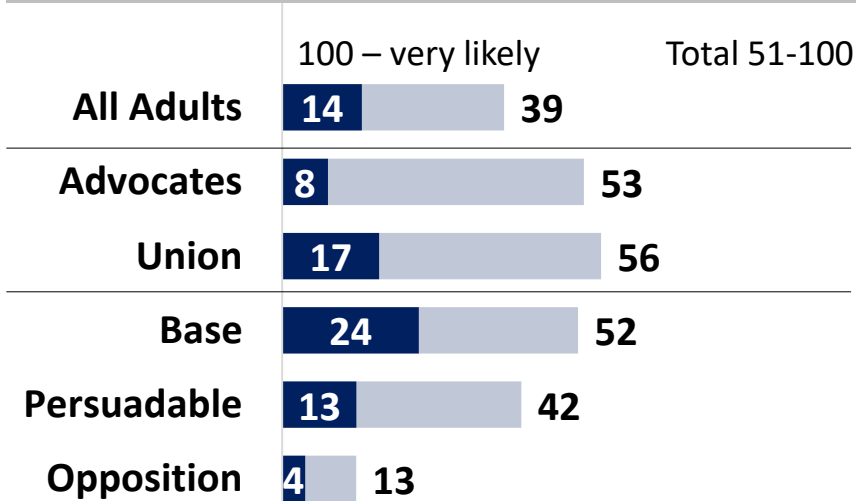


America's Strength – Divide

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off.
- ✓ Strong conscious and share ratings with base and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “knit together a landscape of people from different places.”
- ✓ Base and advocates dial up on “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.”
- ✓ “Divide us” strong with persuadables.
- ✓ Strong call to action with base and persuadables “It’s time to stand up for each other and come together.”
- ✓ Base and advocates have strong share ratings.

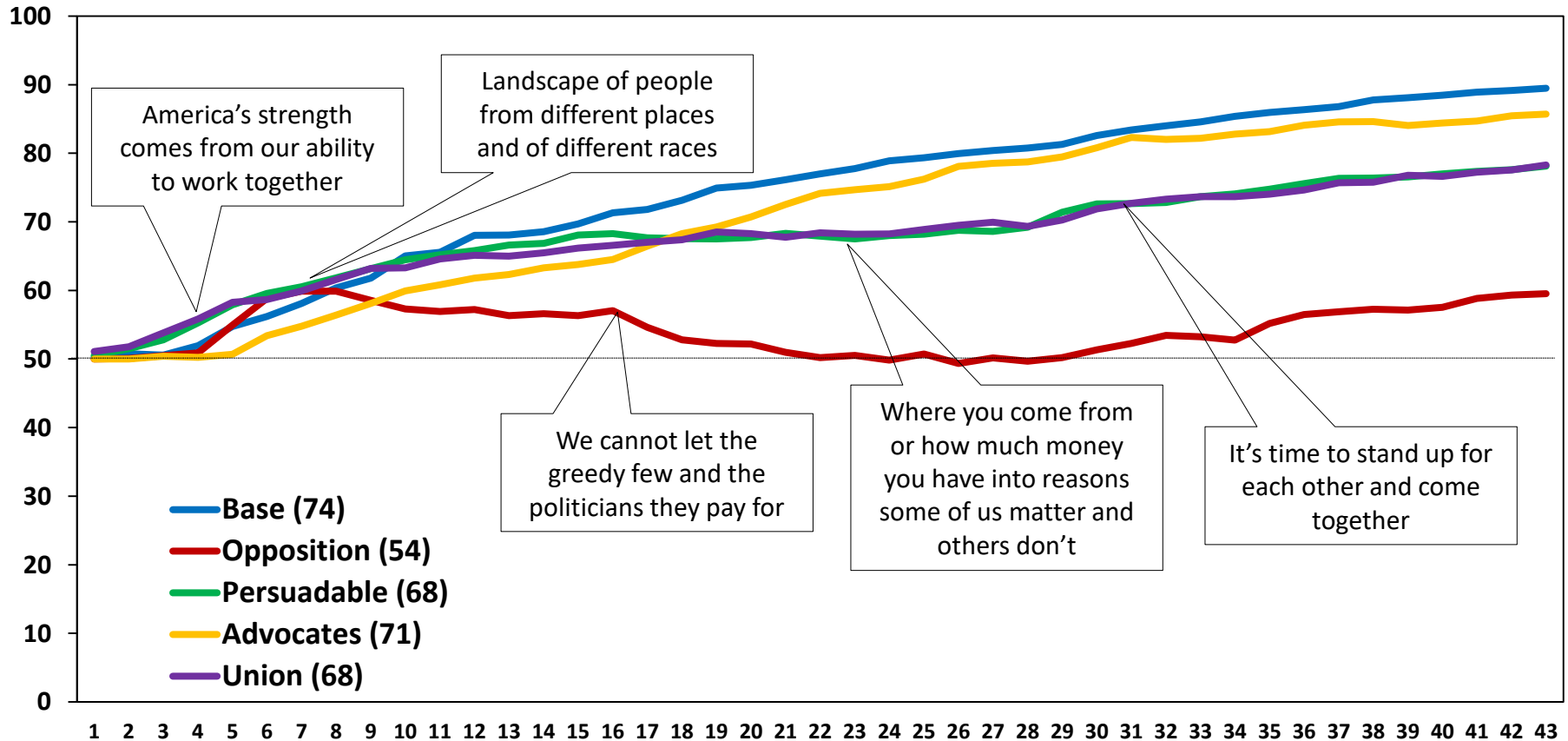
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Does not alienate opposition as effectively as other messages.



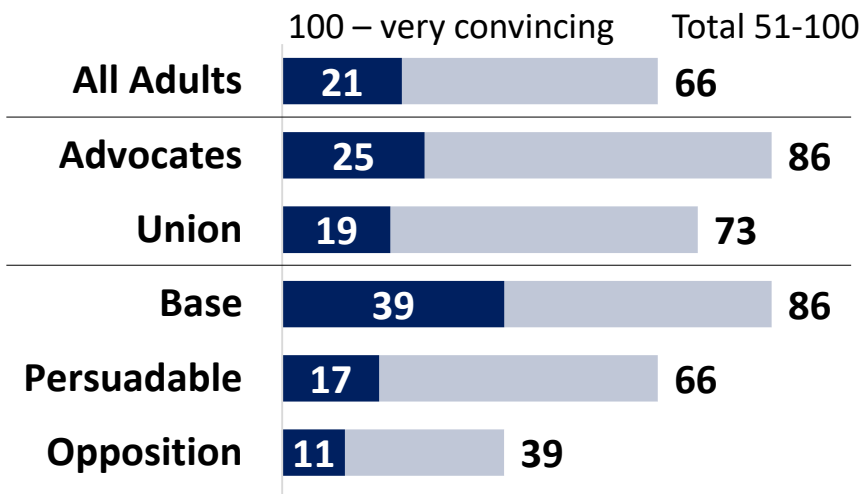
America's Strength – Matter

America's strength comes from our ability to work together – to knit together a landscape of people from different places and of different races into one nation. For this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for turn what you look like, where you come from or how much money you have into reasons some of us matter and others don't. 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. Together, we can make this a place where freedom is for everyone, no exceptions.

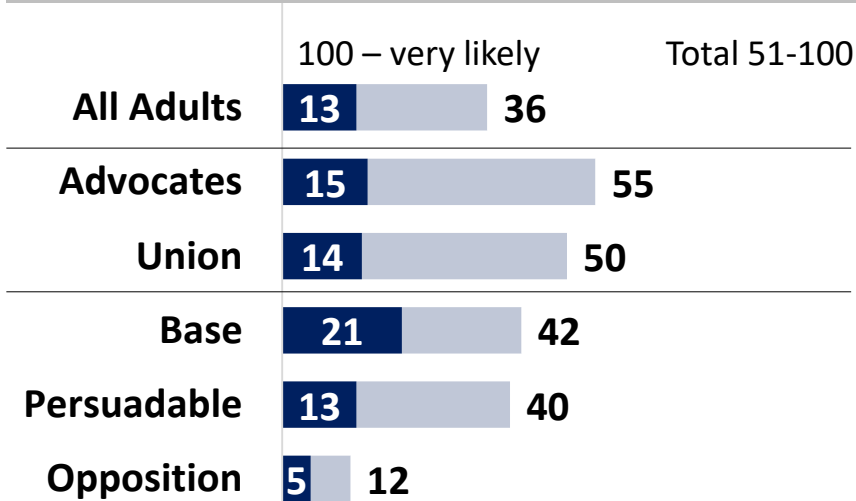


America's Strength – Matter

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off.
- ✓ Strong conscious and share ratings with base.
- ✓ Strong conscious ratings with advocates and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “knit together a landscape of people from different places.”
- ✓ Base and advocates dial up on “we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for turn what you look like...into reasons some us matter and others don’t.”
- ✓ Strong call to action with base and persuadables “It’s time to stand up for each other and come together.”

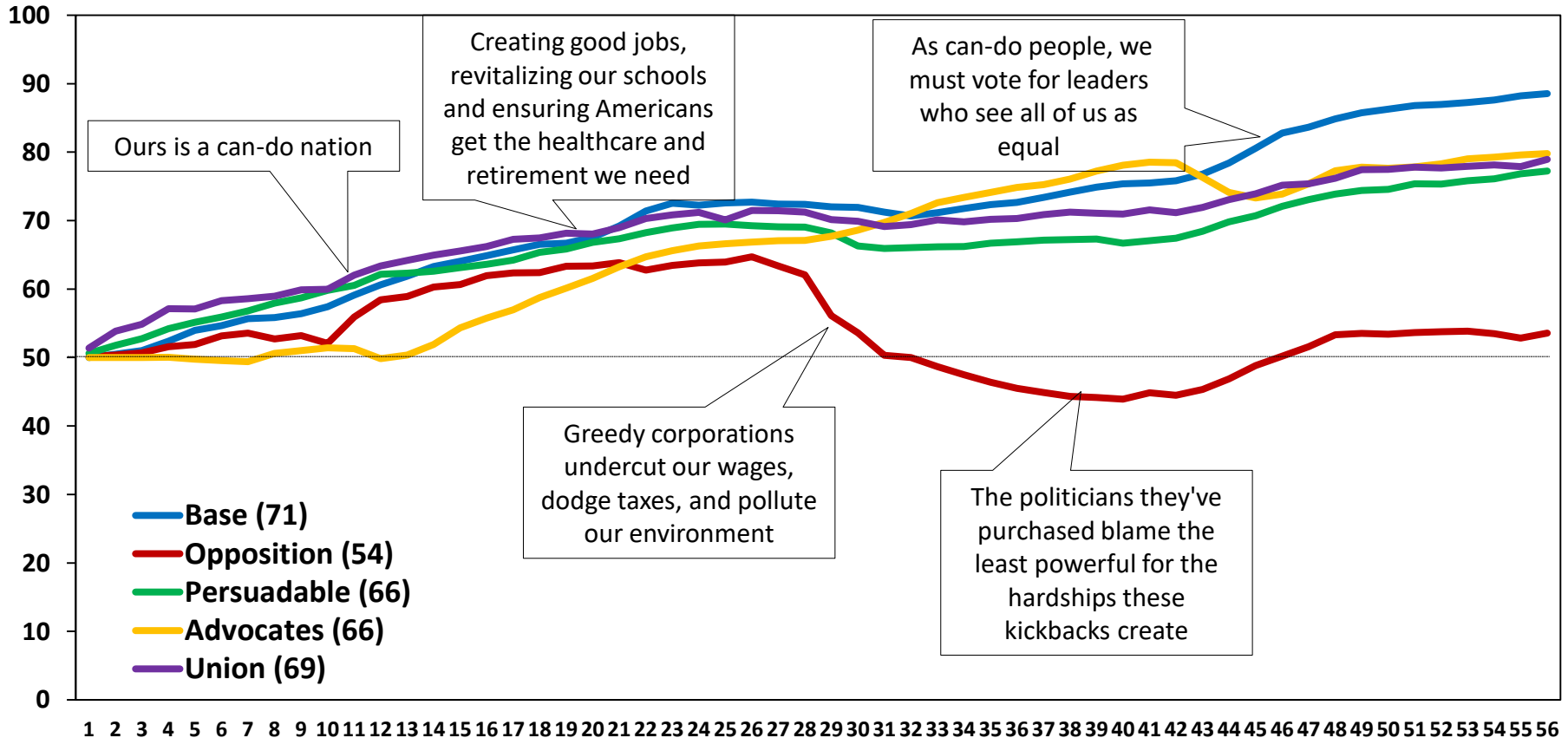
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables plateau on “we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for turn what you look like...into reasons some us matter and others don’t.”
- X Base less likely to share.



Can Do – No More Blame

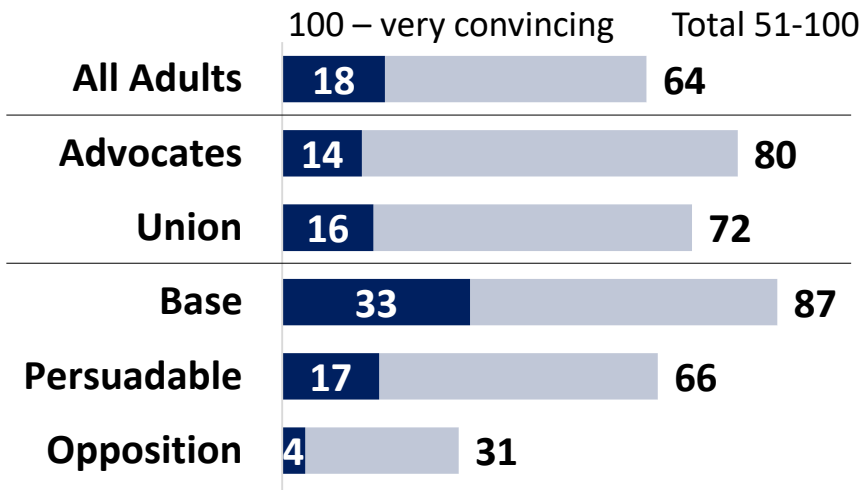
Whether we're building the world's biggest economy or striving toward a more equal, open-minded and just society, ours is a can-do nation. And today we face many challenges: creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools and ensuring Americans get the healthcare and retirement we need. But instead of looking 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.



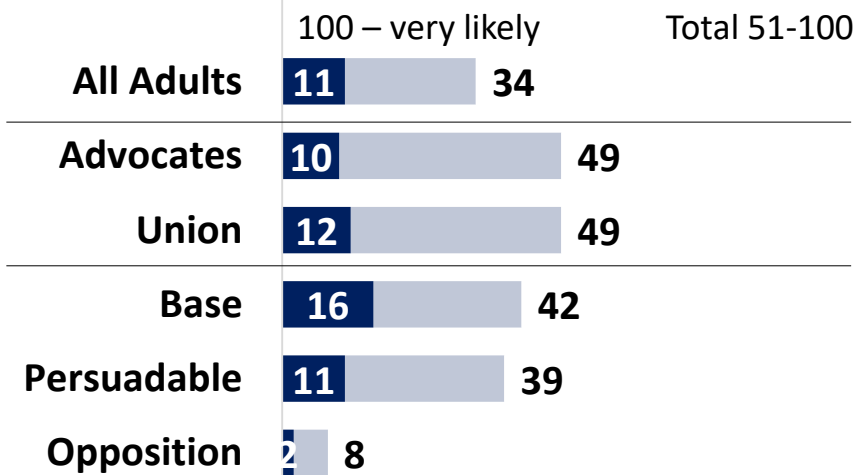
Split Sampled

Can Do – No More Blame

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up around positive description of challenges “creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools, and ensuring Americans get the healthcare and retirement we need.”
- ✓ Mention of “greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and pollution our environment” effectively alienates opposition.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on “As can-do people, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal...”

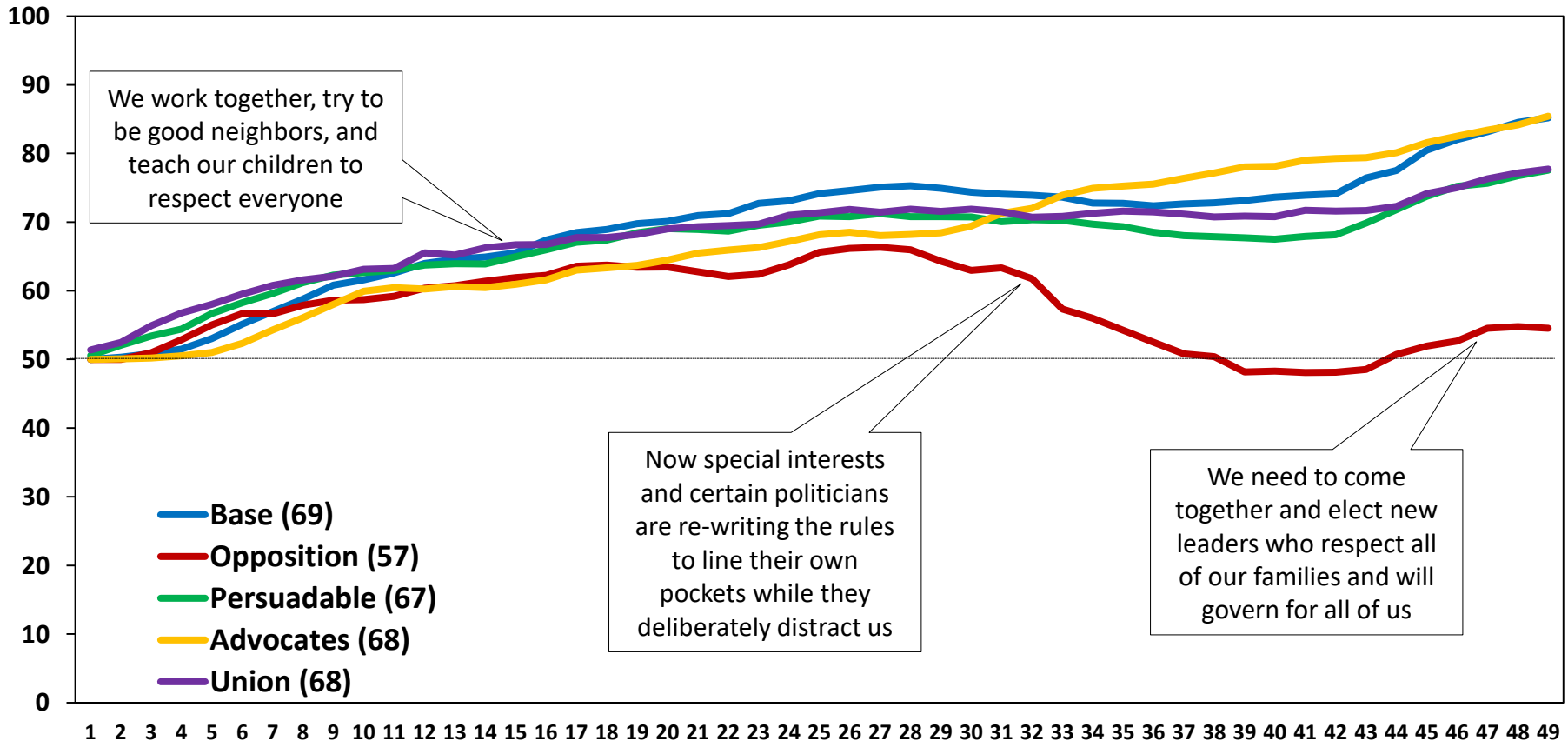
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Weak share ratings.
- X Advocates dial down on “as can-do people” and to a lesser extent, “ours is a can-do nation.”

Come Together – With Race



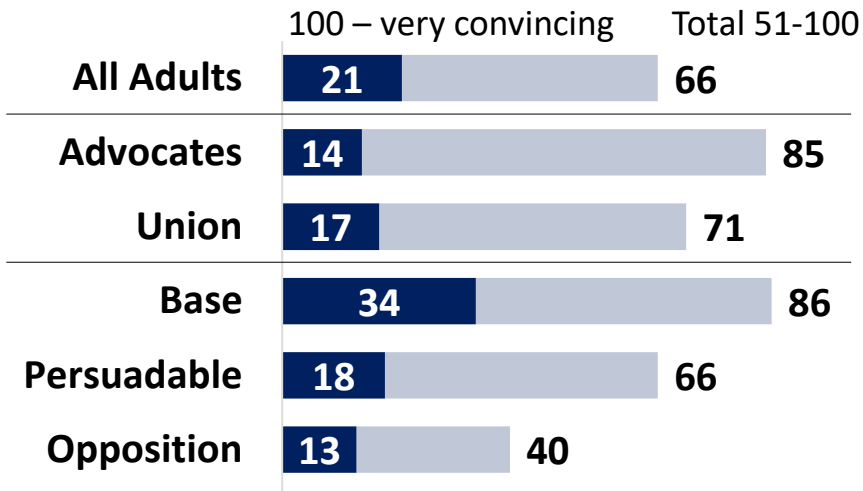
America is a place where people come together from different places and different races to make a better life for themselves. Despite our differences, we work together, try to be good neighbors, and teach our children to respect everyone—women, people of color, new immigrants, people with disabilities, and working people with no college degree. 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 religious lines. We need to come together and elect new leaders who respect all of our families and will govern for all of us.



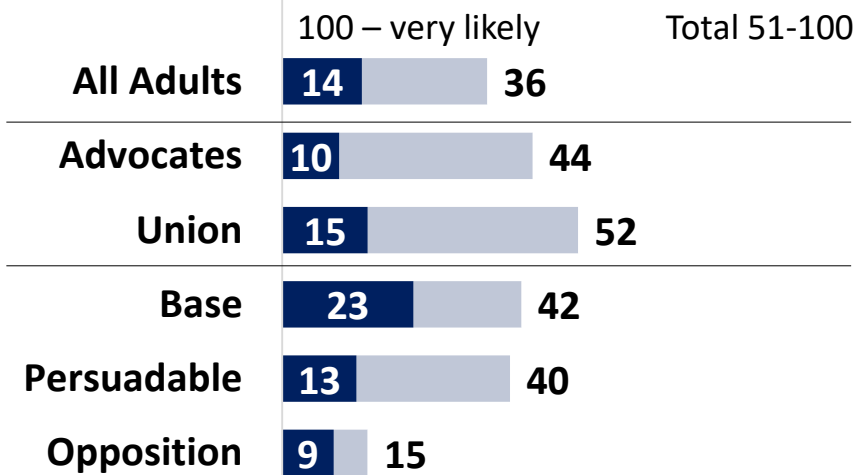
Split Sampled

Come Together – With Race

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off for persuadables.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on “we work together, try to be good neighbors, and teach our children to respect everyone.”
- ✓ Opposition dials down on “now special interests and certain politicians are re-writing the rules to line their own pockets.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on strong call to action to “come together and elect new leaders who respect all of our families and will govern for all of us.”

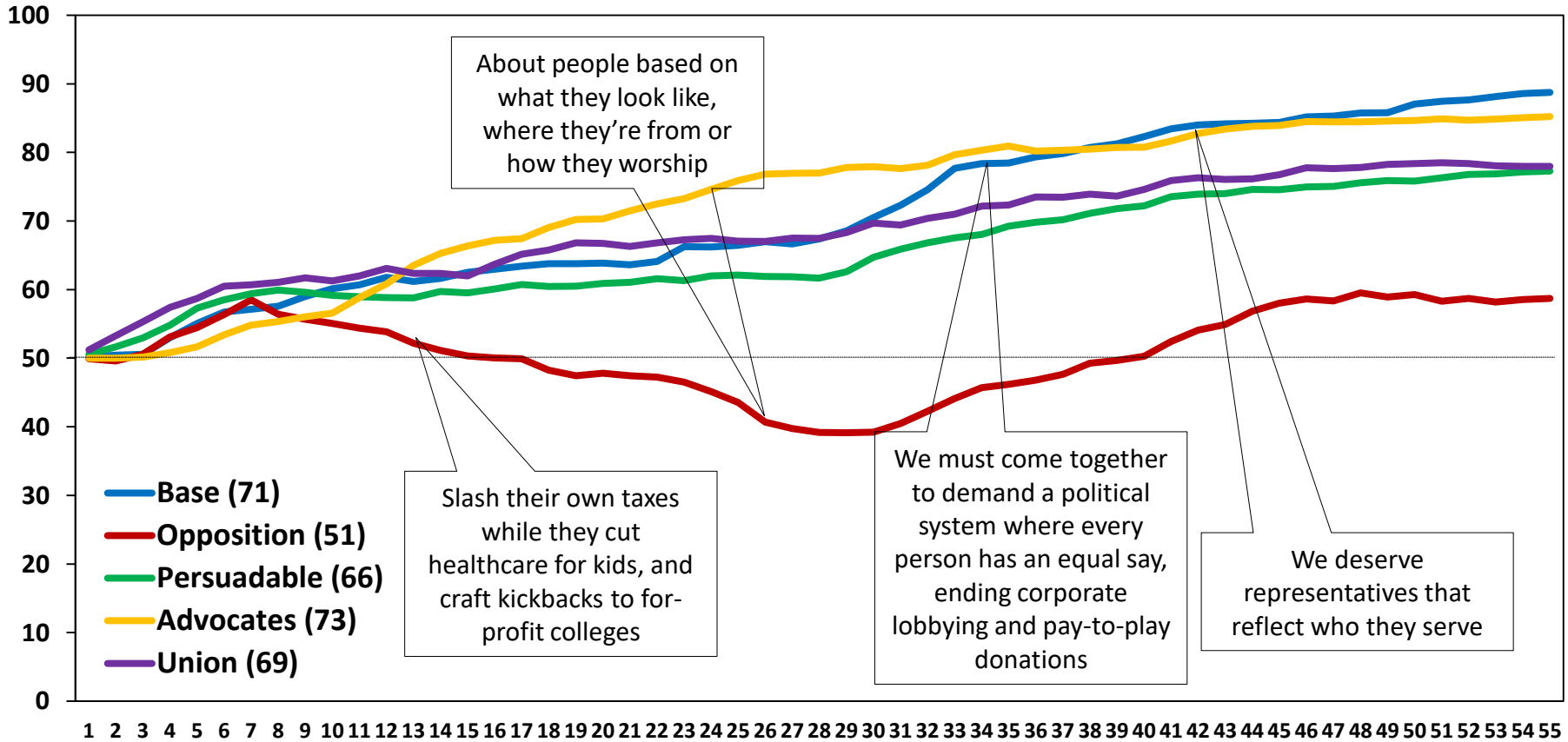
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Advocates dial up slowly on “we work together, try to be good neighbors, and teach our children to respect everyone.”

Reform System/Reflective Democracy



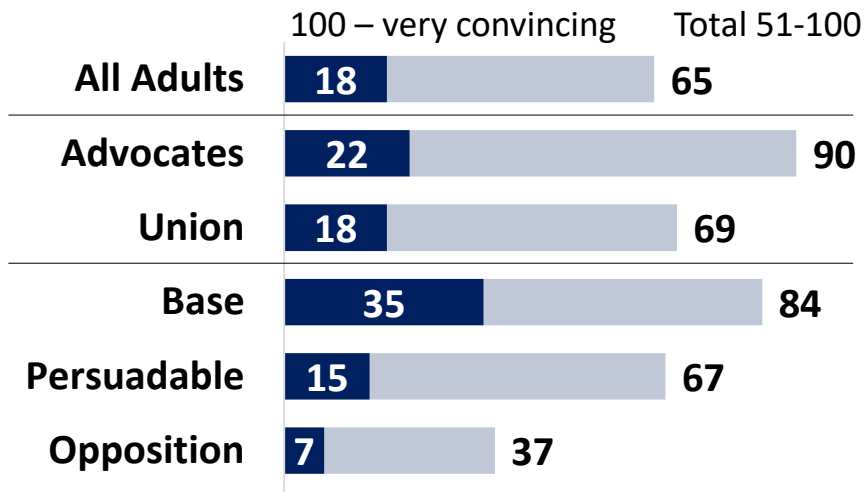
Most of us work hard to make things better for those to come. But today, certain politicians and their lobbyists slash their own taxes while they cut healthcare for kids, and craft kickbacks to for-profit colleges while they deny funds to public education. They keep us distracted with fear mongering about people based on what they look like, where they're from or how they worship. 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.



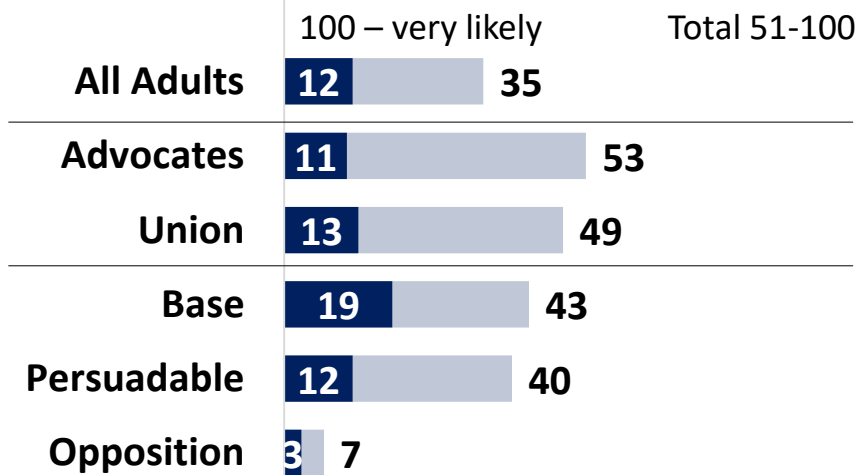
Split Sampled

Reform System/Reflective Democracy

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off for persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition dials down while base dials up for “certain politicians and their lobbyists slash their own taxes while they cut healthcare for kids...”
- ✓ Base dials up on “They keep us distracted with fear mongering about people based on what they look like...”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on call to action we must come together to demand a political system where every person has an equal say...”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on “we deserve representatives that reflect who they serve.”

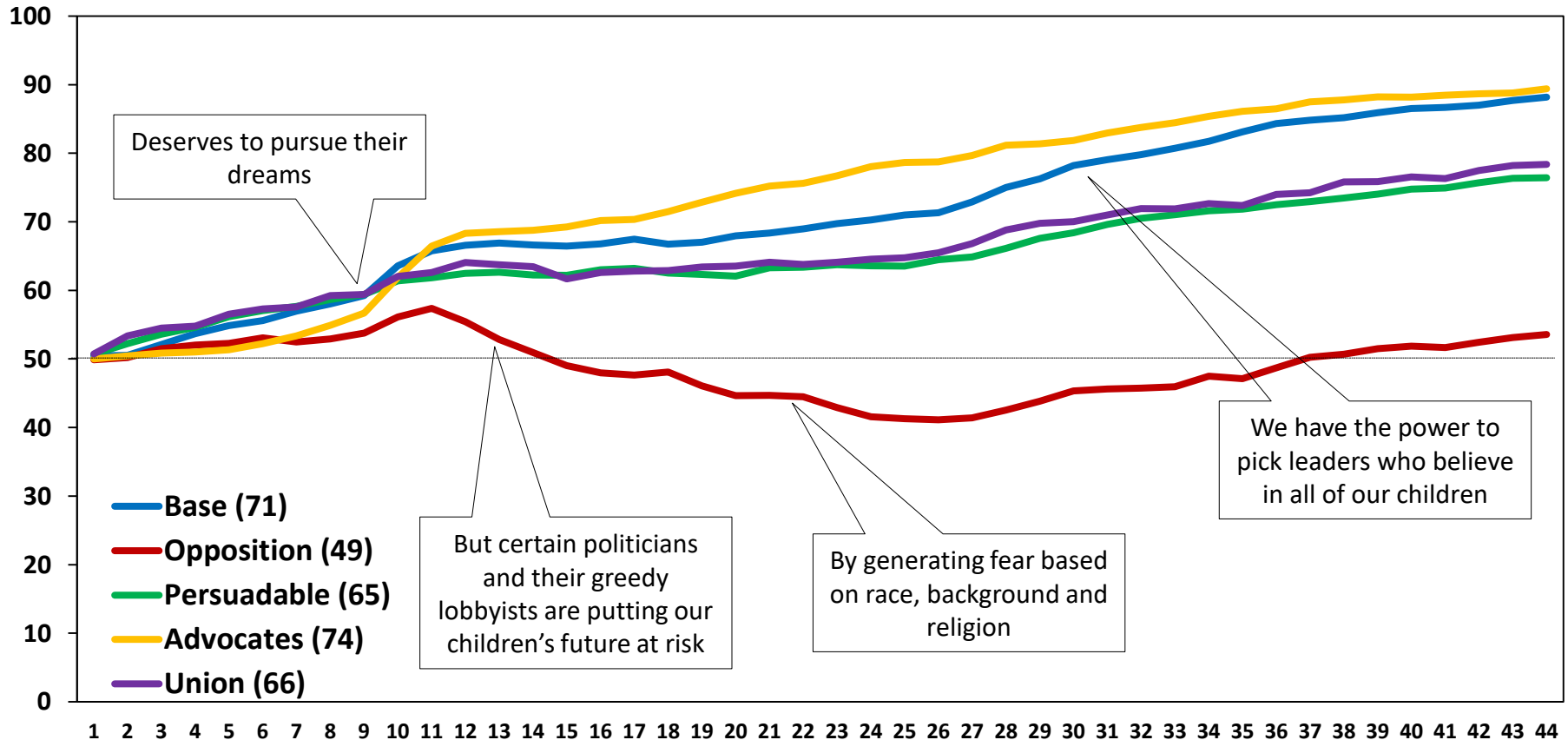
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Relatively weak share rating for base.
- X Opposition dials up on “ending corporate lobbying and pay-to-play donations.”

Future Children – African American Woman Voice



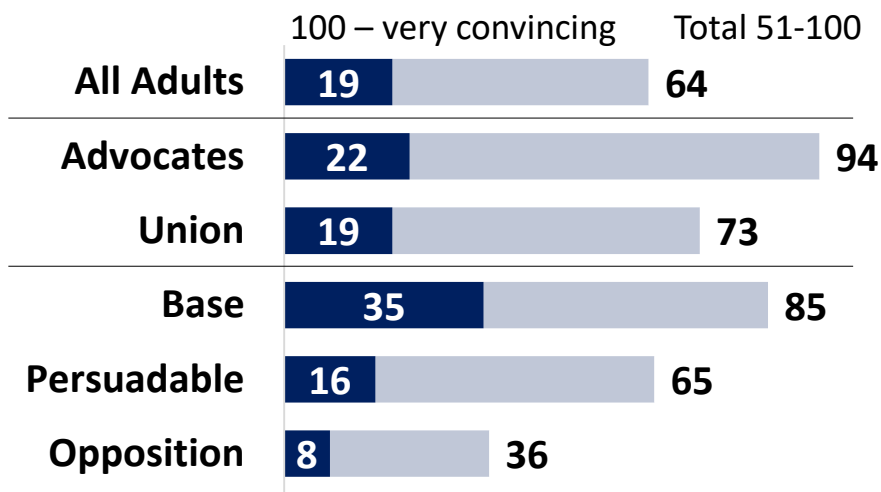
Every child, regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live, deserves to pursue their dreams. But certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk. They rig the rules to enrich themselves, while they distract us by generating fear based 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.



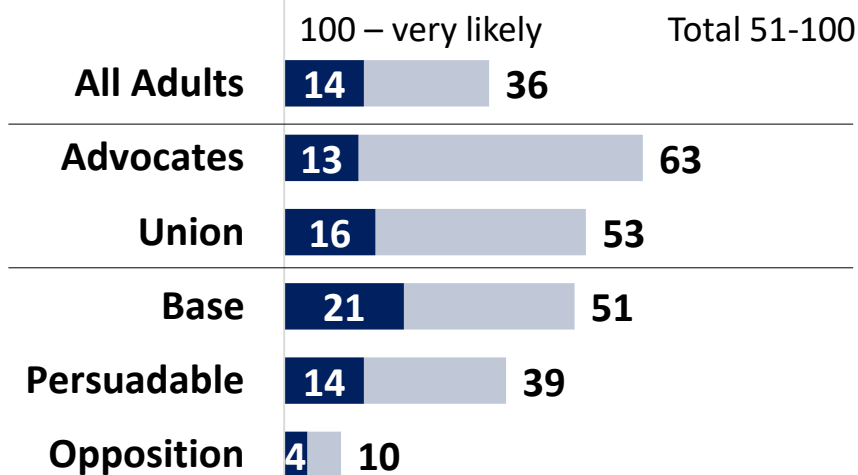
Split Sampled

Future Children – African American Woman Voice

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Advocates rate this higher across all three dimensions – dialing, convincing, and sharing.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “but certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk.”
- ✓ Strong aspirational language with base and persuadables “together we have the power to pick leaders who believe in all of our children.” and “we can make this a nation we’re proud of to leave our kids.”
- ✓ More effective with base and advocates with a woman of color as messenger.

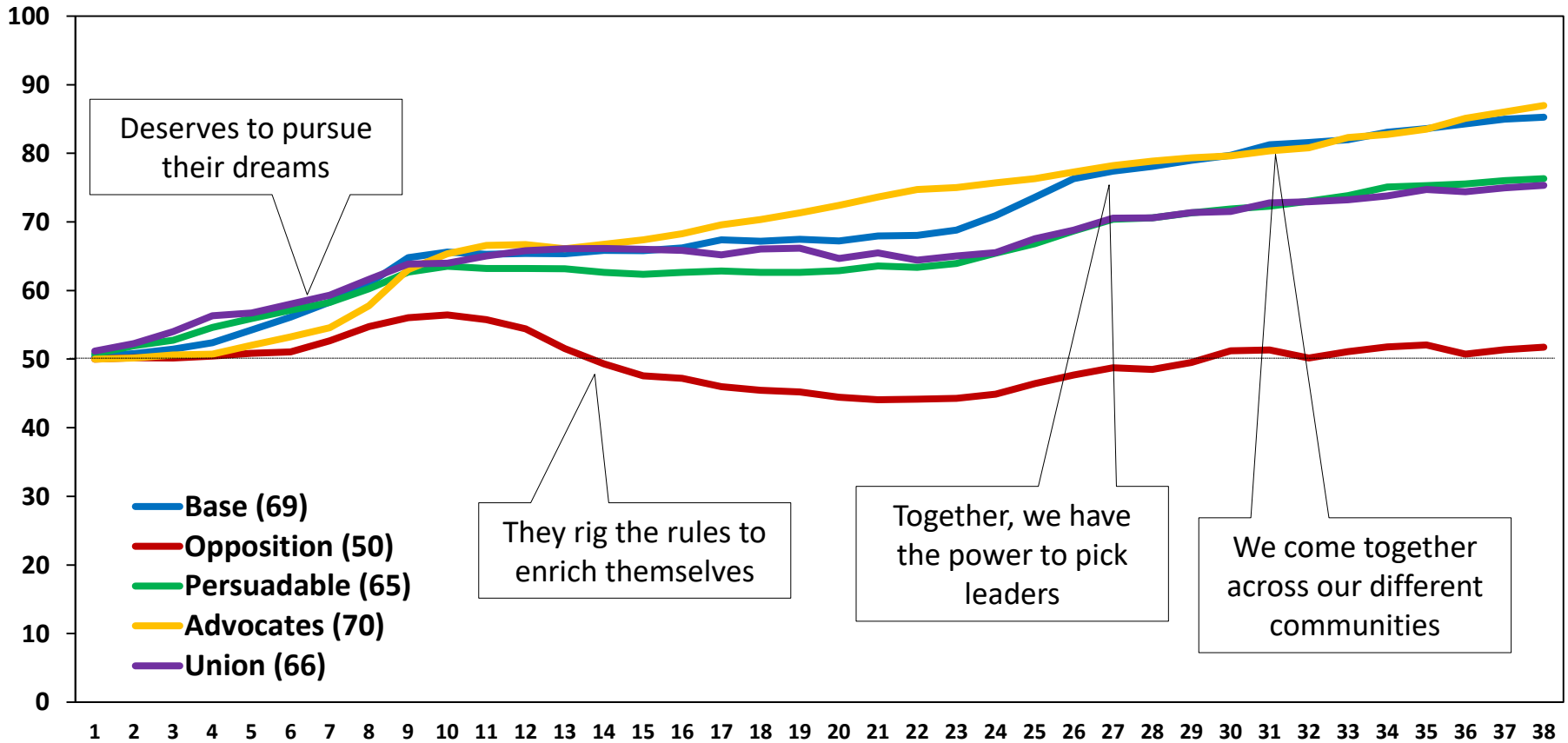
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables plateau on explanation of problem “They rig the rules to enrich themselves while they distract us by generating fear based on race, background, and religion.”

Future Children – White Woman Voice



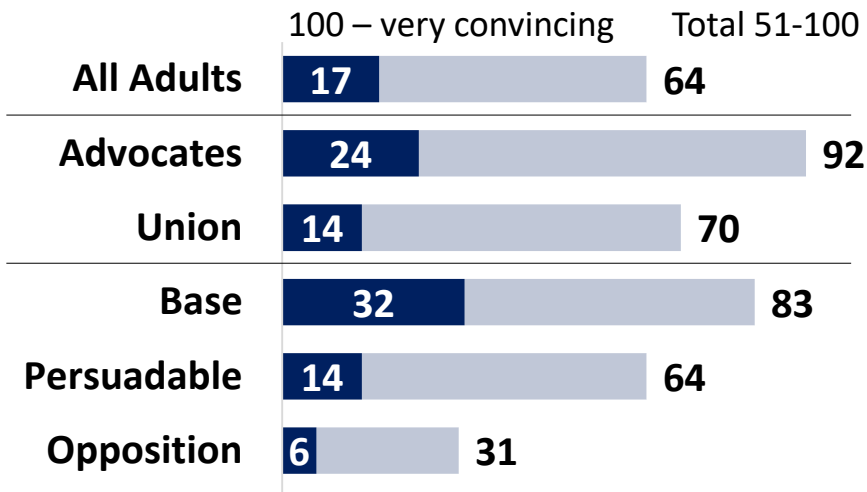
Every child, regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live, deserves to pursue their dreams. But certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk. They rig the rules to enrich themselves, while they distract us by generating fear based 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.



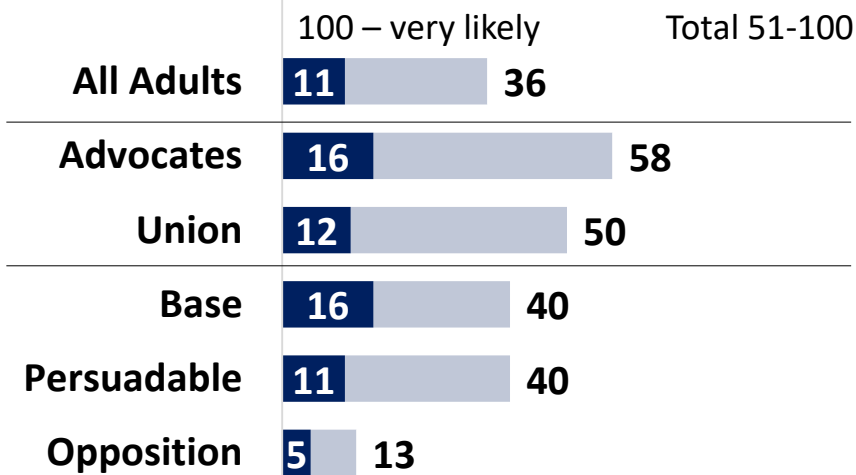
Split Sampled

Future Children – White Woman Voice

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off for base and persuadables.
- ✓ Strong share ratings for advocates.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “but certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk.”
- ✓ Strong aspirational language with base and persuadables “together we have the power to pick leaders who believe in all of our children.” and “we can make this a nation we’re proud of to leave our kids.”

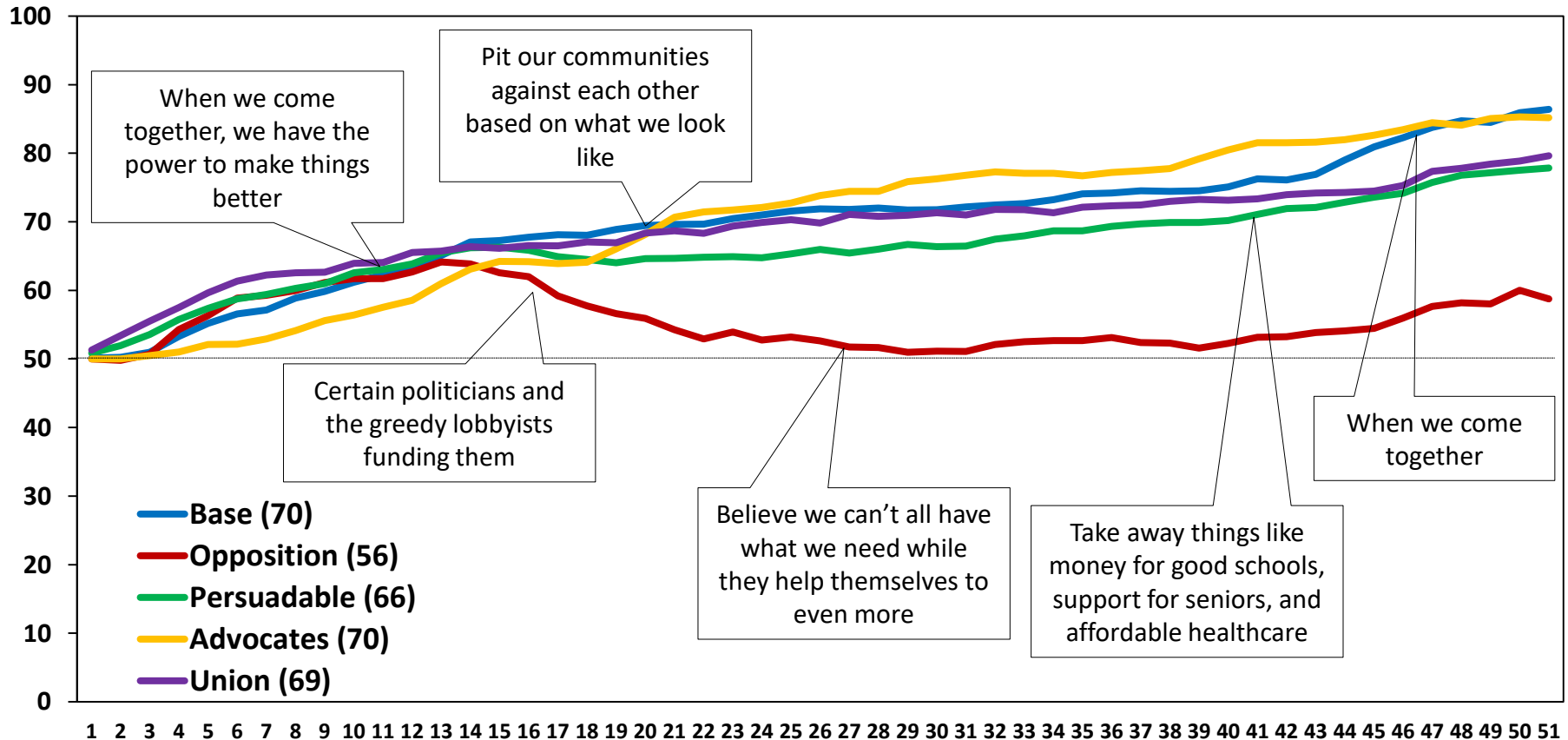
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables plateau on explanation of problem “They rig the rules to enrich themselves while they distract us by generating fear based on race, background, and religion.
- X Weak share ratings with base.



Divide – Come Together

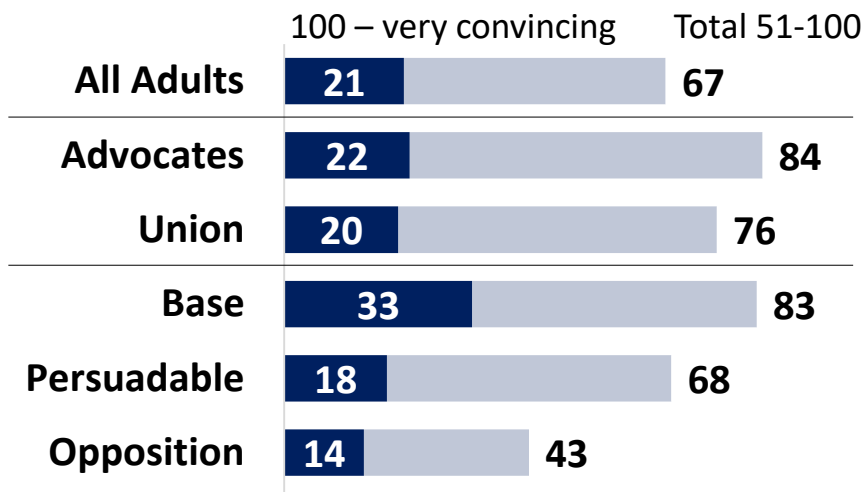
“United we stand, divided we fall.” This doesn’t mean we always agree. It means that when we come together, we have the power to make things better. Certain politicians and the greedy lobbyists funding them pit our communities against each other based on what we look like or where we come from, making us believe we can’t all have what we need while they help themselves to even more. When we’re divided, the people demanding seconds before everyone has firsts gain power to take away things like money for good schools, support for seniors, and affordable healthcare. When we come together, we have the power to make government work for all of us, not just the greedy few.



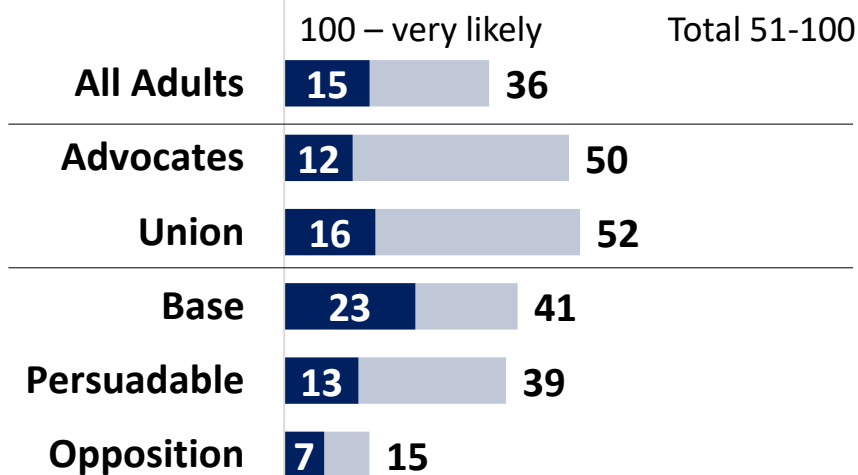
Split Sampled

Divide – Come Together

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and the greedy lobbyists funding them pit our communities against each other.”
- ✓ Advocates dial up on “pit our communities against each other based on what we look like.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on idea those with power “take away things like money for good schools.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on “when we come together, we have the power to make government work for all of us, not just the greedy few.”

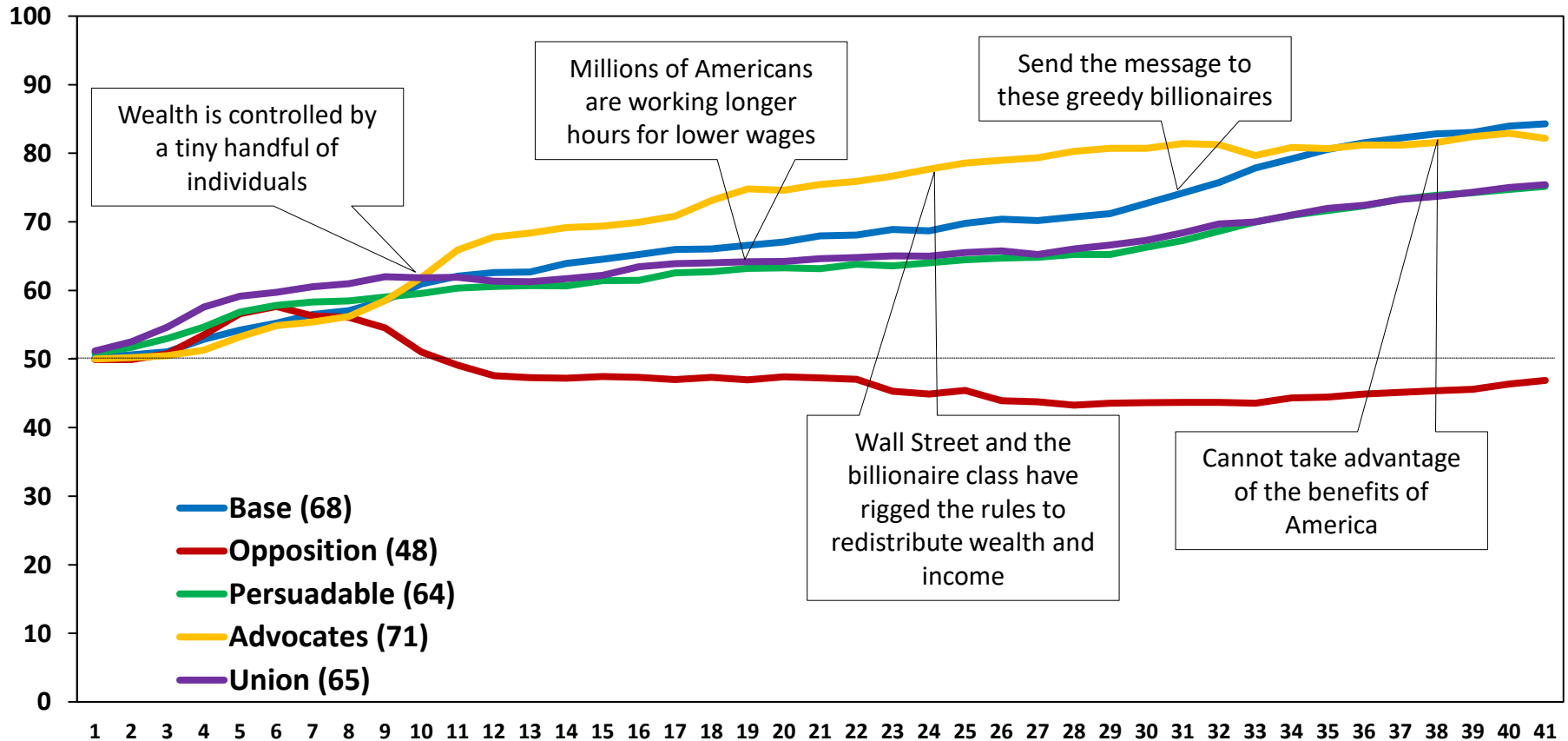
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Weak share ratings for base.
- X Plateaus for much of the message with base and persuadables.



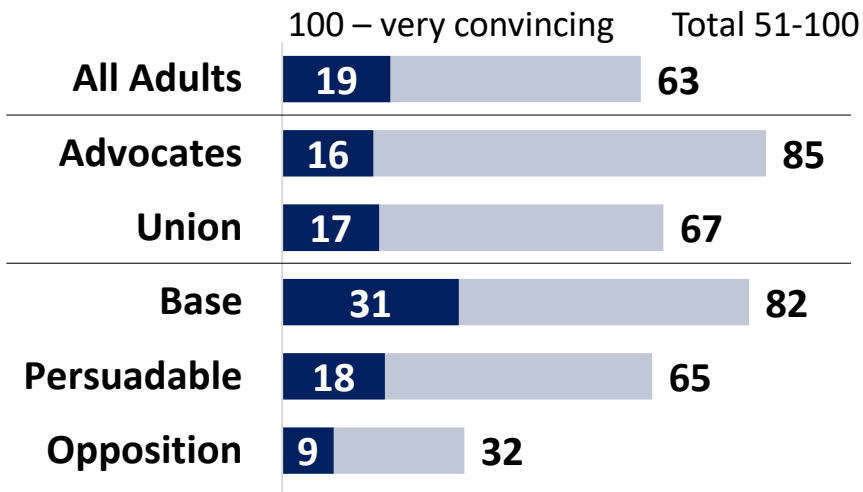
Colorblind Economic Populist

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.

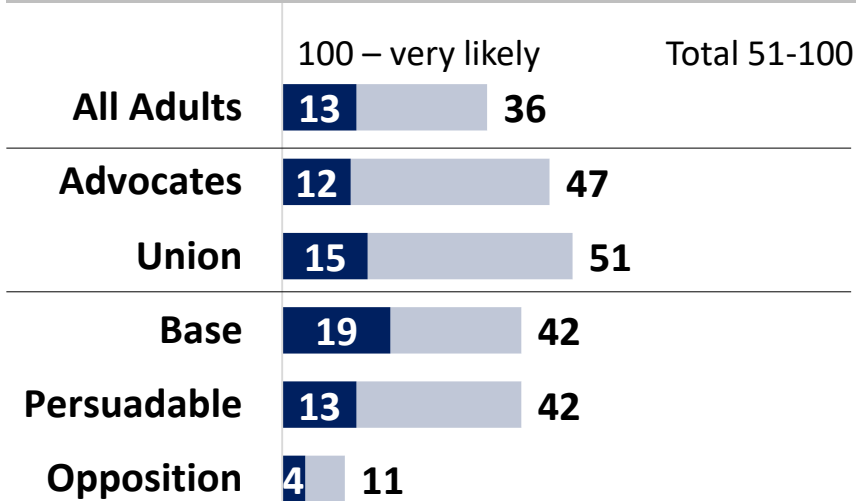


Colorblind Economic Populist

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Opposition alienated by “wealth is controlled by a tiny handful of individuals.”
- ✓ Strong dial ratings for advocates.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up for call to action “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.”
- ✓ Regression analysis shows this correlates with increased excitement to join together and take action, likely due to familiarity of thematic.

WHAT FALLS SHORT

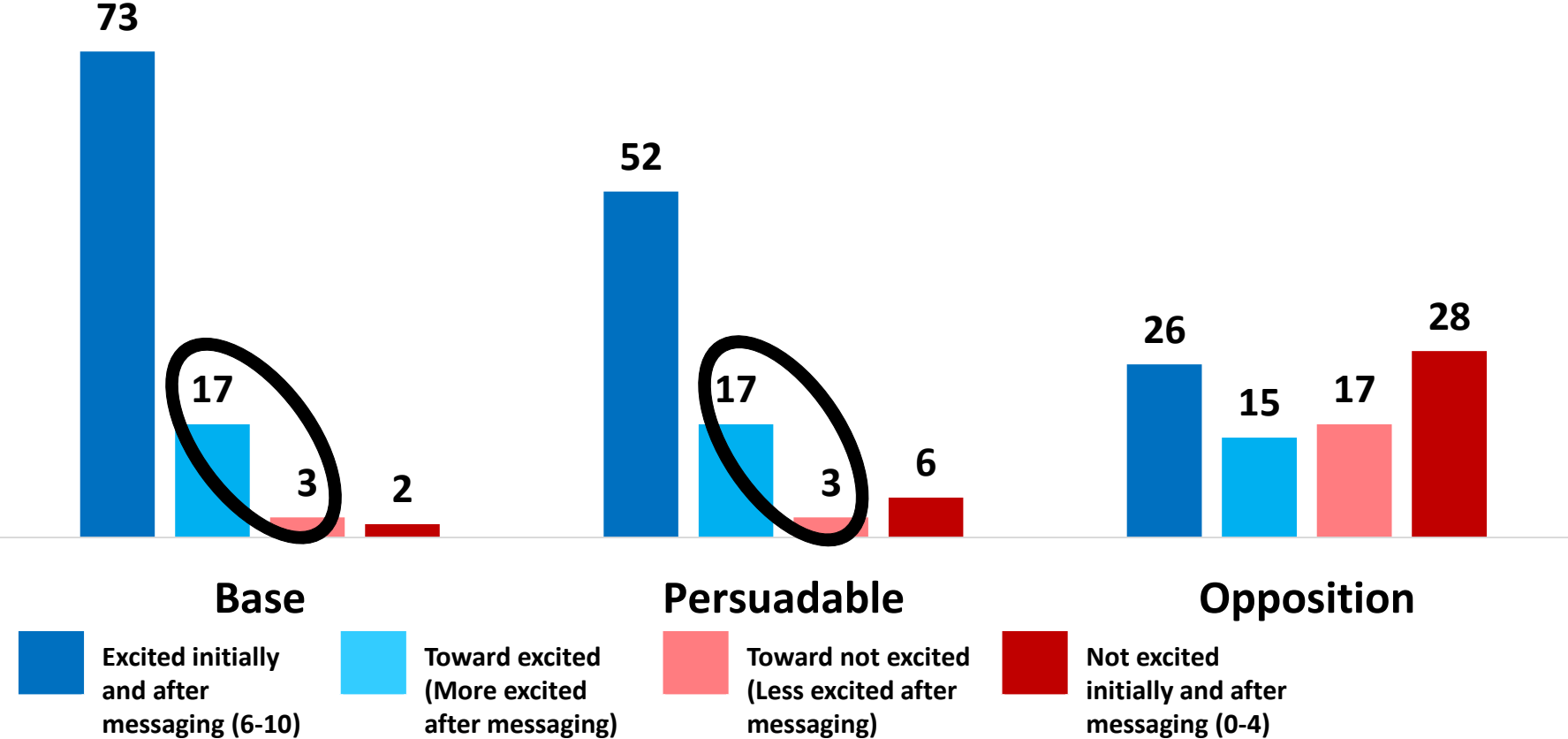
- X Slow take off.
- X Persuadables plateau on description of problem “millions of Americans are working longer hours for low wages.”
- X Tends to promote individualistic rather than collective economic perceptions.
- X Weak share rating for advocates.



Movement

Messaging increases excitement to join with others to take action among both base and persuadables.

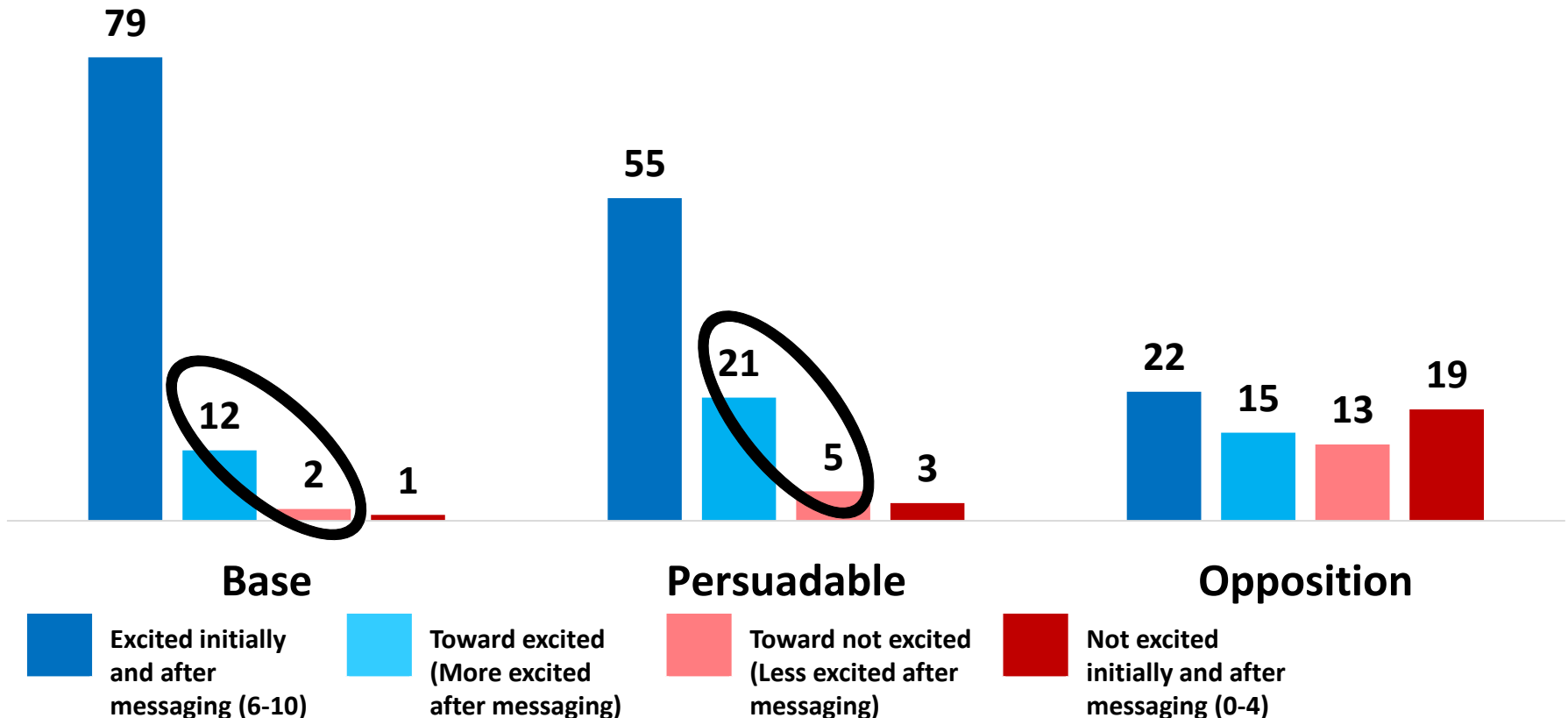
How excited are you to join together with others in your community to take action and bring about change?
(0-10 Scale, 0 means not at all excited, 10 means very excited)



Split Sampled

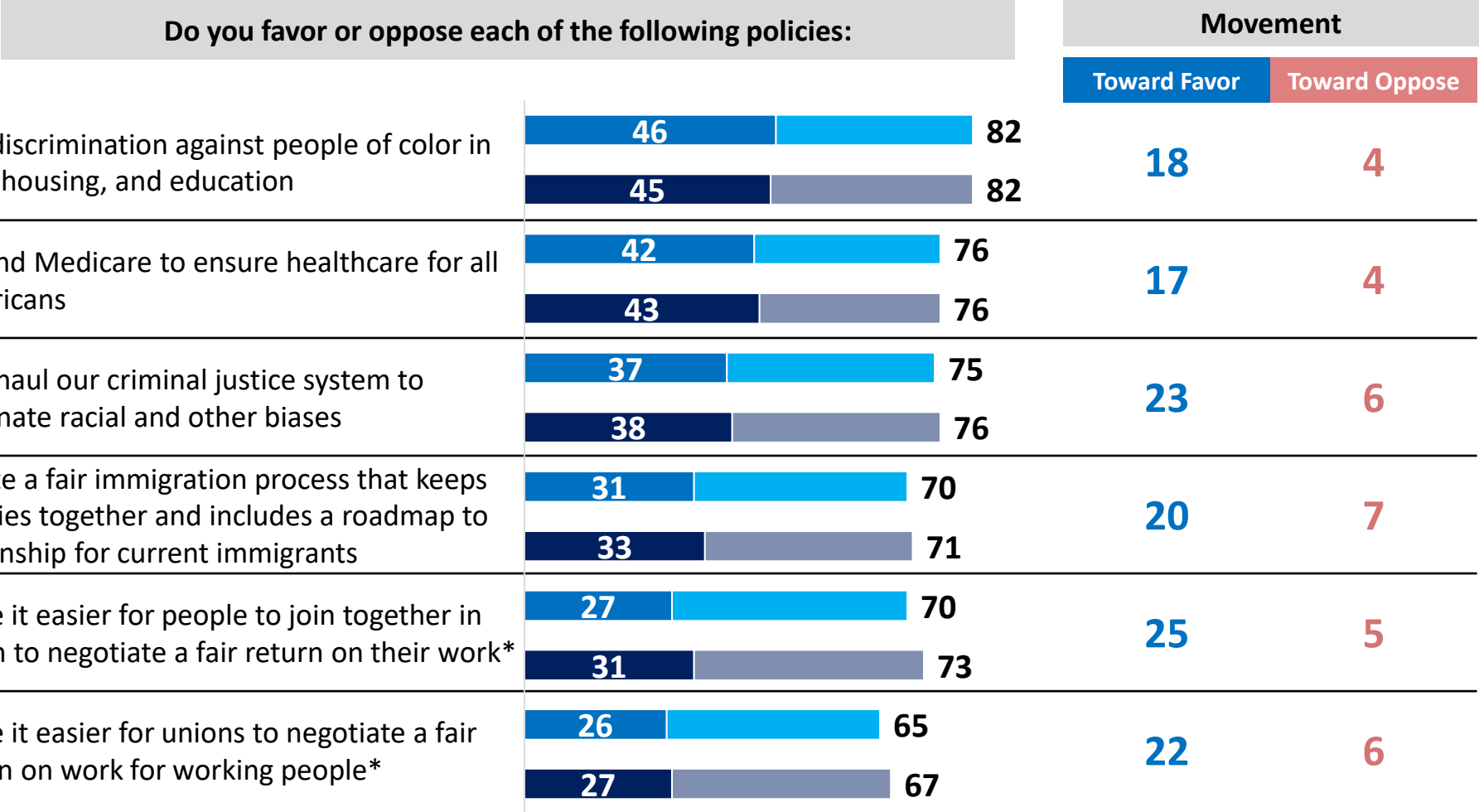
Excitement to join together with people across racial differences increases for persuadables even more.

How excited are you to join together with people across racial differences to take action and bring about change? (0-10 Scale, 0 means not at all excited, 10 means very excited)



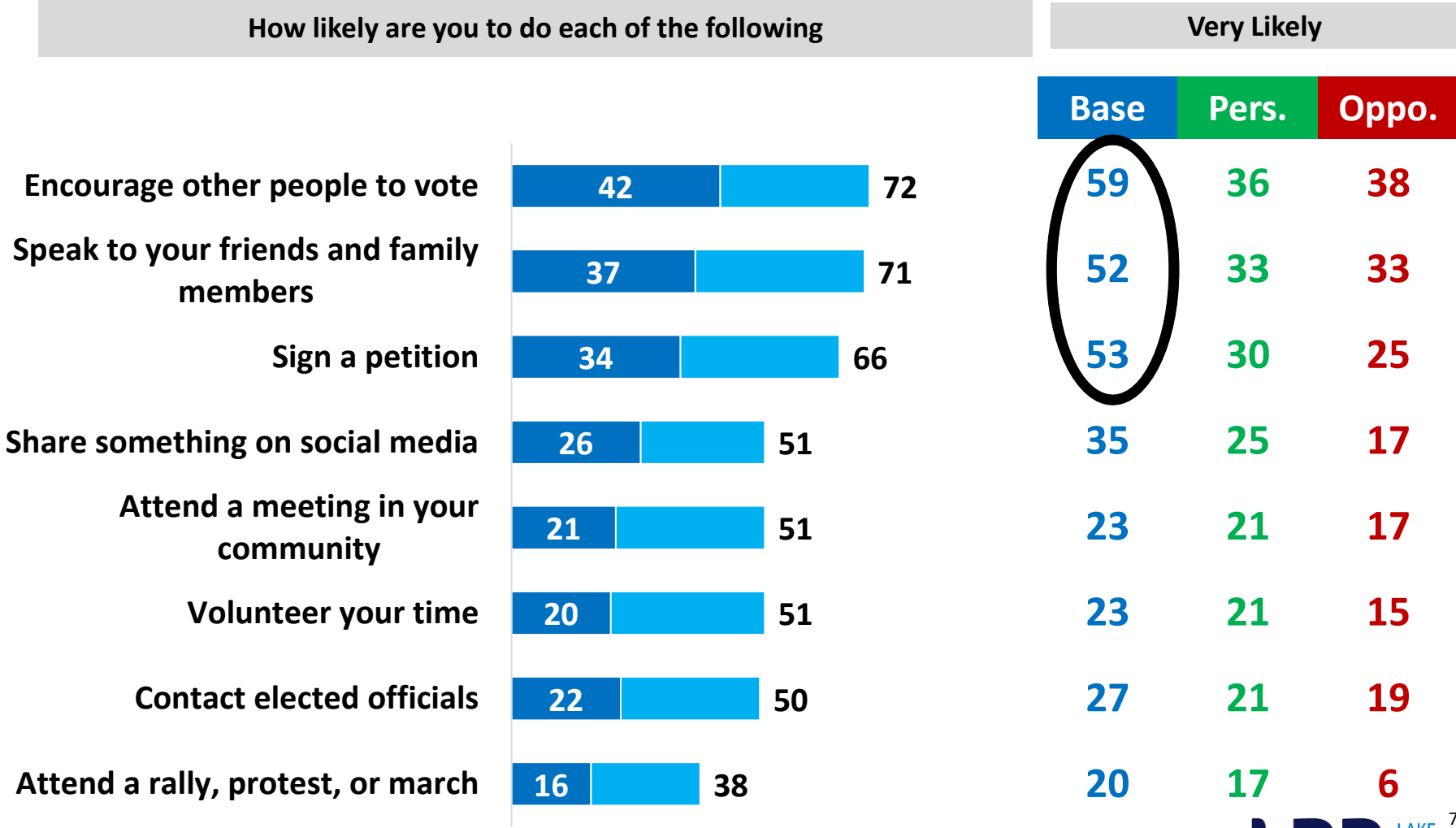
Split Sampled

While overall support for policies stays the same, it masks movement toward support particularly on making it easier for people to join together in union, and to overhaul criminal justice system.





Base adults are most likely to encourage others to vote, speak to their friends and family, and sign a petition.

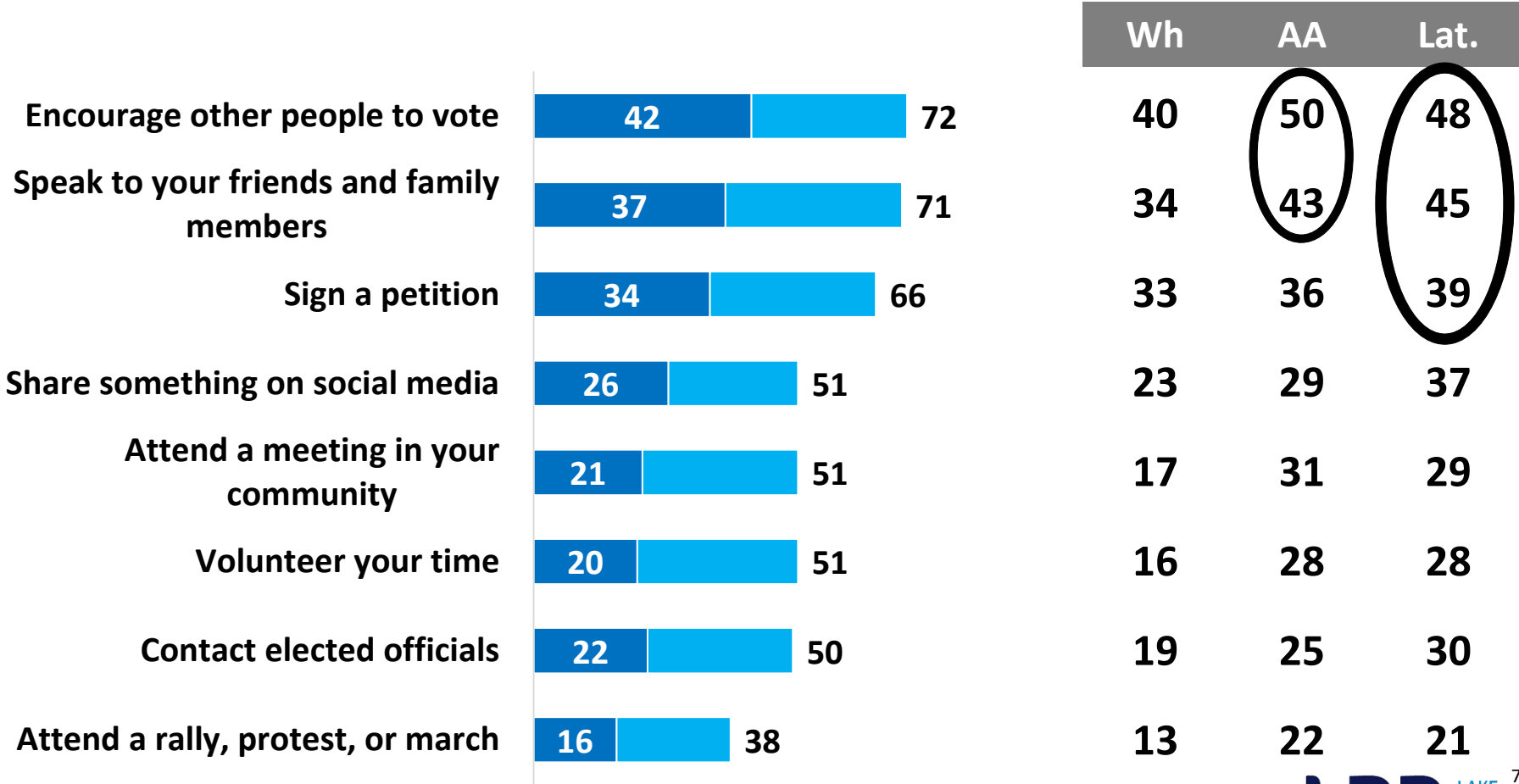


Very Likely Total Likely

African Americans and Latinos are more likely than whites to encourage others to vote and speak to their friends and family.

How likely are you to do each of the following

% Very Likely

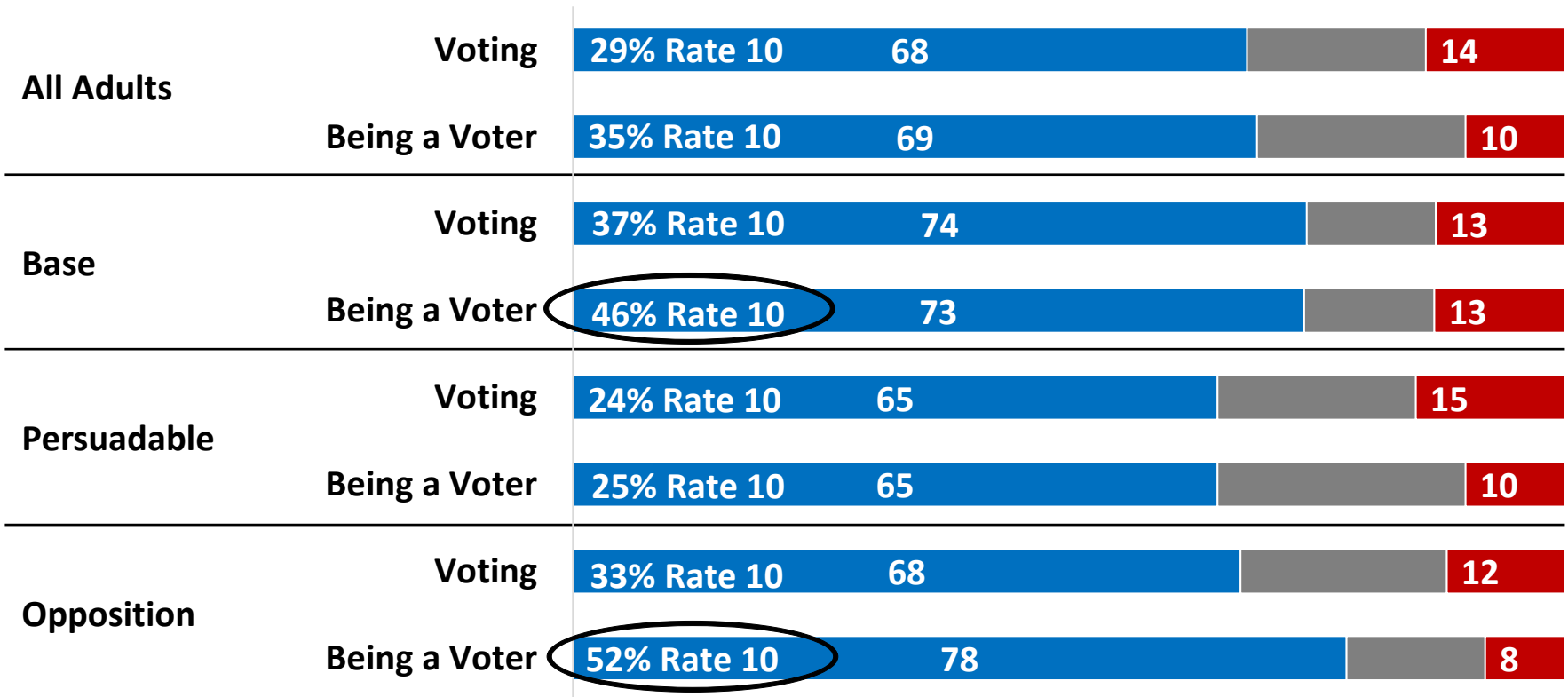


Very Likely

Total Likely

Base and opposition adults are more enthusiastic about the elections than persuadables. Base and opposition are both more enthusiastic about “being a voter.”

How enthusiastic are you about voting/being a voter in this November election?



Split Sampled

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

LRP

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