

# Race-Class Narrative



## Indiana



IAN HANEY LÓPEZ  
**DOG  
WHISTLE  
POLITICS**



Findings and recommendations  
from an online survey of adults  
in Indiana

## June 2018

**Dēmos**  
AN EQUAL SAY AND AN  
EQUAL CHANCE FOR ALL



# Table of Contents

	Summary of Key Findings	5
	Key Dynamics	13
	Views on Race	23
	Beating Divide and Conquer	29
	Perceptions of Safety	33
	Policy Agenda	38
	Messaging	49
	Movement	78
	Taking Action	82

# Methodology

- Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey that was conducted online from May 8 – May 18, 2018. The survey reached a total of 600 adults in Indiana.
- The data were weighed slightly by gender, age, region, race, education, party identification, and gender by race to reflect attributes of the actual population.
- The margin of error for the total sample is +/-4.0%.

# Defining Base, Opposition, and Persuadable

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

## Base – 34% of adults

- More likely to be women, younger, African American or Latino, and Democratic
- Strongly favor progressive policy agenda
- Believe wealthy achieved success due to more opportunities
- Support government creating more opportunities
- Believe focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality

## Opposition – 22% of adults

- More likely to be older, white, Republican, and live in the Northwest
- Oppose entire policy agenda
- Believe wealthy work harder than others
- Want government to get out their way
- Believe people of color are mostly responsible for their own condition

## Persuadable – 44% of adults

- More likely Republicans
- Strongly favor progressive policy agenda
- Lean closer to opposition on racial attitudes

Demographics	Total	Base	Opp.	Pers.
Men	49	46	47	52
Women	51	54	53	48
Under 30	22	27	14	22
30-39	17	16	18	17
40-49	16	15	13	18
50-64	26	24	31	24
Over 65	20	18	24	19
White	85	71	98	89
AA	9	21	1	3
Latino	5	7	1	6
Northwest	23	27	24	19
Northeast	15	13	15	17
Indianapolis	14	16	14	12
Central	28	22	27	32
South	21	22	20	20
Democrat	36	62	12	27
Indep/DK	16	13	17	18
Republican	43	20	63	51



# 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. Hoosiers divide nearly evenly on this, but persuadables are closer to opposition adults in this dimension and are slightly more likely to say too much attention is paid.
- Second, base adults want the government to create opportunities for advancement while opposition adults want the government to get out of their way. Persuadables are more divided, but again are closer to opposition adults and prefer for the government get out of the way by 7 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. This is the one dimension where persuadables agree more with base adults, that the wealthy were given more opportunities than others, but it too is a divided dimension.
- 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. Aspirational messages are key toward activating this sense of efficacy, as is a call to action. As we saw in the focus groups, cynicism can be as a great an enemy as opposition.
- Persuadables in Indiana lean more Republican and less Democratic in their partisan identification (R+24) than persuadables nationally (D+7). However, they overwhelmingly favor a progressive policy agenda including expanding Medicaid, providing universal pre-K, ensuring paid family and medical leave, reforming law enforcement, and ending cash bail. When it comes to policy, persuadables are much closer to base adults.

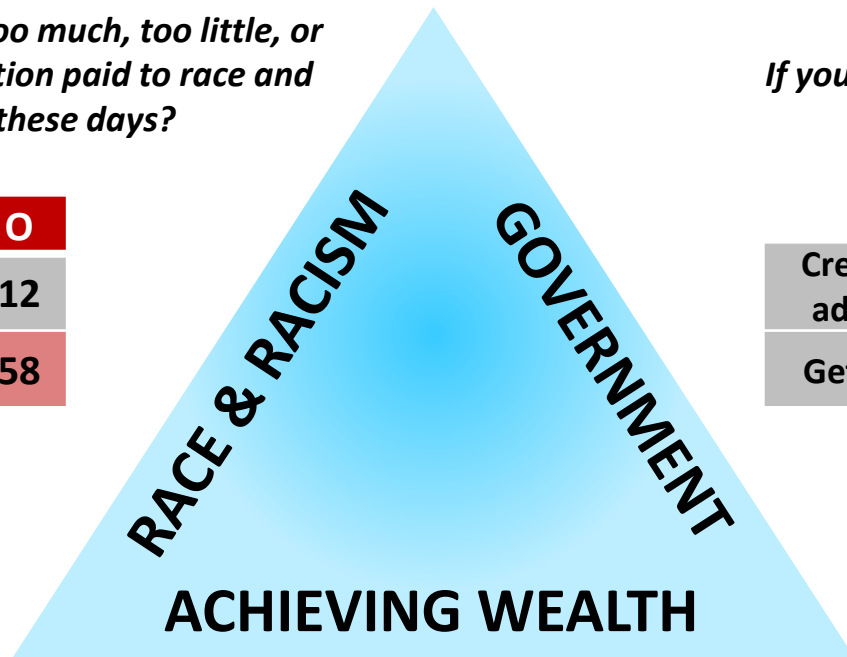
# Three Core Dimensions: Racism, the role of government, and how people achieve wealth.

*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 Indiana these days?*

	B	P	O
Too little	68	26	12
Too much	14	43	58

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

	B	P	O
Create opp. for advancement	56	37	13
Get out of way	27	43	64



*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	56	39	21
Worked harder than others	28	36	55

# Key Findings

- While the persuadables side with us on many questions, this is contested space. The persuadables hold two competing schemas.
- Base adults overwhelmingly agree that focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality, a position that opposition adults reject.
- Persuadables also agree that focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality, but at weak levels. Persuadables are more likely to say that focusing on and talking about race doesn't fix anything and may even make things worse.
- Persuadables agree with the base the value of working together across racial differences. They believe that by working together we can restore the balance in our economy so that everyone can benefit.
- However, persuadables are much more likely to say that people of color who cannot get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition, and they are less likely to agree that African Americans, Black people, and Latinos face greater obstacles to economic success than whites.



# 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. There are several takeaways from this research that help. However, challenges remain in Indiana.
- First, it helps to connect the goal of ensuring equal opportunities for people of every background, race, and religious belief with the idea of “**moving forward.**” When we define this goal as forward looking we win persuadables.
- Secondly, conservative appeals to safety that play on racial fears using terrorism and immigration are more effective in Indiana than elsewhere. However, base and persuadable adults respond more to populist counterarguments when they include an **explicit mention of race.**
- Unfortunately, while base and persuadables are more likely to believe a progressive agenda can make life better for working people than tax cuts or reducing regulation, evoking race does not increase support against traditional conservative arguments of reducing taxes and regulation.
- Further, calling out divide and conquer tactics is not as effective against conservative notions of a culture of people expecting handouts and rejecting the politics of the division has little impact on the base or persuadables but does better with opposition adults.

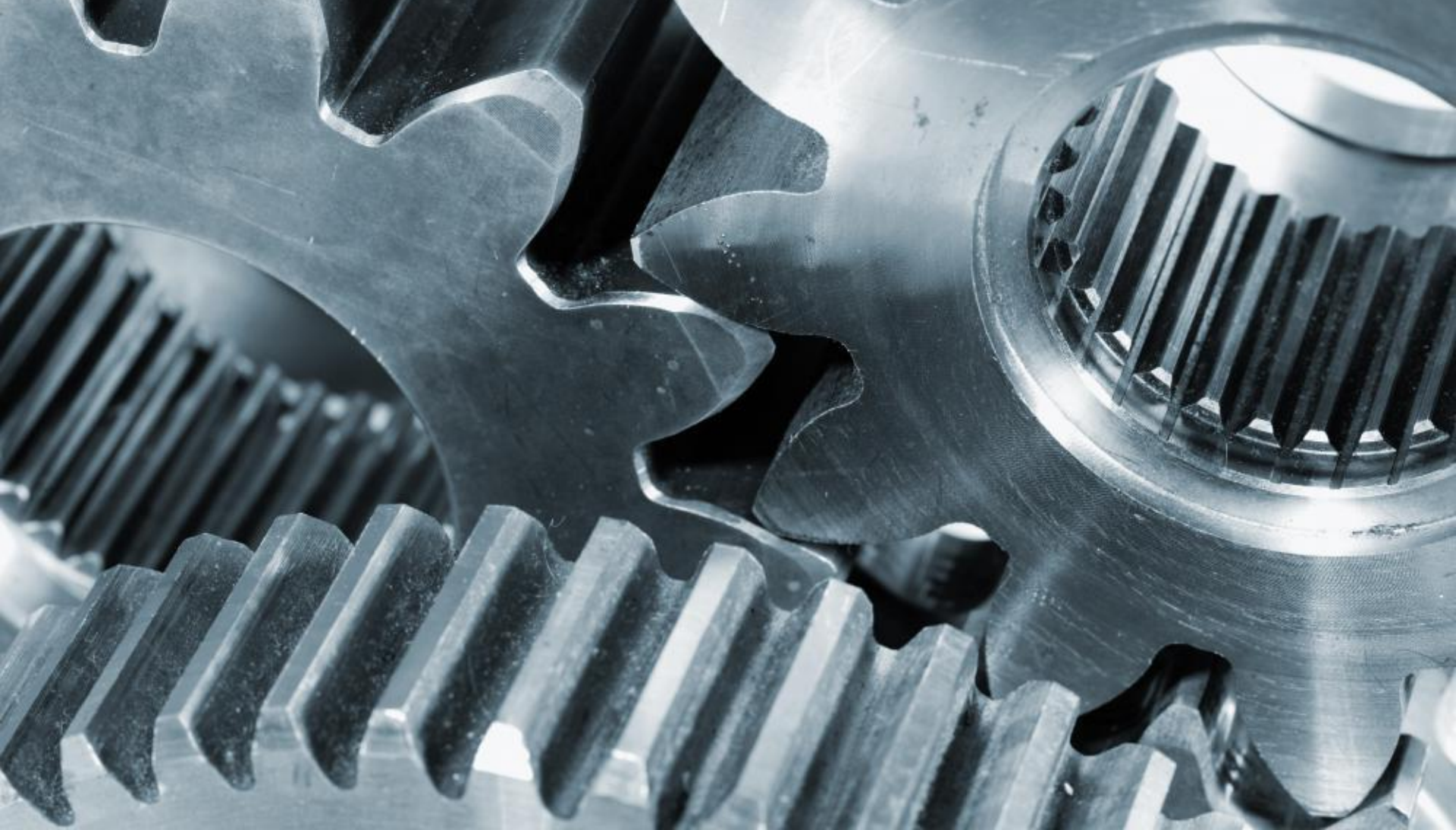
# Messaging

- Our strongest message is “Indiana’s Strength.” This message registers the strongest convincing ratings among the base and persuadables when delivered by an African American man. Two other top tier messages include “Reform System” due to its strength with base adults and “Future” due to its strength with persuadable adults.
- There are several keys to success in these messages. First, they create a foundation in a shared value. Indiana’s Strength unites us by defining our strength in our ability to work together. Reform System focuses on our ability to make things better when we come 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.” “Wealthy special interests and the politicians they fund divide us with fear mongering based on what people look like, where they’re from, or how they worship, while they rig the rules to benefit themselves.”
- Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, they then provide a positive aspirational call to action. For Indiana’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 Hoosier.”
- 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 strongly with the base and works with persuadables.

# Messaging

- “Reform” was re-written from the national to include a stronger foundational value and reduce the amount of attention in the message focusing on the problem. Base adults strongly respond and continually dial upward, with a more immediate positive reaction. However, the language of “united we stand divided we fall” in overtly claiming universality can feel disingenuous in a narrative about intentional division.
- There are two messages that are a second tier, which are “Can Do” and “Come Together.” Both 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.
- “Racial Justice” performs very strongly with the base and alienates the opposition. However, it alienates persuadables too. It is the lowest performing message among persuadables by a significant margin.
- The opposition message is very strong with the opposition and also with persuadables. Among persuadables the opposition message has one of the highest convincing ratings (beaten only by “Indiana’s Strength” with an African American messenger, and “Future”). Persuadables average dial ratings for the opposition message are higher than all of our messages. Persuadables dial up to both the economic fiscal passages and when it pivots to sanctuary cities, underscoring the challenges in Indiana.
- While overall support remains about the same for our policy agenda, there is movement along the favorability scale toward reforming policing and ensuring every working parent paid time to care for family.

Say	Instead of	Because
<b>Our opponents point the finger for our hard times at Blacks, new immigrants and Muslims</b>	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.
<b>To make life better for working people</b>	To improve/grow our economy	Putting people at the center of a conversation about policy instead of an abstraction generates support for progressive policies
<b>Join together across racial differences</b>	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.
<b>We have the power to pick leaders (who believe in all our children); Elect new leaders (who respect all of our families)</b>	We should come together for a better future	Specific calls to action, and those rooted in the shared values around children and families, generate more excitement for our base.
<b>Work together; join together with people from all walks of life; stand up for each other</b>	Form alliances; forming alliances	Galvanizing language for base and persuadables.
<b>Law enforcement</b>	Policing	Law enforcement is a broader term that encompasses more areas for needed reform for base adults.
<b>Ensure care for people struggling to make ends meet</b>	Ensure care for people regardless of their income	Using language tied to lived experiences makes greater case for care.
<b>People who are mentally ill or suffer from addiction <u>receive treatment</u></b>	People who are mentally ill or suffer from addiction are not locked away in jail	Drawing a contrast between treatment and jail as a remedy for addiction or mental illness alienates opponents.



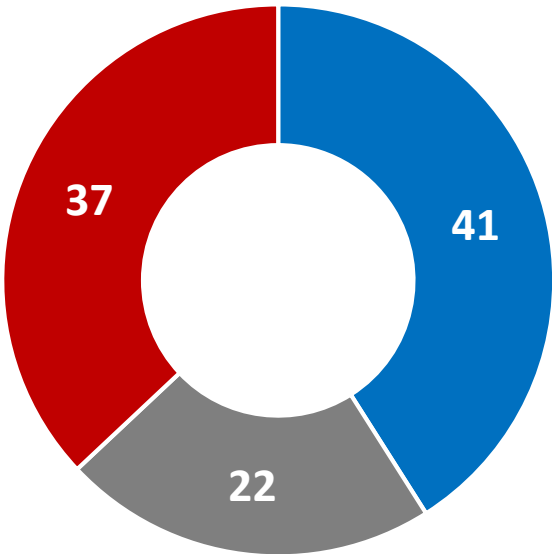
# Key Dynamics

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 are more divided.

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

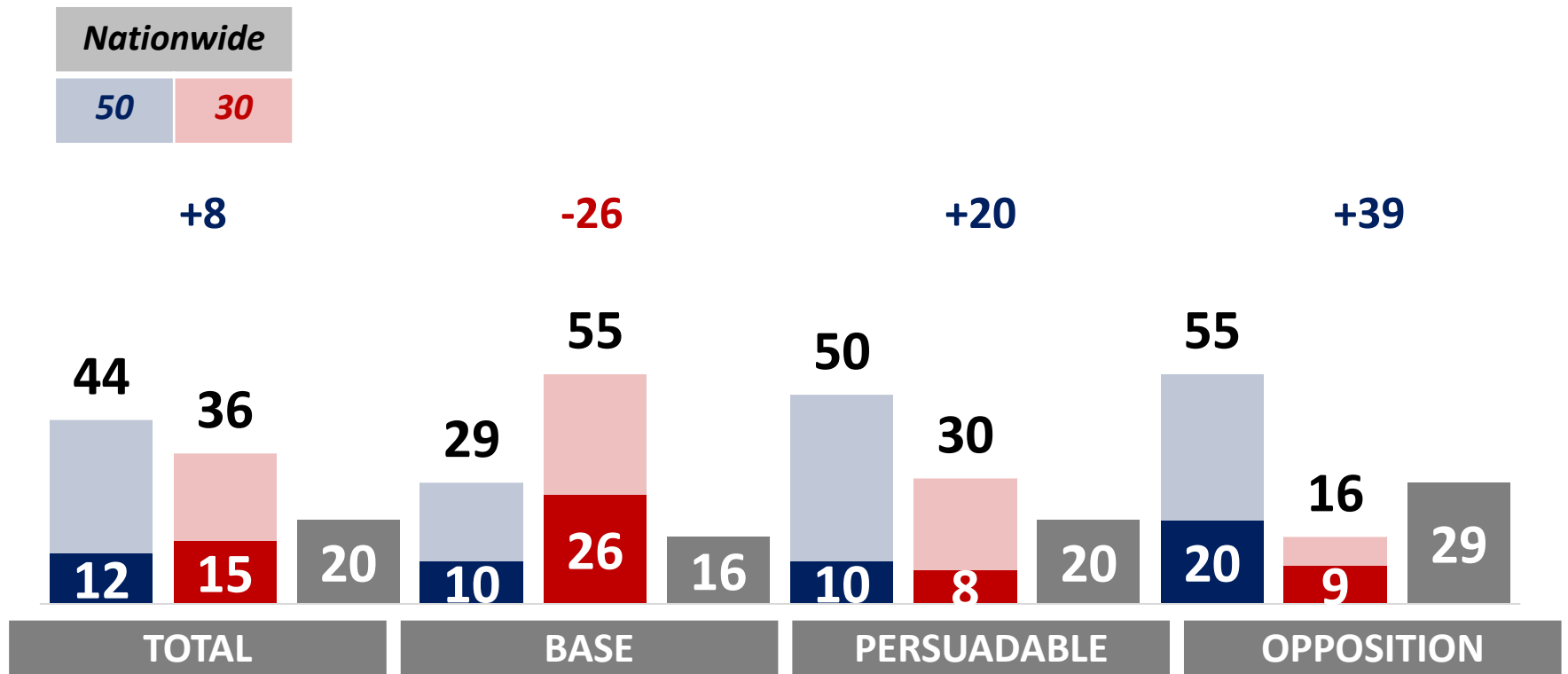
Wealthy Americans achieved success because they were given more opportunity than others



	Worked harder	Given more opportunities
Base	28	56
Persuadable	36	39
Opposition	55	21

# However persuadable adults resemble opposition adults in believing the wealthy create jobs and prosperity.

The wealthy in this country create jobs and prosperity for everyone

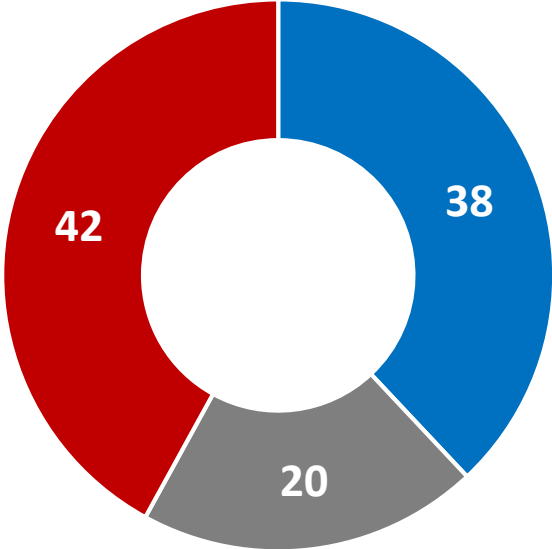


Base adults want the government to create opportunities for advancement, while opposition adults want the government to get out of their way. Persuadables divide, but they lean toward favoring seeing government as a barrier.

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

**Government  
get out of your  
way**

**Government create  
opportunities for  
advancement**

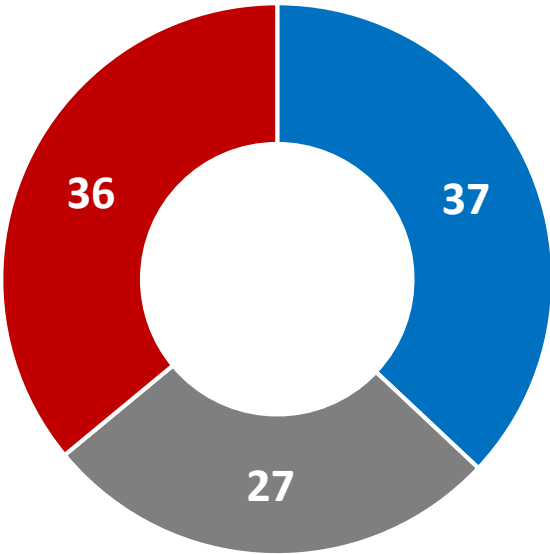


	Get Out of Way	Create Opportunities
Base	27	56
Persuadable	43	37
Opposition	64	13



How much attention Indiana 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 tend to side with the opposition.

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 Indiana these days?



	Too Much	Too Little
Base	14	68
Persuadable	43	26
Opposition	58	12

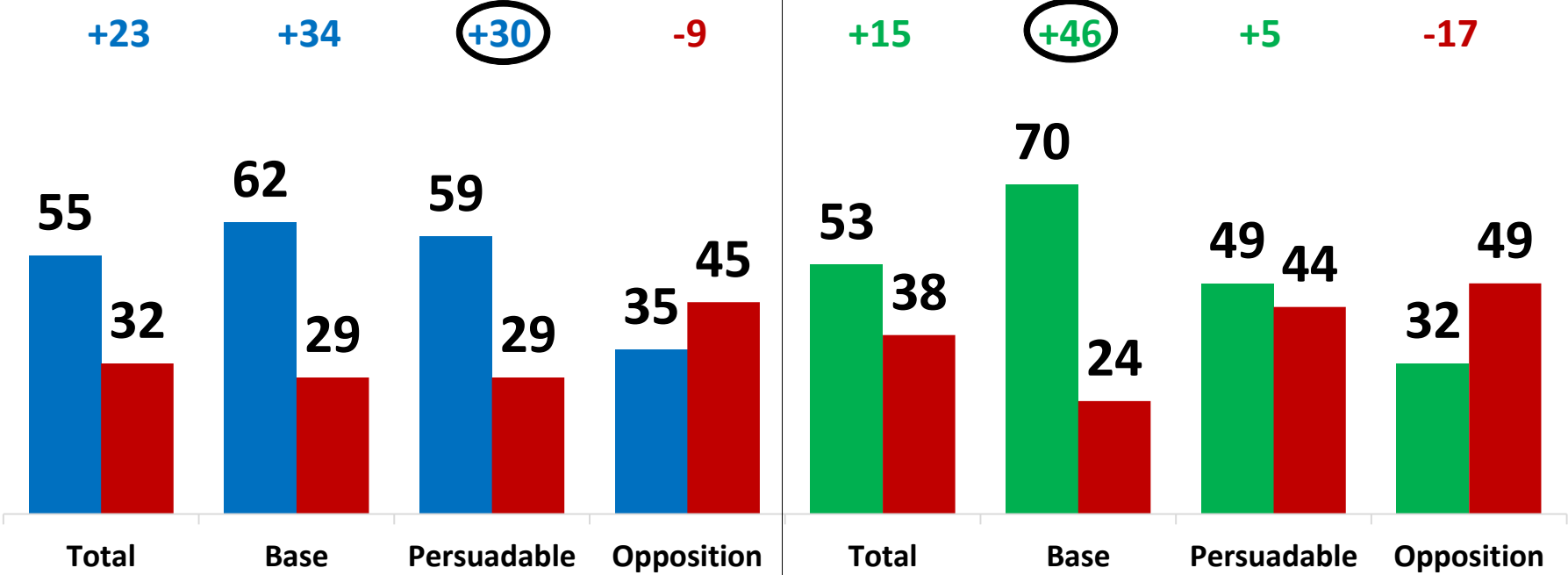
Base and persuadable adults express a sense of optimism about our ability to ensure all people are treated fairly. Persuadables respond even more when we invoke an Indiana identity.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We will never achieve fair and equitable treatment for all people

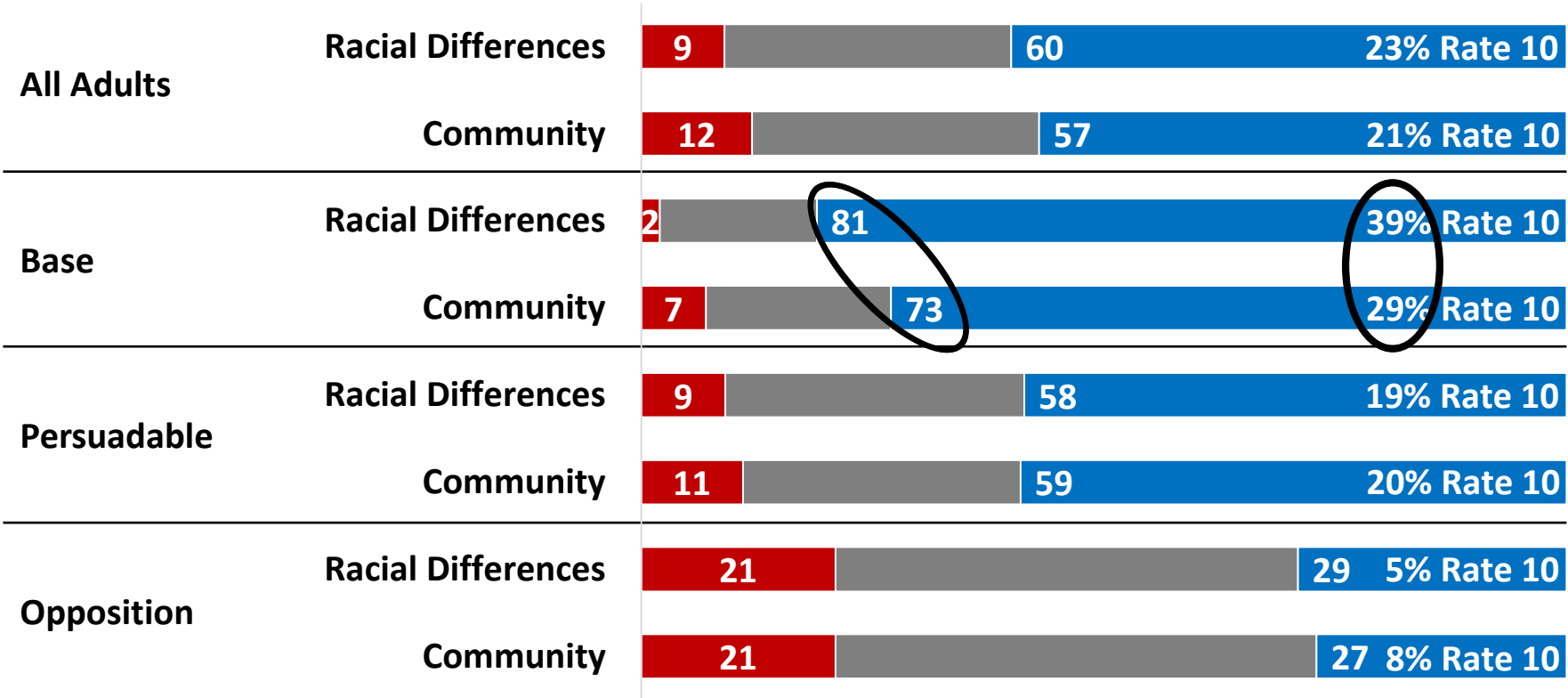
As Hoosiers, if we were really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally no matter their race, religion, or country of origin

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 adults express greater intensity in excitement at joining together with “people across racial differences” than they do about joining together with “others in your community.” There is little difference 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?

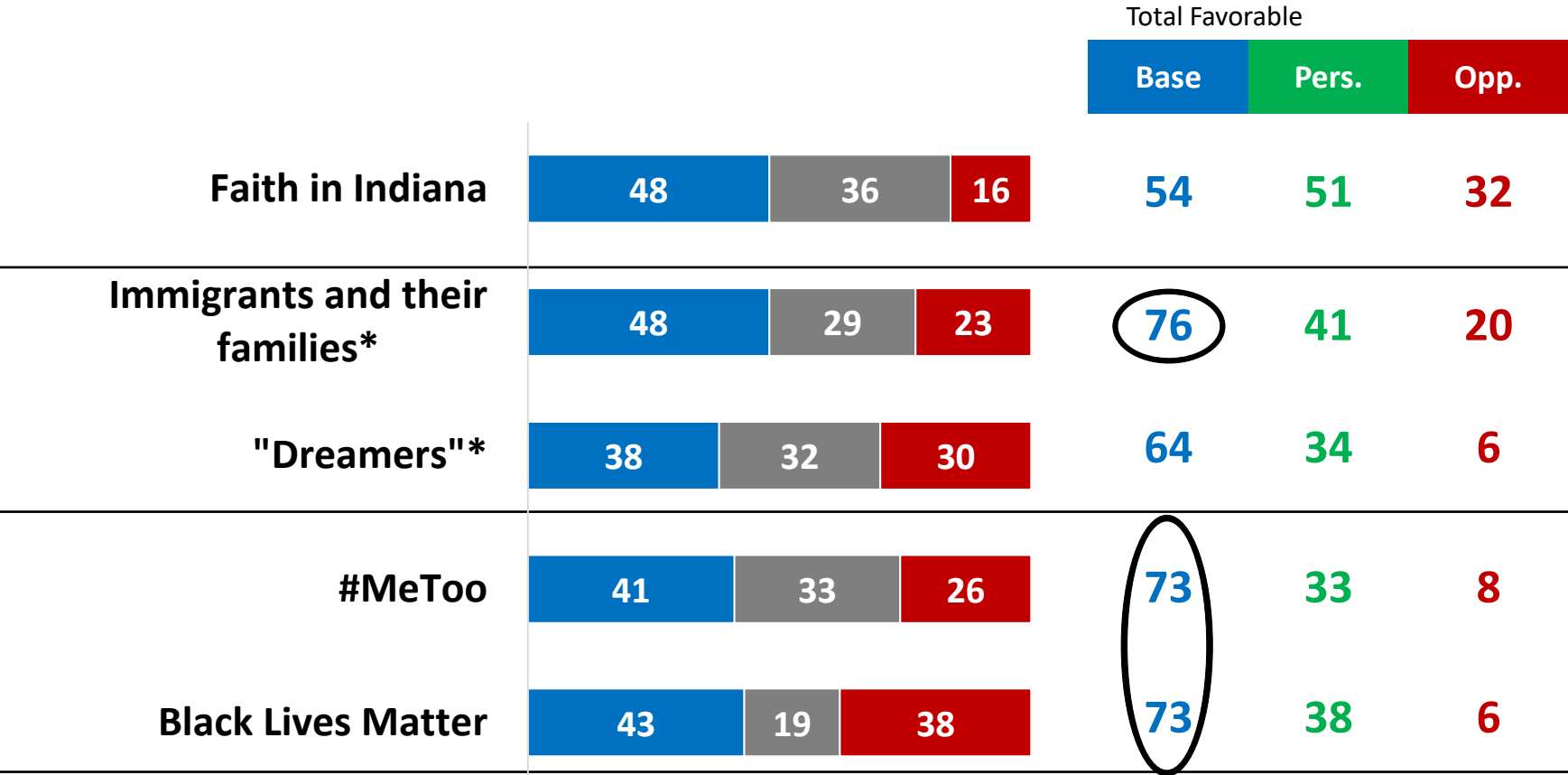


■ 0-4 Not Excited ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Excited

Split Sampled

Base and persuadable adults are more favorable toward “Immigrants and their families” than “Dreamers.” The base expresses favorability toward #MeToo and Black Lives Matter as well, while persuadables are more divided. Base and persuadables have favorable views toward Faith in Indiana.

How favorable are you to each of the following?



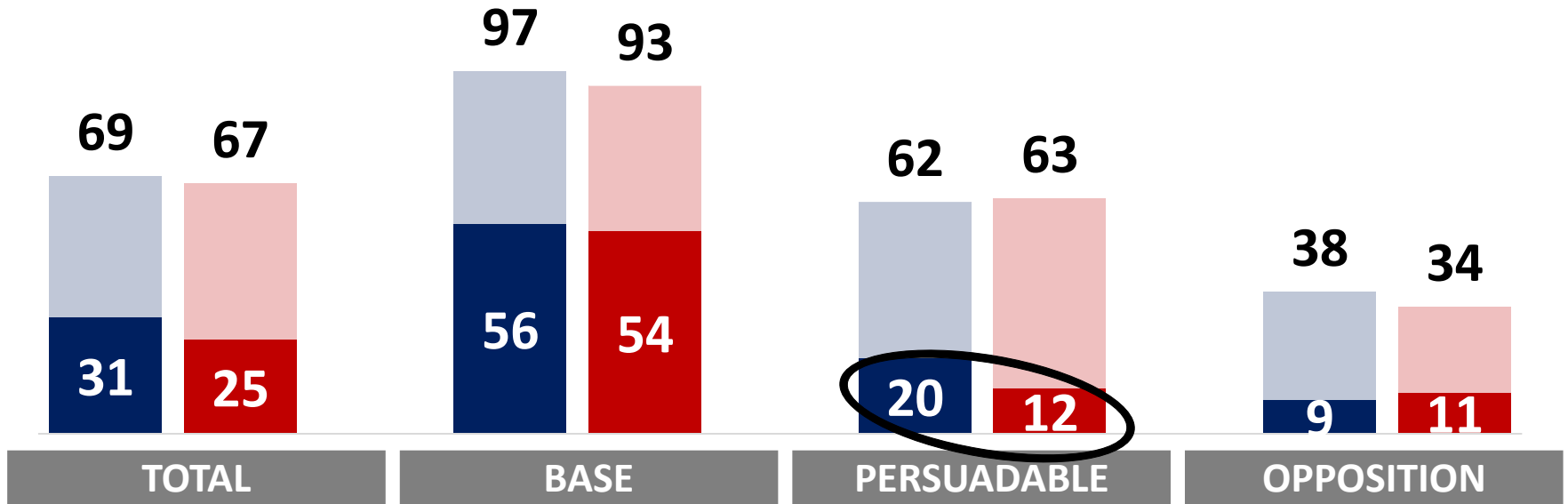
■ Total Favorable ■ No Opinion/Never Heard ■ Total Unfavorable

\*Split Sampled

# Persuadables do aspire to respect people who have moved here from other countries, and invoking an American identity generates greater intensity.

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

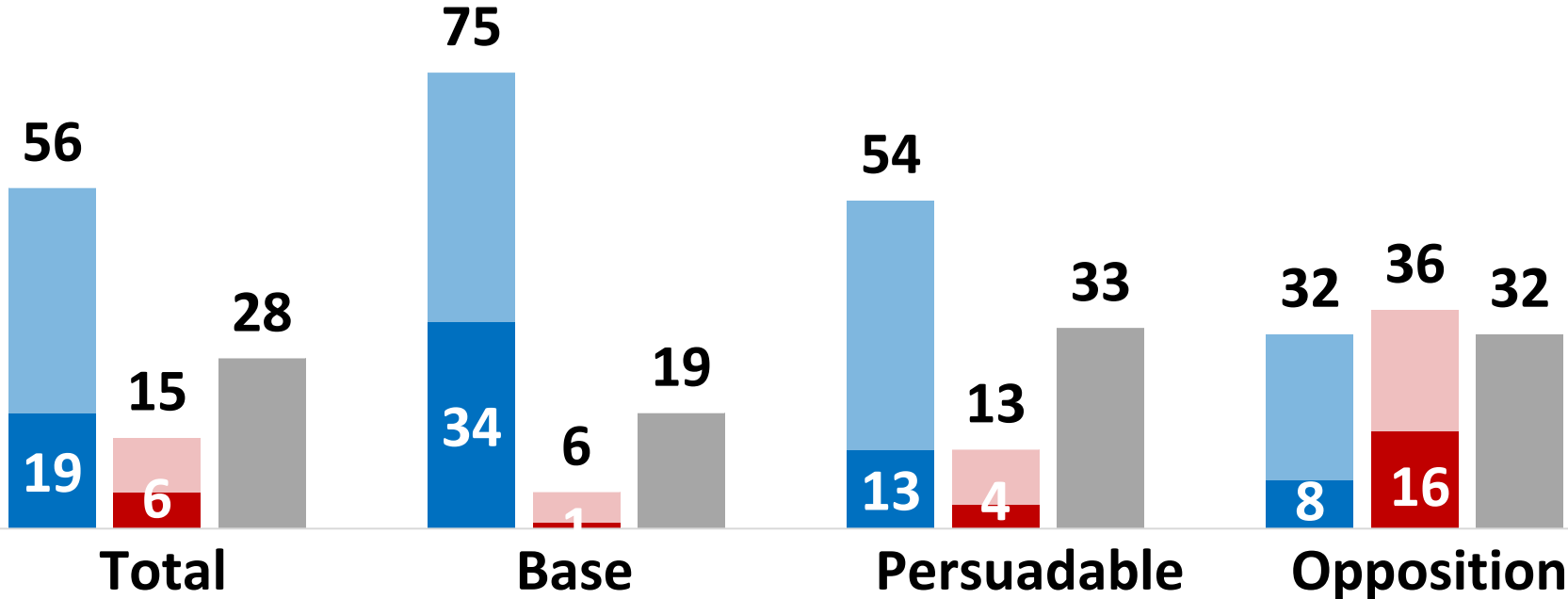
As caring people, we should respect people who have moved here from other countries to build a better life for their family



Split Sampled

# Favorability toward Faith in Indiana increases particularly among base adults when they learn more.

Faith in Indiana believes strong families belong together, care for each other, and count on opportunity to thrive. That’s why Faith in Indiana brings ordinary people together across race, faith, and place to make sure our elected leaders focus on solutions that put families first and invest in treatment not incarceration, citizenship not deportation, and opportunity for all. Based on this description, how favorable are you toward Faith in Indiana on a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 means very unfavorable and 10 means very favorable?



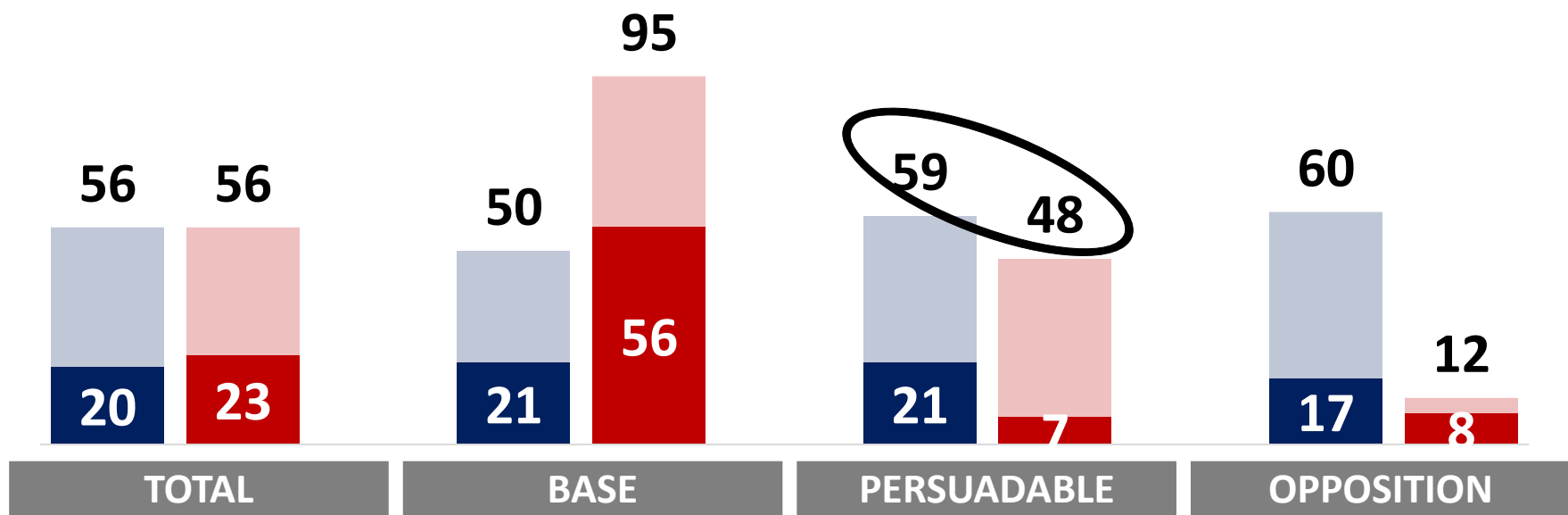
■ Somewhat Favorable  
■ Very Favorable  
■ Somewhat Unfavorable  
■ Very Unfavorable  
■ Neutral: 5/No Opinion/NH



Base adults overwhelmingly believe focusing on race is necessary to move forward to greater equality. Persuadables agree too, but at lower levels compared to the sense that it doesn't fix anything and may 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



Total Agree: 6-10  


 Strongly Agree: 10

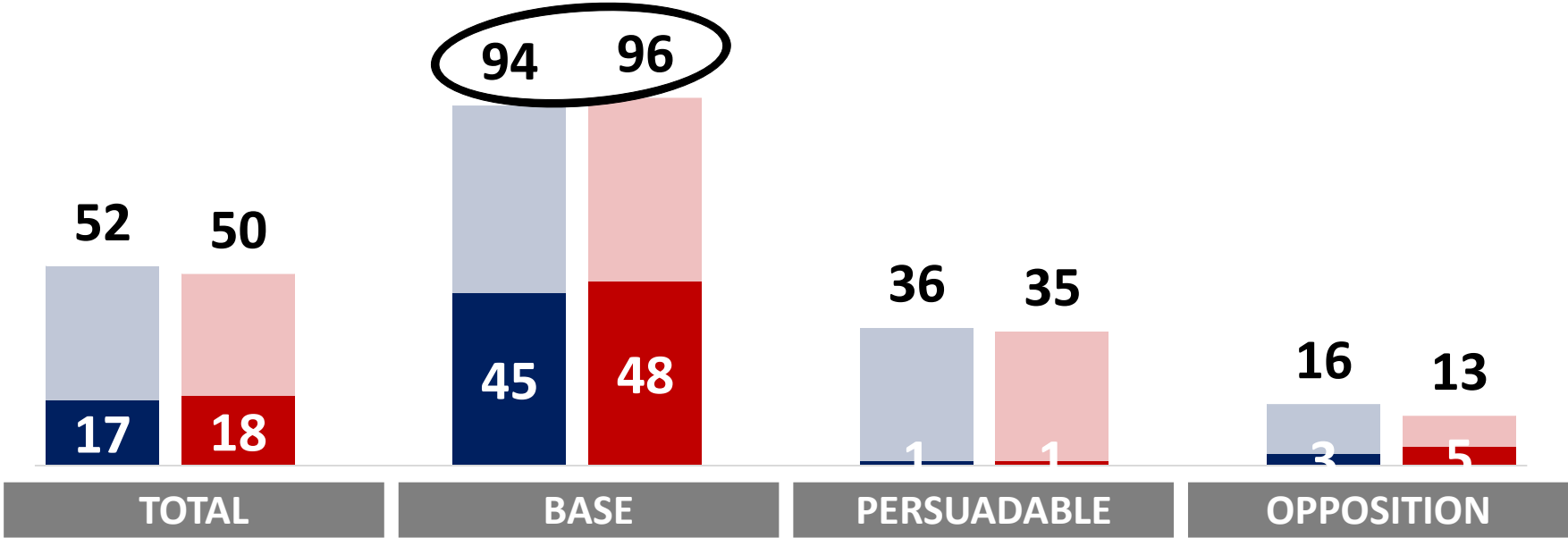
Split Sampled



Persuadables are not as likely as base adults to believe Black people face greater obstacles to economic success than whites.

Black people face greater obstacles to economic success than whites

African Americans face greater obstacles to economic success than whites



Total Agree: 6-10  

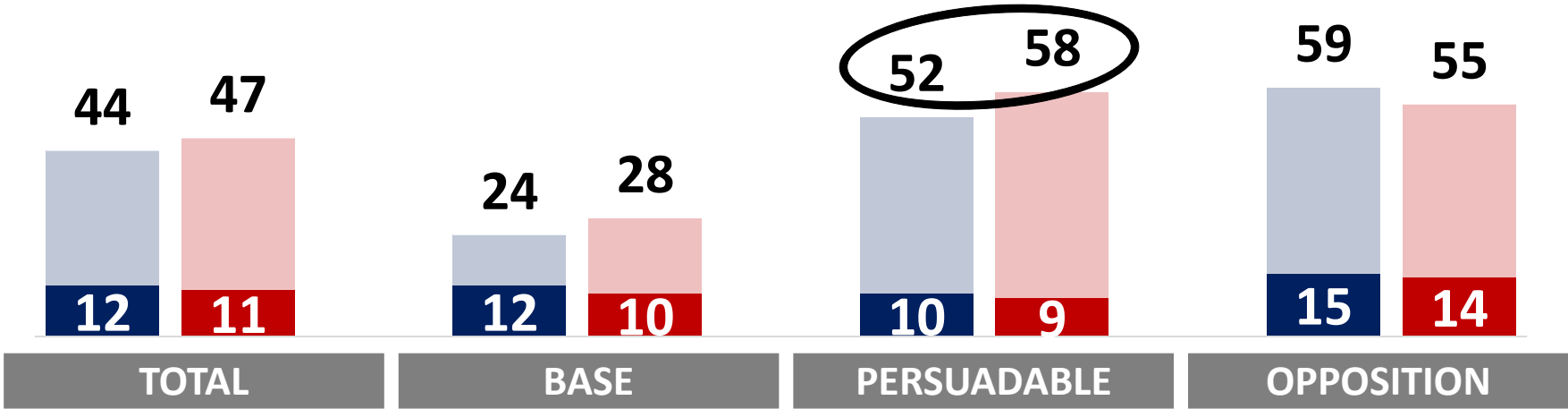

 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

Persuadables are like opposition adults in believing people of color who cannot get ahead are largely responsible for their own condition.

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



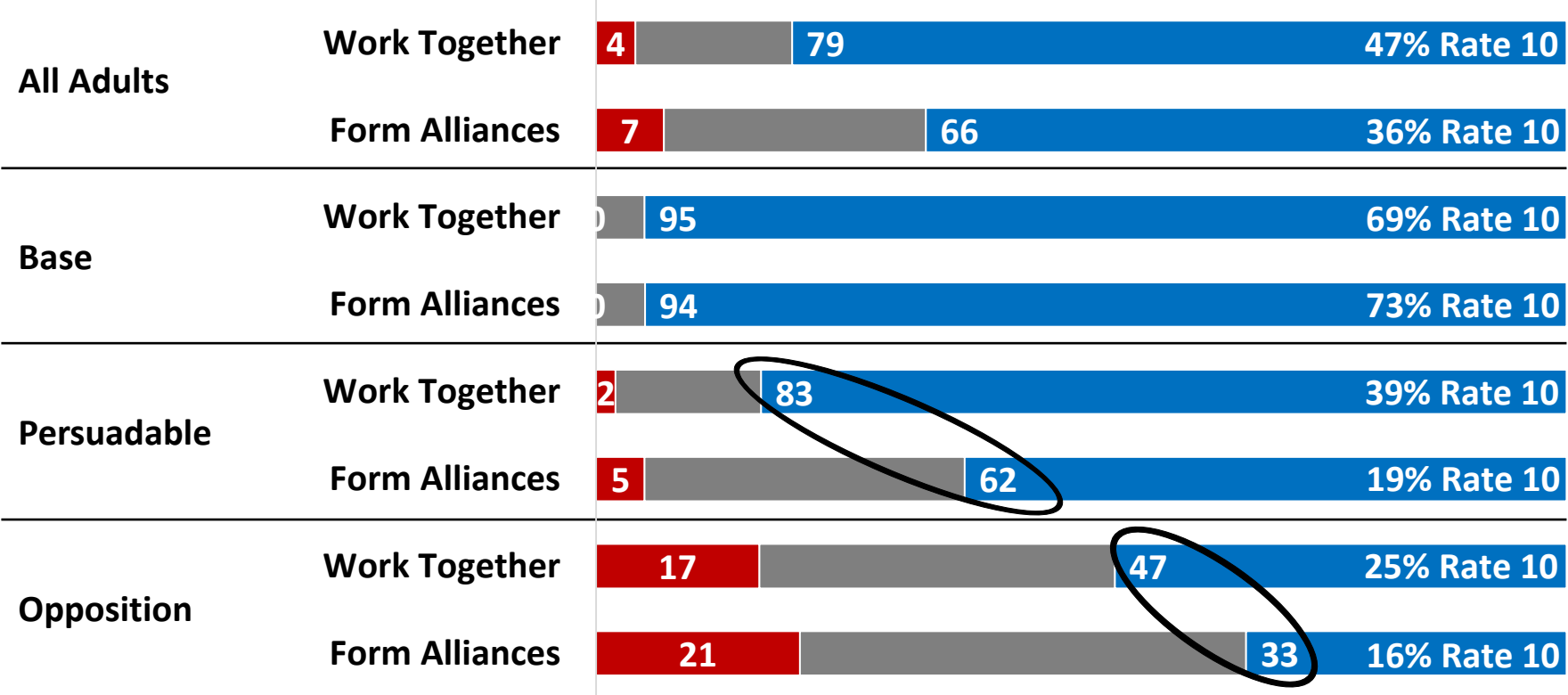
Total Agree: 6-10  


 Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled

Persuadables believe it is important to “work together” across racial differences at higher levels than to “form alliances.” Both are very important to base adults.

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



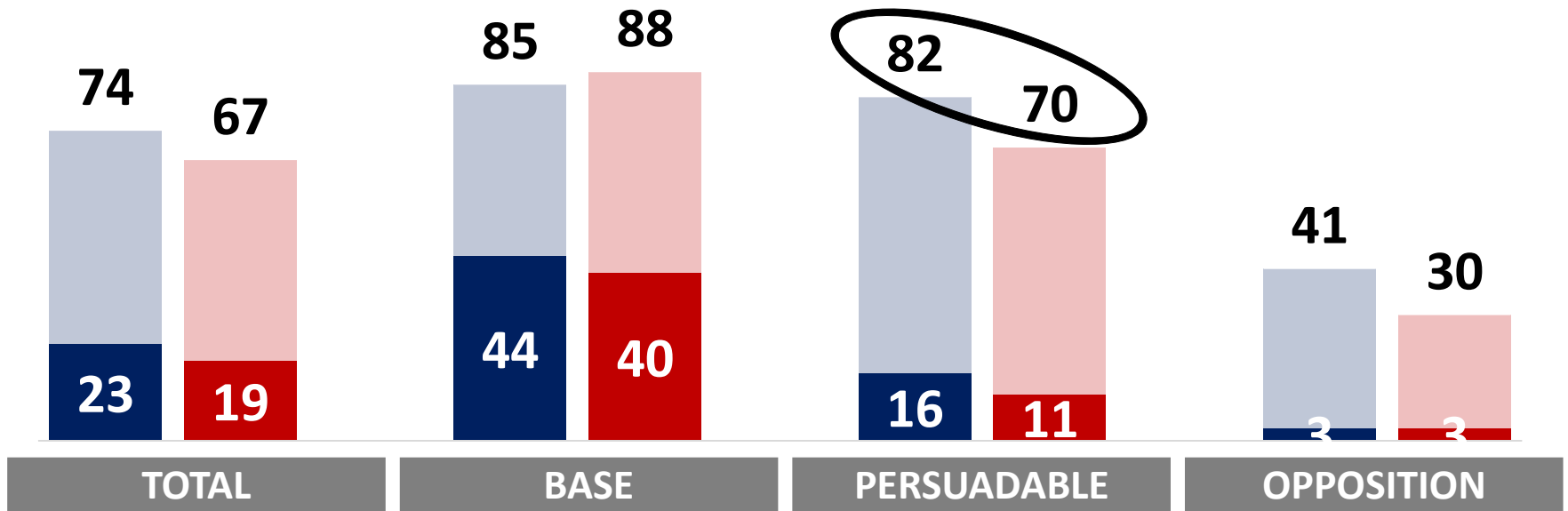
■ 0-4 Not Excited ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Excited

Split Sampled

# “Working together” is more effective language with persuadables in an economic context as well.

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



**Beating Divide  
and Conquer**

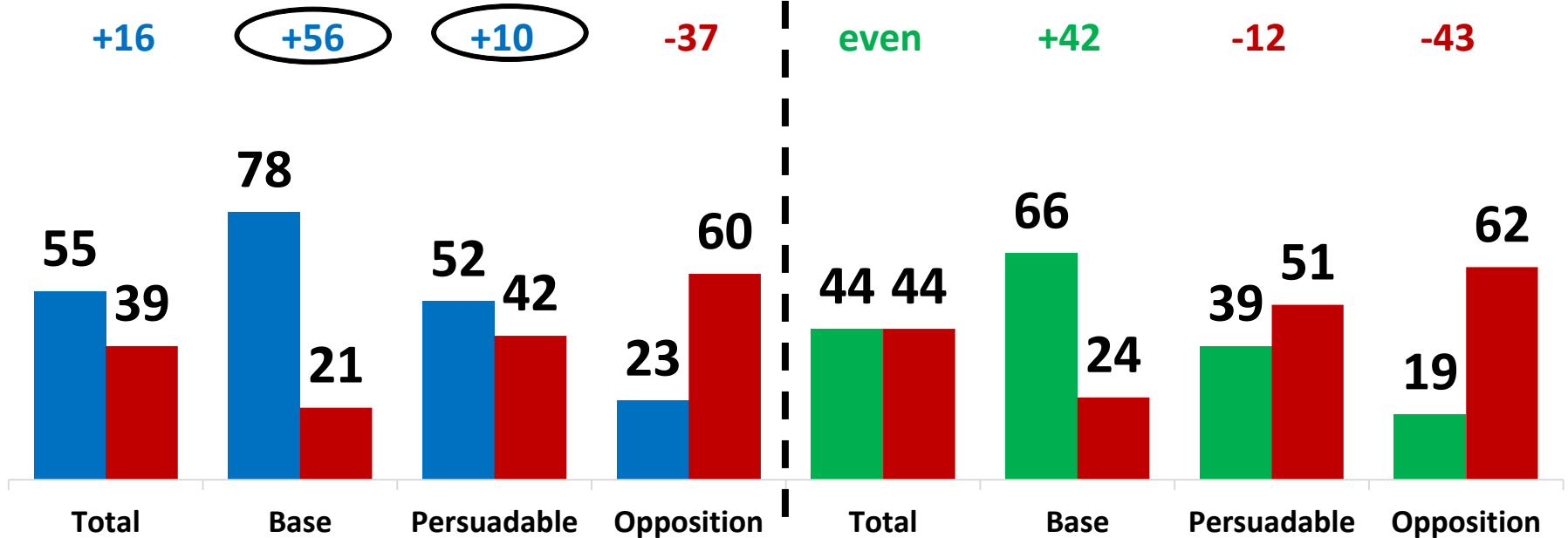
# Base and persuadable adults respond more positively to the need to ensure equal opportunities for people of every background when positioned as moving forward.

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



Split Sampled

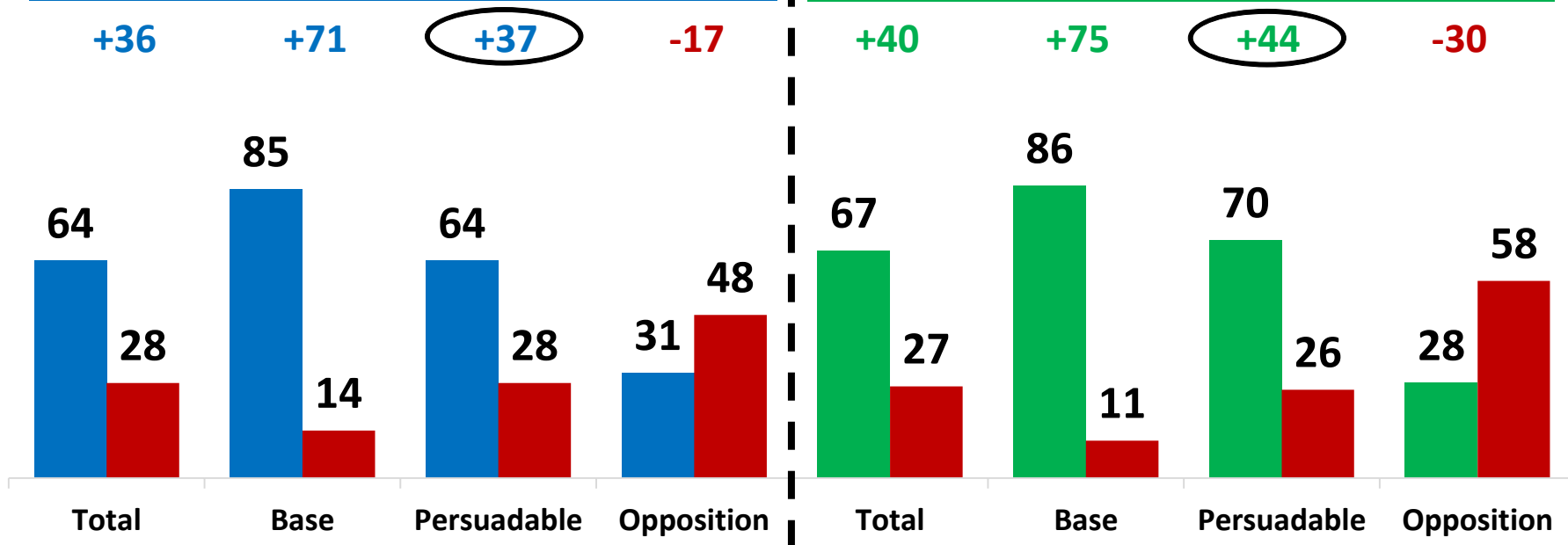
# Base and persuadable adults are more likely to believe a progressive agenda can make life better for working people than tax cuts or reducing regulation, and persuadables respond more to a colorblind formulation.

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

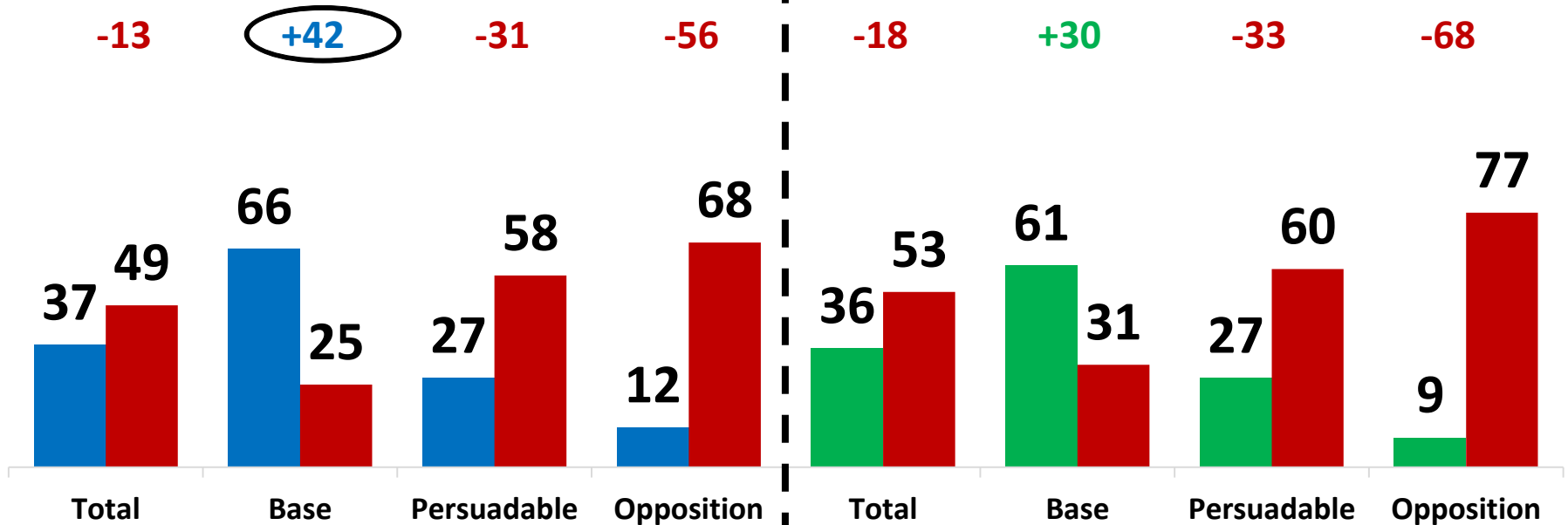
# Calling out divide and conquer tactics is not as effective against conservative notions of a culture of people expecting handouts.

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, 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



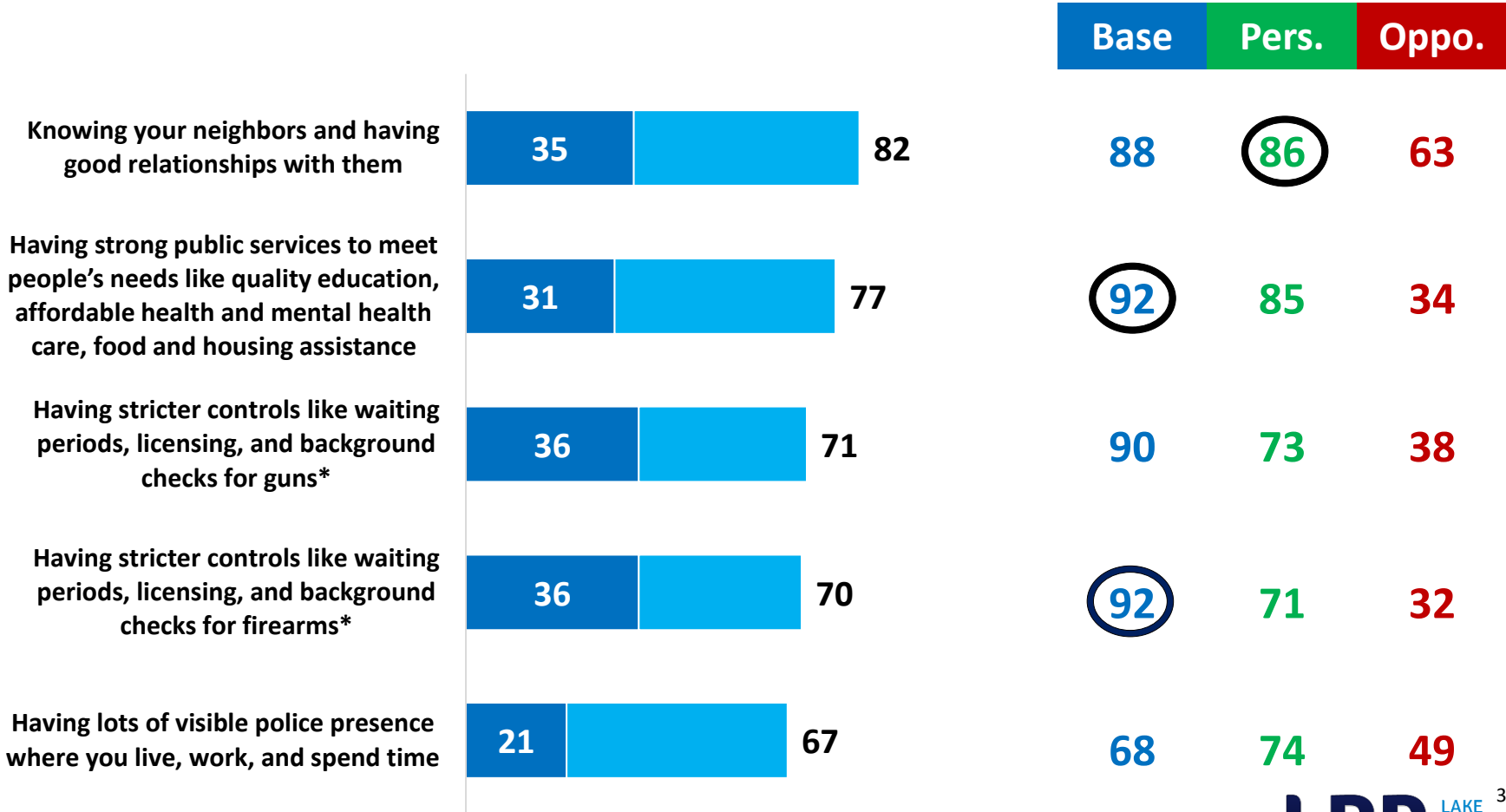


# Perceptions of Safety

# The base and persuadables both believe that good relationships with neighbors will make them more safe. They agree that strong public services and stricter controls on firearms will help.

Thinking about the safety of you and your family, please indicate for each of the following if you think it would make you feel safer or less safe...

Total 6-10

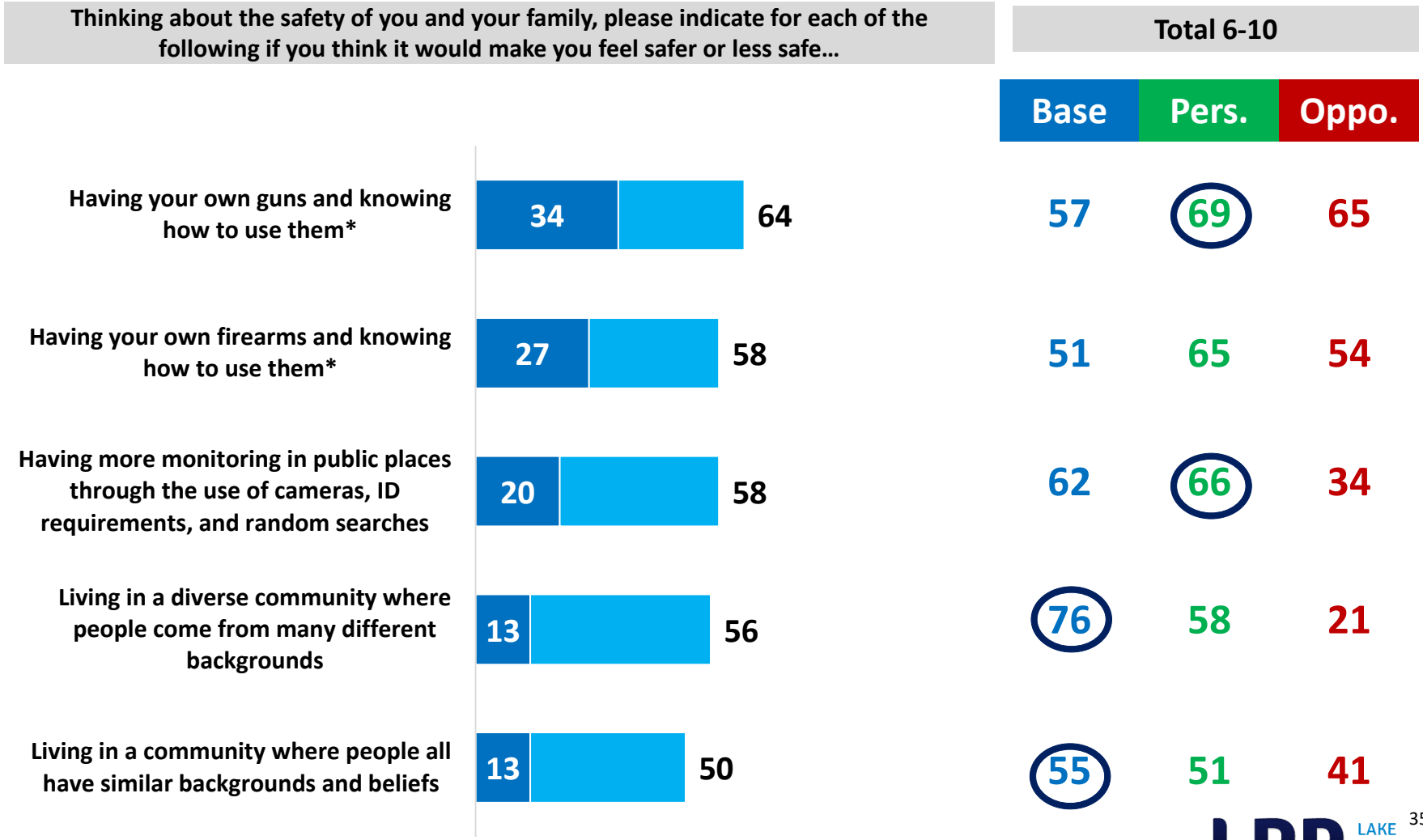


Much Safer: 10

Total Safer: 6-10

\*Split Sampled

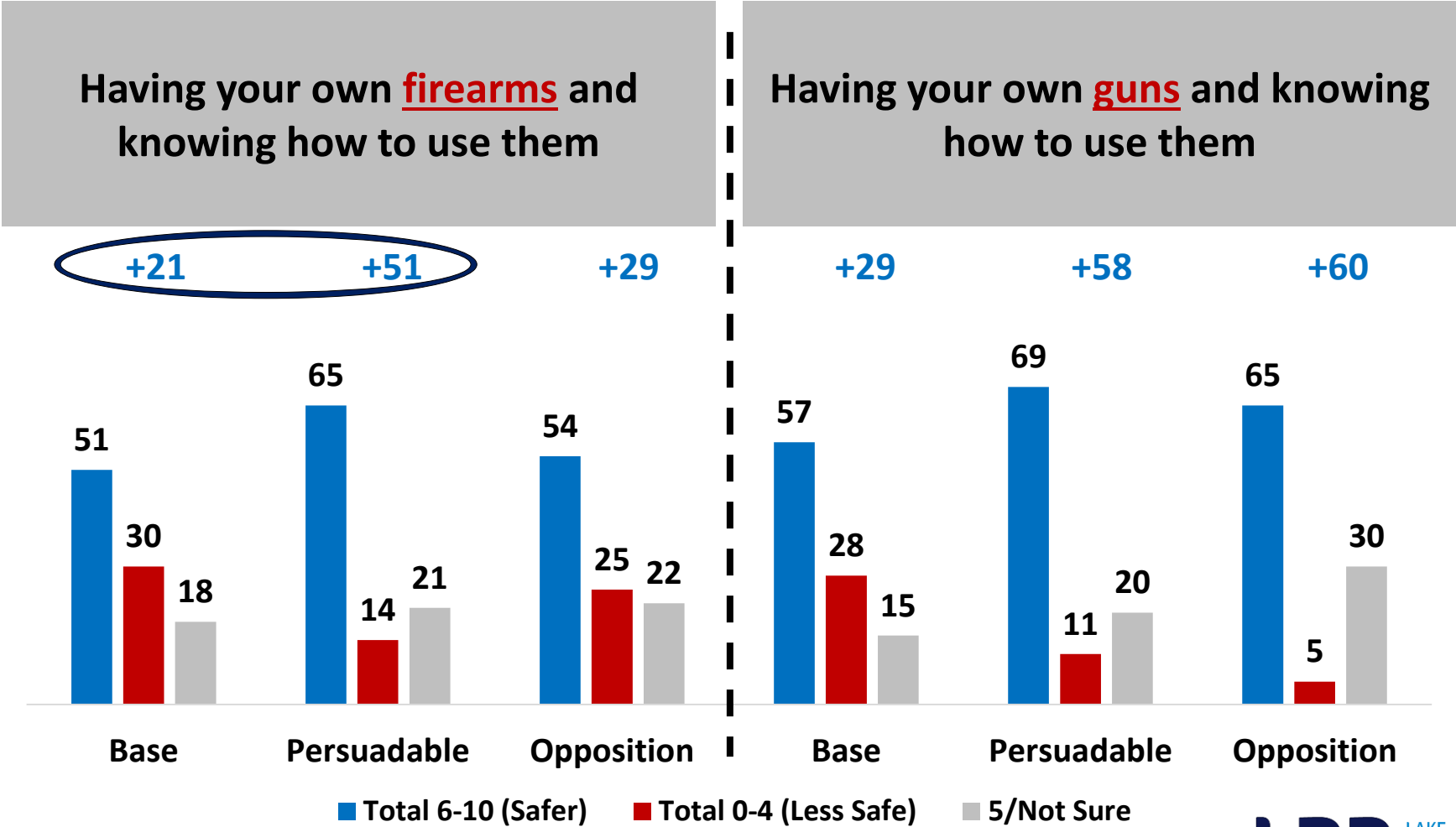
However persuadables also believe having guns will make them more safe. Both the base and persuadables are more likely to say that living in a diverse community will make them more safe than living in a more monolithic community.



Much Safer: 10 Total Safer: 6-10

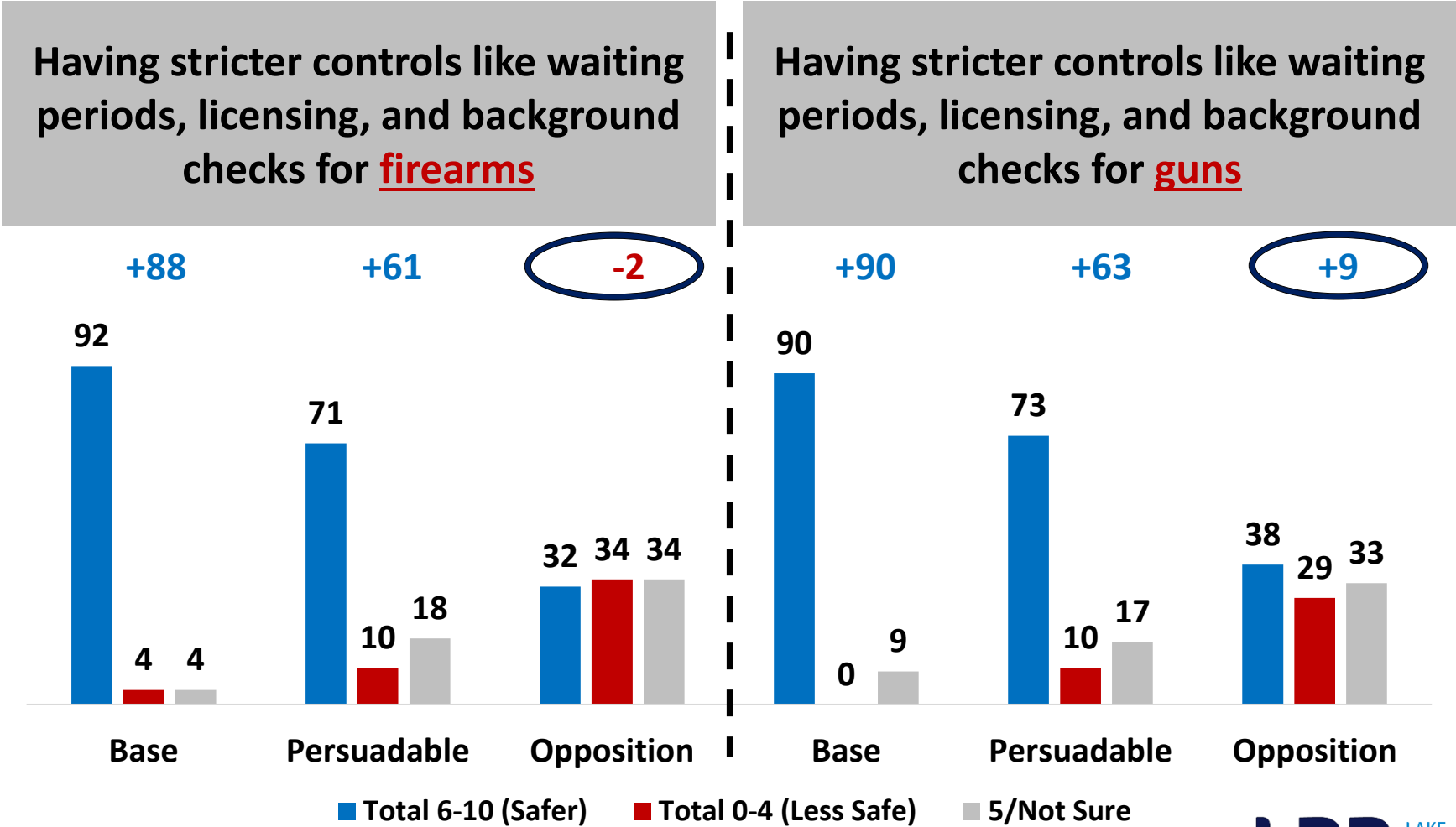
\*Split Sampled

# Hoosiers across audiences are less likely to view having guns as making them safer when we say “firearms.”



Split Sampled

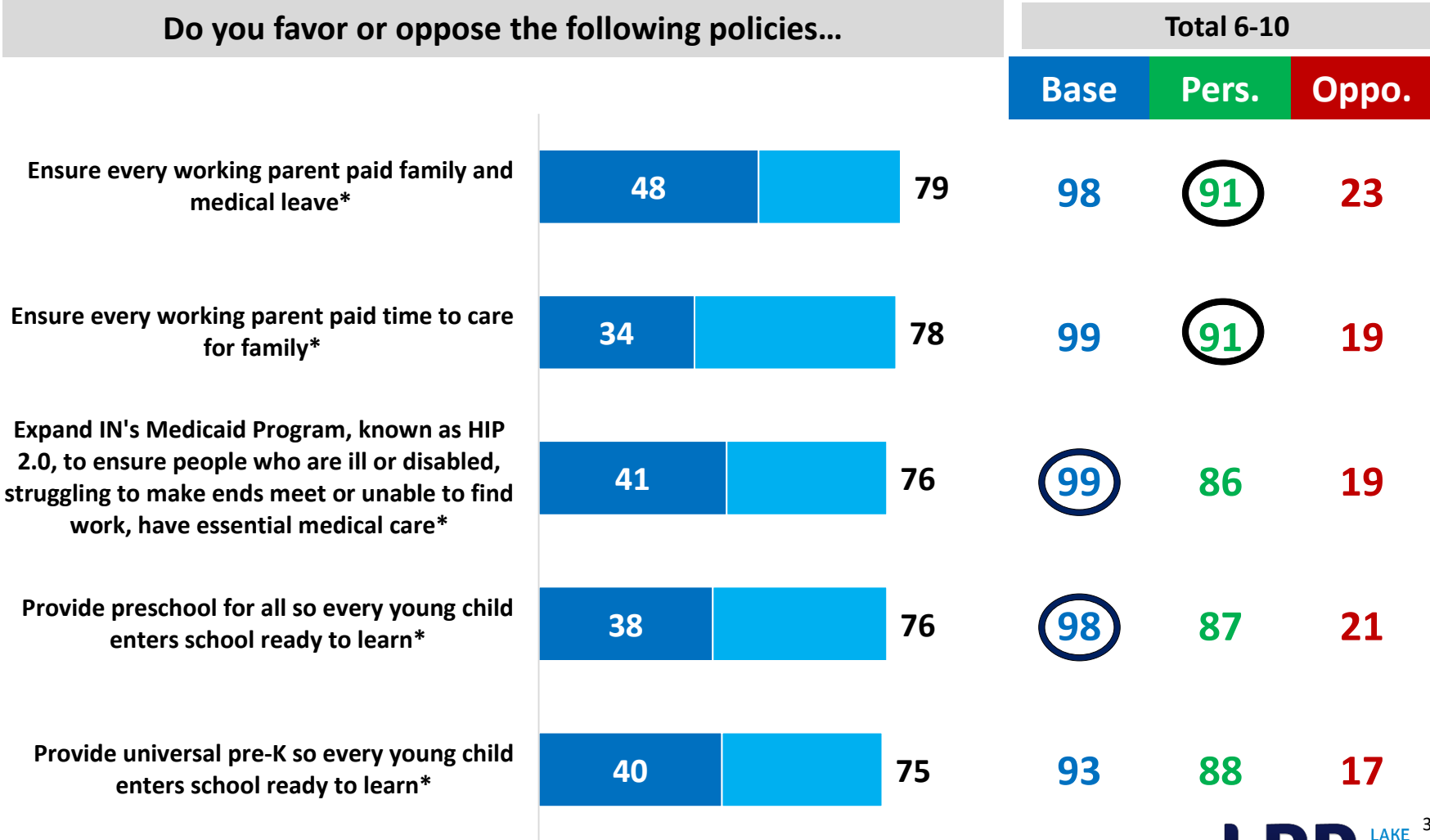
# Opposition adults are more responsive to stricter controls when we say “guns.”



Split Sampled



# The policy agenda generates a strong contrast that alienates opposition adults. Persuadables are strongly in favor of a policy agenda that includes paid family leave, healthcare, and pre-K.

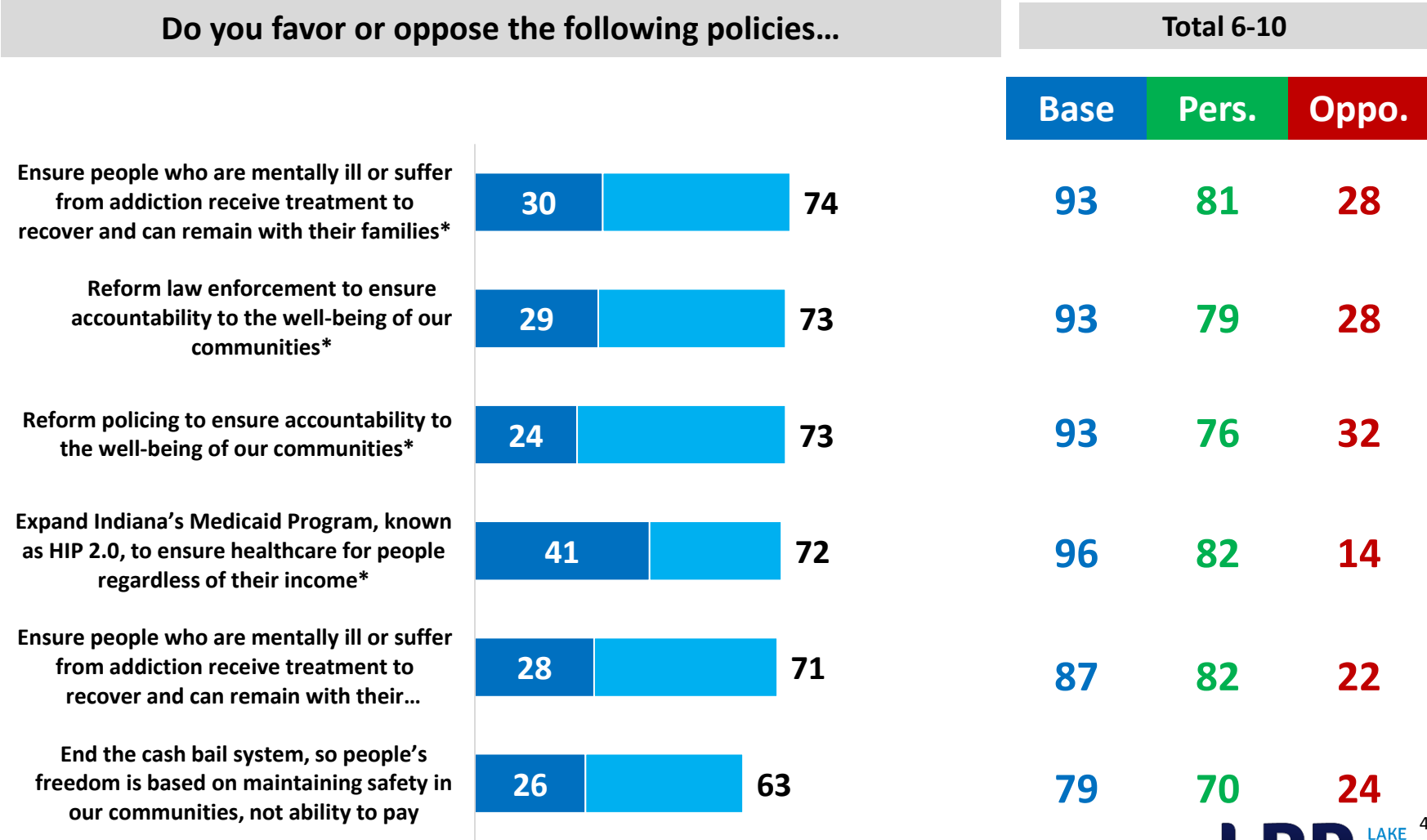


Strongly Favor: 10

Total Favor: 6-10

\*Split Sampled

# They also strongly support providing treatment to people with addiction or mental illness, reforming law enforcement, and expanding HIP.



Strongly Favor: 10

Total Favor: 6-10

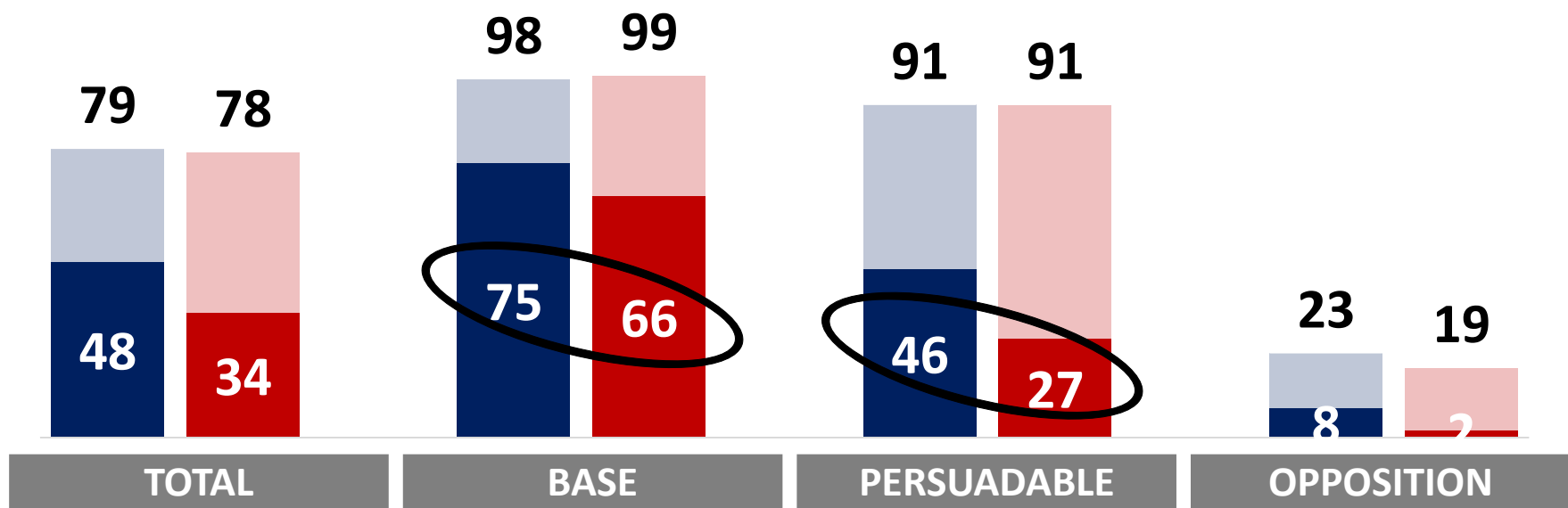
\*Split Sampled



The base and persuadables are strongly in favor of ensuring every working parent is paid family and medical leave. Both have stronger views around “family and medical leave” than “time to care for family.”

Ensure every working parent paid family and medical leave

Ensure every working parent paid time to care for family



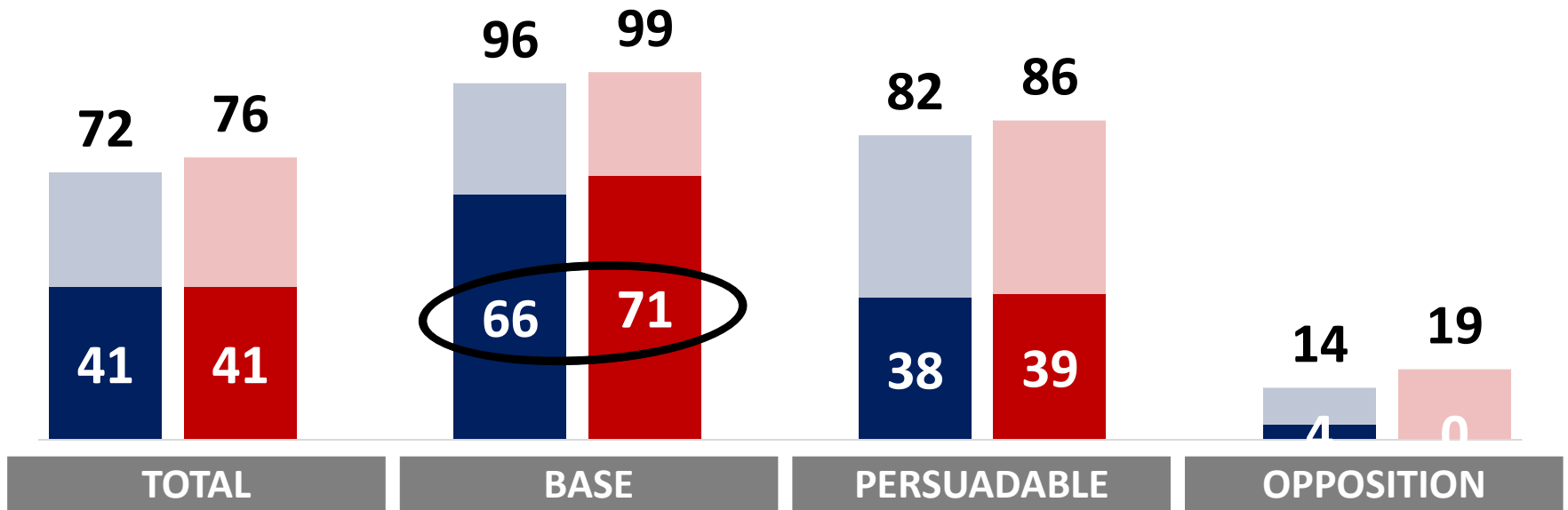
Total Favor: 6-10  


 Strongly Favor: 10

Expanding Medicaid is a core value for base adults and finds overwhelming support among persuadables. Describing expansion as for people who are ill or disabled, struggling to make ends meet, or have essential medical care increases support.

Expand Indiana's Medicaid Program, known as HIP 2.0, to ensure healthcare for people regardless of their income

Expand Indiana's Medicaid Program, known as HIP 2.0, to ensure people who are ill or disabled, struggling to make ends meet or unable to find work, have essential medical care



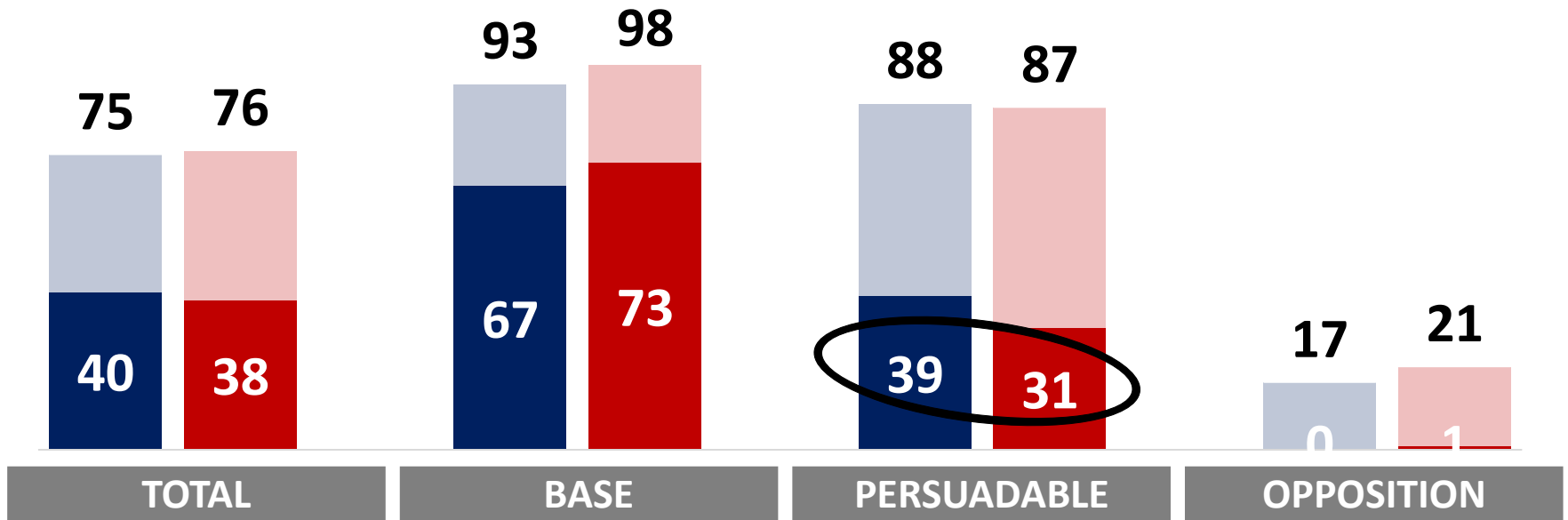
Total Favor: 6-10

Strongly Favor: 10

# “Universal pre-K” and “preschool for all” are nearly core values for base adults.

Provide universal pre-K so every young child enters school ready to learn

Provide preschool for all so every young child enters school ready to learn



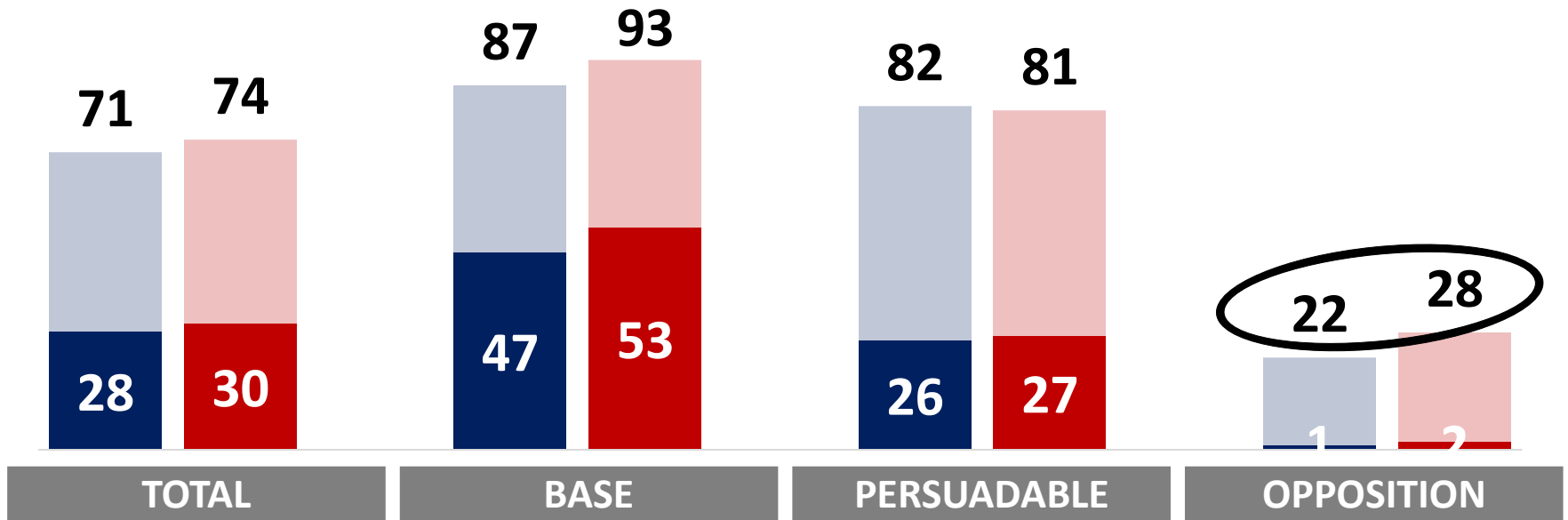
**Total Favor: 6-10**  


**Strongly Favor: 10**

# Positioning treatment for those with addiction or who are mentally ill in contrast to jail alienates opposition adults, while having no impact on persuadables.

Ensure people who are mentally ill or suffer from addiction receive treatment to recover and can remain with their families, not locked away in jail

Ensure people who are mentally ill or suffer from addiction receive treatment to recover and can remain with their families

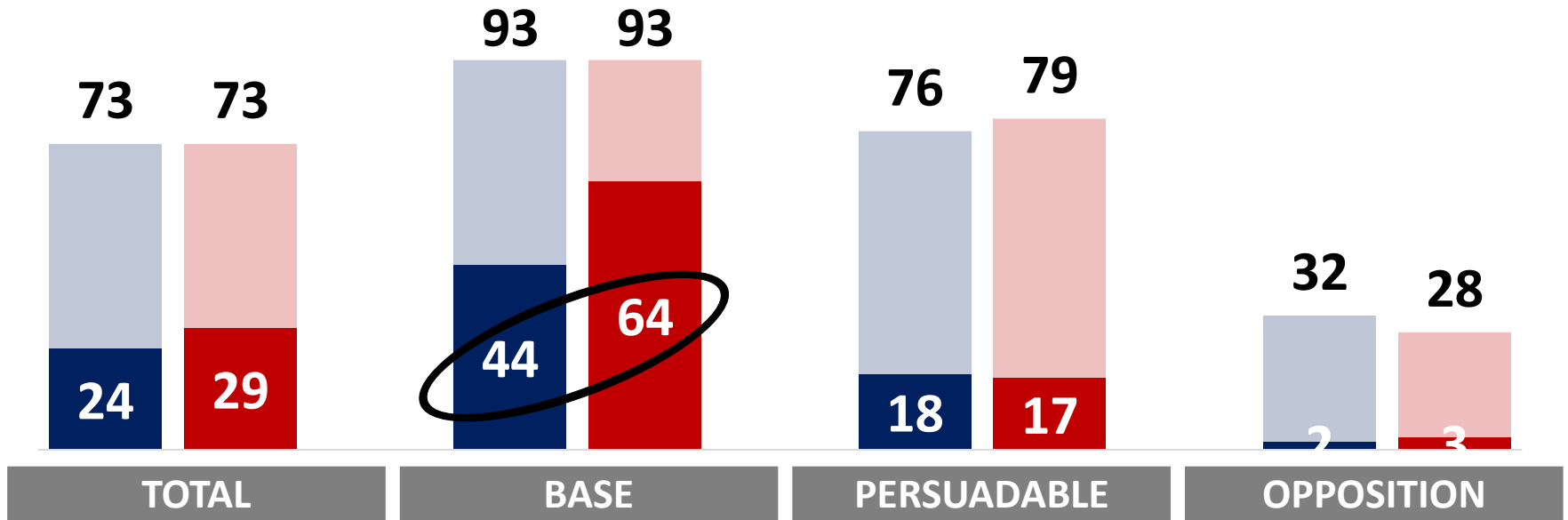


Total Favor: 6-10  
 Strongly Favor: 10

# Base adults are more responsive to calls to reform “law enforcement” than “policing.”

Reform policing to ensure accountability to the well-being of our communities

Reform law enforcement to ensure accountability to the well-being of our communities

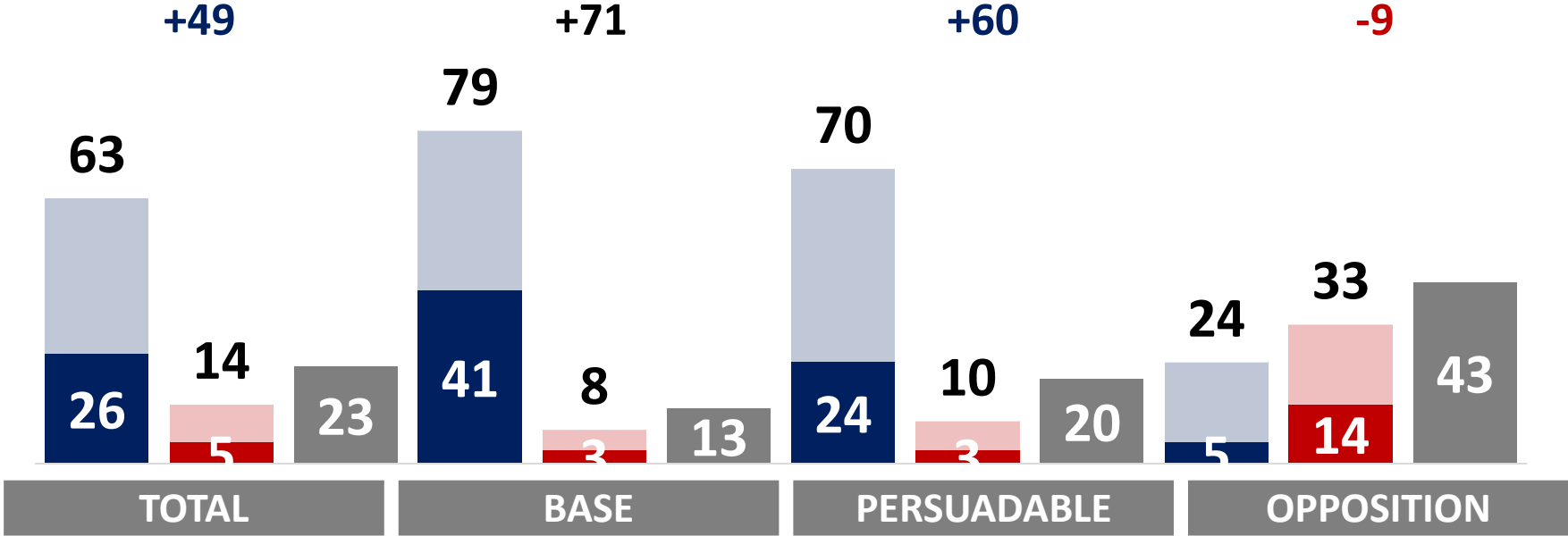


Total Favor: 6-10  


 Strongly Favor: 10

# The base and persuadables strongly favor ending cash bail so that freedom is not a function of one's ability to pay.

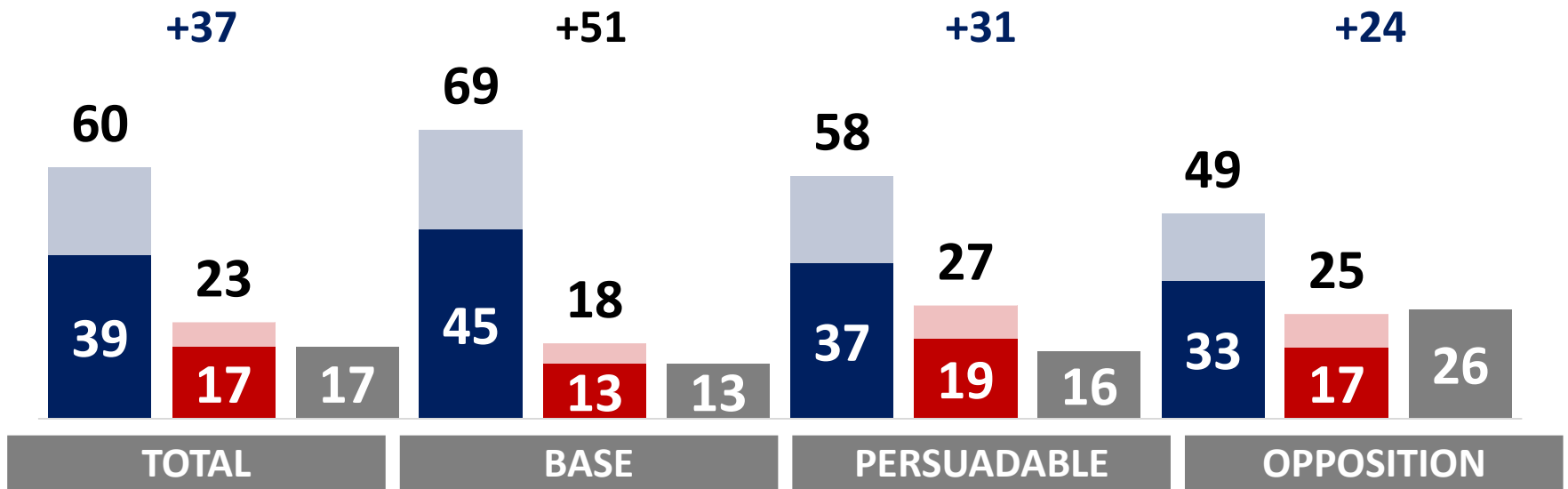
End the cash bail system, so people's freedom is based on maintaining safety in our communities, not ability to pay



Total Favor: 6-10  
 Strongly Favor: 10  
 Total Oppose: 0-4  
 Strongly Oppose: 0  
 Neutral: 5/Not Sure

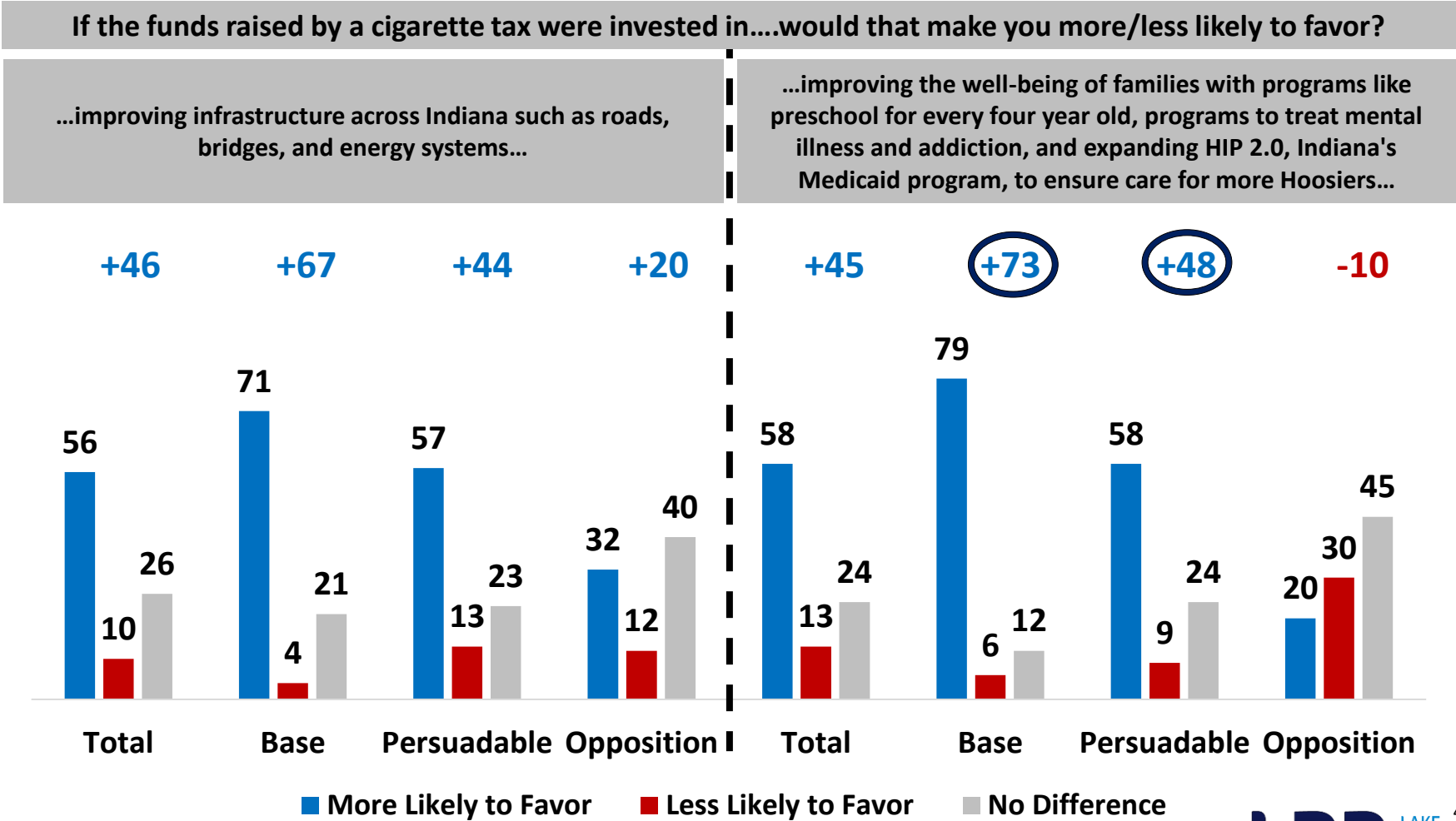
# Hoosiers across groups favor increasing the tax on cigarettes to \$2 a pack by wide margins.

Right now, the Indiana state legislature is discussing increasing tax on cigarettes to \$2 a pack, which has been the most effective method to decrease smoking, especially among teenagers. Do you favor or oppose the legislature increasing the tax on cigarettes to \$2 a pack?



Total Favor: 6-10  
 Strongly Favor: 10  
 Total Oppose: 0-4  
 Strongly Oppose: 0  
 Neutral: 5/Not Sure

# Base and persuadable adults are more likely to favor raising the cigarette tax if the funds were used to improve the well-being of families.







# Messaging

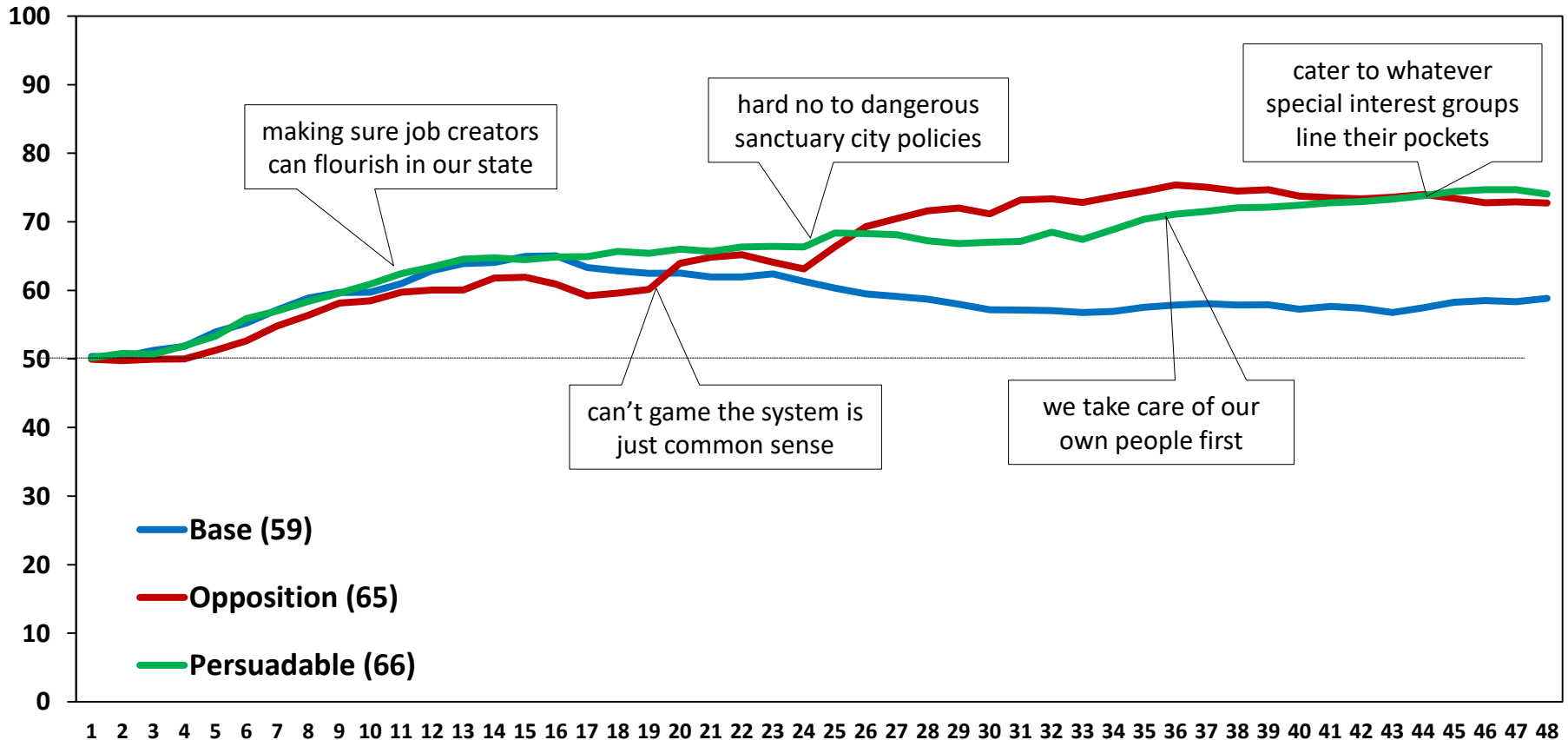
# Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Base Dial Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating				Mean Dial Rating				Mean Share Rating			
	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O
Indiana's Strength	66	83	62	47	64	74	63	53	50	66	50	21
Reform System	66	82	65	38	63	72	63	50	51	70	52	13
Working People – AA Man	63	83	61	37	60	70	61	46	51	73	50	18
Indiana's Strength – AA Man	67	80	70	36	63	68	63	53	51	67	52	18
Racial Justice – AA Man	56	84	49	27	52	67	49	36	46	73	36	16
Working People	63	78	67	30	61	67	61	49	50	66	52	15
Can Do – White Woman	66	79	66	38	62	66	63	50	52	66	55	14
Future	64	76	68	32	62	66	63	52	50	62	55	17
Come Together	64	76	65	40	63	66	63	57	48	60	48	22
Can Do – AA Woman	62	73	64	40	61	65	62	51	46	60	48	19
Colorblind Economic Populist	62	77	63	32	58	64	60	45	47	63	48	14
Opposition	60	49	66	65	63	59	66	65	47	44	55	35



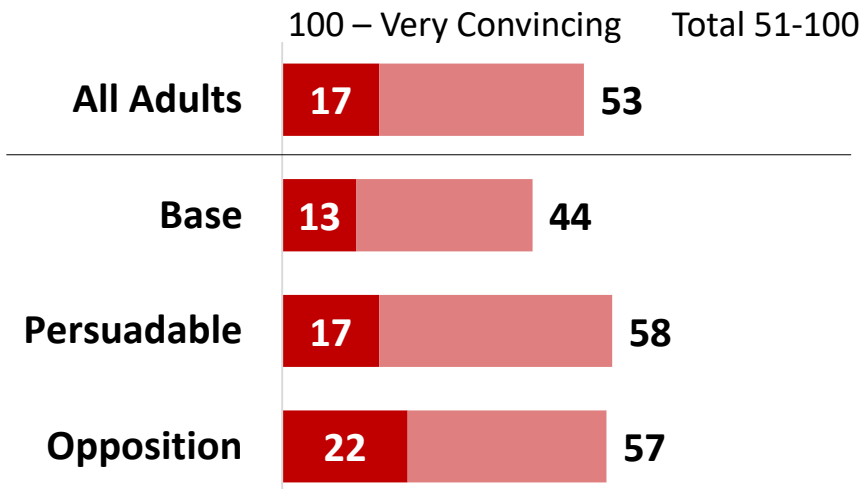
# Opposition

Our leaders must prioritize keeping us safe and ensuring that hard working Hoosiers have the freedom to prosper. Making sure job creators can flourish in our state and people who simply refuse to work can't game the system is just common sense. And so is saying a hard no to dangerous sanctuary city policies, 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 in Washington have cast aside for too long to cater to whatever special interest groups line their pockets, yell the loudest, or riot in the street.

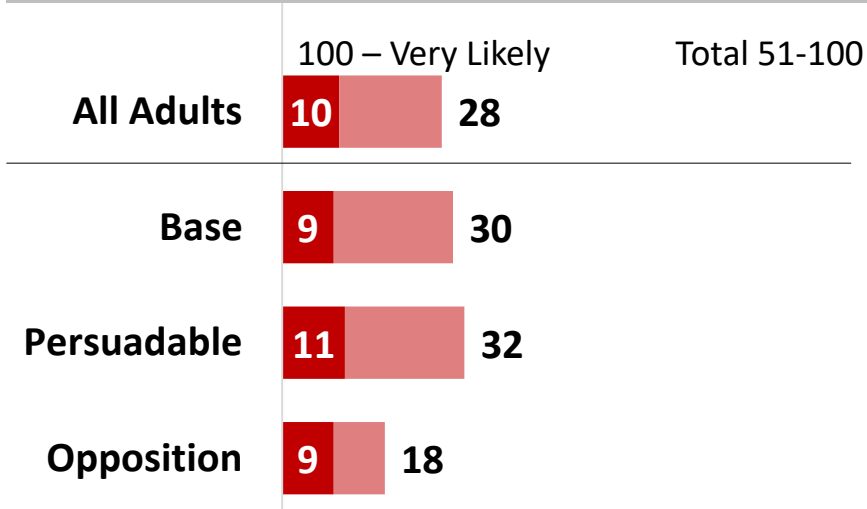


# Opposition

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS (for them)

- ✓ Persuadables dial up throughout and have as strong a convincing rating as opposition adults.
- ✓ Opposition dials up at “hard no to dangerous sanctuary city policies.”
- ✓ Persuadables dial up at “we need to make sure we take care of our own people first.”
- ✓ Strong unifying value that resonates with all audiences: “prioritize keeping us safe and ensuring that hard working Hoosiers have the freedom to prosper.”

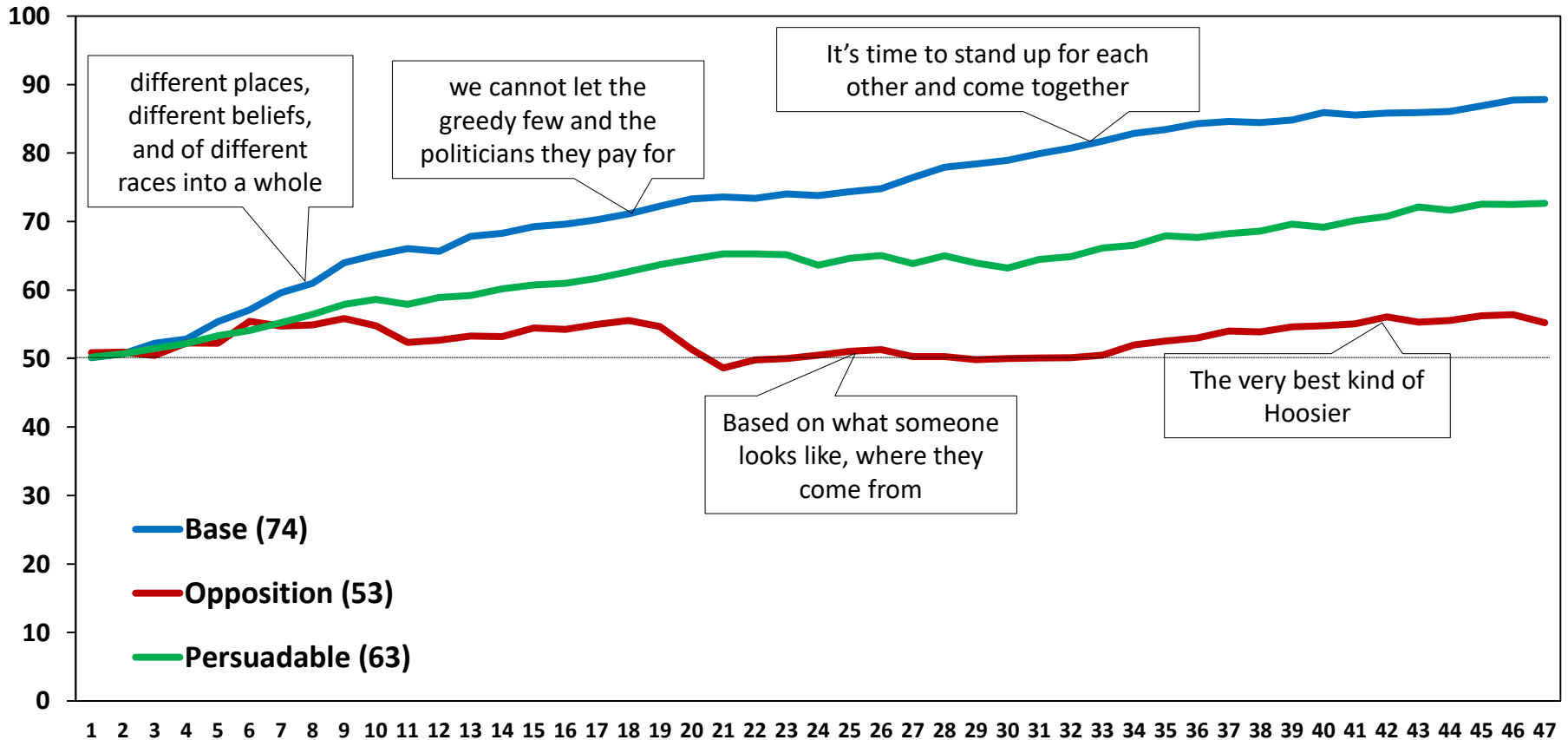
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Low share ratings.



# Indiana's Strength – White Man

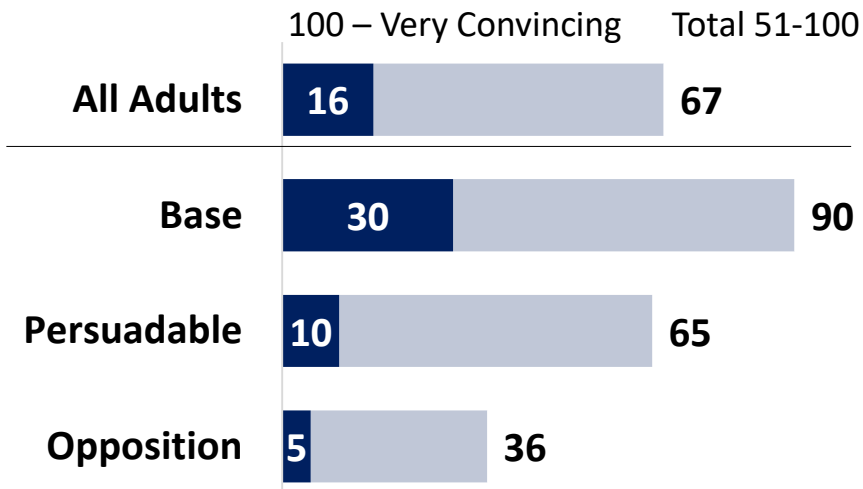
Indiana's strength comes from our ability to work together – to knit together a landscape of people from different places, different beliefs, and of different races into a whole. For this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against 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 pick leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of Hoosier. Together, we can make this a place where freedom is for everyone, no exceptions.



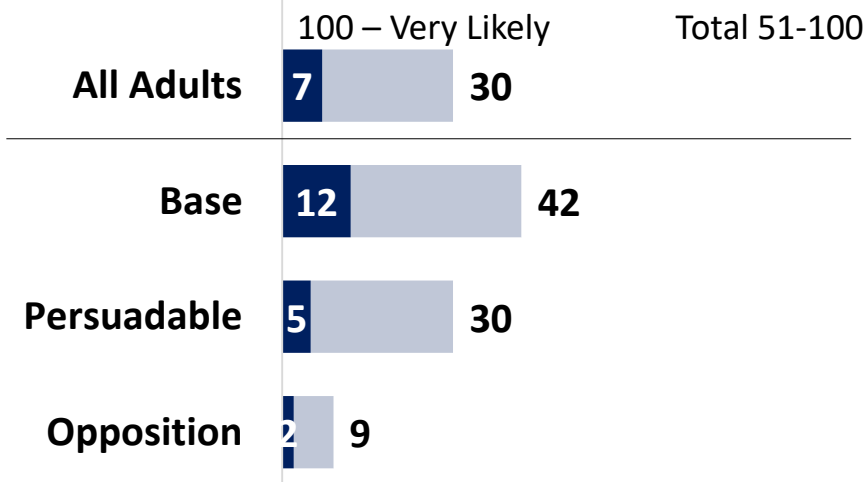
Split Sampled

# Indiana's Strength – White Man

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong convincing ratings among base and persuadables.
- ✓ Quick take off with base.
- ✓ The base and persuadables dial up, while the opposition alienated by “we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against each other based on what someone looks like.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables motivated by calls to action to “stand up for each other and come together,” and through “pick leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of Hoosier.”

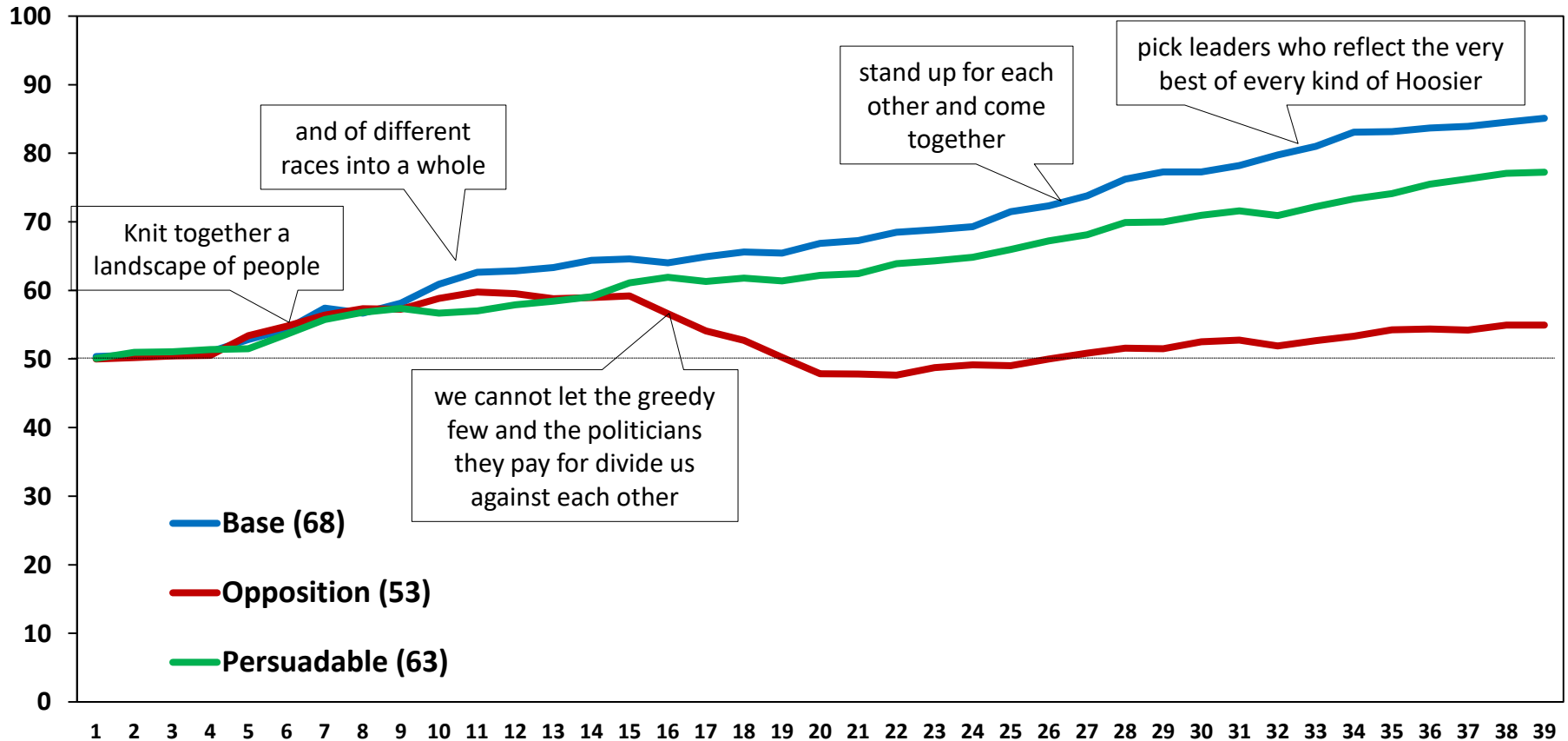
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Not as effective in alienating the opposition on conscious rating as when delivered by an African American man



# Indiana's Strength – African American Man

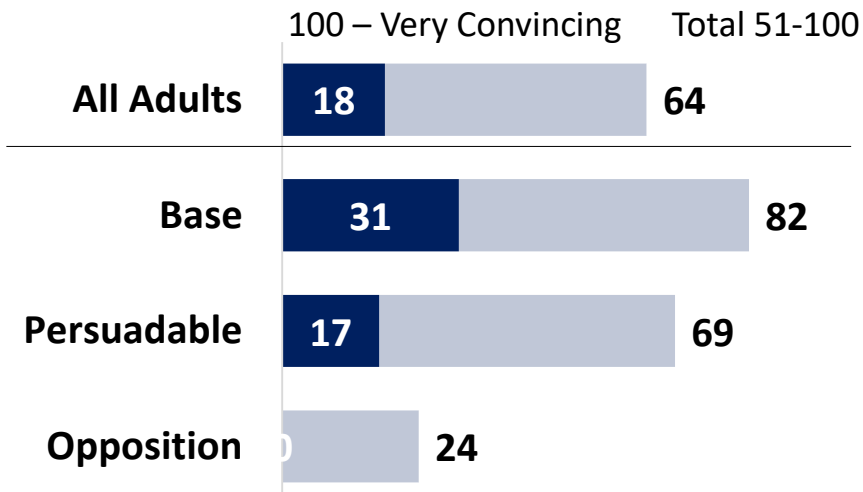
Indiana's strength comes from our ability to work together – to knit together a landscape of people from different places, different beliefs, and of different races into a whole. For this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against 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 pick leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of Hoosier. Together, we can make this a place where freedom is for everyone, no exceptions.



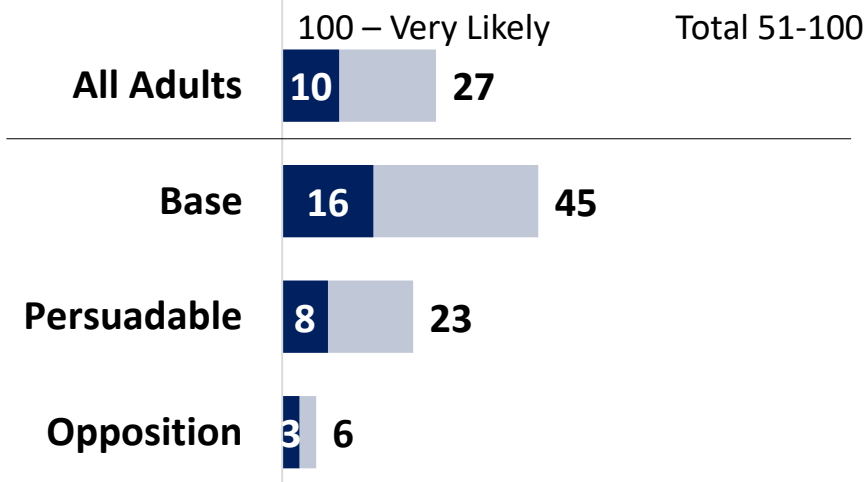
Split Sampled

# Indiana's Strength – African American Man

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong conscious convincing ratings for both base and persuadables.
- ✓ All groups dial up at “knit together a landscape of people from different places, different beliefs, and of different races into a whole.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “we cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against each other based on what someone looks like.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables motivated by calls to action to “stand up for each other and come together,” and through “pick leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of Hoosier.”

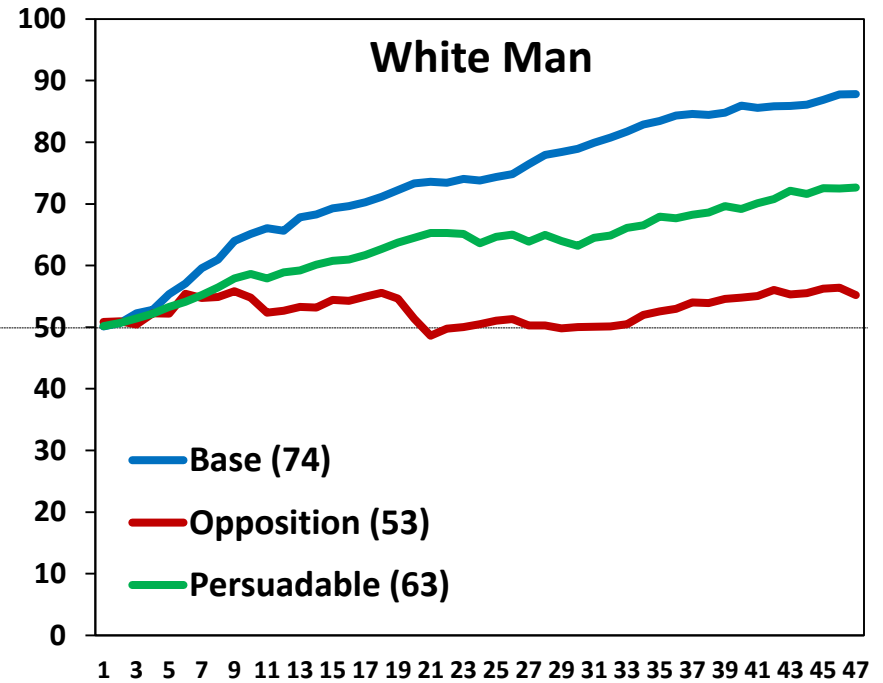
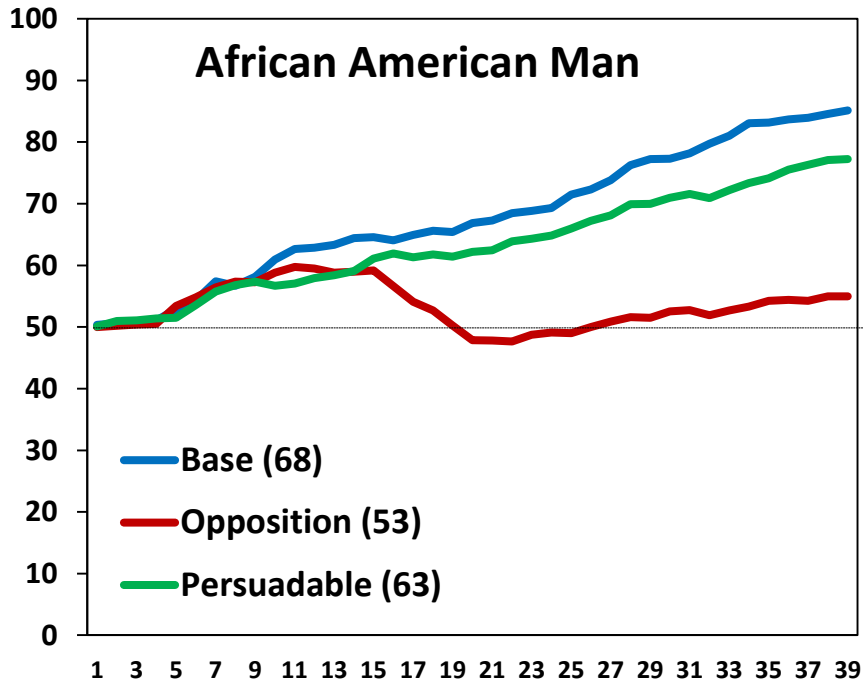
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off with persuadables.

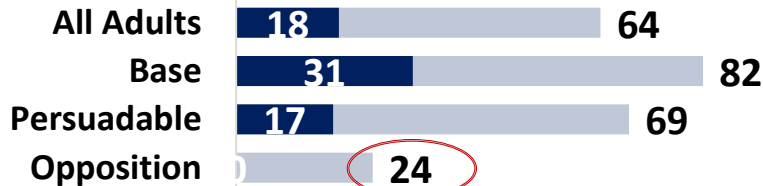


# Indiana's Strength

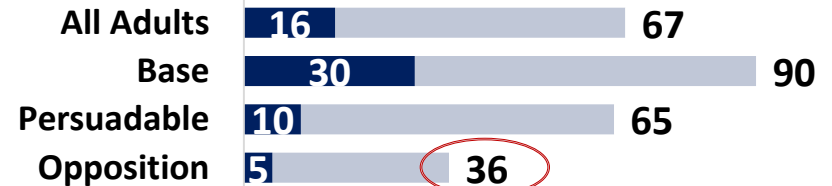
Opposition adults are more likely to consciously reject the message when delivered by an African American man



How convincing did you find this message?



How convincing did you find this message?

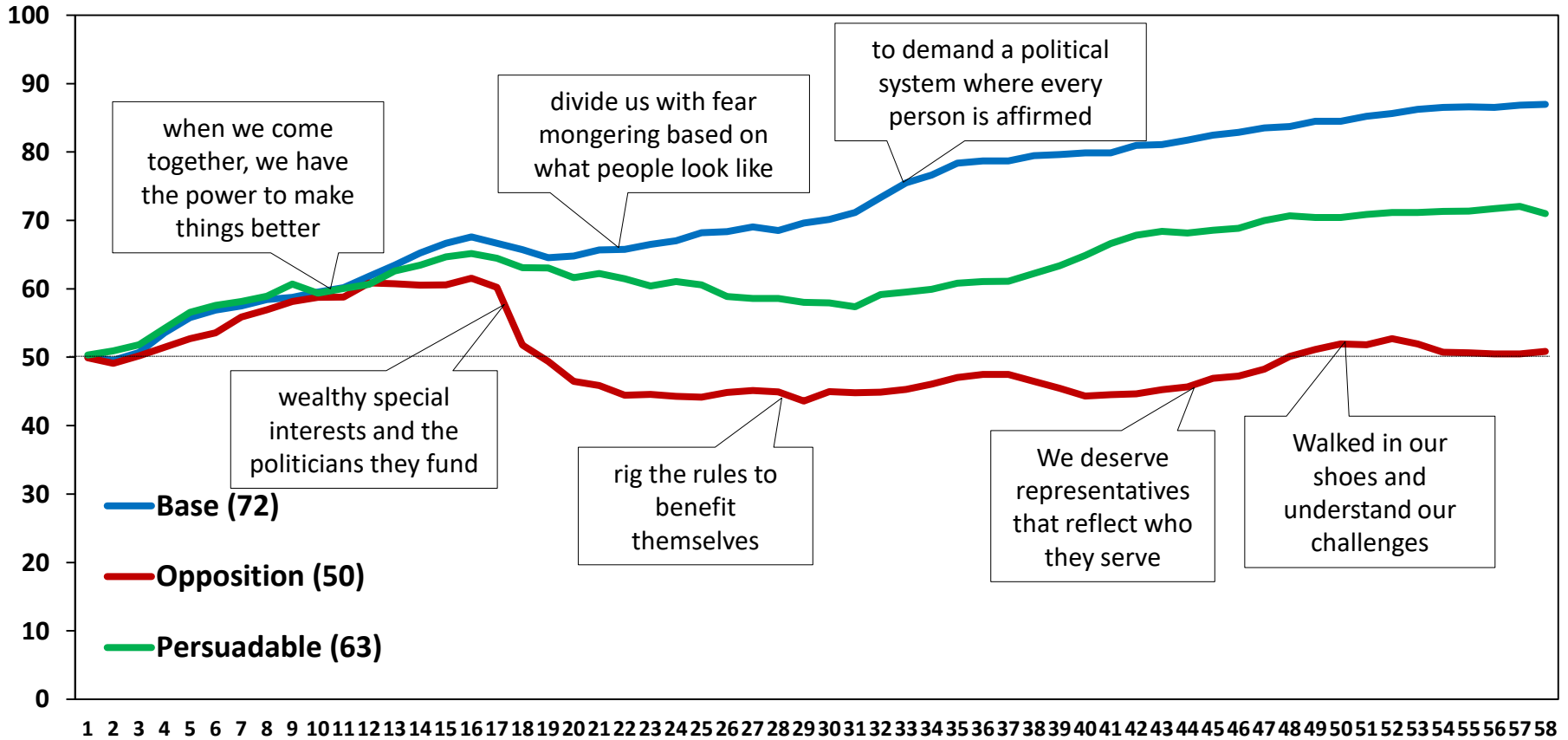


Split Sampled



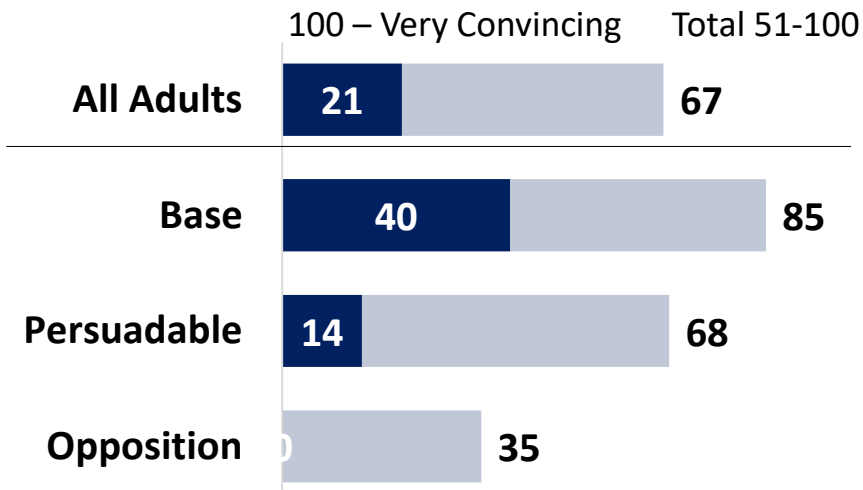
# Reform System

“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 based on what people look like, where they’re from, or how they worship, while they rig the rules to benefit themselves. We must come together to demand a political system where every person is affirmed as an equal, 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.

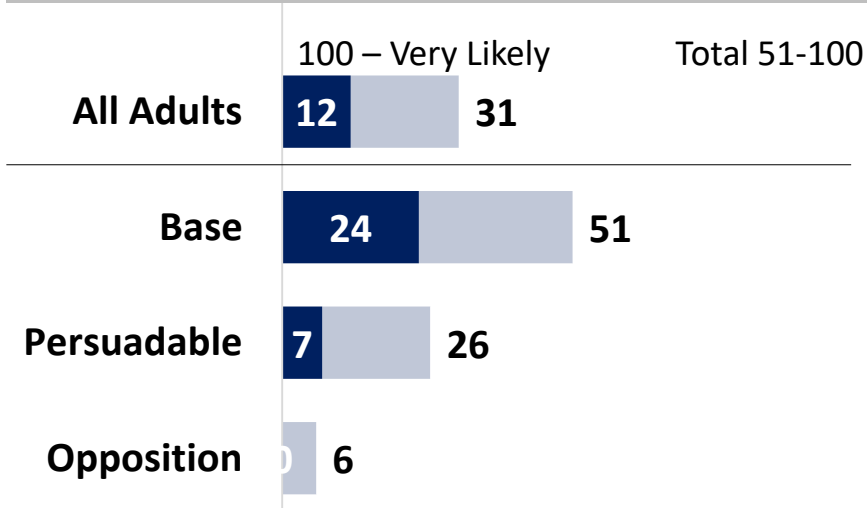


# Reform System

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off. Revised from the version tested nationally, grounding this in unity proves more galvanizing for base and persuadables.
- ✓ Strong convincing ratings for base and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated at “wealthy special interests and the politicians they fund divide us with fear mongering based on what people look like, where they’re from, or how they worship.”
- ✓ Base dials up at “We must come together to demand a political system where every person is affirmed as an equal.”

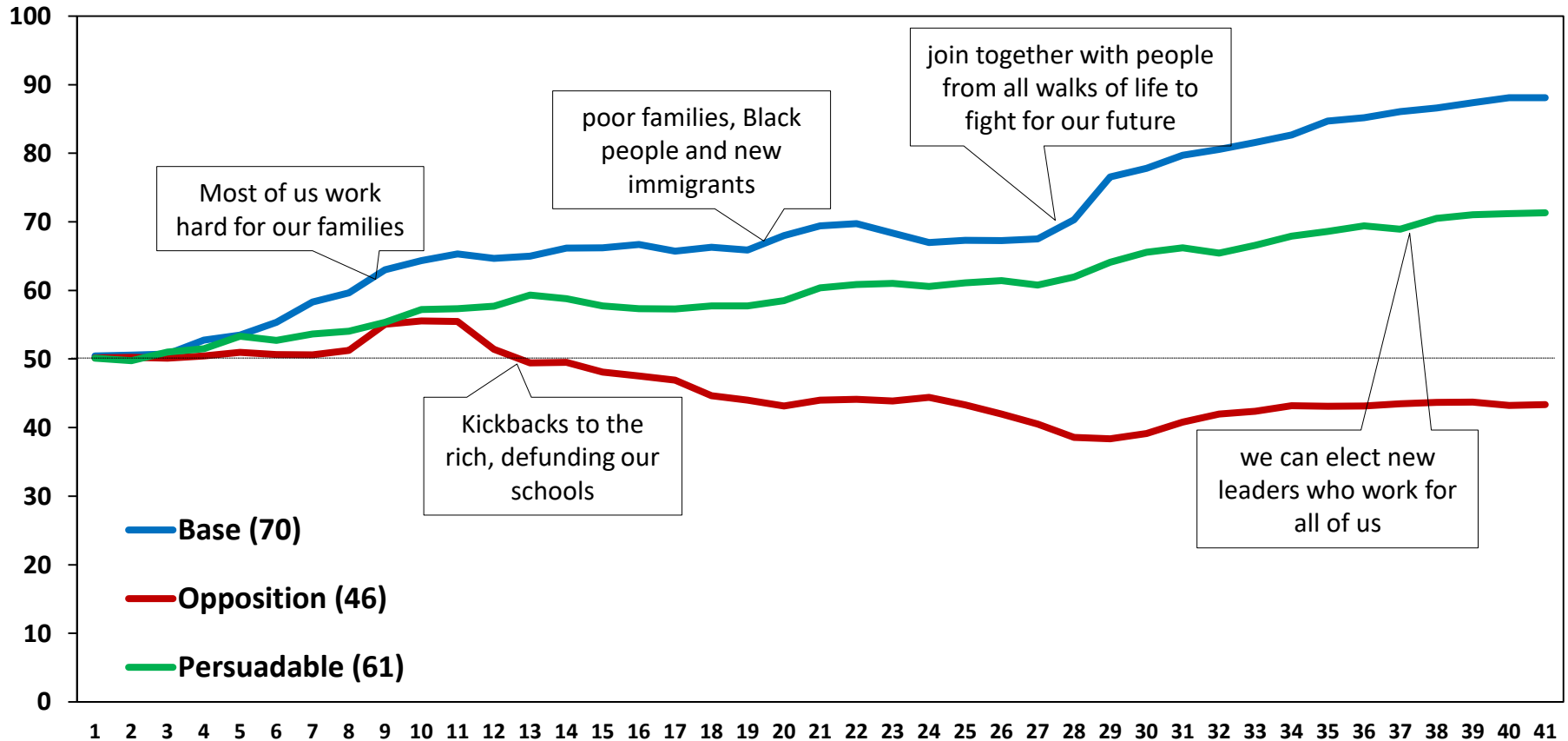
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X The energy in the call to action is more around the values than the policy prescription of reflective democracy.



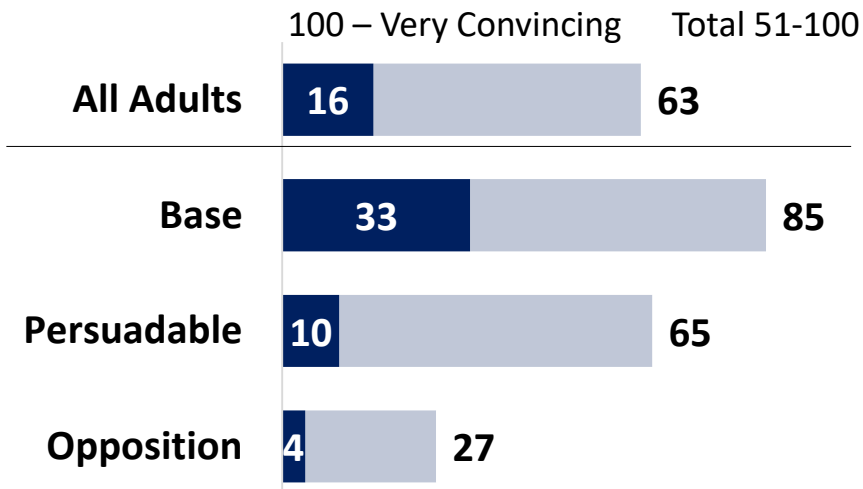
# Working People – African American Man

No matter where we come from, what our color or religious tradition, 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.

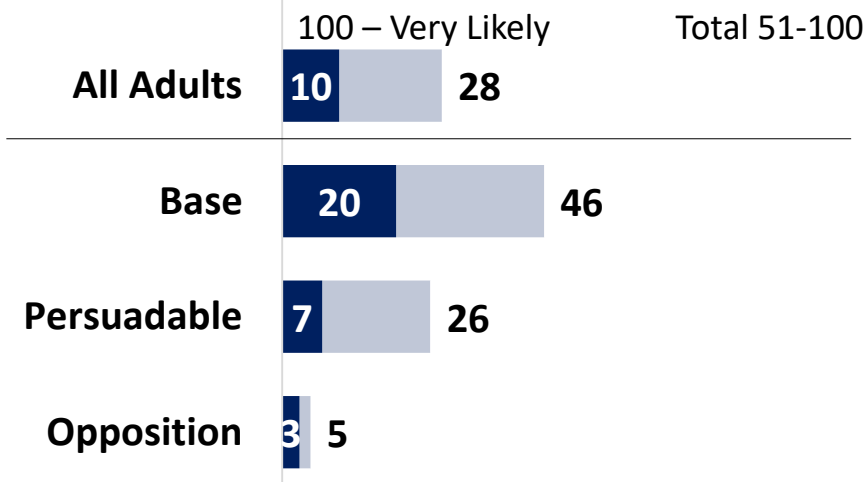


# Working People – African American Man

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong take off with base, and strong convincing rating for base and persuadables.
- ✓ Stronger with base and persuadables than with a white messenger. African American man erodes dial ratings of opposition adults.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables motivated by aspirational call to action: “We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future,” and “elect new leaders who work for all of us.”
- ✓ Reminders of past victories are effective: “just like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past.”

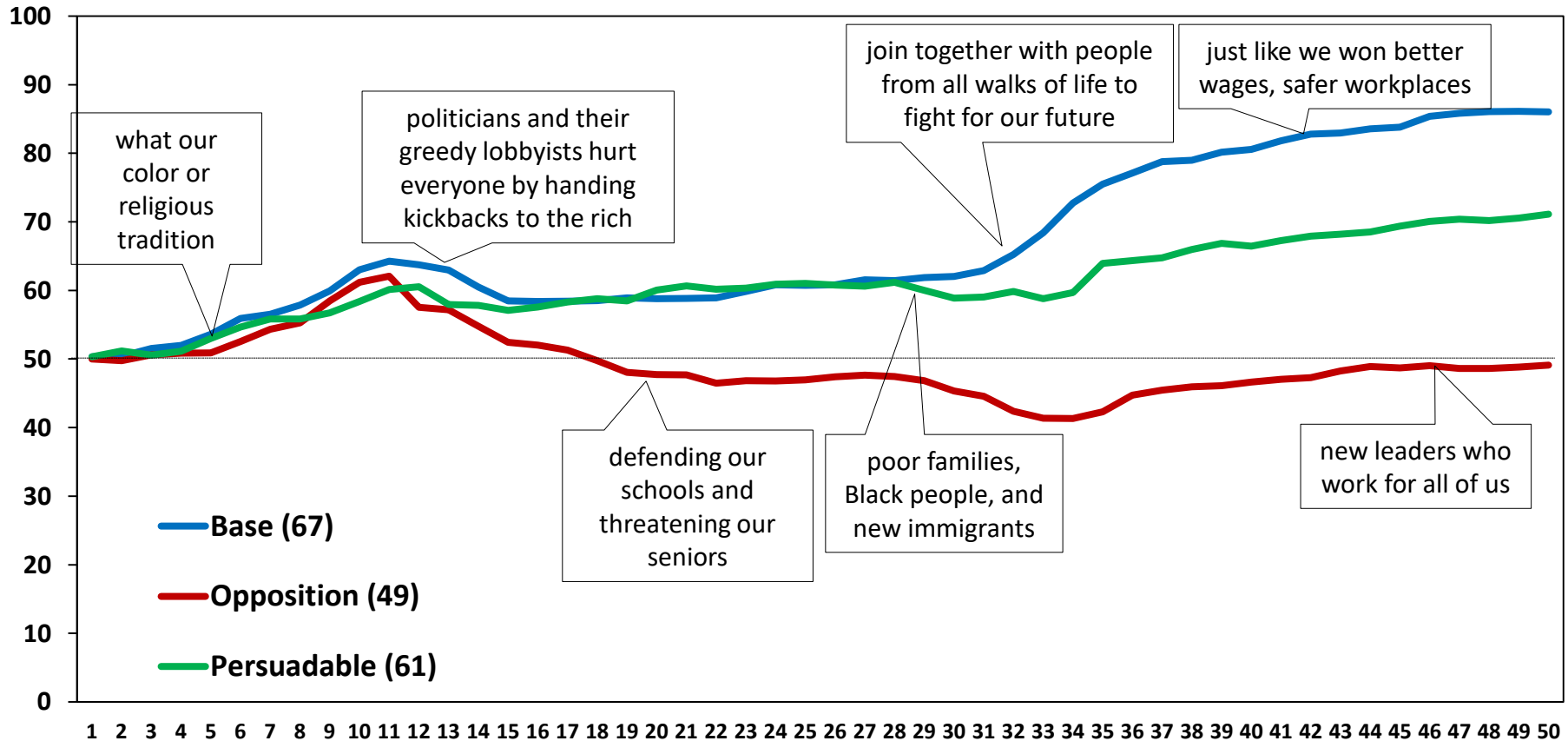
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Base and persuadables plateau at “point the finger for our hard times at poor families, Black people and new immigrants”



# Working People – White Man

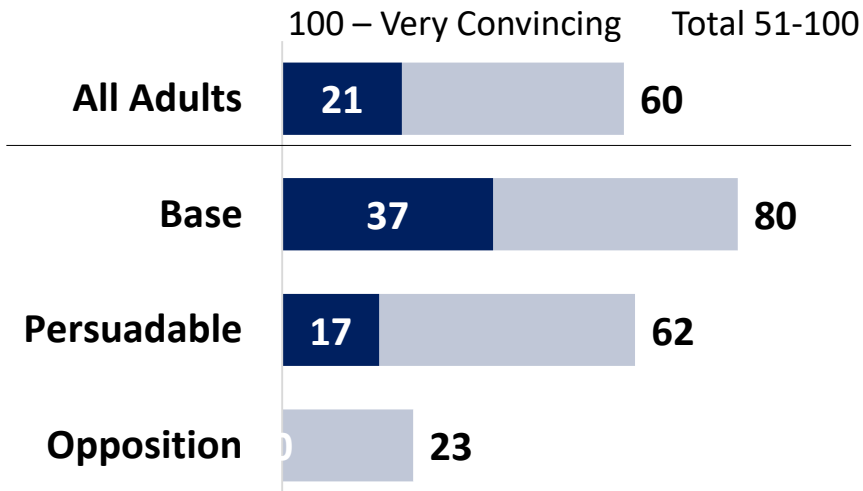
No matter where we come from, what our color or religious tradition, most of us work hard for our families. But today, certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich, defunding our schools, and threatening our seniors with cuts to Medicare and Social Security.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



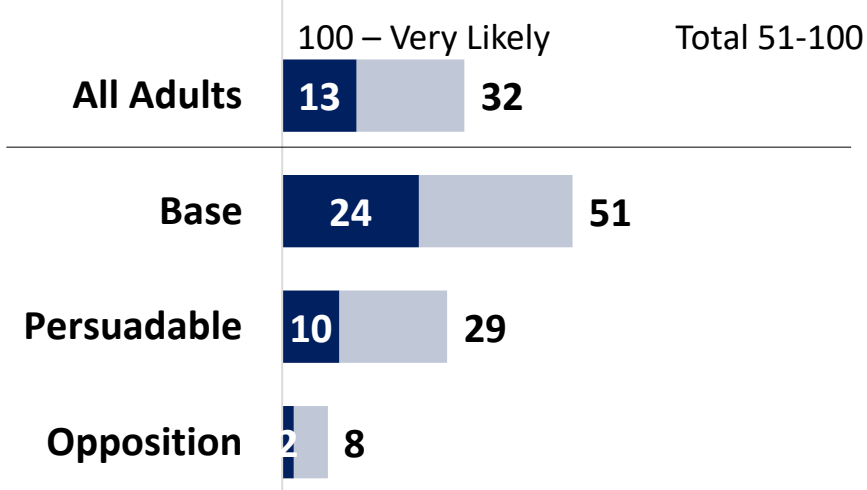
Split Sampled

# Working People – White Man

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

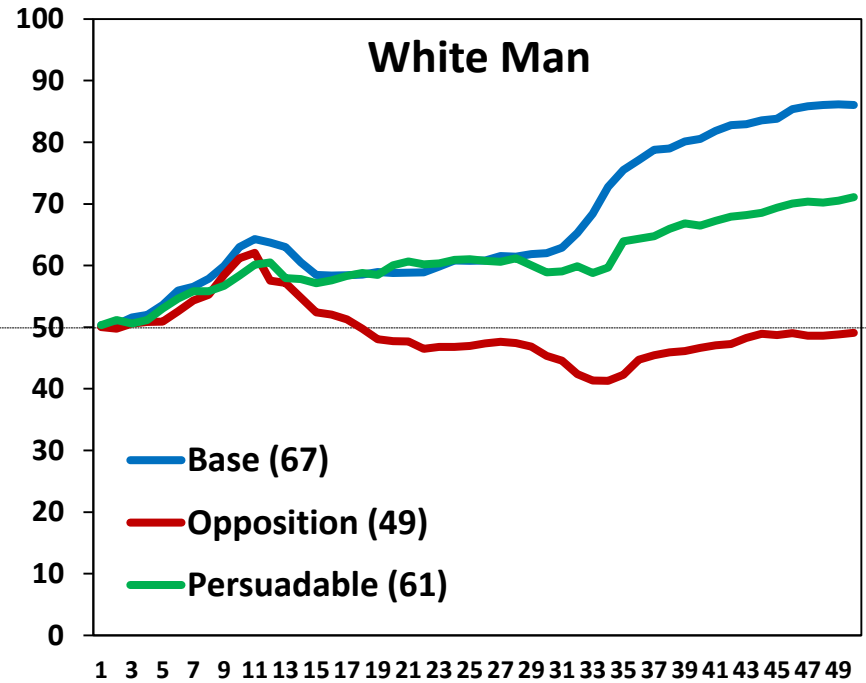
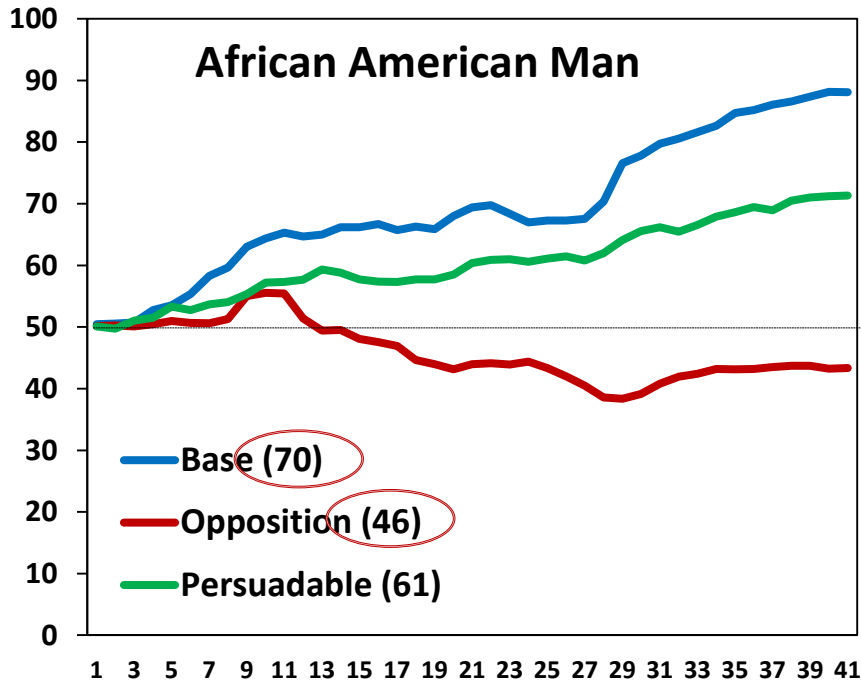
- ✓ Strong take off with base, and strong convincing rating for base and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hurt everyone by handing kickbacks to the rich.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables motivated by aspirational call to action: “We need to join together with people from all walks of life to fight for our future.” and “elect new leaders who work for all of us.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables react positively to reminders of past victories: “just like we won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past.”

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

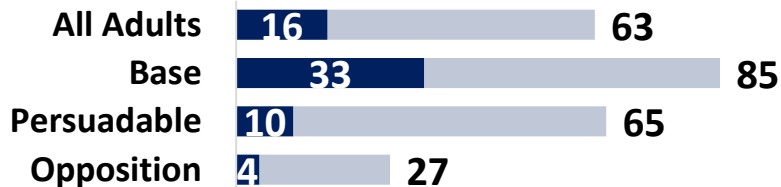
- X Base and persuadables plateau around description of the problem, which could be shortened.

# Working People

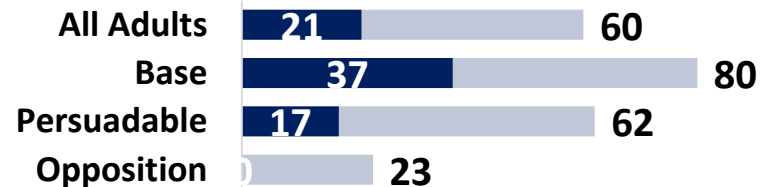
Base adults dial more favorably and opposition adults are more likely alienated when an African American male delivers the message.



How convincing did you find this message?



How convincing did you find this message?



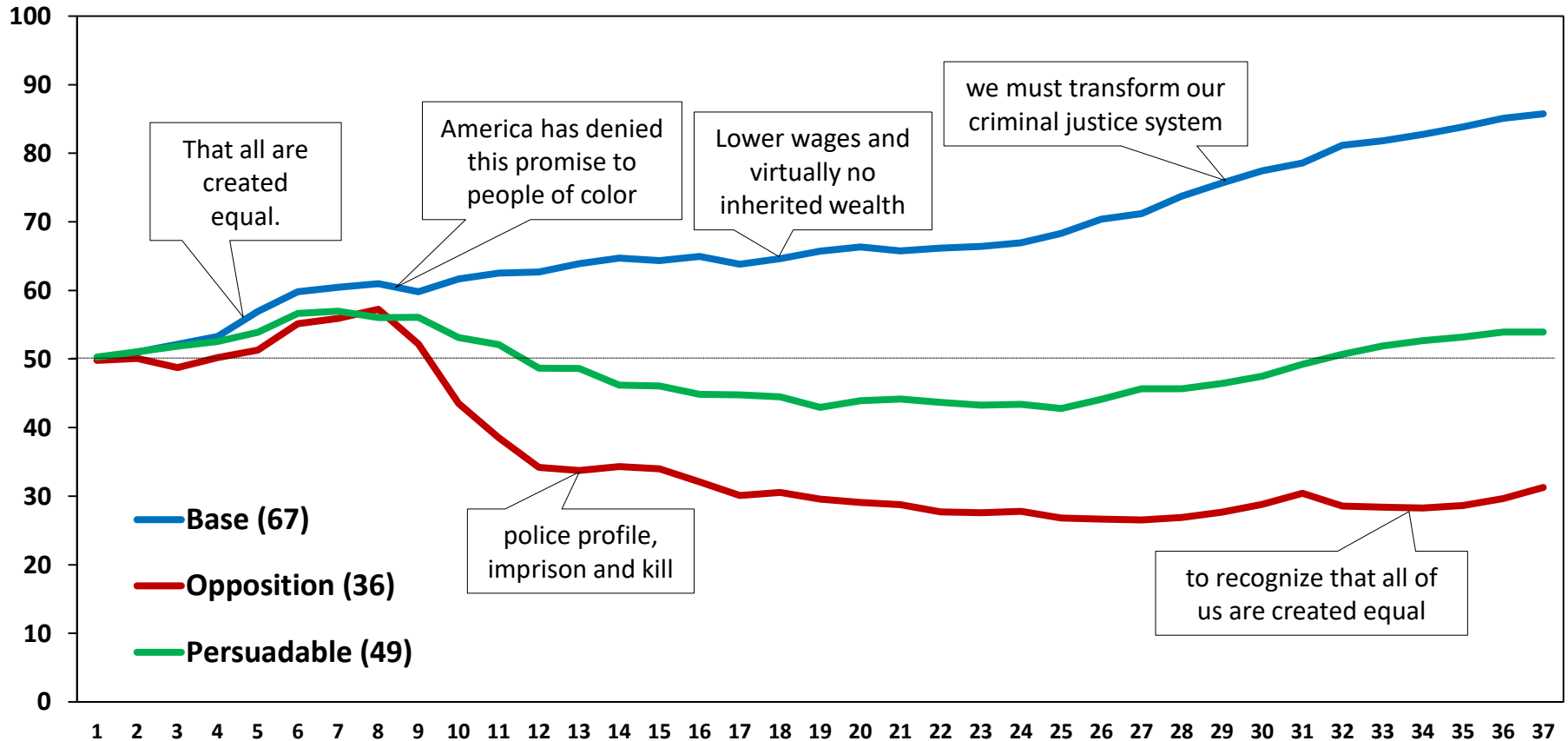
Split Sampled





# Racial Justice – African American Man

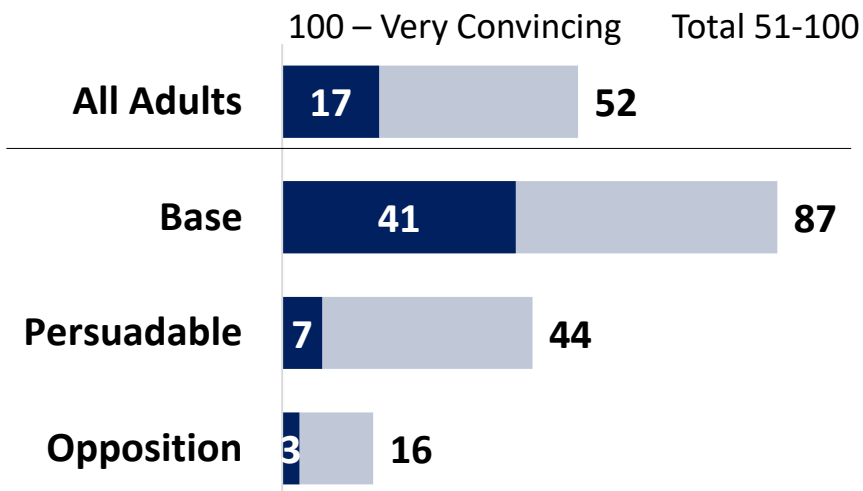
America is a nation founded on an ideal – that all are created equal. But from our founding, America has denied this promise to people of color. The legacy of this remains today. We see it in how police profile, imprison and kill Black people. It’s the reason why families of color struggle with lower 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 recognize that all of us are created equal and deserve to be treated that way.



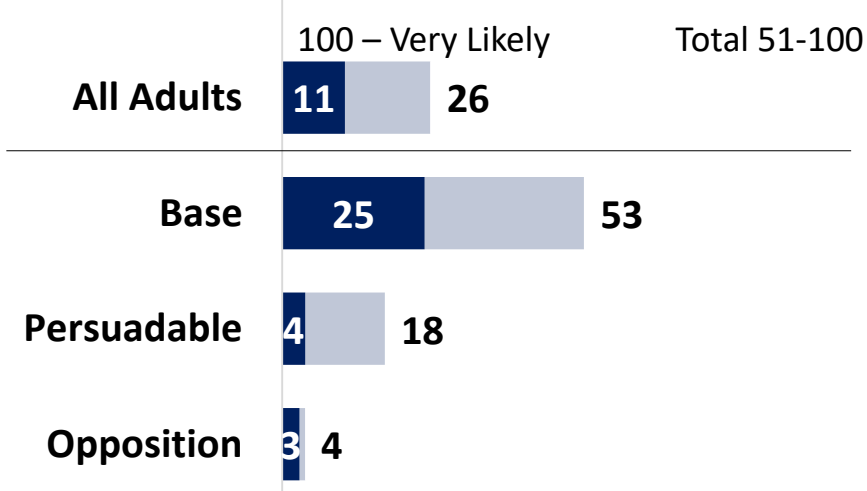
Split Sampled

# Racial Justice – African American Man

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick start with base.
- ✓ Strong convincing ratings with base.
- ✓ Base dials up and opposition alienated by “We see it in how police profile, imprison and kill Black people.”
- ✓ Base dials up at “families of color struggle with lower wages and virtually no inherited wealth.”
- ✓ Base dial up at “we must transform our criminal justice system, immigration policies and economy.”
- ✓ High share rating among base adults.

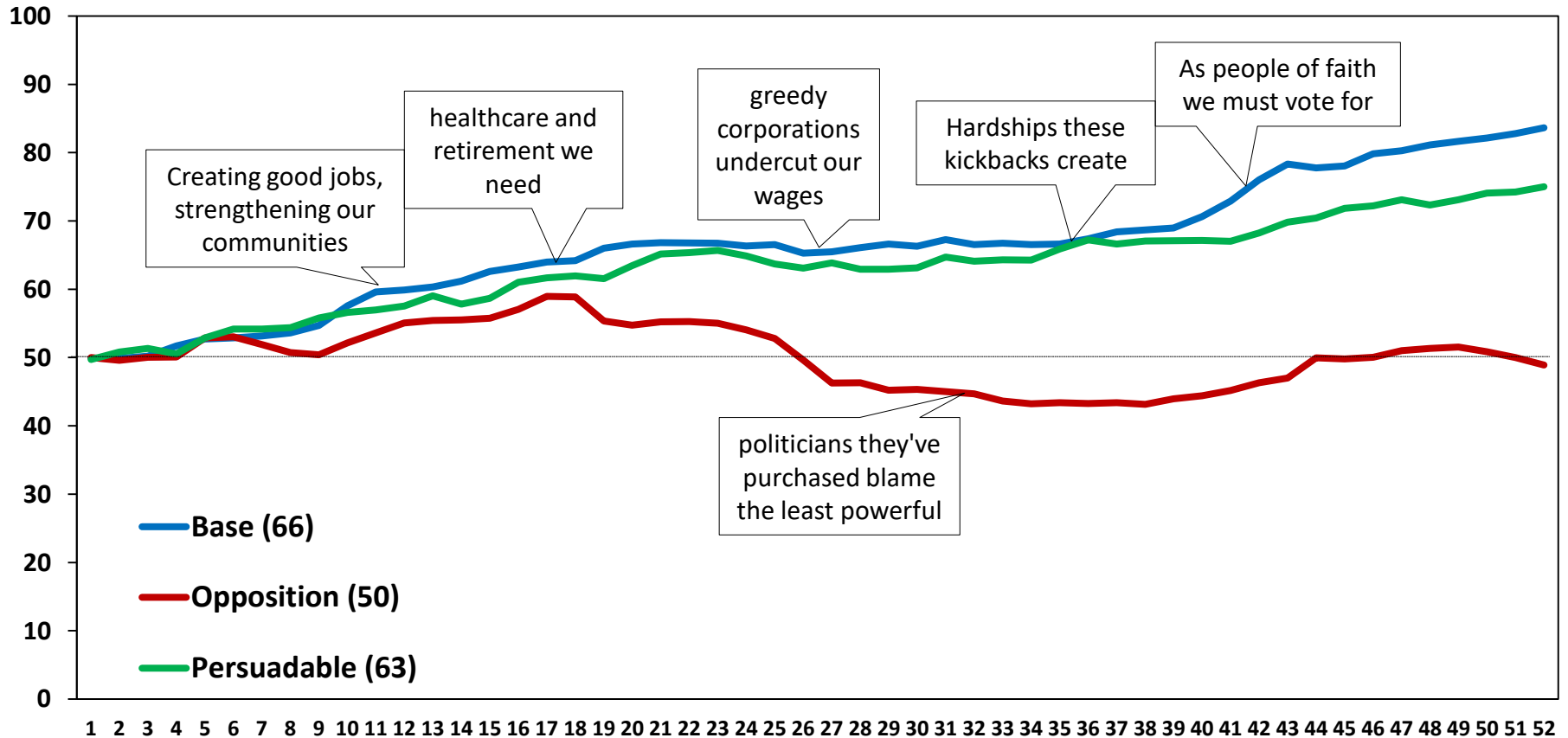
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables alienated and have low ratings in all dimensions: dial, convincing, and sharing.



# Can-Do – White Woman

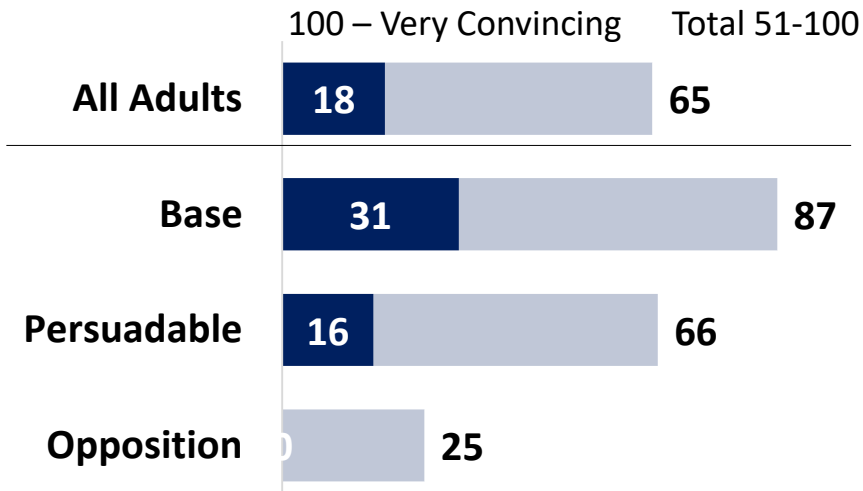
Whether we're building the world's biggest economy or striving toward a more equal, moral and just society, ours is a can-do nation. And today we face many challenges: creating good jobs, strengthening our communities, and ensuring Americans get the healthcare and retirement we need. But instead of looking ahead and solving shared problems, greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and ship jobs overseas while the politicians they've purchased blame the least powerful for the hardships these kickbacks create. As people of faith, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal in the eyes of god, no matter our race or place of origin, and implement new solutions that will make this a more fair and prosperous place for everyone.



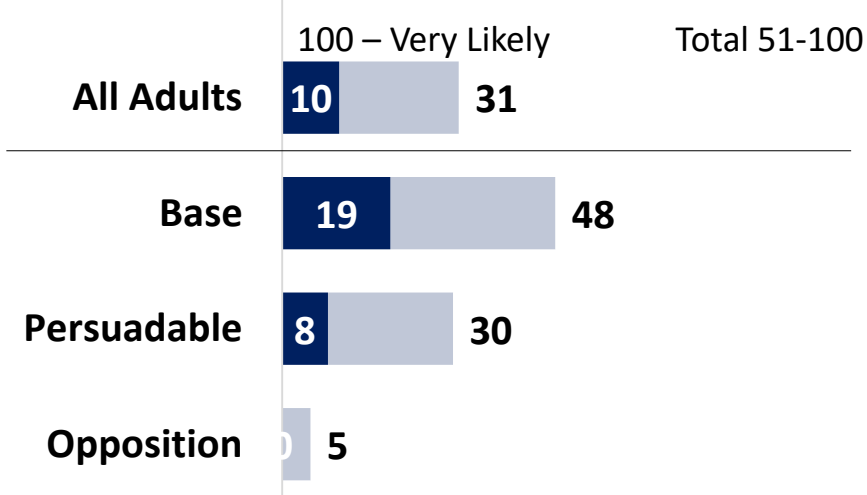
Split Sampled

# Can-Do – White Woman

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ White woman messenger more galvanizing for base, and alienating of opposition.
- ✓ Strong convincing rating among base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at positive description of challenges: “ensuring Americans get the healthcare and retirement we need.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and ship jobs overseas.”
- ✓ All groups dial up at mention of faith, “As people of faith, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal in the eyes of god.”

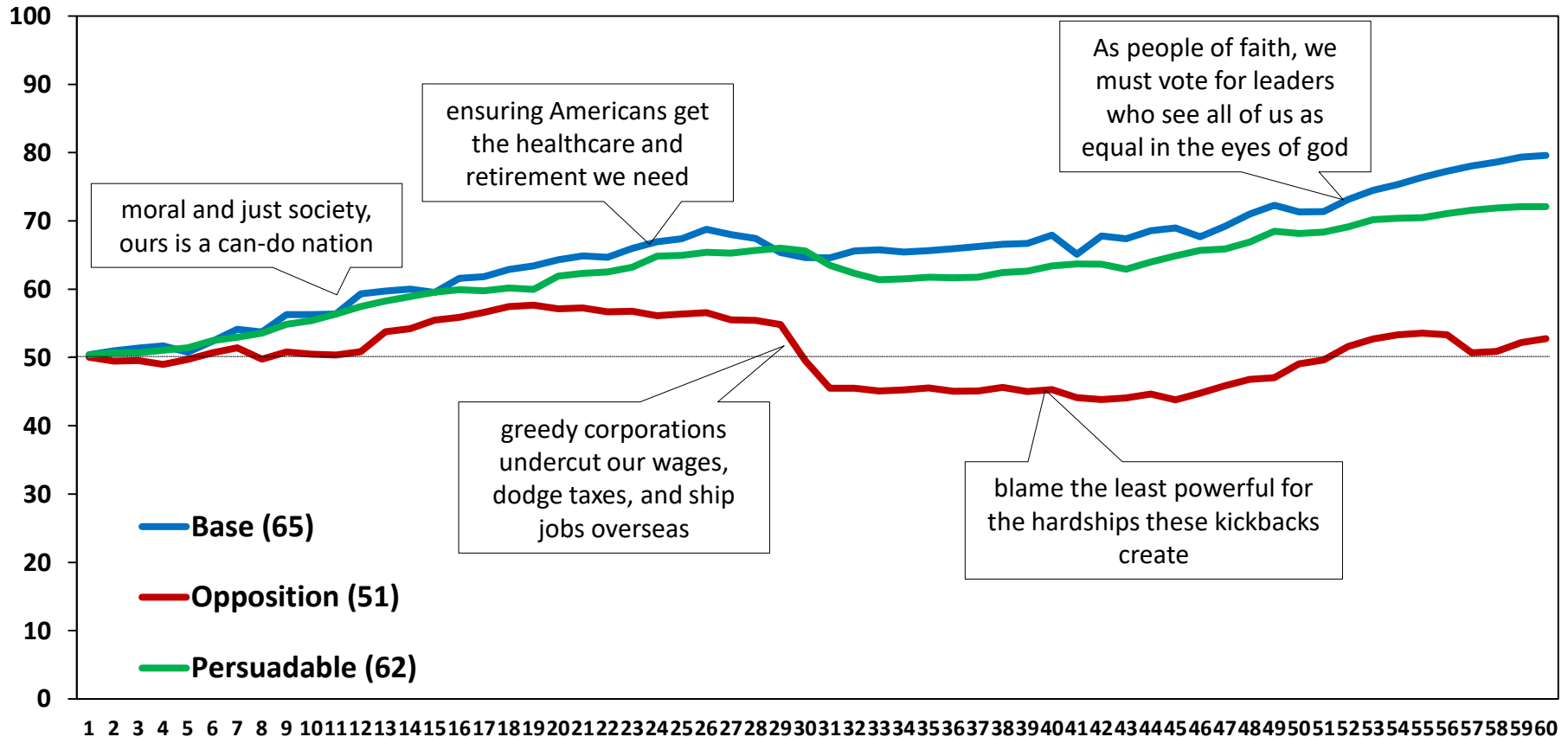
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.



# Can-Do – African American Woman

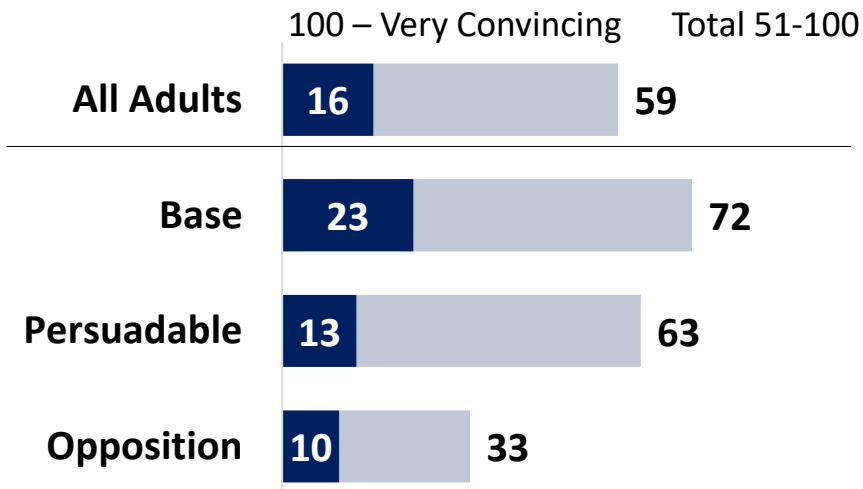
Whether we're building the world's biggest economy or striving toward a more equal, moral and just society, ours is a can-do nation. And today we face many challenges: creating good jobs, strengthening our communities, and ensuring Americans get the healthcare and retirement we need. But instead of looking ahead and solving shared problems, greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and ship jobs overseas while the politicians they've purchased blame the least powerful for the hardships these kickbacks create. As people of faith, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal in the eyes of god, no matter our race or place of origin, and implement new solutions that will make this a more fair and prosperous place for everyone.



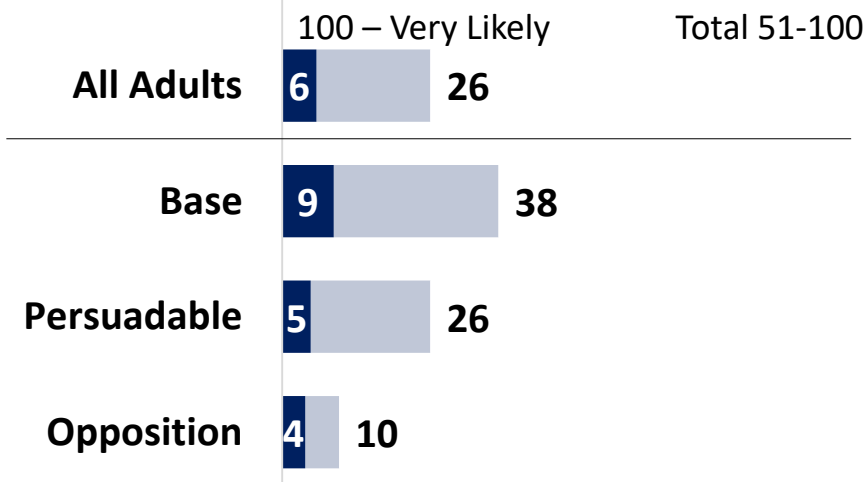
Split Sampled

# Can-Do – African American Woman

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

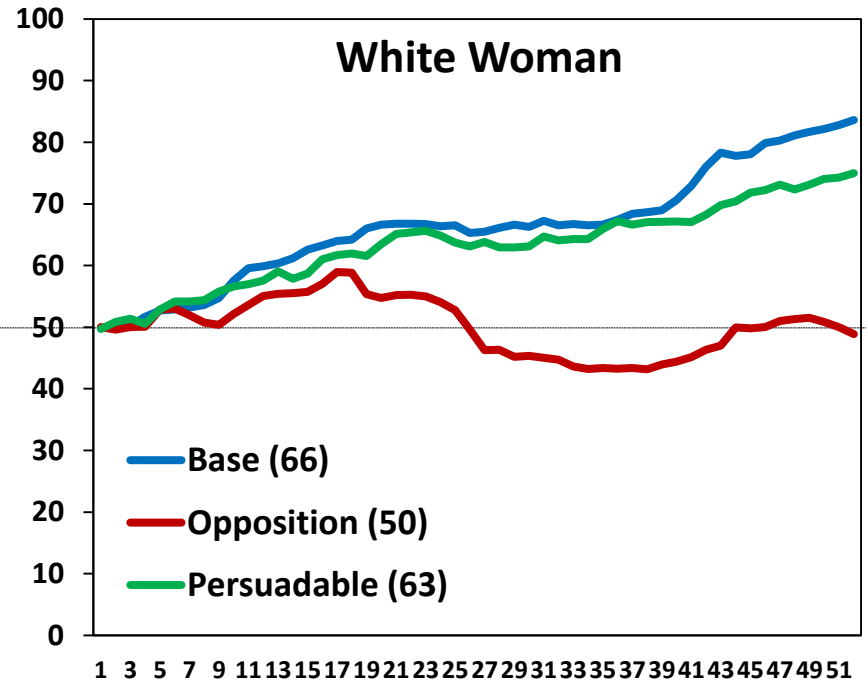
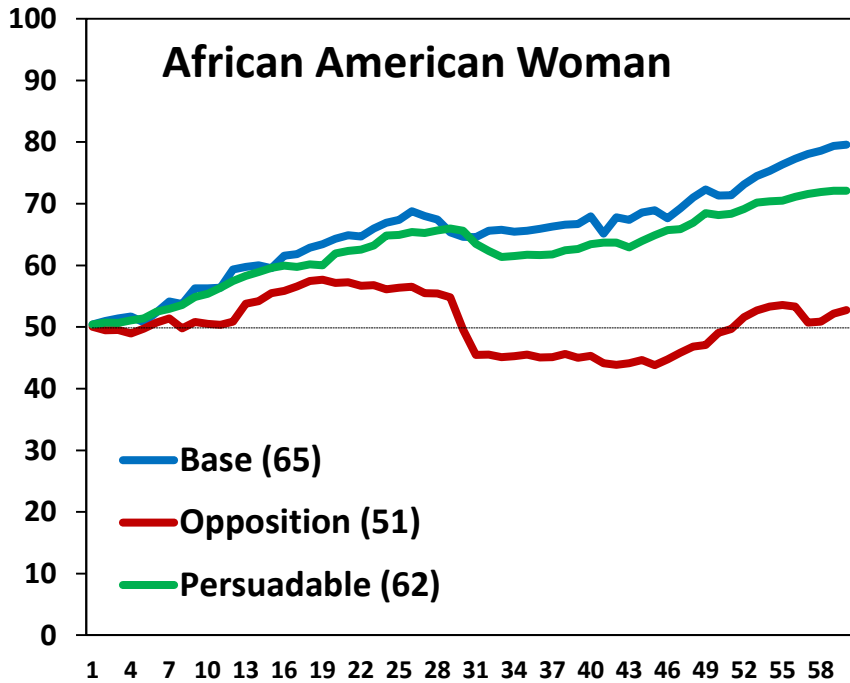
- ✓ Strong convincing rating among base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at positive description of challenges: “ensuring Americans get the healthcare and retirement we need.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and ship jobs overseas.”
- ✓ All groups dial up at mention of faith, “As people of faith, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal in the eyes of god.”

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

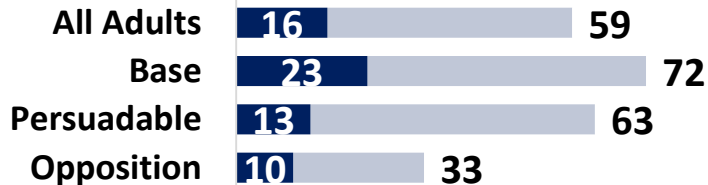
- X Slow take off.
- X Low share ratings.
- X Persuadables dial down with opposition at “greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and ship jobs overseas.”

# Can Do

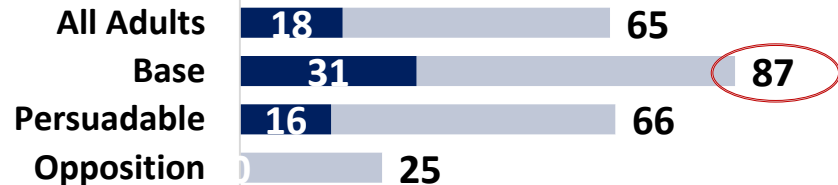
There is little unconscious difference between messengers in how people react to “Can Do.” Base adults react more strongly consciously to a white woman as messenger.



How convincing did you find this message?



How convincing did you find this message?

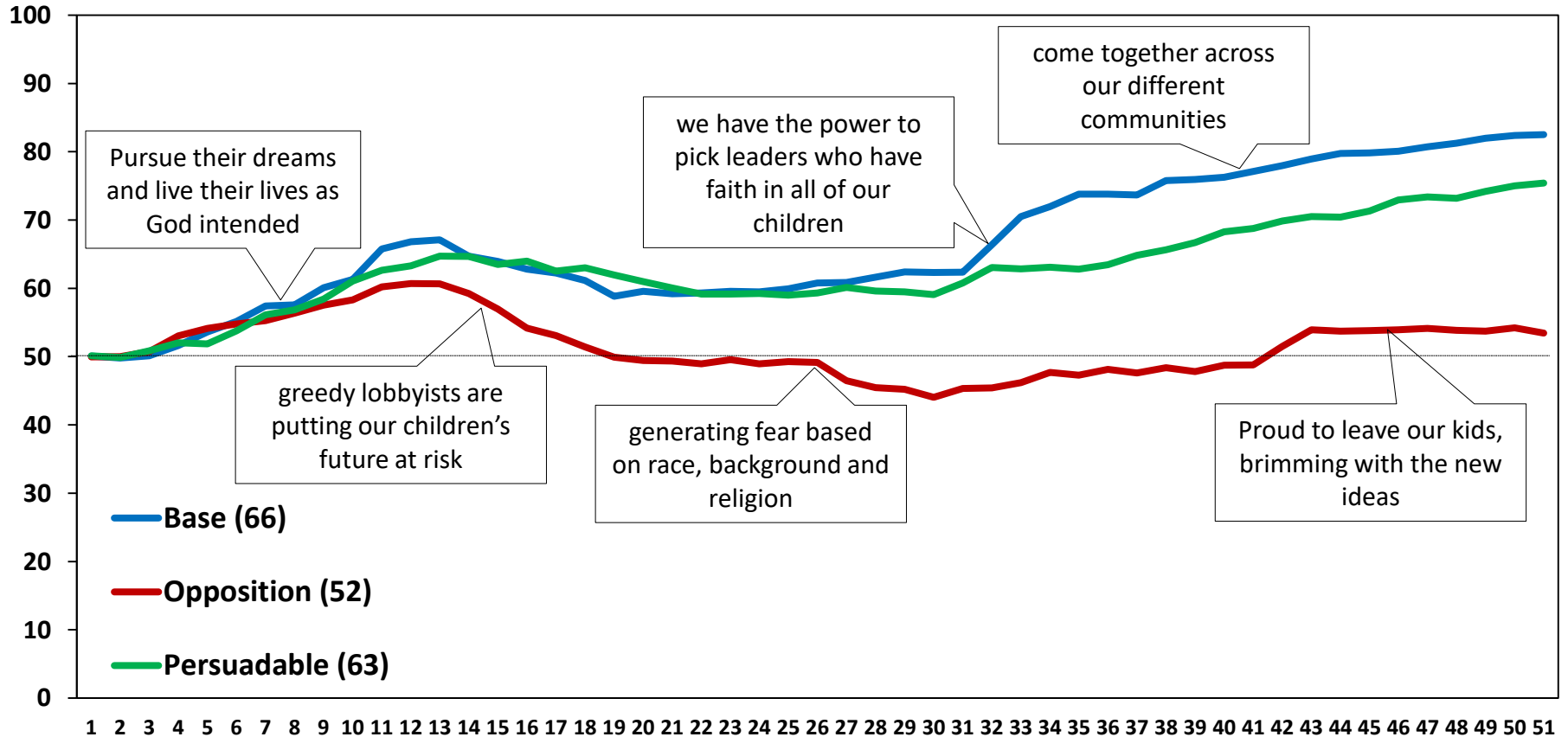


Split Sampled



# Future

Every child, regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live, deserves the chance to pursue their dreams and live their lives as God intended. 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 have faith 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.

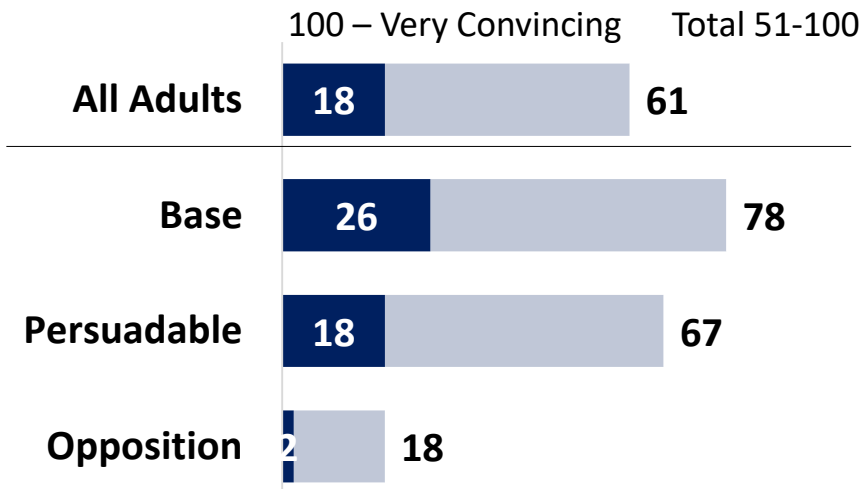


Split Sampled

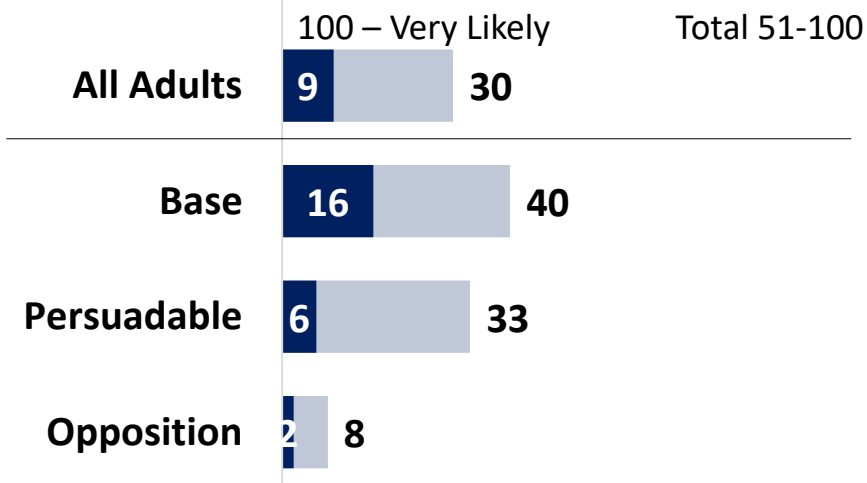


# Future

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong convincing ratings for base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base dial up on mention of faith: “live their lives as God intended.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “we have the power to pick leaders who have faith in all of our children.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “come together across our different communities

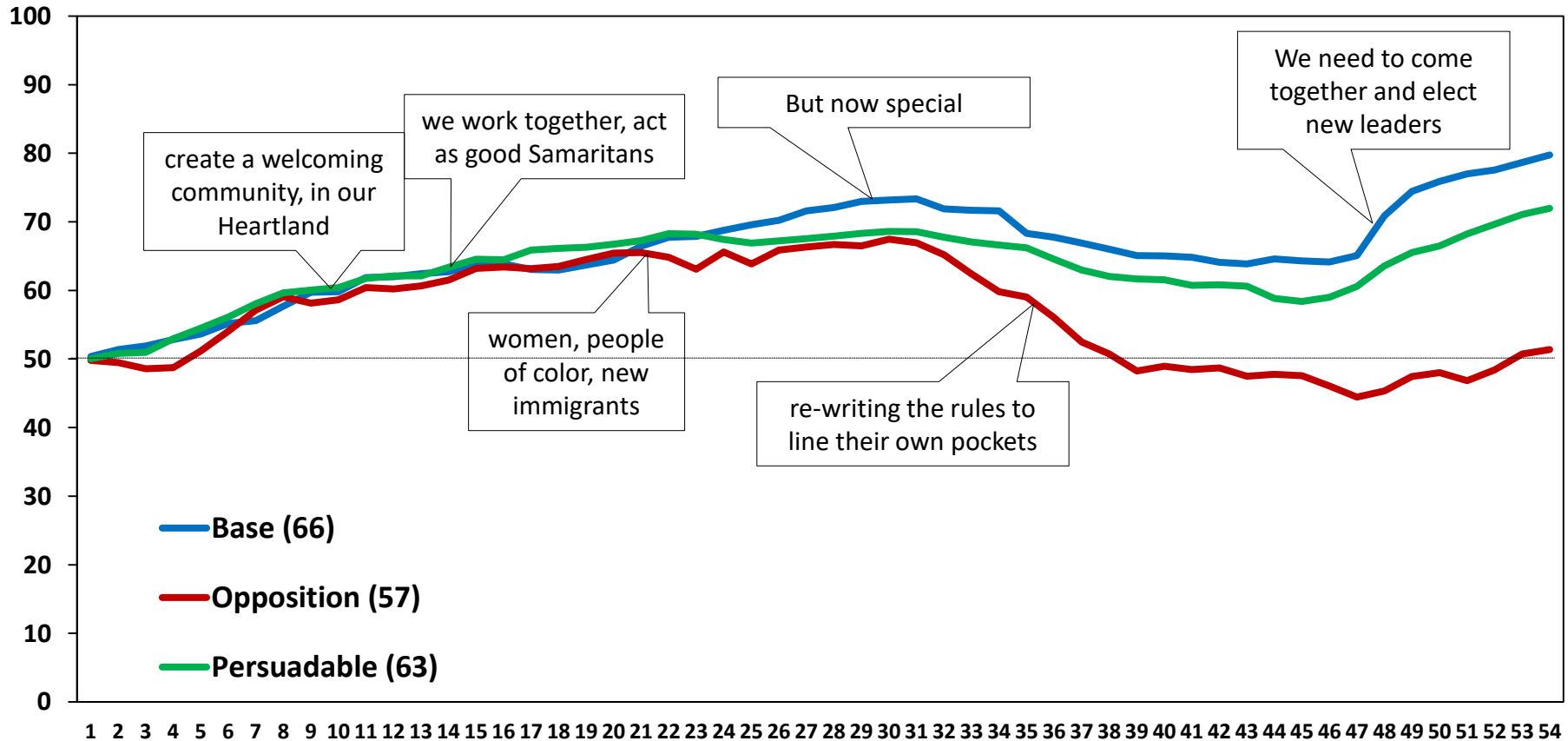
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow start.



# Come Together

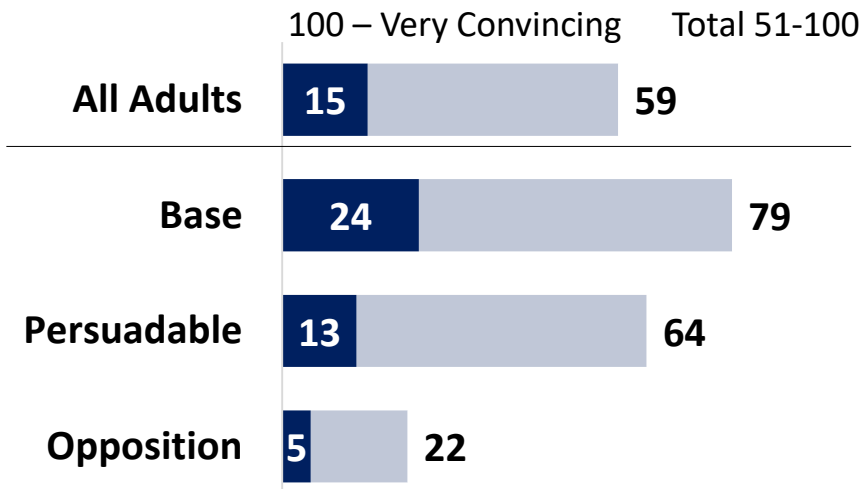
Indiana is America's crossroads: a place where people come from different walks of life to create a welcoming community, in our Heartland. Despite our differences, we work together, act as good Samaritans, and teach our children to respect everyone—women, people of color, new immigrants, people with disabilities, and those struggling to make ends meet. 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.



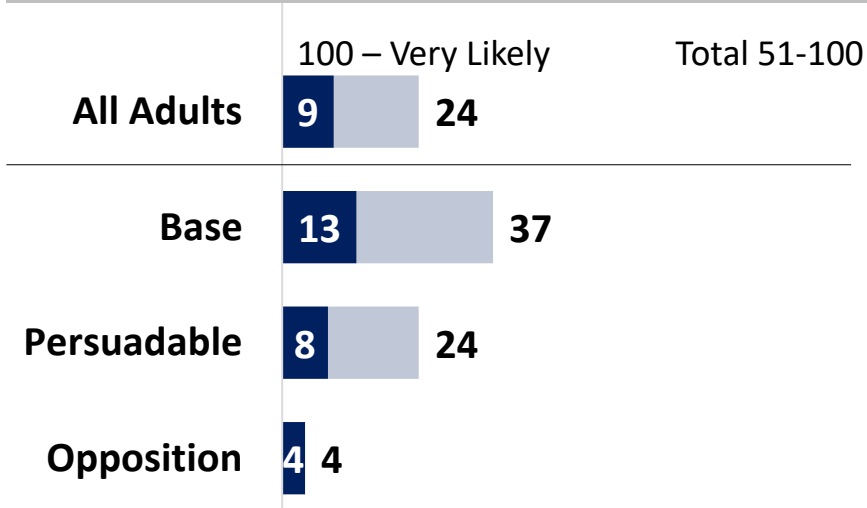
Split Sampled

# Come Together

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off.
- ✓ Evoking Indiana and heartland values resonates as all groups dial up through “teach our children to respect everyone—women, people of color, new immigrants, people with disabilities, and those struggling to make ends meet.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up sharply at the call to action: “We need to come together and elect new leaders who respect all of our families and will govern for all of us.”
- ✓ Opposition flatlines at the call to action, suggesting that they are alienated by “special interests and certain politicians are re-writing the rules to line their own pockets.”

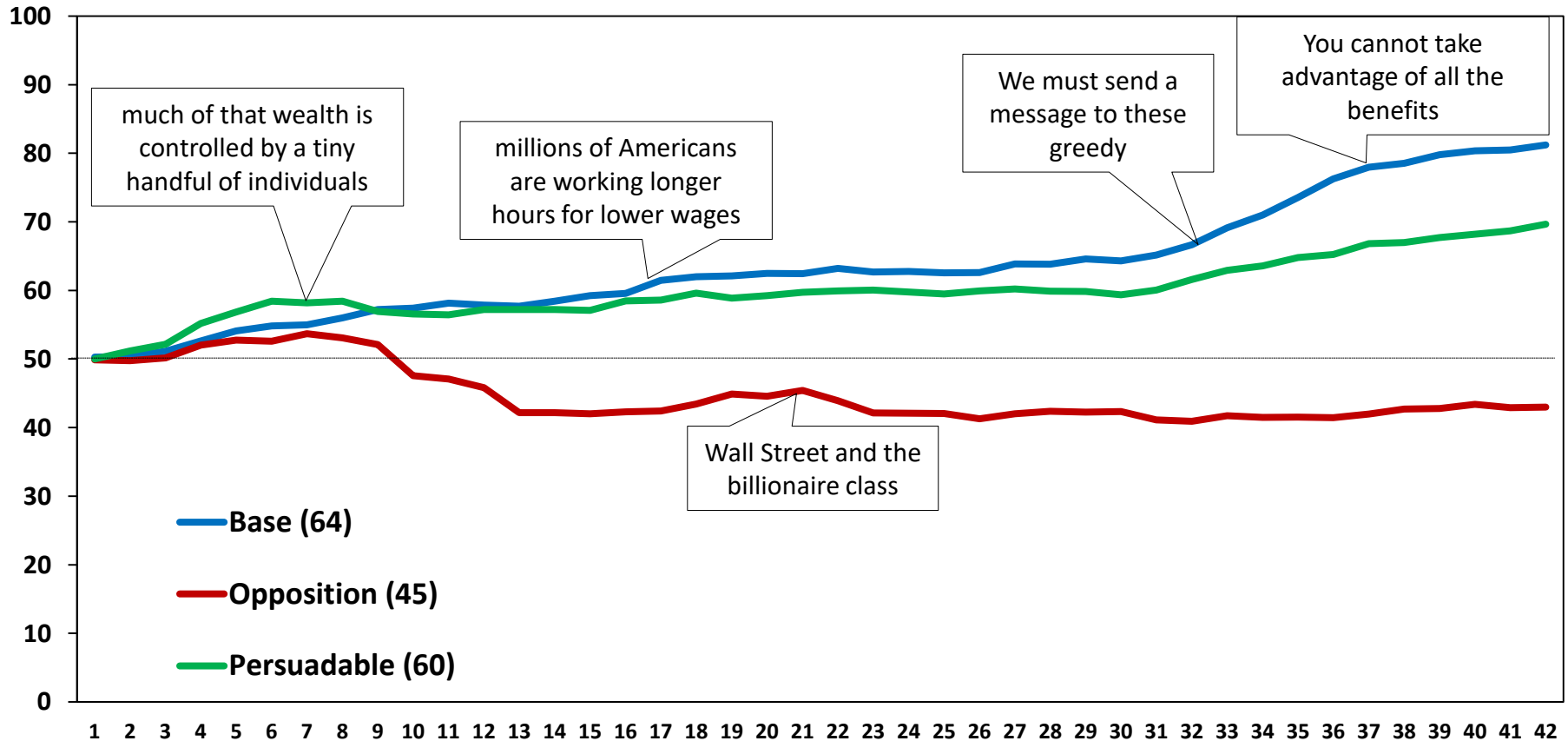
## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weaker share ratings among base and persuadables relative to other messages.



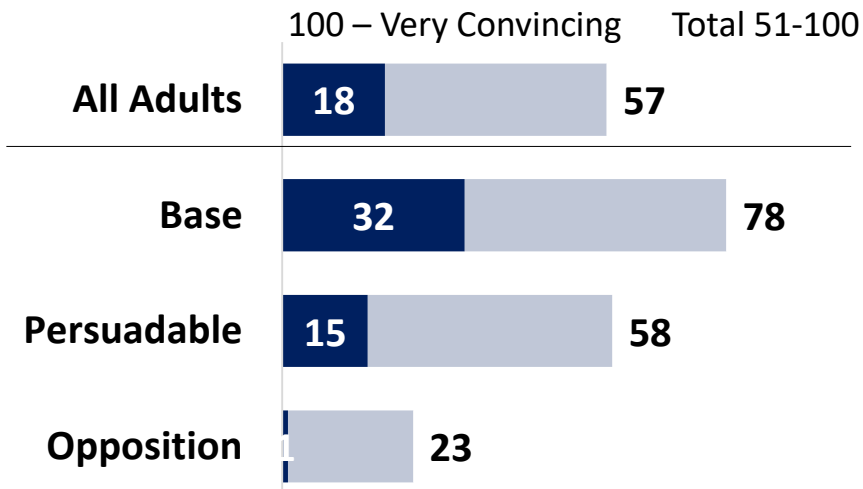
# Colorblind Economic Populist

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.

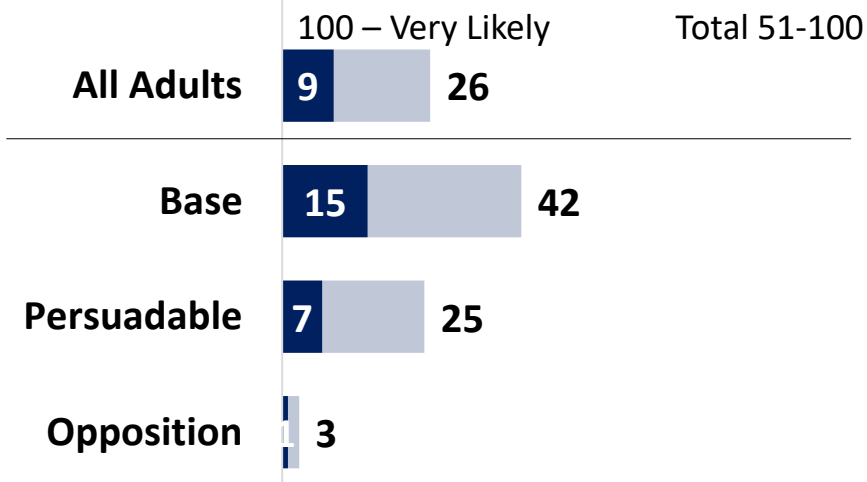


# Colorblind Economic Populist

## How convincing did you find this message?



## How likely are you to share this message?



## WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Opposition alienated by “much of that wealth is controlled by a tiny handful of individuals.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “rigged the rules to redistribute wealth and income to the wealthiest and most powerful people of this country.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “you cannot take advantage of all the benefits of America, if you refuse to accept your responsibilities as Americans.”
- ✓ Strong convincing rating with base adults.

## WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow start.
- X Base and opposition plateaus throughout the middle of the message.
- X Weak convincing and share ratings with persuadables.

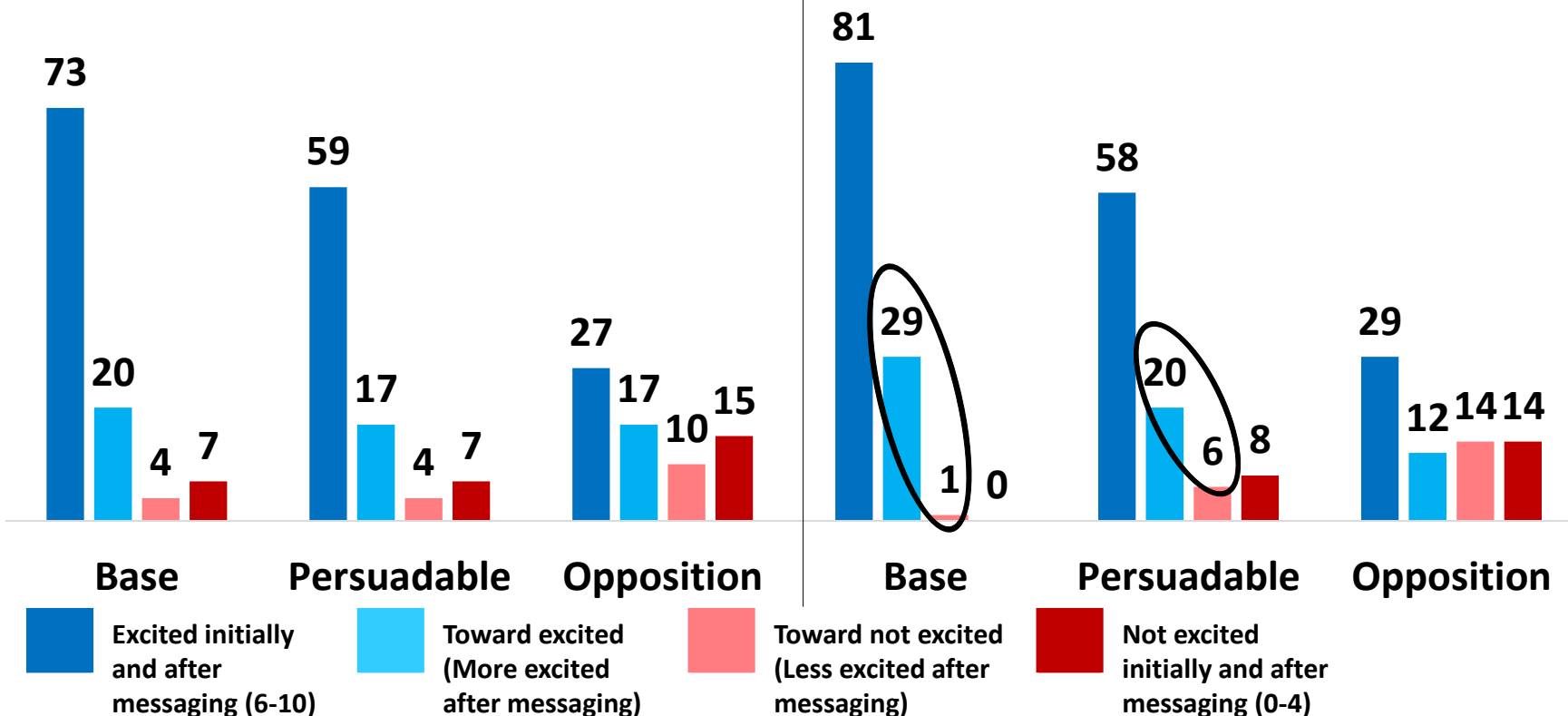


# Movement

# Messaging increases excitement for both the base and persuadables particularly for joining together with people across racial differences to take action.

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)

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)



# Support for the policy agenda remains strong, and messaging moves people toward stronger support, particularly for reforming policing.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Movement

Toward Favor

Toward Oppose

Ensure people who are mentally ill or suffer from addiction receive treatment to recover and can remain with their families*	30	74	18	5
	29	76		
Reform law enforcement to ensure accountability to the well-being of our communities*	29	73	22	4
	27	76		
Reform policing to ensure accountability to the well-being of our communities*	24	73	27	6
	31	74		
Ensure people who are mentally ill or suffer from addiction receive treatment to recover and can remain with their families, not locked away in jail*	28	71	20	7
	29	73		
Expand Indiana's Medicaid Program, known as HIP 2.0, to ensure healthcare for people regardless of their income*	41	72	15	5
	41	70		
End the cash bail system, so people's freedom is based on maintaining safety in our communities, not ability to pay	26	63	20	7
	28	64		

10 – Strongly Favor

Total 6-10 – Total Favor

Final 10

Final 6-10



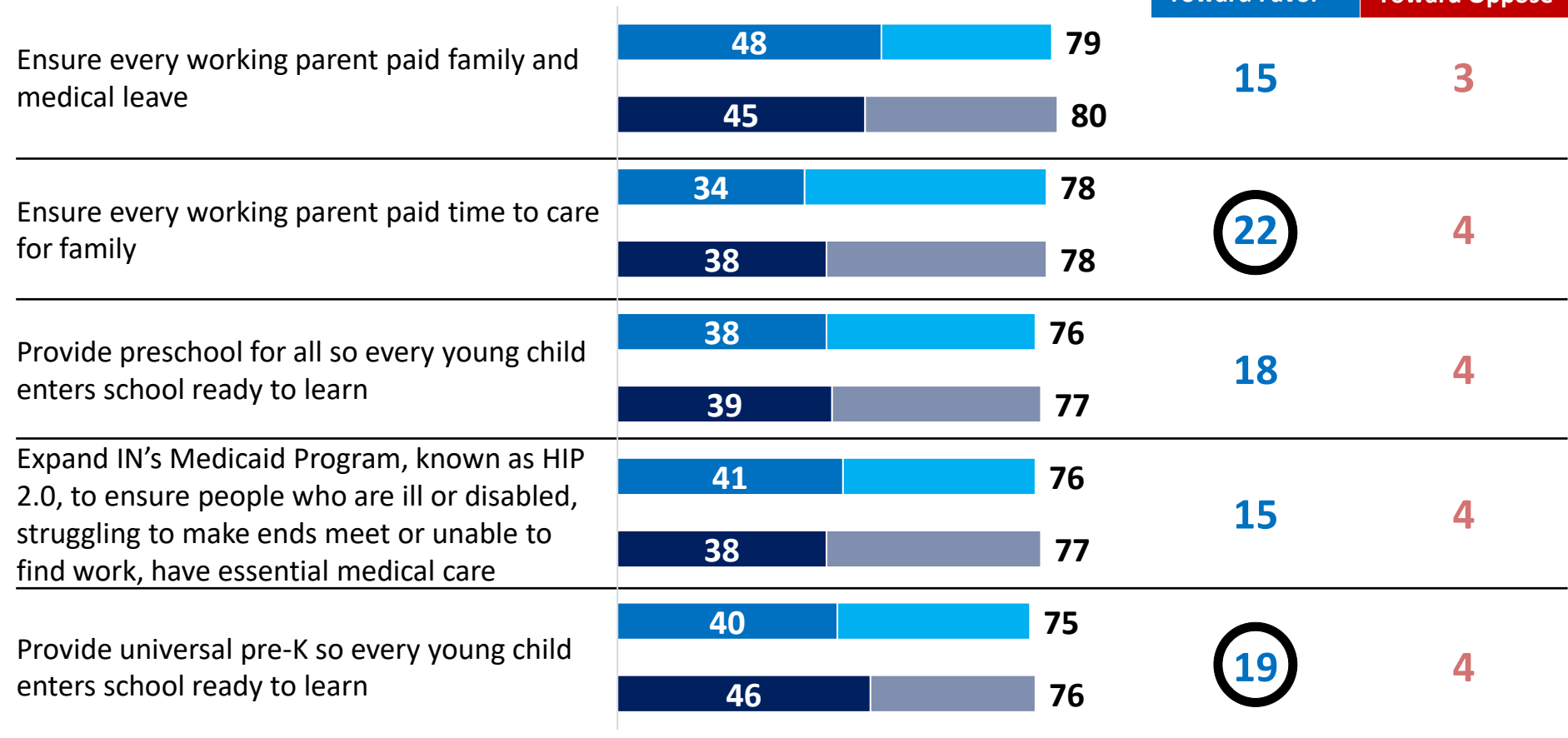
# Messaging moves people toward stronger support across all policies.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Movement

Toward Favor

Toward Oppose

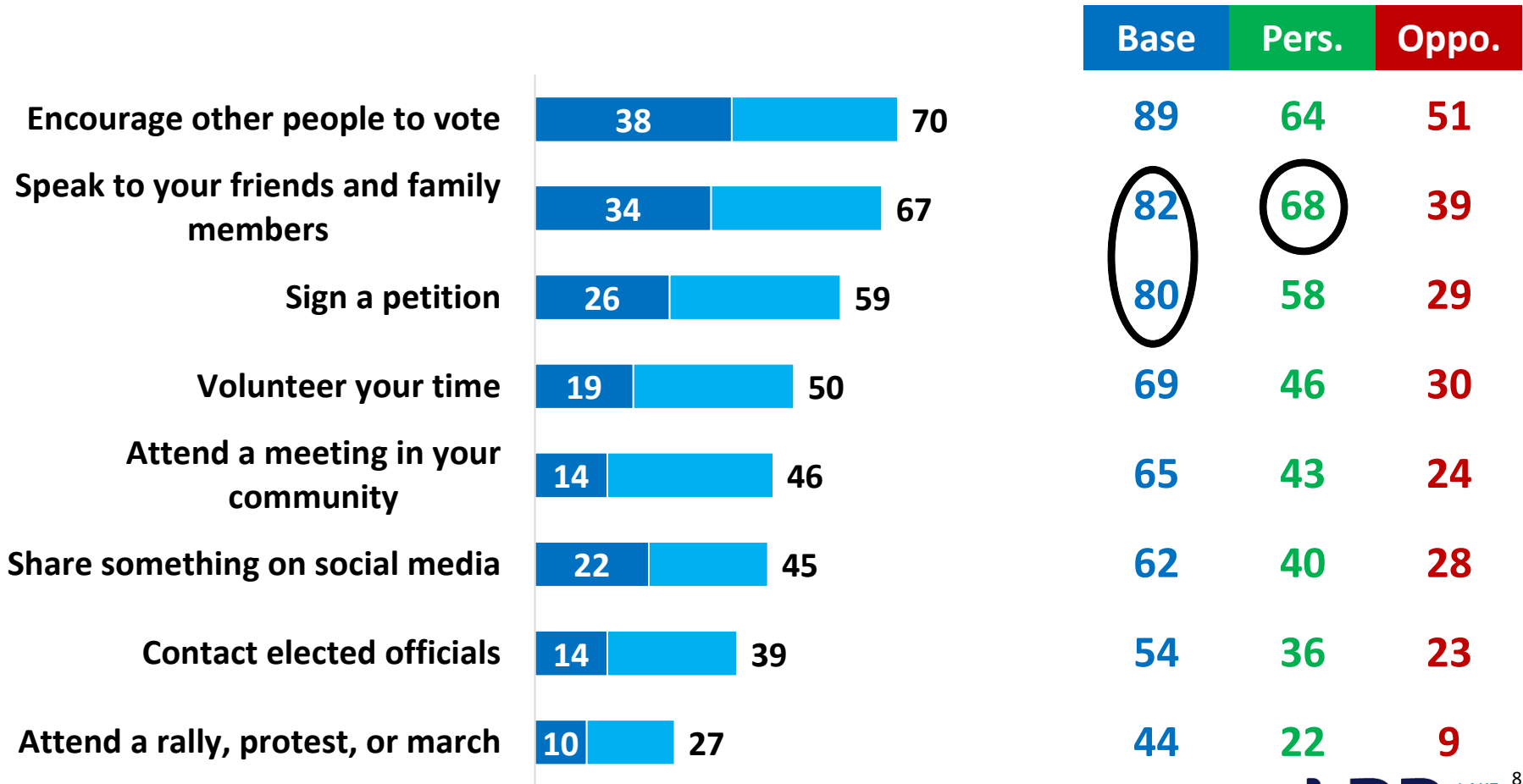




Base adults are likely to take actions, particularly encouraging others to vote, speaking to friends and family members, and signing a petition. Persuadables are most likely to speak to friends and family members.

How likely are you to do each of the following

Total Likely

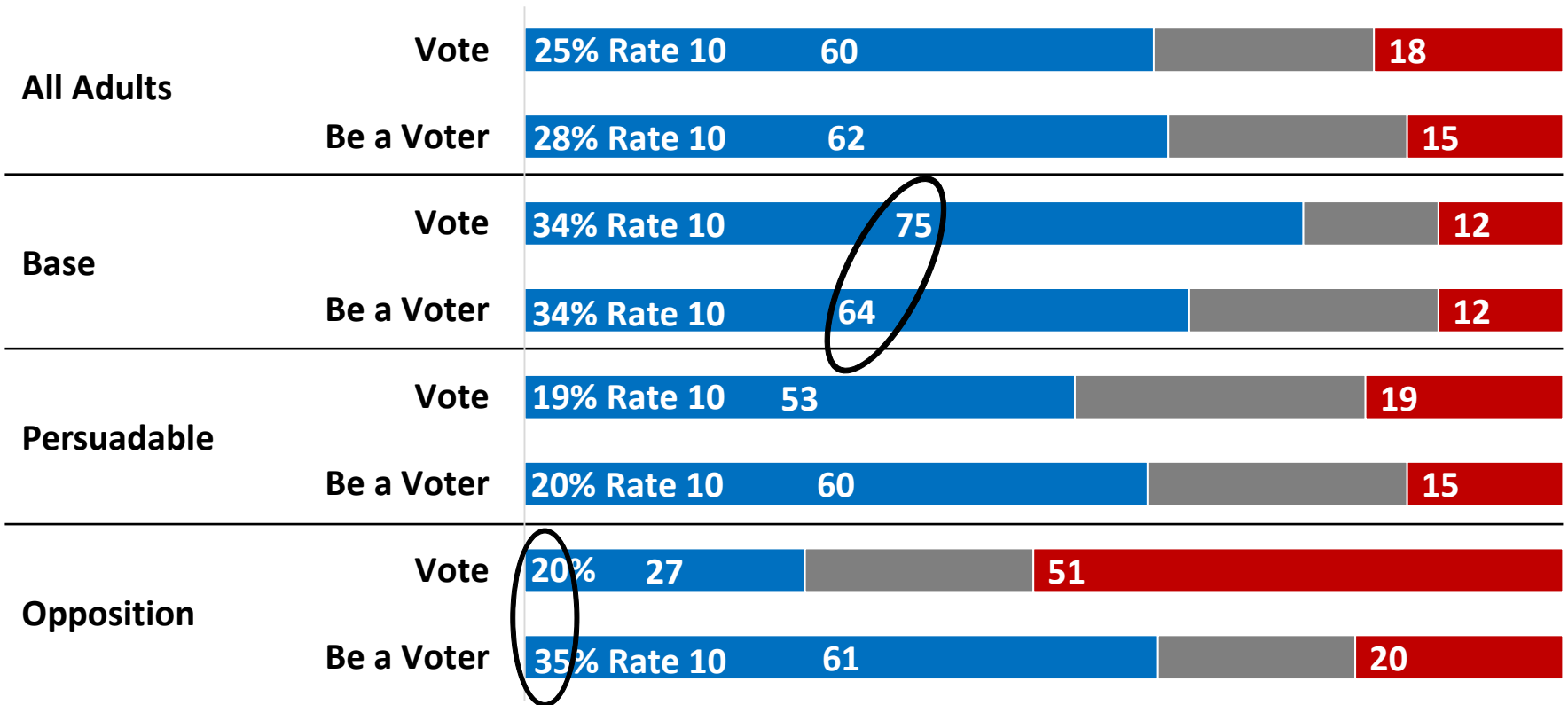


Very Likely

Total Likely

# Base adults are more enthusiastic to vote than they are to be a voter. Opposition adults are much more enthusiastic to be a voter than to vote.

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



Split Sampled

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

# LRP

LAKE  
RESEARCH  
PARTNERS

Strategy • Precision • Impact



Washington, DC | Berkeley, CA | New York, NY

[LakeResearch.com](http://LakeResearch.com)

202.776.9066

Celinda Lake

[clake@lakeresearch.com](mailto:clake@lakeresearch.com)

Jonathan Voss

[jvoss@lakeresearch.com](mailto:jvoss@lakeresearch.com)

Emily Caramelli

[ecaramelli@lakeresearch.com](mailto:ecaramelli@lakeresearch.com)