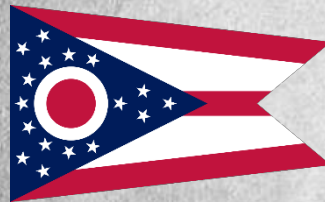


Race-Class Narrative



Ohio



IAN HANEY LÓPEZ
**DOG
WHISTLE
POLITICS**




Findings and recommendations
from an online survey of adults
in Ohio

May 2018

Demos
AN EQUAL SAY AND AN
EQUAL CHANCE FOR ALL



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Methodology

- Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey that was conducted online from March 23 – April 9, 2018. The survey reached a total of 601 adults in Ohio.
- The data were weighed slightly by region, age, education, race, gender, and party ID 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 – 44% of adults

- Think not enough attention paid on race
- Strong concerns about bias toward Blacks, Latinos, 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, and Democratic.

Opposition – 24% of adults

- Think wealthy achieved success on their own.
- Oppose policy agenda.
- Concerned more with “reverse racism,” and think Blacks and Latinos responsible for their own economic situation.
- More likely over 50, white, and Republican.

Persuadable – 33% of adults

- Have views that at times reflect base adults and at times reflect opposition adults.
- Do not support reforms on drug policy, and are more likely to see drug use as a crime.
- More closely reflect demographics of the general public, but somewhat more likely over 65, and independent.

Demographics	Total	Base	Opp.	Pers.
Men	48	48	45	49
Women	52	51	55	51
Under 30	21	28	8	20
30-39	16	20	14	12
40-49	17	20	18	13
50-64	27	20	36	28
Over 65	20	12	24	27
White	82	75	97	81
AA	12	15	1	15
Latino	3	5	1	1
Asian	1	2	0	0
Northeast	38	35	38	41
Northwest	10	9	13	10
Southwest	26	27	26	24
Central	21	21	20	22
Southeast	5	8	2	3
Democrat	39	62	8	30
Indep/DK	15	10	15	22
Republican	41	23	74	41



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.
- Second, base adults want government to create opportunities for advancement while opposition adults want government to get out of their way and persuadables divide evenly.
- 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 divide on this but a 37 percent plurality agree with opposition adults that the wealthy worked harder 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.
- There are two significant differences in Ohio from the national data. First, there is a larger base audience in Ohio (44 percent) compared to nationally (23 percent).
- Secondly, the persuadables in Ohio are much more responsive to opposition arguments about crime. They believe that when someone commits a crime we need to uphold justice and deter others. They are less supportive of our agenda when it comes to drug use which they are more prone to seeing as a crime rather than an addiction. Talking about addiction helps, but persuadables and opposition adults are more likely to see drug use as a crime that impacts public safety.

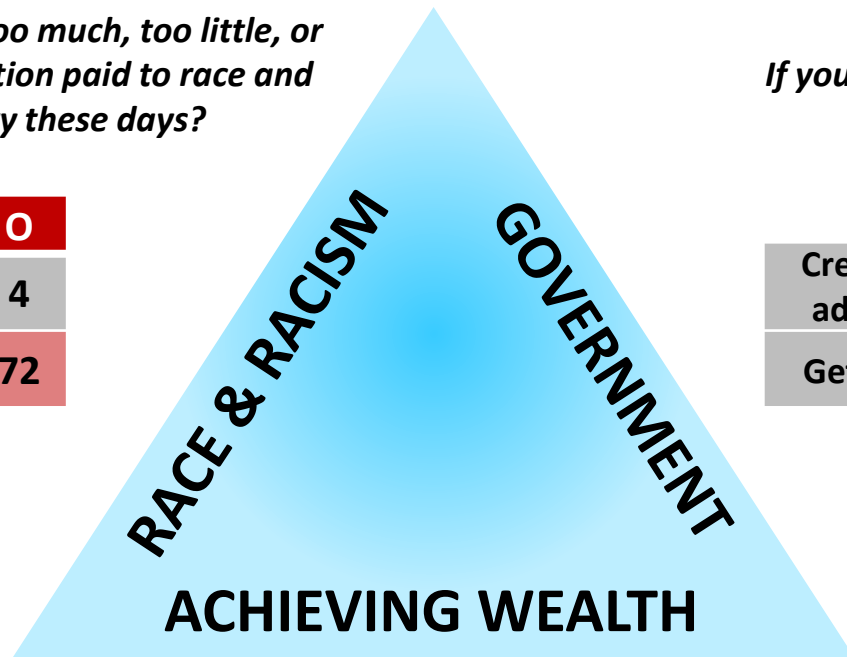
Three Core Dimensions: Racism, the role of government, and how people achieve wealth.

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	51	30	4
Too much	22	38	72

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

	B	P	O
Create opp. for advancement	60	39	25
Get out of way	23	40	61



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	69	34	30
Worked harder than others	21	37	50

Key Findings

- Base adults support the policy agenda at high levels. All audiences favor programs for education, job training, and counseling services. Additionally, all audiences favor reforming the bail system to ensure every offender receives the same treatment, no matter their race or whether they are rich or poor. Persuadables support reform at higher levels when we say “no matter their race.”
- However support for policies around drugs and addiction fall short among persuadables. While base adults strongly support allowing people to recover and move on from opioid and other drug use or addiction instead of incarcerating them, persuadables oppose.
- Persuadable and opposition adults in Ohio believe drugs are illegal because they are dangerous and that we need to keep communities safe by keeping drugs and drug dealers off the streets. They oppose policies to provide treatment to drug users instead of imprisonment.
- Persuadables respond better to references to addiction over drug use, but still generally oppose our policy agenda.
- Ohioans tend to believe that when someone commits a crime we need to uphold justice and deter others. Calling attention to racial disparities helps with base adults.

Key Findings

- Base adults have more concerns about racism than racial fear, and bias against Black people over bias against African Americans. They also have concerns about reverse racism, but less concerns about discrimination against whites, which is a top concern for Opposition adults.
- Persuadables are most concerned about racism. They have roughly the same level of concern about bias against Black people or African Americans as they do about reverse racism and discrimination against whites.
- Base adults are more likely to agree that Black people or African Americans face greater obstacles to economic success than whites. This is a core divide. Opposition adults reject the notion and instead believe that those who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition.
- Persuadables tend to agree with both ideas but with low intensity. A majority of persuadables agree that Black people face greater obstacles to economic success than whites, but the same percentage believe that people of color who cannot get ahead in this country are mostly responsible for their own condition.
- Base adults overwhelmingly believe that focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality, while opposition adults say it does not fix anything and may even make things worse. Persuadables agree with both ideas.

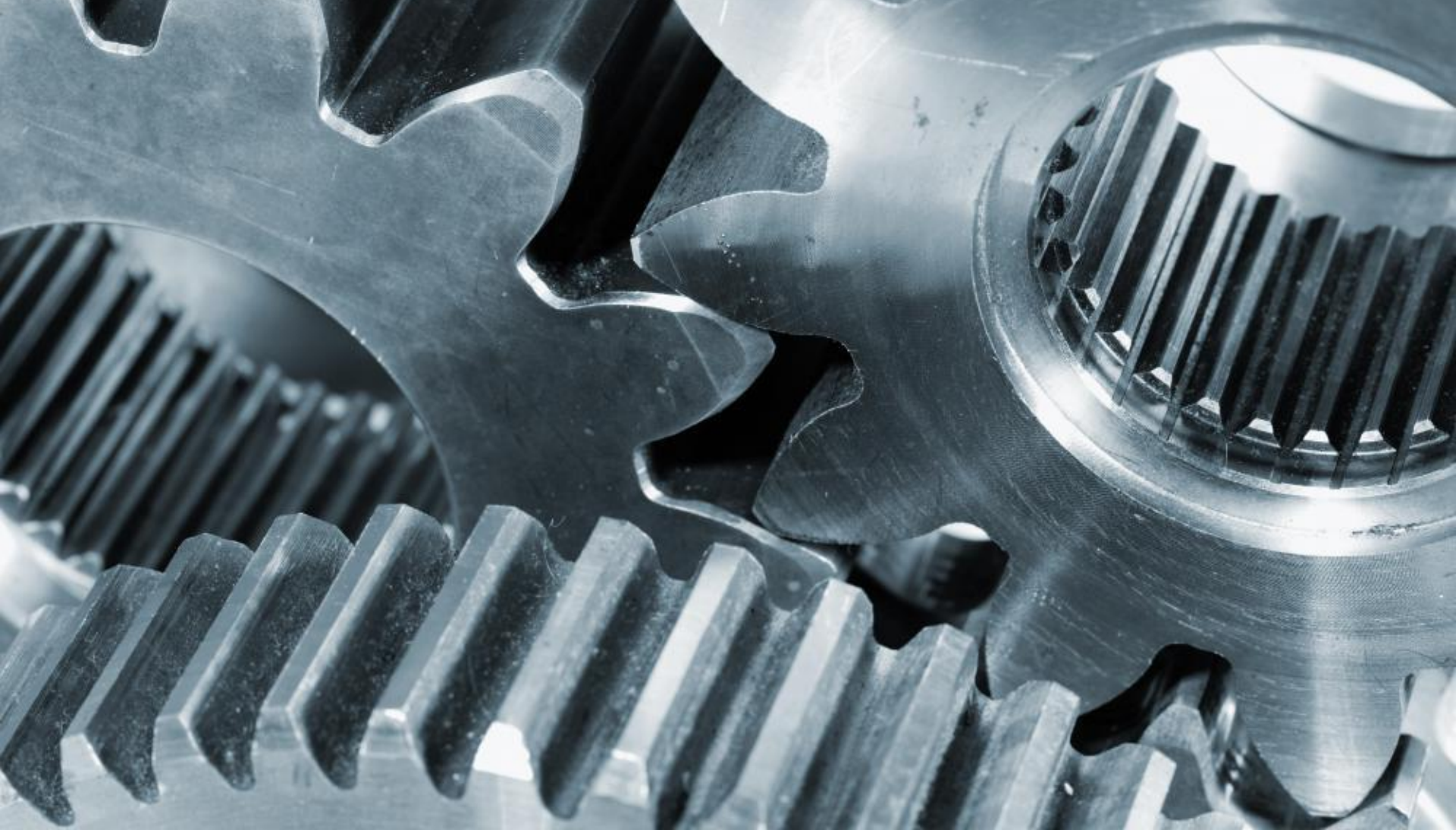
Messaging

- Two of the strongest messages - “Working People” and “Ohio’s Strength – Divide” were top messages nationally. These messages are two of the top messages in terms of convincing ratings among base adults. Additionally, “Future” with an African American woman messenger performs strongly with base adults, though not as strong with persuadables, and “Divide – Come Together” performs strongly with persuadables.
- 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. “Ohio’s Strength” unites us by defining our country’s strength in our ability to work together. “Future” unites us by focusing on a child’s right to be able to pursue their dreams.
- 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 “Ohio’s Strength” and “Future,” 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” and “Together we have the power to pick leaders who believe in all of our children.”

Messaging

- These messages are stronger than a more traditional “Colorblind Economic Populism” for two reasons. First, these messages tap into people’s desire to come together and work together. Secondly, these messages include another dimension beyond inequality that resonates with both base and persuadables.
- Other messages are somewhat less effective for one of two other reasons. First, they either 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, particularly in Ohio. Among persuadables the opposition message has a higher convincing rating than all of our messages except for “Ohio’s Strength – Divide” and actually has the strongest average dial rating. Several themes of the opposition message resonate with persuadables including “keeping us safe” and “respecting our police forces who maintain law and order.”

Say	Instead of	Because
They “ <u>distract</u> the rest of us”	They “ <u>divide</u> the rest of us”	Naming the tactic as one of distraction better connects with our solutions and call to action around working together. This is different than national data which shows greater efficacy with divide.
Stereotypes about race “ <u>box people in</u> ”	Stereotypes about race “ <u>keep us from learning from each other</u> ”	Evoking a container metaphor, with stereotypes about race, and racism as a barrier to people, alienates the opposition.
“Immigrants <u>and their families</u> ”	“ <u>Dreamers</u> ”	Evoking families and a broader context generates greater favorability among base adults, persuadables and Latinos.
“People joining together in union”	“ <u>Labor unions</u> ”	We increase the perception among base and persuadables that labor unions can improve the lives of working people when we stress “through membership in our union.”
“ <u>As Ohioans</u> , we can ensure all are treated fairly and equally”	“ <u>As Americans</u> , we can ensure all are treated fairly and equally”	Evoking state identity increases the sense that we can ensure all people are treated fairly and equally with our base and persuadables.
Addiction	Drug use	“Drug use” triggers crime and safety for persuadables.
“Come together to <u>overcome challenges</u> of opioid crisis”	“Come together to <u>find solutions</u> to opioid crisis”	Base adults respond more strongly to calls for unity in overcoming the challenge of the opioid crisis.
“ <u>form alliances</u> ”	“ <u>work together</u> ”	Base adults believe it is important to both form alliances or work together across racial differences. Opposition adults alienated by forming alliances.



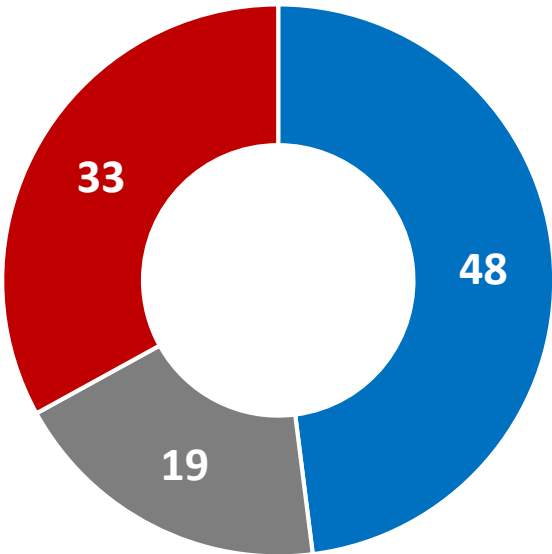
Key Dynamics

Perceptions on how wealthy Americans achieve success are a central divide. Base adults say they are more likely to have more opportunities while opposition adults say they worked hard. Persuadables divide.

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

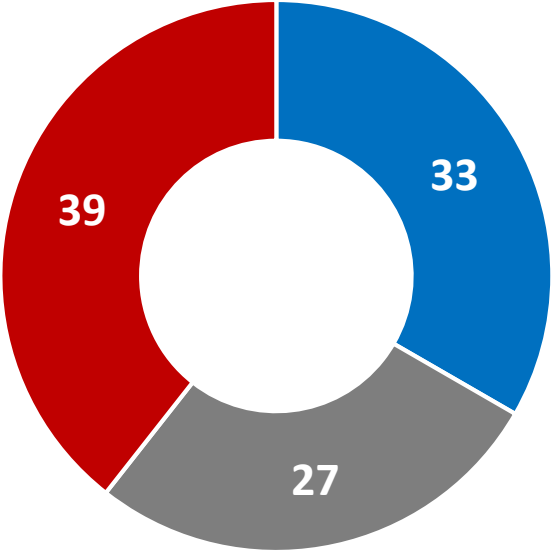
Wealthy Americans achieved success because they were given more opportunity than others



	Worked harder	Given more opportunities
Base	21	69
Persuadable	37	34
Opposition	50	30

Ohioans are somewhat more likely to think that there is too much attention paid to race and racial issues. It is a core divide of the base and opposition, with a majority of base adults saying there is too little attention and a majority of opposition adults saying there is too much.

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



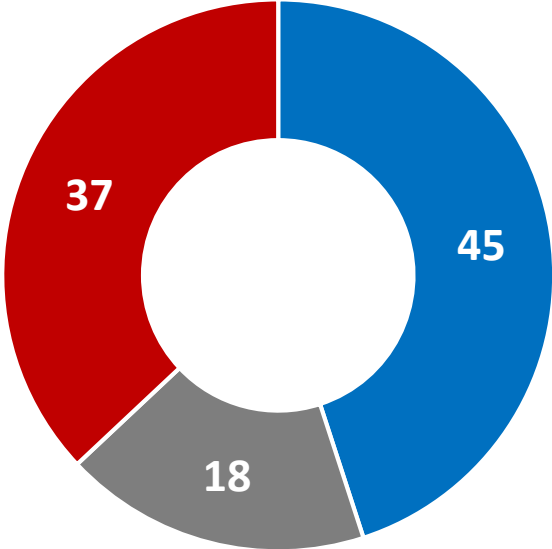
	Too Much	Too Little
Base	22	51
Persuadable	38	30
Opposition	72	4

Views toward government are a core divide. Base adults prefer government create opportunities for advancement while opposition adults prefer government get out of their way. Persuadables divide evenly.

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

**Government
get out of your
way**

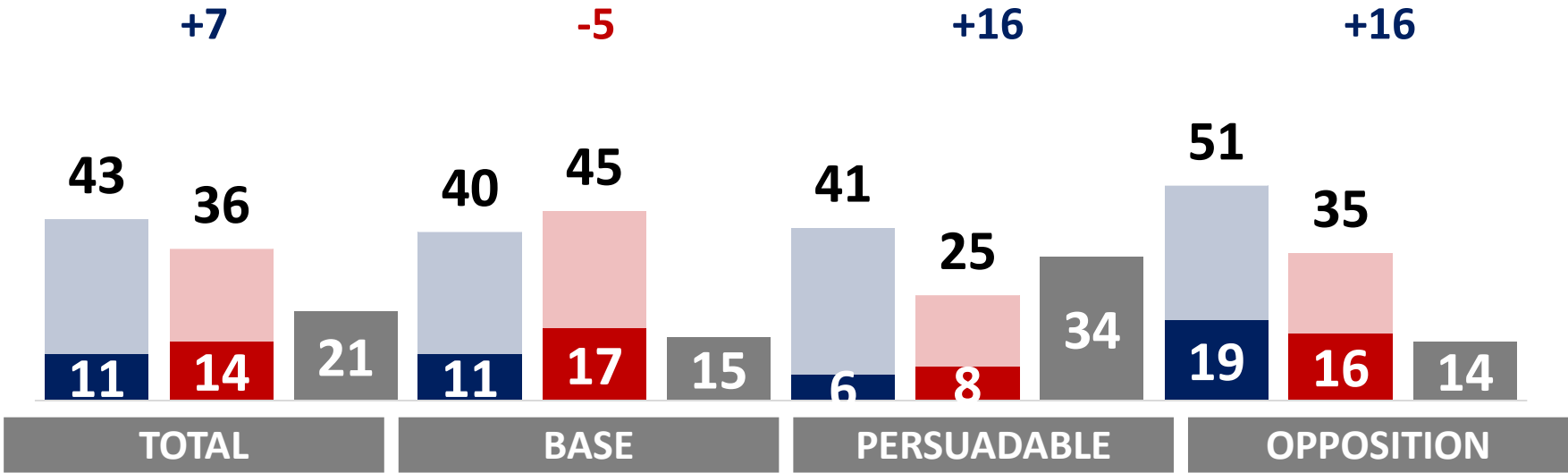
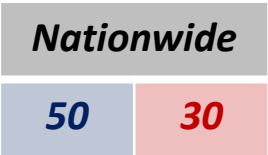
**Government create
opportunities for
advancement**



	Get Out of Way	Create Opportunities
Base	23	60
Persuadable	40	39
Opposition	61	25

Ohioans are somewhat less likely than adults nationwide to agree that the wealthy in this country create jobs and prosperity for everyone. Opposition adults are most likely to agree.

The wealthy in this country create jobs and prosperity for everyone



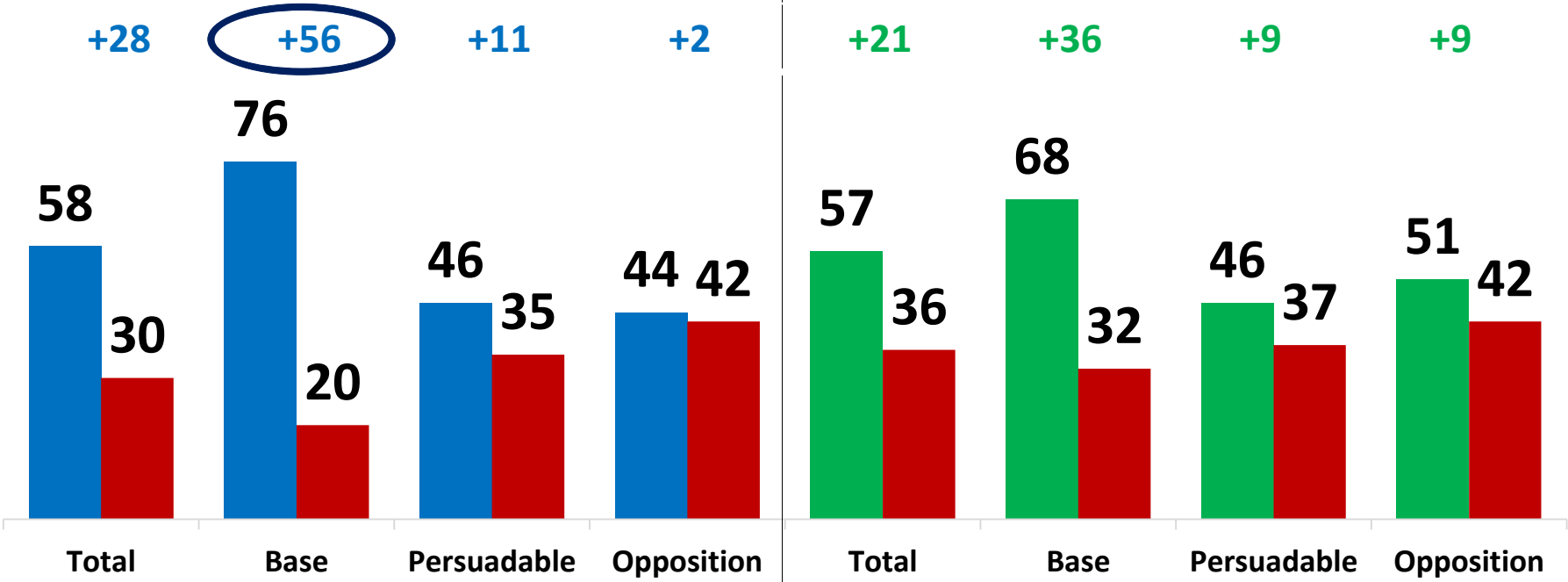
Invoking state identity resonates particularly with base adults who are more likely to agree that if we were really committed to it we could ensure that all people are treated fairly.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We will never achieve fair and equitable treatment for all people

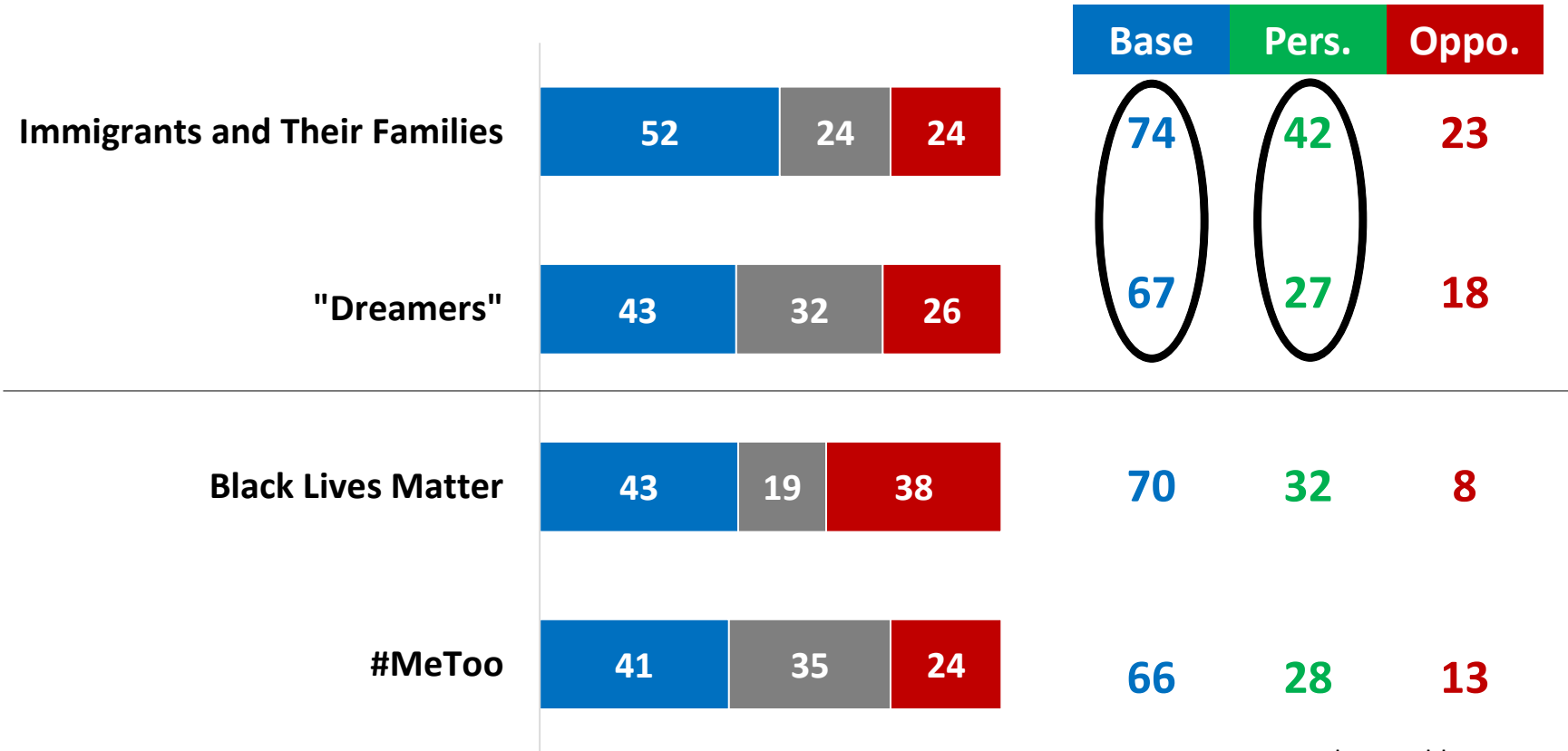
As Ohioans, if we were really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally no matter their race, religion, or country of origin

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



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

How favorable are you to each of the following?

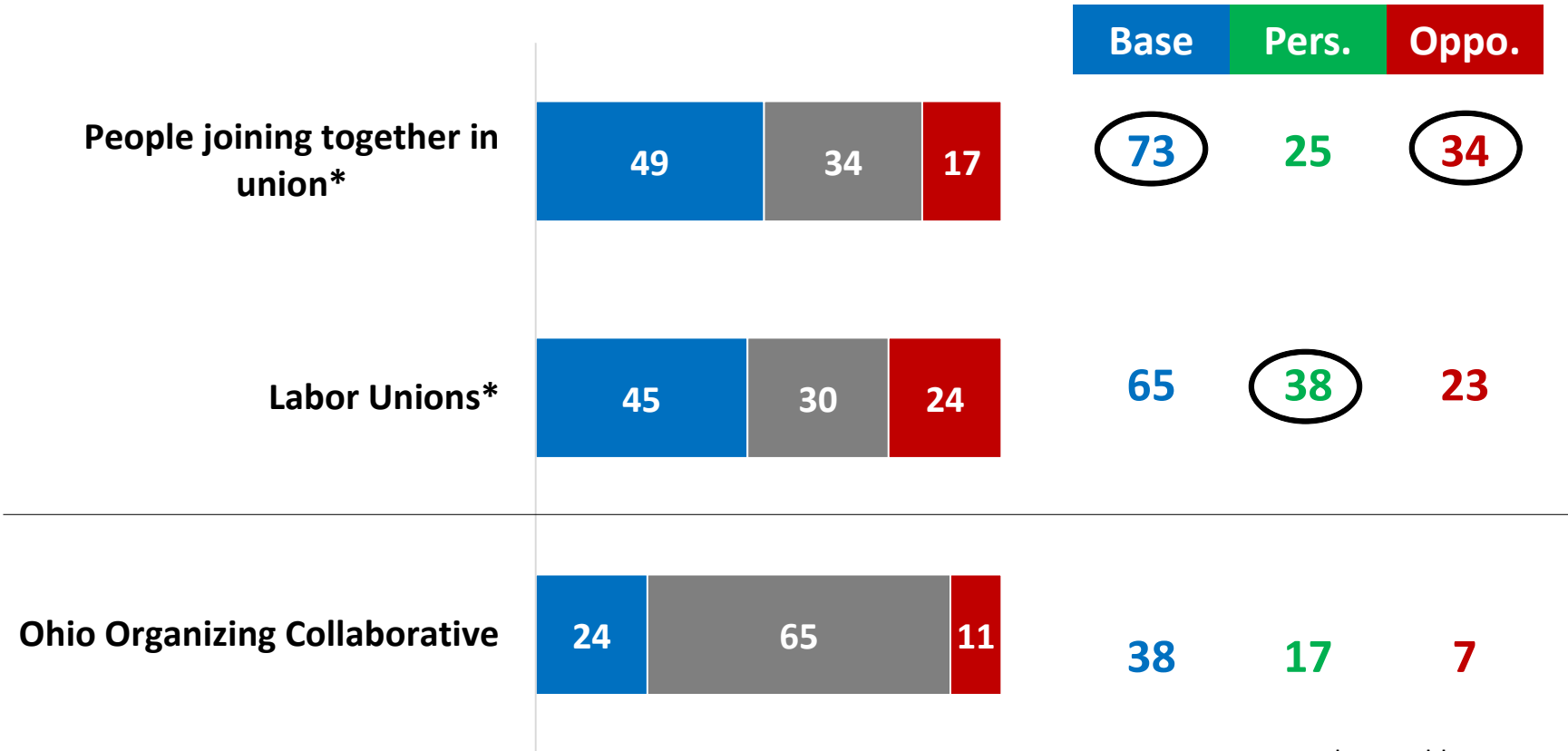


■ Total Favorable ■ Neutral/No Opinion/Never Heard ■ Total Unfavorable

Total Favorable

Both base and opposition adults are more favorable toward “people joining together in union” than toward labor unions. Persuadables are more favorable toward labor unions. Most Ohioans have not heard about the Ohio Organizing Collaborative.

How favorable are you to each of the following?



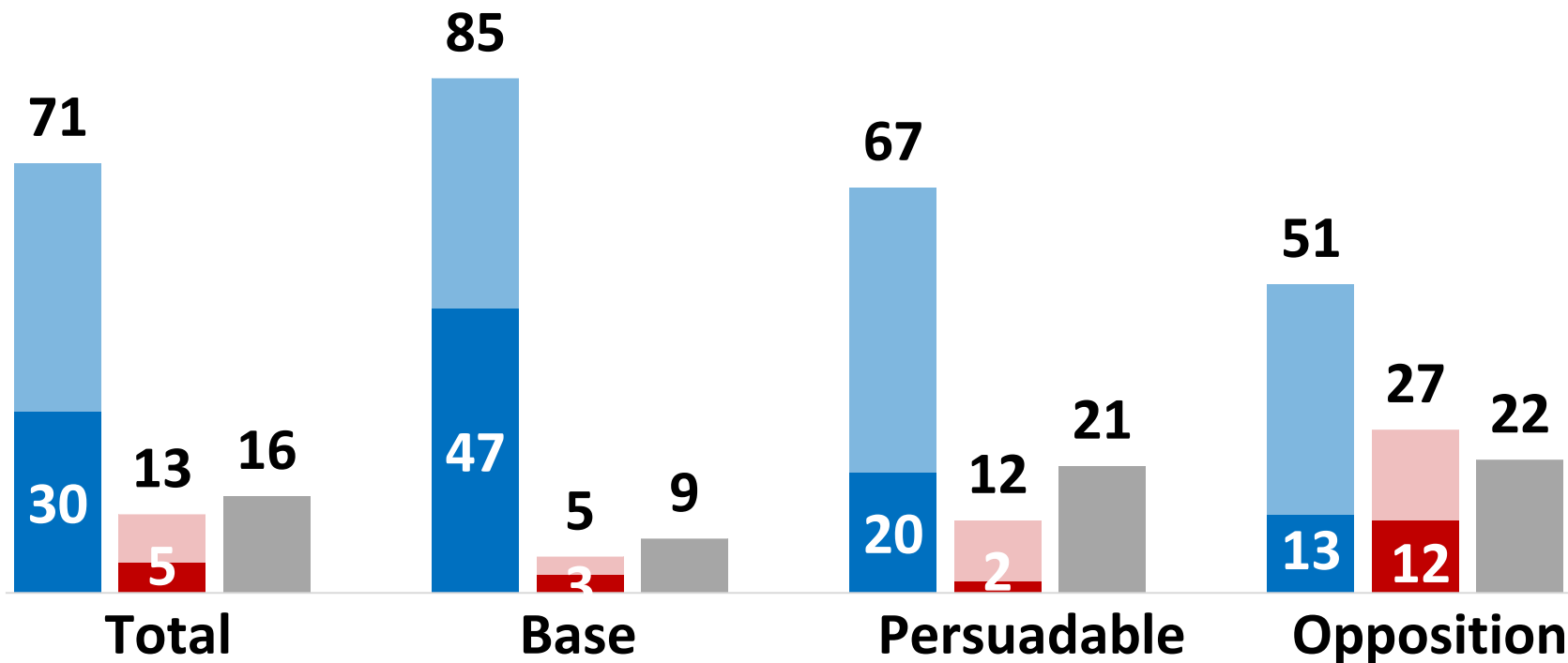
■ Total Favorable ■ Neutral/No Opinion/Never Heard ■ Total Unfavorable

Total Favorable

*Split Sampled

People are very favorable toward the Ohio Organizing Collaborative after learning more, particularly Base adults.

The Ohio Organizing Collaborative unites community groups, faith institutions, unions of working people and policy experts across Ohio to reform our criminal justice system, protect and expand healthcare, make police accountable, and promote equitable investment in our communities. Based on this description are you very favorable, somewhat favorable, somewhat unfavorable, or very unfavorable toward the Ohio Organizing Collaborative?



■ Somewhat Favorable
■ Very Favorable
■ Somewhat Unfavorable
■ Very Unfavorable
■ Not Sure



Criminal Justice

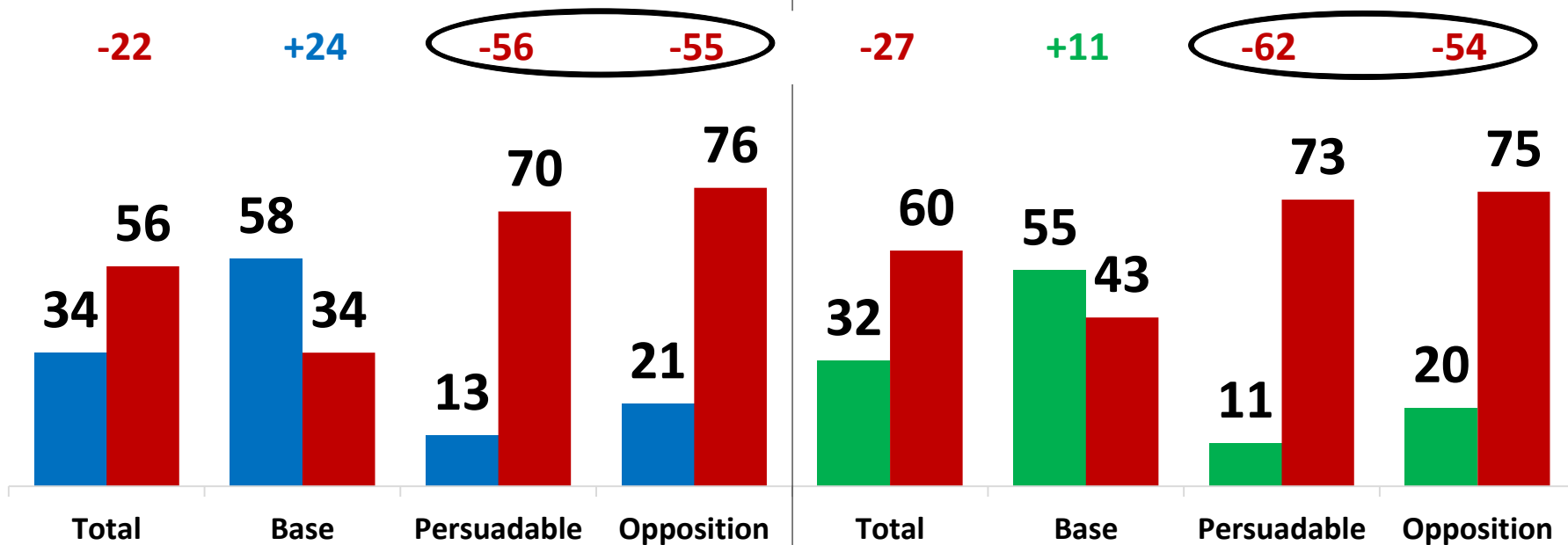
Persuadable and opposition adults in Ohio believe drugs are illegal because they are dangerous and that we need to keep communities safe by keeping drugs and drug dealers off the streets.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

Drugs are illegal because using them is dangerous and selling them creates networks of criminals and gangs that threaten our kids. We need to keep our communities safe, and that means keeping drugs and drug dealers off the streets and behind bars

Treating addiction as a crime breaks up families and tears apart communities. Private for-profit prisons want jail time for any punishment because it pads their profits. People addicted to drugs need treatment, not jail time

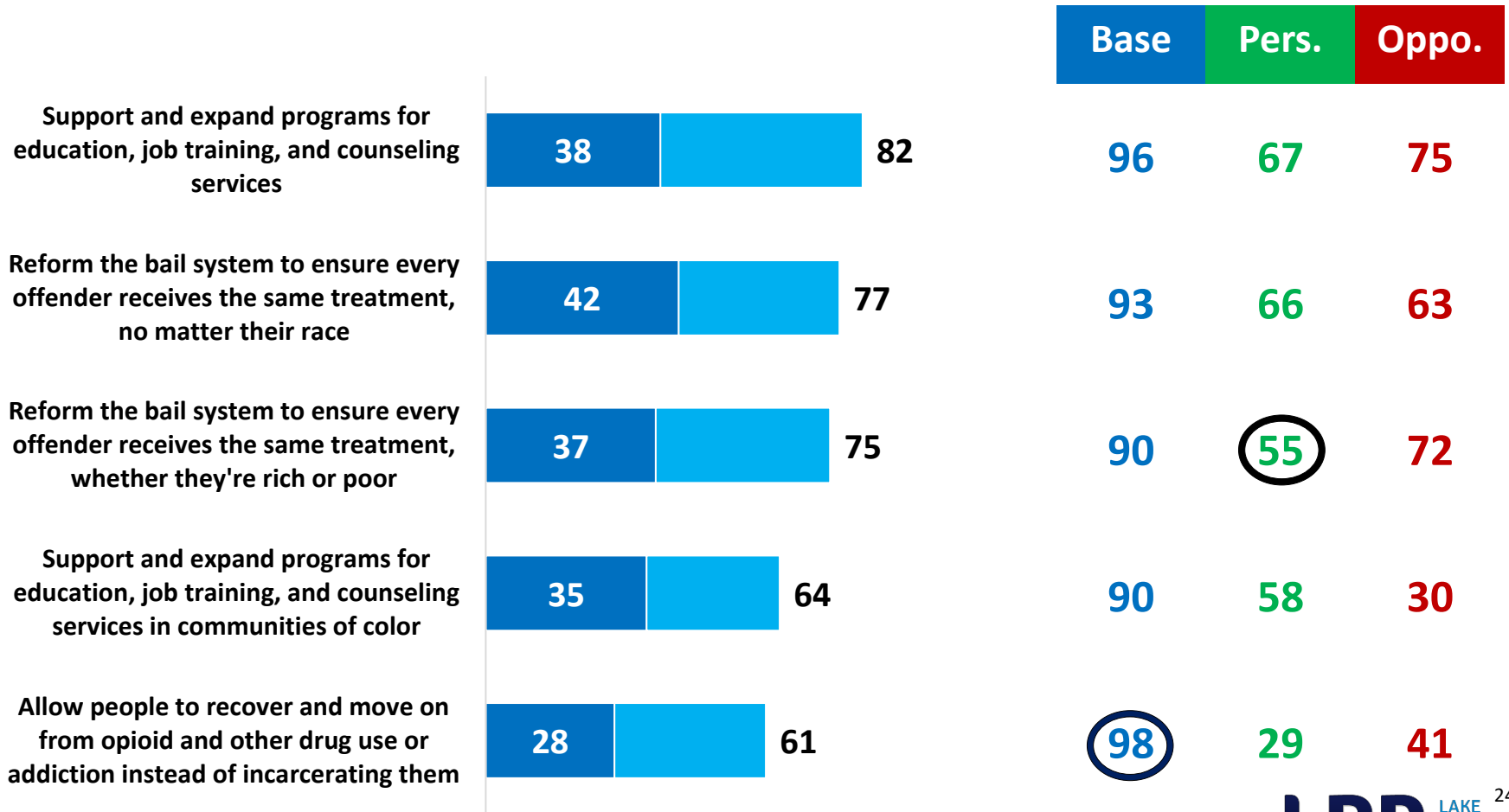
Decades ago, lawmakers decided to make having drugs on you a crime and this has destroyed people's lives and torn families apart. Private prisons lobby politicians to inflict punishment on people without power because more prisoners means more profits. People with drug convictions need treatment, not jail time



Ohioans favor expanding education, job training, and counseling services, and reforming the bail system. Base adults favor all policies at high levels.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Total 6-10

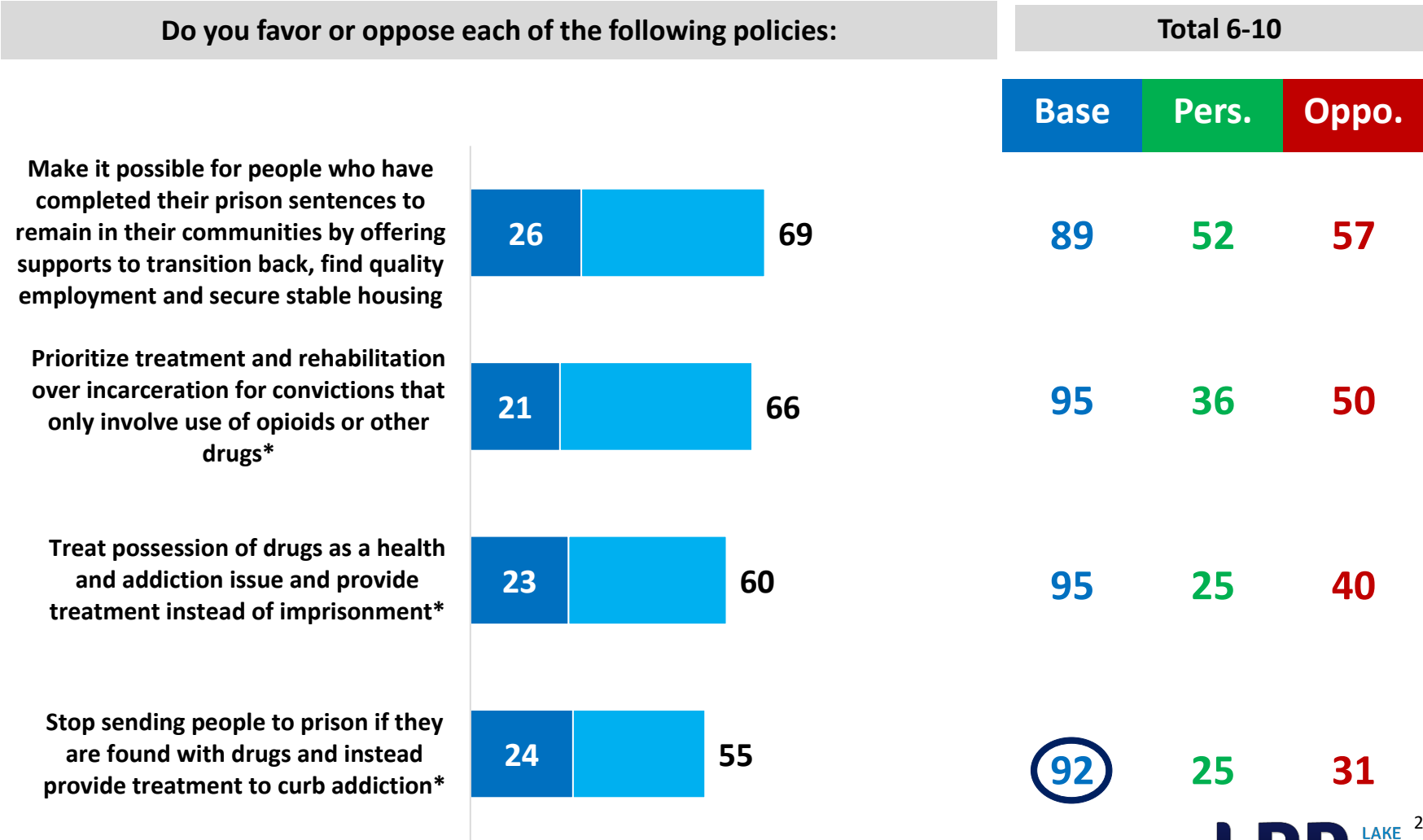


Strongly Favor: 10

Total Favor: 6-10

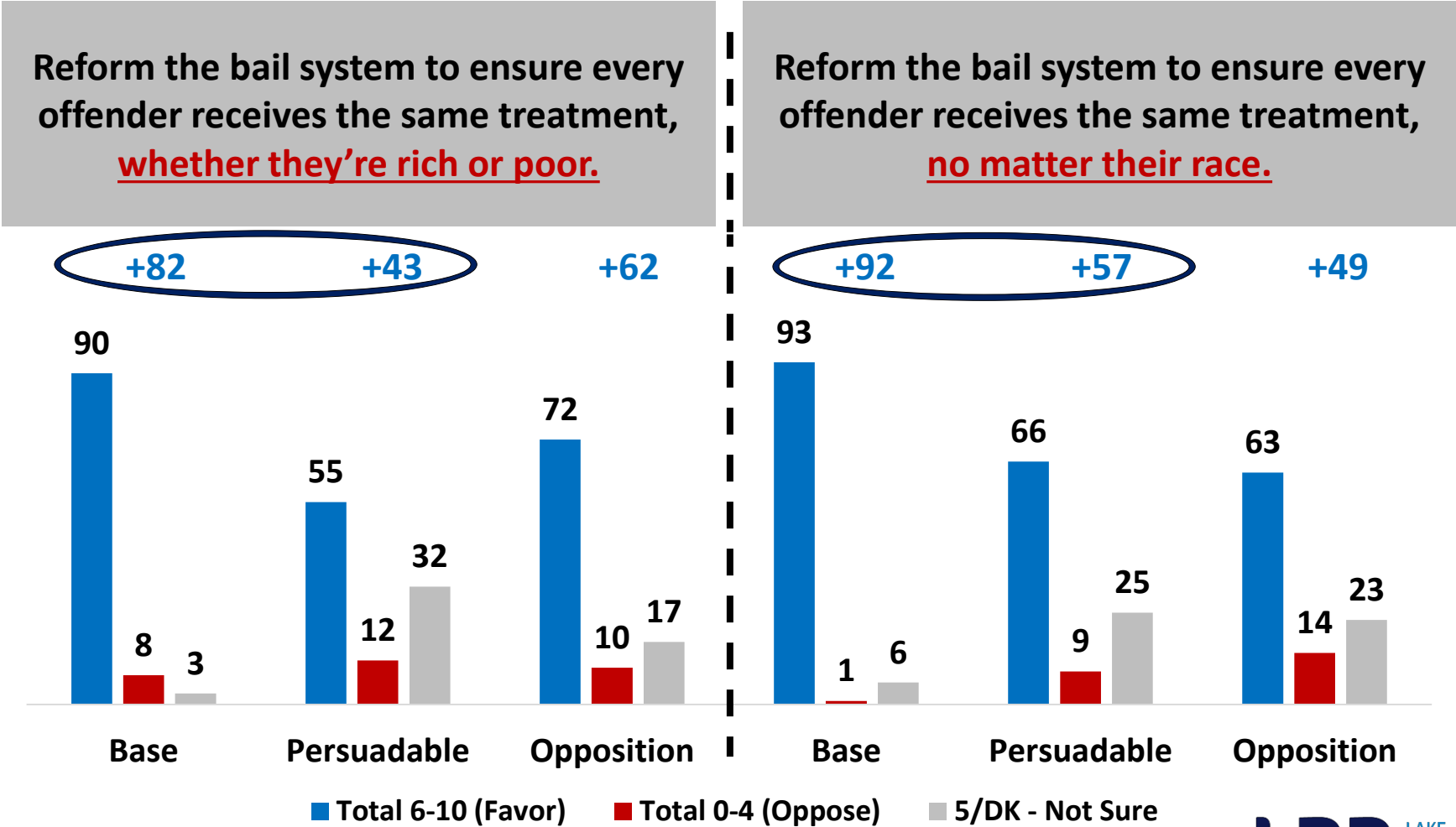
Split Sampled

There is weaker support for treating drug possession as a health and addiction issue and providing treatment to people if they are found with drugs instead of sending them to jail. Persuadables are more like opposition adults on these issues.



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

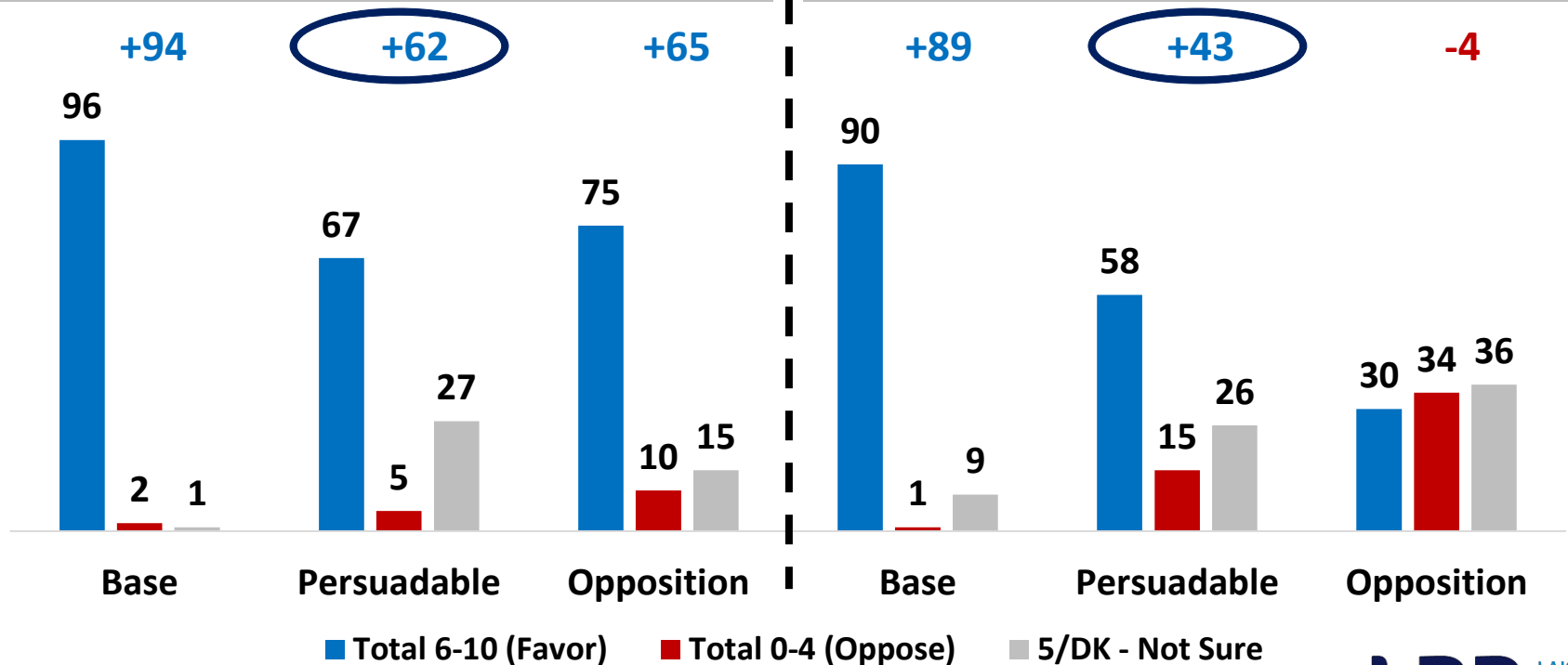
Support for reforming the bail system is stronger with persuadables when we call attention to race.



However, calls for expanded programs weaker with persuadables when specified for communities of color

Support and expand programs for education, job training, and counseling services.

Support and expand programs for education, job training, and counseling services in communities of color.



Split Sampled

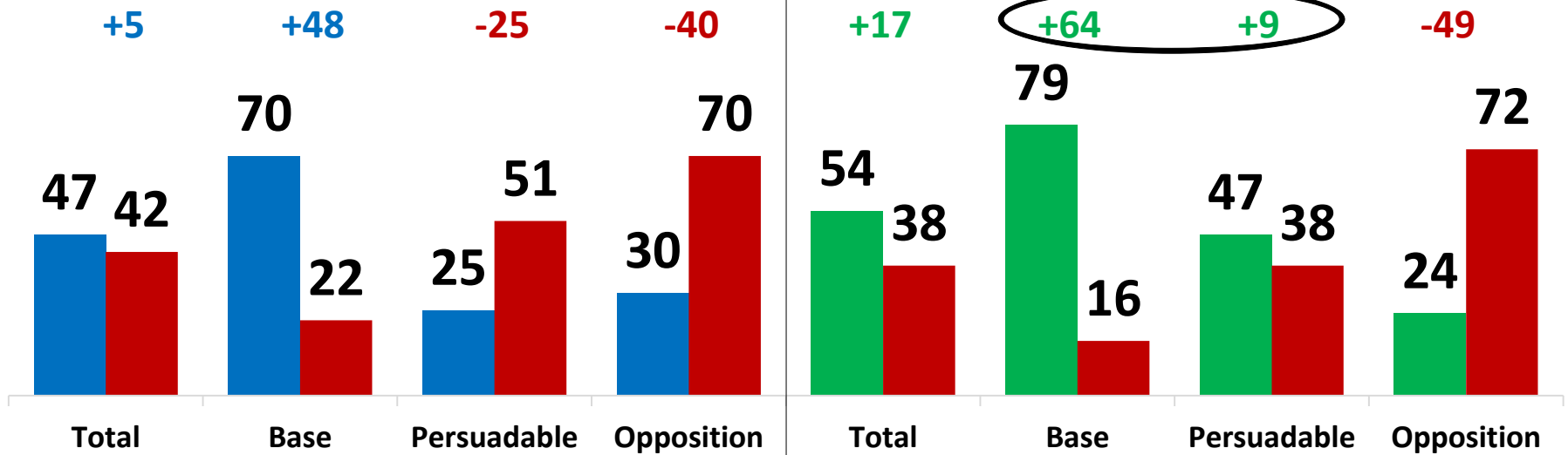
Evoking Ohio identity helps build support for focusing on people's health and wellbeing instead of putting people in prisons with both base and Persuadables.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

Government programs create more problems than they solve and do not prevent people from making bad decisions. When someone commits a crime, they should be punished, not coddled. We need to prioritize innocent people who do not break the law, and protect them from those who do

For our communities to thrive, we need to support people's health and well-being, not build more and larger prisons. When we treat minor offenses with proven programs, we have funds left over for education, job training, and counseling services that create safer, stronger communities

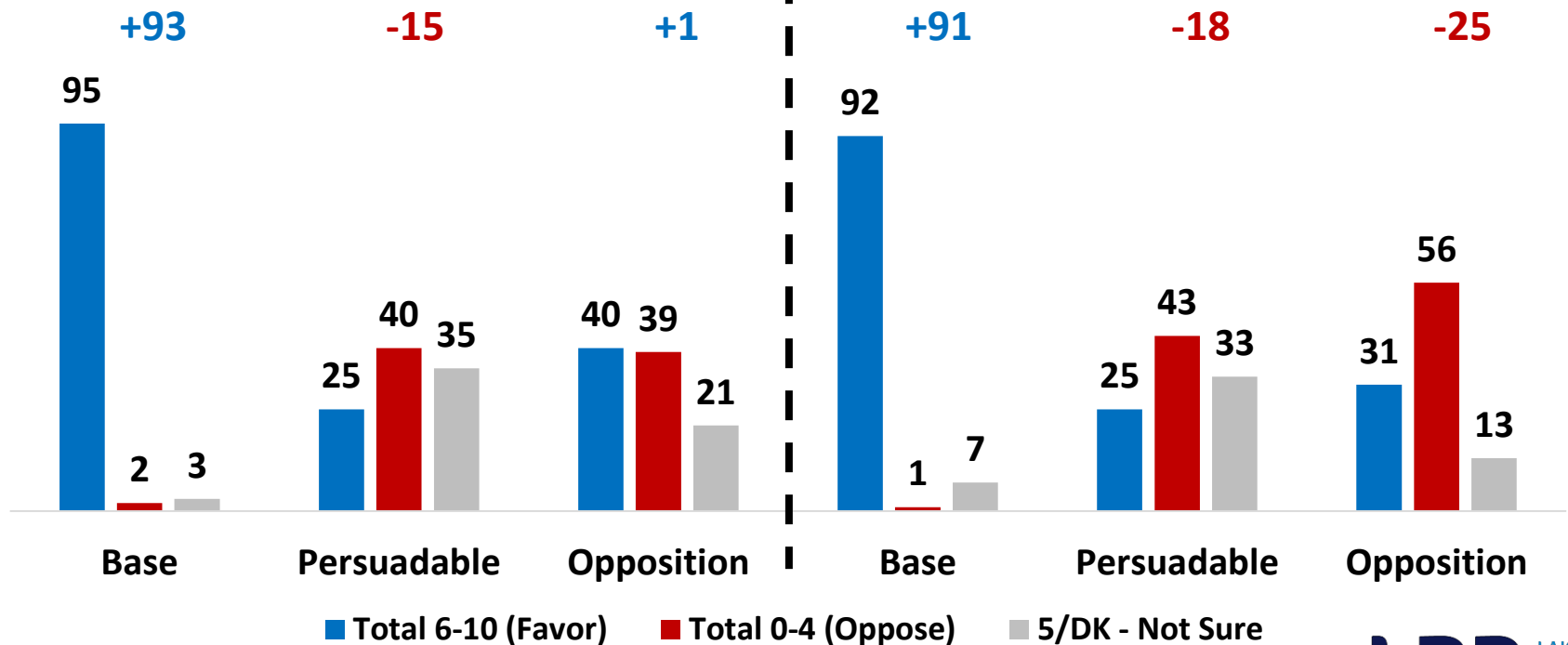
Ohio is only as strong as our cities, towns, and villages. For our communities to thrive, we need to support people's health and well-being, not build more and larger prisons. When we treat minor offenses with proven programs, we have funds left over for education, job training, and counseling services that create safer, stronger communities



Base adults strongly favor treating addiction instead of sending people with addiction to prison. Persuadable adults are more likely undecided than others.

Treat possession of drugs as a health and addiction issue and provide treatment instead of imprisonment.

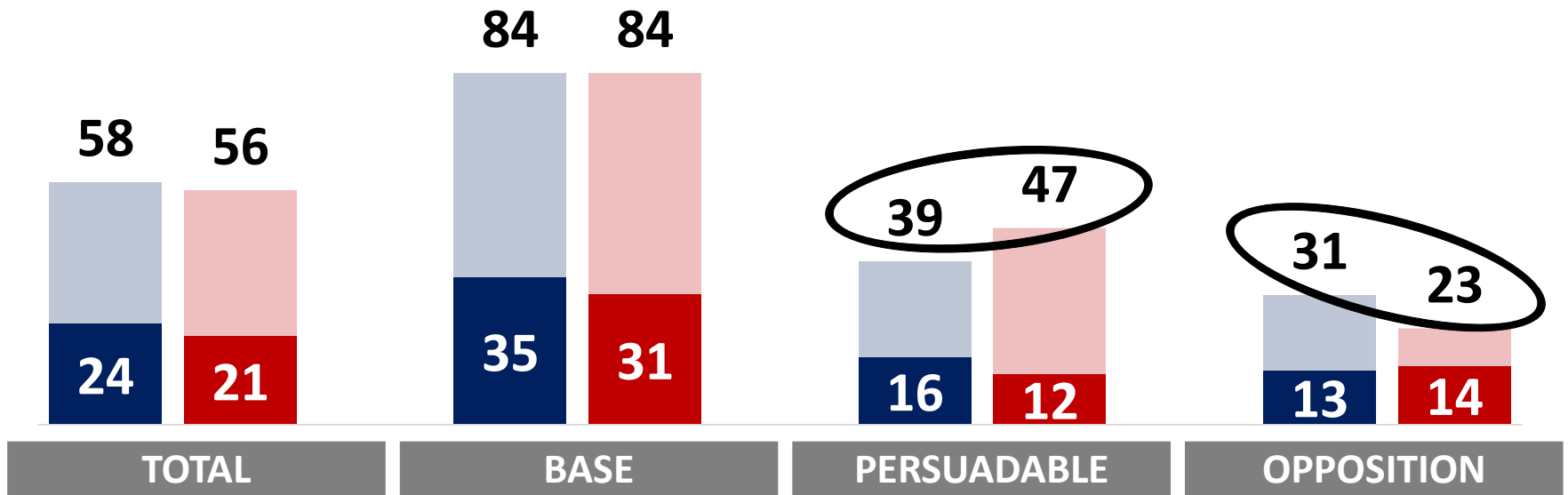
Stop sending people to prison if they are found with drugs and instead provide treatment to curb addiction.



Focusing on “addiction” instead of opioid or drug use is stronger with persuadables and alienates the opposition.

The media reports on opioid use in white communities differently than it reports on drug use in communities of color

The media reports on addiction in white communities differently than it reports on addiction in communities of color



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

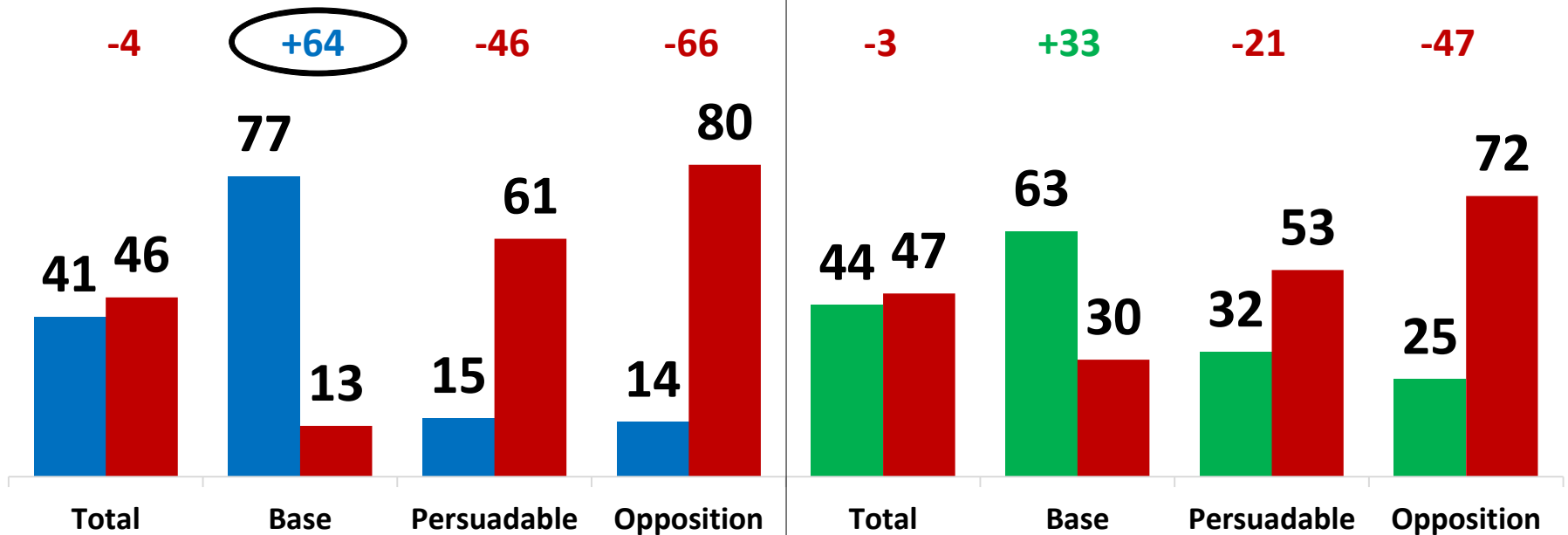
Base adults are more sympathetic to those who suffer from addiction. Persuadables and opposition adults tend to believe that our bail system protects us by keeping criminals out of communities.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We should punish criminals and deter others from committing crimes. Our bail system protects all of us by keeping criminals out of our communities while they await trial

No one should have their freedom taken because they suffer from addiction. We need to change our bail system, which targets communities of color in particular, so people with addiction get treatment instead of jail time

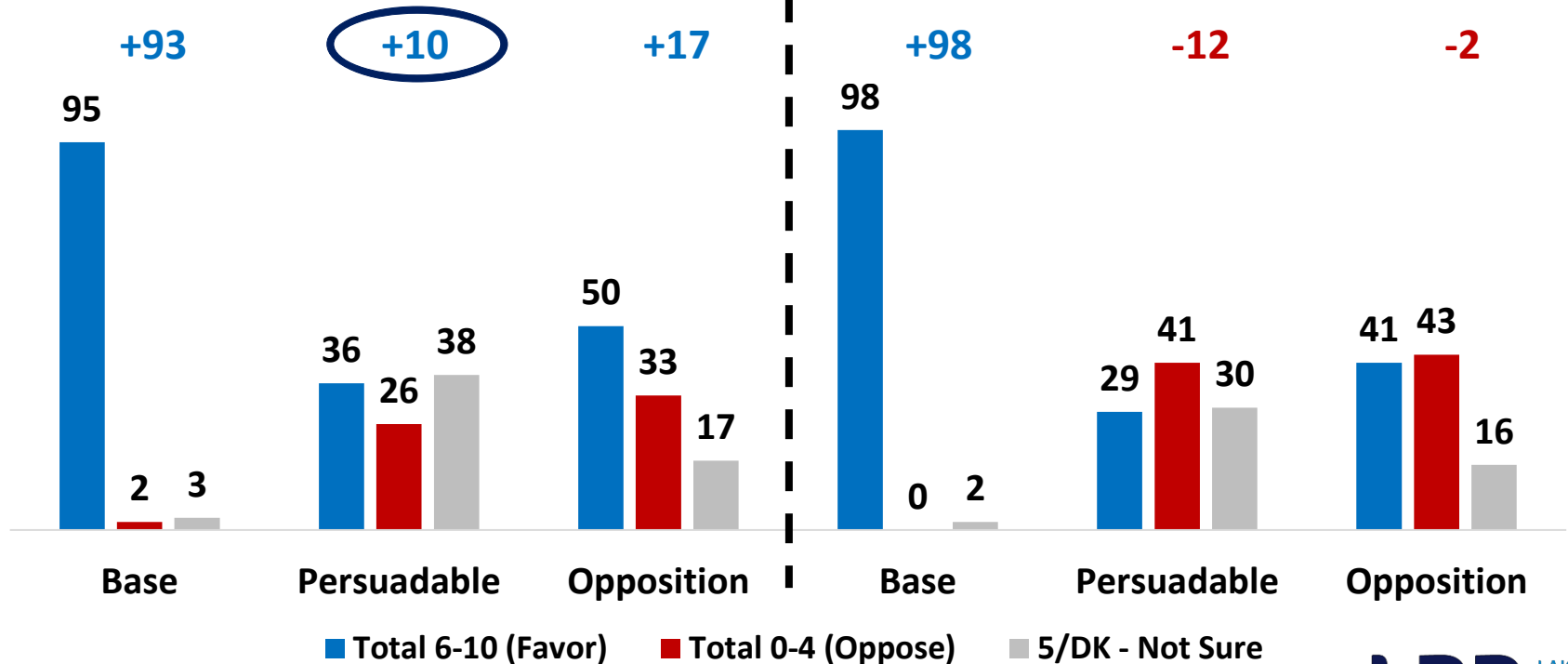
No one should have their freedom taken because they are broke. We need to change our bail system, which targets communities of color in particular, so only people who are truly a safety risk are held



Persuadables respond more to prioritizing treatment and rehabilitation over incarceration, than they do to allowing people to recover and move on.

Prioritize treatment and rehabilitation over incarceration for convictions that only involve use of opioids or other drugs

Allow people to recover and move on from opioid and other drug use or addiction instead of incarcerating them



Split Sampled

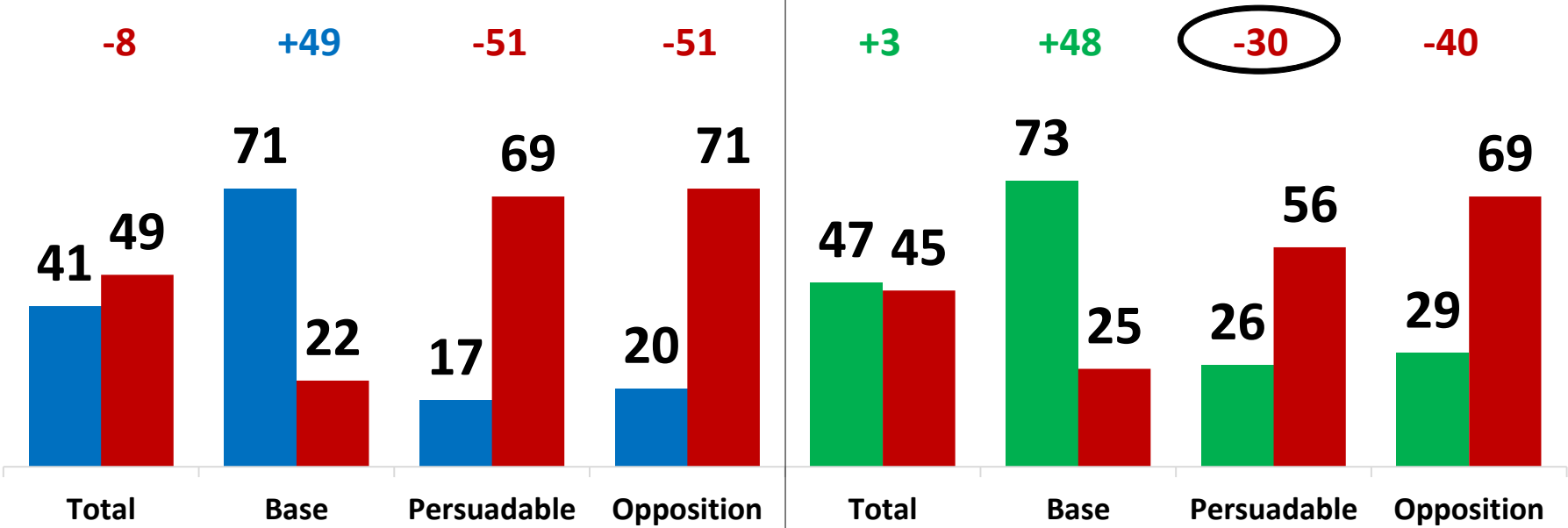
Improving communities is a better argument for providing treatment and counseling than one based on tax savings.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

If we want to make our communities safer, we should protect innocent people from criminals who break the law and are a threat to others. Decisions have consequences, and committing a crime deserves an appropriate punishment

Providing treatment and counseling for people with addiction and low-level offenders keeps families together, ensures people keep their jobs, and channels our tax dollars toward community betterment and not harsh punishment

Providing treatment and counseling for people with addiction and low-level offenders keeps families together, ensures people keep their jobs, and improves our communities better than harsh punishments



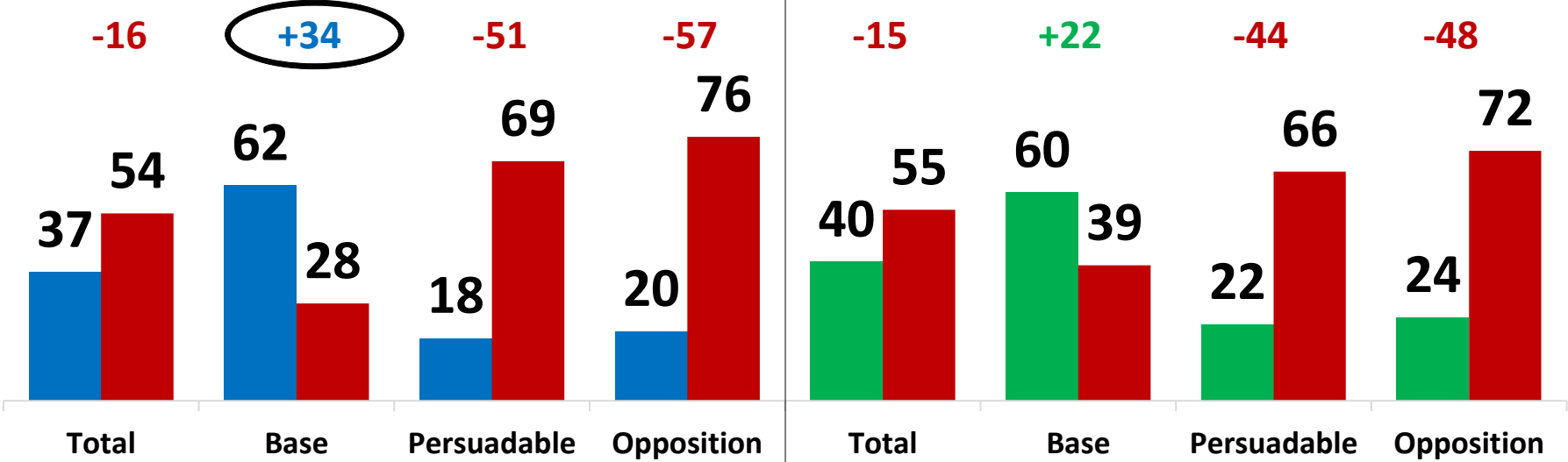
Ohioans tend to believe that when someone commits a crime we need to uphold justice and deter others. Calling attention to racial disparities helps with base adults.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We need to protect our children and our communities from drugs and the dealers who push them. When someone commits a crime, we need to uphold justice that deters others from criminal activity and sends the message that actions have consequences

We all want our children to grow up safe and able to pursue their dreams. Decades of going after people for drug use has broken families apart, especially in low-income and communities of color. We need to stop separating people from their families for drug use and fund proven treatment and rehabilitation programs

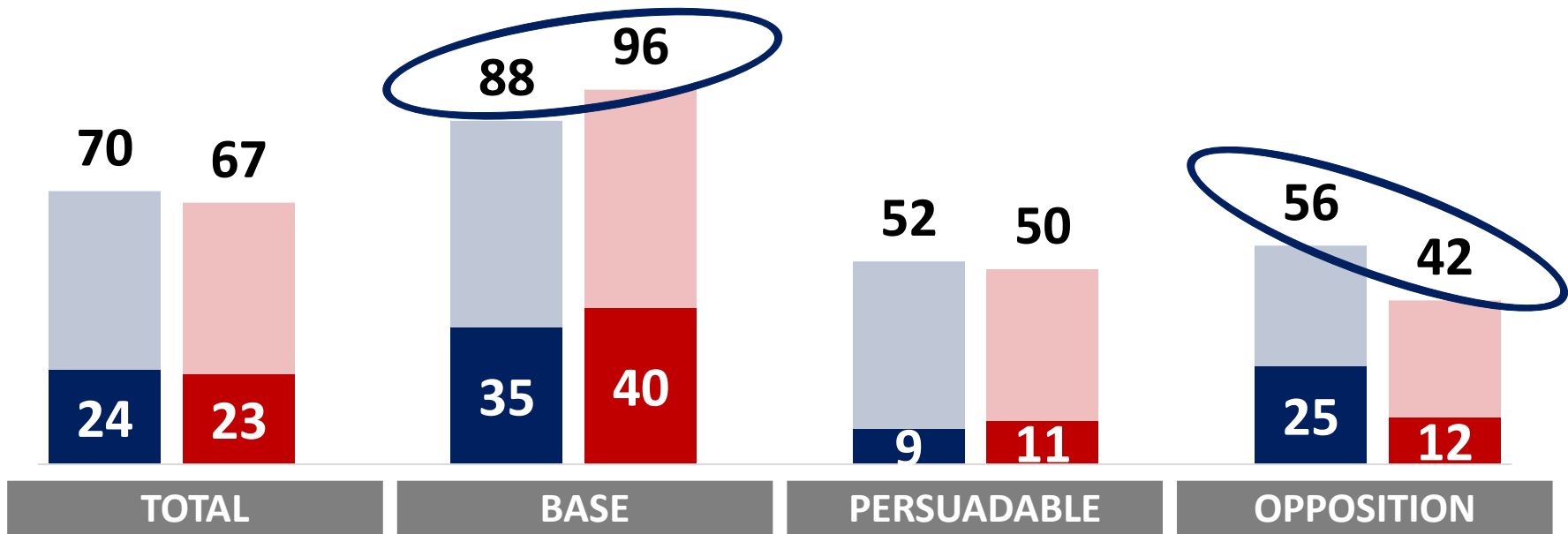
We all want our children to grow up safe and able to pursue their dreams. Decades of going after people for using drugs has broken families apart. We need to stop separating people from their families for drug use and fund proven treatment and rehabilitation programs



In the context of the opioid crisis, coming together to “overcome the challenges” is a better call to action with base adults.

By coming together, we can find solutions to the opioid crisis that is affecting so many communities

By coming together, we can overcome the challenges of the opioid crisis that is affecting so many communities



  Total Agree: 6-10
  Strongly Agree: 10

Split Sampled



Base adults have more concerns about racism than racial fear, and bias against Black people over bias against African Americans. They also have concerns about reverse racism, but less concerns about discrimination against whites, which is a top concern for opposition adults. Persuadables have lower concerns across the board.

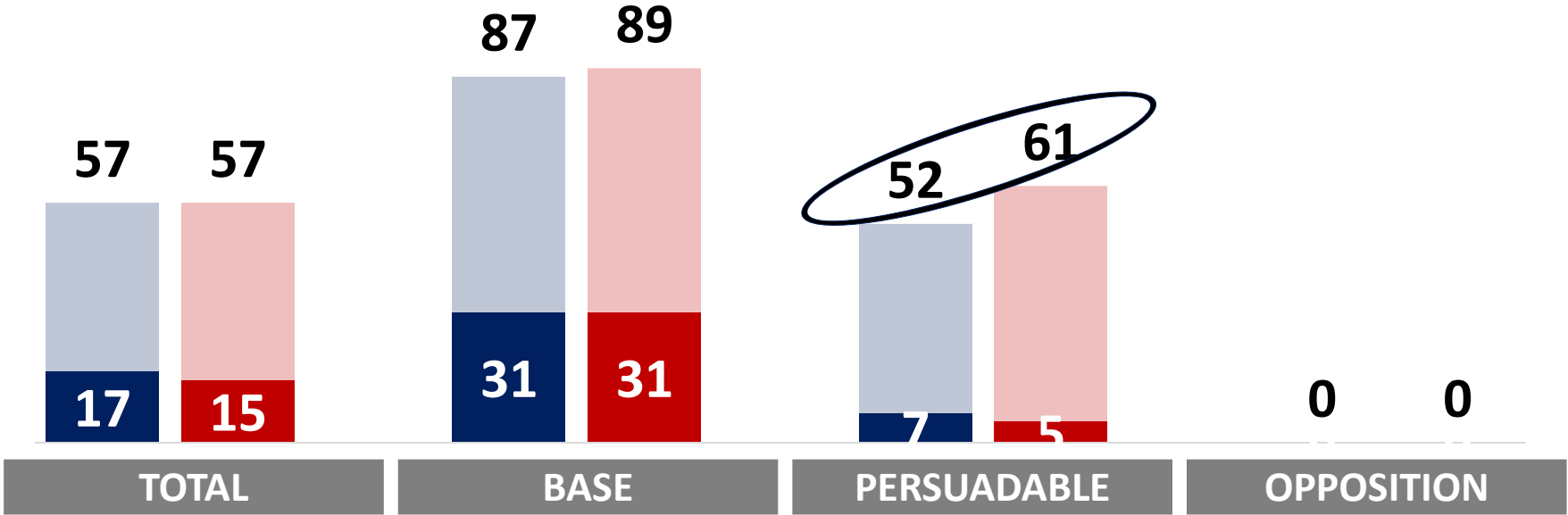
How concerned are you personally about each of the following on a scale of 0 to 10?

[Very Concerned 8-10, Concerned Shown]	All	B	O	P
Racism	61	84	38	42
Racial Fear	42	69	12	31
Bias against Black people	52	77	24	36
Bias against African Americans	43	67	8	39
Bias against Latinos	42	63	21	25
Bias against Hispanics	38	66	5	29
Reverse Racism	49	61	42	38
Discrimination against whites	46	45	62	39
Prejudice against Muslims	42	66	17	26
Prejudice against people who are Muslim	43	75	4	34
Fear of people who are Muslims	38	55	21	28
Fear of Muslims	42	55	24	36

Persuadable adults are more likely to agree that “African Americans” face greater obstacles to economic success than whites. This is a core divide as opposition adults reject this notion.

Black people face greater obstacles to economic success than whites

African Americans face greater obstacles to economic success than whites



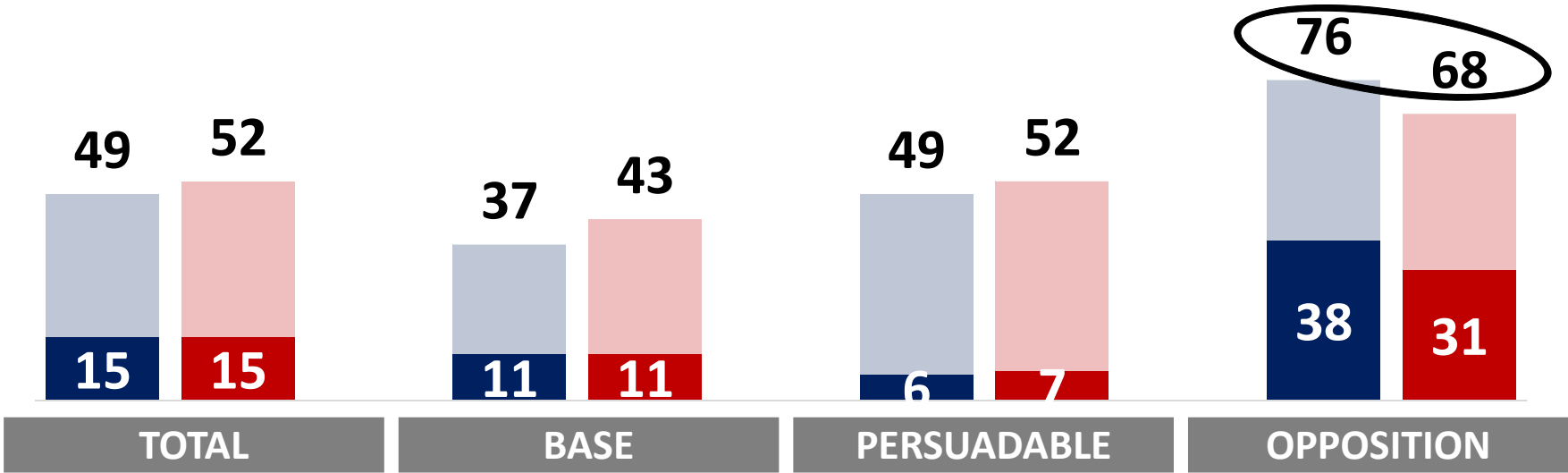
Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Opposition adults believe that African Americans and Latinos who cannot get ahead are mostly 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



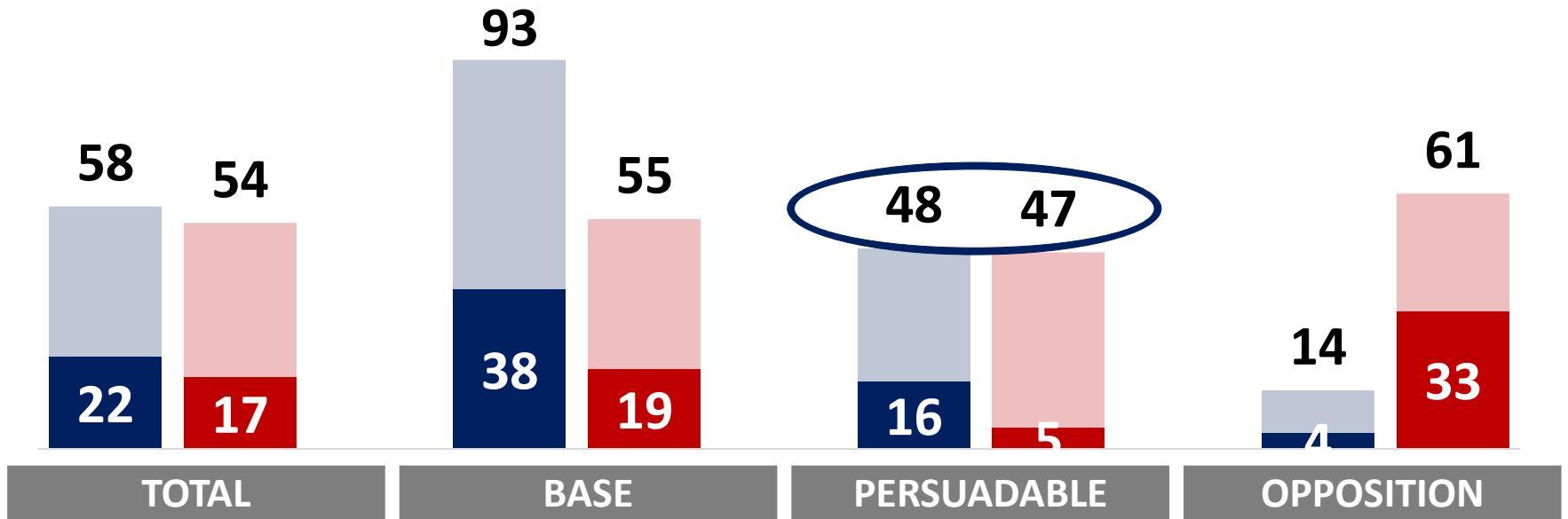
Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Base adults believe that focusing on race is necessary to move forward to greater equality while opposition adults believe it doesn't fix anything and may even make things worse. Persuadables agree with both statements but with weak intensity.

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

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



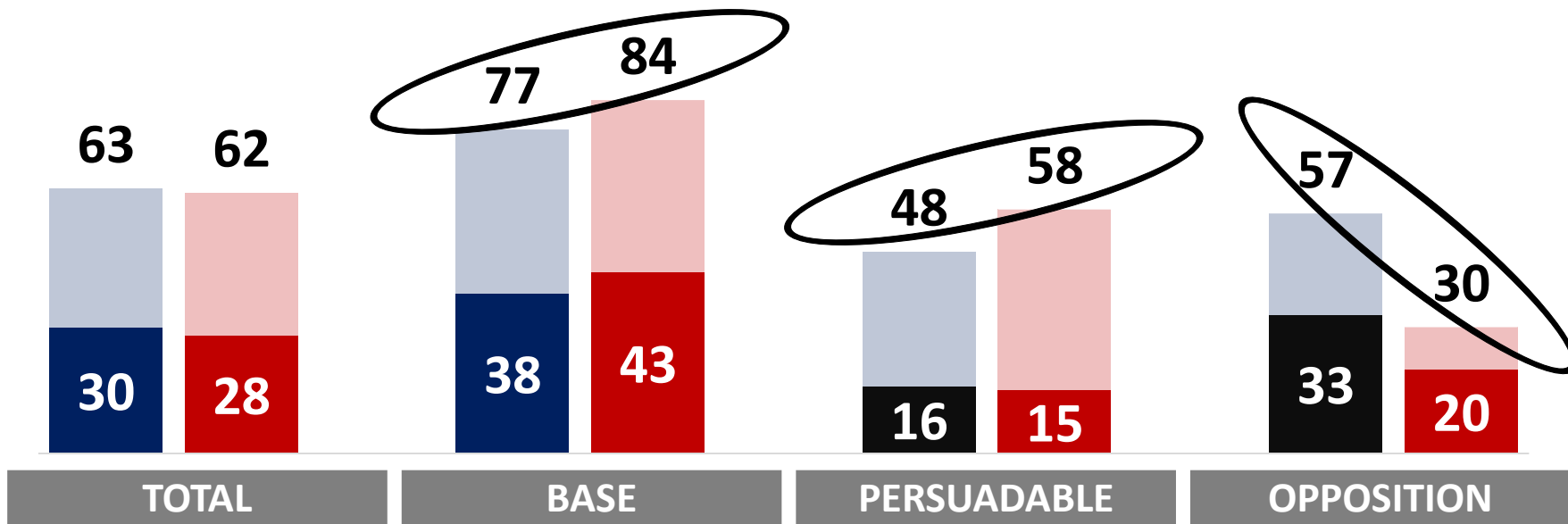


Values and Language

Base and persuadables are more likely to agree that the powerful benefit by “distracting” the rest of us, which also alienates the opposition. This differs from adults nationally.

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

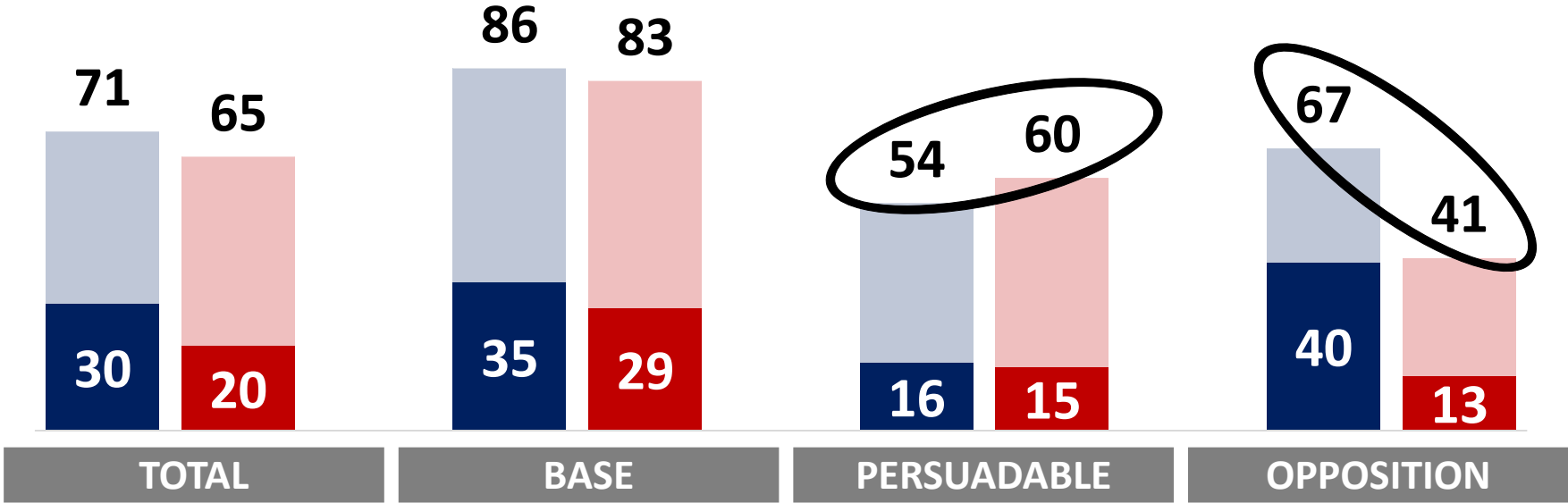
The powerful benefit by distracting the rest of us while they rig the economic rules to benefit themselves



The container metaphor of “box[ing] people in” is stronger with persuadables and alienates the opposition.

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

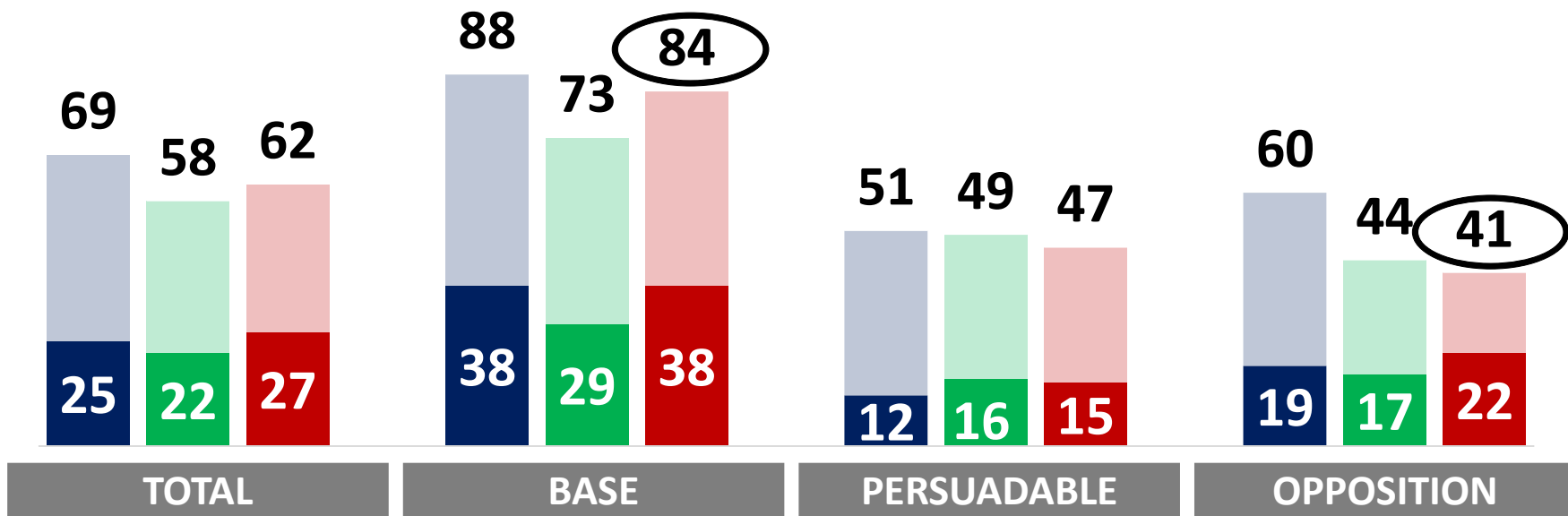
 Strongly Agree: 10

All audiences are more likely to agree that the “greedy few” have rigged the economic rules in their favor. “Greedy and powerful bosses” alienates the opposition. Saying they have rigged the game at the expense of Ohioans working hard to make ends meet alienates the opposition as well, but performs worse with the base.

The greedy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor

The greedy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor at the expense of Ohioans working hard to make ends meet

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



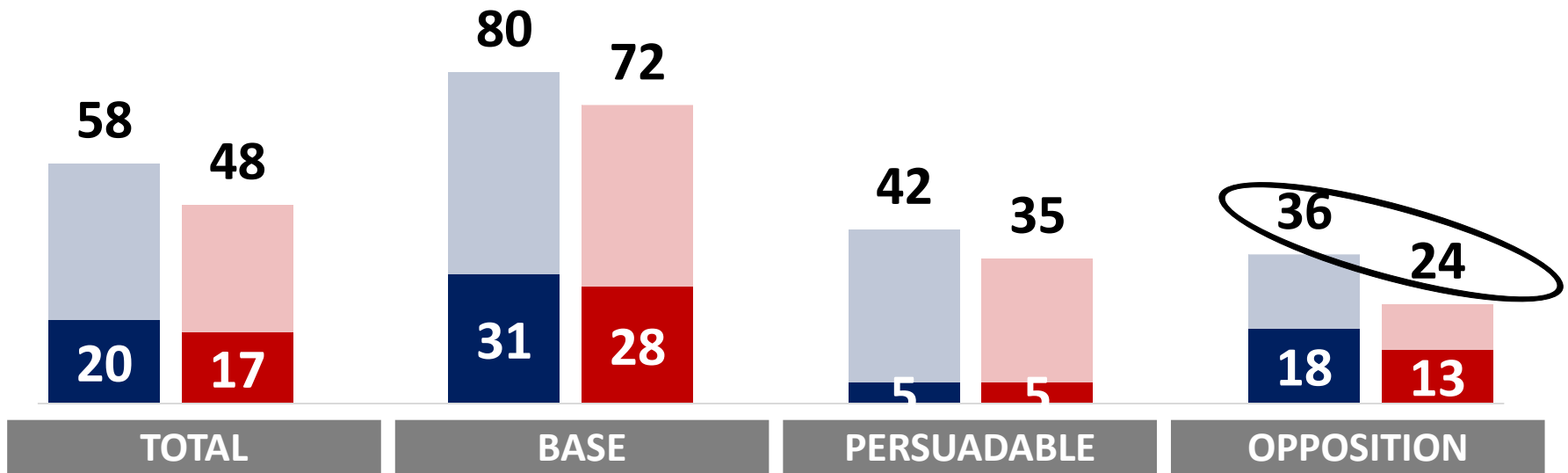
Total Agree: 6-10

Strongly Agree: 10

All audiences are more likely to agree with a divide and conquer frame around blaming “poor people.” Saying “people of color” alienates the opposition the most.

Wealthy special interests benefit when they can turn us against government support by shaming and blaming poor people for the economic hardships many of us face

Wealthy special interests benefit when they can turn us against government support by shaming and blaming people of color for the economic hardships many of us face



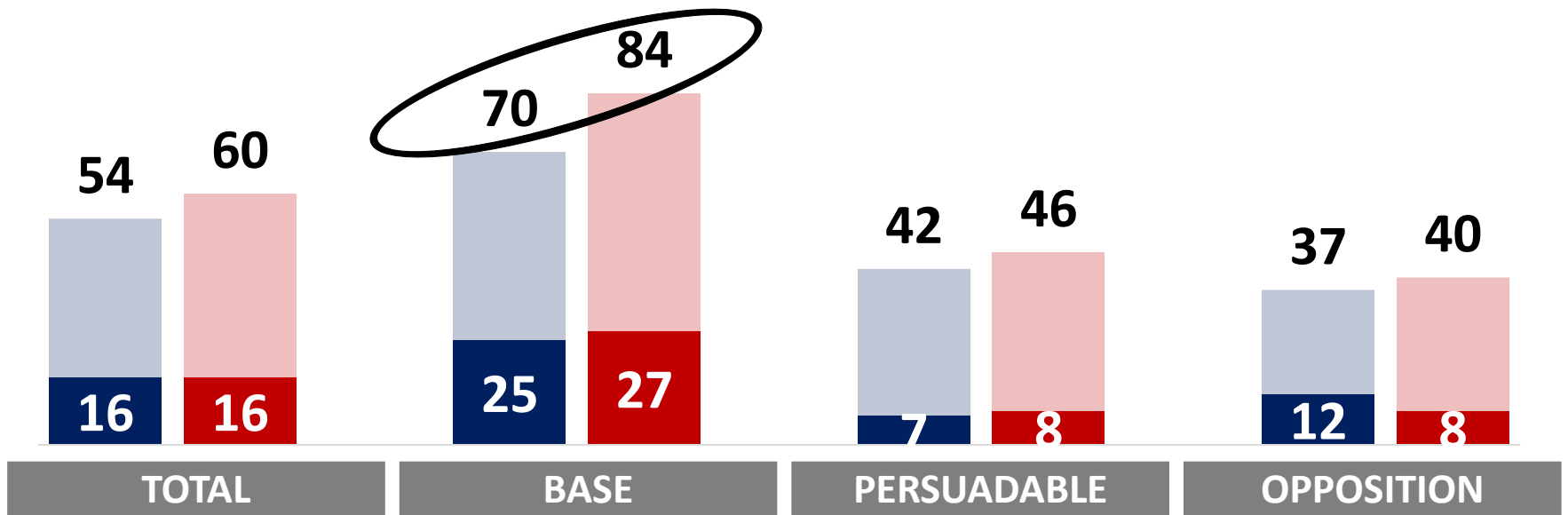
Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

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

Labor unions improve the lives of working people

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

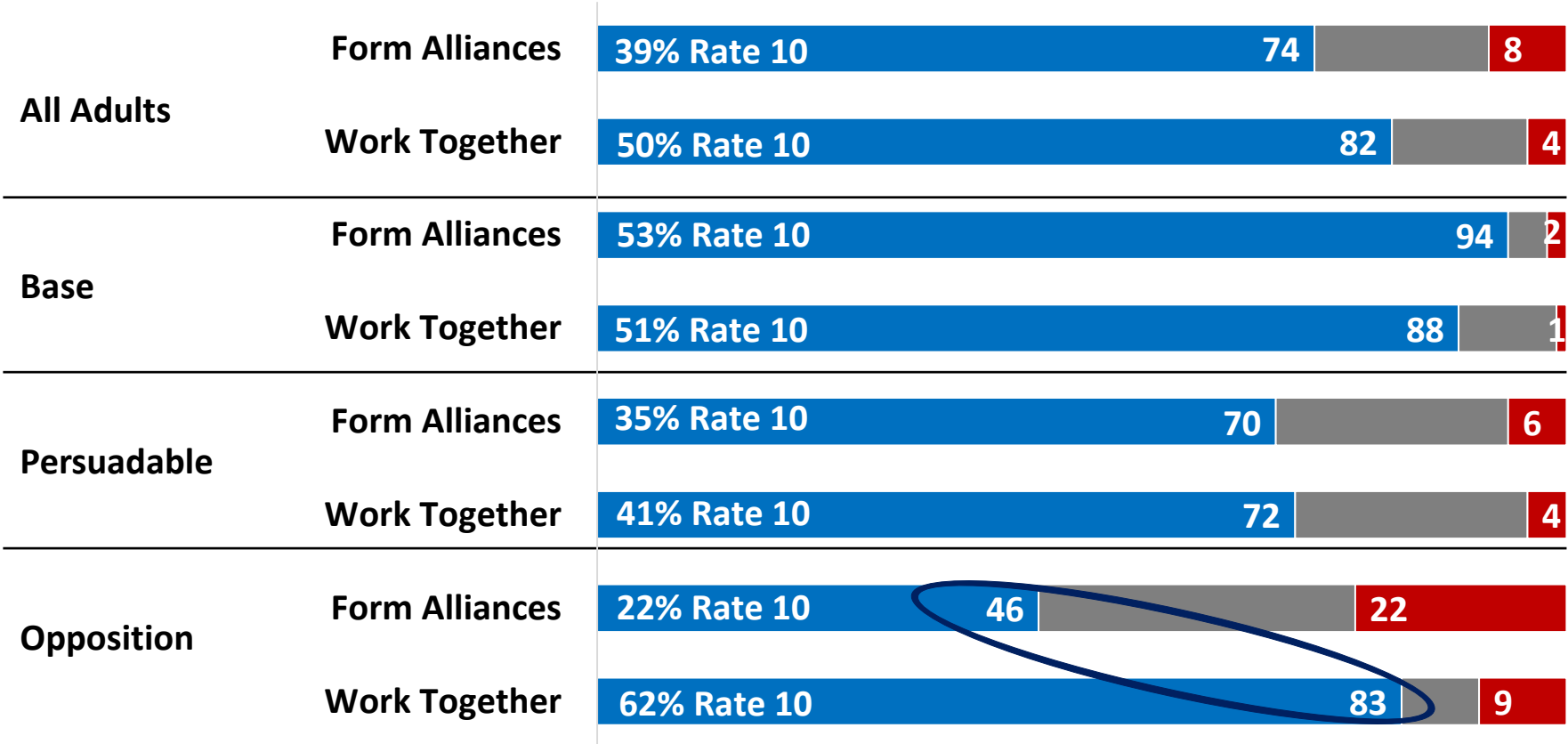


Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Base adults are more likely to think it is important to “form alliances” across racial differences. This language alienates opposition adults who are more likely to think it is important to work together.

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



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

Split Sampled



Messaging

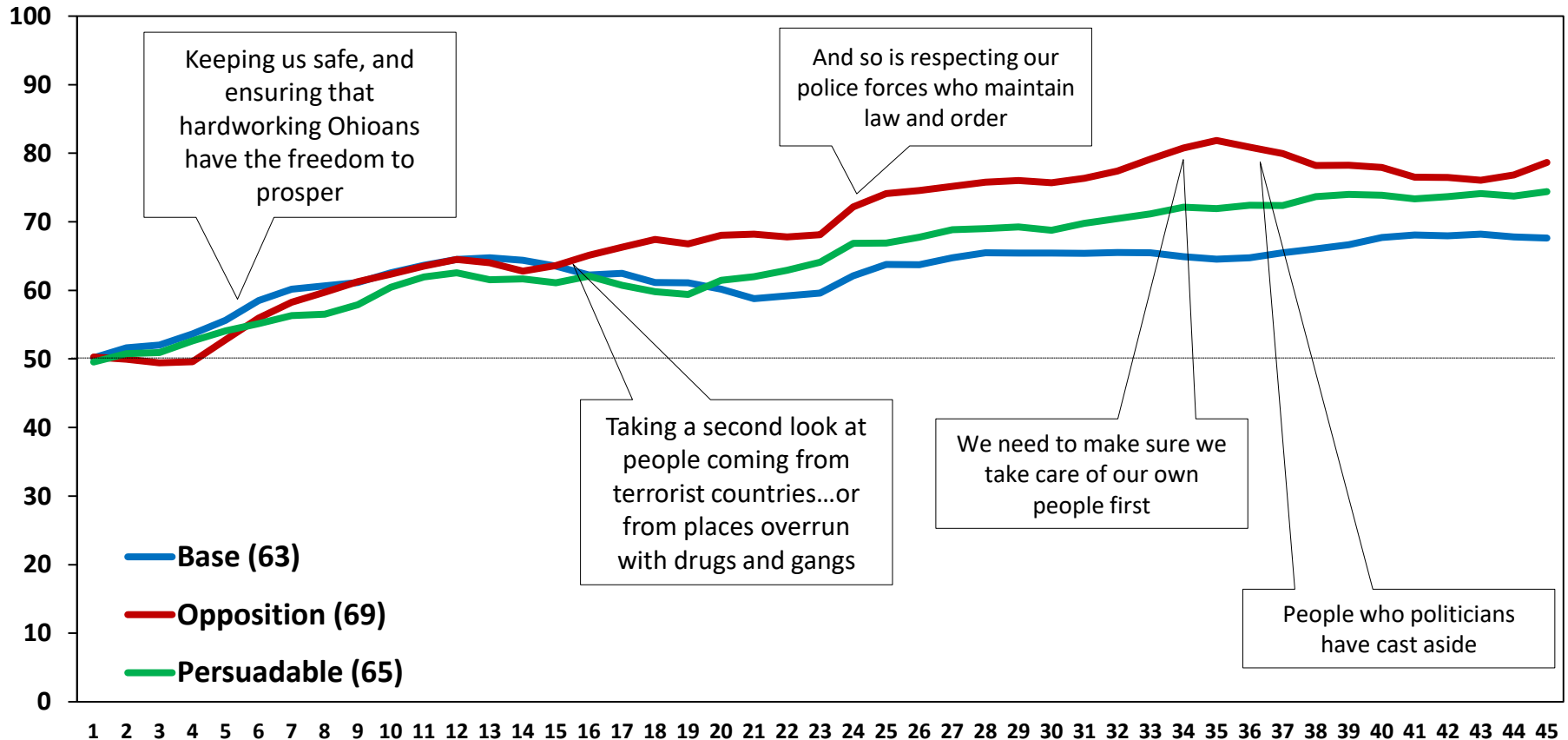
Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Base Convincing Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating				Mean Dial Rating				Mean Share Rating			
	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O
Future – AA Woman Voice	66	83	60	46	61	69	59	49	54	73	41	31
Working People	65	81	63	40	60	70	57	46	56	75	41	30
Ohio’s Strength – Divide	71	80	73	54	64	70	63	55	55	67	48	36
Can Do – No More Blame	68	80	62	53	62	67	60	56	57	69	46	42
Divide – Come Together	69	79	67	56	66	71	64	60	51	66	43	27
Reform System - Reflective	69	78	64	55	63	70	59	56	59	72	47	40
Future – White Woman	66	76	61	49	63	68	60	56	55	64	42	40
Colorblind Economic Populist	65	76	61	48	61	66	58	53	52	66	40	36
Ohio’s Strength – Matter	68	74	66	59	65	68	63	62	56	68	45	40
Come Together – With Race	65	74	61	56	64	68	63	59	51	66	35	35
Opposition	65	60	68	71	65	63	65	69	52	55	50	48

Opposition

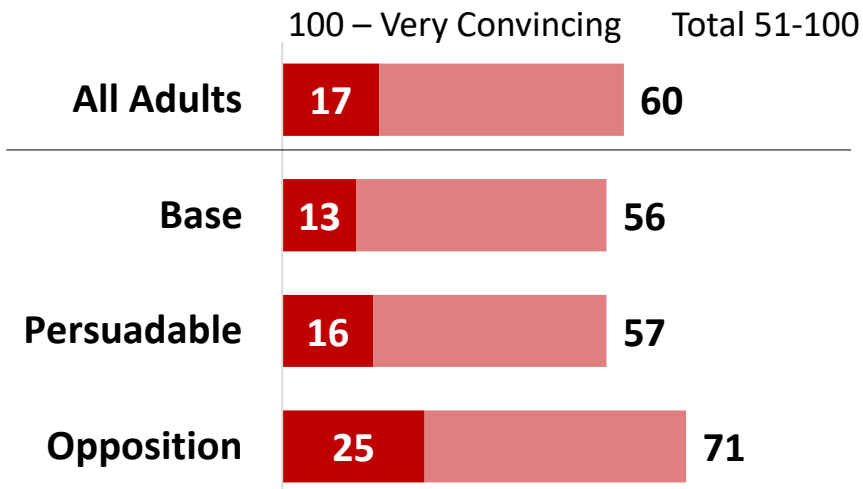


Our leaders must prioritize keeping us safe and ensuring that hard working Ohioans have the freedom to prosper. Taking a second look at people coming from terrorist countries who wish us harm or at people from places overrun with drugs and gangs is just common sense. And so is respecting our police forces who maintain law and order, and protect our communities from dangerous criminals. 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.

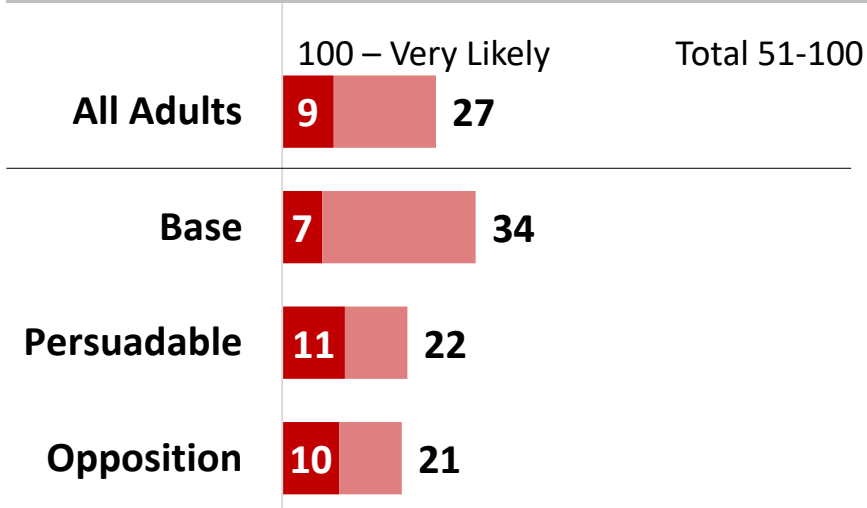


Opposition

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS (for them)

- ✓ Quick take off on “keeping us safe and ensuring that hard working Ohioans have the freedom to prosper.”
- ✓ Strong convincing ratings among opposition and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition dials up on “taking a second look at people...is just common sense.”
- ✓ All groups dial up at “respecting our police.”

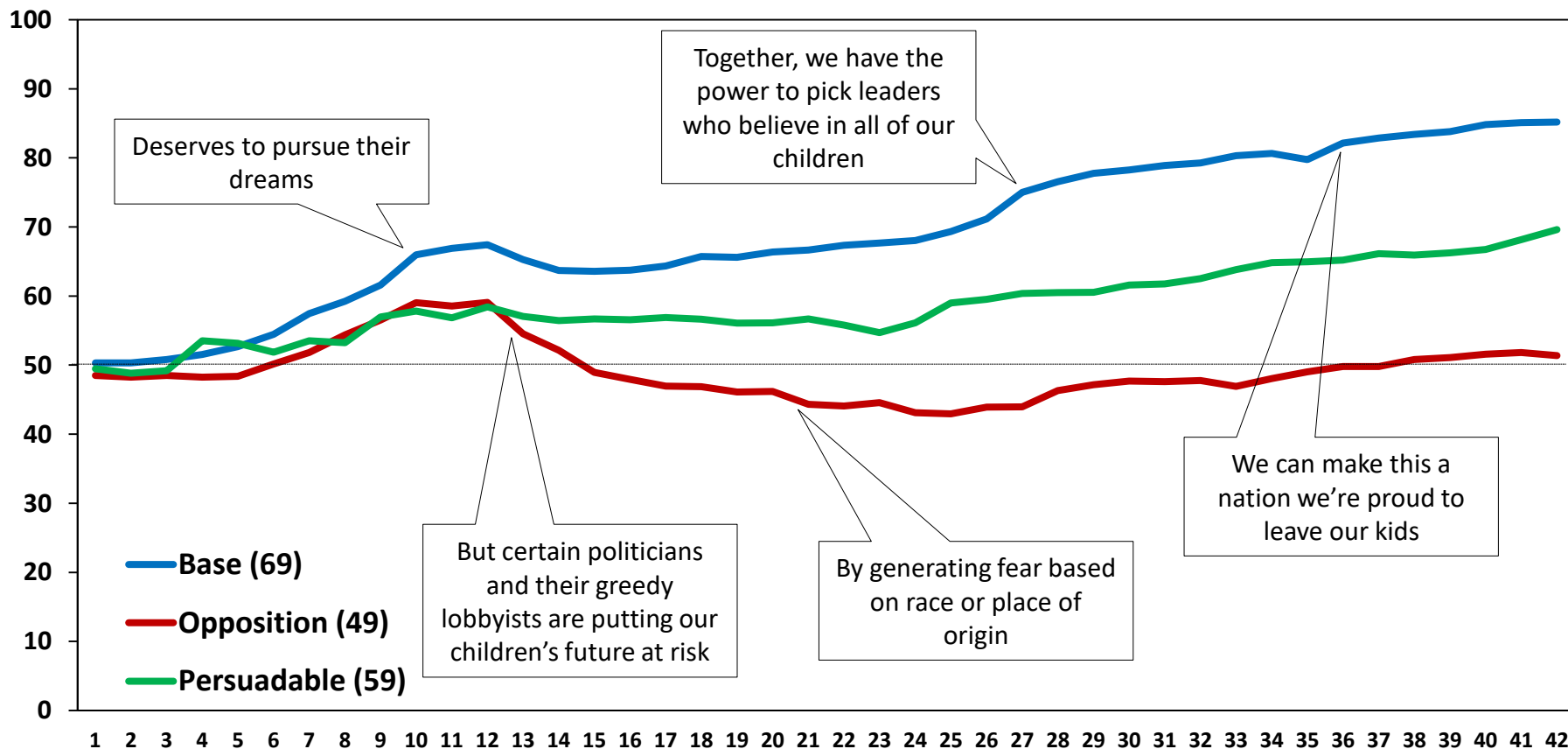
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Opposition dials down at “people who politicians have cast aside.”
- X Weak conscious rating for persuadables.
- X Weak share ratings.

Future – African American Woman Voice

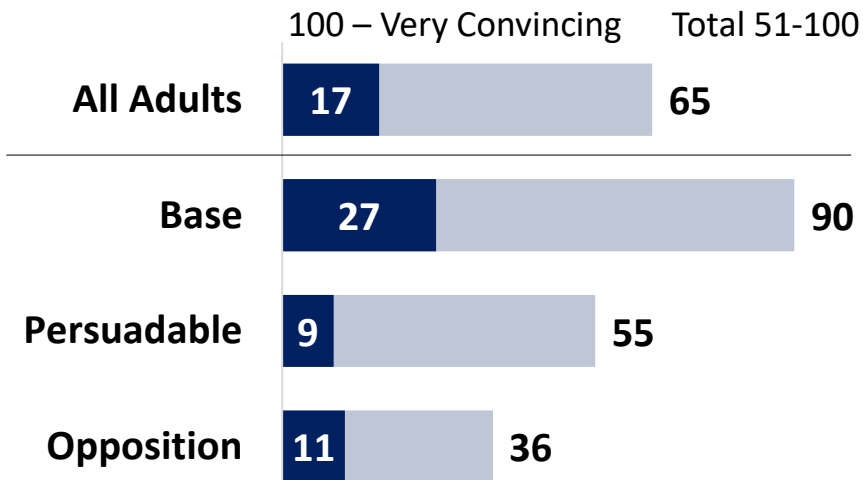


Every child, regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live, deserves to pursue their dreams. But certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk. They rig the rules to enrich themselves, while they distract us by generating fear based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

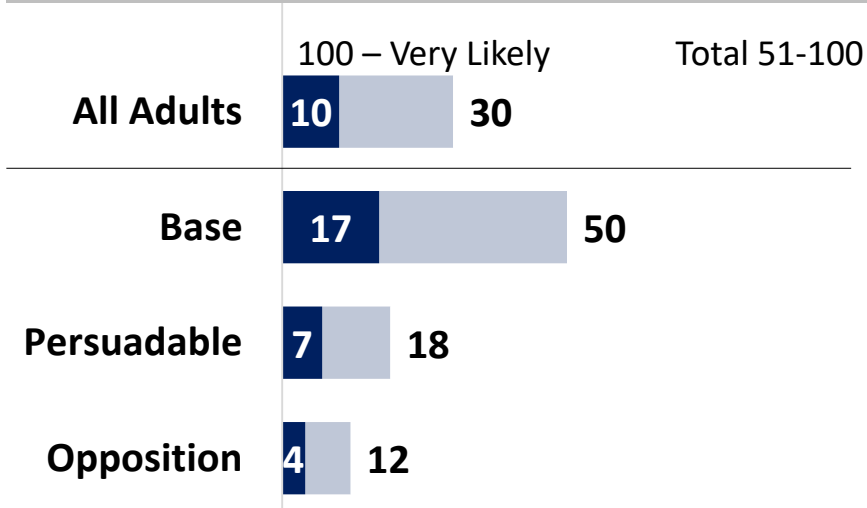


Future – African American Woman Voice

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off with base
- ✓ Strong convincing ratings with base
- ✓ African American messenger alienates the opposition more than a white woman messenger
- ✓ Persuadables dial up around “we can make this a nation we’re proud to leave our kids”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists”

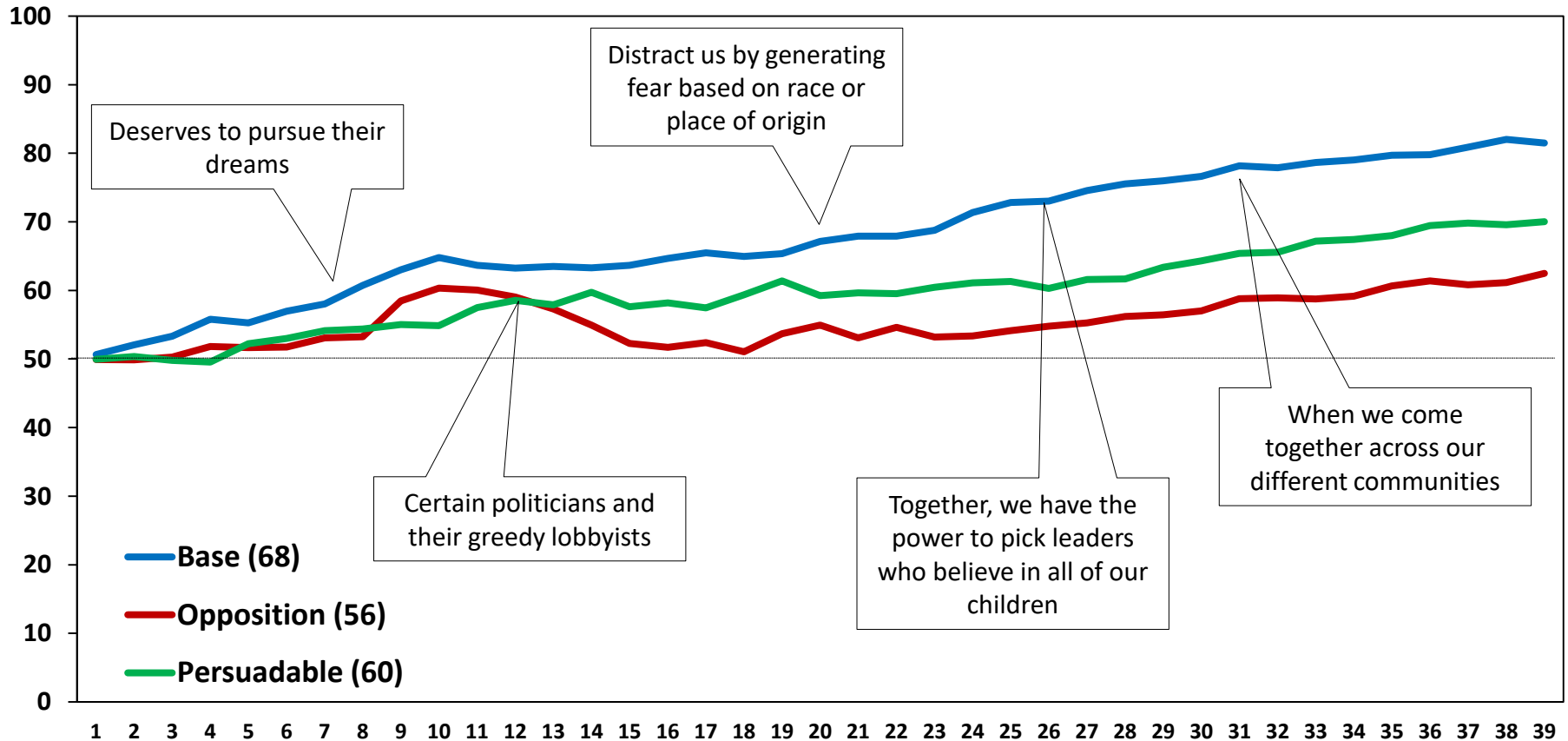
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Base plateaus at “generating fear based on race or place of origin”
- X Weak share ratings
- X Weak convincing rating for persuadables



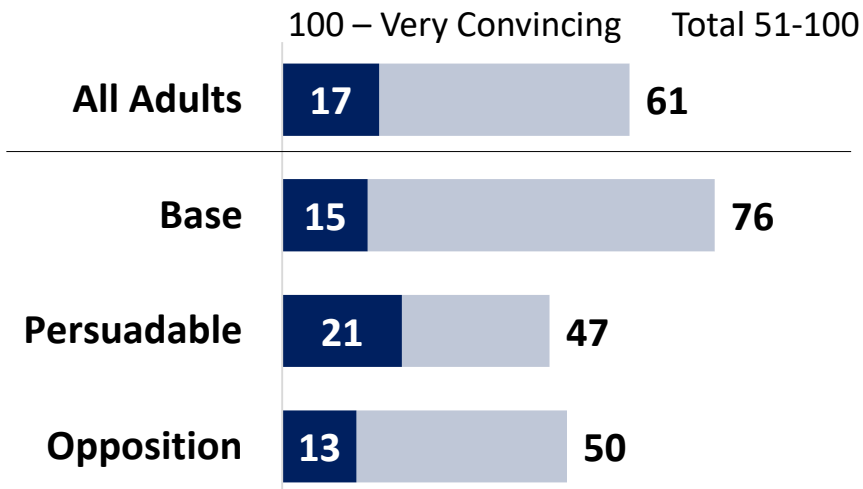
Future – White Woman Voice

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 or place of origin. Together, we have the power to pick leaders who believe in all of our children. When we come together across our different communities, we can make this a nation we’re proud to leave our kids, brimming with the new ideas that come from so many different people working together, for everyone’s benefit.

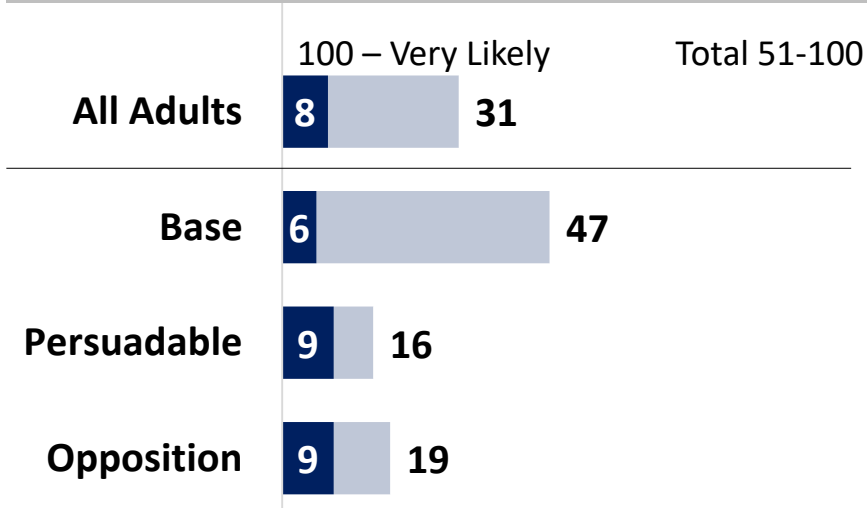


Future – White Woman Voice

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off for base
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists”
- ✓ Base and persuadables motivated by aspirational language, dial up on “together, we have the power to pick leaders,” and “when we come together across our different communities”

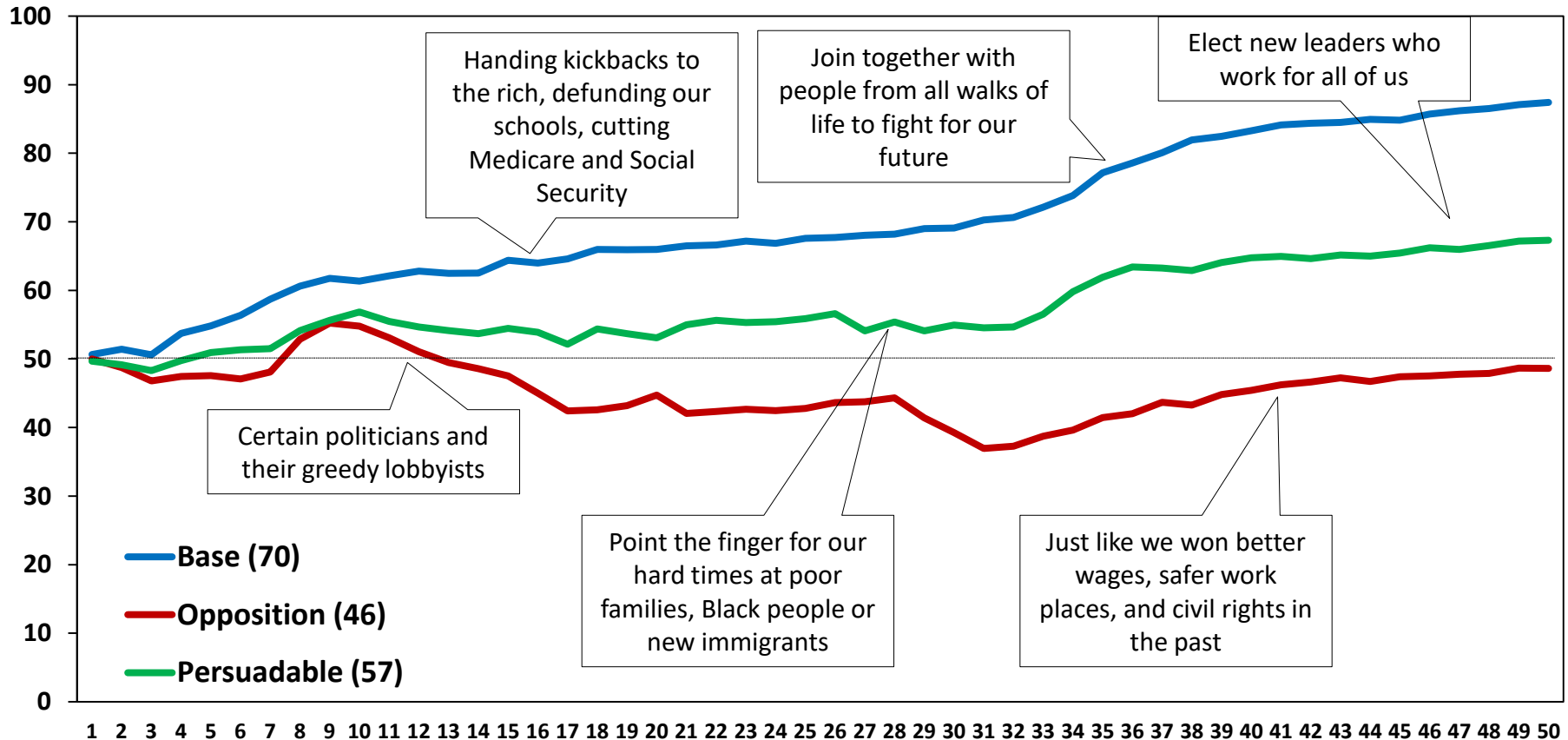
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off for persuadables
- X Weak share ratings across the board



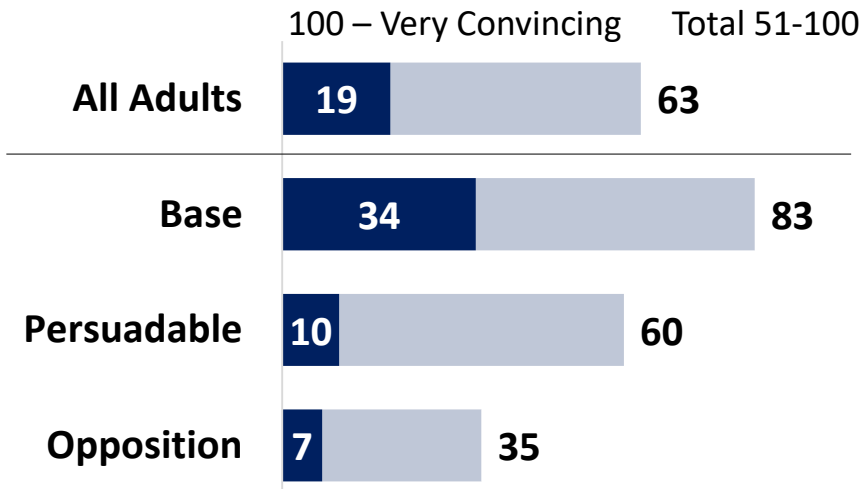
Working People

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, cutting Medicare and Social Security, and stripping working people of our rights to negotiate in union. Then they point the finger for hard times at poor families, Black people or 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.

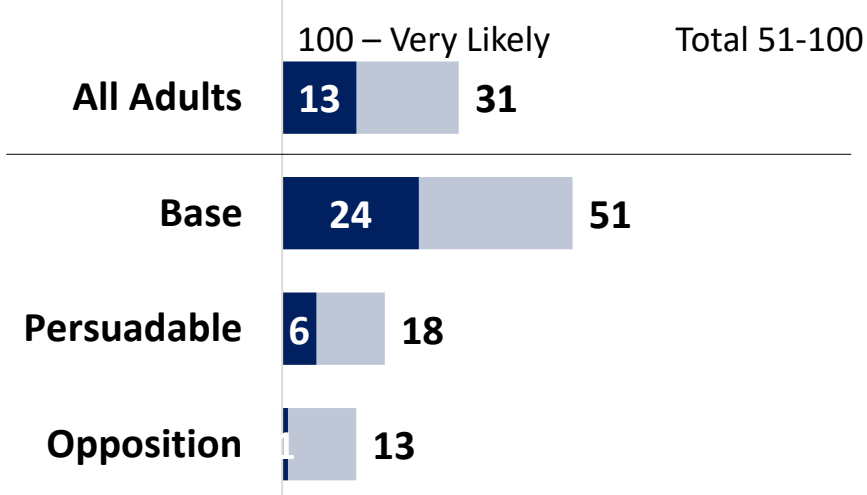


Working People

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong dial and convincing ratings with base
- ✓ Quick take off with base
- ✓ Base dials up at “handing kickbacks to the rich,” and “join together with all walks of life”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “point the finger for hard times at poor families, Black people, and new immigrants.”
- ✓ Call to action with “elect new leaders who work for all of us” is strong with base and persuadables.
- ✓ Bringing up past successes brings the opposition back up

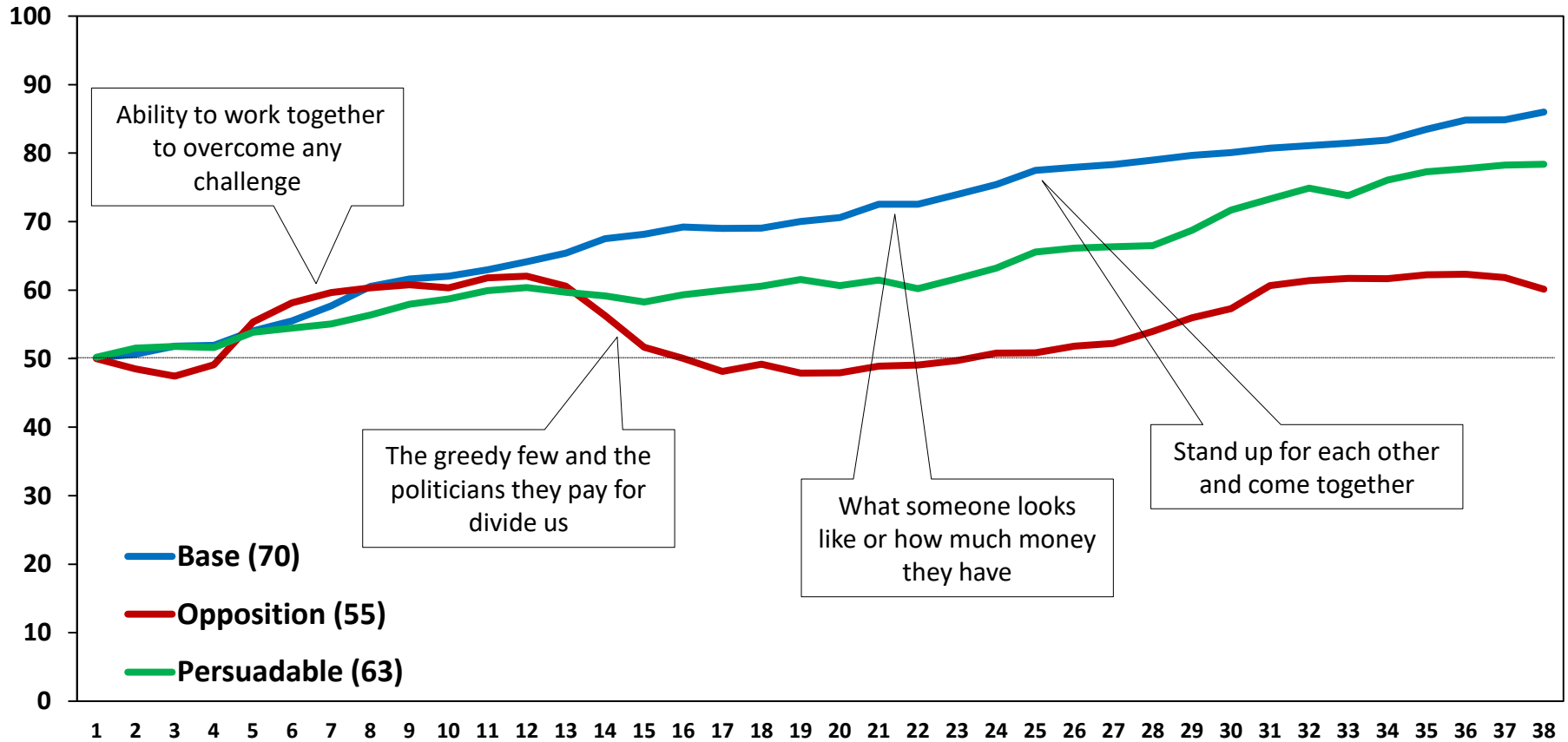
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak convincing ratings with persuadables.
- X Weak share ratings among all adults



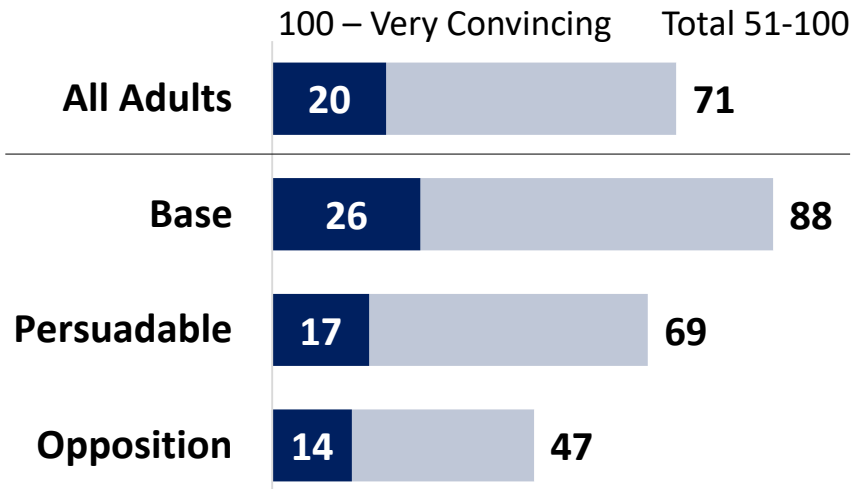
Ohio's Strength – Divide

Ohio's strength comes from our grit, determination, and ability to work together to overcome any challenge. 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 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 Ohioan. Together, we can make this a place where freedom is for everyone, no exceptions.

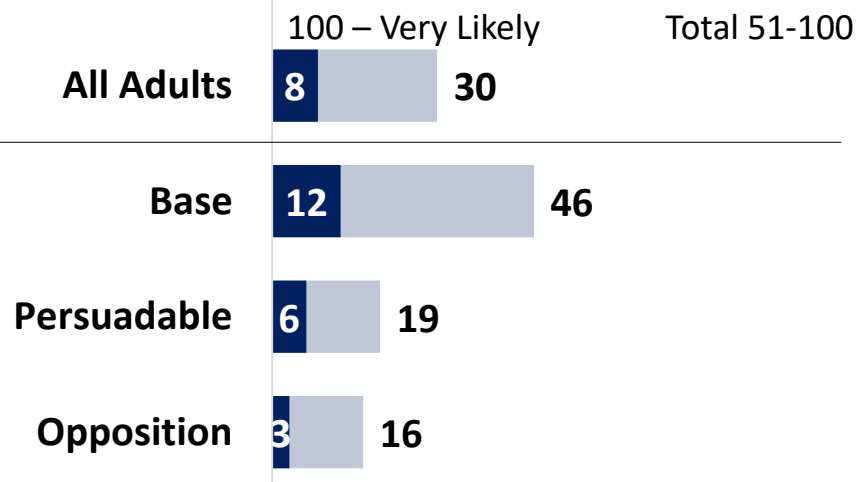


Ohio's Strength – Divide

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong dial and convincing ratings with both base and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “the greedy few and the politicians they pay for”
- ✓ Persuadables steadily dial up, especially around “what someone looks like or how much money they have”
- ✓ Strong call to action with “It is time for us to pick our leaders who reflect the very best of every kind of Ohioan.”

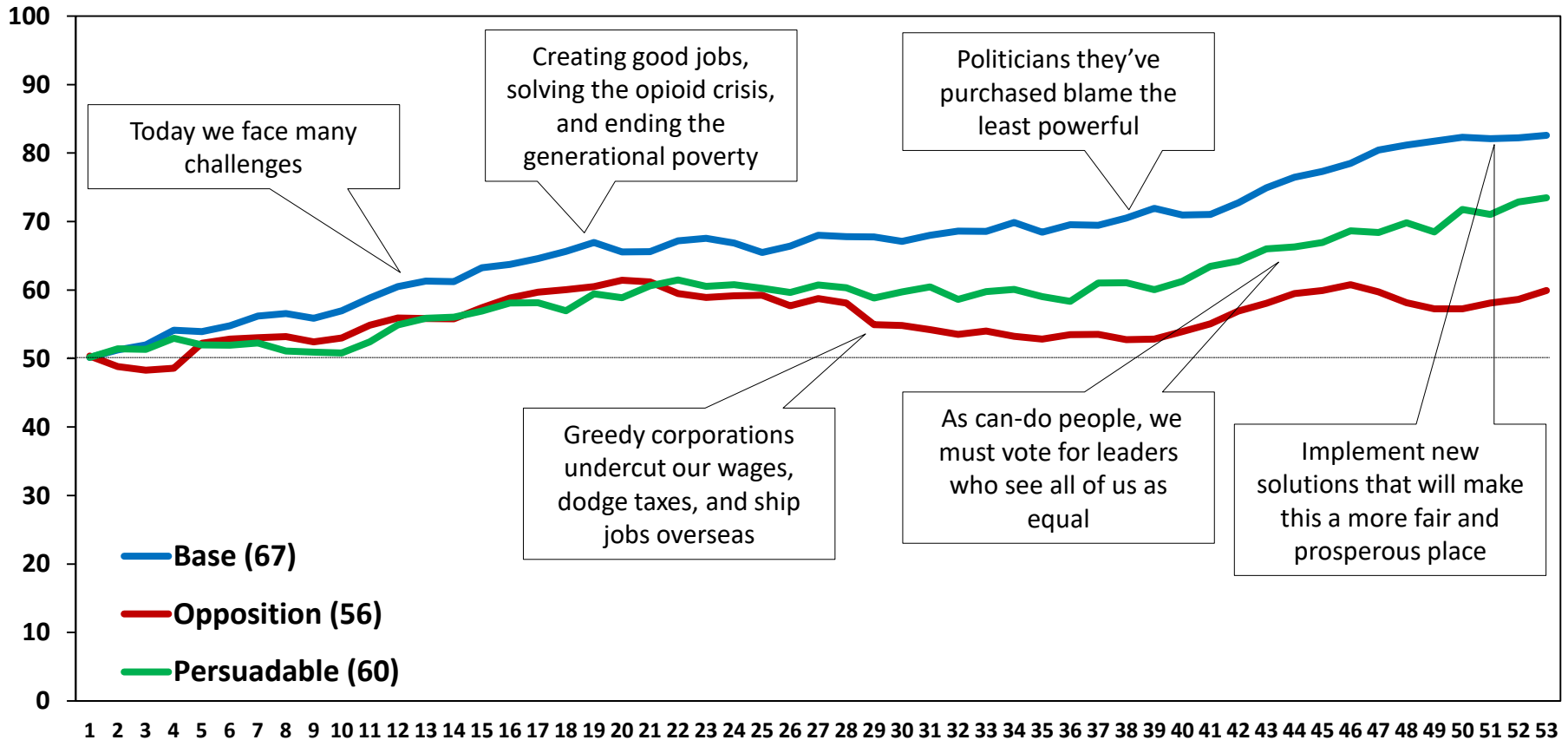
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak share rating among persuadables
- X Slow take off with persuadables.



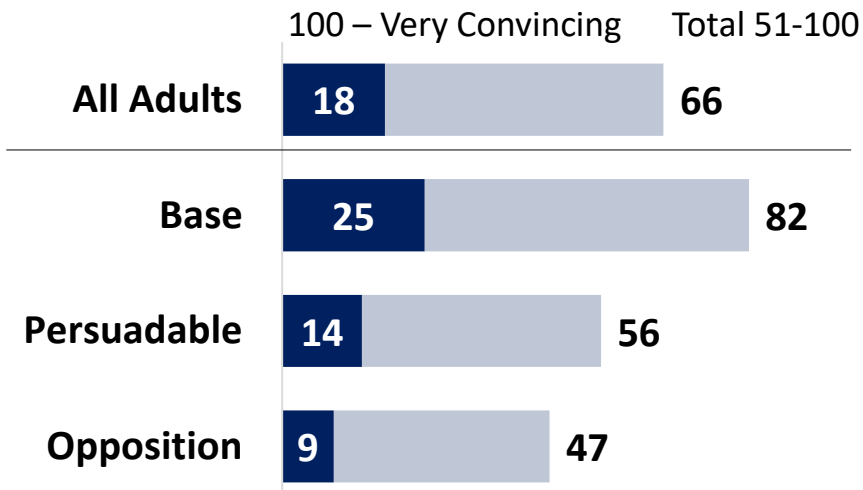
Can Do – No More Blame

Whether we're building the world's biggest economy or striving toward a more equal and just society, ours is a can-do nation. And today we face many challenges: creating good jobs, solving the opioid crisis, and ending the generational poverty in communities that politicians have intentionally ignored. 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 can-do people, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, no matter our race, and implement new solutions that will make this a more fair and prosperous place for everyone.

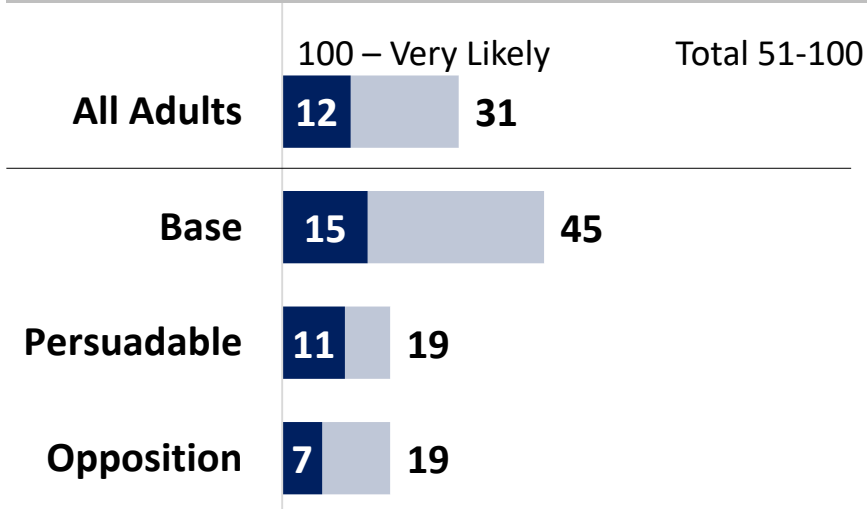


Can Do – No More Blame

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on “greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and ship jobs overseas” which also alienates opposition.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up around “politicians they’ve purchased blame the least powerful.”
- ✓ Strong call to action with base and persuadables on “we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal not matter our race and implement new solutions that will make this a more fair and prosperous place for everyone.”

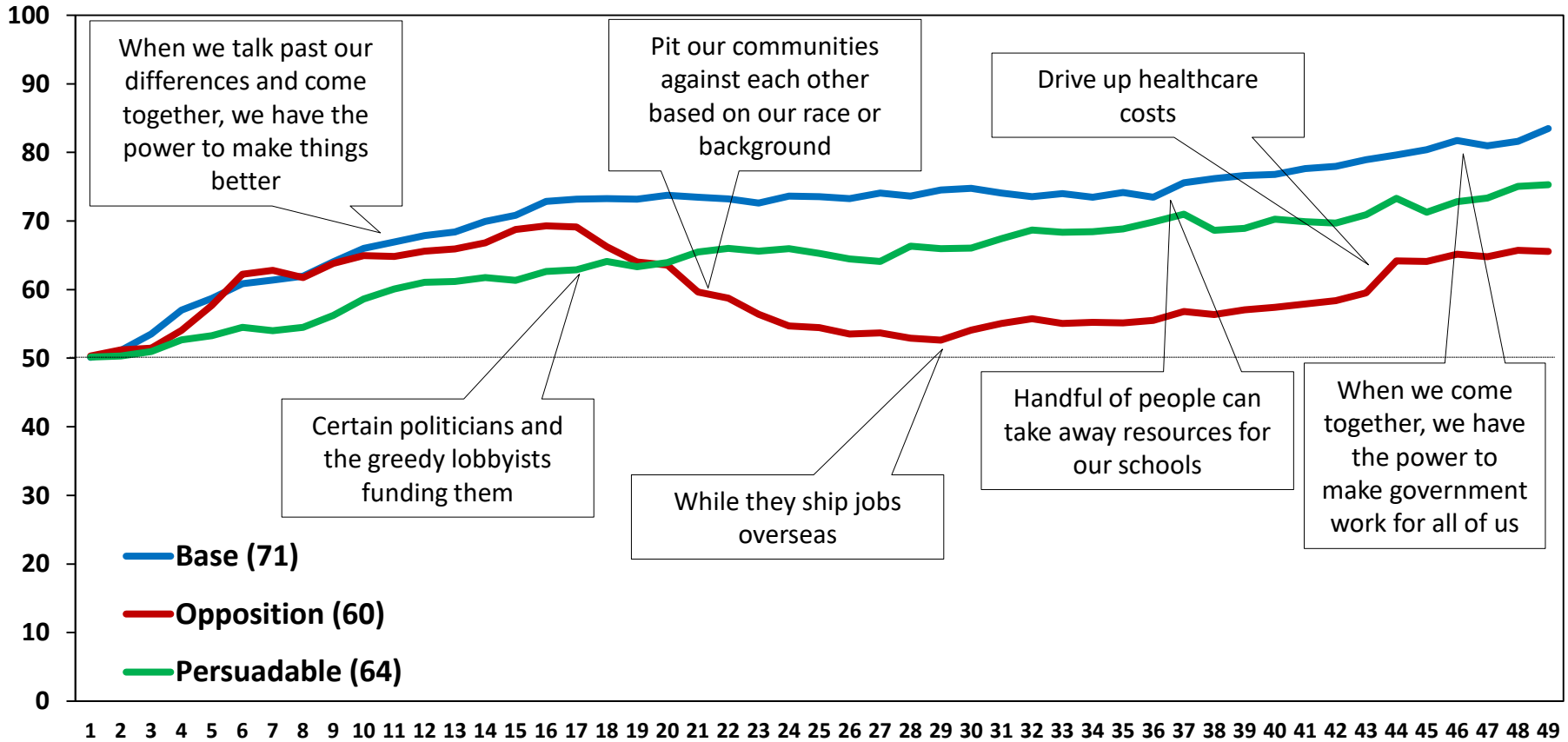
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off
- X Very weak share rating among persuadables
- X Weak convincing rating among persuadables
- X Persuadables have weak dial ratings throughout.



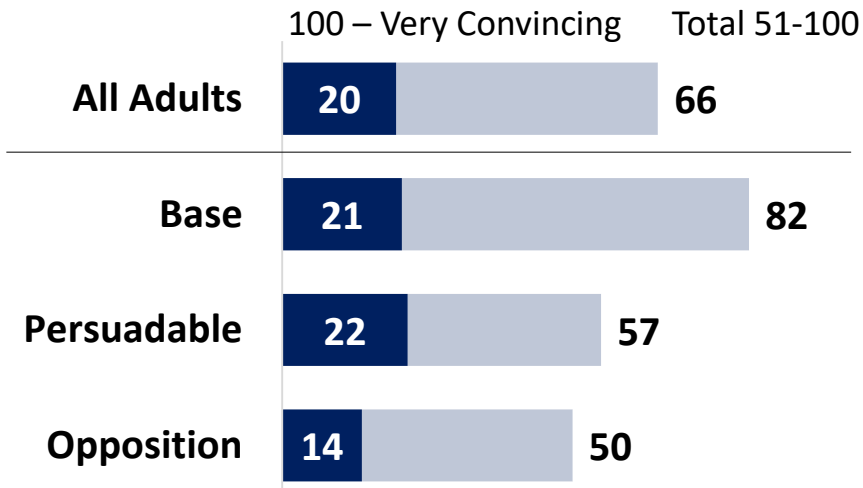
Divide – Come Together

“United we stand, divided we fall.” This doesn’t mean we always agree. It means that when we talk past our differences and 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 our race or our background, making us believe we can’t all have what we need while they ship jobs overseas and help themselves to more. When we’re divided, a handful of people can take away resources for our schools, drive down wages, and drive up healthcare costs. When we come together, we have the power to make government work for all of us, not just the greedy few.

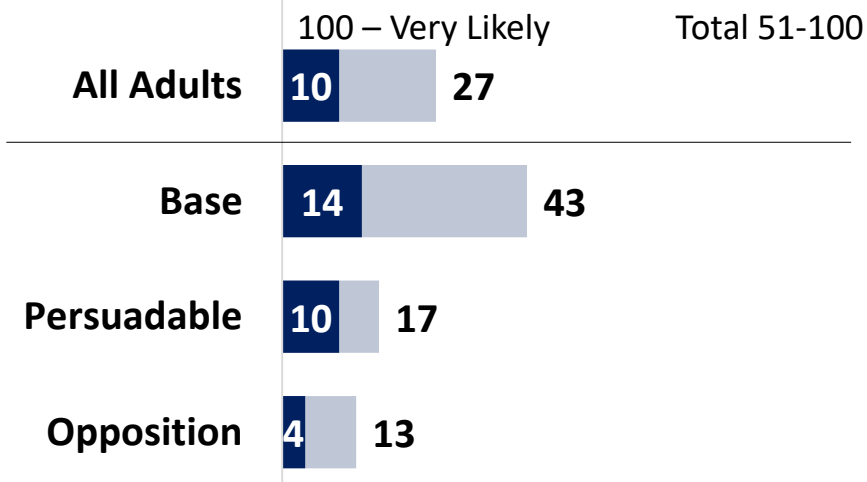


Divide – Come Together

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off for base
- ✓ Persuadables steadily dial up throughout.
- ✓ “Certain politicians and the greedy lobbyists funding them” alienates the opposition but persuadables dial up.
- ✓ Strong convincing ratings with base.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on call to action of “when we come together, we have the power to make government work for all of us.”

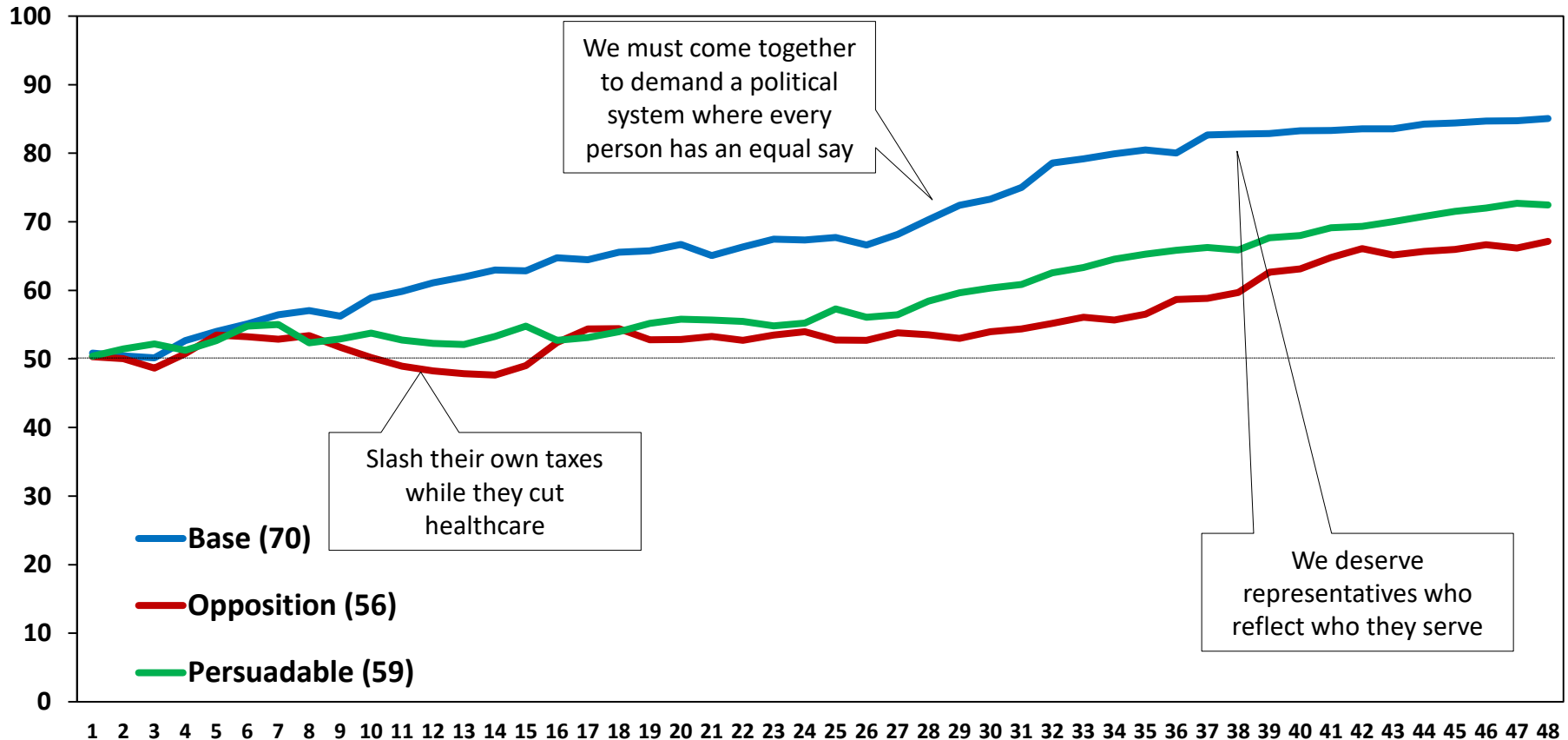
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak share ratings with persuadables.
- X Base plateaus on explanation of divide and conquer.



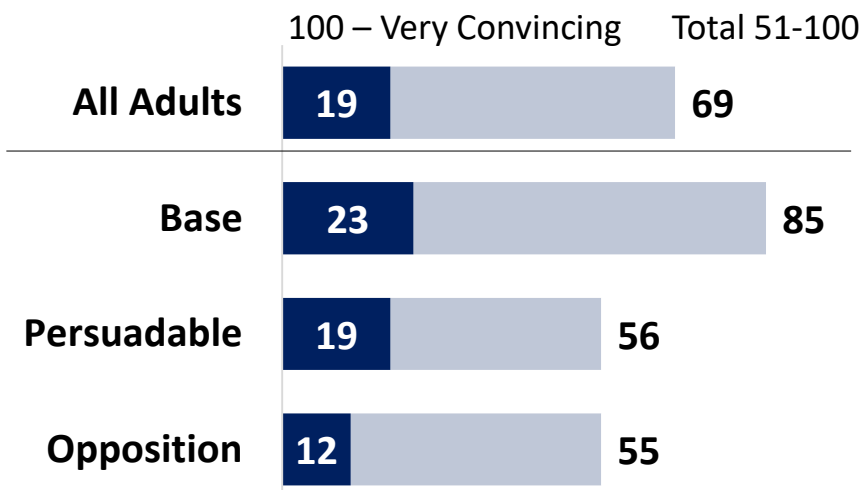
Solution: Reform System/Reflexive Democracy

Most of us work hard to make things better for those to come. But today, certain greedy politicians slash their own taxes while they cut healthcare, reward corporations that outsource and strip our rights to negotiate a fair return on our work. They have us look the other way by fear mongering about people based on what they look like or where they're from. We must come together to demand a political system where every person has an equal say. We deserve representatives who reflect the people they serve—leaders who've walked in our shoes, understand our challenges, and prioritize our communities. That's how we ensure all of us can prosper.

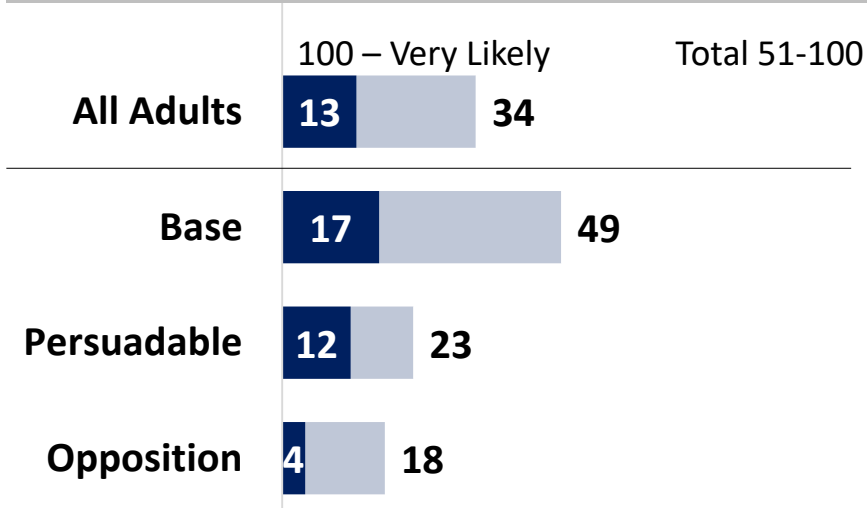


Solution: Reform System/Reflexive Democracy

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “we must come together to demand a political system where every person has an equal say”
- ✓ All groups dial up at “we deserve representatives who reflect who they serve”
- ✓ Base dials up at “slash their own taxes while they cut healthcare, reward corporations that outsource” as the opposition dials down

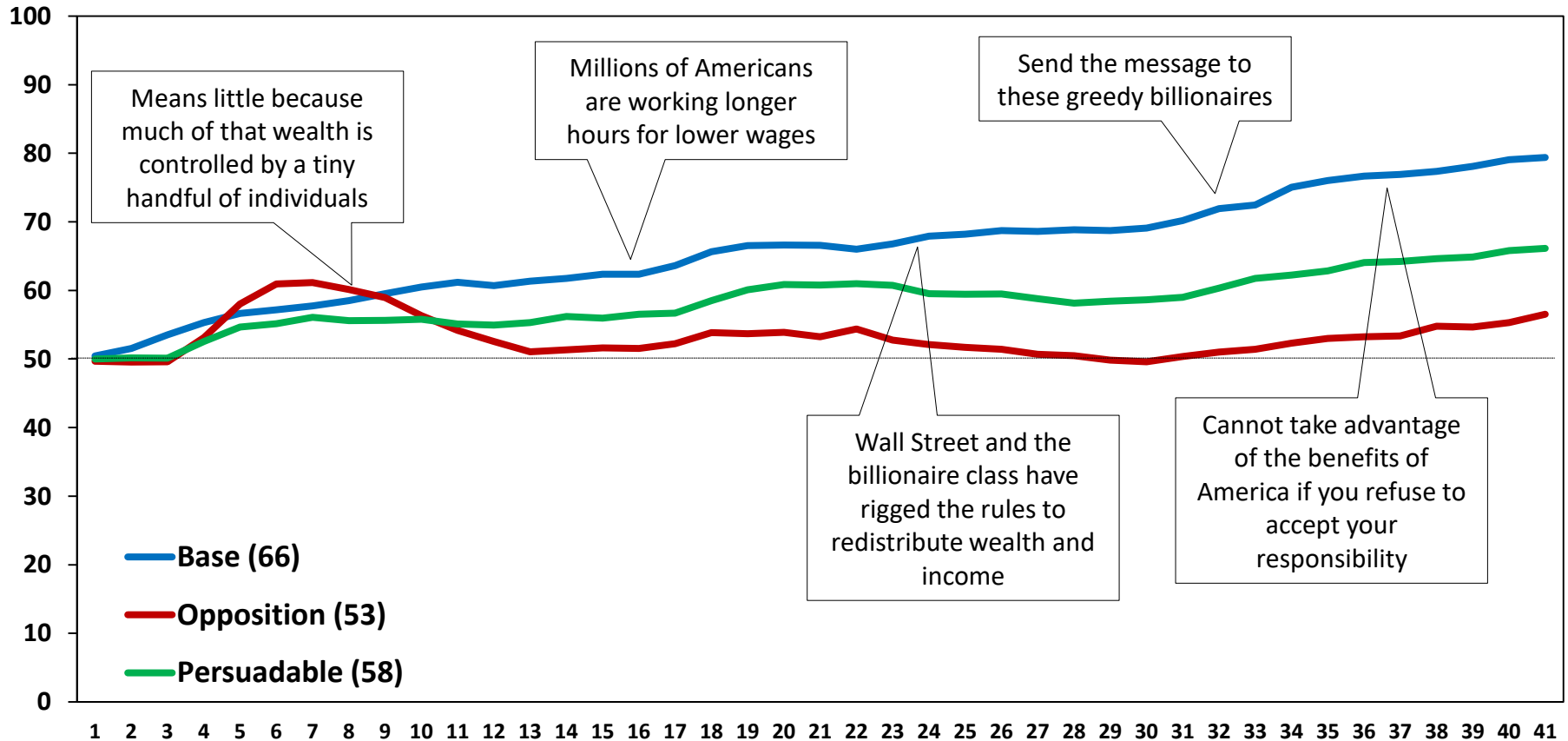
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off, especially with persuadables who are flat for first half of message.
- X Opposition generally dials up throughout the last half of the message
- X Weak share rating and low convincing rating for persuadables



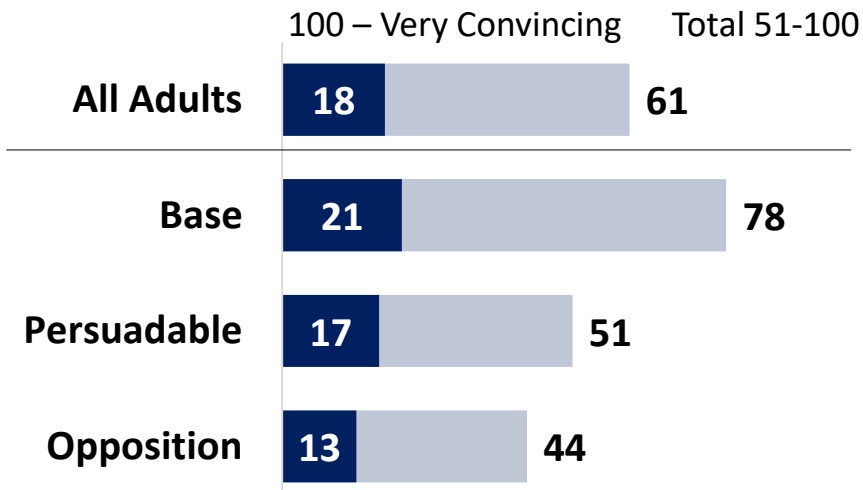
Colorblind Economic Populist

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.

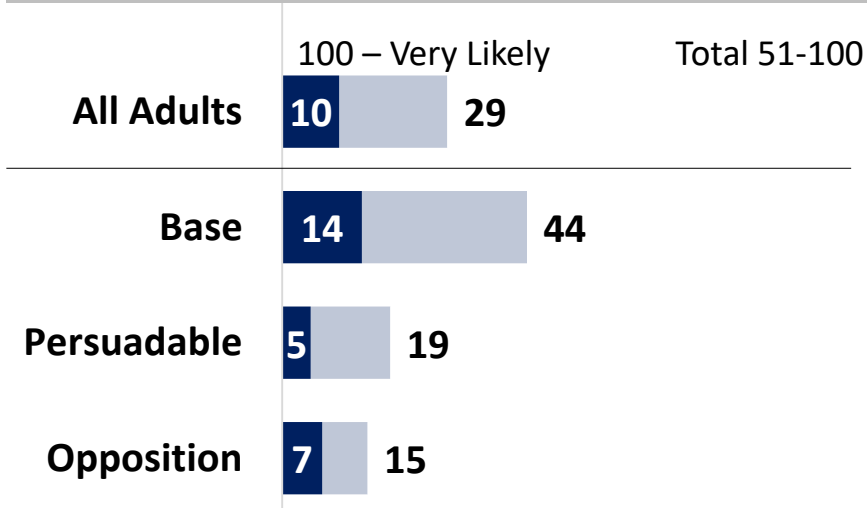


Colorblind Economic Populist

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ “Much if that wealth controlled by a handful of individuals” alienates the opposition.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up for call to action: “we must send the message to these greedy billionaires.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “Wall Street and the billionaire class have rigged the rules.”

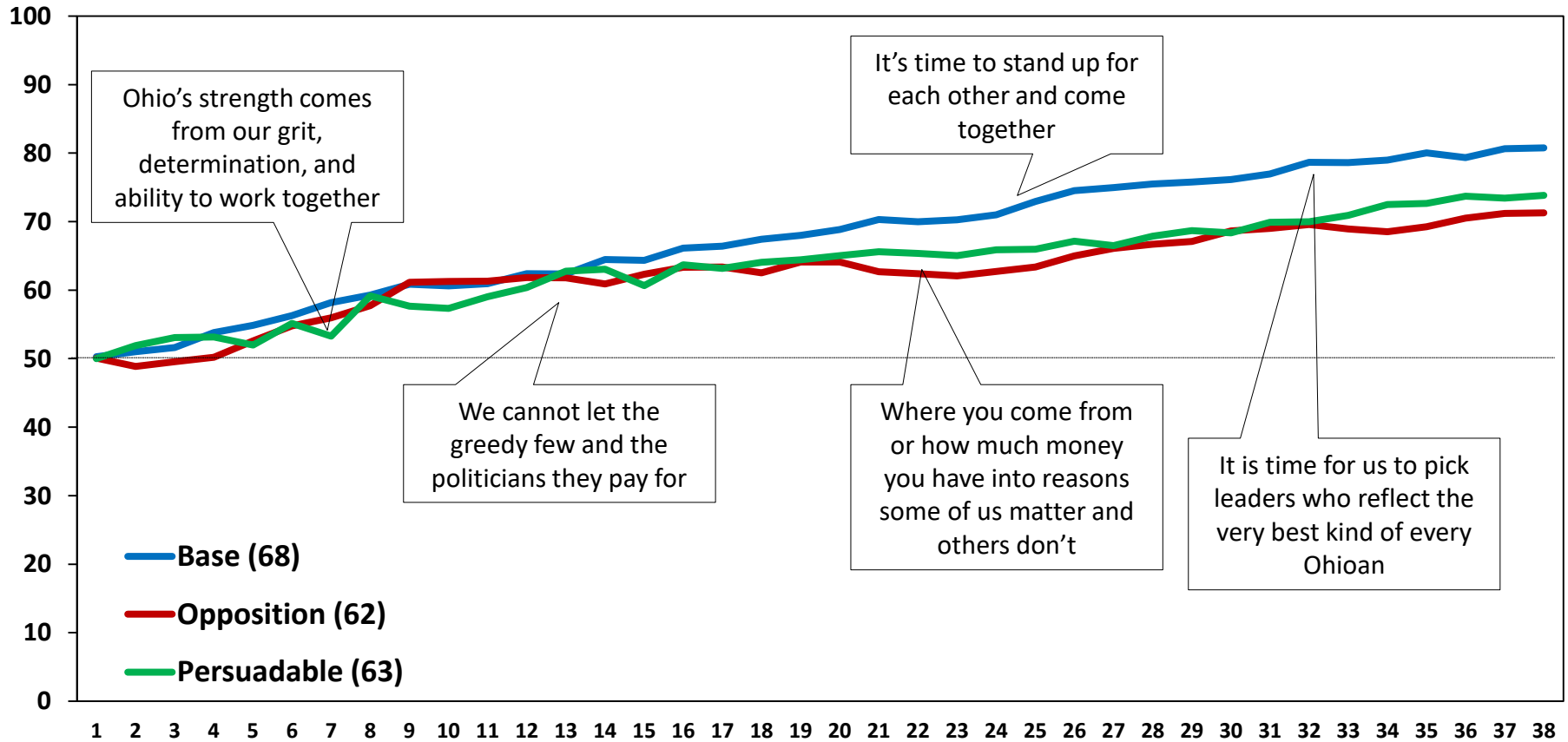
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak share ratings for all groups except base
- X Weak convincing rating for persuadables
- X Persuadables plateau at “millions of Americans working longer hours for lower wages,” and at “Wall Street and the billionaire class have rigged the rules,” which are key components of the issue.



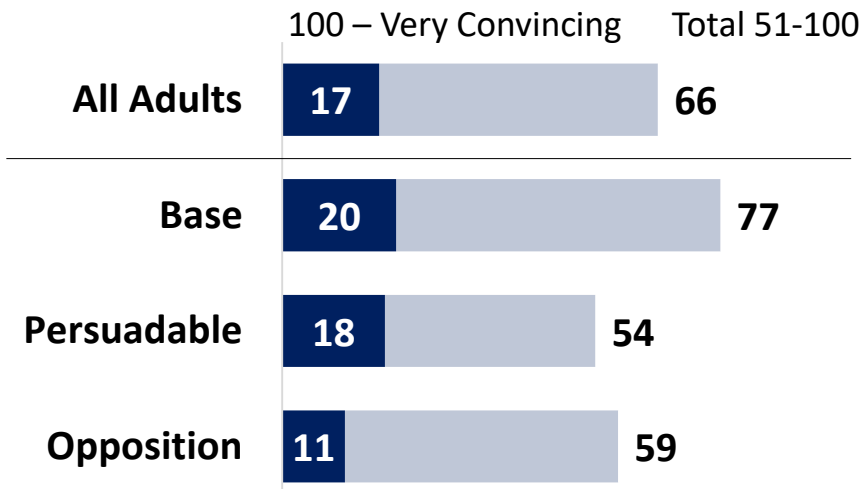
Ohio's Strength – Matter

Ohio's strength comes from our grit, determination, and ability to work together to overcome any challenge. 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 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 Ohioan. Together, we can make this a place where freedom is for everyone, no exceptions.

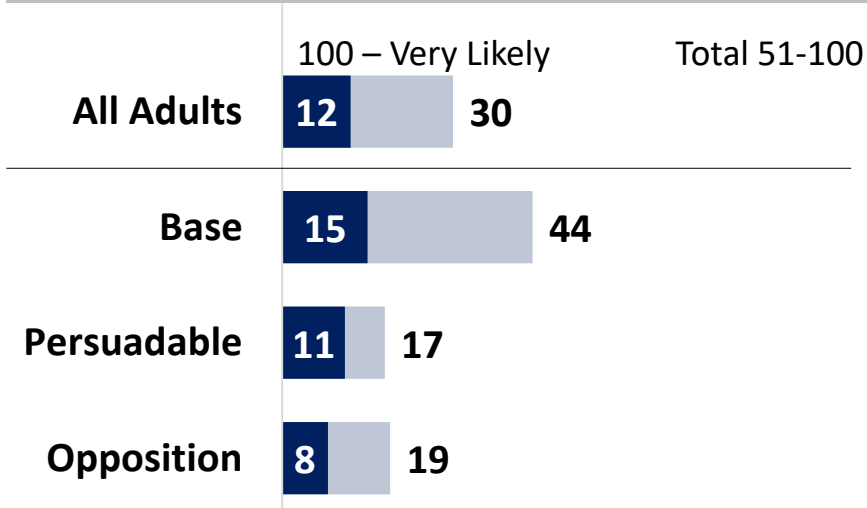


Ohio's Strength – Matter

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong dial ratings and convincing ratings with base
- ✓ Quick take off with base.
- ✓ Base and persuadables respond to Ohio identity.
- ✓ Strong call to action for base and persuadables “it is time to stand up for each other and come together.”

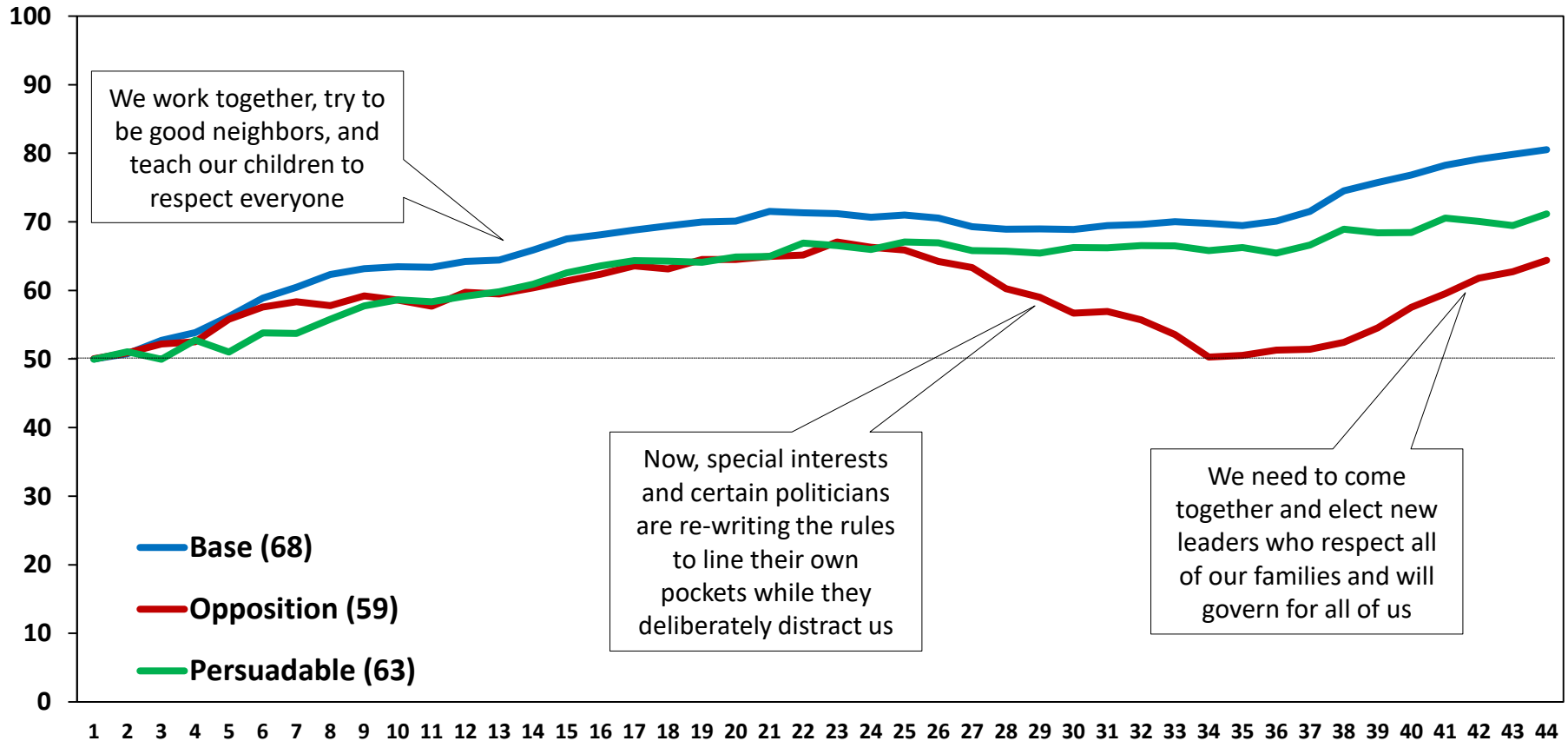
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Fails to alienate the opposition



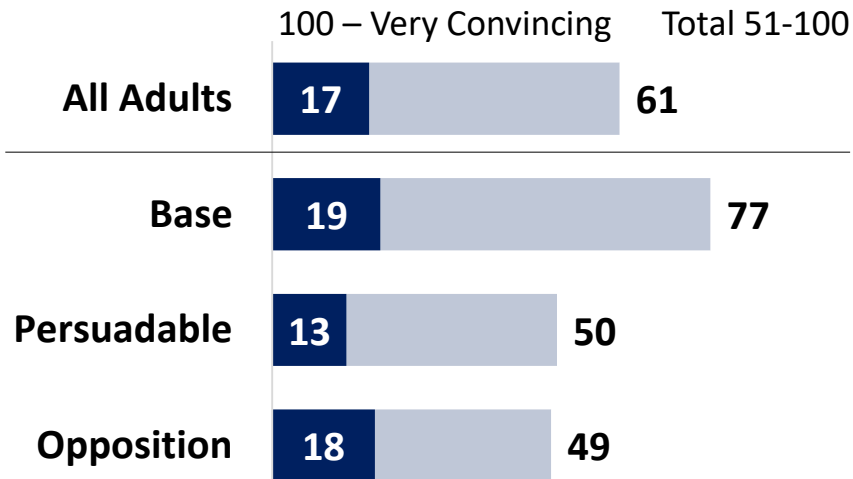
Come Together – With Race

Ohio 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, people with disabilities, and people scraping to get by. 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 and ethnic lines. We need to come together and elect new leaders who respect all of our families and will govern for all of us.

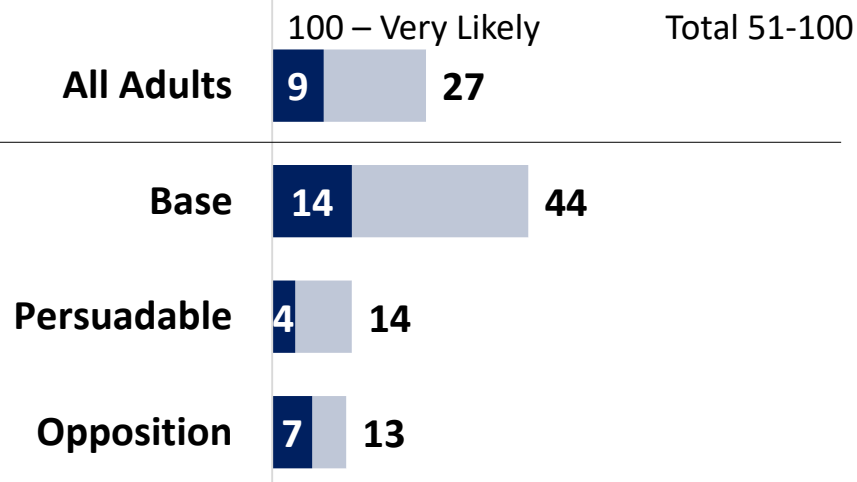


Come Together – With Race

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off with base
- ✓ All groups dial up around “we work together, try to be good neighbors, and teach our children to respect everyone”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “special interests and certain politicians are re-writing the rules to line their own pockets”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on call to action with “elect new leaders who respect all of our families”

WHAT FALLS SHORT

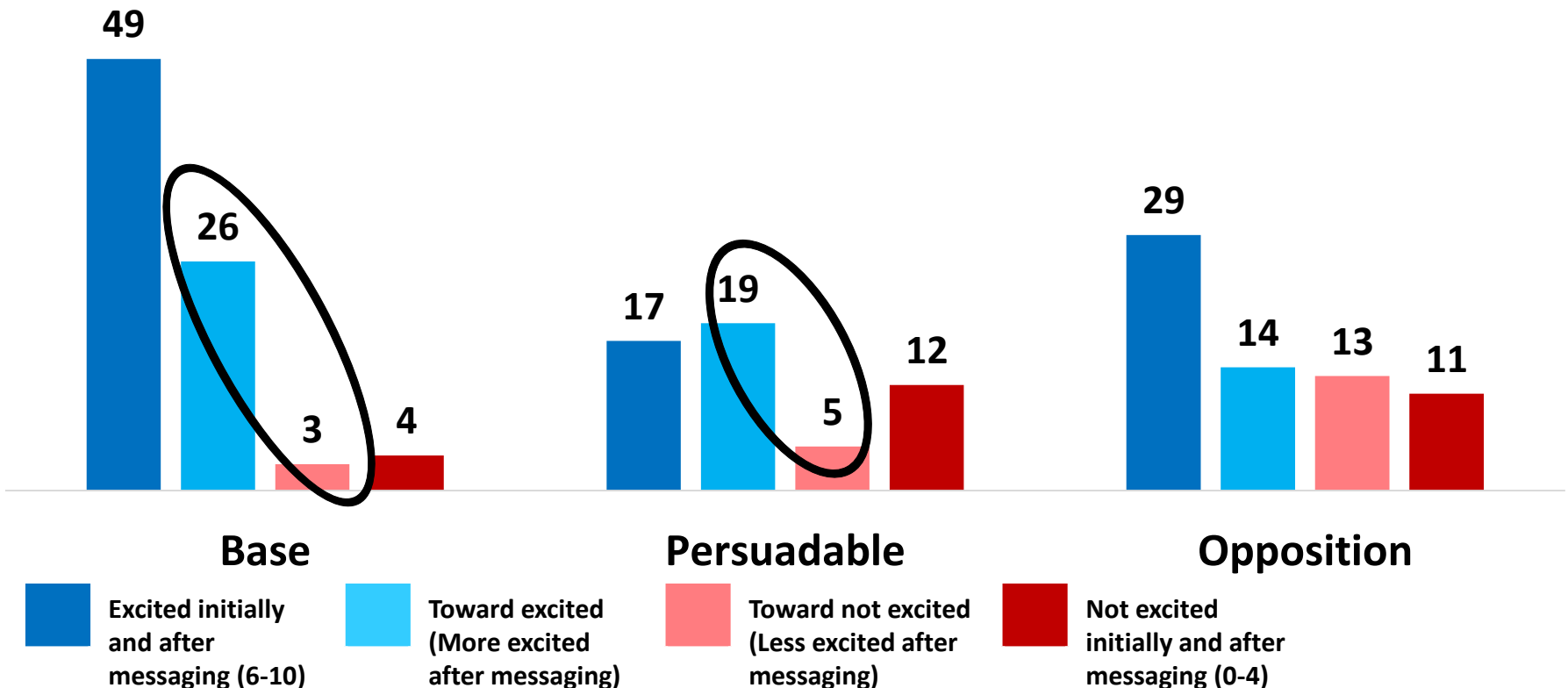
- X Weak share and convincing ratings with persuadables
- X Slow take off with persuadables
- X Keeps opposition too long.



Movement

Base and persuadable adults are more excited after messaging to join together with others in their community to take action and bring about change.

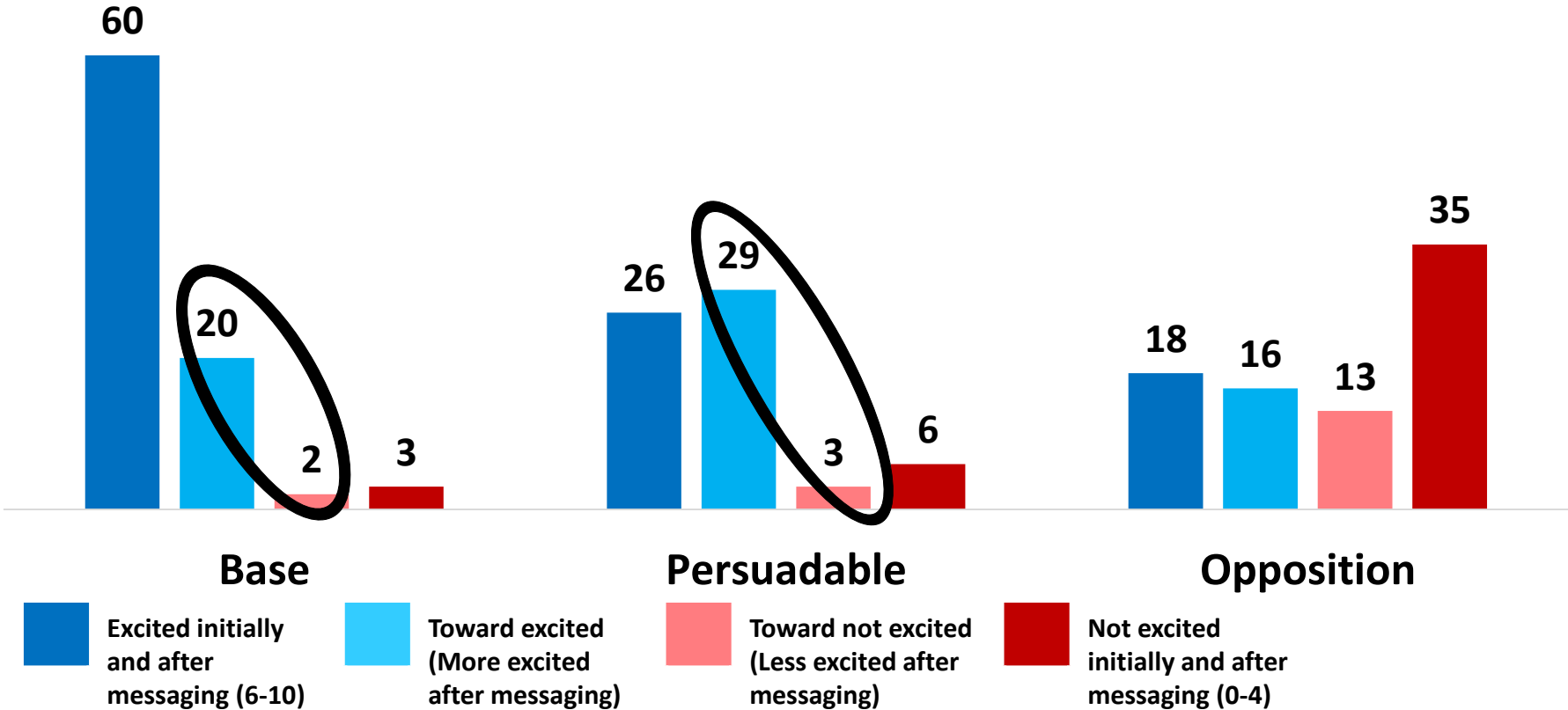
How excited are you to join together with others in your community to take action and bring about change?
(0-10 Scale, 0 means not at all excited, 10 means very excited)



Split Sampled

Base adults are more excited to join together with people across racial differences, while opposition adults are less excited. Both base and persuadables are more excited after messaging.

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)

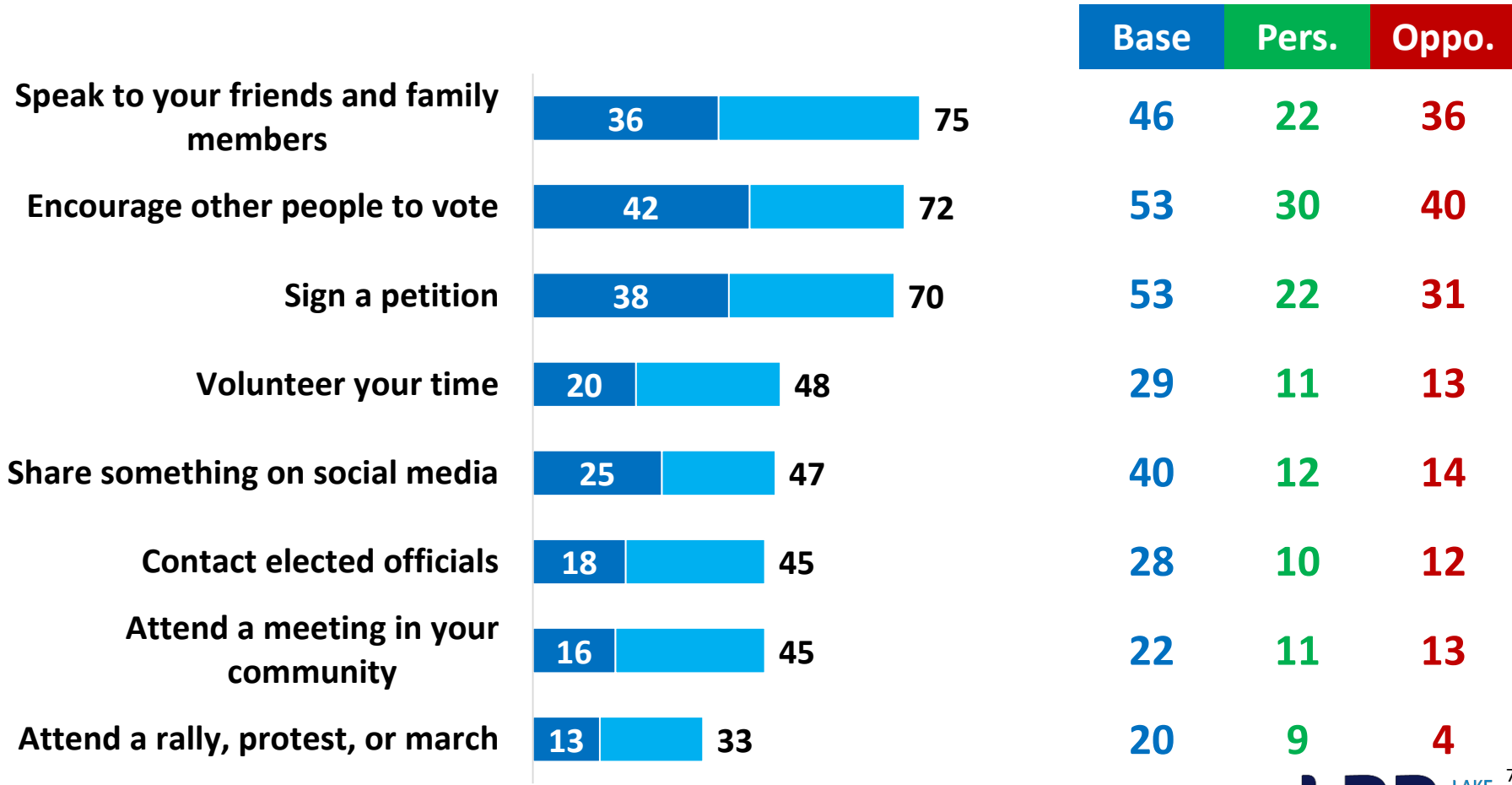




Ohio adults are most likely to speak to friends and family members, encourage others to vote, and sign a petition. Base adults are most likely to encourage others to vote and sign a petition.

How likely are you to do each of the following?

Very Likely

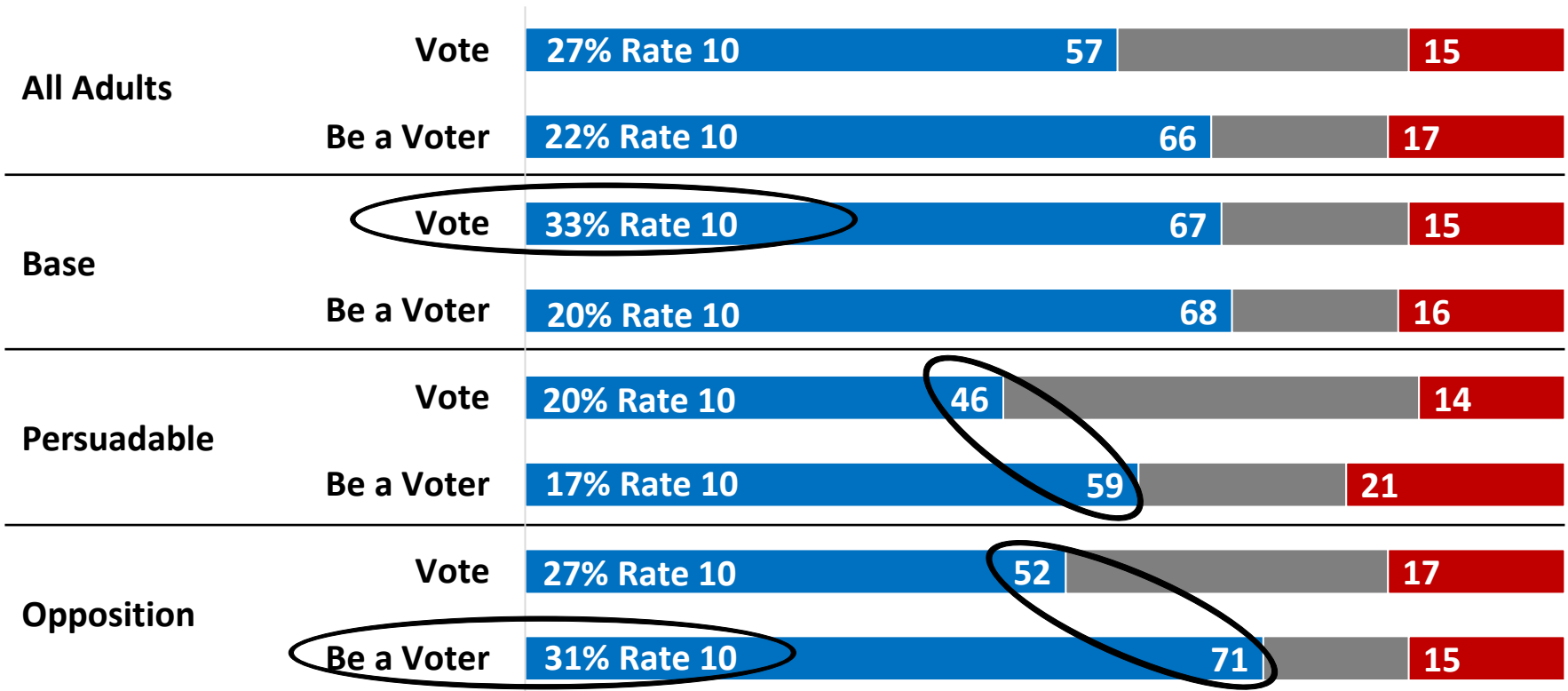


Very Likely

Total Likely

Base adults are more enthusiastic to vote while opposition adults are more enthusiastic to be a voter. Persuadables have higher levels of enthusiasm to be a voter too.

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



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

Split Sampled

LRP

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