

Race-Class Narrative



Minnesota Dial Survey Report



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**DOG
WHISTLE
POLITICS**

Findings and recommendations
from an online survey of adults
in Minnesota

**OUR
MINNESOTA
FUTURE**



**Demos
Action**



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THE VOICE FOR PROFESSIONAL
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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 600 adults in Minnesota.
- 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 Persuasion

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

Base – 27% of adults

- More likely to be women, people of color, live in Twin Cities, and Democratic.
- More likely to believe people become wealthy when they have more opportunities than others.
- More likely believe government creates opportunities.
- Strong concerns about racism.

Opposition – 30% of adults

- More likely male, over 50, white, and Republican.
- More likely to believe wealth is earned when people work harder.
- More likely to believe we will never achieve equal treatment for all people.

Persuadable – 44% of adults

- More closely reflect demographics of the general public, though slightly more likely male and Republican.
- Views often reflect those of both base and opposition.

Demographics	Total	Base	Opp.	Pers.
Men	49	34	56	53
Women	51	65	44	47
Under 30	21	29	14	21
30-39	17	22	11	17
40-49	17	16	20	15
50-64	27	16	34	28
Over 65	19	16	22	19
White	85	75	96	84
AA	6	9	0	8
Latino	2	3	1	2
Asian/PI	3	5	1	4
Twin Cities	32	46	20	32
Collar Counties	24	20	27	25
North	25	19	36	22
South	18	16	17	21
Democrat/DFL	42	81	14	38
Indep/DK	16	12	19	16
Republican	38	2	62	44



Summary of Key Findings

Key Findings

- There are three key dimensions that shape the base and opposition. First, base adults express strong concerns about racism and bias against Black people and Latinos, while opposition adults are less likely to express concerns. Persuadables express higher levels of concern but with less intensity than base adults. Both base and persuadables by strong majorities agree that focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality, a position that opposition adults reject.
- Second, base adults want government to create opportunities for advancement while opposition adults want government to get out of their way. Persuadables are more divided, though they favor government creating more opportunities for advancement by 9 points.
- Third, base adults believe that wealthy Americans achieved success because they were given more opportunities than others, while opposition adults say it is because they worked harder than others. Persuadables tend to agree with base adults, that the wealthy were given more opportunities than others.
- Importantly both base adults and persuadables retain a sense that if we really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally, no matter their race, religion, or country of origin. However, aspirational messages are key, as is a call to action. As we saw in the focus groups and in the national survey, cynicism can be as great an enemy as opposition.
- Lastly, base and persuadables strongly favor a policy agenda rooted in equality: ending discrimination against people of color in jobs, housing, and education; expanding Medicare to ensure healthcare for all Americans; overhauling our criminal justice system to eliminate racial and other biases; and creating a fair immigration process that keeps families together and includes a roadmap to citizenship for current immigrants. Both base and persuadables also strongly favor holding corporate polluters accountable for the damage they create.
- Persuadables are least likely to favor reducing federal funding to sanctuary cities, which is the strongest policy among opposition adults.

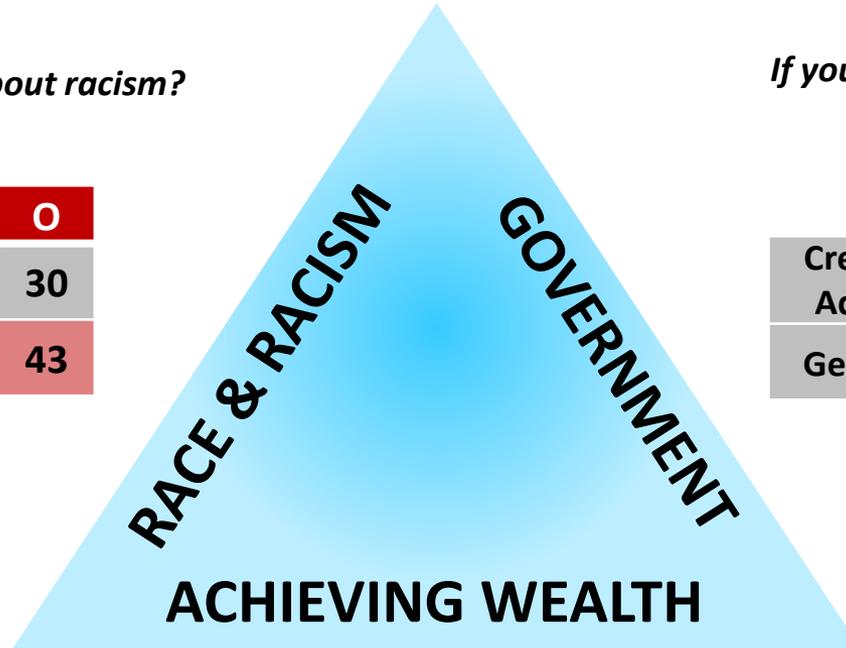
Three Core Dimensions: Racism, the role of government, and how people achieve wealth.

How concerned are you about racism?

	B	P	O
Concerned	96	77	30
Not Concerned	3	9	43

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

	B	P	O
Create Opp. for Advancement	72	47	18
Get Out of Way	22	38	62



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	78	48	34
Worked harder than others	9	33	49

Key Findings

- Racism, bias against Black people, bias against Latinos, and prejudice against Muslims are significant concerns for base adults, and to a lesser extent persuadables. However, persuadables also have concerns about “reverse racism” and discrimination against whites; persuadables have concerns about both at higher levels than opposition adults.
- While the persuadables side with us on many questions, this is contested space. The persuadables hold two competing schemas.
- Persuadables agree with the base on ending racial discrimination, the negative impacts of divide and conquer tactics, the value of working together, and the reality that African Americans face greater obstacles than whites.
- But there are four barriers that hold persuadables back. First, persuadable adults hold competing views on the impacts of focusing on race. A sizable majority of persuadables agree with the notion that “focusing on race doesn’t fix anything and may even make things worse,” while also agreeing that “focusing on race is necessary to move forward toward greater equality.” A stronger majority agree with the latter.
- Secondly, persuadables have concerns about racism, but also they are the only group with strong concerns about “reverse racism.” Further, they hold some resentment about paying for special benefits for people of color and immigrants.
- Thirdly, persuadable adults, unlike the base, believe at the same level as opposition adults that people of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition.
- Lastly, persuadables are even more likely than opposition adults to believe that in today’s world, people have legitimate fears of immigrants and people of different religions. In the opposition messaging, they respond to fear-based appeals on immigration.

Key Findings

- One of the primary goals of this research was to develop ways at countering messaging appeals grounded in divide-and-conquer tactics. Qualitative research underscored the challenge of doing so, as merely highlighting the divisive tactics of others came across as divisive itself. However, there are several takeaways from this research that help.
- First, it helps to **evoke race when articulating an agenda to make life better for working people**. For example, “put the interests of working people first, whether white, Black, and brown.” Doing so resonates more strongly with persuadables than simply articulating a positive agenda. It also alienates opposition adults, and thus better differentiates this positive agenda.
- Second, **calling out divide-and-conquer tactics is more effective when they are being used to appeal to fears based on terrorism**, but less so when being used to suggest there are people expecting things to be handed to them.
- Thirdly, it helps to **connect divide and conquer tactics to what divisions produce**. It’s not just that politicians divide us based on what we look like, but that they do it to rewrite the rules to line their pockets. Its not just that they generate fear based on race, but that they do it to benefit the wealthy few at our expense.
- Lastly, calling out intentional divisions and outcomes is not enough by itself. A **positive call to action that recognizes “we are stronger when we work together”** is more effective with base adults and persuadables than focusing solely on the politics of division.

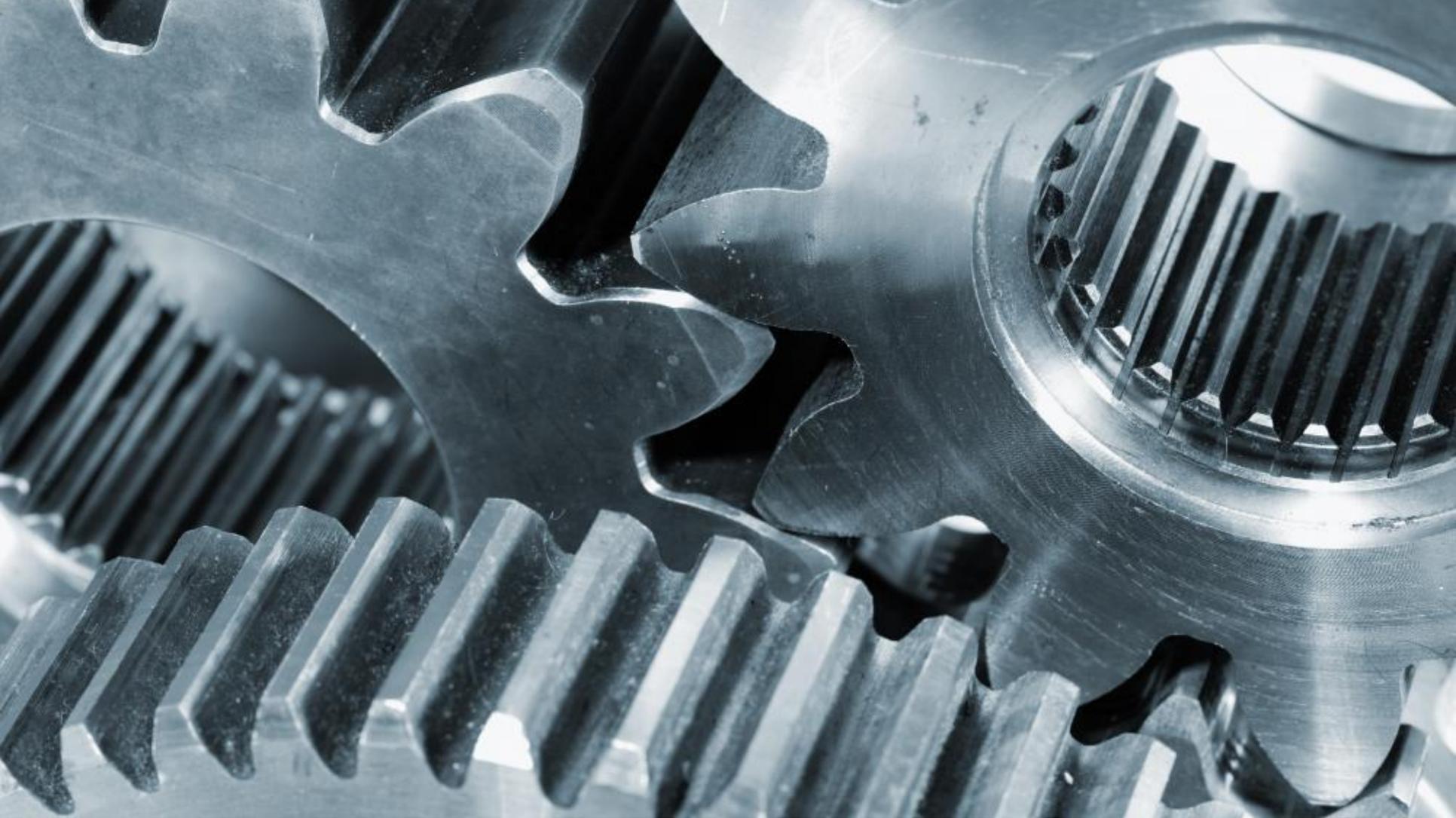
Messaging

- Our strongest messages are “America’s Strength” and “Minnesota’s Strength.” “America’s Strength” registers the strongest dial ratings among the base and persuadables. “Minnesota’s Strength” registers the strongest convincing ratings with base adults and similarly high convincing ratings with persuadables, and dial ratings with both.
- There are several keys to success in these messages. First, they create a foundation in a shared value. “America’s Strength” unites us by defining our country’s strength in our ability to work together.
- Secondly, they carefully name a villain that is a barrier toward our shared values, while evoking the villain’s divisive tactics. “A greedy few and the politicians they pay for divide us against each other based on what someone looks like, where they come from, or how much money they have.”
- Lastly, and perhaps most importantly, they then provide a positive aspirational call to action; a call for unity and a specific call to action: “It’s time we talk to each other and stand up for anyone getting bullied by ugly rhetoric. We must pick leaders who honor the Golden Rule.”
- These messages are stronger than a more traditional “Colorblind Economic Populism” message for two reasons. First, these messages tap into people’s desire to come together and work together. Secondly, these messages include another dimension beyond inequality that resonates with both the base and persuadables.

Messaging

- There are three messages that are a close second tier which are “Future,” “Working People,” and “Come Together.” All of these share characteristics with the other top messages in that they focus more on positive aspirational themes.
- The other messages are somewhat less effective for one of two other reasons. First, they linger on describing the problem. It is important that we find the right balance of positive to negative in the messaging frame. Or secondly, they provide an aspirational vision without a specific call to action (“When we come together we have the power” is not as effective as “We need to come together and elect new leaders”).
- The opposition message is very strong with the opposition and also with persuadables. Among persuadables the opposition message has the lowest convincing rating, but their average dial rating is higher than several of our messages. Several themes of the opposition message resonate with persuadables including “keeping us safe” and “curbing illegal immigration so our communities are no longer flooded with people who refuse to follow our laws.”
- While overall support remains about the same for our policy agenda, there is movement along the favorability scale toward support particularly for overhauling the criminal justice system and holding corporate polluters accountable for the damage they create. Furthermore, messaging moves more toward opposing the federal government reducing funding to sanctuary cities.

Say	Instead of	Because
No matter our differences, most of us want pretty similar things	United we stand, divided we fall	Overtly claiming universality can feel disingenuous in a narrative about intentional division. Focusing instead on common desires sets up a strong foundation for why intentional division is undesirable.
Our opponents point the finger for our hard times at Blacks, new immigrants and Muslims	Our opponents are racist against Blacks, new immigrants and Muslims	Framing scapegoating as tied to economic concerns allows audiences, including whites, to see that their well-being is tied to rejecting racial resentment.
Working people whether white, Black or brown	Working people	Making race explicit increases enthusiasm of our base and persuades a greater number in the middle toward our solutions.
Join together across racial differences	Join together with others in your community	Accusing our opponents of dividing us can come across as its own form of division; calls for unity are critical. We move base adults on excitement to join across racial differences.
Come together like we did in our past	Come together in the hopes of a better future	Referencing past cross-racial solidarity with real gains helps make future possibilities seem more realistic and worth fighting to achieve.
Divide us against each other	Pit our communities against each other	“Pit against” implies audience is complicit in the continued antagonism.
Wealthy special interests who rig the rules; greedy few	Powerful elites	It’s useful to name villains by what they do, not the category they occupy.
Minnesota Cities	Urban Minnesota	Minnesotans feel more positively towards their “cities” than a generic “urban” descriptor; the possessive increases attachment
We need innovative solutions	We need to move forward	Minnesotans are particularly solutions oriented.



Key Dynamics

Minnesotans favor ending discrimination, holding corporate polluters accountable, and expanding Medicare. Base and Persuadables favor all policies at high levels.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Total 6-10

Base

Pers.

Oppo.

End discrimination against people of color in jobs, housing, and education

37

77

99

89

38

Hold corporate polluters accountable for the damage they create by charging a fee that pays for energy rebates for low income families across Minnesota

31

74

91

78

53

Expand Medicare to ensure all Americans can get healthcare when they need it

34

73

98

80

40

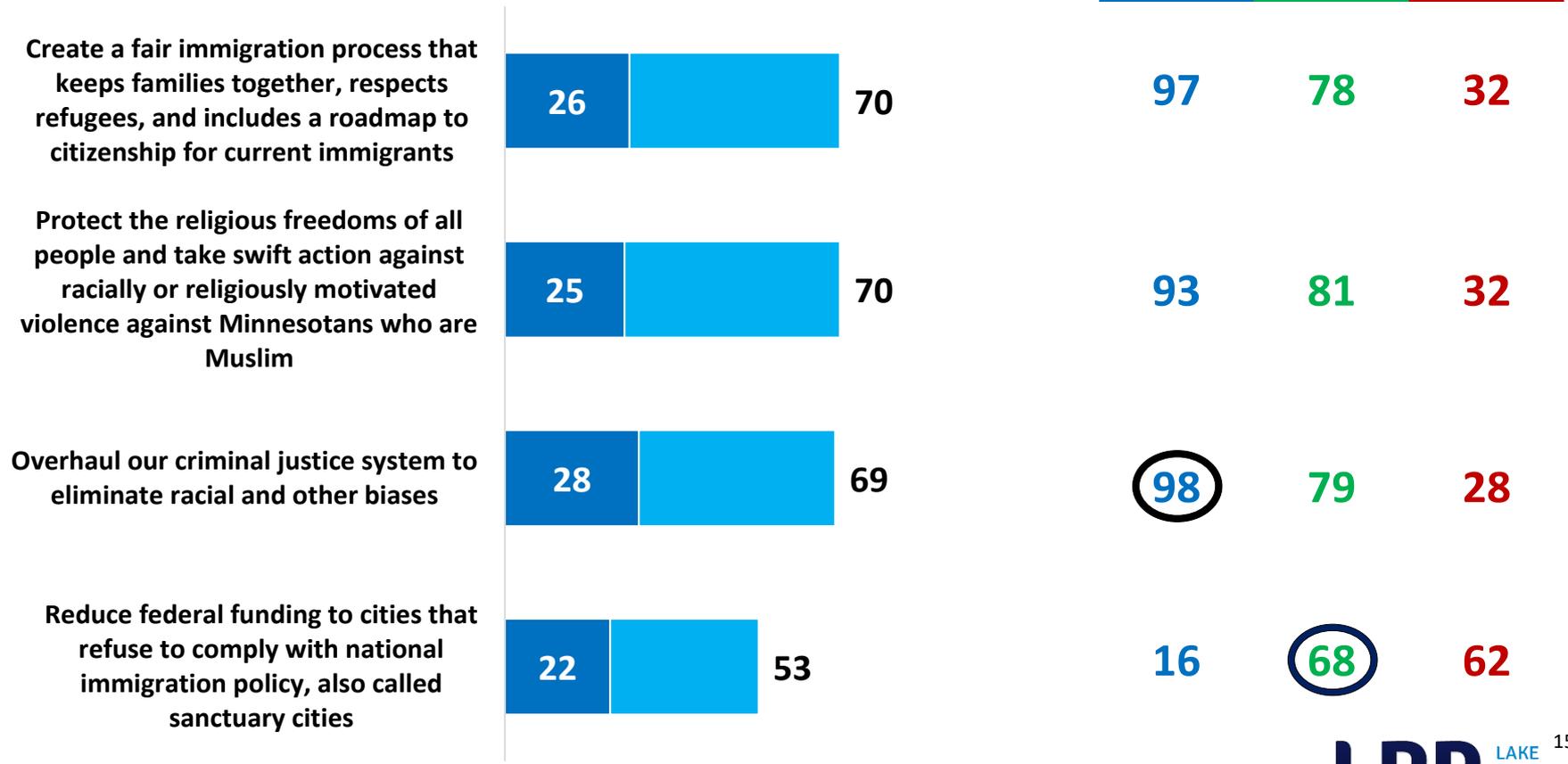
10 – Strongly Favor

Total 6-10 – Total Favor

7 in 10 Minnesotans favor creating a fair immigration process that keeps families together. However half favor reducing funding to “sanctuary cities” including over two thirds of persuadables.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies: Total 6-10

Base **Pers.** **Oppo.**



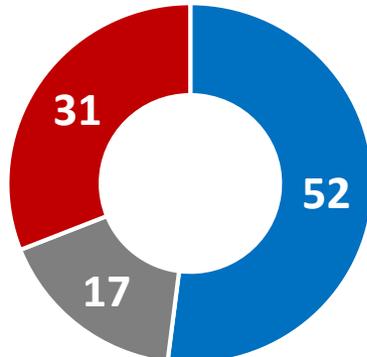
■ 10 – Strongly Favor ■ Total 6-10 – Total Favor

Base adults say the wealthy achieved success because they were given more opportunities, and they prefer government create opportunities for advancement. Opposition adults say the wealthy worked harder than others and want government to get of their way. These are core divisions. Persuadables tend to agree with base adults in both dimensions.

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

...because they worked harder than others

...because they were given more opportunity than others.

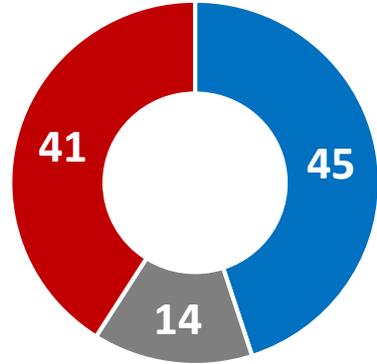


	Worked harder	Given more opp.
Base	9	78
Persuadable	33	48
Opposition	49	34

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

Government get out of your way

Government create opportunities for advancement



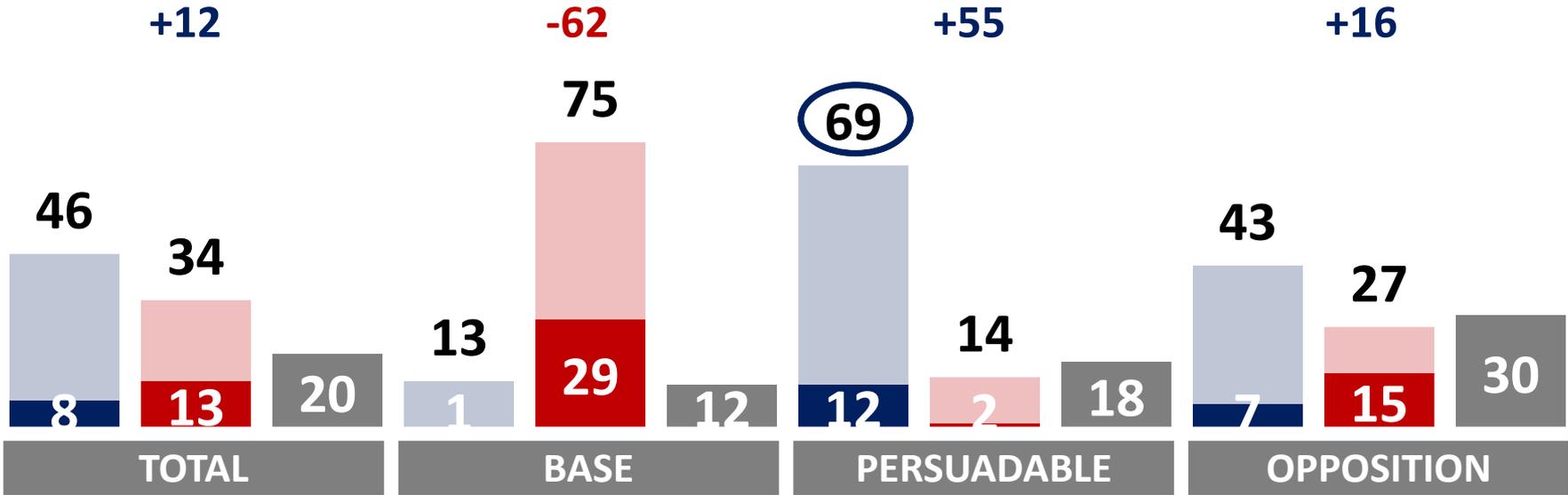
	Get out of way	Create opportunities
Base	22	72
Persuadable	38	47
Opposition	62	18

Not Sure

Minnesotans are somewhat less likely than adults nationwide to agree that the wealthy in this country create jobs and prosperity for everyone. Persuadables are the most likely to agree, even more so than opposition adults.

The wealthy in this country create jobs and prosperity for everyone

Nationwide
50 30



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

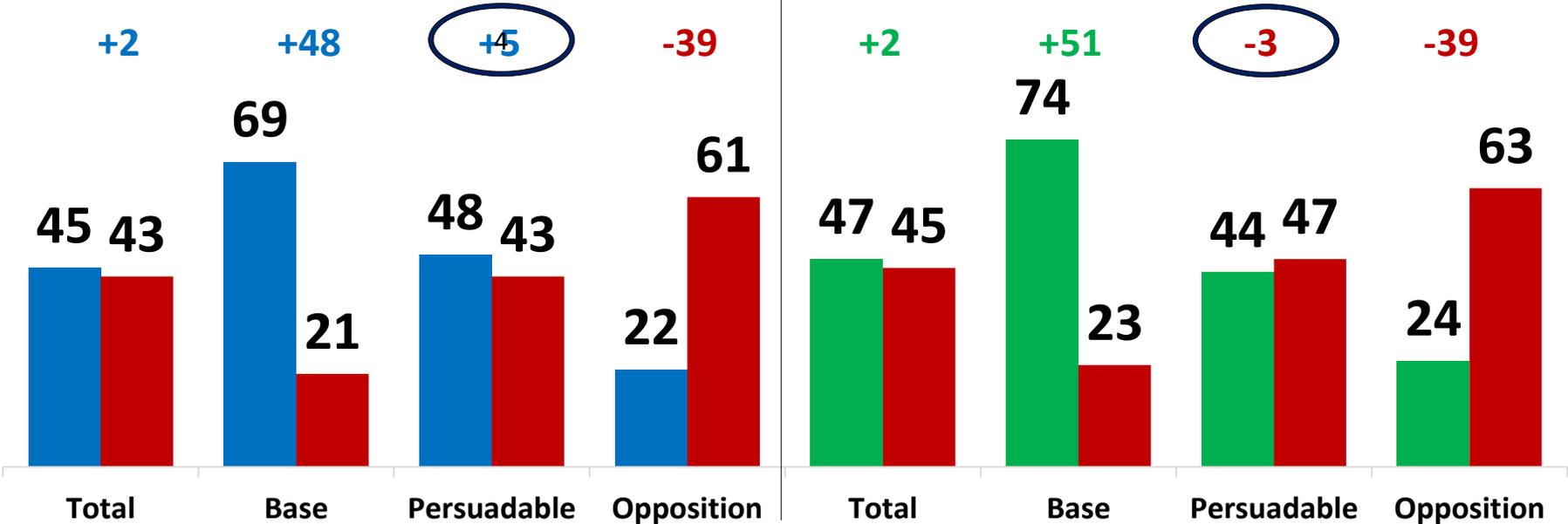
Base adults say we can ensure all people are treated fairly and equally, while opposition adults are more likely to say we will never achieve fair and equal treatment for all people. Invoking state identity helps increase a sense of efficacy among persuadables.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We will never achieve fair and equitable treatment for all people

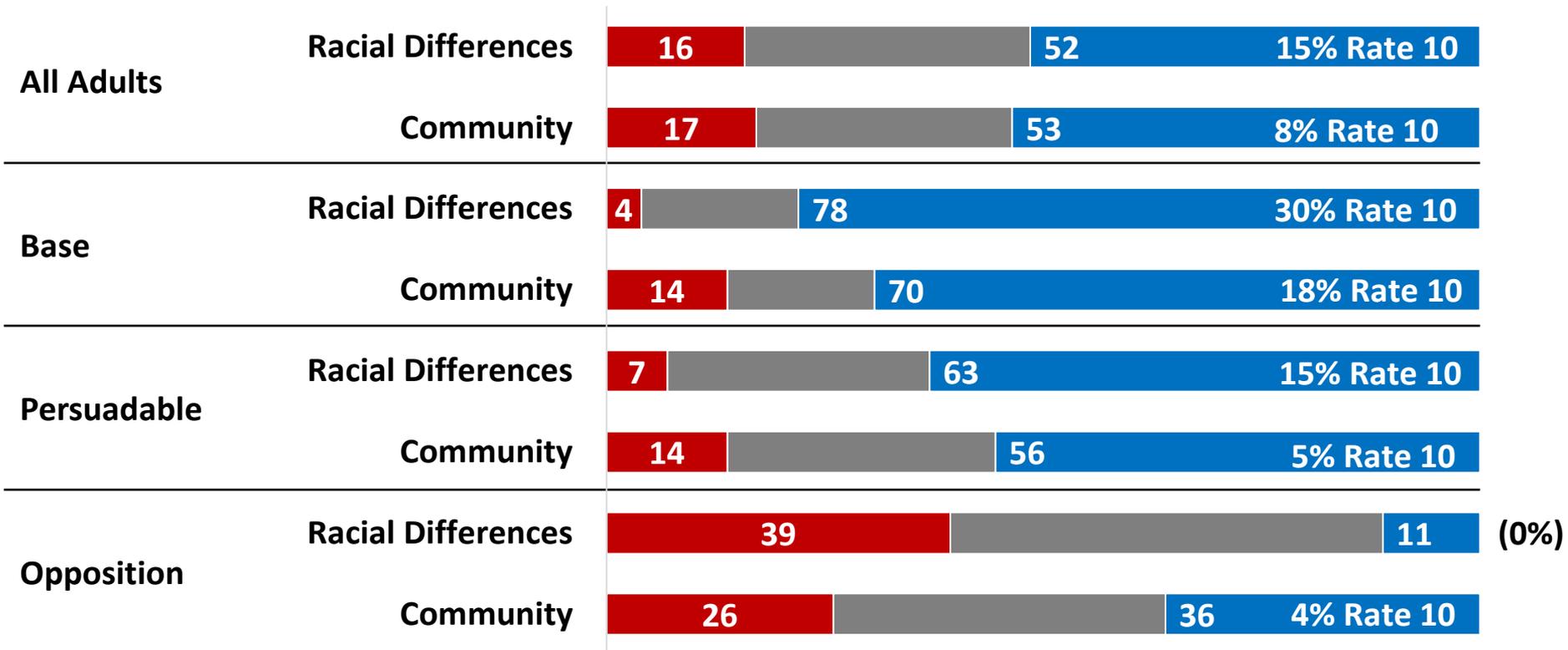
As Minnesotans, if we were really committed to it, we could ensure that all people are treated fairly and equally no matter their race, religion, or country of origin

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



Both base adults and persuadables are more excited about joining together across racial differences, which alienates opposition adults.

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

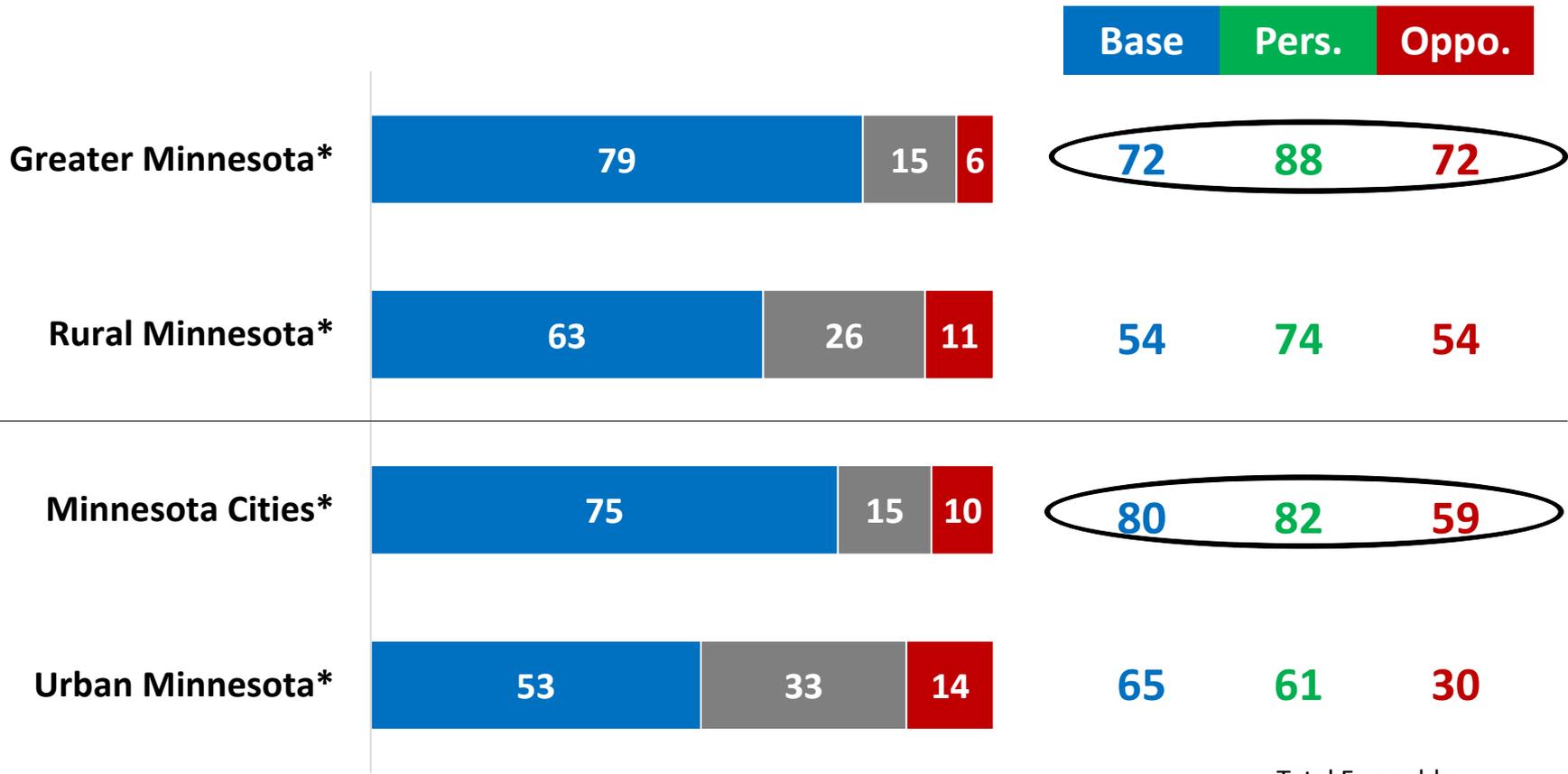


■ 0-4 Not Excited ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Excited

Split Sampled

“Minnesota Cities” generates greater favorability than “Urban Minnesota” among all groups. Using Minnesota Cities and Rural Minnesota gives cities edge in traditional rural/urban divide.

How favorable are you to each of the following?



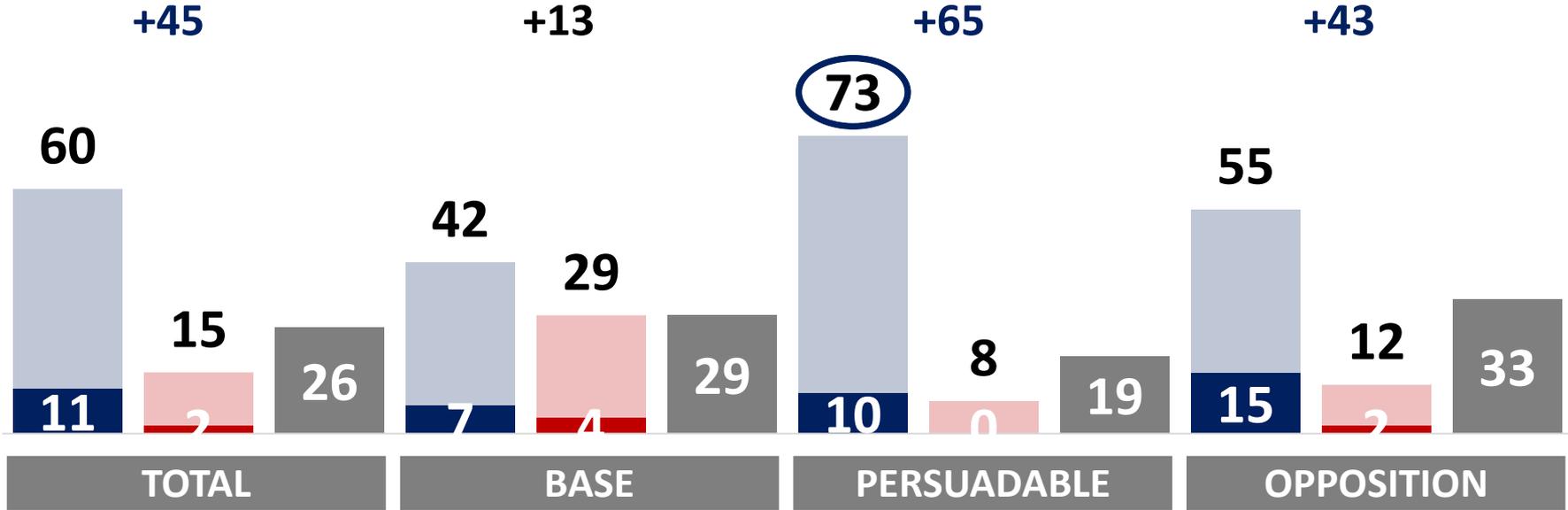
■ Total Favorable ■ No Opinion/Never Heard ■ Total Unfavorable

Total Favorable

*Split Sampled

However, persuadables are more likely than base or opposition adults to say government prioritizes cities too much at the expense of rural areas.

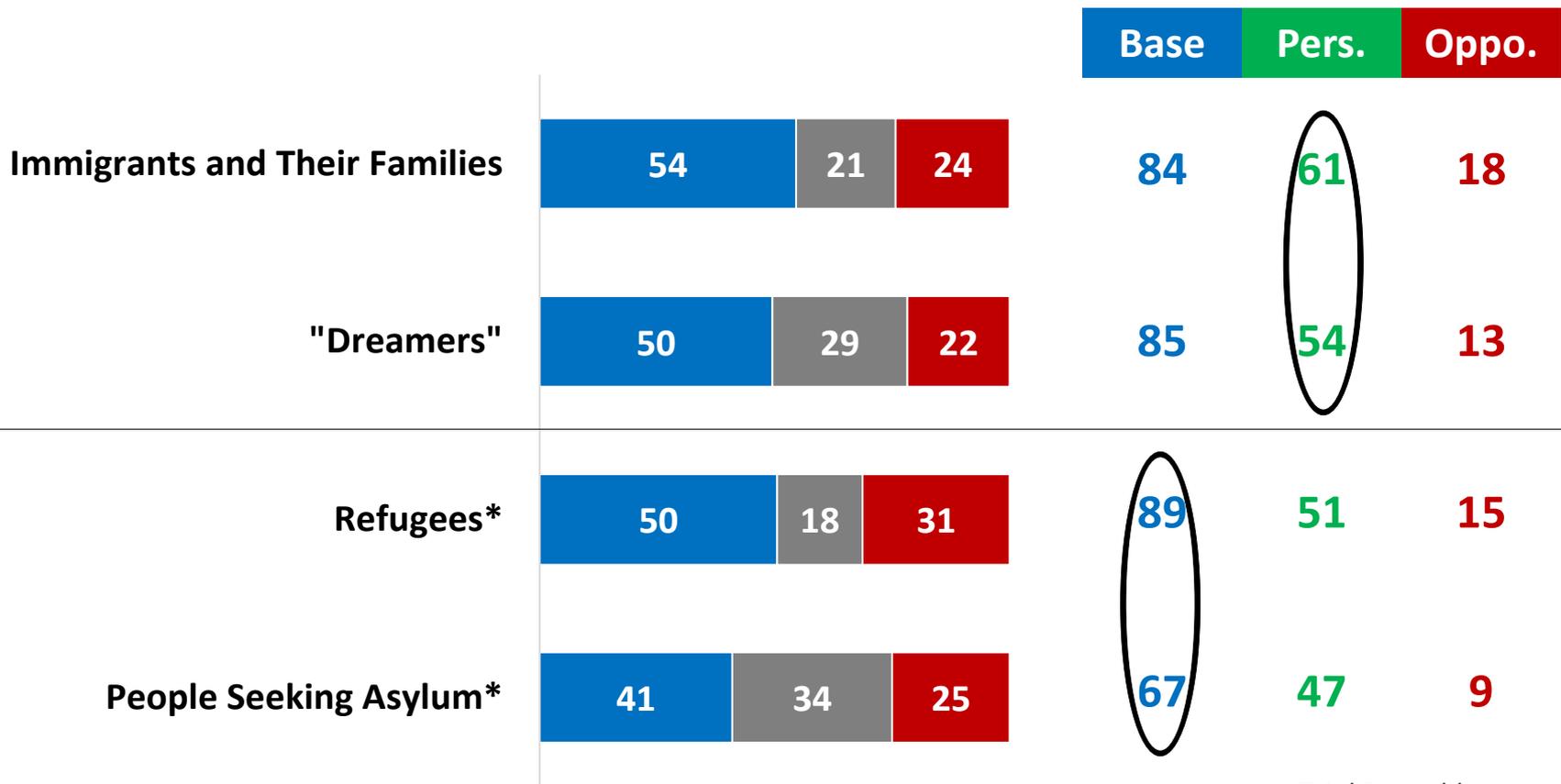
Government prioritizes cities too much at the expense of rural areas



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

Persuadables are more favorable toward “Immigrants and their families” than they are to “Dreamers.” A thirds of Minnesotans are unsure about “people seeking asylum.” Base adults are favorable toward both “refugees” and “people seeking asylum” but are more familiar with “refugees.”

How favorable are you to each of the following?

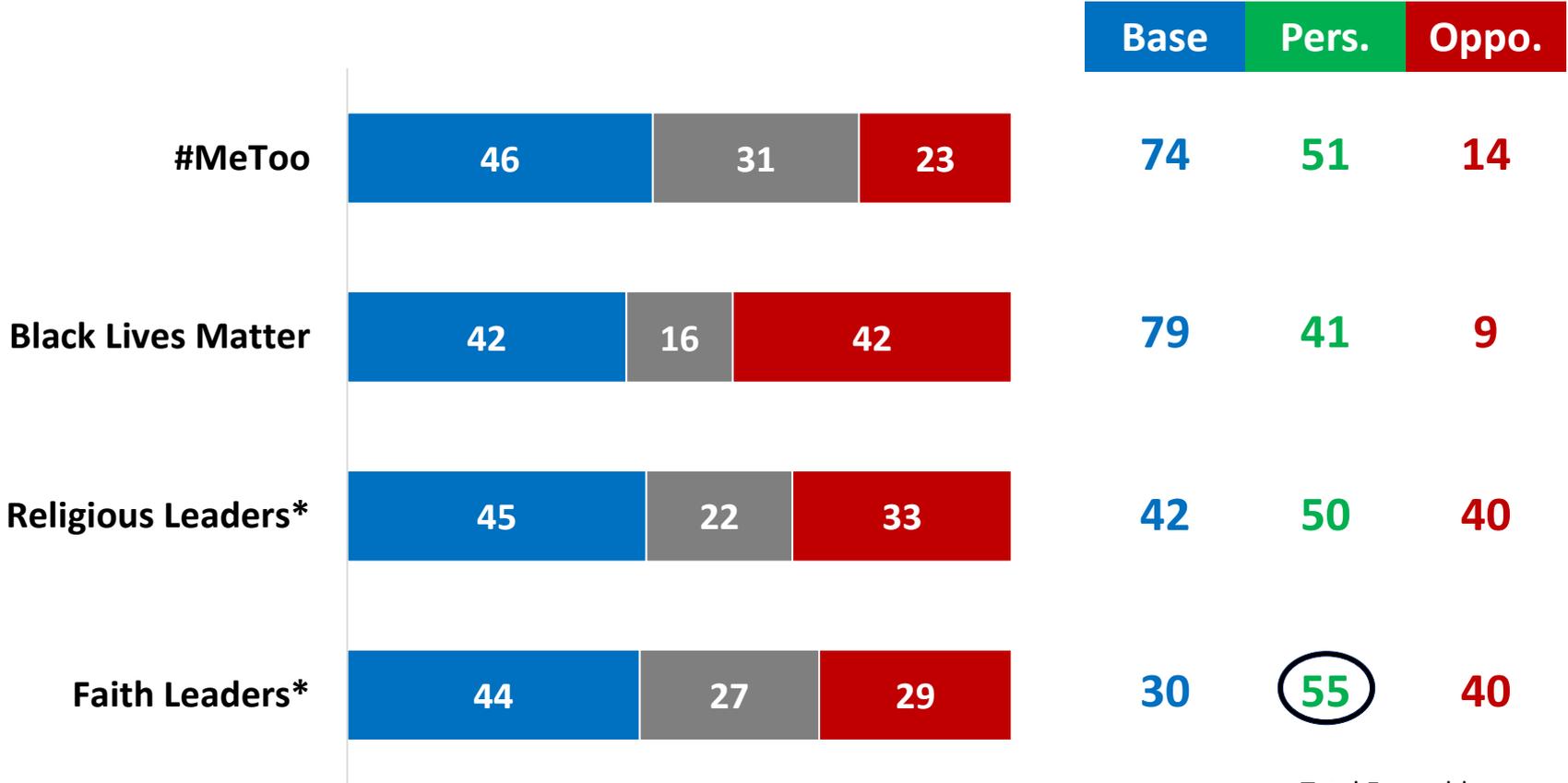


■ Total Favorable ■ No Opinion/Never Heard/Neutral ■ Total Unfavorable

Total Favorable

Base adults are very favorable toward #MeToo and Black Lives Matter, which is more divisive. Base adults respond more favorably to “religious leaders,” while persuadables respond more favorably toward “faith leaders.”

How favorable are you to each of the following?



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

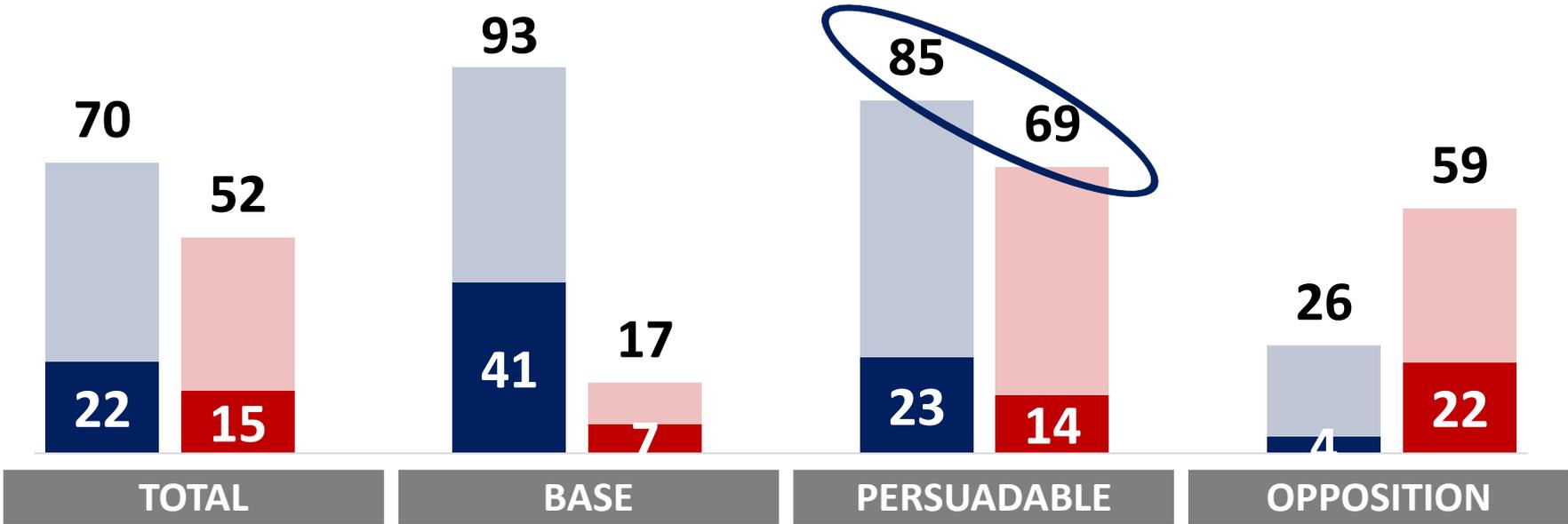
Total Favorable



Persuadables are more likely to believe that focusing on and talking about race is necessary to move forward to greater equality.

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



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Persuadables and opposition adults are most concerned about “too much political correctness.” Persuadables more concerned about reverse racism than racism, but not about discrimination against whites. Base adults are very concerned about racism and bias against all communities of color.

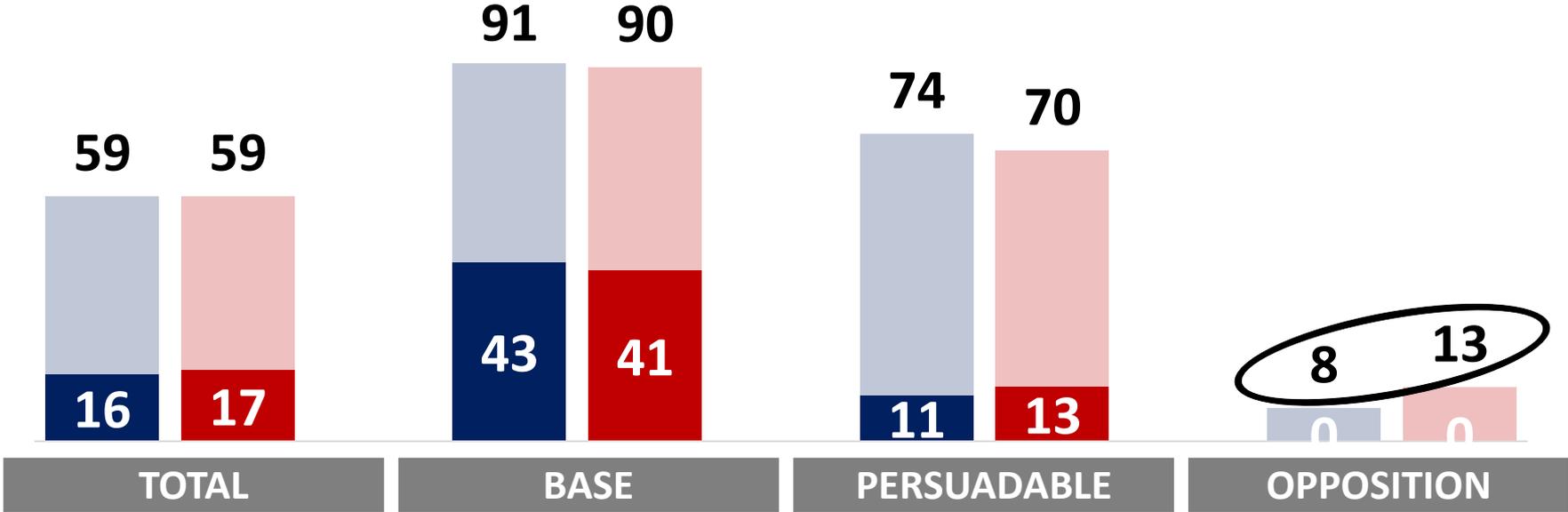
How concerned are you personally about each of the following on a scale of 0 to 10?

[Total 8-10, Very Concerned Shown]	All	B	O	P
Racism*	50	89	16	50
Racial Fear*	45	60	15	56
Bias against Black people*	42	81	8	43
Bias against African Americans*	43	61	10	54
Bias against Latinos*	35	68	7	34
Bias against Hispanics*	38	55	10	46
Reverse Racism*	44	32	44	52
Discrimination against whites*	35	19	36	45
Prejudice against Muslims*	40	72	6	44
Prejudice against people who are Muslim*	44	74	11	47
Fear of people who are Muslims*	31	44	12	37
Fear of Muslims*	42	54	22	46
Bias against Native American people	41	65	13	46
Advantages for people of color*	30	31	13	41
Too much political correctness*	57	20	60	76

Base adults overwhelmingly say that Black people face greater obstacles to success than whites. Persuadables agree but at weaker levels, while opposition adults reject the idea.

Black people face greater obstacles to economic success than whites

African Americans face greater obstacles to economic success than whites



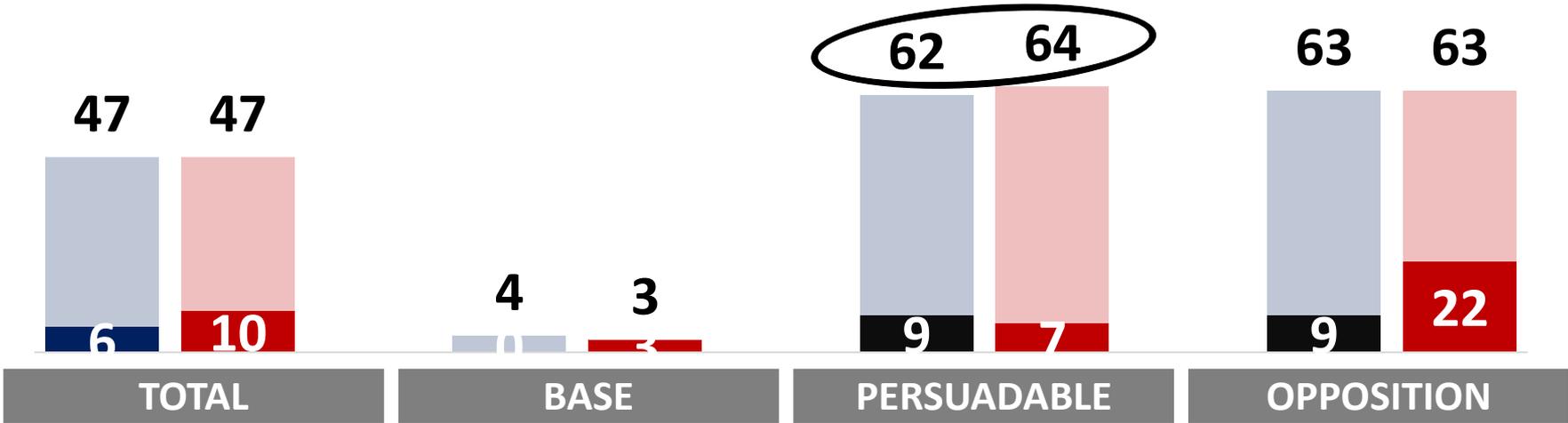
Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Persuadables also believe people of color who cannot get ahead are mostly responsible for their own condition, underscoring the competing schemas in this debate.

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

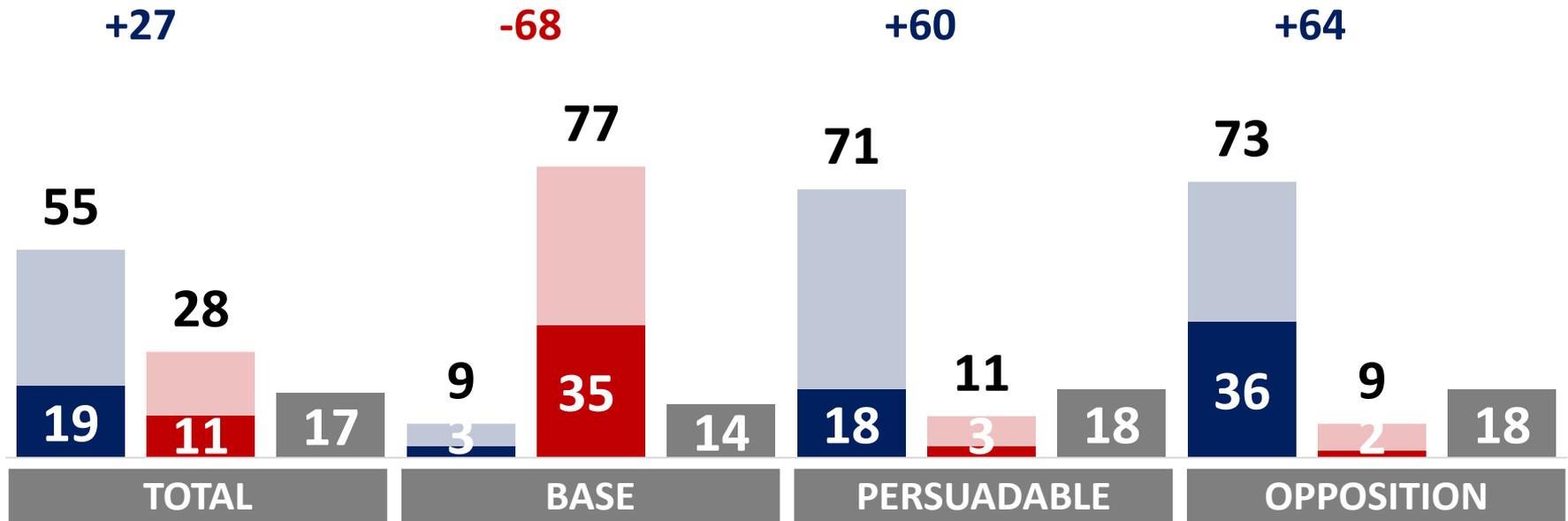


Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

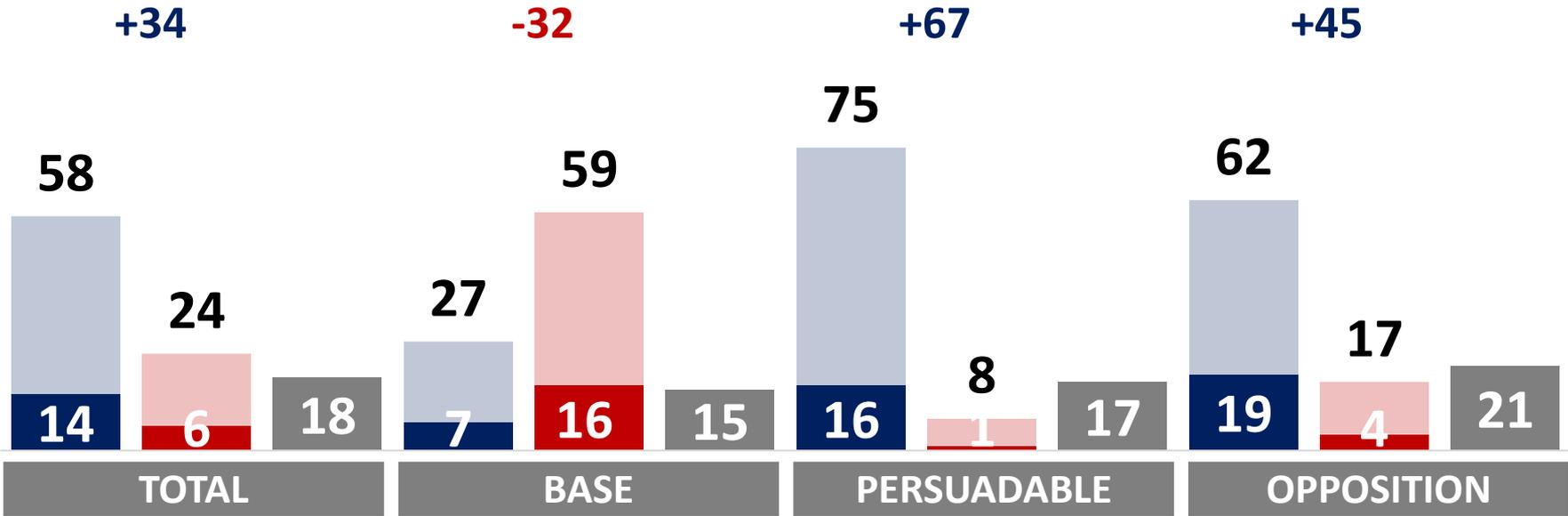
A majority of persuadable and opposition adults agree that people of color and immigrants receive benefits others pay for, which base adults reject.

People of color and immigrants often receive special benefits the rest of us pay for



Three quarters of persuadable adults believe fears of immigrants and people of different religions are legitimate; a majority believe so higher than opposition adults.

In today's world, people have legitimate fears of immigrants and people of different religions



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



Beating Divide and Conquer

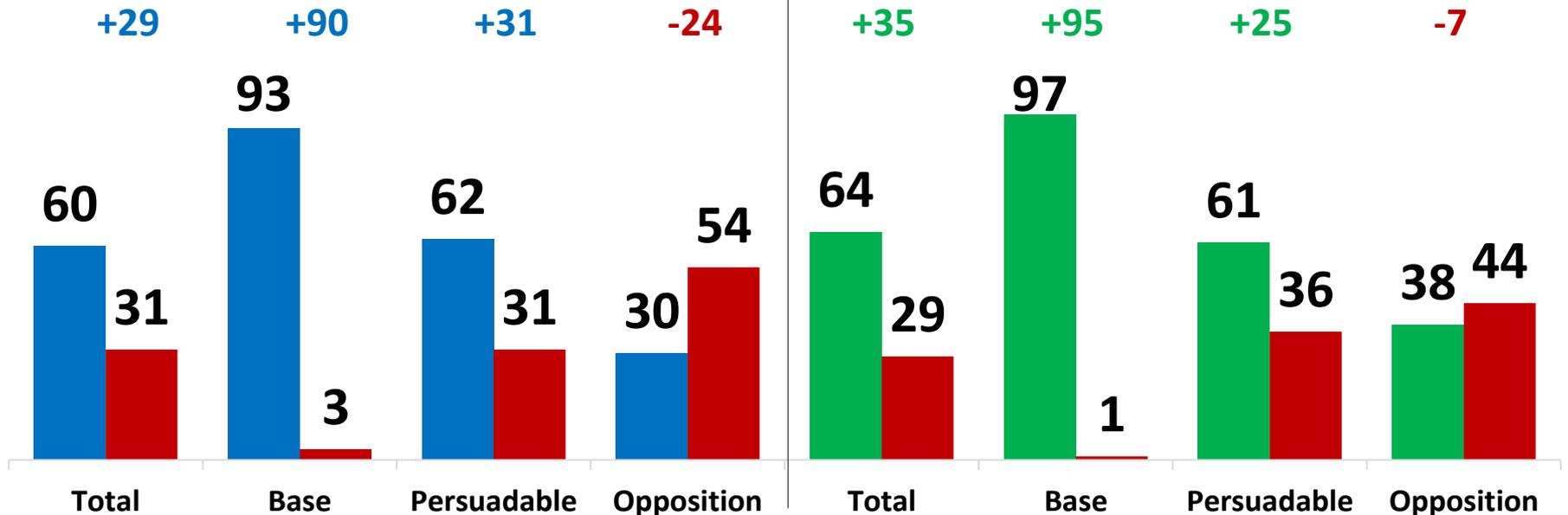
Evoking race more effectively argues an agenda for working people with persuadables.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

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

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

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



Connecting divide and conquer tactics to blame for government resonates with base adults and alienates opposition adults, but it has no impact on persuadables who tend to agree there is a culture of people expecting things to be handed to them.

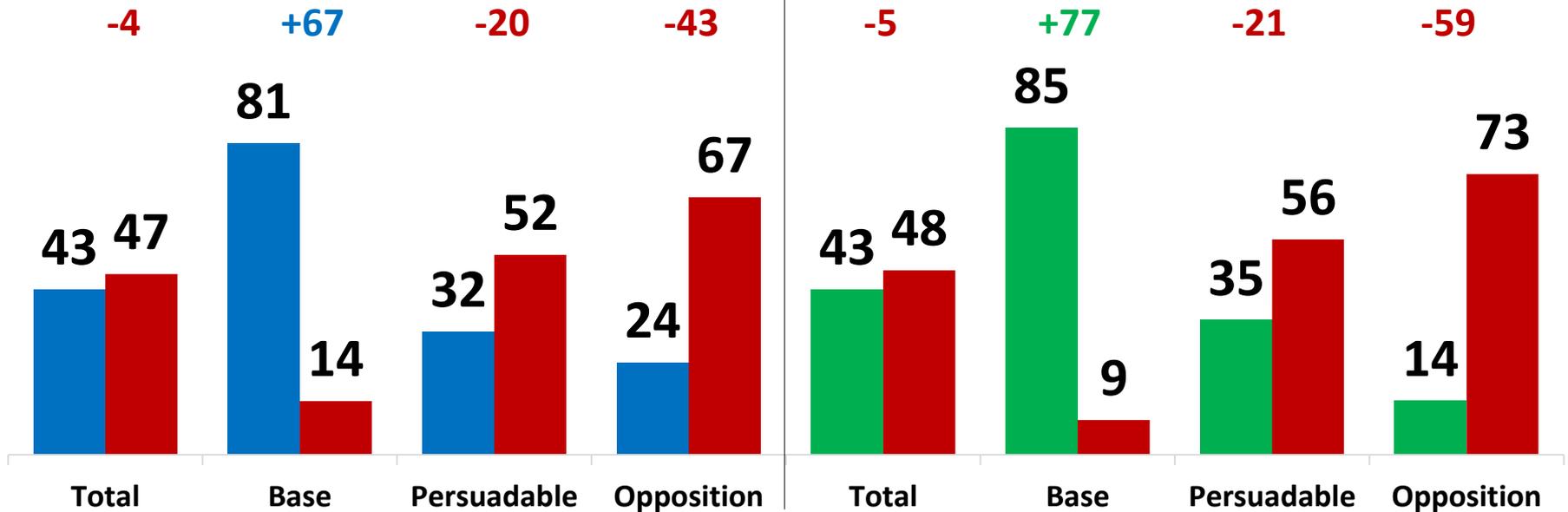
Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

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

What 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 and blaming government when things go wrong so they can rig the rules in their favor



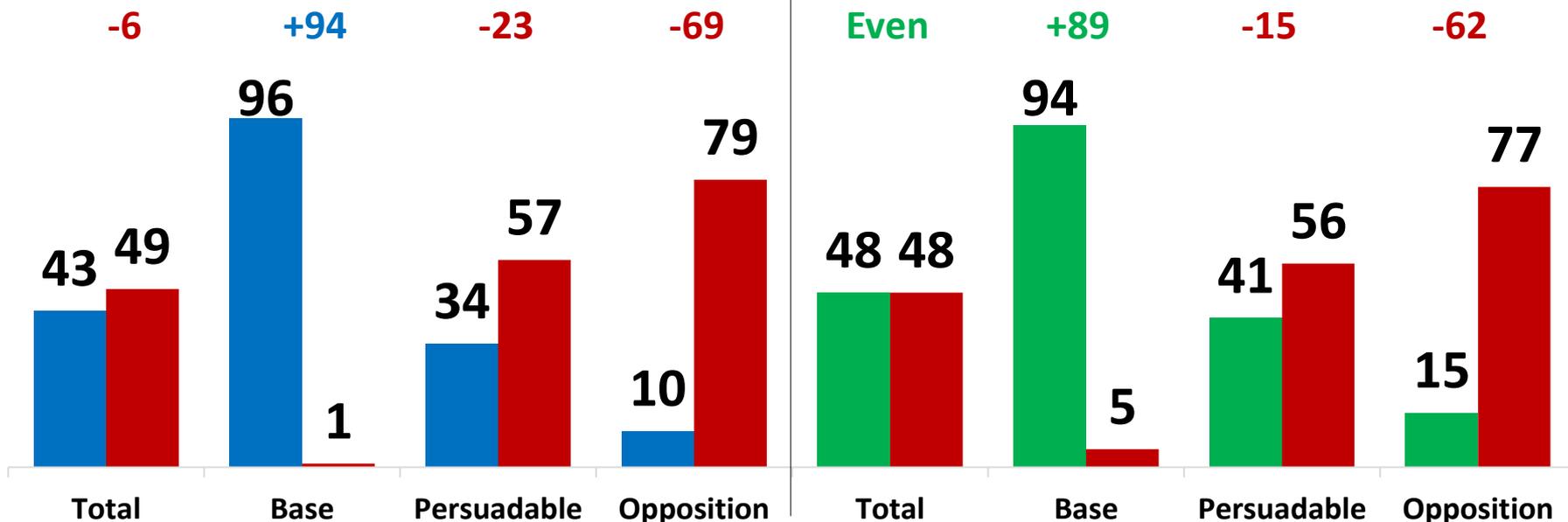
Calling out division is not enough. A positive call to action resonates more strongly with persuadables than focusing just on the politics of division.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We need elected leaders who will put hard working Americans first and stop giving our tax dollars away through handouts for people in this country illegally and those who don't work hard

We need elected leaders who reject the politics of division and who call out attempts to pit people against each other by claiming only people who look a certain way are worthy of respect

We need elected leaders who recognize we are stronger when we work together and who ensure that our economy is fair so we can work to create a better life for our families



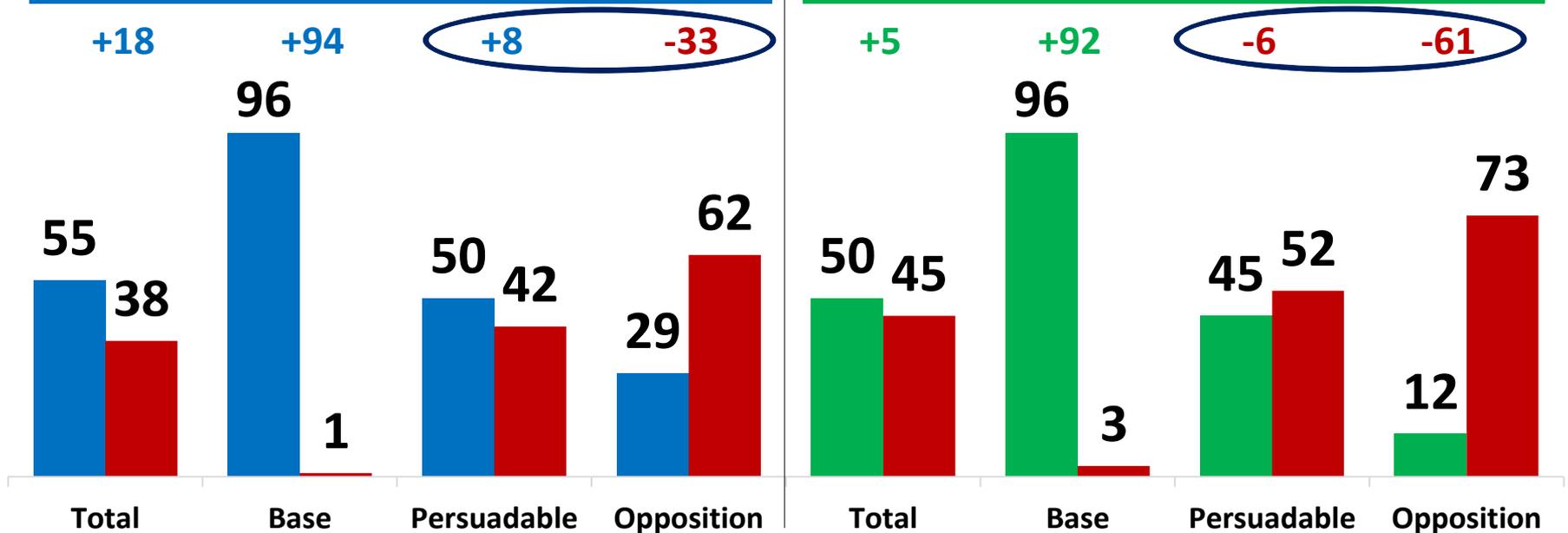
Describing divide and conquer tactics as “bullying” alienates the opposition but also turns away some persuadables.

Which of the following comes closer to your opinion?

We need elected leaders who will keep us safe from terrorists, secure our borders and prevent illegal immigrants from taking advantage of our country

We need elected leaders who will reject the divide and conquer tactics of their opponents and put the interests of working people first, whether we’re white, Black or brown

We need elected leaders who will reject the divide and conquer **bullying** tactics of their opponents and put the interests of working people first, whether we’re white, Black or brown



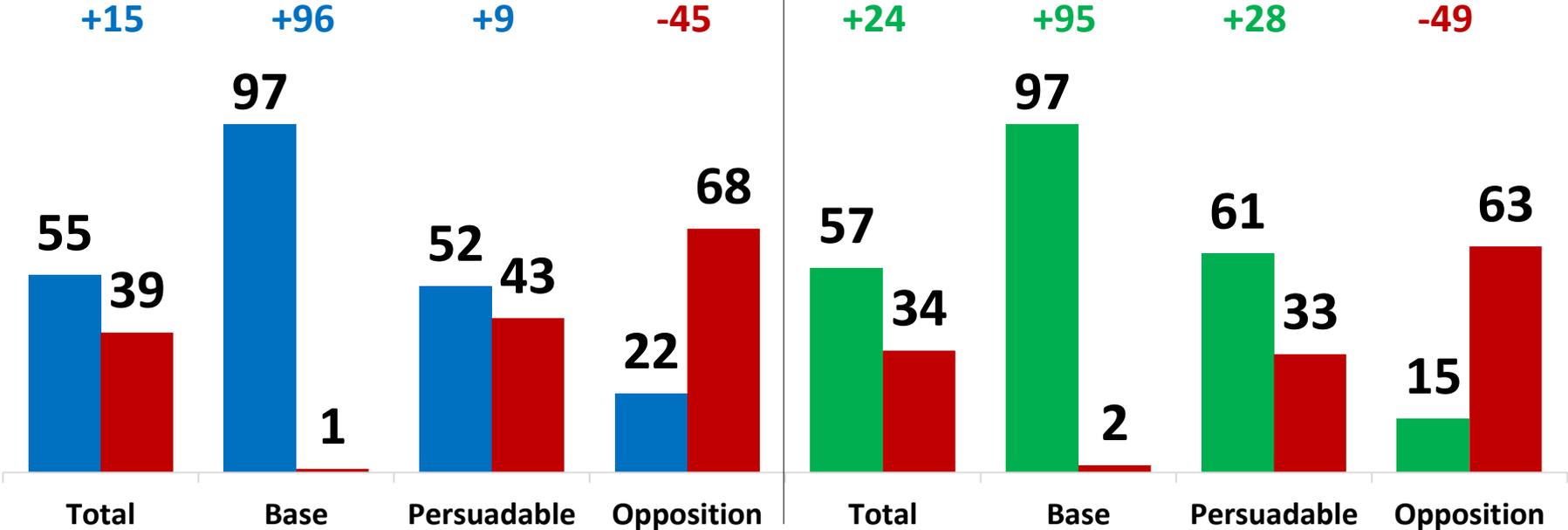
Using “innovative solutions” creates higher levels of support among persuadable adults.

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 **to move forward**, to tackle new challenges and ensure equal opportunities for people of every background, race, and religious beliefs

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

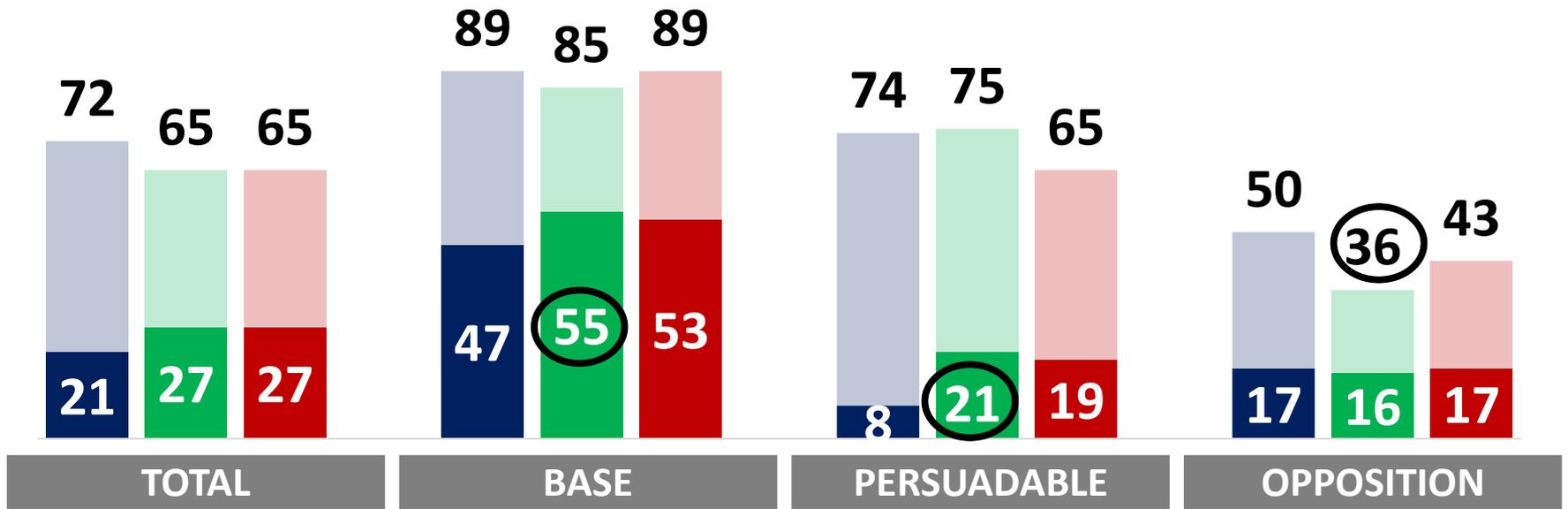


Describing a villain as the “wealthy few” generates the strongest intensity with base adults and persuadables and alienates opposition adults.

The greedy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor

The wealthy few have rigged the economic rules in their favor

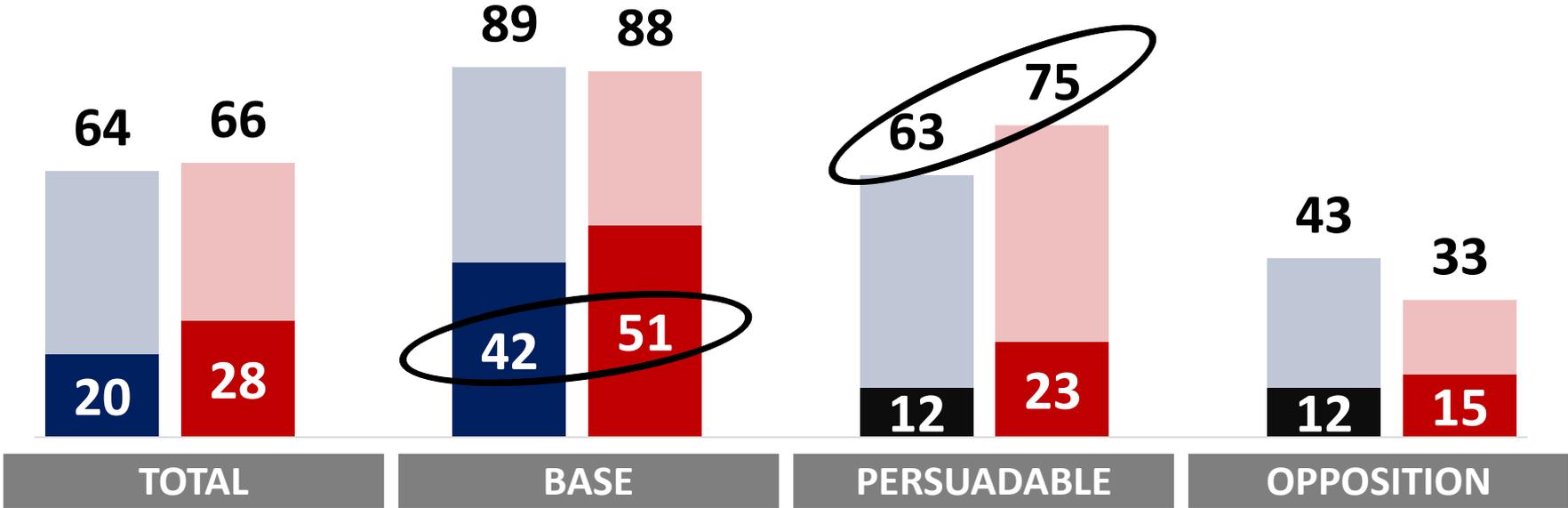
Greedy and powerful bosses have rigged the economic rules in their favor



Connecting power to wealth increases agreement with both the base and persuadables that the powerful benefit by dividing the rest of us to rig the rules in their favor.

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

The **rich and powerful** benefit by dividing the rest of us while they rig the economic rules to benefit themselves and keep themselves in power



Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

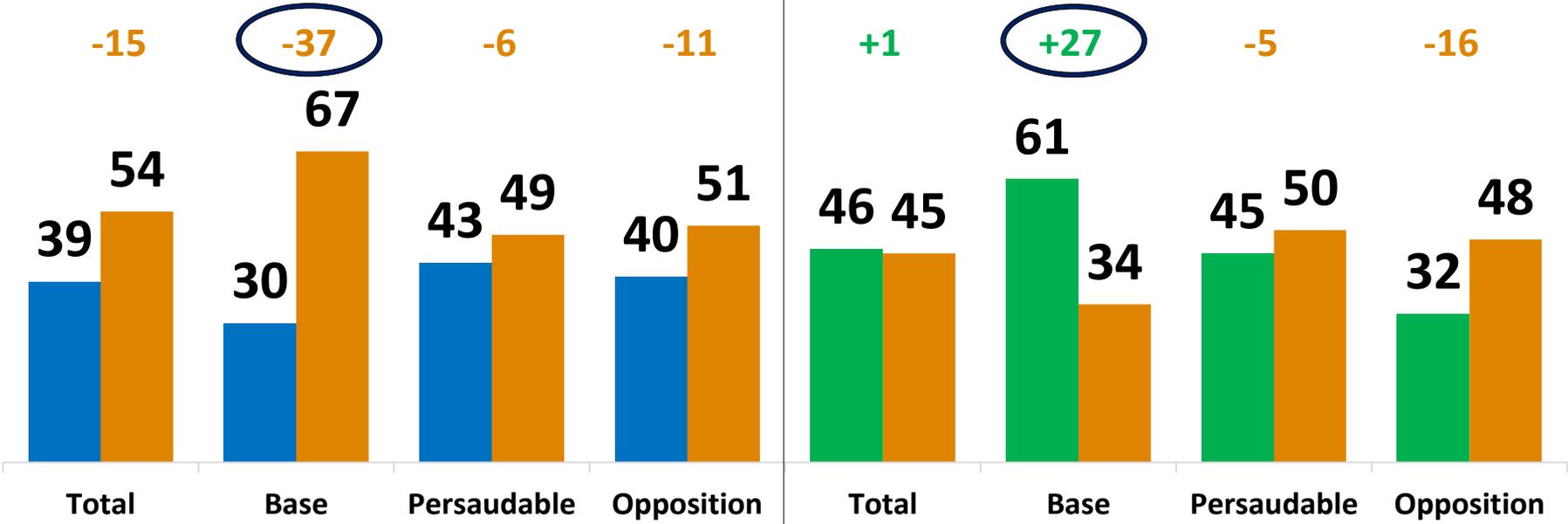
Persuadables tend to want effective advocates in their elected leaders. Invoking populism resonates with base adults, who want leaders who are “connected to the struggles working people face and prioritize us over their wealthy donors.”

When you think of elected officials, which of the following is more important to you?

That they are effective in advocating for the issues that we care about

That they understand and have experience with the same challenges that most Minnesotans face

That they are connected to the struggles working people face and prioritize us over their wealthy donors



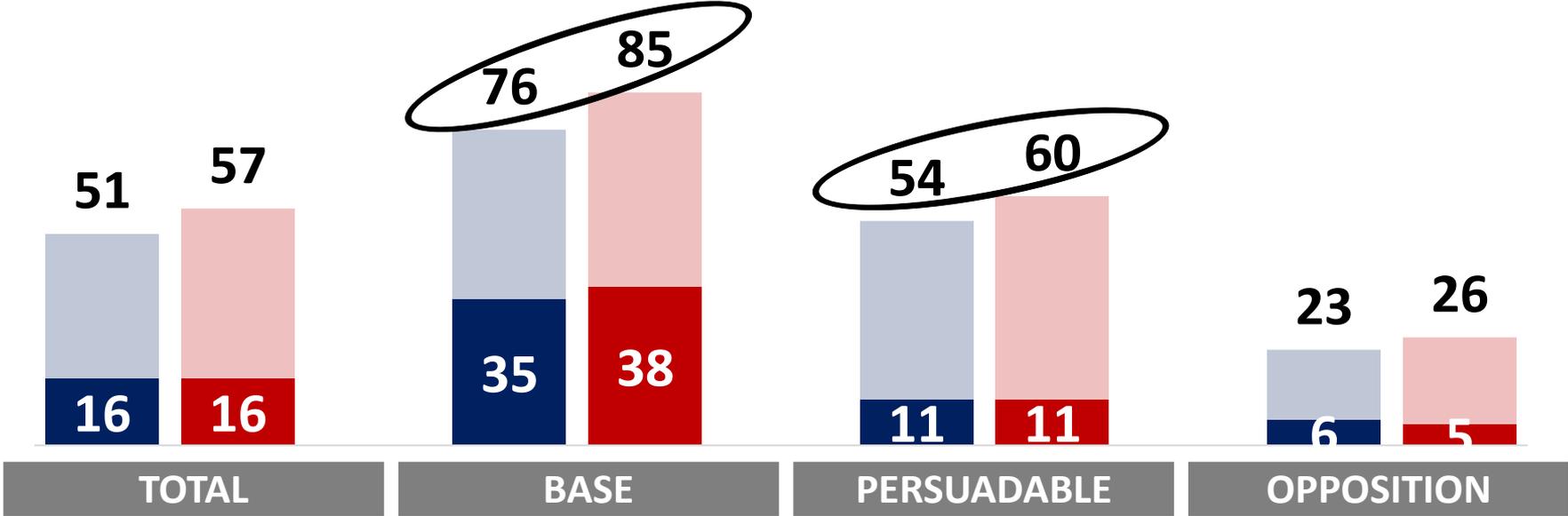


Values and Language

Invoking race by saying “people of color” to describe divide and conquer tactics resonates more strongly with the base and persuadables than a purely class-based analysis.

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

Wealthy special interests benefit when they can shame and blame people of color and people struggling to make ends meet for the hardships all working people face



Total Agree: 6-10

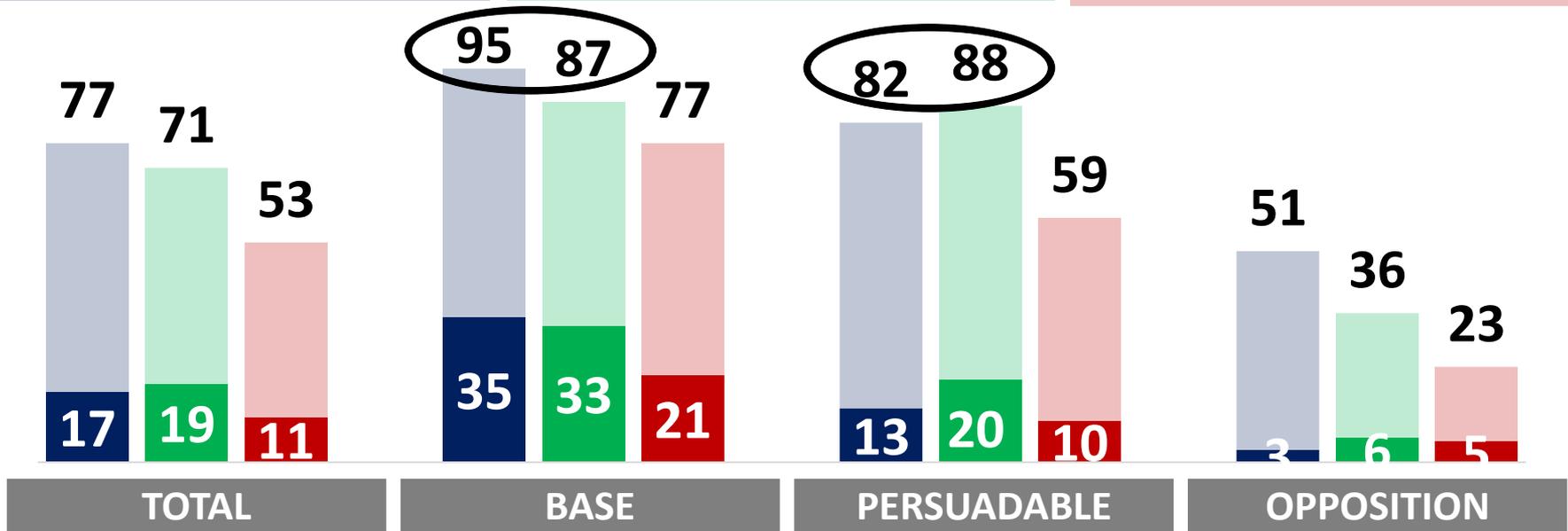
 Strongly Agree: 10

Both the base and persuadables respond strongly to “working together” and “acting as a team” to restore the balance in our economy. Alliances are a weaker concept.

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

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

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

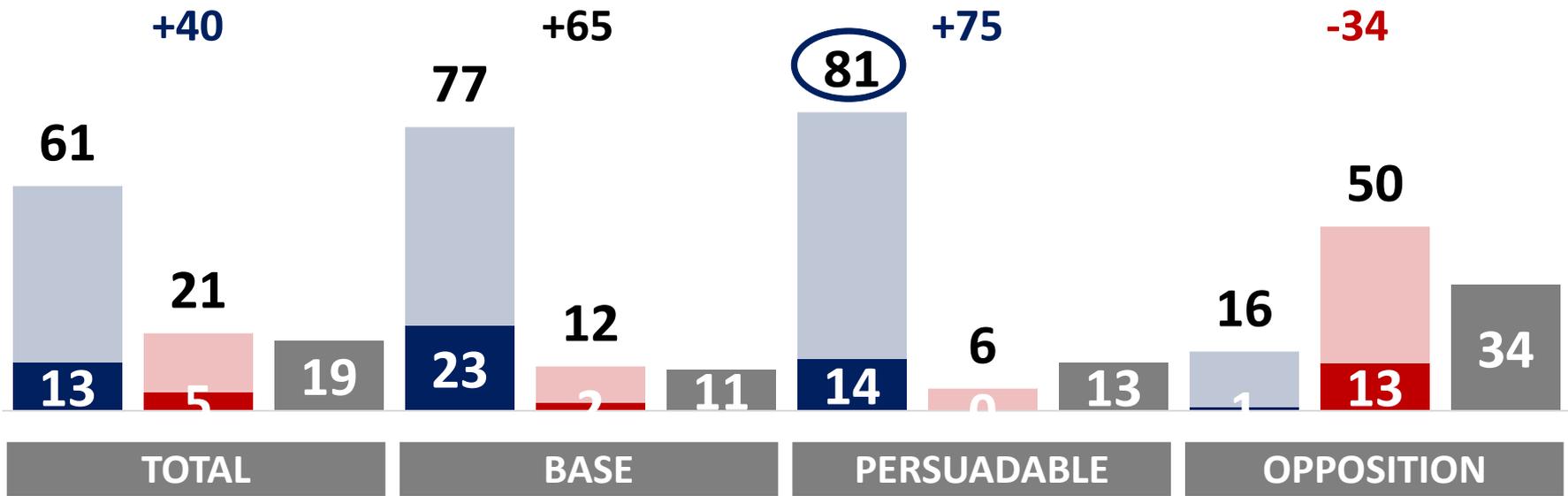


Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Both the base and persuadables believe Minnesota leads the region because of its diversity and because it is an open minded and forward thinking place.

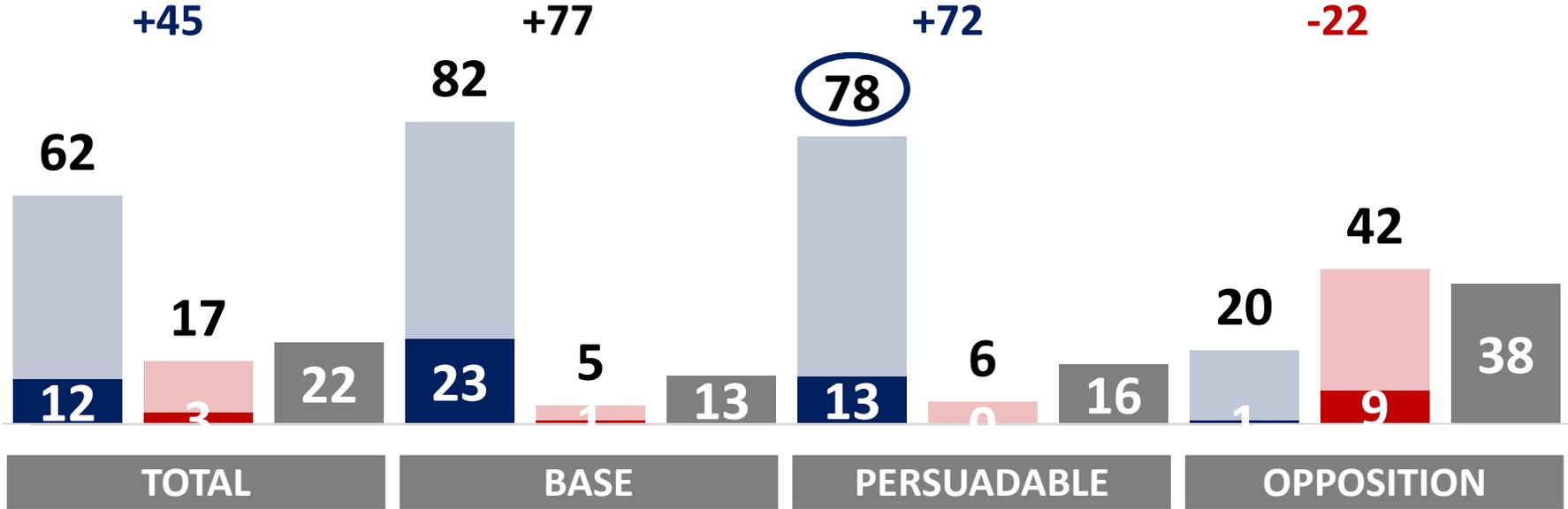
Minnesota is leading the region because we have people of many races, beliefs, and backgrounds making ours an open-minded and forward-thinking place



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

Persuadables and base adults say our cities are engines of innovation and prosperity, because “people from all walks of life move to them.”

Our cities are engines of innovation and prosperity largely because people from all walks of life move to them

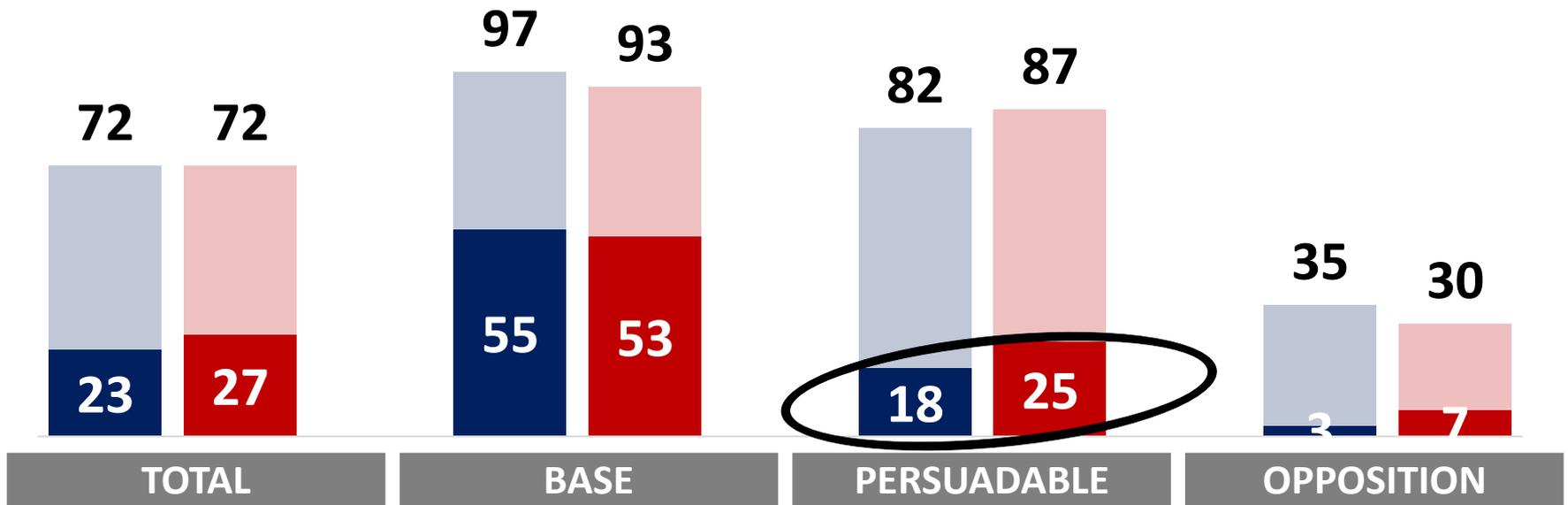


Total Agree: 6-10
 Strongly Agree: 10
 Total Disagree: 0-4
 Strongly Disagree: 0
 Neutral: 5/DK

It is more effective to evoke state pride instead of national pride with persuadables. Both are strong with base adults.

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

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



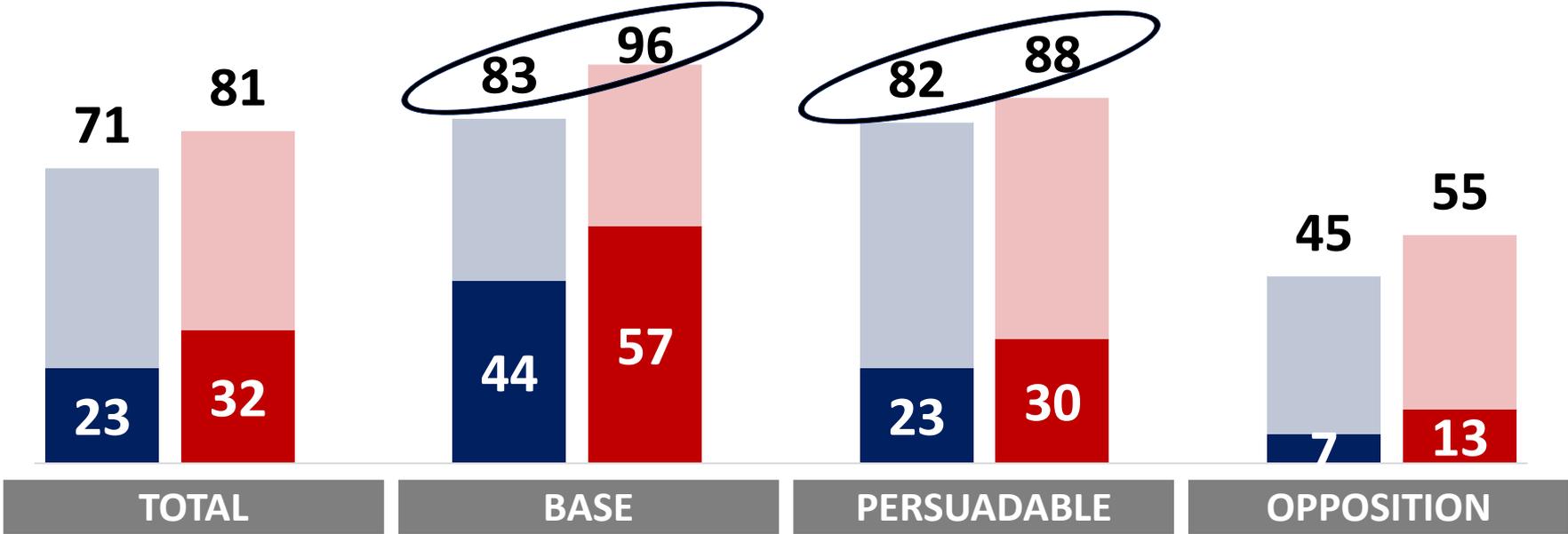
Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

Invoking state pride increases the desire to protect people from those who would bully them for their religious beliefs with both base and persuadable adults.

As caring people, we should protect people who practice their religious beliefs from others who would bully them

As Minnesotans, we should protect people who practice their religious beliefs from others who would bully them



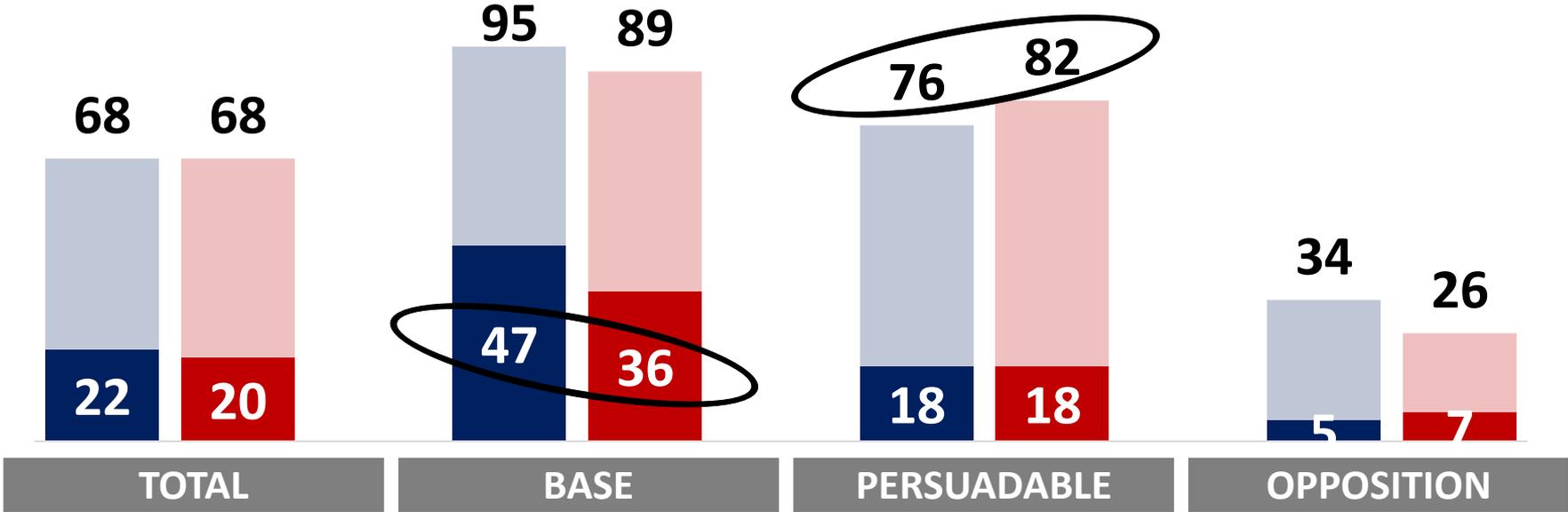
Total Agree: 6-10

 Strongly Agree: 10

A container metaphor is more effective with persuadables, but less effective with base adults. Learning from each other, which is associated with “Minnesota Nice” is a strong value with base adults.

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

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



  Total Agree: 6-10
  Strongly Agree: 10



Messaging

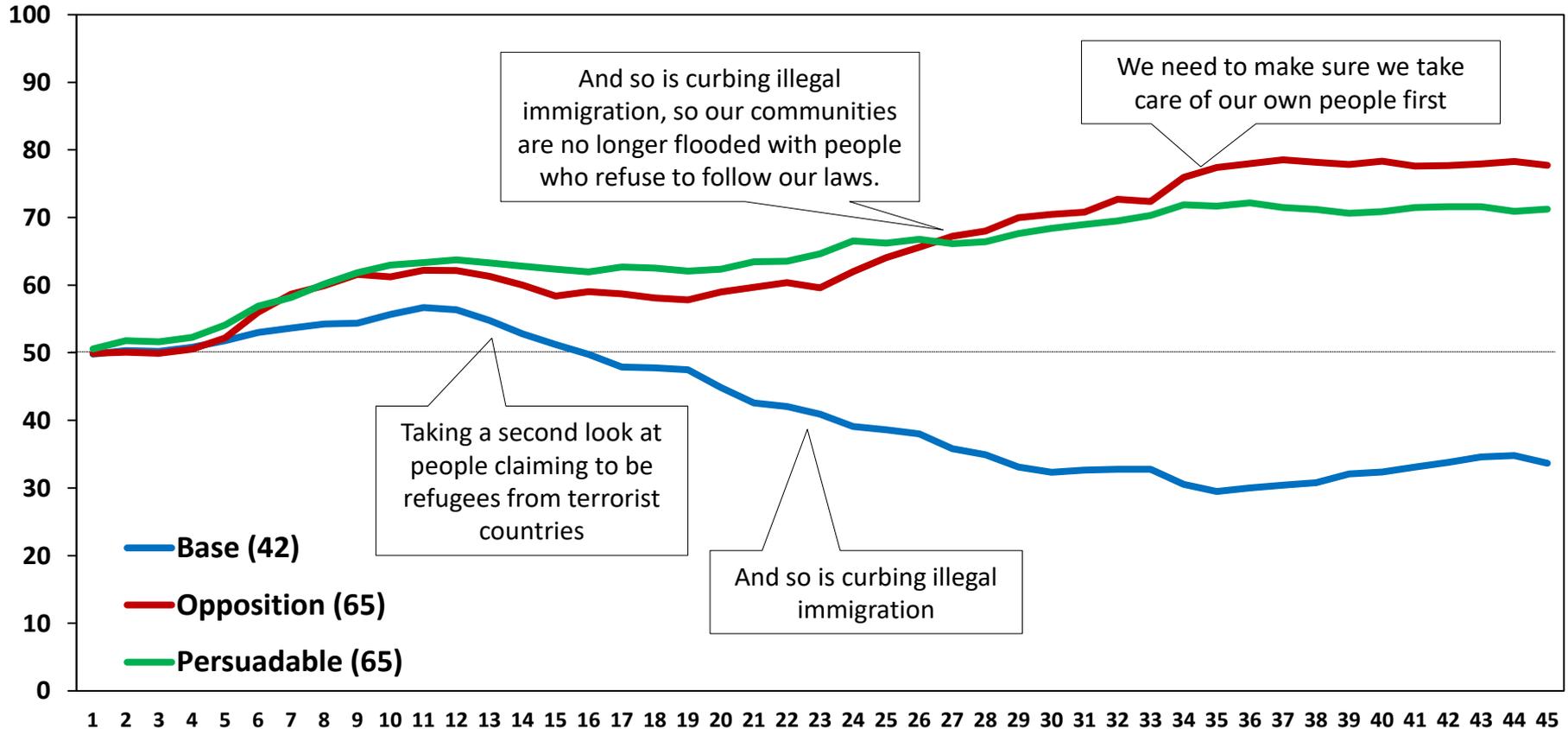
Summary of Message Ratings

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Persuadable Convincing Rating)	Mean Convincing Rating				Mean Dial Rating				Mean Share Rating			
	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O	All	B	P	O
America's Strength	67	80	70	49	66	75	70	53	49	62	58	17
Minnesota's Strength	67	84	68	49	63	73	66	52	48	62	52	21
Future	64	77	68	47	60	67	63	50	46	60	55	17
Working People	64	78	67	44	59	69	61	48	51	65	62	18
Minnesota Nice	66	78	66	54	63	70	64	56	50	61	55	26
Come Together	63	81	65	45	63	70	65	54	46	56	54	16
Divide – Come Together	63	77	64	47	60	65	62	52	43	50	54	16
Solution: Reform System/Reflective	64	80	64	47	61	71	60	52	50	61	55	25
Future – Government	63	82	63	43	58	69	59	49	46	57	50	22
Colorblind Economic Populist	62	79	62	45	58	66	58	50	45	56	51	21
Working People – Republicans Only	55	78	54	32	54	66	54	43	40	49	44	17
Opposition	55	26	65	69	59	42	65	65	39	15	53	45



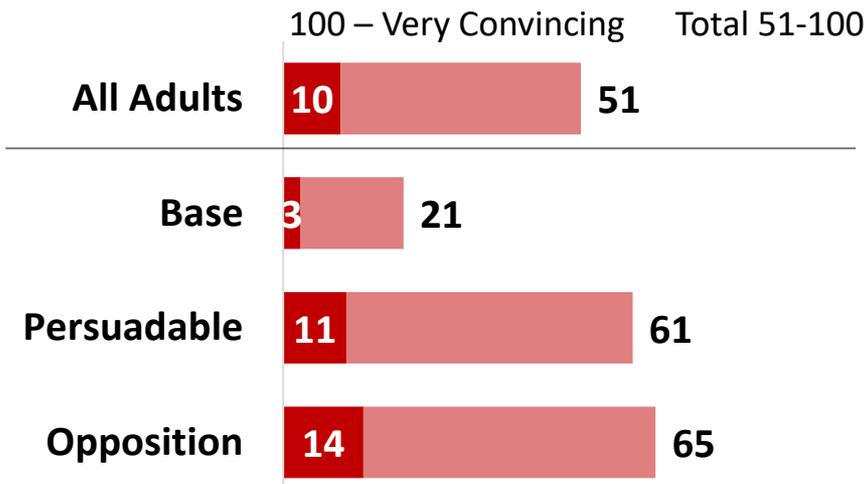
Opposition

Our leaders must prioritize keeping us safe and ensuring that hard working Minnesotans have the freedom to prosper. Taking a second look at people claiming to be refugees from terrorist countries or at people from places overrun with drugs and criminal gangs is just common sense. And so is curbing illegal immigration, so our communities are no longer flooded with people who refuse to follow our laws. We need to make sure we take care of our own people first, especially the people that politicians have ignored to cater to whatever special interest groups line their pockets, yell the loudest, or riot in the street.

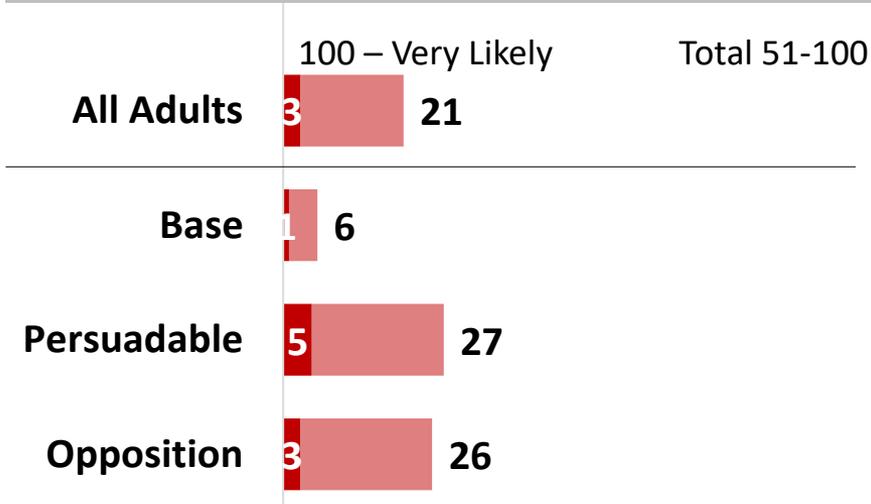


Opposition

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS (for them)

- ✓ Alienates base at “taking a second look at people claiming to be refugees.” Base continue to dial away.
- ✓ Strong dial rating with persuadables.
- ✓ Persuadables dial up on “common sense” explanation of profiling, and “we need to make sure we take care of our own people first.”

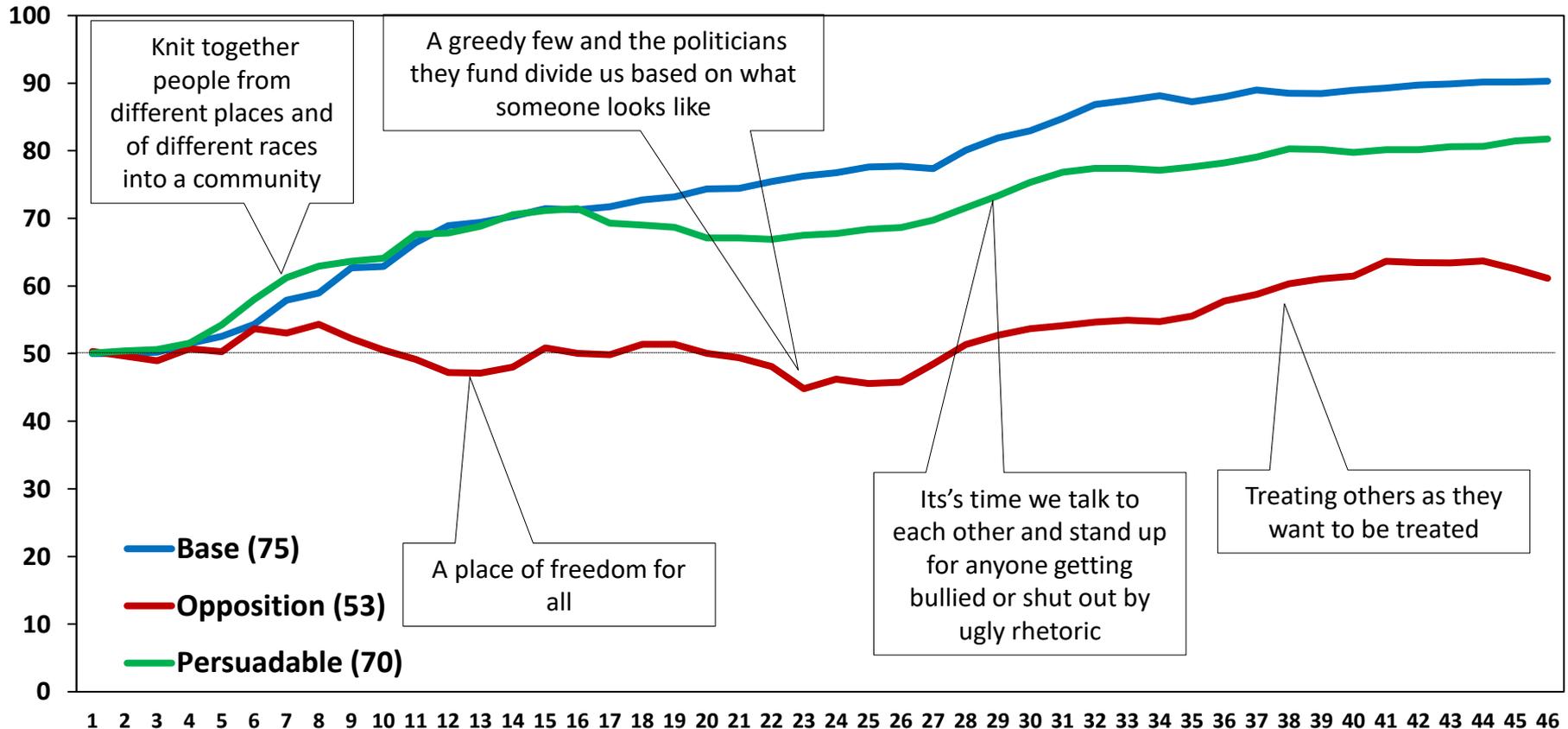
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Low share ratings.
- X Low intensity for convincing ratings.



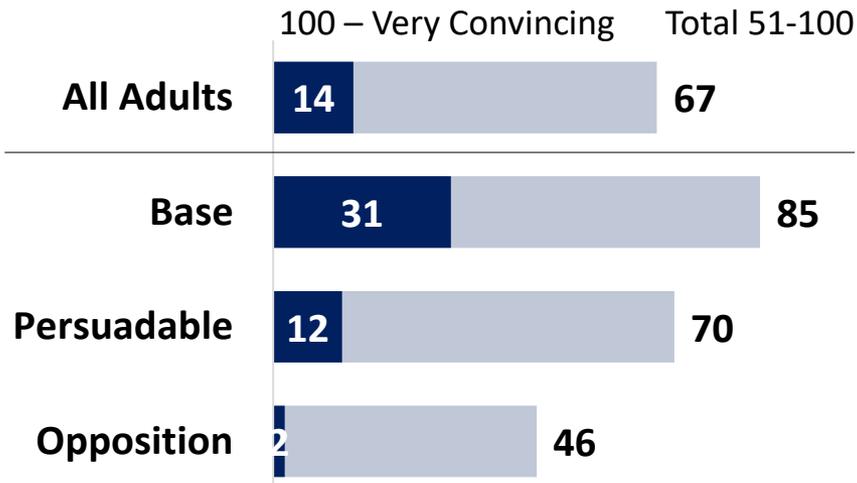
America's Strength

America's strength comes from our ability to be there for each other – to knit together people from different places and of different races into a community. For this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let a greedy few and the politicians they fund divide us based on what someone looks like, where they come from or how much money they have. It's time we talk to each other and stand up for anyone getting bullied or shut out by ugly rhetoric. We must pick leaders who honor the Golden Rule, treating others as they want to be treated. Together, we can make America a place where freedom and community are for everyone, no exceptions.

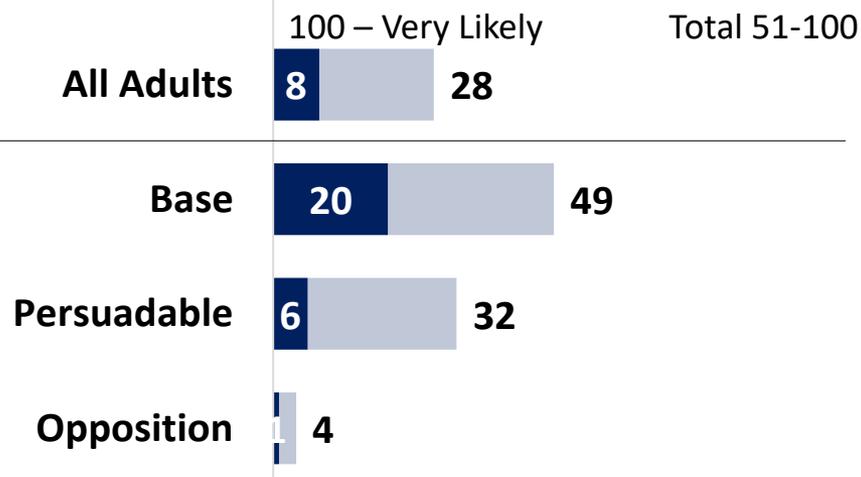


America's Strength

How convincing did you find this message?



How Likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off with base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on “to knit together people from different places and of different races into a community” while the opposition dial down.
- ✓ Calling out politicians who divide us based on what someone looks like is strong with base and persuadables.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “it’s time we talk to each other and stand up for anyone getting bullied by ugly rhetoric.”

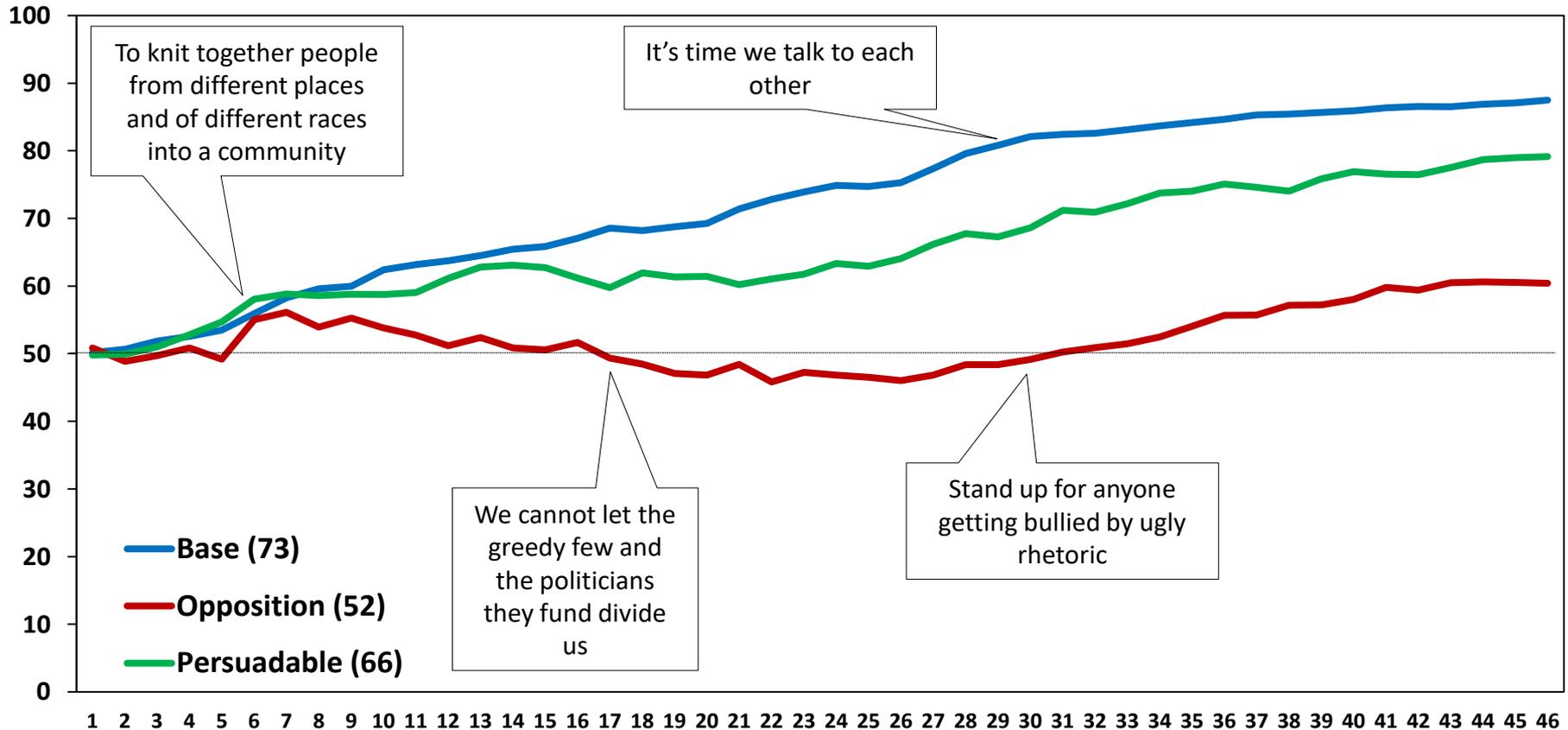
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables dial down slightly at mention of “greedy few and politicians they fund.”



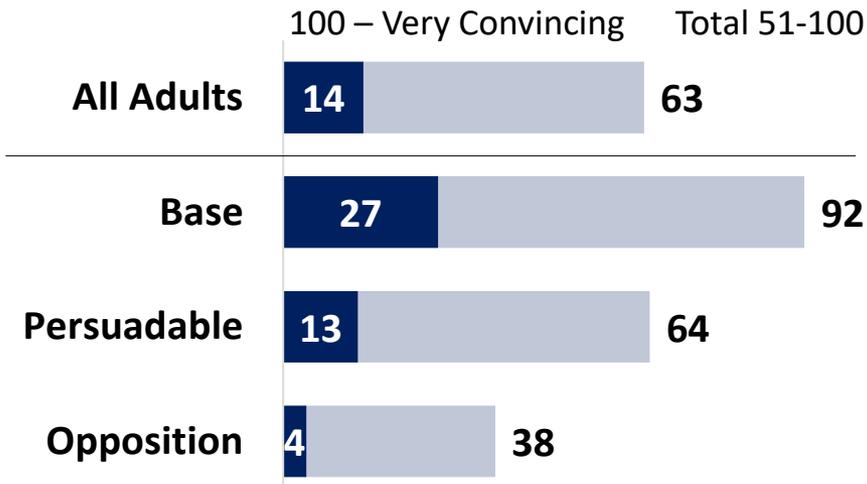
Minnesota's Strength

Minnesota's strength comes from our ability to be there for each other – to knit together people from different places and of different races into a community. For this to be a place of freedom for all, we cannot let a greedy few and the politicians they fund divide us based on what someone looks like, where they come from, or how much money they have. It's time we talk to each other and stand up for anyone getting bullied by ugly rhetoric. We must pick leaders who honor the Golden Rule, treating others as they want to be treated. Together, we can make Minnesota a place where freedom and community are for everyone, no exceptions.

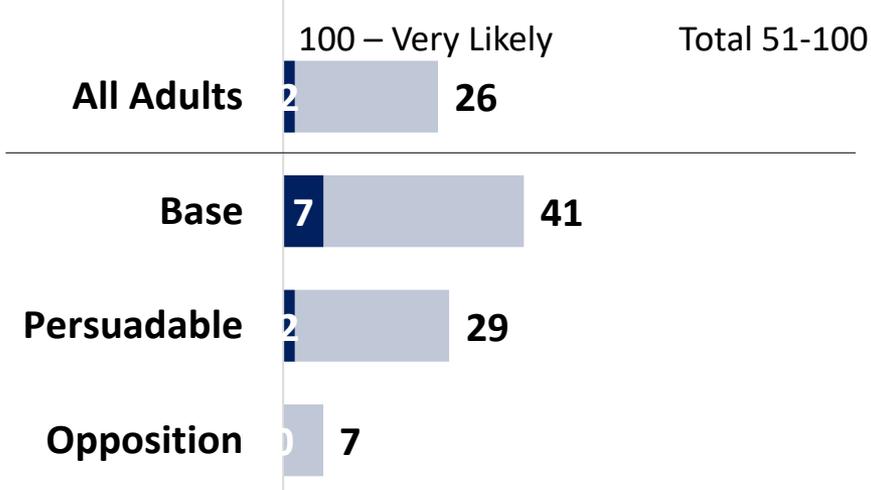


Minnesota's Strength

How convincing did you find this message?



How Likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong convincing rating with base.
- ✓ Base and persuadables continually dial up throughout.
- ✓ Strong shared Minnesotan value “to knit together people from different places and of different races into a community” while opposition begins dialing down.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “We cannot let the greedy few and the politicians they fund divide us.”
- ✓ All groups dial up at “stand up for anyone getting bullied by ugly rhetoric.”
- ✓ “It’s time we talk to each other” resonates with base and persuadables.

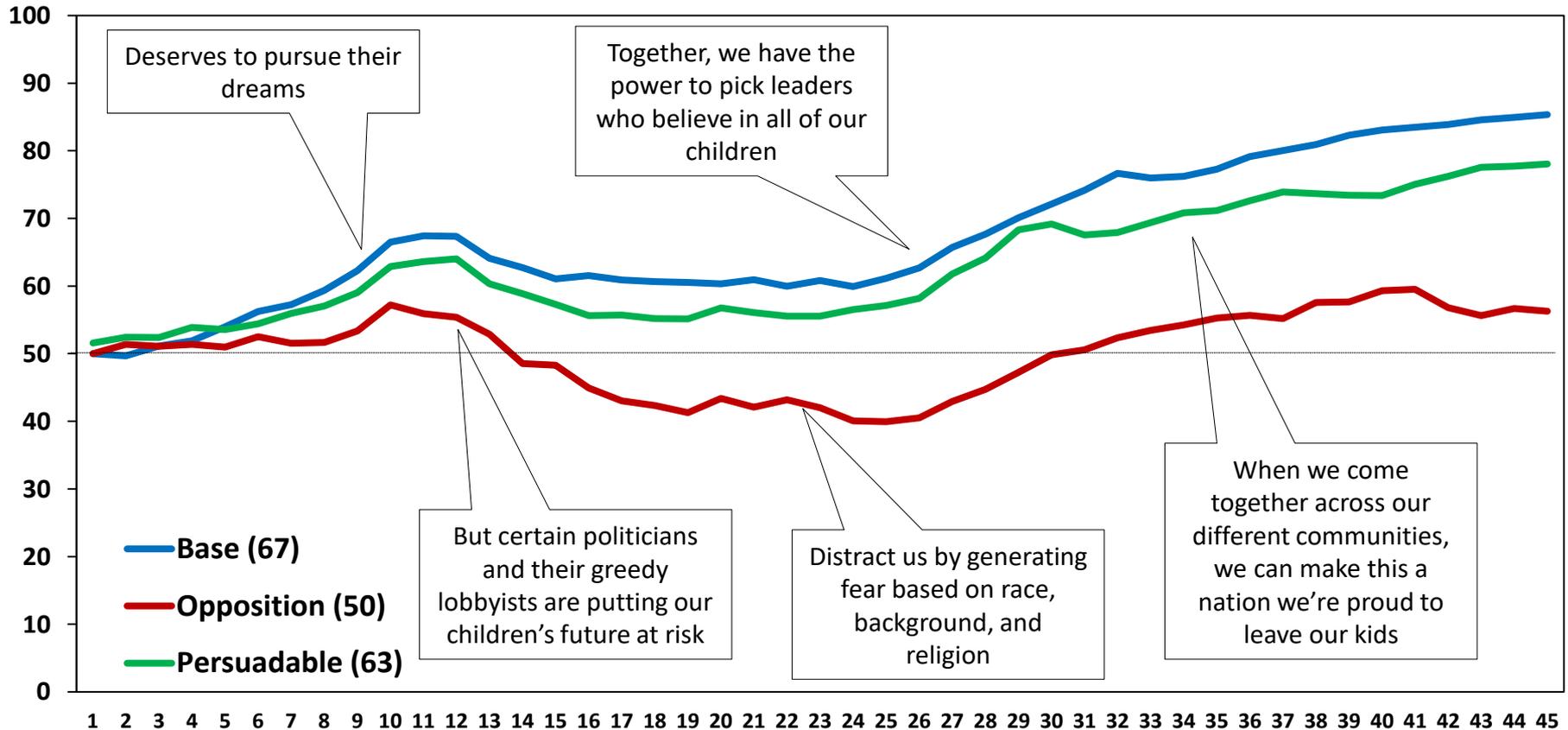
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak share ratings with persuadables.

Future

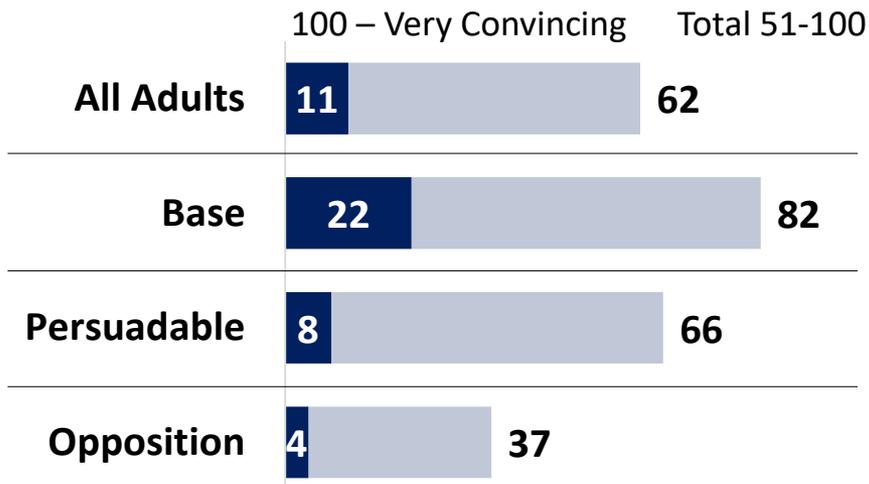


Every child, regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live, deserves to pursue their dreams. But certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children's future at risk. They rig the rules to enrich themselves, while they distract us by generating fear based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

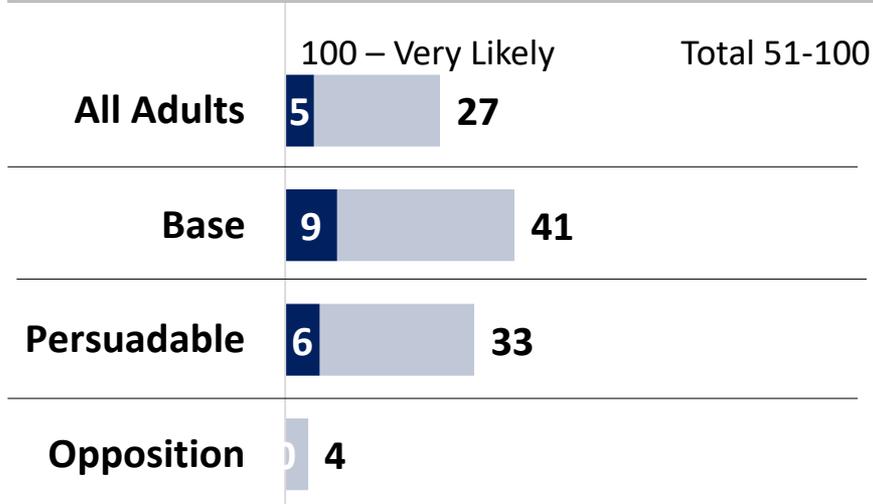


Future

How convincing did you find this message?



How Likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off for base.
- ✓ Shorter explanation of problem yields stronger dial ratings with base and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at unifying call to action .

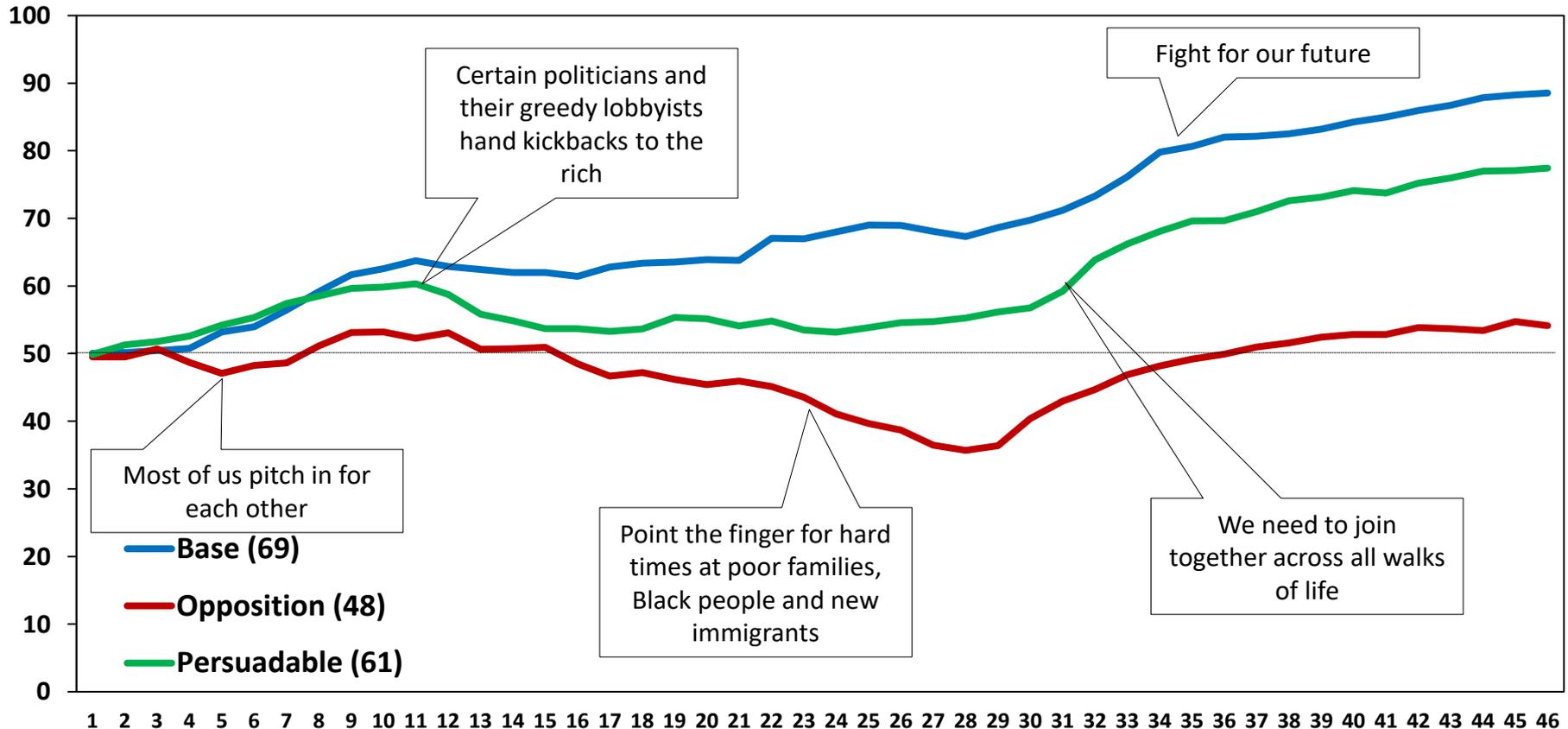
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak convincing ratings.
- X Weak share rating among persuadable adults.



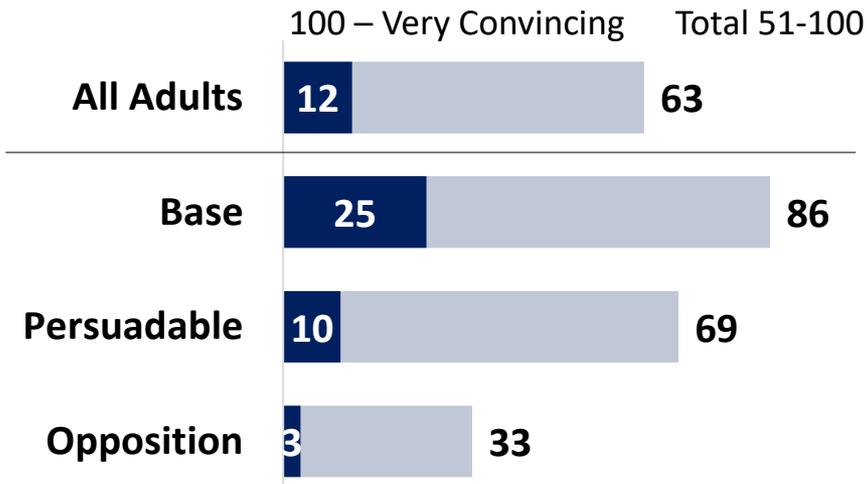
Working People

No matter where we come from or what our color, most of us pitch in for each other and work hard for our families. But today, certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists hand kickbacks to the rich, defund our schools, and cut Medicare and Social Security. Then they point the finger for hard times at poor families, Black people and new immigrants or pit rural Minnesotans against those living in the cities. We need to join together across all walks of life to fight for our future, just like people won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past. Joining together, we can elect new leaders who work for all of us.

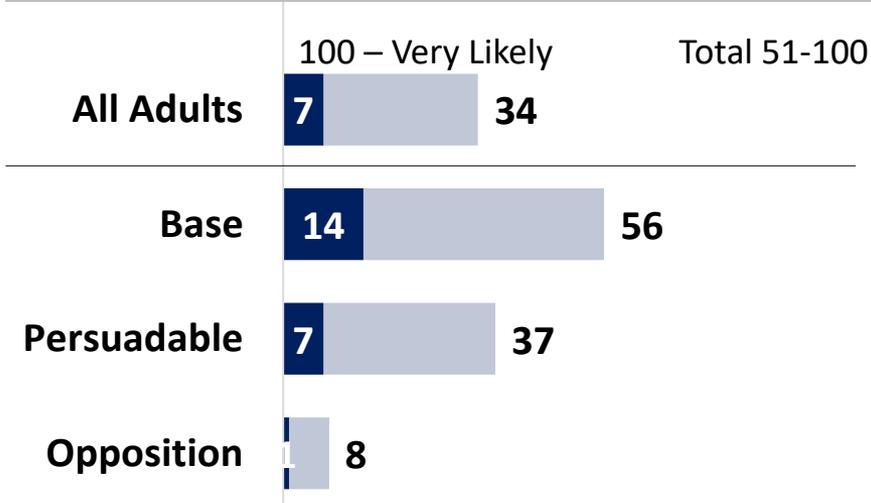


Working People

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Strong convincing and dial ratings with base
- ✓ Alienates opposition while holding persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated from beginning on “most of us pitch in for each other.”
- ✓ Bringing up past successes works well for all groups.
- ✓ Strong call to action. Base and persuadables motivated by call to action to “join together across all walks of life,” and “fight for our future.”
- ✓ Persuadables more supportive of this version than when we state “Republicans.”

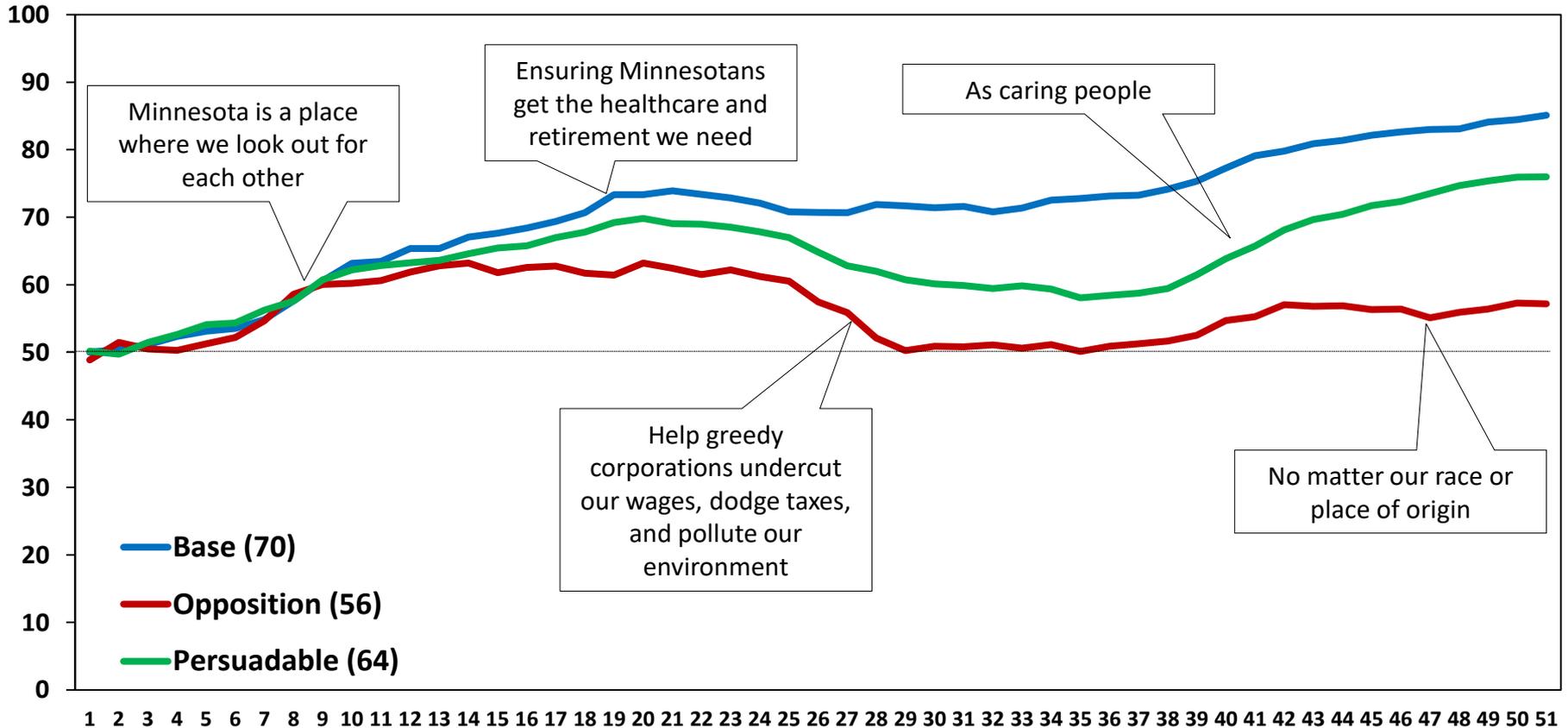
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Persuadables dial down at “hand kickbacks to the rich.”
- X Weak share ratings with base.



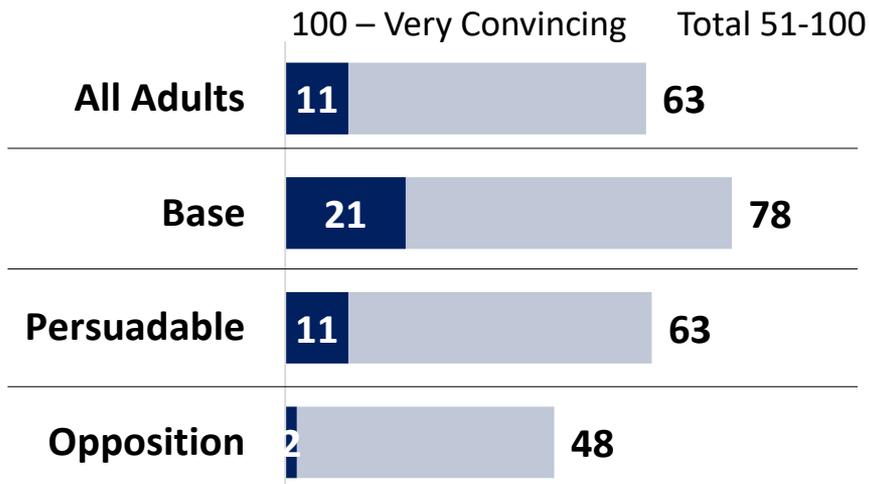
Minnesota Nice

Whether we're digging each other out of the snow or sharing a meal, Minnesota is a place where we look out for each other. Today, we face many challenges: creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools and ensuring Minnesotans get the healthcare and retirement we need. But instead of pitching in and solving shared problems, certain politicians help greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and pollute our environment, then blame people without power for the hardships these kickbacks create. As caring people, we must vote for leaders who see all of us as equal, no matter our race or place of origin, and implement new solutions that will make this a more fair and prosperous place.

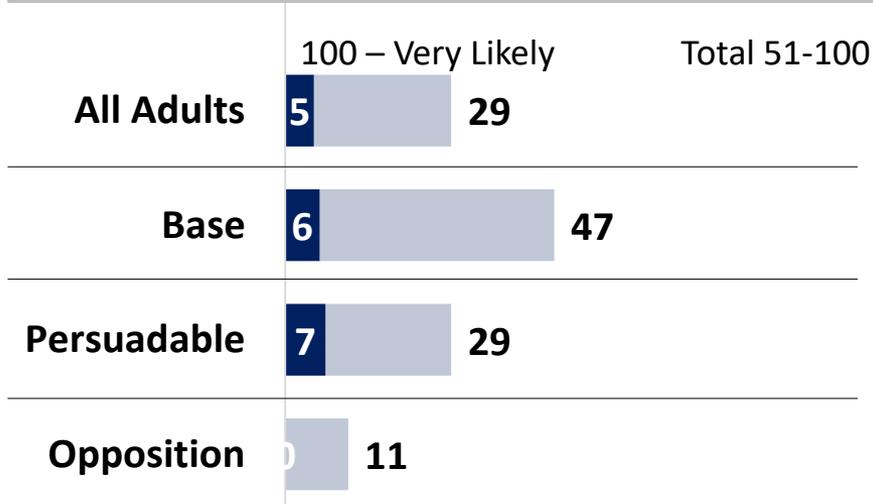


Minnesota Nice

How convincing did you find this message?



How Likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off.
- ✓ All groups react favorably to “Minnesota is a place where we look out for each other.”
- ✓ Strong convincing rating among adults, base, and persuadables.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “help greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and pollute our environment.”
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “no matter our race or place of origin.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “as caring people.”
- ✓ Strong share rating among base adults.

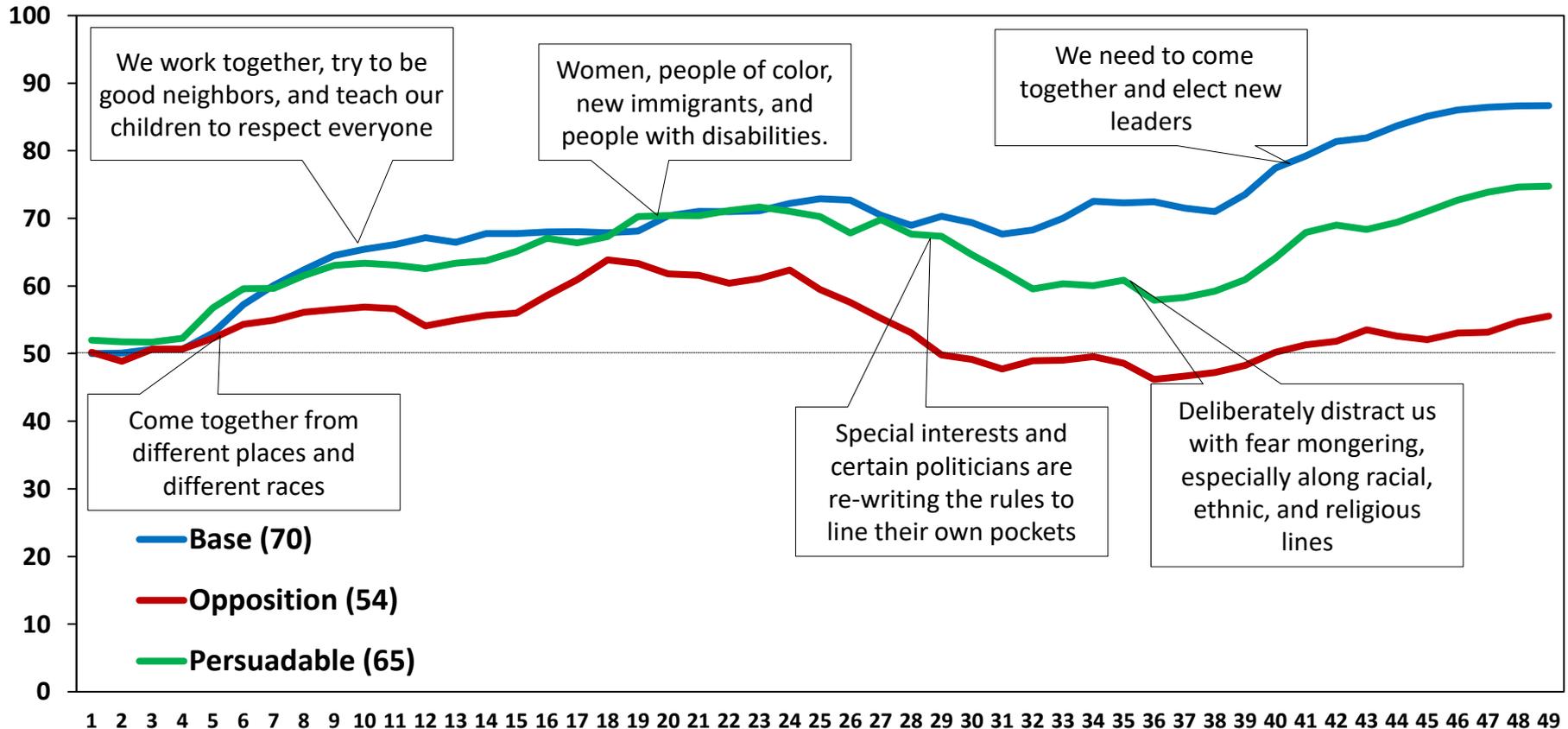
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables dial down with opposition at “help greedy corporations undercut our wages, dodge taxes, and pollute our environment.”
- X Weak share ratings among persuadables.



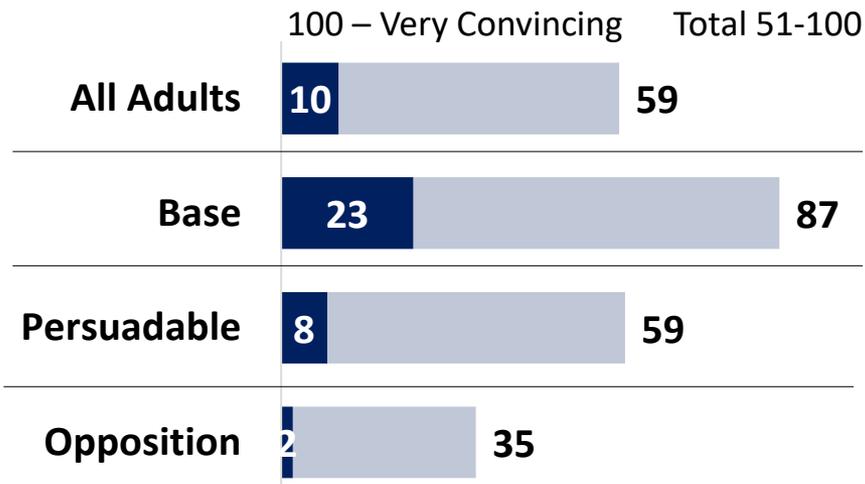
Come Together

America is a place where people come together from different places and different races to make a better life for ourselves. Despite our differences, we work together, try to be good neighbors, and teach our children to respect everyone—women, people of color, new immigrants, and people with disabilities. 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 will treat each and every one of us as equals, respect all of our families, and govern for all of us.

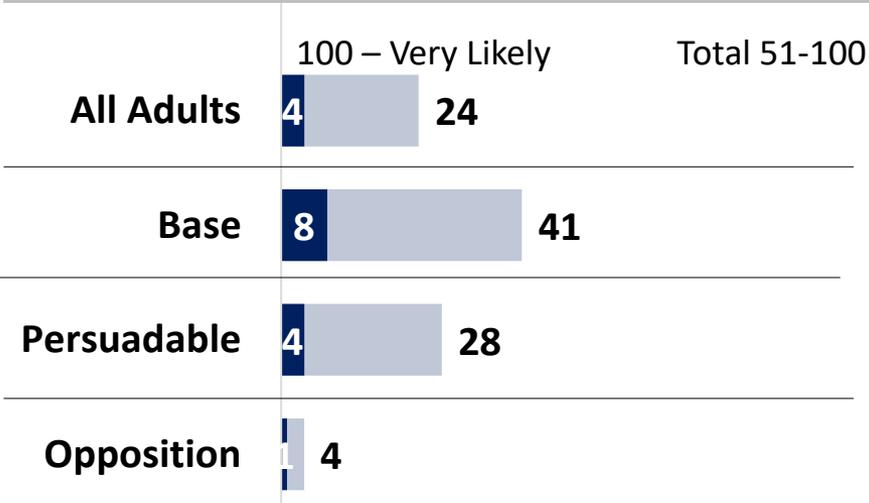


Come Together

How convincing did you find this message?



How Likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Persuadables dial up on “respect everyone – women, people of color, new immigrants, and people with disabilities,” which alienates the opposition.
- ✓ Base and persuadables favorable towards call to action to “come together and elect new leaders.”
- ✓ Strong convincing rating among base adults.

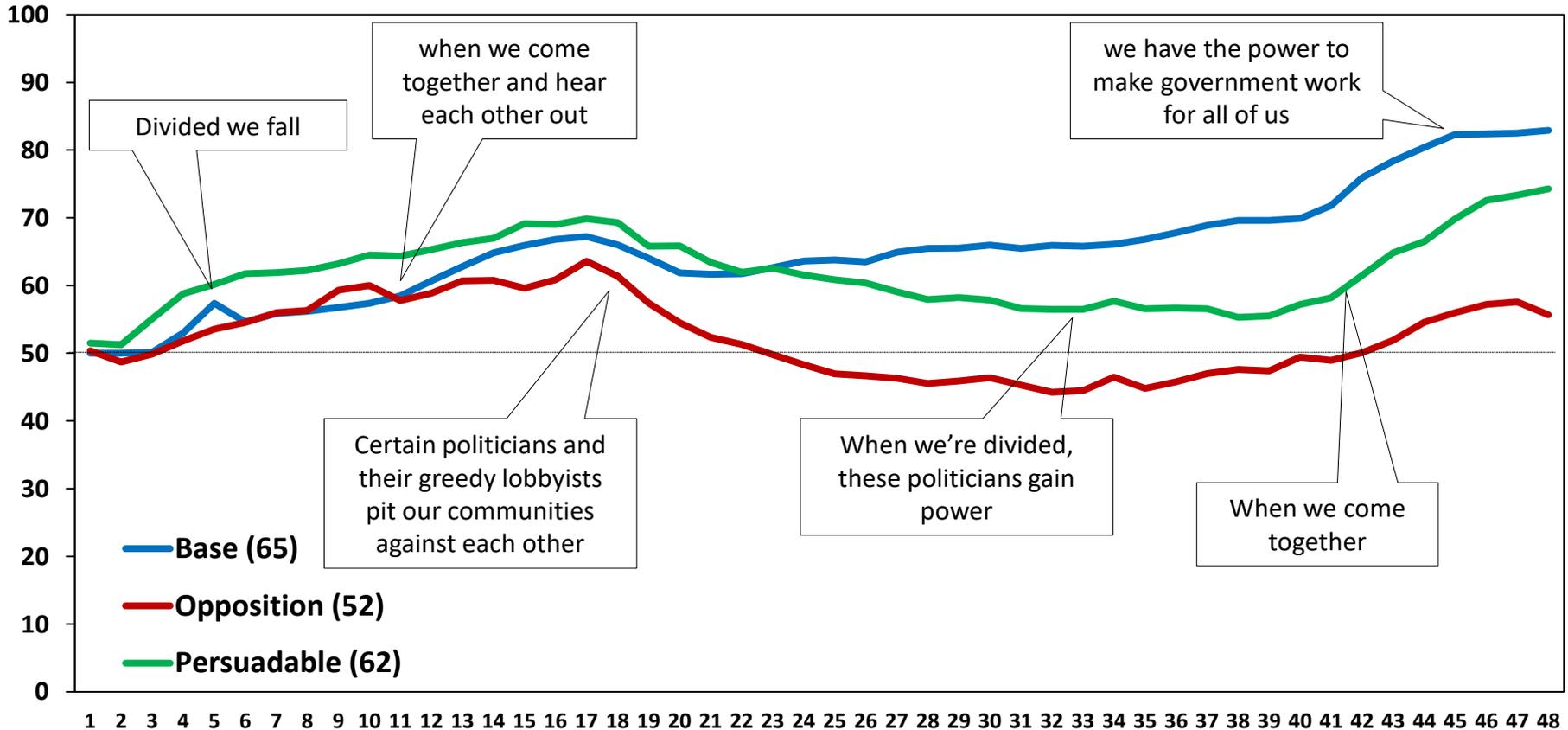
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Weak convincing and share ratings with persuadables.



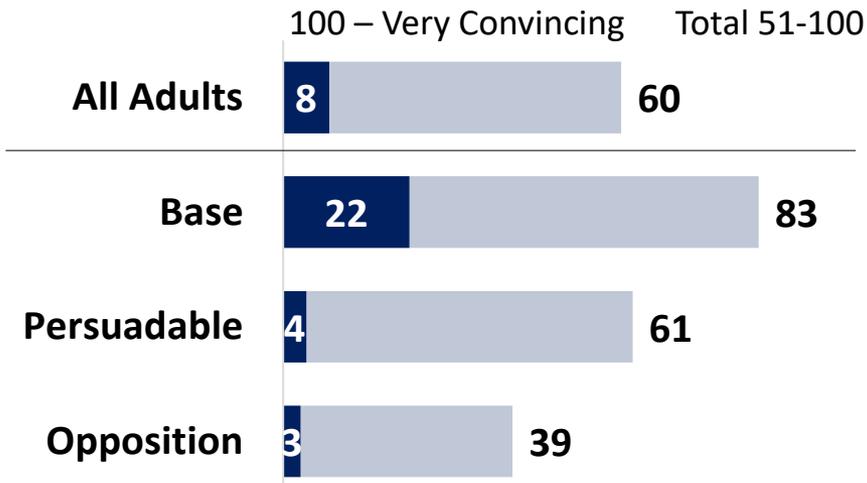
Divide – Come Together

“United we stand, divided we fall.” This doesn’t mean we always agree. But when we come together and hear each other out, we have the power to make things better. Certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists pit our communities against each other based on what we look like or where we come from, claiming we can’t all have what we need while they rewrite the rules to help themselves to more. When we’re divided, these politicians gain power to take away money for schools, support for seniors, and affordable healthcare. When we come together, we have the power to make government work for all of us, not just the greedy few.

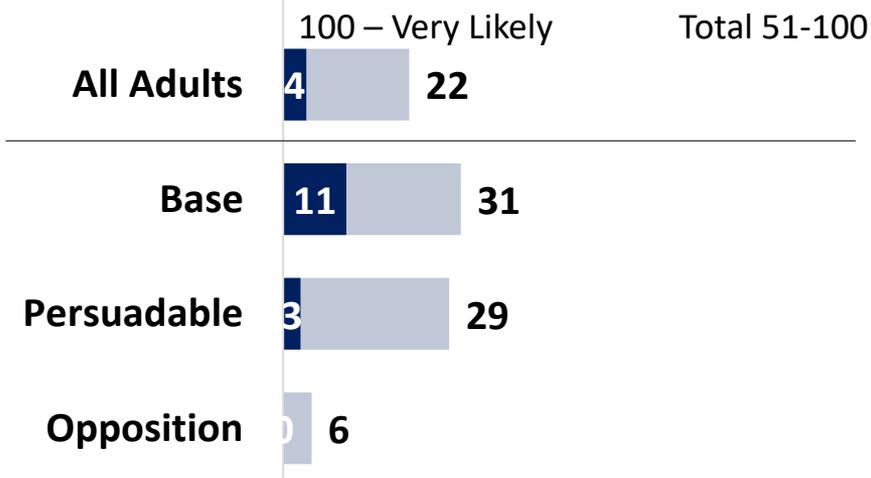


Divide – Come Together

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off with persuadables.
- ✓ Strong convincing rating for base.
- ✓ Opposition alienated by “certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists.”
- ✓ Persuadables and base dial up strongly around the call to action “when we come together we have the power to make government work for all of us.”

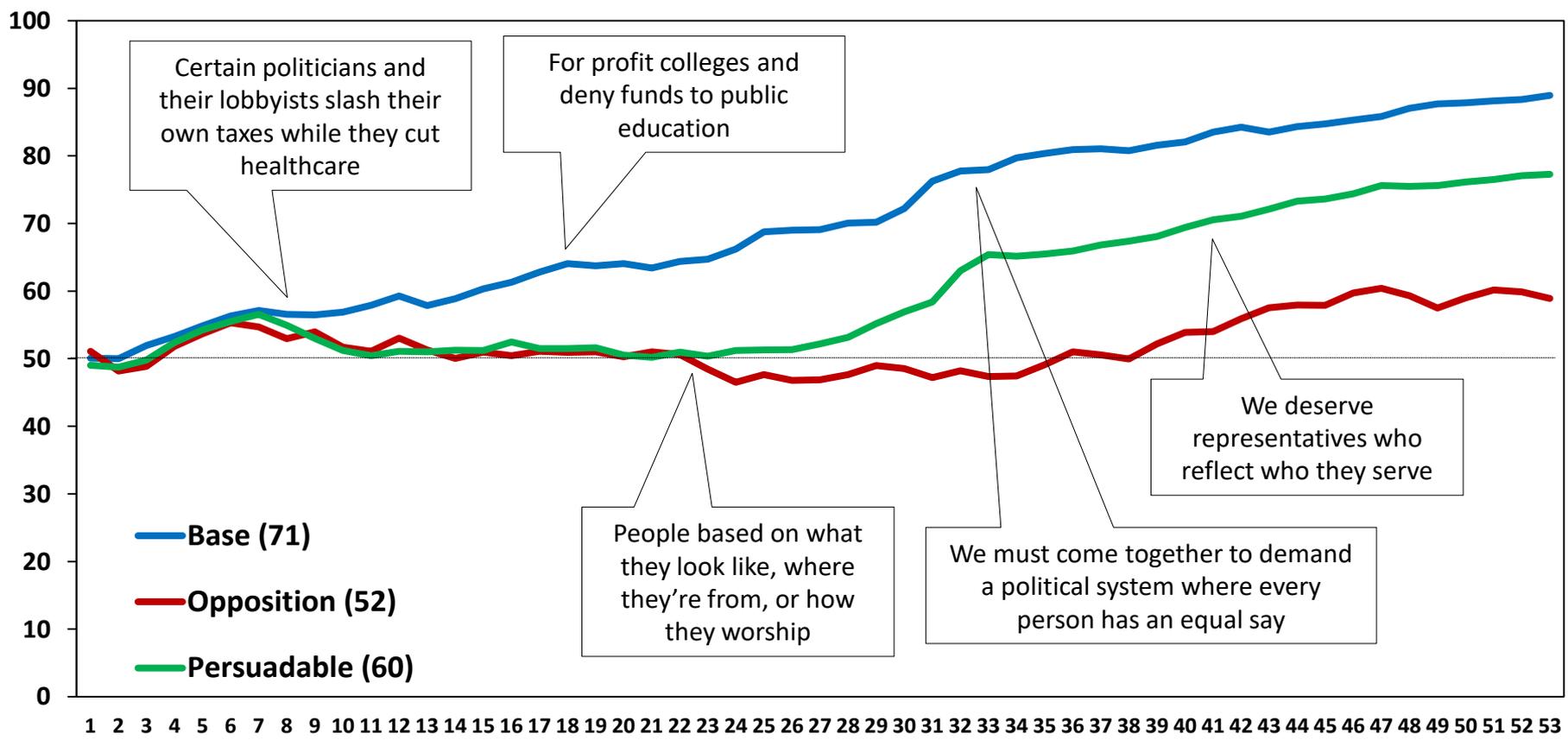
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak share ratings.
- X The message lingers on the problem too long, leading persuadables to dial down.



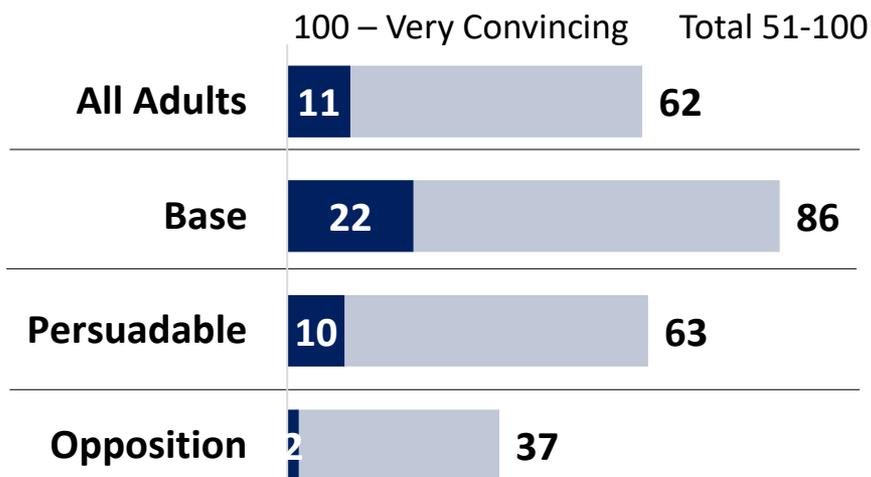
Solution: Reform System/Reflective Democracy

Most of us work hard to make things better for those to come. But today, certain politicians and their lobbyists slash their own taxes while they cut healthcare, and craft kickbacks to for-profit colleges and deny funds to public education. They keep us distracted stoking fear of people based on what they look like, where they're from, or how they worship. We must come together to demand a political system where every person has an equal say, ending corporate lobbying and pay-to-play donations. We deserve representatives that reflect who they serve—leaders who've walked in our shoes and understand our challenges. That's how we ensure our schools, our workplaces, and our society enable all of us to prosper.

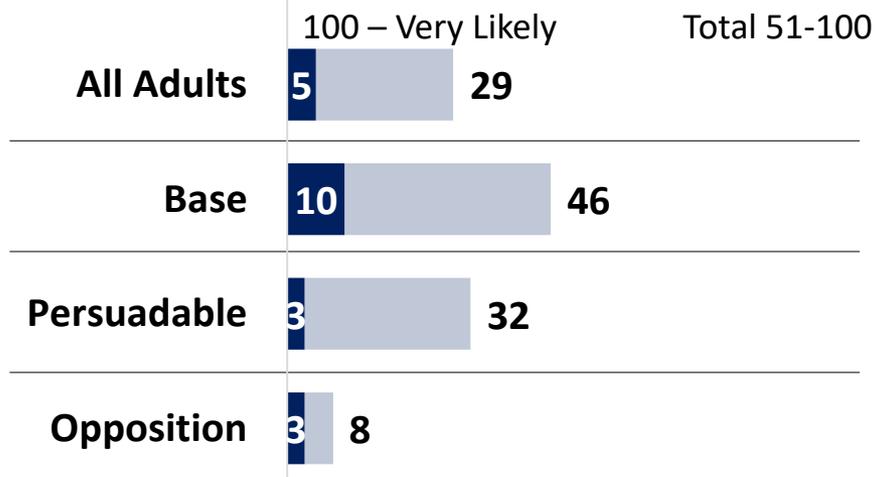


Solution: Reform System/Reflective Democracy

How convincing did you find this message?



How Likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Persuadables dial up at mention of equality, “based on what they look like, where they’re from, or how they worship.”
- ✓ Persuadables dial up sharply at call to action that “we must come together and demand a political system where everyone has an equal say.”
- ✓ Base dials up on description of the problem “politicians and their lobbyists slash their own taxes while they cut healthcare...”

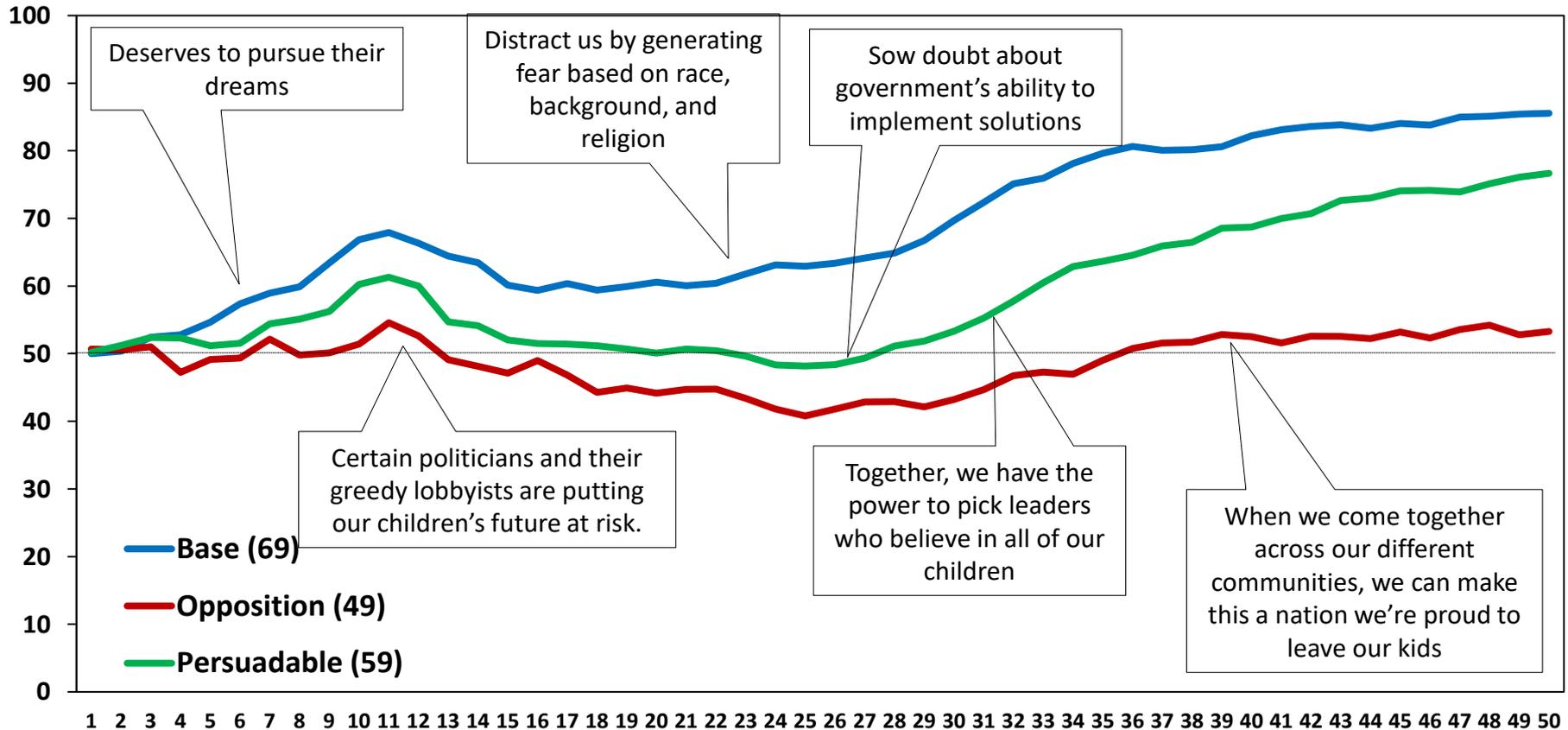
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Lingers on the problem too long.
- X Weak convincing ratings with persuadables.



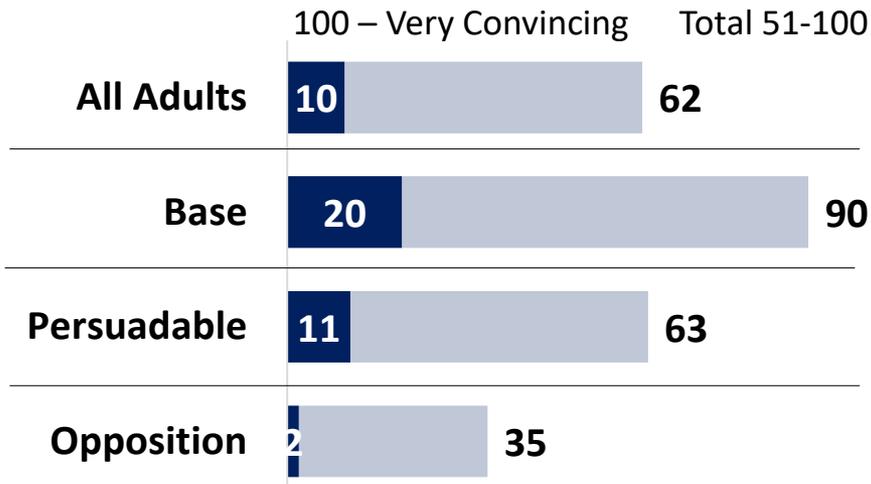
Future – Government

Every child, regardless of where they come from, what they look like, or where they live, deserves to pursue their dreams. But certain politicians and their greedy lobbyists are putting our children’s future at risk. They rig the rules to enrich themselves, while they distract us by generating fear based on race, background, and religion, and sow doubt about government’s ability to implement solutions. 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, to benefit everyone.

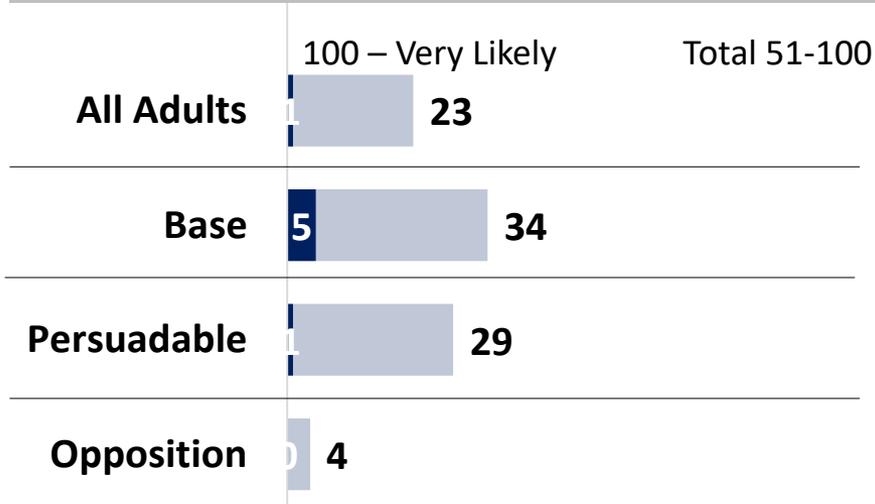


Future – Government

How convincing did you find this message?



How Likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Quick take off with base.
- ✓ Strong convincing rating for base.
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up on “sow doubt about government’s ability to implement solutions.”
- ✓ Persuadables dial up at unifying and aspirational message that “together we have the power to pick leaders who believe in all of our children.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables dial up at “when we come together across our differences.”

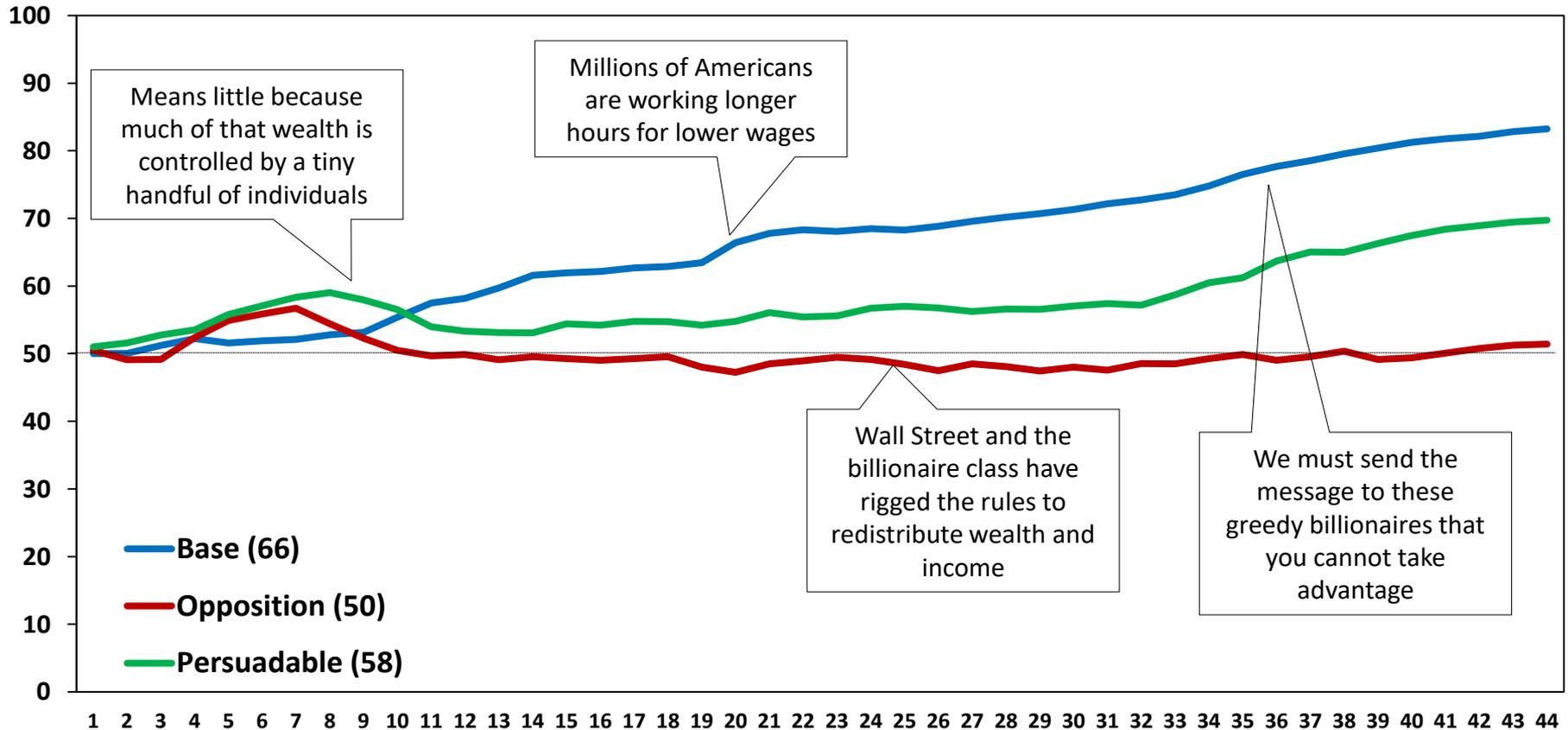
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Weak share rating.
- X Weak convincing rating with base.



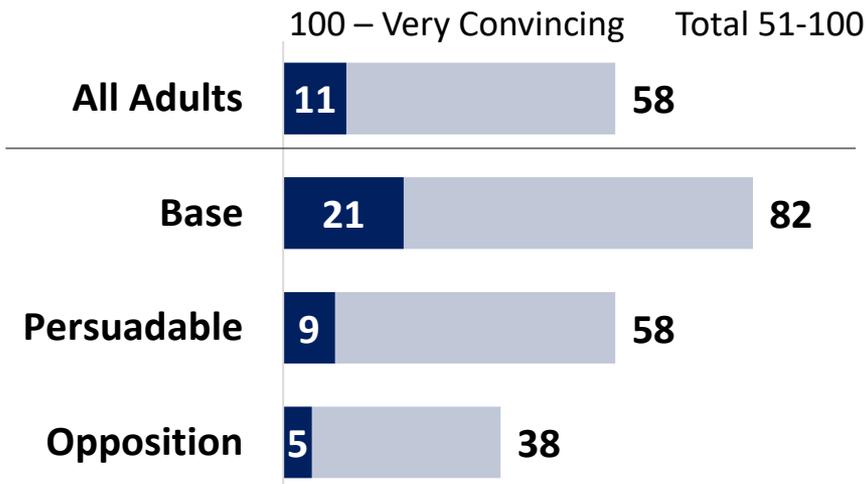
Colorblind Economic Populist

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 hand more 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 Minnesota if you refuse to accept your responsibilities as Minnesotans.

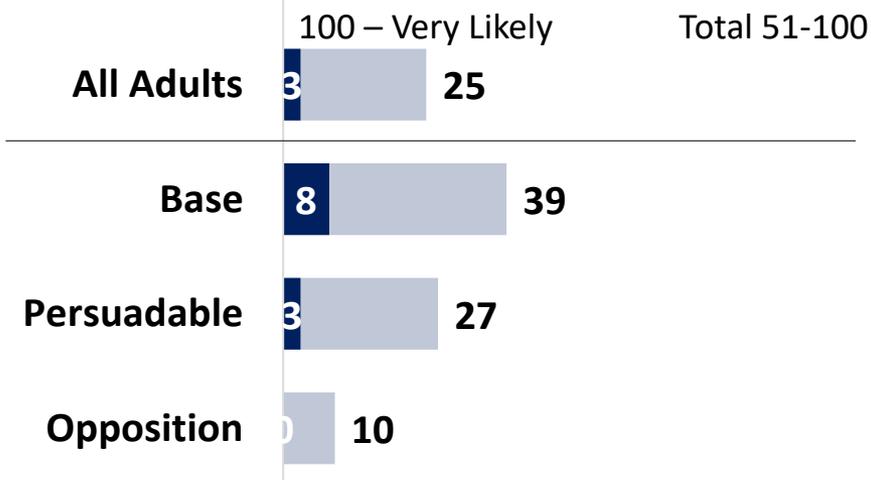


Colorblind Economic Populist

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Base dials up at “wealth is controlled by a tiny handful of individuals,” which alienates opposition.
- ✓ Base dials up at “millions of Americans are working longer hours for lower wages.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables support the call to action that “we must send the message to these greedy billionaires.”

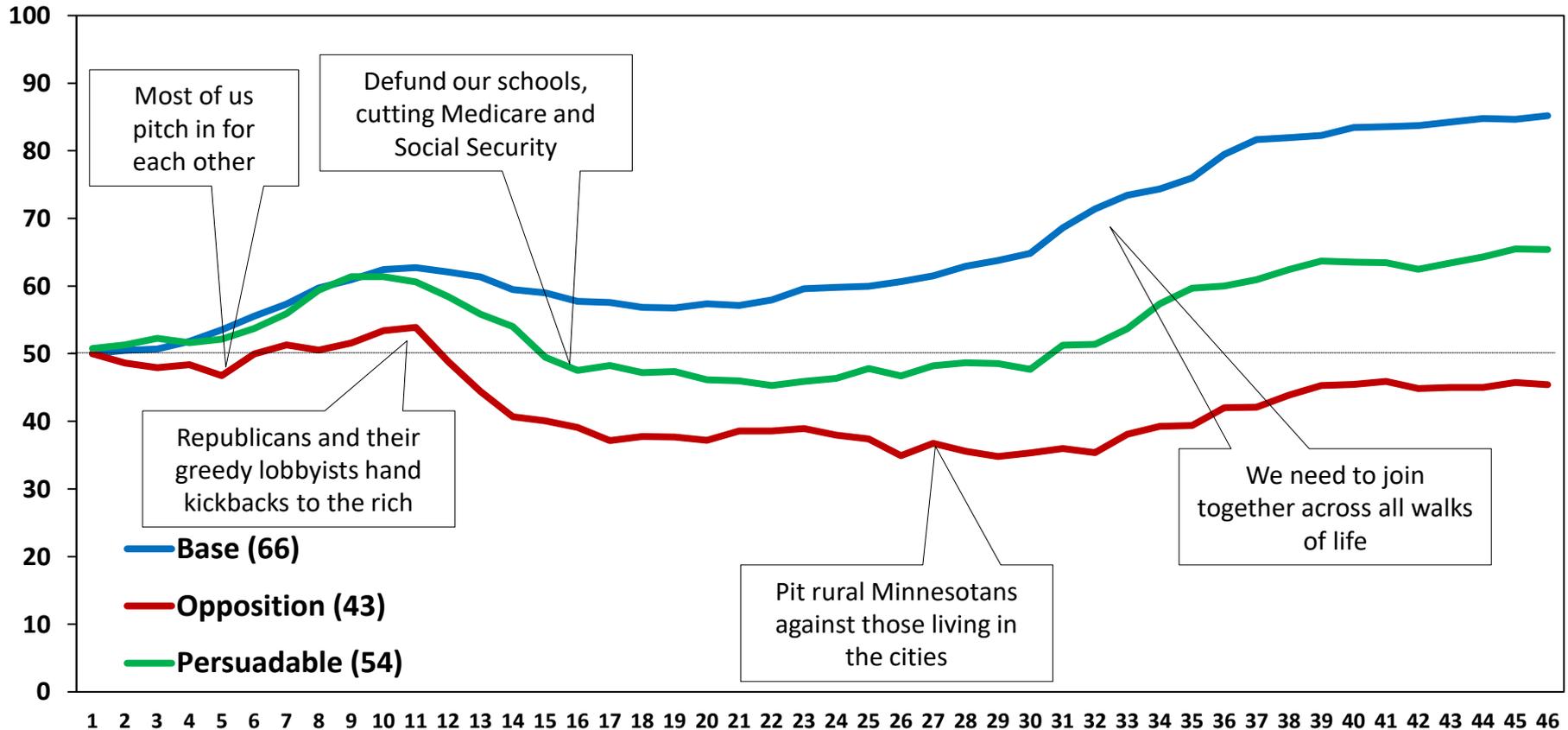
WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Persuadables plateau throughout explanation of the problem.
- X Weak convincing ratings with persuadables.



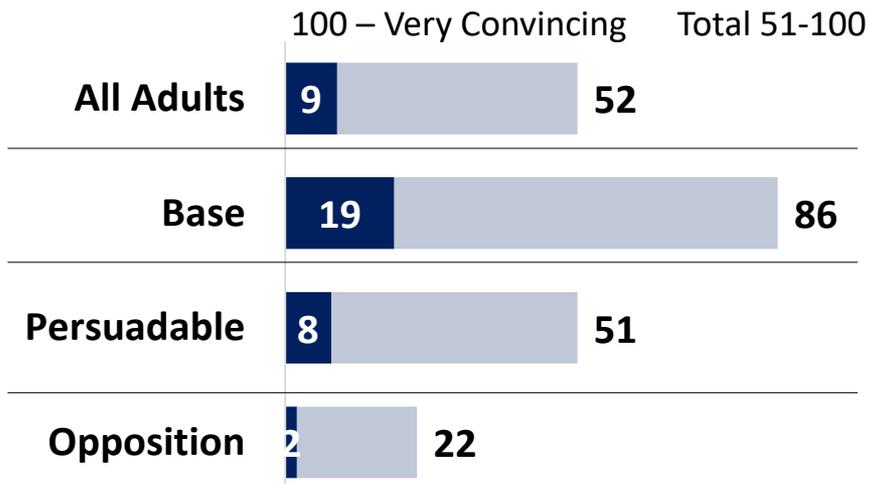
Working People – Republicans Only

No matter where we come from or what our color, most of us pitch in for each other and work hard for our families. But today, Republicans and their greedy lobbyists hand kickbacks to the rich, defund our schools, and cut Medicare and Social Security. Then they point the finger for hard times at poor families, Black people and new immigrants or pit rural Minnesotans against those living in the cities. We need to join together across all walks of life to fight for our future, just like people won better wages, safer workplaces, and civil rights in our past. Joining together, we can elect new leaders who work for all of us.

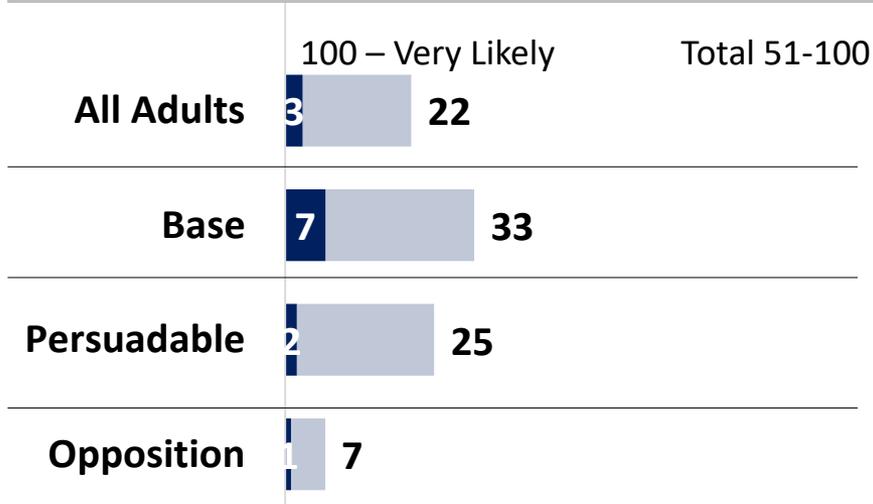


Working People – Republicans Only

How convincing did you find this message?



How likely are you to share this message?



WHAT WORKS

- ✓ Opposition alienated by “Republicans and their greedy lobbyists.”
- ✓ Base and persuadables motivated by call to action that “we need to join together across all walks of life.”
- ✓ Evoking past accomplishments help solidify strong call to action.
- ✓ Strong convincing rating among base.

WHAT FALLS SHORT

- X Slow take off.
- X Persuadables dial down below on explanation of problem, around negative impacts such as “defund our schools, Medicare, and Social Security” when connected to Republicans.
- X Weak share ratings.

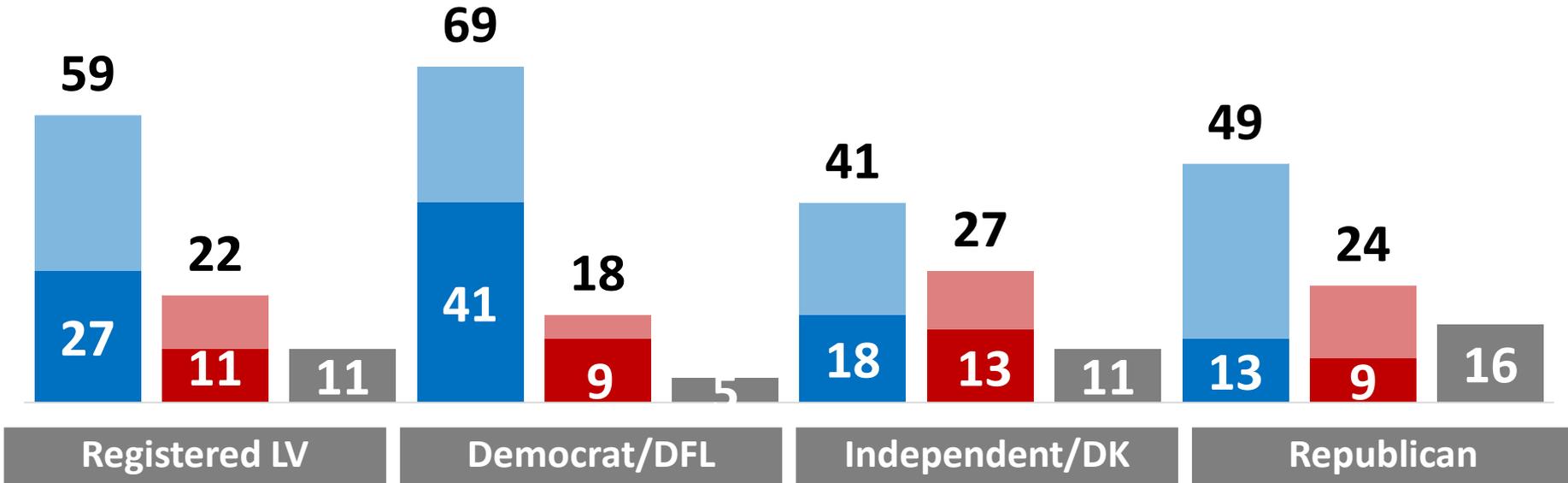


Movement

Minnesotans across party lines say they are more likely to vote for a candidate who spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines.

If a candidate for Congress spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines, would that make you more or less likely to **VOTE** for the candidate or would it make no difference?

By Party ID



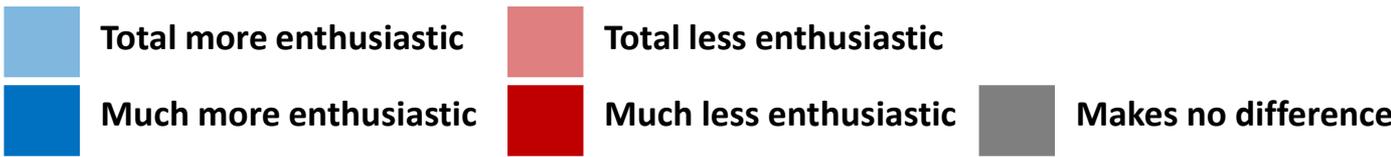
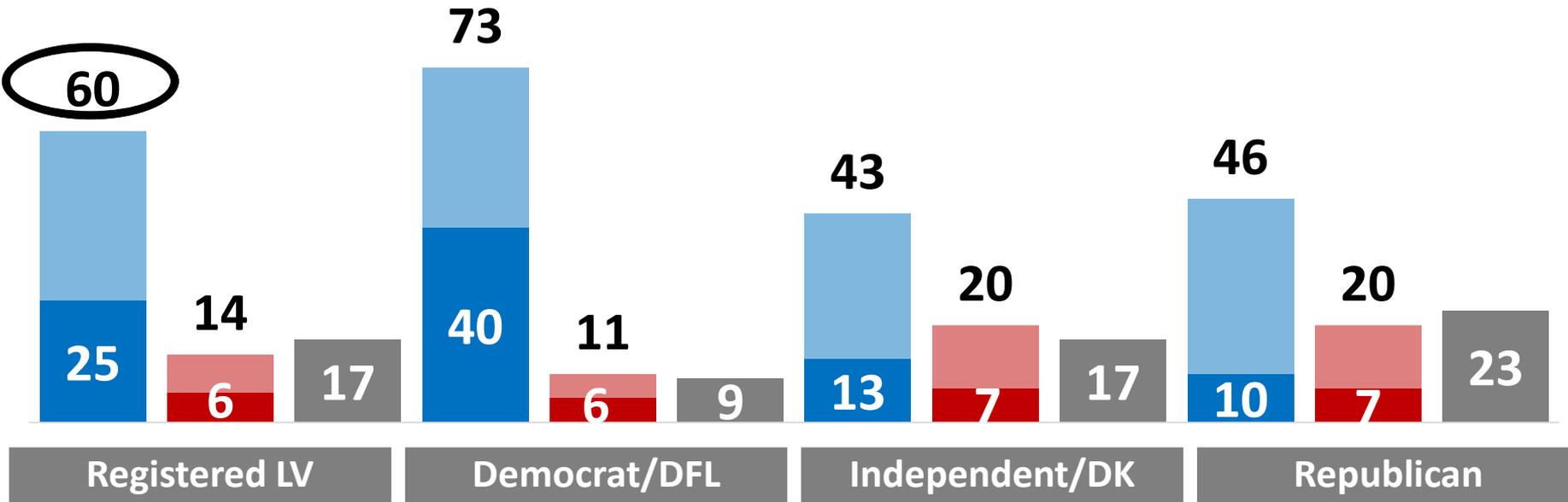
■ Total more likely
■ Much more likely
■ Total less likely
■ Much less likely
■ Makes no difference

Split Sampled

Similarly, voters across party lines say they would be more enthusiastic to vote in the election if a candidate for Congress spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines.

If a candidate for Congress spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines, would that make you more or less **ENTHUSIASTIC** to vote in the election?

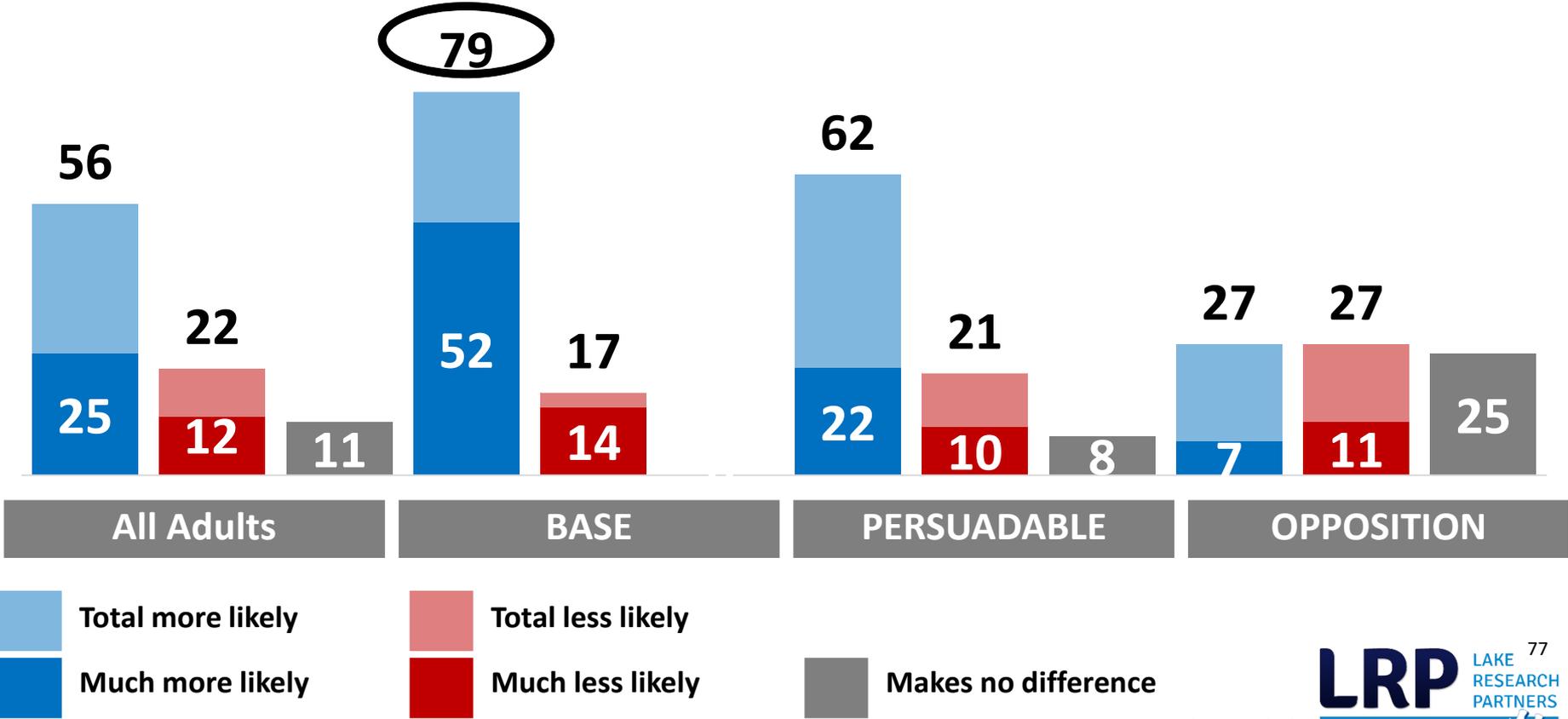
By Party ID



Split Sampled

Base and persuadable adults say they are more likely to vote for a candidate for Congress who spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines.

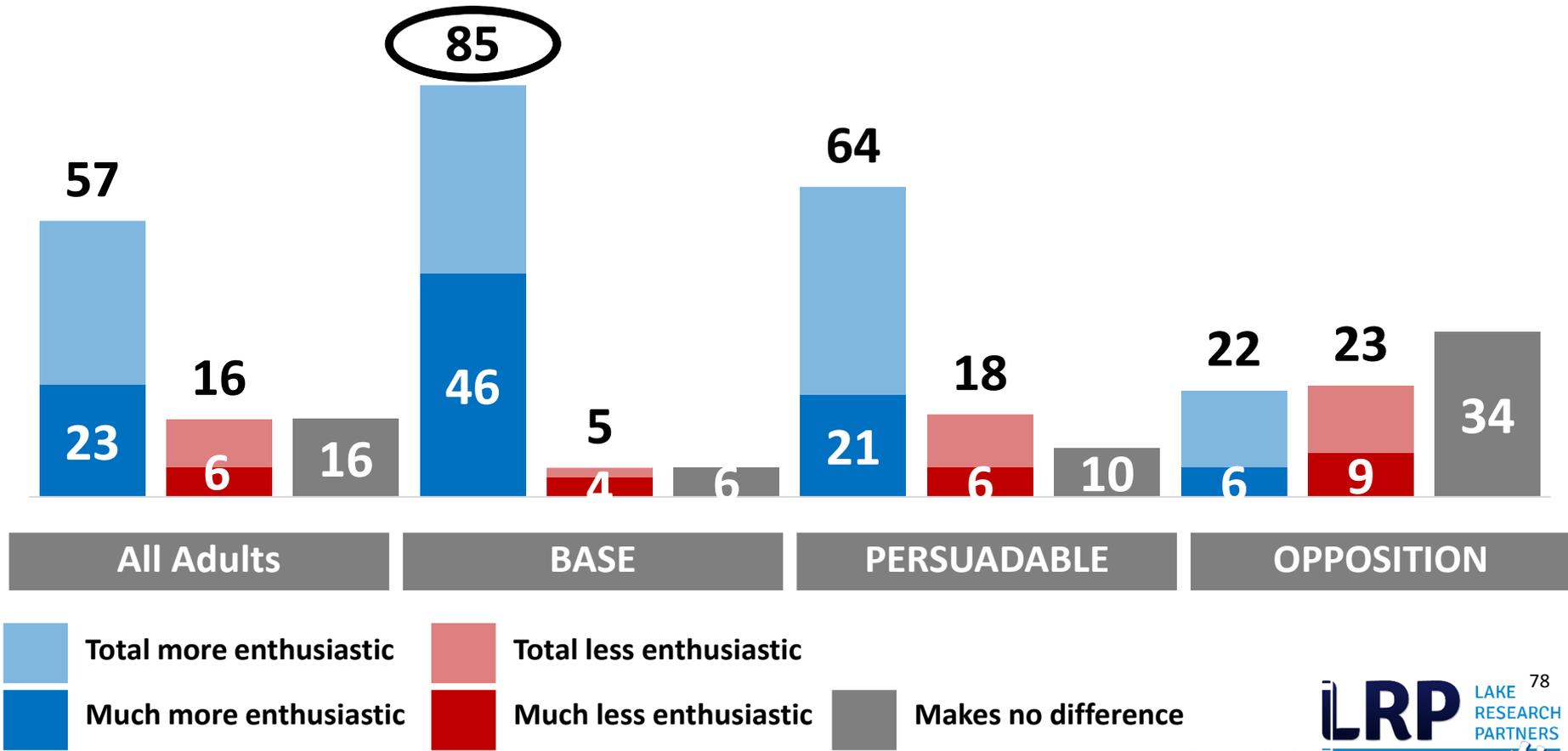
If a candidate for Congress spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines, would that make you more or less likely to **VOTE** for the candidate or would it make no difference?



Split Sampled

Base and persuadable adults are more enthusiastic to vote in the election if a candidate spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines.

If a candidate for Congress spoke out against others who divide us along racial and ethnic lines, would that make you more or less **ENTHUSIASTIC** to vote in the election?



Split Sampled

While overall support stays roughly the same after messaging, there is an increase in support across the policy agenda except on reducing funding to cities that refuse to comply with national immigration policy.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Movement

Toward Favor

Toward Oppose

End discrimination against people of color in jobs, housing, and education



18 7

Expand Medicare to ensure all Americans can get healthcare when they need it



18 10

Hold corporate polluters accountable for the damage they create by charging a fee that pays for energy rebates for low income families across Minnesota



20 10

Protect the religious freedoms for all people and take swift action against racially or religiously motivated violence against Minnesotans who are Muslim



19 11

Overhaul our criminal justice system to eliminate racial and other biases



21 10

Create a fair immigration process that keeps families together, respects refugees, and includes a roadmap to citizenship for current immigrants



18 10

Reduce federal funding to cities that refuse to comply with national immigration policy, also called sanctuary cities



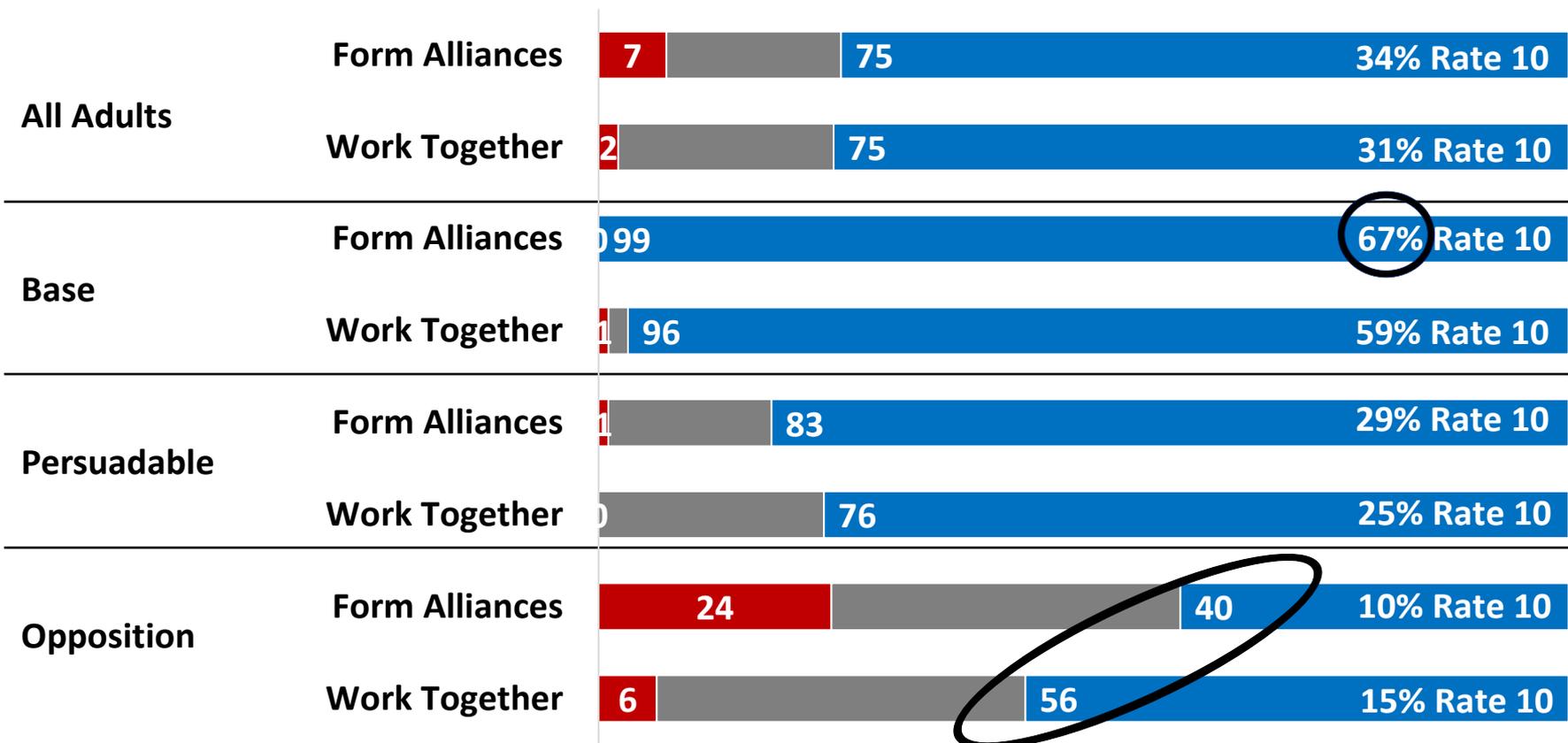
18 22

6-10 – Initial Total Favor

6-10 – Final Total Favor

“Forming Alliances” across racial differences generates more intensity with base adults, more agreement with persuadables, and alienates opposition adults.

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

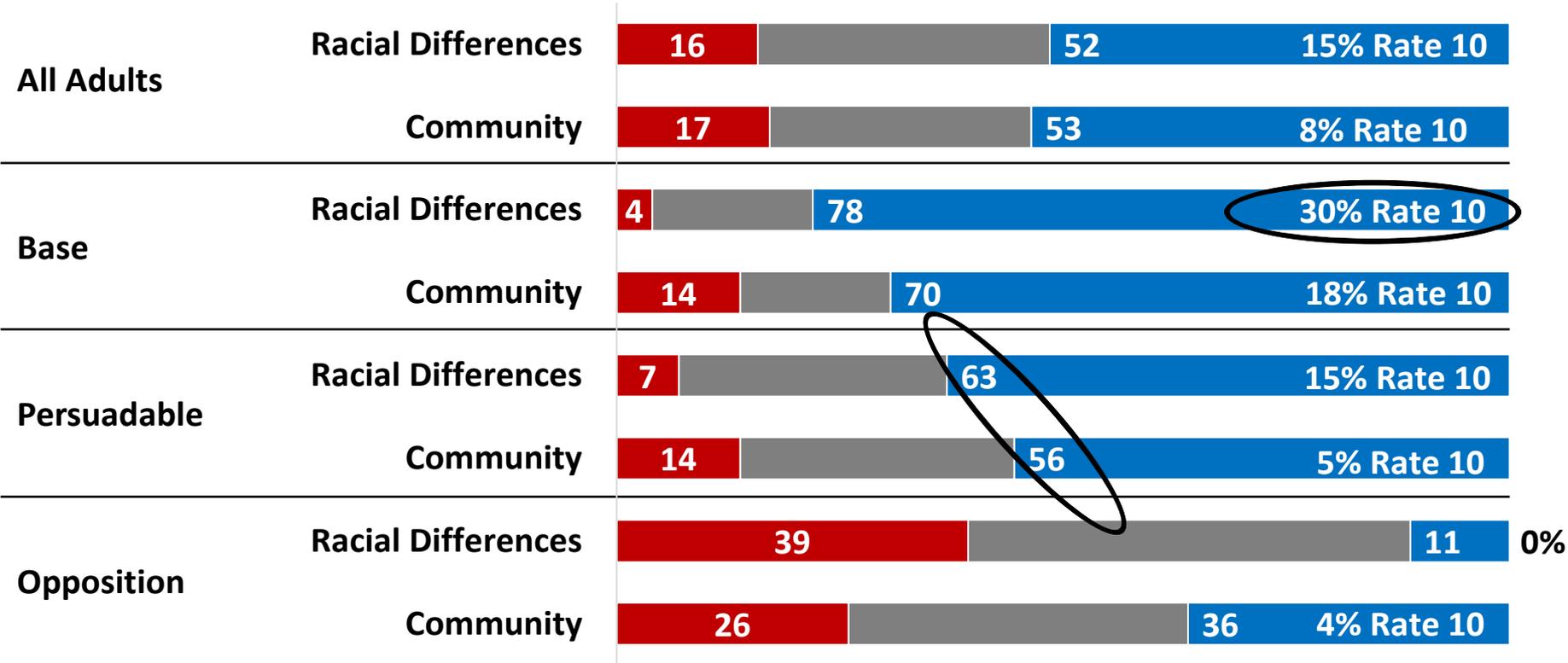


■ 0-4 Not Important ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Important

Split Sampled

Persuadables show more enthusiasm around joining together across racial differences. It generates greater intensity with base adults while alienating the opposition.

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



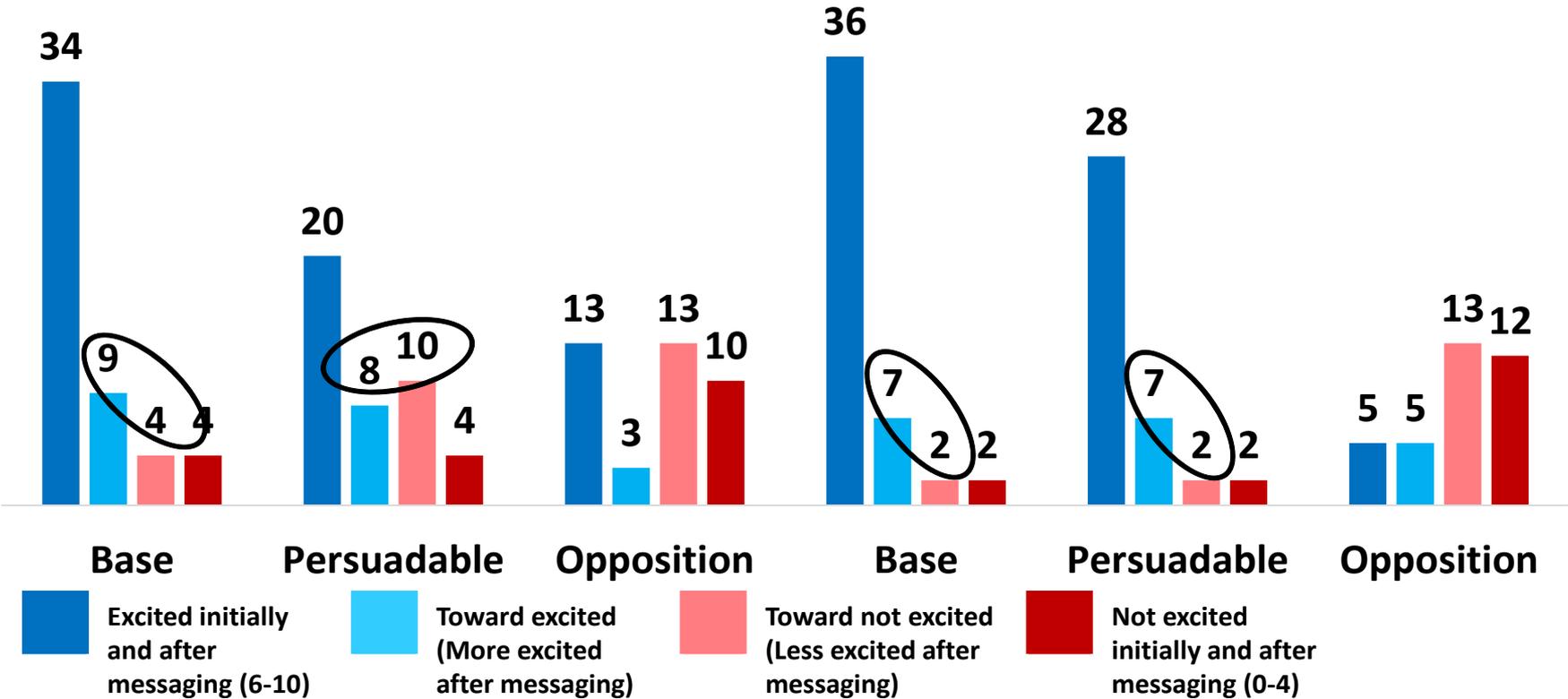
■ 0-4 Not Excited ■ 5/DK ■ 6-10 Excited

Split Sampled

The base and persuadables are more excited about joining with people across racial differences, and increases excitement after messaging.

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)

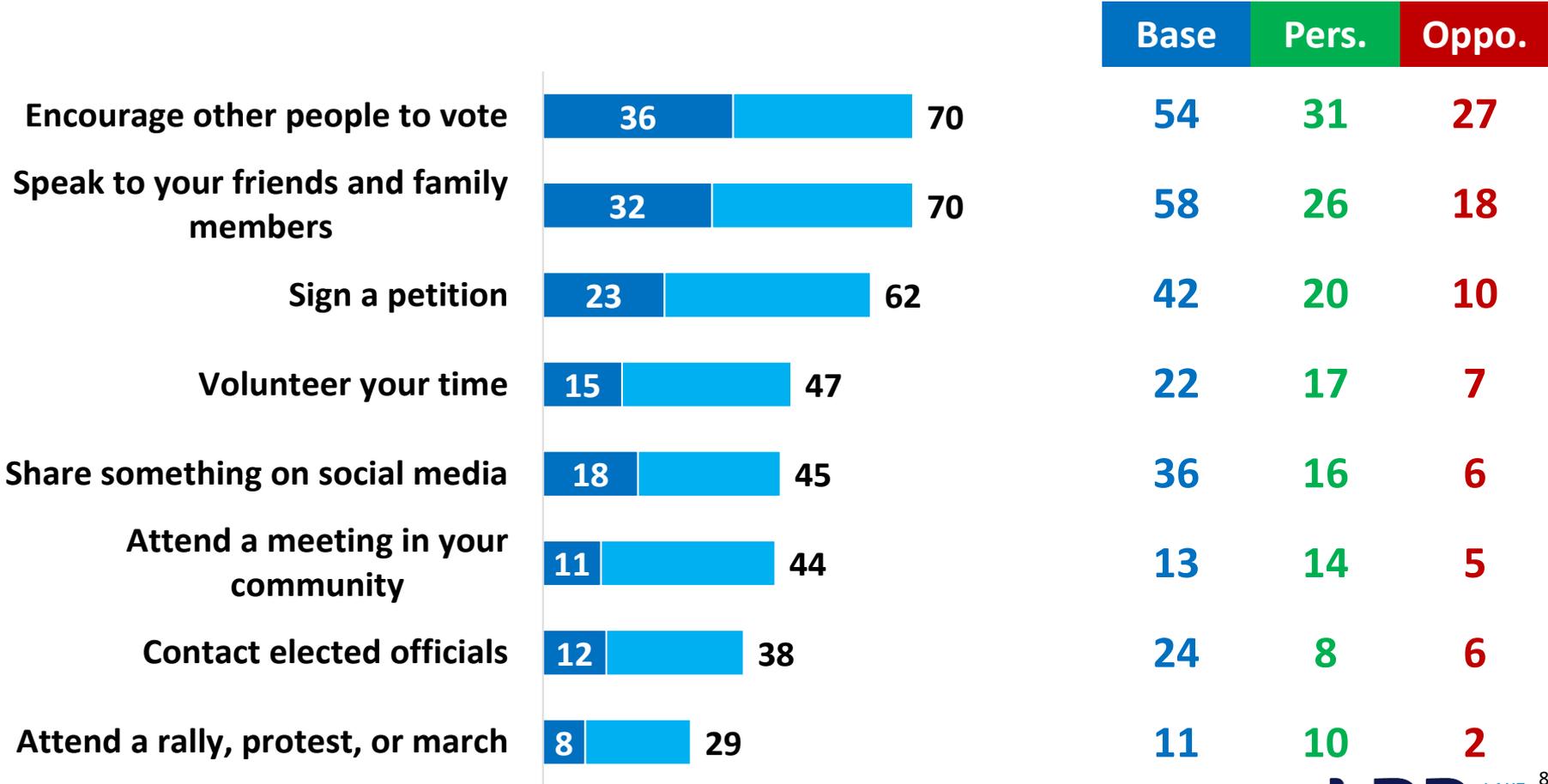




Base adults are most likely to encourage others to vote, speak to friends and family, and sign a petition.

Do you favor or oppose each of the following policies:

Very Likely

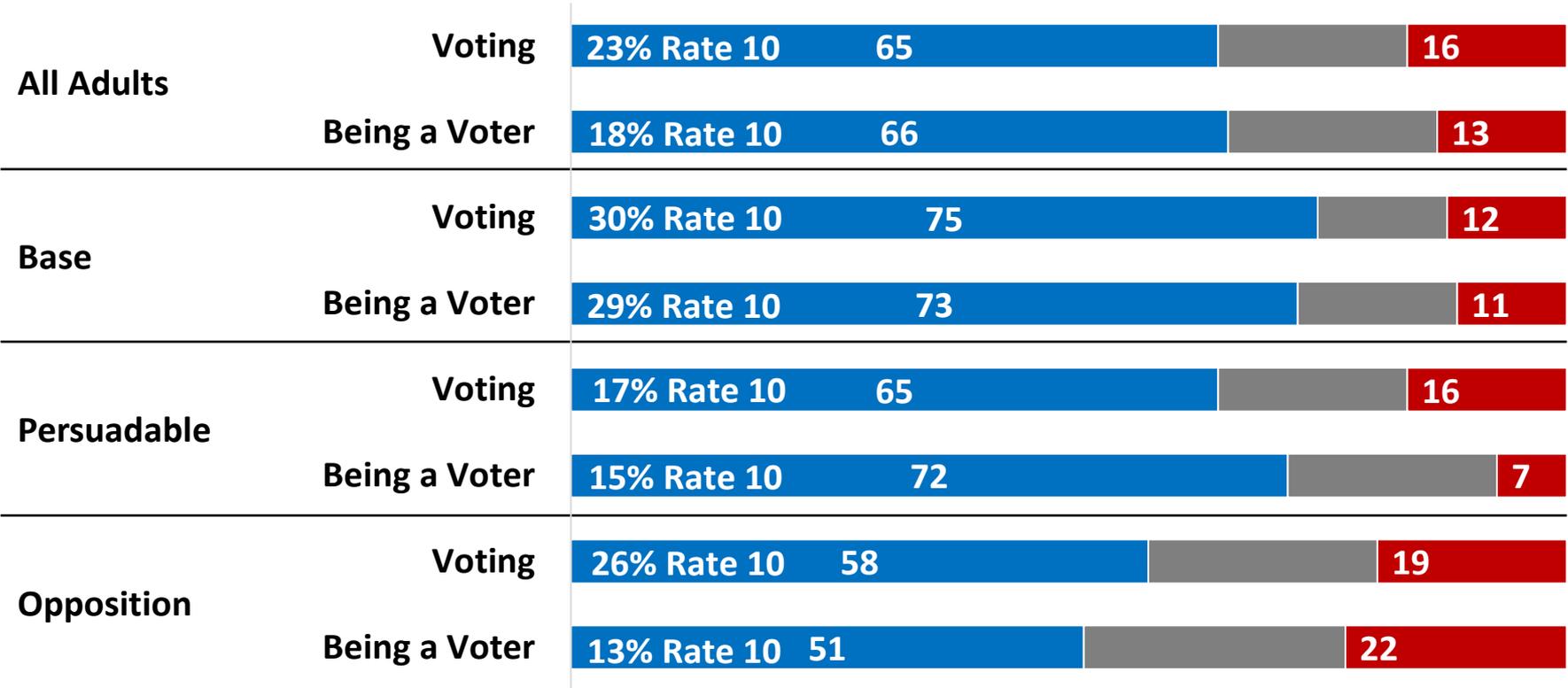


Very Likely

Total Likely

Base and persuadables are excited about the election, especially “being a voter,” while the opposition is more enthusiastic about “voting.”

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



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

Split Sampled

LRP

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