LET'S TALK ABOUT RACE

HOW RACIALLY EXPLICIT MESSAGING CAN ADVANCE EQUITY

CSi CENTER FOR SOCIAL INCLUSION

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As we approach a time when there will no longer be any single racial majority in America, we have to ask ourselves hard questions. Are we comfortable with race, and racial dynamics, as our nation's demographics change? Are we ready to embrace one another despite our perceived differences, or will we choose the cynical acceptance of what has become the norm in our country— ongoing segregation, Black voter suppression, economic exploitation, militarized policing, and mass incarceration? Can we counter the race wedge - the process of using race as a tactic to divide people in order to achieve a political outcome? Are we ready to embrace a new vision of shared prosperity? Are we willing to embrace a truly inclusive democracy?

We can assess where Americans land on many of these questions by understanding how people respond to messages about race in the first place. In CSI's first communications testing report, *Talking About Race: A Summary of Findings*,[1] we demonstrated that it is better to address race than to avoid it. Most notably, we demonstrated that progressive messages about health care reform and subprime lending that addressed race prevailed over conservative messages that avoided it, as well as over progressive messages that were race neutral.

RACE WEDGE

The term "race wedge" refers to the process of using race as a tactic to divide people in order to achieve a political outcome.

In this report, we explored whether talking about race directly could effectively move people to support progressive fiscal policies.

FISCAL POLICY

The term "fiscal policy," for this particular round of testing, refers to three main themes: government's role in job creation, tax reform, and increasing safety net services. At its core, this is a dialogue that's more about values than driving government spending. Progressive fiscal policy values include ensuring that the wealthy pay their fair share in taxes and regulating the market, while supporting a social safety net and expansion of the middle class. Conservative fiscal policy values include limiting taxes on the wealthy and deregulating the market, while privatizing traditionally public resources.

With the participant data supplied by research consultants, the Analyst Institute in 2012 and Pacific Market Research in 2014, CSI successfully completed two rounds of testing with a nationally representative sample. We tested messages that re-frame people of color as contributing, hardworking Americans —"makers" instead of "takers"—with the goal of moving people toward supporting more progressive fiscal policies.

• **First round of testing: Does the Messenger Matter?**
We tested progressive messages with White spokespeople and with racially diverse spokespeople against conservative messages to see if the race of the messenger affects how participants respond to the message.

• **Second round of testing: What Counters the Race Wedge on Fiscal Policies?**
We tested several progressive messages against one conservative message to see if people's attitudes about progressive fiscal policies differed based on the level of racial explicitness of the message and on the stereotypical or non-stereotypical nature of the spokespersons' occupations.

KEY FINDINGS

The results from our testing show that race explicit messages move people toward progressive fiscal policies and that people like and agree with messages that have a multiracial cast. While the testing revealed information in a number of areas, the following findings stand out:

1. Progressive policy messages that specifically name race are successful with the general public.
2. The majority of people are holding two frames at once on policy issues and race, both progressive and conservative.
3. Even people with high implicit bias, when watching a progressive, racially explicit message, agreed with progressive fiscal policies.
4. Talking about race does not elevate individual implicit bias
5. Racially diverse spokespeople are better received than White-only spokespeople.

FRAMES

Unconscious thought process consisting of networks of associations that we use to interpret information. Frames are used as a long-term strategy in changing perceptions.

This shows us that we can talk about race more explicitly than ever before. Not only does this finding support on-the-ground efforts to highlight the experiences of people of color, but it also can be used to inform communications strategies for a range of issues, from housing to education to health care and beyond.

IMPLICIT BIAS

Unconscious attitudes and stereotypes toward individuals and social groups that "affect our understanding, actions, and decisions."
(Adapted from Kirwan Institute)

CSI has developed strategies for organizers and advocates in creating messages that build support for racially equitable policy solutions. Through multiple rounds of testing, we determined that to combat the dominant race narratives that deepen the race wedge and increase inequity, it is critical to include three components that we call ACT:

Affirm: Engage the audience with an initial emotional connector and affirm "shared fate."
Counter: Explain the history of the problem and address race directly to counter the race wedge.
Transform: End with an engaging, emotional solution and transform the narrative.

It has never been more important to talk about race in the right ways. By 2042, the United States will be a nation comprised primarily of people of color. If persistent racial disparities and growing racial tensions accompany this demographic shift, the nation's wellbeing will be in jeopardy. We have a collective responsibility to discuss race in the context of solutions that work for all of us. Our research demonstrates that we can talk about race explicitly and win.

Michael Brown. Renisha McBride. Trayvon Martin. Oscar Grant. Eric Garner. Sandra Bland. Ferguson. Baltimore. Charleston. These names, these individuals, these places and their stories were all national news. They are perfect examples of the great distance between our national rhetoric and our national reality. Although we live in a society where racism is considered taboo, people of color are still negatively stereotyped by individuals and institutions, and these stereotypes lead to dire, negative consequences. These news stories or "flashpoints" represent our weathervane on issues of race. We've come to a point where we can no longer avoid talking about race.

The objective of this report is to show that we can and should talk about race explicitly in order to move people's hearts and minds to support progressive fiscal policies.

In CSI's first communications testing report, *Talking About Race: A Summary of Findings*,[2] we demonstrated that it is better to address race than to avoid it. Most notably, we demonstrated that progressive messages about health care reform and subprime lending that addressed race **prevailed** over conservative messages that avoided it, as well as over progressive messages that were race neutral.

CSI collaborated with statewide coalitions who were engaged in campaigns to support progressive fiscal policy, including progressive tax reform, Medicaid expansion, and Supplemental Nutrition Assistance Program (SNAP) benefits among others. Although these fiscal policies benefit everyone, including White people, some politicians use racially coded language to frame people of color as "takers" from society in an effort to derail or dismantle these policies. We tested messages that re-frame people of color as contributing, hardworking Americans ("makers" instead of "takers") with the goal of moving people toward more progressive fiscal policies.

The term "fiscal policy," in the context of CSI's message testing, refers to three main themes: government's role in job creation, tax reform, and increasing safety net services. When voting on fiscal policy issues, voters' progressive or conservative leanings typically emerge. At its core, this is a dialogue that is more about values than dollars.

Progressive fiscal policy values include ensuring that the wealthy pay their fair share in taxes and regulating the market, while supporting a social safety net and expansion of the middle class. Conservative fiscal policy values include limiting taxes on the wealthy and deregulating the market, while privatizing traditionally public resources.

Since the 1960s, politicians have used the race wedge as a tactic to defeat progressive fiscal policies. People of color have in particular been politically portrayed negatively as the "takers" of government subsidies. This tactic has had a detrimental impact not only on people of color but also on all Americans. One example of the race wedge is the term "welfare queen" popularized by Ronald Reagan during his 1976 presidential campaign when he told the provocative story of a woman who "used 80 names, 30 addresses, 15 telephone numbers to collect food stamps, Social Security, veterans' benefits for four nonexistent deceased veteran husbands, as well as welfare. Her tax-free cash income alone has been running $150,000 a year."[3] Reagan's point was to appeal to White voters by depicting poor people as using welfare money to live like royalty. Without having to say it directly, the term "welfare queen" was understood to mean Black single mothers, who have continued to be demonized by politicians from both ends of the political spectrum for the past 40 years.

Another example of the use of the race wedge is the term "inner city." Representative Paul Ryan, for example, has prolifically used the term in his policy platforms, famously stating, "We have got this tailspin of culture, in our inner cities in particular, of men

[2] The Center for Social Inclusion and Westen Strategies, LLC, *Talking About Race: A Summary of Findings* (2012).

[3] www.slate.com/articles/news_and_politics/history/2013/12/linda_taylor_welfare_queen_ronald_reagan_made_her_a_notorious_american_villain.html

not working and just generations of men not even thinking about work or learning the value and the culture of work, and so there is a real culture problem here that has to be dealt with."[4] Although race is not mentioned, the term inner city has a strong implicit association with communities of color.

Because fiscal policies and race have become linked in the American consciousness, CSI chose to test messages on fiscal policies. We see the successful results of this fiscal policy testing as an entry point to changing the national dialogue on people of color from "takers" to "makers" – contributors and assets in our communities.

In this report we will:

1. Describe the methodology of our Internet message testing and series of focus groups.
2. Share the results of our testing and implications of those results.
3. Describe CSI's six framing strategies that are supported by our Internet testing.
4. Discuss future directions of the work with a short review of academic research on racial attitudes and policies.

KEY FINDINGS

The results from our testing show that race explicit messages move people toward progressive fiscal policies and that people like and agree with messages that have a multiracial cast. While the testing revealed information in a number of areas, the following findings stand out:

1. Progressive policy messages that specifically address race are successful with the general public.
2. The majority of people are holding two frames at once on policy issues and race, both progressive and conservative.
3. Even people with high implicit bias, when watching a progressive, racially explicit message, agree with progressive fiscal policies.
4. Talking about race does not elevate individual implicit bias.
5. Multiracial spokespeople are better received than White-only spokespeople.

[4] www.thinkprogress.org/ economy/2014/03/12/3394871/ ryan-poverty-inner-city/

IMPLICIT BIAS

Unconscious attitudes and stereotypes toward individuals and social groups that "affect our understanding, actions, and decisions".
(Adapted from Kirwan Institute)

CSI'S SIX STRATEGIES:

At CSI, we have developed a successful model for talking effectively about race. We call this model ACT, which stands for Affirm, Counter, and Transform. Within these three broad components we have identified six strategies that we believe are critical in moving the narrative on race toward equity.

Affirm – Hook and engage the audience by immediately mentioning phrases and images that speak to their values.

1. Start with the heart.

Start with an emotional connector to engage the audience in the message. Any advertising salesperson, seasoned writer, or passionate movie director knows that in order to grab a desired audience's attention, they must provide emotional substance for the audience to connect with. Similar to popular messages in our movies and stories, we must provide emotional connectors to engage audiences with our progressive messages.

2. Explain why we are all in this together.

We must explain in racially explicit terms the meaning of "shared fate". To combat the conservative perspective that racial equity only concerns people of color, we must point out that racially equitably solutions improve everyone's lives. We are all affected by the same policies—albeit in different ways.

Counter – Open the audience's minds to alternative explanations or frameworks about race.

3. Explain why we have the problem.

Give a very brief explanation of what has happened in the past and explain why we have a problem today. Part of the problem people have with understanding the current economic situation of the United States is that they lack knowledge of the historical context that has brought us to our current state. To describe why our current society has such systematic inequality, we must describe in layman's terms what has happened in the past and explain why we have problems today. Once people have a better understanding of the historical context, they can better understand how race is structurally situated.

4. Address race directly.

We need to confront the race wedge. Without even mentioning race in the conversation, decision makers and debaters are able to push for less racially equitable policies by triggering our racial associations and, in turn, our implicit racial biases.

We need to directly combat this race wedge by declaring it and then dismissing it. For example, in our previous rounds of testing we used language such as, "This is not about immigrants or welfare. This is about whether Americans will see their children off to college, see their parents get the health care they need…" In this sentence, we are both naming the race wedge of immigrants and debunking this race wedge by pointing out what is a bigger priority to Americans. This is critical in tackling the dominant narrative of the opposition and in winning the fight towards racial equity.

Transform – End your message with a solution that leaves your audience feeling engaged and included in your next steps.

5. Reframe "makers" and "takers."

The dominant narrative about people of color has labeled them as "the takers" of the economy while hardworking White American taxpayers are "the makers" of the economy. All too often, people of color have been depicted negatively, which furthers existing racial disparities. In an effort to combat this narrative, we have to re-frame people of color as positive contributors and shift blame towards big corporations.

6. End with heart and solution.

It is important to present solutions in emotional terms. Just as the beginning must hook the audience from the start of the message, the end must leave audiences with an emotional takeaway to help them remember what they have just seen. Psychological studies show that people most easily remember beginnings and endings of messages.[5] Thus, it is important to make sure that messages end with both solutions and emotional resonance.

[5] E.g., Healy, A. F., Havas, D. A., & Parkour, J. T. (2000). Comparing serial position effects in semantic and episodic memory using reconstruction of order tasks. Journal of Memory and Language, 42, 147-167.

This report covers multiple research projects completed in the years 2012-2014. In 2012, CSI and research consultant Analyst Institute tested CSI's "I Make" messages in a national online survey of 1,017 participants. In 2013, CSI and Lake Research Partners conducted a series of focus groups in Michigan and California to refine the "I Make" messages. In 2014, CSI and Pacific Market Research tested CSI's refined "I Make" messages in a national online survey of 1,777 participants, which also tested implicit bias. This report describes the methodology and results of each round of testing.

2012 "I Make" Message Internet Testing: Does the Messenger Matter?
(2012 and 2014 questionnaire: Appendix A)

METHODOLOGY

Given the success of the messages from our first report in moving progressive policy and naming race[6], and our desire to frame communities of color as contributors to our economy, we revised and formatted those messages to show people of color as "makers," not "takers," in their respective job positions. For example, we show a Black female teacher instructing two students and we pair this image with language that demonstrates that she is contributing to the economy or "making" by helping our kids learn. We called these messages "I Make," to counter the race wedge and to move people toward progressive fiscal policies by showing people of color as "makers" instead of "takers."

The main research question for the 2012 "I Make" messages Internet testing was: Will varying the racial and occupational make-up of the "I Make" message spokespeople persuade viewers to agree more with the progressive "I Make" messages and progressive fiscal policies than with conservative messages and fiscal policies?

The person who delivers the message in a commercial or a political campaign affects the way in which the audience perceives the message. The sex, age, race, and other obvious attributes of the spokesperson carry weight. Hence, in our "I Make" messages, we employed a mixture of races to test the effectiveness of different spokespeople in reframing "makers" and "takers." Would having White-only spokespeople in our "I Make" messages influence more people to support progressive fiscal policies? Or conversely, would having a multiracial cast of spokespeople influence more people to support those policies?

In addition to looking at the race of the spokespeople, we also looked at occupation. Would showing both workers (e.g., construction workers or office workers) and tycoons (e.g., CEOs of banks and oil companies) influence people to agree with the "I Make" messages and with progressive fiscal policies? Messages including "tycoons" and "workers" attempt to reframe who is contributing (workers) and who is taking from our economy (tycoons).

In collaboration with the Analyst Institute and Survey Sampling International, CSI surveyed a nationally representative sample of 1,017 participants. The survey engaged participants in the following steps:

1. Participants were asked a series of demographic questions about their race, gender, ethnicity, interest in politics, party identification, ideology, voter registration, whether they voted in 2008, their employment status, occupational category/role, education, state of residence, and age.

[6] The Center for Social Inclusion and Westen Strategies, LLC, *Talking About Race: A Summary of Findings* (2012).

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2. All participants were shown a conservative message on fiscal policy in an automated slide show with narration. The slide show contained a series of both pictures and texts. Participants were shown conservative messages first so that we could compare the relative effect of the progressive message on participants after seeing a conservative message. We also attempted to approximate the real world by showing participants a conservative message that is similar to messages with conservative values in popular media.

3. After viewing the conservative message, participants were asked how strongly they agreed with that message on a 5-point agreement scale (1 being strongly disagree; 5 being strongly agree).

4. After reporting their agreement to the conservative message, participants were randomly assigned to one of four groups. One group was the control, which means they were not shown additional messages. Participants in the three other groups saw three different "I Make" messages with variations in the racial and occupational mix of the spokespeople.

The following are the groups that participants were assigned to:

SPOKESPEOPLE IN THE "I MAKE" MESSAGES (APPENDIX B FOR COMPLETE MESSAGES)

Race of spokespeople	Occupation
Multiracial mix	Workers only
Multiracial mix	Workers and Tycoons
White-only	Workers and Tycoons
Control (no progressive message was shown)	Control (no progressive message was shown)

For example, the "Multiracial mix" and "Workers only" condition depicted a multiracial mix of spokespeople with only workers depicted, like a teacher and a construction worker. We then delivered an "I Make" message with this condition:

"**I make** homes for families. I'm a construction worker."

"**I make** kids smart. I'm a teacher."

The "Multiracial mix" and "Workers and Tycoons" condition showed additional slides depicting White tycoons. We then delivered an "I Make" message with this condition. The following are two examples of the additional slides:

"**I make** profits. I run Bank of America."

"**I make** profits. I work at Goldman Sachs, which takes other people's money to make us more money."

The "White only spokespeople" and "Workers and Tycoons" condition had workers and tycoons like the previous condition, but had an all-White cast of spokespeople. Again, we delivered an "I Make" message with this condition.

For all conditions, with the exception of the control condition, we asked participants the extent to which they agreed with the message they just saw.

Finally, all participants were asked a number of questions about taxation, inequality, the role of government, and perceptions of different racial and social class groups. Of note, participants were also asked a series of questions to assess their racial resentment.[7]
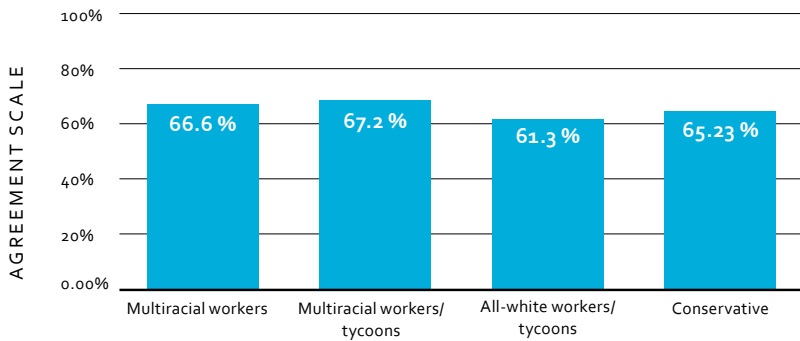
RESULTS

In the 2012 "I Make" message Internet testing, the research question was: Will varying the racial and occupational makeup of the "I Make" message spokespeople persuade viewers to agree more with the progressive "I Make" messages and progressive fiscal policies than with conservative messages and fiscal policies? We found that in this round of Internet testing, people were more likely to agree with "I Make" messages that had spokespeople of multiple races instead of spokespeople that were only White. Agreement with messages with multiracial spokespersons was magnified for participants who identified as Democrats and who earned less than $50,000 per year. In this round of testing, we found that people did not support policies that raise income taxes or increase government spending.

Several findings arose from the Internet testing results:

- **Agreement to Messages.** The racial composition of the messengers appears to matter for message agreement, while the occupational composition does not. On a scale from 0 (no agreement) to 100 (high agreement), participants agreed with the multiracial workers message at 66.6 points and agreed with the multiracial workers/tycoons at 67.2 points (*see Figure 1*). In comparison to the agreement level to the multiracial worker messages, participants agreed less to the all-white workers/tycoons message at 61.3 points. On average, participants rated the conservative message as 65.2 on the 100-point scale. Participants were more likely to agree than disagree with all the messages, but agreed the most with the multiracial workers/tycoons message.

[7] Four statements from the 2012 and 2014 questionnaire were indexed to compose the Racial Resentment scale. The four statements are: Question 29: "Irish, Italians, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Immigrants today should do the same without any special favors"; Questions 30: "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Black to work their way out of the lower class"; Question 31:"Over the past few years racial minorities have gotten less than they deserve" and Question 32: "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if racial minorities would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites."
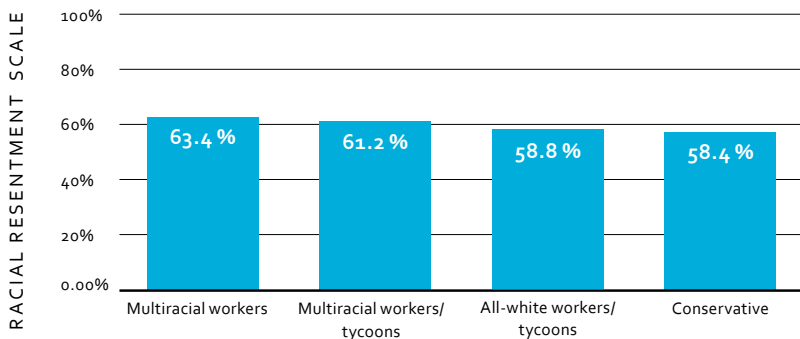
Figure 1: Agreement with the "I Make" Message (Total Sample)

	Multiracial workers	Multiracial workers/ tycoons	All-white workers/ tycoons	Conservative
Agreement	66.6 %	67.2 %	61.3 %	65.23 %

- Democrats and lower income earners are more likely to support the messages with multiracial messengers, relative to the messages with the all-White cast, compared to non-Democrats and upper-income earners.
- Democratic participants who saw messages with a multiracial cast supported government involvement in job creation and taxing the wealthy more than non-Democratic participants.

- **Racial Resentment.** Multiracial messengers slightly increased racial resentment among the total sample. Within the questionnaire, CSI asked a series of questions that gauged racial resentment. On a scale of 0 (low racial resentment) to 100 (high racial resentment), participants who viewed the multiracial workers message rated 63.4 and participants who viewed the multiracial workers/tycoons messages rated 61.2. Participants who saw the all-White workers/tycoons message or who did not see any "I Make" progressive message (the control group) had less racial resentment at 58.8 and 58.4 respectively (*see Figure 2*).

This results show that despite participants' desire to see diverse spokespeople in messages, they have racial resentment towards people of color. People have positive reactions to the idea of diversity but fear how diversity may affect their own gains of power and capital. We believe that this juxtaposition is another example of how people are able to hold two frames on race and policy, both progressive and conservative. This is an area that we will continue to investigate.

Figure 2: Racial Resentment (Total Sample)

	Multiracial workers	Multiracial workers/ tycoons	All-white workers/ tycoons	Conservative
Racial Resentment	63.4 %	61.2 %	58.8 %	58.4 %

- **Fiscal Policy Endorsement.** There were no notable significant differences between participants who saw a multiracial message versus participants who saw an all-White message on fiscal policy endorsements.

In sum, we found a mixed bag of results in the 2012 message testing. First, on average, participants agreed to all messages, but significantly agreed more to the multiracial spokesperson messages than the all-white spokesperson message. Second, participants who saw the multiracial spokesperson message had slightly more racial resentment than participants who saw the all-white spokesperson message. Finally, the "I Make" messages did not have a significant effect on participants' endorsement of fiscal policies. The main take-away from the 2012 round of testing is that multiracial spokespeople are better received by voters than White-only spokespeople in messages. When considering messages on race and policy, we need to incorporate a diverse representation of spokespeople.

2013 Michigan and California Focus Groups: Strengthening the "I Make" Messages
(2013 Michigan and California focus group guide: Appendix C)

With the first round of "I Make" message testing in 2012, we found that although voters agreed with both the progressive and conservative messages overall, they were more likely to agree with messages containing multiracial spokespeople versus an all-White spokesperson cast. Additionally, we were not able to find in the 2012 round of testing any significant effect of "I Make" messages on participants' endorsement of fiscal policies. Consequently, we continued to refine and develop the "I Make" messages with new images and language to more decisively move people toward more progressive fiscal policies. Using focus groups, we decided to explore the different ways we could enhance our messages.

METHODOLOGY

In 2013, CSI held multiple focus groups in various locations in Michigan and California. These focus groups improved upon the 2012 versions of the "I Make" messages so that they better addressed voters' concerns about the economy while finding ways to indicate how changes in the economy impact people of all races. The format of all focus groups was similar to the 2012 "I Make" testing, with all participants first watching the conservative video and then the progressive video, followed by questions about their feelings toward the videos, reactions to various photos of people of different races and occupations, and level of agreement to a range of fiscal policy[8] questions specific to Michigan or California.

> ## FOCUS GROUP
>
> A small group of people facilitated by a trained moderator and guided to talk about their opinions on a chosen topic. This is a qualitative approach to learn how people from different demographic backgrounds view a variety of topics, ranging from television shows to political ideas.

[8] Fiscal policy questions varied to ensure that each fiscal policy question was specific to Michigan or California. In Michigan, participants were asked their opinions on the following fiscal policies: Medicaid expansion, financial aid for low-income students, earned income tax credit, Michigan Public Education Finance Act, right-to-work, regional transit authority, and welfare limits. In California, participants were asked their opinions on the following fiscal policies: Proposition 13, public education reform, public transportation funding, and cash assistance program for needy families.

The following is a summary of the focus group procedures and results:

PROCEDURES

Michigan. In March 2013, CSI and Lake Research Partners held five focus groups in Southfield and Grand Rapids, Michigan. In Southfield, there was one group of Black voters, both male and female; one group of White male voters; and one group of White female voters. In Grand Rapids, there was one group of White female voters and one group of White male voters. The race and gender of the focus groups were selected to represent the demographic composition of Southfield and Grand Rapids, Michigan.

A few months later, CSI and Lake Research Partners conducted two dial testing focus group sessions, one with 40 White voters and one with 42 Black, Hispanic, and Middle Eastern voters. Participants participated first in a dial testing focus group session all together, and then participants were selected to be part of smaller breakout groups. We measured participants' levels of agreement to messages during the dial group session and then we assessed their reactions in the breakout groups.

DIAL TESTING

A method to capture participants' responses to images or words in real time. Participants move a dial to whatever feeling they are experiencing at the moment they see the image (e.g., feeling warm while watching a family photo).

California. CSI and Lake Research Partners held six focus groups in Fresno, Los Angeles, and San Jose, California, between May and June 2013. In Fresno, there was one group of non-college educated White women and one group of non-college educated White men. Because of previous research showing that education is a factor affecting people's political attitudes, participants who did not graduate (non-college) and who did graduate (college) were separated into different focus groups. In Los Angeles, there was one group of mixed gender Latino voters and one group of mixed gender Black voters. In San Jose, there was one group of mixed gender Asian American voters and one group of college-educated White voters. Participants were shown both CSI's progressive and conservative messages and were then asked a series of questions on fiscal policies in California.

RESULTS

Because the focus group data is qualitative, no direct scientific suggestions can be made from the data; however, we can use the data to make inferences and to revise our messages.

Overall, most of the results from both states showed that people agreed with both the conservative and progressives messages, emotionally identified with images and the language of "hardworking Americans," and were eager for more information on fiscal policies before making decisions on them. These results supported the previous Internet testing that people were agreeing with conservative and progressive messages, but we see more nuances in what sections of the messages people identified with and felt positive about. Depending on the state and the group of participants, results varied slightly; we will discuss both the similarities and differences between states below.

Michigan. Within White participant groups, the use of images with examples of people of color in non-stereotypical jobs (e.g., African-American female teacher) was particular effective in fostering a collective American identity across racial groups (rather than identifying specifically to the White American working class). Participants across racial groups had positive reactions toward changes in education and transportation policies that would help everyone, but were reluctant to endorse changes in income assistance policy. For example, White male voters in Southfield were particularly wary of people "taking advantage" of the system and earning additional income that they did not "deserve."

Overall, the majority of both the swing and non-White voters agreed with the progressive message concerning investing in public services and making wealthy corporations pay their fair share. These voters also agreed with the conservative message, in that they felt like the bad economy did hit everyone, but they sympathized mostly with people in their same socio-economic class (e.g., working class) rather than sympathize across race. Majority of White voters rated the conservative message higher than the progressive message. One poignant result demonstrated that participants were particularly when the impacts were local. For example, at first glance, voters were not likely to endorse Medicaid expansion but once they heard that failing to expand Medicaid could deny coverage for 320,000 residents, voters were more likely to vehemently vote for Medicaid expansion.

California. Similar to Michigan focus groups, after seeing both messages, California focus group voters placed a high value on fairness and on the desire to reward people who "work hard and play by the rules". In contrast to those in Michigan, voters in California were more interested in the educational system and in investing money directly into classrooms. Because of the more multiracial environment in California, voters more easily identified with workers in the photos shown (e.g., voters saw their own grandparents represented in an African-American couple). Overall, voters were positive and endorsed more funding both for education in lower income areas and for local public transportation.

Californian participants needed more information about the policies discussed. Additionally, participants were skeptical toward policies that helped people on income assistance because they fear that people abuse the system. Altogether, California voters—like Michigan voters—agreed with the messages that the suffering working/middle class need to get their fair share.

Overall for Michigan and California. The results from the Michigan and California focus groups served to clarify the aspects of our message that were most compelling and useful in persuading participants to think positively about people of color. There were similarities across focus groups such as participants identifying strongly with images and language about fairness and hardworking Americans. Additionally, a key takeaway that we extracted from all focus groups was that effective storytelling matters. By having a stronger narrative structure in the "I Make" message, people were more invested in the content of the message and are more likely to identify with people of color, particularly if the spokesperson was in a similar occupation as the participant. There were some dissimilarities such as Michigan focus groups interested in more local impact than California focus groups.

Based on the focus groups results, we refined our messages and decided to conduct another round of Internet testing. We varied the language and images in level of racial explicitness and we varied the job stereotypicality of the spokespeople in our 2014 "I Make" messages. To empirically test the effects of our "I Make" messages in comparison to our conservative message, CSI and Pacific Market Research implemented a nationally sampled Internet test in February of 2014.

2014 "I Make" Message Internet Testing: Countering the Race Wedge on Fiscal Policies
(2012 and 2014 questionnaire attached at end)

M E T H O D O L O G Y

Building off of the 2012 "I Make" message Internet testing and the 2013 focus group results, the main research question for the 2014 "I Make" message Internet testing was: Will varying the level of racially explicit language/ images and job stereotypicality of the spokespeople move people to agreement on "I Make" messages and progressive fiscal policies?

With this round of Internet testing, we wanted to explore the boundaries on just how racially explicit in language and images we could be and still move people toward progressive fiscal policies. Since we saw that participants in our focus groups empathized more with people of color because of the spokesperson's occupation, we decided to vary the occupations of both people of color and White spokespeople, to see if that would help participants move toward progressive fiscal policies. We also tested to see if our messages impacted people's implicit bias. Similar to the 2012 round of message testing, all participants were shown the conservative messages first. We were again priming people with the conservative message to see how effective the progressive message would be after seeing the content of the conservative message.

I M P L I C I T   B I A S

The way people unconsciously and sometimes unwillingly exhibit bias towards other individuals and groups.

CSI worked with Pacific Market Research (PMR) to recruit participants across the nation. PMR recruited a random, nationally representative sample of 1,777 participants. PMR oversampled from Black/African, Asian, and Non-White Hispanic communities to ensure that there were enough sample numbers to compare across racial groups. Oversampling was also done to gather at least 200 participants from California and Michigan each, as they were states of particular interest in our analysis.

The procedure was as follows:

1. Participants were asked a series of demographic questions about their race, gender, ethnicity, interest in politics, party identification, ideology, voter registration, whether they voted in 2012, their employment status, occupational category/role, education, state of residence, and age. (Breakdown in Appendix D)

2. Participants completed the implicit bias test.

3. All participants were shown a conservative message in an automated slide show with narration. The slide show contained a series of both pictures and texts.

4. After viewing the conservative message, participants were asked how strongly they agreed, on a 5-point agreement scale, with the message contained in the video slideshow.

5. Participants were randomly assigned to view one of four different progressive messages (examples below). Again, the control group was comprised of participants who only saw the conservative message. The "I Make" messages varied in the explicitness of race in the language and images, as well as the level stereotypicality of the jobs of the spokesperson. Participants were assigned to one of the five conditions (Appendix E for complete messages):

Race Subtle/Explicit	Job Stereotype/Mixed
CSI Message Race Subtle	Job Stereotype
CSI Message Race Explicit	Job Stereotype
CSI Message Race Subtle	Job Stereotype Mixed
CSI Message Race Explicit	Job Stereotype Mixed
Control (no progressive message was shown)	Control (no progressive message was shown)

For example, "Race Explicit" messages contained images with a more multiracial cast of spokespeople and had more racially explicit language than the Race Subtle Messages.

Race Explicit

Race Subtle

Job Stereotype messages contained images of spokespeople in racially stereotypical professions such as a female White teacher, whereas Job Stereotype Mixed included a few jobs that had people of color in non-racially stereotypical professions, such as a female Black teacher.

Race Explicit

Race Subtle

1. After viewing the conservative message, participants (except for in the control condition) were asked how strongly they agreed, on a 5-point agreement scale, with the message contained in the video slideshow.

2. All participants completed the implicit bias test (the same one as before).

3. All participants were asked a number of questions about taxation, inequality, the role of government, and perceptions of different racial and social class groups. Of note, participants were also asked a series of questions to assess their racial resentment.[9]

RESULTS

In the 2014 "I Make" message Internet testing, the research question was: Will varying the level of racially explicit language/images and the job stereotypicality of the spokespeople move people to agreement with our "I Make" messages and progressive fiscal policies?

We found that overall participants were agreeing with both progressive and conservative messages. Unlike the previous 2012 round of testing, there were no significant differences in agreement in the different progressive messages. There was no significant difference in agreement between the progressive and conservative messages either. We did find that participants who viewed the progressive messages[10] were more likely to move towards more progressive fiscal policies.

Here are the additional key findings to the main finding:[11][12]

- **Implicit Bias.** Participants' implicit bias was measured before and after the messages, to demonstrate that explicitly talking about race will not increase implicit bias. Implicit bias was measured using the Affect Misattribution Procedure (AMP)[13]. We found in our analysis that participants' implicit bias did not increase after watching the video messages, even in those who watched the racially explicit video messages. Despite common beliefs that priming participants with more racially explicit language/images will increase bias, we found no increases in this implicit bias. Being primed on race in the messages does not seem to elevate individual implicit bias.

- **Agreement to Messages.** Participants did not agree more with the progressive messages than the conservative message. Participants did not significantly differ in agreement to the different types of progressive messages.

- **Open-Ended Responses to Messages.** In regards to the conservative message, the largest percentage (40.6%) of participants replied that the part of the conservative message they most agreed with was "government should control spending/live within their budget and government should reduce the deficit/be held accountable." In regards to the progressive message, 12% of participants replied that they agreed most with the part of the message that states that "Americans were hurt by the economy." 12% of participants replied that they agreed with "all/everything" in the message, and 11% of participants replied that they agreed most with the part of the message that states that "government should control spending."

[9] Four statements from the 2012 and 2014 questionnaire were indexed to compose the Racial Resentment scale. The four statements are: Question 29: "Irish, Italians, Jewish, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Immigrants today should do the same without any special favors"; Questions 30: "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Black to work their way out of the lower class"; Question 31: "Over the past few years racial minorities have gotten less than they deserve" and Question 32: "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if racial minorities would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites."

[10] As there were no significant differences between the four progressive messages: Race Subtle and Job Stereotypical, Race Subtle and Job Stereotypical Mixed, Race Explicit and Job Stereotypical, and Race Explicit and Job Stereotypical Mixed, the data for these four conditions were collapsed into one condition: progressive messages. All participants who saw any version of the progressive message were then compared to the participants who only saw the conservative message.

[11] All findings were found with the demographic variables mentioned in the Methodology sections serving as control variables.

[12] Scale Organization. Fiscal policy questions were grouped together in data analysis, as the nature of the questions was similar. Fiscal policy questions were indexed from questions 20-24, 27-28, and 34 (e.g., "Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make more than $150,000 per year?"). This index had a good internal consistency, α = .799. Racial resentment grouped questions were questions 29-32 (e.g., Indicate whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly to the following statement "Irish, Italians, Jews, and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Immigrants today should do the same without any special favors.") The racial resentment index also had a good internal consistency, α = .756.

[13] Payne, B. K., Cheng, C. M., Govorun, O., Stewart, B. D. (2005). An Inkblot for attitudes: Affect misattribution as implicit measurement. Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 89, 277-293.

- **Fiscal Policies Endorsement. Participants who were in the "I Make" message conditions were more likely to endorse progressive fiscal policies (e.g., endorsing tax reform to tax higher income peoples, less supportive of cutting services and spending, and more supportive of government involvement) in comparison to participants who only saw the conservative message.** On an indexed scale from 1 (endorsement of more progressive fiscal policies) to 5 (endorsement of more conservative fiscal policies), participants who only saw the conservative message rated on average 2.73, whereas participants who saw both the conservative and progressive message on average rated 2.57 (*see Figure 3*).[14] Notably, even participants who only saw the conservative message were rating at the middle of the scale, suggesting the desire for a balance between conservative and progressive fiscal policies. The introduction of the "I Make" progressive message significant shifts people to endorse more progressive fiscal policies.

Figure 3: Endorsement of Fiscal Policies by Group (Total Sample)
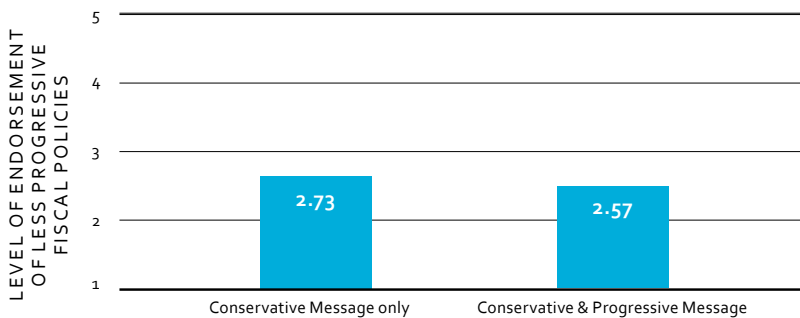
- **Racial Resentment. Participants who were in the "I Make" message conditions were less likely to have racial resentment (e.g., less likely to feel that people of color are receiving "special treatment" because they are racial minorities) relative to participants who were in the conservative video only condition.** On a scale from 1 (low racial resentment) to 5 (high racial resentment), participants who saw the conservative message only rated 3.53 whereas participants who saw both the conservative and progressive messages rated 3.41 (*see Figure 4*).[15] The middle of the scale at 2.5 means "neither agree nor disagree". The higher values on the resentment scale mean a greater level of racial resentment.

Figure 4: Level of Racial Resentment (Total Sample)
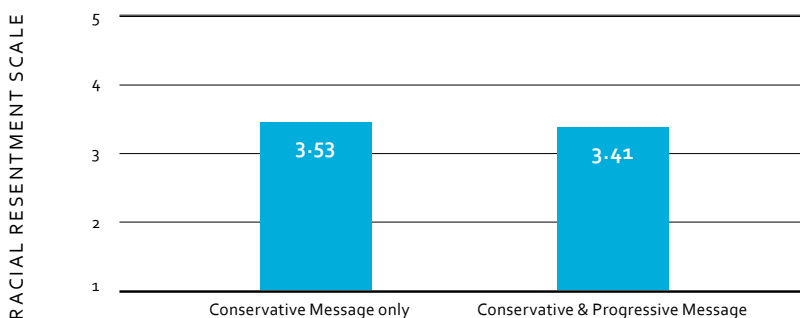
[14] Political affiliation, Ideological affiliation, Occupational role and household income all had significant differences in the expected direction on fiscal policy and racial resentment questions. For more specifics, please contact CSI.

[15] Political affiliation, Ideological affiliation, Occupational role and household income all had significant differences in the expected direction on fiscal policy and racial resentment questions. For more specifics, please contact CSI.

- **Participant Race.** There were no significant differences between racial groups on fiscal policy endorsement. However, as expected, participants of color had significantly less racial resentment than White participants. The higher values on the resentment scale means the greater level of racial resentment and greater perceptions that people of color are receiving unfair benefits from the government. On a scale from 1 (low racial resentment) to 5 (high racial resentment), on average Black/African American participants rated 2.67, White American participants rated 3.68, Asian/Pacific Islander participants rated 3.05, Latino/Hispanic American participants rated 3.1, Native American participants rated 3.4 and participants identifying as "other" race rated 3.23.

Figure 5: Level of Racial Resentment by Race
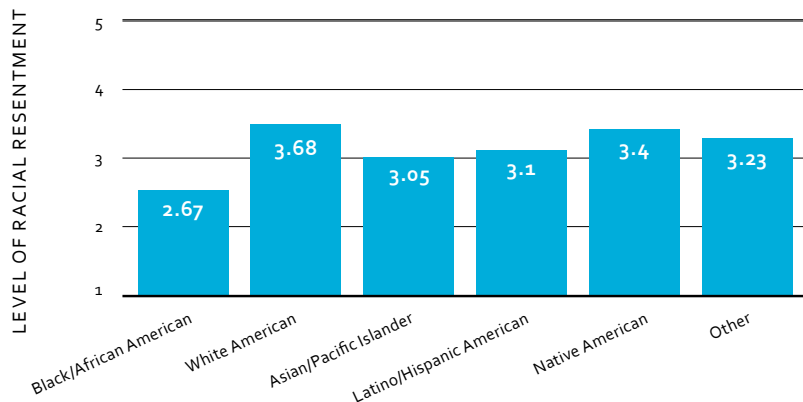
- **California and Michigan Oversampling.** California and Michigan participants were not uniquely different from the nation in their responses to fiscal policy questions. The only significant difference was that California participants had less racial resentment in comparison to participants from the rest of the nation.

OVERALL DISCUSSION

Messaging is not the long-term strategy, but part of a collective movement to change people's attitudes and behaviors so that we can garner support for progressive policy that is inclusive of people of color.

We have, through a rigorous process of two Internet tests and thirteen focus groups, developed messages that have the potential to win big in progressive fiscal policies. In our 2012 "I Make" messages, we saw that participants actually agree more with messages that contain a multiracial cast of spokespeople than with the messages that contain a White only cast. However, we did not see people moving toward more progressive fiscal policies; we saw that people had more racial resentment when they saw the "I Make" messages with multiracial spokespeople. Because of these mixed results, we decided to further develop and revise our messages via focus groups and to conduct another round of Internet testing. In our focus groups, we found that people identify with people of color particularly when they see them as fellow contributors to society and the economy. In our 2014 "I Make" messages, we found that our revised progressive messages with more multiracial casts and narrative did more to effectively move people to endorse more progressive fiscal policies.

We have used these rounds of message testing as a development process to figure out which message elements will persuade people first to agree with our "I Make" messages, and ultimately with more progressive fiscal policies. **The key difference between the 2012 and 2014 "I Make" messages is that the 2014 "I Make" messages were more racially explicit in language and contained more non-stereotypical images than did the 2012 "I Make" messages. Strikingly, participants agreed more with progressive fiscal policies after viewing the 2014 "I Make" messages than after viewing the 2012 "I Make" messages. These differences in results suggest that we are at a point at which we can talk about race more explicitly than ever before.** We can show non-stereotypical images such as Black firefighters and Asian construction workers and we can move people to vote to increase taxes for people who make $150,000 or more. People are experiencing feelings of "shared fate". We can and need to highlight race in our narration.

Our conclusion is that we do need to talk about race explicitly so that we are able to move people significantly on fiscal policy. Just like the conservative right effectively calls out race to mobilize voters to vote for their conservative policies, we must address race directly and combat the race wedge to influence people toward progressive policy.

Over the course of all our testing, we have found that our messages are effective at moving people to endorse more progressive fiscal policies. We've refined our progressive "I Make" message over multiple rounds of Internet message testing and focus groups. Through our rounds of Internet testing, focus grouping and various meetings with our partners, we have found three broad components[16] that define the strategies for developing an effective race message. These three broad components are: Affirm, Counter and Transform. Under each component, we have outlined two strategies that correspond to the component and we describe how our messaging demonstrates each strategy. In the following section, we will discuss how our message testing in the past few years have supported these strategies.

Affirm – Hook and engage the audience by immediately mentioning phrases and images that speak to the values of the audience.

1. Start with the heart.

Start with an emotional connector to engage audience in the message.

In our 2012 and 2014 "I Make" messages, we use language such as "hardworking Americans" and "struggling in our economy." The terms "hardworking" and "Americans" have emotional resonance to both the American ideology around the value of work (e.g., "we work hard and deserve what we work for") and to American patriotism. In a sentence like, "We work hard to support our families and all our contributions help make America great," we see the emotional appeal of meritocracy and patriotism. In our focus groups, participants connected emotionally with the images of different kinds of people working in different jobs. In these cases, we found that they identified with spokespeople not based on race, but based on the type of job they were working. In other words, we need first to connect with the audience by talking about American values, and then go on to talk about race more explicitly.

2. Explain why we are all in this together.

We must explain in racially explicit terms the meaning of "shared fate".

Throughout our messages, we utilize the language "we" to incorporate everyone into both the problem and the solution. We show people of color in stereotypical and non-stereotypical jobs to demonstrate that we are all contributors to society, and we use specific language to call out race and to unite people under a common American identity. For example, we use sentences like, "It hurts the same to lose a home or job, whether we are White or Black, male or female, a single parent or in a two-parent family."

Counter –Open audience's minds to alternative explanations or frameworks about race.

3. Explain why we have the problem.

Give a very brief explanation of what has happened in the past and explain why we have a problem today.

In our 2012 and 2014 "I Make" messages, we used language and bright photos to describe the transportation, food, and housing policies the United States has invested in in the past. For example: "In the past, to create more jobs and to make our economy work, as a country we invested in schools and universities; we invested in buses, subways, and

[16] These three broad components: Affirm, Counter, and Transform (ACT) are adopted from Dr. Robert Kegan's culture of embeddedness theory. Kegan, Robert (1982). The evolving self: problem and process in human development. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

highway repair." Very briefly and quickly, the audience is able to understand concretely that in the past Americans have invested in multiple institutions. Particularly in the focus groups, participants were especially enthusiastic to learn about the historical contexts of policies and they wanted further education to help them understand how to wisely choose the right policy.

4. Address race directly.

We need to directly combat this race wedge by declaring it and then dismissing it.

As we have continued Internet message testing, we have yet to find the limit to which we can talk about race. In our 2014 "I Make" results, there were no significant differences between the racially subtle and the more racially explicit messages, meaning that the more racially explicit messages did not turn people off from endorsing progressive fiscal policies. Additionally, in direct contradiction to the fear that talking explicitly about race will increase racial discrimination and prejudice, we have found that implicit bias (a measure of people's unconscious racial prejudices) is not increased by racially explicit messages. This research suggests that, in order to gain more support for progressive and inclusive policies, we should continue to talk about race— and further, to talk more provocatively and explicitly about race than ever before.

Transform – End your message with a solution that leaves your audience feeling engaged and included in your next steps.

5. Reframe "makers" and "takers."

In an effort to combat the dominative narrative, we have to re-frame people of color as positive contributors and shift blame towards big corporations.

In our current messages, we have repositioned the "takers" to be corporations and CEOs who seek tax loopholes, and the "makers" to be hardworking Americans, regardless of race. If we aim our messaging at corporations such as banks, participants feel more connected and sympathetic toward people of color. Qualitative responses from the 2014 "I Make" results show that participants remark how bad the corporations really are and that they benefit financially far more the average American. We need to utilize this reframing to be able to move people to more racially equitable solutions.

6. End with heart and solution.

It's important to present solutions in emotional terms.

In comparison to the 2012 "I Make" messages, the 2014 "I Make" messages were slightly adjusted over the course of the focus groups in order to highlight the solution at the end of the message. Language at the end of our message describes how corporations and the wealthy should "do their fair share" so that we can reinvest in the policies that we need for a brighter future. This solution in the 2014 "I Make" messages may be the reason why people were moved to more progressive policies in the 2014 results and not in the 2012 results.

Our current message testing research demonstrates that we can move people significantly on fiscal policies and racial resentment with the right kind of effective messaging. It is important to know from previous academic literature which factors affect and change people's attitudes about policies; we will discuss this academic literature in the last section of this report.

INDIVIDUAL FACTORS AFFECTING VOTER ATTITUDES

In order to effectively shift people's attitudes toward racially transformative policies, we must know what shapes and forms people's attitudes toward racially transformative policies. In this section, we look at how various social and psychological factors affect people's attitudes toward affirmative action and healthcare policies.

Behavioral scientist Judith E. Rosenstein investigated how two types of threat—individual threat and group threat—can contribute to people's opposition to policies that aid Blacks.[17] Individual threat is when the individual person is faced with potential harm such as losing a job or not getting a promotion. Group threat is when an individual's group is faced with potential harm from another outside group or "out-group" such as the perception that Asian Americans are taking technical jobs away from White Americans. Researchers found that feelings of both individual threat and group threat were associated with greater opposition to policies aiding Blacks. The researchers emphasized that neither one kind of threat had the strongest effect of opposition against racial policies but that both types of threats are needed for people to oppose policies aiding blacks.

Far-right conservative values are shown in progressive media and touted by pundits as being unintelligent, ignorant, and racist. However, conservatives vary in how they perceive themselves. Educated conservatives who perceive themselves as not racist still continue to oppose racially equitable policies. Research investigating why conservatives oppose affirmative action policies[18] demonstrates that they do so for Blacks more than for women. Follow up data analysis conducted to examine the relationship between conservatism and affirmative action attitudes shows that "stereotypes of deservingness" mediate between conservatism and affirmative action attitudes. "Stereotypes of deservingness" is a term that researchers Reyna and colleagues constructed in order to describe stereotypes that imply that African American/Black people's poor conditions are due to lack of effort and so they deserve to be in those poor conditions. Researchers found that White participants across spectrums of gender and education oppose affirmative action more for Blacks than for women and that conservative participants were more likely than non-conservative participants to oppose affirmative action for Blacks. For educated conservatives, opposing racial policies was explained by their perception that Blacks should pull themselves up by their bootstraps like "model minorities."

Reyna and colleagues conducted a second study, with a sample from the Greater Chicago area, to look at the relationship between conservatism and affirmative action in a more general, field setting. The results showed that participants were more opposed to affirmative action programs that benefited Blacks than they were to identical programs for women. Researchers also investigated the effect of responsibility stereotypes/ stereotypes of deserving (level of agreement to statements such as "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if African Americans/Blacks would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites") and old-fashioned racism

[17] Judith E. Rosenstein, "Individual Threat, Group Threat, and Racial Policy: Exploring the Relationship Between Threat and Racial Attitudes," *Social Science Research* 37, (2008): 1130-1146.

[18] Christina Reyna, P. J. Henry, William Kormacher, and Amanda Tucker, "Examining the Principles in Principled Conservatism: The Role of Responsibility Stereotypes as Cues for Deservingness in Racial Policy Decisions," *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology 90*, no. 1 (2005): 109-128.

(level of agreement to statements such as, "On average, African American/Blacks have worse jobs, income, and housing than Whites because most African Americans/Blacks are not as capable as Whites") on opposition to racial policy. Old-fashioned racism is in reference to blatant racism in participants. Researchers showed that for more educated conservatives, responsibility stereotypes were more predictive of opposing racial policy than old-fashioned racism.

Just as time has changed discourse on gender, the discourse on race has become more faceted and geared toward equity. Colorblindness has cropped up in recent debates as a strategy for racial equity. A recent study shows, however, that colorblindness may in fact predict more opposition to affirmative action, particularly for Whites who perceive themselves to be low in prejudice. Colorblindness was defined by the researchers as "simply an opposition to racial categorization."[19] Researchers discovered that colorblindness predicted opposition to affirmative action for low prejudice Whites because low prejudiced Whites want to hold beliefs and opinions that are consistent with present racial realities (not being perceived as a racist) while at the same time balancing the interests of both the racial ingroup as well as racial outgroups. Researchers found that those participants who reported feeling high in warmth (on a feeling thermometer) toward Blacks and reported higher level of agreement on the colorblind statements were more likely to oppose affirmative action. This same effect was found in a second study with a community sample (134 White adults drawn from a nationally representative online pool called KnowledgePanel).

In another study investigating the reasoning behind racial colorblindness,[20] researchers predicted three different rationales for racial colorblindness: (1) colorblindness protects people of colors' interests by reducing stereotyping and stigma; (2) colorblindness protects Whites' interests by defending against policies that are potentially harmful to Whites; and (3) society has reached racial equality so racial categorization is no longer applicable. Researchers found that participants who reported higher in prejudice against Blacks (less Black positivity) were more likely to support colorblindness. Furthermore, researchers found that for those lower in prejudice, defending the out-group as a justification for colorblindness predicted significantly less support for affirmative action.

The research holds up in other areas as well; researchers have also found that party affiliation, self-interests, and racial attitudes predict changes in health care attitudes.[21] One significant finding was that racial attitudes had significant effects on health care attitudes such that between 2008 and 2010, participants with the highest levels of racial resentment were 29 percentage points more likely to oppose health care reform. While it is true that partisanship is a significant predictor of health care reform, this effect is conditional on perceived self-interest. Self-identified "strong Republicans" who report that they are greatly concerned about health care costs are as likely as most Democrats to change their attitudes in order to support health care reform.

Racial attitudes also affect support for racially equitable policies in shaping our environment, cities and neighborhoods. Urban studies professor Michael Manville argues that Americans often associate big cities with African Americans, and that therefore negative racial attitudes toward African Americans affect support for improving city infrastructure.[22] Manville investigated several effects: 1) that race and racial attitudes are strongly related to people's support for helping cities; 2) that associations between racial attitudes and support for helping cities has increased over time; and 3) that even people who perceive themselves as having progressive or liberal racial attitudes still associate African Americans with poverty and cities. The results showed that after the year 2000, the racial association with cities decreases, but the

[19] Philip J. Mazzocco, Lyndsee W. Cooper, and Mariagrace Flint, "Different Shades of Racial Colorblindness: The Role of Prejudice," *Group Processes Intergroup Relations* 15, no. 2 (2011): 167-178.

[20] Ibid.

[21] Michael Henderson and D. Sunshine Hillygus, "The Dynamics of Health Care Opinion, 2008-2010: Partisanship, Self-Interest, and Racial Resentment, " *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36, no. 6 (2011): 945-960.

[22] Michael Manville, "People, Race and Place: American Support for Person- and Place-based Urban Policy, 1973-2008," *Urban Studies* 49, no. 14 (2012): 3101-3119.

racial association with poverty actually grows. Thus, Blacks are no longer strongly associated with cities, but the association between Blacks and poverty still persists. Furthermore, participants who opposed current spending on Blacks are 50% less likely to support increasing aid to cities than people who believe that the government spends "too little" or "about the right amount" on Blacks. Also, participants who oppose current spending on Blacks are 45-55% less likely than other participants to support increasing aid to the poor. This research shows that support for cities and the poor have strong racial associations, and that race is still a significant factor that needs to be discussed in policy debates.

DEMOGRAPHIC & GEOGRAPHIC FACTORS AFFECTING VOTER ATTITUDES

In addition to psychological and social factors, geographic and demographic factors can affect voter attitudes. For example, high state income inequality predicts individual's perceptions of changes in national income inequality[23] and participants with low socioeconomic resources are more likely to support health reform.[24] Researchers have also found that the political context affects political involvement and behavior, as happens when a politically competitive state election leads to an increase in youth voter turnout.[25] For the purpose of this literature review, we highlight how the racial context (e.g., participant race, geographic location, and income level) affect voters political attitudes and opinions.

Political scientist Shang E. Ha investigated how the presence of Hispanics and Asians in communities in both larger (i.e., metropolis) and smaller (i.e., census tract) areas affects both American-born Whites and Blacks' attitudes toward immigrants and immigration policies.[26] In regards to attitudes toward immigration policies, specifically public support for open border policy and selective admission processes, Ha found that exposure to Hispanics and Asians is not directly associated with Americans' attitudes toward immigration policies. Ha did find that there was a relationship between attitudes toward immigrants and attitudes toward immigration policies; Non-Hispanic Whites who have positive attitudes toward immigrants are less supportive of "government-driven immigration control" and more supportive of "selective admission processes", regardless of geographic unit. These findings suggest that racial context, as well as the relationship between one's own racial group and another racial group, affects attitudes toward immigration policies. The link between the proportion of people of color in an area and the attitudes toward immigration policies was not direct, but there is an implication that prejudice increases when proportionate numbers of Hispanic people rise. There is an opposite effect on prejudice when it comes to proportions of Asians, perhaps because of the "model minority" perception of Asian Americans, but there has also been research to the contrary—showing Whites leaving an area when exposed to an increasing population of Asian Americans.[27] Researchers and policy makers need to take into account demographic factors (such as racial context) in order to gain support for immigration policies.

In a 2011 study, University of Houston political scientist George Hawley investigated how party identification and demographic context can affect immigration policy preference.[28] Hawley hypothesized that the percentage of foreign-born individuals (particularly Asian and Hispanic Americans) would affect the amount of support from Republicans relative to Democrats on immigration policies, such that people who identify as Republican tend to show lower support for immigration policies when

[23] Ping Xu and James C. Garand, "Economic Context and Americans' Perceptions of Income Inequality," *Social Science Quarterly* 91, no. 5 (2010): 1220-1241.

[24] Adam Berinsky and Michele Margolis, "Missing Voices: Polling and Health Care," *Journal of Health Politics, Policy and Law* 36, no. 6 (2011): 976-987.

[25] Julianna Sandell Pacheco, "Political Socialization in Context: The Effect of Political Competition on Youth Voter Turnout," *Political Behavior* 30, (2008): 415-436.

[26] Shang E. Ha, "The Consequences of Multiracial Contexts on Public Attitudes toward Immigration," *Political Research Quarterly* 63, no. 1 (2010): 29-42.

[27] Hwang, S. (2005, Nov 19). The new white flight. *Wall Street Journal* Retrieved from www.ezproxy.lib.uconn.edu/login?url=http://search.proquest.com/docview/398951351?accountid=14518

[28] George Hawley, "Political Threat and Immigration: Party Identification, Demographic Context, and Immigration Policy Preference," *Social Science Quarterly* 92, no. 2 (2011): 404-422.

surrounded by a greater percentage of foreign-born individuals. The main finding that supported Hawley's hypothesis was that Republicans become more likely to express an anti-immigrant, restrictionist position when the percentage of foreign-born individuals increases in a county. This finding suggests that both a person's ideological perspective and the racial composition of a county affect stances on immigration policies.

Researchers Rene Rocha and Rodolfo Espino found that in addition to racial context, levels of segregation between Latino and White communities affect attitudes toward English language and immigration policies.[29] As both the level of segregation and the Latino group size increased, the probability that an individual would have strong support for making English the official language and their belief that there are too many immigrants coming into this country also increased. In other words, for areas that had an increase in Latino population and greater segregation, Whites were less likely to support policies perceived as beneficial for Latino immigrants.

THEORIES TO CHANGE VOTER ATTITUDES

For the purposes of message testing, not only do we need to know what factors affect attitudes, we need to know how we can change these attitudes. One psychological model, the Common In-group Identity Model, offers one such theoretical approach.

Common In-group Identity Model. Social psychologists posit that by changing the categorical representations from subgroups (thinking in terms of "us" and "them") to a single superordinate group (thinking in terms of a more inclusive "we"), we can improve intergroup relations. This intergroup resolution model provides an alternative to the dominant contact theory[30], which argues that interactions under the right conditions between members of different groups can produce more positive intergroup relations. Although this has been seen to work in a plethora of settings, for the purpose of message testing and policy support, this method is not altogether relevant because groups are rarely in situations in which they meet under the right conditions. Thus, we focus on the Common In-group Identity Model as a method to change people's attitudes toward other racial groups. In a literature review of a variety of psychological studies utilizing this model, researchers demonstrate that the psychological power of creating a common or superordinate identity is indeed effective in changing attitudes.[31] People have more positive intergroup relations and at the same time think more deeply, feel closer to, and think more positively about their own group than groups that they do not belong to. For example, social psychologist Jason Nier and colleagues found that White participants who interacted with Blacks as members of the same group had more positive evaluations of Blacks.[32]

As a modification to the Common In-group Identity Model, the researchers further argue that the Common In-group Identity Model should be utilized collaboratively with a dual identity model where both the subgroup identity and superordinate identity can be thought of at the same time. For lower status groups, the dual identity model ensures the independence of the subgroup identity while at the same time providing the opportunities for positive interactions with higher status groups that accompany the superordinate identity. For example, an Asian American would prefer to maintain her identity as an Asian American in order to preserve values and traditions, but also to draw on her identity as an American in order to decrease levels of discrimination.

[29] Rene R. Rocha and Rodolfo Espino, "Racial Threat, Residential Segregation, and the Policy Attitudes of Anglos," *Political Research Quarterly*

[30] Thomas F. Pettigrew, Linda R. Tropp, Ulrich Wagner, and Oliver Christ, "Recent Advances in Intergroup Contact Theory," *International Journal of Intercultural Relations* 35, no. 3, (2011): 271-280.

[31] John F. Dovidio, Samuel L. Gaertner, and Tamar Saguy, "Commonality and the Complexity of "We": Social Attitudes and Social Change," *Personality and Social Psychology Review* 13, no. 3 (2009): 3-20.

[32] Jason A. Nier, Samuel L. Gaertner, John F. Dovidio, Brenda S. Banker, Christine M. Ward, and Mary C. Rust, "Changing Interracial Evaluations and Behavior: The Effects of a Common Group Identity," *Group Processes & Intergroup Relations* 4, no. 4 (2001): 299-316.

In a series of race-neutral studies, researchers investigated the impact of combining the Common In-group Identity Model and the dual identity model on positive intergroup relations for people who strongly identify with their subgroup.[33] They first show that recategorization to a superordinate identity may be a threat to the subgroup and may inhibit positive group relations among those who highly identify with their in-group. Students from the University of Birmingham were given a questionnaire regarding how highly they identify as a Birmingham student. Some students were told that their university would be merged with another (Aston University), triggering a superordinate identity. All were then asked about their attitudes toward Birmingham and Aston students. Despite the superordinate identity, students who most strongly identified as Birmingham students had lower evaluations of Aston students. This showed that those who strongly identified with their subgroup were more immune to the superordinate identity intervention.

As a follow up, researchers provided a solution to the immunity of high identifiers. They asked participants to think about their subgroup and superordinate group simultaneously. Humanities and science students were assigned to be in three different conditions: control, recategorization, and simultaneous categorization. The simultaneous categorization asked participants to think about the differences between humanities and science students as well as the differences between university students and trained professionals—making participants think both about the subgroup identity (humanities or science) and the superordinate identity (university student). All were then asked about their attitudes toward humanities and science students. The results showed that those who were only exposed to a superordinate identity had lower evaluations of the other subgroup than those who were exposed to both the superordinate identity and the subgroup identity. These researchers found that the superordinate identity is not enough to fully improve group relations but that preserving the subgroup identity can improve group relations for more people. These findings contribute to a growth of literature emphasizing the "shared fate" strategy in order to improve intergroup relations. Future research can incorporate a dual identity approach for audiences of color, particularly for those who strongly identify with their racial group.

Superordinate Identity & Support for Racially Transformative Policies. Superordinate identity may not only affect positive group relations but may also affect support for certain progressive policies. Political scientist John Transue investigated the effect of superordinate identity on support for raising taxes to improve educational opportunities for people of color.[34] He surveyed over 400 people from Minneapolis—St. Paul in the summer of 1998 about their level of attachment to a subgroup identity ("How close do you feel to your ethnic or racial group?") or to a superordinate identity ("How close do you feel to other Americans?"). Participants were then asked to indicate their level of support for a policy that increases taxes, by answering the following question: "Some people have said that taxes need to be raised in order to take care of pressing national needs. How willing would you be to have your taxes raised to improve education opportunities for minorities?" Those who were asked to think about their superordinate identity had greater support for tax increases. This research offers further support for the positive and profound effects of a superordinate identity, particularly in affecting political attitudes and behavior. These findings suggest that appealing to common identities and goals can change views of racially progressive policy.

[33] Richard J. Crisp, Catriona H. Stone, and Natalie R. Hall, "Recategorization and Subgroup Identification: Predicting and Preventing Threats from Common Ingroups," *Personality and Social Psychology Bulletin* 32, no. 2 (2006): 230-243.

[34] John E. Transue, "Identity Salience, Identity Acceptance, and Racial Policy Attitudes: American National Identity as a Uniting Force," *American Journal of Political Sciences* 51, no. 1 (2007): 78-91.

For the past few decades, the prevalent thinking about the most effective way to move policy has been to avoid race altogether. This colorblind approach has aided the political right, and at times the left—by continuing race wedge politics by avoiding naming race outright but continuing to push for policies that disadvantage people of color. Now more than ever, we need to centralize and lift up race as a key factor in fueling the inequities that exist in our society today.

Through our research, we found that we can effectively and explicitly talk about race and move people towards endorsing progressive fiscal policies. We found five key takeaways from our results:

1. **Progressive policy messages that specifically name race are successful with the general public.**

2. **The majority of people are holding two frames at once on policy issues and race, both progressive and conservative.**

3. **When watching a progressive, racially explicit message, even people with high implicit bias agreed with progressive fiscal policies.**

4. **Talking about race does not elevate individual implicit bias.**

5. **Racially diverse spokespeople are better received than White-only spokespeople.**

These takeaways are important in our fight to change the narrative; they show that in order to persuade voters to vote for progressive fiscal policies, we need to talk about race in matters of public investment.

This report is critical in breaking the paralysis that people hold around talking about race. Amongst progressive circles, people fear that mentioning race will label them as "race-baiters" or will shut off their audience. For example, recent progressive efforts such as Netroots Nation and the new economy movement have struggled to center racial equity in its fight for economic justice. Simultaneously, among conservative circles, race is consistently used as a wedge to divide the nation into an "us vs them" mentality. But now more than ever, we need to fight against the dominant race wedge in our country; we can build a foundation of research and advocacy work to disrupt the dominant race narrative and build a new and inclusive one.

The implications from these results are many. First, as noted, people can hold multiple frames and messages at once, even if these frames are contradictory. In order to lead a successful long-term strategy in changing the narrative on race, we need to create a multitude of messages and share them with the public as frequently as possible. This will start to chip away at years of race wedge politics. Second, participants like both the racially explicit and subtle messages, indicating that we still have more space to get more explicit about race.

Our research has been informed by existing academic literature on race, attitudes, and policies. With this groundbreaking applied research, we now significantly contribute to the work of the field. We can move forward in several directions, based on the academic research and community work already in the field:

1. **Attack the framework of meritocracy values** (e.g., "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if African Americans/ Blacks would

only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites"). Meritocracy is the system where those who attain the greater achievement gain greater power. The meritocracy value is a strong narrative frame used by the political right that we need to challenge in the public sphere. We can demonstrate how meritocracy doesn't work for everyone even if they are working hard and "playing by all the rules".

2. **We need to elevate the structural challenges and solutions in tangible and meaningful ways.** We must show that there are structural challenges to achieving progress in our nation. We need to elevate our structural challenges—such as access to jobs, education, transportation, food, or the Internet—in ways that elicit emotion and meaning for the audience. By building in a better understanding of institutional and policy challenges, we can help redirect how people understand race.

3. **Build a new narrative that elevates shared fate.** We must build a narrative that embraces and celebrates the differences of Americans, while elevating our commonalities. We need to focus on ways that show how Americans across race, class, and gender are tied together in our shared economy, shared government, and shared environment. When we can start elevating language and narratives that show how we are rooted together, we can start recreating the way people think about and understand the policies needed to support a strong nation.

We believe that the research and findings in this report are important tools and resources for countering the race wedge that divides our communities, and for building public will towards advancing and preserving racial equity. We are no longer in the dark about dominant narratives, but are at a point where we can and should confront the race wedge. We can change the narrative and move toward a country in which all thrive—whether we are Black, Latino, Asian, Indigenous, multiracial, or White. While this report focuses on progressive fiscal policy, we can extrapolate the findings to other contexts as well. With the growth and urgency of the #BlackLivesMatter movement, which has brought police brutality and racial profiling into the nation's consciousness, the time is ripe for a narrative change on race. Now is the time to push the envelope and talk about race in a way that will shift Americans' perspectives on both racial identity and racially equitable solutions.

We believe that our current research will be important in the movement to support and catalyze a change in the process of disrupting and constructing race-based narratives. We can—indeed, we must—talk about race and win meaningful policy changes that transform communities and our country.

CSI 2012 & 2014 INTERNET TESTING QUESTIONNAIRE

PART ONE: First, we would like to ask just a few questions about your background for statistical purposes.

1. What is your gender?

☐ Male ☐ Female

2. What racial group best describes you?

☐ White American

☐ Black or African American

☐ Asian/ Pacific Islander American

☐ Native American

☐ Other ....

3. Are you of Hispanic, Latino, or Spanish origin?

☐ Yes ☐ No

4. How interested are you in information about what's going on in government and politics?

☐ Extremely interested

☐ Very interested

☐ Moderately interested

☐ Slightly interested

☐ Not interested at all

5. Generally speaking, do you usually think of yourself as a DEMOCRAT, a REPUBLICAN, an INDEPENDENT, or other? [RANDOMLY ROTATE ORDER OF DEMOCRAT & REPUBLICAN]

☐ Democrat ☐ Republican

☐ Independent ☐ Other party (please specify)

....

6. [IF DEMOCRAT] Where do you place yourself on this scale?

☐ Very Liberal/Progressive Democrat

☐ Moderate Democrat

☐ Conservative Democrat

7. [IF REPUBLICAN] Where do you place yourself on this scale?

☐ Very Liberal/Progressive Republican

☐ Moderate Republican

☐ Conservative Republican

8. [IF INDEPENDENT OR OTHER PARTY] Do you typically lean more towards the Democratic Party or the Republican Party? [ROTATE ORDER OF PARTIES]

☐ Democratic Party ☐ Republican Party

☐ Neither

9. Are you currently registered to vote?

☐ Yes ☐ No

☐ I'm not eligible to register to vote

10. Many people did not get a chance to vote in the 2012 election for President, Congress and other offices. How about you? Were you able to vote in the 2012 elections or like many people, did you not get a chance to vote?

☐ Yes, I voted in the 2012 election

☐ No, I didn't get a chance to vote in the 2012 election

☐ No, I was not eligible to vote in the 2012 election

11. We hear a lot of talk these days about liberals and conservatives. Here is a seven-point scale on which the political views that people might hold are arranged, from extremely liberal to extremely conservative. Where would you place YOURSELF on this scale?
[ROTATE ORDER OF POLITICAL VIEWS]

☐ Extremely liberal　　☐ Liberal

☐ Slightly liberal　　☐ Moderate; middle of the road

☐ Slightly conservative　☐ Conservative

☐ Extremely conservative

12. Are you working now, temporarily laid off, or are you unemployed, retired, permanently disabled, a homemaker, a student, or something else?

☐ Working now　　☐ Temporarily laid off

☐ Unemployed　　☐ Retired

☐ Permanently disabled　☐ Homemaker

☐ Student　　☐ Something else

13. How would you classify your current or most recent occupational role?

☐ Student　　☐ White-collar worker

☐ Salesperson　☐ Educator

☐ Service provider　☐ Blue-collar worker

☐ Business owner　☐ Self-employed

☐ Other ....

14. What is your current or your most recent occupational category?

☐ Professional/Business/Legal

☐ Manufacturing/Production

☐ Education

☐ Agriculture/Fishing/Forestry

☐ Arts/Design/Entertainment/Media

☐ Service Oriented

☐ Medical/Healthcare

☐ Government/Non-profit

☐ Military

☐ Construction/Maintenance/Repair

☐ Office/Administrative Support

☐ Other ....

15. If you had to choose, what group would you say you belong to?

☐ Poor　　☐ Working class

☐ Middle class　☐ Upper middle class

☐ Upper class

16. Which of the following best describes your education?

☐ Did not graduate from high school

☐ High school diploma or the equivalent (GED), did not attend college at all

☐ Some college, no degree

☐ Graduated from college, did not attend graduate school

☐ Attended graduate school

17. In what year were you born?

....

18. In what state do you live?

....

PART TWO: Now we are going to ask you to watch two video slideshows. After the videos, we will ask you to recall what messages and images you saw, so please watch closely. The video will start when you hit "next".

[Conservative Message]

1. [CIRCLE] On a scale from 1 to 10, how much did you agree with the message in the video?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

2. OPEN ENDED QUESTION: What part of the message do you most agree with?

....

....

3. OPEN ENDED QUESTION: What part of the message do you least agree with?

....

....

[Progressive "I Make" Message Video Slideshow]

1. [CIRCLE] On a scale from 1 to 10, how much did you agree with the message in the video?

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

2. OPEN ENDED QUESTION: What part of the message do you most agree with?

....

....

3. OPEN ENDED QUESTION: What part of the message do you least agree with?

....

....

19. Below is a list of images. Please select those you saw featured in the messages you just saw.

For the following questions, please place yourself on a scale from 1 to 7 (radio button):

20. Some people think the government should provide fewer services, even in areas such as health and education, in order to reduce spending. Other people feel that it is important for the government to provide many more services, even if it means an increase in spending. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 Cut services and spending

2

3

4

5

6 More services and spending

7 Haven't thought much about this

21. Some people feel that the government in Washington should find ways to support job creation so that more people can find work and achieve a good standard of living. Others think the government should just let each person get ahead on his/ her own. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven't you thought much about this?

1 Government should find ways to support job creation so that more people can find work and achieve a good standard of living

2

3

4

5

6 Government should let people get ahead on their own

7 Haven't thought much about this

For the following questions, please select one from the multiple choices:

22. Which one of the following opinions best agrees with your view? (2008 American National Election Studies[35]) Please select one.

☐ People who make more money should pay a LARGER PERCENT of their income in taxes to the government than people who make less money.

☐ People who make more money should pay a SMALLER PERCENT of their income in taxes to the government than people who make less money.

☐ The amount of money people make SHOULD NOT DETERMINE what percent of their income they pay in taxes to the government.

23. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising federal income taxes for people who make more than $150,000 per year?

☐ Strongly Favor

☐ Favor

☐ Neither favor nor oppose

☐ Oppose

☐ Strongly Oppose

24. Do you favor, oppose, or neither favor nor oppose raising state income taxes for people who make more than $150,000 per year?

☐ Strongly Favor

☐ Favor

☐ Neither favor nor oppose

☐ Oppose

☐ Strongly Oppose

25. Please rate the following groups using a feeling thermometer. You may use any number from 0 to 100 for your rating. Ratings between 51 and 100 degrees mean that you think most Americans feel favorable or warm towards the group. Ratings between 0 and 49 mean that you think most Americans don't feel favorable towards or care much for the group. A rating of 50 indicates that you think most Americans feel neither favorable nor unfavorable toward the group.

☐ Rich people

☐ The middle class

☐ Poor people

☐ The working class

☐ Welfare recipients

☐ Medicaid recipients

☐ Immigrants

☐ Latino Americans

☐ African Americans

☐ Asian Americans

☐ White Americans

☐ Unions

☐ Democratic party

☐ Republican party

☐ CEOs (corporate executives)

26. Some people think that certain groups have too much influence in American life and politics, while others feel that they don't have enough influence. You will be presented with a list of groups. For each one please tell us whether that group has too much influence, just about the right amount of influence, or too little influence. (2012 American National Election Studies)

	Too much influence	Just about the right amount of influence	Too little influence
Rich people	☐	☐	☐
Middle Class people	☐	☐	☐
Working Class People	☐	☐	☐
Poor People	☐	☐	☐
CEOs – that is, corporate executives	☐	☐	☐
Unions	☐	☐	☐

Now we are going to show you a series of statements. For each, please indicate whether you agree strongly, agree somewhat, neither agree nor disagree, disagree somewhat, or disagree strongly [Latter four are Racial Resentment scale from 2010 Evaluations of Government and Society Study[36] (EGSS)]

27. "If the top 1% of the wealthiest Americans paid more in taxes to reduce the deficit, that would be better than cutting vital programs like Medicare or Social Security."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

28. "I would not support any tax reform plan that resulted in raising tax rates."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

29. "Irish, Italians, Jewish [sic], and many other minorities overcame prejudice and worked their way up. Immigrants today should do the same without any special favors."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

30. "Generations of slavery and discrimination have created conditions that make it difficult for Blacks to work their way out of the lower class."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

31. "Over the past few years racial minorities have gotten less than they deserve."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

32. "It's really a matter of some people not trying hard enough; if racial minorities would only try harder they could be just as well off as Whites."

1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10

Strongly agree   Strongly disagree

For the following questions, please select one from the multiple choices:

33. In your opinion, is the gap between rich and poor in America…(Slated for the 2012 American National Election Studies)

☐ Much too small

☐ Somewhat too small

☐ About right

☐ Somewhat too large

☐ Much too large

34. Do you think the federal government is doing too much, too little, or about the right amount to help bring more opportunities to low income people in this country?

☐ Way too much

☐ Too much

☐ About the right amount

☐ Too little

☐ Way too little

35. Finally, we are interested in how people are getting along financially these days. Would you say that you are BETTER off or WORSE off than you were a year ago? (2008 American National Election Studies)

☐ Better

☐ Worse

☐ About the same

36. Which of the following benefits do you currently use or have you used in the past year? Please select all that apply.

☐ Social Security

☐ Medicare

☐ Medicaid

☐ Temporary Assistance for Needy Families (TANF)

☐ Food stamps

☐ Public housing services

☐ Public schools or universities

37. What was your total household income in the past 12 months before taxes?

☐ Less than $20,000

☐ $20,000 – 34,999

☐ $35,000 – 50,000

☐ $50,000 – 75,000

☐ $75,000 - $100,000

☐ $100,000 - $250,000

☐ $250,000 or more

2012 "I MAKE" & CONSERVATIVE MESSAGES

Table 1: Conservative Message

"The government overtaxes Americans."

"Every year, businesses fail to stay competitive and jobs leave our country because of the oppressive taxes that businesses and individuals have to pay."

"We are always told to pay more in taxes for schools and firefighters, but the money always ends up going to bureaucracy and waste instead."

"This waste and spending is getting out of control. Too many people are asking the government for a handout and a free pass."

"Decades of entitlement programs and out of control government spending have caused the financial mess we are in today. If we do not curb spending, our children and their children will suffer."

The only way for the US to get ahead is to get taxes under control so that families keep more of what they earn and small businesses can compete."

"Americans have to say, "Enough is enough" and draw the line on taxes. It's time to put a stop, once and for all, to the usual tax-and-spend liberal politics."

Table 2: Multiracial Mix and Workers Only "I Make" Message

"**I make** people healthy. I'm a doctor."

"**I make** kids safe. I'm a crossing guard."

"**I make** kids smart. I'm a teacher."

"**I make** homes for families. I'm a construction worker."

"**I make** food for families. I'm a farmworker."

"**I make** sure kids feel loved. I'm a child care provider."

"Corporations and the wealthy can and should do more to support people who make this country great, by paying more for public programs and services that we all need."

Table 3: Multiracial Mix and Workers and Tycoons "I Make" Message

"**I make** people healthy. I'm a doctor."

"**I make** kids safe. I'm a crossing guard."

"**I make** profits. I run BP oil, a company that ruins the environment."

"**I make** kids smart. I'm a teacher."

"**I make** homes for families. I'm a construction worker."

"**I make** profits. I work at Goldman Sachs, which takes other people's money to make us more money."

"**I make** food for families. I'm a farmworker."

"**I make** profits. I run Bank of America."

"**I make** profits. I protect the interests of the wealthy by fighting legislation that would ensure that the wealthy help pay for education, transportation, and a lot of other programs and services we need."

"**I make** sure kids feel loved. I'm a child care provider."

"Corporations and the wealthy can and should do more to support people who make this country great, by paying more for public programs and services that we all need."

Table 4: White Only and Workers and Tycoons "I Make" Message

"**I make** people healthy. I'm a doctor."

"**I make** kids safe. I'm a crossing guard."

"**I make** profits. I run BP oil, a company that ruins the environment."

"**I make** kids smart. I'm a teacher."

"**I make** homes for families. I'm a construction worker."

"**I make** profits. I work at Goldman Sachs, which takes other people's money to make us more money."

"**I make** food for families. I'm a farmworker."

"**I make** profits. I run Bank of America."

"**I make** profits. I protect the interests of the wealthy by fighting legislation that would ensure that the wealthy help pay for education, transportation, and a lot of other programs and services we need."

"**I make** sure kids feel loved. I'm a child care provider."

"Corporations and the wealthy can and should do more to support people who make this country great, by paying more for public programs and services that we all need."

2013 Focus Group Guides (depending on state of the focus group, the issues changed)

I.   **Standard Introductions** (15 minutes)

   A.   [**NOTE TO MODERATOR:** Standard intro typically includes that we won't take a break all at once. We have a break built in for this group.]

II.   **Narratives** (40 minutes)

   A.   Next we are going to watch a few videos. [Moderator shows 3 videos, including both versions of the narrative and 1 unrelated video. (Rotate the narratives between first and last, with clutter in the middle)]

   B.   **HANDOUT**: On page 2 of this handout, please write down what stood out to you from the reel after it's all over.

      1.   **DISCUSS**

      2.   What feelings did you have as you were watching the videos?

      3.   What was most positive in the videos? What did you feel good about?

      4.   What did you feel negative about in the videos?

   C.   **HANDOUT**: Flip to the next page in your handout. We are going to watch one of the video clips once more. After we watch it, rate it on a scale of 0 to 3, where 3 means you strongly agree with it and 0 means you strongly disagree with it. Then write down what stood out to you.
      [MODERATOR SHOWS NARRATIVE WITHOUT VILLAIN]

      1.   **HANDCOUNT** and Discuss

         a.   What, if anything, did you really like in this video clip?
         b.   What did you most agree with?
         c.   What didn't you like in this video clip?
         d.   What did you disagree with?
         e.   What would make it stronger?

      2.   **PROBE**: Does this video represent Michigan? How does it/doesn't it?

      3.   What people/occupations do you remember being represented in the video?

         a.   Who stood out to you?
         b.   Who among them contributes the most to Michigan?

      4.   When you think about the message of this video, how does it apply to choices and decisions you make in your life?

      5.   How does the message of this video apply to policies and political decisions being made in Michigan?

D.   **HANDOUT**: Flip to the next page in your handout. We are going to watch another of the video clips again. Again, after we watch it, rate it on a scale of 0 to 3, where 3 means you strongly agree with it and 0 means you strongly disagree with it. Then write down what stood out to you.
[MODERATOR SHOWS NARRATIVE WITH VILLAIN].

1.   **HANDCOUNT** and Discuss.

a.   What, if anything, did you really like in this video clip?
b.   What did you most agree with?
c.   What didn't you like in this video clip?
d.   What would make it stronger?
e.   What did you disagree with?

2.   When you think about the message of this video, how does it apply to choices and decisions you make in your life?

3.   How does the message of this video apply to policies and political decisions being made in Michigan?

4.   **PROBE:** What was different about this video, compared to the last one?

5.   **PROBE:** Why did you rate this one higher/lower than the one before?

6.   **HANDOUT:** On the next page, rank the doctor, teacher, construction worker, GM executive and farmworker based on how much money they make. Rank them 1 through 5, with 1 being the most. Then in the other column, rank them by who should pay the highest state tax rate, with 1 being the highest and 5 the lowest. If you think they all should pay the same rate, rank them all as a 9.

a.   Handcount and discuss

7.   Which person in the video do you most identify with? Why?

III.   **Wall Photo Exercise** (25 minutes)

A.   Next we are going to look at some photos. The photos on each wall are the same. Feel free to get up and look at them if you can't see from your seat.

B.   **HANDOUT:** On the next page in your handout, write down the 3 photos that stand out the most to you and write down a description of that photo. Also write down which photo you relate to the most and which one you relate to the least and why?

[MODERATOR POINTS TO EACH PHOTO (Don't describe photo, allow respondent to describe), TAKES HANDCOUNT]
HANDCOUNT [NO DISCUSSION YET]

C.   **HANDOUT:** On the next page, write a short story that describes ....
[BACKROOM WILL INSTRUCT MODERATOR WHICH PHOTO TO WRITE STORY ABOUT].

D.   DISCUSS [Initial 3 photos selected and story.]

1. [MODERATOR GOES THROUGH PHOTOS FROM PREVIOUS HANDCOUNT] Why did you pick this one?

2. What feelings did you have about this photo?

3. Who is this person?

4. How are they similar or different from you?

5. Which one do you relate to the most? Why?

6. Which one do you related to the least? Why?

7. Tell me about the story you wrote for .... photo.

IV.   BREAK (5 minutes)

A.   We are going to take a 5 minute break. There are snacks out in the hallway for you. When we come back, everyone should sit in a different seat.

V.   Mood (8 minutes)

A.   Fill in the blank. I feel .... about the way things are going in the country today.

1. Discuss.

2. How is the country changing?

    a.   What's better?
    b.   What's worse?

3. How is your community changing?

VI.   Policy (35 minutes) (DISCUSS 3 of the 5 ISSUES)

A.   We are going to switch topics now. Tell me what is going on with the state budget in Michigan these days?

1. What are the priorities in the budget?

2. Is the state budget good for people like you?

3. Who is the state budget helping? Who is benefitting the most?

    a.   **PROBE:** Who should it be helping?

4. What changes would you like to see in the state budget?

B.   **HANDOUT:** On the next page in your handout, write a phrase or sentence about what you think of when you hear, Earned Income Tax Credit.

1. **DISCUSS.** [MODERATOR: Move to handout if most don't know what it is]

    a.   **PROBE:** Who is helped by the Earned Income Tax Credit?

2. **HANDOUT:** I am going to read a short description of the Earned Income Tax Credit. As I read it, underline anything you like, cross out anything you don't like and put a question mark by anything you have a question about. Then rated the description on a scale from -3 to +3, where +3 means you strongly agree with the statement and -3 means you strongly disagree with the statement.

   The Earned income Tax Credit is a refundable federal tax credit that supplements working people's income to help them achieve economic stability and security. In recent years, Michigan also offered a similar Earned Income Tax Credit, though the state legislature recently made cuts to it.

   a. **Handcount on positive/negative impression of EITC. Discuss.**
   b. **PROBE.** Who is helped by the Earned Income Tax Credit?
   c. Is this a good tax policy? Why or Why not?
   d. What do you think about the state legislature cutting the Earned Income Tax Credit?

A. **PROBE:** Does it make sense that funding this program was a lower priority for the legislature?

B. If a state legislator votes to cut the Earned Income Tax Credit, do you think he/she is one your side?

   1. **PROBE:** Whose side is he/she on?

C. Now on a different topic, on the next page in your handout, write a phrase or sentence to describe public schools in Michigan.

   1. **DISCUSS.**

   2. **HANDOUT:** I am going to read a short description of an education proposal. As I read it, underline anything you like, cross out anything you don't like and put a question mark by anything you have a question about. Then rated the description on a scale from -3 to +3, where +3 means you strongly agree with the statement and -3 means you strongly disagree with the statement.

   The Michigan Public Education Finance Act is a proposal that allows students to attend any public school in the state that will accept them. Funding for schools would be based on both performance and the number of students in the school.

   a. **Handcount on positive/negative impression of this proposal. Discuss.**
   b. **PROBE.** Who is this proposal good for?
   c. **PROBE.** Who is it not so good for?
   d. Is this a good way to fund public schools?

      A.   If a public school is funded based on number of students and performance, what happens to a school and its students if the parents of the 20 top-performing students decided to enroll them at a different school?

1. **PROBE:** Does every student have the opportunity to change schools?

    B. If a state legislator supports this proposal, do you think he/she is on your side?

        1. **PROBE:** Whose side is he/she on?

D. **HANDOUT:** Now on a new topic, on the next page in your handout, write a phrase or sentence about what you think of when you hear, Right-to-Work Law.

    1. **DISCUSS.**

        a. **PROBE:** Who are Right-to-Work laws good for?

    2. **HANDOUT:** I am going to read a short description of Right-to-Work laws. As I read it, underline anything you like, cross out anything you don't like and put a question mark by anything you have a question about. Then rated the description on a scale from -3 to +3, where +3 means you strongly agree with the statement and -3 means you strongly disagree with the statement.

        Right-to-Work laws were passed in 2012 in Michigan and made it illegal to unions to require financial contributions from the members they represent.

        a. **Handcount on positive/negative impression of Right-to-Work. Discuss.**

        b. **PROBE.** Who are Right-to-Work laws good for?

        c. Right-to-Work was passed by the legislature and signed by the governor last year. Did Michigan need this new law? Why or why not?

        d. Do you have any concerns about the way they passed it, the process?

        e. It was passed after the election in a so-called "lame duck" session by legislators who were in office before the election, not the new ones who were voted in. Does that concern you at all?

        f. Are the legislators who passed this law on your side?

            A. **PROBE:** Whose side are they on?

E. **[DETROIT ONLY] HANDOUT:** On the next page in your handout, write a phrase or sentence to describe public transportation in Michigan.

    1. **DISCUSS.**

        a. **Probe:** Who is public transportation in Michigan good for?

    2. **HANDOUT:** I am going to read a short description of a new transportation plan in Michigan. As I read it, underline anything you like, cross out anything you don't like and put a question mark by

anything you have a question about. Then rated the description on a scale from -3 to +3, where +3 means you strongly agree with the statement and -3 means you strongly disagree with the statement.

A regional transit authority will be created to coordinate public transportation in Southeast Michigan, including city and suburban bus service, along with light rail.

   a. **Handcount on positive/negative impression of the transportation plan. Discuss.**
   b. **PROBE.** Who will this plan be good for?
   c. Is this an important issue for the state legislature to work on? Why or why not?
   d. Are the state legislators who passed this plan on your side?
   e. Whose side are they on?

F. **HANDOUT:** On the next page in your handout, write a phrase or sentence to describe income assistance in Michigan.

   1. **DISCUSS.**

      a. **Probe:** Who is income assistance in Michigan good for?

   2. **HANDOUT:** I am going to read a short description of a plan to put limits on income assistance benefits. As I read it, underline anything you like, cross out anything you don't like and put a question mark by anything you have a question about. Then rated the description on a scale from -3 to +3, where +3 means you strongly agree with the statement and -3 means you strongly disagree with the statement.

      The state of Michigan will enforce a lifetime benefit cap of 60 months, which will remove approximately 15,000 families from the cash assistance they are receiving. There is an exemption for families caring for seriously ill or disabled family members, which will allow 700 families to remain on assistance who would otherwise be removed.

         a. **Handcount on positive/negative impression of the assistance limits. Discuss.**
         b. **PROBE.** Who will this plan be good for?
         c. **PROBE:** Who will this plan be harmful for?
         d. Is this an important issue for the state legislature to work on? Why or why not?
         e. Are the state legislators who passed this plan on your side?
         f. Whose side are they on?

G. How do these issues all relate to what we discussed in the beginning of our conversation today?

VII. Photo Exercise – Negative Images (10 minutes)

A. We are going to look at a few more photos on the wall. Again, the same photos are on each wall. Feel free to get up and look more closely.

B. **HANDOUT:** On the next page in your handout, write down the 2 photos that

stand out the most to you and write down a description of that photo.

[MODERATOR POINTS TO EACH PHOTO
(Don't describe photo, allow respondent to describe),
TAKES HANDCOUNT AND DISCUSSES]

HANDCOUNT/DISCUSS.

1. How many picked this one?
2. Why did you pick this one?
3. What feelings did you have about this photo?
4. Who is this person?

VIII. WRAP UP (5 Minutes)

A. **WRITE:** Of all the things we discussed, what stands out the most to you?

B. **WRITE:** As you think about the videos we saw in the beginning,
   what stands out to you now?

C. **DISCUSS**

Demographics. 1,777 total participants completed the online Internet test.

	Percentage
Gender	Men 39.3% Women 60.7%
Race	White Americans 66% Black/African Americans 12% Asian/Pacific Islander 5% Latino/Hispanic American 15% Others 2%
Political Party	Democrats 37.9% Republicans 25.3% Independents 34.6% Other Party 2.1%
Ideological Affiliation	Extremely Liberal 5.6% Liberal 12.9% Slightly Liberal 10.2% Moderate 39.4% Slightly Conservative 9.1% Conservative 16.5% Extremely Conservative 6.3%
Socio-Economic Class	Poor 14.6% Working Class 35.9% Middle Class 39.5% Upper Middle Class 9% Upper Class 1%
Age	18 – 24 12.5% 25 – 29 9.6% 30 – 34 10.2% 35 – 39 8.5% 40 – 44 8.7% 45 – 49 9.3% 50 – 54 11.8% 55 – 59 12.1% 65 and up 9.3%

2014 "I MAKE" & CONSERVATIVE MESSAGES

Table 1: Conservative Message

This country's economy is on the skids and we need jobs to get Americans back to work.

Every year, businesses burdened by taxes and red tape have to shed jobs to stay competitive with countries like China.

Government spending is spinning out of control because of large entitlement programs like welfare and Obamacare.

Too many people are looking for a handout when they should be looking for a paycheck.

While those looking for a free ride are taking advantage, Americans who work for a living are feeling the pinch as their taxes rise. We are making America an entitlement society.

The money tree is bare and we are mortgaging our kids' future. Our national debt is a problem government has to face.

It's time our government lived within our budget so that families can keep more of what they earn and small businesses can compete.

Americans have to say, "Enough is enough" and draw the line on taxes.
It's time to put a stop, once and for all, to the usual tax-and-spend liberal politics.

American families live within their budgets. The government should too.

We owe it to our kids. We owe it to our country.

Table 2: Race Subtle and Job Stereotype "I Make" Message

We work hard to support our families, and all our contributions help make America great.	
Doctors and nurses make us healthy.	
Teachers help our kids learn the skills they need.	
Construction workers make our homes, offices, and bridges.	
Firefighters make our communities safe.	
Home health aides make life better for senior citizens and people with special needs.	
Today, we live in tough times. Despite playing by the rules, far too many of us are struggling to find work and to make ends meet. It hurts the same to lose a home or job—whether we are White or Black, male or female, a single parent or a two-parent family.	

In the past, to create more jobs and to make our economy work,
as a country we invested in schools and universities.
We invested in buses, subways and highway repair.

We invested in retirement and health care for our parents and grandparents,
like Social Security and Medicare. We created a stronger economy and we
need to invest once again in our people.

To jumpstart the economy we bailed out oil companies and big banks—
like Bank of America, Goldman Sachs and Wells Fargo—
and now they are making a lot of money.

And while oil company and bank CEOs are getting richer,
some are laying off workers and fighting for tax loopholes to
avoid paying taxes, instead of investing in our nation's future.

Now, our leaders say we have to slash investments in our future,
and far too many hard working Americans who make real contributions
to our society are losing their jobs and homes.

Corporations and the wealthy have the right to make money and we want
them to. But like the rest of us, they can and should do their fair share so
we can invest in schools, health care, transit, and services that help us all
make a bright future for our country.

Table 3: Race Explicit and Job Stereotype "I Make" Message

We work hard to support our families and all our contributions help make America great.	
Doctors and nurses make us healthy.	
Teachers help our kids learn the skills they need.	
Construction workers make our homes, offices, and bridges.	
Firefighters make our communities safe.	
Home health aides make life better for senior citizens and people with special needs.	
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Table 4: Race Subtle and Job Stereotype Mixed "I Make" Message

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Table 5: Race Explicit and Job Stereotype Mixed "I Make" Message

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Center for Social Inclusion works to unite public policy research and grassroots advocacy to transform structural inequity and exclusion into structural fairness and inclusion. We work with community groups and national organizations to develop policy ideas, foster effective leadership, and develop communications tools for an opportunity-rich world in which we all will thrive.

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