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 **HIT** STRATEGIES
Highly Insightful Targeting

Policy Link Research
September 2020 - January 2021

Survey Methodology

- Lake Research Partners designed and administered this survey by live telephone interview and text-to-online. The survey reached a total of 1,000 eligible voters nationwide, with additional oversamples of 150 Black, 150 Latinx, 200 Asian/Pacific Islander, and 100 Native American eligible voters.
- The survey was conducted September 12-17, 2020.
- Data were weighted slightly by gender, age, region, race, party identification, education, and income to reflect the demographic composition of eligible voters. Oversamples are weighted into the national totals.
- The margin of error for the combined national sample is +/-3.1%. The margins of error for racial subsamples are: white +/-4.1%; Black +/-5.6%; Latinx +/-5.7%; AAPI +/-6.3%; Native +/-7.9%.

Summary of Key Findings – Overview

- Americans across racial groups and demographics broadly recognize that racism, racial discrimination, and inequitable treatment based on race and social class are problems in the US today. There are many areas of disagreement on the causes of and solutions for inequality, including whether it is the government's responsibility to address racism or our individual responsibility as citizens.
- Americans are somewhat divided on how they perceive the opportunities, treatment, and barriers people experience as a result of their race.
- Fifty-two percent of citizens think that our government and institutions treat people unfairly because of their race or country of origin, compared with 42% who think most people are treated fairly.
- A plurality of Americans thinks that racism is mostly an individual attitude that can only be changed one person at a time (45%), compared with a structural problem that requires changing laws and institutions (40%).
- Encouragingly, almost three-quarters of citizens believe that eliminating racism is a goal we should try to achieve in this country and a majority believes that the federal and state governments have a responsibility to help solve this problem.
- Three-fifths (60%) of Americans think the best way to end racism is to pull together to recognize and fight it, as opposed to ignoring it.
- Americans are closely divided on whether we spend too much (40%) or too little (40%) attention to race in this country, with 14% saying the right amount and 6% unsure.

Summary of Key Findings – Belief Statements and Policy Positions

- Americans overwhelmingly believe that racism and poverty are problems in this country and that we have a shared responsibility to end it. In a series of belief statements, the top four are all focused on a shared experience and shared responsibility to end racism and poverty.
 - Language of working together to end racism is much more powerful than depending on the government to solve racism.
 - The highest rated belief statement is that “it would benefit all Americans to eliminate racism in this country,” with 67% of voters giving this statement a “10” rating (strongly agree) on a scale from 0-10.
 - Second highest, with 58% giving it a “10” is “it would benefit all Americans to reduce poverty in this country.”
 - Third with 53% giving it a “10” is “as Americans, we all have some responsibility to solve the problem of racism.”
 - And rounding out the top four with 46% is “by working together, we can restore the balance in our economy so that everyone can benefit.”
- The highest rated opposition statement in this battery, that “instead of complaining about racism, some people need to do more to improve their own communities” receives a “10” score from 40% of Americans, a score that differs only slightly across racial groups.
- Americans want to hold institutions accountable and change policing, though it remains to be seen what that should consist of and perhaps something to test in subsequent research. They are equally likely to think it is federal government’s (60% agree) and state government’s (62%) responsibility to address racism.
- The top testing policy statement is “institutions that further structural racism should be held accountable for their actions” (53% give a score of 10). Second highest is “we need to change how police do their jobs to make sure people of all races are treated equally” (46% strongly agree).

Key Findings

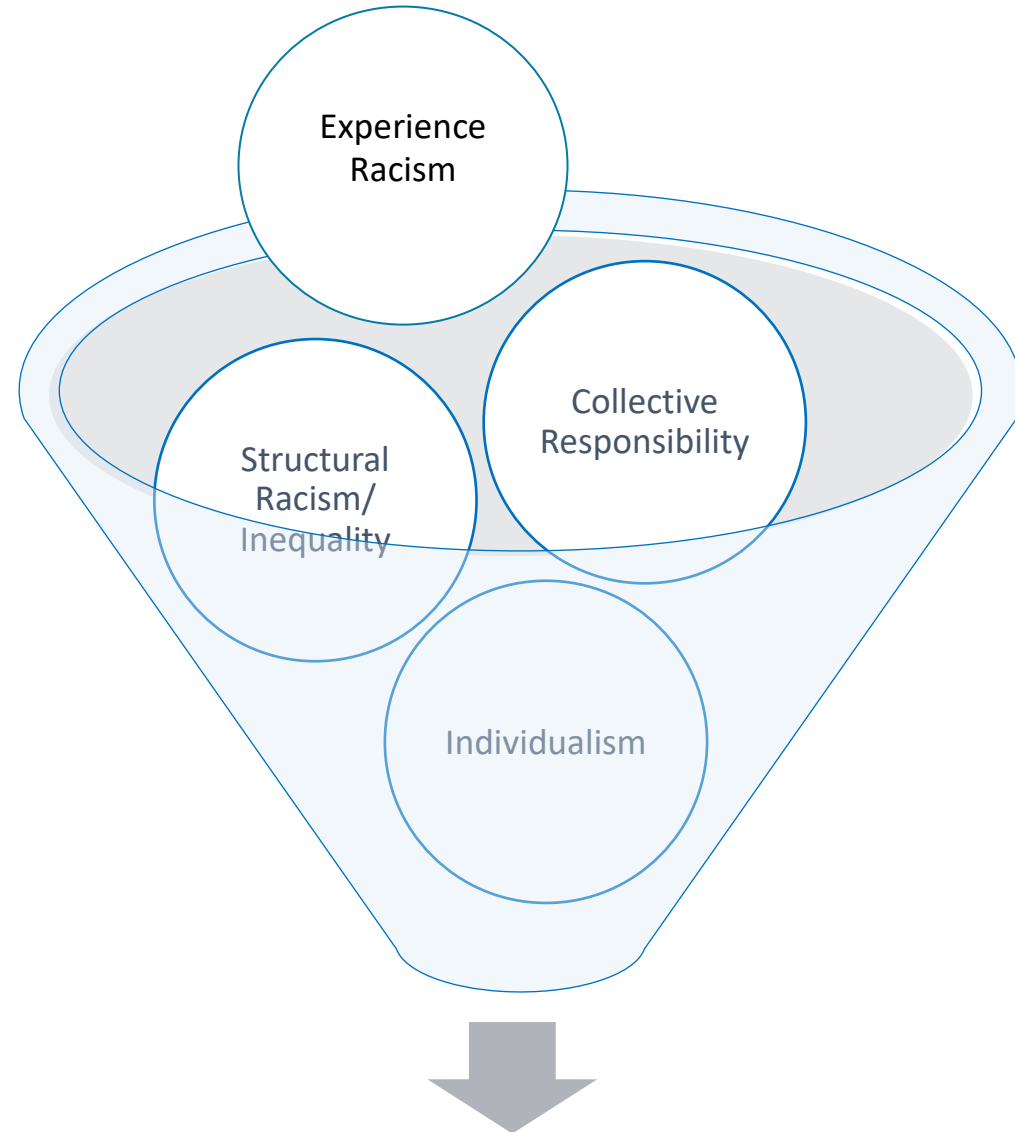
- **Different level of divisiveness:** 2020 context – there is a pervasive and inflated atmosphere of divisiveness that is key context in thinking about attitudes about racism.
- **Common ground in economic inequalities:** every group sees inequalities and would like to help those struggling economically. Groups differ on how we define those in need and addressing racism and racial inequality directly as the conservative clusters and white individualists felt they were being impacted by reverse discrimination.
- **How we are missing each other:** conservative clusters are so focused on “not seeing race” and being “colorblind” that they don’t see that one group(s) is consistently bearing a harder burden than another.
- **Convincing the conservative clusters:** getting the more conservative groups or less race focused groups on board means speaking to them and acknowledging that socioeconomic struggles are a burden for them/all. The more conservative the group, the more time you want to spend on the socioeconomic part of the message than the racial divides – we are all helping lift each other.
- **Messaging components:** race class narrative speaks well to all of the clusters. Flowery language that lacks specificity such as “powerful elites” turned off participants across all of the groups, felt that it made messages less sincere or real.
- **Individualist clusters:** there is a real difference on White Individualists and POC Individualists in viewing inequalities. Racism is alive for POC group and they speak of needing basic needs and opportunities met while the White group feels race-based policies hold White people back from reaching their opportunities and full potential.
 - We can reach the white individualists on some of these policies by messaging to them on how individual hard work is negated by systemic disadvantages, however this would have to be done without the racial lens.

Key Findings – Circumstance vs Hard Work

- **Concerned Conservatives:** they see that there are differences in opportunities with education and wealth depending on where you were born and raised in the country and the type of family you have. Difference in educational opportunity is also because they feel white people are discriminated against in scholarships and affirmative action policies. Outside of this disadvantage, enough hard work can get one through these challenges.
- **Individualists:** difference in opportunity for them is quite similar to concerned conservatives cluster, but they perceive it as primarily having a lot to do with the differences in people's level of drive or hard work. For POC individualists, race is heavily intertwined with "circumstance".
- **Diverse Strivers:** connections and privilege get you far in life and provide a step to get you ahead of the others, but those are based off of race and socioeconomic class.
- **Sympathetic Whites:** "making it" in this country has a lot to do with where you live and the family you were born into. Race was the ultimate barrier, perceived as POCs having a different starting point far behind White folks, however this was not brought into convo until probed.
- **Anti-Racist Base:** hard work and drive does play a part in "making it", but the inequalities come down to racial privilege that creates circumstances for the same families to get ahead.

Cluster Analysis

- In consultation with the core project team we ran a cluster analysis intended to segment the population based on their attitudes and behaviors.
- Four key dimensions proved key to driving groupings based on attitudes toward race:
 - The degree to which people experience racism in their own lives
 - Whether or not people think we have a collective responsibility to end racism
 - The degree to which people think that racism and inequality is a structural problem
 - Whether people have a more individualistic or collective world view



Cluster Analysis

Cluster Analysis

Six distinct groups emerged from this analysis that were used as a lens to understand the data.

- Anti-Racist Base: 15% of Americans; multi-racial, urban, young, progressive on every question, believe in collective action.
- Sympathetic Whites: 19% of Americans; mostly white Democrats who support action to attack racism, but differ from the base in that they don't observe or experience much racism
- Diverse Strivers: 15% of Americans; high proportion of people of color and immigrants. Critical of racism but think onus is on people to lift up their own communities
- Concerned Conservatives: 20% of Americans; white and rural, acknowledge racism exists but do not support progressive policies on race
- Individualists: 13% of Americans; older, southern, more conservative, think race is an individual attitude and problem, don't want to talk or think about race, against government action to help stop racism
- Racist Base: 17% of Americans; mostly white men, intensely oppose Black Lives Matter and affirmative action. Rate the U.S. very high in providing equal opportunity

Anti-Racist Base Overview

Top-Ranked Messaging

<p>[REPARATIONS] We live in the richest country in the world, but historically, much of that wealth has only been available to a select group of people. Black Americans have been excluded from that wealth since our country's inception due to slavery and the inequitable social and government policies that followed. It's time to right our past wrongs and consider how reparations could be part of larger efforts to address systemic racism and poverty.</p>	<p>9.1</p>
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- Racism is both structural and a personal belief
- Government must step in, but it is on everyone to fix – individuals and businesses.
- All policies are great – lifting up marginalized groups will lift up everyone.

Shifts

	Pre-Shift	Post-Shift
As Americans, we all have some responsibility to solve the problem of racism.	9.3	9.5
Overall, most white people have more opportunities for success in this country than people of color do.	9.4	9.5
A person's race often dictates the opportunities available to them in this country.	8.9	9.2

	Pre-Shift	Post-Shift
Statement A: "Racism is mostly an individual attitude that can only be changed one person at a time."	1	0
Statement B: "Racism is mostly a structural problem in America that requires changing racist institutions, laws, and policies."	15	14
Statement A: "the best way to end racial discrimination is to pull together and recognize racism in order to fight it."	8	15
Statement B: "the best way to end racial discrimination is to ignore race and stop discriminating."	0	0

Sympathetic Whites Overview

Top-Ranked Messaging

<p>[RACISM LEGACY] It's tempting to think that if we just ignore racial inequality, it won't exist anymore. But we know that's not true – inequality is a legacy of generations of advantages and disadvantages that come with the color of our skin. Those at the top have kept their power by dividing the rest of us by race and keeping us down. We need to recognize and stand up to racism to provide real opportunity in every community.</p>	<p>8.1</p>
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- Know racism is structural, but more commonly discuss the personal beliefs parts of it.
- Causes for inequalities are primarily thought of as circumstance (family wealth and where you live), then race is secondary.
- Supportive of the policies, reparations not a strong message for them. Avoid flowery wording.

Shifts

	Pre-Shift	Post-Shift
As Americans, we all have some responsibility to solve the problem of racism.	9.5	9.7
Overall, most white people have more opportunities for success in this country than people of color do.	8.6	7.9
A person's race often dictates the opportunities available to them in this country.	8.0	8.2

	Pre-Shift	Post-Shift
Statement A: "Racism is mostly an individual attitude that can only be changed one person at a time."	4	3
Statement B: "Racism is mostly a structural problem in America that requires changing racist institutions, laws, and policies."	6	7
Statement A: "the best way to end racial discrimination is to pull together and recognize racism in order to fight it."	9	9
Statement B: "the best way to end racial discrimination is to ignore race and stop discriminating."	0	0

Diverse Strivers Overview

Top-Ranked Messaging

<p>[RACISM LEGACY] It's tempting to think that if we just ignore racial inequality, it won't exist anymore. But we know that's not true – inequality is a legacy of generations of advantages and disadvantages that come with the color of our skin. Those at the top have kept their power by dividing the rest of us by race and keeping us down. We need to recognize and stand up to racism to provide real opportunity in every community.</p>	6.9
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<p>[EQUAL OPPORTUNITY – HURT US ALL] America is very diverse, and different communities have different challenges, but sexism and racism hurt us all. When whole groups of qualified people are excluded from schools, jobs, or advancement, our families suffer and our communities are poorer. Equal opportunity policies help us develop a more equitable society, where people of color, women and people from other disadvantaged groups are given the support they need to be successful.</p>	6.9
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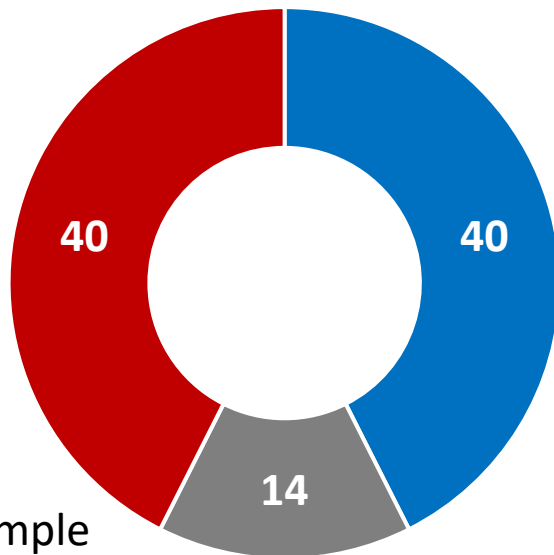
Shifts

	Pre-Shift	Post-Shift
As Americans, we all have some responsibility to solve the problem of racism.	9.7	8.8
Overall, most white people have more opportunities for success in this country than people of color do.	8.8	8.1
A person's race often dictates the opportunities available to them in this country.	7.3	8.2

	Pre-Shift	Post-Shift
Statement A: "Racism is mostly an individual attitude that can only be changed one person at a time."	3	1
Statement B: "Racism is mostly a structural problem in America that requires changing racist institutions, laws, and policies."	6	8
Statement A: "the best way to end racial discrimination is to pull together and recognize racism in order to fight it."	9	9
Statement B: "the best way to end racial discrimination is to ignore race and stop discriminating."	0	0

Overall, Americans and many subgroups are split on whether we pay too little or too much attention to race. Black, AAPI, and urban Americans, along with self-identified Democrats, are most likely to say we pay too little attention. Men and women differ.

Views on attention paid to race and racial issues in our country



Total Sample

	Too Little	Too Much	Margin
Men	35	45	-9
Women	45	36	+9
White	35	45	-10
Black	71	11	+60
Latinx	46	37	+9
AAPI	57	25	+32
Native American	41	45	-4
Democrat ID	65	12	+53
Independent/Dk ID	42	40	+2
Republican ID	11	72	-61
Anti-Racist base	84	2	+82
Sympathetic Whites	68	9	+59
Diverse Strivers	46	28	+18
Concerned Conservatives	19	56	-37
Individualists	23	56	-33
Racist Base	3	88	-85

Too little
Right Amount

Too much

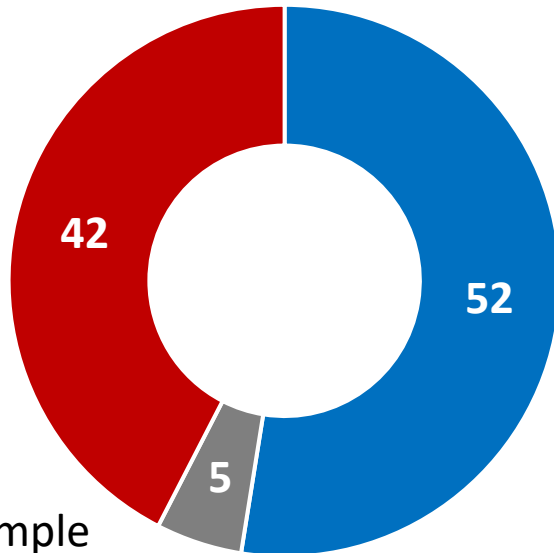
Q6. In general, do you think there is too much, too little, or about the right amount of attention paid to race and racial issues in our country these days?

By a 10-point margin, Americans are more likely to believe that our government treats people unfairly because of race, than that people are treated fairly. Black and AAPI Americans and Democrats are especially likely to think so. Some of this is reflective of who's in charge of government right now.

Views on treatment of people

People are mostly treated fairly in this country, regardless of race or country of origin

Our government and institutions treat many people unfairly in this country because of their race or country of origin



	Treated unfairly	Treated fairly	Margin
Men	46	49	-4
Women	58	34	+24
White	47	48	-1
Black	77	16	+62
Latinx	62	33	+29
AAPI	69	27	+42
Native American	56	37	+19
Democrat ID	79	17	+62
Independent/Dk ID	53	36	+16
Republican ID	21	74	-54
Anti-Racist base	89	8	+81
Sympathetic Whites	82	12	+70
Diverse Strivers	76	19	+57
Concerned Conservatives	30	65	-35
Individualists	29	53	-24
Racist Base	9	89	-80

Q8. For each pair of two statements, please tell me which statement comes closer to your own view, even if neither is exactly right. [STATEMENT A] Our government and institutions treat many people unfairly in this country because of their race or country of origin _Or [STATEMENT B] People are mostly treated fairly in this country, regardless of race or country of origin

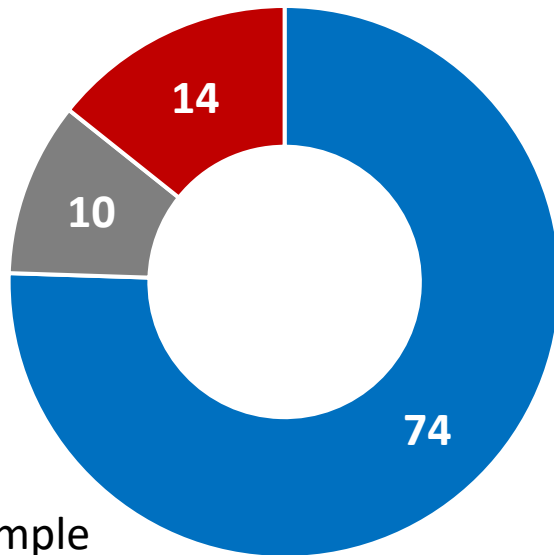
■ Statement A
■ Statement B
■ Neither/Don't know/Refused

Three-fourths of Americans think eliminating structural racism should be a goal in this country and every demographic group net agrees. This view is most strongly held by women, Black, Latinx, AAPI, Democrats, and Independents.

Views on eliminating structural racism

Eliminating structural racism and inequality is not a workable or achievable goal.

Eliminating structural racism and inequality is a goal we should try to achieve in our country.



Total Sample

	Eliminate structural racism	Not achievable	Margin
Men	69	17	+52
Women	78	11	+68
White	72	15	+57
Black	85	9	+77
Latinx	78	10	+68
AAPI	80	12	+67
Native American	74	12	+62
Democrat ID	90	7	+82
Independent/Dk ID	77	9	+68
Republican ID	56	23	+33
Anti-Racist base	93	6	+87
Sympathetic Whites	94	5	+89
Diverse Strivers	86	9	+79
Concerned Conservatives	77	12	+65
Individualists	57	22	+35
Racist Base	32	32	0

■ Statement A
■ Neither/Don't know/Refused

■ Statement B

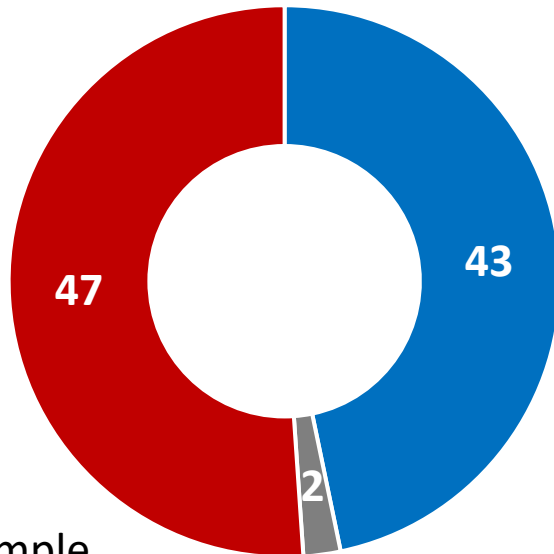
Q9: [STATEMENT A] Eliminating structural racism and inequality is a goal we should try to achieve in our country. _Or [STATEMENT B] Eliminating structural racism and inequality is not a workable or achievable goal.

Americans are split on whether they think wealth comes from how hard they work or their circumstances. Democrats, Black, AAPI, and urban Americans are more likely to believe the latter. Notably, Latinxs and Native Americans believe its hard work.

Views on how wealth is acquired*

In America today, a person's wealth depends mostly on how hard they work in life

In America today, a person's wealth depends mostly on the circumstances they are born into



Total Sample

	Circumstances	Worked Harder	Margin
Men	50	41	-10
Women	44	44	0
White	42	48	-6
Black	55	31	+23
Latinx	41	52	-12
AAPI	52	30	+22
Native American	36	48	-12
Democrat ID	62	26	+37
Independent ID	39	46	-7
Republican ID	23	71	-49
Anti-Racist base	73	17	+56
Sympathetic Whites	71	18	+53
Diverse Strivers	43	44	-1
Concerned Conservatives	28	63	-35
Individualists	21	61	-40
Racist Base	13	83	-70

Statement B

Statement A

Neither/Don't know/Refused

*split sampled

Q10: [STATEMENT A] In America today, a person's wealth depends mostly on how hard they work in life _Or [STATEMENT B] In America today, a person's wealth depends mostly on the circumstances they are born into

What does it take to generate wealth? Hard work.

"I think people can use their circumstances as an excuse to not better themselves. And there's proof on either way. People that have money can get far, but **you can get just as far in this country if you just work and pull your bootstraps up.**"

– Young White Woman, Concerned Conservatives

"I think you have to have a tenacity. I mean, I think too many of the younger generation, you can see it in the election. They prefer to have handouts, whereas most people want to work.

So **I think you have to have that drive**, that's one thing."

- Older White Man, Individualist

"I believe as a young person if you ... I remember I had nothing. The first job I ever found I was washing dishes. And then when things weren't going well, I joined the military.

There's always a solution somewhere if you look for it. So I don't buy into the woe is me, I was born into poverty, I can never make it, I'm going to be status quo. That's just not ... I don't believe in that."

- Older White Man, Individualist

"First of all, I think that the right kind of ambition, definitely hard work is going to play a big part on being successful. Creating opportunities, **I don't think opportunities knock at your door. I think you create them for yourself and getting the right break too** and being in the right business environment... I am an immigrant and I started as a dishwasher. Now I'm a restaurant owner. "

- Hispanic Man, Individualist

"To me, to achieve that is again, I had to outperform everyone. I had to hustle everyone. I just didn't rely on sit back on that I just had a job. I always looked at it as trying to advance my career.

Always thought about what's next?"

- Hispanic Man, Individualist

"Perseverance. You just have to go after what you want, and you keep going after it. **They call it 'The Land of Opportunity' because the opportunity is there, but you have to find it.** You have to seek it out. You can not stop until you get there and hoping that you will."

- White Man, Anti-Racist Base

What does it take to generate wealth? Circumstance includes race.

"...The American dream relies on almost the fortune of birth, one of the greatest predictors of your late life success, **but physically, it's your zip code and the school districts you grew up in, you know?"**

- White Man, Sympathetic Whites

"I think it's just white privilege. I mean, if you're white rich you're going to get all the opportunities and **everyone [else] it depends on your circumstances being lucky and whatever path you take, whatever decisions you take, whatever school you go to.** If you decide to open a business, I feel you have to work twice as hard as a White male."

- Hispanic Man, Anti-Racist Base

"I definitely believe networking is a huge part of being able to make it in America nowadays. You know people, you know people, if you don't know people, it makes it a little bit harder. Another thing is your upbringing. I feel that kind of plays a part as well, **because there are people who grew up in certain situations, certain neighborhoods, certain environments where it's hard.**

- Black Woman, Anti-Racist Base

"**It's who you are, where you were born, what's your ethnicity, what's your name?** Even sometimes, for example, my middle name is Ramy. My first name is Mohammed. When I go apply... I'm Muslim, right? I'm a Muslim from Middle Eastern family. When I go put my name on job applications and apply, I put 'Ramy' because I don't want to be discriminated against. I want to have that equal opportunity. The tricky part is, I do go by Ramy, regardless, but this is just an example of how I try to avoid discrimination."

- White Woman, Sympathetic Whites

"It boggles my mind sometimes because of the fact that everybody talks and thinks that, 'Hey, this is America. You could do anything.' No, you got to have some relationships to be successful. You have to have some luck. You have to have hard work, **but you also have to acknowledge that you're going to deal with some challenges if you're a person of color. And, you may not realize it yourself if you're a colored person, and then when you experience it, you try to figure out, well, what is this?"**

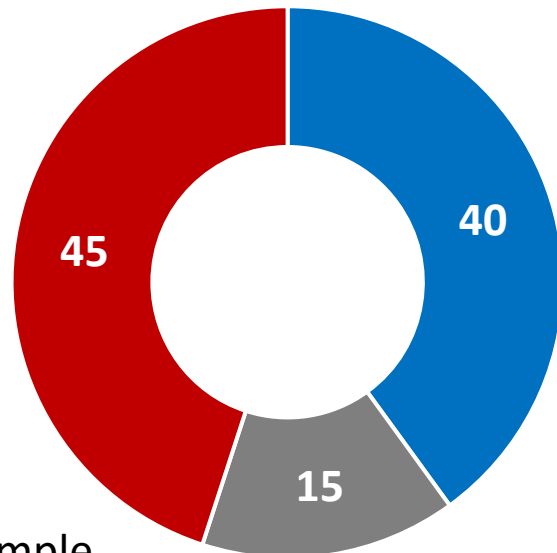
- Black Man, Individualist

Half of white Americans believe that racism is mostly an individual attitude, while most Americans of color mostly believe that racism is a structural problem. Fifteen percent of Americans can't choose one or the other. Native Americans and women are divided.

Views on Racism

Racism is mostly an individual attitude that can only be changed one person at a time

Racism is mostly a structural problem in America that requires changing racist institutions, laws, and policies



Total Sample

	Structural	Individual	Margin
Men	38	46	-8
Women	42	43	+1
White	35	50	-15
Black	66	19	+47
Latinx	50	33	+16
AAPI	54	32	+22
Native American	44	45	-1
Democrat ID	62	24	+39
Independent ID	41	38	+3
Republican ID	16	72	-56
Anti-Racist base	75	9	+66
Sympathetic Whites	63	22	+41
Diverse Strivers	57	31	+26
Concerned Conservatives	24	56	-32
Individualists	17	61	-44
Racist Base	6	88	-82

Statement B

Statement A

Neither/Don't know/Refused

Q12. [STATEMENT A] Racism is mostly an individual attitude that can only be changed one person at a time Or [STATEMENT B] Racism is mostly a structural problem in America that requires changing racist institutions, laws, and policies

Is racism a structural problem or personal belief?

Structural Problem

"There's just a staggering amount of statistical evidence of disparate outcomes in housing, education, employment, all sorts of dimensions, on the lines of race, purely."

- White Man, Sympathetic Whites

"I think that's because it was the institution that brought us to where we are today and I believe that it has to be that same factor that takes it down. It's definitely a force as strong as individuals. So it's going to take that strong force to reverse the damage they've done."

- Black Man, Anti-Racist Base

"I think a lot of this goes into visibility and structurally, if you don't have visibility of people who are different from you, different beliefs than you... it'll be much, much harder to create empathy for them.

The one I was trying to think of was just the movie or television industry. If you don't have people of color telling their stories and representing themselves in any of them, or even just women directing. Like if you're not used to it, you're going to resist the change more and it's like a perpetuating cycle."

- Asian Woman, Diverse Strivers

Personal Belief

"I think most racism is based in fear. 'I fear what I don't understand. If I don't understand you, I have to isolate you and I have to make you part of something else because I fear you.' And that's racism. 'I fear your religion. I don't understand your culture. I don't understand it so if I don't understand it, I can't adapt to it. So I must be biased against it.'"

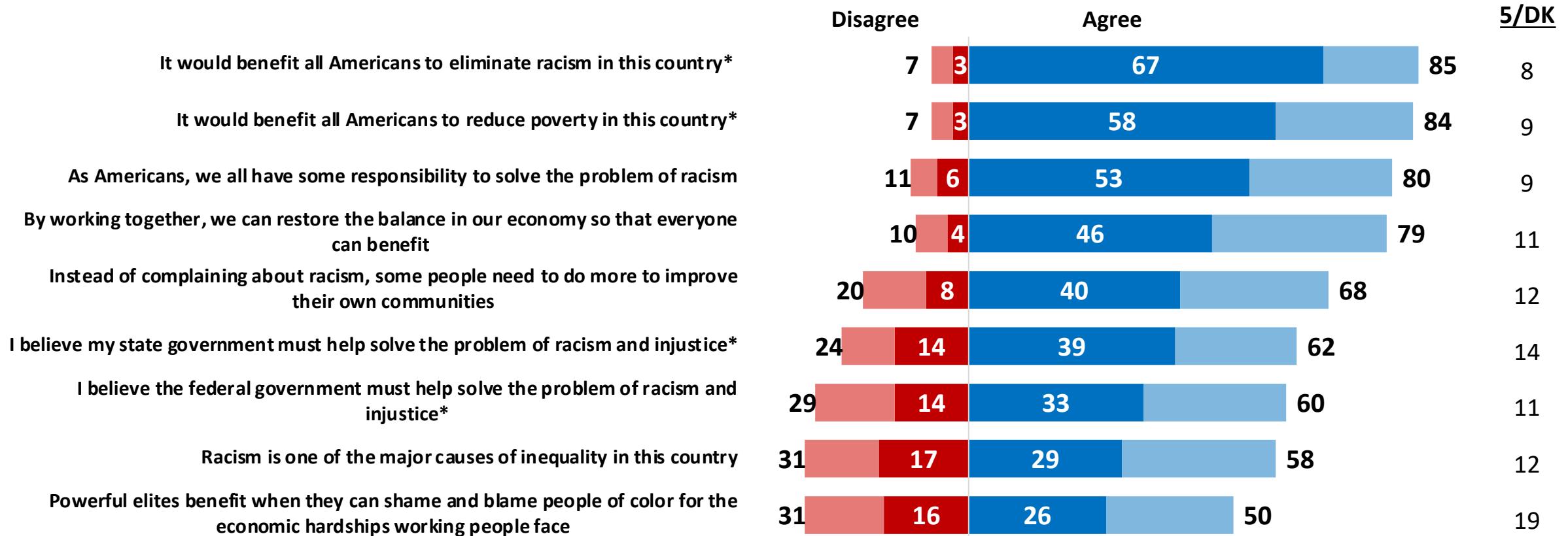
- Older White Man, Individualist

"...So 50, 60, 70 years ago, when there was a much bigger racial gap, I feel like there wasn't as much disharmony as there is now, where the gap is virtually nothing. But because of the advent of social media and everyone being able to record every single thing that happens, everything is blown out of proportion. If we had the technology we have now 70 years ago, things were much worse back then, but we didn't have the technology. So there's not as much documentation of it.. Whereas, you could literally document and twist and contort everything to fit your narrative, the point you're trying to get across."

- Younger White man, Concerned Conservatives

Encouragingly, the most widely shared beliefs are that it would benefit all Americans to eliminate racism and poverty in this country, followed by the idea that we all have some responsibility to solve the problem of racism. These verge on core values. Right behind that are “As Americans we have some responsibility to solve the problem of racism” and “by working together, we can restore the balance in our economy.”

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



*split sampled

Is it the government or individuals responsibility to address racism?

Government

"I think just the government in general. I think if they'd take the lead in it, then other people and businesses would follow because it would be seen as like something that's being taken serious."

- Hispanic Man, Anti-Racist Base

"I think at the base of all of this is voting and so many people being disenfranchised. They feel they don't have any power. And I think once people feel they can take back power, then we can have them better represented in law enforcement and judges, most importantly in judges. And the people that make legislation, I think we all need to feel represented, and that's just not happening because of the way it's set up. It's set up for them to fail, for them to not be heard."

- White Woman, Sympathetic Whites

"It's a collective responsibility, but the federal government has to push it through and set the standard because the federal government can speak to the entire country and get across to everyone and tell them, 'Listen, this is what we need to do.' All together."

- Hispanic Man, Anti-Racist Base

Individuals

"But I don't think the government has any business anywhere near my thought process. I can think whatever I want. If I go out and act upon that, then you can do something to me, but you don't get to tell me what to do or thing, period... people need to talk to other people. We need to come together as a society and do something about this. They have no voice in it."

- Younger White Man, Concerned Conservative

"I think it's all on the person. I think that probably no laws, it doesn't matter how many laws or things you're supposed to abide by. That doesn't mean that a person is going to abide by it. I think that it's up to the person."

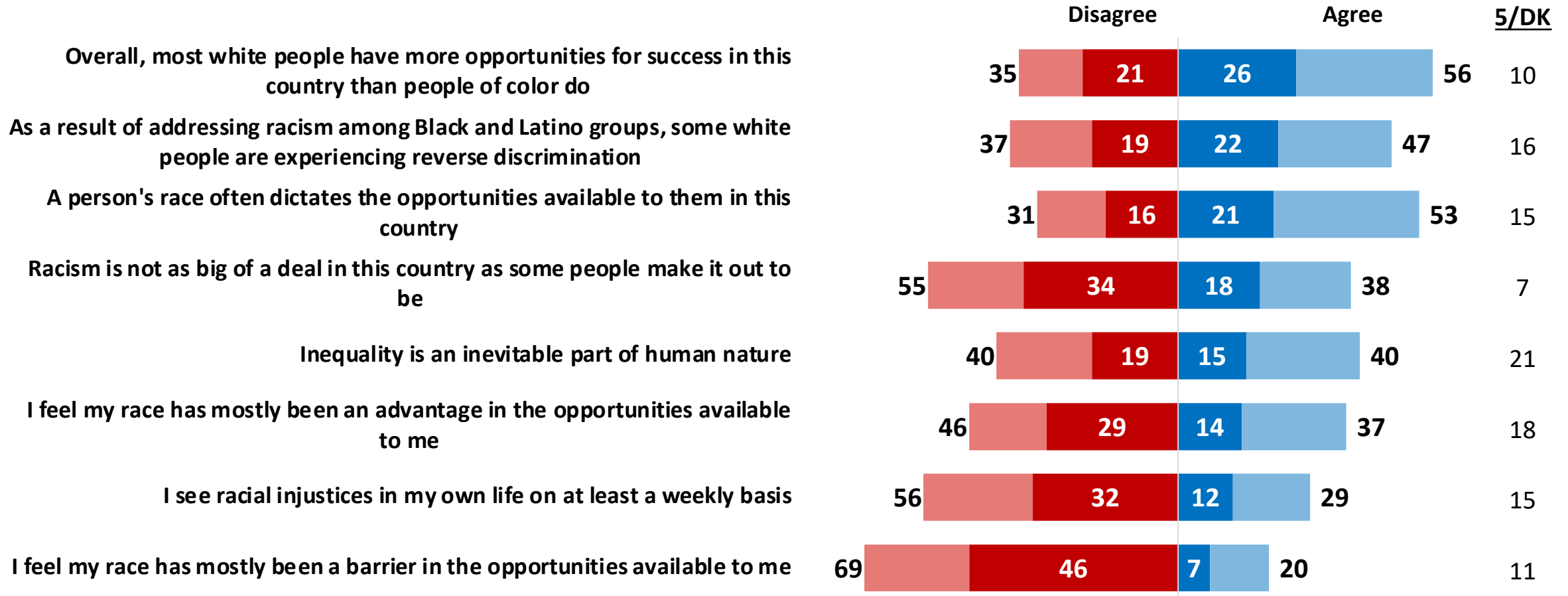
- Hispanic Woman, Diverse Strivers

"Because I think if we truly want to see a change, the change has to come from within. If we're able to acknowledge or recognize that we're committing racism or we're undermining a person in some way or creating that type of situation, then I believe that there's a better chance for us to rectify that."

- Hispanic Man, Individualist

Most Americans disagree that their own race has been a barrier, and a majority do not see racial injustices regularly in their own lives, though as we see it differs by subgroup.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



*split sampled

Do we fix racism through color blind or seeing race?

Seeing race

"We need to admit the problem all together so we can be able to work on it. It's not possible to just ignore racism and just put it behind you and just stop discriminating just like that. You need to have, we need to understand that it exists and then we can pull together and fight it."

- White Woman, Anti-Racist Base

"I think to say that ignore race is somewhat naive and it's going to get challenged. I think it's important to recognize that there's differences, and there's cultural differences, there's all kinds of differences that celebrate and learn from each other."

- White Man, Sympathetic Whites

Color blind

"I think if you start looking at people by the color of their skin or their religious makeup, you start to stop discriminating because if you look, it was said earlier, if you look at a person as a person, a man as a man, a woman as a woman, then you're not turning around and saying they're a Chinese-American, African-American, a Canadian-American, a Mexican-American. They're just an American, and when we get to the point where we stop putting a label on everybody, we'll stop seeing a difference."

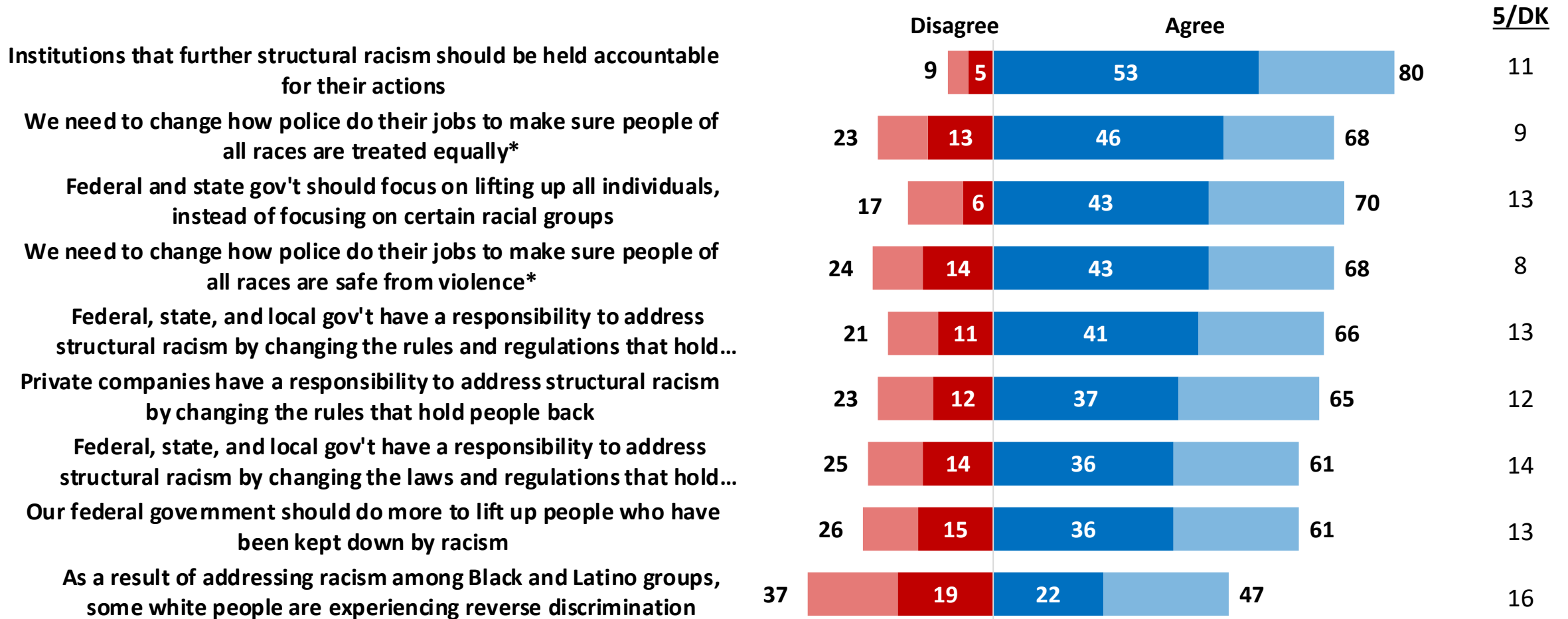
- Older White Man, Individualist

"I think the more we bring up race, the more racism we're going to see because you keep pointing it out, "Well this person, this colored person, this sex of person, this person that identifies any way," you keep identifying it, you keep throwing it in people's face... We were all doing fine and going along happily until everyone started saying, 'Look over here.'"

- Older White Man, Individualist

The most widely agreed with action statements include institutions should be held accountable for furthering racism and we need to change how police do their job. The third most widely held is that federal and state governments should focus on lifting all individuals instead of focusing on certain groups.

Do you agree or disagree with the following statements?



*split sampled

Q17. Now I am going to read you some statements people have made about inequality in the United States. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with each of the following statements on a scale of 0 to 10 where 0 means you strongly disagree and 10 means you strongly agree. [RANDOMIZE]

Summary of Key Findings – The Messages

- The top-testing message statements share common themes of shared fate and working together.
- *Work Together*, which states that our strength comes from our ability to work together and make this a place where freedom is for everyone is the highest rated message with 48% very convincing and 76% very or somewhat convincing.
 - This message is strong across race and other demographics and is preferred by all groups except Black and AAPI Americans, those in New England, Mid Atlantic, and Mountain regions, and urban Americans.
- Next is *Equal Opportunity – Hurt Us All*, which says that America is diverse, but racism hurts us all and makes the case for equal opportunity policies to develop a more equitable society with 45% very convincing and 71% very or somewhat convincing.
- Rounding out the top three is *Racism Legacy*, which states that we can't just ignore inequality and expect it to go away. Instead, inequality is the result of generations of advantages. Forty percent of voters find this message very convincing, 65% find it very or somewhat convincing.
 - This is the top testing message for Black and AAPI Americans and does well with our cluster of Anti-Racist Base.

Full Text of Messages

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

[EQUAL OPPORTUNITY - HURT US ALL]* America is very diverse, and different communities have different challenges, but sexism and racism hurt us all. When whole groups of qualified people are excluded from schools, jobs, or advancement, our families suffer and our communities are poorer. Equal opportunity policies help us develop a more equitable society, where people of color, women, and people from other disadvantaged groups are given the support they need to be successful.

[RACISM LEGACY] It's tempting to think that if we just ignore racial inequality, it won't exist anymore. But we know that's not true – inequality is a legacy of generations of advantages and disadvantages that come with the color of our skin. Those at the top have kept their power by dividing the rest of us by race and keeping us down. We need to recognize and stand up to racism to provide real opportunity in every community.

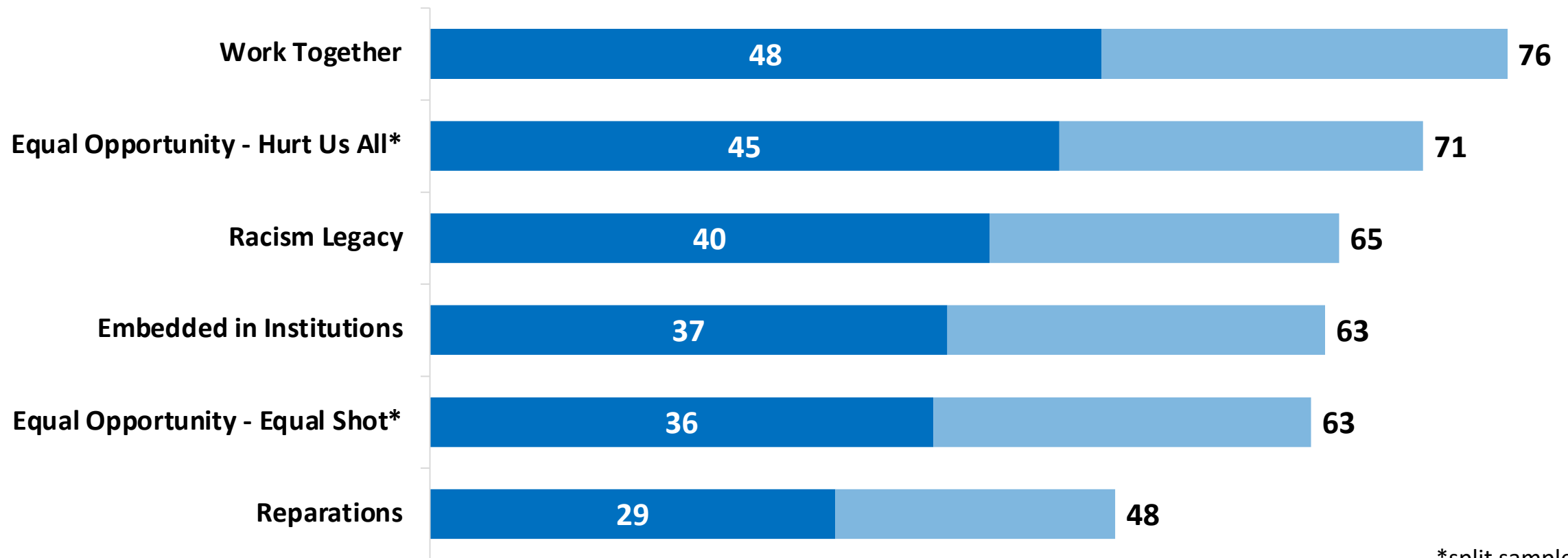
[EMBEDDED IN INSTITUTIONS] America is a place where people of all backgrounds come together and share a common vision that all people are created equal. As a nation, we haven't always advanced laws and policies that embody this idea, and instead have made it easier for certain groups to get ahead. Now, we have the opportunity to come together, reverse policies that have kept Black and brown people down for generations and realize the true meaning of equality.

[EQUAL OPPORTUNITY - EQUAL SHOT]* In America, we believe in giving everyone -- Black, brown, or white, native or newcomer, man or woman – an equal shot at fair wages, good jobs and quality schools. But the truth is that many people are currently discriminated against in employment, pay, and education based on who they are or where they come from. Equal opportunity policies will ensure that all people have equal access to the opportunities that will allow all of us to thrive.

[REPARATIONS] We live in the richest country in the world, but historically, much of that wealth has only been available to a select group of people. Black Americans have been excluded from that wealth since our country's inception due to slavery and the inequitable social and government policies that followed. It's time to right our past wrongs and consider how reparations could be part of larger efforts to address systemic racism and poverty.

Work Together is the most popular message overall with almost half of Americans finding it very convincing, followed by *Equal Opportunity – Hurts Us All*.

Statements about Inequality in the U.S.



Somewhat Convincing

Very Convincing

Q19. Now, let me read you some statements that people have made about inequality in the U.S. For each one, please tell me how convincing this statement is to you—VERY convincing, SOMEWHAT convincing, A LITTLE convincing, or NOT CONVINCING AT ALL. If you are not sure how you feel about a particular item, please say so.

*split sampled

Work Together is strong across race, region, and urban, suburban, and rural areas, preferred by many demographics. **Equal Opportunity – Hurt us all** is a close second. Black Americans and AAPI prefer the **Racism Legacy** message.

Messages														
% Very Convincing	All	Gender		Race					Clusters					
		M	W	Wht	Black	Lat	AAPI	N Am	Anti-Racist Base	Sympathetic Whites	Diverse Strivers	Concerned Cons	Individualists	Racist Base
Work Together	48	48	49	48	55	52	42	50	62	59	61	55	27	23
Equal Opportunity – Hurt us all*	45	45	45	43	62	50	45	35	66	64	62	46	22	4
Racism Legacy	40	40	40	34	68	49	52	38	69	58	63	27	17	4
Embedded in Institutions	37	37	37	32	56	49	37	26	66	57	51	27	13	4
Equal Opportunity – Equal Shot*	36	38	35	34	53	40	31	31	62	49	46	28	26	10
Reparations	29	27	31	21	61	41	34	26	70	34	47	14	13	0

*split sampled

Messaging Critiques ("Elites")

"I don't like the powerful elite, like that sounds kind of phony to me. I don't like that... I think that could just be cut out. That has... nothing to do... I don't know, just kind of throws it off for me."

- Black Woman, Diverse Strivers

"So as I was reading this, the first sentence, I was like, oh, that's good. That makes sense. But then the second sentence for this, place to be freedom for all, we cannot let the powerful elite, AKA the rich white devil... blah, blah, blah, blah, blah. So that's where they lost me because that's obviously what they meant, because this is about race, all these statements. Now if these statements weren't about race, maybe I wouldn't have thought that, but the statement is about race. So, powerful elite, we all know what they mean when they say powerful elite, so they lost me there, and yeah. That's why I gave it a one."

- White Man, Concerned Conservatives

"I guess I come from a different place, where I live in New Orleans. It's white minority. So most of your elite here is pretty much half and half. Whether it's white or black, we don't have a wealthy Hispanic population here, but we do have a wealthy black population who have schools that are majority black, that are private schools and clubs and Mardi Gras cruise and things like that, things that are really only for the wealthy."

- White Woman, Sympathetic Whites

"I think this statement, as a whole, relies on a lot of flashy buzz words and buzz phrases. And it's not really saying much of anything. And powerful elites is one of those buzz phrases."

- White Man, Anti-Racist Base

Messaging Critiques (Reparations)

"And if you start handing out reparations to one, where do you stop? A lot of the Irish were brought over as indentured people. The Filipinos were brought here as indentured. The Chinese were brought here in the early part of our country as slaves to build this country, they built the railroad as slaves. So do we hand out reparations to every single person that was ever a slave or was ever wronged in this country "

- Older White Man, Individualist

"Maybe just add a little more and more of the statistical part of it, and come up with a form of real statistic showing the numbers that are true, that are coming out, and saying, "Okay, these are just all white, and this is just the low minority," and put it in that same sentence that we have in the form of percentages."

- Hispanic Woman, Anti-Racist Base

"Listen, I'm Puerto Rican. I never owned a slave. I have no idea why you got to take my money and pay somebody else for this. It's a very dark period in our country. I understand it. I don't think it's ever going to happen again, unless we erase our history. Those who don't know history are going to repeat it, but as far as me or anyone I know, we never owned slaves. I work hard for my money, and I want to keep as much of it as possible, rather than give it to somebody else... It's not going to accomplish anything."

- Hispanic Man, Individualist

"I just don't like reparations. I don't think it should be done. I mean, if overall redistribution of wealth to everyone, that's what should be done. Well, I mean, it's not just blacks that were enslaved in the past. I mean, native Americans were enslaved. Irish were enslaved, there was a large number of other groups that were also enslaved."

- White Man, Sympathetic Whites

Favored policies

Please rate on a scale of 0-10 how impactful each of these policies would be as a stepping stone to addressing structural racism in this country

	Total	Concerned Conservative	Individualist (White Men)	Individualist (Black & Latino Men)	Diverse Strivers	Sympathetic Whites	Anti-Racist White Base	Anti-Racist POC Base
Ending the War on Drugs and investing in the health of impacted communities.	7.4	3.8	5.9	6.4	9.0	8.2	9.4	9.4
Allocating fewer public dollars to prisons/policing and more public dollars to addressing the root causes of poverty and violence.	7.2	2.3	4.2	6.9	9.1	8.7	9.4	9.4
Ensuring everyone has access to safe and affordable water.	6.8	2.5	7.3	4.9	8.3	6.9	8.5	9.4
Ensuring everyone who wants to work can access a living-wage job through a Federal Job Guarantee.	6.7	2.5	4.0	5.4	8.8	7.9	9.6	8.6
Protecting renters from evictions, harassment, and rental debt due to COVID-19.	6.6	1.4	6.0	5.8	7.0	7.0	9.4	9.5
Ensuring all legislation is scored on criteria related to racial equity.	6.2	0.9	2.7	4.8	8.9	7.9	9.6	9.9

Favored policies - pro

- Renter protections is viewed as an immediate need by Base and POC Individualists.
- Defunding prisons and policing received support across all of the groups.
- War on drugs was supported because it was viewed as an overall waste of time, money, and resources for Concerned Conservatives and White Individualists rather than a race issue.
- Concerned Conservatives viewed their top policies as helping everyone, all economically disadvantaged people rather than just communities of color.

"These are things that, the water one, for example, I'm sure everyone knows about Flint, Michigan, and it's generally lower class over there and they don't even have clean water to drink. How are you going to survive and move up if you don't have that? So I just think overall, these polls are things that white people honestly, just don't even have to think about, because they have these. For other races and minorities, it's a luxury, even though it shouldn't be."

- Black Man, Anti-Racist Base

"I don't think any of these six individually would do much to end institutional racism. But the combination of four or five, all of them together going up at one time, would make a big difference."

- Black Man, Anti-Racist Base

"Well, the war on drugs has tended to have mostly people of color be sent to prison. And obviously that causes social economic problems within their families. If your husband and father are locked away, it makes it difficult for the mother and their children to get lifted up out of poverty..."

- White Woman, Sympathetic Whites

"Right now, just because we're still involved with the pandemic and everything else, holding off on evictions of people who aren't paying rent. Obviously there are people that are trying to gain the system, but you know what? That's, in my mind, is a small percentage. The entire country is still hurting."

- Hispanic Man, Individualist

"...I think about, what happens when you don't have any money, or you don't have a lot of money and you're working multiple jobs? It often comes back to, at a baseline, people need a livable wage."

- Black Man, Anti-Racist Base

Policies Conservative Clusters fully opposed

- Concerned Conservatives did not understand how these policies impacted racism.
- Concerned Conservatives and White Individualists wanted protections for landlords, not just renters.
- Concerned Conservatives and White Individualists discern policies that reflect affirmative action type solutions because they are an unfair advantage to the group over the individual.

"So I don't know if I'm understanding correctly, but with the exception of the one that actually said racial equity, none of those things had anything to do with race for me."
- Young White Man, Concerned Conservatives

"...the one that's saying about prison and stuff. That statement is racist because that statement implies that everyone in prison is black, because that's not true."
- Young White Man, Concerned Conservatives

"I think there has to be protections on both sides if you want to eliminate the racism. It's fine to say yes, we're going to eliminate evictions and we're going to help the renters, but you still got to make that mortgage payment on that house, and some people are, they got transferred. They had to move. They weren't able to sell the house. The only way they can afford to keep the house is by renting it."
- Older White Man, Individualist

Coalition Building

- Clusters that are on board with all policies and agree with messages:
 - Anti-Racist Base
 - Sympathetic Whites
 - Diverse Strivers
- Clusters that understand the need for these policies, but need more convincing:
 - POC Individualists
 - Diverse Strivers
- Clusters that need a different message to support *some* of the policies (can't get behind be race specific policy)
 - Concerned conservatives

Next Steps - Framing Messages

- Overall far reaching message is “Work Together”
 - Key elements:
 - Race class narrative.
 - Working together to combat a problem burdened by all, not just one group
 - Replace “powerful elites” to a specific common enemy that has created the disadvantage – this will change based on policy.
 - Example: media
- To motivate just the base specifically, utilize the “Racism Legacy” message.
 - Key elements:
 - Calls it like it is.
 - Calling out the opposition as creating division, painting this policy/movement as unity.

About HIT Strategies

HIT Strategies is a messaging and strategy firm that uses innovative research methods to understand, communicate with, and mobilize some of the hardest to reach communities in society. Women, millennials (+ gen-z), and minorities are irreversibly shifting voting and consumer patterns in America. We apply our lived experiences at the intersections of society to explore and empower these communities so that our partners can realize the full potential of rapid diversification in America.

Women

Millennials

Minorities

Above all, we are translators. We use research to understand the priorities, values, and behaviors of all voters and consumers in order to translate your message into language that best resonates with your target audience. In the age of 24-hour news cycles, social media echo chambers, and misinformation both domestically and abroad, delivering a compelling message requires precise insight into target audiences. We design customized messaging tailored to the communities that are most critical to a successful campaign:



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