HOUSING NARRATIVE LAB

Findings from Focus Groups and a Dial Survey on Housing Among Minnesotans

January 2024

Celinda Lake

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Goals of the Research

- The goal of this multi-phase narrative research was to **gauge Minnesotans' views on housing** and **inform narrative change**.

- To help **shift public perception and lay the groundwork for housing-related initiatives and change**, we conducted research to understand what messages, language, and values that center housing affordability-related solutions resonate most with Minnesotans statewide.

- The survey sampling included oversamples of **rural Minnesotans** (defined in sampling as everyone except for those in in Hennepin, Ramsey, Anoka, Dakota, Washington, Scott and Carver County) and **Black Minnesotans** to ensure the voices of Greater Minnesota and Black residents were large enough to analyze in the findings.

Research Methodology

Phase One: Virtual Focus Groups

Lake Research Partners (LRP) conducted four virtual focus groups on behalf of Housing Narrative Lab among Minnesota residents on October 26th and November 1st, 2023. Each session lasted about two hours and participation was voluntary, anonymous, and confidential. In addition to meeting the demographic screening criteria for the group, participants were recruited to reflect a mix of educational attainment, parental status, and marital status.

Date	Demographics
October 26, 2023	Tax-Sensitive Twin City Collar Residents, Mix of Race and Gender
	Residents with NIMBY views, Majority Twin City Collar Counties, Mix of Race and Gender
November 1, 2023	Greater Minnesota Residents, Mix of Race and Gender
	Minnesotans of Color, Twin Cities, Mix of Race and Gender

Phase Two: Online Dial Survey

Lake Research Partners designed and administered a mixed mode statewide dial survey conducted December 6-18, 2023. The survey reached a total of 850 adults in Minnesota, which includes a base sample of 600 adults conducted online and oversamples of 150 Black adults and 100 rural adults (defined as residents outside of Hennepin, Ramsey, Anoka, Dakota, Washington, Scott, and Carver County) conducted using text-to-online methodology.

Survey respondents for the online portion were drawn from an online panel and screened to be adults residing in Minnesota. Survey respondents in the oversample populations were drawn from TargetSmart and screened to be residents of Minnesota. To ensure the sample reflects attributes of the actual population, the base sample was weighted by gender, region, gender by region, age, education, and party identification. The Black oversample was weighted by age. The rural oversample was weighted by gender, age, and education. The oversamples were weighed down into the base to reflect their actual proportion of adults in Minnesota.

Because the sample is based on those who initially self-selected for participation in the panel rather than a probability sample, no estimates of sampling error can be calculated. All sample surveys and polls may be subject to multiple sources of error, including, but not limited to, sampling error, coverage error, and measurement error.

If this poll were conducted among a probability sample, then the margin of error would be +/- 4.0 percentage points at the 95 percent confidence interval; the margin of error would be higher among subgroups.

Defining Base, Opposition, and Persuadables

The base, opposition, and persuadables were created using responses to value questions around the role of government and status of people of color, agreement around whether housing is a basic human need, and favorability of building new housing in their neighborhood. Almost half of Minnesotans are persuadable. Our base (29%) is only slightly larger than the opposition (22%).

Base – 29% of adults

- Think people of color face greater barriers to economic success than white people and the government has a role to play in providing opportunities. Either strongly or somewhat agree with the idea that housing is a basic human need that everyone should have access to.
- Either strongly or somewhat *favor* building new housing or multi-family housing in their neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in Minnesota.
- More likely to be women, Democratic, in households with incomes above $50,000, in the Twin Cities, and in urban communities. Nearly three-quarters (73%) have a connection to housing instability, including 58% who have personally experienced it either in the past or are currently experiencing it now.

Opposition – 22% of adults

- Think either government needs to get out of the way, white people have gotten ahead because they worked harder than others, or disagree with the idea that housing is a basic human need that everyone should have access to.
- Either strongly or somewhat *oppose* building new housing or multi-family housing in their neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in Minnesota.
- More likely to be men, over 45, non-college-educated, Republican, rural, and living in households with incomes above $50,000.

Persuadable – 49% of adults

- Have views that at times reflect base adults, for example, believing people of color face more barriers to success than white people, and being in favor of building new housing in their neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in Minnesota; and at other times reflect opposition adults, for example, wanting government to get out of the way.
- Demographic compositions more closely reflect demographics of the general public overall but are more likely to be white. Seventy percent have a connection to housing instability, either through personal experience or knowing someone who has experienced it.

Demographics	Total	Base	Oppo	Pers.
Men	47	37	64	45
Women	51	61	35	53
Under 45	43	50	35	42
Over 45	57	50	65	58
White	82	72	83	87
Black	5	8	5	4
All POC	18	28	17	13
Non-College	61	54	71	61
College	38	46	28	38
Democrat	40	71	8	36
Ind/DK	11	9	17	10
Republican	37	11	66	39
HH Income < $50K	33	38	22	34
HH Income $50K +	64	60	74	63
Twin Cities	33	44	21	32
Twin Cities Suburbs	26	23	30	26
North	22	15	28	23
South	19	18	21	19
Urban	36	43	35	32
Suburban	37	37	28	40
Rural	27	19	37	26

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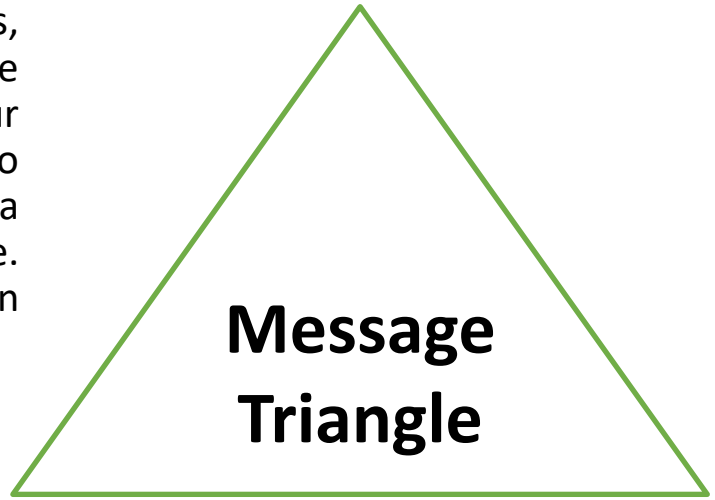
Executive Summary

- **Minnesotans see housing costs becoming an increasingly big problem in the state and want elected leaders to prioritize ensuring everyone can afford a place to live.** Levels of concern about housing instability increase after messaging.
- **Minnesotans blame inflation and rising costs for unaffordable housing today.** At least three-quarters also say needing multiple jobs to afford housing, wages being too low, and a shortage of available housing all play at least somewhat of a role in causing unaffordable housing in Minnesota.
- **Minnesotans have a broad agenda to deal with housing issues. Noticeably, they say a livable wage and job security would be most effective in helping to keep people housed.** Then they turn to housing policies, such as placing limits on rent increases, regulations to limit the cost of housing so it reflects the economic needs of a local community, and investing more public funds to build more affordable housing in every neighborhood.
- **Narratives and messaging need to draw on inclusiveness and unity.** Minnesotans are drawn to narratives that reflect their lived experiences while also showing the universality of certain affordability struggles.
- Counter to conventional wisdom that rural/Greater Minnesota Minnesotans would resonate differently with our messages than urban and suburban Minnesotans, our top testing messages – ***Minnesota Together, Minnesota Strong***, and ***Vibrant, Secure, Thriving*** rise to the top among rural, suburban, and urban Minnesotans alike.
- **Additionally, messages test best with a clear call to action – currently missing from the tested messages – and an explanation of "how" we will accomplish the goal.** Both should be added moving forward. Our base responds to a sense of fairness and ending racial discrimination. Persuadables are much less motivated by discrimination.
- **Black Minnesotans** are more likely than others to say there is a housing affordability crisis in their community, tend to be slightly tax-sensitive, and are more receptive to race-explicit language and solutions than others.
- **Rural Minnesotans** tend to lean conservative, are tax-sensitive, are worried about crime and are open to NIMBY arguments. They are more receptive to issue framing and solutions that center jobs, wages, and other economic factors. They also positively respond to messaging that highlights the importance of living in the same community where one works.

Our top messages work among both base and persuadable Minnesotans, across metro area, and across race.

Minnesota Together (#1)

Whether we're digging each other out of the snow or sharing a meal, Minnesota is a place where we look out for each other. Today, we face many challenges: creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools, and ensuring everyone has a safe, secure place to live. We need our elected officials and community leaders to implement new solutions that will make this a fair, affordable, and prosperous place to live. We need policies that put housing within reach for everyone.



Minnesota Strong (#2)

When hard-working Minnesotans – from teachers and nurses to firefighters and waitresses – are struggling to keep up with rising housing costs in our community, you know there's a problem. When everyone, including the people who work in everyday, regular jobs, can afford to live near where they work, our communities are not only better, they're also stronger. Affordable housing of all kinds is key to thriving communities, attracting good employers, improving the economic wellbeing for families, and growing the middle class.

Vibrant, Secure, Thriving (#3)

Stable housing should not be something you have to think about and it should be something that families can count on every day. But today, many Minnesotans know all too well the struggle to find a place to live, make rent, or cover our mortgage. Making sure people, whether our loved ones or complete strangers, have a safe place to lay their heads at night means our neighborhoods are more vibrant, our communities are more secure, and our state thrives.

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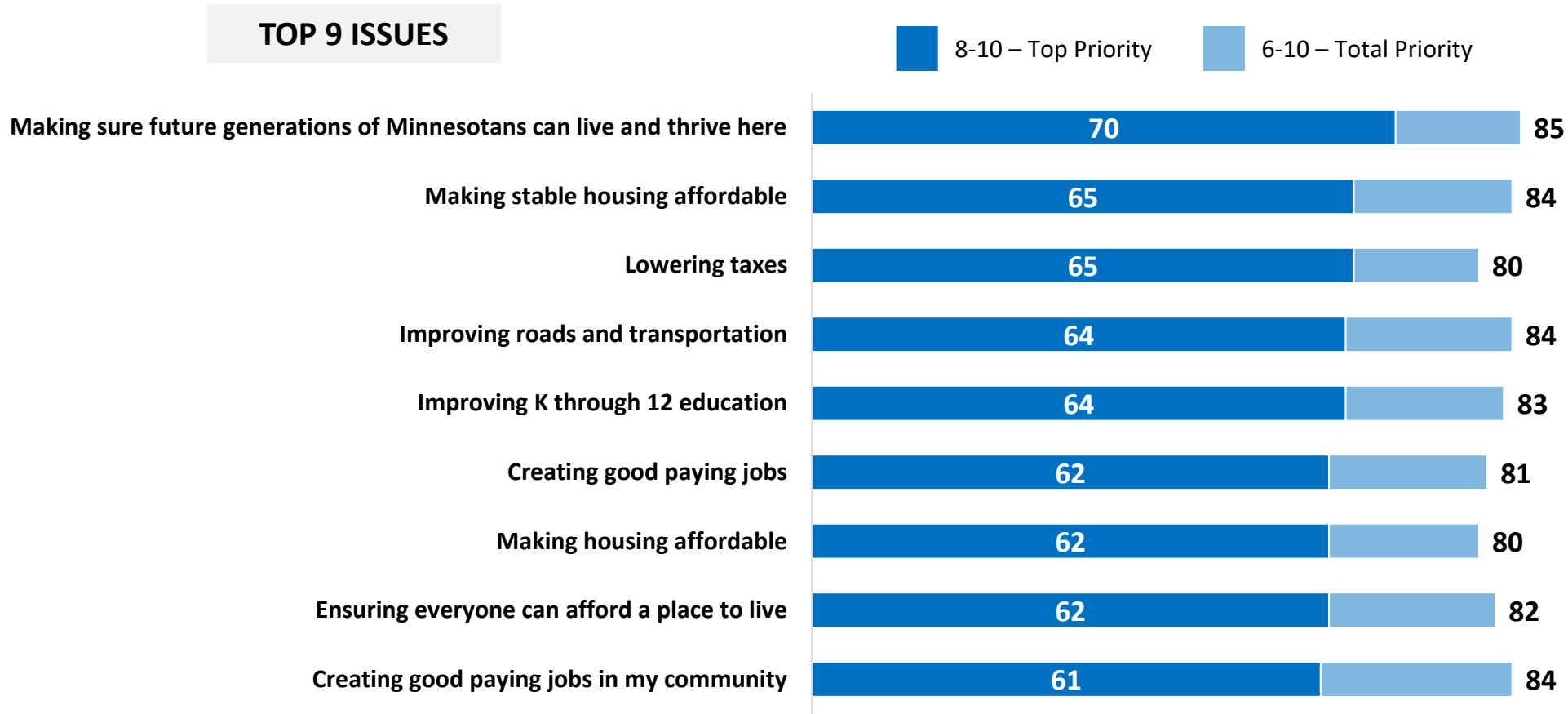
Issue Priorities



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Among Minnesotans overall, *making sure future generations of Minnesotans can live and thrive here* rises to the top as the issue elected officials should address this year. *Making stable housing affordable* and *ensuring everyone can afford a place to live* are also top-tier issues for both the base and persuadables. Of note, lowering taxes is rated as a top priority by the opposition as well as a solid majority of persuadables.

TOP 9 ISSUES



% Rated 8-10 – Top Priority

Base	Oppo^	Pers
80	44	**75**
90	24	**70**
46	**79**	**70**
64	56	67
74	45	66
69	44	66
81	28	65
82	19	**70**
65	40	68

Q: For each of the following issues, please indicate whether you think it should be a priority for elected officials in Minnesota to address this year on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means not a priority at all and 10 means a top priority.

*All items split sampled; N<100

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Minnesotans' agenda for elected officials is diffuse. *Making housing affordable* and *creating good paying jobs* rise to the top among Black Minnesotans. *Lowering taxes* and *making sure future generations of Minnesotans can live and thrive here* rise to the top among rural Minnesotans. Urban Minnesotans tend to more strongly prioritize housing-related issues, but these issues are noted as a high priority across most demographics.

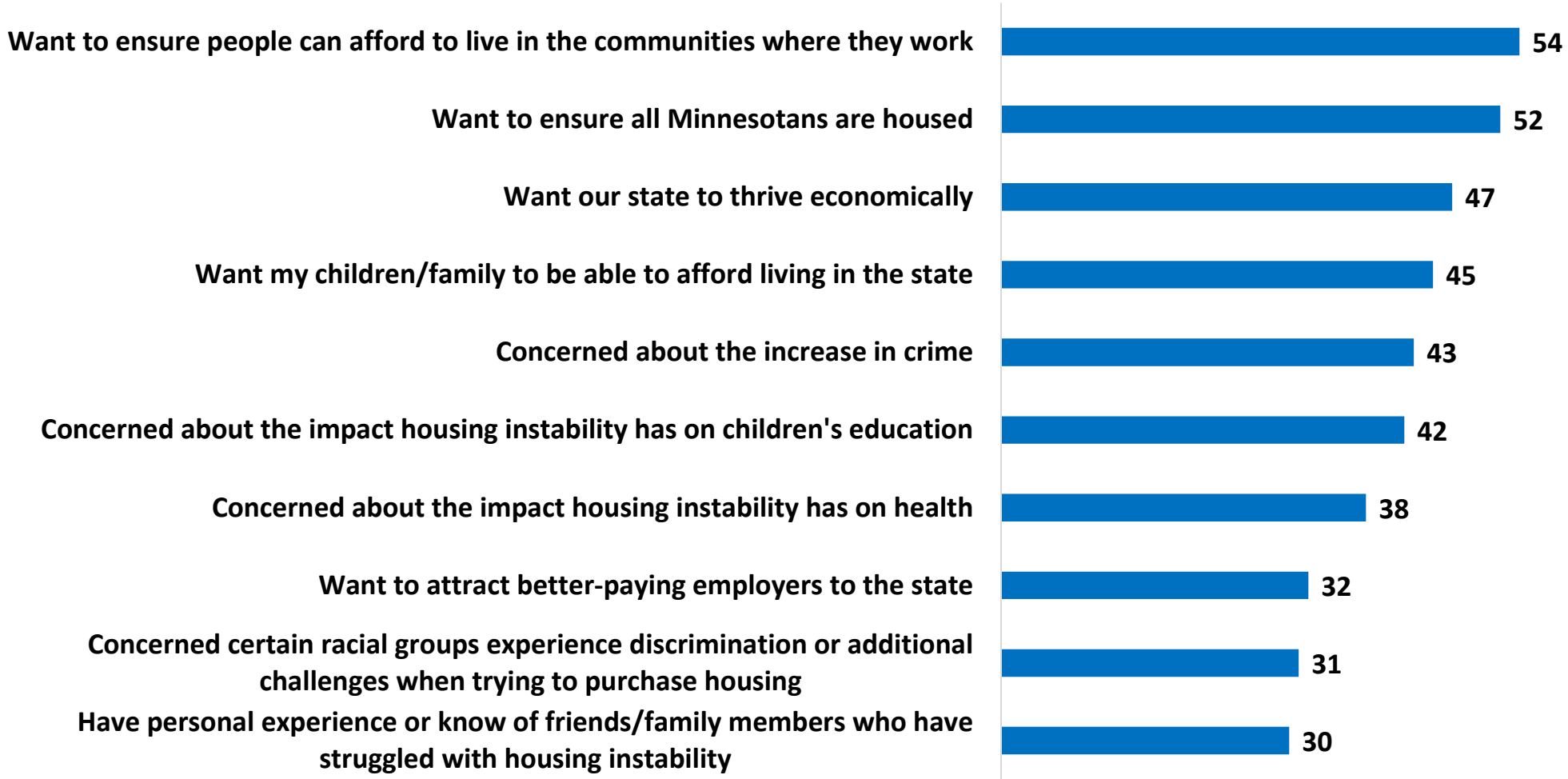
% Rated 8-10, Top Priority TOP NINE ISSUES	Race			Region				Metro Area		
	POC	White	Black	Twin Cities	TC Suburbs	North	South^	U	S	R
Making sure future generations of Minnesotans can live and thrive here	79	67	74	70	70	67	71	**73**	65	**70**
Making stable housing affordable	71	64	71	69	62	68	60	**69**	64	62
Lowering taxes	65	65	64	49	70	78	71	51	68	**78**
Improving roads and transportation	61	64	59	61	68	66	60	62	61	69
Improving K through 12 education	64	63	68	64	62	71	56	65	62	63
Creating good paying jobs	76	59	**79**	60	58	63	70	**71**	57	57
Making housing affordable	78	58	**80**	60	64	57	67	69	58	57
Ensuring everyone can afford a place to live	65	61	70	67	57	65	55	62	62	60
Creating good paying jobs in my community	57	62	69	61	66	64	49	60	63	58

Q: For each of the following issues, please indicate whether you think it should be a priority for elected officials in Minnesota to address this year on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means not a priority at all and 10 means a top priority.

*All items split sampled;
^N<100

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Minnesotans think it is important for elected leaders to address housing compared to other issues in the state because they want to ensure people can afford to live in the communities where they work and because they want to ensure all Minnesotans are housed. Persuadables put housing in a broader economic frame and include concern over crime. While our base lifts up racial discrimination, persuadables do not.



	Base	Oppo	Pers
Want to ensure people can afford to live in the communities where they work	70	26	58
Want to ensure all Minnesotans are housed	74	14	57
Want our state to thrive economically	58	21	52
Want my children/family to be able to afford living in the state	50	25	51
Concerned about the increase in crime	37	36	50
Concerned about the impact housing instability has on children's education	65	12	42
Concerned about the impact housing instability has on health	60	12	38
Want to attract better-paying employers to the state	37	20	36
Concerned certain racial groups experience discrimination or additional challenges when trying to purchase housing	60	7	24
Have personal experience or know of friends/family members who have struggled with housing instability	43	11	32

Q: Which of the following reasons best describes why it is important for elected leaders to address housing compared to other issues in the state?

Black Minnesotans are most likely to say they want to ensure people can afford to live in the communities where they work, and they want their children/family to be able to afford living in the state. The top two items rise to the top among rural Minnesotans. Minnesotans living in the Twin Cities are more likely than residents of other regions in the state to be concerned about the impact housing instability has on children's education or health.

Which of the following reasons best describes why it is important for elected leaders to address housing compared to other issues in the state?

	Race			Region				Metro Area		
	POC	White	Black	Twin Cities	TC Suburbs	North	South	U	S	R
Want to ensure people can afford to live in the communities where they work	58	53	58	57	52	60	45	60	52	50
Want to ensure all Minnesotans are housed	46	54	51	56	52	51	48	58	50	49
Want our state to thrive economically	48	47	48	47	47	53	40	50	48	42
Want my children/family to be able to afford living in the state	58	42	56	45	44	44	47	46	47	41
Concerned about the increase in crime	44	43	40	45	43	45	37	45	45	38
Concerned about the impact housing instability has on children's education	51	39	49	51	39	36	36	43	45	35
Concerned about the impact housing instability has on health	46	36	47	47	39	35	25	41	39	33
Want to attract better-paying employers to the state	38	31	34	32	35	36	25	38	32	25
Concerned certain racial groups experience discrimination or additional challenges when trying to purchase housing	36	30	39	37	34	25	21	36	33	20
Have personal experience or know of friends/family members who have struggled with housing instability	43	28	46	33	24	31	33	36	27	27

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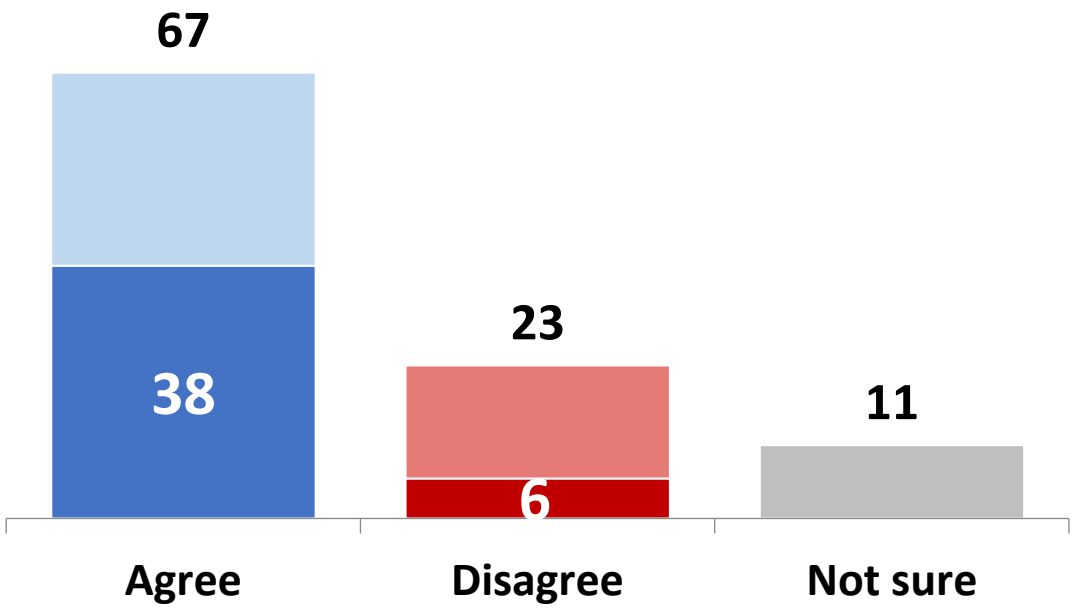
Housing Affordability



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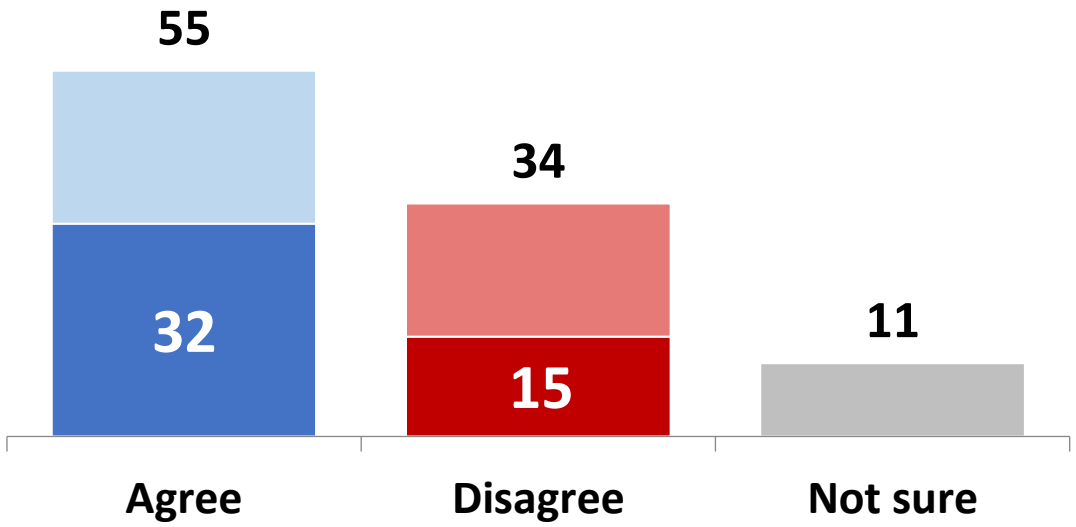
Two-thirds of Minnesotans believe there is a housing crisis in the state and a solid majority believes there is a housing crisis in their community. Base and persuadable Minnesotans agree there is a housing crisis both statewide and, in their community, but among persuadables, a stronger percentage agrees that there is a housing crisis at the state level.

Do you agree or disagree that there is a housing crisis in Minnesota?*



	Agree (% Strongly)	Disagree (% Strongly)
Base	86 (51)	8 (2)
Opposition	32 (14)	55 (15)
Persuadable	72 (41)	16 (4)

Do you agree or disagree that there is a housing crisis in your community?*



	Agree (% Strongly)	Disagree (% Strongly)
Base	83 (52)	15 (5)
Opposition	18 (5)	66 (38)
Persuadable	55 (32)	31 (10)

Not so strongly agree
Strongly agree
Not so strongly disagree
Strongly disagree

*Split Sampled

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Black Minnesotans are more likely than others to strongly agree there is a housing crisis in their community. Suburban and rural Minnesotans are least likely to strongly agree that there is a housing crisis in their community.

% Strongly Agree										
Total	Race			Region				Metro Area		
	POC	White	Black	Twin Cities	TC Suburbs	North	South^	U	S	R
Do you agree or disagree that there is a housing crisis in <u>Minnesota</u>?*										
38	55	34	52	43	28	46	32	44	34	32
Do you agree or disagree that there is a housing crisis in <u>your community</u>?*										
32	46	29	**57**	28	31	38	33	44	27	25

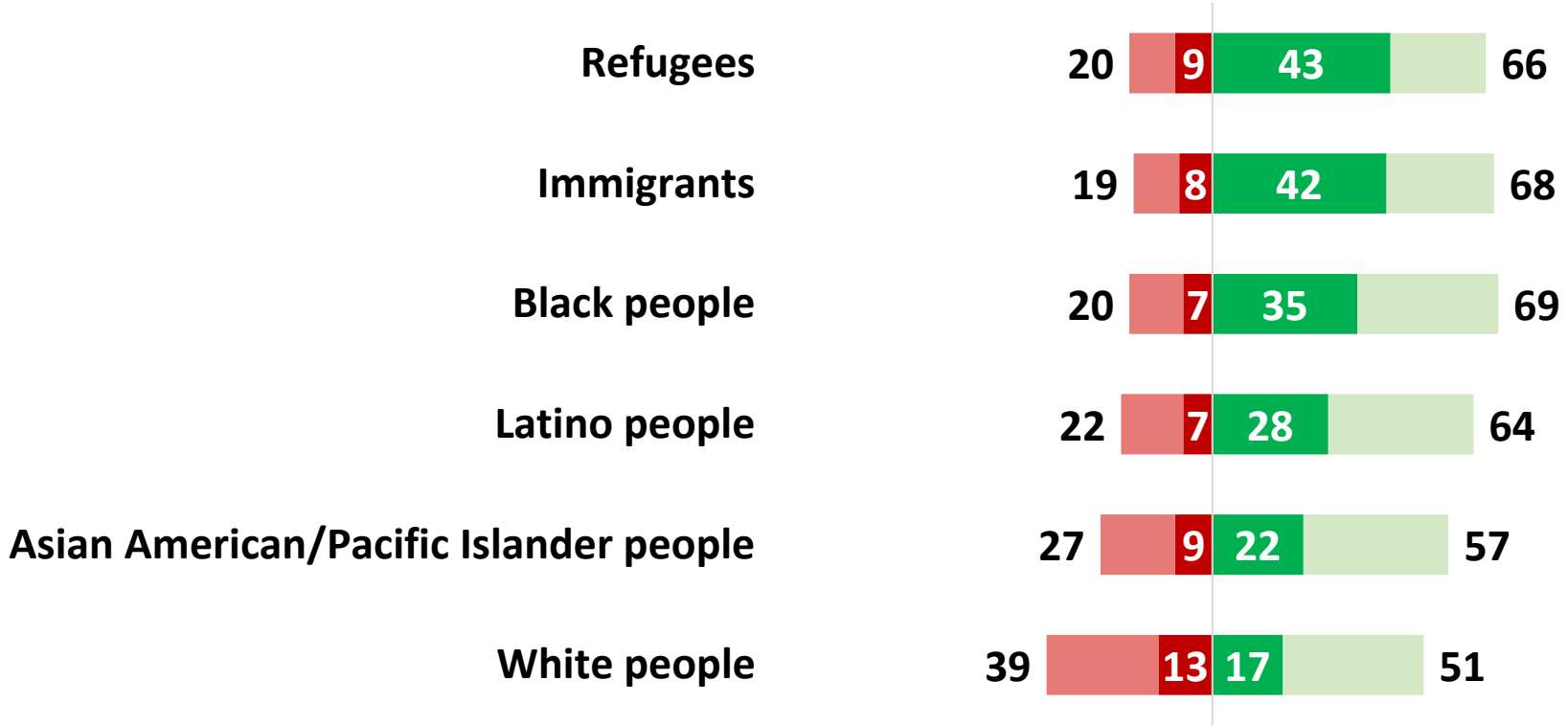
*Split Sampled; ^N<100

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Minnesotans are most likely to believe the lack of affordable housing impacts refugees and immigrants, followed by impacting Black people and Latino people. These demographic subgroups rise to the top among both base and persuadable Minnesotans. Though a majority thinks the lack of affordable housing impacts Asian American/Pacific Islander people and white people, few think it has a big impact on these racial subgroups.

How much of an impact does the lack of affordable housing have on each of the following?

Total Minnesotans



Some impact
A little impact
A big impact
No impact at all

% A Big Impact

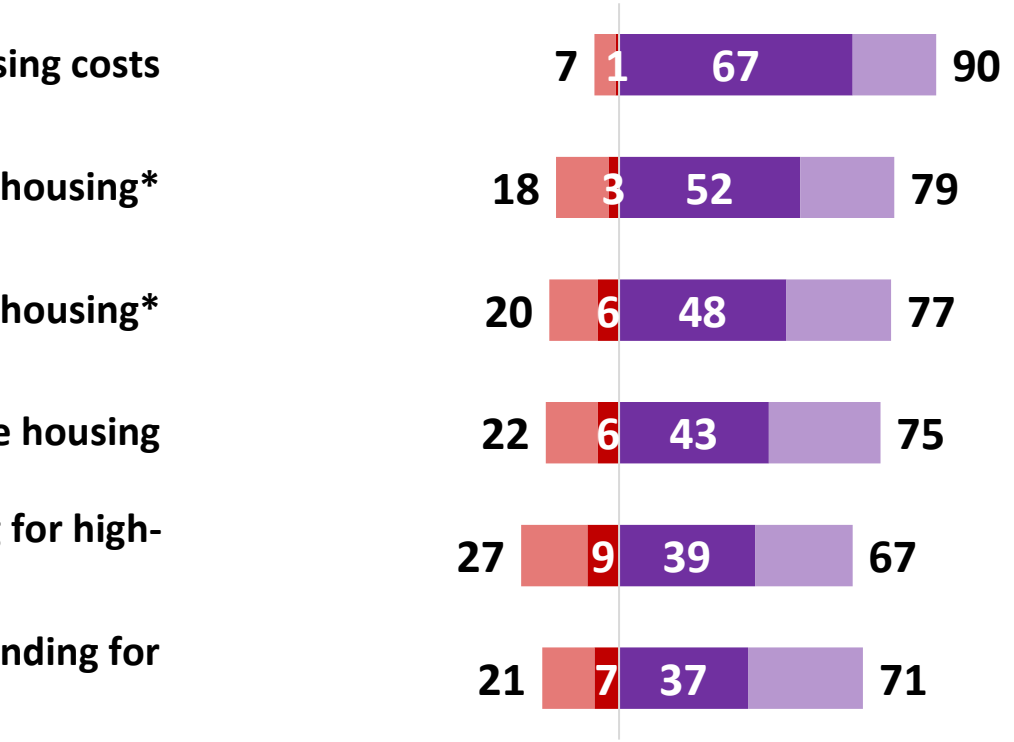
Base	Oppo	Pers
70	14	**41**
66	10	**42**
53	12	35
45	9	27
28	9	25
12	11	22

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Minnesotans statewide blame inflation and rising costs most for unaffordable housing today. Other economic factors related to multiple jobs and low wages as well as a housing shortage, builders and developers prioritizing housing for higher-income people, and poor government management of housing funds round out the top tier of potential causes.

Here is a list of potential causes of unaffordable housing in Minnesota today. For each item, please indicate how big a role you think it plays in causing the lack of stable affordable housing options in Minnesota today. [TOP TIER]

Total Minnesotans



% Major Role	Base	Oppo	Pers
Inflation and rising costs	66	63	69
Needing multiple jobs to afford housing*	69	22	55
Wages are too low to afford housing*	63	21	51
A shortage of available housing	61	18	44
Builders/developers only building housing for high-income people	60	10	40
Poor government management of funding for housing	33	37	40

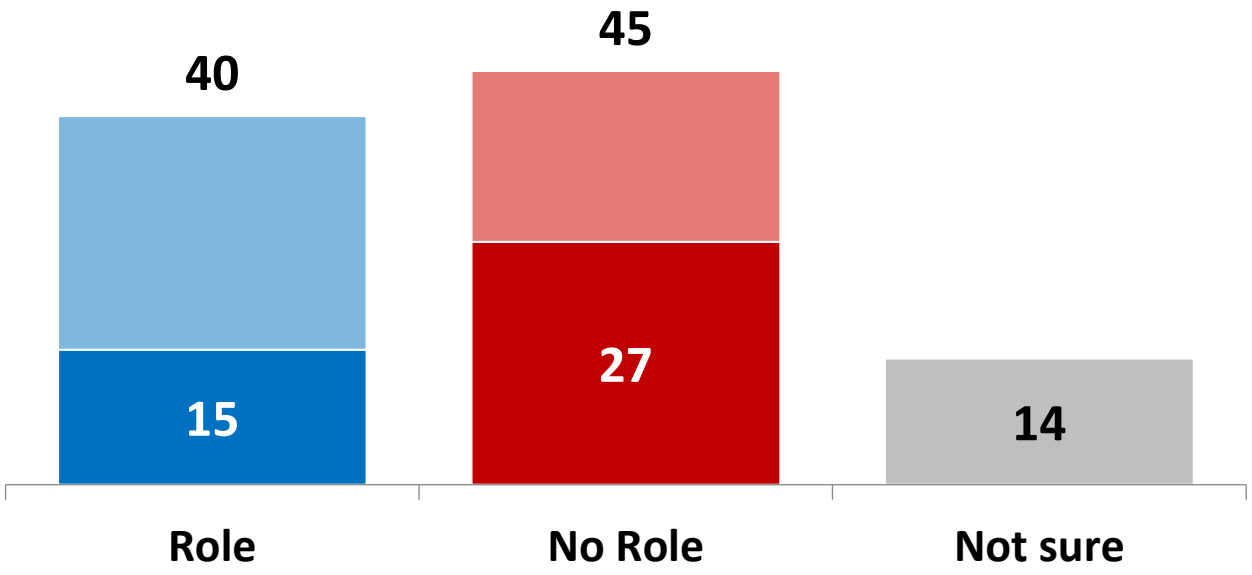
Somewhat of a role
Major role
Minor role
No role at all

*Split Sampled

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A plurality of Minnesotans do not believe race has a role to play in the affordability of housing in their community, including more than a quarter who say it plays no role at all.

How big of a role does race play in the affordability of housing in your community?



	Role	No Role
Base	73	16
Opposition	12	81
Persuadables	35	**46**
Urban	50	40
Suburban	43	41
Rural	24	**60**
Twin Cities	54	36
Twin Cities Suburbs	39	44
North	33	51
South	28	**56**
White	37	49
Black	**66**	26
All POC	**58**	31

Somewhat of a role
A big role
A little role
No role at all

*More than a quarter (27%) of **Minnesotans currently experiencing housing instability** and nearly half of **those who say they have been affected by racial discrimination in housing** (49%) say race plays a big role in the affordability of housing in their community. Thirty-eight (38) percent of Black Minnesotans say race plays a big role.*

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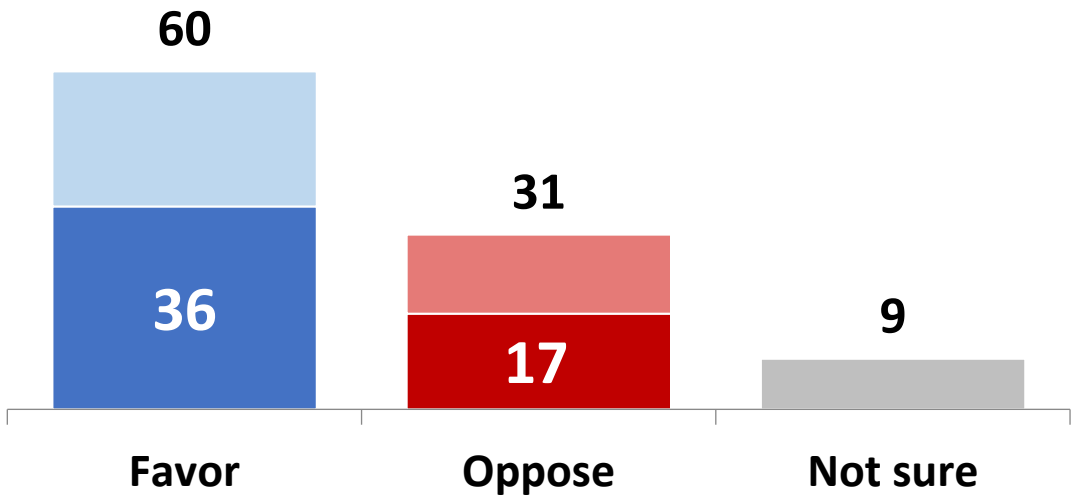


Reactions toward Policy Proposals

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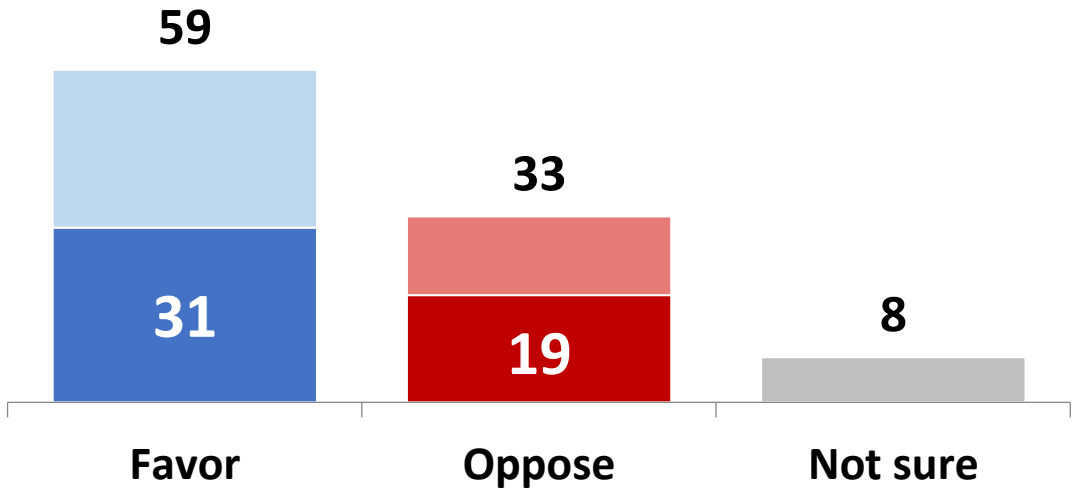
Six in ten Minnesotans favor building new housing in their neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in the state, including more than a third who strongly favor this idea. With less intensity, nearly six in ten also favor building multi-family housing.

Do you favor or oppose building new housing in your neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in Minnesota?*



	Favor (% Strongly)	Oppose (% Strongly)
Base^	100 (64)	0
Opposition	12 (6)	84 (54)
Persuadable	59 (34)	25 (11)

Do you favor or oppose building <u>multi-family</u> housing in your neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in Minnesota?*



	Favor (% Strongly)	Oppose (% Strongly)
Base^	100 (55)	0
Opposition	14 (7)	78 (56)
Persuadable	56 (28)	31 (13)

Not so strongly favor
Strongly favor
Not so strongly oppose
Strongly oppose

*Split Sampled; ^Note these questions were used to define the BPO

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Black Minnesotans are significantly more likely to strongly favor building new housing than multi-family housing. Though at least 40% of rural voters favor both statements, compared to the other geographic subgroups, they respond weakest to building multi-family housing.

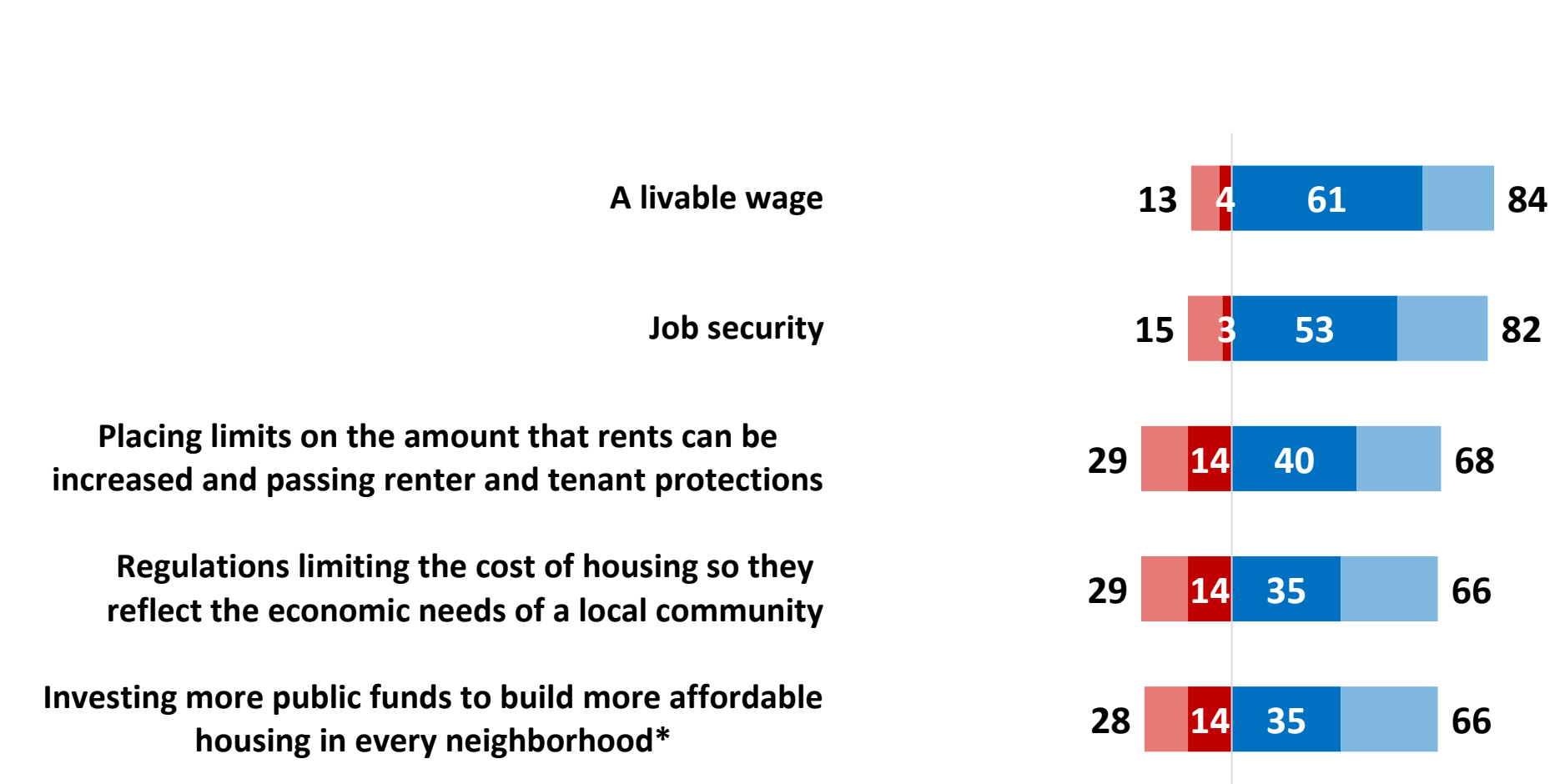
% Strongly Favor										
Total	Race			Region				Metro Area		
	POC	White	Black	TC	TC Suburbs	North	South^	U	S	R
Do you favor or oppose building new housing in your neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in Minnesota?*										
36	55	32	60	32	32	41	44	43	28	39
Do you favor or oppose building multi-family housing in your neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in Minnesota?*										
31	48	27	33	36	27	32	25	37	32	21

*Split Sampled; ^N<100

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Noticeably, Minnesotans have an appetite for a broad agenda of solutions. Economic factors such as livable wages and job security rise to the top as being the most effective in helping to keep people housed. Then Minnesotans say housing-related solutions, like placing limits on rent increases, regulations to limit the cost of housing so it reflects the economic needs of a local community, and investing more public funds to build more affordable housing in every neighborhood would be very effective in helping to keep people housed.

How effective would the following factors be in helping to keep people housed? [TOP TIER]



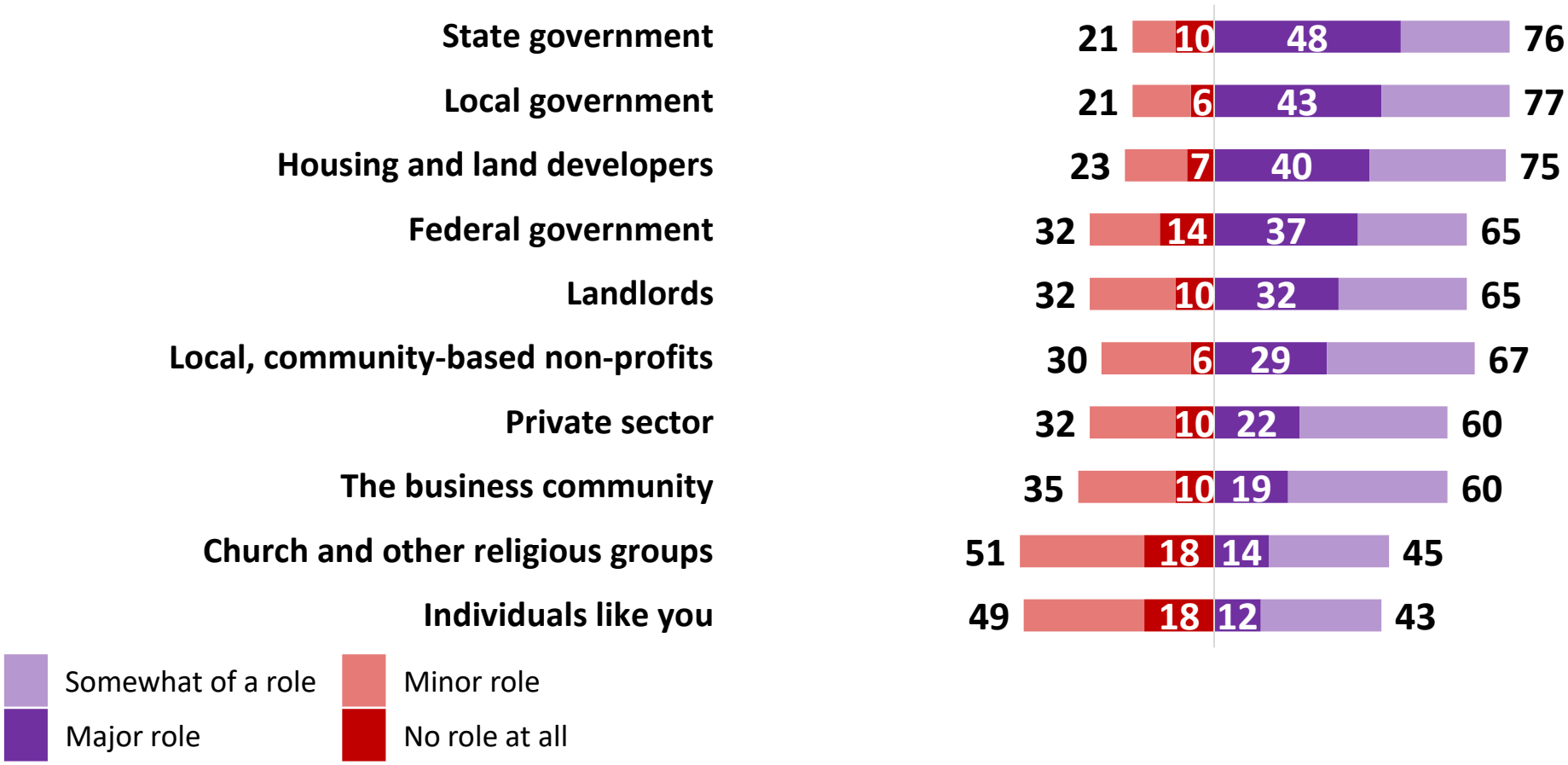
	% Very effective		
	Base	Oppo	Pers
A livable wage	**74**	28	**69**
Job security	59	32	59
Placing limits on the amount that rents can be increased and passing renter and tenant protections	52	10	47
Regulations limiting the cost of housing so they reflect the economic needs of a local community	53	7	38
Investing more public funds to build more affordable housing in every neighborhood*	56	5	36

*Split Sampled

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Minnesotans say government as well as housing and land developers have a major role to play in ensuring we all have a place to live.

Here's a list of some groups or organizations that could play a role in addressing the housing affordability crisis facing Minnesota. For each, indicate whether you think the group or organization should take a major role in ensuring we all have a place to live, take somewhat of a role, take a minor role, or no role at all.

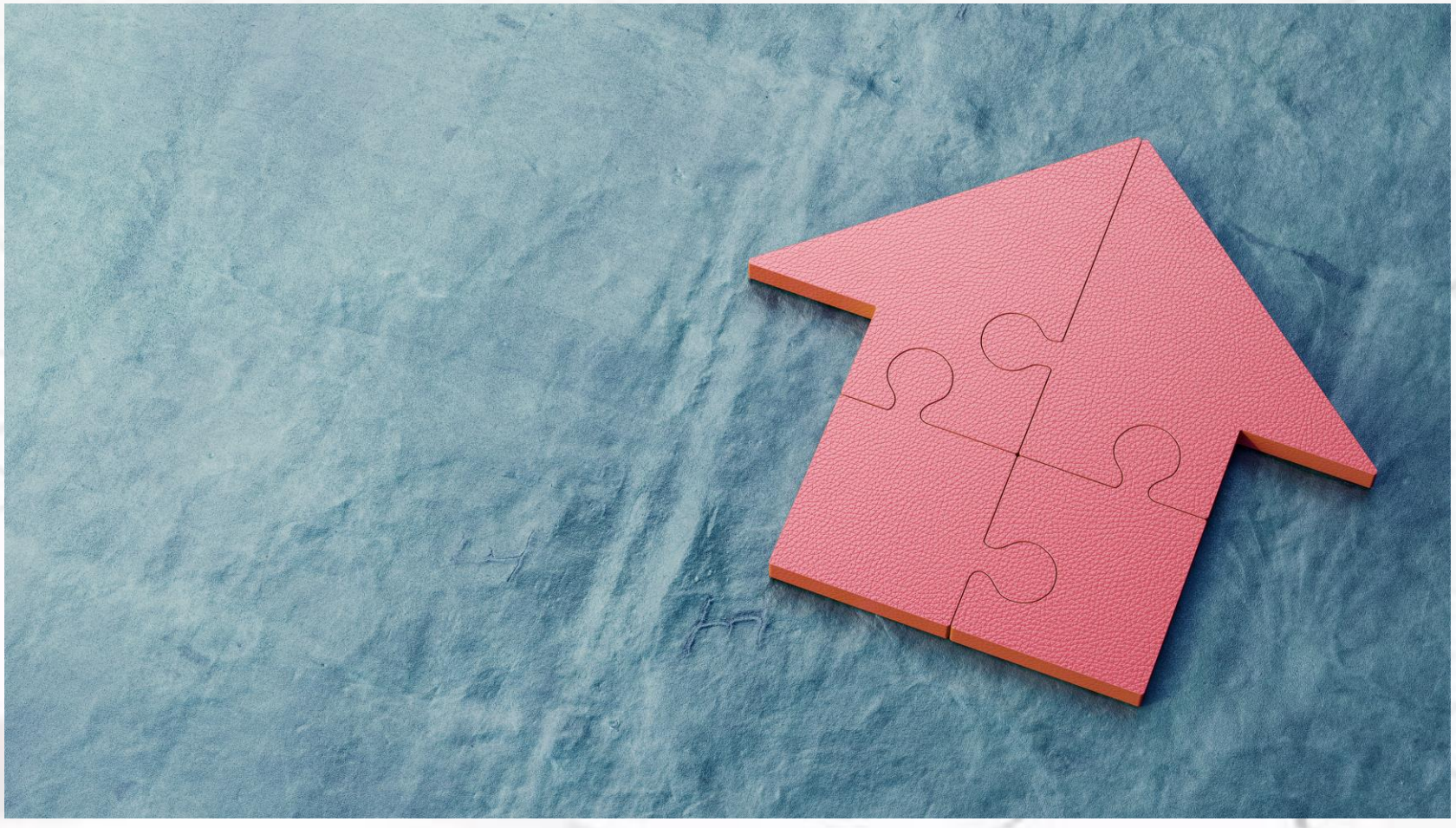


% Major Role

Base	Oppo	Pers
75	11	**50**
65	13	44
53	17	43
53	5	42
43	11	34
42	13	28
24	16	24
26	11	20
14	9	16
16	8	11

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Values and Language



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Now you are going to read several statements around having a quality place to live. For each one, please indicate if you agree or disagree. (TOP TIER)

% Strongly Agree	Total	Base	Oppo	Pers
No matter our race, gender, or income we all want to get and keep a roof over our heads	**83**	**91**	**64**	**88**
Every person deserves a safe, quality, and affordable place to live no matter what we look like or where we come from	**69**	**94**	**28**	**73**
We need policies that make housing available for everyone	**57**	**85**	**14**	**61**
We need policies that put housing within reach for everyone	**55**	**81**	**12**	**60**
Some Minnesotans, especially low-income and those on a fixed income, have been impacted by historical barriers to housing	**50**	**79**	**9**	**51**
Some Minnesotans, especially people of color, have been impacted by historical barriers to housing	**40**	**79**	**6**	**33**

*All statements split-sampled

- The top statement – **no matter our race, gender, or income we all want to get and keep a roof over our heads** – is a core value related to having a quality place to live.
- Like Minnesotans statewide, **persuadables** strongly agree we all want to get and keep a roof over our heads, every person deserves a safe, quality, and affordable place to live, and we need policies that either make housing available or put housing within reach for everyone.
- As we have seen elsewhere, **segmenting out groups with language like "especially" is less appealing to persuadables** regardless of whether we are highlighting race or class.

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Now you will see several statements about housing in Minnesota today. Please indicate whether you agree or disagree with each statement. [TOP TIER]

- **The top statements about housing in Minnesota highlight how housing is a basic human need that everyone should have access to (a core concept used to define our BPO) and Minnesotans' desire for their communities to be inclusive.**

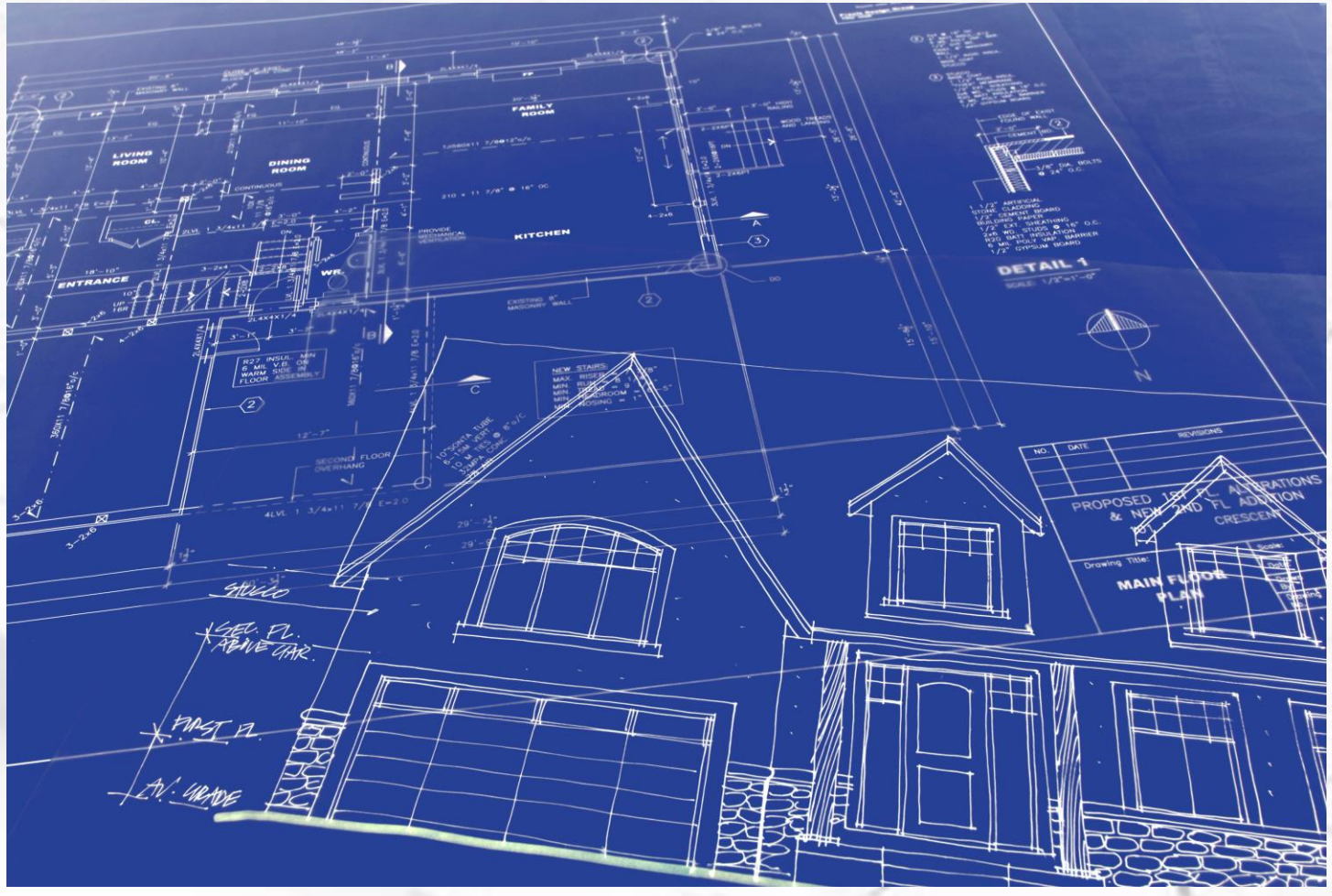
- Black and rural Minnesotans respond positively to statements that specifically mention them.

- Explicitly calling out race in the second top-testing statement is effective among both base and persuadables.

% Strongly Agree	Total	Base	Oppo	Pers
Housing is a basic human need that everyone should have access to	63	87	11	73
I want my community to be a place where everyone - young and old, Black and white, Minnesota-born and newcomer, rural and city - has a place to call home that enables us to do and be our very best*	63	85	30	65
I want to live in a community where everyone - no matter what's in our wallets or what we do for a living - has a place they are proud to call home*	56	82	18	58
Affordable housing is any kind of housing that allows people to afford a place to live long-term*	51	69	21	55
It matters that people like teachers, nurses, and police cannot afford to live in the communities where they work	50	63	22	56
Being able to afford housing in Minnesota has become an increasingly big problem*	50	70	20	52

*All statements split-sampled

Dial Messages



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Summary of Message Ratings

All of our messages test better than the opposition's argument anchored on NIMBY sentiments. Among Minnesotans overall as well as persuadables, *Minnesota Strong*, *Minnesota Together*, and *Vibrant, Secure, Thriving* rise to the top in both conscious and unconscious agreement ratings. Persuadables rate and dial *Jobs/Economy Connection* and *Not Enough Homes* 2-4 points higher than Minnesotans overall.

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Total Mean Agree Rating)	Mean (Average) Agree Rating *Conscious Ratings*				Mean (Average) Dial Rating *Unconscious Ratings*			
	Total	Base	Pers.	Oppo.	Total	Base	Pers.	Oppo.
Minnesota Strong	**75.9**	84.3	79.3	57.5	**65.1**	69.2	67.5	54.6
Minnesota Together	**74.4**	87.1	79.4	46.8	**65.9**	71.2	69.0	52.5
Vibrant, Secure, Thriving	**73.7**	85.0	77.7	50.3	**64.0**	70.7	66.4	50.3
Jobs/Economy Connection	**71.2**	81.6	74.8	49.3	**61.4**	67.1	63.1	50.4
Not Enough Homes	**70.2**	80.8	73.9	48.4	**58.8**	66.2	60.4	45.9
Greater MN Values	**69.4**	77.5	72.3	52.6	**60.1**	63.8	61.0	53.5
Opposition: NIMBY	**45.8**	29.9	48.7	60.5	**49.3**	41.6	51.3	54.9

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Our messages also test well across the four regions and different metro areas of the state. Of note, the opposition message has modest unconscious ratings among those in the Twin City suburbs, North, and in urban areas.

Mean (Average) Agree Rating *Conscious Ratings*	Total	Twin Cities	TC Suburbs	North	South	Urban	Suburban	Rural
Minnesota Strong	**75.9**	79.0	73.6	74.6	75.3	76.0	78.1	72.9
Minnesota Together	**74.4**	79.4	73.6	72.4	69.6	75.9	76.1	70.2
Vibrant, Secure, Thriving	**73.7**	79.5	73.1	69.3	69.8	74.2	76.1	69.7
Jobs/Economy Connection	**71.2**	76.0	69.8	68.2	68.8	72.8	73.8	65.5
Not Enough Homes	**70.2**	73.5	69.0	67.6	69.5	71.8	71.9	66.1
Greater MN Values	**69.4**	69.1	71.7	67.8	68.3	70.2	70.5	66.8
Opposition: NIMBY	**45.8**	44.3	47.6	47.5	44.1	46.5	45.6	45.1

Mean (Average) Dial Rating *Unconscious Ratings*	Total	Twin Cities	TC Suburbs	North	South	Urban	Suburban	Rural
Minnesota Together	**65.9**	66.9	64.0	67.3	65.2	67.0	65.4	65.0
Minnesota Strong	**65.1**	67.2	61.6	64.5	67.0	65.6	66.0	63.2
Vibrant, Secure, Thriving	**64.0**	66.8	61.3	63.4	63.5	64.8	65.2	61.2
Jobs/Economy Connection	**61.4**	63.1	60.1	60.7	61.0	61.3	63.1	59.0
Greater MN Values	**60.1**	58.3	60.6	62.0	60.6	59.8	60.1	60.5
Not Enough Homes	**58.8**	60.5	57.4	57.2	59.7	60.0	59.9	55.7
Opposition: NIMBY	**49.3**	47.1	50.2	51.5	49.7	50.0	48.5	49.7

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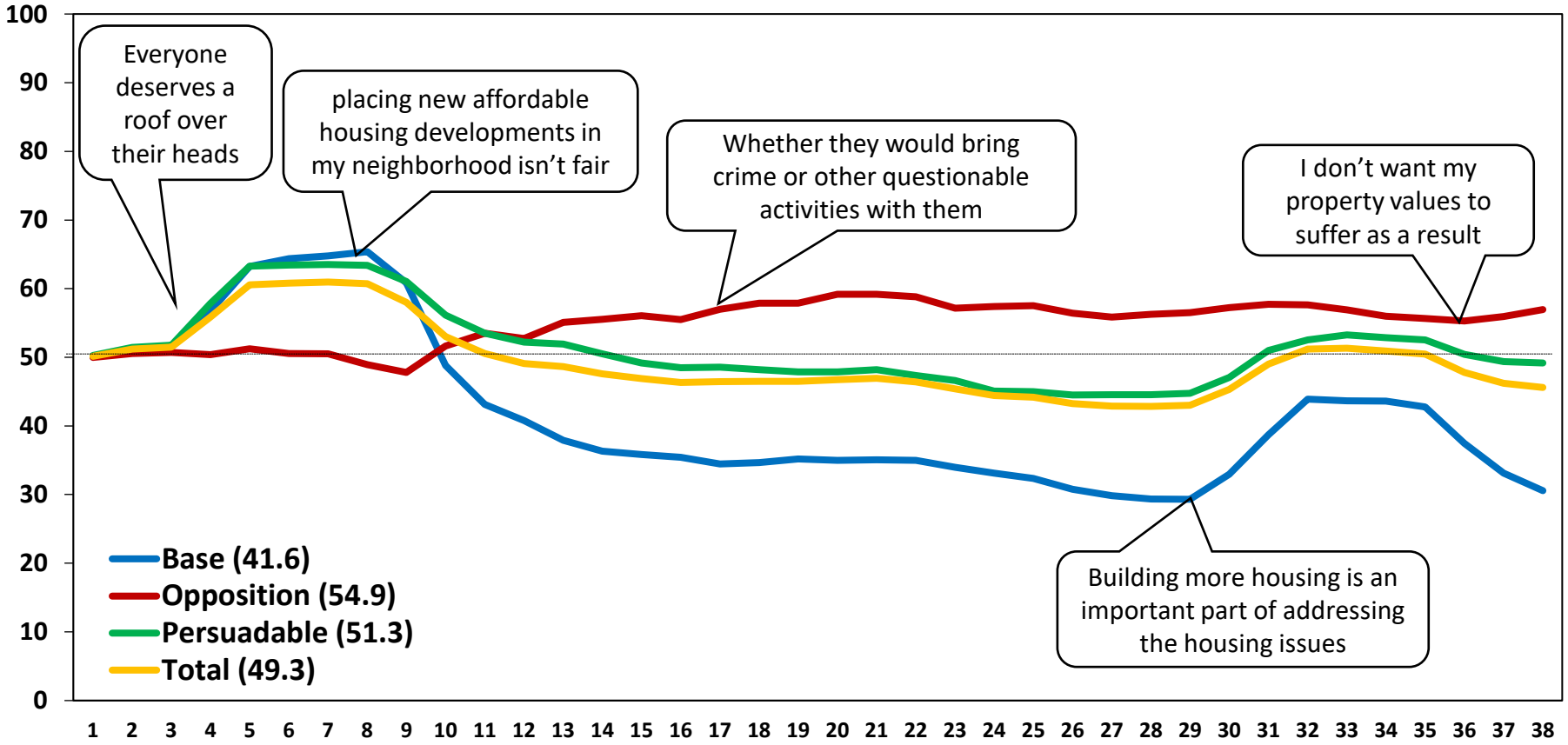
Our messages also test well among Minnesotans of color and Black Minnesotans. The top testing messages among Black Minnesotans are *Vibrant, Secure, Thriving* and *Minnesota Together*. Based on unconscious dial mean ratings among Black Minnesotans, *Minnesota Together* rises to the top, but our side's messages receive solid dial ratings across race.

Summary of Message Ratings (Sorted by Total Mean Agree Rating)	Mean (Average) Agree Rating *Conscious Ratings*				Mean (Average) Dial Rating *Unconscious Ratings*			
	Total	POC	White	Black	Total	POC	White	Black
Minnesota Strong	**75.9**	74.7	76.2	70.1	**65.1**	65.1	65.1	63.9
Minnesota Together	**74.4**	77.0	73.9	72.1	**65.9**	65.5	66.0	65.1
Vibrant, Secure, Thriving	**73.7**	74.5	73.5	72.8	**64.0**	66.2	63.5	63.4
Jobs/Economy Connection	**71.2**	72.8	70.9	68.8	**61.4**	62.2	61.2	61.9
Not Enough Homes	**70.2**	70.4	70.2	70.0	**58.8**	60.6	58.4	62.4
Greater MN Values	**69.4**	69.2	69.4	68.7	**60.1**	60.1	60.2	61.5
Opposition: NIMBY	**45.8**	44.6	46.1	43.9	**49.3**	50.5	49.1	50.6

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Opposition: NIMBY x Base, Persuadable, Opposition (BPO)

Our base quickly rejects the "othering" arguments laid out in this opposition message, dialing up in agreement only at the very beginning and at the mention of "building more housing is an important part of addressing issues we're facing." Minnesotans overall and persuadables dial below 50% agreement for the bulk of this message as well.

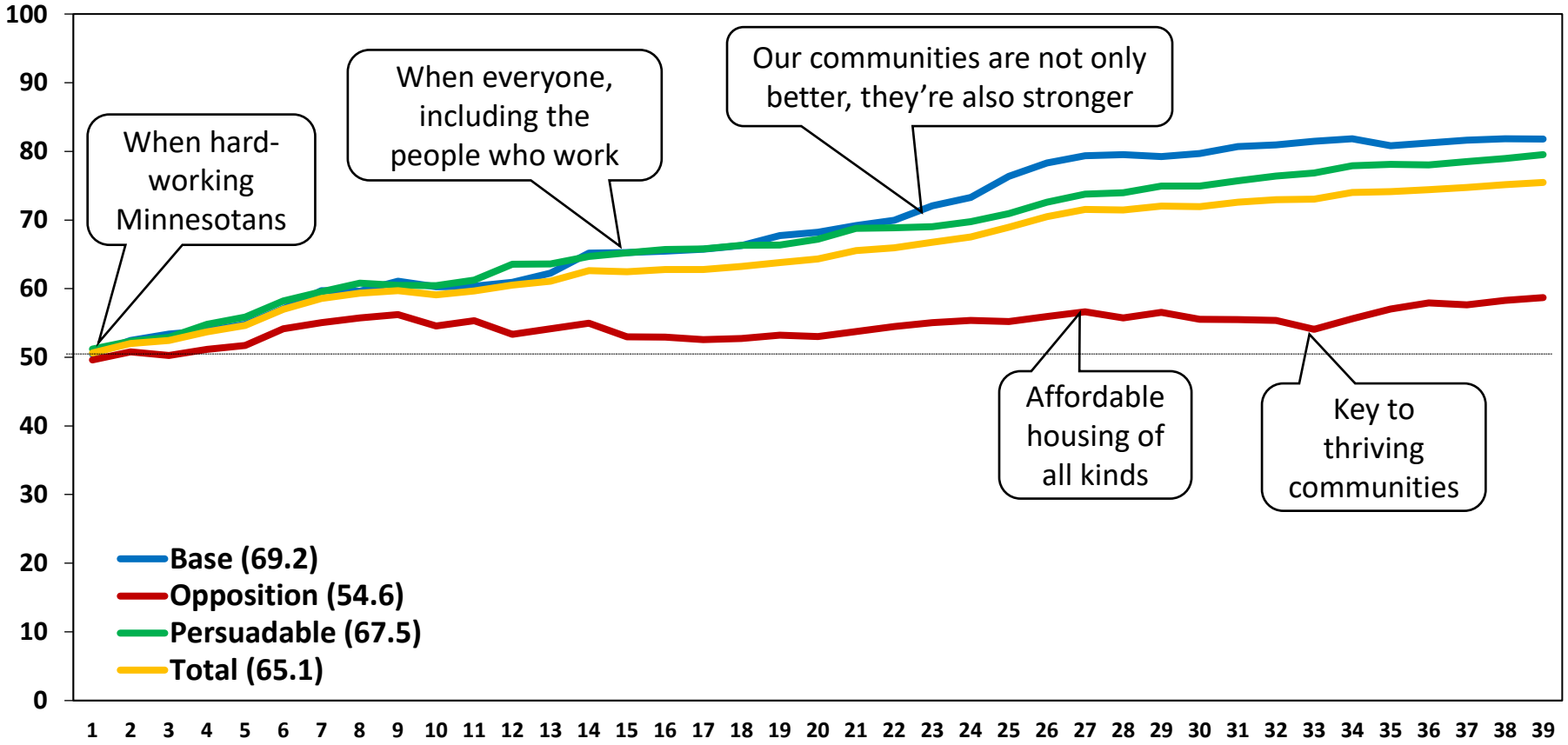


Everyone deserves to have a roof over their heads, but placing new affordable housing developments in my neighborhood isn't fair. We don't know who would live there, how they would behave, or whether they will bring crime or other questionable activities with them. It would be better to build more housing in other neighborhoods or in a designated area in the state instead of my neighborhood. Building more housing is an important part of addressing the housing issues we're facing, but in these tough times I don't want my property values to suffer as a result.

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Minnesota Strong x BPO

Modest dialing at the beginning of the message when teachers, nurses, and firefighters are mentioned. Modest positive dialing among our base and persuadables continues until the end. The opposition breaks away and flatlines at the mention of the problem. Our base is especially likely to dial positively when they hear "our communities are not only better, they're also stronger."

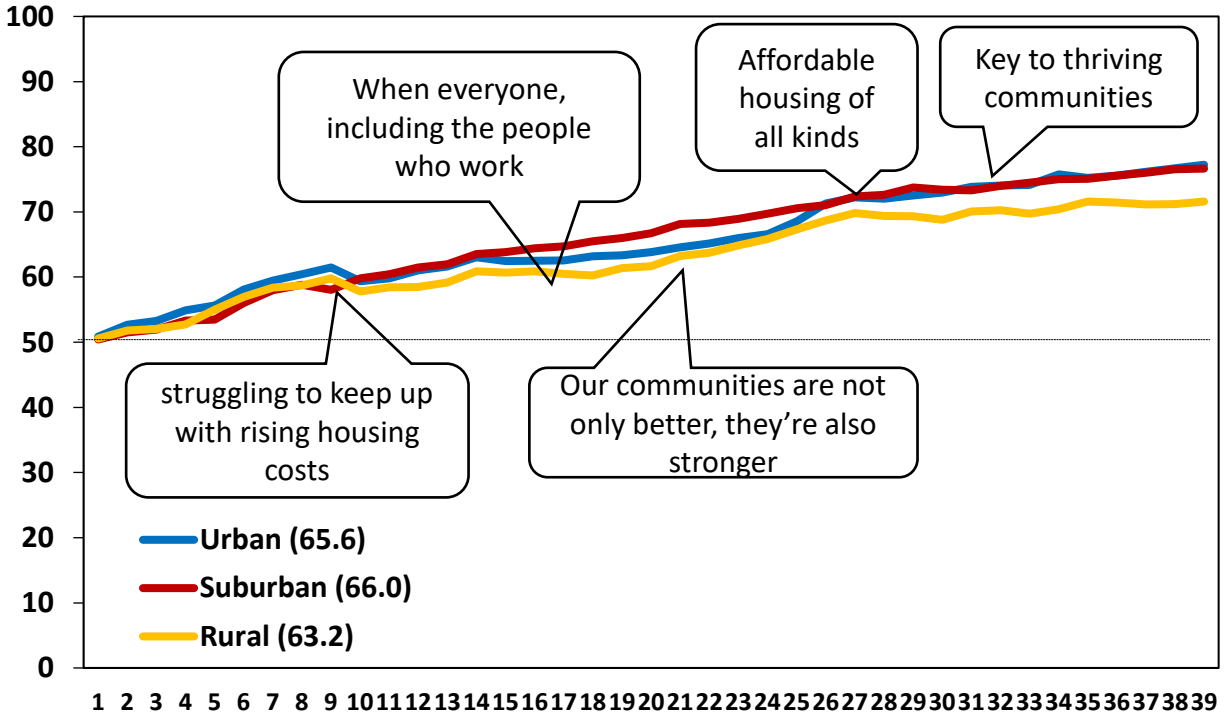


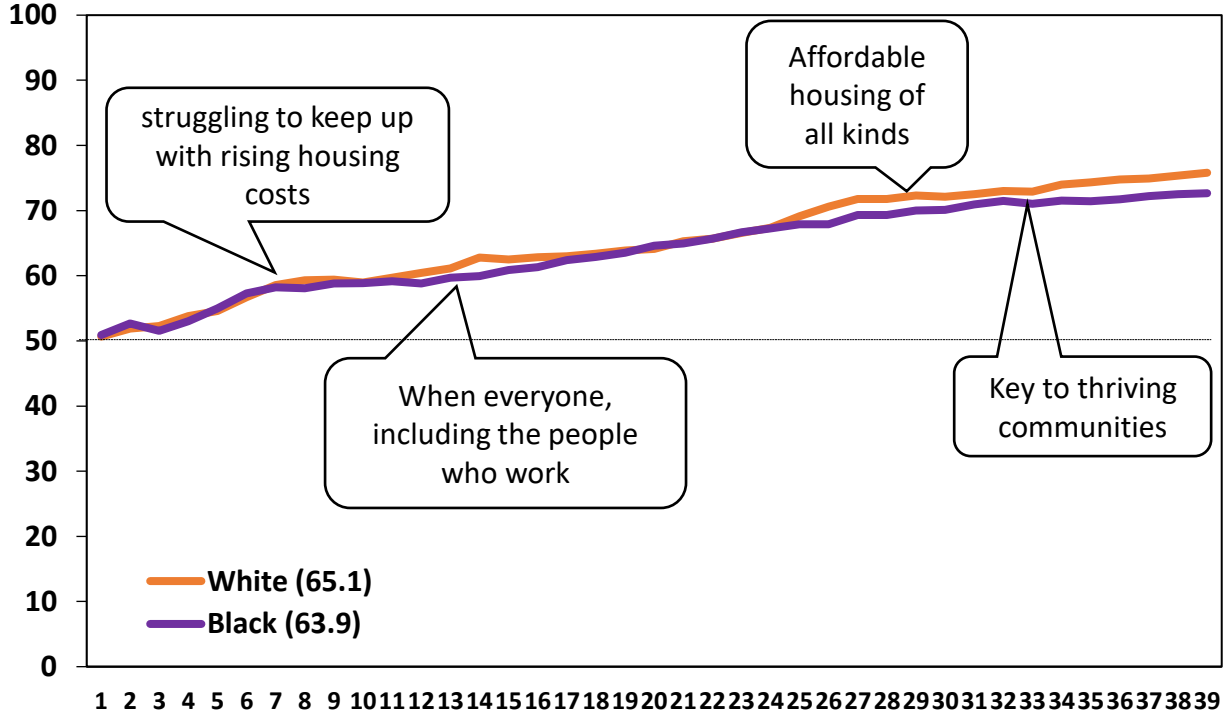
When hard-working Minnesotans – from teachers and nurses to firefighters and waitresses – are struggling to keep up with rising housing costs in our community, you know there's a problem. When everyone, including the people who work in everyday, regular jobs, can afford to live near where they work, our communities are not only better, they're also stronger. Affordable housing of all kinds is key to thriving communities, attracting good employers, improving the economic wellbeing for families, and growing the middle class.

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Minnesota Strong x Metro Area & Race

Suburban and rural Minnesotans positively dial at, "*When everyone, including the people who work in everyday, regular jobs, can afford to live near where they work, our communities are not only better, they're also stronger*." Rural Minnesotans dial down at the mention of affordable housing. White Minnesotans dial more positively to the naming of the problem in the beginning and end their dialing higher than Black Minnesotans. White Minnesotans are also more likely to dial up in agreement at, "*our communities are not only better, they're also stronger*." Black Minnesotans dial up modestly at the mention of affordable housing of all kinds.





When hard-working Minnesotans – from teachers and nurses to firefighters and waitresses – are struggling to keep up with rising housing costs in our community, you know there's a problem. When everyone, including the people who work in everyday, regular jobs, can afford to live near where they work, our communities are not only better, they're also stronger. Affordable housing of all kinds is key to thriving communities, attracting good employers, improving the economic wellbeing for families, and growing the middle class.

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Why it Works: Minnesota Strong

When hard-working Minnesotans – from teachers and nurses to firefighters and waitresses – are struggling to keep up with rising housing costs in our community, you know there's a problem.

When everyone, including the people who work in everyday, regular jobs, can afford to live near where they work, our communities are not only better, they're also stronger.

Affordable housing of all kinds is key to thriving communities, attracting good employers, improving the economic wellbeing for families, and growing the middle class.

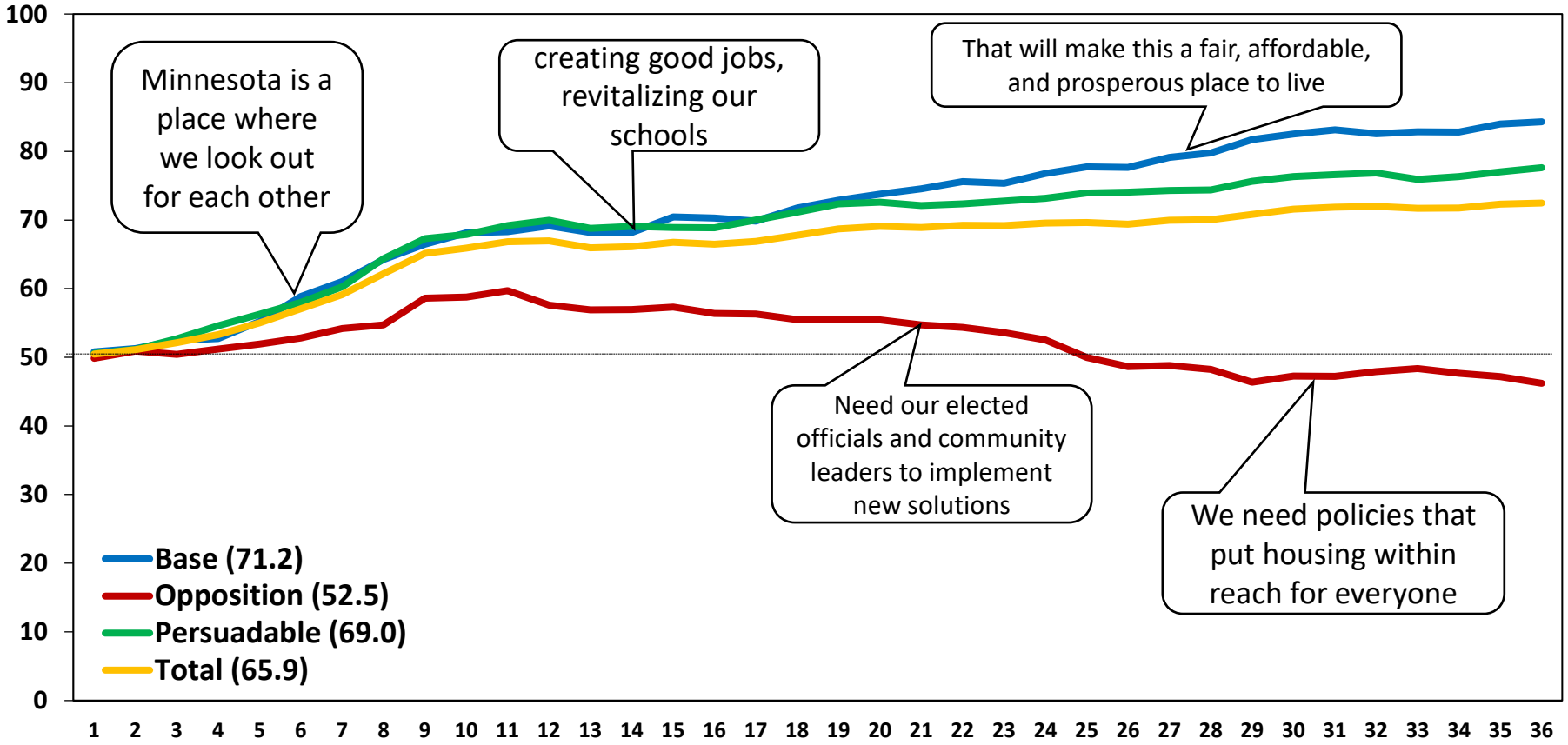
Starting the message by naming the problem results in a slow start. Naming the different types of hard-working Minnesotans at the start of this message works best with Minnesotans in the South, Independents, and Republicans.

The positive vision of our communities being not only better, but also stronger when everyone can afford to live near where they work, works well across demographics, especially among our base.

Tying affordable housing to good employers and economic wellbeing is not the strongest way to end this message. Ending on a call to action anchored in ways people can come together to enact solutions would have been stronger.

Minnesota Together x BPO

Strong start across the board, anchored on shared values. Persuadables dial like the base and, unlike the opposition who dials down at the mention of elected officials, continue to dial up through the end of the message.

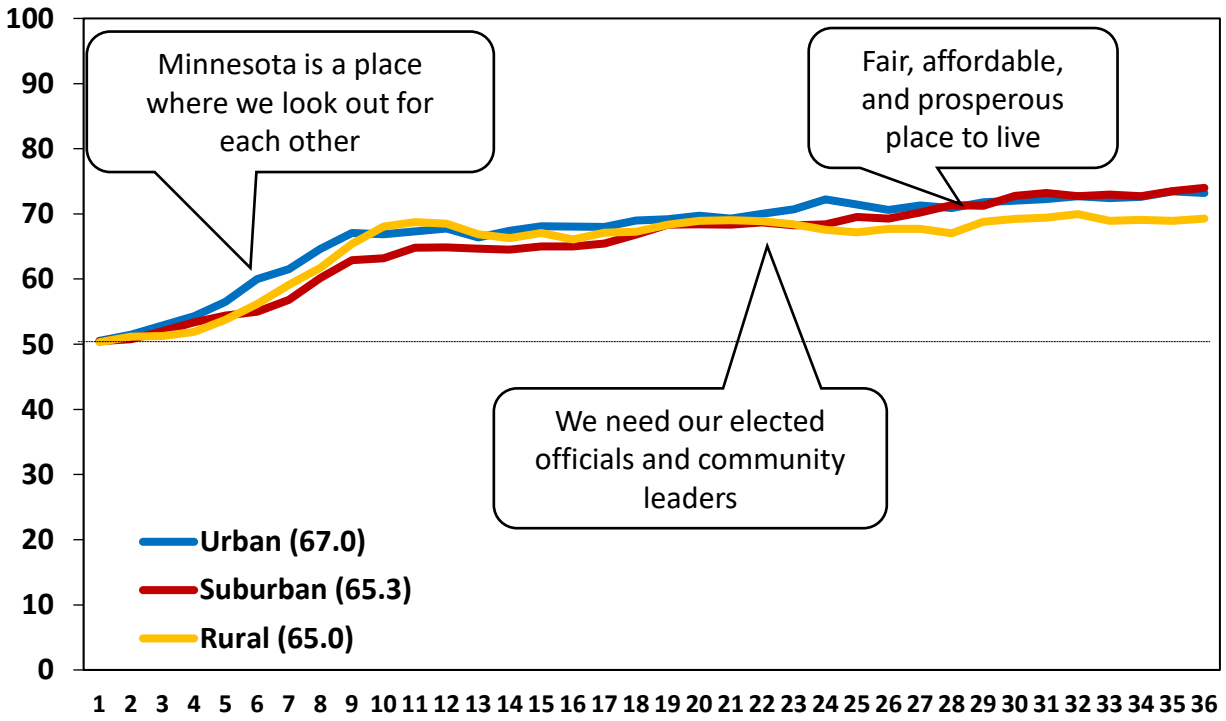


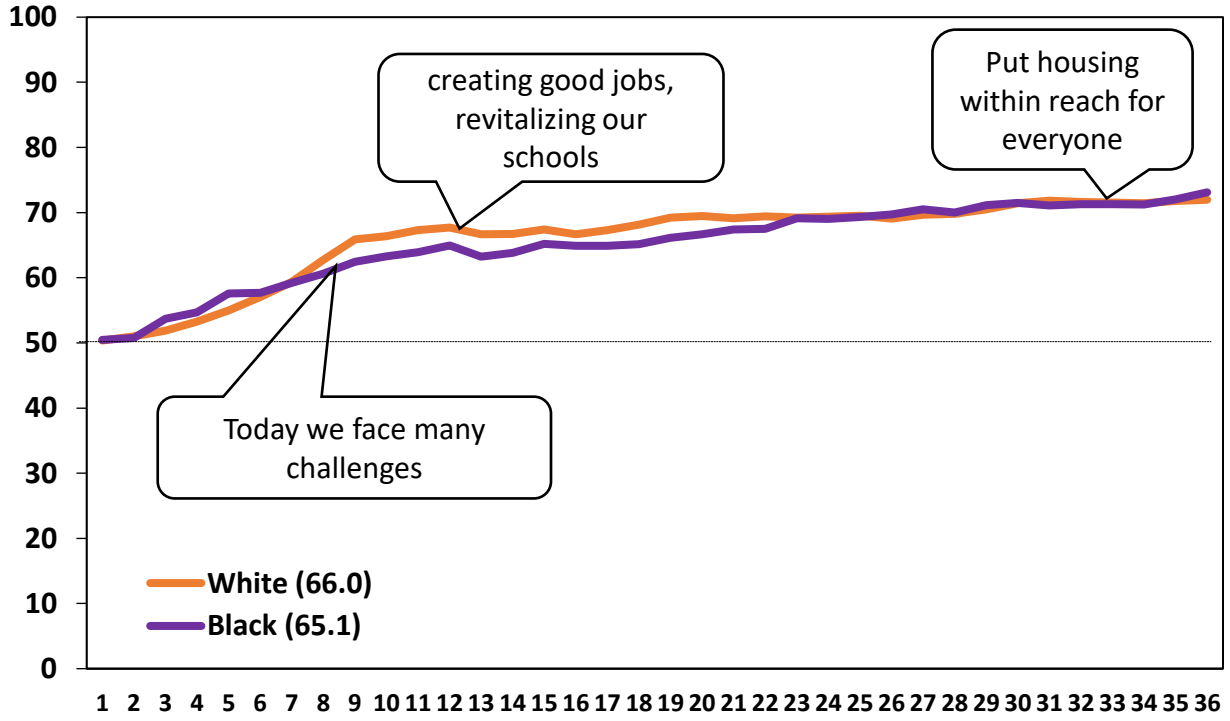
Whether we're digging each other out of the snow or sharing a meal, Minnesota is a place where we look out for each other. Today, we face many challenges: creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools, and ensuring everyone has a safe, secure place to live. We need our elected officials and community leaders to implement new solutions that will make this a fair, affordable, and prosperous place to live. We need policies that put housing within reach for everyone.

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Minnesota Together x Metro Area & Race

Slow start among suburban Minnesotans, but this subgroup ends the message dialing higher than others. Urban Minnesotans dial up at the mention of elected officials, rural Minnesotans dial down slightly, and suburban Minnesotans remain neutral. Black Minnesotans break away at the mention of the various challenges facing the state but rejoin white Minnesotans when the message calls on elected officials and community leaders to implement new solutions. Dialing plateaus across race at the call to action.





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Why it Works: Minnesota Together

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Today, we face many challenges: creating good jobs, revitalizing our schools, and ensuring everyone has a safe, secure place to live.

We need our elected officials and community leaders to implement new solutions that will make this a fair, affordable, and prosperous place to live. We need policies that put housing within reach for everyone.

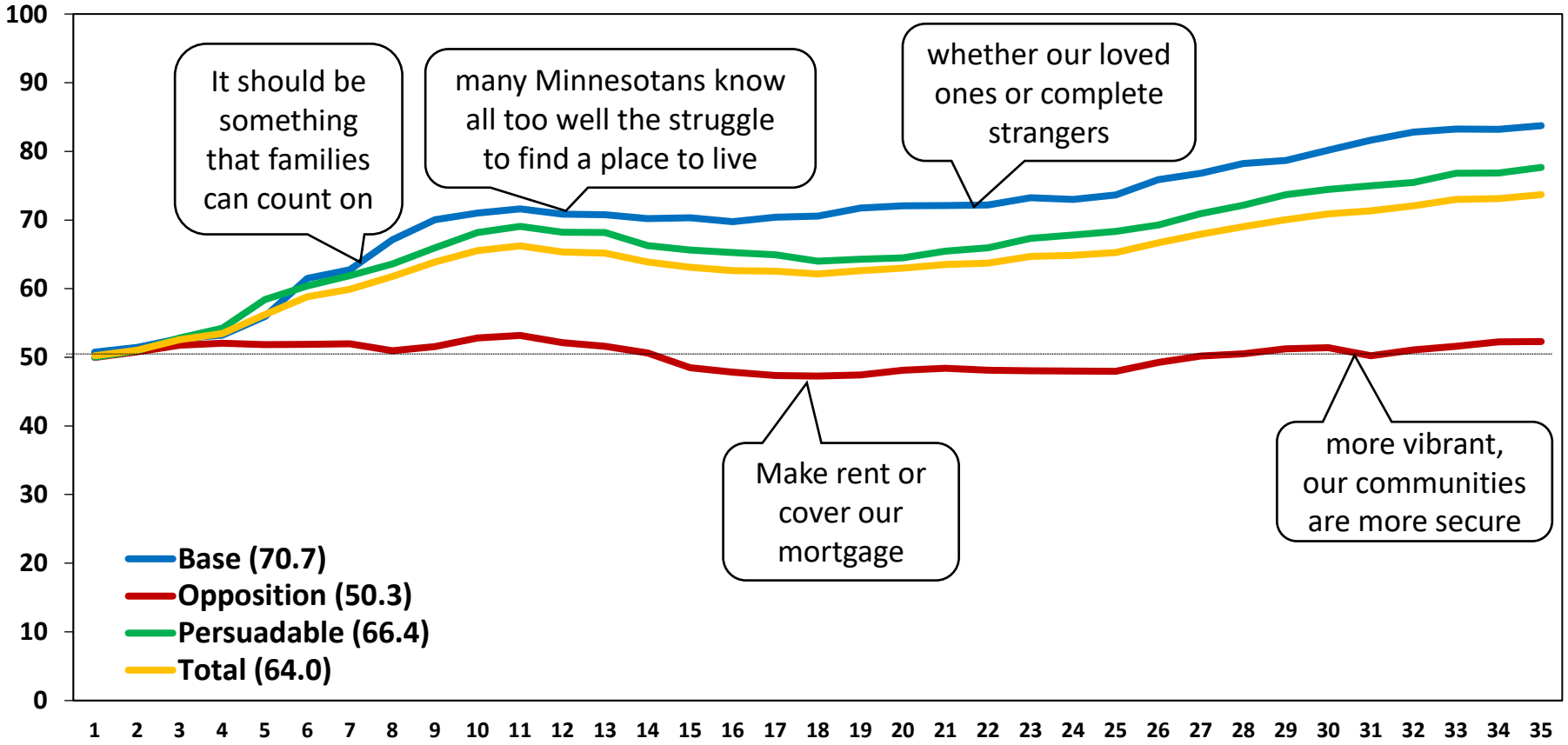
Leads with community-oriented inclusive language that is state-specific and reflective of universal experiences regardless of where you live in the state. Results in a message anchored on strongly shared and relatable values. It helps to use words like "we're" and "we."

Names a variety of challenges facing the state, ensuring top issue priorities in Minnesotans' minds across the political spectrum are reflected. There is modest, positive dialing up at "ensuring everyone has a safe, secure place to live."

Minnesotans statewide see a role for government in addressing housing issues, but naming elected officials is politically polarizing. Bringing in community leaders as well as elected leaders tempers the drop-off. This message could use a stronger call to action with more specificity.

Vibrant, Secure, Thriving x BPO

Opposition is isolated from the beginning and persuadables align themselves with our base until they break away slightly when the "problem" is named. Both base and persuadables dial up at "making sure people, whether our loved ones or complete strangers, have a safe place to lay their heads at night."

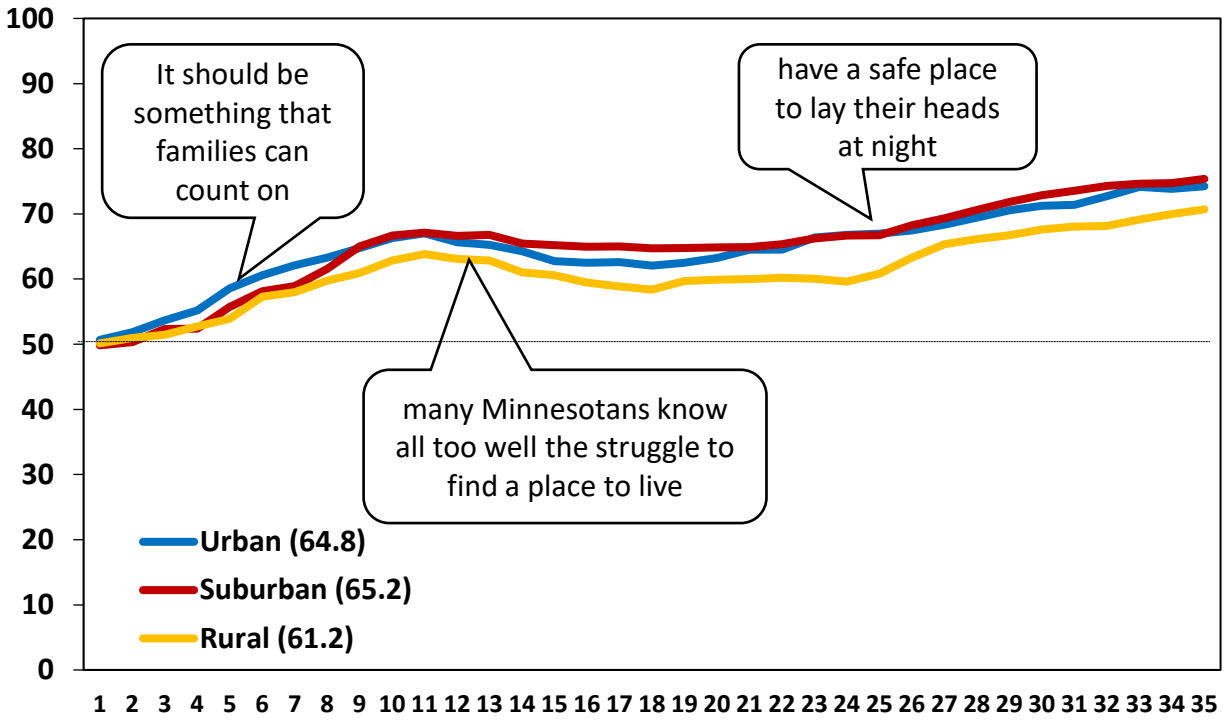


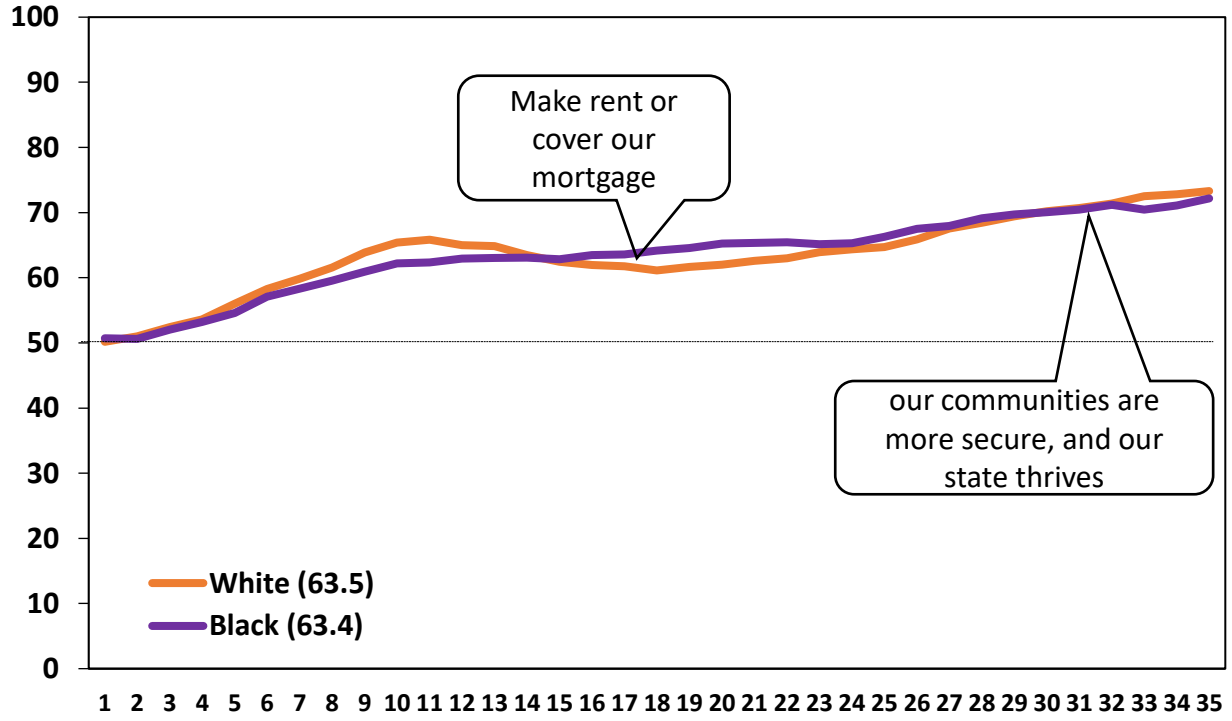
Stable housing should not be something you have to think about and it should be something that families can count on every day. But today, many Minnesotans know all too well the struggle to find a place to live, make rent, or cover our mortgage. Making sure people, whether our loved ones or complete strangers, have a safe place to lay their heads at night means our neighborhoods are more vibrant, our communities are more secure, and our state thrives.

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Vibrant, Secure, Thriving x Metro Area & Race

Slow start among suburban Minnesotans, but this subgroup ends the message dialing higher than others. Urban Minnesotans dial up at the mention of elected officials, rural Minnesotans dial down slightly, and suburban Minnesotans remain neutral. Black Minnesotans break away at the mention of the various challenges facing the state but rejoin white Minnesotans when the message calls on elected officials and community leaders to implement new solutions. Dialing plateaus across race at the call to action.





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Why it Works: Vibrant, Secure, Thriving

Stable housing should not be something you have to think about and it should be something that families can count on every day.

But today, many Minnesotans know all too well the struggle to find a place to live, make rent, or cover our mortgage.

Making sure people, whether our loved ones or complete strangers, have a safe place to lay their heads at night means our neighborhoods are more vibrant, our communities are more secure, and our state thrives.

Begins with a core value – stable housing families can count on.

Avoids absolutist language (e.g., all Minnesotans) while remaining inclusive as it explains how many experience struggles to find a place to live, make rent, or cover their mortgage.

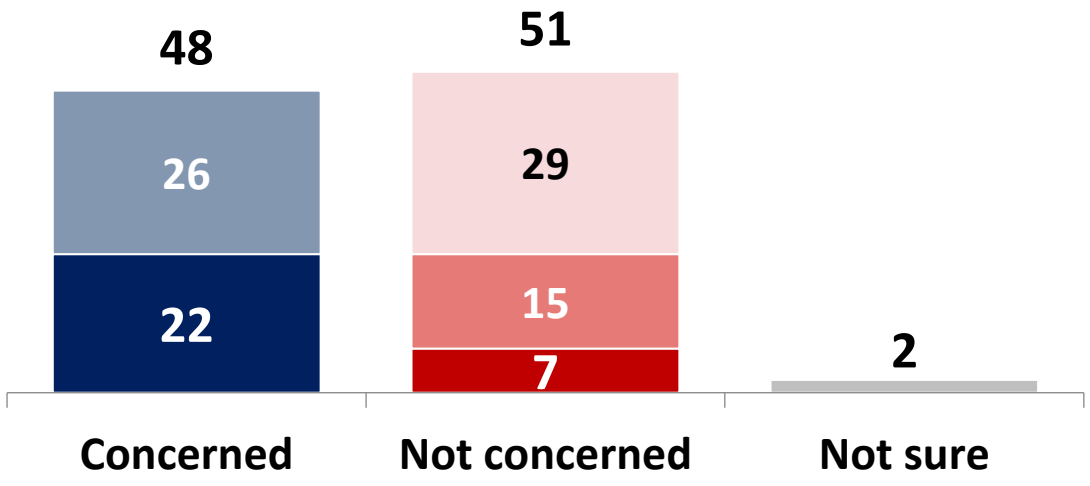
Ends on another strong, core value. Couples the implicit idea that we can make sure people have a safe place to lay their heads at night with popular themes of security.

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After messaging, Minnesotans are more likely to be concerned about housing affordability in Minnesota. Across demographics, unmarried men (19%), Black women (18%), single Minnesotans (18%), and men under 45 (17%) are most likely to shift to being more concerned. We gain both base and persuadables.

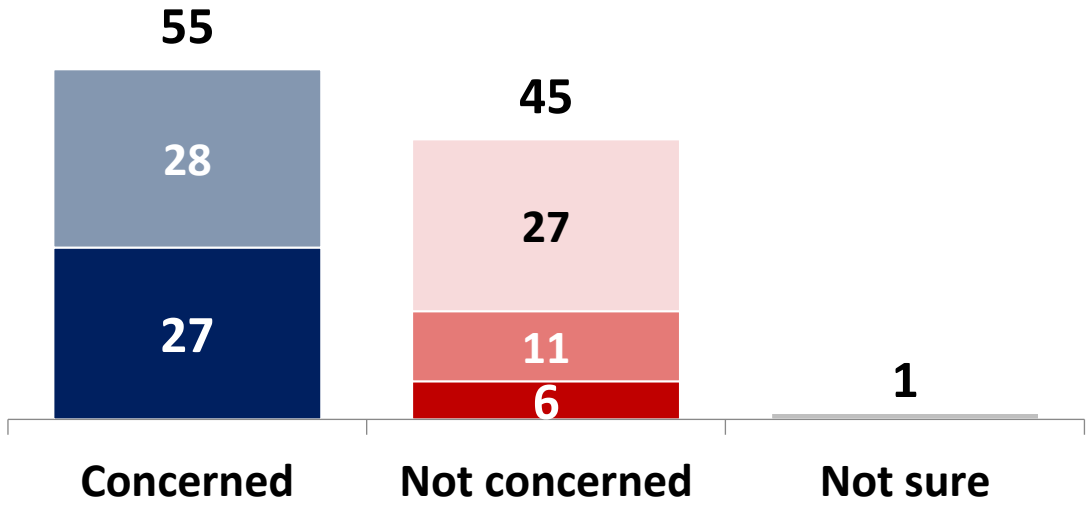
How concerned are you about housing affordability in Minnesota?

Initial Ask



	Concerned (% Extremely)	Not Concerned
Base	67 (28)	33
Persuadable	49 (25)	49

Final Ask



	Concerned (% Extremely)	Not Concerned
Base	75 (27)	25
Persuadable	59 (30)	41

Very concerned
Extremely concerned
Somewhat concerned
A little concerned
Not concerned at all

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Recommended Pieces of a Strong Message

Establish Shared Values and Anchor Message on Inclusive, Family- and Community-Specific References	**Establish a shared value that resonates with Minnesotans across the state before naming any challenges or problems.** *Strong language: "Whether we're digging each other out of the snow or sharing a meal, Minnesota is a place where we look out for each other" "Stable housing should not be something you have to think about, and it should be something that families can count on every day"*
Name the Problem or Issue Impacting Minnesotans	**Highlight the housing issues facing many communities in Minnesota and connect them to the negative consequences they have on individuals, families, and the economy.** *Strong language: "Effective solutions to address the housing crisis exist, but they need sufficient funding" "many Minnesotans know all too well the struggle to find a place to live, make rent, or cover our mortgage"*
Weave in Unity Messaging While Calling for Change or Action	**Create a unity of purpose by describing people working together.** *Strong language: "I want my community to be a place where everyone - young and old, Black and white, Minnesota-born and newcomer, rural and city - has a place to call home that enables us to do and be our very best" "When everyone, including the people who work in everyday, regular jobs, can afford to live near where they work, our communities are not only better, they're also stronger" "Making sure people, whether our loved ones or complete strangers, have a safe place to lay their heads at night"*
Include a Specific Action People or Officials Should Take	**Instead of dwelling on problems or ending with a vague statement of what should happen, provide a specific call to action grounded in unity and the change "we" and/or our leaders can deliver.** *See next slide for suggested language and examples of strong calls to action.*

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While developing powerful *calls to action* in messaging, consider weaving in concepts that test well among Minnesotans statewide as well as our persuadable audiences:

- Top Housing-Related Issue Priorities for Elected Officials to Address:
  - Ensuring everyone can afford a place to live
  - Making stable housing affordable
  - Reducing homelessness
  - Making sure future generations of Minnesotans can live and thrive here

- Supported Solutions:
  - Building new housing in their neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in the state
  - Job-related factors, like a livable wage or job security
  - Passing renter and tenant protections

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Language Recommendations & Words to Use

- ✓ Refer to the housing issues facing the state as an increasingly big problem rather than a “crisis.”
- ✓ Talk about how *housing is a basic human need that everyone should have access to*. Note that this language does not imply housing would be provided or given to the individual, and tests well with both base and persuadables.
- ✓ When referring to affordable housing, define it as “any kind of housing that allows people to afford a place to live long-term.”
- ✓ Talk about how government should “ensure” everyone has access to housing rather than “guaranteeing” it.
- ✓ Utilize inclusive language, like “no matter our race, gender or income…” and “every person…no matter what we look like or where we come from” and “I want my community to be a place where everyone - young and old, Black and white, Minnesota-born and newcomer, rural and city - has a place to call home that enables us to do and be our very best.”
- ✓ Use language that helps paint the picture for Minnesotans, like “Making sure people, whether our loved ones or complete strangers, have a safe place to lay their heads at night.”
- ✓ Refer to stable, secure, and safe housing.
- !! Calling out racial discrimination in housing works among our base and Black Minnesotans but falls short among persuadables. While Minnesotans across race, base, and persuadables respond positively to inclusive language that follows the RCN model, carving out exceptions with language like “especially…” does not work.
- !! Though solid majorities of our base and persuadables want to ensure people can afford to live in the communities where they work, specific messaging about the struggle of living and working in the same community should be targeted to Minnesotans most impacted by this issue, e.g., Minnesotans in the North, South, and other rural areas.
- !! Limit reference to technical housing terminology, like changing community rules and zoning, when naming solutions or advocating for a specific call to action.

Additional Recommendations

- ✓ Call on elected officials to *make stable housing affordable* and *ensure everyone can afford a place to live*.
- ✓ Minnesotans say inflation and rising costs are to blame for unaffordable housing and want to ensure people can afford to live in the communities where they work. Before leaning into placing blame on vacation home buyers, investors, and owners of second properties, more education is needed around the impacts that vacation home buyers/owners of second properties have on the overall housing shortage.
- ✓ Link housing solutions to financial and economic factors to counter individualism. For example, highlight the need for livable wages and job security. Additionally, point out how some Minnesotans need multiple jobs and wages are too low to afford housing.
- ✓ Talk about building *new housing* in neighborhoods to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in the state rather than specifying that this new housing would be *multi-family*.
- ✓ Talk about "passing" renter and tenant protections rather than "providing" tenants with eviction protections.
- ✓ Talk about the role that state and local government have in ensuring we all have a place to live. Also highlight the role housing and land developers have.
- !! Be aware of tax sensitivity across demographics – Minnesotans think increased dedicated funding for housing-related issues statewide would be very effective, but intensity drops significantly at the prospect of their taxes increasing as a result.
- !! Note half of persuadables say it is important for elected leaders to address housing compared to other issues because they are concerned about the increase in crime.

Words to Embrace and Replace

While there is no "bad" language in our statements and messages, certain phrases receive stronger agreement and prioritization or are rated as more effective at keeping people housed than others.

Say this…	Instead of…	Notes
Being able to afford housing in Minnesota has become an increasingly big problem	Being able to afford housing in Minnesota has reached crisis levels	Agreement is stronger when being able to afford housing in Minnesota is framed as "an increasingly big problem" rather than a crisis.
Government should ensure everyone has access to housing	Government should guarantee everyone has access to housing	Base and persuadables see a role for government when it comes to housing, but framing it as "ensuring everyone has access" is stronger.
Build new housing in neighborhoods to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in the state	Build multi-family housing in neighborhoods..	A majority of persuadables favor building new housing or multi-family housing in their neighborhood, but intensity is weakest toward multi-family housing.
Pass renter and tenant protections	Provide tenants with eviction protections	Both base and persuadable Minnesotans are more likely to say passing renter and tenant protections would be very effective.
Elected officials should prioritize *ensuring everyone can afford a place to live*	Elected officials should prioritize *ensuring everyone has a place to live*	A higher percentage of Minnesotans, including base and persuadables, say ensuring everyone can afford a place to live should be a top priority.
Elected officials should prioritize *making stable housing affordable*	Elected officials should prioritize *making housing affordable*	A higher percentage of Minnesotans, including base and persuadables, say making stable housing affordable should be a top priority.
I want my community to be a place where everyone - young and old, Black and white, Minnesota-born and newcomer, rural and city - has a place to call home that enables us to do and be our very best	Some Minnesotans, especially low-income and those on a fixed income, have been impacted by historical barriers to housing	As we have seen elsewhere, segmenting out groups with language like "especially" is less appealing to persuadables regardless of whether we are highlighting race or class.

In sum, our analysis finds specific strengths and opportunities moving forward as well as weaknesses and threats to our work that need to be kept in mind.

Strengths

- Minnesotans across communities are open to building new housing in their neighborhood to address a shortage of available, affordable housing in the state.
- Our messages beat the opposition's "not in my backyard" arguments.
- Minnesotans see being able to afford housing in Minnesota becoming an increasingly big problem.

Opportunities

- Minnesotans, including persuadables, become more concerned about housing after hearing our messages.
- Minnesotans have an appetite for a broad agenda of housing solutions, with economic factors rising to the top.
- Minnesotans see a role for state, local, and federal government in addressing housing affordability issues. They also see a role for housing and land developers.

Weaknesses

- Persuadables say concern around increases in crime is reason to prioritize addressing housing issues.
- A plurality of Minnesotans do not believe race has a role to play in the affordability of housing in their community.
- Minnesotans are tax-sensitive and drop in levels of support for increased investments when the possibility of increased taxes is included. Persuadables, like Minnesotans overall, are less likely to find either investing more public funds to build more affordable housing in every neighborhood or increasing dedicated funding for housing-related issues statewide to be very effective.
- Minnesotans are not as likely to blame vacation home buyers, investors, and owners of second properties for current unaffordable housing issues as they are to blame inflation, rising costs, needing multiple jobs, and wages being too low.

Threats

- Swing audiences are also more susceptible to NIMBY arguments in the opposition's message around property values being impacted.
- Current narratives lack calls to action that would help motivate Minnesotans to advocate or push for specific policies.



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