



# Messaging for Impact: *California, Women, and the Importance of Civic Engagement*

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Washington, DC | Berkeley, CA | New York, NY

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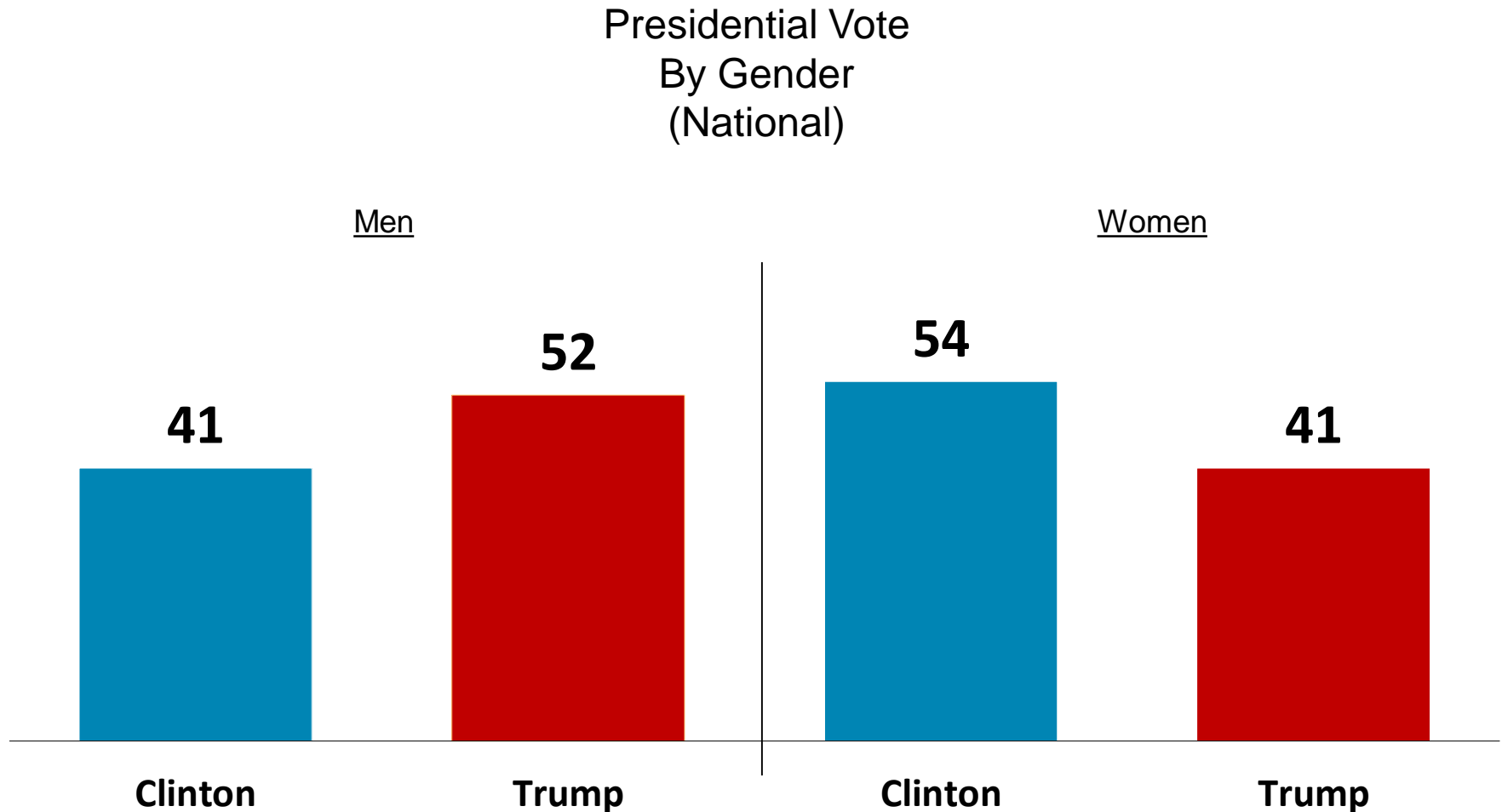
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# Lessons from 2016

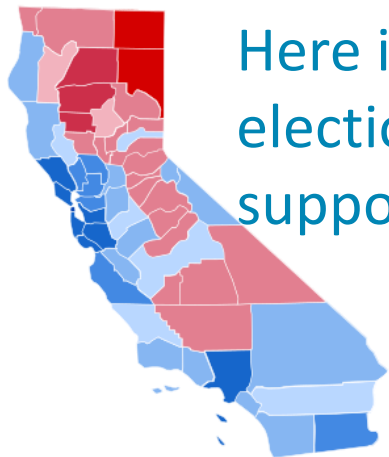
1. Voters feel real anger and frustration with the status quo. They, including women, took great risks for change.
2. Women candidates have to be likeable as well as competent, while the same is not true for male candidates.
3. Turnout and enthusiasm are important. African American women turned out, but unmarried women and millennial women dropped off.
4. Having a strong economic message is critical. Women felt the economy was not good.
5. People need a reason to vote for someone and not just against. Married women needed to vote differently than their husbands.
6. The class bases of the two major parties shifted.
7. Hacking, propaganda, and fake news pose serious challenges to opinion research and democracy.



There was a 24-point gender gap in this election, with women favoring Clinton 54% to 41%, while men supported Trump 52% to 41%.

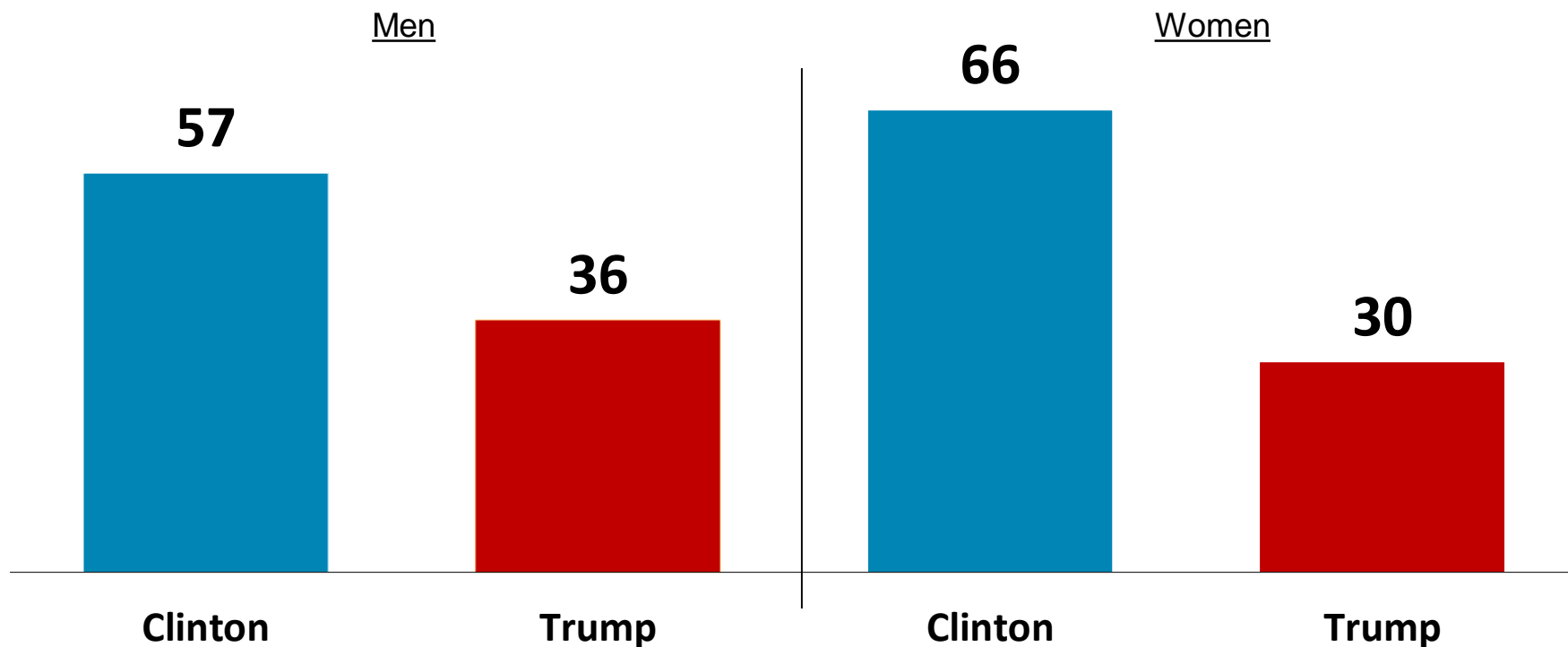


Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>



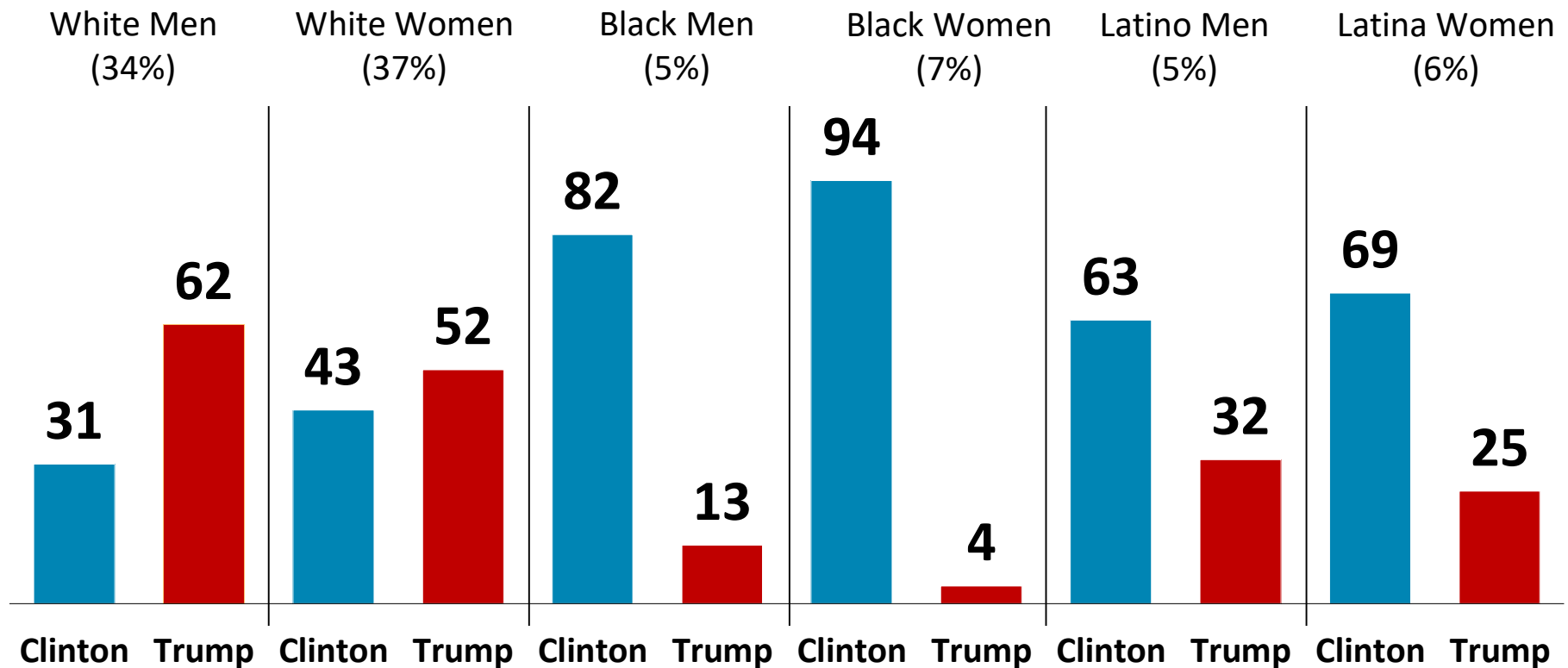
Here in California, there was a 9-point gender gap in this election, with women favoring Clinton 66% to 30%, while men supported Clinton 57% to 36%.

Presidential Vote  
By Gender  
(California)



Women and men of color were both supportive of Clinton, but women of color were even more supportive than their male counterparts. Among white men and women, Trump won white men overwhelmingly and won white women, but by a smaller margin.

Presidential Vote By Race/Gender



Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

Married and unmarried women overall were both supportive of Clinton in 2016.

### Presidential Vote By Marital Status/Gender

YEAR	2008		2012		2016	
	McCain	Obama	Romney	Obama	Trump	Clinton
Married Men	53%	46%	60%	38%	57%	38%
Unmarried Men	38%	58%	40%	56%	44%	46%
Married Women	51%	47%	53%	46%	47%	49%
Unmarried Women	29%	70%	31%	67%	32%	63%

Source: <http://www.cnn.com/election/results/exit-polls>

**Change was the top trait that mattered to voters, and the Democratic ticket didn't have credibility on it.**

## Which candidate quality mattered most?

	Clinton	Trump	Other/No Answer
Cares about me (15%)	57	34	9
Can bring about change (39%)	14	82	4
Right experience (22%)	90	7	3
Good judgment (20%)	65	25	10

# Perceptions of Gender Roles and Sexism



- We got a sobering reminder of how difficult it is to elect a woman president. Women suffer more for being less likable (Lee Family Foundation).
- A record high number of voters disliked both candidates (18%). Normally, they would have gone for the candidate they disliked less (HRC) or thought was more qualified (+14 HRC).
  - Instead, they voted solidly for Trump – 30% Clinton, 47% Trump, 23% other/no answer.
- Being authoritarian was one of the strongest predictors of voting Trump.
- Only 32% of voters think that Trump has a lot or a fair amount of respect for women. (HuffPost/YouGov)
- In a PPRI poll, a slight majority (51%) of Americans say that since the 1950's, our culture and way of life has changed for the worse. Only 48% say that it has changed for the better.



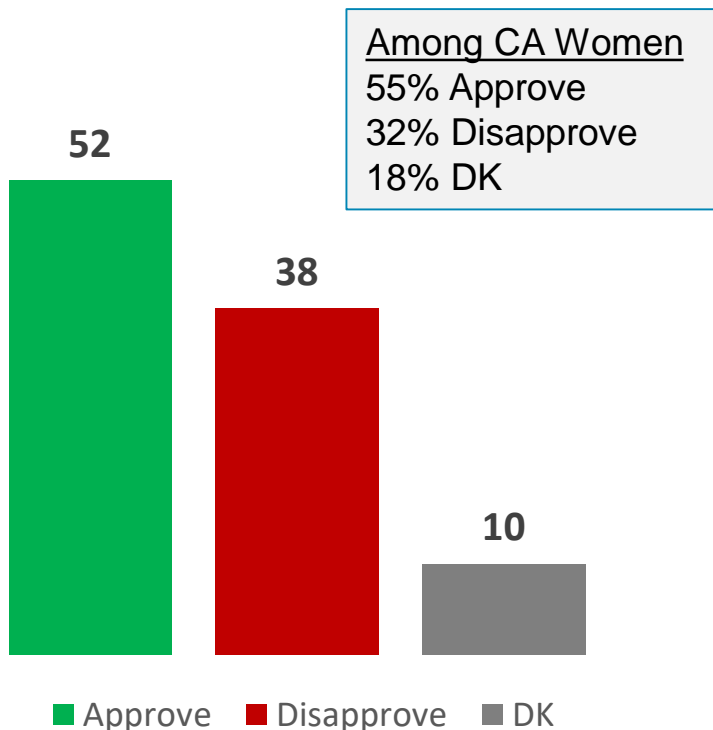




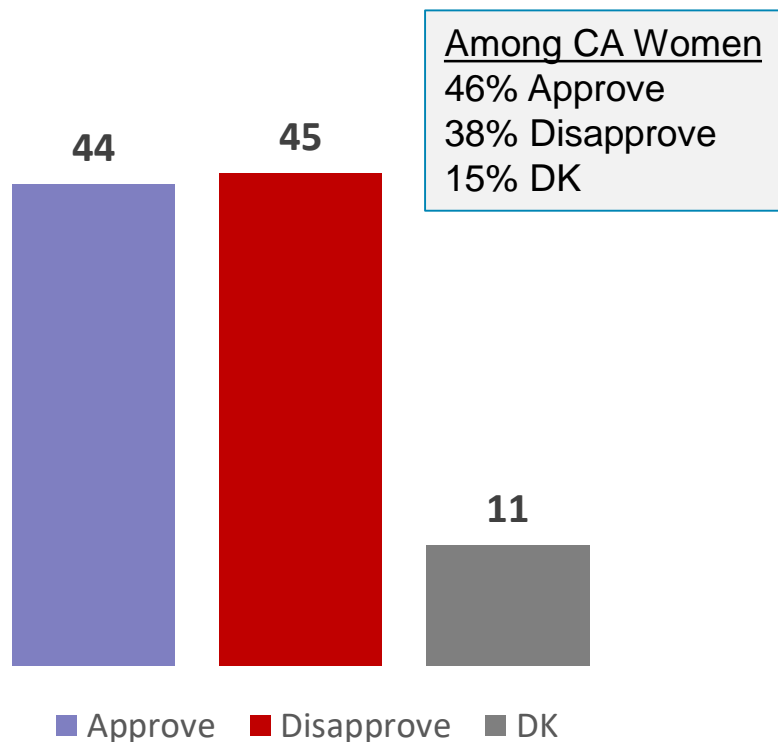
# The Mood of the Californian Electorate

# A majority of likely voters in California approve of the way Jerry Brown is handling his job as governor of California, but a plurality disapprove of the way the state's legislature is handling its job.

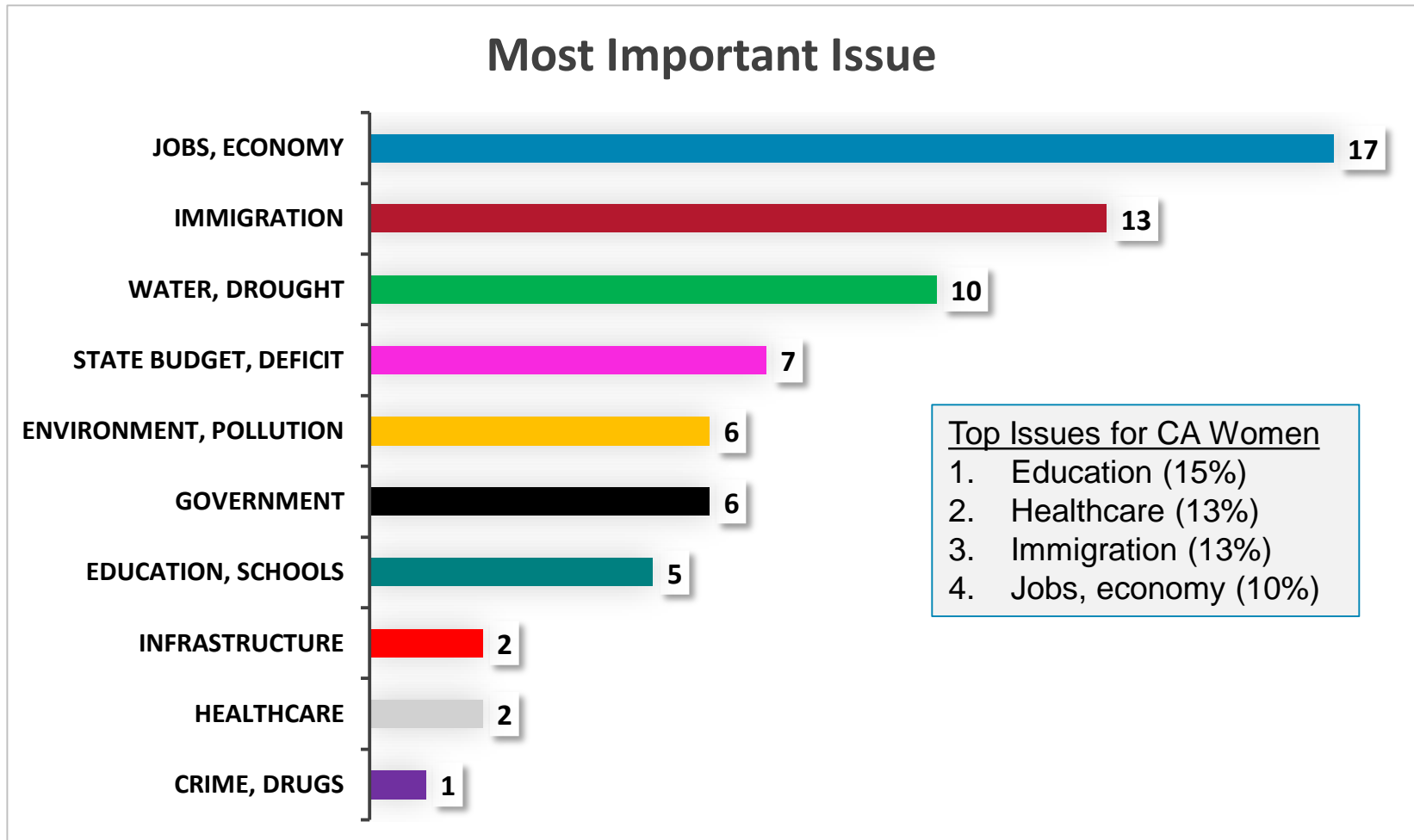
Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that Jerry Brown is handling his job as governor of California?



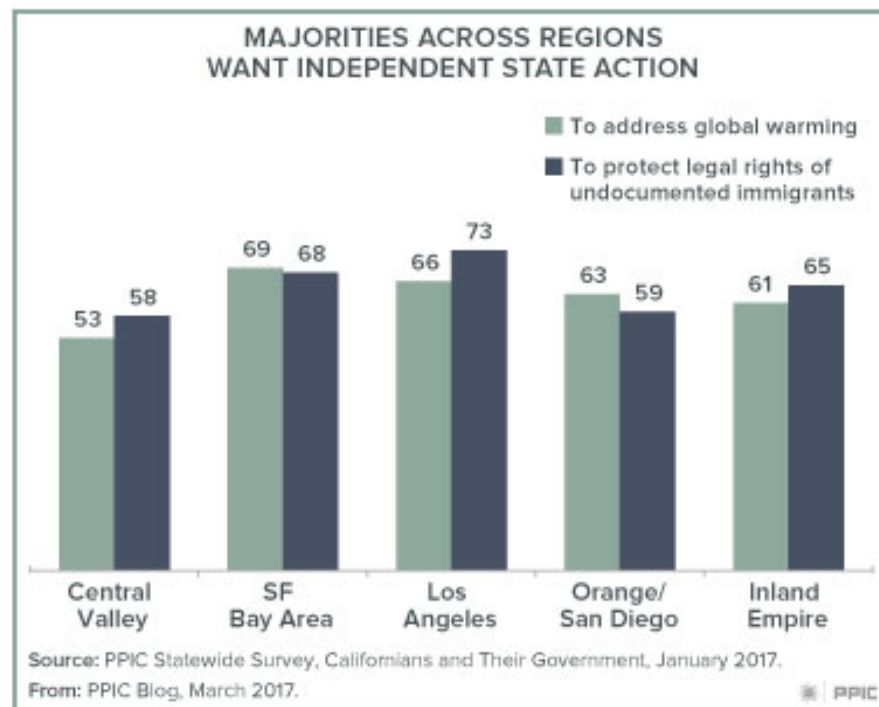
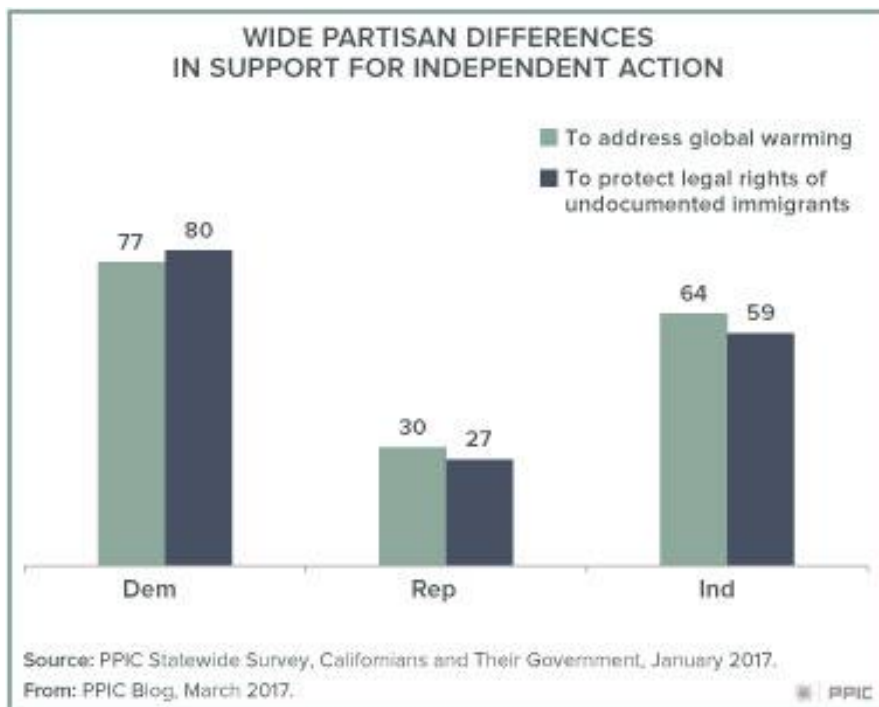
Overall, do you approve or disapprove of the way that the California Legislature is handling its job?



# Among likely voters in California, jobs and the economy, immigration, and education rise to the top as most important issues for California's governor and state legislature to work on in 2017.



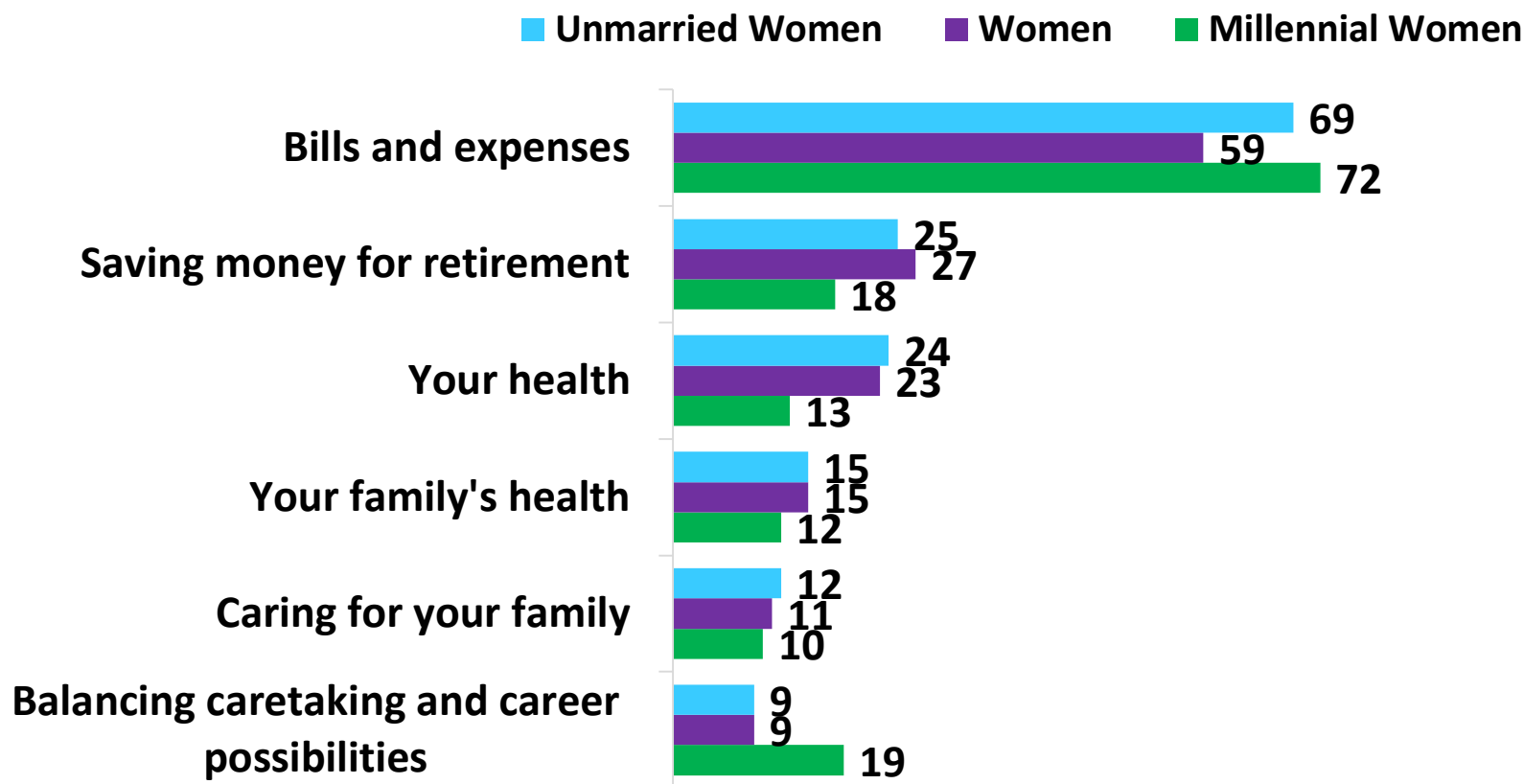
The Trump administration has set a new course on two issues that have deep roots in California politics and policy: climate change and immigration. As state policymakers consider responses to the federal government on these issues, recent PPIC polling finds that Californians are broadly supportive of the state taking its own action.



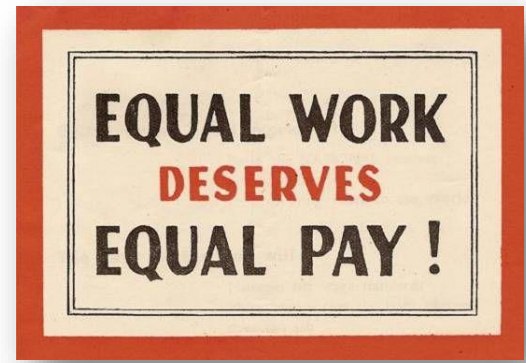


# Women as Voters & as Members of the Resistance

**Having enough money to meet bills and pay expenses is the largest stress on women, regardless of age and marital status. For millennial women in particular, trying to balance caretaking responsibilities and career possibilities is also a cause for stress.**



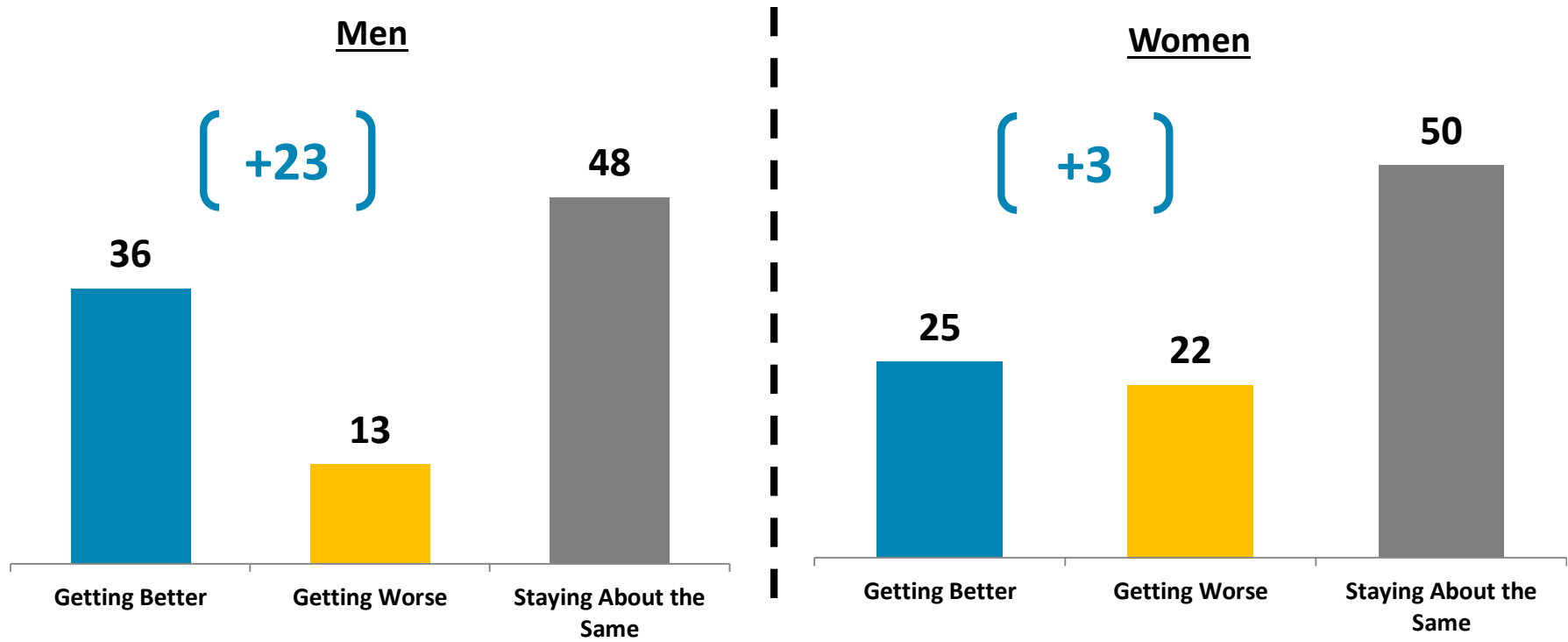
# Women Voters and the Economy



- Women in 2012 responded to core concerns of **economic fairness**, access to education and affordable healthcare, and having someone in government **on their side**.
- In 2016, 62% of voters thought the economy was “poor.”
- **Equal pay** is of particular concern to women as a priority Congress needs to address to help families ensure economic security.
- Voters are **tax sensitive** and feel short on money. **Pocketbook** economics is key.
- **Stability** is the new watchword in this economy, especially for women.
- Even among women that do not consider themselves to be “pro-choice”, women are fiercely opposed to the government or any politician **interfering with their personal lives**. They also see reproductive health care as a pocketbook issue.

Women are less optimistic than men about the economy, being slightly less likely to say that the economy is getting better.

Do you think the nation's economy is getting better, worse, or staying the same?





# Building off of the Women's Marches that took place both country-wide and globally on January 21<sup>st</sup>, more than 13,000 women are planning to run for office.

- More than 400,000 people marched in Washington, D.C., similar numbers turned out in New York and Los Angeles, and even in Houston, Phoenix, New Orleans, Santa Fe, and Reno, marchers numbered in the tens of thousands
- Since Election Day, EMILY's List has had more than 4,000 people reach out to say they're interested in running — 1,660 since Inauguration Day
- In the three months since the election, co-founder and CEO Erin Loos Cutraro said 8,100 women have indicated their interest in running for office by registering for She Should Run's online incubator program, which teaches them how
- In a recent poll for Daily Action, LRP found 86% of the service users are female. 52% of the women reported joining the women's march, with 77% reporting they are very likely to protest in the future.





**GO  
VOTE**

## Technique Matters & Ways to Motivate Voters

**Voter turnout among members of different groups of Americans vary widely, with Latinos and Asians generally lagging behind whites. However, there are a number of ways to reverse this trend.**



- Field experiments have discovered some of the best ways to get women, African American, Latinos, Asians and young people to vote; and they have demonstrated repeatedly that people who have not participated much before can be moved to go to the polls.
  - Phone bank calls using the languages of targeted audiences have successfully mobilized Asian Americans. They also respond to online ads and newspapers ads
  - Door-to-door personal contacts, calls from phone banks, and postcards have effectively mobilized Latino voters with a variety of appeals
  - Studies show text messages and emails from trusted sources are increasingly effective to mobilize voters
  - Appeals from friends and families and social pressure appeals especially affect women

# More ways to increase voter turn out and engage people:

- Pre-filled out **registrations forms** and requests for **absentee ballots** help mobilize unmarried women
- African Americans respond to **mobile devices, door to door, church programs, mail, and phone calls** – including those from the Obamas and Bill Clinton
- **Social Pressure** and **Plan Making** are very important in GOTV. They also help keep women from voting the same way as the men in their lives
- **Voter guides** inform voters and help with initiatives but don't increase turnout
- For the long run, try to get people to develop the “**identity**” of being a voter
- Messaging should focus on reminding target voters of the need to support your campaign.
  - They should answer the “**how**” as well as the “**where**”



## Election reforms make a difference in participation. The League has been a leader.

Proposal (% Strongly favor)	Total	White	Black	Latino	Asian
Allow every citizen's registration to move with the voter when they change addresses	63	60	69	73	65
Allow all registered voters to vote early, during the two weeks prior to the election, including weekends	60	54	74	77	84
Allow all registered voter to vote early, during the two weeks prior to the election	59	56	60	73	71
Allow voters the option to register to vote and update their registration information online	45	43	50	56	63
Allow more types of identification to be accepted at polling places	43	40	51	52	61
Allow people to register and vote on the same day as the election	37	34	48	43	57
Allow more types of identification to be accepted at polling places, including utility bills, employer identification, or housing lease	31	28	42	35	43
Allow people to register and vote on the same day, to be verified afterward	28	24	34	39	41

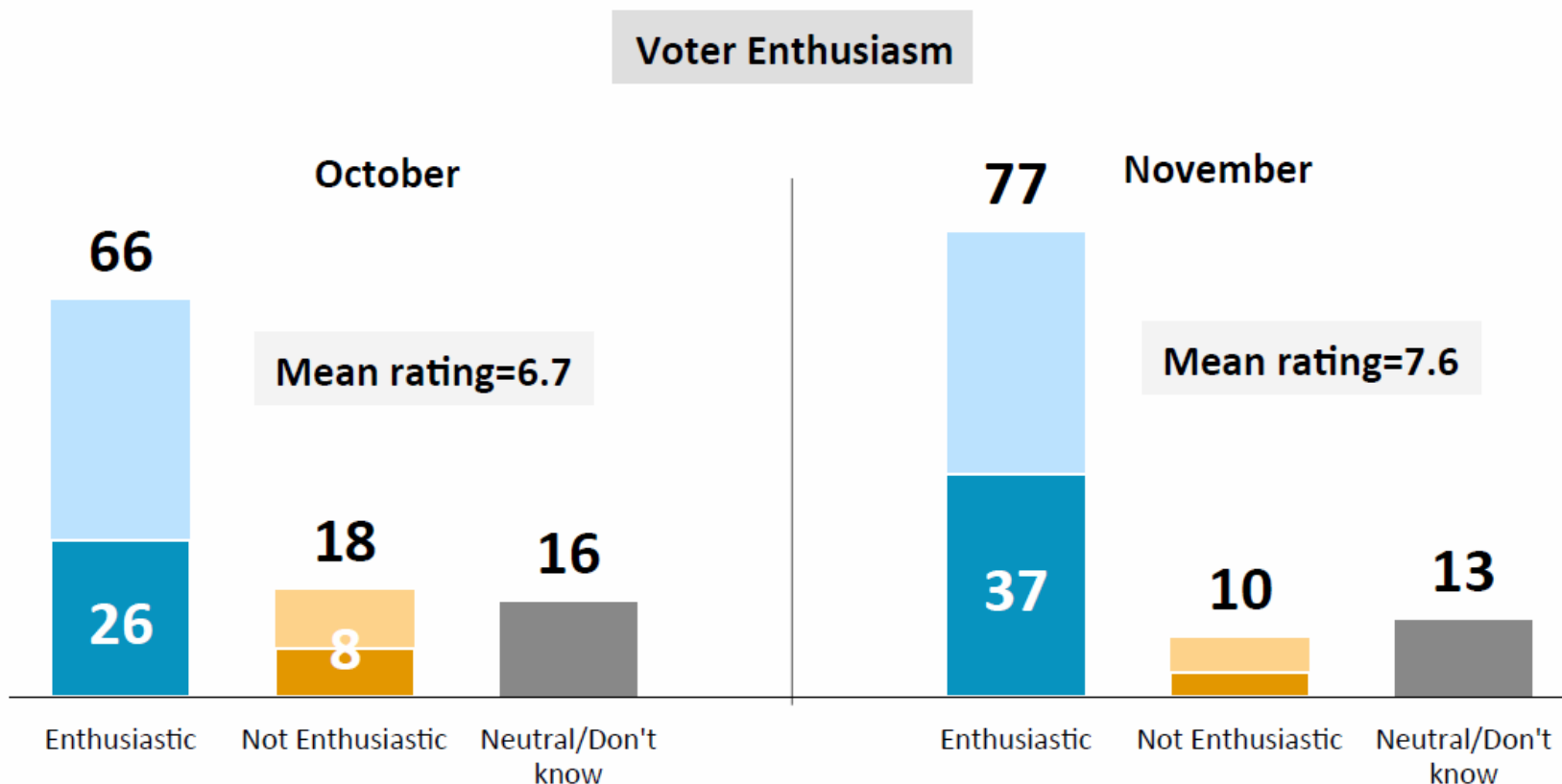


# *Make It Work*

## Make It Work: Georgia

Findings from a survey of 400 RAE  
drop-off women voters in Georgia  
House and Senate districts  
October 1-5, 2014

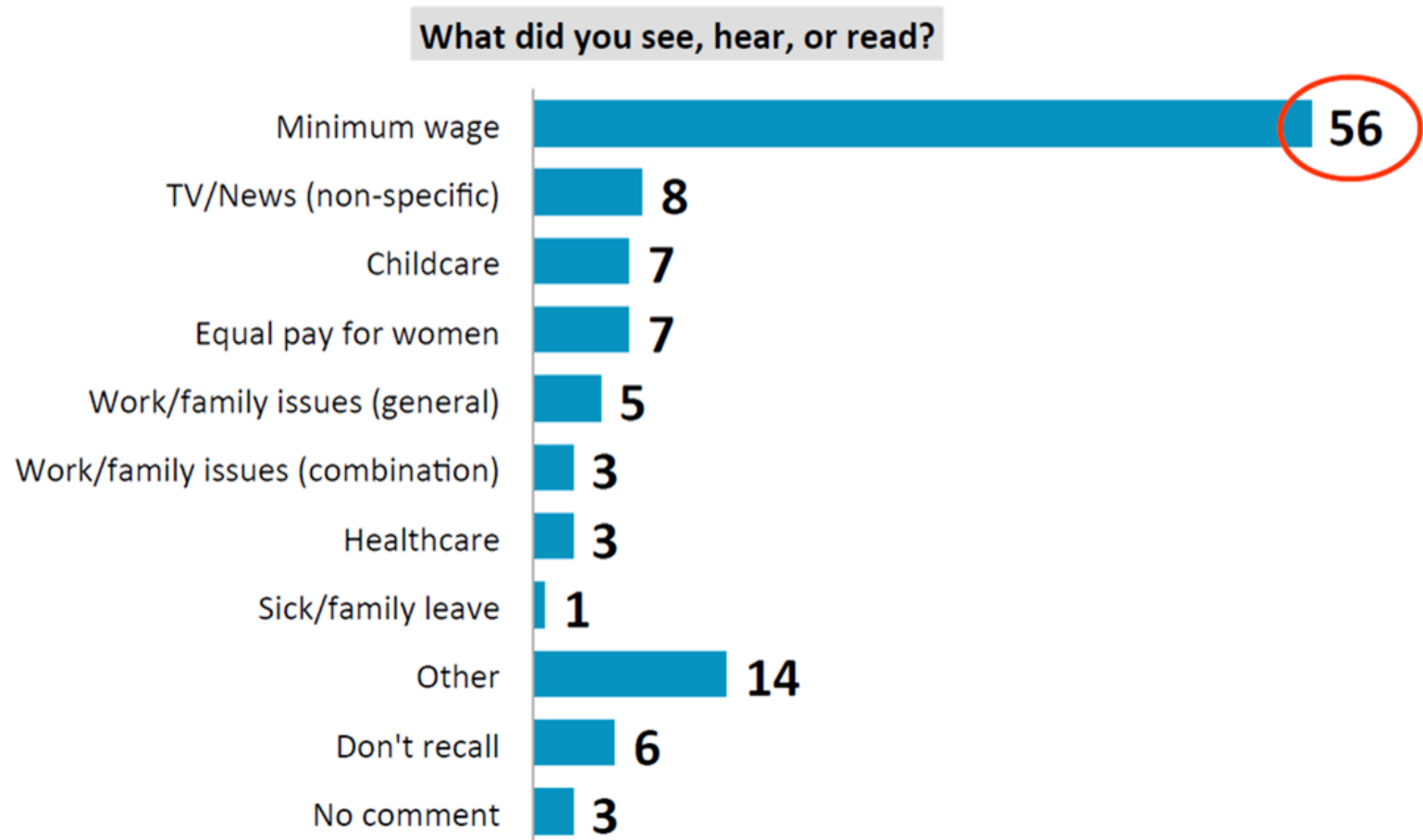
Reported turnout and enthusiasm was high for a drop-off population. Intensity of enthusiasm increased by 11 points from the pre-survey. Enthusiasm among black women was high, having increased substantially since October.



Some people feel very enthusiastic about voting in this November election while others don't feel enthusiastic at all, and many are in between. Thinking about the upcoming November 2014 election, please rate how enthusiastic you are about voting on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you are not at all enthusiastic and 10 means you are extremely enthusiastic. You can be anywhere in between, but please use whole numbers.

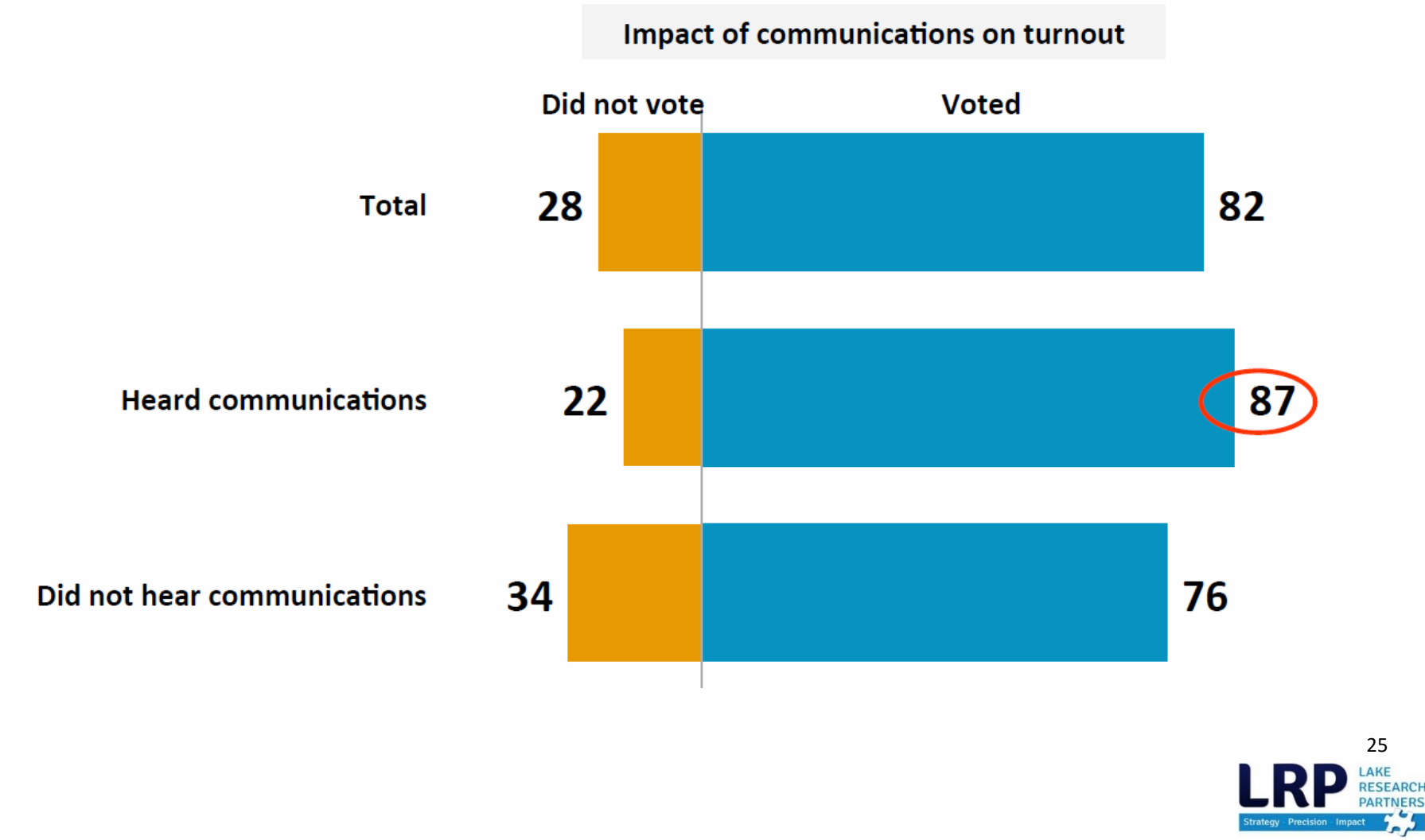
Some people feel very enthusiastic about voting in [tomorrow's/today's/yesterday's] election while others don't feel enthusiastic at all, and many are in between. Thinking about the election, please rate how enthusiastic you are about voting on a scale of 0 to 10, where 0 means you are not at all enthusiastic and 10 means you are extremely enthusiastic. You can be anywhere in between, but please use whole numbers.

Messaging about the minimum wage resonated strongly: a majority of voters who saw, hear, or read about work and family issues cited minimum wage as what they heard.

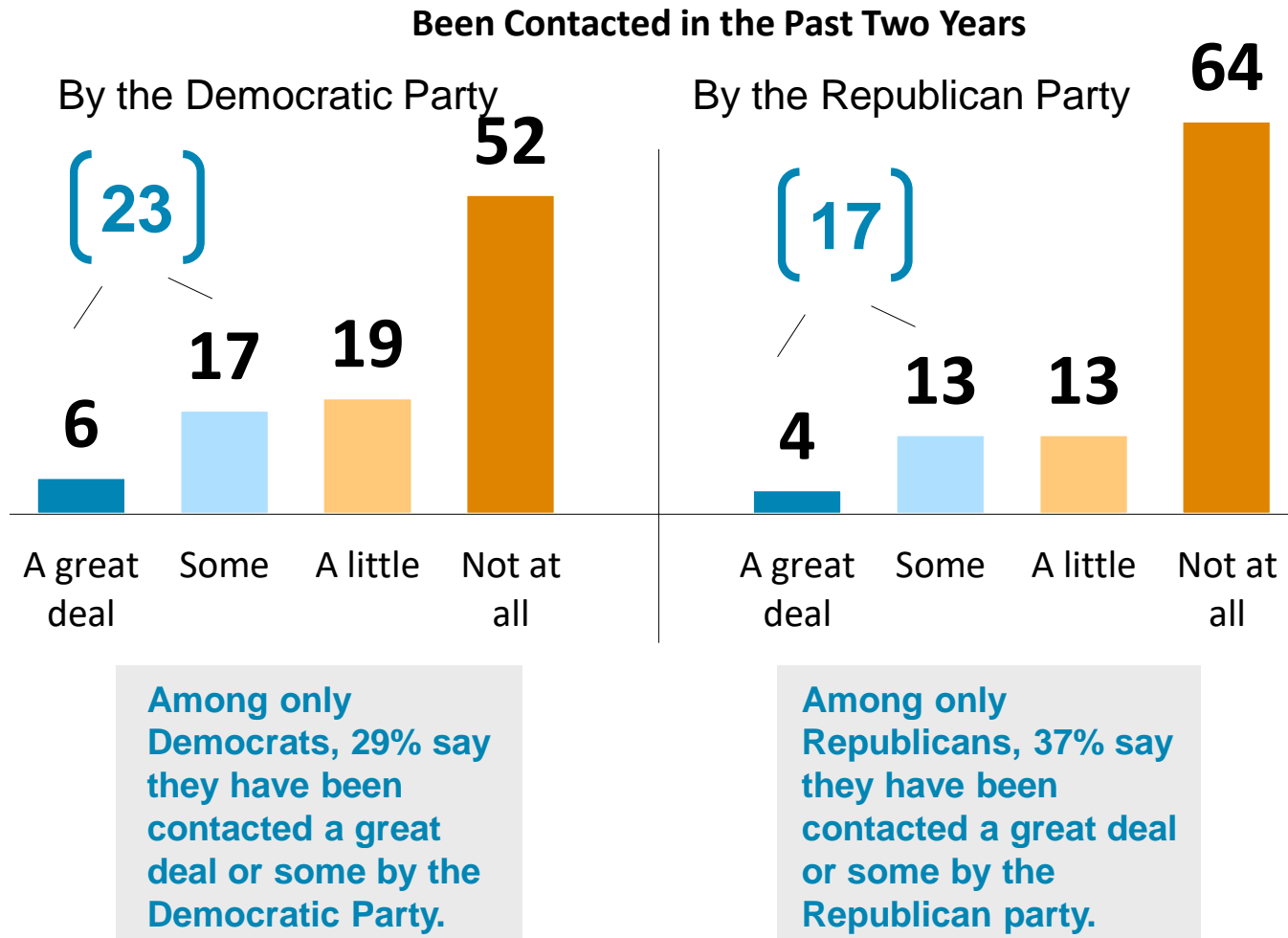




Voters who heard the campaign's communications were more likely to vote compared to those who did not hear the messages.



Asian Americans have been a largely untapped voting bloc.  
The parties have not been reaching out to them, even those that belong to their party.



Have you been contacted by the Democratic party/Republican party in the past two years a great deal, some, a little, or not at all?

# Top Issues for Communities of Color

- **Racial and economic issues** are vitally important issues that candidates for all offices must address.
- People of color face systemic, deep rooted discrimination in almost every aspect of their lives. Elected officials need to address the problems facing communities of color, including **police brutality, mass and juvenile incarceration, unfair sentencing, lack of economic opportunities and pay discrimination.**



# Messaging for Success



Unmarried women and other members of the Rising American Electorate could be responsible for Democratic presidential success in 2016, just as they were in 2012. Voices Women Vote Action Fund research has found unmarried women could bolster the presidential campaign that addresses their concerns about their economic well-being.

	2016 LV	Unmarried Women
<b>Economic Agenda [Combined]:</b> People are drowning because jobs don't pay enough to live on. We need leaders who know what it's like to work hard every day and still struggle to pay the bills. We must help people with affordable college, job training, and childcare. <u>Working families should earn wages that keep up with the cost of living/Women must get equal pay so working women and families can keep up.</u> We must help the vulnerable by reducing taxes for low-wage workers and give a tax break for lower and middle class working families. And we must always protect Social Security and Medicare. We need an economy that works for working people and the middle class again.	71	80 <b>48% Very Convincing</b>

*“Clearly, for unmarried women... they want a strong economic message from these candidates that clearly state they know what these women are going through and what it is like to walk in their shoes.”* - Page Gardner, president of the Voter Research Center

\*The survey of 950 likely 2016 voters was conducted from January 7-11, 2015. Voters who voted in the 2012 election or registered since were selected from the national voter file. Data is among all 2016 likely voters and margin of error for the full sample= +/-3.2 percentage points at 95% confidence.

The RAE needs to be empowered and motivated to vote. Messaging cannot only present the critique, it has to provide the solution and make voters believe they can make a difference. This path below is likely more generic than each group will present, but gives a sense of the progress we want to make.

## Message Path

Our state legislature is broken. Our leaders are distracted and not focusing on real solutions.



The state legislature passes unconstitutional and discriminatory laws and picks unnecessary fights that hurt our economy, working families, and children.



We need leaders who focus on solving real problems, like growing our economy, restoring cuts to our schools, and holding corporations accountable by closing tax loopholes.



If you are tired of politicians who attack women's health care, pass discriminatory laws, and listen to wealthy contributors instead of voters, then vote and make a difference in November.

## In research for MoveOn.org Political Action among progressive drop-off voters, we found specific messaging worked best to motivate action.

- All messaging efforts should fall into three thematic frameworks: **the future** (i.e. quality public education), **fair treatment/rights for women** (i.e. choice, access to birth control, equal pay for equal work), and **economic populism** (i.e. job creation, fair wages, and ensuring the wealthy and corporations pay their fair share so that working Americans no longer have to shoulder the burden).
- These three themes work in all of the states, creating the potential for a unified messaging strategy, including the possibility of interchanging some of the main arguments and proof points underneath, depending on each state's specific dynamics and circumstances.

LRP 2014 survey for MoveOn.org. The survey reached a total of 1,000 likely 2014 Democratic-leaning drop-off voters in 5 states (200 per state) with competitive U.S. Senate races (Colorado, Iowa, Kentucky, Michigan, and North Carolina). The margin of error for the survey is +/-3.1%.

**Questions?**

**Comments?**





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