

WAND 2011 Conference

Women at the Table of Power

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Key Points

- **Seventy-two percent of Americans feel the country is going on the wrong track, up 12 points from May. Across the country, we are finding that, in voters' minds it is still all about the economy and jobs.** Forty-three percent of voters pick jobs and the economy – compared to 20% who pick the deficit and government spending as their main issue.
- This economic focus extends to favoring a host of progressive causes ranging from education to health care to Social Security and Medicare over reducing the deficit—so appeals for “across the board” cuts need a response showing the threat they present to these programs. **Voters want to set priorities, get results, and solve problems. Those are strong frames for organizations and elected officials.**
- Recent LRP polling shows that **women remain intensely concerned over jobs and the economy.** The key to winning this key constituency will be through a clear and compelling economic message and record that speaks to their concerns. Women respond to kitchen table economic policies and messages that affect their families. They feel that many of the economic policies of both parties better serve people around boardroom tables rather than kitchen tables. They feel harder hit by the economy and are more pessimistic about recovery.

Key Points

- Contrary to the past, in repeated polls, **women are more conservative in cuts to defense spending.**
- Even though a majority now oppose the war in Iraq, an **overwhelming majority believe what happens in Iraq is important to the United States today.**
- **Nearly two-thirds of voters believe that progress has been made in Afghanistan, but the mission is incomplete.** In spite of their personal beliefs, voters believe that the US should not be involved in Afghanistan now.
- **An overwhelming majority of voters approve of Obama's decision to withdraw 33,000 US troops from Afghanistan by next summer.** And they'd like to see our commitment end there, **two-thirds of voters oppose the US continuing to provide financial support to Afghanistan.**

Key Points: The Difference Women Make

- As voters- they determine elections, they turn out more.
- As candidates- they mobilize voters, they set the agenda.
- As officeholders- they set the agenda, they set the style, they get things done, they represent a different experience, they bring about change.
- Women voters were instrumental in taking back Congress in the 2006 elections and in delivering the White House to President Obama in 2008.
- They can also determine Republicans' victories with their lack of enthusiasm or their frustrations, witness 2004 and 2010.
- Younger women, unmarried women, and minority women vote solidly Democratic.

The Basics of Public Opinion Research

There are two different types of public opinion research:

Qualitative

- Open-end discussion;
- Small groups of people;
- In-depth probing;
- Understanding perceptions, opinions, beliefs, and attitudes;
- Answers “why?” and “how?”

Quantitative

- Closed-end questions;
- Large number of people;
- Limited number of questions;
- Broad data, generalized results;
- Answers “what?” and “how many?”

WHY POLL? (when you have other expenses)

- Answers key questions:
 - “Where are we?”
 - “How do we get to where we want to go?”
 - “What happens if we don’t have the playing field all to ourselves?”
- To get a sense of the audiences (voters, members, etc) knowledge and views;
- To guide message development;
- To measure performance and perceptions at different levels;

WHAT POLLING IS

- Scientifically-designed, fielded;
- Strategic understanding of voters;
- Know which messages work;
- Target message, voter/member contact;
- Core of campaign strategy;
- Subgroup analysis;
- **KEY TAKEAWAY:** Survey research is a planning tool, not a predictor. The survey should be designed and analyzed with one goal in mind — determining the most effective way to impact the electorate.

WHAT POLLING IS NOT

- A TV station or newspaper poll;
- A poll of friends who are “experts”;
- Focus groups (this is qualitative);
- Just the horse race;
- A time to use volunteers.

FOCUS GROUPS

- Supplement, not substitute for quantitative research;
- Not statistically representative;
- Test arguments, language, and themes;
- Follow-up on poll ambiguities;
- Follow-up on how people think through things;
- Test communication materials.

FOCUS GROUPS – Strengths and Weaknesses

Strengths

- **Real people—real vocabulary;**
- Register intensity;
- Add texture to polling data;
- See structure of thinking and the way people think.

Weaknesses

- Participation/non participation demographics;
- Group dynamics;
- Tendency toward consensus;
- Artificial intensity of discussion.

ASSESSING OUTSIDE POLLS

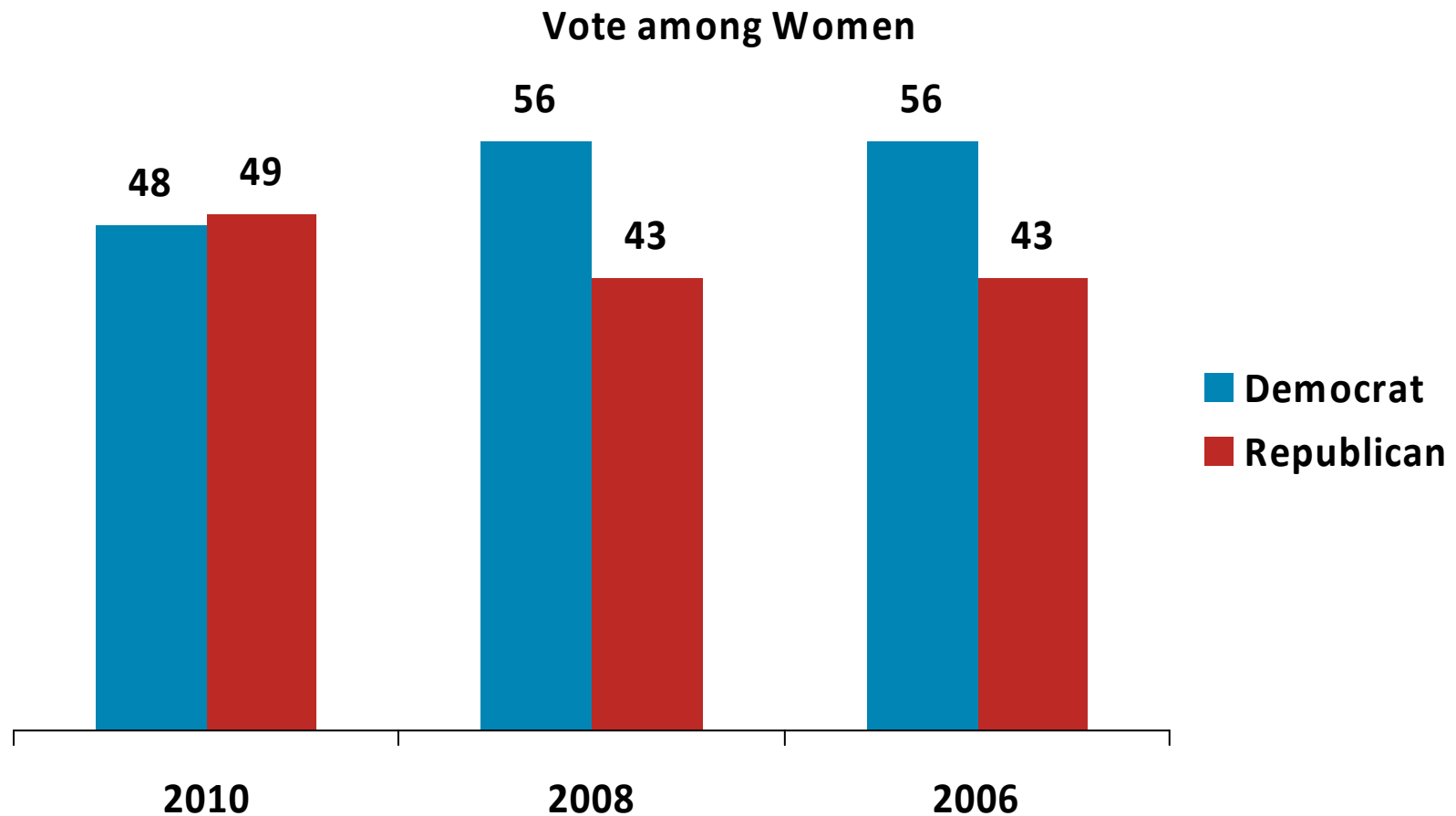


- Who conducted the poll?
- What is their motivation? Reputation?
- Over how many days was the poll conducted? Shorter is not better, nor is being in the field too long.
- Is there any bias in the question? “Is Obama a great leader or the greatest leader of all time?”
- What is the margin of error? Do the math.
 - Subgroup error (men/women, older/younger, African American/Latino) is higher than overall error.
- What is the sample framework (population) and size? Who did they call (e.g., adults, registered voters, or likely voters)? How many of them? Are their choices appropriate?

The Women's Vote

Voters, including women, are frustrated with Washington. These attitudes brought about the third consecutive change-oriented election. Twice before the wave helped Democrats, but this time it pushed Republicans to a majority in the House of Representatives.

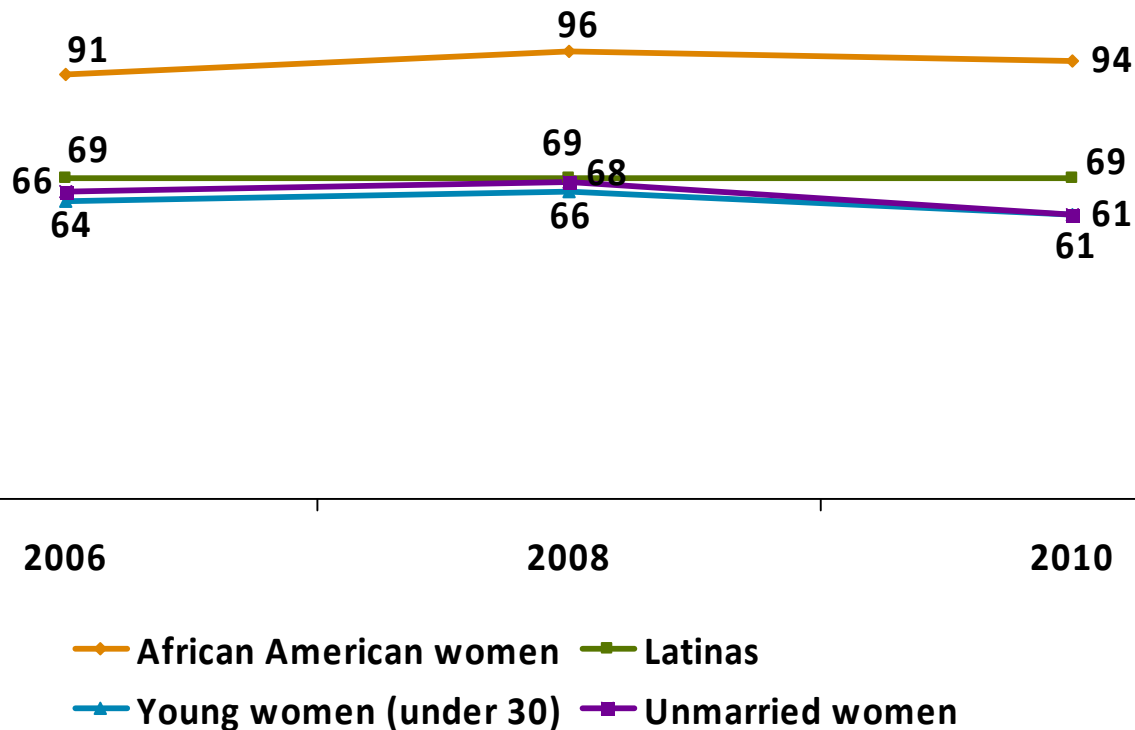
Exit polls show Republicans won among women in 2010, the worst performance for Democrats since the media started tracking exit polls in 1982. This historic loss came on the heels of 2006 and 2008, when Democrats set high water makers for support from women.



Source: National Election Pool Exit Poll, 2010, 2008, 2006

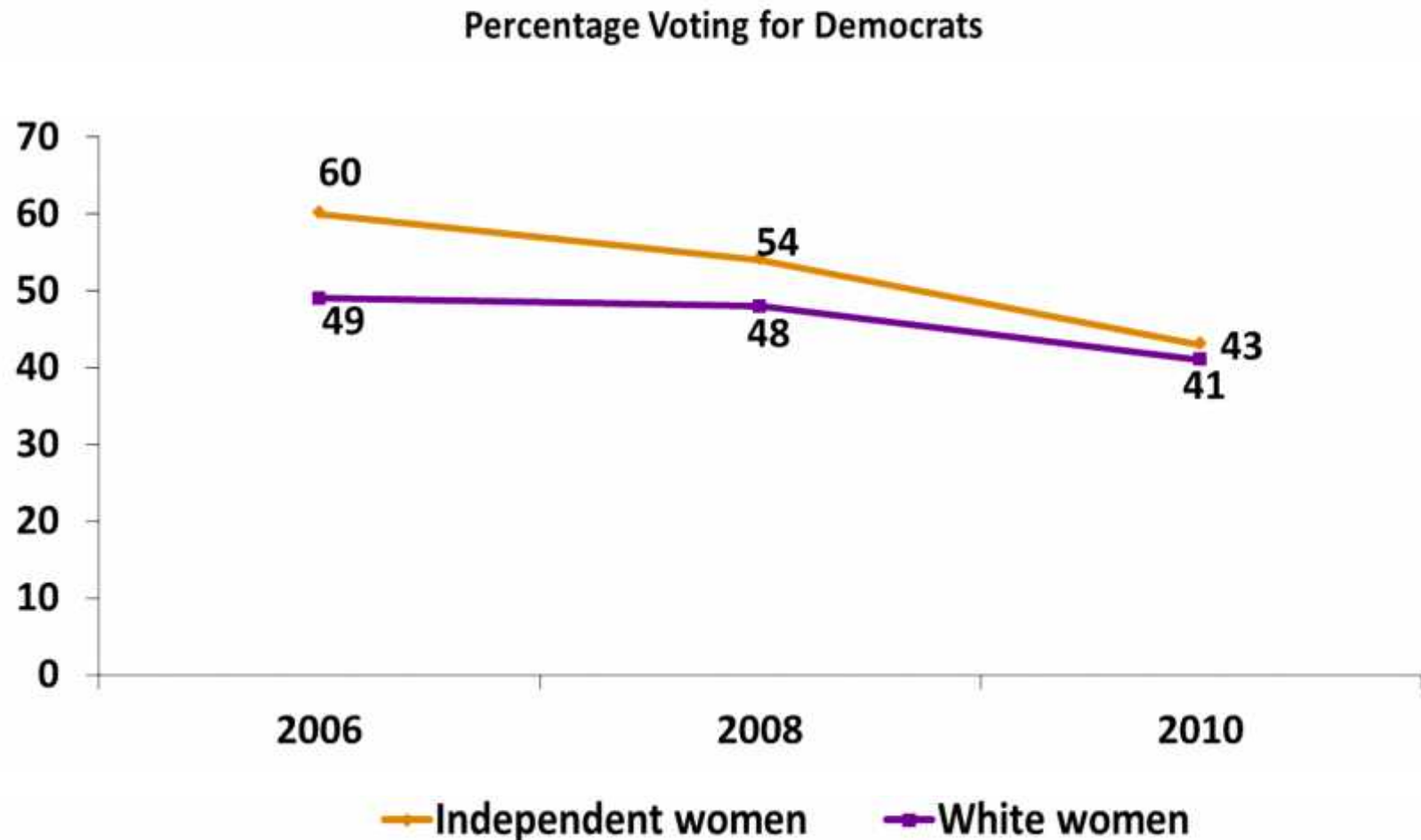
However, the shift in support among women was not constant. Exit polls show little change in support for Democrats among African American women and Latinas, and slight drops among young women and unmarried women.

Key Female Cohorts - Percentage of Vote for Democrats



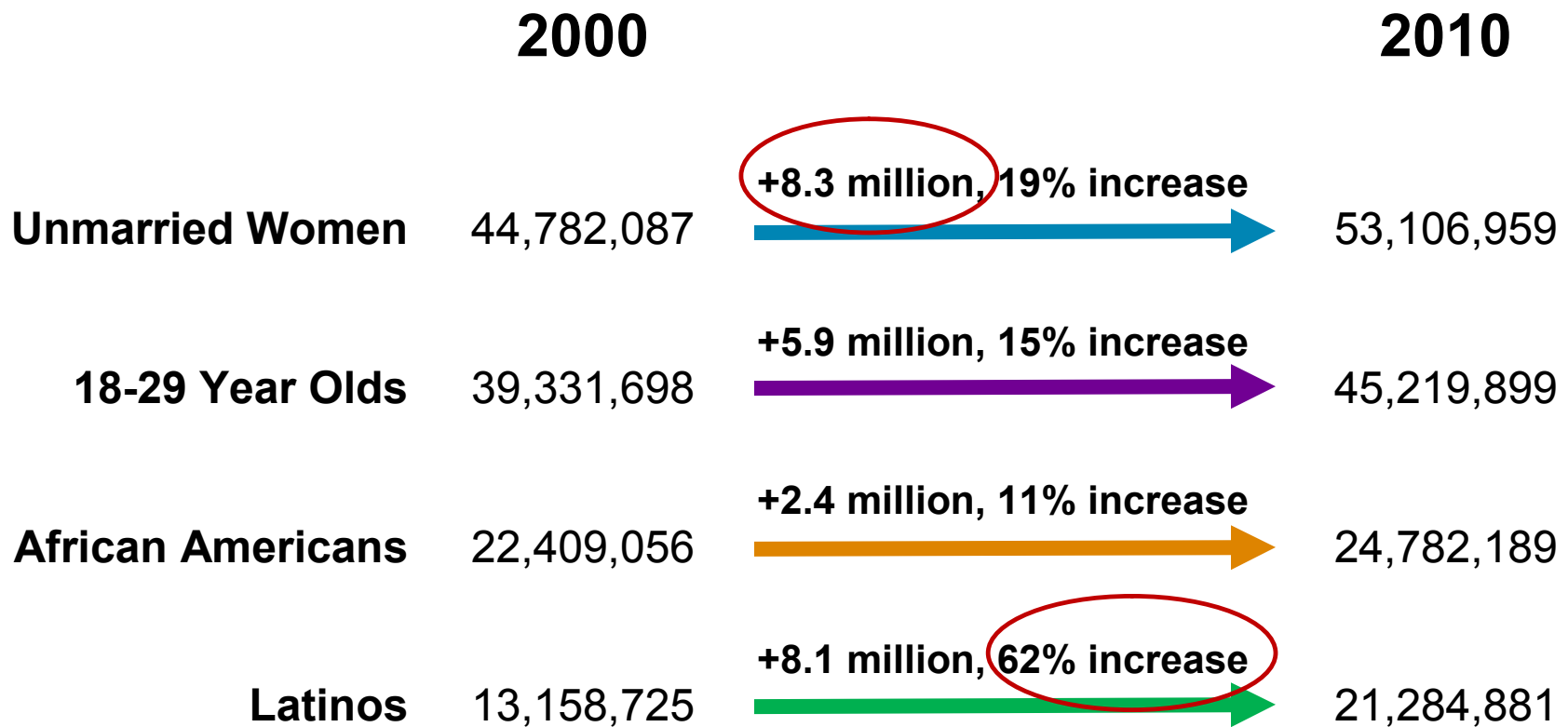
For Democrats to win in 2012, we need these women to turnout. Younger women, unmarried women, and minority women made up 31% of the electorate in 2008 and only 28% in 2010.

The real story of 2010 was the erosion of support for Democrats among swing women and white women voter groups.



In the last decade, the Rising American Electorate (RAE) saw growth in population, especially among unmarried women who had the most population growth in sheer numbers (8.3 million). Latinos had the largest growth rate relative to their size (62 percent increase).

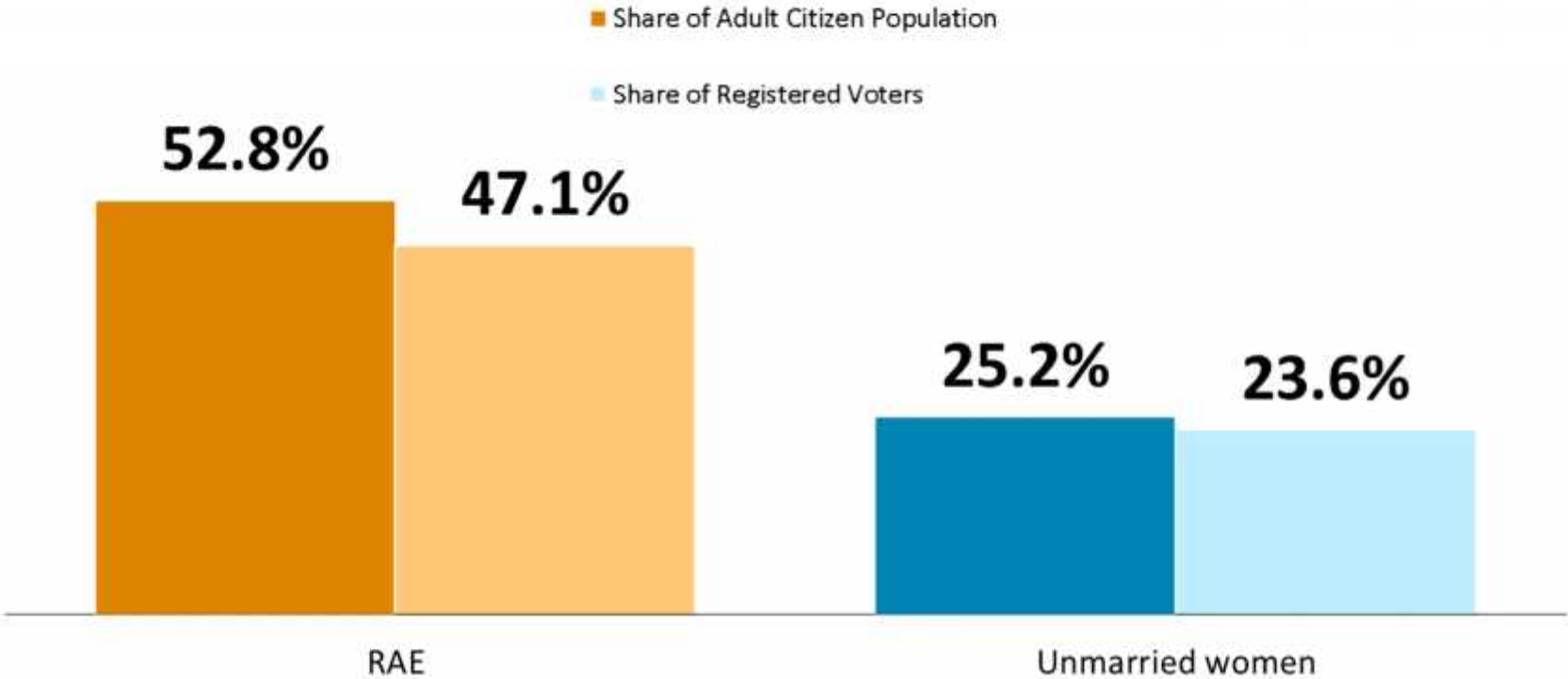
Numbers in the Adult Citizen Population



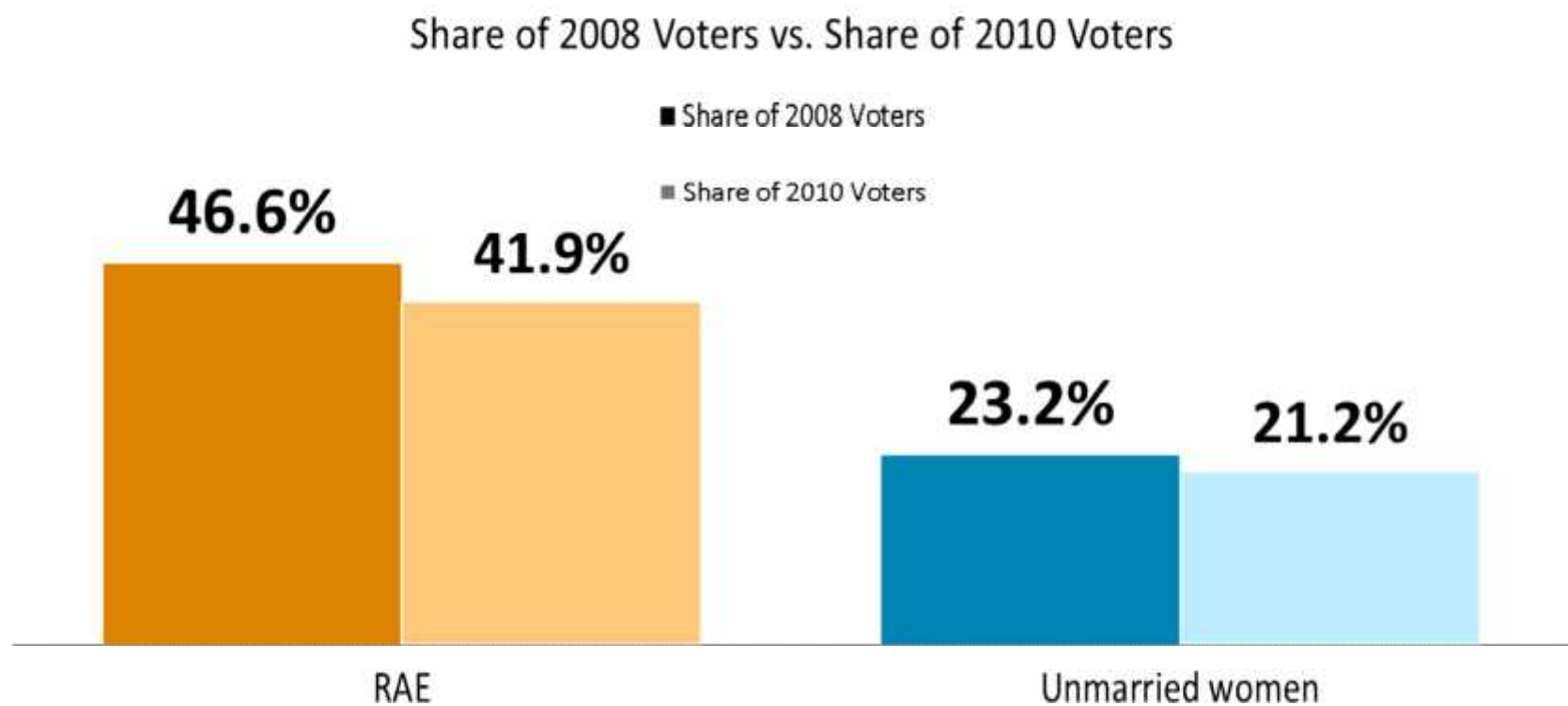
2000 and 2010 November CPS Supplement

However, both the RAE and unmarried women lag behind when it comes to being registered to vote. The RAE is more than half of the vote eligible population but less than half of registered voters.

Share of Population vs. Share of Registered Voters



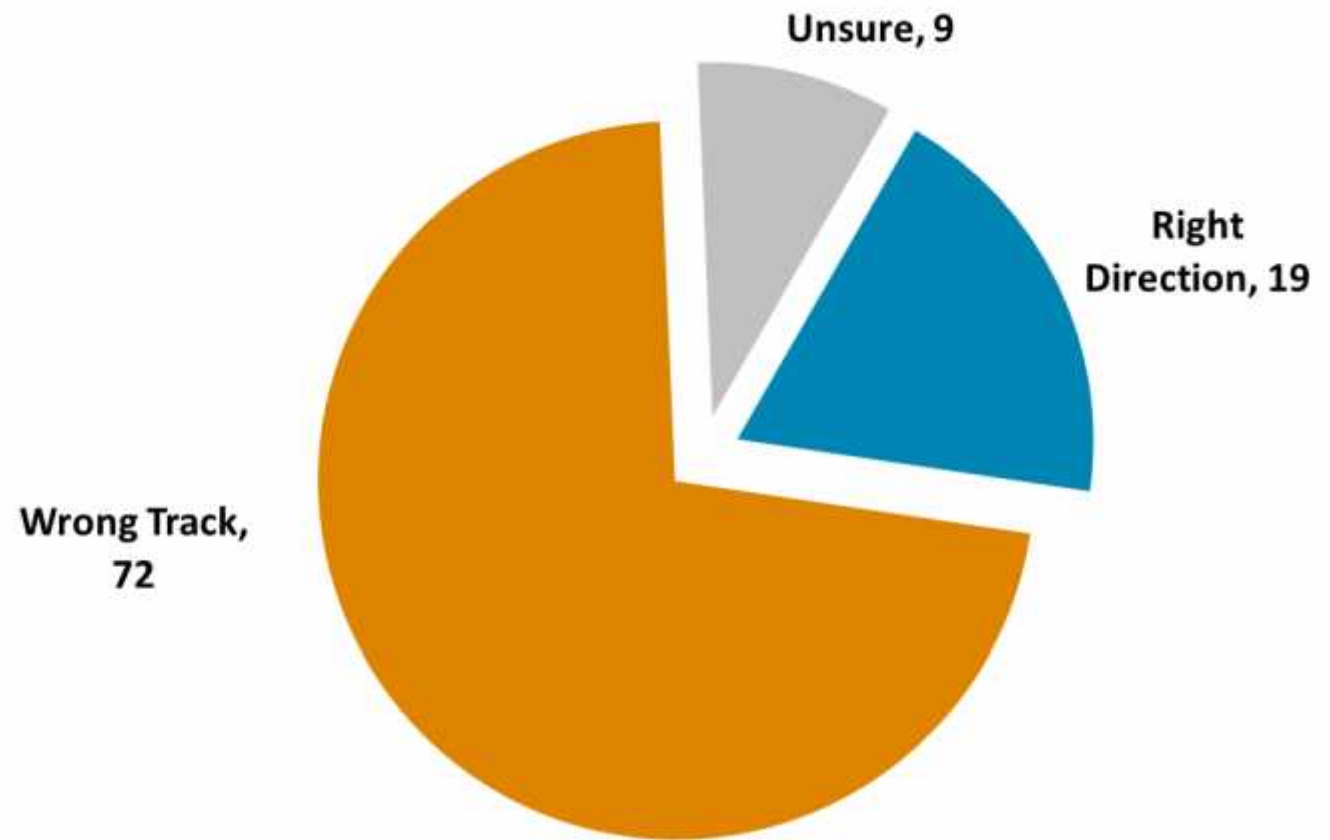
In addition, there was some drop-off in share of the electorate since 2008. We expect lower turnout in midterm elections, but this backward shift toward lower representation among voters shows deterioration among these groups.



The State of the Nation

About half the country thinks we are off on the wrong track, although Obama's approval ratings are net positive, especially among women.

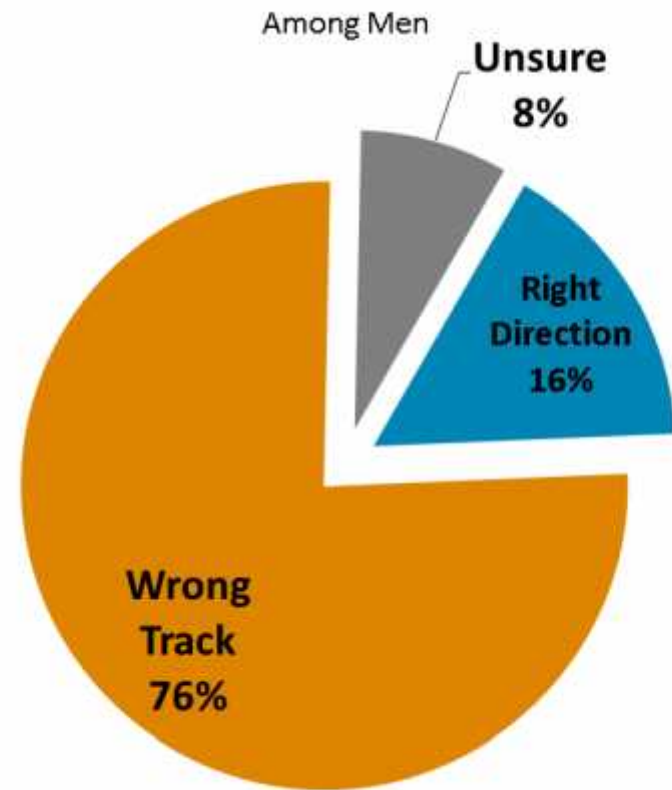
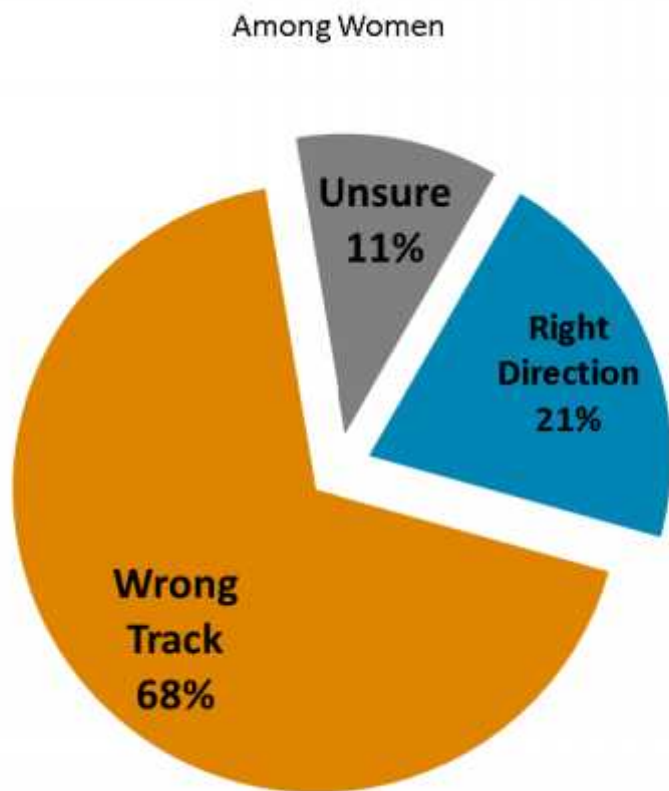
Nearly three-quarters of Americans believe the country is off on the wrong track.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered “likely” voters nationwide

Generally speaking, would you say things in this country are heading in the right direction, or are they off on the wrong track?

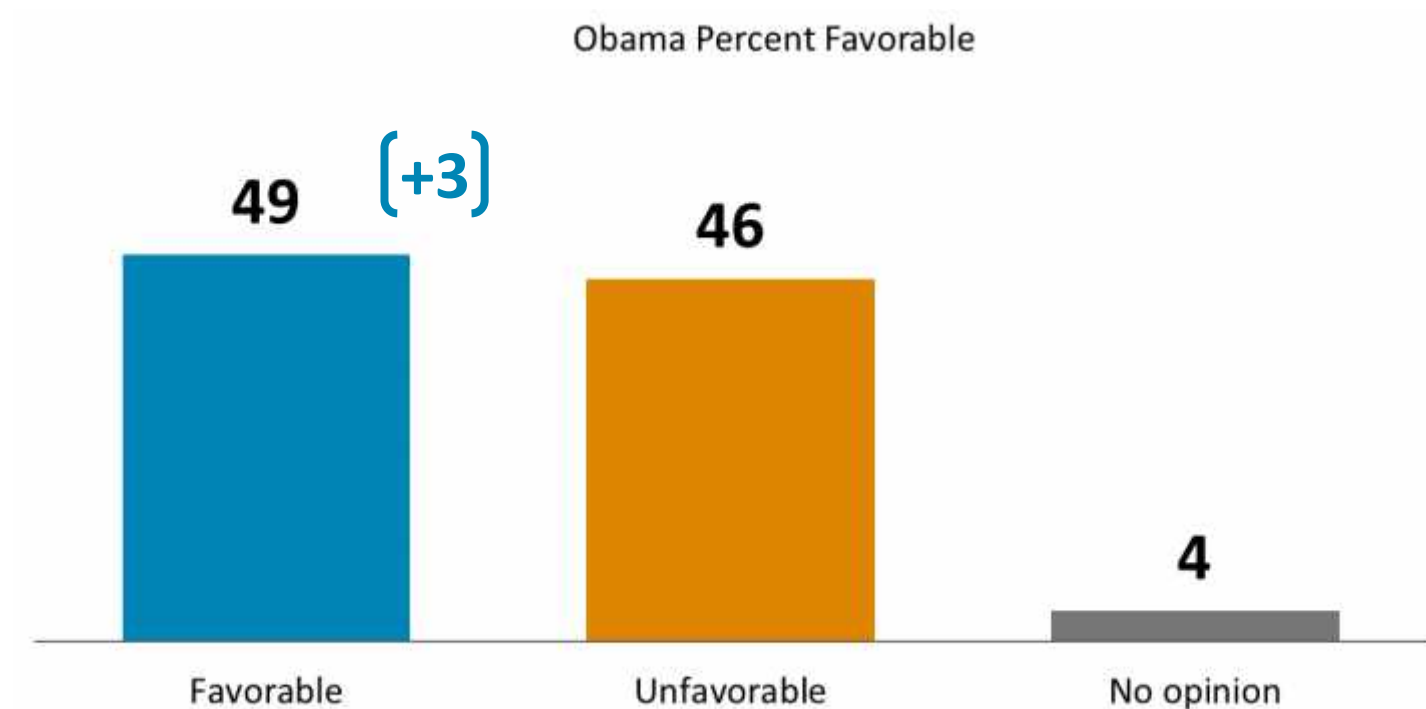
Men are more pessimistic about the direction of the country than women.



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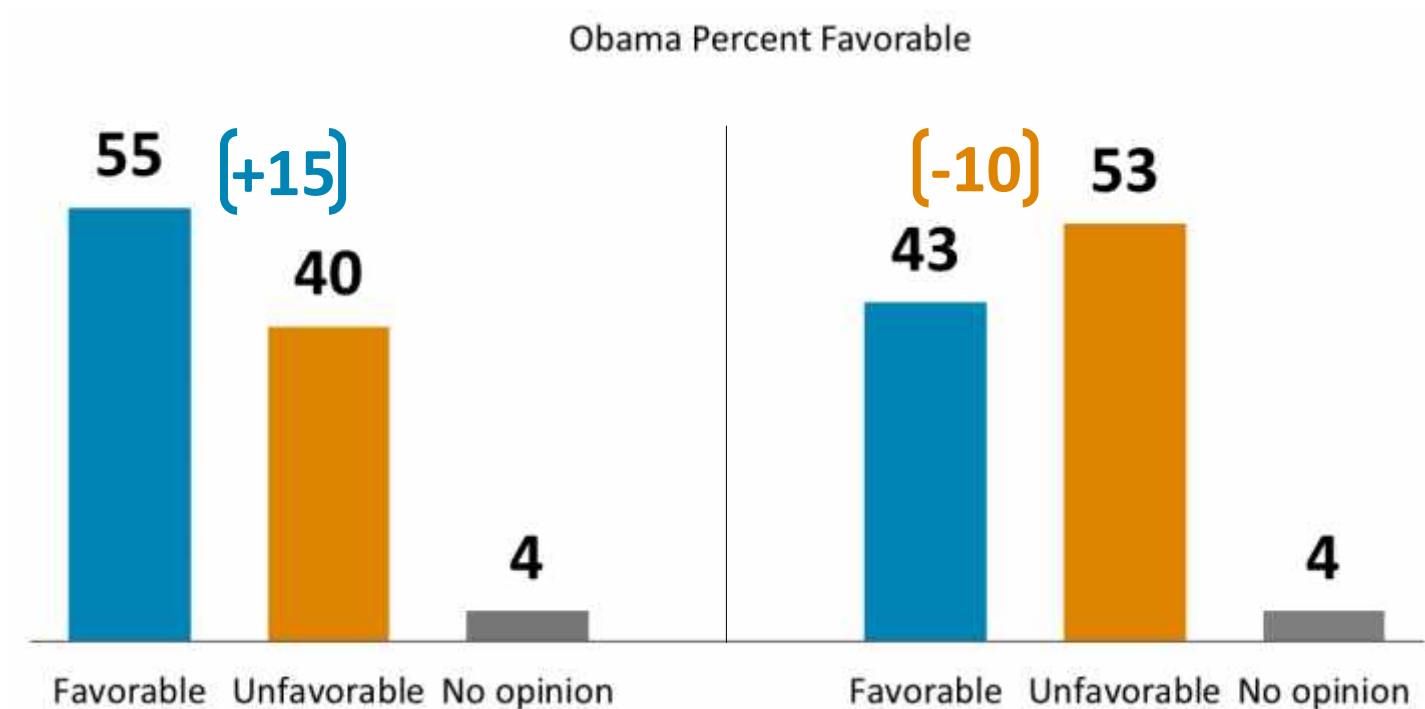
Voters split between having a favorable and unfavorable impression of the president.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

Now I would like to read you the names of several individuals who have been mentioned in the news recently. For each one, please tell me whether you have heard of that person and if so, whether you have a favorable or an unfavorable impression of that person. If you do not recognize the name, just say so. Here is the first one ... Barack Obama

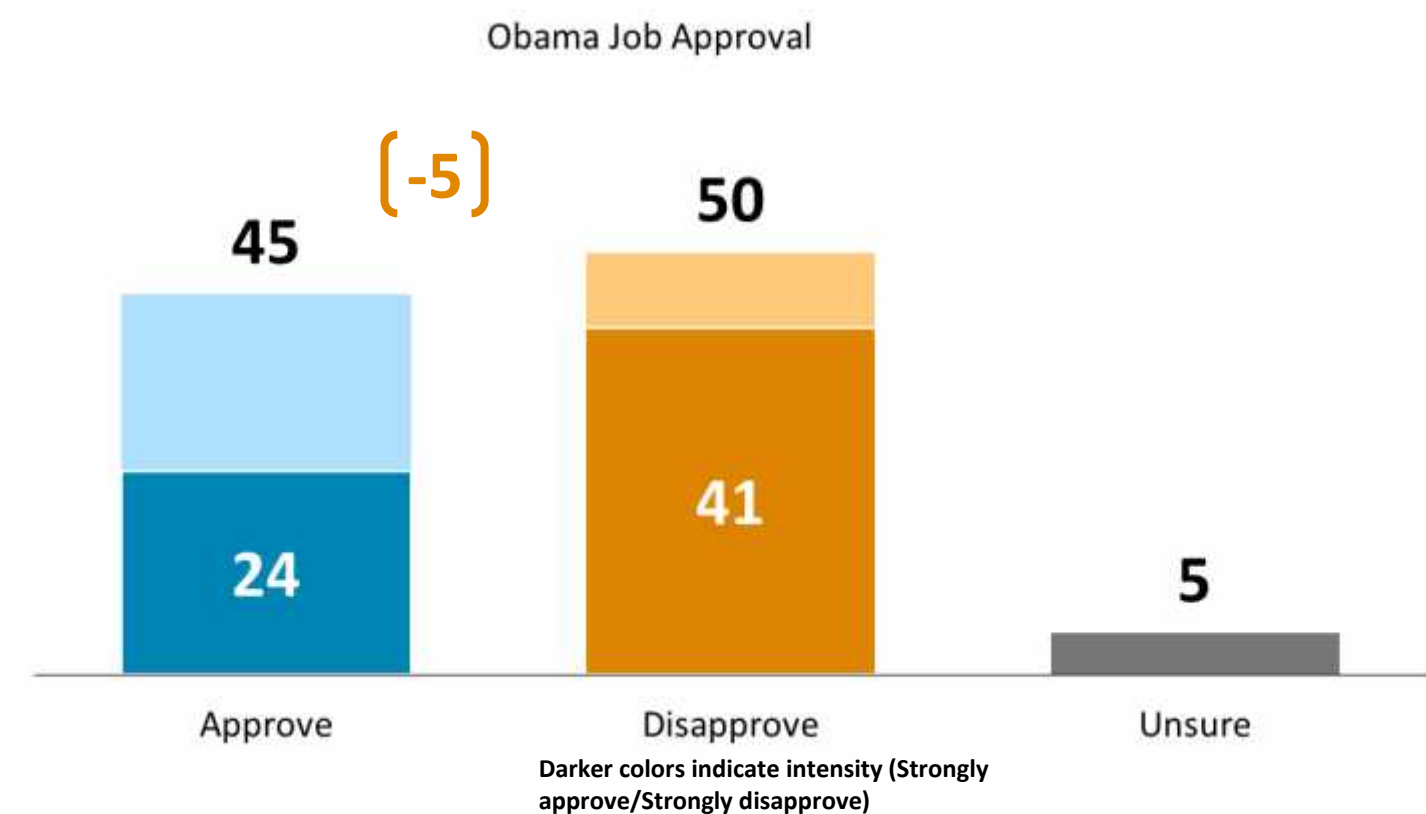
Women voters are favorable toward Obama, while men are unfavorable.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

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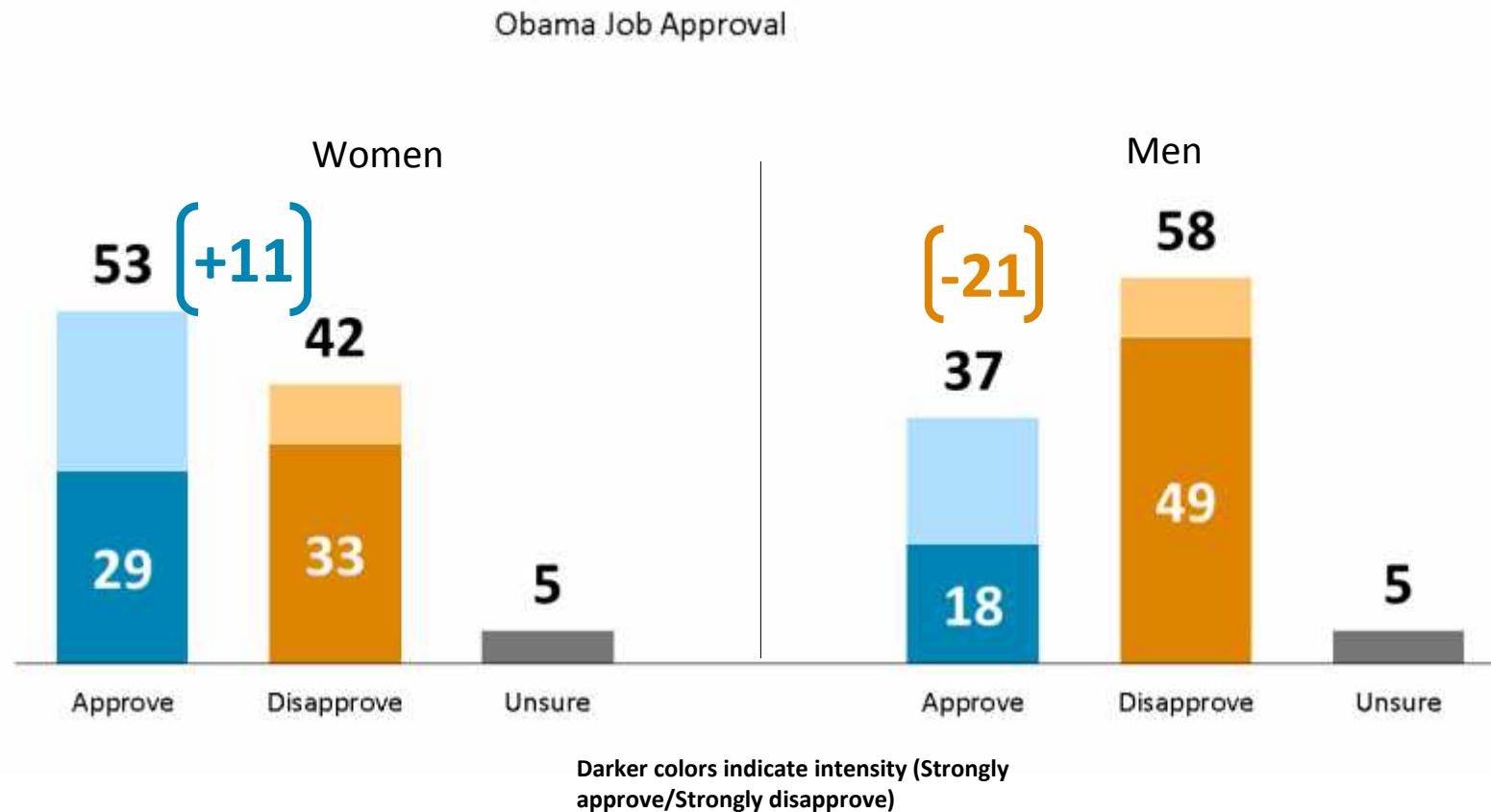
Voters lean toward disapproving of the job Barack Obama has been doing as President.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

How would you rate the job Barack Obama has been doing as President? Do you approve or disapprove of the job he is doing?

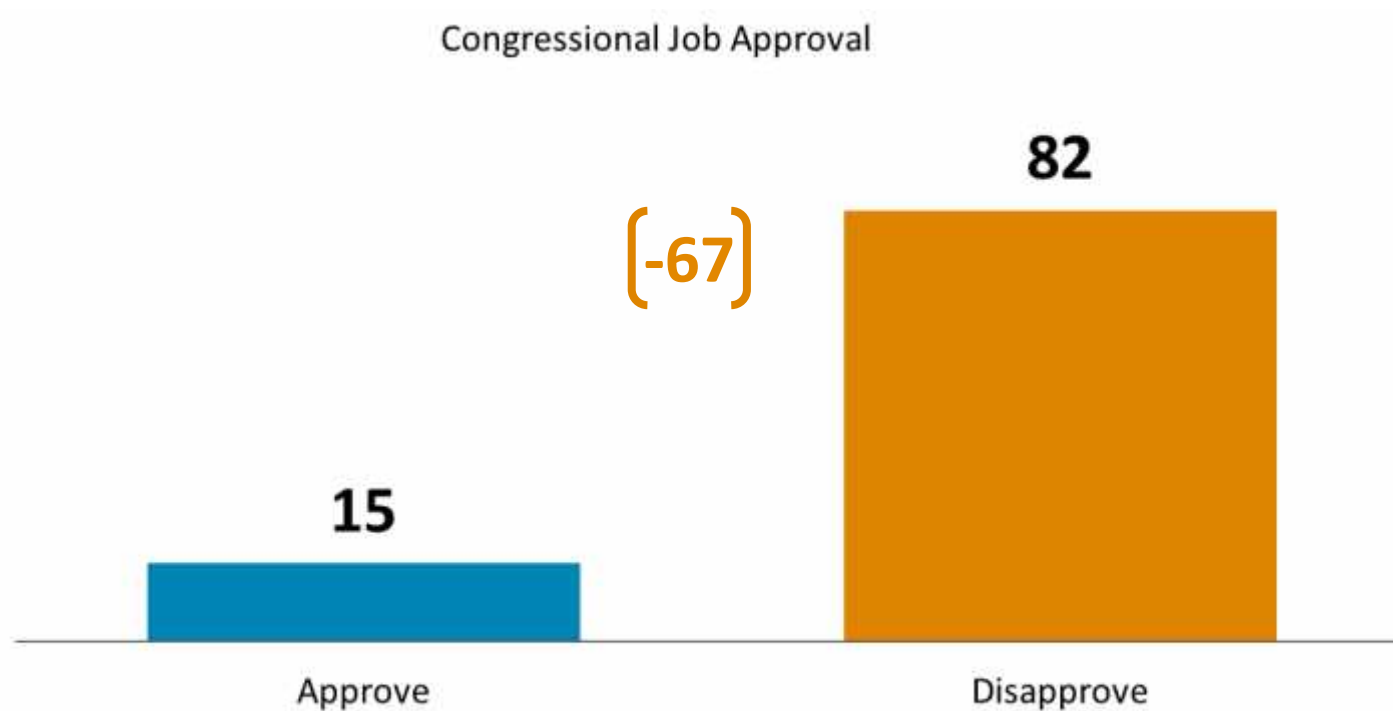
Men are driving the disapproval of Obama's job as President; women approve of it by double digits.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

How would you rate the job Barack Obama has been doing as President? Do you approve or disapprove of the job he is doing?

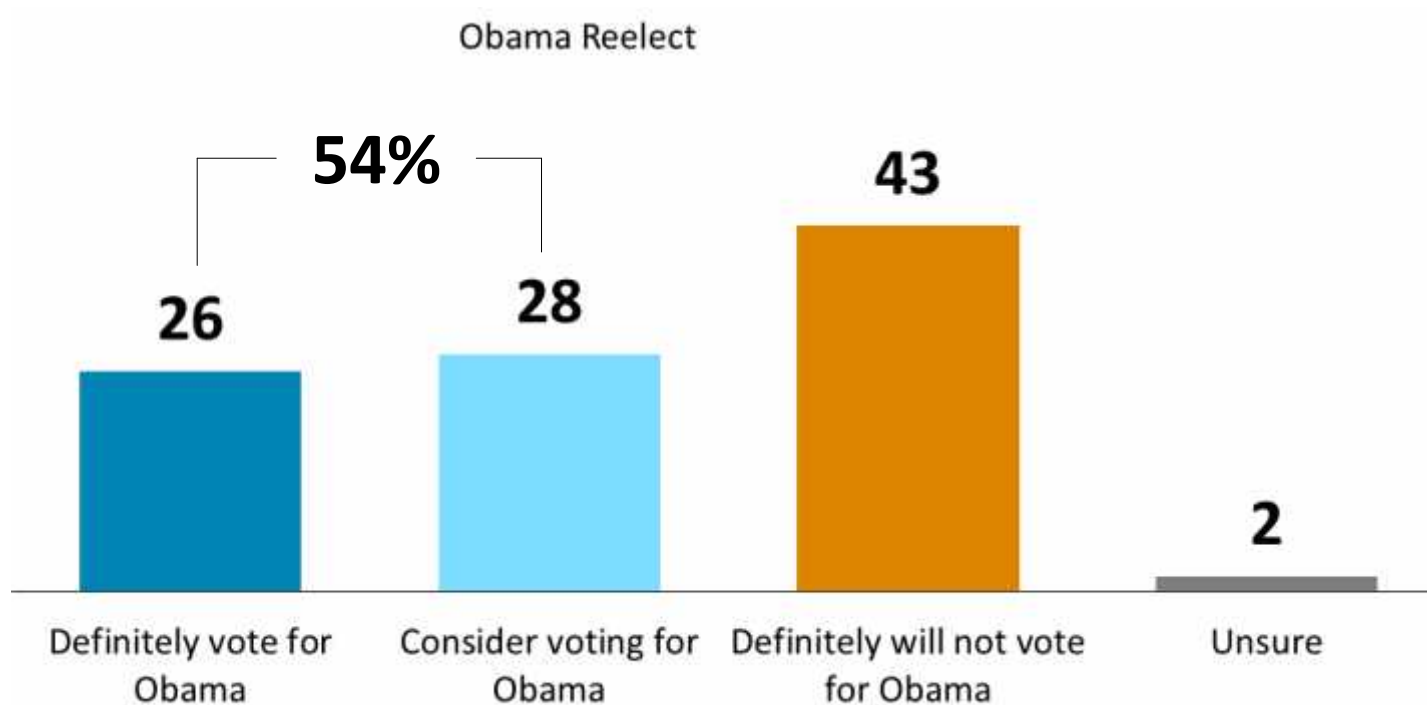
Congressional job approval is now 15%, up slightly from the record-tying low of 13% recorded in August, while disapproval is 82%, compared with 84% last month.



Survey by Gallup. September 8-11, 2011; 1,017 adults nationwide

Do you approve or disapprove of the way Congress is handling its job?

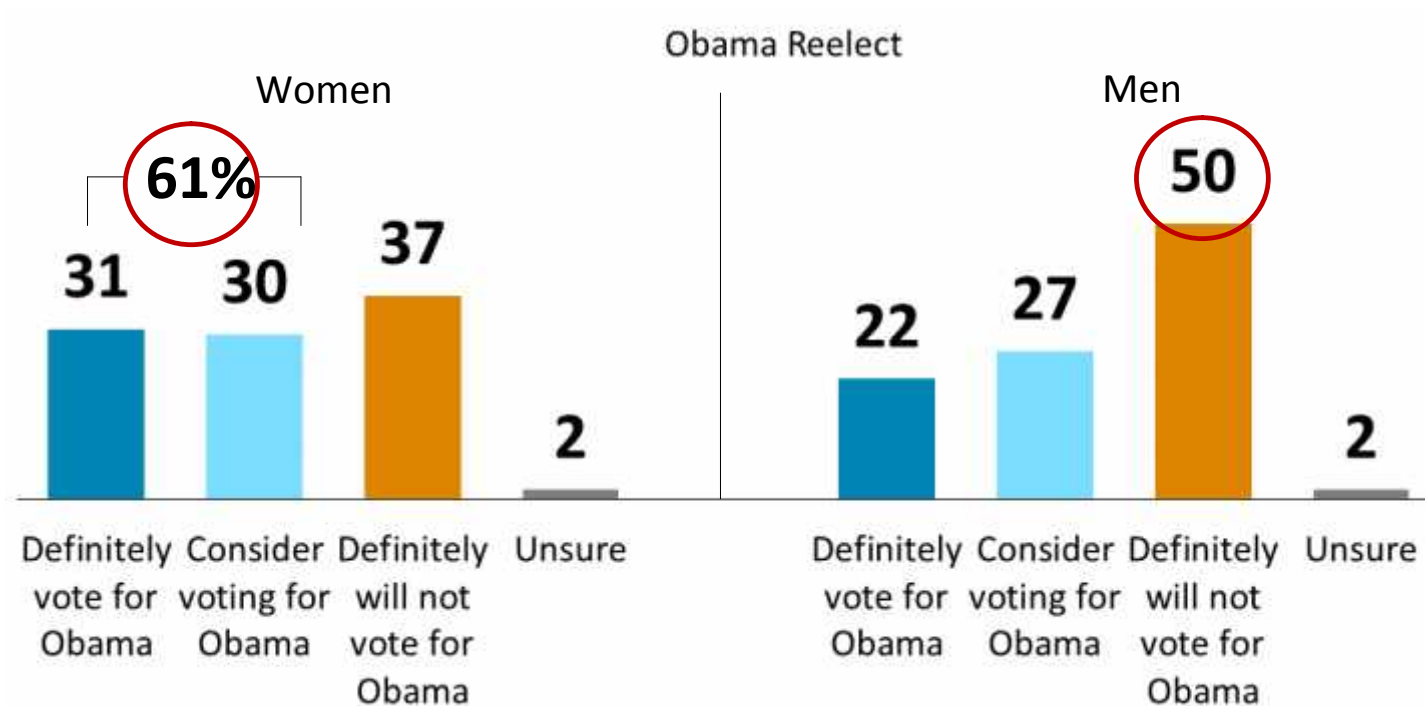
A majority of voters are open to voting for Obama



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

Now, thinking ahead to the 2012 Presidential elections... As you may know, Obama has announced that he is running for reelection in 2012. Would you say -- (ROTATE, FRONT TO BACK, BACK TO FRONT) -- you will definitely vote for him, you will consider voting for him, or you definitely will not vote for him?

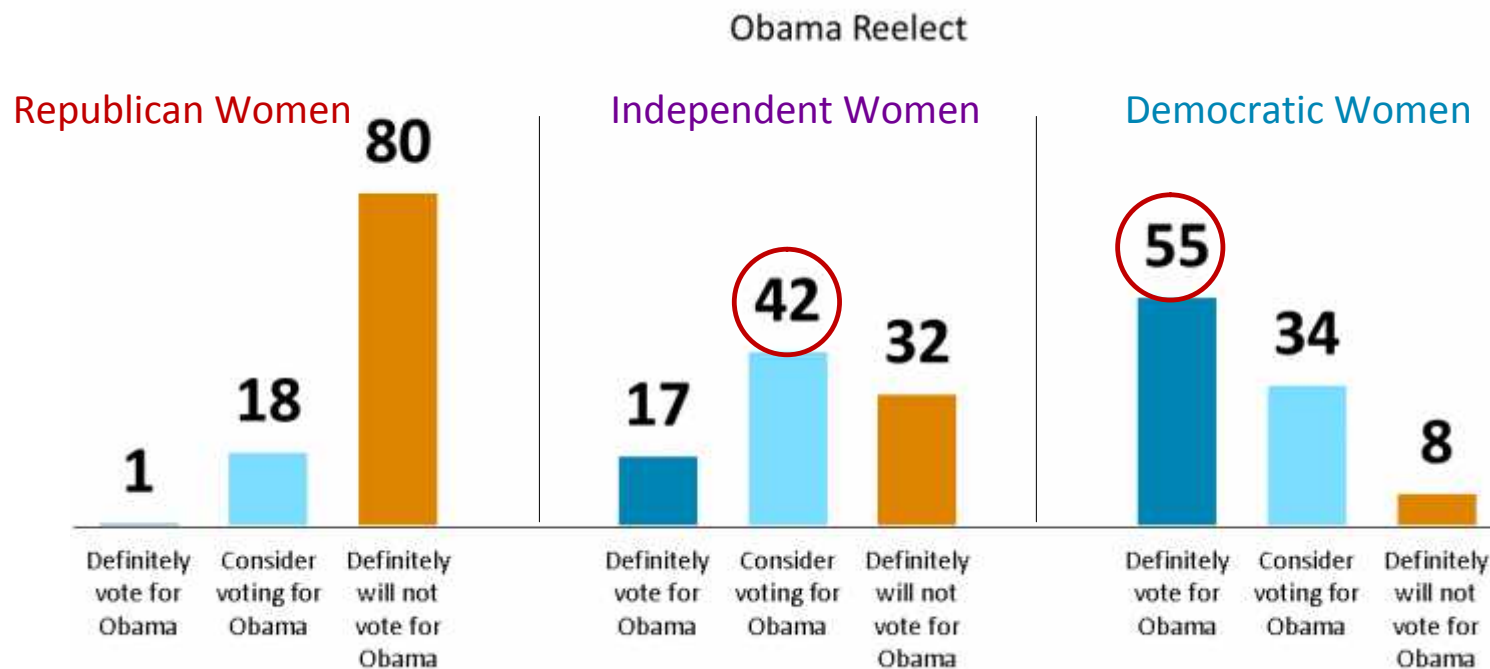
When they look ahead to 2012, a majority of women say they will definitely or are considering voting for Obama, while half of men say they definitely will not vote for Obama.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

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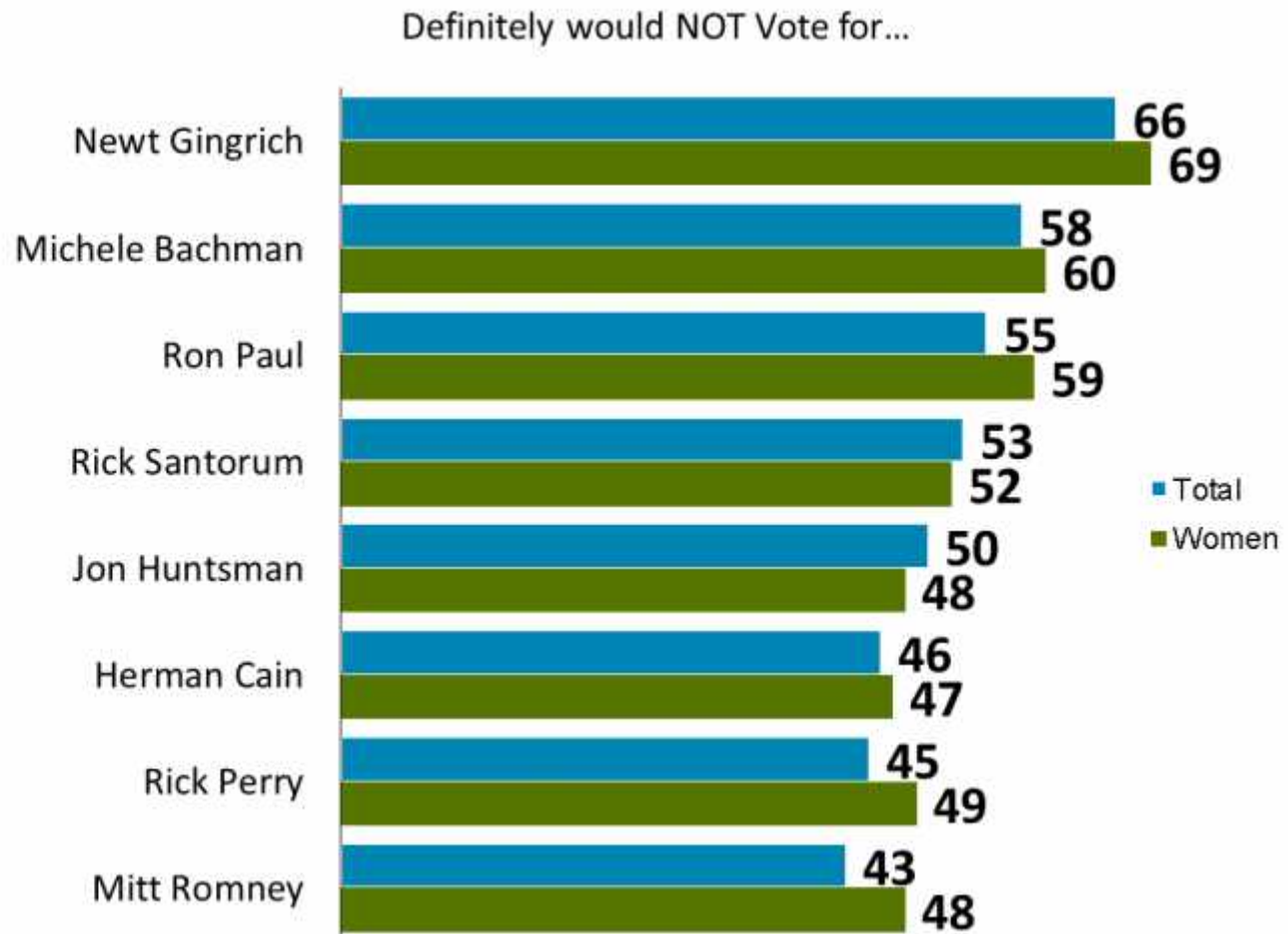
There is a sharp partisan divide among women, with a strong majority of Republicans saying they definitely will not vote for Obama, a plurality of independent women considering voting for him, and a majority of Democratic women who definitely plan to vote for him, but there could be turnout problems among women.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

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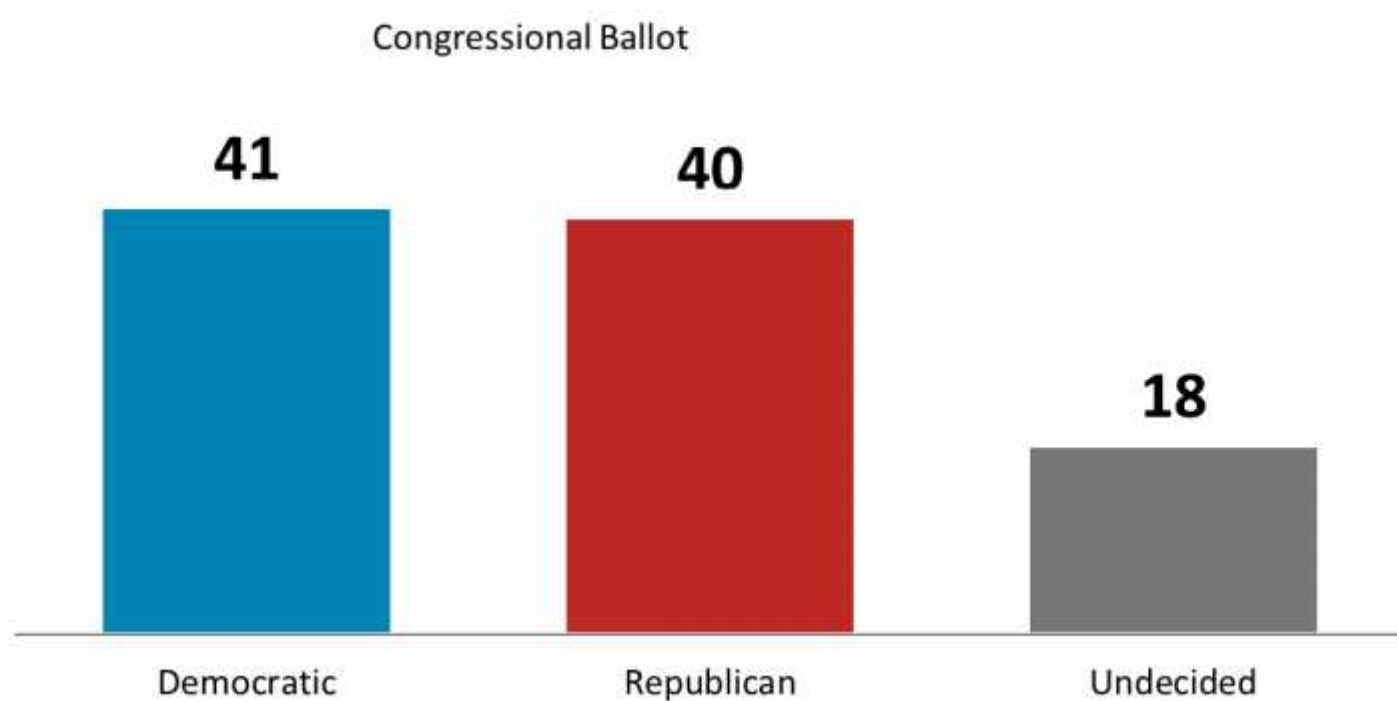
Women are not enthusiastic about any of the Republican Presidential nominees.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

As you probably have already heard, there are several candidates who are running to be the Republican Presidential nominee. I am going to read you the names of some of these candidates. For each one, please tell me if you would definitely vote for

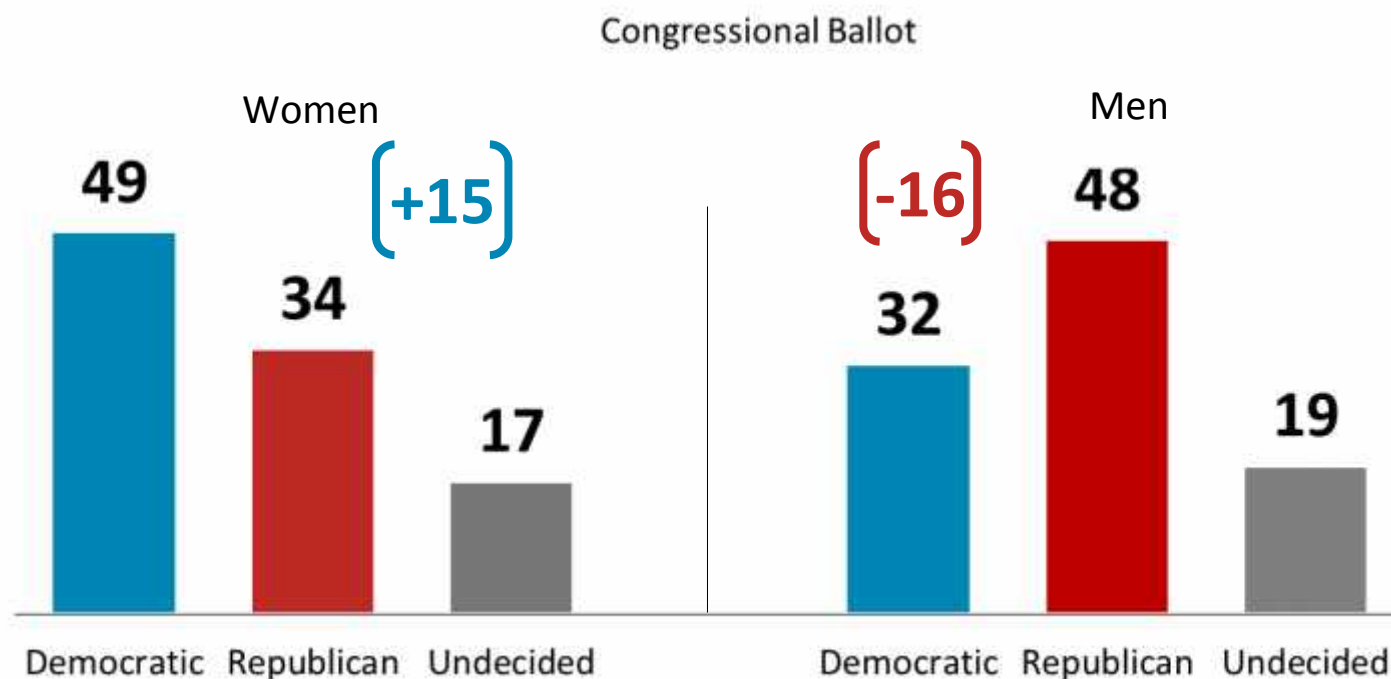
Voters are divided on their 2012 Congressional vote.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

And, thinking again about the 2012 elections...If the election for CONGRESS were being held today, and you had to make a choice, would you be voting for -- (ROTATE) -- • the Republican candidate or • the Democratic candidate, in your Congressional district?

Women favor the Democratic candidate in a generic Congressional ballot, while men prefer the Republican by equal margins.



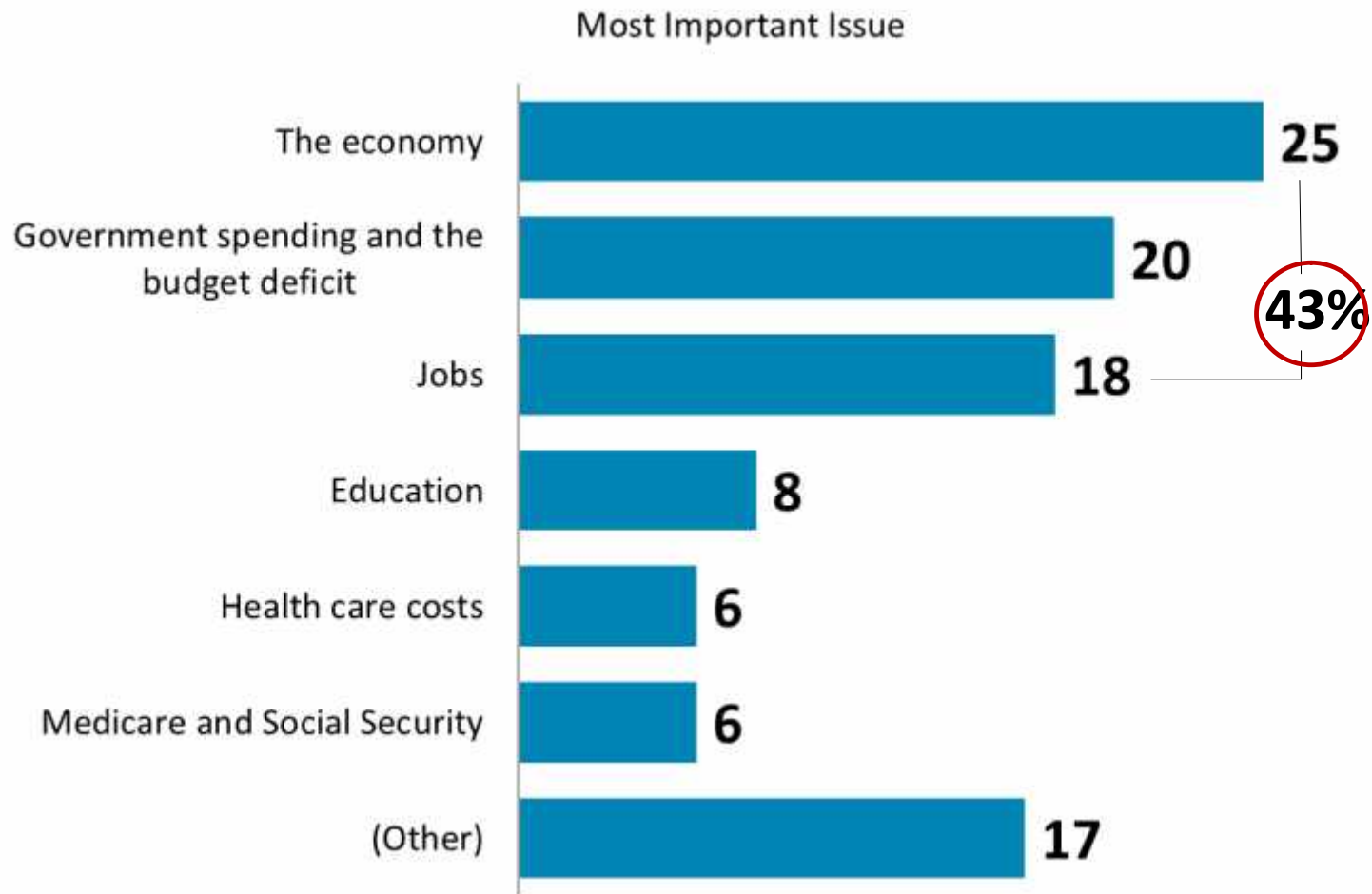
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The Issue Agenda

The economy, government spending and jobs dominates as the top domestic concern. Women are more worried about health care costs and education.

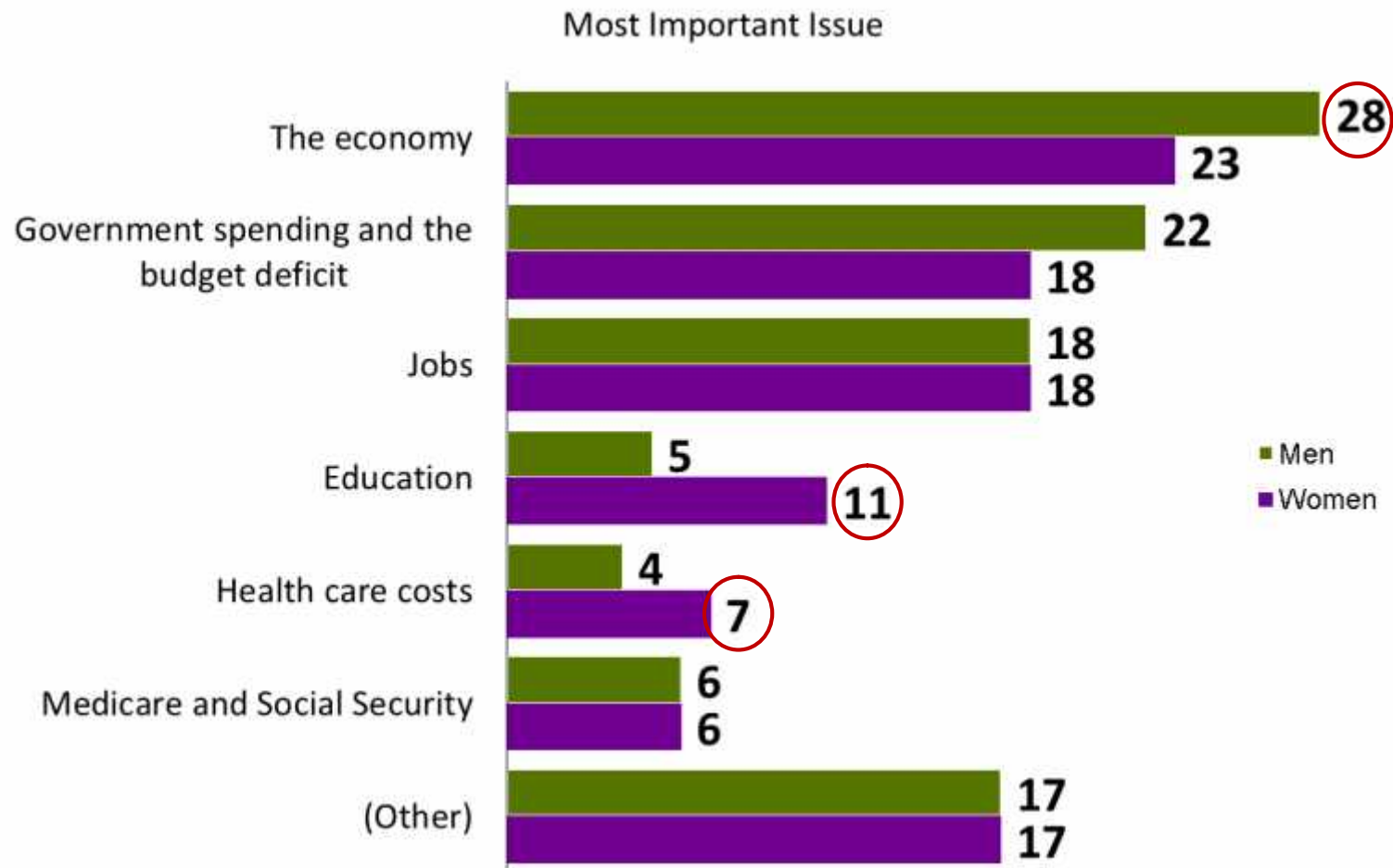
The economy and jobs dominate the issue agenda.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people from this part of the country have said are important for Congress to focus on. Please listen as I read the list and tell me which one issue you think is most important.

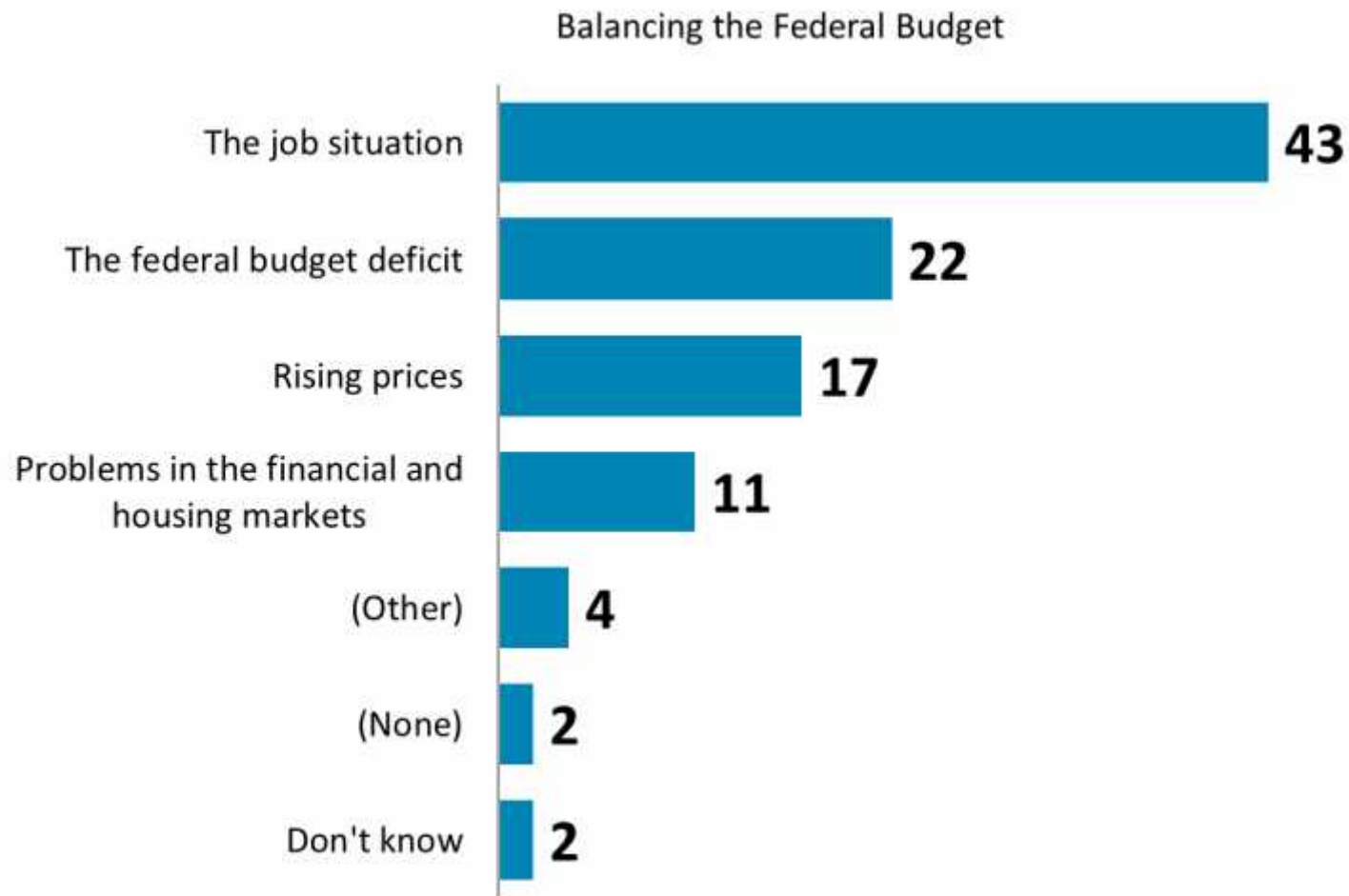
Trends are similar by gender. Men tend to be slightly more concerned about the economy and jobs, while women focus more than men on education and health care.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered “likely” voters nationwide

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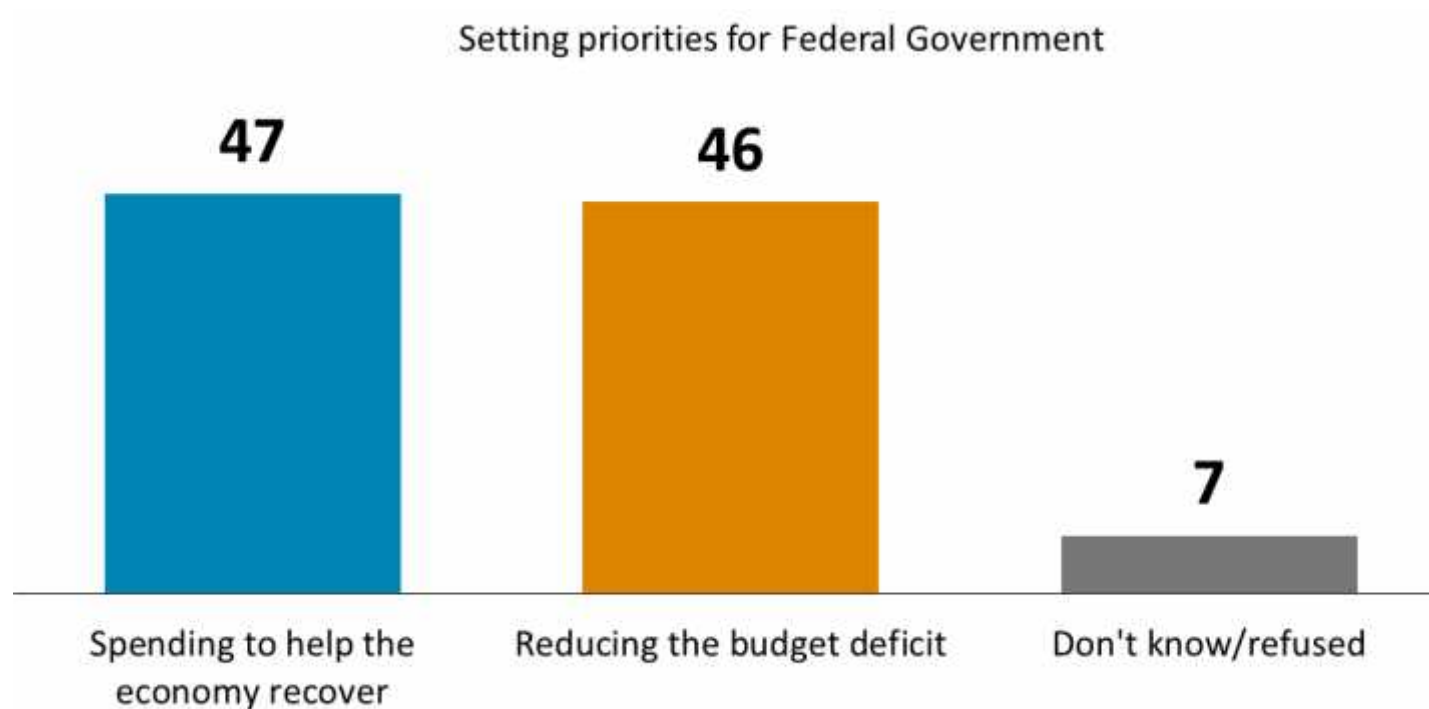
The job situation is the top economic concern among the public, followed by the federal budget deficit.



Survey by Pew Research Center for the People & the Press, Washington Post. September 1-4, 2011. 1,001 adults nationwide.

Which of the following national economic issues worries you most?

The public is divided on the priorities of spending to help the economy recover and reducing the budget deficit.



Survey by Pew Research Center for the People & the Press. August 17-21, 2011. 1,509 adults nationwide.

If you were setting priorities for the federal government these days, would you place a higher priority on spending to help the economy recover or a higher priority on reducing the budget deficit?

Women, more than men, desire a stronger economic role for government. This is particularly strong among women without a college degree, unmarried women, and single mothers. While men are more closely divided on this issue, they still favor a stronger government role by a five-point margin.

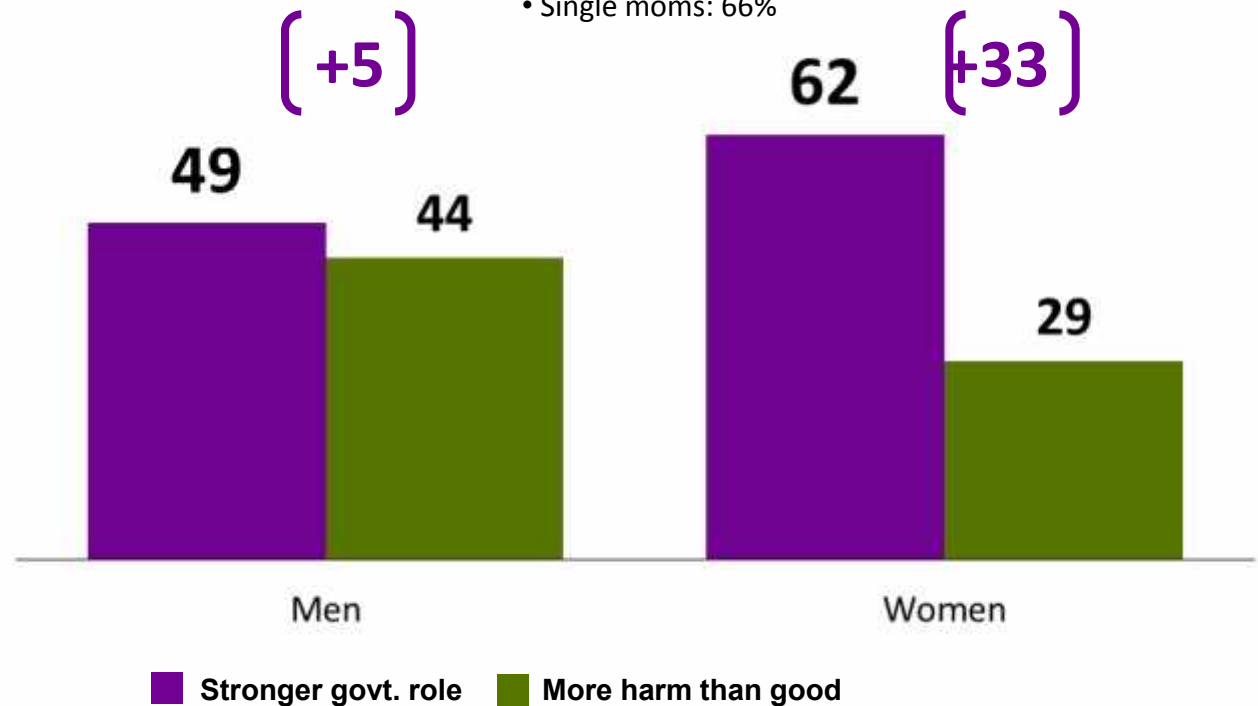
Which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view?

-- It's time for government to take a larger and stronger role in making the economy work for the average American.

--Turning to big government to solve our economic problems will do more harm than good.

Stronger govt. role:

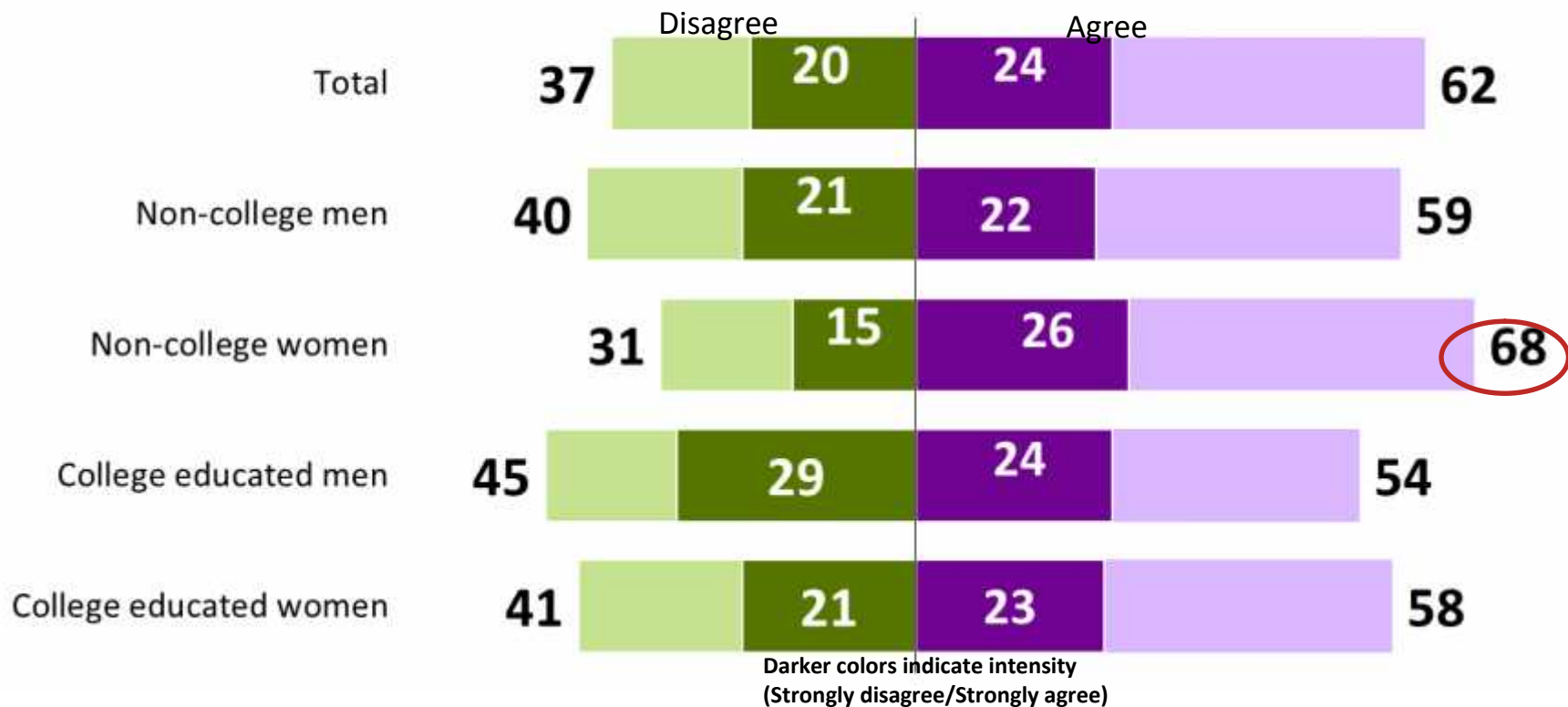
- Non-college women: 63%
- Unmarried women: 68%
- Single moms: 66%



Survey by LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. March 15-24, 2011; 1,515 adults nationwide, including oversamples of 100 African American women, 100 Latinas, 100 Asian/ Pacific Islander/ Native Hawaiian Women, and 100 men and women ages 18 to 29.

Majorities of Americans with and without college degrees want the government to focus on job creation, even if this has short-term deficit impacts. Support for this is especially robust among blue-collar women.

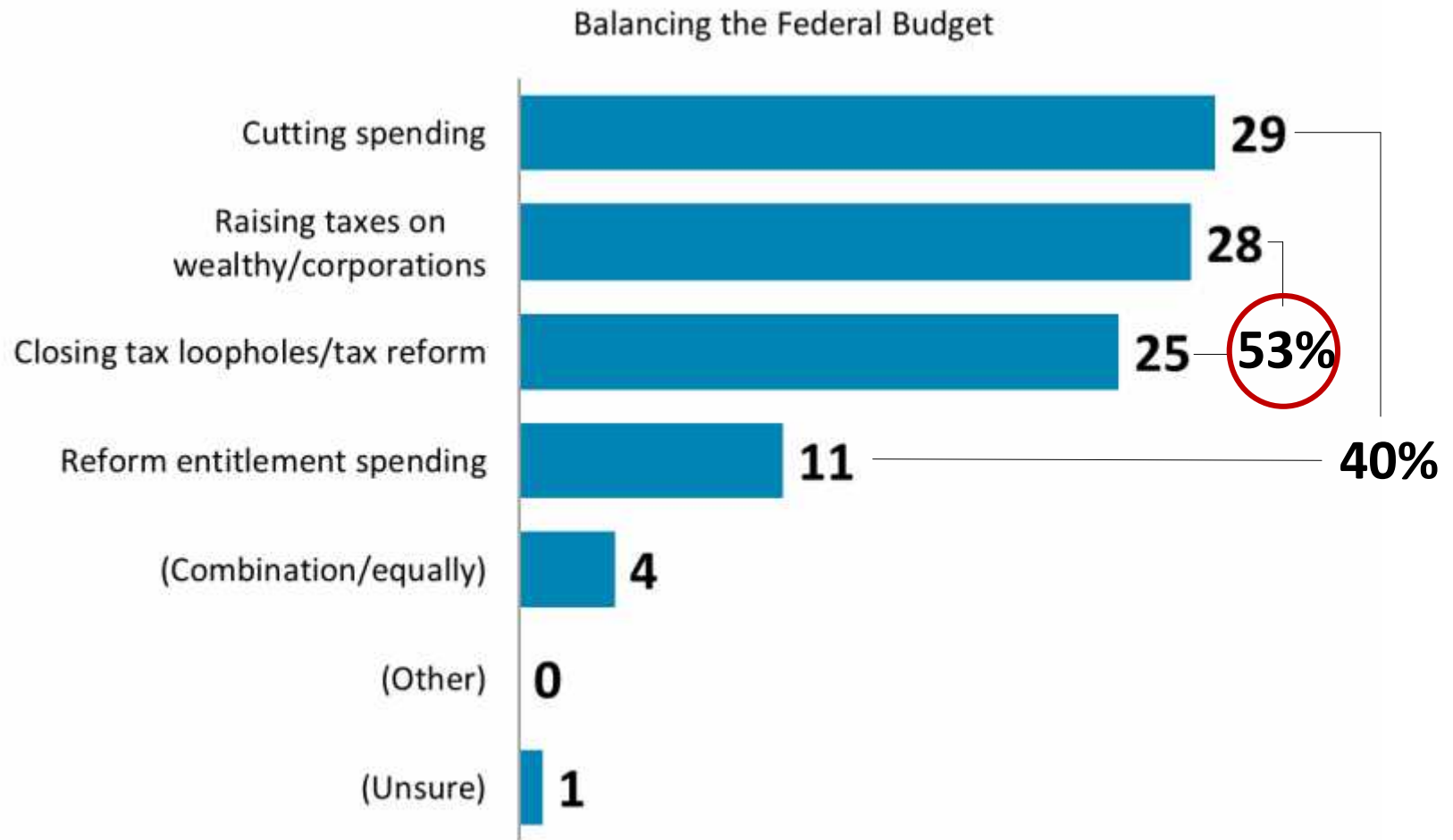
Government Should Focus on Creating Jobs, Even If Increases Deficit in Short-term



Survey by LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. March 15-24, 2011; 1,515 adults nationwide, including oversamples of 100 African American women, 100 Latinas, 100 Asian/ Pacific Islander/ Native Hawaiian Women, and 100 men and women ages 18 to 29.

Now, here is a statement about the economy. Please mark whether you agree or disagree with the following statement: The government should focus on creating jobs even if it means increasing the deficit in the short-term.

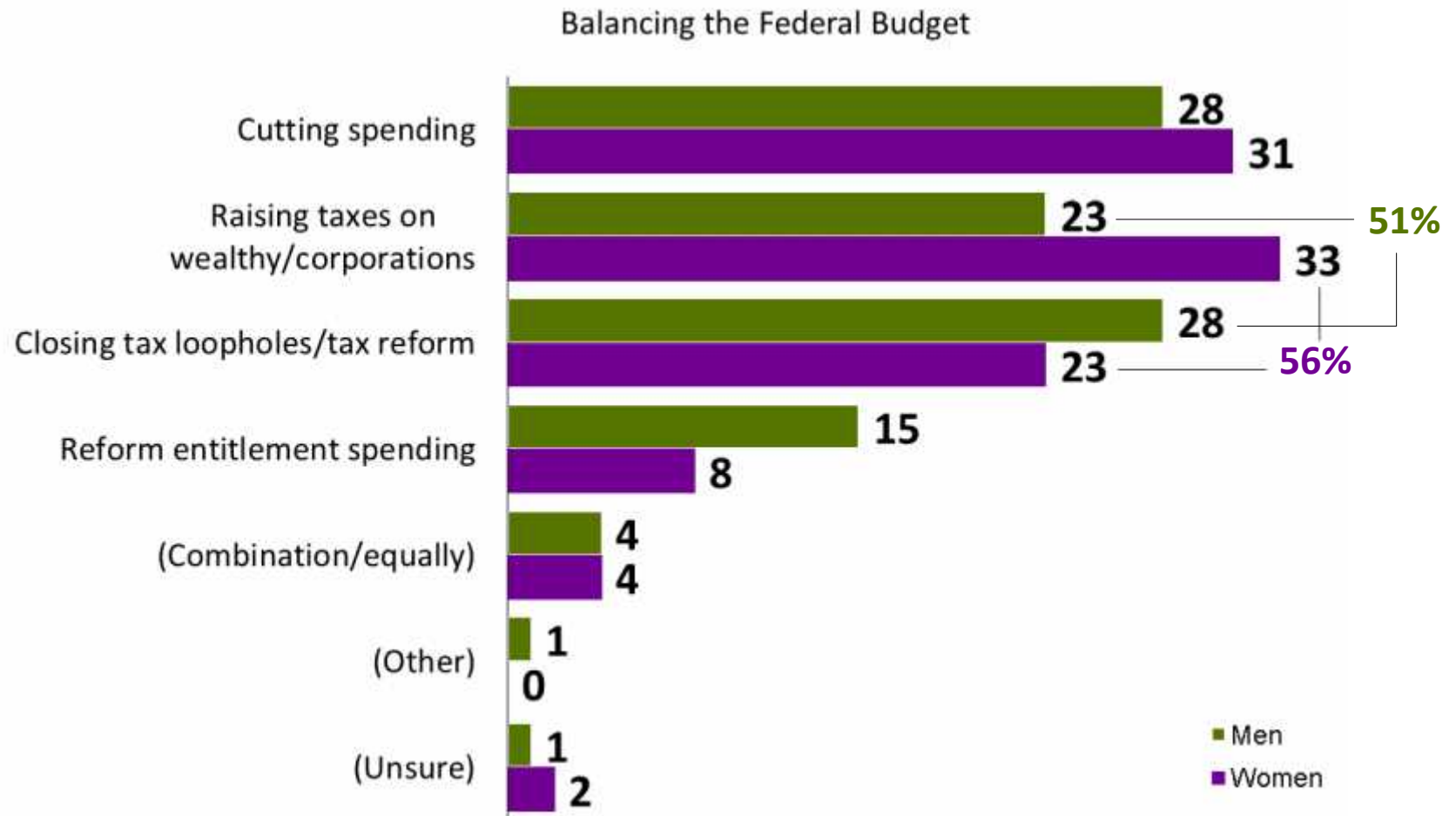
By a double digit margin, voters would balance the budget with tax reform and fairness rather than cuts in spending, even without reference to the programs.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people from this part of the country have said are important for Congress to focus on. Please listen as I read the list and tell me which one issue you think is most important.

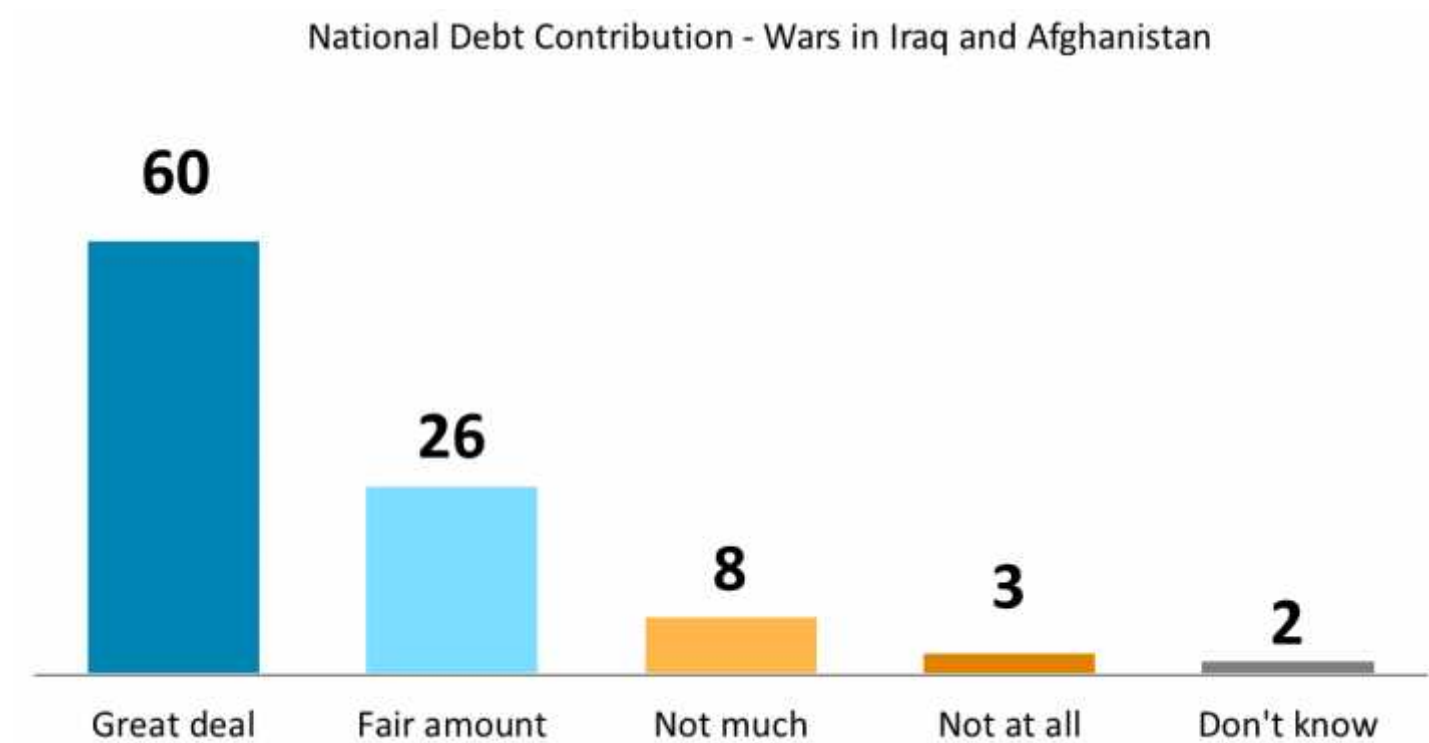
Majorities of men (51 percent) and women (55 percent) agree.



Survey by THE TARRANCE GROUP and LAKE RESEARCH PARTNERS. August 28-September 1, 2011; 1,000 Registered "likely" voters nationwide

Now I would like to read you a list of issues that some people from this part of the country have said are important for Congress to focus on. Please listen as I read the list and tell me which one issue you think is most important.

The public perceives that the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have contributed a great deal to the size of the national debt.

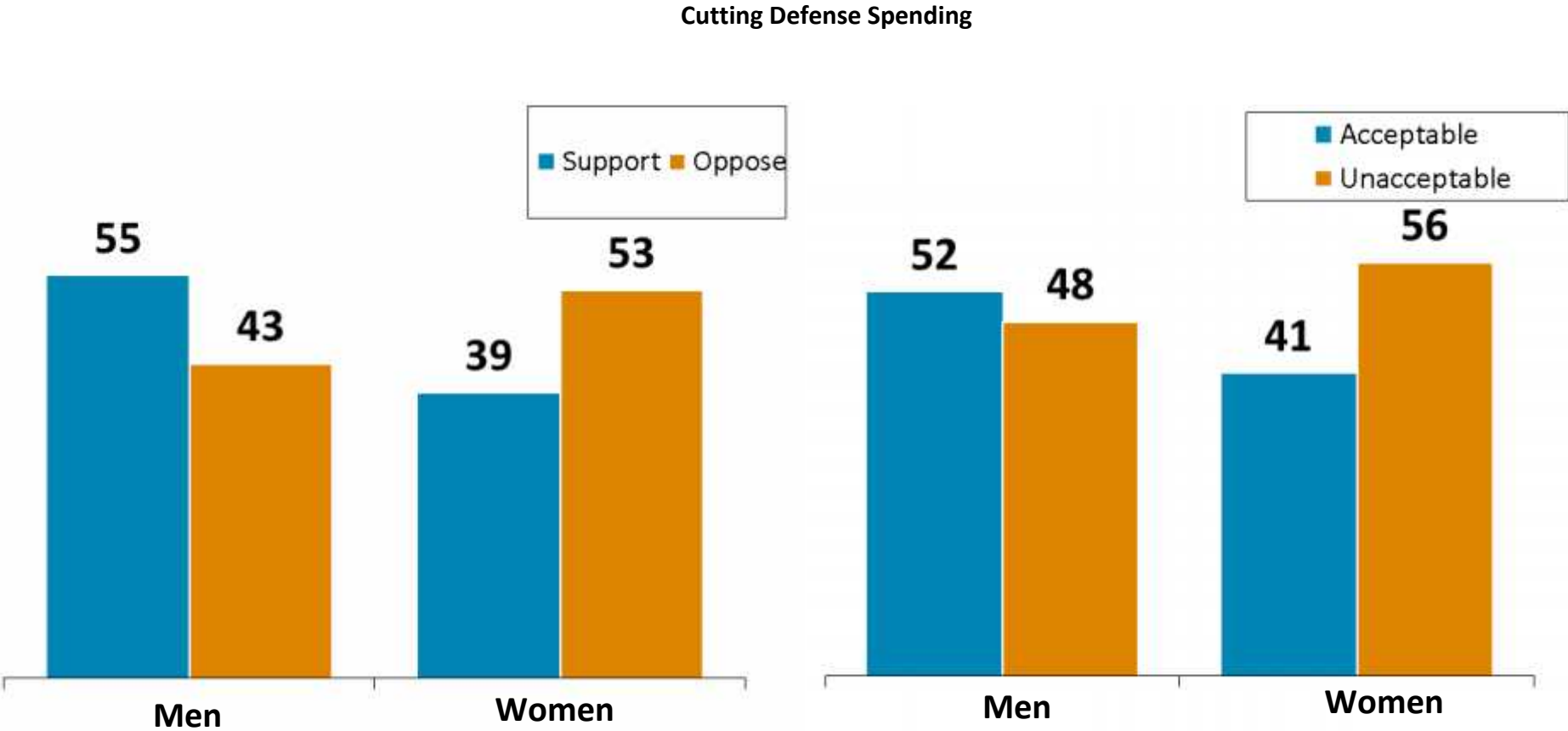


Survey by Pew Research Center for the People & the Press Political Survey. May 25-30, 2011; 1,509 adults nationwide

How much, if at all, do you think the cost of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan has contributed to the size of the current national debt – a great deal, a fair amount, not much, or not at all?

Wars and Military Spending

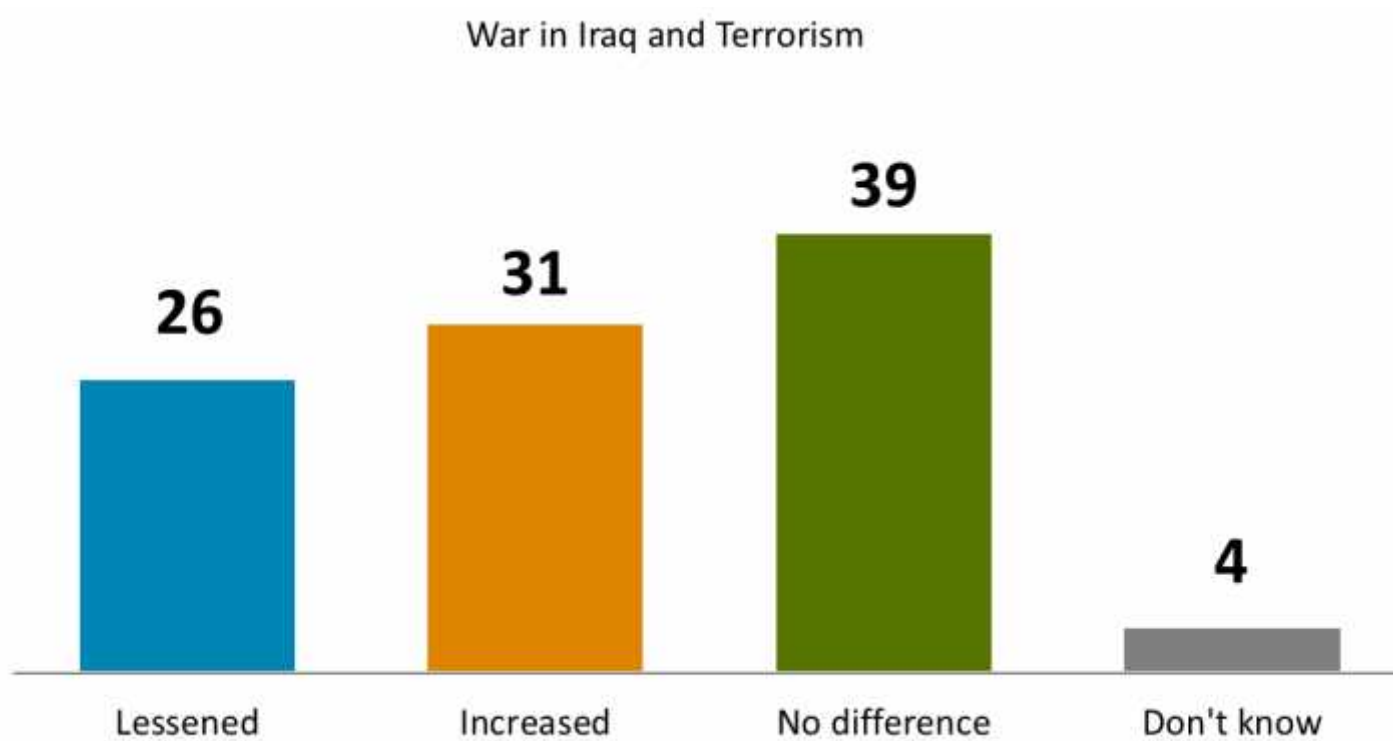
Contrary to the past, in repeated polls, women are more conservative in cuts to defense spending.



Quinnipiac University Poll. Conducted April 26-May 1, 2011. N=1,408 registered voters—landlines and cell phones.
NBC/Wall St. Journal Poll. Conducted by Hart/McInturff February 24-28,2011. N=1,000 adults.



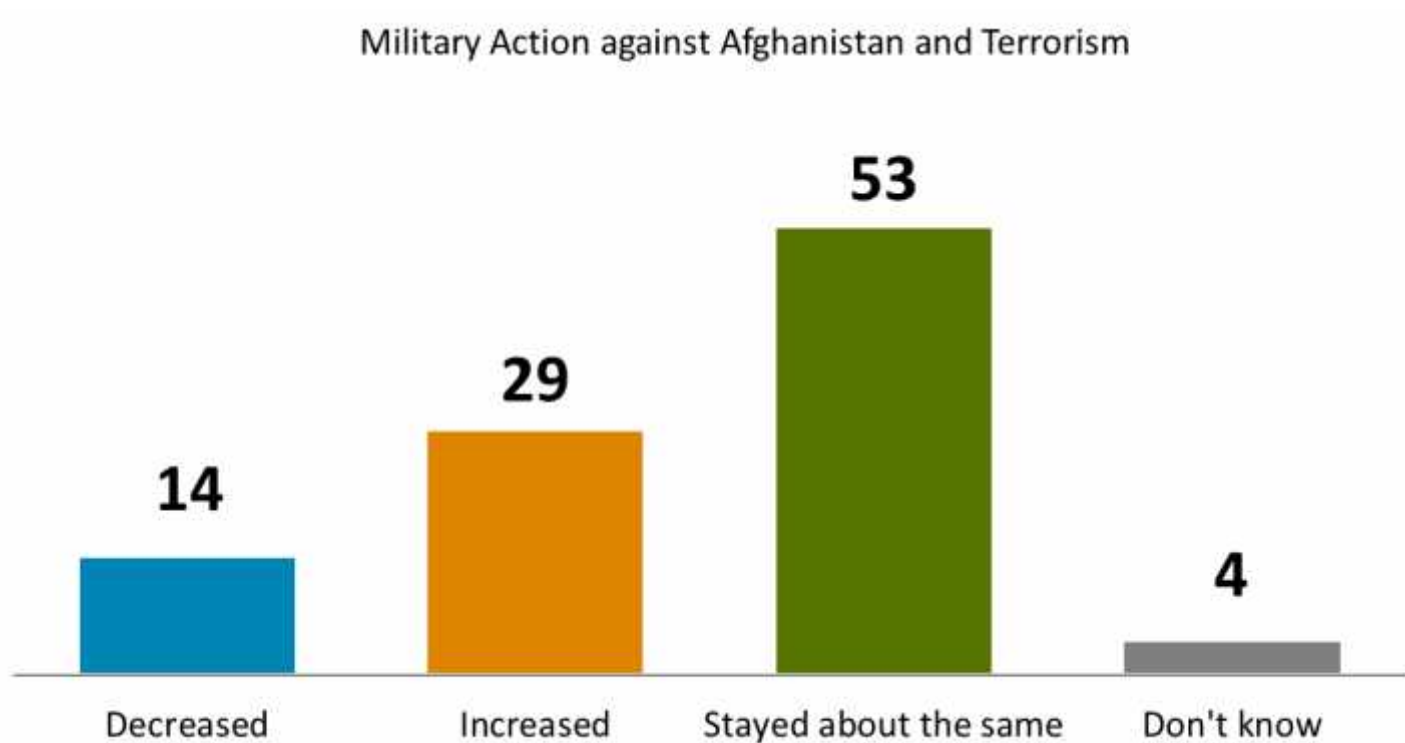
A plurality of Americans think the war in Iraq has made no difference in the chances of terrorist attacks in the US.



Survey by Pew Research Center for the People & the Press Political Survey. August 17-21, 2011; 1,509 adults nationwide

In the long run, do you think the war in Iraq has increased the chances of terrorist attacks in the US, lessened the chances, or has it made no difference?

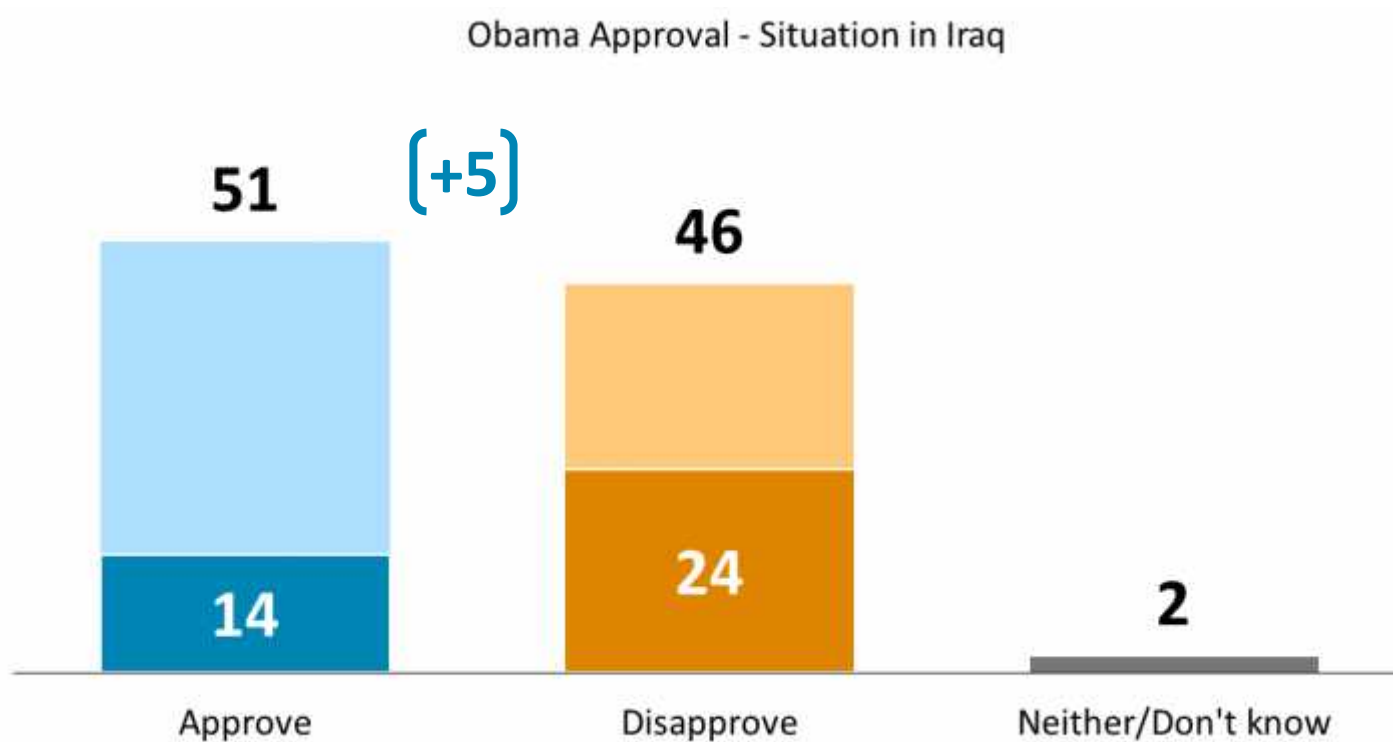
A majority of Americans think that as a result of the military action in Afghanistan, the threat of terrorism in the US has stayed about the same.



Survey CBS News/New York Times. August 19-23, 2011; 1,165 adults nationwide

As a result of the US military action against Afghanistan, do you think the treat of terrorism against the US has increased, decreased, or stayed about the same?

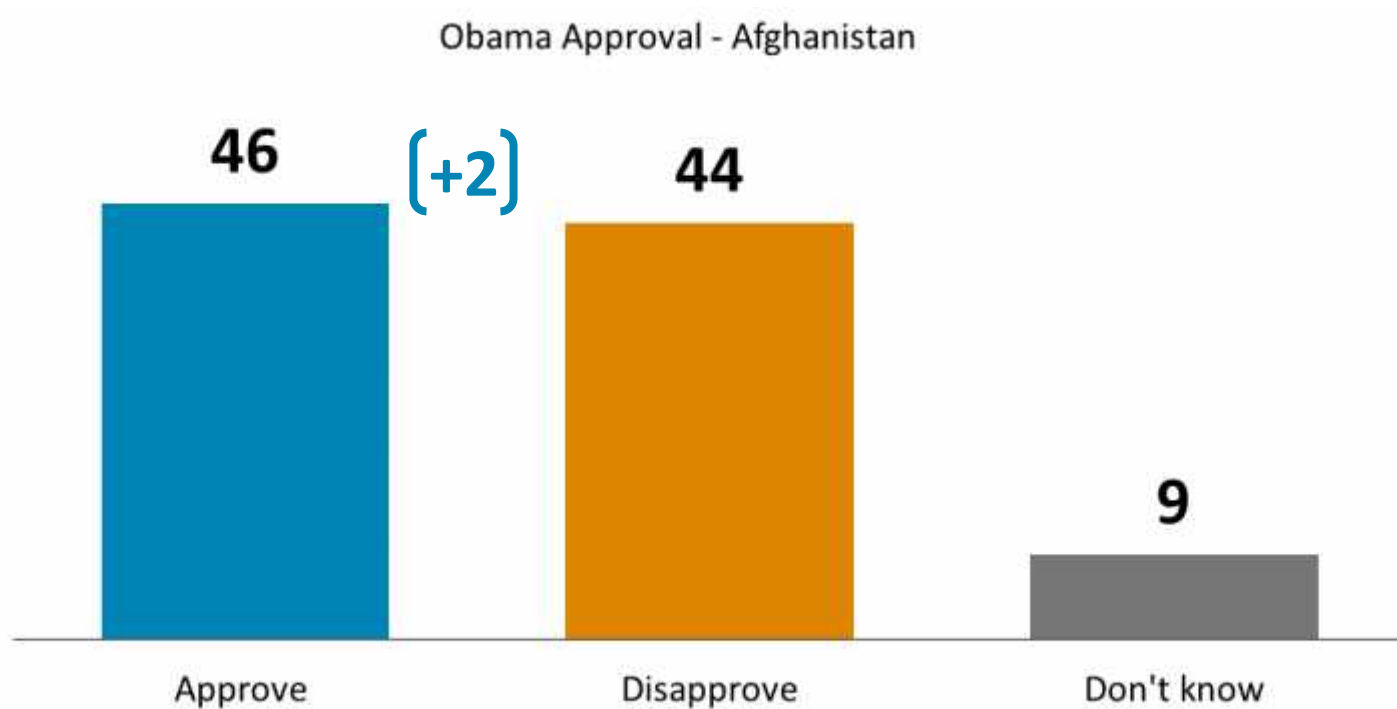
Americans lean toward approving of the way Obama is handling the situation in Iraq.



Survey by Gfk Roper Public Affairs & Corporate Communications. August 18-22, 2011; 1,000 adults nationwide

Please tell me if you approve, disapprove or neither approve no disapprove of the way Barack Obama is handling the situation in Iraq?

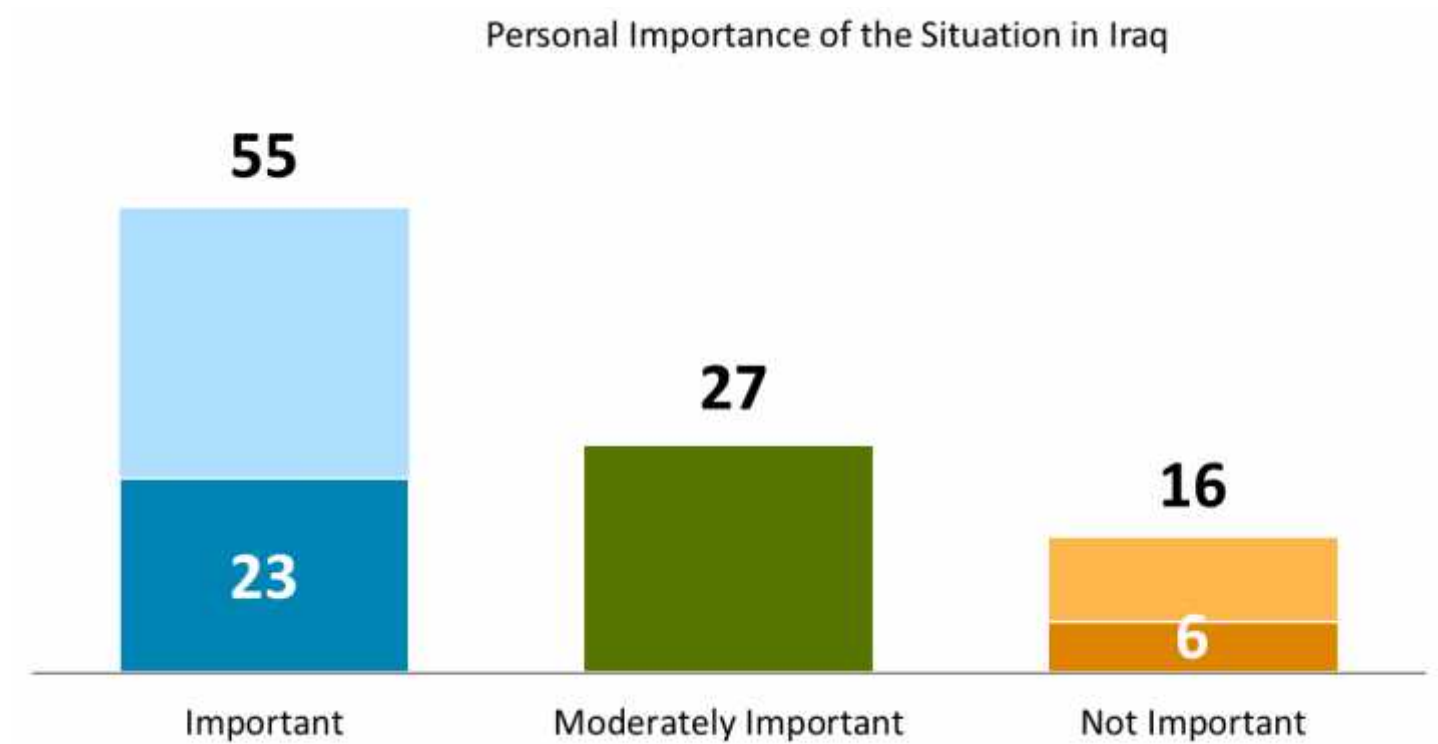
Voters are more divided on the job Obama is doing on Afghanistan.



Survey by Fox News. August 29-31, 2011; 911 registered voters nationwide

Do you approve or disapprove of the job Barack Obama is doing on Afghanistan?

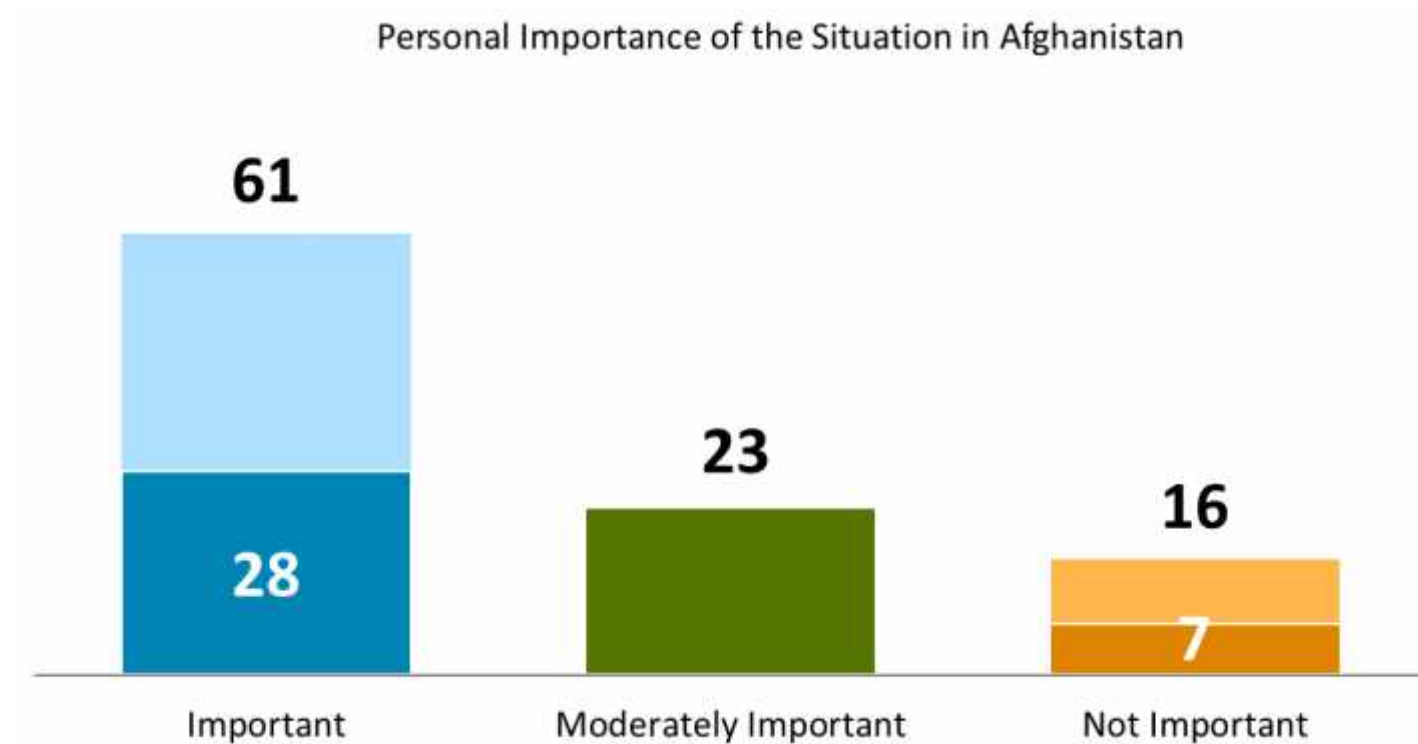
A majority say that the situation in Iraq is important to them personally, although intensity is low.



Survey by Gfk Roper Public Affairs & Corporate Communications. August 18-22, 2011; 1,000 adults nationwide

How important is the situation in Iraq to you personally... not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important or extremely important?

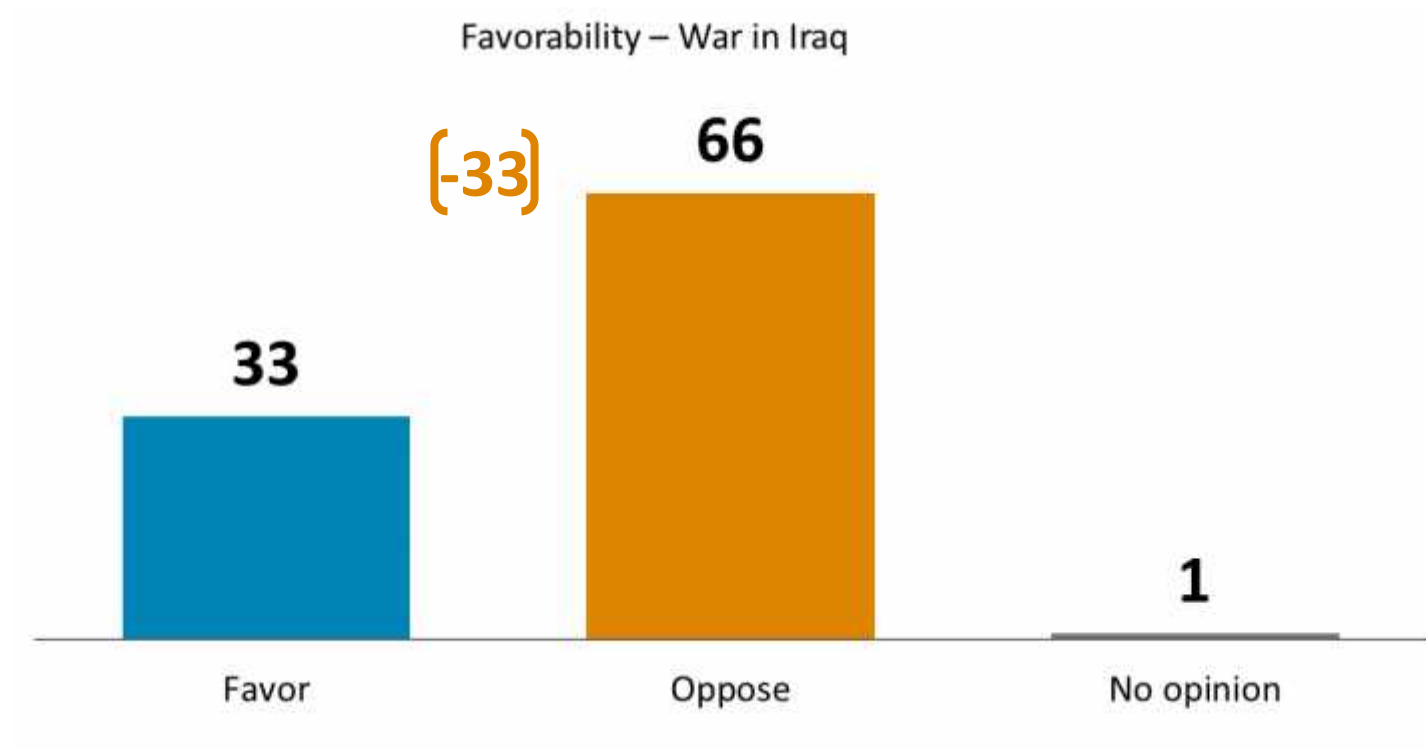
Similarly, a majority say that the situation in Afghanistan is important to them personally, although again, intensity is low.



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How important is the situation in Afghanistan to you personally... not at all important, slightly important, moderately important, very important or extremely important?

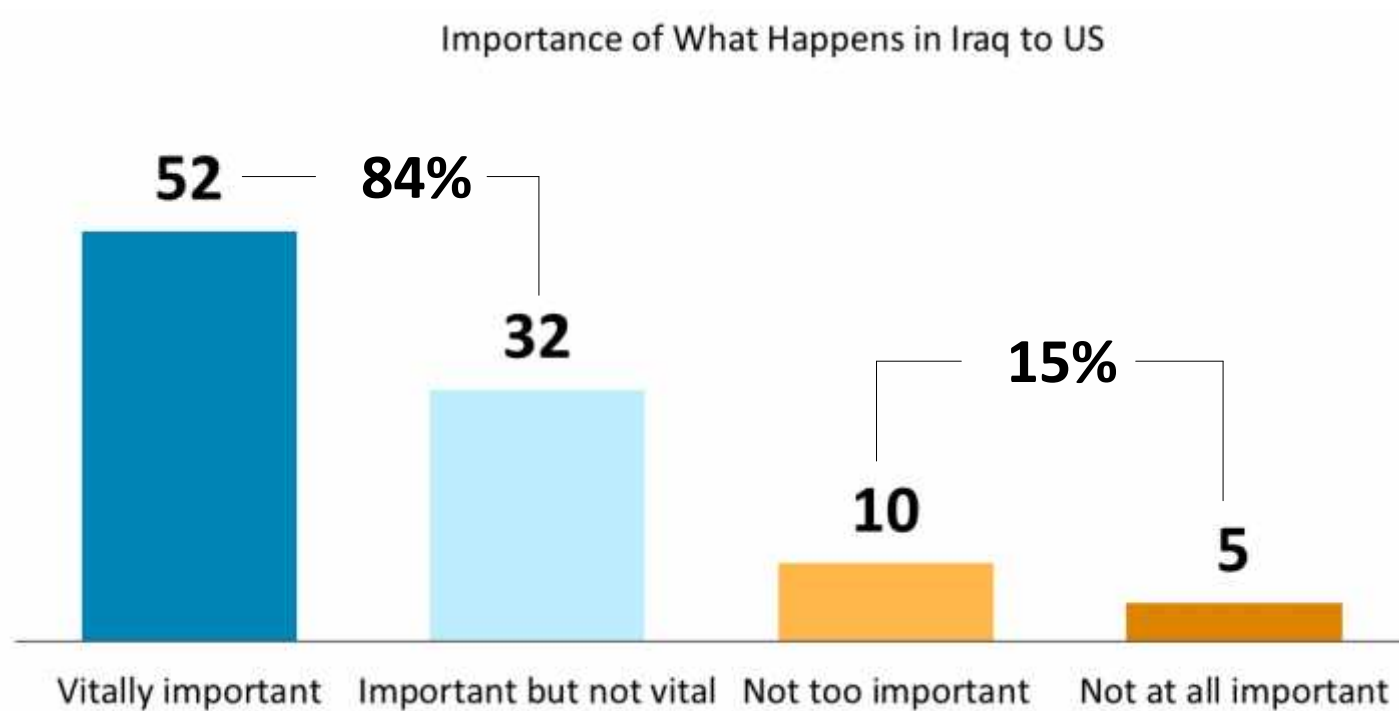
In 2011, two-thirds of Americans oppose the US war in Iraq.



Survey by CNN. January 21-23, 2011; 1,012 adults nationwide

Do you think the US is doing the right thing by fighting the war in Afghanistan now, or should the US not be involved in Afghanistan now?

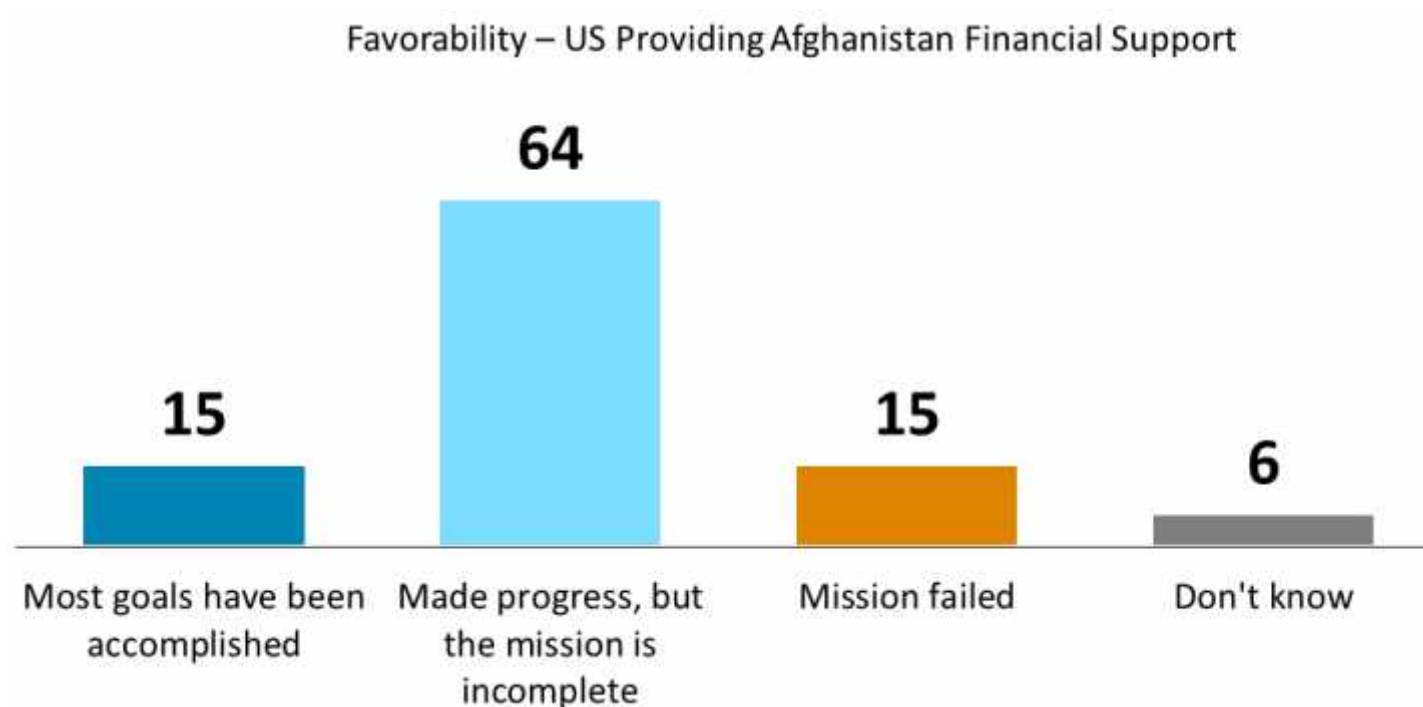
Even so, an overwhelming majority believe what happens in Iraq is important to the United States today.



Survey by Gallup. February 2-5, 2011; 1,015 adults nationwide

How important do you think what happens in Iraq is to the United States today – would you say it is vitally important, important but not vital, not too important, or not important at all?

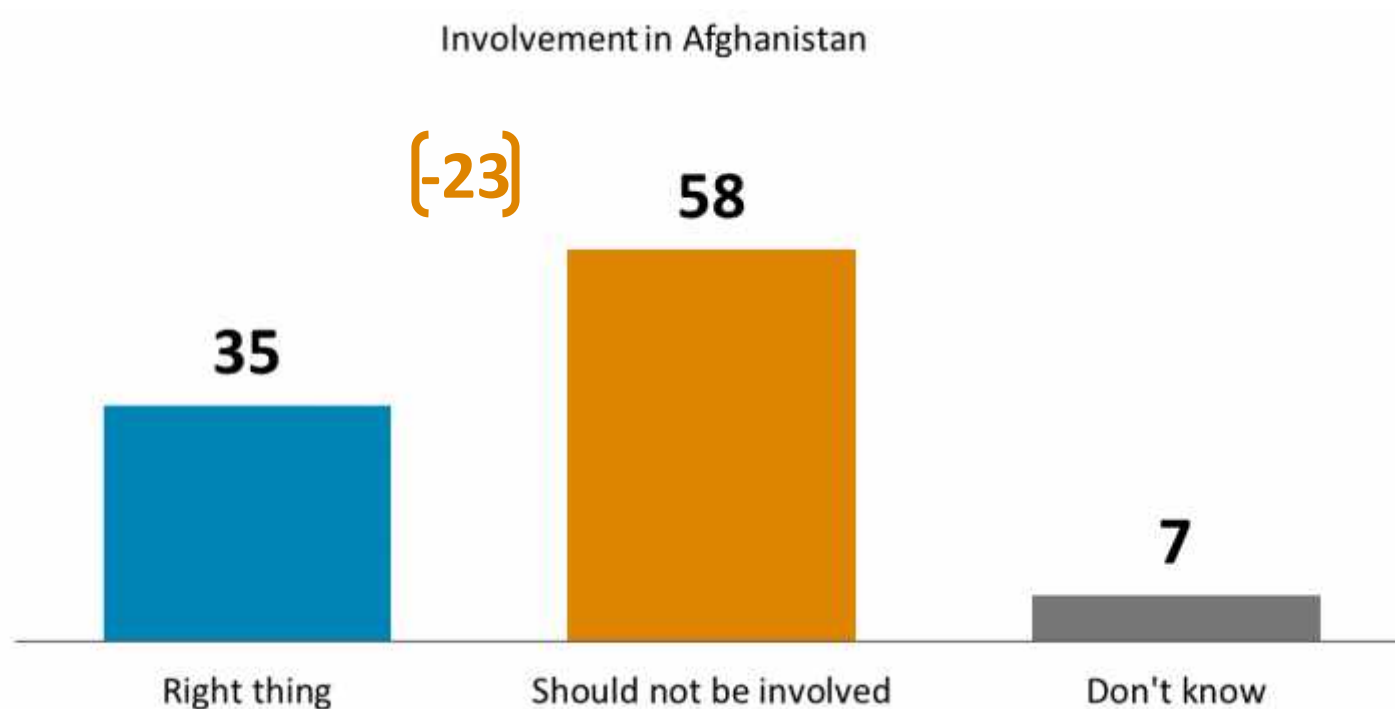
Nearly two-thirds of voters believe that progress has been made in Afghanistan, but the mission is incomplete.



Survey by Fox News . June 26-28, 2011; 912 registered voters nationwide

How do you view the situation in Afghanistan? Do you think that: most goals have been accomplished, progress has been made, but the mission is incomplete, or the mission failed?

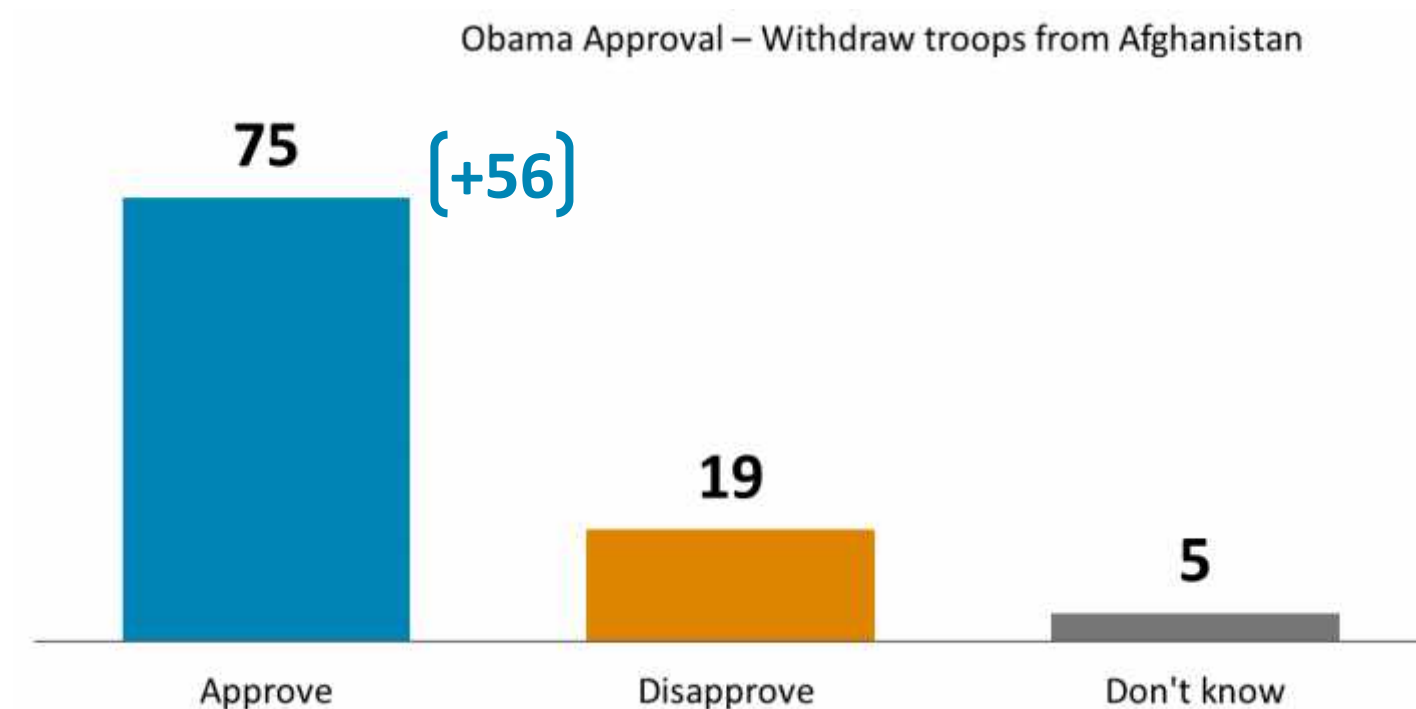
In spite of their personal beliefs, voters believe that the US should not be involved in Afghanistan now.



Survey by Quinnipiac University Polling Institute. August 16-27, 2011; 2,730 registered voters nationwide

Do you think the US is doing the right thing by fighting the war in Afghanistan now, or should the US not be involved in Afghanistan now?

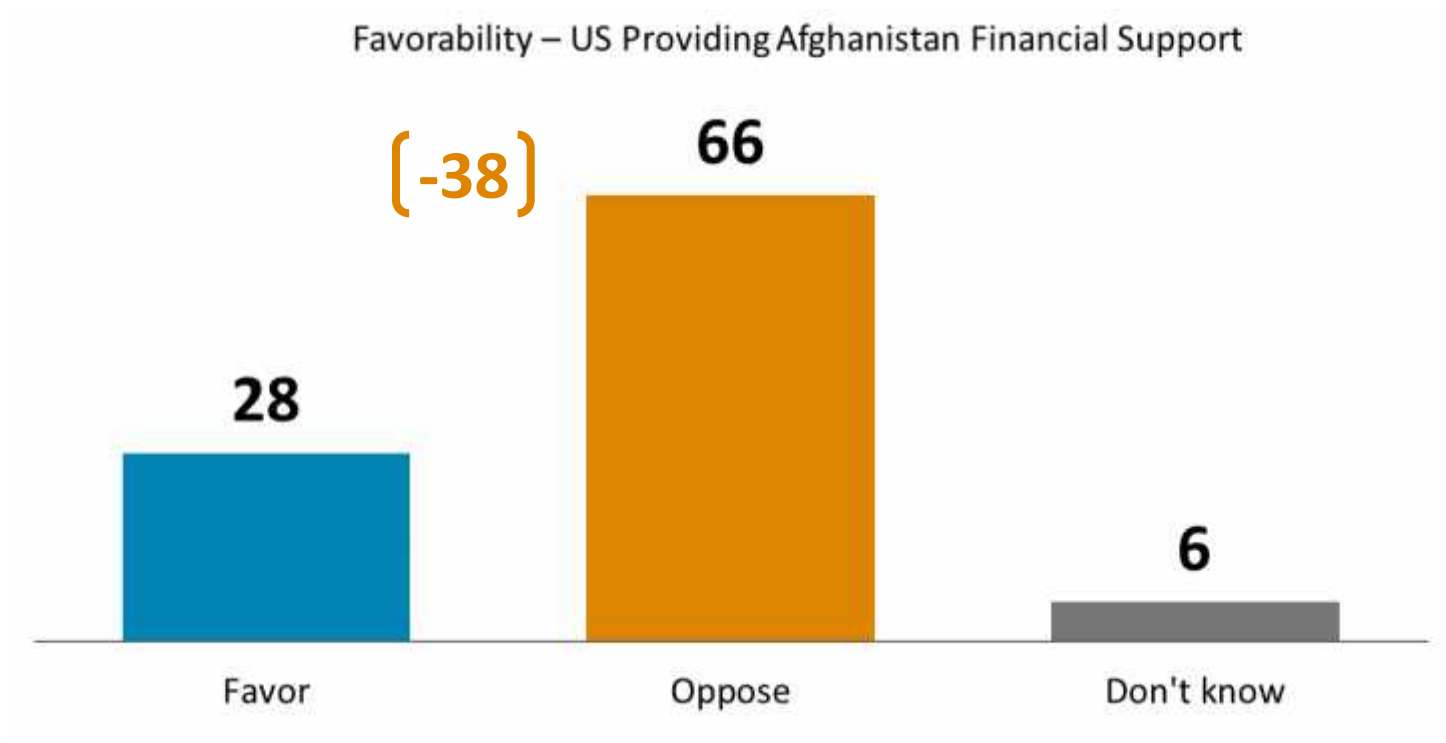
An overwhelming majority of voters approve of Obama's decision to withdraw 33,000 US troops from Afghanistan by next summer.



Survey by Quinnipiac University Polling Institute. August 16-27, 2011; 2,730 registered voters nationwide

Do you approve or disapprove of President Obama's decision to withdraw 33,000 US troops from Afghanistan by next summer?

Two-thirds of voters oppose the US continuing to provide financial support to Afghanistan.



Survey by Fox News . June 26-28, 2011; 912 registered voters nationwide

Setting aside how you feel about the withdrawal of the US troops from Afghanistan, do you favor or oppose the US continuing to provide financial support to Afghanistan?



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