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WOMEN



EMILY'S LIST WOMEN'S MONITOR

REPORT

APRIL, 1996



EMILY'S LIST WOMEN'S MONITOR

A National Survey of Women Voters

Sponsored by
EMILY'S LIST

Conducted by
**GREENBERG RESEARCH
LAKE RESEARCH**

April 12, 1996

The Women's Monitor, which will be conducted every six weeks, is a national survey of women voters that will allow observers of the 1996 election to assess the role of women voters in the selection of the next president and Congress. These periodic surveys will put the spotlight on *the 15 key women audiences* that will shape the 1996 electorate and the character of the national contest and whose shifting judgments may hold the key to understanding the ultimate outcome. Our goal is to open a unique window onto the battle for 1996.

The first national survey was conducted between the 20th and 24th of March 1996, with 1089 registered voters — 781 women and 308 men. The sample was constructed to allow us to look closely at 700 women likely to vote in 1996, but also, for comparative purposes, to look at a sample of 300 men. The sample also includes interviews with 200 low-turnout, drop-off women voters — predominantly women who voted in 1992 (or were too young to vote) but stayed home in 1994 or who voted in 1992 but now express little interest in voting in 1996. This is a baseline survey that will establish the indicators and groups to be monitored through the course of the 1996 election.

With this first poll in the Women's Monitor project, we highlight five key findings:

- Women are poised to shift the electorate sharply Democratic in 1996. In 1994, substantial numbers of women voters who had voted in 1992 stayed home. If these women return to the electorate in 1996, they will significantly drive up the Democratic vote. Currently, the women who stayed home in 1994 give Clinton an enormous 33-point margin over Dole and Democratic congressional candidates a 20-point lead over their Republican opponents.
- The gender gap is reaching staggering levels. Overall, women give President Clinton a margin three times greater than his margin among men (19 points among women, 6 points among men), and they plan to vote Democratic for Congress by 13 points, while men lean 6 points Republican — a 19-point gender gap for the congressional elections.



- Older women have moved dramatically into the Democratic camp, and they are determined to vote. Retired women, for example, support Clinton over Dole by a margin of 64 percent to 31 percent, they plan to vote Democratic for Congress by 20 points, and they are the group most likely to say that the campaign "makes me want to vote" (79 percent). Why this mobilization? The debate over Medicare and Social Security is a likely cause. "Retirement and Social Security" is the top concern of this group, and they give the Democrats a huge 43-point advantage on handling Medicare, Social Security and pensions.
- Women in the Republican base appear dispirited and less enthusiastic about their own party. Devout Evangelicals, for example, who are perhaps the most Republican group of women, are also among the most likely to say they are thinking about not voting (32 percent). Southern white women, who are key to Republican fortunes, are currently split evenly in their evaluations of the GOP Congress, as well as in their congressional vote, and Bob Dole just barely edges out Clinton among these women (5 points) — a position substantially weaker than he should expect. Among these women, half are negative toward Congress, and, by a slight margin, they believe that Congress has not kept its promises.
- Democrats are falling surprisingly short on what is perhaps the most critical issue of all — the economy, and particularly economic security. This may help account for the modest Democratic support and high volatility among younger non-college women and women in lower-wage occupations. Women do give Democrats the advantage on most of the issues dominating the political debate, including education, health care, Medicare, the environment, and raising standards of living for average people. The Democratic advantages created by these issues, however, are clearly limited without a subsequent link to economic security. Women are split evenly on "the economy" and give the GOP a 5-point advantage on "economic security." The Democrats' current disadvantage on this "hard" issue underscores the volatility within the women's electorate.

Women Voters Are Driving Up the 1996 Democratic Vote

The Democrats are currently running ahead in the race for president and the Congress, in part, because of the possible influx of women voters who did not vote in 1994. The re-entry into the electorate of women who stayed home in 1994 (the drop-off voters) significantly changes the equation from two years ago. The 1994 women non-voters — those who voted in 1992 (or were too young) but stayed away 2 years later — seem determined to vote against the Republicans, Bob Dole and the Republican Congress. These 1994 non-voters are substantially more Democratic than the electorate as a whole, giving Clinton a huge 33-point margin over Dole. They are also as likely as more consistent women voters (and more likely than men) to say that "the campaign is raising issues that matter to me."

**1994 DROP-OFF VOTERS AND THE 1996 ELECTORATE**

	Male voters	Women voters	Women drop-off voters
Trust to address problems (Democratic margin)	-1	+14	+22
Presidential vote margin (Democratic margin)	+6	+19	+33
Congressional vote margin (Democratic margin)	-6	+13	+20
Republican Congress: doing harm - making better (margin)	-3	+5	+12

At the same time, while 1994 drop-off women could have a substantial impact in 1996, they must still be considered uncertain voters. The 1994 non-voters are less-educated (40 percent high school or less), younger (44 percent under 40) and have less income (48 percent have family incomes under \$30,000). Only three-quarters (76 percent) say they are almost certain to vote, compared to 95 percent of consistent women voters, and they are less likely to agree that "the election campaign makes me want to go vote" (63 percent agree, compared

to 71 percent among consistent women voters). Whether these "drop-off" voters will turn out in 1996 is a critical question that the *Women's Monitor* will address throughout the year.

The Gender Gap: 1996 Update

Like other national surveys, the Women's Monitor shows both President Clinton and the Democrats in a strong electoral position seven months before the election. Obviously, the presidential contest will tighten, but for the moment, Democrats have the advantage. There are a wide range of factors that contribute to this lead, including respectable support among men, particularly for the President. Nonetheless, Democrats are currently in an ascendant position primarily because of staggering levels of support among women. Whether Democrats turn the current lead into an electoral victory in November will largely depend on the performance of the Democrats among these women voters.



Although the President is in a stronger position in this election because he is running better with *both* men and women, he has his biggest edge among women. Relative to 1992, in a 3-way race, his margin is up 2 points with men, and 12 points with women. The resulting 15 point gender gap is **10 points larger** than 4 years ago.

At the congressional level, Democrats have made roughly equal gains among men and women. Still, a huge gender gap remains, with men leaning Republican and women leaning Democratic. Among men,

Democrats have gone from a 16-point loss in 1994 to a narrower 6-point deficit today. Among women, Democrats have gone from a slim 5-point win in 1994 to a more robust 13-point lead.

Indeed, the gender gap is at record levels. Men split between the two parties, leaning Republican. They vote Republican for Congress by 6 points, trust Republicans to solve their problems by 1 point, put Clinton ahead of Dole by 6 points in a two-way race and by 5 points in a three-way race, and split between the two parties in identification. In vivid contrast, women plan to vote Democratic for Congress by 13 points, trust Democrats to solve their problems by 14 points, give Clinton a 19-point advantage in a two-way and a 20-point advantage in a three-way race, and identify personally with the Democratic party by 14 points.

Moreover, these partisan differences reflect fundamental differences in views about issues and values. Men and women absolutely disagree about which party would be better on the economy, taxes, crime, setting priorities, providing opportunities, and reflecting ethics and honesty. They also disagree about whether Congress has made things better or done harm, and about whether it has kept or broken its promises.

THE GENDER GAP

	All voters	Male voters	Women voters
Vote for President: 2-way (Democratic margin)	+13	+6	+19
Vote for President: 3-way (Democratic margin)	+12	+5	+20
Vote for Congress (Democratic margin)	+4	-6	+13
Party identification (Net Democratic)	+7	0	+14
Democratic Party (Mean thermometer score)	53	49	57
Republican Party (Mean thermometer score)	50	50	49



In the past, the gender gap has been most obvious among single voters and more muted among married voters. However, today, white married men and white married women also disagree. White married women identify with the Democratic party (4 points), vote Democratic for Congress (5 points), and support Clinton over Dole in a 3-way race (9 points). By contrast, white married men are slightly Republican in partisanship (2 points), support Republicans for Congress (6 points), and give Clinton only a slight advantage in a 3-way race (2 points).

In short, underpinned by different priorities on issues and values, as well as by different partisanship, the gender gap is likely to remain. Currently, women appear very Democratic up and down the ticket, while men today are cross-pressured – voting slightly Democratic at the presidential level but leaning Republican in partisanship and at the congressional level.

Report Card on the Republican Congress: Women Closing Down

A majority of women voters (55 percent) now look at the Republican Congress and say "it's time to give somebody else a chance." Only 38 percent say "it needs more time to get things done." The men are more supportive of the Congress, but even they are split on whether it is time for a change (48 percent to 46 percent).

The fact that so many women seem ready to close down on the Congress that was elected barely a year-and-a half ago reflects considerable doubts about the course of the Congress:

- A plurality of women (44 percent to 39 percent) say the Congress is "doing harm," rather than "making things better," while men tilt slightly in the other direction (46 percent say it is making things better; 43 percent say it is doing harm).
- A plurality of women (48 percent to 37 percent) say the Congress has "mostly failed," rather than been "mostly successful." A somewhat narrower plurality of men share the women's feelings about the efficacy of the Congress (49 percent to 42 percent).
- A plurality of women (49 percent to 33 percent) say the Congress has "broken its promises," not kept them. Importantly, the plurality of men believe the opposite (46 percent to 39 percent).
- The women are divided evenly (42 percent to 40 percent) on whether this is a "mainstream" or "extremist" Congress. Men are inclined to believe the Congress is "mainstream" (49 percent to 42 percent).



Anatomy of the 1996 Women's Vote

The current ascendancy of Democrats is not just the product of a general rise in Democratic support among women. Rather, there are specific and dramatic developments within the women's electorate that deserve particular attention. Our windows to this story are 15 key audiences that comprise the women's vote (see the table which concludes this report for a summary of these audiences).

An Aging Explosion. Women retirees and non-college women approaching retirement (50 years or older) are giving the President and the Democrats running for Congress explosive levels of support. The likely crystallization of the Medicare and retirement issues has created a powerful dynamic driving up the Democratic vote. These older voters are clearly upset with the Republicans and determined to vote their views in November.

- **Retired women.** These women voters are giving Bill Clinton a 33-point margin in a 2-way race with Bob Dole (64 percent to 31 percent) and Democratic congressional candidates a 20-point margin in a generic congressional race. The retired women's first concern, dwarfing everything else, is retirement and Social Security (39 percent). They give the Democrats an astonishing 43-point advantage on handling Medicare, pensions and Social Security. They give Newt Gingrich one of the lowest possible ratings (29 degrees), and, more than any other group in the electorate, they are fed up with the Republican Congress: 60 percent indicated "it's time to give somebody else a chance." However, their disaffection is not alienation. They are determined to vote: 79 percent say the campaign "makes me want to vote" — the highest for any of the audiences in this study.
- **Pre-retirement women.** These non-college women in their 50s and early 60s are a volatile and key part of the electorate. Among the most economically anxious, these non-college women are worried about retirement and health care (39 percent) and give the President a sizeable 20-point margin (56 percent to 36 percent). They also give the Democrats running for Congress an 18-point margin, nearly equal to the Democratic tide among seniors. They are particularly likely to think that this is a failed Congress (21 points) which has broken its promises (18 points) and is extreme in its orientation (11 points). These views are reflected by their overwhelming confidence in the Democrats over the Republicans on handling pensions and Social Security (36 points) and Medicare (32 points). They too strongly dislike Gingrich (27 degrees) and the Republican Congress (54 percent want somebody else), and 71 percent say the campaign makes them want to vote.

Cosmopolitanism and Clintonism. Bill Clinton is getting a strong boost in his race with Bob Dole, and higher ratings relative to other Democrats, because of strong support among professional and suburban women. In both of these key audiences, Clinton is running 18 points



ahead of Dole, even though these voters are evenly divided on the parties and evenly divided in the congressional race. These women are more secular and pro-choice and more favorable to the Democrats on the environment and education. They are very critical of the conservative religious political groups.

While these groups of women are currently giving Clinton large margins in the presidential race, they lean strongly toward the Republicans on the economy, taxes, welfare, and important values like personal responsibility and economic security. At the presidential level, these voters are currently voting their views on social issues like abortion, the environment, and education, though at the congressional level, they are divided — but still leaning Democratic. These cosmopolitan voters are clearly conflicted on issues and values and their ambivalence will be a major factor in the upcoming campaign.

- **Professionals.** Among professional women, there are an equal number of Democrats and Republicans, and that is reflected in the congressional race: Republicans are up by one point (42 percent to 41 percent). Clinton, however, runs considerably ahead of partisanship among these women and is 18 points ahead of Dole. Almost two-thirds of professional women are strongly pro-choice (65 percent), and they give the Democrats a 20-point advantage on abortion. These women give the Democrats their biggest advantage, however, on the environment (a breathtaking 50 points), along with a 24-point advantage on education. However, these voters are very cautious about the Democrats on the economy (giving the Republicans a 14-point advantage), taxes (11-point Republican advantage), and welfare (26 points). While they turn to the Democrats on tolerance (54-point Democratic advantage), equality (45 points), and children getting the right start in life (35 points), they are much more likely to favor the Republicans on important values, like economic security (24-point Republican advantage) and personal responsibility (35 points). At the moment, these voters are leaning toward the Democrats: 16 percent are "winnable" for the Democrats. This means 16 percent of these professionals are undecided or Republican voters who say there is still a chance (fair/small) they will vote Democratic in 1996. Only 4 percent are "winnable" for the Republicans.
- **Suburban women.** The same pattern holds for suburban women: a strong vote for the President (18-point margin), a weaker vote for the Democrats (4 points), and a very slight Democratic tilt in partisanship (3 points). These are strong pro-choice voters (65 percent) who do not like conservative religious political groups (34 degrees) or Pat Buchanan (27 degrees). They give the Democrats strong advantages on the environment (40 points), pensions and Social Security (25 points), education (23 points) and abortion (21 points); they give the Republicans the advantage on taxes (12 points), the economy (10 points), welfare (19 points) and the deficit (20 points). Almost two-thirds say they want to see different candidates in the election.



Republican demoralization. Bob Dole and Republican congressional candidates are winning among the conventional Republican base voters, though not impressively. One has to assume that these voters will be drawn to the Republicans on the issues and values, but for the moment, these voters seem somewhat demoralized. Many say the campaign is making them think of not voting, and one in three conservative Republican women say about the GOP Congress that "it is time to give somebody else a chance" (33 percent), and 61 percent of Republican women say they would like to see different candidates.

- **Devout Evangelicals.** Bob Dole is defeating Clinton here by 16 points, and Republicans are defeating Democratic congressional candidates by 13 points, but they ought to do better — and no doubt will before the campaign is over. These women lean toward the Democrats on few substantive matters and lean strongly to the Republicans on issues like abortion (21 points), government spending (23 points), welfare (23 points) and the deficit (33 points), as well as on values like knowing right from wrong (26 points) and personal responsibility (27 points). However, these Republican base voters are somewhat demoralized: a third (32 percent) say they are thinking of not voting — 7 points higher than average and double the proportion of mobilized Democratic groups such as retirees (16 percent) or minority women (19 percent).
- **Southern white women.** Bob Dole barely runs ahead of Bill Clinton among southern white women (5 points), which is unprecedented in recent elections. The Democratic congressional race is even (44 percent each). If the "Solid South" is to prove solidly Republican, these white women will have to shift significantly before November. While these voters are more favorable to the religious conservatives (42 degrees), they do not like Gingrich very much (33 degrees); they are split down the middle on whether the Republican Congress is a success or failure and whether it is making things better or causing harm. While these voters give the Republicans better marks on taxes (9 points) and the economy (9 points), they favor the Democrats on Medicare (20 points) and the environment (28 points). The southern white women are fairly positive about the economy (59 percent say it is in good shape). Values are the Republicans' strength among these voters — they see the Congress as mainstream rather than extremist (12 points), and they give the Republicans sound leads on things like personal responsibility (22 points). However, on a number of policy areas before the Congress, they are cross-pressured.

Republicans are running marginally ahead with *traditional women*, though not decisively. Homemakers are currently divided evenly, and married moms are only leaning Republican — substantial Republican declines from the past. Still, these voters are very nervous about a changing economy and strongly favor the Republicans on economic issues, economic security and personal responsibility. Right now, these voters are somewhat conflicted and unhappy about the campaign, but they have important reasons to turn to the Republicans.



- **Homemakers.** Homemakers right now split evenly in the presidential contest (46 percent for Clinton and 47 percent for Dole) and give the congressional Democrats a 2-point margin. This all seems a bit fleeting: homemakers warm to the Republicans on taxes and the economy (14 and 17 points, respectively), on welfare and the deficit (24 and 22 points, respectively), and on economic security and, above all, personal responsibility (23 and 32 points, respectively). Older homemakers in particular may split their tickets, given their concerns about retirement and their families making ends meet. White homemakers give Democrats an advantage on raising living standards for average people (16 points) and on Medicare (7 points). Homemakers, however, seem very alienated from the campaign: a third say the campaign is making them think of not voting, and two-thirds want to see new candidates.
- **Married moms.** A stated top target for Republicans, this important traditional audience is already voting Republican by 6 points for President and by 5 points for Congress. Perot gets 17 percent of the vote here, and it comes at Clinton's expense. The married moms are turning to the Republicans on this uncertain economy. They are cautious about the current economy and see only future instability (63 percent to 26 percent). They favor the Republicans on the economy and taxes (16 and 19 points, respectively) and overwhelmingly on economic security and personal responsibility (29 and 34 points, respectively). Values reinforce the Republican leanings of these voters — by 15 points, they see the Congress as mainstream. The Republicans are most vulnerable among these voters on education. This is an important issue to them and they give the Democrats a 17-point advantage on it. In addition, like the homemakers and other Republican-leaning voters, the married moms are somewhat demoralized by what they see in politics today. By 15 points, they believe that Congress has broken its promises, and, by 12 points, they say it's time to give somebody else a chance.

An additional group which currently leans Republican is **younger white women** (white women under age 35), who to a large degree overlap the married moms. The Republican inclinations of married moms, particularly on the economy, are even more pronounced among these voters, suggesting that this youngest bloc of white women in the electorate may emerge as a key target audience.¹ Younger white women currently identify themselves as Republicans by 8 points (41 percent to 33 percent) and give the Republican party their strongest advantage on the economy (26 points), as well as strong advantages on economic security (26 points) and personal responsibility (29 points). At the same time, this group is holding back on voting Republican. They split evenly at both the presidential level (Dole at 47 percent, Clinton at 46 percent) and the

¹ White women in their twenties are too small a group to examine separately in the current survey. We expect to look more closely at this potentially critical audience as we aggregate data over time.



congressional level (45 percent for Democrats, 43 percent for Republicans), and Perot gains some of his strongest support from this group (20 percent).

Working class volatility. Like the married moms, working class women voters are cautious about the economy and the economic future, which is making them one of the most volatile audiences in the women's electorate.

- **Lower wage occupations.** These voters lean towards Clinton at the moment, but not decisively: Clinton is ahead by only 52 percent to 45 percent in a 2-way race; 17 percent would vote for Perot in a 3-way race. Noticeably, congressional Democrats are actually running somewhat stronger than the President, ahead of the Republicans by 10 points. Less than half think the economy is in good shape, and, overwhelmingly, these women expect instability rather than opportunity from this new era. Almost half say the economy is in bad shape *and* will bring instability. Right now, these voters give the Republicans an 8-point advantage on the economy and a 14-point advantage on economic security. They do not lean decisively to either party on the issues or values.
- **Younger non-college women.** These younger non-college voters favor the President in a 2-way race (54 percent to 41 percent), but their support is soft; 18 percent would vote for Perot in a 3-way race. Congressional Democrats are ahead by 10 points among these women, who lean Democratic in partisanship by 13 points. These voters also give the Democrats higher marks than they give Republicans on education (18 points), health care (21 points) and children getting the right start in life (19 points). However, like the lower wage occupation workers, these voters are very down on the economy, and they lean Republican on addressing that problem (5 points). They are also fairly traditional — more favorable than most women towards Pat Buchanan and toward religious conservatives. Democrats can appeal to them on values as well. These voters give Democrats twice the advantage as other voters on representing individual freedom (18 points) and a commitment to family (15 points).

Middle ground: Tilting Democratic. The electoral audiences that normally constitute the middle ground in our elections are tilting Democratic; indeed, some that have historically played critical roles in the Democrats' unraveling now seem decisively Democratic, particularly the key target group of Catholic women.

- **Middle-income women.** The women who occupy the middle-income range in the electorate split between the parties in identification, but lean toward Bill Clinton (12 points) and the congressional Democrats (7 points). In both cases, they lag behind other women, suggesting that if the race tightens, they will in fact occupy the middle ground. These voters are quite contradictory on the economy, seeing current conditions as fairly good but also seeing a lot of future instability.



They favor the Republicans by 7 points on the economy. They give the Democrats better marks on health care and the environment.

- **Catholics.** If Catholic women are a swing bloc, it is not evident in this survey. Right now, they are voting overwhelmingly for Clinton over Dole (61 percent to 35 percent) and for the Democrats for Congress (by 16 points). This is reinforced by their strong Democratic party identification (18 points). Among Catholic women, Democrats are completely dominant on a broad range of issues, but particularly pensions, Social Security, Medicare and health care. They give the Democrats much higher marks than the Republicans on children getting the right start in life (33 points) and commitment to family (21 points). In the current political debate, Catholic women seem very comfortable on the Democratic side.

Near Democratic solidity. The audiences that have constituted the Democratic base in the past seem quite solidified behind the Democrats. It is a striking contrast with the evidence of demoralization on the Republican side.

- **Union households.** Bill Clinton is winning in a landslide among women in union households (66 percent to 27 percent), and Democratic congressional candidates are running a very strong 28 points ahead of their opponents.
- **Minority women.** Among women of color, Clinton is running ahead, 72 percent to 18 percent, and the congressional Democrats enjoy a 48-point lead.
- **Single women.** Single women in the workforce constitute a sizeable bloc, and they are becoming dependably Democratic: for Clinton over Dole by 63 percent to 34 percent and for congressional Democratic candidates over their Republican opponents by 26 points.

The State of the Race

It is possible to gain a pictorial view of the women's electorate and their vote choices by examining the "voter choice scales." These scales create a map of the electorate based on vote preferences, the probability of changing one's vote, and thermometer scores on the parties and candidates.

This race will obviously change as Bob Dole gains the national stage after the primaries, but at the present time, Dole is working from a weakened position.

- Forty-three (43) percent of the women's electorate is "unreachable" for Dole, while only 29 percent is "unreachable" for Clinton.



- Neither Clinton nor Dole is currently poised to make immediate and major gains: only 6 percent are "winnable" for Dole, while the same amount remain "winnable" for Clinton.
- Clinton has more "loyalists" among women voters (28 percent to 21 percent).

The congressional elections are currently tighter, with the Democrats ahead by 13 points. At the moment, the Democrats are in a slightly better position to make gains:

- Thirteen (13) percent are "winnable" for the Democrats, while 9 percent are "winnable" for the Republicans.
- There are an equal number of Democratic and Republican "loyalists" in the women's electorate.

The State of the 1996 Campaign: The Jury's Out

Both women and male voters are divided at the moment on whether the current campaign is raising issues that matter and whether the "campaign is talking to people like me." Nonetheless, a large majority of the women say the campaign is making them want to vote (71 percent), even though a lot of the women (57 percent) and even more of the men (63 percent) say they would like to see different candidates.

The State of the Parties

Within the women's electorate, the Democratic Party is now dominant over the Republicans on a broad range of issues and values. These are displayed in the accompanying graphs. Democrats are dominant on issues like the environment, education, health care, Medicare, raising living standards, and protecting pensions. Republicans are dominant on changing welfare and addressing the deficit. Still, the Democratic advantages are nearly four times as great. Within the women's electorate, the economy, spending priorities, and crime are evenly contested. These remain key issues.

On values, the Democrats are dominant on a broad range, from individual freedom to compassion. Still, there are important values that remain contested, including commitment to family, ethics and honesty, knowing right from wrong, and personal and economic security. Republicans are dominant on personal responsibility.

Particularly striking is the Democrats' advantage on "understanding the lives of women, mothers and families." Here, the Democrats have their greatest advantage of all (38 points), with the margin growing to an overwhelming 45 points among the women who did not vote in 1994.



Moreover, this advantage extends to liberal and moderate Republican women, who say the Democrats do a better job understanding women's lives by a 12-point margin.

Also notable, however, is the Democrats' striking weakness on the economy (women split evenly) and on economic security (5-point disadvantage). The economy is a top issue for women (a 17 percent plurality say this is what they worry about the most), particularly for younger women and non-college women (about 20 percent in both cases). Moreover, the youngest bloc of white women (those under 35) give the Republicans their strongest advantage on "the economy" (26 points). Only retired women and minority women give the Democrats any real edge on the economy.

In the absence of a strong Democratic message on the economy, other issues like health care, pensions, and education become issues of compassion rather than issues central to economic security, and, as a result, they lack punch. Counter to this, the Republican Party can put together a strong economic message linked to taxes, deficits and welfare reform — issues on which several key women's audiences give the Republicans an advantage. Clearly, the battle for an economic message has yet to take shape and could underpin much of the volatility of this year's election.



KEY AUDIENCES OF WOMEN VOTERS				
		% of women's electorate	Pres. margin	Cong. margin
<i>Aging Women</i>				
1.	Retired women	20%	+33	+20
2.	Pre-retirement women (non-college)	18%	+20	+18
<i>Cosmopolitan Women</i>				
3.	Professionals	16%	+18	-1
4.	Suburban women	21%	+18	+4
<i>Republican Base Women</i>				
5.	Devout Evangelicals	15%	-16	-13
6.	Southern white women	25%	-5	0
<i>Traditional Women</i>				
7.	Homemakers	24%	-1	+2
8.	Married moms	23%	-6	-5
<i>Working Class Women</i>				
9.	Lower-wage women	20%	+7	+10
10.	Younger non-college women	25%	+13	+10
<i>Middle Ground Women</i>				
11.	Middle-income women	16%	+12	+7
12.	Catholic women	26%	+25	+16
<i>Democratic Base Women</i>				
13.	Union household women	17%	+39	+28
14.	Minority women	16%	+54	+48
15.	Single women (not retired)	23%	+29	+26
Margins are defined as percent Democrat minus percent Republican among the women's electorate.				



Women's Monitor

DATAPOINT: April 12, 1996

The first *Women's Monitor* survey of 1,089 registered voters shows. . .

- “Drop-off” women voters support Clinton over Dole by a 33-point margin and support Democratic congressional candidates over Republicans by a 20-point margin.
- The gender gap is approaching record levels, in both the Presidential race (13 points) and a generic congressional contest (19 points).
- Twice as many retired women support Clinton as support Dole (Clinton 64%, Dole 31%).
- Women in the Republican base appear dispirited and less enthusiastic about their party.
- Democrats are falling short on the most critical issue among women voters: the economy—and in particular, economic security.



Women's Monitor

DATAPOINT: April 12, 1996

Dropoff Voters I

*Women who voted—or were too young to vote—in 1992
and who didn't vote in 1994 could transform the 1996 race*

PRESIDENTIAL

Democratic Margin (2-way)

Men Voters	+6%	(Clinton 51, Dole 45)
Women Voters	+19%	(Clinton 57, Dole 38)
Dropoff Voters	+33%	(Clinton 64, Dole 31)

CONGRESSIONAL

Generic Democratic Margin

Men Voters	-6%	(Democrats 41, Republican 47)
Women Voters	+13%	(Democrats 50, Republican 37)
Dropoff Voters	+20%	(Democrat 53, Republican 32)

Percentages are rounded.



Women's Monitor

DATAPOINT: April 12, 1996

Dropoff Voters II

*Women who voted—or were too young to vote—in 1992
and who didn't vote in 1994 could transform the 1996 race*

**Which Party – the Democrats or the Republicans –
do you trust more to do something about the
problem that concerns you most? (Question 8)**

Democratic Margin

Men Voters	–1%	(Democrats 34, Republican 35)
Women Voters	+14%	(Democrats 42, Republican 28)
Dropoff Voters	+22%	(Democrats 44, Republicans 22)

**Do you think the Republican Congress is
making things better, or doing harm? (Question 26)**

Margin

Men Voters	–3%	(Better 46, Harm 43)
Women Voters	+5%	(Better 39, Harm 44)
Dropoff Voters	+12%	(Better 35, Harm 47)



Women's EMILY'S LIST Monitor

DATAPOINT: April 12, 1996

The Gender Gap

Presidential (2-way)

<i>Women for Clinton</i>	57%	<i>Men for Clinton</i>	51%
<i>Women for Dole</i>	38%	<i>Men for Dole</i>	45%
Margin: +19%		Margin: +6%	

**Gender Gap:
13 points**

Congressional (Generic)

<i>Women for Democrats</i>	50%	<i>Men for Democrats</i>	41%
<i>Women for Republicans</i>	37%	<i>Men for Republicans</i>	47%
Margin: +13%		Margin -6%	

**Gender Gap:
19 points**



Women's Monitor

DATAPOINT: April 12, 1996

Older Women

*Retired women support Clinton and the Democrats—
and they're determined to vote*

PRESIDENTIAL

Democratic Margin (2-way)

Retired Women Voters +33% (Clinton 64%, Dole 31%)

CONGRESSIONAL

Generic Democratic Margin

Retired Women Voters +20% (Dems 54%, Repubs 34%)

The election campaign makes me want to go vote

Retired Women Voters 79% agree



Women's Monitor

DATAPOINT: April 12, 1996

The economy

When you think about the economy today, do you see increasing instability or increasing opportunity? (Question 10)

	<i>Instability</i>	<i>Opportunity</i>	Margin
Men Voters	47%	41%	-7
Women Voters	51%	33%	-18
Dropoff Voters	52%	29%	-23

Do you think the Democrats or the Republicans – would do a better job with the economy? (Question 23)

Democratic Margin

Men Voters	-11%	(Democrats 37, Republican 48)
Women Voters	+1%	(Democrats 37, Republican 36)
Dropoff Voters	+8%	(Democrats 38, Republicans 30)

Do you associate Economic Security more with Democrats or with Republicans? (Question 24)

Democratic Margin

Men Voters	-10%	(Democrats 34, Republican 44)
Women Voters	-6%	(Democrats 32, Republican 38)
Dropoff Voters	-1%	(Democrats 33, Republicans 34)

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NOTES FROM EMILY



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March 1996

THE BACKLASH BEGINS

Evidence continues to mount that women voters are rejecting the Republican Congress and can make the difference for Democratic candidates. In November, *Notes From EMILY* examined results from 1995 elections and the role the gender gap played in Democratic victories. Since then, Democrat Ron Wyden has won the seat to replace former Republican Sen. Bob Packwood, largely due to a surge of women voters. A seminal study conducted by *The Washington Post*, the Kaiser Family Foundation and Harvard University elucidates some of the differences between men and women voters — giving us insight into how women approach voting and what will motivate them to choose Democratic candidates, particularly women candidates, in 1996.

Women show strength in Oregon Senate race

In Oregon's special Senate election to fill the remainder of Packwood's term (decided on January 30), women voters made the difference for Wyden, the first Democrat to represent Oregon in the Senate in almost 30 years. Wyden won the race by one percentage point, 48 percent to Smith's 47 percent. A substantial gender gap emerged in the Oregon Senate race: women chose Wyden over his Republican opponent, state Senate President Gordon Smith, by a margin of eight points, while men chose Smith over Wyden by a margin of ten points.

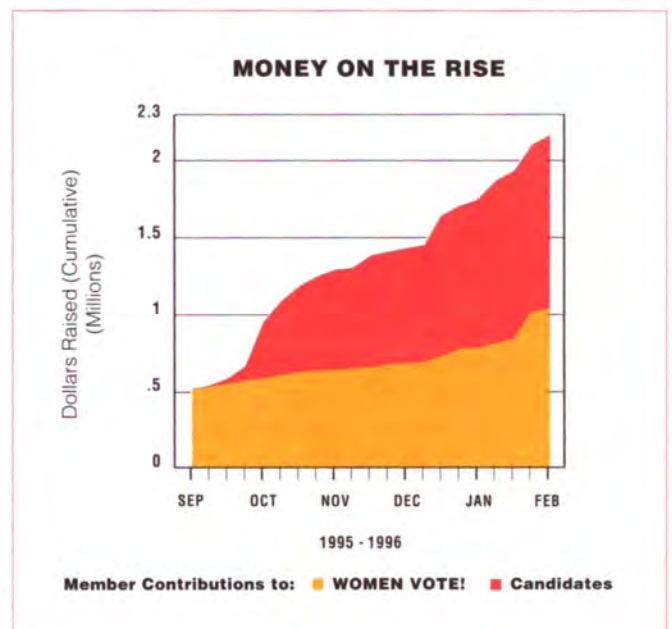
Wyden owes his victory in this very tight race to a record number of women voters, who were 57 percent of the vote according to a Voter News Service poll. Political analyst William Schneider, who analyzed the race for CNN's Inside Politics, contended the "key factor" in the Wyden victory was "backlash against the Republican policies in Congress." And women, according to Schneider, were "the backlash voters ... just like angry white men were the back-

lash voters against President Clinton in 1994."

The Wyden campaign targeted women voters in campaign materials and deftly parlayed the support of people like Gloria Steinem, Sen. Barbara Boxer and former Texas Gov. Ann Richards into high-profile events likely to appeal to women voters. Wyden's pro-choice position and his longtime support of policies beneficial to women and families clearly contrasted him with his Republican opponent, Smith, who is anti-choice and was endorsed by the radical right, anti-choice Oregon Citizens Alliance.

"Women voters, too many of whom stayed home in 1994, are beginning to form a progressive backlash that will help our women candidates and Democrats

Backlash continued on page 2



TIME

CLASS OF '96 NEW PARTY BOSSES

Who really controls politics? Meet the power brokers who will help decide this year's contest

THE PRO-CHOICE ACTIVIST To win a second term, the Clinton campaign must get women to the polls. And the key to doing that may be Ellen Malcolm. "EMILY's List has become the entrepreneurial life-force of the Democratic Party," says the blunt, sometimes blustery Malcolm, 49. Once a staff member in Jimmy Carter's White House, she founded EMILY—short for "Early Money Is Like Yeast (it makes the dough rise)"—in 1985 because she was disgusted by how few women were getting elected. Her idea was simple: recruit, train and endorse pro-choice Democratic women candidates, then get women around the country to give them money and votes. EMILY holds seminars for candidates, campaign managers and press secretaries—grueling, 16-hour-a-day simulations that battle-harden the players—and bundles small contributions to enormous effect. EMILY's 40,000 members have helped elect five women Senators and 34 women Representatives. The \$8.2 million that members contributed to candidates in 1994 made EMILY the year's biggest Democratic giver—and its president a major force.

Ellen Malcolm

PRESIDENT, EMILY'S LIST

CLOUT Delivers big contributions, trains campaigners and gets out the vote

WISH LIST More pro-choice women in office, no restrictions on reproductive rights

Last month Malcolm and Don Fowler, head of the Democratic National Committee, announced a \$10 million, national get-out-the-vote drive modeled on EMILY's 1994 California effort, when it targeted 902,000 "angry" women voters, Democrats who don't often vote, and got half of them to cast ballots. The drive is credited with keeping Senator Dianne Feinstein and Representative Jane Harman in office. This time, Malcolm says, the idea is to help both male and female Democrats, "from the school board to the White House." Her operatives use focus groups to hone a message, then find targets by matching voter names to demographic profiles bought from local vendors. Malcolm thinks the techniques will make the difference for Clinton. The White House hopes she's right.

The California WOMEN VOTE! Project

A Case Study in Success: The Re-Election of Rep. Jane Harman

One of the special victories of the "year of the woman" in 1992 was Jane Harman's election to Congress from a Republican district in the Los Angeles South Bay. Once in Congress, Harman established herself as a leader on reform, a fiscal conservative and an effective advocate for her district. But her re-election was far from assured, particularly as the anti-Democratic sentiment of 1994 began to build.

Harman ran a well-financed, sophisticated campaign, but the key to her re-election was the unusually high number of Democratic women who voted by absentee ballot. As the votes were tallied on election night, Harman was *losing* by 93 votes. However, after absentee ballots were counted, Harman was re-elected to Congress by a 812-vote margin.

Why the turnaround on absentee ballots? Because the California WOMEN VOTE! project, a statewide effort to mobilize occasional Democratic women voters, had targeted over 16,000 women voters in Harman's district to convince them to vote by mail. These women had voted in the 1992 presidential election but not in the midterm election of 1990. All indications were that they would sit out the midterm election of 1994 as well — unless they could be effectively motivated to vote.

The WOMEN VOTE! project began by sending these women a

letter from Hillary Rodham Clinton reminding them of the momentum for change they began in 1992 and the need to keep that momentum going. Two brochures followed which talked about issues they most cared about: crime and education. Every letter encouraged the women to apply for a vote-by-mail ballot.

A phone call from a paid phone bank also encouraged them to apply for a vote-by-mail ballot and was quickly followed by a vote-by-mail application. Each woman's name was pre-printed on the application, so all they had to do was sign the application and drop it in the mail.

A follow-up phone call reminded each woman voter to send in the vote-by-mail application by October 28 or, if they already had, to remember to vote and mail in their ballot before Election Day.

After four mailings and two rounds of phone calls, 1,749 of the targeted women had applied to vote by absentee ballot — more than enough to put Jane Harman over the top and return her to Congress.

Women will vote if they are given compelling reasons to do so. The WOMEN VOTE! project spoke to women about issues they cared about and convinced them to vote. The beneficiaries are all the Democratic candidates who ran in California in 1994 — and the voters of the 36th district, who can count on Jane Harman, their member of Congress.

San Francisco Examiner

★ ★ Monday, May 1, 1995 A-3

Emily's List expands on California campaign

**\$10 million Women Vote!
project launched to focus
on biggest states for 1996**

By Kandace Bender
EXAMINER POLITICAL EDITOR

Emily's List, the fund-raising machine for pro-choice Democratic women, on Monday launched a national \$10 million get-out-the-vote effort modeled after a successful California project.

The Women Vote! program was announced at a star-studded event in Washington, D.C., to celebrate the 10th anniversary of Emily's List. (Emily is an acronym for "early money is like yeast.")

Emily's List will take a page from the 1994 California effort, known as California Women Vote: Project 1994, for the 1996 races, focusing on 10 to 15 large states including California. No decision has been made yet on the other states.

The mandate of the California Democratic Party's effort last fall was to pull 902,000 women voters to the polls.

"We went to computer files to find newly registered women voters and those who voted in the 1992 presidential elections but not in the June 1994 primary," said Steve Smith, political director for the state party.

At a minimum, each woman received two pieces of mail, two applications for absentee voting and two phone calls, Smith said. Emily's List helped organize and direct the effort.

The results, said Emily's List founder Ellen Malcolm, "show women can transform the political landscape."

The final numbers were tallied Friday: 46 percent of the targeted women voted, 130,000 by mail and 285,000 at the polls, she said.

The numbers played a significant role in the re-election of Sen. Dianne Feinstein and Controller Kathleen Connell, both Democrats.

Feinstein defeated Rep. Michael Huffington, R-Santa Barbara, in the bitter, \$30 million Senate race by 165,562 votes and Connell beat Tom McClintock by 169,515 votes.

"I would venture to say that probably neither would have won without the women's vote project," Smith said. However, the effort did not help Kathleen Brown, who lost her bid to unseat Gov. Wilson.

In 1994, "Women were receiving a steady diet of negative advertising," said Malcolm. "We wanted to give them a positive message about issues they care about, like crime and education. So we contacted them repeatedly by mail and by phone, and the results were convincing."

With term limits opening up 39 seats in the Legislature next year, including San Francisco's one Senate and two Assembly seats, "California is a preoccupation," said Frank Wilkinson, an Emily's List spokesman.

"When more women vote, their political power increases," Malcolm said. "When politicians see women voting, they'll respond to their issues."

President Clinton was the keynote speaker for the campaign's kickoff event, which included 1,200 political luminaries. Among those featured: former Texas Gov. Ann Richards and all five Democratic women senators, all of whom have been helped by Emily's List.

The organization has come a long way since its humble beginnings a decade ago. Last year, it raised more than \$8 million from 33,000 members, a 40 percent increase in donations from 1992. In 1994, it was the third-largest money-raising political action committee and the second-biggest spender in the country, according to Federal Election Commission rankings.

U.S. News & World Report

WASHINGTON WHISPERS

CAMPAIGN CLOUT

To court female voters, the Democratic National Committee has for the first time included a women's group — EMILY's List — on the steering committee of its national coordinated campaign team. Founded in 1985, EMILY's List is a partisan political action committee that backs women candidates who support abortion rights in Senate, House and gubernatorial races. As a member of the DNC's top committee for the coordinated campaign team, it will help set overall campaign strategy and guide the allocation of resources at the state level. In the past, the DNC's 14-year-old coordinated campaign team has included representatives of the presidential candidate, state parties and traditional constituencies like organized labor but never a women's group. The DNC's steering committee is an "evolving" group that will add other organizations throughout the year. EMILY's List will be heavily involved in about a dozen states in a women's get-out-the-vote effort similar to its 1994 women's vote program in California.

FEBRUARY 5, 1996

The “Best New Idea in Politics”

In just 10 years, EMILY's List — an acronym for “Early Money Is Like Yeast” (it makes the dough rise) — has grown from a new idea to the nation's leading source of political funding and campaign expertise for pro-choice Democratic women. We help them run stronger, smarter and more competitive campaigns in three ways:

- Organizing a national network of donors committed to making direct contributions of \$100 to at least two Democratic women candidates;
- Providing campaign expertise through strategic research, issue analysis, message development, and hands-on political support;



- Mobilizing voter turnout through absentee ballot and other tactics to maximize the vote for Democratic women.

EMILY's List training workshops for candidates and campaign staff play a major role in elevating the caliber of Democratic women's campaigns. In 1994, 90 campaigns had EMILY's List-trained staff.

How It Works



“I can find out about women running in high profile races, but EMILY's List shows me women running across the country— and gives me the ability to help them win.”
— Alice Skelton, Sacramento, CA

The unique power of EMILY's List is the impact of thousands of members contributing millions of dollars to pro-choice Democratic women candidates.

EMILY's List takes a close look at every race for the House, Senate and Governor where a pro-choice Democratic woman is running or could win. We thoroughly assess each candidate, campaign and opponent, and if we consider a campaign viable, recommend it to our members.

Detailed campaign profiles give members an overview of candidate positions, records and races. Members make their own decisions about which candidates to support, and write checks for \$100 or more to at least two in each election cycle. Checks are written directly to campaigns, but channeled through EMILY's List for maximum political impact.

Since 1985, this unique strategy for candidate giving has made EMILY's List and our members the nation's leading source of financial support for women candidates — generating \$8.2 million for their campaigns in the 1994 election alone.

The End Result

The financial resources generated by the EMILY's List network are supplemented by strategic resources generated by our staff of political experts.

EMILY's List **recruits** strong women candidates wherever they have an opportunity to win... **trains** managers, press secretaries and fundraisers to staff their campaigns... conducts **research** to help candidates build voter support on tough issues... provides direct **strategic support** from veteran campaign professionals ... and sponsors get-out-the-vote projects to **target and mobilize women voters**.

With their proven appeal to core Democratic and independent voters, and the powerful resources of EMILY's List behind them, pro-choice Democratic women have unprecedented opportunity in 1996.

Your EMILY's List membership will make sure women have the financial resources and campaign expertise they need to win.

What They Say

“My opponent had \$30 million to spend on his campaign to defeat me in 1994. But I had EMILY's List — and that's why I'm still in the United States Senate today.”

— U.S. Senator Dianne Feinstein, California



“As a woman running in a rural minority district, I knew few of the experts and donors across the country whose support I needed to win. EMILY's List put me in touch with them, and I was off and running.”

— U.S. Rep. Eva Clayton, North Carolina



“In 1986, when EMILY's List helped me win my Senate race, money was what I needed most. Today, Democratic women need hard-nosed political resources just as much. What makes EMILY's List so valuable is its ability to provide plenty of both.”

— U.S. Senator Barbara Mikulski, Maryland



“EMILY's List helped me make the choices, hire the staff and raise the funds I needed to build — from scratch — an outstanding campaign able to win in the incredibly tough 1994 elections.”

— U.S. Rep. Lynn Rivers, Michigan



