

# Relaunch: Strategies for Latina Women After an Electoral Loss





# Key Findings



Voters feel warmly toward a Latina who loses her race and give her solid qualification ratings.

A Latina woman who loses is perceived more favorably than she is perceived to be qualified. This pattern also holds for an African American woman who loses and a Democratic woman who loses.

Democrats, non-college educated women, African American voters, and Latinx voters are more likely than other groups to see a Latina woman who loses as very qualified and to feel very favorably toward her.

For a Latina, the best-testing statements focus on listening to voters, a candidate continuing to fight for her ideals, and getting things done for the community based on their needs. The best messages center the voters, not candidates.

[1] While the survey did not specify party identification for an African American woman or a Latina woman, it is clear that survey respondents assumed these candidates were Democrats.



# Voter Attitudes toward Latina Women Candidates Who Lose

In the survey, we segmented the sample so that respondents reacted to different kinds of women candidates. A segment of the sample reacted to a Latina woman. This fictional Latina candidate was not identified with a partisan affiliation, although in the data there is evidence that survey respondents assumed she is a Democrat. We also tested an African American woman candidate, a Democratic woman candidate, a Republican woman candidate, as well as a Democratic man and a Republican man as a control.

Survey respondents heard a short description of one of the types of candidates described above, and then were asked to rate the candidate on how favorable they feel toward the candidate and how qualified the candidate seems.

Description of Latina woman who lost: Juanita Martinez, a Latina state senator, lost her election to Joe Allen after campaigning on access to affordable health care, bringing good-paying jobs to the state, and making the state a leader in public education.

Favorability Rating			Qualified Rating		
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable		% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified
African Am. woman	23	74	Democratic man	21	60
Democratic man	23	63	Republican woman	20	55
Democratic woman	23	63	African Am. woman	19	67
Republican woman	23	56	Democratic woman	18	58
Latina woman	<b>20</b>	<b>74</b>	Latina woman	<b>16</b>	<b>62</b>
Republican man	17	51	Republican man	13	49

Voters feel warmly toward Juanita Martinez, a Latina woman candidate who loses her race. Nearly three-quarters (74%) rate Juanita Martinez 51-100 on favorability, with 20% who rate her 100/very favorable. Few voters feel negatively or agnostic toward her: only 10% are unfavorable, with 16% neutral.

Juanita Martinez also has solid qualification ratings, but not as high as her favorability ratings. Nearly two-thirds rate her qualified (62% rate 51-100), with 16% who rate her 100/very qualified. It is not that voters believe she is not qualified, it is that they are more unsure about how qualified she is: 27% are neutral, and only 11% say she is not qualified.

# Subgroup Analysis



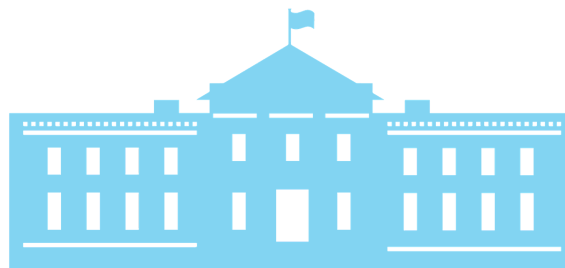
- The subgroups who are most likely to rate Juanita Martinez 100 or very favorable are non-college educated women (30%), voters with a high school degree or less education (28%), Democrats (32%), especially Democratic women (36%), African American voters (29%), Latinx voters (30%), and women in the South (29%).
- The subgroups who are more likely to rate Juanita Martinez 100 or very qualified are women younger than 55 (22%), voters with a high school degree or less education (22%), non-college educated women (22%), Democrats (23%), African American voters (23%), and Latinx voters (23%).
- Women voters are significantly more likely than men voters to say they feel very favorably toward Juanita Martinez (26% 100 among women, 15% 100 among men). This is the largest gender gap of all the generic women candidates we tested. Women are also slightly more likely than men to say she is very qualified (18% 100 among women, 13% 100 among men).
- Both African American voters and Latinx voters are particularly favorable toward Juanita Martinez (29% of African Americans rate her 100, 30% of Latinxs), and believe she is very qualified (23% of each rate her 100).
  - However, when comparing Juanita Martinez to the African American woman who loses, African American voters are more likely to say they feel favorably toward the African American woman candidate and that she is qualified. They also rate the generic Democratic woman better than Juanita Martinez on qualifications and favorability.
  - On the other hand, Latinx voters are more likely to say they feel favorably toward Juanita Martinez than the African American woman or the generic Democrat. Latinx voters see Juanita Martinez, the generic Democratic woman, and the African American woman similarly when it comes to qualifications.
- Millennial voters respond like voters overall (20% rate 100 on favorable, 14% rate 100 on qualified). Millennial voters are more likely to believe the generic Democrat is more qualified than Juanita Martinez. Millennials see Juanita Martinez, the generic Democratic woman, and the African American woman similarly when it comes to favorability.

# Comparison to Women Candidates



While there is not a significant difference in how voters overall rate a Latina woman, an African American woman, and a Democratic woman who loses on being very qualified, and feeling very favorable, some of the key subgroups rate the Latina woman better.

- Latinx voters tend to rate the Latina woman higher than the Democratic woman and African American woman on favorability and qualifications.
  - Favorability – 30% rate Latina woman 100, 27% rate African American woman 100, 20% rate Democratic woman 100
  - Qualification – 23% rate Latina woman 100, 15% rate African American woman 100, 19% rate Democratic woman 100
- Independent voters rate the Latina woman slightly higher than the African American woman (18% to 13%) and Democratic woman (18% to 14%) on favorability and slightly lower than the Democratic woman on qualifications (13% to 18%).



## Favorability Rating

	Latina Juanita Martinez		Democrat Julie Martin		African Am. Jada Martin	
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable
Men	15	68	23	62	21	75
Women	26	80	22	63	24	74
African Am.	29	74	37	76	44	82
Latinxs	30	85	20	71	27	77
Millennials	20	70	21	73	18	73
Democrats	32	89	39	86	37	86
Independents	18	66	14	56	13	71
Republicans	10	61	7	38	11	63

## Qualified Rating

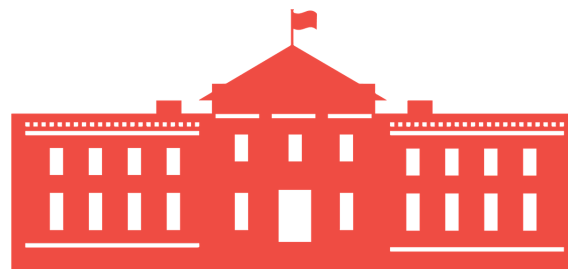
	Latina Juanita Martinez		Democrat Julie Martin		African Am. Jada Martin	
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified
Men	13	63	16	58	16	67
Women	18	62	20	57	21	67
African Am.	23	70	35	79	39	83
Latinxs	23	75	19	73	15	71
Millennials	14	70	16	68	13	69
Democrats	23	77	31	78	28	77
Independents	13	65	18	59	10	67
Republicans	9	46	5	34	11	56

# Comparison to Male Candidates



Overall, voters see Juanita Martinez as favorably as they see the Democratic man, but she is seen as less qualified as him. Compared to the Republican man, voters are more likely to feel favorably toward and believe that Juanita Martinez is qualified. Women, African Americans, Latinxs, and Millennials all rate Juanita Martinez significantly higher on qualifications and favorability than they rate the Republican man. Across demographic subgroups, voters tend to rate Juanita Martinez and the Democratic man similarly on favorability and qualifications.

Independent voters rate Juanita Martinez lower than both the Democratic man and the Republican man on qualifications, and lower than the Democratic man on favorability. Latinx voters also rate Juanita Martinez lower than the Democratic man on qualifications.



## Favorability Rating

	Latina Juanita Martinez		Democrat James Martin		Republican Joe Allen	
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable	% Rated "100" Very Favorable	% Rated "51-100" Favorable
<b>Men</b>	15	68	22	61	18	58
<b>Women</b>	26	80	24	65	17	46
<b>African Am.</b>	29	74	26	76	3	20
<b>Latinxs</b>	30	85	32	78	11	46
<b>Millennials</b>	20	70	16	60	9	33
<b>Democrats</b>	32	89	36	88	3	22
<b>Independents</b>	18	66	26	68	19	47
<b>Republicans</b>	10	61	8	32	34	87

## Qualified Rating

	Latina Juanita Martinez		Democrat James Martin		Republican Joe Allen	
(0-100 Scale)	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified	% Rated "100" Very Qualified	% Rated "51-100" Qualified
<b>Men</b>	13	63	20	62	13	56
<b>Women</b>	18	62	21	59	13	43
<b>African Am.</b>	23	70	25	75	5	21
<b>Latinxs</b>	23	75	33	72	8	41
<b>Millennials</b>	14	70	11	59	8	40
<b>Democrats</b>	23	77	32	82	2	26
<b>Independents</b>	13	65	20	61	21	49
<b>Republicans</b>	9	46	9	37	23	78

# Next Steps After Losing

Voters have clear preferences for things a woman candidate could do after she loses that would make her qualified to run again. No matter her party affiliation or race, voters want to see a losing candidate who is a community-focused, issues-oriented public servant. After losing an election, voters want to see a Latina woman continue to serve as an elected official in her current office – 54% say this would make her very qualified to run again. In a second tier are taking a role in her political party (48% very qualified) and going on a listening tour to learn about the concerns of her community (45% very qualified).

Voters also have a clear idea about things that do not make a woman seem qualified. For a Latina woman who loses becoming a political commentator, teaching at a university, taking a prominent high-paying job in business, or writing a book are rated the lowest for making her seem qualified to run for office again. A Latina woman is not penalized more than an African American woman, Democratic woman, or Republican woman for taking these paths – these are the lowest rated for all.

% Very Qualified to Run for Office Again	Latina Woman	African Am. Woman	Democratic Woman	Republican Woman
Keep serving as an elected official in her current office	54	49	51	48
Go on a listening tour to learn about the concerns of her community	45	42	43	41
Take a role in her political party	48	42	41	48
Help other women run for office	40	37	39	38
Create a group that holds the winning candidate accountable for key priorities	37	36	33	34
Start a nonprofit to follow up on an issue that she has been engaged in	40	35	37	35
Serve on a commission for economic development	38	35	37	35
Focus on her family	33	32	36	35
Take a prominent leadership role at a nonprofit organization	38	33	34	31
Become an active adviser and public supporter on a presidential campaign	34	32	32	33
Serve on the board of directors at an organization in the community	36	31	30	29
Work as an entrepreneur at a small business, and focus on creating jobs	32	30	32	30
Become a political commentator	24	22	21	23
Teach at a university	19	21	23	21
Take a prominent high paying job in business	20	19	21	17
Write a book	19	16	21	17



# Messages



Relaunching a future run can and should start on election night. For a Latina, the best-testing statements focus on listening to voters, a candidate continuing to fight for her ideals, and getting things done for the community based on their needs. The best messages center the voters, not candidates.

Voters respond similarly to messages from an African American woman who loses and a Latina who loses. On the Cooperation message, men, Millennials, Independents, Republicans, and African American voters respond better when a Latina delivers the message compared to an African American woman. Democrats and African American voters respond better to a Latina delivering the Cooperation - Close Race message. Women, Independents, and Republicans respond better to a Latina delivering the Bring People together message.

% Perception that the Woman is Very Effective as a Leader	Latina Woman	African Am. Woman
<b>Cooperation*</b>	52	48
<b>Cooperation - Close Race*</b>	51	52
<b>Bring People Together</b>	49	45
<b>Meeting People</b>	47	49
<b>Shared Values</b>	45	46
<b>Reform</b>	43	40
<b>Glass Ceiling</b>	40	41

*\*Split sampled questions*

% Perception that the Woman is Very Effective as a Leader	Latina Woman	Democratic Woman	Republican Woman
<b>Cooperation*</b>	52	48	49
<b>Cooperation - Close Race*</b>	51	41	46
<b>Bring People Together</b>	49	37	40
<b>Meeting People</b>	47	43	45
<b>Shared Values</b>	45	41	47
<b>Reform</b>	43	42	41
<b>Glass Ceiling</b>	40	38	42

*\*Split sampled questions*

Voters respond slightly better to the Cooperation message from a Latina who loses compared to a Democratic woman and a Republican woman. The Latina woman also outperforms the Democrat and Republican women on the Cooperation message when it is characterized as a close race, and the Bring People Together message. The Latina woman does so well compared to the Democratic woman on the Bring People Together message because almost all key subgroups respond better when this message is delivered by a Latina (the one exception is Millennials).



# Looking at key subgroups

- It is clear that the broadest-reaching message for a Latina who loses is Cooperation. This picks up Millennials, college-educated voters and Independents.
- Women voters respond better than men voters to every message from the Latina woman who loses. With the exception of Glass Ceiling and Reform, more than half of women believe that every message makes a Latina woman who loses seem like a very effective leader.
- Democrats love every message, and respond better than Independents, who respond better than Republicans. Independents respond similarly to Democrats on the Cooperation message.
- Millennials rate most of the messages lower than non-Millennials. The one exception is Cooperation.
- Non-college voters rate most messages better than college-educated voters. Voters rate Cooperation similarly regardless of their educational attainment.

		Men	Women	Millennials	Non-Millennials
% Perception that the Latina Candidate is Very Effective as a Leader	Cooperation*	44	60	54	51
	Cooperation - Close Race*	39	60	46	52
	Bring People Together	40	57	42	50
	Meeting People	38	54	42	48
	Shared Values	36	53	38	46
	Reform	40	47	39	44
	Glass Ceiling	34	46	41	40
	Non-College	College	Democrat	Independent	Republican
Cooperation*	52	52	58	56	46
Cooperation - Close Race*	54	47	64	43	42
Bring People Together	52	46	54	49	43
Meeting People	47	47	52	46	43
Shared Values	49	41	55	40	36
Reform	45	43	52	46	37
Glass Ceiling	44	37	52	41	26

\*Split sampled questions

# Text of messages



**Cooperation - Close Race:** We've laid a foundation that needs to be built on. It was such a close race, and this campaign has ended, but our work continues to improve the lives of people and to build an economy that works for everyone. I pledge to work with my opponent to get things done for our community. I will continue to lead and listen to the people in order to impact the issues that affect them, like more affordable health care and fighting drug addiction.

**Meeting People:** The best things about this experience of running for Governor were talking to voters and listening to voters about their hopes and aspirations. I will work my hardest to keep this amazing community we have built working together. I will focus my energy on continuing to fight for a brighter and better future that includes investing in our schools, promoting small businesses to create jobs, and using tax dollars wisely.

**Cooperation:** We've laid a foundation that needs to be built on. This campaign has ended, but our work to improve the lives of people and to build an economy that works for everyone continues. I pledge to work with my opponent to get things done for our community. I will continue to lead and listen to the people in this area to impact the issues that affect them, like more affordable health care and fighting drug addiction.

**Shared Values:** This was a tough race but we all worked really hard. While tonight didn't bring us the result we hoped for, it was worth the fight. You will always be worth fighting for. We have so much to be proud of, a record of courage, honesty, and integrity when it mattered the most. I will continue to fight for our shared values each and every day. These values include respect, fairness, freedom, and putting people first. I will continue to champion issues like health care and education.

**Bring People Together:** Our campaign brought together all kinds of people. Young and old. People of different faiths and different communities. I have never been more optimistic than I am right now, today, after months of seeing the extraordinary idealism, unity, commitment, and passion. Together, we have built a coalition of people, and it is obvious in this room tonight. We will continue to work together to improve our community, state, and country.

**Glass Ceiling:** I want to say this to all the women who have thought about running for office, and all the women who have tried, but maybe did not win. It's important that you try. For every qualified woman who has been passed over for a job or promotion, or who ran a race and lost, I say go right back at it. In 20 years, there will be young women who take for granted that we have equal representation of women in Congress.

**Reform:** I want to thank everyone who believed in and stepped up for this campaign. This election is over, but our principles endure. Two major principles that I will continue to fight for are getting big money out of politics and making sure every vote counts. Changing the way political campaigns work—and getting special interests out of politics—would make it possible for qualified people who aren't already rich and powerful to be part of the decision-making process. And that is better for our state.

# Methodology



## Focus Groups:

Lake Research Partners and Bellwether Research conducted nine focus groups with men and women in July and August of 2018 segmented as follows:

### **Richmond, July 24:**

Independent women  
Republican women

### **Phoenix, July 31:**

Latina women  
Independent men

### **Atlanta, July 26:**

Democratic women  
Millennial women  
Republican men

### **Detroit, August 1:**

African American women  
Democratic men

Participants were recruited to reflect a mix of age, marital status, parental status, income, and education. This memo uses the term “participants” in reference to the participants of the nine focus groups.

Lake Research Partners and Bellwether Research designed and administered this survey that was conducted over the phone from August 21 – 30, 2018. The survey reached a total of 2,413 likely 2018 voters, with oversamples of 368 African-Americans, 364 Latinxs, and 241 millennials (age 18–35).

Telephone numbers were drawn from listed voter file Catalist sample. The data were weighed slightly by gender, age, region, party identification, race, race by gender, and education to reflect attributes of the actual population. The African American, Latinx, and Millennial oversamples were weighted slightly by gender, age, and education. The oversamples were weighted down into the base to reflect their natural proportion of the electorate.

The margin of error for the total sample is +/- 2.0%, +/- 5.1% for the African American and Latinx oversample, and +/- 6.3% for the Millennial oversample. In interpreting survey results, all sample surveys are subject to possible sampling error; that is, the results of a survey may differ from those which would be obtained if the entire population were interviewed. The size of the sampling error depends upon both the total number of respondents in the survey and the percentage distribution of responses to a particular question.