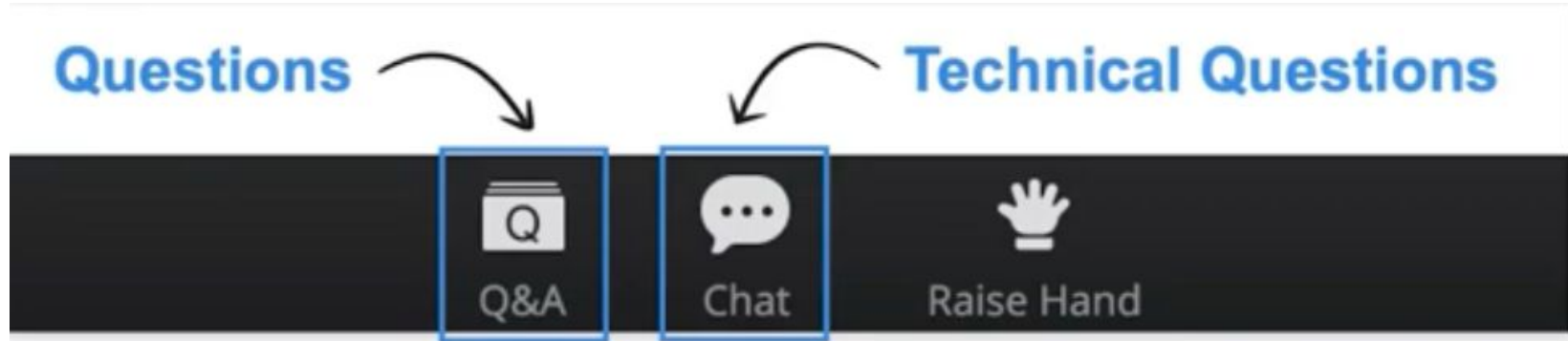




**'F—You, Pay Me':  
American Women on Fear, Freedom, Feminism**

Yes, this webinar will be recorded!



## TEAM:

Politics, Technology, Data Science



**Betsy App**

Lead Analyst,  
Coordinated Campaigns



**Sumati Thomas**

Analyst



**Nicole Bare**

President & CEO



**Kimelle Ash**

Growth & Marketing Manager



# IN 2017, POLLING WAS IN BAD SHAPE

**SLOW: 7-14 Days**

**INACCURATE**

**EXPENSIVE: \$30-\$50k**

*The New York Times*

*After a Tough 2016, Many Pollsters  
Haven't Changed Anything*

# LESS WASTE. MORE WINNING.

3,500+

polls conducted

280+

campaigns  
served

50

states polled in





**“Freedom is fundamental to the promise of America...it is ours by right”**



HOUSE MAJORITY PAC



Pioneered strategic “Freedom Frame” messaging that’s now being used in the most important election of our lives.

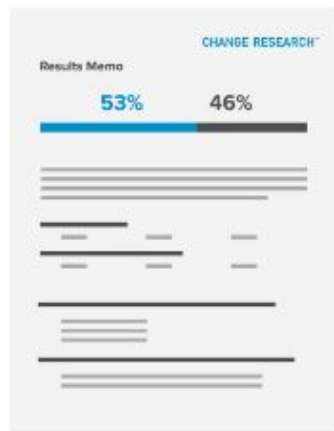
Identified a winning path for Marie Glusenkamp Perez, prompting HMP to provide the support she needed to go on and win.

**We helped flip:**  
**PA House**  
**MI House & Senate**  
**3 Indiana Mayoral seats**

# A FULL-STACK AUDIENCE INSIGHTS COMPANY

## SPARK

Polls starting at \$6,000



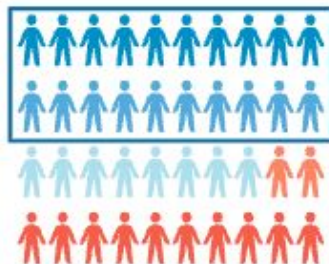
## VOICES


21st-century qualitative  
that's dynamic, deep,  
and accessible



## MAGNIFY

Targeting models,  
affordable for the first  
time





**250,000,000  
DATA POINTS**



**Our trove of data allows us to develop targeting models that offer higher accuracy at a lower price point than what's traditionally available.**







## NUANCED ABORTION SUPPORT MODEL

Which of the following statements comes closest to your views:

- I personally believe having an abortion is wrong and should be illegal
- I am personally against abortion, but I do not believe government should prevent a woman from making that decision for herself
- I personally support a woman's right to abortion and believe it should be legal and available

# CONTEXT & METHODOLOGY



The differences in how men and women see women in the U.S.—the challenges that women face—are enormous.

What can pop culture, and specifically social media, tell us about women’s realities?

We offer guidance to connect with a broader swath of women (and men!) on a more expansive list of women’s fears and frustrations.

**The goal is to gain political power:** to elect leaders who support women’s freedom and fairness, who will enact policies to make our country fairer for all women.



Change Research polled 2,745 likely voters (1,240 men, 1,457 women) nationwide from April 17-22, 2024



Respondents were recruited via targeted online advertisements on websites and social media platforms, and using SMS text-to-web.



Post stratification was done on gender, age, race, education, region, and 2020 presidential vote.

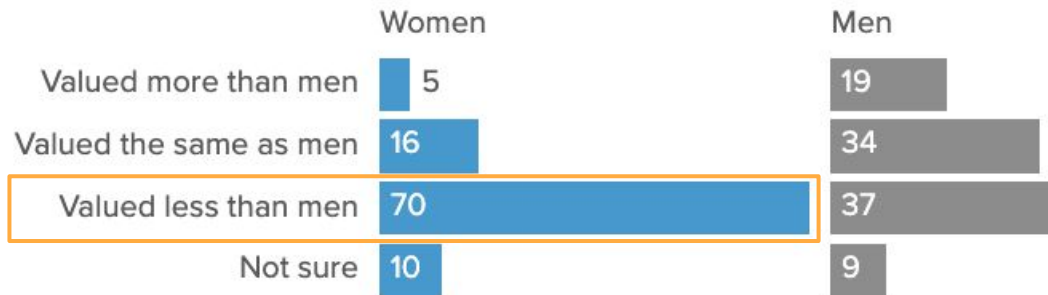


The modeled margin of error is +/- 2.0%.

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

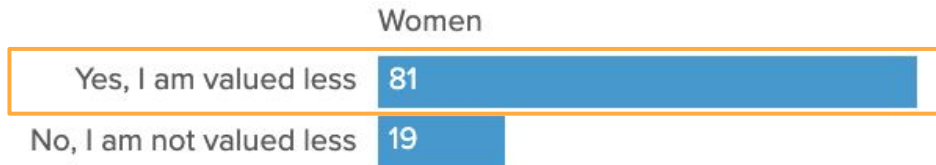
# American women feel deeply undervalued

In American society today, do you feel that women are:



**82% of Black women say women are valued less than men**

Do you personally feel like you are valued less than men are?



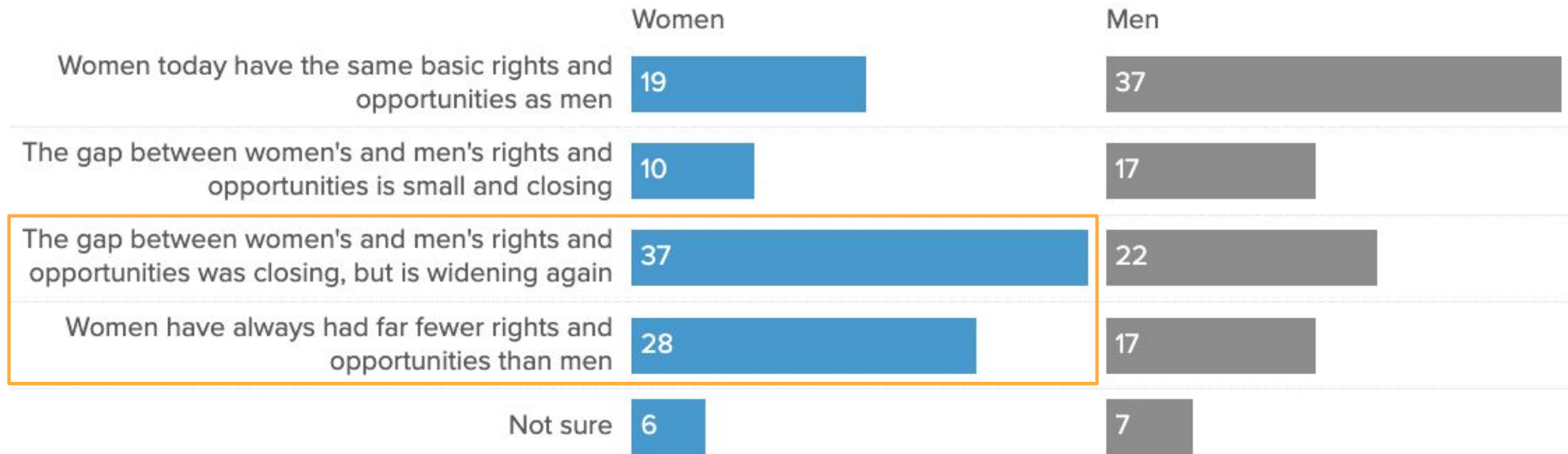
**87% of women 18-35 say they personally feel less valued than men**

*Deep dives coming soon on women of color, women under 35, LGBTQ+ women & non-men*

# Women don't just believe their rights are under threat, they're trending backwards



Which of the following comes closest to your view?



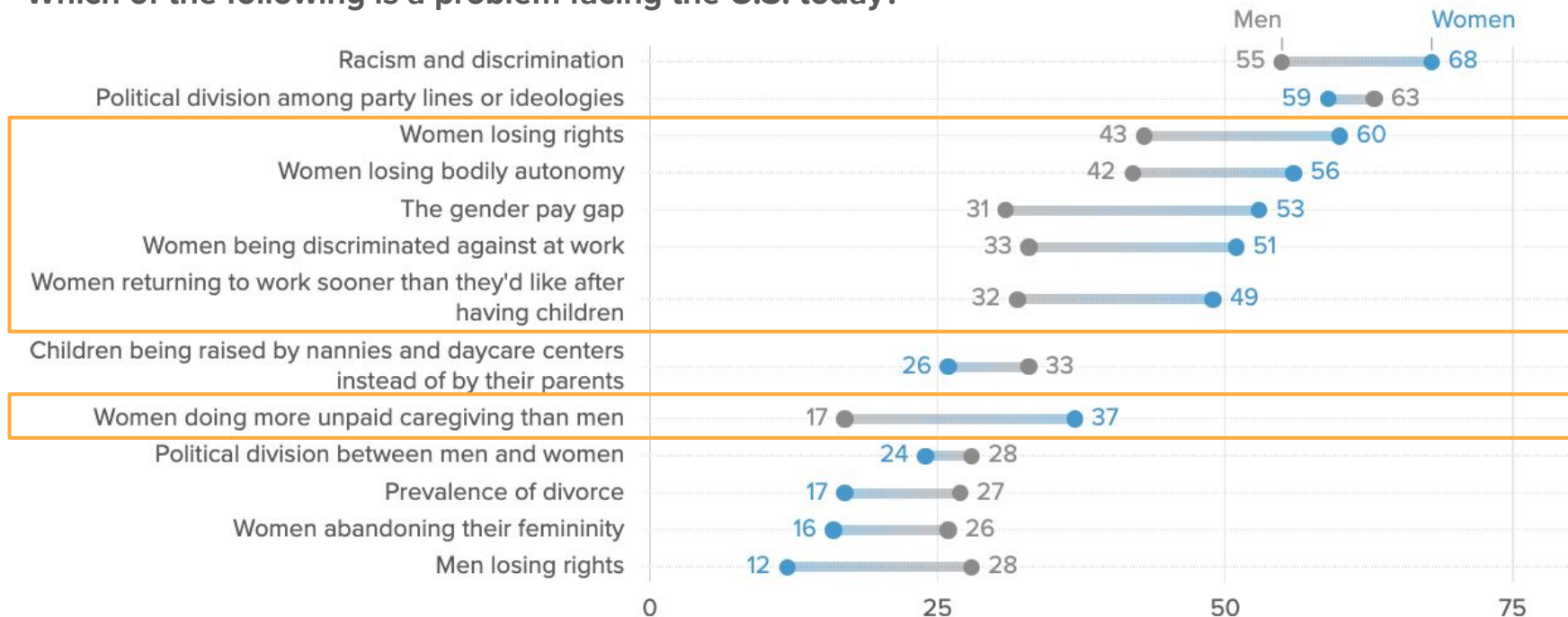
*Two-thirds (65%) of women hold a pessimistic view of women's rights relative to men's rights*

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

# Women see their slipping rights as a national problem



Which of the following is a problem facing the U.S. today?



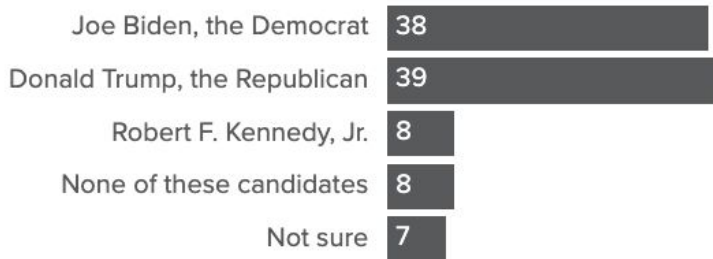
*Abortion is a huge concern but far from the only thing women see as problematic*

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

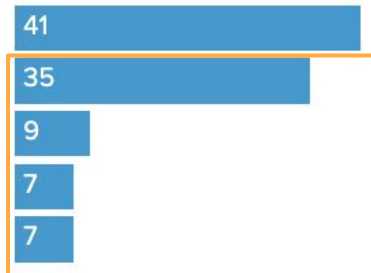
# Biden leads Trump among women by just 6 points, but 2 in 3 women who support Trump feel “lesser than” men



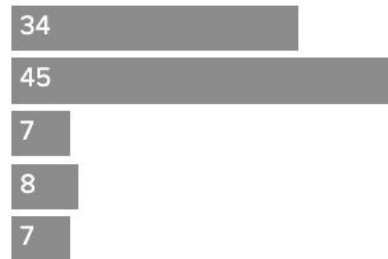
**Trump +1**  
All Likely Voters



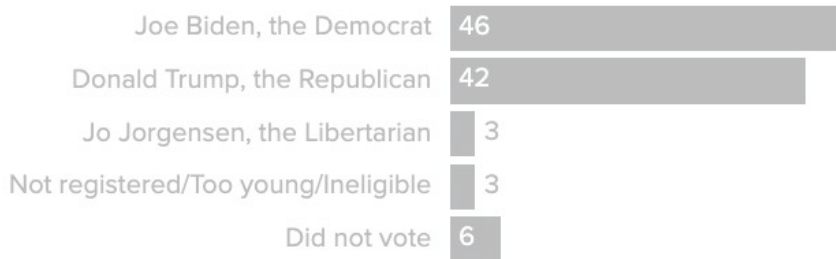
**Biden +6**  
Women



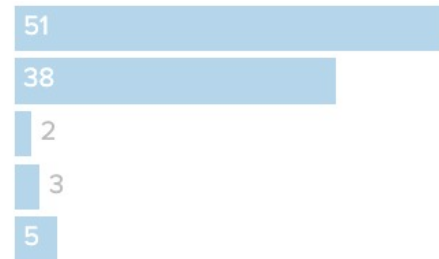
**Trump +11**  
Men



**Biden 2020 +4**



**Biden 2020 +11**



**Trump 2020 +7**

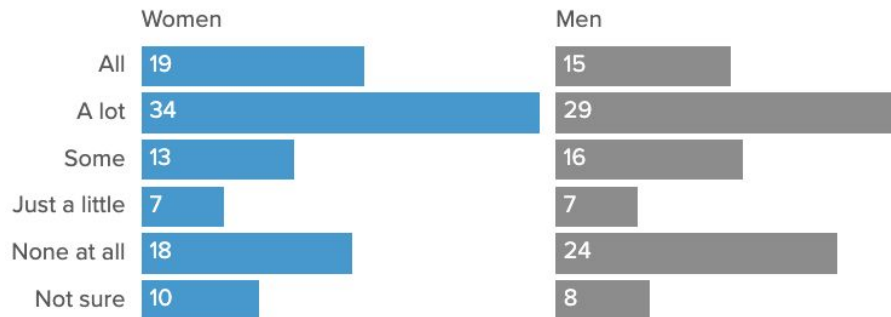


*Two-thirds (66%) of women who support Trump and 80%+ of other non-Biden women feel “lesser than” men. How can we lean in to women’s fears and frustrations to increase Biden’s vote margin?*

# Opportunity to move perceptions of Trump vis-à-vis abortion (women's *and* men's perceptions)



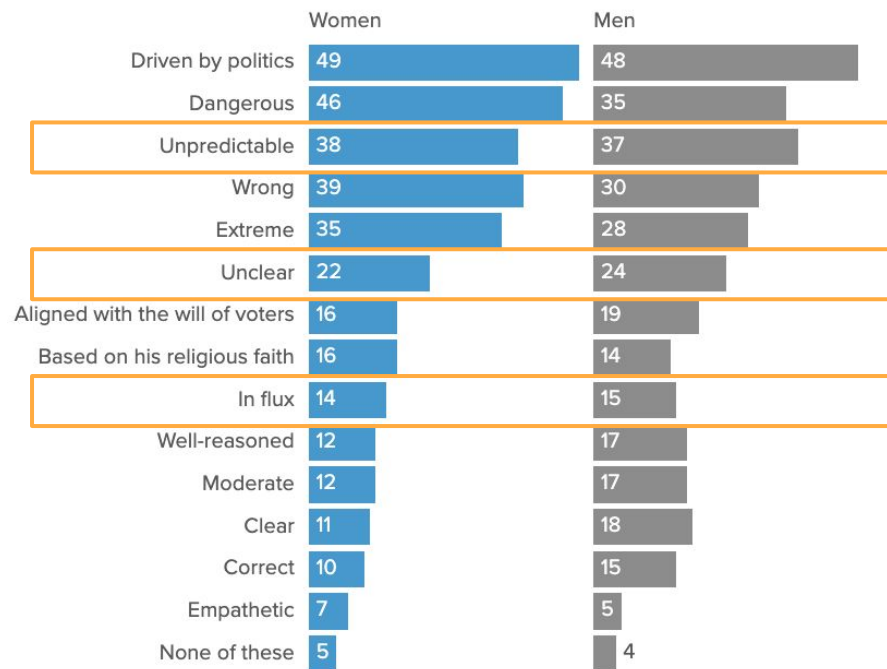
How much responsibility, if any, do you think Donald Trump had for the Supreme Court's overturning of *Roe v. Wade*?



**Two-thirds (66%) of abortion rights supporters believe Trump had a lot or all the responsibility for the fall of *Roe***

*More room to connect Trump to instability*

Donald Trump's position on abortion is:



**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

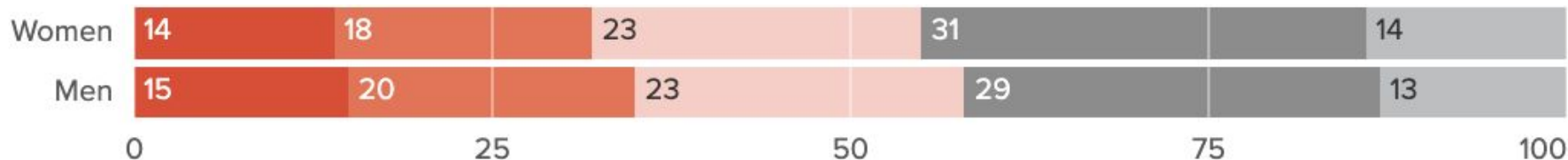
# Voters see Trump as only *somewhat* more likely than Biden to change his position on abortion



How likely is it that JOE BIDEN will change his position on abortion in a significant way in the next 12 months?



How likely is it that DONALD TRUMP will change his position on abortion in a significant way in the next 12 months?



*Opportunity to brand Biden as steady, predictable and Trump as erratic when it comes to abortion*

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**



# Examining women's perceived threats to abortion and other rights



## Outcome

A national abortion ban

Prosecuting doctors who provide abortions

Doctors not providing life-saving treatment for pregnant women because they're scared of being charged, sued, or having their medical license taken away

Criminal investigations of miscarriages and stillbirths

Allowing law enforcement officers to patrol medical facilities in search of illegal abortion activity

Pregnant residents prevented from traveling out of states where abortion is illegal

Restricting access to cancer treatments and other life-saving medical interventions for pregnant women if there's a risk to the fetus

A ban on sending mifepristone (the abortion pill) through the mail

Granting personhood to fetuses

Making IVF (in-vitro fertilization) illegal

Restricting unmarried people's access to contraception

Technology companies required to turn over data in investigations of illegal abortion activity

Requiring spousal consent or proof of abuse in order to initiate divorce

Banning pregnant women from divorcing their spouse

1

Which of the following have you heard about in the past 12 months?

2

Do you support or oppose?

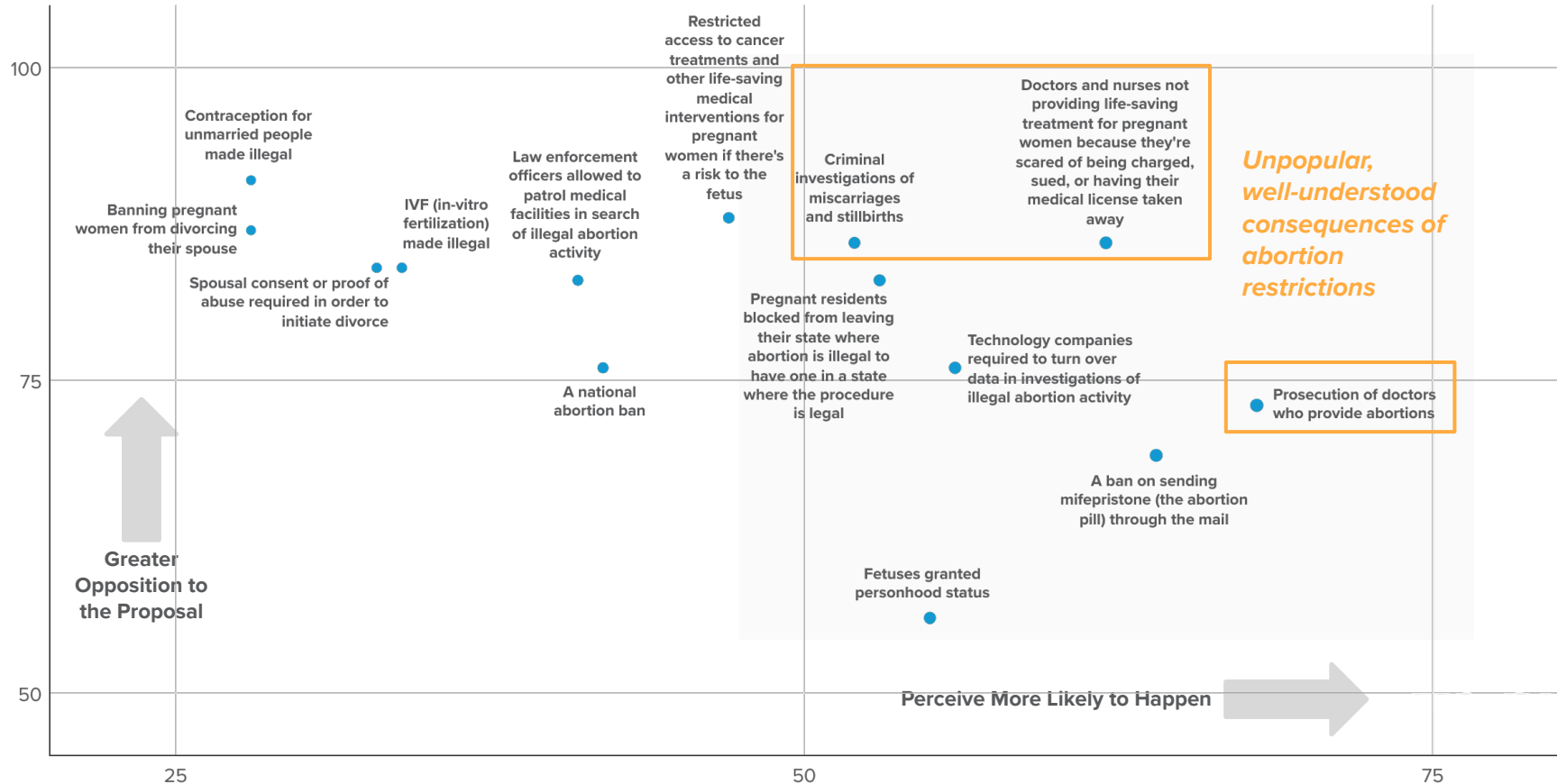
3

How likely are each of the following to occur in the next five years in at least some parts of the U.S.?

**STRONG OPPOSITION + LIKELY TO OCCUR = CREDIBLE THREAT**

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Women's Opposition to Right-Wing Proposals and Perceived Likelihood of Happening



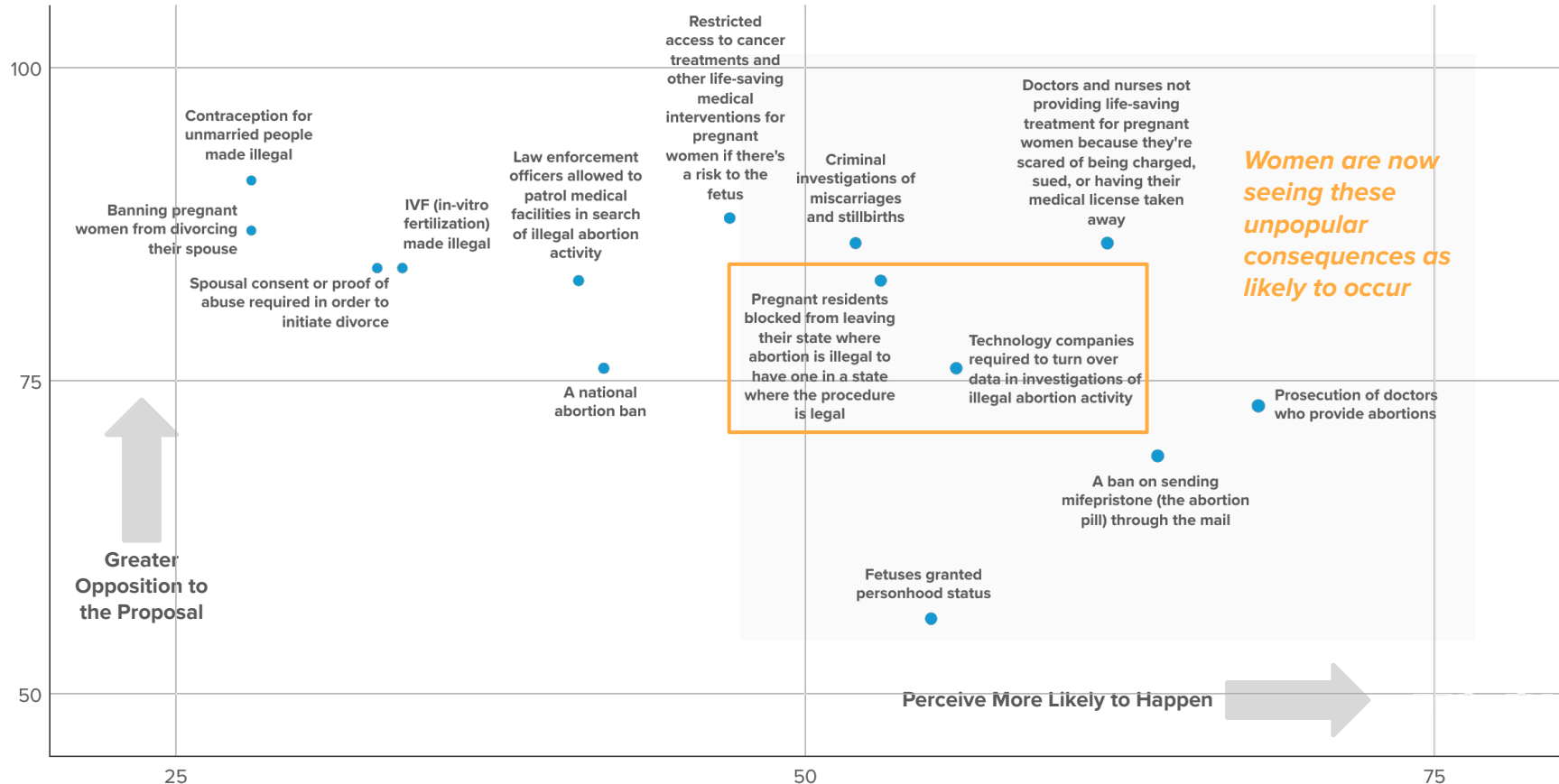
*Unpopular, well-understood consequences of abortion restrictions*

*Prosecution of doctors who provide abortions*

Greater Opposition to the Proposal

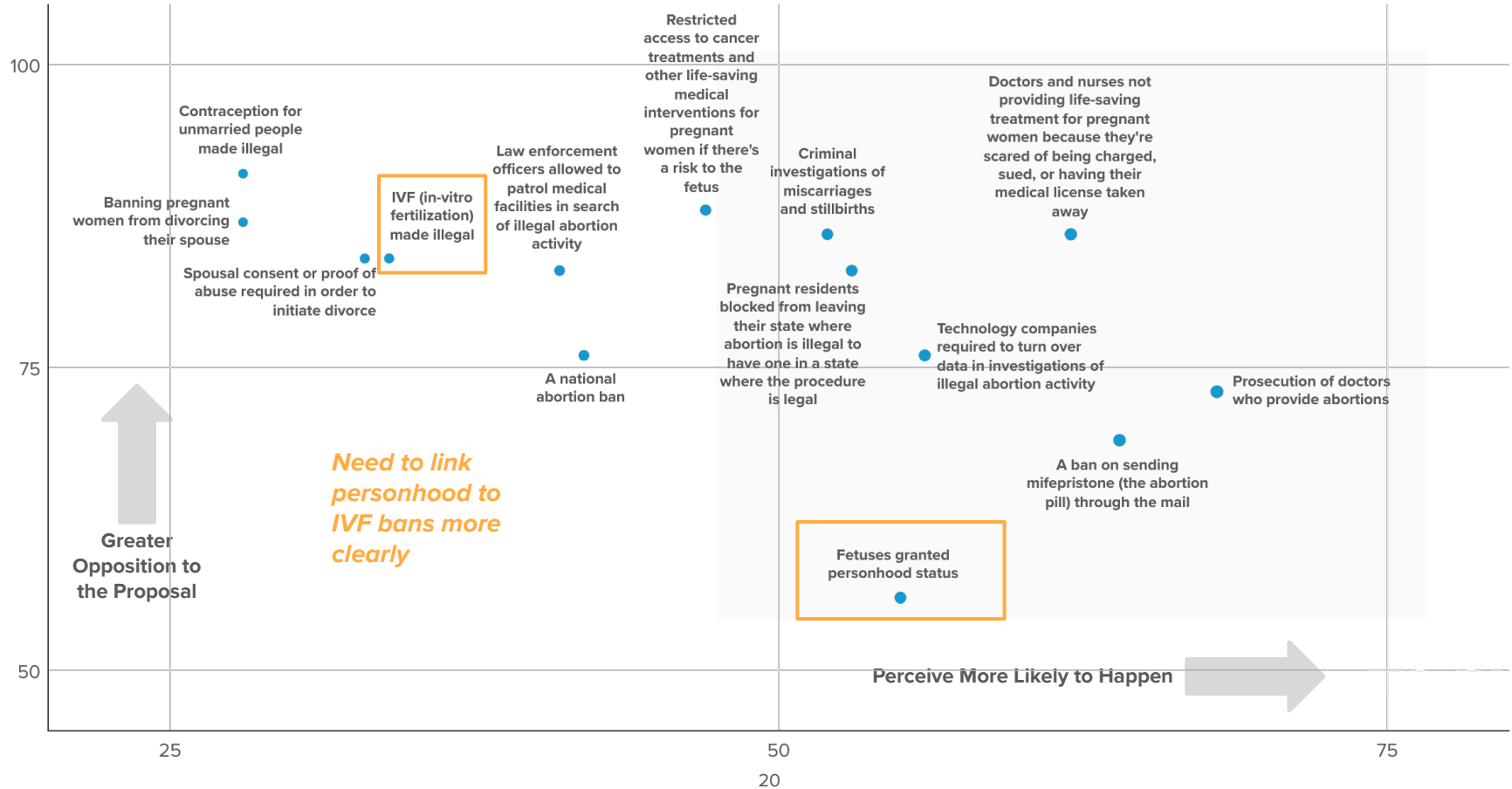
Perceive More Likely to Happen

# Women's Opposition to Right-Wing Proposals and Perceived Likelihood of Happening



*Women are now seeing these unpopular consequences as likely to occur*

# Women's Opposition to Right-Wing Proposals and Perceived Likelihood of Happening



# Establishing a Broad Framework for Messaging to Women

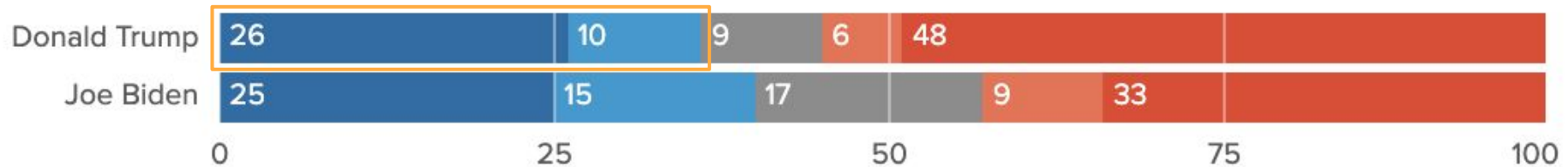
Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Women already believe that the outcome of the presidential election will impact their future wellbeing



Do you think women like you will be better off or worse off if \_\_\_\_\_ is elected President again?

● Much better off ● Somewhat better off ● No difference either way ● Somewhat worse off ● Much worse off



*Two-thirds (66%) of women who support Trump feel “lesser than” men. How can we leverage these feelings to open a conversation with them?*

*We need women to DISLIKE Trump as much and as intensely as men like him.*

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

# In what ways do you think women like you will be better off if Donald Trump is elected President again?



KEY THEMES: 1) Economy, 2) Lack of favoritism, 3) Anti-trans women

*The economy will be better and I will be able to keep my family's budget on track.*

*(White Woman, 65+)*

*The economy will be better and women will be able to afford to care for their families better and maybe stay home to care for their children if they wish.*

*(White Woman, 50-64)*

*President Trump is behind every American. He doesn't pick and choose according to what he can get out of it. I feel secure that as an American woman Donald Trump is on my side just as he is every American.*

*(White Woman, 65+)*

*I think the country as a whole will be better off so women will be better off. I also believe he is more likely to protect women's rights and spaces from men who claim to be women*

*(White Woman, 50-64)*

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Trump is weak with women when it comes to fairness for women



## WE CAN'T LET HIM CHANGE THE SUBJECT

Women are intensely concerned about the very issues of unfairness that Trump exacerbated while president. From Day 1, his administration used every tool available to chip away at women's employment and economic security, women's health and safety, and women's rights overall.

- Eroding equal pay by halting pay data collection
- Limiting an increase in the overtime threshold
- Eliminating key nondiscrimination protections in health care
- Weakening Title IX and putting students at greater risk of sexual harassment and assault

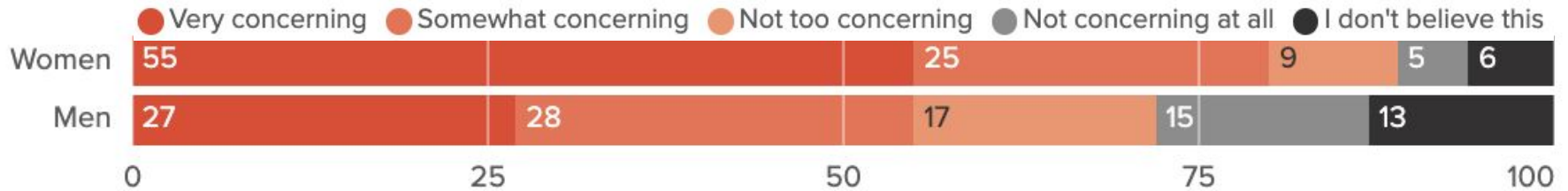
*Note our upcoming deep dive on women's health*

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

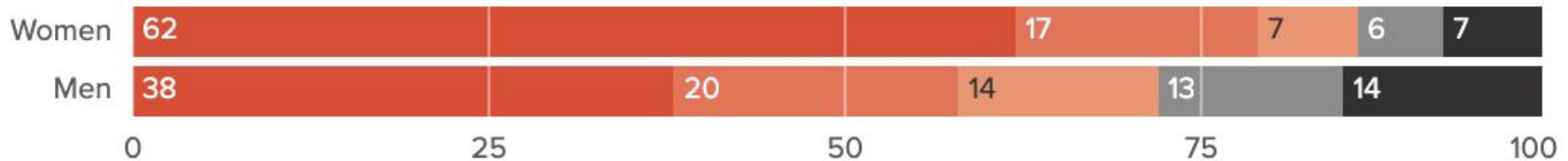


# Women want women to GET PAID

In 2022, women earned an average of 82% of what men earned, according to a Pew Research Center analysis of median hourly earnings of both full- and part-time workers. How concerning is the gender pay gap?



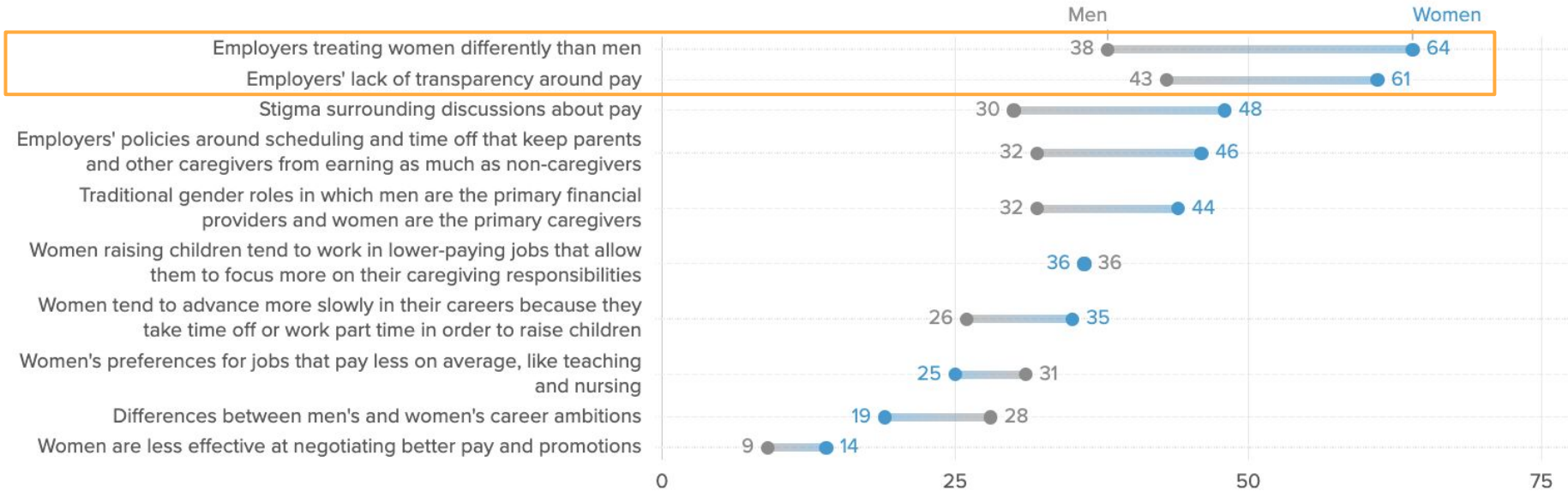
The gender pay gap is even wider for women of color: Black women and Latinas earn just 64% and 55% of what non-Hispanic white men earn. How concerning is this?



Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Women's understanding of WHY differs from men's

Which of the following are reasons why the gender pay gap exists? (% Major reason)



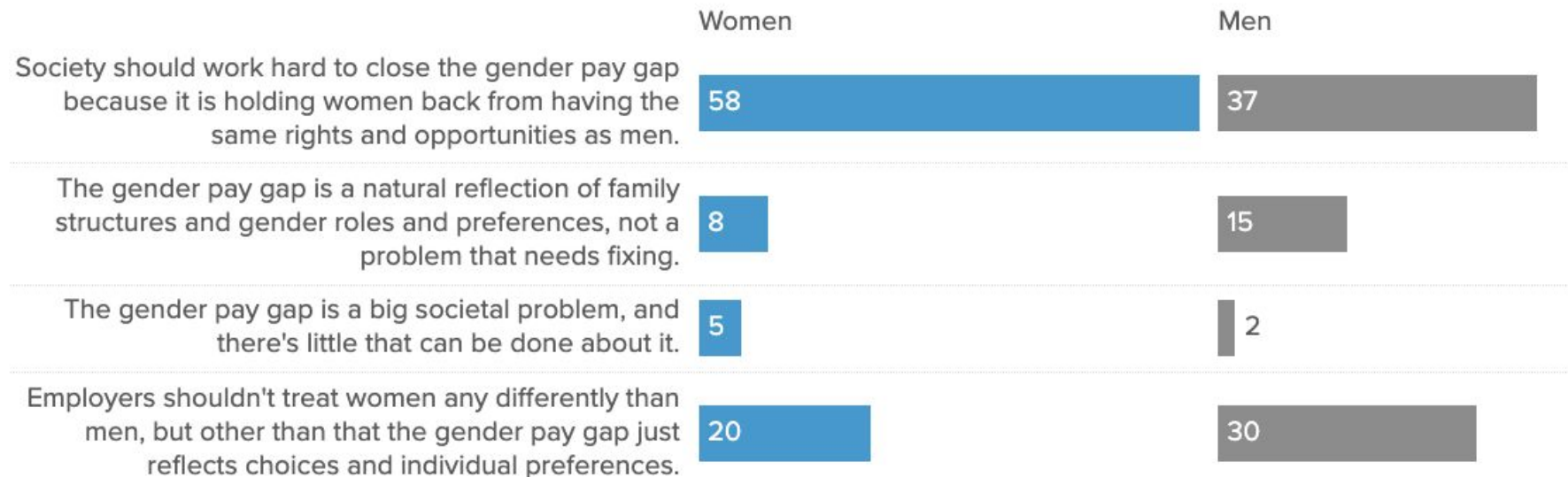
*The differences in women's and men's understanding of the gender pay gap has implications for policy solutions*

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

# Women view the gender pay gap as an urgent problem, men are divided



Which of the following comes closest to your view?



Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Women worry about their SAFETY

## How often do you worry about...

		Women	Men	Women 18-34	Women 35-49	Women 50-64	Women 65+
Being raped or sexually assaulted	Daily	9	1	15	10	7	5
	Weekly	8	1	18	11	4	4
	Monthly	10	1	18	12	9	3
	A few times a year	23	4	26	23	27	19
	Rarely if ever	49	93	23	44	54	69
Being the victim of a violent crime	Daily	13	12	20	10	14	10
	Weekly	13	8	22	15	9	8
	Monthly	12	6	18	11	10	9
	A few times a year	28	25	22	34	29	26
	Rarely if ever	35	48	19	31	38	47
Being the victim of a property crime	Daily	13	13	13	11	14	11
	Weekly	12	9	19	11	11	7
	Monthly	12	10	12	14	11	11
	A few times a year	28	27	18	29	29	34
	Rarely if ever	36	41	38	35	35	37

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Amidst these worries, women might just pick the BEAR



How often do you worry about...		Women	Men	White Women	Hispanic Women	Black Women	AAPI Women
Being raped or sexually assaulted	Daily	9	1	7	16	11	10
	Weekly	8	1	8	6	8	15
	Monthly	10	1	9	18	7	15
	A few times a year	23	4	24	21	27	27
	Rarely if ever	49	93	52	39	47	33
Being the victim of a hate crime	Daily	9	10	7	11	25	22
	Weekly	5	5	6	3	1	8
	Monthly	7	6	7	9	11	9
	A few times a year	19	18	17	23	23	23
	Rarely if ever	59	61	63	54	40	38
Being the target of online hate or harassment	Daily	11	11	10	11	17	8
	Weekly	9	6	9	10	0	16
	Monthly	8	5	8	7	5	9
	A few times a year	19	15	18	22	27	19
	Rarely if ever	54	64	56	50	51	48

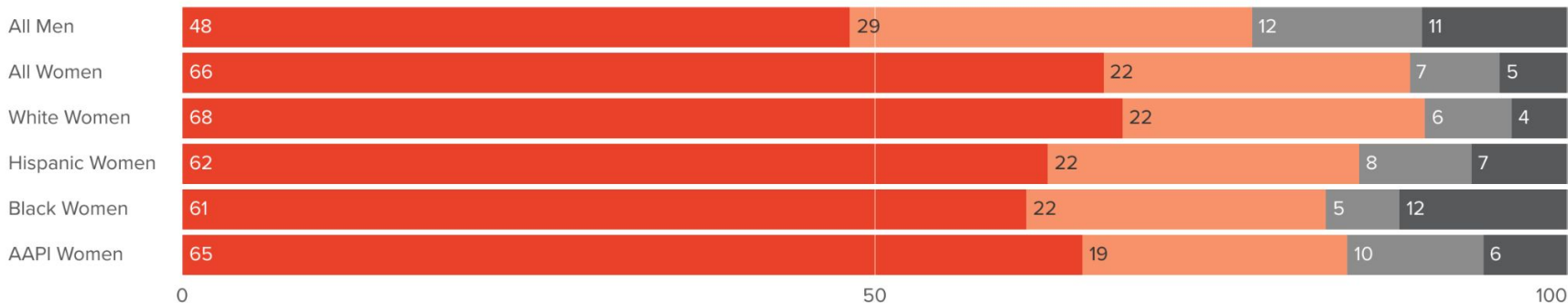
Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Women worry about being the victim of deepfake porn

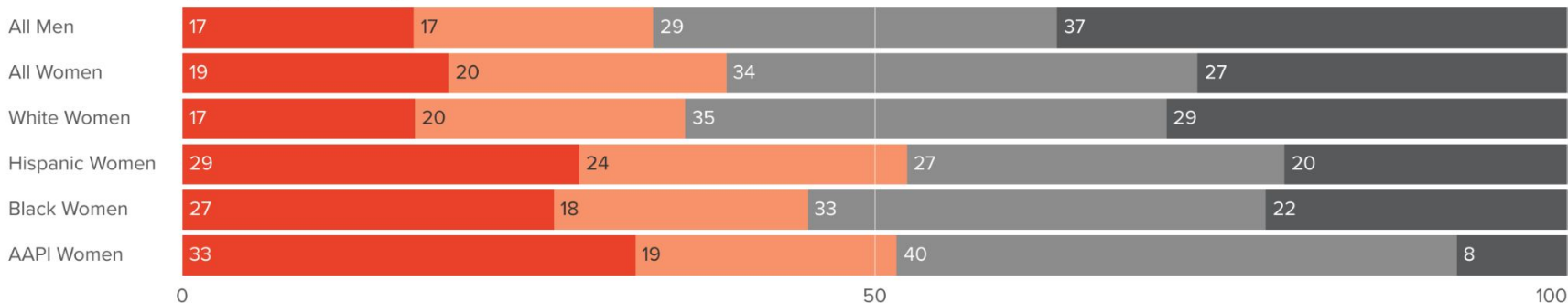


● Very concerned ● Somewhat concerned ● Not too concerned ● Not concerned at all

How concerned are you about the spread of deepfake images of women and teenage girls that have been altered pornographically using artificial intelligence (AI)?



How concerned are you that your own images will be used in that way?



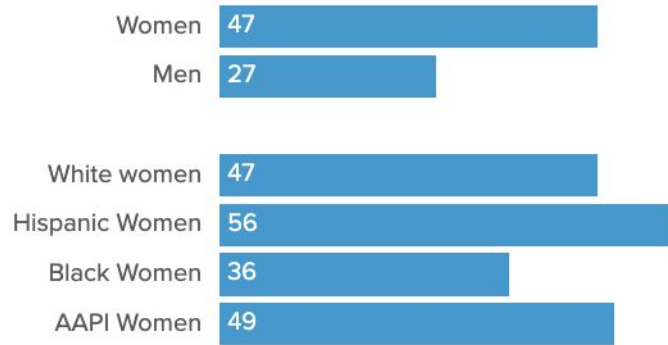
Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Branding the Framework: Feminism is out

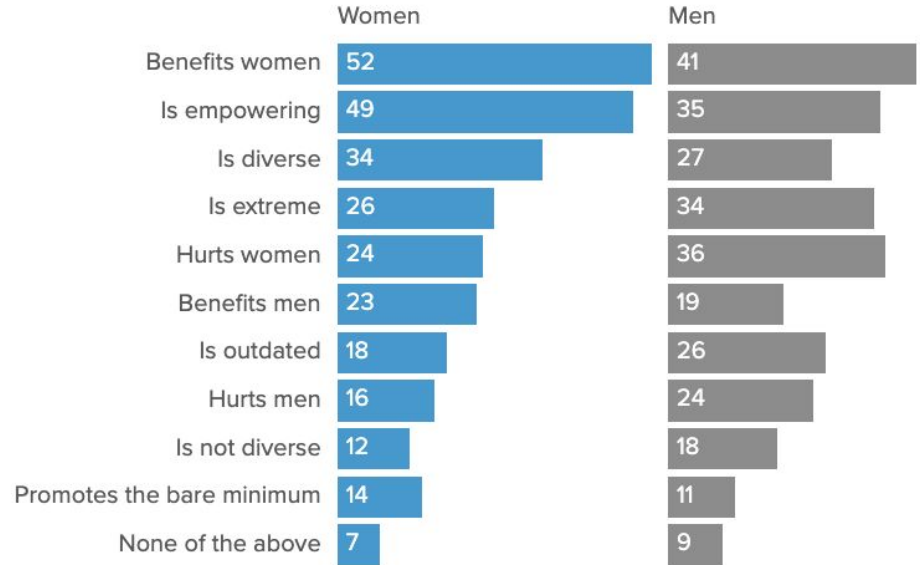
Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Many women eschew feminism

## Do you consider yourself a feminist? (% Yes)



## Select all that apply. Feminism:



*Only half of American women identify as feminists and see feminism as benefiting women.*



# What does 'feminism' mean to you?

KEY THEMES: 1) Not for all women, 2) Pro-trans, 3) Anti-men, 4) Perceptions have morphed/bifurcated

*A white woman's issue with value. Feminism never supported black women's issues.*

*(Black woman, 35-49)*

*Feminism has a victimization mindset or an anti-male screed. How about standing up for real women instead of giving up ground to transgenderism, which hurts females.*

*(White woman, 65+)*

*Classic feminism was about loving being a woman and being able to do anything. Modern feminism is more about hating men and hating being a woman and wanting to prove that women are better than everyone else.*

*(Multiracial woman, 50-64)*

*Feminism at its core is for everyone. But because it has been co-opted and white washed, [feminism] doesn't do much for me because it's a movement that has been lost to semantics and completely removed from its origins.*

*(Latina woman, 18-34)*

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Many women, including younger women, want society to return to traditional gender and domestic roles



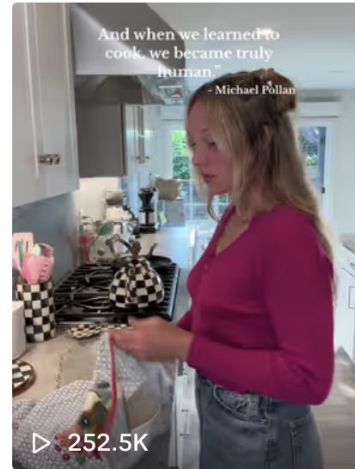
I never want my husband to be the guy who hangs...

mrsarialewis 8259



It's ok to want to be a trad wife!

notmichaelkno... 988



A Woman's place in the kitchen has a much deep...

thehealthywife 11.8K

“Trad wives” (short for traditional wives) advocate for a return to traditional gender norms through submitting to their husbands and promoting domesticity

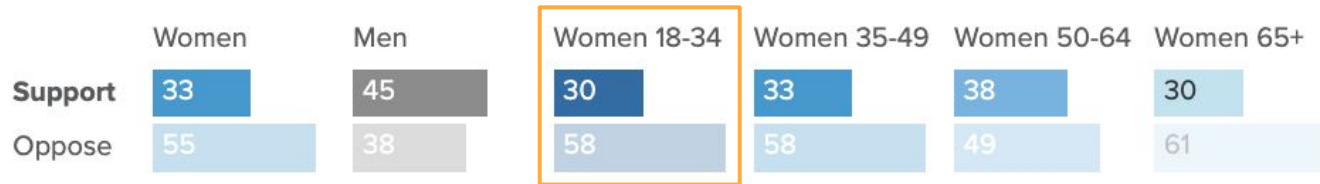
Young Americans (18-35) are seeing and hearing a lot about tradwifery: 61% have seen or heard some/a lot

*Tradition by design, not by default.*

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Many women, including younger women, want society to return to traditional gender and domestic roles

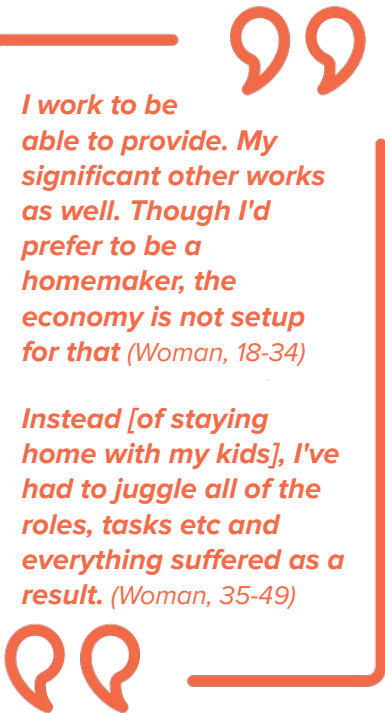
Do you support or oppose a societal return to more traditional gender or domestic roles?



**KEY THEMES** around gender roles:

- 1) Christian/religious beliefs,
- 2) Attraction to homesteading,
- 3) Satisfaction in caregiving,
- 4) Challenge of “having it all”

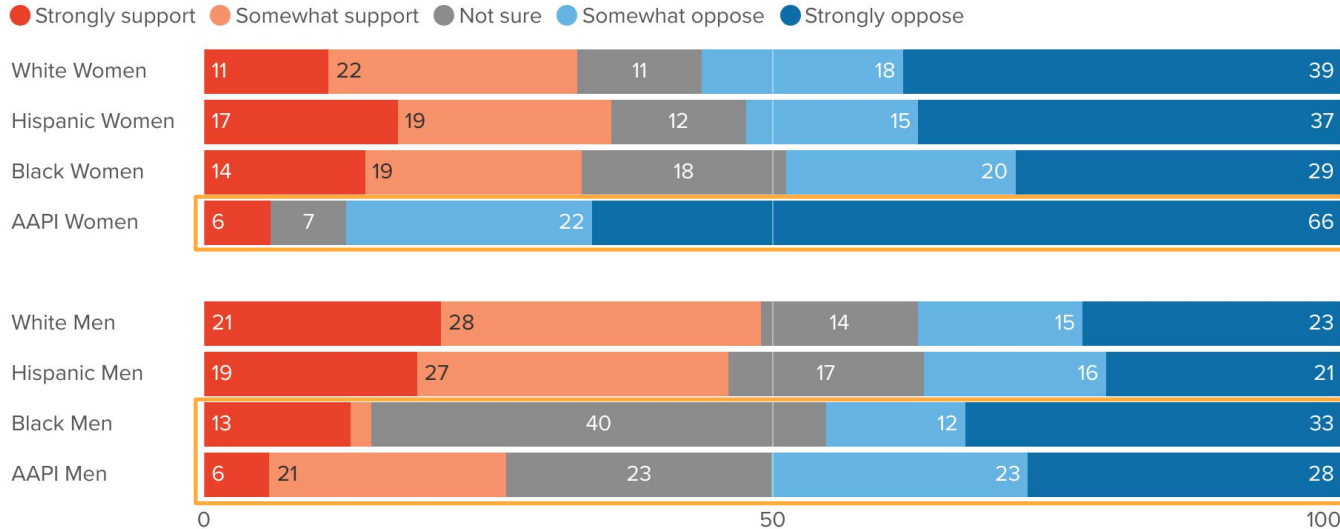
*The movement is no longer about the RIGHT to work but the freedom to shape one's own life.*



**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

# Not everyone's buying into the “traditional” dream

Do you support or oppose a societal return to more traditional gender or domestic roles?

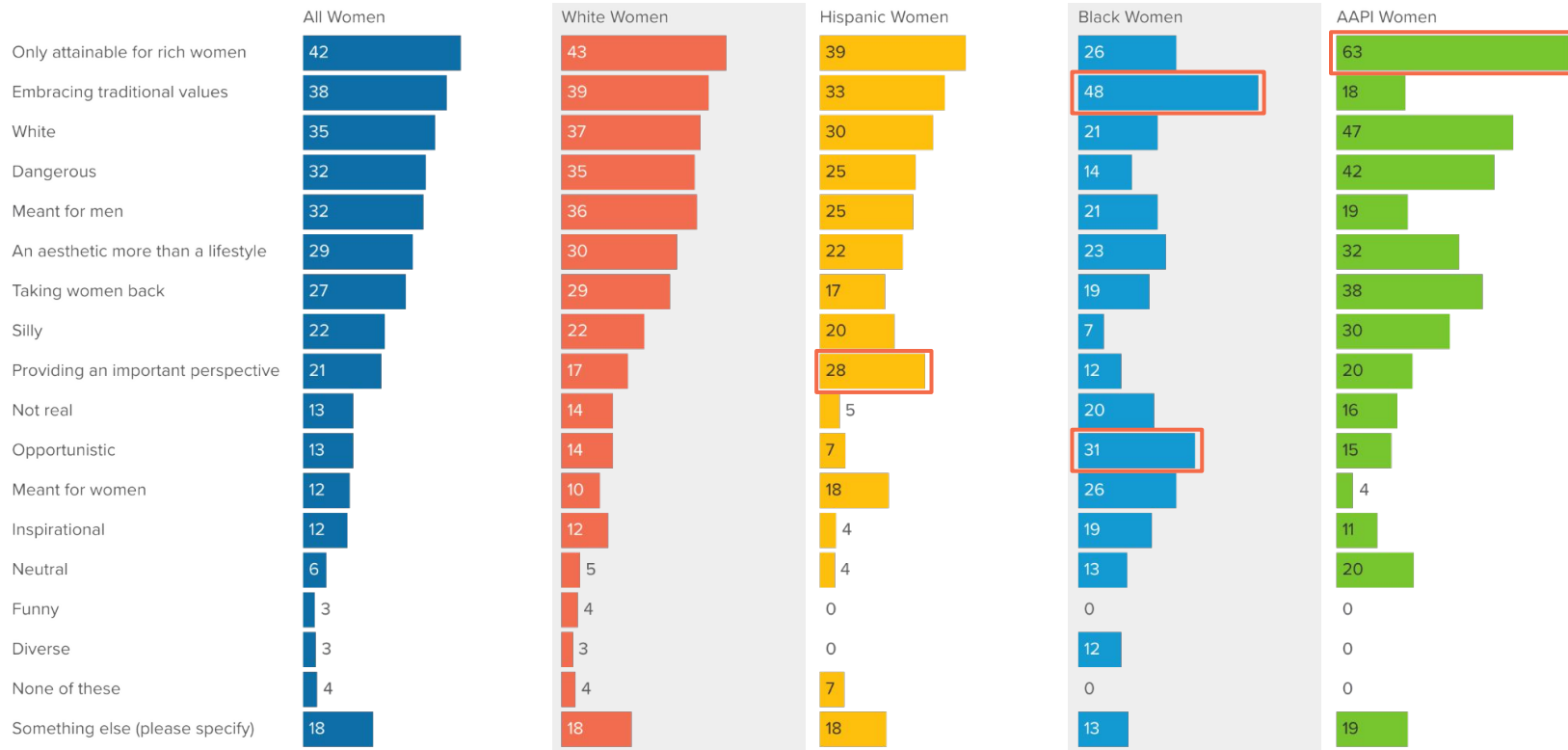


*We both work until the kids are born. One stays home with them prior to starting school (not necessarily the woman, just who prefers to do it).*  
 (Asian Woman, 50-64)

*My ideal gender role is partnership. There's no gender just do what need to be done and work as a team.*  
 (Black Woman, 35-49)

# Luxury or Lifestyle?

How would you describe the trad wife movement? Select all that apply.



Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# Strategic Guidance: Women's Freedom & Fairness

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# STRATEGIC GUIDANCE



## #1: Acknowledge women's fear and frustration

### This isn't a "some women" problem

- The differences in how men and women see women in the U.S.—the challenges that women face—are enormous. The gap is on par with the differences in realities that conservatives and progressives occupy.
- Convey urgency. Women are seeing and experiencing profound, urgent problems, but men don't see it that way.

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# STRATEGIC GUIDANCE



**#2: DO talk to women about abortion; DON'T *only* talk about abortion. Talk about WOMEN'S FREEDOM AND FAIRNESS in GOTV and persuasion comms**

## Abortion messaging is necessary but insufficient

- Keep abortion rights salient and do more to convey the frightening uncertainty around what Trump could do. Highlight the most plausible threats to women's rights beyond access to abortion: Interstate travel bans, technology companies harvesting data, etc.
- Use a **women's freedom and fairness** agenda for talking to women beyond abortion. Project a vision for women's freedom and fairness, and connect it to action. Make clear what happens if we don't change course. Strengthen the connection between women's everyday fears and frustrations with election outcomes, and make an explicit call to action.

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**



# STRATEGIC GUIDANCE



**#3: DO look to online trends as manifestations of real feelings; DON'T criticize young women, online women, women who want to raise children instead of work for pay...**

**This is a big tent with room for all [and a really long line for the bathroom]**

- Broaden the concept of choice and what it means to “have it all.”
- Rebrand “feminism” as the women’s freedom and fairness agenda that encompasses:
  - Access to abortion
  - Economic and employment fairness
  - Physical and online safety
  - Healthcare quality, comprehensiveness, and access

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

# STRATEGIC GUIDANCE



## #4: Target the most efficient segments of women for direct voter contact

### Siphon off right-of-center strategically and efficiently

- 29% of Republicans say abortion should be legal in most/all cases. Of these, just 12% say they will not vote for a candidate who has a view of abortion different than theirs, while 56% say they're willing to vote for a [pro-life] candidate. That's a tiny slice of the electorate, but they certainly matter for races that will be won/lost on the margins.
- Talk to women supporting Trump because they think the economy will fare better under a Trump presidency. Highlight Republican economic policies' unfairness for women.

# WHAT WE RECOMMEND NEXT

1. **Conduct deeper dives into key groups of interest” Black women, AAPI women, LGBTQ voters, and even men!**
2. **Test and identify the most potent messages within the women’s freedom and fairness frame to develop of-the moment messaging about the slipping away of women’s opportunities, including and beyond abortion access, using:**
  - Polling
  - Experimental design
  - Qualitative data (e.g., **Voices** Chats and/or In-Depth-Interviews).
3. **Target right-of-center abortion voters and those with whom women’s freedom and fairness messages resonate**

Who are the voters we can persuade and mobilize with women’s freedom and fairness messaging? We plan to use **Magnify**, our AI targeting tool, to create a custom models of these groups.

*Interested in developing/using this kind of model or message guidance?*

***Reach out to us!** We’d love to partner.*

# POLLING for the PEOPLE



**Betsy App, PhD**

Senior Pollster

[betsy@changeresearch.com](mailto:betsy@changeresearch.com)

**Stephen Clermont**

Director of Polling

[stephen@changeresearch.com](mailto:stephen@changeresearch.com)

**Sumati Thomas**

Analyst

[sumati@changeresearch.com](mailto:sumati@changeresearch.com)

**Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!**

# SAMPLE OVERVIEW



53% Women  
45% Men  
1% Trans/non-binary



67% White  
12% Hispanic  
10% Black  
7% AAPI  
4% Other



46% Biden 2020  
42% Trump 2020  
3% Other  
9% Did not vote



23% 18-34  
23% 35-49  
28% 50-64  
26% 65+



59% No 4-year degree  
41% 4-year college degree



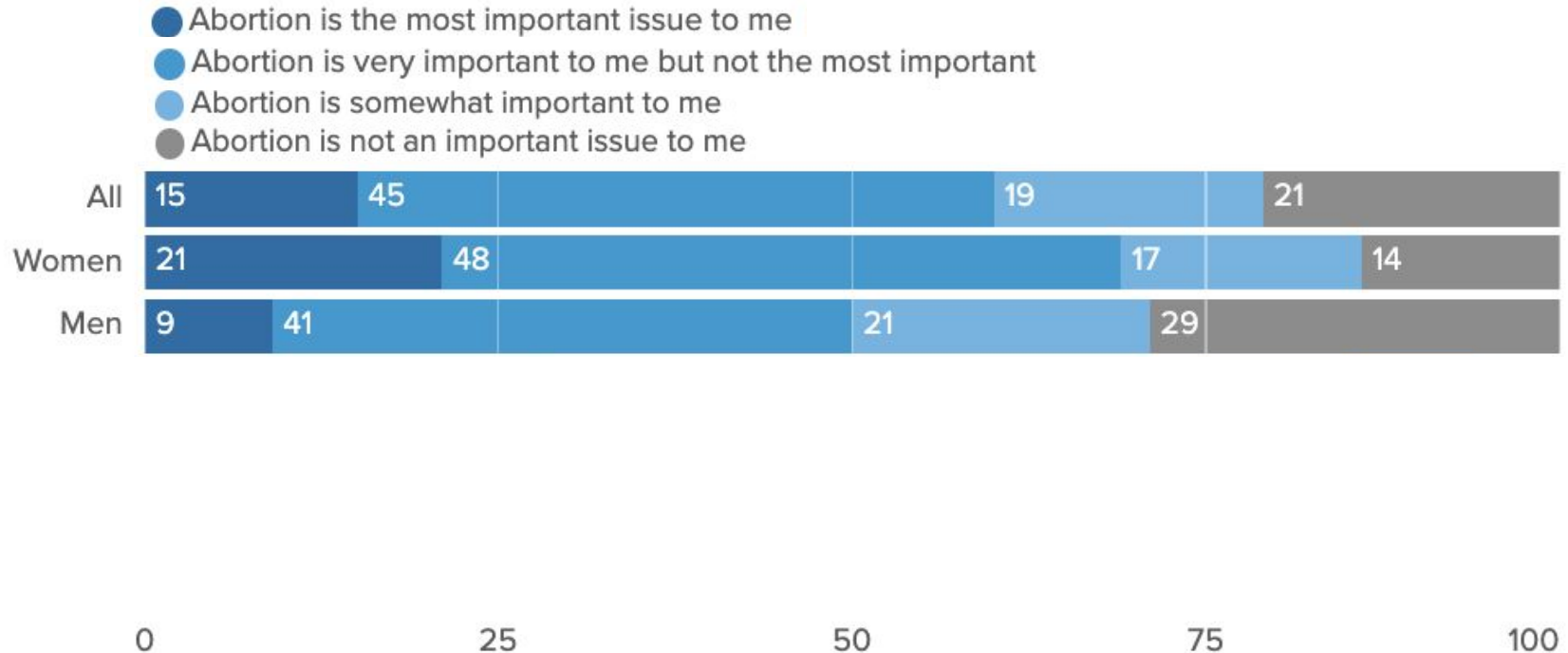
30% Rural  
40% Suburban  
30% Urban

Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# 1 in 5 women say abortion is their number one issue...



In thinking about whether and how you'll vote in the 2024 election, how important is the issue of abortion?



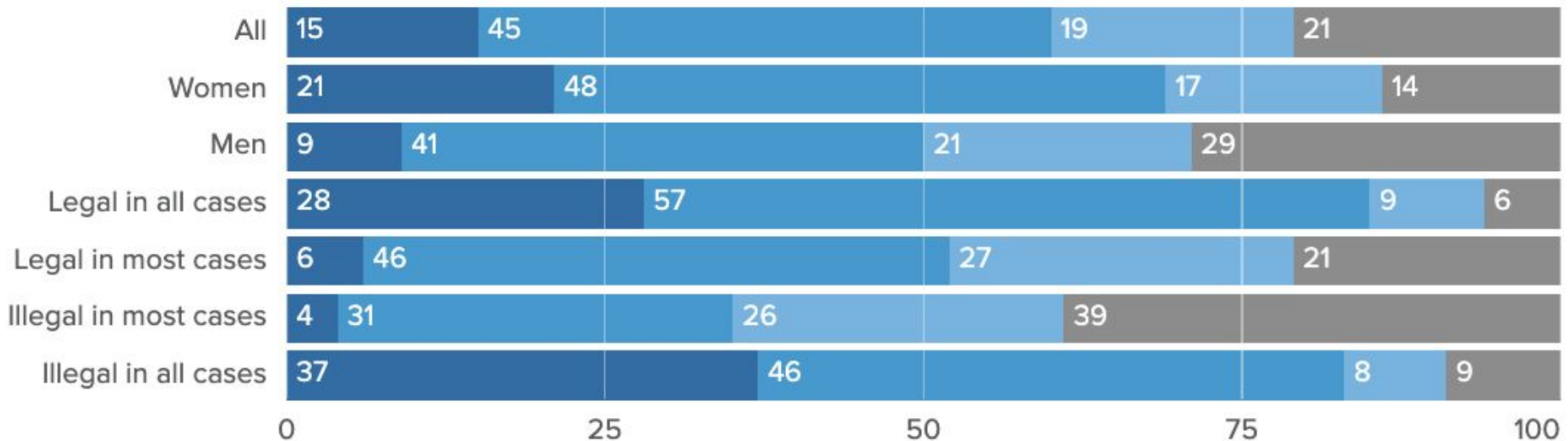
Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!

# ...but it's also a top issue for extremist anti-abortion rights voters



In thinking about whether and how you'll vote in the 2024 election, how important is the issue of abortion?

- Abortion is the most important issue to me
- Abortion is very important to me but not the most important
- Abortion is somewhat important to me
- Abortion is not an important issue to me



Questions? Post in the Q+A section below!