

PURPLE

Walmart Moms

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Strategies
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+ Walmart Moms

Definition

- Mom with kids <18 living at home
- Shopped at Walmart at least once in the last month

Sponsored by Walmart

- Momentum Analysis (recently acquired by Purple Strategies)
- Bipartisan, with Neil Newhouse of Public Opinion Strategies

Projects

- Multiple surveys in 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013
- Nearly 20 focus groups around the country since 2010

Approx 15% of the electorate

+ Past Walmart Moms Research

2010

- May: National online survey of 1250 women, including 380 Walmart Moms
- September: National study of registered voters, including 123 Walmart moms
- September: Three focus groups of Walmart moms in PA, MO & CO
- October: Battleground state poll of 250 Walmart moms in each of five states (CA, CO, FL, MO, PA)
- November: Election-Night survey of 400 Walmart moms

2011

- September: Three focus groups of Walmart moms in FL, NH & IA
- October: National survey of 800 registered voters, & 600 Walmart moms

2012

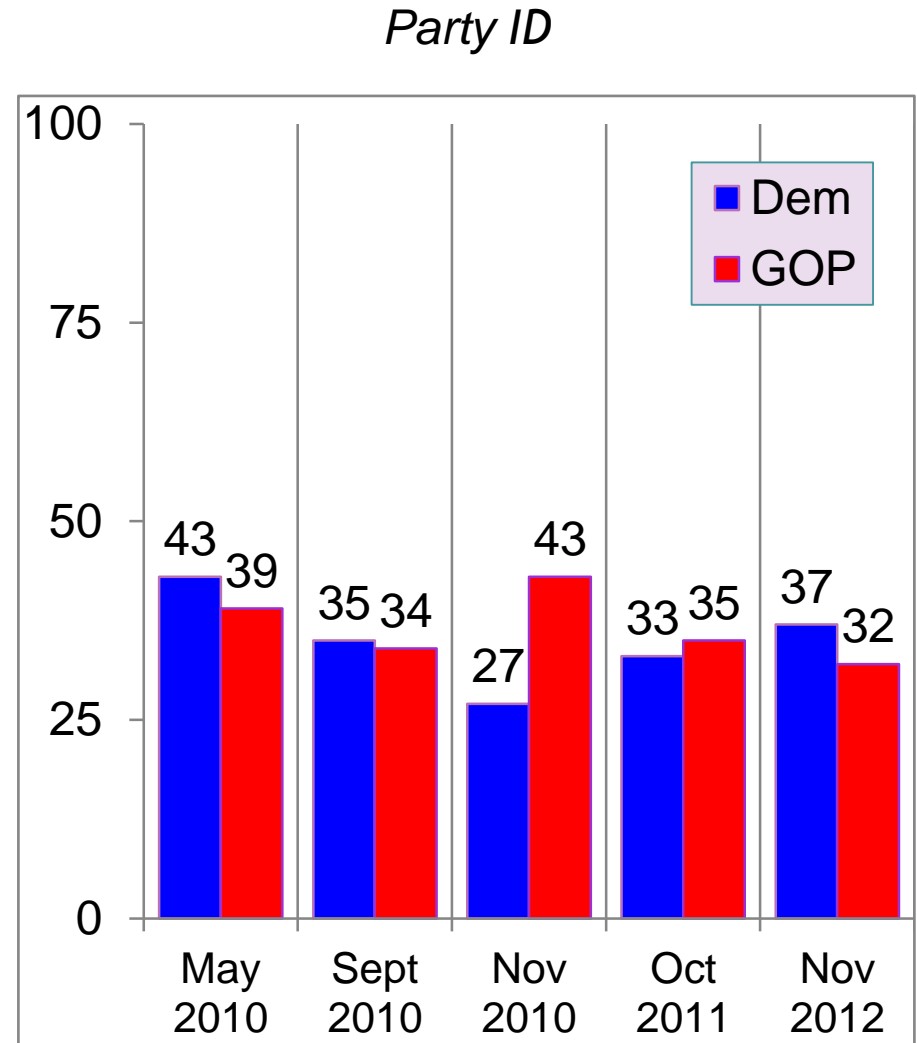
- June: Two focus groups of Walmart moms in NV & VA
- July, August: Six focus groups of Walmart moms in CO, AZ, OH, NC, WI & MI
- October: Three dial and discussion focus groups of Walmart moms in NV, WI & FL measuring real-time reactions to each presidential debate
- November: Election-Night survey of 1,600 voters & 432 Walmart moms

2013

- February: Two groups post-SOTU in KC & Philadelphia

+ Demographics

- Race/Ethnicity: 69% white
- HH Income: 40% <\$60K
- Education: 50% college educated
- Married: 72%
- Employed: 60% (6% unemployed, looking for work)
- **Age: 65% 18-44**



Demographic data from 2012 election night survey of 432 Walmart Moms, November 6, 2012.

+ The Economy, Health Care & Education Drive Most Views

Walmart moms are economically anxious

- In focus groups moms repeatedly talk about lost jobs, children moving back home, difficulty taking care of aging parents and other economic difficulties
- In our 2011 survey nearly three-quarters of moms expected their family to face at least one economic hardship that year, compared to 57% among voters overall
- Not surprisingly the economy was the top issue for moms in 2012

Health care & education are both higher priorities for Walmart moms than voters overall

- In focus groups moms express concern about increasing health care costs and damaging cuts to schools
- And a Latina mom in Las Vegas specifically notes she is happy about government-mandated contraception coverage, saving her \$35 monthly

Similar to voters overall, a slim majority say the government should be doing more to help people

- Not that the government is already doing too much

Social issues lag others in importance

- Though in focus groups moms tend to lean left on stem-cell research, same sex marriage and being pro-choice

+ Post-SOTU, Preschool Policies Were Well-Received

“I love it, because they're, that program is so at risk. Parents as Teachers is dissolving. And, you know, most of us are stay at home moms or part-time stay at home moms, and I do a lot of education myself, you know, and so I think those programs, making sure the kids are on track for moms that maybe don't know how to do it, or parents that don't know how to do it, is great. And I love that preschool that I will, you know, I'm looking forward to sending my next son to that program, even if I do have to pay a little bit of money, but that's going to take some major budget swings. Because my next door neighbor, she didn't send her kid to preschool, because they didn't know that a free preschool was offered. And it's great programs like this that I hope that the government does find money for.” (KC)

“I like it a lot too. My problem is not really the money piece of it, but I'm not a stay at home mom, and some preschools are only half day. Well, I can't get my child there, so it's, it has to be that she stays where she is. She's not, she's not even two yet, but it's been on my mind to think about. So I do think preschool's important, and I think when you invest at a younger age, you curb some of those social issues later.” (KC)

“Well, I liked it, but, you know, even with our kindergarten, you could have half day, but parents have to pay to go a full day. So, unfortunately, some parents don't have the money to go full day, but then they're thinking that their kids are going to be behind, because they're not getting that extra half day that the other ones are.” (KC)

“When I went from fulltime to part-time is when I put my son in preschool, because I felt it was important for him to be in preschool. But I, you know, I took a pay cut, huge pay cut and paid for him to go to preschool, you know, three hours a day. What I would like that it be a true half day four, four and a half hours. I think that's not too much for a kid, because they're usually napping for two hours out of that time anyway. And it would allow, it might solve some of the job situation that people, mothers could actually work while their kids are in preschool. That would be wonderful, because I found it was like, oh, if I want to send my child to school, I have to quit my job or at least go to part time work in order to be able to pick them up.” (KC)

+ Even If Some Lament Changing Family Dynamics

“The kid, before kindergarten, we should be teaching them ABC's. We have to be responsible. Parents are not being responsible. Parents are not doing their job. So even if the children go to preschool, pre-K, you know, by the time they reach, you know, third, fourth grade, they still may not be able to read, because they're not doing what they're supposed to do. The parents are not reinforcing that. The parents are not partnering with the education system, you know. So, yes, it's all great we start them early, but there's a bigger issue there. And, you know, okay, how are all these programs going to get paid for? They're all going to go into effect what we do, how we live. Everything is money, and everything interrelates, you know. And we want this, we like this, but there's a lot more . . . things. And we have to really go back to the basics, how things used to be.” (KC)

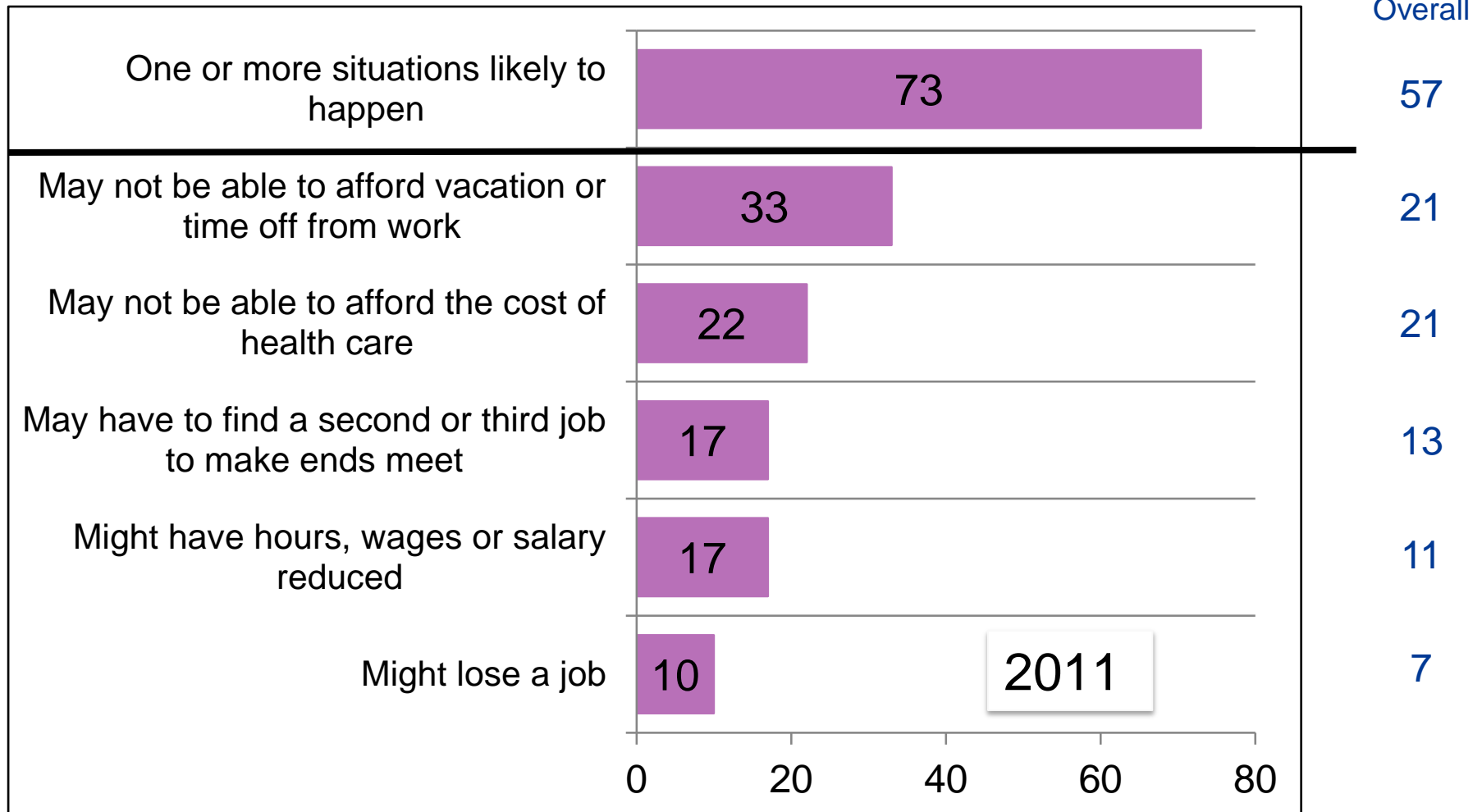
“But I've been through this whole situation, and when I worked full time, I paid over \$800 a month to put my daughter in pre-K. Okay. I came home at the end of the week, and what was the sense of going to work? And I worked hard and made decent money. I made pretty good money. And so I know both ends. Now that my youngest daughter, she's ten, but she had gone to like a pre-K a couple days a week just for a couple hours at like two or three. No, it had to be about three. Then at four she went to the Head Start Program here in Philadelphia. And that was a wonderful program. I think it's important for kids to start their education early. And I believe in nurturing the children also, because my oldest daughter went to pre-K very young, and we're not as close. But my youngest daughter, she, they started reading in that Head Start Program, and she now is like in advanced classes. She just got her report card today again, straight A's. Straight A's last marking period. She's an honor student.” (Philadelphia)

“So I live in a neighborhood where there are lots of single moms with young children. And I'm thinking long term. If those babies get into school early, they're going to be readers early. Their academics are probably not going to suffer, and there's a potential for them to do well. And when they don't, I already know what's going to happen. And so if I'm old, 70 years old on my block, and these kids are inheriting their momma's and daddy's houses, I need people who are next to me who are going to be educated, who are going to have families, who are going to be able to have jobs. And so what he's saying is not a joke. Kids who go to school early and are supportive of their parents at home academically always do well in school most of the time. And do for me, yes, it will impact me.” (Philadelphia)

“Right, because the grandparents are watching them while their parents are working. You can definitely see a difference in what the kids know today. You know, if some people are fortunate enough to be at home and to work with their kids. But the majority of these kids that I see do not get worked with not because their parents don't want to. It's just lack of time. Kids have more activities with older siblings. Parents are on the road more.” (Philadelphia)

+ In 2011, Three-Quarters Of Walmart Moms Expected To Deal With An Economic Hardship

% of Walmart moms who say they expect their HH to face economic hardship in the next year



+ These Moms Have Major Personal Financial Worries & Struggles

“I left a job to go back to school to better myself and now I’m begging to get a job. I can’t get a job. You’re either over-qualified or you’re under-qualified. I don’t have my degree so I’m under-qualified or if I am just begging to get anything I’m over-qualified. I still go to school. And God bless my family because without them I wouldn’t be making it day-to-day, let alone week to week.” (Denver)

“I just don’t think the dollar is that good anymore. The reason my son lives at home is -- and we are seeing more and more of these intermingled families -- is because my son can’t make it on his own. The mother of his child is not in his child’s life, and he ended up having to move home with me, and he has a job and it’s hardly any money ... And he was never a college kind of kid so for the average person who is not college educated or have a trade to find a job where you can actually afford to live on your own it’s not there... but I don’t know whose responsibility it is, if it’s the president’s job if it’s not. Who controls?” (Phoenix)

“I teach my children about the realities of things. They’ll see something on TV and they’re like ‘oh mom, I want that.’ And I’ll say ‘do you know how long I work for that? That’s \$48 that will take me how many hours?’ Then they get to the point where they know that it won’t happen because we can’t afford it. We are very honest and that it would be nice to have but it’s not necessary. We just got a cell phone for our daughter who is going to middle school. We’re looking at her and said ‘here look, we were paying \$35 for the two of us and now to adding you with the texting and everything it’s now this much. We’re not going to Disney next year.’ And she’s like ‘ok I get it.’” (Columbus)

“Even though I may want to go back to work I can’t afford child care. So how am I going to put my daughter in after school care and how can I put my child, my baby once it’s old enough, in day care? How can I get there without money? We are depleting our savings. It’s getting vicious being able to survive and have your family keep their head above water. That’s my main worry and concern.” (Raleigh)

“I’m a Christian. I grew up in a hard life, a gang life and my mom was addicted to meth. I came out of a divorced family and my mom was the fun mom, the party mom. She let me do drugs at a young age. With my kids it’s different – my kids are involved in sports. Me and my husband, we don’t want to be like that. My kids are the most important thing and I’m going to give them a life that we never had. In our household, divorce is not an option; it’s not a word that’s ever been spoken.” (Latina, Las Vegas)

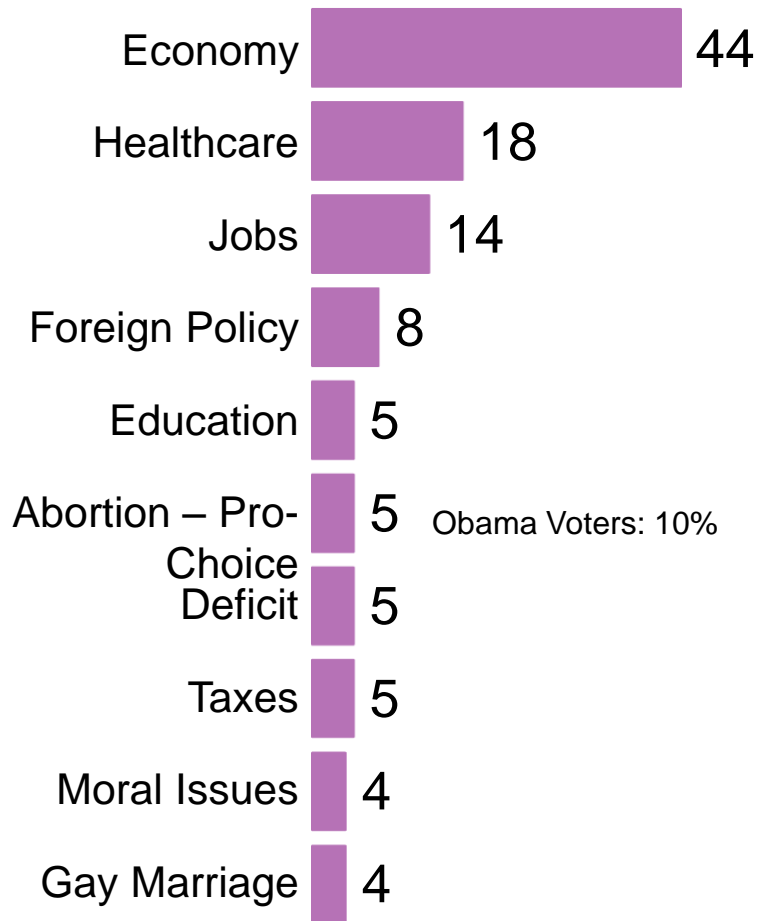
“Education is big, coming from a Hispanic community we all have a poor story to tell. For me, now what I face is teaching my children to have a better lifestyle and to stay in school. My 14-year old already gotten busted smoking pot and drinking. I have to keep him in school. I don’t want them to be involved in drugs, I don’t want my daughter to be single mom.” (Latina, Las Vegas)

“My son starting kindergarten in the fall; I just hear about all the bullying that’s going on. Kids are so mean nowadays. It wasn’t like there weren’t bullies when I was growing up, but it wasn’t at the extreme it is now. It worries me. He’s a sweet boy and caring, and I don’t want someone to take that as a weakness. I want to teach him to stand up for himself, and I want him to be a strong individual, but in a kind way.” (Richmond)

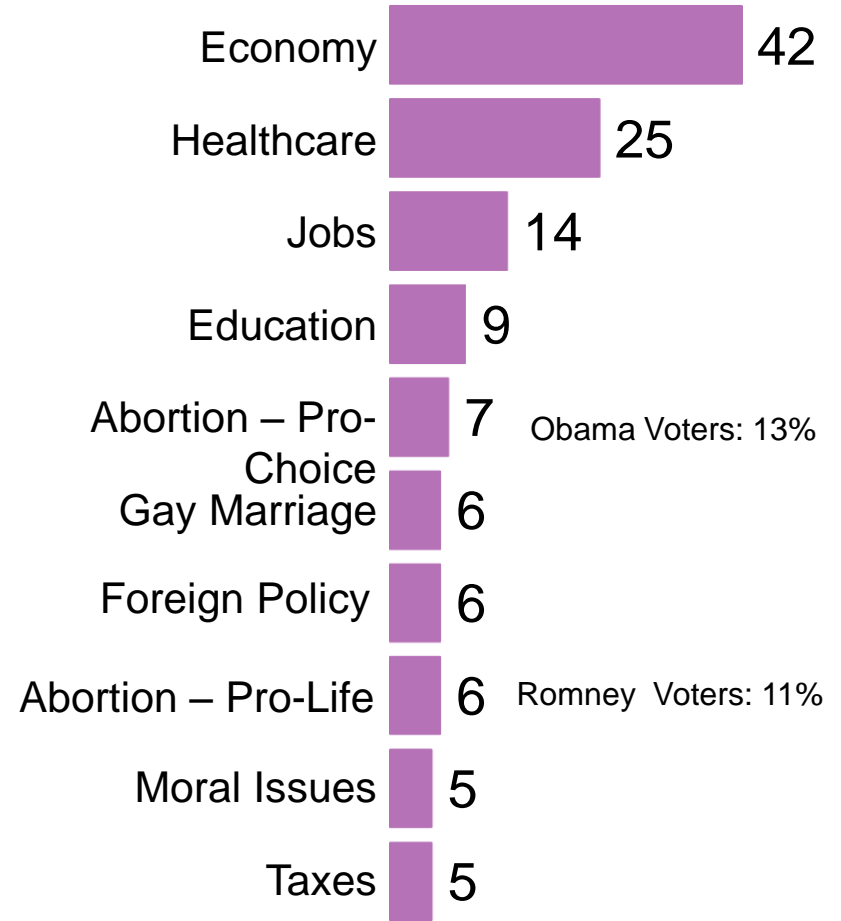
+ In 2012 The Economy, Jobs, Health Care & Education Were Top Issues Among Walmart Moms

And, putting aside character or other personal issues for the presidential campaign, what one or two issues were most important to you when deciding to vote for President?

All Voters



Walmart Moms

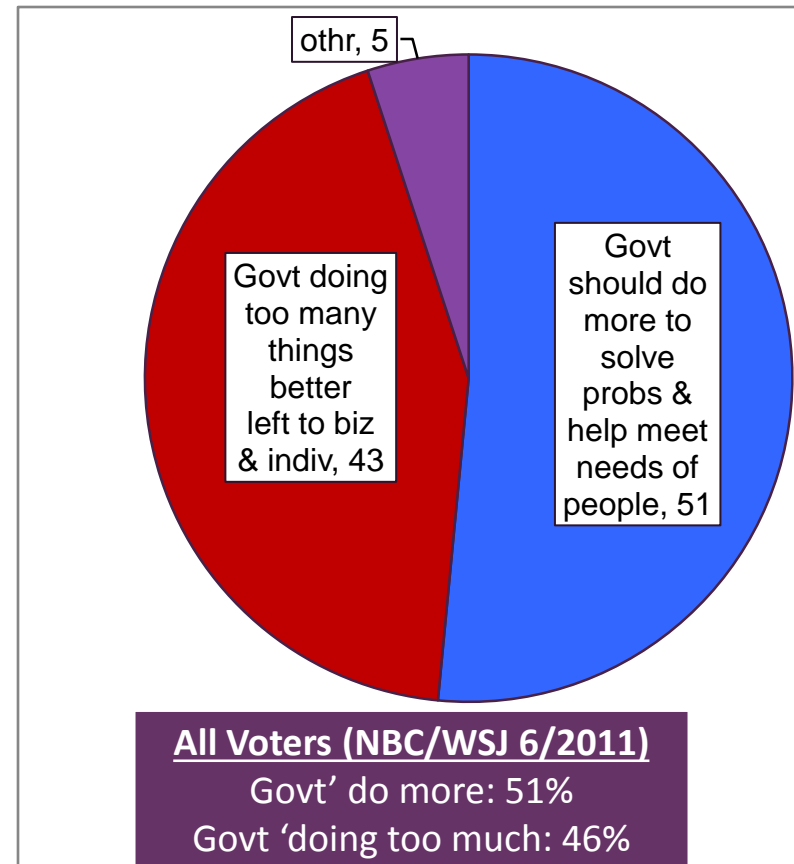


*Top 10 items only shown.

+ Similar To Voters Overall, Slim Majorities See An Active Role For Government

- In 2011, some participants said the government could help by “paying my electric bill” or “buy my milk.”
- In Las Vegas, Latinas said:
 - “I would like it if my birth control was paid by the government. I think that would be awesome. It costs me \$35 a month. I think that should be something provided by the government.”
 - “Spending [is an important issue].... I just think that you have to... putting money into your community. You have to put money, you have to, you can't hoard it. Anytime you hold onto anything, you're not going to gain anything. That's just my philosophy.”
- (In addition to jobs) health care & education are very salient
 - Cuts in school funding are already affecting them
 - Specifically after-school activities, sports
 - Quite a few have special-needs children
 - Many are worried about specific health care problems
 - Taking kids to the doctor & paying for specialists top the list
 - Concerns about the mandate come up, but more as a household budget consideration.

2011: Which comes closest to your view?



Walmart Mom data from October 2011 survey of 600 Walmart Moms

+ Social Issues Not A Vote Driver (Though They Seem to Lean Left)

- “Because I’m socially liberal and fiscally conservative. It’s a God awful place to be. I support gay marriage but I’m fiscally conservative, so half my beliefs are with one party and half with the other party.” (Detroit)
- “Romney has a lot of too conservative values, you know. I don’t think that gay marriage is all that bad. I know many gay parents that have their children – amazing parents - is it because his belief in God or his belief in Mormon because he’s a Mormon that’s why he can’t accept that?” (Phoenix)
- “That’s why I’m torn. I’m with Obama, pro-choice, pro-gay marriage, pro-stem cell research; however, I like Romney’s business savvy.” (Phoenix)
- “I believe the issues I worry about are being addressed, but I believe that they are being far overshadowed by topics such as abortion and religion. I have heard very little about the ways the candidates plan to improve the economy, but I have heard many things about different candidates’ opinions on abortion, birth control, and gay rights. These are important topics, but I think they are putting too much emphasis on these topics and just blaming people for our economy instead of coming up with a plan to fix it.” (Online, Ohio)
- “I don’t want to hear about same-sex marriage and reproductive rights, only because nothing’s going to get done. They’ve talked about it way to long. They bring it in every presidential election to sway people and nothing ever gets done. That’s how they try to get women’s vote one way or the other.” (Latina, Las Vegas)
- “Abortion is always a key issue for me, but it was actually 3rd on my list behind domestic issues because I believe that health care needs urgently addressed and, as a Science teacher, obviously education and the environment are crucial.” (Online, FL)
- “I think that sometimes the fact that all the candidates are men does make a difference. When I think of some candidates speaking about things like reproductive rights, birthing choices, etc., it’s hard to believe a man could really "get" how a woman would feel about those issues. I think my husband is a pretty compassionate and caring guy, but even he doesn’t get what those issues mean to a woman. So even though these men might be great Dads and caring husbands, it’s tough for me to think they fully understand all the issues that are important to women.” (Online, Pennsylvania)

+ Moms Feel Politicians Fail To Understand Their Daily Challenges

These Walmart Moms are extremely busy...

- Working, running their households and trying to make ends meet
- Of 8 common household tasks, 38% of Walmart Moms are solely responsible for handling all or nearly all tasks
- And this is true even for 31% of married Walmart Moms

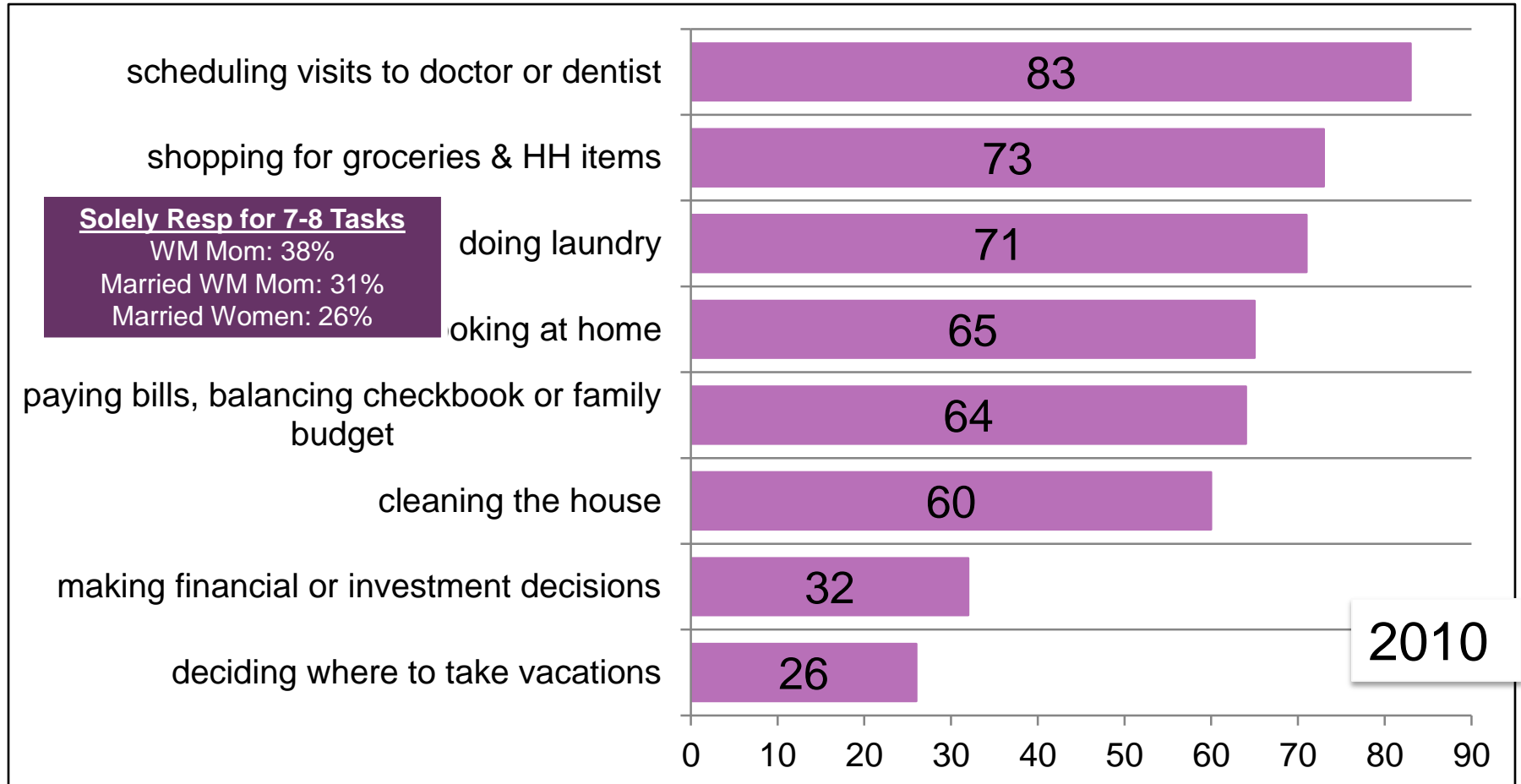
And they feel politicians have never experienced their day-to-day and can't understand the issues they face

- In focus groups moms clearly feel politicians are out of touch with their daily lives
- Because decision-makers in Washington are mostly white, male, millionaires who have never had to live paycheck to paycheck
- Or as one mom said, never had to figure out how to pay for food and gas

+ Moms Juggle Sole Responsibility For Many Tasks

Even A Third of Married Moms Do Most Of These Tasks Themselves

*% of Walmart moms who say they do this task themselves
(and do not share responsibility with a partner or other)*



+ Politicians Fail To Understand Their Struggles

- “They are primarily a bunch of millionaires too stuck in their political ideology to compromise and do what is right for other people. If they had to think about how to pay for food and gas, the tone in Washington might change.” (Online, Florida)
- “Really, no matter what Obama says, it’s like if he says black, they say white. And nobody will meet him half way. And you have to be able to put aside you’re differences of what your party is and see what’s best for the people. I just think that no politician is out there for the people. They’re all out there for themselves.” (Columbus)
- “Half of Congress is not even in touch with what the world is today anyways.” (Raleigh)
- “Not being able to relate to women because they are men. And not realizing that, you know, there are issues that women deal with, being a single mom, things like that that men, they just, they don't get it. I mean, it's nothing to get, they just, their brain doesn't work the same way ours does.” (Richmond)
- “I do not think elected officials and running candidates understand my life and what matters most to me. They make too much money to understand what it is like to live paycheck to paycheck and for someone to be on disability. All they care about is their personal agendas.” (Online, Pennsylvania)
- “The ‘decision makers’ in Washington are mainly all men, which to me doesn't seem like the group that would understand stay at home moms like me.” (Online, Virginia)

+ Walmart Moms Are Politically Swing

Walmart Moms are a true swing group

- They voted for Obama in 2008
- Heavily supported Republicans in 2010
- But then supported Obama again in 2012

2012 Presidential Election:

- These moms supported Obama by a much narrower margin than women overall
- Though among women overall and Walmart Moms Obama ran up huge margins among non-white and unmarried women

These moms were underwhelmed with President Obama's first term

- Though they recognized he took office during an exceptionally difficult period
- Still, many felt he "under-delivered"

But they never warmed to Romney

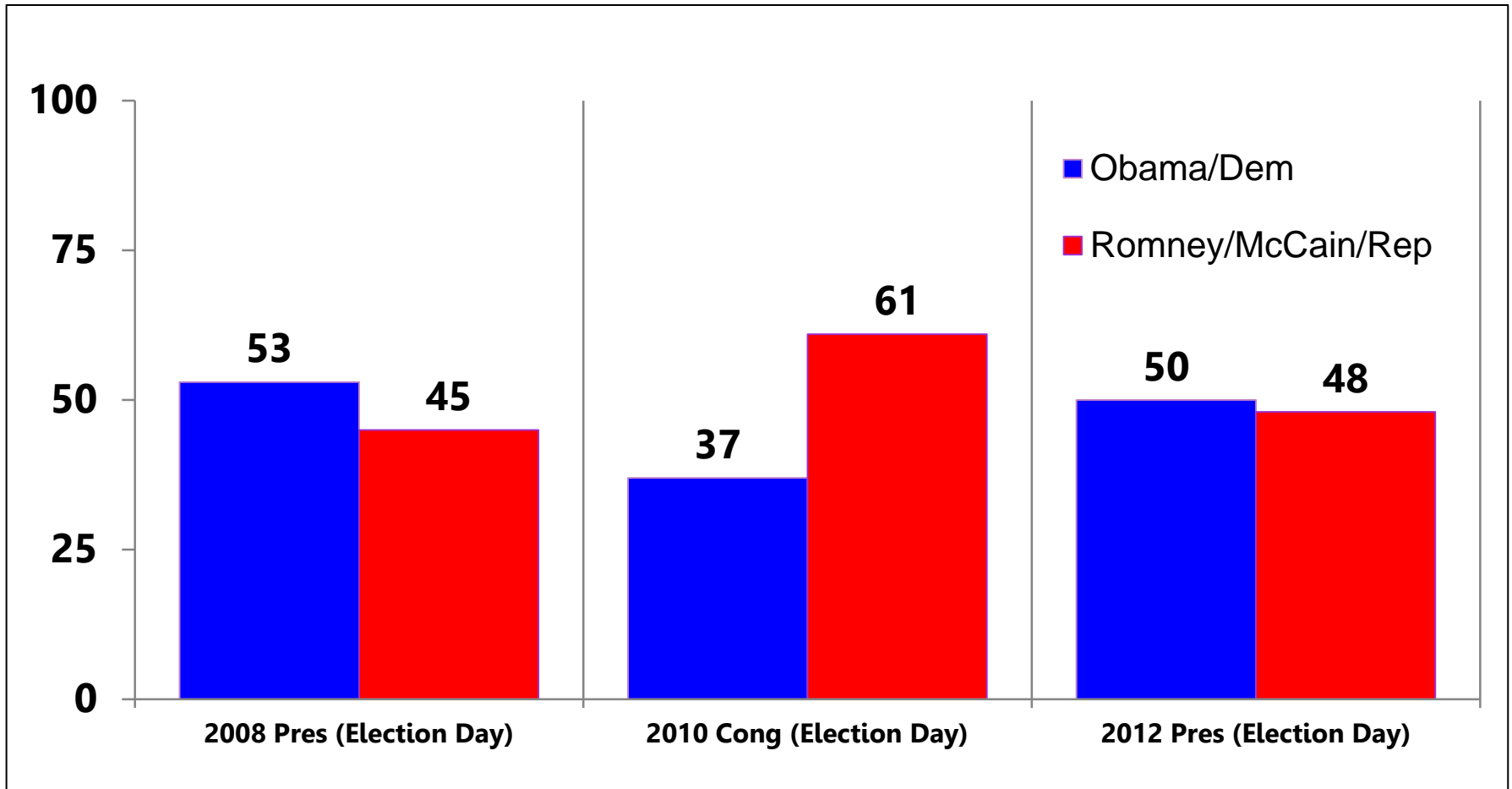
- Impressions he was "slick" or "too conservative" or represented "power and wealth" made it impossible for Romney to capitalize on their ambivalence towards Obama's record

Moms continually called for a "clear plan" from the candidates

- Despite significant efforts by both candidates to convey their plan for the economy
- Further evidence of candidates inability to understand and connect with these moms

+ Walmart Moms Are Politically Swing

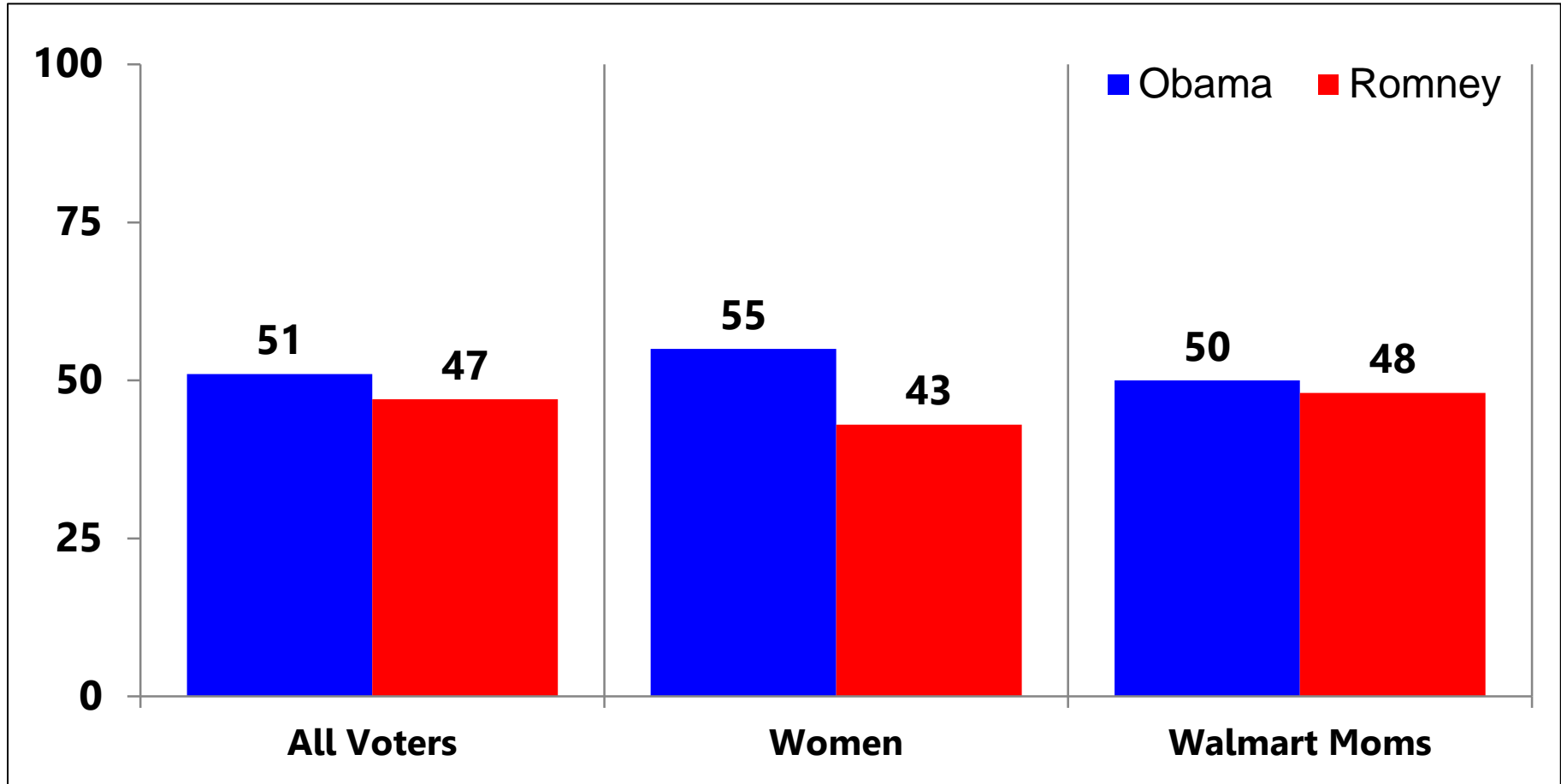
For which of the following candidates would/did you vote for President/Congress...



2008 Presidential data based on vote recall among Walmart Moms in May 2010 survey.

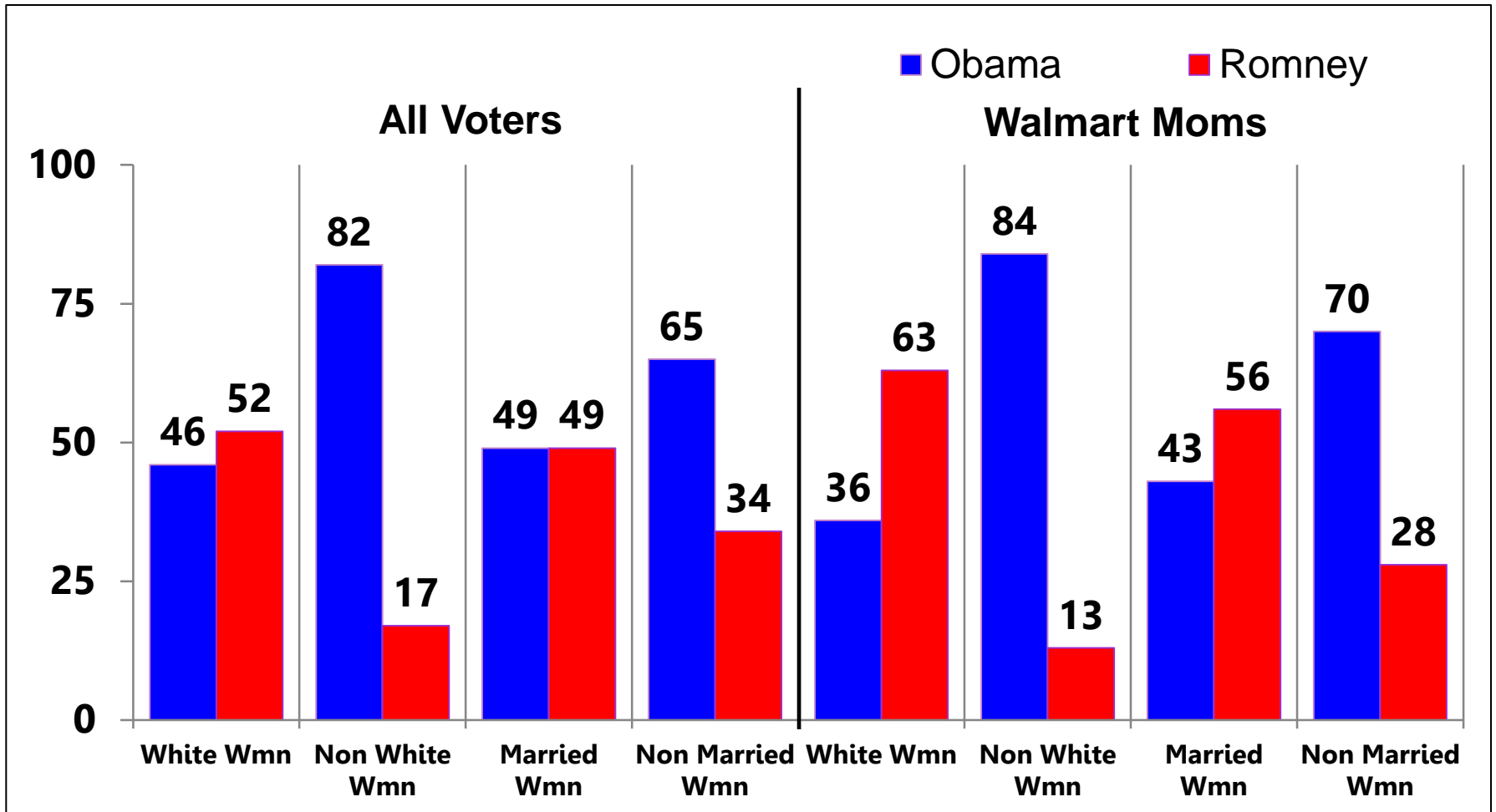
+ Walmart Moms Supported Obama, But By A Narrower Margin Than Women Overall

For which of the following candidates did you vote for President...



+ Obama Ran Up Huge Margins Among Non White & Unmarried Women, With Voters Overall And Walmart Moms

For which of the following candidates did you vote for President...



+ Moms Were Disappointed In Obama, Even As They Recognized He Inherited A Major Crisis

- “I had high hopes with President Obama like everybody and I read his book about how he grew up and different things. And I think as a person he’s a great man and has a lot of good intentions and a lot of good ideas. The president doesn’t have nearly the power that we attribute to the president. I think a lot of people say well you know why hasn’t he fixed this, this, and this. And, it’s just not possible for them to fix everything. So, yes we can’t be too impatient but at the same time when you’re pushing ideas like the healthcare bill that scares me. On Wednesday, I’ll be going to court with my soon to be ex-spouse so my income is dropping drastically and you know I have a job and I have healthcare through that job but I don’t know how long – it’s a grant paid position – so I don’t know how long I have healthcare. So if I needed to go and not have insurance for a year or two, I want that to be my choice.” (Denver)
- “Overwhelmed – in my eyes he walked into the Titanic and he couldn’t save it.” (Phoenix)
- “Under-delivered—There was a lot of talk before he got elected, and—whether I agreed with what he was promising or not—not a lot has come of it. So, he under-delivered on what he promised. He possibly underestimated how things work in Washington because he didn’t have a lot of experience with that. Possibly it is more partisan now than it has been previously, so he may have run into a wall he hadn’t expected.” (Detroit)
- “I’m not so sure he did such a good job with the economy because we don’t know how it would have turned out had he not put in place all the stimulus. I can’t say for sure, that what he did benefited the economy.” (Columbus)
- “We need to look at the main issue to get everything stable. There so much bleeding going on right now. We need to stop the bleeding and then move forward. Maybe it’s not enough time for three years, but if we have a new president he’ll be new too. Maybe we should just let him finish out, but if we re-up, maybe it’s better. It’s such a mixed thing” (Latina, Las Vegas)

+ But They Did Not Warm Up To Romney

- “Slick - Although that’s not necessarily bad. He tends to seem like he’s very polished and he knows what he’s doing when he’s speaking and he’s not able to go out and make mistakes. And his tax returns and I mean you may not like how much taxes he pays but he knows how to dot his “I”s and cross his “T”s and so he’s polished - in good and bad ways. I don’t think he’s warm and you really get a comforting feeling from him. But he’s definitely polished.” (Denver)
- “I think he’s an opportunist. I think he is a religious zealot. He is ‘the man’ – really ‘the man.’ He is the establishment. He is the white, rich, rich family, educated white male who has his own interests at heart.” (Phoenix)
- “Power and wealth – I don’t know, just a feeling I get from the ads, from his background. I mean that’s just what I think of, and it’s just kind of a sense. That’s what he is putting out there. With the Olympics, how he helped to get things going. I just think it just comes across as power and wealth...I kind of look at it as a bad thing, it can switch to a bad thing as far as someone who is powerful can use it for their advantage and not help the poor.” (Milwaukee)
- “It’s like he’s a Ken doll. He’s just prefect, cookie cutter, all-American family, nothing ever happens to us sort of thing...It makes it hard for people to relate. Not everyone has the Ken and Barbie lifestyle.” (Columbus)

+ There Was A Strong Desire To See “A Plan” From The Candidates

- “For me it’s like talk to me one-on-one as far as issues like education. This is what I plan on doing for education. This is what I want to do. Or, for the jobs as well.” (Denver)
- I would have him [Obama] have a clear cut plan on how he’s going to continue to work towards what he said he was going to. And if I were him, focus on maybe that he hasn’t had enough time and now that he’s got the four years in he know exactly where he’s going.” (Columbus)
- “Give me a clear cut plan. Be very precise on what you’re going to do and be honest. ... On issues involving unemployment and education, I mean everything is always foggy.” (Columbus)

+ Reminders For Candidates & Organizations Trying To Reach Walmart Moms

- Women (and moms) are not monolithic
- Voters across the board are looking for a personal connection
- Demonstrate a shared struggle
 - Tell a story
 - Incorporate real families
 - Scrub jargon from your speech and materials
- Use language tapping into women's values & concerns, not simply checking off the box on education
- Clarity & specificity are important, but swing voters are not reading detailed plans

I guess the biggest thing I want to know is, what are you going to do that's going to change my life on a daily basis? What is going to be different? Just what are they going to do that will impact me directly? I don't want to hear all the big grand plans and ideas. How is that going to trickle down and affect me on a daily basis. (Milwaukee)



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