

Direct Democracy and Online Mobilization  
New Media Strategies to Galvanize Millennial Voters

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## Executive Summary

### Policy Question

What new media tactics should be employed to galvanize North Carolina Millennial voters in the run-up to the May 8, 2012 vote on Amendment One?

### Background and Policy Context

The Coalition to Protect All NC Families was formed October 2011 in response to legislation passed by the NC General Assembly, Senate Bill 514, in support of a constitutional amendment that reads, “Marriage between one man and one woman is the only domestic legal union that shall be valid or recognized in this state.”<sup>1</sup> Voters in NC will have the opportunity to vote “for” or “against” this amendment on May 8, 2012.

The Coalition has been leading a campaign, on behalf of more than 100 member organizations, to educate voters on the harmful effects of this amendment and mobilize them to turnout and vote against it. Given the short timeline, this group is especially concerned with voter turnout.

For this reason, they are particularly interested in Millennials as a target demographic for this research. As I later outline, this age group (18-31) is overwhelmingly in opposition to the proposed amendment, and is the generation most engaged online. The success of the campaign hinges on engaging this critical demographic.

### Data, Methods and Analysis

My research strategy includes three steps:

1. Identify existing new media strategies used in previous ballot measure initiatives.
2. Research new media best practices, as they are employed in political campaigns.
3. Create a voter profile of Millennials in North Carolina.

The Coalition leadership first requested that I look to other states to see what new media strategies have been implemented in similar social issue ballot measure initiatives. Then, I went a step further in deciding to research new media usage best practices, as it relates to political campaigns. I chose to exclusively focus on researching the Obama for America campaign, supplementing my findings with online research. Finally, I wanted to provide a complete and current profile of the North Carolina Millennial voter, so the Coalition could best understand this demographic – how were they politically engaged, where were they engaged (especially as it relates to online activity) and what strategies may be useful in activating them. A survey instrument would prove to be the best method of generating data for this profile.

All three research methods served to inform my policy recommendations for the Coalition.

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<sup>1</sup> N.C. General Assembly. 2011. S.L. 2011-409. (S.B. 514). “Defense of Marriage.”

## **Policy Recommendations**

New media tools prove to be a promising channel for the Coalition to Protect NC Families' efforts to reach and galvanize Millennial voters. I outline two general new media tactics that the Coalition might benefit from incorporating into their overall new media communications strategy. These recommendations come towards the end of the campaign and only serve to reinforce existing new media efforts.

1. *Increase visual content on existing SNS.*

- a. With SNS posting, increase ratio of photos/videos to text, weighing even more heavily on photos.
- b. Create and share video content featuring people more recognizable and/or relatable to Millennial voters.
- c. Design infographics.

2. *Continue to push early voting through SNS.*

With almost 40% of Millennial voters reporting that they aren't currently registered to vote in their precinct, it's critical that they engage in early voting or "one-stop" voting. North Carolina allows residents to register to vote and cast their ballot at the same time during the early voting period. In this election, the period is from April 19 to May 5, 2012.

## Policy Question

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## Social Issue Ballot Measures

Referendum voting provides the basis for major public policy decisions. In the United States, statewide ballot measures are perhaps the best examples of this. All measures, however, are not created equal. It is safe to say that a ballot measure about an obscure bond bill does not have the same mobilization effect as one attempting to ban same-sex marriage.<sup>2</sup> Social issues are uniquely related to morality politics, which involves policies that attempt to regulate social norms and generate a strong moral response from citizens by invoking notions of right and wrong.<sup>3 4</sup>

Social issue ballot measures, and their impact, have received significant attention in recent years, specifically the same-sex marriage bans adopted in the November 2004 and 2008 elections. In the last three years alone, there have been 17 social issue ballot measure initiatives up for a vote.

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<sup>1</sup> N.C. General Assembly. 2011. S.L. 2011-409. (S.B. 514). “Defense of Marriage.”

<sup>2</sup> Keele, L. (2009). An observational study of ballot initiatives and state outcomes. Working paper.

<sup>3</sup> Mooney, C. Z., & Lee, M.-H. (1995). Legislating morality in the American states: The case of pre-Roe abortion regulation reform. *American Journal of Political Science*, 39, 599–627.

<sup>4</sup> Haider-Markel, D. P., & Kaufman, M. S. (2006). Public opinion and policymaking in the culture wars: Is there a connection between opinion and state policy on gay and lesbian issues? In J. Cohen (Ed.), *Public opinion in state politics* (pp. 163–182). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Direct democracy, though technically not party-based, is certainly not void of outside influence. It is increasingly apparent that direct democracy is becoming more publicized and politicized and the lack of information available to voters in initiative elections makes the voter's task of deciding how to vote more arduous.<sup>1 2 3 4</sup>

In lieu of traditional cues available to voters in candidate elections (i.e.: party affiliation), voters in ballot initiatives must rely on other cues -- initiative campaigns, elite messages, and media cues.<sup>5 6 7 8 9</sup> Voters rely on cues from various sources to provide them with information necessary to cast a vote that's consistent with their personal preferences.<sup>10 11 12</sup>

Research shows that a voter's partisan affiliation, level of education, and age are consistently related to their voting behavior on ballot issues.<sup>13</sup> Findings indicate that those who are registered Democrats, college-educated, and younger are less likely to vote conservatively on social issue ballot initiatives.<sup>14</sup>

### Marriage, Domestic Partner and Family Ballot Initiatives

To date, voters have passed constitutional bans on same-sex marriage in 29 states, though 37 of them have statutory Defense of Marriage Acts.<sup>15</sup> All but three of these ballot measure

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<sup>1</sup> Branton, Regina. September 2003. "Examining Individual-Level Voting Behavior on State Ballot Propositions." *Political Research Quarterly*. Vol. 56, No. 3, pp. 367-377.

<sup>2</sup> Bowler, Shaun, and Todd Donovan, eds. 1998. *Demanding Choices*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

<sup>3</sup> Lupia, Arthur. 1992. "Busy Voters, Agenda Control, and the Power of Information." *American Political Science Review* 86: 390-403.

<sup>4</sup> Magleby, David B. 1984. *Direct Legislation: Voting on Ballot Propositions in the United States*. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press.

<sup>5</sup> Banducci, Susan. 1998. "Search for Ideological Consistency in Direct Legislation Voting." In Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert, eds., *Citizens As Legislators*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press

<sup>6</sup> Joslyn, Mark R., and Donald P Haider-Markel. 2000. "Guns in the Ballot Box: Information, Groups, and Opinion in Ballot Initiative Campaigns." *American Politics Quarterly* 28: 355-78.

<sup>7</sup> Lupia, Arthur. 1992. "Busy Voters, Agenda Control, and the Power of Information." *American Political Science Review* 86: 390-403.

<sup>8</sup> Magleby, David B. 1989. "Chapter 5: Opinion Formation and Opinion Change in Ballot Proposition Campaigns." In Michael Margolis and Gary A. Mauser, eds., *Manipulating Public Opinion*. Pacific Grove, CA: Brooks/Cole.

<sup>9</sup> McCuan, David, Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Ken Fernandez. 1998. "California's Political Warriors: Campaign Professionals and the Initiative Process." In Shaun Bowler, Todd Donovan, and Caroline Tolbert, eds., *Citizens As Legislators*. Columbus: Ohio State University Press.

<sup>10</sup> Branton, Regina. September 2003. "Examining Individual-Level Voting Behavior on State Ballot Propositions." *Political Research Quarterly*. Vol. 56, No. 3, pp. 367-377.

<sup>11</sup> Bowler, Shaun, and Todd Donovan, eds. 1998. *Demanding Choices*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

<sup>12</sup> Gerber, Elisabeth R., and Arthur Lupia. 1995. "Campaign Competition and Policy Responsiveness in Direct Legislation Elections." *Political Behavior* 17: 287-306.

<sup>13</sup> Branton, Regina. September 2003. "Examining Individual-Level Voting Behavior on State Ballot Propositions." *Political Research Quarterly*. Vol. 56, No. 3, pp. 367-377.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> Pew Research Center. (2009, July 9). "State Policies on Same-Sex Marriage." The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. Retrieved November 6, 2011 from <http://pewforum.org/Gay-Marriage-and-Homosexuality/State-Policies-on-Same-Sex-Marriage.aspx>

initiatives occurred after Massachusetts became the first state to legalize same-sex marriage in 2003.<sup>2</sup> Conversely, eight states, by law, issue marriage licenses to same-sex couples (except for California which does not currently allow same-sex marriage while legal proceedings are underway).<sup>3</sup> Arizona voters defeated a similar ballot proposition to the one being considered in North Carolina in 2006. However, they passed a narrower version of that initiative in 2008.<sup>4</sup>

North Carolina is the only Southern state that does not ban same-sex marriage in its Constitution.<sup>5</sup> In addition to North Carolina's referendum, a measure to ban same-sex marriage will be on the ballot in Minnesota in November 2012.

A majority of Americans now favor same-sex marriage. Polling data first supported this claim in 2011 with no prior polls showing majority support. This support is increasing at an accelerated pace – about a four percentage-point shift in each of the last two years -- double that of recent years. On this track, supporters should outnumber opponents roughly 56-40 in the general population by the November 2012 elections.<sup>6</sup>

It is important to note that people who turn out to vote are considerably older than the population as a whole. According to a recently released report by the Pew Research Center, "the political divides between young and old are deep" with older generations favoring more conservative positions.<sup>7</sup> Therefore, these ballot measures are not expected to perform at the ballot booth as they do in surveys of the general population.

The May 8, 2012 vote is especially unique compared to previous marriage ballot initiatives. The vote coincides with a statewide Republican presidential primary and Democratic primary for Governor and Lt. Governor of the State. This could positively affect voter turnout for both parties.

A poll released on April 24, 2011 shows momentum turning against the amendment. Of likely voters, 54% say they would vote for the amendment, while 40% oppose. This is a six-point shift

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<sup>1</sup> National Conference of State Legislatures. (2011, July 14). "Same-Sex Marriage, Civil Unions and Domestic Partnerships." Retrieved November 6, 2011 from <http://www.ncsl.org/default.aspx?tabid=16430>.

<sup>2</sup> Pew Research Center. (2009, July 9). "State Policies on Same-Sex Marriage." The Pew Forum on Religion & Public Life. Retrieved November 6, 2011 from <http://pewforum.org/Gay-Marriage-and-Homosexuality/State-Policies-on-Same-Sex-Marriage.aspx>

<sup>3</sup> National Conference of State Legislatures. (2011, July 14). "Same-Sex Marriage, Civil Unions and Domestic Partnerships." Retrieved November 6, 2011 from <http://www.ncsl.org/default.aspx?tabid=16430>.

<sup>4</sup> Silver, N. (2011, April 20). "Gay Marriage Opponents Now in Minority." Nate Silver's Political Calculus. Retrieved November 9, 2011, from <http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/04/20/gay-marriage-opponents-now-in-minority/>.

<sup>5</sup> National Conference of State Legislatures. (2011, July 14). "Same-Sex Marriage, Civil Unions and Domestic Partnerships." Retrieved November 6, 2011 from <http://www.ncsl.org/default.aspx?tabid=16430>.

<sup>6</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>7</sup> Pew Research Center. (2011, November 3). The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election – Angry Silents, Disengaged Millennials. Washington, D.C. Retrieved November 9, 2011 from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/11-3-11%20Generations%20Release.pdf>.

from the numbers released in the last poll conducted by Public Policy Polling on March 29, 2012. Both polls suggested that when voters are made aware of what the amendment would actually do, they are opposed to it narrowly; when they're told the amendment would ban civil unions for gay couples, "support goes down 17 points to 41%, and opposition rises 4% to 42%."<sup>1</sup>

## New Media Trends

New media usage during a political campaign is no longer seen as an add-on, but an essential communications platform. From a presidential campaign, to one of a city council member, new media is now a cohesive and integrated part of a larger communication strategy.

Social networking sites are most popular with young adults under age 30, and further, more popular with women than men. 89% of young women 18-29 use social networking overall and 69% do so on an average day. As of May 2011, there are no significant differences in use of social networking sites based on race and ethnicity, household income, education level, or whether the internet user lives in an urban, suburban, or rural environment.<sup>2</sup>

During the last presidential election cycle, mobile applications were beginning to be used by a few political campaigns, and the many early adopters were connecting on Twitter and Facebook on their smart phones. A lot has changed in four years. A few statistics on new media via mobile devices:

- 792 mobile apps are now downloaded each second.
- Video content accounts for 52% of all mobile data traffic.
- Facebook hosts 1627 mobile status updates per second.
- Twitter boasts 13 million mobile users.
- Instagram reported a 1,900% increase in the number of photos posted in a single year.<sup>3</sup>

All of these tools offer new ways to connect, inform, and enable voters during a campaign.

## Millennial Voters

Much has been written about Millennial voter attitudes and engagement. Recent reports suggest this voting block holds liberal attitudes on most social and governmental issues. Though they care about these issues, they are now less engaged in *politics* than they were at this stage in the 2008 election year campaign.<sup>4</sup>

Almost six-in-ten Millennials (59%) favor gay marriage nationwide, but just a third (33%) of the Silent generation shares this view. The Silent generation – whose members reached adulthood

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<sup>1</sup> Public Policy Polling. 24 April 2012. "Momentum turning against NC marriage amendment."

[http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/2011/PPP\\_Release\\_NC\\_424.pdf](http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/2011/PPP_Release_NC_424.pdf).

<sup>2</sup> Madden, M. and K. Zickuhr. (2011, August 26). *65% of online adults use social networking sites*. Washington, DC: Pew Research Center. Retrieved November 9, 2011 from <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2011/Social-Networking-Sites/Overview.aspx>.

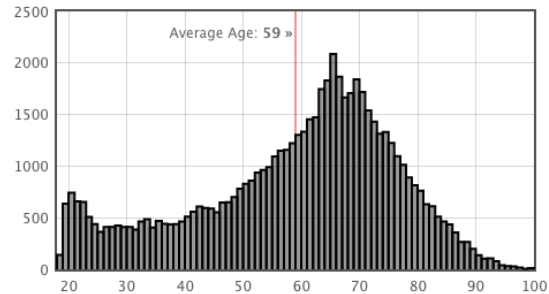
<sup>3</sup> Lancos, Katie. 3 April 2012. "Mobile Data Growth and What it Means for You." iStrategyLabs.

<http://www.istrategylabs.com/2012/04/infographic-mobile-data-growth-and-what-it-means-for-you/>.

<sup>4</sup> Pew Research Center. (2011, November 3). *The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election – Angry Silents, Disengaged Millennials*. Washington, D.C. Retrieved November 9, 2011 from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/11-3-11%20Generations%20Release.pdf>.



between the late 1940s and early 1960s and now make up over 80% of Americans age 65 and older – has held relatively conservative views on social issues and the role of government for most of their lives. Silents are highly engaged and make up 17% of registered voters in this country.<sup>1</sup>



Polls show that support or opposition for the Amendment does not fall squarely on partisan lines. Rather, generational differences are clearer markers for predicting which way a person will vote. As of April 23, 2012, over 60,000 early voting ballots had been cast. The average age of these voters was 59; Millennial voter participation is especially low, as shown in the graph above.<sup>2</sup>

## Data and Methods

My research strategy includes three steps:

1. Identify existing new media strategies used in previous ballot measure initiatives.
2. Research new media best practices, as they are employed in political campaigns.
3. Create a voter profile of Millennials in North Carolina.

This methodology was developed after initial consultations with the Coalition in which we further discussed their policy question. They first requested that I look to other states to see what new media strategies have been implemented in similar social issue ballot measure initiatives. Then, I went a step further in deciding to research new media usage best practices, as it relates to political campaigns. I chose to exclusively focus on researching the Obama for America campaign, supplementing my findings with online research. Finally, I wanted to provide a complete and current profile of the North Carolina Millennial voter, so the Coalition could best understand this demographic – how were they politically engaged, where were they engaged (especially as it relates to online activity) and what strategies may be useful in activating them. A survey instrument would prove to be the best method of generating data for this profile.

All three research methods will inform my policy recommendations for the Coalition.

### Identify Existing Strategies

To create a narrow and relevant list of prior new media strategies, I set out to research marriage and domestic partnership ballot measure campaigns the last three years, with both opposing and supportive campaigns represented. I studied campaigns that have worked to mobilize voters since the November 2008 elections – a time that has been a critical period of

<sup>1</sup> Pew Research Center. (2011, November 3). The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election – Angry Silents, Disengaged Millennials. Washington, D.C. Retrieved November 9, 2011 from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/11-3-11%20Generations%20Release.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> Civitas Institute. 23 April 2012. "Vote Tracker: 2012 Primary Election." <http://www.carolinatransparency.com/votetracker/>.

growth for new media usage in political campaigns after the much-acclaimed success of Obama for America's strategy implementation.

### **Research New Media Best Practices**

Obama for America (OFA) is the best example of effective new media usage in political campaigns. In 2008, the campaign made a historic investment in online tools to engage voters and the consensus is that the investment paid off. I was able to secure an interview with Leigh Arsenault to investigate the current best practices for OFA's new media usage. Ms. Arsenault is on the policy team for the campaign's headquarters in Chicago and previously, she directed the Students for Obama campaign in 2008, spearheading youth voter outreach across the United States.

I supplemented this research with an in-depth investigation of other emerging trends in new media and politics. I combed through popular blogs and looked into the research and publications of presenters at the upcoming Campaign Tech Conference. This conference, to be held April 19-20, 2012 in Washington, DC will explore how digital politics and advocacy are being shaped by the 2012 election season. Further, leading practitioners will share how they plan to utilize the ever-evolving online tools available to enhance digital campaigns.

### **Create Millennial Voter Profile**

A voter profile is meant to serve as a supplement or backdrop to my eventual strategy recommendations. To generate data for the profile, I created a survey instrument and conducted polling online from February 26 to March 13, 2012. The sample includes 180 adults, ages 20-31.

In order to achieve a diverse and representative sample of Millennial voters in NC, I shared this survey with dozens of academic advisors and leaders of student organizations at the following universities in North Carolina, asking them to share with their student groups:

- Duke University
- Mars Hill Community College
- North Carolina Central University
- North Carolina State University
- University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill
- University of North Carolina at Charlotte
- Wake Forest University
- Wake Technical Community College

At each institution, I carefully selected representatives from Student Government legislative bodies, political organizations, honor societies, and fraternity/sorority organizations. Additionally, I used my personal social media networks to distribute the survey and saw great success in having my network share with others.

Sample respondents were offered an incentive for their participation in the survey – the chance to win a \$100 Amazon gift card. Respondents opted-in to give their email address for notification purposes. I randomly generated a number, with a witness on-hand, that

corresponded to a person's entry number (respondents were listed in order of taking the survey). A winner was notified and sent a digital gift card on March 23, 2012.

Poll questions can be found in Appendix E. They were largely taken and adapted as needed from three relevant sources:

- Political Communications and Methods Study – Pew Research Center for the People and the Press, January 4-8, 2012.<sup>1</sup>
- Survey of Young Americans' Attitudes towards Politics and Public Service – Harvard University Institute of Politics, November 23-December 3, 2011.<sup>2</sup>
- North Carolina Voter Survey – Public Policy Polling, January 5-8, 2012.<sup>3</sup>

Questions can be grouped into the following topic areas:

- Demographic Info
- Attitudes toward the amendment and gay marriage
- Political engagement
- New media usage – how Millennials create and share content online with others

I used several techniques in the survey instrument to verify responses were accurate. Respondents were not able to move on to the next page of the survey unless they answered all of the questions on the current page. Incomplete surveys, and those taken by non-Millennial participants were not included in data analysis. Completion rate for the survey was 90%.

## Analysis

### Existing Strategies

On December 30, 2011, I wrote a memo to Jen Jones, Communications Director for the Coalition to Protect NC Families, outlining new media tactics that have been employed in similar ballot measure initiatives. Complete lists of ballot measure initiatives and campaigns can be found in Appendices A-C.

The following list includes unique new media tactics that were not already used by the Protect NC Families campaign at the time of sending. Each tactic is supported with a representative campaign and link in the footnotes.

### Email

- Personalized emails to family and friends (see Image 1 in Appendix D).<sup>4</sup>

### Facebook

- Ability to add a tagline/logo to Facebook profile pictures (see Image 2 in Appendix D).<sup>1</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-questionnaires/Communicating%20topline%20for%20release.pdf>

<sup>2</sup> [http://www.iop.harvard.edu/var/ezp\\_site/storage/fckeditor/file/fall\\_poll\\_11\\_M\\_topline.pdf](http://www.iop.harvard.edu/var/ezp_site/storage/fckeditor/file/fall_poll_11_M_topline.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> [http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/2011/PPP\\_Release\\_NC\\_011212.pdf](http://www.publicpolicypolling.com/pdf/2011/PPP_Release_NC_011212.pdf)

<sup>4</sup> Minnesota for Marriage, Currently in use. <http://www.minnesotaformarriage.com/spreadtheword/>

- Campaign graphic as Facebook profile picture (see Image 3 in Appendix D).<sup>2</sup>
- Login to website through Facebook. With one click, campaign has email address, name, etc. for each visitor, without a signup process.<sup>3</sup>
- Volunteer activities (phone banking, door-to-door, etc.) as Facebook events.<sup>4</sup>

### **Flickr**

- Photo stream of activities and events.<sup>5</sup>
- “This is what a family looks like” – photos submitted by supporters.<sup>6</sup>

### **YouTube**

- Channel of videos highlighting speaking engagements, events, TV ads, etc.<sup>7</sup>

### **RSS Feed**

- Content updates for subscribers. Sync with web-based news readers such as Google Reader, My Yahoo!, My AOL, etc.<sup>8</sup>

### **Podcasts**

- Episodes produced three times per week, sharing news, analysis, and commentary on issues of importance. Available for download from iTunes and website.<sup>9</sup>

### **Letter Writing**

- Page that makes it easy for supporters to find newspapers in their area and submit letters to the editor.<sup>10</sup>

### **Voter Registration**

- One click links to voter registration sites (Secretary of State website, Rock the Vote, etc.)<sup>11</sup>

### **Conversation Starters Kit and Voter Guide**

- Download from website, gives step-by-step advice on how to start conversations about the amendment.<sup>12</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Approve Ref. 71 domestic partnership campaign, Washington State, 2009:

<http://approverefendum71.org/create-a-profile-picture>

<sup>2</sup> Approve Ref. 71: <http://approverefendum71.org/spread-the-word>

<sup>3</sup> Minnesota for Marriage. <http://www.minnesotaformarriage.com/>

<sup>4</sup> Minnesotans United for All Families. <https://www.facebook.com/MN4allfamilies>

<sup>5</sup> Minnesota for Marriage. <http://www.flickr.com/photos/66905206@N08/>

<sup>6</sup> Minnesotans United for All Families. [http://action.mnunited.org/content\\_item/family-photos](http://action.mnunited.org/content_item/family-photos)

<sup>7</sup> Equality Maine. <http://www.youtube.com/user/EqualityMaine?feature=watch>

<sup>8</sup> Minnesota for Marriage. <http://feeds.feedburner.com/MNForMarriage>

<sup>9</sup> The Family Policy Council of West Virginia. <http://www.familypolicywv.com/podcast>

<sup>10</sup> GLAD and Equality Maine. [http://equalityfederation.salsalabs.com/o/35016/letter/?letter\\_KEY=22](http://equalityfederation.salsalabs.com/o/35016/letter/?letter_KEY=22)

<sup>11</sup> Oregon Family Council. <http://www.oregonfamilycouncil.org/>

<sup>12</sup> Minnesotans United for All Families. <http://mnunited.org/holidayconvokit.pdf>

- Downloadable voter guide with encouragement to pass around at church, office, school, etc.<sup>1</sup>

### **Storytelling**

- Videos and stories of individual families who are affected by amendment featured on the website (see Image 4 in Appendix D).<sup>2</sup>
- Separate page for supporters to upload stories via text, images or video.<sup>3</sup>

### **Personal Fundraising Sites**

- A personalized fundraising page for supporters to promote fundraising within their circle of friends, family and colleagues.<sup>4</sup>

Since this time, the campaign has initiated many of these new media tactics. Along with the Minnesotans United for All Families campaign, they are far more advanced than previous ballot measure initiative campaigns in their use of new media. All of the previously listed tactics have been employed by the Coalition to Protect NC Families except the following:

- Personalized email generator from website.
- Facebook login to website.
- Flickr stream of “This is what a family looks like” – photos submitted by supporters.
- RSS feed (There is a blog but not a way to subscribe through aggregator such as Google Reader or Feedly).
- Podcasts
- Letter writing page that makes it easy for supporters to submit letters to the editors of local newspapers.
- One-click links to voter registration pages.

### **New Media Best Practices**

The undisputed pioneer of effective new media tactics in political campaigning is Obama for America (OFA). As such, I chose to exclusively focus my initial best practices research on the campaign’s tactics. Later, I supplemented my findings with online research, leveraging my online networks for guidance and expertise.

### **Obama for America**

The Coalition’s campaign strategy clearly differs from OFA’s. They’re working to inform voters on an issue, not a candidate, and have an added challenge of a May election date. This being said, the tactics OFA is employing to galvanize Millennial voters in 2012 is extremely relevant to this ballot measure initiative.

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<sup>1</sup> Oregon Family Council. <http://oregonfamilycouncil.org/downloads/christian-voters-guide>

<sup>2</sup> Minnesotans United for All Families. <http://mnunited.org/issues.cfm>

<sup>3</sup> GLAD and Equality Maine. <http://www.mainethewaylifeshouldbe.org/node/add/story>

<sup>4</sup> GLAD and Equality Maine. <http://marriageinmaine.helpmycampaign.com/myfundraising/signup>

For my research, I was connected to Leigh Arsenault who works on the policy team of OFA's campaign headquarters based in Chicago. Prior to the 2012 election cycle, Ms. Arsenault directed youth voter outreach in 2008 as the Chair of Students for Obama. Her role in both cycles has been to engage young voters by adapting critical policy messages to their specific audience. The following segments include key findings from my interview with her.

### *Are Millennials Disengaged This Election Cycle?*

"Young people are apathetic. Enthusiasm is down." Ms. Arsenault pointed to the fact that this rhetoric happens every cycle and though polling suggests Millennials are indeed disengaged from current election cycle<sup>1</sup>, OFA is not concerned with Millennial turnout in 2012. In 2008, they made a "historic investment in young people" and it paid off big. They expect a similar payoff this year but she admits the campaign must commit to voter registration. Sending out easy to digest voter registration information through social media is critical to success with this age block.

### *Strategy to Reach Millennials in 2012*

Personalization is key. Though Ms. Arsenault was unable to speak to the specifics of their strategy due to confidentiality, she did confirm that student-to-student or peer-to-peer outreach is most effective form of outreach for OFA.

OFA is not setting out to engage young people any differently from the rest of their audience on social media. They are a critical voting block but OFA recognizes that the audience is much too wide to hone in on specific sub-groups.<sup>2</sup> OFA steers the strategy from the top and disseminates plans to state organizers.

OFA's policy team uses polling to uncover single issues that young voters care most about. Issue-based outreach is favorable to candidate-based outreach for Millennials. The Young Americans for Obama<sup>3</sup> website is tailored to *issues* that matter most to young people. OFA's tumblr<sup>4</sup> page is largely used by young people and incorporates their testimony and stories in an easy to digest format.

### *Using Online Tools Effectively*

In 2008, Twitter was just on the scene but OFA wasted no time engaging users in online conversations with this new media platform. OFA prides itself on utilizing tools first and getting ahead of the curve. With this election cycle, we've already seen history repeat itself. One example is the campaign's adoption of Instagram, which already has over 15 million users, 30,000 of which followed @BarackObama within the first 2 days of launching in January of this year. Instagram is a mobile application that allows users to quickly post edited photos they take

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<sup>1</sup> Pew Research Center. (2011, November 3). *The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election – Angry Silents, Disengaged Millennials*. Washington, D.C. Retrieved November 9, 2011 from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/11-3-11%20Generations%20Release.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> In saying this, their field efforts are largely built around young voter outreach.

<sup>3</sup> <http://www.barackobama.com/young-americans/>

<sup>4</sup> <http://barackobama.tumblr.com/>

on their phones with friends on various social media networks. OFA uses Instagram to post behind-the-scenes photos of the President and campaign.

OFA focuses energy and resources on online tools because they are proven effective and can demonstrate that they are better organized than any other campaign. The following is a list of online tools that OFA is currently experiencing success with. I've included analysis on how these tactics may apply to the Coalition.

- **Videos.** Put familiar faces in front of camera. Obama speaking to young people is more effective than general videos about him. Find celebrities that are specifically popular to young people in the state.
- **Infographics.** Release as many as you can. Include data – number of lives affected, impact on the state, how our side differs from “for” side. OFA has a “truth team” that creates this content for campaign and they have extremely high “share” and “like” rates.
- **Calculators.** Set up a calculator to estimate how much money you'd lose in benefits if you're unmarried and receive your domestic partner benefits from your partner. OFA used a calculator for Affordable Care Act and Tax Cuts.<sup>1</sup>

### **Drilling Down: The Importance of Visual Content**

As Ms. Arsenault confirmed, we're seeing a strong shift towards a more visual culture online. Photos, videos, infographics and more – otherwise known as “rich media” – are most likely to engage users online. Handheld devices allow for more occasions for people to create and consume visual content, while social media is encouraging that content to be shared on multiple platforms.

Publishers of content can amplify their investment in visual content by sharing them where all the activity is happening – Facebook, Twitter, Instagram and Pinterest for starters. Pinterest, for example, is driving more referral traffic than Google+, YouTube, LinkedIn and Reddit combined.<sup>2</sup>

### *Photos*

Photos particularly strike a chord. Digital marketing agency Web Liquid analyzed 16 consumer brands and more than 1,500 brand posts from March to May 2011 to see which Facebook posts saw the most engagement (via comments and “likes”). Web Liquid found that Facebook posts with photos saw a 0.37% engagement rate, higher than posts with videos (0.31%), text only (0.27%) or links (0.15%).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> <http://www.barackobama.com/news/entry/did-you-see-payroll-tax-cut-calculator/>

<sup>2</sup> <http://adage.com/article/digitalnext/age-pinterest-instagram-marketers-image-strategy/233270/>.

<sup>3</sup> Web Liquid. 2011 October 27. “Facebook Reach Analysis: Does Post Engagement Create Reach?” <http://www.emarketer.com/Article.aspx?R=1008677>.

Ten percent of all photos taken by humankind were taken in the past 12 months and on Facebook, users upload 250 million photos a day.<sup>1</sup> One Harvard Business School study estimates that 70% of all activities inside the social network -- from "liking" and commenting to looking at friends' content or uploading your own -- revolves around photos.<sup>2</sup>

### *Videos*

Videos, by nature, allow users to more closely connect with a campaign by allowing them to hear directly from sources of information. An additional advantage is that videos tend to take up more real estate on the Facebook news feed, making them easier to notice.

In February, YouTube posted a series of "Political Case Studies" to their politics site. The videos include a mixture of candidate and issue campaign ads that they find most effective.

### *Infographics*

Data visualizations and infographics are shifting the way people find and experience stories and take in data. They help communicate complex ideas by presenting it in a clear, compact and visually appealing way – taking a lot of data or information and boiling it down to "visual shorthand."<sup>3</sup>

Sites like Visual.ly make it easy to create infographics to share across multiple platforms. The company just released self-service tool last month that allows everyone to quickly and easily create professional quality designs with their own data.

### *Ask Them Questions*

Facebook allows groups to create multiple-choice questions on their platform. Doing so invites followers to engage with the campaign and in doing so, the campaign benefits from receiving their opinion. Groups could also ask "fill in the blank" or open-ended questions and invite participants to leave their answers in the comments section.

### *Pinterest*

Started March 2010, Pinterest has seen unprecedented growth ever since. Almost half of all users are 18-34 years old, making it an ideal SNS for organizations trying to tap into young adults to explore.

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<sup>1</sup> <http://adage.com/article/digitalnext/age-pinterest-instagram-marketers-image-strategy/233270/>

<sup>2</sup> Stone, Zak; Todd Zickler and Trevor Darrell. "Autotagging Facebook: Social Network Context Improves Photo Annotation." [http://www.eecs.harvard.edu/~zickler/papers/Autotag\\_IVW2008.pdf](http://www.eecs.harvard.edu/~zickler/papers/Autotag_IVW2008.pdf).

<sup>3</sup> <http://visual.ly/about>





Source: Internet Marketing INC.

There are several reasons why Pinterest could be appealing and useful for political organizations:

1. The “cool” factor – political organizations are not always the first to adapt popular online tools. Pinterest’s popularity is exploding, especially with the young adult age group. The organization benefits from being seen as current, tech savvy and transparent – qualities Millennials gravitate towards.
2. Issue-specific boards – For the Coalition, there are many different groups of people who will be adversely affected if the Amendment passes. Users can follow separate boards for families, gay couples, women, students – posting photos and infographics that are specific to each issue or constituency.
3. Behind-the-scenes content – Voters enjoy seeing scenes at meetings, humorous incidents with staff, etc. It connects them to the folks working across the state on their behalf.
4. Directing Traffic to Website - Pinterest is referring more traffic to other websites than nearly anything else out there (except Facebook, Google, StumbleUpon, and Twitter). The links associated with Pinterest photos can be pointed anywhere – the organization’s homepage, fundraising site, etc.

### Millennial Voter Profile

Millennial voters are different than other voting blocs – more *self-expressive, liberal and open to change*. In the 2008 presidential election, Millennials made a big splash – supporting Barack Obama over John McCain by a lopsided margin of 66% to 32% while voters ages 30 and older were dividing their votes almost evenly. Obama campaigned as the champion of “hope and change,” assuring crowds of young people that progress would happen under his administration. The latest national polls suggest this pattern will continue in 2012.<sup>1</sup> Millennial generation voters are inclined to back Barack Obama for reelection by a wide margin in a

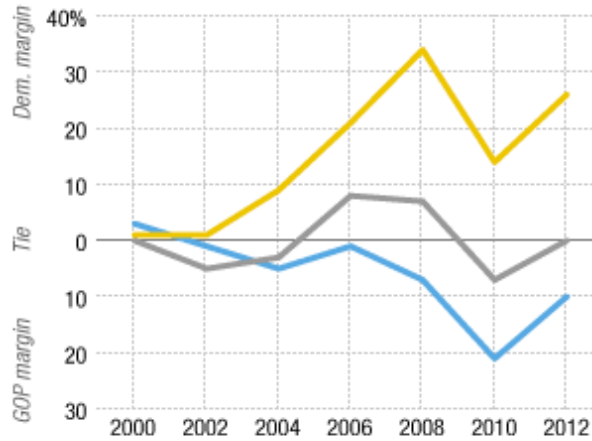
<sup>1</sup> Pew Research Center. (2011, November 3). The Generation Gap and the 2012 Election – Angry Silents, Disengaged Millennials. Washington, D.C. Retrieved November 9, 2011 from <http://www.people-press.org/files/legacy-pdf/11-3-11%20Generations%20Release.pdf>.

matchup against Mitt Romney, the Republican candidate who has run the strongest against Obama in many polls.<sup>1</sup>

### ELECTION-YEAR PREFERENCES

2000-10 data from national exit polls. 2012 preference from recent polling.

- All voters
- Millennial
- Silent



### Current 2012 preferences

Millennial  
Obama (D) by 26%

All voters  
Tied

Silent  
Romney (R) by 10%

Source: Pew Research Center

Yet, since 2008, both the partisan leanings and political activism of Millennials have ratcheted down and in recent elections, turnout among young voters was notably low.<sup>2</sup> So, what happened? The NC Millennial Voter Survey set out to answer many questions about Millennials' positions on key issues and level of political engagement.

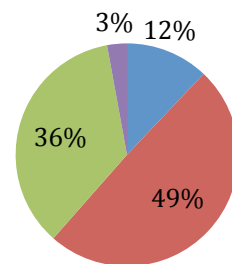
The profile of NC Millennial voters that I have created gives current data – on the cusp of the presidential election cycle and just before the May 8<sup>th</sup> vote. Here are a few key takeaways from my research:

- 86% say they would vote against the proposed amendment. But, 40% are still uncertain if they will vote on May 8<sup>th</sup>.
- Cohabitation rate is high – 13% are unmarried and living with their partners.
- Despite rising trends in other social networking sites (SNS), Facebook and Twitter are still most frequented, by large margin.
- Political engagement on SNS is high – 92% have watched a video online about a political issue/candidate and 63% have shared photos, videos or audio files that relate to a political campaign.

### Demographic and Voting Info

- Almost as many respondents are unmarried and living with their partner as are married. Percentage of married respondents slightly lower than national

- Republican
- Democrat
- Independent/Unaffiliated
- Libertarian

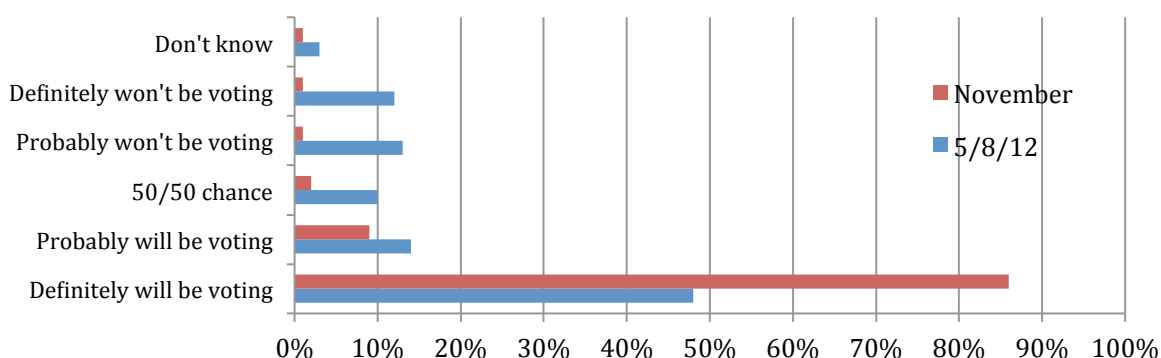


<sup>1</sup> <http://www.pewinternet.org/Reports/2012/Social-networking-and-politics/Summary-of-findings.aspx>

<sup>2</sup> Pew Research Center: Social & Demographic Trends (2010). Millennials: confident. connected. open to change. Retrieved from <http://pewsocialtrends.org/files/2010/10/Millennials-confident-connected-open-to-change.pdf>.

average (21%) and cohabitation rate among this cohort is slightly higher (9%).<sup>1</sup>

- 49% say they identify as Democrats but regardless of affiliation, 79% lean more towards the Democratic Party than Republican in politics today.
- 61% are registered to vote in their current precinct, compared to national average of 66%. This leaves 37% who say they are either registered elsewhere or aren't registered at all.
- Regardless of voter registration status, 86% of respondents say they will *definitely* be voting in the presidential election in November, compared to only 48% who say they will *definitely* vote on May 8<sup>th</sup>. Encouraging news that this number is much higher than the 19% of Republicans/Independents nationwide who said they would definitely be voting in the primaries.<sup>2</sup> Discouraging that 40% of Millennial voters are still uncertain if they will vote on May 8<sup>th</sup>.



#### Positions on the Amendment/Gay Marriage

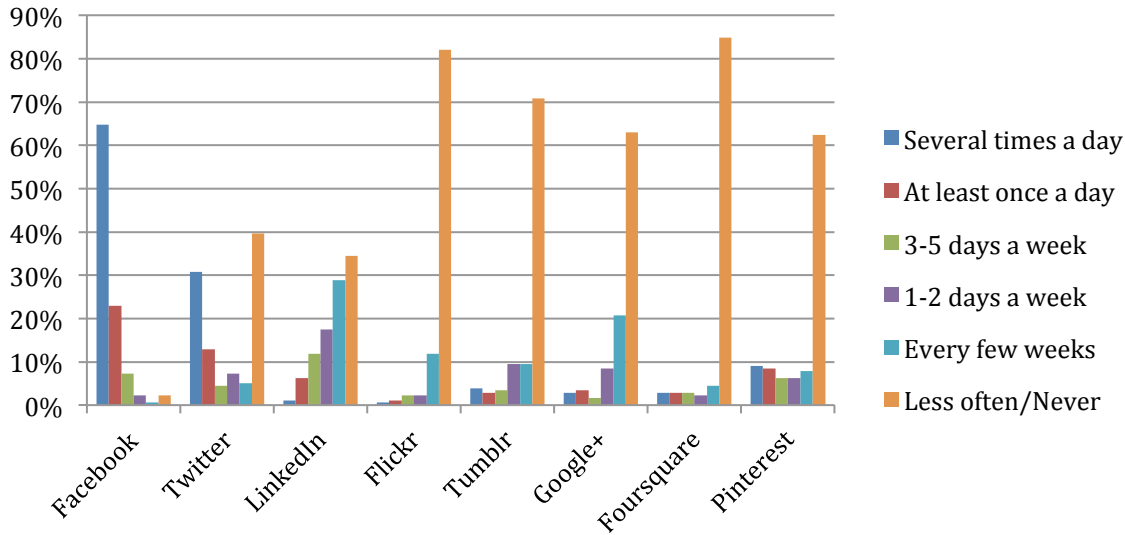
- If they do vote on May 8<sup>th</sup>, 86% of Millennials say they will vote against the proposed amendment, compared to 5% for and 8% who are unsure. For those who lean more towards the Republican party, support is still in the majority – 59% say they would vote against.
- Support for legalizing gay marriage is extremely strong. 83% of respondents believe gay couples should be allowed to legally marry. 9% favor civil unions instead and 7% are unsure of their position.

#### How Millennials Connect and Share Information

- 70% get most of their news on the upcoming elections in 2012 from the Internet. Only 14% rely on television for most of their news.
- The places they are most likely to learn about political campaigns? The Internet – specifically the websites/apps of news organizations, NPR and national newspapers. They are least likely to learn something from religious television/radio, cable news talk shows, twitter and talk radio.
- Millennials frequent Facebook more than any other SNS, by wide margin. 65% say they visit it several times a day.

<sup>1</sup> *Ibid.*

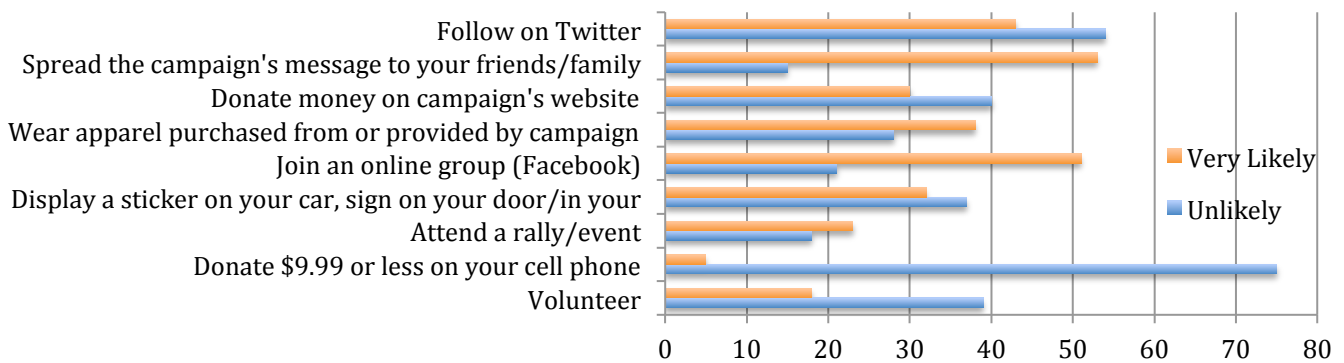
<sup>2</sup> [http://www.iop.harvard.edu/var/ezp\\_site/storage/fckeditor/file/fall\\_poll\\_11\\_M\\_topline.pdf](http://www.iop.harvard.edu/var/ezp_site/storage/fckeditor/file/fall_poll_11_M_topline.pdf)



- 83% of Millennials say they used the Internet on their cell phone yesterday.
- 39% say they use the Internet either more on their cell phone or equally to another device.

### Political Engagement

- *Political engagement on the Internet is high:*
  - 54% say they follow political organizations on social networking sites.
  - 92% have watched a video online about a political issue or candidate.
  - 63% have shared photos, videos or audio files that relate to a political campaign.
- When asked how likely they were to engage in certain campaign activities, respondents said they are most likely to talk to family/friends, join a Facebook group and follow on Twitter. They are least likely to donate money.



### Policy Recommendations

New media tools prove to be a promising channel for the Coalition to Protect NC Families' efforts to reach and galvanize Millennial voters. I outline two general new media tactics that

the Coalition might benefit from incorporating into their overall new media communications strategy. These recommendations come towards the end of the campaign and only serve to reinforce existing new media efforts.

**3. Increase visual content on existing SNS.**

- a. With SNS posting, increase ratio of photos/videos to text, weighing even more heavily on photos.
- b. Create and share video content featuring people more recognizable and/or relatable to Millennial voters.
- c. Design infographics.

**4. Continue to push early voting through SNS.**

With almost 40% of Millennial voters reporting that they aren't currently registered to vote in their precinct, it's critical that they engage in early voting or "one-stop" voting. North Carolina allows residents to register to vote and cast their ballot at the same time during the early voting period. In this election, the period is from April 19 to May 5, 2012.

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## Appendix A: Social Issue Ballot Measures, 2009-2012

Title	Year	Description	Approved?
<i>Affirmative Action</i>			
Arizona Civil Rights Amendment (Proposition 107)	2010	Bans affirmative action programs in the state that were administered by statewide or local units of government including state agencies, cities, counties and school districts.	Yes
Oklahoma Affirmative Action Ban Amendment	2012	Would ban affirmative action programs in the state and would prohibit special treatment based on race or sex in public employment, education and contracts.	
<i>Civil Rights</i>			
Alabama Segregation Reference Ban Amendment	2012	Would remove language from state constitution that references segregation by race in schools, also known as "Jim Crow" provisions.	
Maine Human Rights Referendum	2009	Would allow voters to approve/repeal Maine Human Rights Act that bans discrimination based on sexual orientation in the areas of housing, education and employment and would also place a ban on same-sex marriage.	Must collect 55,000 valid signatures.
Rhode Island Name Change Amendment (Question 1)	2010	Would change the state's official name from "State of Rhode Island and Providence Plantations" to "Rhode Island."	Defeated
<i>English Language</i>			
English is the Official Language of Oklahoma Act (State Question 751)	2010	Would make English the official language of the state of Oklahoma	Approved
<i>Firearms</i>			
Kansas Right to Bear Arms Question (Constitutional Amendment Question 1)	2010	Would change the constitution to allow the right to bear arms in the state of Kansas for lawful purposes.	Approved
<i>Immigration</i>			
Maryland In-State Tuition Referendum (Dream Act Referendum)	2012	Would overturn legislation that guarantees in-state tuition to illegal immigrants.	
Montana Proof of	2012	Would require proof of citizenship in order	



Citizenship Question		for a person to receive certain services provided by the state.	
Oklahoma Voter Identification Measure (State Question 746)	2010	Would require voters to produce photo identification in order to vote.	Approved
<i>Marriage, Domestic Partnership and Family</i>			
Washington Domestic Partners Rights and Responsibilities (Referendum 71)	2009	Grants registered domestic partners in Washington all rights, responsibilities, and obligations granted by or imposed by state law on married couples.	Upheld
Minnesota Same-Sex Marriage Amendment	2012	Would ban same-sex marriage.	
North Carolina Same-Sex Marriage Amendment	2012	Would ban all recognition of domestic legal unions in the state except marriage between one man and one woman	
<i>Religion</i>			
Florida Religious Freedom (Amendment 7)	2012	Would prevent individuals from being barred from participating in public programs if they choose to use public funds at a religious provider. In other words, would repeal state's ban on public dollars for religious funding.	
Missouri Public Prayer Amendment	2012	Would guarantee the right to pray and worship on public property and reaffirms a citizen's right to choose any or no religion.	
Oklahoma "Sharia Law Amendment"	2010	Would require that courts rely on federal or state laws when handing down decisions concerning cases and would prohibit them from using international law or Sharia law when making rulings	Approved
North Dakota Religious Freedom Amendment (Measure 3)	2012	Would prevent the government from burdening the sincere exercise of religious liberty by a person or religious organization, absent proof of a compelling governmental interest, and then only by use of the least restrictive means.	

Source: [http://www.ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Portal:Ballot\\_measures](http://www.ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Portal:Ballot_measures)

## Appendix B: Proposed Social Issue Ballot Measures for 2012 Elections

Title	Year	Description	Approved?
<i>Affirmative Action</i>			
Utah Civil Rights Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in the Utah Legislature, would prohibit the state from giving any race- or gender-based preference in awarding state contracts.	
<i>English Language</i>			
Arizona Government Actions in English Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature would ensure that official government actions be conducted in English.	
Maryland English Language Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature, would make English the official language of the state and make all government documents to be in English, with some federal exemptions, such as medical and courtroom documents.	
North Carolina English Language Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature, would make English the official language in the state of North Carolina.	
<i>Firearms</i>			
Oklahoma Firearms Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature, would clarify the manner in which firearms may be carried in the state.	
<i>Immigration</i>			
Arkansas Illegal Immigrant Benefits Ban Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if valid signatures are secured, would ban most illegal immigrants from receiving benefits given by the state.	
California Advisory Vote on Path to Citizenship	2012	Proposed measure, if passed by state legislature, would require the California Secretary of State to convey to “the President and the Congress of the United States” the belief of the state’s voters that the federal government should “create a pathway to citizenship for undocumented immigrants who have worked in this country for at least 5 years, have no felony convictions, have learned to speak English, and have paid all taxes for which they are responsible.”	
California Referendum on AB 131, the Nonresident Tuition Act	2012	If signatures are obtained, would challenge a state law previously approved by Legislature and Governor which allows students who are undocumented immigrants and attended a California high school for three or more years, and graduated, to receive state	

		financial aid to attend California universities and community colleges.
Oklahoma Immigration Question	2012	Proposed measure, if passed by state legislature, would give law enforcement more authority to check the immigration status of motorists.
<i>Marriage, Domestic Partnership and Family</i>		
California Repeal of Proposition 8	2012	If petition drive is successful, would repeal Proposition 8 which restricts marriage to one man and one woman.
Illinois Civil Unions Advisory Question	2012	Citizen-initiated. Asks if same-sex marriage and marriage-like rights should be banned.
Maine Same-Sex Marriage Question	2012	If petition drive is successful, would overturn 2009 ballot measure that banned same-sex marriage in the state.
Maryland Same-Sex Marriage Referendum	2012	Proposed measure, if passed by state legislature, would remove a state law that recognized marriage as only between one woman and one man in the state, legally recognizing same-sex marriage. The proposed referendum may appear as an initiated veto referendum.
Nebraska Repeal of Same-Sex Marriage Ban Initiative	2012	If petition drive is successful, would repeal existing constitutional ban on same-sex marriage.
New Hampshire Marriage Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed by state legislature, would repeal marriage equality and prohibit the recognition of same-sex marriages outside of state.
New Mexico Marriage Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature, would define marriage in the state as between one man and one woman.
Oregon Same-Sex Marriage Referendum	2012	Not yet on ballot but would overturn 2004 ban on same-sex marriage and legalize it throughout the state.
Rhode Island Marriage Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed by state legislature, would either a) change state constitution to define marriage as between one man and one woman but would allow civil unions for same-sex couples or b) would amend the state constitution to say that only marriage between a man and a woman would be recognized in the state.
West Virginia Marriage Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature, would prevent the state and its political subdivisions from creating or recognizing a legal status for same-sex marriages to which is assigned the rights,

		benefits, obligations, qualities, or effects of marriage.
Wyoming Same-Sex Marriage Amendment	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature, would specify that only a marriage between a man and a woman is valid or recognized in Wyoming.
<i>Religion</i>		
Missouri "Sharia Law Amendment"	2012	Proposed measure, if passed in state legislature, would prohibit courts in the state from using Sharia law or international law when making judicial decision.

*Source: [http://www.ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Portal:Ballot\\_measures](http://www.ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Portal:Ballot_measures)*

## Appendix C: Social Issue Ballot Measure Campaigns – Supporters and Opponents

<b>Title</b>	<b>Year</b>	<b>Supporters</b>	<b>Opponents</b>
<i>Affirmative Action</i>			
Arizona Civil Rights Amendment (Proposition 107)	2010	Arizona Farm Bureau Federation, American Civil Rights Coalition, National Association of Scholars	No on 107 Campaign, Protect Arizona’s Freedom Campaign, League of Women Voters of Arizona, American Association of University Women Arizona, Arizona Education Association, Greater Phoenix Urban League, Arizona Public Health Association
Oklahoma Affirmative Action Ban Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
Utah Civil Rights Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
<i>Civil Rights</i>			
Alabama Segregation Reference Ban Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
Maine Human Rights Referendum	2009	Christian Civic League	Equality Maine, Maine Civil Liberties Union, GLAD
Rhode Island Name Change Amendment (Question 1)	2010	Voting for Rhode Island	Rhode Island Economic Council
<i>English Language</i>			
Arizona Government Actions in English Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
Maryland English Language Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
North Carolina English Language Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
English is the Official Language	2010	Oklahomans for Sovereignty and Free Enterprise	The American Dream Coalition,

of Oklahoma Act (State Question 751)			
<i>Firearms</i>			
Kansas Right to Bear Arms Question (Constitutional Amendment Question 1)	2010	Kansas State Rifle Association	Brady Campaign to Prevent Gun Violence
Oklahoma Firearms Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
<i>Immigration</i>			
Arkansas Illegal Immigrant Benefits Ban Amendment	2012	Secure Arkansas	League of United Latin American Citizens, The Arkansas Friendship Coalition
California Advisory Vote on Path to Citizenship	2012	n/a	n/a
California Referendum on AB 131, the Nonresident Tuition Act	2012	n/a	n/a
Maryland In-State Tuition Referendum (Dream Act Referendum)	2012	Help Save Maryland, Baltimore City Council	One Maryland Defense, Casa de Maryland
Montana Proof of Citizenship Question	2012	n/a	n/a
Oklahoma Immigration Question	2012	n/a	n/a
Oklahoma Voter Identification Measure (State Question 746)	2010	n/a	League of Women Voters, American Association of Retired People, Oklahomans for Sovereignty and Free Enterprise
<i>Marriage, Domestic Partnership and Family</i>			
Washington	2009	Washington Families Standing	Washington Values Alliance,

Domestic Partners Rights and Responsibilities (Referendum 71)		Together, WhoSigned.org, Equal Rights Washington, Boeing, Microsoft, Nike, Puget Sound Energy, RealNetworks, Vulcan Development, Greater Seattle Chamber of Commerce, Urban League of metropolitan Seattle, Washington State Bar Association, Washington Association of Churches, Seattle City Council	Faith and Freedom Network
California Repeal of Proposition 8	2012	Equality California, Prepare to Prevail, The Courage Campaign, Lambda Legal	n/a
Illinois Civil Unions Advisory Question	2012	n/a	n/a
Maine Same-Sex Marriage Question	2012	EqualityMaine, Gay and Lesbian Advocates and Defenders	Roman Catholic Diocese of Portland
Maryland Same-Sex Marriage Referendum	2012	Maryland Family Alliance	Equality Maryland
Minnesota Same-Sex Marriage Amendment	2012	Minnesota Catholic Conference, Minnesota Family Council, Minnesota for Marriage	Minnesotans United for All Families, Minnesota AFL-CIO, Minnesota Conference of the United Church of Christ, Minnesota Democratic-Farmer-Labor Party, Independence Party of Minnesota, Log Cabin Republicans, Minnesota Association of Professional Employees, Republicans Against the Minnesota Marriage Amendment, Planned Parenthood of Minnesota, Mayflower Community Congregational UCC, Minnesota AIDS Project, Minnesota Independent Party
Nebraska Repeal of Same-Sex Marriage Ban Initiative	2012	n/a	n/a
New Hampshire	2012	n/a	n/a

Marriage Amendment			
New Mexico Marriage Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
North Carolina Same-Sex Marriage Amendment	2012	N.C. Values Coalition	Log Cabin Republicans, Equality North Carolina, Chapel Hill Town Council
Oregon Same-Sex Marriage Referendum	2012	Basic Rights Oregon	Oregon Family Council
Rhode Island Marriage Amendment	2012	Catholic Diocese of Providence	n/a
West Virginia Marriage Amendment	2012	West Virginia Family Foundation, Family Policy Council of West Virginia	n/a
Wyoming Same-Sex Marriage Amendment	2012	n/a	n/a
<i>Religion</i>			
Florida Religious Freedom (Amendment 7)	2012	n/a	Florida Education Association, Florida School Board Association, Florida Association of School Administrators
Missouri "Sharia Law Amendment"	2012	n/a	n/a
Missouri Public Prayer Amendment	2012	n/a	American Civil Liberties Union
Oklahoma "Sharia Law Amendment"	2010	Act! For America	Council on American-Islamic Relations, American Civil Liberties Union, Islamic Society of Greater Oklahoma City, Islamic Society of Tulsa, Islamic Society of Ada
North Dakota Religious Freedom Amendment (Measure 3)	2012	North Dakota Family Alliance	n/a

Source: [http://www.ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Portal:Ballot\\_measure](http://www.ballotpedia.org/wiki/index.php/Portal:Ballot_measure)



## Appendix D: Snapshots of Existing Strategies

Image 1.


Your Name:

Your Email:

Your personal message:

### Step Two:

Enter your friend's email address on separate lines in the box below. Don't worry, we won't add them to our site unless they come back and signup.

 ADD FROM MY ADDRESS BOOK

Friend Email Addresses:

Image 2.



Image 3.



Image 4.

## THE YANG FAMILY



I am disheartened that in 2011, people are going to such great lengths to prevent gay couples from marriage: from forming legal, life-long commitments that would afford them the same health insurance, legal and tax benefits of their fellow married heterosexual taxpaying citizens. The logic of this confounds me.

[READ MORE...](#)

## THE HANSEN-LOVIS FAMILY



As I try to find words to express how deeply this amendment will affect my family I wonder what would it hurt to let me marry the woman whom I have been with for nine years, who gave birth to my child, and who is my family? Who are we? Why should we be allowed to have our civil rights protected? Why should you care about how this amendment will devastate us?

[READ MORE...](#)

## THE SWANSON-BALLINGER FAMILY



Our names are Javen Swanson and Oby Ballinger. Oby serves as pastor at Community United Church of Christ in St. Paul Park, and Javen is preparing for ordination in the Evangelical Lutheran Church in America. We strongly urge you to oppose the proposed constitutional amendment defining marriage as only between one man and one woman.

[READ MORE...](#)

## Appendix E: Survey Questions

1. What is your age?

2. What is your marital status?

Married

Widowed

Divorced

Separated

Never married

Never married and living with partner

3. These days, many people are so busy they can't find time to register to vote, or move around so often they don't get a chance to reregister. Are you NOW registered to vote in your precinct or election district or haven't you been able to register so far?

Yes, I am registered to vote in my precinct or election district.

Yes, I am registered to vote, but in another precinct or election district.

No, I am not registered.

Don't Know

4. In politics TODAY, do you consider yourself a Republican, Democrat, Independent or other?

Republican

Democrat

Independent/Unaffiliated

Other

5. Regardless of party status, do you lean more to the Republican Party or more to the Democratic Party?

Republican Party

Democratic Party

6. Which of the following statements best describes your voting in the last presidential election (between Barack Obama and John McCain) held on November 4th, 2008?

If you voted:

I voted at a polling place on the day of election.

I voted early.

I voted by absentee ballot.

7. If you did not vote:

I planned on voting, but wasn't able to.

I did not vote in this election.

I went to the polling place, but wasn't allowed to vote.

Don't know or decline to answer

8. How likely is it that you will vote in the 2012 elections for President?

Definitely will be voting

Probably will be voting

50/50 chance

Probably won't be voting

Definitely won't be voting

Don't know

9. As you may know, on May 8, 2012 in North Carolina, there will be a Republican primary for President of the United States, Democratic primary for Governor of North Carolina and a constitutional amendment ballot measure for all voters.

How likely is it that you will vote on this day?

Definitely will be voting

Probably will be voting

50/50 chance

Probably won't be voting

Definitely won't be voting

Don't know

10. Would you vote for or against a constitutional amendment to provide that marriage between one man and one woman is the only domestic legal union that shall be valid or recognized in this State?

For

Against

Not sure

11. Do you think same sex marriage should be legal or illegal?

Legal

Illegal

Not sure

12. Which of the following best describes your opinion on gay marriage:

Gay couples should be allowed to legally marry  
Gay couples should be allowed to form civil unions but not marry  
There should be no legal recognition of a gay couple's relationship  
Not sure

13. How often would you say you follow what's going on in government and public affairs?

Most of the time  
Some of the time  
Only now and then  
Hardly at all

14. Do you follow any political organizations on social networking sites?

Yes  
No  
Don't Know

15. If a political campaign you supported provided an opportunity for you to engage in some way, how likely would you be to participate in these activities:

Unlikely  
Somewhat Unlikely  
Undecided  
Somewhat Likely  
Likely  
Very Likely  
Don't Know

Volunteer for a campaign  
Donate \$9.99 or less on your cell phone to a campaign  
Attend a rally or event  
Display a sticker on your car, sign on your door/in your yard  
Join an online group (Facebook)  
Wear apparel purchased from or provided by the campaign  
Donate money on the campaign's website  
Spread the campaign's message to your friends/family  
Follow on Twitter

16. Have you ever watched video online about a political issue or candidate?

Yes  
No  
Don't Know

17. Have you ever shared photos, videos or audio files online that relate to a political campaign?

Yes

No

Don't Know

18. How have you been getting most of your news about the political campaigns and upcoming elections (May primaries and November presidential election)?

Television

Newspapers

Radio

Magazines

Internet

Other

Don't know

19. Do you ever get news about the political campaigns from the internet, or not?

Yes

No

Don't know

20. On the internet, what are some of the sources you turn to for campaign news and information online?

1

2

3

4

5

6

21. Please tell us how often, if ever, you LEARN SOMETHING about political campaigns from each of the following sources.

Regularly

Sometimes

Hardly ever

Never

Don't know

Local TV News  
Cable TV Networks (ex: CNN, MSNBC and the FOX News Channel)  
National nightly network news (CBS, ABC and NBC)  
The internet  
Your local daily newspaper  
Websites or apps of news organizations  
Talk radio shows  
Cable news talk shows  
Websites or apps of online only sources  
NPR, National Public Radio  
National newspapers  
Religious television or radio  
Facebook  
YouTube videos  
Twitter  
Other

22. Did you happen to use the internet on your cell phone YESTERDAY?

Yes, used the internet on cell phone yesterday  
No, did not use the internet on cell phone yesterday  
Don't know

23. Overall, when you use the internet, do you do that mostly using your cell phone or mostly using some other device like a desktop, laptop or tablet computer?

Mostly on cell phone  
Mostly on something else  
Both equally  
Don't know

24. Please tell us how often, if ever, you use each of the following social networking sites.

Several times a day  
At least once a day  
35 days a week  
12 days a week  
Every few weeks  
Less often/Never

Facebook  
Twitter  
LinkedIn  
Flickr

Tumblr  
Myspace  
StumbleUpon  
delicious  
Google+  
Foursquare  
Meetup.com  
Pinterest  
Other  
Other  
Other

25. For your participation in this survey, you are eligible to enter a drawing for a \$100 gift card to Amazon.com. If you would like to be considered, please include your email address. (It will not be used for any other purpose except notification if you are the winner)