Progress Now Arizona
Narrative Research Project

Report on Group Ethnography Studies
Conducted in January 2018

Prepared by Ben Lazarus, Lorena Chambers, and Lily Siegman
March 2018
Overall Research Plan and How This Phase Fits In

1:1 Interviews with Key Stakeholders (early Nov 2017) → Message Boards with Key Voting Blocs (late Nov 2017) → Ethnographies (late Jan 2018)

Online Survey (March 2018) → Phone Survey (TBD) → Focus Groups (TBD)
Methodology

Ethnographic group research has its roots in cultural anthropology. It aims to provide qualitative, cultural context to research findings by embedding researchers in the “field” alongside research subjects. For this phase of the Arizona Narrative Research Project, we employed a customized, augmented ethnographic research design. Working with Progress Now Arizona and guidance from other in-state partner organizations, we identified four discrete groups of individuals to target with this phase of research:

1) Mixed-race, mixed-gender, likely Democratic, young professionals in LDs 9, 10 (Tucson)
2) Anglo, weak partisan to independent, high vote propensity, college-educated women in LDs 12, 17, 18, 25 (Chandler/Gilbert)
3) Younger Latina women, likely Democratic, mid to low vote propensity in LDs 19, 24, 27, 29, 30 (Phoenix/Glendale)
4) Middle-aged Latino men, weak partisan to independent, mid to low vote propensity in Yuma County

Each of these definitions were translated into analogous voter file selects and telephone lists were pulled from TargetSmart’s enhanced voter file to match the spirit of the targeting highlighted above. Professional recruiters called through lists to identify one primary recruit (the Primary) for each group who met specified screening criteria and indicated that they would not only be willing to participate in the research study (described as a two-hour conversation about current events) and host it in their home, but that they would actively recruit 4-8 other participants from their personal networks as well. The one exception to this model was in Yuma where we asked the Primary to host the study at a local restaurant of their choice. Cash incentives were provided to both Primary hosts and the individuals who they recruited to join.

The in-home (or restaurant) discussions were administered from January 27-30, 2018. Using a guideline of discussion topics developed in consultation with Progress Now Arizona, each discussion session was professionally moderated and lasted between two and three hours. Video recordings and conversation transcriptions were made available to Progress Now Arizona. The discussion session in Phoenix was conducted in both English and Spanish, and all other sessions were conducted entirely in English, though a bilingual moderator was retained to administer the session in Yuma among Latino men.

Qualitative research should not be used to project inferences onto a population of interest as research subjects are not scientifically representative of any particular population. As such, this report is structured and worded to be focused specifically on findings among these particular participants. However, we definitely glean insights from this phase of research that will inform the arc of the Narrative Research Project moving forward.
Why…

...group ethnographies over traditional facility focus groups?

• Ease of conversation with “known” peers
• Discover network effects for flow of information amongst people who know each other or are somehow connected to each other
• Glean research findings from the physical space the respondent inhabits

...these particular groups?

• Many demographic and geographic combinations considered
• Settled on likely program locations
• Skewed towards hearing from the progressive base – young professionals and Latinos
• Identified “swing segments” in exurban Anglo women and middle-aged Latino men
Session Dates and Primary Recruit Criteria

Tucson: January 27, 2018
- Anglo, Turnout Score 10-80, Partisanship Score 70+, Age 25-32, College Grad, Single, No kids

Chandler: January 28, 2018
- Anglo, Female, Turnout Score 75+, Partisanship Score 0-80, Trump Support Score 0-90, Age 30-59, College Grad, Married, At least 1 kid

Phoenix/Glendale: January 29, 2018
- Latina, Female, Turnout Score 10-80, Partisanship Score 70+, Age 29-49, Non-College Grad, At least 1 kid

Yuma: January 30, 2018
- Latino, Male, Turnout Score 20-80, Partisanship Score 50+, Age 34-50, No Post grad
This research feels unique to this moment in our politics. What we view as the Narrative path forward is informed more by how voters are reacting to exogenous factors than it is by what we’re learning about any innately-held shared values. Built off of impressions that many Arizonans come from other places, from the very start of the Narrative Project, key stakeholders were skeptical about the existence of an Arizona identity and shared set of core values that could unite voters and non-voters across the demographic and ideological spectrums. To date, that intuition has been borne out in this research.

The commonality that is instead emerging, and the core theme of the research findings at this point in the process, is a shared (negative) reaction to the current state of our politics. This materializes in acutely different ways across socio-economic and cultural lines. But ever-present in every interaction we’ve had with Arizonans of all stripes has been a sense that our political system is broken, and that the people we elect are fundamentally out for themselves rather than the people they represent. Moving forward, we will aim to identify a message framework, with audience-specific nuances therein, that taps into this frustration, and inverts it as a bold, empowering call for reform and change.
Key Findings: Participants hold downbeat views of politicians and the Democratic brand today

Overall, participants in all of the groups were broadly cynical and pessimistic about politicians today. They view elected officials as self-interested actors who principally care about themselves and re-election. As a result, they are seen as listening to the money and not people. Because of this, they are failing “us”, the constituents and everyday people.

The idea of politicians being beholden to money largely refers to large corporations, the rich, and the wealthy. While this applies to politicians at both the state and federal level, participants also talked about Phoenix, Maricopa County, Scottsdale, and Paradise Valley as centers of power upon which politicians rely. This was particularly resonant in the Tucson and Chandler groups. The differences in how people understand the terms rich, wealthy, and well-connected was nuanced and should be a topic of investigation in quantitative research.

Cynical view of politicians has resulted in a lack of trust, low expectations of elected officials, and the conclusion that the political system is failing the people. Many participants have caught on to the notion that politicians only talk to them when they want something (either money or a vote). And, when they do hear from politicians, they are being told a line or what politicians think the people want to hear. Participants know they are being sold a bill of goods, not the truth about issues or what is happening behind closed doors. As a result, they’ve lost trust in politicians and their ability to be transparent or forthcoming. They view the current political system as broken and want change.

The Democratic brand is weak and not seen as representing a set of consistent values. Most participants are quick to belittle Democrats and the Democratic brand. Democrats are described as being weak and unable to articulate a message and stick to it. While the Republican brand is not loved, groups did note that Republicans do not waiver in their beliefs and people always know where they stand on the issues.

Ultimately, participants look to and understand politicians through the lenses of trust, truth, and honesty – all of which they believe are currently lacking.
Key Findings: Participants want to define a new brand of politician who listen to and fight for the people and take personal responsibility for enacting change

Most participants are eager to define a different brand of politician that is focused on the people, i.e. listening to us, fighting for us, and being responsive to us (not the money). Other qualities in this new brand of politician voters would like to see:

- Honesty and the ability to tell the truth, even if it isn’t rosy, both of which will foster trust.
- Consistency in stances is important. Politicians should stick to a belief and either support or oppose a policy, idea, bill, etc., not walk a line in-between in an attempt to please as many people as possible.
- Politicians should be people just like “us”, who know what its like to struggle and have truly walked a day in our shoes. At the same time, there’s some conflict here as some participants also voiced a desire to see a proven track record of success in public life.
- An acknowledgement that a single politician alone cannot fix everything or that the larger political system. Being honest about this fact, but committing to focusing on what they can fix, like bread and butter economic issues that impact peoples’ daily lives.

Though many participants want a new type of politician, they neither expect nor believe it is the role of government to change the system from within. Instead, they believe in a more bottom-up approach and latched on to the idea that “it’s on us”, the people, to make change and fix what’s broken. The ability to create change is also linked with agency. In many of these groups, the initial link between believing people make change and believing the participants themselves could make change was not there. However, with only a little bit of prompting from the moderator, participants were able to see a connection between themselves and change. This dynamic was particularly pronounced in the base Latina group in Phoenix.

Additionally, some participants see a direct connection between local politicians and what they accomplish for their communities. This provides an opportunity for candidates to define their local accomplishments and bring this momentum up through the larger branches of government, rather than a top-down approach.
These groups highlight the profound lift required to persuade voters like the right-leaning women in Chandler and, to a slightly lesser extent, the multi-generational Latino men in Yuma, to vote for progressive candidates and causes. Though Donald Trump’s domination of the current political zeitgeist certainly offers some short-term opportunities to peel away some who are disaffected by his antics, these voters remain fundamentally conservative.

Long-term, this research suggests that a more sustainable path to power and a greater return on investment (ROI) is likely to come from focusing organizing and communication resources on lower-propensity voters and engaging those who are already ideologically progressive, like the voters in the Phoenix and Tucson groups, in an intentional and robust way.

This is not to say that voters like the ones we talked to in Chandler and Yuma should be ignored. This is simply a matter of prioritization and focus. From a messaging perspective, a broad reform frame that speaks to frustrations with the status quo has the capacity to unite these worlds. But the ROI in terms of electoral outcomes is likely to be far higher if we focus more on engaging and informing “our” people.

Participants in the Phoenix group (young Latinas) were unique from the other three groups in that they were almost singularly animated by Trump. It would be folly to not recognize the existential threat Trump and his agenda pose to voters in these communities, and work to transform the fear and anger he’s engendered into agency and political power.
**Likely ROI by Group**

- **Phoenix Latina Women**
  - *Information* GOTV targets
  - Likely to vote Democratic if they participate
  - Percentage we can likely win: 90%

- **Tucson Mixed Race/Gender**
  - *Inspiration* GOTV targets
  - Likely to vote Democratic if given reasons for hope and optimism
  - Percentage we can likely win: 70%

- **Yuma Latino Men**
  - *Softer persuasion* targets
  - Swing voters, NOT turnout
  - Percentage we can likely win: 60%

- **Chandler Anglo Women**
  - *Harder persuasion* targets
  - Social conservativism barrier to progressive voting behavior
  - Percentage we can likely win: 30%
Communications Summary By Group

**Phoenix**
*Latina Women*

- Facebook and other social media are widely used and influential
- Spanish language media is important for reaching them

**Tucson**
*Mixed Race/Gender*

- Facebook and social media are influential
- TV is NOT viable as these participants are cord cutters

**Yuma**
*Latino Men*

- Less heavy social media users, particularly for news
- Spanish language media not as valuable as most do not speak Spanish

**Chandler**
*Anglo Women*

- Social media is NOT viable among these women who find politics across this medium too divisive and tune it out
- Traditional paid media targets

As traditional media targets, they are the most expensive group to target. However, they are also the least efficient as noted on the previous slide.
## Similarities across the groups around political engagement and voting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Phoenix Latina Women</th>
<th>Tucson Mixed Race Young Profs</th>
<th>Yuma Latino Men</th>
<th>Chandler Anglo Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Use social media as a news source</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Get information and news from television</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Trust traditional news outlets including television</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Distrust traditional news outlets</td>
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<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Follow politics closely</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Speak about politics with their wider networks, not only with immediate family</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe that voting matters</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe that if more people like them voted, change would happen</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>N/A*</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe that if more people like them do not vote, nothing will change</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe that if you do not vote, you cannot complain</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

*Did not discuss
### Caveats to similarities across the groups around political engagement and voting

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
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<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
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<td></td>
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<td>✔</td>
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<tr>
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<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Follow politics closely</td>
<td>✔</td>
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<tr>
<td>Speak about politics with their wider networks, not only with immediate family</td>
<td>✔</td>
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<td>Believe that voting matters</td>
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<td>✔</td>
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<tr>
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<td>✔</td>
<td></td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>N/A</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

This group was the most likely to get their news from others.

Responsibility to vote was already there with these participants. Agency and feeling of group power only came about when discussed with moderator.
### Similarities across the groups around the state of the nation, Arizona, and families

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Hold downbeat, pessimistic views of the United States</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Hold upbeat, optimistic views of Arizona</td>
<td></td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
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<tr>
<td>Have personal concerns around finances</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Have low job satisfaction, unhappy with wages</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
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<tr>
<td>When asked about the role of government, education and schools are top of mind responses</td>
<td>✔</td>
<td>✔</td>
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</table>
**Similarities across the groups around political leadership and parties**

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>View politicians negatively as self-interested actors</th>
<th>Phoenix Latina Women</th>
<th>Tucson Mixed Race Young Profs</th>
<th>Yuma Latino Men</th>
<th>Chandler Anglo Women</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>View Trump in a negative light, dislike the change he brings</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View Trump in a mixed light, believe he is unprofessional but happy for the change he brings</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Know very little to nothing about Ducey</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Opinions of Ducey slightly more informed, still soft</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>View Republicans as conservative, self-serving actors</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td></td>
<td>✓</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>View Democrats as weak, for the people, but not doing enough</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
<td>✓</td>
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</tr>
<tr>
<td>Believe all politicians are corrupt and only looking out for themselves, regardless of their party affiliation</td>
<td>✓</td>
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<tr>
<td>Believes</td>
<td>Phoenix Latina Women</td>
<td>Tucson Mixed Race Young Profs</td>
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<tr>
<td>A good candidate for office has a track record and experience</td>
<td>✔️</td>
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<tr>
<td>A good candidate is relatable, has worked hard and knows what it's like to struggle</td>
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<tr>
<td>View professionalism as an important leadership quality</td>
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<td>A bad candidate is self-interested, is not doing what is best for the people</td>
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<tr>
<td>Politicians currently hold power in Arizona</td>
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<td>Corporations currently hold power in Arizona</td>
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<tr>
<td>Believe that money plays an influential role in politics</td>
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<tr>
<td>Agree that corruption is a problem in Arizona</td>
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<tr>
<td>Believe that people are responsible for fixing the current political system</td>
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</table>
Caveats to similarities across the groups around preferred candidate characteristics, the power of money in politics, and fixing the political system

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Believe a bad candidate is self-interested, is not doing what is best for the people</th>
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<tr>
<th>Believe politicians currently hold power in Arizona</th>
<th>Phoenix Latina Women</th>
<th>Tucson Mixed Race Young Profs</th>
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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Believe corporations currently hold power in Arizona</th>
<th>Phoenix Latina Women</th>
<th>Tucson Mixed Race Young Profs</th>
<th>Yuma Latino Men</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Believe that money plays an influential role in politics</th>
<th>Phoenix Latina Women</th>
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<tr>
<th>Agree that corruption is a problem in Arizona</th>
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<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Believe that people are responsible for fixing the current political system</th>
<th>Phoenix Latina Women</th>
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<th>Chandler Anglo Women</th>
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</table>

Do not believe this based on a lack of information around how corporate donations work.

Views of how corruption is a problem varies across these four groups.
## Similarities across the groups around issues

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th></th>
<th>Phoenix Latina Women</th>
<th>Tucson Mixed Race Young Profs</th>
<th>Yuma Latino Men</th>
<th>Chandler Anglo Women</th>
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</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>See disparities in quality of schools across the state</td>
<td>✓</td>
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### Caveats to similarities across the groups around issues

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<th>Issue</th>
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<th>Tucson Mixed Race Young Profs</th>
<th>Yuma Latino Men</th>
<th>Chandler Anglo Women</th>
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- Only group to voice strong support for government shutdown as a means of fighting for Dreamers.
- Some understood, but many were happy about the immediate bonuses.
- Only one person in the group knew about this topic, but once it was explained, the rest of the women were supportive of the concept.
Tucson (Oro Valley)
Saturday, January 27, 2018
3:00-5:00pm
Tucson: Recruitment Network

Alice
Social worker on Crisis Hotline for Southern AZ
Lives in Oro Valley
Turnout score: 64
Party score: 98
Party ID: Democrat

Victoria
Social worker at VA
Relationship: went to grad school with Alice at ASU
Lives in Northwest Tucson

Justin
Manager of Psychiatric Facility
Relationship: Previously worked with Alice at Crisis Hotline
Lives in North Tucson

Aaron
Grad student & former teacher
Relationship: Went to high school with Alice in Ohio
Lives in Central Tucson

Dev
Clinical Psychologist
Relationship: His close friend is Alice’s neighbor
Lives in Central Tucson

Pam
School Counselor
Relationship: Friends and former neighbor of Alice
Lives in Central/West Tucson

Michael
Student & works on Crisis Hotline
Relationship: works with Alice
Lives in Glendale by West Phoenix
Our Primary recruit Alice lives in Oro Valley, in the northern outskirts of Tucson.

Alice rents a two bedroom apartment in a gated complex off North Oracle Rd. The apartment looks to be recently built or updated. The kitchen has granite countertops and there is a small balcony. Alice has lots of fresh produce in her refrigerator and ethnic cooking ingredients in her pantry. In conversation she mentioned cooking as a hobby and her kitchen counters are home to an assortment of plug-in appliances.

Alice (along with nearly everyone else in this group) is a cord cutter, and therefore does not have cable or satellite TV. She does own a television, but her viewing on it is limited to streaming services like Netflix.

Alice has a spectacular view of Mt. Kimball and Catalina State Park, right out the window of her living room. Alice hopes to one day own a home, but she loves her apartment, and struggles with making that decision.
Tucson: Political Engagement

Sources of News And Information

When seeking out news and information around current events, most participants spoke about using a computer, rather than their phones, to access information. Participants also listen to the news, specifically NPR or the BBC. Others spoke about using smart home devices like Amazon’s Echo and Google Home for daily briefings. Several also spoke about using Snapchat’s news features. **Almost all participants were cord cutters and do not watch TV news outlets**, nor do they actively use Twitter, indicating that we will have to find other ways to communicate with these types of voters.

During the session, participants pulled up the following sources when asked how they would search for news on their smartphones: Googling for CNN, YouTube, The Daily Show, Reddit, Facebook, and The New York Times daily email briefing.

Participants spoke about using Facebook for news, though it wasn’t the first place they looked. When asked about who they follow and trust to post news articles, they mostly gravitate to friends who hold similar perspectives. Though some were cautious of bias and a one-sided view.

“[the news] and you can't use a blanket statement like that because every organization has its biases. So typically I try and either double or triple check.”

“How Closely Participants Follow Politics

Participants in this group follow politics closely and believe it is important to do so. They see clear links between politics and their daily lives. **This was particularly true when thinking about local government and its impact on taxes and schools.**

In addition to news outlets, these participants also trusted close friends and partners as reliable sources of information around elections and politics.

“Everyone seems to get their news, like, uh, from Facebook. But for me I, I don't anymore because it just seems very biased, one-way, one-sided opinion...And then everything always seems to be bashing this bashing that. So that’s why for me, I usually try to go to the actual news source....CNN, Fox News, BBC. So that way I can get a different viewpoint versus what one friend says.”

“I'm thinking of, like, how one elected official, like Tom Horn, can have a very strong opinion about something, uh, Mexican American Studies as a topic in school – decided this is threat because this, this topic matter is teaching kids to overthrow the government, which is of course absurd and insane. And yet, because of his beliefs he single-handedly dismantled an entire, you know-- and a very empowering subject for a lot of people that--historically, you know, my history is not taught in school as a Mexican American, I don't learn about my culture and my heritage, and so, to have like a, an avenue even an outlet, to, uh, be proud of who you are be taken away, and then you see 12 years of litigation as a result, and it's finally as a result of-- you know, all about, I'm gonna say this, this-- but all districts were overturned. But it's like, basically, he just robbed an entire generation of students.”

“The things that happen in, you know, the White House are very important to hear it...that can impact the way I'm gonna live my life.”

“I have certain friends who I know, think kind of similarly to me and they're very, like 'What’s going on in the world?’ Um, and so I usually trust them to find out things that are happening, mostly like internationally.”
Tucson: News Gathering Exercise Resulted in Lots of Google Searches and Use of Phone’s Browser Apps
Tucson: Voting

Importance of Voting

Tucson participants adamantly believe that voting matters and is important. Many admitted to not being particularly involved in encouraging others to vote, but are open to being more involved in the future.

There was a clear consensus that if more people like them voted, change, especially good change, would happen. On the flip side, if more people like them didn't vote, nothing would happen. Politics would be more of the same without any recourse.

"I would take on being more knowledgeable about local issues from my own benefit but, um, I don't see myself being, uh, um, m-- this rallier of any cause in the community."

"We have a lot of very radical candidates in Arizona that are running for election, especially for Senate. And I, I would absolutely vote to make sure Arpaio does not [laughter] actually get to run. And not that I could, because I'm in the Republican-- I'm not a Republican voter so I couldn't vote in the primary but just e-everything matters. Sales tax in Arizona matters"

"I'm mostly focused on presidential elections. But yeah, I need to get more involved in local."

Participants are primarily pessimistic about how things are going in the United States. Top of mind words to describe their feelings were worried, disgusted, concerned, interested, bleak, and hopeless. One person explicitly brought up Trump and another was uniquely hopeful.

"The reason I used the word worried is because, uh, I see it turning from action. Like I, I love like everybody in this room is like talking about local stuff, like, you know, getting involved at local level school board, you know, local preference, whatever. But I worry that it becomes angry and too-- like there's not gonna be any healing. That's why I'm worried."

"I know we have the point of view that things can't get much worse from here, but we still have two years of that person in the office to make things worse."

"I'm disgusted with the amount of polarity and increasing polarity which creates environments where we can't have mutual conversations about things and when we get to the facts it's totally one side of the pendulum to the other."

When asked about the state of Arizona, participants were more mixed in their responses compared to their downbeat attitudes about the nation. Words used to describe Arizona were warming up, unhappy, concerned, not surprised, more hopeful, and optimistic. They were also quick to report that Phoenix is the power center of the state and that they are both controls “everything” and gets all of the resources.

"[hopeful] because I think the demographic in this state is changing from the kind of state that's been around for 100 years and only senators represent us. Pretty ridiculous. But, um, you know, we're becoming a more blended state. There's more integration. There's more people of color coming up and registering to vote. And, and really all that means is just more equal representation and more diversity being represented in the vote, which I hope, hopefully, will translate, uh, into more diversity the local house and senate."

Concerns that keep these participants up at night revolved around childcare costs, work stress, and financial burdens like owning a home, savings accounts, 401k and retirement options. One participant mentioned Dreamers as a source of anxiety.

Broadly, participants were unsatisfied with job prospects and wages in the area. Low wages and the inability to live off of the minimum wage were discussed, as was the lack of jobs available.

"The general vote of Arizona is controlled by, uh, Phoenix. And, uh, you know that there is the biggest, uh, Native American reservation in this state. Nobody is talking about that…the main, uh, the center of the state, which is Phoenix, is controlling the entire state. And there is a huge diversity in this state."

"I think it's more about like the availability of jobs. But I think that it's-- it is getting harder for people to, to work in the way- - in the way that they want to without having to do ridiculous things like go out of town for months at a time."
Participants definitively see a role for government, particularly when it comes to schools, access to health care, and livable wages. The one word respondents focused in on when prompted with the phrase “government in Arizona” was Phoenix, highlighting its dominance as a power center.

“I think they have to create a climate through which people can actually afford to make a living on a relatively low wage. I think all they’ve done is just kinda saw up to the rich on both sides, which isn't helping.”

“See, for me, I think too much government will be a bad thing ’cause if they-- if you put it all-in-one size location, it just centralize the power in one location. And gives them more ability to do-to fall and plunder.”

“I think a big part of that is providing accessible education...And because rising cost of education makes that difficult for some people to obtain, I really feel government could step in and do more of an initiative to make sure people have access to that.”

Tucson participants were quick to call politicians corrupt, greasy, and selfish. Other terms used were silly and a joke.

“I just picture them as like oily people who kinda slinker around between their different rooms making deals and not really thinking too much about the people who elected them and put them into office.”

“In the big picture, like the federal, like, they've all, like, basically been bought out, like corporations. And it's a matter of which corporations are they gonna serve. And they have to pretend to act like they care about what we think. And to a certain degree they do in order to get elected, but if they can just kind of pretend for a while, like, you know, they get all this money and they're not helping people.”
Tucson: Political Leadership

**Views of Governor Ducey**
Participants had softer opinions of Governor Ducey than they did of the President. Though participants were generally positive about Ducey’s job in office, few could point to specifics about what he had accomplished.

> “Though I think he's doing a very good job. and just a lot of these-- a lot of the whole barriers with Maricopa and Tucson and their big ideological differences. Uh, communities aren't being treated on an individual basis for what their needs are.”

**Views of President Trump**
These voters were particularly downbeat about Trump, calling the president sad, impulsive, silly, irresponsible, a child, and unstable. One participant thought the president was an improvement, citing his ability to create chaos just as he set out to do. Though most thought he had not carried out any of his campaign promises, there was a little discussion of the fact that the president was not a career politician and could claim not to be beholden to corporations or donors.

Participants were pleasantly surprised with Arizona’s Republican Senators acting as a buffer against Trump at the national level.

> “To me it's not a career politician anymore. It's someone that, yes, he might be a billionaire but it was, uh, someone who walked down the streets with like us. It's not someone who was bred to be a politician. Someone that's-- you're gonna-- you're gonna go to Harvard, you're gonna do this. You're gonna be just a-as, um, governor first and then you're not-- you're not designed to. And that's what I like about it.”

> “He hasn't followed up on anything he's actually promised. Not a-- not a single thing. He hasn't drained the swamp.”

> “I remember being impressed when McCain and Flake were two of the only Republican senators who are actually publicly standing up to Donald Trump.”
Tucson: Political Parties

Views of Democrats and Republicans

Republicans were described negatively by the Tucson group as self-centered, self-serving, out of touch, cut-throat, and authoritarian. That being said, participants did feel like they at least knew what Republicans stood for.

When asked to describe Democrats, participants were less negative than they were in their descriptions of Republicans, but broadly categorized Democrats as dull and lifeless. Specific words used were weak, confused, uninspired, passive, empathetic, and corrupted. Participants spoke highly of Bernie Sanders, emphasizing his strong and definitive stances on issues and how he started in local politics.

Participants viewed Democrats as the more inclusive party, while Republicans were seen as focusing on the individual. Words used to describe the similarities between the two parties were greed and sheep.

Only two openly identified as a Democrat, and only one defended the Democratic party to her peers. These voters are the future of the Democratic party but at the same time are on the verge of hostility towards the Democratic party.

“[Republicans have] been running the same policies and the same platforms forever, um, and it's creating a lot of-- there's a lot of, um, you know, um, they're not very connected within their own party. And so you-- now you have splinter groups, so libertarians and, you know, tea party people. And there's just a lot of-- um, they're really out of touch with, like, people. I mean like women, which is 50% of the population and they have no-- are not-- or women are not well represented in the Republican party. And I think if they were, things might be different.”

“Weak because I think, um, I guess one thing I kinda like and dislike about the Democratic party is that they try very hard to take the high road and be conciliatory. And sometimes that ends up, like, making it really hard, um, for them to really stand their ground with Republicans.”

“It's the difference between being idealist vice-- versus being pragmatist. I think the Democrats tend to be more pragmatist and I think the Republicans tend to be more idealist.”

“I almost think if you're a Democrat in Arizona, you have to concede some of your, like, your, your basis, platforms, just to even have a chance of winning an election.”

“Well, most of the members of my family are Republican. And so, what brings us together is we don't trust, um, a lot of politicians. We kind of-- whenever we agree most is when we start talking about how we're feel like we're not being represented, um, just as people, not necessarily as Democrats and Republicans. And yeah, I agree that, that we want something good for the country. We want the country to be healthy. We want people in the country to be able to live in a healthy way but we just have different ideas about how to get there.”
Tucson: Candidates For Office

Characteristics Of A Good Candidate

Good candidates for office were described by Tucson participants as those who started locally in politics, are representative of the public, know what it's like to struggle, and have leadership qualities.

Participants said that they know they can trust a candidate for office based on their experience and by studying their actions. Endorsements also indicate trustworthiness, as does a candidate's ability to accept their wrongs. On the flip side, participants said they know they cannot trust a candidate who has conflicts of interest, is inconsistent, or does not follow through on commitments (which is why having a track record is important to these voters).

“Someone who's actually lived the American life—had to worry about, do I wanna keep the lights going or do I wanna put food on the table.”

“I wish we would go back to when leaders were chosen because they were great minds or because they military leaders. Not that I'm promoting like any sort of like war initiative. But those people had natural qualities and leadership and great thinking that got them to those positions, whereas now we rely on politicians.”

“It's hard to trust anyone who says since United. You know, if we can't see where people are getting—where—what—uh, they're getting their funding, you never have that transparency in that or creates this cloud of distrust on, on anyone.”

“I think a bad candidate is vague and a good one is very specific. And like detailed, and it has sources and has a very concrete plan. So somebody who's very vague and general, and “oh, we'll do this and we'll do—” I want that-- I wanna know how and I wanna know why you're doing.”

“It seems that the only time the care is the, the like—well, attempt to care is when they want your votes.”

“Two things I really like is when somebody admits that they’re— they admit their level of certainty or uncertainty.”

Characteristics Of A Bad Candidate

Qualities used to describe bad candidates for office include unprofessional, twitter rants, denigrating people, two-faced, and flip-flopping on stances.
Tucson: Money In Politics, Making Change

**Biggest Problem In Politics**

Participants believe that money is the biggest problem with politics today, followed by selfishness. When thinking specifically about Arizona, participants latched onto the idea of centralization of power in Phoenix, as well as the notion that corporations and lobbyists have the bulk of the power to influence decisions.

“First of all, you can't even get noticed unless you're rich. Like that's the first problem. And in order to get rich you have to basically pander to like rich people or corporations. So we just-- there's just no representation for the common person any more.”

**Rich, Wealthy, Corporations In Politics**

The rich and wealthy are without a doubt seen as influencers by this group.

The water is muddied when asked to define the differences between the rich and wealthy versus the “well-connected.” Participants said to be rich was to not have to worry about bills or be in the wealthiest tax bracket, while well-connected people have direct access to politicians and decisions in the state.

“Money buys privilege.”

“They have direct access usually to politicians and so their agenda gets pushed forward more than everyday person.”

**Changing The System**

When asked what can be done to fix the issues in our political system, participants believed that people were responsible for making change. The idea of change starting locally through a grassroots level was discussed. Increasing transparency in the current system also came up.

“It means that the average person can actually, uh, see who is funded by what, um, where money goes...and there needs to be other ways to access and, and be heard than paying for a lobbyist.”

“I honestly think the only way we're gonna change anything is to overthrow the government.”

“Help people run, uh, in the, the local elections. And that's how we can make a big change in the country by making the grassroots change.”
Overall, these participants were quite progressive, though they were not loyal Democrats nor strong partisans. Participants in Tucson were quick to articulate that schools in Arizona are failing and that the education system needs additional money. The impact on students was discussed, as was the inability to hire and retain teaching talent. While neither party was seen as being a champion for public schools, participants did trust Democrats a little bit more on this issue.

Participants acknowledged that racism and discrimination exist in Arizona, and that the lack of opportunities for people of color is linked to unequal schools.

Almost all participants see the recently passed Republican tax bill as a net positive. Though they admitted to receiving short-term gains from the bill, they were also able to see the long-term financial ramifications of the plan.

Across the board these participants favor making legal immigration to the U.S. easier with less red tape. The President’s promise for a border wall was admonished, as was the government shutdown over DACA legislation.

Participants were, for the most part, not too concerned about their own health care coverage, since the majority received coverage through their state jobs.

The Me Too Movement came up organically in this group with praise for the societal reckoning.

“I mean for one, all of our-- all of our schools are funded by local property taxes which is total crap, right? Because the median of a home in one area is 40,000 and in another area, it's 200,000. So we should do away with that and just make it one big pot and split across evenly so that teachers and, and-- my, my parents were both teachers for 30 to 25 years. They bought their own teaching supplies. I mean, that's insane. Teachers should be paid fairly and well to do what they do. Teaching is really fun and enjoyable and it's really hard to do on 31,000 a year, you know?”

“Like the MeToo movement for example. I mean, it's really frustrating as a woman because, uh, it's like it's presented in the news, it's like, "oh my God, we had no idea." And every woman's like, "Yeah, no shit. This has been going on my entire--" It's just-- it is a fallacy that we live in a world of equality but I've never been paid the same as a man...This is not news. This is life.”

“Yeah, I think it should-- legal immigration should be a whole e-- it should be easier, not a-- not like loophole like-- I mean, not, not loophole, sorry. Not like jumping through hoops and hoops trying to balance 50 plates.”

“They're just unequal. I mean, we have a high school that's nationally ranked less than half a mile away from here, and then we have schools like Sunnyside and Pueblo and Amphi who can't afford funding for anything.”

“I mean, we didn't really get anything by stop-- by shutting down the government. So on that point, it is kind of frustrating. On the other end, like, the bigger picture of connecting $25 billion to fund a wall that we don't need, right, that's the more-- that's the biggest frustration. Is you're trying to pass a clean bill and I, I understand and advocate for people that wanna pass a clean bill not connected to wall funding. And I get the frustration on the side of Democrats of trying to negotiate that and, uh, and just being stuck. Because it's, it's just this big-- like, that's a lot of money.”
Chandler
Sunday, January 28, 2018
3:00-5:00pm
Chandler: Recruitment Network

Jenny
Jr. High Librarian
Relationship: Friend of a friend of Lily’s

Lily
Senior Director of Risk Finance in health care
Turnout score: 80
Party score: 1
Party ID: Weak GOP

Kate
Life & health coach
Relationship: Her husband knew Lily 20+ years ago in Chicago

Lisa
Operate a family business
Relationship: Kate’s friend

Kim
Elementary teacher
Relationship: Her daughter is best friends with Lily’s daughter

Suzanne
Realtor
Relationship: Attends church with Lily

Madison
Stay at home mom
Relationship: Suzanne’s daughter-in-law
Our Primary recruit Lily lives in the Carino Estates neighborhood, not far from the Chandler Municipal Airport.

Lily’s family owns a multi-level, multi-bedroom home (with a large backyard and pool) in a well-manicured, but clearly middle-class subdivision neighborhood. While Lily’s immediate neighborhood feels solidly middle to upper middle class, the surrounding area has more of a mixed socio-economic feel; her subdivision is just a few blocks from a trailer park.

Lily’s family is clearly VERY devout. Religious imagery dominates their home décor. Her husband’s home office is covered in African art, which he and their daughters have collected while on two different mission trips to Kenya. Note however they are NOT LDS.

Lily’s family has DirectTV; she needed help from her husband to tune TV to satellite.
Sources of News And Information

The women in the Chandler group have Facebook and social media accounts but on the whole do NOT use them for news or current events, but rather to connect with people they know. When they want to find information on current events, they look to Google and several also discussed the News app on the iPhone which aggregates many news sources. One woman talked about specifically searching for Arizona news before searching for national news. For those who do have Facebook, many scroll past news posts unless it is from someone they trust. These participants do not like seeing political content on social media and find discussions about politics online to be too combative. Some participants had Twitter, Snapchat, and LinkedIn accounts but did not report using them regularly.

These participants read and watch traditional news outlets, but do not unwaveringly trust them. They also look at news apps on their smartphones and a few listen to news on the radio, like NPR. Several women firmly stated their distrust of the news and its inability to report the facts without bias.

How Closely Participants Follow Politics, Voting

Most participants said that they care very much about politics, though one woman said she did not. These participants do not like to talk about politics with others outside of their immediate family and one or two close friends, largely because they feel it gets too heated.

All participants agree that voting matters and getting more people to vote is important as well.

“And you're like, I'm just so tired of hearing, like just want some quiet, and not hear-- because it just feels like it's just somebody's opinion being kind of shoved down my throat, instead of just information and news.”

“I will regularly talk to my husband about politics but you won't find me bringing up the topic amongst other folks very often. And I will, uh, take questions from my kids and we'll have a conversation about that, or if the news is on and they ask questions, I'll do that. I'll enter into conversation if somebody else brings it up, and I'm pretty careful.”

“Honestly I don't have a lot of faith in most news outlets. Um, I do read information from different sources and listen to information from different sources, but, um, it's becoming more and more difficult for me to trust the sources, that they aren't biased in the information that they deliver.”
Chandler: News Gathering Via News Aggregation Apps
State of the United States
Participants’ opinions of how things in the country are going were generally mixed, using works like optimistic, conflicted, interested, nervous, and hopeful. Those who held positive opinions cited reports and stories of the economy doing better.

“I think just from the statistics I’m hearing lately, um, unemployment rate, our stock market, the jobs are coming back. I’ve seen, I’ve seen progress happen. Just in my job. I’m all over the valley, so the last eight years, there wasn’t a lot of growth in this valley. If you drive around now, there is homes being built and businesses. It seems in the last year that things have really started to come back and boom economically. And so for me it’s seeing and hearing some of the more positive things that’s been happening in the last year. And that’s what makes me optimistic, because it goes right back down to the American people and helping our country, and I’m seeing the results of that. So that, that’s something we can’t fight against if you look at those statistics, that things have gotten better.”

“There are some very positive things happening in the economy, which I am hopeful about. Um, but I also see the other side of things, the moral decline that our country is going through right now and I think a lot of that's trickling down from the top.”

State of Arizona
When asked about how things are going in Arizona, again participants were on the fence with some saying there were optimistic and positive, while others again used the word conflicted. Pointing to indicators of local economic growth and an increasing number of jobs and companies around them fueled their positive opinions.

“The moral decline. All the stuff with the border and that. I mean I see it in school. People are like, "Why are you educating these kids?" I'm like, "Hello, this is my child, and my student in this classroom." I don't think of it as whether he's legal or not legal at the end of the day. You know, he's just my-- a great child that I take care of during the day and try to teach. And so, you know, all that conflict and that, and that racial profiling that people are playing, and then the opposite of that, you know? And it's really not, you know, it's just, it's just-- and what our politicians are doing.”

State of Families, Personal Concerns, & Anxieties
Though participants were more upbeat about how things were going in the state and nation, particularly around the economy, when asked about their own anxieties and daily concerns, most revolved around personal finances. The rising cost of living, especially as the state’s population increases, was discussed at length. The state of education also came up here.

Pay and wages were seen as too low, particularly in education since several participants work in schools. When asked about the gender gap in payment, these participants mostly did not feel that it existed. One woman who worked in the private sector disagreed and believed there is indeed a gender pay gap.

Saving money for the future was described as impossible by participants, clearly linked to their daily concern around finances. Job security over the age of 55 was also a concern.

“Um, well financial. I work in education and I'm a single mom so you know, I, I'd love to see more money put in education. We lose people all the time because the-- like when they raised minimum wage, that makes it harder for teachers that aren't getting the salary increase. So I mean I, of course just my immediate, me personally, is you know, trying to make it on $24,000 a year, as a mom of two. Well, I have for two of us, 'cause I am a single mom. So that's-- but that's education. And I think it's, it's frustrating that, um, that kids are used as pawns in the political-- you know, like you said, you have a good kid but he's from the wrong side of the border and his parents brought.”

“Cost of living is going way up and they don't pay any people any more, so you know, it just feels like everyone always has to have two or three jobs just to-- I mean even rent costs are-- now you, everyone's renting, and rent costs are outrageous.”

“There's kind of this whole worry for me of you’re not going to have any money when you're old and you need it for medicine and all that.”
Chandler: Role of Government, Views of Politicians, Political Leadership

**Role of Government**
Most participants do not believe there is a role for government in helping people get ahead. Discussion of welfare abuses was widespread. However, participants did point to education as they key responsibility of government in Arizona.

“According to the constitution, no I don’t believe the job— the government has a role in, in giving us anything. But given the current state of the world and politics, the reality of it’s very different, ’cause they’re taking a large part of our paychecks towards social security. And promising us a future that will-- I don’t think is going to be there…Um, and I cannot rely on the government for my future.”

“So I believe when services are necessary for people in our country, but as you said, and we have to get a program together to help them lift themselves up and get a job and do for themselves, instead of just keeping them and feeding them.”

**Views of Politicians**
Top of mind words used by the Chandler participants to describe politicians were corrupt, a joke, popularity contest, manipulator, dishonest, and complicated. Underlying these words was the belief that politicians are constantly telling lies, saying that they will do one thing and then doing another.

“I don’t feel like they really listen to the American people any more. It’s more about securing their position…Their job security. ’Cause once they’re in, they’re in. You know, it’s like a lifelong thing for these people. And they’ll do anything they can to protect that. That’s how I feel, and if that means going against the people that voted them into office, then that’s what they would do.”

“Yeah there’s like a sales pitch and then what you get delivered is that’s not what was on the menu.”

**Views of Governor Ducey**
Governor Ducey was well liked by these women who used the following words to describe him: great, fabulous, done a good job, and favorable. Participants pointed to good economic growth and more companies locating to the state under his watch. One woman also liked that she saw him as being supportive of DACA.

“I think he’s a wrecking ball, and I think part of that is fabulous. I think part of not having a filter is fabulous at times, and it’s very destructive at other times.”

**Views of President Trump**
When asked about the President, Trump was described as complicated, disconnected, needing respect, having to do with business, and annoying. These participants believe that he is doing well, but he tweets and says dumb things, putting his foot in his mouth. Moreover, there was a consensus that he should be respected because he is the President, and therefore detested the Left’s skewering of Trump (i.e. SNL). Additionally, when asked about his “shithole” comments earlier this year, most participants said he is not racist, he only made a stupid comment.

Participants appreciated that Senator Flake has spoken out against Trump when something was morally wrong, though they were unsure if Republican officials were on board or against Trump’s agenda at the state legislative level in Arizona.

“You just wonder why he chooses sometimes to say something that just doesn't make-- why would you say that? You know? And the, the part that I personally feel that, you know, I need to respect the President, whomever he or she is. Now, before, in the future, whenever, so that's still-- I struggle to with, um-- I want to respect him…I want others to respect him.”
Views of Democrats and Republicans

These women viewed Republicans as conservative, strict, old farts. Democrats were not viewed as negatively as in the other groups, and were mostly described as being liberal by the Chandler women. When asked to describe the differences between the two parties, ideologies were brought up (conservative versus liberal), as was preference in size of government (big versus little). Positions on abortion between the parties was discussed, along with the notions of old and new school, and old and new generations.

All parties were seen as being made up of politicians who are all corrupt and full of contempt.

“I'd say, so Republicans more, um, less involvement from the government and more capitalism, like let things go, work hard, make money, take care of people. And then the, uh, D-Democrats, my impression would be more of, uh, let the government do it, let them figure it out, and we'll just kind of sit back and, you know, take it or absorb it, um, I guess just not-- it appears to be, not that they're not hard working, but that, um, it's the government's responsibility to take care of people that can't work or don't work, as opposed to that, you know, we can help them find a way but not-- the government doesn't have to supply that. Kind of like how you-- I feel like Republicans would be more separation of church and state, more separation of like family, but where the Democrats want more involvement from the government in their family and their church and their everywhere.”

“I think we were all kind of commenting earlier about how the sales pitch is one thing and then what you actually get when they're in office, um-- um, I think they're, they're both alike in that, um, they seem to fuel a division by being disrespectful of each other, and you know, using inflammatory words towards one another, that they're kind of modeling that, um, we're not a unified America, um, because they can't have a, um, a civilized discussion about their disagreements to come to some kind of agreement. So I think on both parties there's stubbornness and, um, just a, um, general, almost contempt.”
Chandler: Candidates For Office

Characteristics Of A Good Candidate
Chandler participants described a good candidate for office as being someone who listens to constituents, knows the constitution, and does not make back door deals. When thinking about how they know they can trust a candidate, the women discussed looking at a track record for results, and knowing that a candidate is not doing something simply to brag about it but because it is the right thing to do.

“One who doesn't take bribes and back door deals to get their own way in both their own, um, raises in, and it's not about self-preservation, but it's truly-- it should be about the, the good of the country.”

“I think there's a lot of good candidates initially, and then they get, I don't know, broken once they get in.”

“I think if a person can, can be trusted with a small thing, they can be trusted with a larger thing, so if they have integrity in their personal day to day activities, then on a larger scale they can manage, you know, the, the larger problems if they've been, you know, acted with integrity on smaller ones.”

Characteristics Of A Bad Candidate
A bad candidate for office was described by these participants as someone without a track record or accomplishments. However, they also dislike career politicians, a statement that is at odds with wanting to see experience in office.

“So their resume would show that maybe they said this, but there are no results and there's just been consistently no results.”

“I have trouble with the whole lifetime politician thing.”
Chandler: Money In Politics

Biggest Problem In Politics
Participants felt clearly that people with money currently hold power in Arizona, as do big businesses and large employers. The role of money in politics was absolutely seen as a problem and the women disliked the influence currently wielded by the wealthy.

Rich, Wealthy, Corporations In Politics
Rich and wealthy were largely intertwined terms among this group and was described as those who come from family money, have been successful in business, and can be found in Paradise Valley, Camelback Mountain, and South Mountain. However, there was disagreement over whether the term well-connected was interchangeable with rich and wealth. Most participants felt that if you are rich and wealthy, you are also often well-connected, though it does not have to be this way. One can be well-connected without being wealthy.

Changing The System
When asked who is responsible for fixing the current political system, the participants said voters are responsible and that change will happen through voting. There was also a desire for eliminating the electoral college and moving to the popular vote.

“Maybe it’s the people, because I don’t think the elected officials can.”
Chandler: Issues

Issues

Overall, these women are more lean Republican than they are pure swing. On education, when thinking specifically about Chandler schools, participants are happy with the local leadership. When thinking about other parts of the state, education is not viewed as positively. The women all agreed that overall, schools need more funding, but they also believe that money alone is not the solution and it should be coupled with reform. When asked how to increase school funding, the women concluded that eliminating government waste was the best way to do this. And nearly all participants disagreed that higher taxes for rich people was the appropriate way to fund schools, instead saying they want an equal tax rate for everyone.

The participants agree that there are issues with race relations in the state, though many said that they do not see it in their daily lives. They also mostly feel that there are equal opportunities for people in Arizona, regardless of their race.

Participants saw the legal immigration system as too complicated and want it to be reformed. However, they believed that the government shutdown over the Dreamers was ridiculous and stupid.

These women did not know very much about the Me Too Movement, and when discussed, were more mixed in their reactions to its principles. We surmise this is linked to their lack of exposure to balanced information, and social media bubble in which they live.

Throughout the session, the notion of moral decline came up a number of times and was linked to conservative values. Most of the women in this group were devout and many of them knew one another through church.

Participants were not happy with health care and felt that Obamacare has been detrimental, hurting everyone and leading to higher premiums and costs. Most women also disagreed with the idea that health care is a fundamental human right.

“They're, they're, it tends to be, um, their money is, is a lot of times mishandled and that comes from that core up at the top. And unfortunately the teachers in each school don’t have any say in that usually.”

“I think there's problems with immigration and we need, we need reform. Um, I have lots of friends that are legal and I have a couple that are illegal. Um, I have a big heart for the, for the immigrants' children that were born here, I believe they should be citizens. But we have to do something to protect our own citizens and our country and stop— I totally love all the immigration that's come over here. It needs to be reformed so that we're doing it the right way and we're letting the right people here, and we're protecting our citizens.”

“Just from what they've experienced and from what I experienced at work, I think there’s been a reversal almost to where if you are a member of a minority you get more benefits than if you're not. Like being a white woman, I get nothing. Like I have no benefits. You know what I mean?”

“A lack of a real belief system. You don't believe in anything. You just believe in, you believe in yourself and whatever you want to do is right. And that's, that's a lack of moral compass.”

“I think it's good that females are bringing attention to some of this misconduct by others. I again don't know the teeth of it... but I, I really do wonder if it's just another way to, ‘Hey, I'm a woman. Hear me roar.’”
Phoenix
Monday, January 29, 2018
7:00-9:00pm
Primary recruit Vanessa
Phoenix: Recruitment Network

Alexis
Nanny
Relationship: Cousin of Connie’s husband
Lives on 75th Ave in Phoenix

Connie
Self-employed in auto industry
Relationship: Wife of Vanessa’s boyfriend’s brother
Lives in Glendale

Patricia
Manager of dry cleaning store
Relationship: Cousin of Connie’s husband
Lives in Glendale

Vanessa
Customer Service Specialist
Turnout score: 22
Party score: 94
Party ID: Democrat

Angie
Homemaker
Relationship: Best friends with Vanessa
Lives by North Mountain

Martha
Accountant
Relationship: Used to work with Vanessa
Lives in the west side of Phoenix

Leslie
Nanny & warehouse work
Relationship: Martha’s niece
Lives at 35th and Umbar
Our Primary recruit Vanessa lives in Northwest Phoenix’s Sungold neighborhood, just a few miles east of Glendale. Vanessa rents a home with her boyfriend and they live together with her teenage son.

Vanessa’s neighborhood is filled with modest, single-level, single-family homes. She has a back yard and large common spaces in her home, as it appears the owners converted the car garage to build a large dining/entertaining room.

Vanessa’s walls are covered in family pictures, as well as religious imagery.
Sources of News And Information

Participants in the Phoenix group are active on social media and use it to get information about news and current events. Though news alerts directly on a smartphone, Google, and Snapchat are seen as good sources of information, across the social media landscape Facebook is dominant. As a result, social media is a critical tool for reaching these voters.

Participants look at articles posted on Facebook by friends they trust, but also seek out news outlets directly as well as what community leaders are posting on the platform. Specific leaders participants mentioned following include Danny Rodriguez, Lidia Guzman, Mari Ramos, and El Topo. A few of the women also mentioned watching TV news like ABC, Univision, and local news networks.

We also saw a network effect in the session itself, as several participants said they specifically pay attention to Martha (one of the participants) on social media, because she is so in the know.

How Closely Participants Follow Politics

All participants agreed that they follow politics closely and speak frequently with their family and friends about what is happening in the news, oftentimes at family gatherings like weekend BBQs. Some of the women also talk about politics at work. Many of the participants watched the news together on Election Day.

While the women were enthusiastic about following politics, there were many gaps in their political information and lacked pieces of accurate information.

When it comes to getting information about politics and elections, participants trust their close friends and those who are active in their community. Participants discussed using Google to seek out information, as well as tuning into CNN and the local news on TV. One group member spoke about trusting Bernie Sanders and what he posts online.

“I work with all Mexicans. They are all immigrants so they all talk about it and they all try to figure out what is going on and what is going to happen to their kids, what is going to be taken away from them, what they are going to have to go through, what they have to do, so it is a big old thing at work. They all talk amongst each other, so you can hear it all day long. They talk about it every single day, till this day.”

“I feel that I follow it but I wouldn’t consider it very closely. I wouldn’t be able to explain exactly what is happening I just have a general knowledge of what is happening but then if I feel that I need more information then I will go and get it.”

“So I check with my mom. I check Facebook to see if Erica or any of them people have posted anything and then of course, I will go to the news to see what is trending and see what they are saying about that topic.”

“Whatever is on social media, we will share a topic of some sort that we saw, and we will talk about it.”

“I follow Lidia Guzman. She is an advocate for immigration rights and stuff like that. So, if it is specifically for that, she will post stuff and I will read it.”
Importance of Voting

Without a doubt, participants believe voting matters and that it is important for those around them who are also eligible to vote. Several participants spoke about having encouraged brothers and nephews to vote or register to vote. This conversation was gendered, as these women specifically talked about getting men involved in the process. Many would also be open to doing more to help others vote in the future.

The idea that if you don’t vote, you can’t complain came up, as did the notion of one vote counting for others, like family and community members, who many not be able to vote. Voting was also seen as a way of representing your lifestyle and way of living. They believe that if more people like them do not vote, nothing will change and things will even get worse.

All of that said, without prompting, these participants lack group agency as a collective, Latino/Latina community. Put another way, the potential power of Arizona’s Latino electorate was not readily top of mind. However, a simple conversation that brings them to a head space of even considering the potential for group power was all it took to activate a confident sense of agency and power. It will be important to quantify this in subsequent research.

“You can’t complain. If people like me don’t vote then you don’t have a say over what is going on or what is not happening. Because you had the opportunity to do something about it and you didn’t.”

“You have to vote regardless, but when you see there is a person running who just rubs you the wrong way or just in general or doesn’t seem like they would be the best candidate I think it makes you want to do it more, maybe even encourage more people that you know are more like you to go out and vote.”

“I became a US Citizen right before the election so I had the ability to vote, I registered, I voted, and I made sure that my one voted counted, whether it was the way I wanted it or not, I feel that it is important to vote because they all count.”
Phoenix: Empowerment Through Information

Empowering these participants with more information is key:

• Information about **HOW** to vote.

• Information about **WHEN** to vote.

• Information about for **WHOM** to vote.
Phoenix: State of Nation, Arizona, Families

State of the United States
Feelings about how things are going in the United States today are personal for the Phoenix participants. Words used to describe their feelings were: disappointed, frustrated, sad, and mad.

“It is racism. We are stepping back when we should be stepping forward.”

“I came here as a child, when I was 8 it took me 24 years before I could vote. So, I feel that it is not my fault. I was a child so he kind of doesn’t, I mean, I get it if you are a bad person or get into trouble or jail, steal and do all the bad things, but the people who did good, living the American dream and you have no choice but stick to it and can’t vote or choose or change your life, because you don’t have the legal documentation to vote then I feel that is what makes me mad.”

State of Arizona
When thinking specifically about how things are going in Arizona, participants are fearful for their own safety and that of their friends and families. One woman did say that she was hopeful, highlighting the removal of Arpaio last year as Sherriff. These feelings were linked to their main concerns and daily anxieties which again revolve around safety, especially for their children.

“Not so much about myself but my family, my loved ones, those who are undocumented and what they are going through. Some of them came here to escape from their countries because they were afraid for some reason and they came here land of the free and now they are here and they are fearful, they don’t feel free anymore, they are afraid to go out because of our President and his beliefs, so there is a lot of fear and especially in Arizona, you feel strongly.”

State of Families, Personal Concerns, And Anxieties
When asked about job and employment satisfaction, most cited low wages and salaries. However, the women in this group were quick to point out the differences in pay between men and women.

Participants feel that saving money for the future is certainly doable, but that the problem lies in spending habits. Cultural tendencies to spend more than you have contribute to the stresses of saving.

“I have done a lot of research myself on that topic and I don’t think that it is most companies or the employers fault. Unfortunately, women don’t know how to negotiate as much as men. We are not as aggressive in asking for what we think we deserve where as men, I have different examples, they sell themselves high even though they know they are not that high. Women tend to sell ourselves lower even though we know we are worth more.”

“I think it depends also on your income and your bills and entertainment and everyday life and lifestyle, and how you manage your money then you can save.”

“I think it was a big step for this step to get [Arpaio] out of office. That kind of gave me hope that maybe as a state we are finally starting to open our eyes and see, but I don’t know, I guess we will find out.”
Phoenix: Role of Government, Views of Politicians, Political Leadership

**Role of Government**

The women see the role of government around schooling and access to quality education. This was discussed both in the context of K-12 education as well as free college tuition. One participant wanted to see the government provide additional options, perhaps like work training programs, since college is not always the right fit for all students.

When asked what came to mind about the “government in Arizona,” Trump was the top of mind response for most participants in this group. A few mentioned immigration and racism during this exercise as well.

**Views of Politicians**

Participants in Phoenix used the following words to describe politicians: crooked, greedy, selfish, racist, and white man. Trump was also top of mind.

“I guess I don’t know anything specifically about Arizona politicians but you know that they are doing all these good things and then they are scheming and they have their back companies and they are making millions on the side and they are saying do all these good things and they are sneaky, they think they are above the law when they are really not.”

**Views of President Trump**

Attitudes about Trump were even more negative than those about politicians at large. Words participants used when asked about the President were jackass, hate, looking out for himself, dictator, not qualified, idiot, and a monster. They also believe that he has made racism worse since his election and has made others think it is okay to behave in racist ways. There is clear consensus that Trump is indeed shaking things up, but in a very negative fashion.

Participants disagreed with statements that Arizona Republicans were following along with Trump’s agenda, pointing out opposition from their U.S. Senators.

“He is not qualified but his personality, he is such an arrogant man that the way that he, I don’t know, maybe in person he is completely different but the way that he puts himself out, like I am always right, I am the best, I am… it is all about him. It is just, I don’t think that it makes for a good leader, not for a country at least. For his businesses, perfect, great, he is all about that bottom dollar but I don’t think that is the way you run a country.”

**Views of Governor Ducey**

The women of this group were all unsure of who Ducey was, neither remembering who he was nor recognizing his name.

“He is definitely shaking things up. That doesn’t mean it is positive.”
Phoenix: Political Parties

Views of Democrats and Republicans

Republicans were described by these women as conservative, white men, closed-minded, old fashioned, not open to change, wealthy, and guided by money in the top of mind exercise.

Democrats were categorized as not working hard, for the people, and free spirit.

Both Democrats and Republicans were all seen as being stuck in their ways and needing to be more open and accepting. Additionally, both parties were seen as being fundamentally made up of the same types of politicians who can be swayed by money and power.

“[Democrats] just need to work harder because now that we have the Republicans basically taking over like in Congress, I guess a lot of Republicans are saying, hey, maybe it wasn’t the right choice.”

“I would say the point of view. I think they both have a common goal of having a great country it is just about the way they see it. One is thinking let’s help the people and for me that is thinking Democrats and Republicans are more old fashioned.”
Phoenix: Candidates For Office

Characteristics Of A Good Candidate
Participants described a good candidate for office as someone who is educated, relatable, and has a track record one can look to for consistency and commitment.

While some participants said that you know you can trust a candidate for office based on their track record, one participant was adamant that you never can trust a candidate for office at all.

“Their background, where they come from. Like how they all started. We always think about that. They just start being rich. I feel that their background, they are all, I feel that they worked hard to get to where they are at and we have to see their background.”

“Trust worthy. I think that goes hand in hand with what she said. See what they have done, for me it would be more of the experience. Because I think when they start off they don’t make much money, councilmen or councilwomen, but trust worthy and see what they have done. They have to stick and not be flip flopping depending on where the money is at.”

“Just seeing their history of what they have actually done, if they are saying that they did this and they actually are doing it, what they have been involved with. All that information. Who are they involved with and with what organization and how long.”

“Nowadays, I feel like you can’t trust anyone. They can paint everything beautiful and you can think really highly of them but nowadays I feel like you can’t trust no one. Trust is a big issue nowadays. Because we see it. I mean, now with social media, we find out everything in seconds. We know everything. Technology is very powerful.”

Characteristics Of A Bad Candidate
A bad candidate was described as someone who is boastful, lacks leadership, cannot control their emotions, tweets too much, is unaware, does not care about what is going on with the people, and is irresponsible. Trump was brought up at this point in the discussion once again by the women in the group.

“Kind of a candidate that says me, me, me, I did this, I did that, because at the end of the day we all know that it is not just that one person. It takes a team. Kind of like our leadership right now, I did this, I did this...no you didn’t. The people working for you did it. That to me is a big red flag.”

“Just seeing their history of what they have actually done, if they are saying that they did this and they actually are doing it, what they have been involved with. All that information. Who are they involved with and with what organization and how long.”

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Phoenix: Money In Politics

**Biggest Problem In Politics**
The biggest problem in politics today that these women see is that politicians only talk to them, the people, when they want a vote, and that when they do talk to the people, they are using a scripted line that is not honest.

All of the women said that money in politics today is a problem. When asked who currently has power in Arizona, Republicans and rich white men came up instantly. However, participants did say that their community sort of has power in that they can protest and march, though they lack electoral power. When prompted, participants agreed that if more Latinos voted, more change would happen, though there was some discussion that not all Latinos are on the same page (i.e. men and older generations).

"Because they act like we are, how do you say it, instead of helping each other, most Latinos, not all of them. They get here and their mentality changes and they are different people, their skin color changes, they feel like they are better than you. We all know where we come from and where we started. Most of us don’t come here to fight against each other, we all try to help each other get somewhere but it is sad that when they get here a lot of their mentality changes and they hurt each other in their own community.”

**Rich, Wealthy, Corporations In Politics**
The rich and the wealthy are seen as the powerful. Participants singled out Scottsdale as being an embodiment of the rich. There was a distinction made between what it means to be rich versus what it means to be wealthy (old, multi-generational money), a topic that is ripe for further research. In contrast, participants did not relate the term well-connected to money at all, but rather described it as having to do with connections, communication, and information.

Corporations were also described as being influential in politics, though participants did not bring this up until being probed.

Participants did not feel there was much corruption in Arizona’s politics, having heard little about any corruption happening lately.

“Because those with the money are going to make sure that any change benefits them and if there is a change and it doesn’t help them they are going to use their money and power to make sure that change doesn’t happen. They are going to make the change to help them. If it doesn’t help them they are going to stop it and if it helps them they are going to advance it.”

“[Well connected] You know who to talk to or you know the person that knows who to talk to and get things done.”
It took a bit of prompting for the Phoenix participants to get to a place of agency in believing that they have the power to change the political system. The initial thought process was that Trump and those in power over the system have the ability to fix the system but are not doing so.

“I used to think it was a check and balances system but all these things that Trump has done, there is no consequences for him where I feel like there should have been someone stopping him and telling him these are the things that you cannot do. Who, if he is the main one, who is going to stop him?”

“I think we are the majority. The rich and wealthy are just a small portion. So many changes that we would need that would benefit us, it would probably not benefit them but they don’t really need it.”

“It’s, for me it is like a big chess game. What decisions are we making for the benefits they want. It is not a community level. It should be focusing on international laws, how is that helping the country, the states should be focusing on the community level and right now I feel that the political is taking over the state in the community at the lower level.”
Issues

Inconsistencies in education quality from school to school was seen as an issue among all of the Phoenix participants. There was also agreement that schools were chronically underfunded and that everyone should be paying taxes to further fund public schools, not just the rich.

Participants knew about the recently passed Republican tax plan and fundamentally see it as a scam that may help now but hurts employees in the long-term, all while benefitting companies and employers.

There was a firm belief among participants that health care is a human right. All of these members also said that the current health care costs are far too expensive.

For all of these participants, immigration is an incredibly personal and powerful topic. Participants spoke about being sad and fearful, thinking of their families being deported. Additionally, there was a consensus that it was correct to shut the government down over DACA.

All participants concurred that there has been increased racism since Trump was elected. There was significant discussion about the lack of access to equal opportunities because of racism, the color of people’s skin, or their last name.

Though the Me Too Movement was not brought up organically, all women were supportive of it once the moderator asked about it.
Yuma: Recruitment Network

Fred Sr.
Building engineer
Turnout score: 76
Party score: 86
Party ID: Independent, no lean

Henry
Industrial technician
Relationship: Brother-in-law

Mike
Truck driver/security
Relationship: Henry’s co-worker

Fred Jr.
Elementary school librarian
Relationship: Fred’s son
Views on Living Close To The Border & Its Impact On Their Identity

These Latino men discussed the differences between being American and being Mexican. Though a couple of the men could speak Spanish, they did not like being forced to do so, for example, because the employee of a store like Walmart does not speak English. One participant said “it isn’t right” when this happens. There was also a discussion of conversations in Spanish happening more in Yuma than in Phoenix because of the area’s proximity to the border.

The men also talked about racial profiling and likened the profiling by Sheriff Joe arresting Hispanic people based on skin color to being spoken to in Spanish because of skin color.

When asked how they identify, one participant said Mexican, one said just Hispanic, and one said American.

They were clearly against illegal immigration, though they were supportive of Dreamers.

“It depends if you speak the language or not – it’s how they judge you, I feel. If you don’t speak any Spanish then they just – they treat you different.”

“It’s frustrating. What’s frustrating isn’t that there’s a difference in values to me, what’s frustrating is that I know if I go over there and talk in English, they’re gonna be making fun of me, and they’re gonna charge me more… so it’s not the fact that one’s better than the other. To me it’s that if you’re over here, then just kinda understand that our values are a little different. And when we’re over there, we need to respect your values because they’re different.”

“Where I run into issues is when someone forces it on me. If I go to Autozone, to order a part or something, they expect me to know it [Spanish].”
Yuma: Political Engagement

**Sources of News And Information**
The men in this group use the internet as their main source of news, though they do watch a little bit of TV news as well. They talked about searching for particular topics of interest and laptops were used more than smartphones to get information. Social media as a source of news is less prevalent among this group; most do not use Facebook often and only one man uses Twitter for his job. Bing was discussed as being a better search engine than Google because it does not use the same filtering algorithm and allows articles to get through that would not get through in Google. The participants are greatly distrustful of the news.

“I see that crap and I'm just like, ‘I need a fact—' I fact check everything [crosstalk] because I know, for example, like Facebook, for example. I look at Facebook and I feel like it's geared, or bias towards-- I've read about that, and I see my feed-- my feed is different than somebody else's, so I see something on there, I'm like, "No. I'm going to go look different places and see where they're getting their stuff.”

**How Closely Participants Follow Politics**
These participants said that they follow politics, but only because it is inescapable and cannot be ignored. As a result, they do not seek it out and are largely sick of hearing about politics. The men said that they talk with friends about politics and that the topic comes up often at work.

These participants do not trust the news at all. They see it as biased on all sides, especially when compared to Mexican news which they believe is more fair.

“One paper's printed out this way, and one's printed out that way. It's not like that. It's just that there's so much click bait and stuff that's not real. People like to put a lot of their personal-- they twist on how they feel like persuasive. I just want straight facts.”

“It's kind of like a sore subject though because just everybody's tired of everything.”

“One think if you watch the Mexican news, and you watch the American news, the American news is like censored and scripted, and if you watch the Mexican news, they'll show you someone that got shot, and blood, and everything up there. They're like straight to the point and tell you how it happened.”
There was agreement among the men that their votes do not matter at the presidential level because Arizona is a Republican state and will go red in the electoral college. However, when explicitly asked if voting matters in a broader context, they agreed. The notion that if you do not vote, you cannot complain came up here, like in the Phoenix group. These men expressed a preference for voting on down ballot races, saying that they personally have more impact in those races than in a presidential election.

When asked how they feel about hearing that other people they know did not vote, there is a mixed reaction. Some participants are fine with it, while others find it problematic and would be more encouraging of getting their peers to vote in the future.

These participants believe that if more people like them voted, good change would happen. However, if more people like them did not vote, things will stay the same as they are and even get worse.

“It makes you think it’s kind of fixed because what does it matter? What does my vote mean if these three guys are going to cast their vote for the state? Do you know what I’m saying? It’s just an old system that needs to be revised.”

“Because it’s just stuff that really matters. I mean, well, the president matters. But you’ve got a-- but not a bazillion, but they can only do so much, I mean, because these people want all different things. It would take a large amount of people who want all the same idea for too much drastic change to be done. It’s people. But when he’s passing on these bills, I know it’s the same thing. It’s majority versus majority, or whatever they’re doing. But it’s interesting. It’s like, ‘Hey, what, are they going to build this apartment complex here? Or are they not going to build this apartment complex here? You know what I mean?’"
Yuma: State of Nation, Arizona, Families

State of the United States
The participants were pessimistic about the state of the country, describing their feelings about the United States as going downhill, disgusted, concerned, and disappointed.

“They tend to be getting worse about I think getting killed here and nobody taking care of that by black and white people and Mexican. And it's just like nobody cares anymore… [Government] they don't want to do nothing about it.”

State of Arizona
In comparison to their feelings about the nation, the men were more upbeat about the state of Arizona, using words like change, less conservative, optimistic, and happy in their descriptions.

When thinking specifically about Yuma and the local community, participants feel that things are stagnant. They see fewer new businesses coming to the area and crime rates rising.

State of Families, Personal Concerns, And Anxieties
When asked what concerns or anxieties keep them up, participants’ fears were largely related to the health and safety of their families, crime, the border, and finances. APS and high utility bills came up during the conversation as well.

“I mean, we've got the border patrol, whole thing, but it wouldn't take a lot for a terrorist group to come through here, to me, at least. Not bring anything with them, but cross the border and just make the stuff here. We're really close to border. That does concern me.”

“I like the way Arizona's growing because I'm from California. Lived there all my life and California is always saying they're broke, and they don't have water, and there's always issues going on. And here, there's really nothing if--everything runs smoothly and it's relaxed. I like Arizona.”

“I think it's like I said, if as of right now it pleases my traditional side, my conservative. It's also pleasing my a little more liberal side to because it kind of has the best of both worlds. I'm kind of happy that my friends can get married. And I don't have no problem with the marijuana thing. And I would like to see, maybe-- I'm not saying you have to outlaw plastic bags, but I'd like to see people do a little more recycling and stuff like that. But that's good. I'm happy.”
**Yuma: Role of Government, Views of Politicians**

**Views of President Trump**
Participants have middling views of the President. While they believe he is unprofessional, they do think he will bring change, and that his lack of political experience prior to his election will encourage more people without political backgrounds to run for office in the future.

The participants organically brought up the President’s Twitter and were not pleased with how he uses the platform. They feel that he is tweeting things that no one else would be able to get away with. They feel he can be disrespectful and wish he would be more tactful.

Most of the participants voted for Trump in the 2016 election, though one participant did not vote at all. There was a consensus that Trump was the lesser of two evils, compared to Clinton, and they liked that he ran on a platform to repeal Obamacare.

"I think more people don't care because it's like a broken system that is just repeating itself over and over. People are tired of the people, is the first words from the constitution but it's not like that anymore. It's we the politicians."

"I think it's totally inappropriate that Donald Trump gets on Twitter and argues with people. As a president, that type of person and role model, you can't do that, man."

"Even if you're going to be a terrible president, he'll bring change."

**Views of Politicians**
Yuma participants were quick to describe politicians as self-interested liars who cover things up. This idea of being deceitful and not being responsive to the people they represent was palpable.

"Because they lead you to believe things that are just to deceive you"

**Role of Government**
In a top of mind exercise, when asked what their first thoughts were about the “government in Arizona,” the ideas of freedom and being less restrictive than other states were discussed. This notion that people in Arizona are free to do as they please without restrictive laws was a constant. The state’s lack of stringent gun laws was also attributed to the government and McCain was mentioned as well.

**Views of Governor Ducey**
Though participants know that Ducey is the governor, most do not know much more about him that that. One man said he had done research on the Governor and felt that Ducey was not qualified.
## Views of Democrats and Republicans

In the top of mind exercise, money was the word used to describe Republicans. They were also described as maintaining the status quo in the state.

Words participants used to describe Democrats were welfare, food stamps, benefits, voter fraud, not trustworthy, and regulations.

When thinking about the two parties together, participants were adamant that **both were made up of politicians who are rich, greedy, out for themselves, and constantly bicker without getting anything done.**

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<thead>
<tr>
<th>Quote</th>
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<tr>
<td>“I think <strong>Republicans</strong> is the party that will let Arizona stay the way it is. I mean, to me, the Republican party is why I usually vote or lean that way. I like the fact that they're more into personals-- you work hard. You get what you work for.”</td>
<td>Participant 1</td>
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<td>“I think they want to get their way. They want to win. And they want to control the Senate, the House. It's all about making sure their party has an upper hand on the other party. And it's probably always been like that. But to me, it seems like they're both now more-- that's almost like their priority now.”</td>
<td>Participant 2</td>
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<td>“<em>[Democrats]</em> just not trustworthy. Benghazi, Clinton. That's what my big issue with her is, but they're not trustworthy.”</td>
<td>Participant 3</td>
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<td>“It's two different names, but they're all in the same game...Because nothing's changing in Washington. They're just making that money.”</td>
<td>Participant 4</td>
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<td>“I think regulations when I think Democrats. I just think lots and lots of just regulations, and rules, and caps on things, and that kind of stuff just drives me nuts. It drives me crazy. I'm very free-spirited, so I'm just like-- that kind of stuff makes me go kind of crazy.”</td>
<td>Participant 5</td>
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Yuma: Candidates For Office

**Characteristics Of A Good Candidate**

Participants see a good candidate for office as being someone **who represents the people, tells the truth**, and is not focused on a party label.

When thinking about how they know they can trust a candidate, there was an overall belief that it's hard to ever trust a candidate. That being said, they did mention looking to what someone has accomplished and how they have handled themselves in their work place.

"We have so many problems here that we don't address: kids going to sleep hungry, homeless, just things, prices out of control."

"To me, a good candidate is somebody who doesn't make you think about the party in the very beginning. You're not like, "Oh, are they Democrat or are they Republican?"

"You're not there to be re-elected. You're there to serve the people."

**Characteristics Of A Bad Candidate**

The first words used to describe a bad candidate for office were Hillary Clinton. Once they moved beyond Clinton, the men also said that a bad candidate is someone who is **self-interested, puts themselves first, and is unwilling to work with others.**

"I see a politician that does what the people voted him to do, and I say if his people, his district, whatever it may be, vote him because they prefer, let's say, open-carry guns. Maybe he hates guns. You don't want to go to his house, but he got voted in to represent the people. So that's what the majority of people that he represents, he should do what they want, not what he personally thinks is the best thing to do."

"Well, because they're in it for their own gain. And it's pretty obvious the way they vote, the way they present themselves, again, like I was telling you, you hear interviews like that. They're here for their own agenda."
Yuma: Money In Politics, Making Change

**Biggest Problem In Politics**
These participants feel politicians are currently taking advantage of the system, as is corporate America. Foreign countries, like Saudi Arabia, were also described as being part of the powerful. All of the men in this group saw Phoenix as the power center in the state.

“**Well, go back to the Obama days where he bailed out the car industries. Government has no business in corporate America. You can’t control everything. It’s free enterprise. But they want to govern it now.**”

**Rich, Wealthy, Corporations In Politics**
Money is absolutely seen as influential in politics by the Yuma group.

The rich and wealthy were described as those with money, oftentimes business owners. There was a clear distinction between monetary wealth and being well-connected, which the men described as being more about connections and access.

“To me, it plays a part because money can influence people. That's a fact. And the more money you have, the more opportunity [inaudible] you're going to win but you have more opportunity to influence people in different ways. So that's how money affects different outcomes.”

**Changing The System**
The men eagerly stated that corruption exists in Arizona politics, though they do not think one can ever get rid of corruption because it is human nature. Without any prompting, participants said that the people are responsible for creating change in our political system today.

“It's the people. We already know the people have to fix it. Government’s not going to fix it.”

“Yeah, we can all change it if we get together. But we're so divided that that's what stops us.”

“I think two things. One, I think, the first one is not really tied to money or wealth. This one's like you knowing the right people. You have people that can help you out, and you help them out, scratching my back, or scratch yours. The other one is people that have connections to people they know that have the money as far as elections go or [inaudible] to back you up and stuff like that.”

“That's where the money comes in, like in politics. They can pay for flyers. They can pay for radio advertisements. Then you have politics. It works the same way. You have the money. You have more resources. What a way to reach the people in the different ways.”
All participants agreed that the schools are underfunded and that teacher pay is too low. One participant worked in a school and saw the issues with funding daily. When asked how funding could be increased, participants said that the government was wasting money and there should be other budget cuts. Particularly the use of funds for military and border patrol were singled out as being ripe areas for cuts.

Obamacare was a really big issue for this group, coming up organically towards the beginning of the discussion. It was seen as incredibly problematic and was the trigger for one participant in their 2016 vote for Trump solely because on his stance to repeal the ACA. Only some of the participants had health insurance and one who did said it was the first time he had insurance, which he got through his job.

Participants were in agreement that racial problems exist. Some feel there has been a marked difference since Trump became President, while others did not notice a difference. The inequality of access to opportunities because of race was noted.

All participants in this group were gun owners, though none of them were members of the NRA.

When thinking about the Republican tax bill that recently passed, these respondents believed that they will personally see a little benefit from it in the short run, though not in the long run when the taxes increase.

Most participants had not heard of the Me Too Movement. The participant who had said that the movement was being overblown and that these women should have spoken up years ago when things happened.

“Really bad. I think the state government doesn’t put enough priority on education in Arizona. It’s deafening. They promise things but they don’t do anything about it.”

“I learned this in school teaching and it’s from teaching class - you think about the average American teacher, most of them are white, upper, middle-class ladies. Doesn’t matter if you want to admit it or not, but people have their own biases, everybody does. And I see it in where I work. People favor certain people. And a lot of values those people share are those upper-class, white values, where they treat people like—like today someone, I can’t really say anything. But we’ll just say somebody walked in with a weird hairstyle and I go, “Oh, nice hair.” And the other lady goes, ” It’s terrible. Don’t encourage that.” I’m like, ”What do you mean don’t encourage that?” That’s ethnic hair, there’s nothing wrong with that. But see those values—she’s not doing it to be mean, that’s just the way she is. She’s teaching those values to those kids in her classroom, and even though, most of those kids are Hispanic, based on the population, they’re learning those values. So the people that don’t fit into that, they don’t even know yet, but they are kind of being coached and kind of to a disadvantage.”

“I don’t agree that Trump just wants to throw them out of the country because they were born here, right, or they came here as small children. They don’t know anything other than this country. And a lot of them are in college and trying to do the right thing and— why do you want to get rid of that? Because it’s not their fault. They’re going to be thrown to a country that doesn’t want them and they’re going to be lost. They’re Americans, man.”