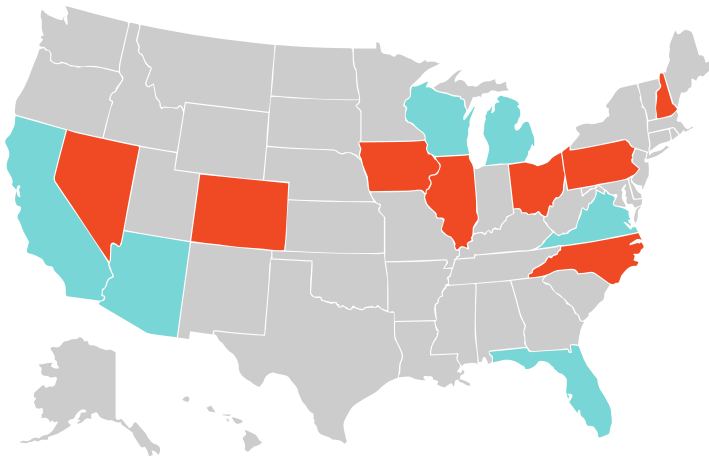




LOOKING BACK AT NEXTGEN CLIMATE'S

2016 MILLENNIAL VOTE PROGRAM

NextGen Climate ran the largest independent young voter program in modern American elections. Using best practices derived from the last decade of campaigns, the NextGen program relied on proven field tactics to engage millennials, started organizing early on in the election cycle, and optimized digital tactics based on results from controlled experiments. While the election outcome was frustrating, it is heartening to see that millennials (who will be by far the largest eligible voting bloc in 2018 and 2020) are mobilizing to the polls.



The Youth Vote in 2016

According to the US Census Bureau's Current Population Survey and the US Election Project:

- **46.1%** of eligible young voters under-30 turned out. In battleground states, turnout was closer to **55%**. Turnout amongst 18-29 year olds was 51% in 2008 and 45% in 2012.
- Voters under 30 made up about **15.7%** of all voters, the same share as in 2012. In 2008, young people were 17.1% of all voters.
- About **55%** of young voters voted for Hillary Clinton, while 60% of young voters supported Obama in '12 and 66% supported Obama in 2008.

While young voter turnout was about constant with President Obama's re-election campaign in 2012, it's clear we lost some support to third-party candidates and that Clinton failed to motivate enough young people to get out to the polls in a few target states.

NextGen Climate 2016 By the Numbers

- Organized on 370 campuses in 14 states, including California.
- Sent over 7.2 million text messages
- Registered 1,018,063 voters across the country
- Engaged 12,828 volunteers
- Got 380,187 commitments to vote for climate champions
- Sent 14,383,833 pieces of mail
- Employed over 800 staff and stipended fellows.

Full Campus Program

State..... Campuses

Iowa.....	23
New Hampshire.....	13
Ohio.....	50
Nevada.....	9
Pennsylvania.....	91
Colorado.....	25
Illinois.....	11
North Carolina.....	13

GOTV - Only

State..... Campuses

Arizona.....	2
Wisconsin.....	3
Florida.....	31
Michigan.....	9
California.....	70

Youth Organizing in Battleground States

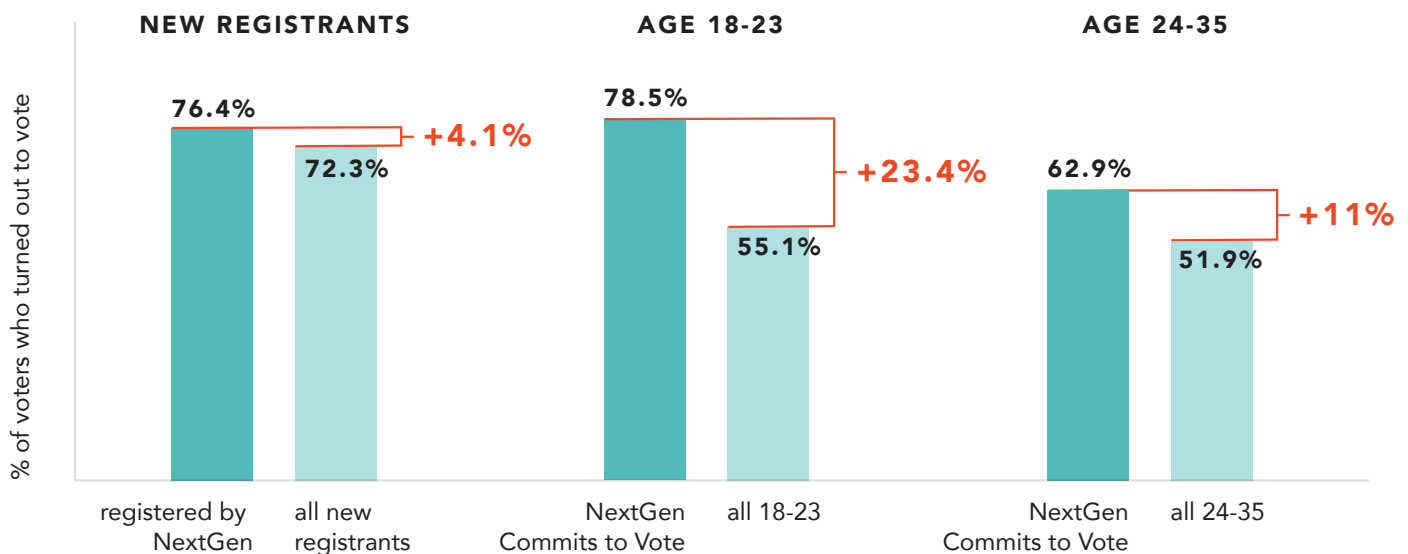
Campus Organizing Program

NextGen Climate organized on 370 campuses in 14 states, with a program focused on registering college students and turning them out to vote. By November 8, the battleground state Campus Program had 84,151 registrations & 280,710 commitments to vote (CTVs) in battleground states.

Millennial Vote Program (Non-Students)

We also ran a digital-first electoral program focused on reaching non-student millennials in 7 states. Along with eight weeks of motivation and GOTV digital ads, we sent more than 9.3 million pieces of voter registration, GOTV, and persuasion mail. Sent more than 7.2 million person-to-person text messages from volunteers around the country to voters in swing states. By November 8, the Millennial Vote Program had 124,605 registrations & 99,477 Commitments to Vote.

Effectiveness of NextGen Climate's Program



Our program increased voter turnout and increased support for NGC-endorsed candidates. We focused on face-to-face conversations with young voters whenever possible, and that work paid off -- leading to massive increases in turnout compared to expectations and young people that NextGen didn't talk to.

- **76.4%** of all young voters registered by NextGen Climate organizers cast a ballot, 4% higher than all new registrants.
- **78.5%** of college students who signed a "Commit To Vote" card on campus voted, 23% higher than all 18-23 year olds. Importantly, these voters outperformed their "expected turnout" (as modeled by political analytics firms) by over 10%.
- **62.9%** of older millennials who committed to vote with NextGen in-person or online voted, 11% higher than all 24-35 year olds.

Voters Contacted by NextGen Climate Voted

Beyond our on-the-ground field program, NextGen Climate ran a massive distributed text and call program, allowing volunteers all across the country to reach out to potential young voters and help them make a plan to vote -- and it worked. We also focused on finding new ways (and improving old ways) of talking to young voters in order to get them to turn out, with mixed results. These programs led to modest increases in turnout, but spread over massive numbers of millennials targeted, led to an increase of thousands of votes in key races.



Texting

- A randomized control trial experiment NextGen ran found that young voters in Illinois texted by NextGen Climate turned out at a rate **0.25% higher than those in a control group**. This suggests peer-to-peer text messages are an interesting new tactic we can use to turn out young voters.
- While a **0.25%** increase in turnout sounds small, this cheap and easy campaign contact method can contact hundreds of thousands of voters easily. Texts alone could make up the margin of victory in races decided by hundreds of votes (like Sen. Maggie Hassan's victory in New Hampshire).
- Text messages to young voters who were determined to be very unlikely to vote actually had the biggest impact.



Phone Calls

- **75.59%** of young voters (18-35) called by NextGen Climate volunteers turned out, more than **2%** higher than predicted turnout
- Contact rates for young voters are low, since so many people don't pick up calls on their cell phones if they don't know the number.



Direct Mail

- A randomized-control trial experiment conducted with the Voter Participation Center found that millennials who received NextGen's "social pressure" GOTV mail turned out **0.6%** higher than a control group that did not receive mail.
- The fact that mail works at all for millennial voters goes contrary to much conventional wisdom



GOTV Digital Advertisements

- An experiment conducted with Bully Pulpit Interactive Labs found that our GOTV digital ads led to a **0.2%** increase in young voter (18-35) turnout.
- Voters who watched our ads were **2.2%** more likely to believe it is "Important that people like me vote in this year's election"
- Interestingly, there was no difference in turnout between voters who saw the ads for three weeks compared to two weeks.

The Impact in the States

Climate action candidates did much better in the precincts, campuses, and counties where NextGen Climate was organizing. Voters mobilized by NextGen Climate were a critical element of Hillary Clinton's victories in Nevada and New Hampshire, as well as close Senate victories in both states. Further, our program in other states like PA provided clear insights into how to maximize the impact of our program moving forward.

New Hampshire

- Hillary Clinton did better than Barack Obama in **25%** of the precincts where NextGen organized, compared with 12% of precincts statewide.
- At the University of New Hampshire in Durham, NextGen's army of 400 volunteers gathered **5,221** commitments to vote from students over the course of 2015-16 (30% of the student body). Student turnout jumped from 7,420 votes in 2012 to 9,472 votes in 2016 -- an astounding increase of 2,052 votes. Considering that now-Senator Maggie Hassan won the state by a mere 1,017 votes, it is clear that year-round youth organizing made the difference in this critical state.



Pennsylvania

- Clinton did better than Obama in **65%** of the precincts where NextGen organized, compared with 21% of precincts statewide.
- NextGen organized on **91** campuses across the state, turning out 79% of all students who registered or committed to vote with our organizers and volunteers. Importantly this not only includes major universities (like the 8,799 students at Penn State that committed to vote), but also the 2,037 students from 11 community colleges that committed to vote or registered with our organizers. **81%** of community college students we organized turned out to vote, suggesting that this program should be expanded in the future.



Nevada

- Our digital ads had a big effect with millennials in Nevada. Our persuasive "video voter guides" contrasted NextGen-endorsed Catherine Cortez Masto with Rep. Joe Heck, and increased support for NGC-endorsed Masto by **1.4%** over a control group. Our short "Get Out The Vote" ads increased turnout **0.4%** over a control group. These are simple, cheap ways to reach thousands of people, that made an important impact in a close race.
- At the University of Nevada in Reno, turnout in campus precincts was up **11%** over 2012 levels. A strong volunteer corps of 111 individual volunteers helped us turn out **81%** of students who committed to vote or registered with NextGen.



Lessons Learned & Recommendations for the Future

Voter file analysis and post-election conversations with allied campaigns provide us with data that will inform our program for 2017, 2018, and beyond. Some key lessons:

1. Field works better than any other tactic at our disposal. Voters registered in-person and commitments to vote gleaned from face-to-face conversations lead to increased voter turnout and support for our candidates across the board. NextGen Climate will continue to recruit volunteers even earlier in the election cycle to lead to even bigger results.
2. Big events don't lead to helpful field metrics. While concerts, comedy tours, and rallies provide earned media opportunities, they weren't very helpful at getting reliable voter data.
3. Community colleges are a great investment. In Pennsylvania, students we registered to vote and got to commit to vote actually turned out at a higher rate than those who weren't students or 4-year college students. There are tens of thousands of community college students we can target in the future.
4. Tactics help at the margin, but we need system change to dramatically increase youth vote turnout. Increased engagement from campaigns can help increase young voter turnout at the margins (really effective campaigns might have a 10% increase in turnout), but with youth turnout in midterms hovering around 15%, we need to do much more than just campaign. This includes expanding automatic voter registration, pushing more states to go towards all-mail balloting, supporting year-round organizing infrastructure, and more.

Getting young voters to turnout in key elections is difficult, but NextGen is committed to working to try innovative tactics to get more young people to the polls and ensure they are casting their ballot for progressive candidates. We are actively working on solving the young voter turnout crisis, but we can't solve it alone.

