

THE BROOKINGS INSTITUTION

SAUL/ZILKHA ROOM

THE MILLENNIAL VOTE IN 2016:
WHAT HAPPENED AND WHAT'S NEXT?

Washington, D.C.

Thursday, November 17, 2016

PARTICIPANTS:

Introduction and Moderator:

WILLIAM A. GALSTON
Ezra K. Zilkha Chair and Senior Fellow, Governance Studies
The Brookings Institution

Featured Presenters:

KEI KAWASHIMA-GINSBERG
Director, CIRCLE, Tisch College
Tufts University

ABBY KIESA
Director of Impact, CIRCLE, Tisch College
Tufts University

Panelists:

CARMEN BERKLEY
Civil, Human, and Women's Rights Director
AFL-CIO

JANE COASTON
Political Reporter
MTV Networks

Closing Comments:

Alan Solomont
Dean, Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life
Tufts University

* * * * *

P R O C E E D I N G S

MR. GALSTON: Well, welcome everybody and thanks to everybody for coming out this morning. Thanks to all the millennials for showing up at what is I understand a very early hour for you. (Laughter)

I'm Bill Galston, a senior fellow in Governance Studies here at Brookings, and I have to say it gives me particular pleasure to welcome representatives of indeed a substantial portion of the Center for Information and Research at Civic Learning and Engagement -- CIRCLE, for short -- founded at the University of Maryland, now at Tufts. You'll be hearing from Al Solomont, dean of Tufts, at the end of this program.

At any rate, it gives me particular pleasure to tee up this conversation and presentation about the young adult vote in the 2016 election. There are lots of myths and rumors about the young adult vote floating around, but in the 15 years since it was founded, CIRCLE has become the go-to organization nationally for the most accurate and penetrating research and analysis on the young adult vote. And so you are about to see all the myths dispelled, the rumors dispatched. You are about to learn what young adults actually did in this election. On that basis we can have a rich conversation perhaps as to why they did it.

The order of events is very straightforward. Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg and Abby Kiesa will lead off with a PowerPoint presentation summarizing the results of research that CIRCLE has done post-election to understand the young adult vote. There will be a panel discussion led off by a couple of highly appropriate commentators. I will then turn to the audience for a moderated Q & A, and at the end Dean Solomont will offer some reflections on what has transpired in the preceding hour and a half. The biographies of all of the people who will be making presentations are in your packet. I'm not going to waste your time or theirs by reading what you can read for yourselves, but let me say it is a real pleasure to be able to welcome CIRCLE to Brookings -- I hope it's not the last time -- and to begin from this organization about what is the future of American

politics, namely young adults.

So without any further ado, Kei, Abby, the floor is yours.

MS. KIESA: Thank you very much, Dr. Galston. Back in 2000, way back in 2000, there was a hunger for data to help illuminate how to engage young people further in civic and political life. Thanks to Dr. Galston, CIRCLE's Founding Director, Peter Levine, CIRCLE's Founding Deputy Director and Second Director, and many others, CIRCLE was founded to help facilitate this effort with a foundational commitment to dialogue between research, policy, and practice. We're thrilled to be here today to continue that commitment.

Since 2008 CIRCLE has been part of the Jonathan M. Tisch College of Civic Life at Tufts University. The Tisch College of Civic Life is a full college on the Tufts campus and has a Dean who is with us here today. But we don't have degree programs because the philosophy of the college is that the staff of the college work with all of the other colleges at Tufts, including a dental school, medical school, and others to embed civic education into all of the curriculum of the school.

CIRCLE's mission continues to be about using many forms of research to inform efforts to increase and strengthen young people's opportunities to learn to advance civic and political life. While much has changed since 2001 this work is still needed. We want our research to be informed by what's happening with policy and practice, and as a result our research helps to strengthen policy practice for both a stronger civic life and healthier youth development. We do this through these three strategies, and while our lever remains solidly in research and conversations with policy and practice, our analyses increasingly focus on using research to advance equity and quality of civic efforts.

How does this connect to 2016? Why continue to talk about youth in 2016? Well, there's many meaningful reasons to talk about youth in political life, including Black Lives Matter efforts that have been led by youth, largely young women,

the economic reality that youth have emerged into over the past 10 years. There has been a surge of youth activism well before the election started. Millennials are more passionate about doing something where they can have an impact, like community engagement, which is an ongoing conversation. Social media of course has become an incredible and nimble tool that helps young people amplify voices and organize around issues that they care about. Social enterprise is also something that we're seeing, and I know all of you are seeing, as particularly consistent with this generation's desire to work around the system rather than working sometimes within the system.

Specifically related to electoral politics, many young people are not happy with the presidential election results and are making their voice heard about it. As we'll explain, youth as a whole didn't vote for the president-elect and were critical to keeping the race competitive, as they did in 2012. Additionally, after the 2012 election the Republican Party took time to conduct their own autopsy, so to speak, and it's worth looking at how they did among youth this cycle. In fact, not all youth voted for Secretary Clinton, and a substantial slice of the youth electorate voted for President-Elect Trump.

Today we'll present what we know so far about youth in federal races from a variety of sources. Though this is a slice of the data, and more will come over the next several months to illuminate more, including about more youth sub-groups that we won't talk about today. We also know that young people are engaged in elections at the state and local level, which are absolutely critical and many believe is the area of significant potential.

MS. KAWASHIMA-GINSBERG: Thank you, Abby and thank you again for being here. My name is Kei Kawashima-Ginsberg; I'm the director of CIRCLE.

I will be talking a little bit about the overall picture of what youth vote looked like in 2016. So let's take a broad look first. At the end of the day, young people voted at about the same rate as they did in 2012. We estimate about 50 percent of young people voted. That translates to about 24 million young people. And with that 24

MILLENIALS-2016/11/17

million young people, they voted for Hillary Clinton by a large margin of 57 percent compared to 34 percent, and about 9 percent voted for other candidates, such as Johnson, Stein, and others.

Now when we talk about young people's voting, they did overwhelmingly favor Hillary Clinton like they did in 2008 and '12. But I put this graph here to put that in a historical context, which is that young people didn't always prefer Democratic candidates in presidential races all the time. In fact, during the Reagan years and in Bush, Sr. years they actually preferred a Republican candidate, as you can see. So in the historical context this was another year when young people overwhelmingly favored the Democratic candidate.

Now, as often said though, there are many narratives about young voters. This is simply an average of how young people voted. And when we started to dissect the youth vote after we got exit poll data, and also before we knew from pre-election poll, there are many stories of young people, and they have different realities, different priorities. And how they voted really reflected that particular kind of divide we have. Here's what we knew before the election, which was that the young people, just like older generations, were polarized in some ways. For example, they were divided on the trust in key institutions, such as police, president, and military. If you look at the graph here the 63 percent of young white people trusted the police, at least to a certain extent, whereas only 23 percent of African American youth said that they could believe and trust the police.

They were also divided in what they thought the priority of the country was. When we surveyed the young people before the election 35 percent of young people who were already supporting Clinton whether they were actually going to vote or not said that they thought that the violence against people of color was one of the most important things the next president needs to address, compared to just 17 percent. So the priorities are already very different for different young people.

Now we already know from the previous research -- and this is a pretty well known fact -- that young people are in fact much more diverse. And this was reflected in the 2016 electorate. So this is a makeup of the voters by age. And this pie on the young people actually reflects really closely what young people look like as a citizen population. What that means though is that within the youth electorate, youths of color really matter. It's a really big slice of the pie compared to what it looks like for older adults. So I'm going to talk about the story of youth of color first.

Exit polls show that the African American youth, Latinos, and youth of color in general overwhelmingly favored Hillary Clinton. More than half of her votes actually came from youth of color, about 53 percent, with the biggest group of her supporters coming from youth of color without a college degree. Now, why did they really vote for her? Before the election we found that the youth of color overwhelmingly supported her and what they thought was really important, really mattered. When it came to voting on the election day the overwhelming majority of young people of -- supporters of Hillary Clinton thought that the African Americans were biased -- or they were biased against African Americans and the criminal justice system. And that really explains why youth of color supported Hillary Clinton in large numbers, but also white allies who really felt that this was an important issue. And although before the election some of the Clinton supporters were expressing mixed emotions about Hillary Clinton, at the end of the day this is the candidate they chose in order to address this very important priority for young people.

Also youth of color, and especially young women of color, remained the biggest and most consistent supporting group of Hillary Clinton and the Democratic Party in general. Young black women, for example, was the biggest and most consistent supporter of Hillary Clinton among all groups; 94 percent of young women who are African American voted for her.

Now there was a lot of conversation about the needed change that

MILLENIALS-2016/11/17

needed to come to this country. And that's actually why young people voted for Barack Obama in 2008. And if anyone was about change, that was Donald Trump. So why didn't the majority of young people vote for him rather than her? A lot of young people expressed fear about having somebody like Donald Trump as a president. 67 percent of black youth and 36 percent of Latino youth said that they would be scared if Mr. Trump was to be elected president. And 84 percent and 57 percent of black and Latino youth, respectively, said that they would be excited if the president were Hillary Clinton instead. So this fear was a big driver of why they chose Hillary Clinton. And it wasn't just concern to note, it was the fear. And if you combined the people that are African Americans that were concerned or scared of a Donald Trump presidency that would be almost all of the black youth. And that's something to really think about moving forward.

Now the pre-election split support between candidates really meant a lot. At the end of the day, when white voters came to vote it was really surprising to many young people and older adults in that the white youth as a whole supported and favored Donald Trump 48 percent to 43 percent. Now this really tells only part of the story because there was a big divide among young people who are white. This was a divide by gender, really. So young white women preferred Clinton over Trump 50 percent to 42 percent, while young white men favored Mr. Trump by almost 20 points, 54 to 35 percent. This was also the first election we've seen in a while where young white men's turnout may have actually been higher than young white women's. In the previous elections young white women had well more than half of the share of young white votes. This year it was the other way around; 52 percent was cast by white men, and then 48 percent was cast by white women. This is the first time we've seen that. And in our estimate we've seen about 600, maybe a million or so more votes cast by young white men more than 2012 this year.

We also knew from the pre-election poll that men and women had very different kinds of experience with campaign contact. The middle of the graph shows that

the millennial men and women who were contacted, and when they're not affiliated with any party -- and once again this is about half of the young people, and this is an increasing trend -- but when you look at that particular group by gender you can see that men were twice as likely to be reached out to by campaign than women from that same category.

So now we'll move forward with talking about the Trump supporters. Again, as a reminder, about one-third of young voters who came out to vote supported Donald Trump. This was actually more than what we had seen in the pre-election poll in where we were seeing about 20-25 percent of young people in general saying that they would support Donald Trump. And we'll dive into why that may have been, but first let's look at who they were. So the Donald Trump voters were 80 percent white and predominantly male; about 59 percent were male. And the largest share of his support came from young white people without college degrees. So that was about 32 percent. And this is contrast with the 35 percent of young people who contributed to Clinton, who were young people of color without college degrees. So the demographic of the voters for each candidate was very different. And in terms of their political identifications, 62 percent were Republican and 31 percent were independent and other. And when compared to the Clinton supporters, the Trump supporters were more rural, they're more likely to be Evangelical Christian, they were more likely to attend religious services at least weekly, and they were extremely dissatisfied with the state of this country. 88 percent of young Trump supporters said the country was on the wrong track, 27 percent was flat out angry with the government, compared to just 9 percent among Clinton supporters. And 61 percent supported the building of the wall between the U.S. and Mexico border. And about a quarter actually questioned the legitimacy of their own vote. They were worried that their votes wouldn't be counted. And, finally, they expressed a deep mistrust of Secretary Clinton; 3 percent thought that she is honest and 93 percent were bothered by the email allegations that she dealt with toward the end of her

campaign.

We also saw that, like I said, there were a fewer Trump supporters in our pre-election poll, but it actually made sense that more of those young people voted when it came to election day. What we saw was that the Trump supporters were a small base, but they were more enthusiastic and excited before the election. This graph shows that slightly more of the Trump supporters used two positive words to describe their feelings about their candidate of choice, and they were also more likely to say excited. So 32 percent of Trump supporters said they were excited about the candidate choice as compared to the 18 percent of Clinton supporters.

So let me talk about who actually voted. There was ways in which the electorate was diverse. And as I said, the racial representation of the electorate was quite representative of the national population. What didn't happen though was the educational attainment representation. When we look at the youth population as a whole what we find is that about 40 percent of young people have no college experience at all. But here's what we saw, which is that about 19 percent as opposed to 40 percent in the general population were young voters without college experience. And as you can see the proportion of this particular group shrank over this last election. It has been steadily around 30 percent; this time around we saw just 19 percent. And by the way, when we looked at the educational attainment by the Trump and Clinton supporters, which I did show a little bit earlier in the slide, we didn't find any evidence that the Trump supporters were significantly less educated in that way. They were just as likely to have gone to the college; however, Clinton supporters were more likely to have completed college. So it was a little bit more complicated than saying that Trump supporters were uneducated; they were likely the true middle class. They were the people that had perhaps gone and done some higher education, but didn't quite finish the four-year degree.

So that's really who voted and what happened here. Now, it's really an irony that the electorate that was really about the working class and bringing up the

people that had no voice prior to this election ended becoming more elite this time around. It really has implications on how we reach out to different kinds of young people and who we think would vote, and as a result include in the electorate moving forward.

With that, I'm going to ask Abby to talk about institutions.

MS. KIESA: As many of you know, CIRCLE's work is quite broad, focusing on a broad definition of civic engagement. So election work is one slice of what we do. And as a result, we're thinking about civic institutions quite a lot. So what I wanted to talk about was the context of this voting, the historical context as well as the 2016 context of parties as civic institutions.

So in our view, parties serve several functions in civic and political life in addition to being core elements of how elections are organized. And young people for several years now, as many of you know, have been less favorable to affiliating with the two major political parties. Each party has a small base that's committed but not an extremely wide appeal. Young people who cast ballots in 2016 were more likely to identify as liberal than in recent elections. And you can see that here in this graph -- 32 percent in 2008, 37 percent in 2016. But they were less likely to identify as Democrats -- 45 percent in 2008, 37 percent in 2016. This shift suggests that young people increasingly embrace a liberal ideology but do not necessarily see the Democratic Party as an institution that can represent and advance those ideas. Alternatively, young voters who identified as Democrats when they cast ballots in 2008 and 2012 may have been drawn to the party and the voting booth and the inspiring candidacy of now President Barack Obama, but may not be otherwise committed to the party and perhaps decided not to vote in 2016. One exception to this that I want to specifically point out and that Kei has otherwise, is that young black women and young Latinas, a majority of whom identify with the Democratic party, which raises many questions about what the party will do in the future, if anything, to meet them where they are.

Among self-identified young Democrats, some youth chose to vote for a

third party candidate as you can see in this graph here. In his two elections President Obama drew support from well over half of young people who saw themselves as neither liberal nor conservative. This year while moderate women backed Secretary Clinton, moderate men did not to the same degree, and she lost white moderates overall. These young people who eschew the political extremes are likely to continue to play decisive roles in the election to come given the size of the group. And here's what we see over time when it comes to young moderates by gender.

On the other hand, Republican-affiliated youth were overrepresented in the 2016 electorate based on our estimates. Large pre-election surveys, like the GenForward Survey and Pew Research's work showed that young people in the general population identify as Republican between 16 and 22 percent. However, among all youth who cast ballots this year 28 percent identified as Republican. Our own pre-election poll, in which 25 percent of millennials identified as registered Republicans points to one possible explanation, which Kei has alluded to, which is that young supporters of Mr. Trump, our President-Elect, in our survey reported being more energized and therefore more likely to turn out.

Yet we don't see growth. The GOP, in terms of young people who are affiliating with it in the electorate, is staying relatively static. And in some ways, based on our analysis of some Pew Research political typology data is misaligned on the big issues, like social issues and deportation of immigrants. Only about a third of young voters hold a favorable view of the Republican Party. And part of what is going to face the Republican party is what to do with the young people who voted for Trump, who we see, based on our pre-election poll, as being politically disconnected previously because of their inexperience with political engagement prior to this election. So it's a question of supporting their development as citizens and ability to address problems they see in their own context using democratic means.

In this election the GOP faced an additional challenge: some young

Republican's aversion to their own party's nominee. Among young people who affiliated as Republican, 39 percent of women felt that Mr. Trump was not qualified to serve as president. And they were more likely than young Republican men to say that they would be scared if he was elected. Additionally, 37 percent of young Republican women were bothered a lot by Mr. Trump's rhetoric about women. Likely due in part to this discomfort, almost a quarter of young Republican women voted for another candidate for president, and according to our analysis, may have voted differently down ballot for House of Representatives as a result. This trend was even stronger for women who identify as moderate or people who identify as liberal republicans who make up 11 percent of all young women voters.

Part of the frustration among youth regarding political parties is related to some young people's curiosity about third-parties. In our pre-election poll 17 percent supported Gary Johnson. The national exit poll, however, captured only 8 percent of youth who supported a third-party candidate or chose not to vote in the presidential election. As a result, young people didn't flock to third-parties. And, finally, while young people split their ticket more than voters over 30, it still did not occur en masse. Among youth just over three-quarters voted for a Senate and presidential candidate of the same party while 82 percent of voters over 30 did so. Only 80 percent of young moderate and liberal Republican women voted for House GOP candidates compared to 89 percent of young men, their young male peers. Additionally, 19 percent of young people who voted for a House GOP candidate did not vote for Trump and 11 percent voted for Secretary Clinton.

Well, this might not be surprising given the political culture right now, it raises questions for those who see civic institutions as important for building and sustaining engagement. Parties do clearly play a role as core political institutions and in the larger ecosystem, if you will, of civic life. However, nodes of civic life are changing, so it raises questions about what parties do. This reinforces the necessity to develop and

support broad-based strategies to grow young people's civic skills and attachment to civil and political organizations. We can't be satisfied with episodic every four year cycles of engagement. Research suggests it needs to be about more enduring identity development.

MS. KAWASHIMA-GINSBERG: Thank you, Abby. And to conclude a little bit: So in the stormy election cycle that began with youth who were skeptical of voting, but inspired them by candidates that brought the potential political sea change, you know, it showed that strong participation is still the part of youth electorate. While backing Secretary Clinton by a large margin they also showed that they were politically as well as racially diverse. Now we're seeing many young people, including those who were not eligible to vote at that time, take to the street in protest of President-Elect Trump, and we're seeing mixed reaction by adults, from strong support for their views and activism to sharp criticism, and even worse, dismissal of their voices. How we respond during and after student protests and marches says a lot about how we are as a society investing in developing engaged citizens.

If we think that young people can and need to learn the skills for effective civic participation, we support skill development through strong civic education and mentorship, both in and out of school. We send a message that young people matter and should and can participate. If we act as though youth should be controlled and dismiss their voices, then we communicate that we don't value their voices and their potential to contribute to our civic life now and in the future is not there. And we would have really missed a big opportunity in this unique election.

We need an electorate that is deeply informed and committed for a greater good in the years to come. The first step then in achieving that goal is to support this generation of young people as they process the outcome of this election and make sure they have a voice and influence when they are ready to offer ideas and solutions. We also need to remember that about one-third of young people voted for President-

Elect Trump and are looking for major change. That's why they came out to vote. They were unhappy with the way things were in this country and angry at the government. At least some of these young people though, according to what we know from previous research, were politically alienated. They're the kind of young people who were never engaged before this election. Then it's on us to make sure we take their voice of dissent to the current system and make sure they can engage in a productive and democratic manner moving forward. They will soon remember that citizens are the ones that make the needed change, not the president. We need to really support their development as they gain their political voice.

Even with all these opportunities, though, there are obvious challenges. Findings clearly point to the fact that this election revealed many divides that were not visible, and especially for the millennials, the most progressive generation to date. They are in fact polarized often by their backgrounds. While it's important to express our voices we have to help young people go beyond that by helping them to develop and implement solutions that come from diverse perspective and political ideologies and participating governance so they can work from within as well as from the outside. Civic education in K-12 schools as well as colleges and in work places and civil and political organizations are all essential avenues in which we can help mend the civic fabric of our country. Mending our civic fabric is not a luxury; it's a necessity. And I hope we all are ready to contribute.

With that, I'd like to welcome back Dr. Bill Galston to the stage as well as Carmen Berkley and Jane Coaston, our renowned panelists. So please have a seat.

Thank you for your attention. (Applause)

MR. GALSTON: Well, we are on a tight schedule with a lot to pack into an hour and a half. And so I will introduce our two commentators, Carmen Berkley and Jane Coaston, each of whom has five minutes for a commentary. There will be then some cross talk until 11:00 o'clock and then 25 minutes for an audience Q & A, and then

MILLENIALS-2016/11/17

at 11:25 I will call Dean Solomont to the podium.

So, without further ado, Carmen.

MS. BERKLEY: Great, hi. Like a true millennial I'm doing too much, I'm on Twitter, I'm texting, I'm looking at my notes. So I get the chance to straddle multiple worlds. You know, I'm the Civil Human and Women's Rights Director at the AFL/CIO, which is a federation of unions, but I'm also a regular black woman that participates in things like protests and the movement for black lives and Black Youth Project 100. So I don't necessarily just come to you as a labor activist. I'm coming to you as a young black person that participated in this election, but also very much so identifies with a lot of the research and the methodology that we just saw.

How many of you remember when the movement for black lives and the immigrant's rights community shut down Netroots Nation in 2015? That's when Bernie Sanders and Martin O'Malley got embarrassed at the Netroots Nation -- but raise your hand high, raise your hand high. Okay. So that was sign number one that millennials were not going to be playing around in this election cycle. And what happened for those of you who don't remember is the Netroots Nation Conference, which was in Arizona, basically -- you know, even though they were in Arizona, which there's a high population of Latinos, there were a ton of African Americans that said they wanted to be engaged in this election cycle, felt like the conference, felt like the city was not fully embracing communities of color. And so at the conference -- that was a conference that I participated in -- people from movement for black lives and the immigrant's right community staged an action against Bernie Sanders and against Martin O'Malley at the conference. But really what that sign was saying is, you all want for us to participate in elections and you all want for us to believe in the political process, and yet we cannot indict police officers who kill children. So that was sign number one.

I think that sign number two -- you know, fast forwarding to the Netroots Nation Conference, because this is our big progressive conference that we have every

MILLENIALS-2016/11/17

summer, you literally had young people saying I'm probably not going to vote in this election, and if I do I will probably be voting for Jill Stein.

So for me what I heard this entire cycle were young people, particularly young people of color, saying out loud I do not believe in the political process, I don't know how I feel about the Democratic party, and yet our progressive movement kind of ignored that a little bit. Young people were saying we don't know and we didn't really figure out what are the tactics and the tools to get young people to participate. Because let's face it, it's not that young people don't care about issues -- we passed marijuana in two states, there were a number of ballot initiatives that young people cared about that passed, so it's not to say that young people didn't turn out; it was that young people are not motivated by candidates. And so for us as progressives, we've got to figure out how are we going to move outside of the charismatic candidate and figure out when young people say I care about criminal justice reform, I care about immigration, I care about my right to choose, how are we connecting candidates to the issues that young people truly care about?

But for me I'm not here to blame Secretary Clinton or the Democratic Party, or even blame progressives. What I'm here to do is to talk to you about, what are the three things that we can do moving forward to get us to a place where we can actually all work together? Because people are already moving to 2018. And I'm like, whoa, you're moving to 2018 and we're still in 2016. So how are we going to actually talk to young people about what we can do between now and like next week. Because people are frustrated and they are suffering and they are now really feeling like the political process is not working for me.

So, number one, we have to be more serious about communities of color being in the leadership development pipeline. So I come from the youth world. I ran the United States Student Association, I ran the Generational Alliance. I come from a long line of young people of color and women of color and Queer Youth that have empowered

each other. If you are a group of white people that work in an institution, and you're talking about race, racism, and gender, LGBTQ issues, and there are none of us sitting at the table, you are already doing it wrong. If you do not have young people, 31 years old like me, that are helping you make budget decisions, helping you make decisions about how you move your strategy forward -- because let's face it, we're about to go into a time when women are going to be attacked, people of color are going to be attacked, and queer people are going to be attacked. So if our progressive organizations are not still being run by people of color you've got a huge problem on your hands, and you've got to think about how you're going to engage differently.

The second thing is we have to resource youth organizations to build their capacity in between election cycles. So when I worked at the United States Student Association we were a multimillion dollar organization in 2008, in 2006, in 2004. But in 2007 we were scraping the barrels to try to find resources. Now luckily we had a 501(c)3, right, so we were able to fundraise foundation money. But as it pertained to our (c)4, which actually allowed for us to have power, it was so difficult for us to fundraise money. If you want for young people to be able to run your tactics in 2018 then how are we investing in their development and their ability to run tactics in 2017? And resources is not just about money; it's about making sure that they have the skills and making sure that they have the folks around them to be able to build the power that they need to run in election cycles. Because the tactic of door knocking and phone banking, it's not just a silo to election cycles.

The final thing I'll say is this: messaging and media. So at the AFL/CIO I said to folks, you all are not organizing in the black media. If you're not on Roland Martin, if you're not in Essence Magazine, if you haven't figured out how to get in Color Lines or The Root, then you're actually not talking to black people. Young black people are not reading the New York Times, okay. When I go home and I talk to my family about what they're reading, they're not reading the Washington Post, I'm sorry to tell you. Same

thing with young Latinos, same thing with young Asians, same thing with young whites. They're reading inside of their media. So if we haven't figured out a way to build a relationship with the media that young people actually care about, like People magazine, like In Touch, okay, like actually being on MTV networks, and our organizations investing in advertising in places where millennials are, then we are just talking to ourselves. So in this cycle, the AFL/CIO, we invested in going around and participating in concerts around the country because that's where young people were. I went to the Beyoncé concert twice (laughter). But if we're not standing outside of the Beyoncé concert trying to register the thousands of people to vote that you know are going to the concert and doing GOTV in places where you know young people are, then you're missing the mark. If we continue to try to phone bank people who don't have house phones anyway we will continue to lose our strategy.

So those are my reflections and my analysis of the 2016 election and what we can do moving forward. (Applause)

MR. GALSTON: Please, Jane.

MS. COASTON: Hello. My name is Jane Coaston, and I'm a reporter for MTV News. And I think I'd like to start by asking a question. How many of you here are actually born and raised in D.C.? Okay. How many of you here were born and raised in an east coast or west coast state? Okay. How many of you were born and raised in the Midwest? Hello, my people. (Laughter) I was born and raised in Cincinnati, Ohio. I lived in Michigan, and I lived in Missouri. Those are three states, if you'll all remember from last week, that Secretary Clinton did not win. And I'm here to talk right now about the issues that I'm seeing as someone who has written a lot about the Right and written a lot about the GOP. Some of the issues that we're seeing reflected here because I think it's something that we can actually talk about in cross currents, about what you were just discussing.

So, as we saw on the data, young Republicans were over represented in

the 2016 election. And a lot of them we found were looking for change. They thought this was a change election just as much in some ways, but in very different ways, as in 2008 when I remember I was a senior in college. Some people thought that the election of President Obama was a change election. The question then is what kind of change? What change were they looking for? And I think that that's something that is really worth of discussion. We saw from young Trump voters that more than 80 percent believe that the United States is on the wrong track. We saw that for many people that they were still averse to their candidate, especially young Republican women, but they still voted anyway and were more likely to vote, especially young white voters and young white moderates, which is an interesting question. I'm really not sure if we've decided what moderate means, but I think that that's something worth looking into.

So I want to talk a little bit about the change that young people, especially in the states -- you know, if you're from Michigan, if you're from Ohio, if you're from a lot of the states that some of us are from, what kind of changes are young people looking for? We're talking a lot about the economy, we're talking a lot about jobs. We saw in the data that more people voted -- young people voted in this election who had attended at least some college or were college graduates than in previous elections. So that means that there were more young white people and more young people in general who were on college campuses and yet still thought of Trump as being a change candidate. What does that mean? What does that tell us? Personally, I think that that tells us that young people don't exist in vacuums. I think a lot of times when we're talking about young millennials we think of the young millennials who look like some of the young people in this room. That's not always true. When we're talking about young people we're talking about young people who are also perhaps Evangelical Christians; we're talking about young people who are also the children of people who have maybe lost jobs, jobs that are likely to never come back, especially in manufacturing or in other industries.

So when we're talking about young people let's focus on the fact that young people are not young people first. I am not just 29 years old; you are not just 31 years old. Let's talk about those cross currents and let's talk about what people saw in Donald Trump was something that we've heard a lot about, oh, this is -- they wanted change. What kind of change did they want? It's interesting because I think that a lot of people were looking at this election as kind of make America great again, something harkening backwards. But I think that for a lot of young Republican voters, they were looking for something interestingly that might in some ways be kind of recalcitrant, but also looking forwards. Let's remember that part of Trump's strategy was talking about over \$1 trillion in infrastructure investment that toward the latter days of the election, Trump started talking about making college affordable and started talking about, you know, ensuring that everyone could get jobs and ensuring that young people always had access to healthcare. That's not -- you know, I've been following the GOP for a very long time; that's not standard GOP language, and that could be why Trump and Paul Ryan will be in an uncomfortable do-si-do for the next four years.

But let's talk about those issues because young people clearly were interested, or especially young Republicans who in general, they weren't looking for kind of limited small government that we hear so much about when we're talking about Russell Kirk and kind of old-school Republicans. They were looking for change, but they weren't looking for Republican-style change; they were looking for Trump-style change. The problem is that Trump-style change could put my life and the lives of millions of other people at incredible risk. But for a lot of people, young people who we're talking to, their media is just as siloed in some ways as ours. Their media, unfortunately, they're not reading the Washington Post or the New York Times; they're reading Facebook, and they're reading Facebook from the same people who are their friends and families, who are often people who look just like them. That's concerning in a lot of ways. I've argued a bunch of times during this election that what we're seeing now is really the after effects

of residential segregation. And what I mean by that is that a lot of -- think about where you grew up. For a lot of people living in the Midwest and a lot of people living even in coastal areas, you probably grew up on a street around people who looked a lot like you, you went to school with people who looked a lot like you, and you were friends with people who looked a lot like you. And for many of us that didn't change until we went to college or until afterwards. That's the same for a lot of the young Republican voters we're seeing now who, when they hear about concerns about what Trump's rhetoric and Trump's fan-base means, that doesn't mean anything to them because all their interpretation of it is like well, I don't know any Muslims, I don't really know that many black people. So when you don't know someone or you're not surrounded by that group or those stories are not as personal to you as your personal story of my dad lost his job 10 years ago and we've never really been able to get back on our feet, this manufacturing plant where my grandma and my grandpa used to work is closed and it's moved to Mexico and Trump told us he can get it back. That's going to be a lot more appealing to you than hearing about a group of people that you don't know personally.

So I think that when we're talking about young millennial voters, let's remember that we're not talking about young millennials as in people on their phones all the time, we're talking about young people who are growing up in states like Iowa, growing up in Arkansas -- which also just passed medical marijuana -- we're talking about young people in Wisconsin and Minnesota. Not in Milwaukee, not in Madison, but in those small towns where they're surrounded by the same people that look like their family and look like their friends.

So I think that when we're having conversations about why the decisions were made -- for those young people it was a change election, and it also was a stay the same election. Not so much because they want to kind of value kind of the divisiveness and outright racism we saw from the Trump campaign, but because where they are has been the same for the past 30-40 years. There hasn't been an influx of minorities or

immigrants. There haven't been kind of the widespread changes we've seen. They may never have met a queer person except for watching the Ellen Show. And that's real life for a lot of people. So I think that when we're talking about young millennial voters who voted for Trump, let's remember that it's not necessarily young millennial voters who voted for Trump who are living in Brooklyn or living in LA; we're talking about people for whom life has been very much the same for past 20-30 years. And when they heard about Trump, they heard someone saying I'm going to build the roads and get the factories back, not I'm going to extreme vet Muslims, a population for many of these people they may never have met.

So I think that really thinking about the cross currents of who these voters are is really important because as I said, they're not just young millennials; they're young millennials, they're young Christians, they're young Republicans or young moderates, and for some they are young independent voters. And I think that those decisions and how we reach them, that's what's going to be really important to discuss.

MR. GALSTON: That's just fabulous. I don't know about you but I have learned a whole lot in the past 55 minutes. Brookings should have more panels like this. (Applause)

And we're running considerably behind so I'm going to throw away my playbook and give the two CIRCLE representatives an opportunity to reflect on the reflections that they've just heard, and then I'm going to scrap all of the questions I had prepared and go straight to Q & A from the floor.

So, Abby, Kei, you want to reflect on what you just heard?

MS. KAWASHIMA-GINSBERG: Thank you. I learned a lot too in the last 55 minutes. And thank you so much, Carmen and Jane. It's really important to have the perspective really representing the multiplicity of the identity that young people carry, as well as older folks like us. But at the same time, it's really important to remember that young people are really keenly aware of the multiple identities they carry.

And I've been really concerned about sort of what we saw in the data in terms of really how actually more close electorate became and how divided the electorate became. But with your guys' explanation of why those complex identities plays a role in how the change means different things for young Republicans and conservatives than perhaps older Republicans and conservatives who actually remember the olden days, and young millennials who are voting conservatively don't actually have that vision.

And we do have to, as I said in the conclusion, really try to appreciate and value and emphasize with the young conservative and Republican voters who to some of our surprise supported Donald Trump, President-Elect, and really find ways in which we can really include these young people as legitimates voices in the politics in American democracy of tomorrow.

So I'll stop there.

MS. KIESA: I wanted to jump in. One of the things that we try to pay attention to a lot but that's clearly very difficult to measure is this idea of cultural organizing that has been so prominent among millennial groups. And I guess I was just wondering -- I know, Carmen, you alluded to this -- but I'm wondering whether or not both or one of you could speak to how you felt like these campaigns really tapped into the potential of cultural organizing among young people and millennials on both sides, and whether or not you could see that happening in future cycles.

MS. COASTON: Well, at least for me I know that Secretary Clinton really tapped into celebrities and working with Beyoncé and working with Katy Perry, but I think that what that showed is -- I mean that's cool, but it's not necessarily -- it didn't galvanize in the same way that when President Obama had the same type of celebrity star power. And so I think that there actually has to -- we have to marry the actual hard tactics a little bit closer with using celebrities in cultural organizing.

But I will say this, how we talk to not just young people but everyone. I mean, we are totally consumed by what's happening on the internet; we're totally

consumed by what's happening on television. And so I think that figuring out that when we run tactics what is the -- you know, when we run a cultural tactic such as having a concert -- so I'll give you an example. A week before the election we were in Miami and we threw a concert. And a lot of people said why do you have this concert; this isn't something that people aren't going to come to. 6,000 young black people at a historically black college came to see Pusha-T, Gucci Mane, TI. For those of you who know who these people are they're actually cool people in the world, but we didn't just have a concert. What we did is we signed people up. You know, you actually had to sign up to participate in the concert. We know that you have to talk to someone five to eight times in order for them to hear the same message. So we hit them via text message, we hit them on the different social medias that we had their information on; we actually emailed them multiple times before the election. And for those people that gave us enough information, we actually told them where their polling sites were.

So I think for us figuring out how do marry the cultural with the actual tactics that we know that work, it's powerful.

The other thing that we did -- and it was cool, we did this with MTV -- is we participated in a project called "Elect This" where they actually built a physical wall in Herald Square in New York City and they interviewed people from our movement to talk about why immigration is so important. But I think again doing something like that that is so visible and so public -- we still have got to figure out, how do you marry the tactic of collecting names and collecting information to be able to actually hit people up multiple times? Because it's not enough to just do a cool thing if you're not actually gathering the information that you need in order to turn people out.

MS. COASTON: So I would say that, one thing also is that let's remember in 2012 part of Obama's campaign, and especially having the opportunity to run against Mitt Romney, was running very much a populist campaign. And I'm not sure if anyone remembers there were campaign ads that featured Mitt Romney descending

from a plane with Trump's plane in the background and saying like, working for billionaires once again. And that worked. It worked really well. And so I think that when we're talking about cultural organizing, I think that we can talk about cultural organizing in a sense that makes people feel involved and that grass roots. And I think that that's actually something that you saw a little bit weirdly enough from kind of Trump voters, not necessarily being organized top down. Because I think if we learned anything from the Trump campaign, there wasn't nearly the level of organization that we see from traditional campaigns. But there were a lot of people, and we've see this again and again, that projected something onto Donald Trump and went towards whatever that was, which was that -- Part of Trump's appeal was that he could present himself as whatever you wanted him to be. He's either a billionaire or he's a statesman or somehow a man from Queens who can talk to people in plants in Kentucky.

So I think that when we're talking about cultural organizing I think -- There was a really interesting New Republic piece recently that was talking about how Cheryl Sandberg had gotten so involved in the Clinton campaign, other famous women had gotten involved in the Clinton campaign, but that wasn't really working with white working class women because if you're working three jobs you can't lean in. If you're --

SPEAKER: (off mic)

MS. BERKLEY: Right.

MS. COASTON: Right. If you can't afford HBO, why would Lena Dunham be effective in talking to you? So I think that when we're talking about cultural organizing I think that we should also talk about that grass roots, that finding what works with people in -- I think that the intersections of race and class have not been nearly discussed enough and I think that that's also what you saw about kind of the lack of outreach overall in talking to black and minority working-class people. And talking about Beyoncé is amazing and wonderful and perhaps a perfect human being, but I think that when Hillary Clinton is working with Jay Z and Beyoncé, what is that saying to someone

who can't get out of work to go see them? What is that saying to someone who right now is kind of on the edge and their job doesn't offer health insurance and all the plans that they keep finding are a little bit too expensive? And they're trying to figure out what to do.

I think that when we're talking about cultural organizing, let's work across culture and work within and without kind of class and race and figure out what works best. Because a lot of times when people are talking at you that's not as reflective, but when people are talking with you, that works.

MR. GALSTON: Thanks so much. For the next 23 minutes we're going to do the Brookings version of speed dating. And I'm going to start in the back of the room and take questions in batches of three. There will be a roving microphone or two, I assume. When you are recognized please state your name and institutional affiliation if you wish, and ask a short precise question. No speeches. Thanks so much.

So there is a gentleman in the aisle and then a gentleman right in front of him. So please.

MR. WU: David Wu. No institutional affiliation other than, Bill, I've known you for more years than I want to count.

There was a World War I general who apparently said, a German general, who said I don't know how we got here. And I'm asking how did we get here and projecting from what you all said, what is low turnout voters and other's enthusiasm. Anything else that you could project from millennials to the general population?

MR. GALSTON: David Wu by the way is a former member of Congress from the Pacific Northwest. I can't remember whether it was Washington or Oregon. There was a hand raised? There you go. Thanks so much.

MR. MORRIS: Lorenzo Morris, Howard University. The concept of classes on the edge of most of this discussion in a way that leaves me still curious when we say that -- or when the CIRCLE group says that Trump voters tended to have college training but no degree or relative difference. And you see these advertisements or

images on all the campaigns that present Trump voters as some person in the country who has lost his mining or her mining job. There's a clear indication that Trump voters are supposed to be in this popular sense in a socio-economically defined restricted rural and lower income group, lower class group. I didn't see the income data. And yet other things don't seem to confirm that because having some college education puts you in a relatively advantaged situation.

So is there an answer, and if there is not an answer then what does this distribution constitute?

MR. GALSTON: Thank you very much. And I saw a hand over here. Yes, sir. There you go.

MR. GROBE: Good morning, my name is Stefan Grobe. I am with Euronews, European television, an area where majorities usually are majorities. (Laughter) Hillary Clinton got roughly one million votes more than Donald Trump. This is the second time this happened since 2000. Four years ago more people voted for Democratic house candidates than for Republican house candidates. The reasons are all well known.

My question is, do you have a strategy to overcome these political obstacles? What are your thoughts about it? Do you see a strategy, are you fighting against windmills here?

MR. GALSTON: Okay. First three questions and you can divide them up any way you want, respond to more one, but remember there are more questions to come.

MS. KIESA: Well, I think I'd like to go back to Mr. Wu's question regarding kind of what trends we see among millennials that we can see among the general population. And I think that one thing that really stuck out to me was the number of young people who identified themselves as being liberals but were less likely to identify themselves as being Democrats. And I think that that's something that you see

throughout the electorate of people who think of themselves as being liberals but don't think of themselves as being connected with the Democratic Party. And I think that -- and the data showed that in the last election Obama won 67 percent of people who called themselves independents, while Clinton won in this election 49 percent of that group, which is now a larger group. So I think that party identification has become incredibly important. I think you saw that from kind of how much people wanted to talk about the campaigns of Gary Johnson and Jill Stein. But I also think that that is really reflective of how we've started to think about political party membership. We see political party membership as not defined from the bottom up, but from the top down. When you say that you're a Democrat, a lot of people think of that as being like, well I'm not like those people so I'm not a Democrat. Or if these people are Republicans, I'm not like that so I'm not a Republican. When I think we should be thinking about it as, I think this, this, this, and this and this; therefore I am a Democrat, therefore I am a Republican. Saw that again and again from -- especially during this year's Republican National Convention. I don't know if you remember, but the Republicans who were voting on the convention platform wanted to put so-called "conversion therapy" back on the GOP platform while having Peter Thiel speak at the RNC and talk about being a gay Republican. Clearly there's a difference here. You're seeing again and again young Republicans especially telling pollsters and telling people look, we don't care about marriage equality; we don't care about these particular issues. And yet the keep apparently being told from the top down yes you do; you're very offended by marriage equality, you're very upset about this. And they keep saying, no they don't, which is -- you're also seeing young Republicans moving out of the Republican Party or stop defining themselves are Republicans.

So I think that that trend overall, of people seeing that they're not with this and they're not with this, therefore they are not with a party, which is concerning in a lot of ways because unlike our European friends we do not have proportional representation or else we would have I think at this point 60 political parties and a lot of

grand bargains. I think that it's important for us to start recalibrating how we think about political parties, not so much from platform down, but from people up.

MS. BERKLEY: Quickly, so I think as it pertains to democracy issues, we all know that the electoral college needs some revisions, but I think that moving forward, what we need to be really focusing on are the voting rights laws. When the Voting Rights Act got gutted two years ago, it was mainly the civil rights groups that were talking about this as being an emergency. I mean you had some democracy groups talking about this issue of the Voting Rights Act, but the reason why a lot -- we know -- when you're attacking voting rights who are you attacking? You are attacking people of color; you are attacking young people. Those are our most vulnerable populations and those are the populations that generally vote Democrat or progressive. And we also know that in these like off-year presidential elections, that is when the Republicans double down and start changing the voting rights laws. Some of the most aggressive laws always get changed in these off year elections. So I do feel like as we're thinking about, what is our democracy strategy? I don't know if we're going to be able to repeal the electoral college, especially with the Republicans in charge of the House, the Senate, and the presidency, but I do feel like at the state level where we actually have a little bit more power, we can be looking at some of these voting rights laws and how do we turn them over.

But just in terms of how did we get here: so in my day job, I do work for the labor movement and there are a lot of white folks that are there. I think that what's going to be important, and I think Jane spoke to this very eloquently, is we have to figure out a way to talk to white voters around how race hurts them. You know, when we got on the doors with Working America, which is our community affiliate, I said there's no way that white people are out there like okay with all of this racist rhetoric that's going on. Except when we talked to them on the doors they kind of were. They all knew that Donald Trump was a racist and a misogynist and he was xenophobic and hates Muslims

and Mexicans, but that really wasn't enough to not have them vote for him. And so I think that for us we've got to figure out -- as the policies start to change, as the Executive Orders of the Obama administration start to really hurt us, as we lose healthcare reform, we're going to have to have -- well some of the white folks in this room are going to have to have conversations with their cousins around how misogyny and race hurts all of us. Racism is not just an issue that we deal with, racism is an issue that hurts all of us if the policies that are being implemented hurt you.

So to me, how did we get here, us knowing that we've got a cousin that was going to vote for Trump, and we weren't able to articulate how his rhetoric is going to hurt us is a part of how we got here. So for me as a labor activist, when I go back out into some of our -- I'm from Pennsylvania so I've seen it all -- when I go back to my home state in between these election cycles, you'd better guarantee that the number one thing that I'm going to be doing is not only talking to my Black Lives Matter friends who are definitely feeling nervous and scared about the next four years, but also to my white homies from western Pennsylvania around how can we ensure that policies get stopped that are going to hurt them too.

MS. KAWASHIMA-GINSBERG: Just really quickly on the middle class issue, sort of those who have some college experience but not necessarily completed and why they would really support Donald Trump. You know, of course it's a trend, so it's not like everybody that has just some college degree or college experience voted for Donald Trump. That said, I think there is a stagnant wage growth for that particular class while the richest of the United States economy is growing in its wage. So there's some reality there where everything, especially for young people such as attendance for college is becoming exponentially expensive every year. They have the reality of having to pay for childcare, for healthcare, things that they have to pay for while their wage isn't growing. There is the empathy for that particular group that is making an okay wage, but not necessarily feeling like they are moving forward as they should as they become older

and older and start to have economic prosperity. That's just certainly not the case. So we need to remember that.

But I think another thing that I want to point out is the trend of what I might call anti-intellectualism where young people and older people are really exposed to just a specific kind of media, a specific kind of conversation, and we really prefer simplistic message that we hear. And we'd rather not complicate what we believe. And that's really shown in how young people and older people really responded to certain messages in certain ads. And I might say Donald Trump has sort of that media training from the reality show, right? He was in a reality show for 10 years. He knew exactly how to talk to the middle of America audience, how to really convince those people how to believe in him.

So I think we have to remember there is some reality, and there is also the tendency that we have to switch now through educational reform and other ways where we are growing young people who appreciate complexity and can think through different issues deeply, especially political issues, in making their decisions.

(Short technical interruption)

MR. GALSTON: For heaven sake, has this been turned off?

SPEAKER: Not the whole time, just now.

MR. GALSTON: Okay. I was just saying very briefly that I don't see how Kei's objectives are going to be achieved unless patterns of media consumption change. And if there is a functional substitute for a major national newspaper that presents information that is curated rather than chosen by individuals -- I don't know what it is, but we can argue that out with the MTV representative and anybody else who has a dissenting view because we have a 10-minute segment left for Q & A. I'd like to recognize now some people in the front. I saw some hands over here. Okay. I see a young woman there, a gentleman here, and a young woman in the next row in back.

QUESTIONER: Hi, my name is Nali and I'm a student visiting from

Texas. My question is what can young people who feel completely alienated from this administration -- whether they live in predominantly Muslim communities, whether their parents are sort of banking on a deportation deferral or undocumented, or they're wondering like whether they're ever going to marry their same sex partner within their lifetime -- what can young people who feel completely alienated by this populist president who was elected through the electoral college do to get involved in politics? Because I think generally there's like a sentiment of a loss of faith in the process after this election. So what can we do?

MR. GALSTON: The gentleman here.

MR. COOK: Hi, my name is Tim Cook; I'm with the Arab Center in Washington. And my question I guess was more on the implications of this election both in the west and internationally with regards to young people. I've noticed kind of similar to what we saw after the Brexit campaign, there's a lot of young people now in America who are feeling like they have kind of -- this is something that's closing down their connection with the world, that there's a movement now to kind of pull them back from a global community that they were hoping and essentially betting on they would be able to have the skills to participate in.

And I guess I was just wondering, for young people to be globally engaged is there any way forward that we can be able to deal with the very like specific rural, local kind of issues in our community, and yet at the same time be able to reach out and have a sense of solidarity with young people and people who share similar issues all over the world?

MR. GALSTON: And third question, the young woman who had her hand up in the next row back. There we go.

QUESTIONER: Hi, my name is Caroline. I am visiting from the University of Pennsylvania. And I don't know if you all have heard about what's been going on there, but we recently dealt with some racist attacks that actually were traced

back to the University of Oklahoma which have instilled a lot of fear on campus. So I'm just wondering, based on Trump's 60 Minutes interview where he said oh, I want everyone to stop this rhetoric, if you think there's anything that he could possibly do to stop this from continuing on because it is causing a lot of distress as you mentioned.

MR. GALSTON: Okay, panel, you have seven minutes to divide up among yourselves however you choose. (Laughter)

MS. COASTON: So I think I'd like to start speaking to kind of the question of what can we do. I'd like to -- where are you from in Texas?

SPEAKER: Austin. A small town in Texas.

MS. COASTON: So I think that issues that are going to start coming up and so in my -- in -- a couple of years ago I used to work for the Human Rights Campaign, and in Texas we saw again and again these kind of statewide bills trying to be pushed through that would curtail LGBTQ rights. And so one that might be of interest to you is that once again state reps in Texas are trying to repeal all local level anti-discrimination legislation, including in Austin and in Dallas, which are two, as you know, of the most LGBTQ positive cities, not in just in Texas, but in America, having ranked very highly on just kind of those national rankings with regard to LGBTQ rights. That's where you get started. It's those state-level battles. Because a lot of times I think that what these national elections tell us is what will happen at the federal level. But the federal level is informed, and it should be, by the state and local level. A lot of times this federal legislation -- and I think we see this again and again and it's actually interesting because it's part of Trump's rhetoric is, a lot of what he says that he's to do, you know, like build a wall and burn something down. I don't know. All of that is necessitated on the state and local level. He cannot just go do it, as far as I know, knock on everything.

So I think that those action points are where you get started. You know, talk to people about those bills in Texas, talk about why are these non discrimination legislation pieces so important. And I think that when we're -- you know, we saw in Texas

just a couple of years ago how Wendy Davis was able to inspire so many people by just standing in her running shoes and removing to move. There was a lot to be said about people who are willing to stand up and refuse to sit back down, and we've seen that again and again.

And so I think that starting out by getting involved with local organizations -- because local organizations, they're the ones that in North Carolina right now, they're still recounting, the governor still refuses to give up. But North Carolina right now is about to replace the Republican governor with a Democrat just because of the amount of state-level action focused against House Bill 2, which is the so-called Bathroom Bill that limits the rights and privileges of transgender Americans living in North Carolina. It's because of that local action, and it's because trans people, trans people of color, and queer people mobilized. They went to Charlotte, they went to Durham, they worked and they worked and they worked and they worked and they worked and they refused to sit down and shut up. That's where you get started. It's those small local battles in that inform national politics.

Now, and we saw that in Indiana as well, Mike Pence tried to pass a so-called Religious Freedom Restoration Act. And then the entire country got upset because Indianans stood up. Businesses stood up because Indianans kept calling them and saying you can't let this happen. Sales force in a major company said we'll pull out of Indiana, we'll pull out all of our jobs too. And Mike Pence in the end folded like a chair. That's where that starts. It's about the money, and it's about the local state action from people like you who are going to show up and refuse to go away.

MS. BERKLEY: Snap. (Laughter) Think about healthcare reform, right. We passed healthcare reform, and then there were southern states that basically said, well I'm not going to let healthcare in. So if the federal government passes something and your state doesn't like it you can have your governor -- put pressure on your governor to push back, right. So you're trying to deport people; if you live in a state, tell your

governor, do not allow deportations to happen in my state.

The second thing is -- I'll tell it to my sister who was talking about University of Pennsylvania, you know, how are we going to get this stuff to stop? I saw a white-supremacist on the train, right, like wearing the white nationalist jacket. I was like oh my god, you are so bold; you are in this black-ass city, and you're wearing your wearing your white-supremacist, like, letterman jacket? But that's real, right. We have to tell those stories because people scoff at them, they cringe at them, but can you just imagine as a person of color what it felt like for me to be on the green line with a white-supremacist -- with a white nationalist jacket on? It made me feel like, do I even belong here.

So there are a couple of things that need to happen. One is, I think a lot of people understand in theory that racism is happening right in front of us and that this used to be like a dormant thing that you couldn't do or we talked about it maybe at Thanksgiving dinner, you know, your uncle was a racist. But we need to bring this stuff out and really call people out and use social media and take more pictures so that folks understand that this is not a game, this isn't just about Donald Trump and his policies, it's about the danger that is about to be inflicted upon communities of color because of white nationalism.

The second thing I'll say is you are a part of an institution, and it is the institution's responsibility to protect the people that are a part of there. The power that you all have as students is, one: you go to a private school, right, Penn is private -- so your dollars mean a lot. And if students decide that their dollars are going to go somewhere else or the institution feels like those dollars are going to come somewhere else, they are going to listen to the students in a different way. Force the administration of your school to actually address these issues in a public way and denounce it. And if they're not ready and willing to do that, then you need to organize. Get student government, get the LGBT group, the women's group, the groups of color, to organize

around the campus. Because when I was a student, Bush was in office, and you'd better believe that we took our chancellor to town every opportunity that we got when he didn't stand up for emergency contraception and didn't stand up for the issues that young people cared about because they were afraid that we would leave and go to another campus.

As it pertains to the global perspective, brother, I actually think in times when there are Republicans in office, we should actually run towards our friends in other countries because they actually have -- We often times hold onto the tactics that we feel comfortable with here in the states, when in reality what young folks and really just people in general are doing in other countries -- They're more provocative, they are thinking a lot broader. Right now I'm working on gender-based work violence in the workplace. And so when I'm talking to my folks that are in European countries, that are in Asian countries, how they are talking about and showing up around gender, around workplace violence, it has actually expanded how the labor movement is about to start attacking and approaching gender-based violence.

So I think that if there are more opportunities for people -- you know, I wouldn't want American young people to run away from what's happening globally. I think that we should run closer. Because I was actually in Brazil when they overthrew the government and decided they didn't want their president anymore, and I learned a ton about the labor movement in Brazil, how we could be running tactics differently, and how we need to be talking to labor activists and young people in a way that brings them in. And although the situation in Brazil was dire and very unfortunate, I think that at least for me as an activist I learned new tactics and skills that I would have never learned trying to organize here in the States.

MR. GALSTON: Thanks, Carmen. There is so much more to talk about, but no more time to talk about it, so without further ado I'm going to welcome Dean Solomont to the podium. This is a man, believe me, who could have done just about

anything with this phase of his life that he wanted to, and he is doing the Lord's work as the Dean of the Jonathan Tisch College of Civic Engagement.

So, thanks so much for offering your remarks and for being here.

MR. SOLOMONT: Thank you, Bill, and I promise to be brief. This is a man who's on his seventh career who can't seem to hold a job. But I have the unenviable task of following my colleagues and panelists and offer just a few closing remarks. But, first of all, let me thank Kei and Abby for their leadership of this research (applause) and also Jane and Carmen for their insights and passion and words of wisdom (applause). I also want to thank our other CIRCLE colleagues who are here, Felicia Sullivan and Noria Hyed, for their many contributions to the work that you just heard about (applause), and Jen McAndrew, the Tisch College Director of Communications Strategy and Planning, who had so much to do with putting together this morning's event. And finally I want to acknowledge everyone at Brookings, especially Bill Galston and Elaine Kamarck and Anna Goodbaum and the entire events team for supporting this meeting. And I think we should give them a round of applause. (Applause)

The days and weeks after an election are always filled with analyses and reflections from post mortems done by political parties to a national conversation that we all engage in as we prepare to entrust our country to a new president. But this year, after an unprecedented campaign with an unexpected result, these reflections and this conversation is especially important. And few topics are more important than looking at the role that young people are playing in the political process and the role that we want young people to play.

The nation's democracy belongs to all of us, but it will belong to America's youth for a lot longer than to some of us. They will bear the brunt and reap the rewards from decisions that are made at all levels of government. Indeed, they already do. The generation we call millennials will soon captain what Plato first labeled, and what

the recently departed power of song Leonard Cohen called the “ship of state.” Perhaps our greatest responsibility is to leave to the next generation a seaworthy vessel. At Tisch College we believe that communities, nations, and the world are more just, more equitable, and more prosperous when individuals, regardless of the work they do, take seriously their civic lives and are engaged in the civic and democratic process. Through education, research, and practice we at Tisch College equip Tufts' students with the knowledge, the skills, and the values that they need to engage effectively, to help solve real problems in their communities. But our mission reaches well beyond Tufts University because we recognize the need to strengthen civic and democratic life both in our nation and around the world.

The research conducted by CIRCLE and by the Institute for Democracy and Higher Education is a vital part of our work. It allows us to investigate critical questions about civic life and to discover, to test, to practice, and promote the most effective strategies for civic education and youth participation. Spearheaded by scholars like Kei and her colleagues, CIRCLE deserves its reputation as the preeminent nonpartisan authority on the role that young people play in the civic and political life of America.

And their explicit emphasis on the very troubling disparities in youth engagement, and how to connect all Americans to civic life is an increasingly important focus as the most diverse generation in American history prepares to take center stage in our democracy.

Tufts University and Tisch College are incredibly proud of the work of our colleagues. I invite you all to continue to follow us and support us and that we will all join together in the mission of strengthening civic life in this country, both for young people and for all.

I thank you very much. (Applause)

MR. GALSTON: And with that the formal part of this program is

MILLENIALS-2016/11/17

adjourned, but I suspect that at least some of the panelists can remain to deal with further questions if you want to come forward and engage them.

* * * * *

CERTIFICATE OF NOTARY PUBLIC

I, Carleton J. Anderson, III do hereby certify that the forgoing electronic file when originally transmitted was reduced to text at my direction; that said transcript is a true record of the proceedings therein referenced; that I am neither counsel for, related to, nor employed by any of the parties to the action in which these proceedings were taken; and, furthermore, that I am neither a relative or employee of any attorney or counsel employed by the parties hereto, nor financially or otherwise interested in the outcome of this action.

Carleton J. Anderson, III

(Signature and Seal on File)

Notary Public in and for the Commonwealth of Virginia

Commission No. 351998

Expires: November 30, 2016