ENGAGE A SHIFTING ELECTORATE WITH DIRECTORATE WITH MILE OF THE CORRECT OF THE COR

A Guide on How to Develop a Winning Campaign Strategy



A Joint Study by the United States Postal Service and American Association of Political Consultants (AAPC)

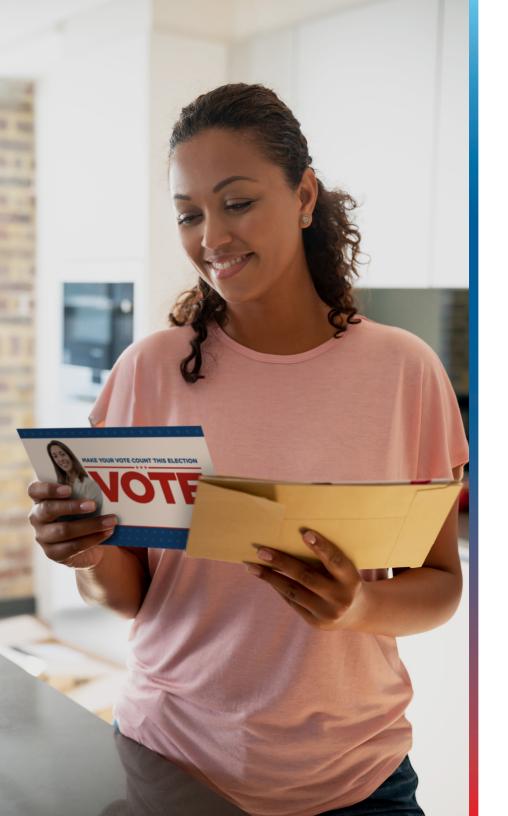












Resonating with a Complex Electorate

The 2024 Election was a **game-changer in American politics**, showing that **voters are not as predictable** as they once seemed. Different demographics **voted in surprising ways**, making it **more challenging for campaigns to reach specific voters**. To connect with specific voter demographics on a deeper level, successful campaigns must recognize and **address shifting voter sentiment** and embrace a **more targeted approach**.

While campaigns should **evolve their political strategies** to connect with increasingly complex voter groups, **direct mail remains a vital ingredient** in successful outreach efforts.

How Political Mail Successfully Reaches Voters



Tangibly breaks through the digital clutter



Delivers
authentic
messaging
that is trusted
and valued



Targets
specific voter
demographics
with tailored
content

Developing a **winning strategy** for the 2025 and 2026 election cycles starts with a better understanding of **how voters prefer to receive information** and how campaigns reached (or failed to reach) key demographics in 2024.

Although direct mail is a time-tested advertising tactic for campaigns, our comprehensive 2024 research findings led us to **three key strategies** campaigns should prioritize to optimize their advertising campaigns in the next election cycle, with mail being a key component:



TIMING, FREQUENCY, & EARLY VOTING

Give Voters Time and Space to Make Informed Decisions



PERSONALIZATION, TARGETING, & CHANNEL OPTIMIZATION

Build Trust with Targeted Messaging



DESIGN, CONTENT, & MAIL INTEGRATION

Maximize Impact with Memorable Mail Pieces





Political mail remains vital to campaign strategies:

86%

of surveyed consultants believe direct mail was strategically important in 2024.

In a digital age, political mail continues to grow:

84%

of surveyed voters reported receiving direct mail in 2024 — up from 77% in 2020.

Diving deeper into shifting electorates, the 2024 Election revealed **four demographics** that, by many accounts, voted in surprising ways. Our research enabled us to **unpack these demographic profiles** and their political advertising preferences, especially as it pertains to direct mail. By understanding these shifting voter dynamics and leveraging targeted direct mail strategies, campaigns will be **better equipped to engage with an increasingly varied electorate** going forward.



GEN Z MEN

Many were voting in a presidential race for the first time, with a notable shift in voting patterns from when previous generations voted for the first time.



SUBURBAN WOMEN

This demographic was pivotal, especially in swing states, where even small shifts could significantly impact election outcomes.



HISPANIC/LATINO MEN

While many still voted the same way as the previous presidential election, economic stress related to the pandemic caused a larger shift in voting patterns.



BLACK MEN

Many showed a surprising shift from previous elections, influenced by economic concerns and pessimism about the country's direction.

Research Methodology

The United States Postal Service (USPS) has **conducted post-election research** and previously developed 10 joint reports with the American Association of Political Consultants (AAPC) to **provide actionable insights as a resource for campaigns.** In our 11th joint report, we are releasing a detailed and informed analysis from our largest post-election research program to-date to **capture what has shifted and stayed the same** during recent election cycles.¹

Research Components



Post-Election Voter Survey of **2,000 Voters Nationwide**, with **Additional 1,500 Voters**Equally Divided Across Key Swing States in
November 2024



Pre-Election Voter Diary Ethnography of **60 Voters Across 6 Weeks** in Key Swing States

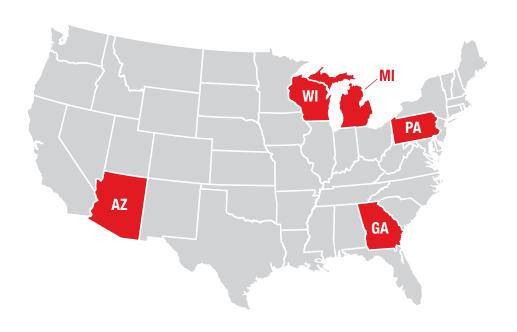


Post-Election Consultant Survey of **80 Campaign Operatives** in January 2025

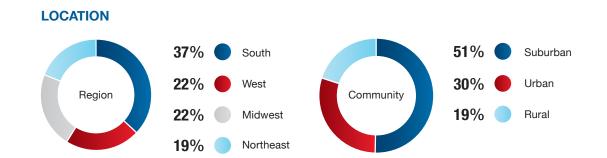


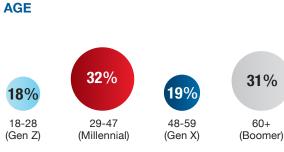
Post-Election In-Depth Interviews with **12 Campaign Operatives** in January 2025

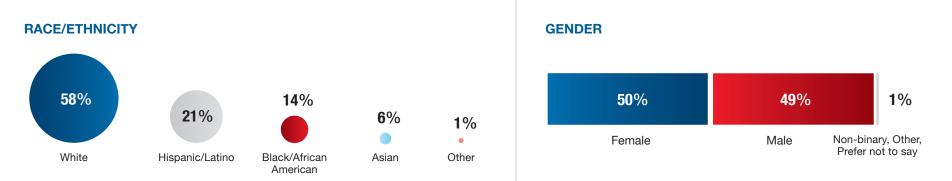
Key Swing States

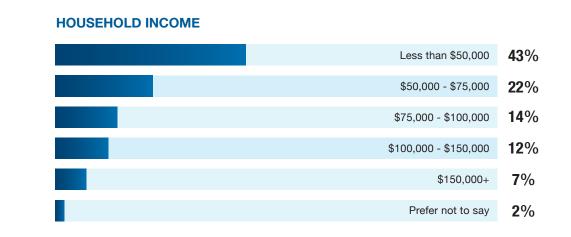


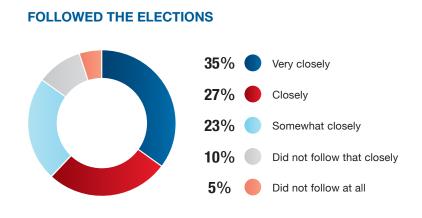
Surveyed Voter Profile











4 * ENGAGE A SHIFTING ELECTORATE WITH DIRECT MAIL

All 2024 election data sourced from post-election surveys, voter ethnographies, and consultant interviews
conducted on behalf of the Postal Service by KRC Research from September 2024 through January 2025.



Give Voters Time and Space to Make Informed Decisions

Across all political advertising channels, campaigns must determine the best time to deploy each tactic to maximize impact while balancing cost considerations and strategic goals. Our research concluded that campaigns should send direct mail early enough to impact both regular and early voters' decision-making process — while avoiding overwhelming or fatiguing voters with excess mail pieces during a shorter timeframe.



The state of the s

When [direct mail] is sent too late, I don't get enough time to vote and am frustrated at the lack of consideration from the people sending the mail.

- California Voter



73%

of surveyed voters agreed direct mail was **the best channel for learning about a candidate** in time for early voting.

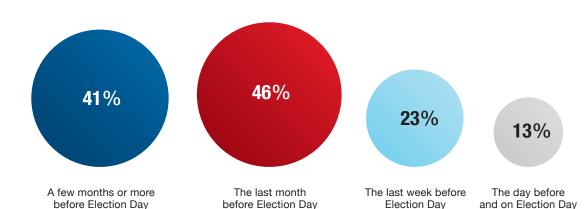


43%

of surveyed voters found that receiving direct mail at least weekly during the election was the ideal cadence, more than any other frequency.

Timing

Surveyed Voters Prefer to Receive Mail Pieces Earlier During the Election Cycle*



^{*}Voters selected all that apply for when they prefer to receive mail pieces from various campaigns to help with their decision-making about the candidates.

I felt that the timing of the mail coming in the month prior to the election was probably the most effective [...] It gives a voter time to absorb the information if they choose to and also time to research the information if it's going to impact their voting decision.

Georgia Voter

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY

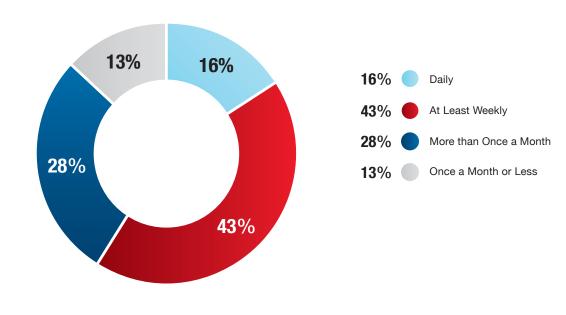


Many surveyed voters expressed wanting to start receiving direct mail at least a month before Election Day, but only 5% of voter panelists in the qualitative ethnographies reported receiving a high frequency of direct mail a few months before Election Day.

Campaigns can ensure they are reaching more voters when they want to engage with mail pieces by starting to send mail earlier during the election cycle.

Frequency

The Majority of Surveyed Voters Feel Receiving Direct Mail Weekly Is "Just Right"

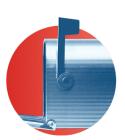


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I found that the candidate was sending...about one piece per week, which is pretty reasonable, for me. I didn't feel overwhelmed...and I was actually looking forward to it each time that they got here.

- Indiana Voter

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



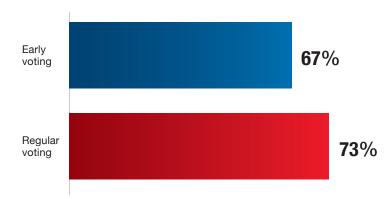
The Mail Moment is still strong among surveyed voters, with 76% checking their mailbox at least 4 days a week.

Campaigns can ensure those encounters are met with anticipation and engagement — and avoid driving voters away — by adjusting direct mail's frequency to at least weekly.



Early Voting

Direct Mail Is Most Successful When It Reaches Voters in the Optimal Time Window for Both Early and Regular Voting*



*Voters selected one option for how successful mail was at reaching them at the right time for early voting and regular voting.



There's definitely been a shift in the timing to move things earlier in terms of communicating with people who are likely to vote by mail. That depends on the state. But we used to be really busy in mid-October [...] And I would say a lot more of what we do is busier in August at this point and through September.

- Consultant

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



76% of surveyed consultants believe direct mail is more effective at reaching early voters than other advertising channels.

Campaigns can optimize this existing awareness on the effectiveness of direct mail by fine-tuning rollout to ensure they are reaching voters at the right time.

a

November 2024						
Sun	Mon	Tue	Wed	Thu	Fri	Sat
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10	11	T2	13	14	15	16
17	18	19	20	21	22	23
24	25	26	27	28	29	30





Build Trust with Targeted Messaging

Campaigns looking to create authentic connections and maximize return on investment must identify the sweet spot to both effectively and efficiently reach the right voters. Our research found campaigns can increase the likelihood of voter engagement by utilizing the precise targeting and segmenting capabilities of direct mail to build trust and credibility. Campaigns can double down on this effect by creating tailored content that speaks personally to voters on the issues they care about the most.





[Direct mail] helps to keep me informed. I'm not gonna lie. I've learned about special elections sometimes by things coming in the mail, and I need that information.

- Georgia Voter



78%

of surveyed voters say it is important the messaging in mail pieces speak to them personally on issues they care most about — but 38% felt that they did not receive personalized mail pieces.

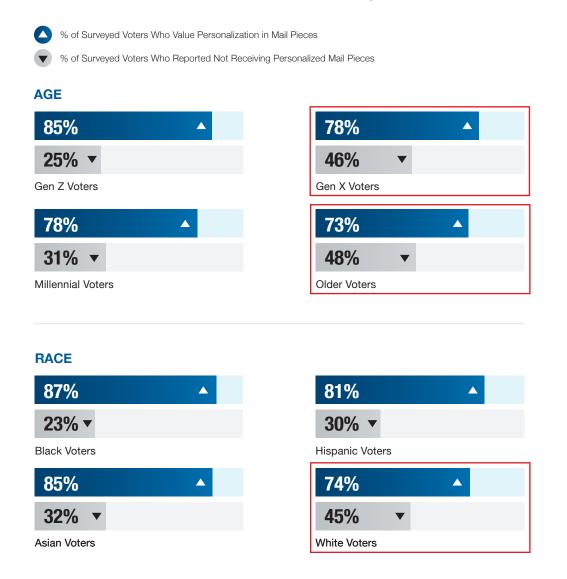


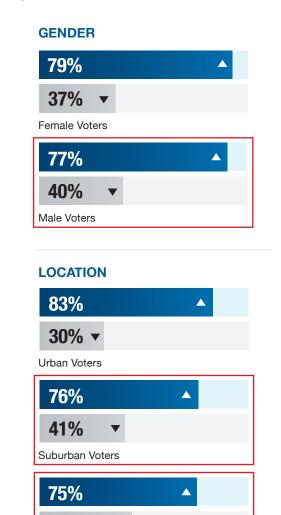
52%

of surveyed voters perceive direct mail to be more reliable and less prone to misinformation than digital ads.

Personalization

Personalization of Direct Mail Is Critical Across Demographics — But Key Demographics Received Few Mail Pieces That Spoke to Them Personally



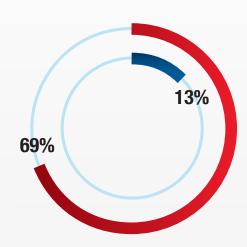


43%

Rural Voters

REACHING MULTILINGUAL VOTERS

Reaching multilingual voters through targeted, language-specific mail can increase engagement and foster a stronger connection with diverse communities.



69% of surveyed voters who speak a language other than English said receiving political mail in their primary language was meaningful to them.

Yet only 13% of surveyed voters reported receiving mail in a language other than English.





There's much more effort in putting out [mail pieces] which gives it much more of an authentic feel [and] can increase trust compared to thousands of emails that are sent to anybody.

Personalization and effort are what can be drawn from physical mail like political advertisements.

California Voter

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



81% of surveyed consultants say the ability to deliver a tailored message is an important rationale for including direct mail in the media mix, but there is a gap with almost 40% of surveyed voters feeling they didn't receive personalized mail pieces.

Campaigns can close the gap by leveraging the precise targeting capabilities of direct mail to deliver personalized messaging.

Issue-Based Targeting

Most Surveyed Voters Want Customized Mail Pieces That Address the Candidates' Stances on the Issues They Care About*







Stance on Domestic Issues

Stance on Global Issues

*Voters rated each type of information on its importance in being included within a political mail piece.

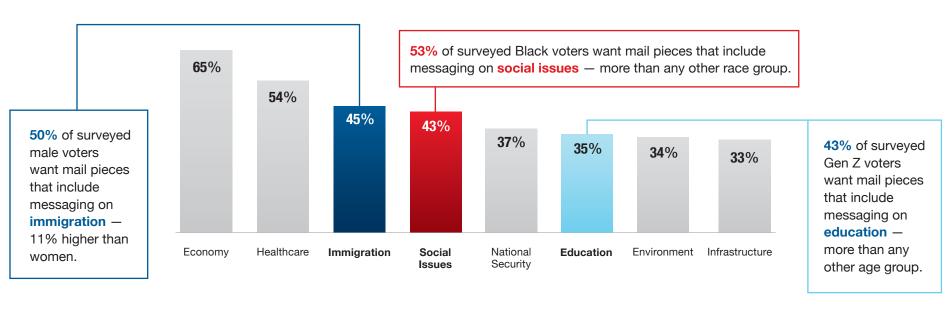


Local Issues

I started getting these mailings, looking at them and [thinking through] which one should I vote for? This is curious. And I ended up going online and looking at some websites to compare their different views on things. So [mail pieces do] help me understand who's running for these smaller elections, and also then help me figure out what they're all about.

- Michigan Voter

The Economy Stands Out as an Issue Many Surveyed Voters Want Addressed in Mail Pieces, with Certain Demographics Showing a Heightened Interest in Other Issue Areas*



^{*}Voters selected all that apply for the issues/concerns they would like to see various campaigns address in the political mail they receive

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



38% of surveyed voters are more likely to engage with a mail piece if it addresses issues relevant to them.

Campaigns can increase engagement and build authentic connections by tailoring messaging by demographic.

Channel Optimization



of surveyed consultants find direct mail is an effective channel for making a connection with voters in today's elections.



of surveyed consultants agree that targeting is a top advantage of using direct mail.



of surveyed consultants maintained or increased direct mail campaign budgets during the last election cycle while other traditional channels, including television, telephone calls, and radio, saw a larger decrease in spending.



[The] number one [benefit of direct mail] is the one-to-one targeting. It's by far the only medium where we have a reasonable idea of who the voter is and what would be important to the voter. You don't know how everybody feels but [you can] reduce a universe to people who are very likely to be open to what we're trying to say.

Consultant

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



Other political advertising channels either require paying for engagement with ineligible voters in that specific election in order to also reach the right voters — or are not able to guarantee total voter reach.

In contrast, every voter has a mailing address and can be reached with customized messaging and direct mail engagement from campaigns. It is for that reason that direct mail continues to hold a substantial share of the political advertising budget.





Maximize Impact with Memorable Mail Pieces

In today's media landscape, an unprecedented volume of content floods digital platforms, overwhelming voters and making it difficult for campaigns to break through the clutter. In contrast, direct mail offers a uniquely tactile, sensory experience that can leave a lasting impression through Election Day and stay top of mind when voters go to the ballot box. Campaigns can enhance this opportunity by elevating mail layout and design and taking a data-driven approach to a channel voters want to receive detailed campaign information on. They can also leverage mail integration tools such as USPS Informed Delivery® email notifications² and QR Codes®³ to create a seamless omnichannel experience that drives action.



The main reason I found [the mail piece] so memorable is because of this really clean, very professional-style infographic that consolidates a lot of the main talking points and issues that people care about a lot during this election.

- North Carolina Voter



67%

of surveyed voters agree layout and eye-catching visuals impact the memorability of a mail piece.

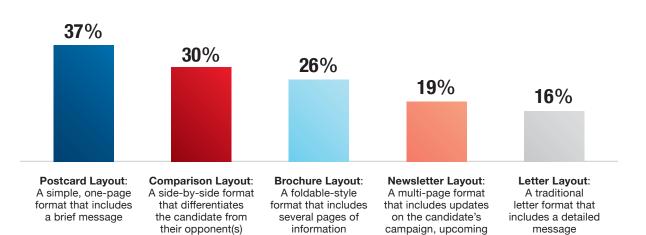


58%

of surveyed voters feel **less overwhelmed by the content** in direct
mail than other advertising channels.

Design

Most Surveyed Voters Prefer Layouts That Are Easy to Read and Understand, Including Postcard and Comparison Layouts*



1

I think the interactive pop-up nature of [this mail piece] gives it an edge over other advertising.

Pennsylvania Voter

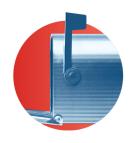
*Voters selected up to two options for the mail piece layout they preferred.



I trust [direct mail] more. TV ads are a bit over the top with their music, rhetoric, and sound effects. They make it very dramatic. I want facts. I don't want to feel like it's manipulating my emotions.

- Arizona Voter

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



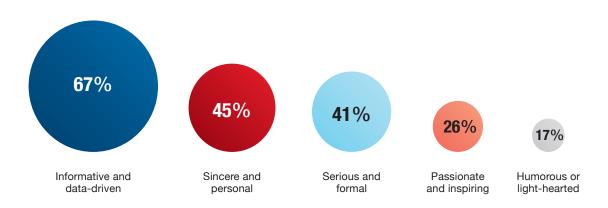
events, and a longer

72% of surveyed voters are more likely to read a mail piece if it has an appealing layout and eye-catching visuals.

Campaigns can have a greater impact by being mindful of the mail piece layout, with voters preferring shorter-form postcards and comparison content.

Content

Most Surveyed Voters Prefer the Look and Feel of Mail Pieces to Be Informative and Data-Driven*



*Voters selected their top two options for the approach to the look, feel, and messaging in political mail that is most effective for them.



I received several mailers that were very much the same. You know, same design, same messaging that, after the first one, it's like, oh, I've already seen this before. So, a little bit more variation [...] would be something that would capture my attention a little bit more.

23

Indiana Voter

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



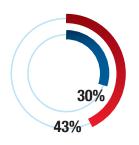
Surveyed consultants believe the best tactics for persuading voters are strong/emotive imagery, message repetition, and going negative with messaging about the opponents. However, our qualitative and quantitative voter research showed that voters prefer informative, unique mail pieces that respectfully compare candidates.

Campaigns should ensure they are customizing messaging by advertising channel and leveraging the unique ability of direct mail to provide more detailed, informative, and data-driven content.

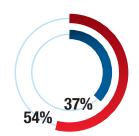
Mail Integration

The Digital Mailbox

Informed Delivery feature is a free service provided by USPS that sends mail previews to voter inboxes before it lands in their mailboxes.



43% of surveyed voters are now signed up for **Informed Delivery** compared to 30% of surveyed voters in 2020.



54% of surveyed voters who signed up for Informed Delivery recalled seeing political mail previews

- and 37% of those surveyed voters were more motivated to then read the mail piece when it arrived in their mailbox.

Your Daily Digest for...

MAIL

Expected Today

Do more with your mail

PACKAGES View Dashboard

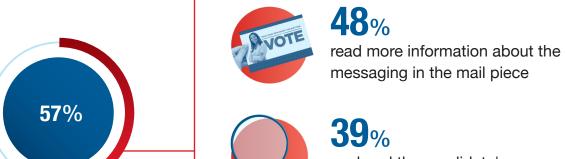
Set a Reminder

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY



Campaigns can utilize Informed Delivery to interact with voters beyond the traditional mailbox and digitally integrate their direct mail program with other advertising outreach.

Surveyed Voters Who Reported Using a QR Code Are Engaging with Them in Mail Pieces*



explored the candidate's stance on specific issues



35% accessed videos or

multimedia content



verified or fact-checked information in the mail piece



38% learned about upcoming campaign events or rallies

CAMPAIGN OPPORTUNITY

of surveyed voters

reported seeing

a QR Code in

a political mail piece.



Campaigns can create integrated mail experiences and increase engagement by incorporating a QR Code with a clear call to action on their mail pieces.

^{*}Voters selected all that apply for the actions they took after scanning a QR Code in a mail piece.



Data Double-Click: 4 Demographics Impacting Election Outcomes

The 2024 Election reshaped previously held assumptions about demographic voting patterns. These demographic shifts not only influenced the outcome of the election, but also signaled potential long-term changes to the American political landscape. Campaigns must take the time to better understand these evolving voter dynamics in order to better reach and engage with key demographics. Our profiles analyze the behaviors of four demographic segments that emerged as particularly noteworthy for their unexpected voting behaviors and distinct direct mail preferences.



GEN Z MEN

Have a positive outlook on political mail that can be leveraged with personalized, well-designed mail pieces that fit into an omnichannel campaign.



HISPANIC/LATINO MEN

Value authentic engagement with targeted, multilingual mail pieces that speak to the issues they care about personally.



SUBURBAN WOMEN

Want political mail that is informative and data-driven, which can prompt additional research and engagement with campaigns.



BLACK MEN

Prefer to engage with personalized visually effective political mail that reaches them before early voting.



PROFILE 1:

Gen Z Men

In 2024, many Gen Z men voted in a presidential race for the first time, showing a **notable shift in voting patterns** from when previous generations voted for the first time. There has also been a broader shift in party affiliation in recent years.

Our research indicates political mail significantly influences Gen Z men — more so than other demographics prompting them to **take action online after reading mail pieces**. This highlights the importance of **personalized**, **well-designed mail** in engaging Gen Z male voters.

Campaigns targeting this demographic should integrate direct mail into their strategies, **complementing digital efforts** with tangible, personalized communications.



PERSONALIZATION

87%

of surveyed Gen Z men said it is important the messaging in mail pieces speaks to them personally on the issues and concerns they care most about — compared to only 78% of all surveyed voters.



DESIGN

85%

of surveyed Gen Z men said mail piece layout and design make it more memorable — compared to only 67% of all surveyed voters.



MAIL INTEGRATION

69%

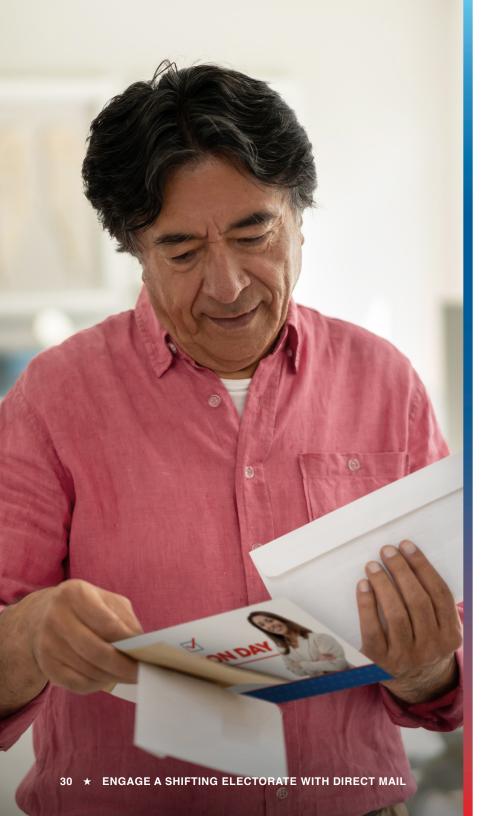
of surveyed Gen Z men go online to learn more about the race after reading a mail piece — compared to only 54% of all surveyed voters.



I would say when it comes to level of trust,
I rank mail higher than I would most other
forms. The reason being is the effort involved
to produce mail and the ability to refer to
the information to fact check.

- Gen Z Male Voter





PROFILE 2:

Hispanic/Latino Men

In 2024, many Hispanic and Latino men voted the same way as the previous election, but economic stress related to the pandemic caused **a larger shift in voting patterns**. There was also a significant amount of ticket-splitting in swing districts and battleground states, with Hispanic and Latino men voting across party lines in down-ballot races.⁴

Our research found Hispanic/Latino men value political mail because it **allows them to learn more about candidates**Overall, they prefer multilingual, data-driven content and are open to receiving a **higher frequency of direct mail** than other demographics.

Campaigns engaging this demographic should leverage a steady cadence of targeted, multilingual direct mail campaigns to inform and build authentic connections.



PERSONALIZATION

58%

of surveyed Hispanic/Latino men speak Spanish regularly, but only 40% received political mail pieces in Spanish.





EARLY VOTING

57%

of surveyed Hispanic/Latino men said direct mail is the **best channel to learn about a candidate in time for early voting** — compared to 41% of all surveyed voters.



FREQUENCY

51%

of surveyed Hispanic/Latino men felt the amount of political mail they received was "just right" this past election cycle, while 10% would like to receive even more mail pieces — double the amount of all surveyed voters.



I really enjoy that this is multilingual. So the first thing that I noticed is that some of this content is in Spanish. But I think what's more important is that this was one of the very few political pieces that I received that really focused on data. I'm very data-driven.

- Hispanic/Latino Male Voter

⁴ "AP VoteCast 2024 General Election." AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research (March 2025) https://apnorc.org/projects/ap-votecast-2024-general-election



PROFILE 3:

Suburban Women

In 2024, suburban women were pivotal, especially in swing states, where even small shifts could significantly impact election outcomes. AP VoteCast showed that, contrary to predictions in voting patterns among suburban women, there was a smaller gender gap in voting than the last presidential election.⁵ In general races, voting patterns reflected more localized concerns, with many suburban women seemingly ticket-splitting on issues that mattered to them such as education and public safety.⁶

Our research found that direct mail remains an **effective** way to connect with suburban women. It also showed that suburban women have a similar relationship with direct mail as all women, regardless of how they vote on Election Day.

Campaigns should start engaging this demographic early during the election cycle with **personalized mail pieces that are informative and data-driven** in order to serve as a catalyst for further engagement with campaign materials.



TIMING

42%

of surveyed suburban women prefer to receive mail pieces a few months or more before Election Day — aligning closely with the preferences of all surveyed women (44%).





PERSONALIZATION

78%

of surveyed suburban women said it is **important the messaging in mail pieces speaks to them personally** on the issues and concerns they care most about — on par with all surveyed women (79%).



CONTENT

65%

of surveyed suburban women want the tone of their mail pieces to be **informative and data-driven** — while 50% want it to be sincere and personal.



I ignore texts and emails. So I personally appreciate flyers.

I think the main thing for me is [direct mail] inspires researching further on the topics, the candidates, the propositions, and local issues [especially when] it gives me links or scan codes...

I really do appreciate when I get mail that pertains to me.

Suburban Woman Voter

⁵ "Gender Differences in 2024 Vote Choice Are Similar to Most Recent Presidential Elections." Center for American Women and Politics (CAWP), New Brunswick, NJ (March 2025) https://cawp.rutgers.edu/blog/gender-differences-2024-presidential-vote

⁶ "Anatomy of the Women's Vote in the 2024 Presidential Election." American Communities Project (January 2025) https://www.americancommunities.org/anatomy-of-the-womens-vote-in-the-2024-presidential-election/



PROFILE 4:

Black Men

In 2024, Black men showed a **surprising shift from previous elections**, influenced by economic concerns and pessimism about the country's direction. However, a large majority still voted consistently across the ticket in down-ballot races.⁷

Our research showed direct mail had a **significant impact** on Black men, with more than double reporting a big or moderate influence compared to all surveyed voters across demographics. Notably, they found mail even more **personally relevant and visually effective**.

Campaigns can optimize the effectiveness of direct mail with this demographic through **personalized and well-designed** direct mail campaigns **strategically timed for early voting**.



EARLY VOTING

84%

of surveyed Black men said mail was successful at **reaching them at the right time for early voting** — compared to 67% of all surveyed voters.



PERSONALIZATION

90%

of surveyed Black men said it is important the messaging in mail pieces speaks to them personally on issues and concerns they care most about — compared to 78% of all surveyed voters.



DESIGN

70%

of surveyed Black men said the mail they received this cycle was **visually effective** compared to 45% of all surveyed voters.



I would say sending the mail earlier instead of waiting until the last month or so. At that point, most people have pretty much made their mind up... [And] if you have a piece of mail, you can take the mail with you wherever you go and read it.

- Black Male Voter



^{7 &}quot;AP VoteCast 2024 General Election." AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research (March 2025) https://apnorc.org/projects/ap-votecast-2024-general-election

Leveraging the Power of Direct Mail to Reach Voters

The 2024 Election appears to have revealed a significant turning point in American politics, uncovering an electorate more complex and unpredictable than ever before. As campaigns look ahead to the 2025 and 2026 elections, they must adapt their advertising strategies to resonate with this evolving voter landscape. Direct mail will be a crucial tool in this new era, uniquely offering voters a tactile, targeted, trustworthy experience. Campaigns can develop winning strategies for future elections by harnessing the tactics and actionable insights identified in the whitepaper:



TIMING. FREQUENCY. & EARLY VOTING

Give Voters Time and Space to Make Informed Decisions

Send direct mail early enough so regular and early voters can think through voting decisions — and avoid overwhelming or fatiguing them with excess mail pieces.



PERSONALIZATION, TARGETING, & CHANNEL OPTIMIZATION

Build Trust with Targeted Messaging

Utilize the precise targeting and segmenting capabilities of direct mail to build trust and credibility with tailored content that speaks personally to voters.



DESIGN. CONTENT. & MAIL INTEGRATION

Maximize Impact with Memorable Mail Pieces

Grab voter attention and facilitate engagement with eye-catching mail pieces and persuasive content that will stay top of mind when voters go to the ballot box.

References

- 1. All 2024 election data sourced from post-election surveys, voter ethnographies, and consultant interviews conducted on behalf of the Postal Service™ by KRC Research from September 2024 through January 2025. The research includes an online post-election survey of 2,000 voters nationwide as well as an oversampling in key swing states of 1,500 additional voters in Arizona, Georgia, Michigan, Pennsylvania, and Wisconsin, pre-election ethnographies with 60 voters across 6 weeks, an online post-election survey of 80 campaign operatives, and 12 in-depth interviews with campaign operatives.
- 2. Informed Delivery® by USPS. https://www.usps.com/manage/informed-delivery.htm
- 3. QR Code® is a registered trademark of Denso Wave Incorporated.
- 4. "AP VoteCast 2024 General Election." AP-NORC Center for Public Affairs Research (March 2025) https://apnorc.org/projects/ap-votecast-2024-general-election
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