



Advancement Project

FLORIDA NEW MAJORITY

CALIFORNIA CALLS
an alliance to renew the dream

OHIO ORGANIZING COLLABORATIVE

PERE
USC Program for Environmental & Regional Equity

**Moments, Movements and Momentum:
Engaging Voters, Scaling Power, Making Change**

3.22.2013

MANUEL PASTOR

THE 2008 STORY





April 29, 2009

Youth Vote in 2008 Election Ranked Among the Highest Ever, Data Show

About two million more young people voted for president last November 4 than in the 2004 election, raising the percentage of people under the age of 30 who voted to 51 percent, according to a new report by the Center for Information and Research on Civic Learning and Engagement.

Image Sources: <http://www.gwu.edu/~action/2008/photos08/iulac071008729.jpg>; Black Men <http://politic365.com/2012/10/31/inside-the-early-vote-numbers-african-americans/>; Voting Sign <http://cda.journalism.cuny.edu/blogs/de/389/files/2012/11/VoteSign-30x225.jpg>; <http://chronicle.com/article/Youth-Vote-in-2008-Election/43822/>

MISTAKING A MOMENT FOR A MOVEMENT

- The 2008 election was indeed momentous, but **did not build a movement**
- Attention turned to **Washington and federal policy opportunities**, instead of to the **grassroots base**
- The hope of 2008 **didn't translate** into **sustained civic participation** to support a broader vision of **social justice**



MISTAKING A MOMENT FOR A MOVEMENT

In response, state-based community organizing groups decided to **do 2012 differently**.



THE 2012 STORY

2012's story was not the glitter of something new but **resolve** to protect something old . . .



Photo Sources: PMA, Huffington Post, Dan Reed (www.flickr.com/photos/cheesecake/600191)

AND BEHIND THE RESOLVE (IN SOME PLACES)

State-based **Integrated Voter Engagement (IVE)**

Seeking to **Link Moments** with **Movements**

With All the Implicit **Tensions** and **Tightropes**



Photo Source: Free the Vote, Florida New Majority, 2011
www.flickr.com/photos/newmajority/501217052/size/e/photomash.com

INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

WHAT IS IVE?



IVE employs **classic election cycle tactics**—canvassing, mailers, phone banking—but views elections themselves as but **one tool for building broader, lasting, social movements.**

There is a **strategic intent to convert campaign infrastructure into long-term base-building to build voter mobilization over multiple election cycles & grow long-term leadership**



Solidarity & Unity. Florida New Majority. March 8, 2012. www.flickr.com/photos/newmajority/6821892528/ in/photostream

Photo: Suzanne Elmer

INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

WHAT CAN IVE DO?



Action. Florida New Majority. March 8, 2012. [flickr.com](http://www.flickr.com)

IVE has been documented to:

1. Increase voter registration and turnout
2. Heighten awareness of election issues
3. Move “unlikely voters” to the polls
4. Mitigate voter suppression efforts
5. Develop authentic community leaders

(Funders' Committee on Civic Participation, 2009)

IVE 2.0

2012 saw a push towards IVE 2.0:

- Application of IVE at the **state level** - both voter contacts *and* organizing;
- A **data-driven** approach to identify where voters most needed contact and organizing; and
- An emerging willingness of **unions to work with community** groups.



And, the continuation of a vision, agenda and organizing structure that **consistently looked beyond elections.**

Photo Source: <http://officesolutions.blogs.xerox.com/files/2012/04/Next-big-thing.jpg>

IVE 2.0

Why States?

- Community education and base-building are **fundamentally local activities**
- Shaping broader change happens when communities are civically engaged and **can scale up**
- A good level for experimentation in a **variety of social environments and political climates**—such as CA, OH, CO, and IL—to test **IVE as a successful, reliable tactic** for combining electoral efforts with ongoing community organizing to build power, long-term.



IVE 2.0

Why Now?

- Realization that getting out the vote is **necessary but insufficient** for movement building
- Recognition that electoral organizing is an opportunity for **greater breadth** by contacting undermobilized groups
- Greater willingness on the part of both **grassroots and unions** to build lasting, equitable **partnerships**
- With increased voter suppression, IVE elevates voting as both a **tool and an issue** – re-energizing voters by harkening back to the Civil Rights Movement



Photo Source: FNM

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES

IVE sits at the **intersection of community and electoral organizing** and, so, tensions between the movement and the moment are bound to come up. Some include:

1. Mobilizing & Organizing
2. Tools & Transformations
3. Pragmatics & Principles
4. Partnerships & Alliances
5. Interests & Values



Source: <http://www.andersoncenter.org/practicecenter.com/wp-content/uploads/2013/02/tension-view.jpg>

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES



MAIN TENSION: Breadth v. Depth of Outreach

SOLUTIONS: One-the-phone and at-the-door questionnaires that incorporate electoral and base-building concerns, predictive dialing technology, maintain both volunteer organizing and paid door-to-door

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES



MAIN TENSION: Training Canvassers v. Developing Leaders

SOLUTIONS: Transformative leadership development that builds organizing capacity as well as tapping into their deepest sense of purpose, Maintaining a few electoral organizers to help pivot to base-building work

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES



MAIN TENSION: Electoral goals v. Social change principles

SOLUTIONS: Align long-term and short-term goals—e.g. the Florida Freedom Charter— before the thick of the electoral organizing sets in

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES



MAIN TENSION: Diverse organizations working together and finding the “uncommon common ground”

SOLUTIONS: Transparent decision-making processes, Intentionally designing collaborations before the electoral cycle, Joint staff leadership development programs, Establishing systems of accountability

IVE'S TENSIONS AND TIGHTROPES



MAIN TENSION: Tapping narrow self-interests v. broader values

SOLUTIONS: Identify and speak from values instead of issues; identify voters/members based on values not identities; intertwine issues and values in electoral and base-building work



3.22.2013

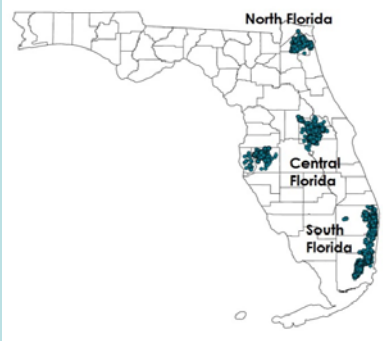


Image Source: Free the Vote, 2. Florida New Majority, March 5 2013.
www.flickr.com/photos/fnewmajority/8531268403/in/photostream

Scaled Impact Intention and Lessons
Pivots: Present and Future

GIHAN PERERA & JUDITH BROWNE DIANIS

SCALED IMPACT



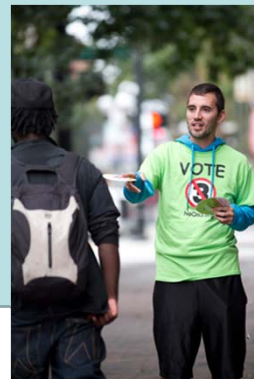
Total Florida Registered Voters: 11,934,446
 Total 2012 turnout: 8,474,179 (71%)
 Total 2008 turnout: 8,390,744 (75%)

FNM targeted voter universe*: **1,278,292**
 Total Voted of FNM Universe: **737,616**

| Race-Ethnicity | Total People | % |
|------------------|--------------|-----|
| African-American | 585,332 | 46% |
| Latino | 343,330 | 27% |
| White | 299,618 | 23% |
| Other | 50,012 | 4% |

FLORIDA IMPACT

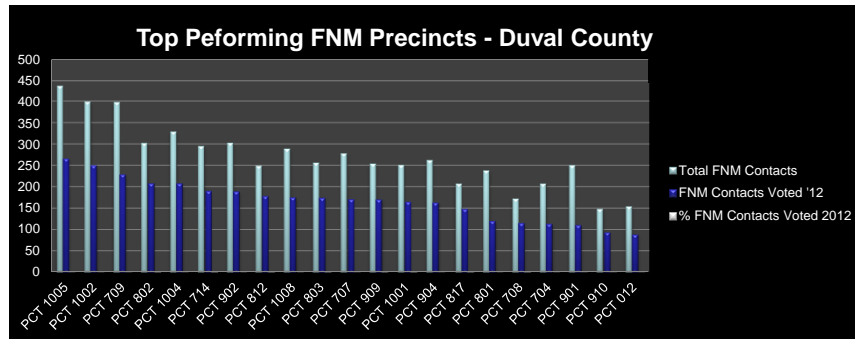
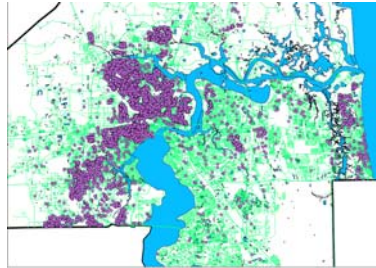
- Total Contacts: 210,528
- Total FNM Contacts: 188,948
- Total turnout of FNM electorate: 58%
 - 88,595 voters that we talked to
- FNM turnout in targeted counties: 72%



PICO Network
<http://www.piconetwork.org/news-media/news/2012-news/image/GOIV-Florida.png>

JACKSONVILLE

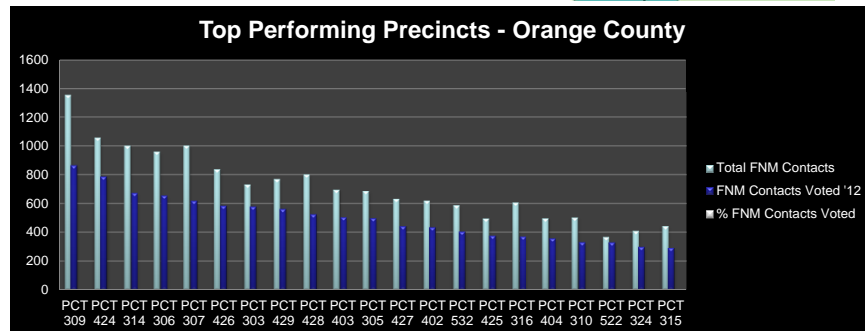
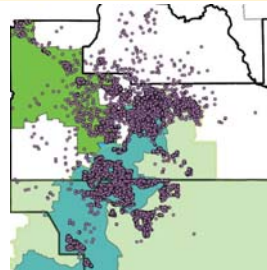
- 8,296 contacts, 86% AA
- Average Turnout: 71%
- 62% Average Turnout of FNM Contacts



GP2

ORLANDO

- 37,724 contacts; 15% AA, 51% Latino
- Average Turnout: 63%
- 71% Average Turnout of FNM Contacts in Top Precincts

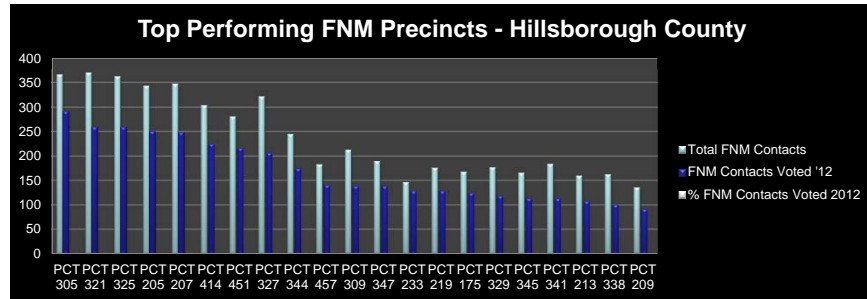
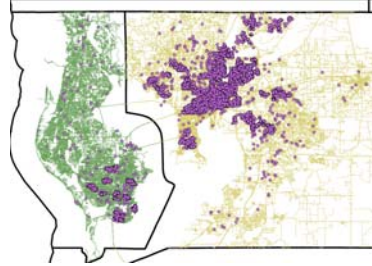


Slide 22

GP2 We could convince tampa and orlando for central florida numbers.
Gihan Perera, 3/18/2013

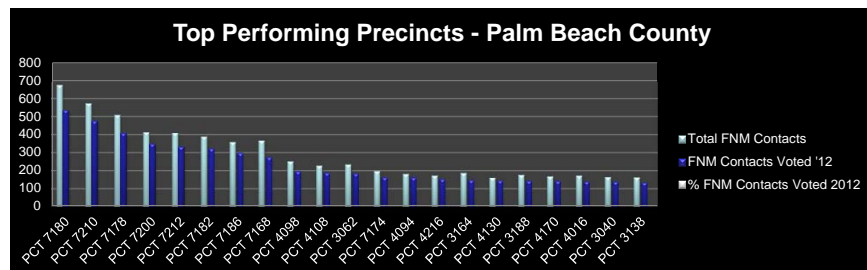
TAMPA

- 12,302 contacts; 53% AA, 30% Latino
- Average Turnout: 66%
- 71% Average Turnout of FNM Contacts



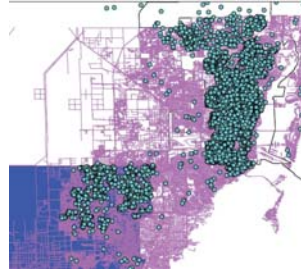
PALM BEACH

- 28,449 contacts; 38% AA, 9% Latino, 51% white
- Average Turnout: 67%
- 75% Average Turnout of FNM Contacts

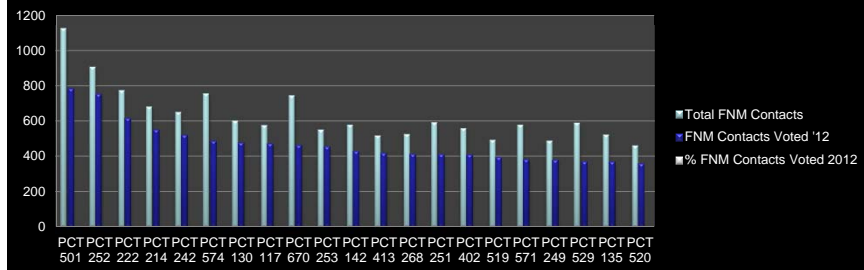


MIAMI DADE

- 58,872 contacts; 40% AA, 52% Latino
- Average Turnout: 67%
- 83% Average Turnout of FNM Contacts



Top Performing Precincts - Miami-Dade County



OVERALL IMPACT

- We hit 340,577 unique doors and engaged in 188,948 conversations
- 88,595 FNM Contacts voted
- 23% of FNM Contacts voted early
- Statewide FNM electorate voter share: 8.7%
- Contact vote share: 1%
- 58 % of our conversations voted



LEARNINGS AND EXPERIMENTS

Sustained Breadth



Innovation: MOBILIZATION and ORGANIZING

LEARNING AND EXPERIMENTS

TOOLS FOR MASS VOTER ENGAGEMENT

PHONE, MAIL, POLLING, PREDICTIVE DIALER, ROBOSURVEY, DATA DRIVEN CAMPAIGNS

❖ CARING ACROSS GENERATIONS

- 34,000 SENIORS JOIN CALL ON MEDICARE AND MEDICAID

❖ EARLY VOTING

- 10,000 LOW PROPENSITY VOTERS JOIN CALL 2 DAYS BEFORE EARLY VOTING STARTS

❖ IMMIGRATION

- **39,514 CALLS TO LEGISLATORS**
- 54% WHITE; 31% LATINO; 12% AA

Innovation: Tools and Transformations

LEARNING AND EXPIREMENTS

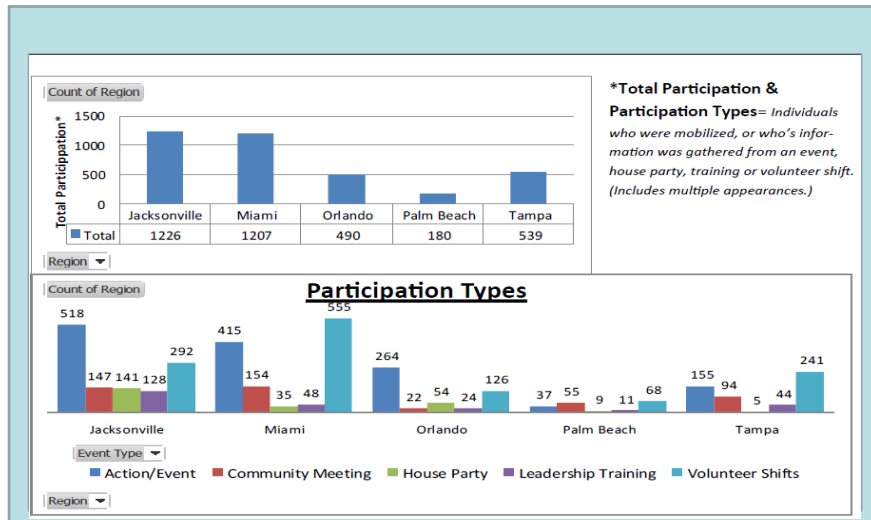
Leadership Development

Vision
 Infrastrucure
 Freedom Clubs



Innovation: MOBILIZATION and ORGANIZING

LEARNING AND EXPIREMENTS



Innovation: Tools and Transformations

LEARNING AND EXPERIENCES

Long Term Strategy

- Target 1,278,292 voters over 4 years
- Follow up and build on cycle leads
- Move to more Clear and Formal Partnerships
- Scaled engagement through issue campaigns

Innovation: Tools and Transformations

PIVOTS



FRAME
Focus
PUTTING IT ALL TOGETHER

EXPANDING DEMOCRACY FOR THE NEW MAJORITY

Pivots: Electoral to Policy and Movement

SYSTEMS CHANGE

Changing the Rules of the GAME
Amplified Feedback Loops

- Voting Rights
- Immigrant Rights and Integration
- Criminalization and Mass Incarceration
- Building an Integrated Leadership Pipeline

CLARIFYING QUESTIONS?



WHAT THE TIMES CALL FOR: THE CALIFORNIA CALLS EXPERIMENT, IVE, AND BEYOND



3.22.2013

ANTHONY THIGPENN



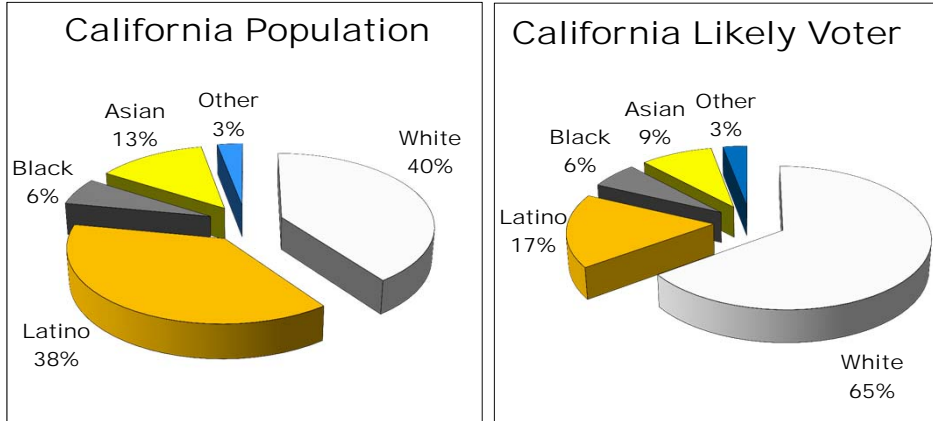
WHY INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

1. Decades of assaults on communities of color, the poor, the safety net, role of government.
2. State policies increasingly preempting local organizing and policies.
3. Multiple crisis across issue areas.
4. Constituencies and communities being played of against one another.
5. Inability of Social Justice organizations to have scale of impact needed at the state level.



WHY INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

CALIFORNIA'S ELECTORATE DOES NOT REFLECT THE DIVERSITY OF ITS POPULATION

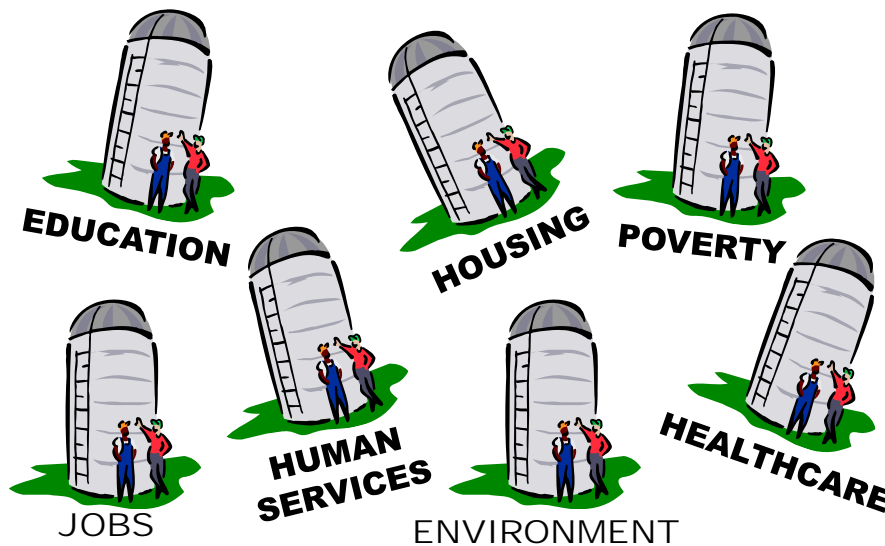


California Likely Voters are also older, more educated, and more affluent; they own homes and were born in the U.S. (residents earning \$80,000 or more make up 41% of likely voters, 42% of likely voters are age 55 or older)

SOURCE: Public Policy Institute of California

WHY INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT

SOCIAL JUSTICE MOVEMENT OFTEN IN SILOS, FRAGMENTED, ON THE DEFENSIVE



ELEMENTS OF EXPERIMENT

1. Build an ongoing state alliance of local Anchor Groups in 12 key counties committed to developing and implementing an Integrated Voter Engagement Model over multiple years.



2. Construct state-of-the-art Civic Engagement System to reach/build support among key constituencies at the scale needed to impact state policy.



3. Develop a strategic narrative & values-based messaging that builds support & motivates a base of 500,000 supporters who normally don't participate in state elections.



4. Forge Strategic Collaborations with key statewide efforts around a multi-year agenda to create a new center of gravity for social justice and inclusion.



IMPLEMENTATION

SAN FRANCISCO RISING

- Chinese Progressive Association (CPA)
- Coleman Advocates for Children and Youth
- Filipino Community Center (FCCC)
- Mujeres Unidas y Activas (MUA)
- People Organizing to Demand Environmental and Economic Rights (PODER)
- South of Market Community Action Network (SOMCAN)
- SF Day Labor Program / La Colectiva de Mujeres
- Causa Justa - Just Cause (CJJC)
- People Organized to Win Employment Rights (POWER)

COMMUNITIES FOR A NEW CALIFORNIA

OAKLAND RISING

- Just Cause
- EBASE
- APEN
- Ella Baker Center

WORKING PARTNERSHIPS USA

CAUSE

SCOPE-AGENDA

COMMUNITY COALITION

ACCE - L.A.

INNER CITY STRUGGLE

ALLIANCE SAN DIEGO

ACCE - S.D.

OUR FAIR SHARE INLAND EMPIRE COALITION

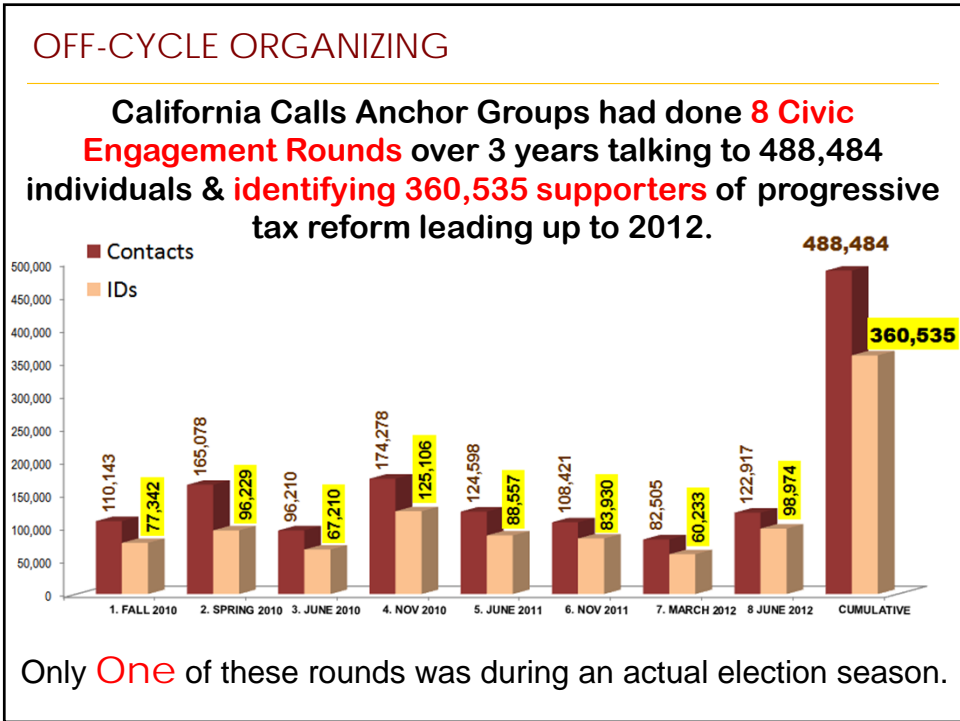
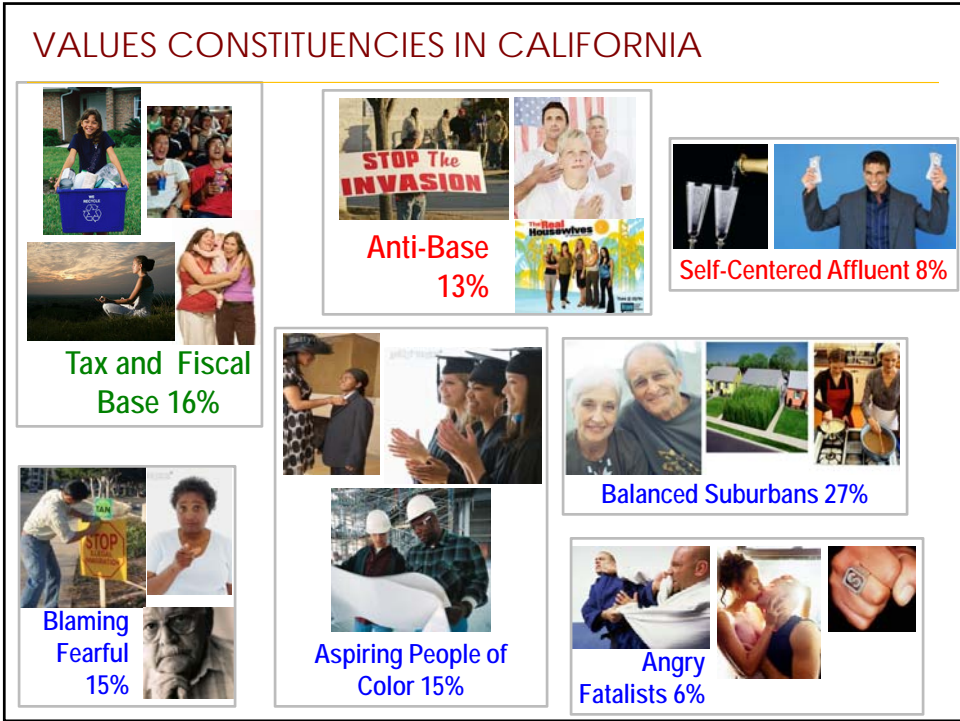
- Communities for a New California
- Knotts Family Agency
- Congregations Organized for Prophetic Engagement
- Warehouse Workers United

STATE ALLIES

- California Federation of Teachers
- Courage Campaign

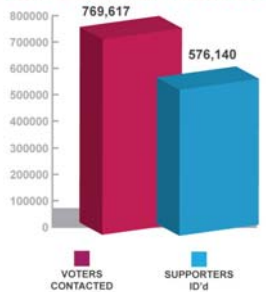
DOLORES HUERTA FOUNDATION





RESULTS

CUMULATIVE RESULTS



SCALE: California Calls anchor groups have engaged **769,617** individual voters and Identifying **576,140** Supporters. This is the result of 3 years of integrated voter engagement work to change the California Electorate.

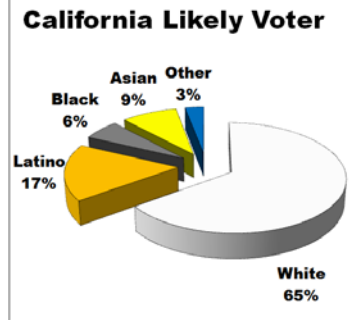
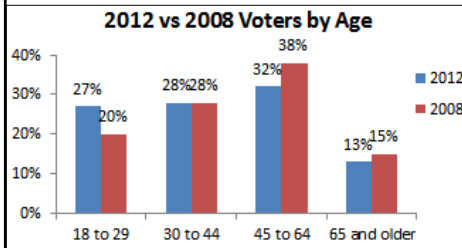


TURNOUT: 436,902 California Calls voters in November 2012 at a 5 to 9% higher rate than the state average.

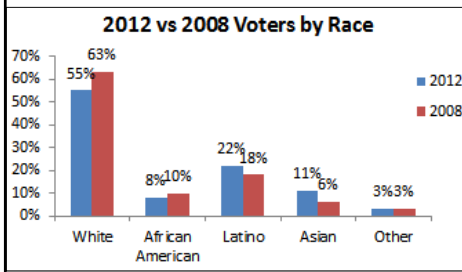


CHANGING THE ELECTORATE

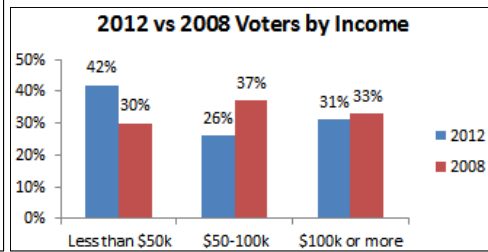
+7%

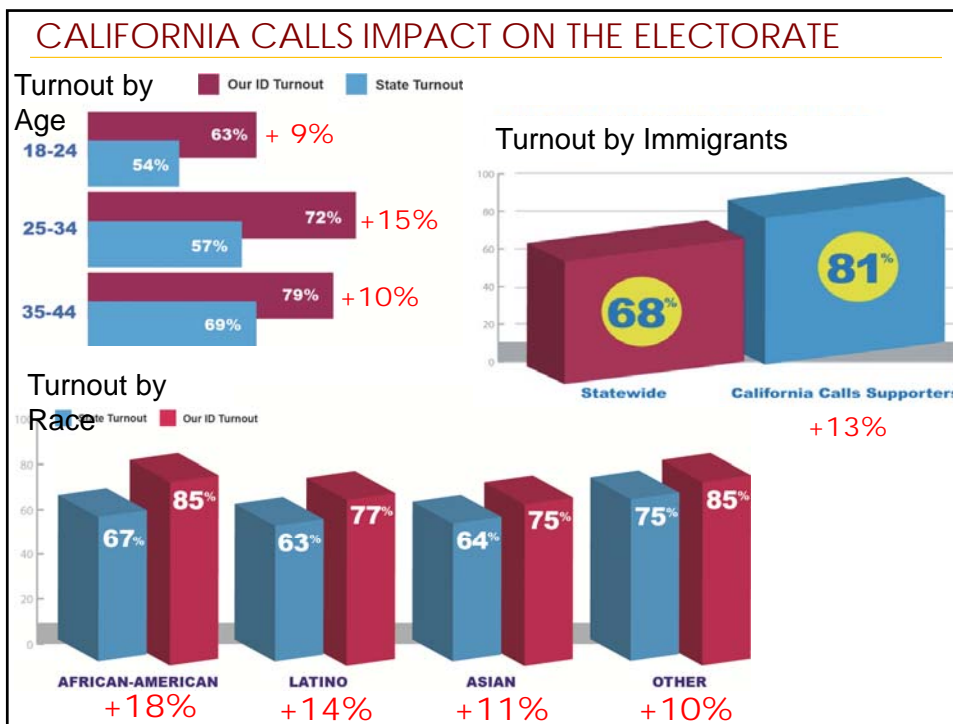


+8%



+12%





WHAT DO WE THINK WE ARE LEARNING

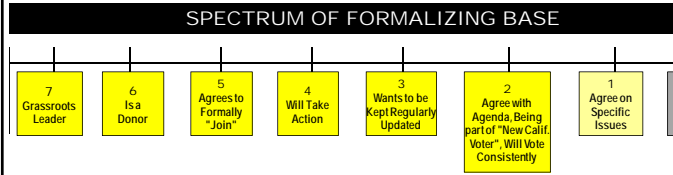
- There are **no quick fixes, magic bullets, or shortcuts**. Achieving progressive, systemic solutions requires serious analysis and multi-year, strategic collaboration efforts.
- It is possible for the social justice movement (particularly local social justice groups) to **move beyond issue silos and build capacity to the needed scale**, even in a state as big and diverse as California.
- Organizing of constituencies and communities who are suffering most from the perpetual economic crisis is absolutely essential to **expanding the electorate and insuring that solutions are based on equity and social justice**.
- Motivating new and infrequent voters requires attention to messaging, but also the messenger and **building a relationship of trust. This is the essence of Integrated Voter Engagement**.



LOOKING FORWARD

INTEGRATED VOTER ENGAGEMENT 2.0

1. Transforming supporters into a formal base.



2. Transforming new and infrequent voters into consistent voters.

- Moving supporters along spectrum of greater involvement.
- Consistent, year-round engagement by trusted organizations & messengers with tailored approaches per constituency.
- Continued development and training on strategic, values-based narrative.



3. Getting ahead of the game: Tactical Battles vs Multi-year Agenda.



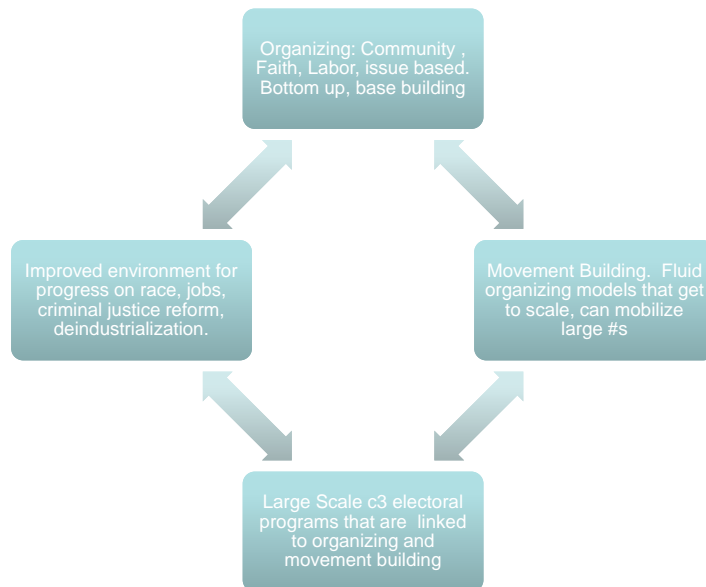
Integrated Voter Engagement: Experiments and Lessons Learned in 2012

3.22.2013

KIRK NODEN



4 KEY ALIGNED STRATEGIES = IVE



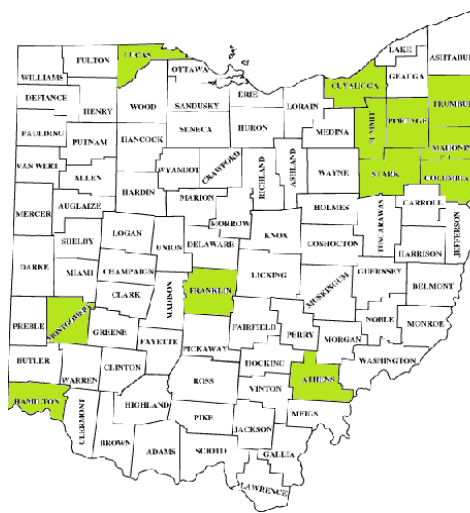
KEY LEARNING QUESTIONS

...FROM 2012 CIVIC ENGAGEMENT IN OHIO

- What percentage of our electoral engagement and contacts can we transition into long term involvement? Can we capture scale?
- How do we make every contact an opportunity to test our narrative about good jobs and strong communities and talk about values?
- How do we use our voter program as an avenue to expand our work in key constituencies and unlikely suspects like seniors and students?

OHIO ELECTORAL RESULTS 2012

| REGISTRATIONS | DOOR KNOCKS |
|-----------------------------|------------------------------|
| 40,891 registrations | 93,010 attempts at the door |
| 2.8 cards per hour | 20,287 contacts made |
| PHONE CALLS | 16,934 vote plans |
| 340,075 phone attempts made | 19,175 issue identifications |
| 51,362 phone contacts made | DIRECT MAIL |
| 25,718 conversations held | 183,455 pieces mailed |



OHIO IVE COMPONENTS

- **Voter Registration** in 7 urban counties
- **Faith Program:** focus on early vote, voting rights in collaboration with PICO and AP
- **Students:** targeted on 8 universities with YEF
- **Seniors:** with Caring Across Generations
- **RAE Voter Program:** in key underperforming geographies in partnership with CCC and NPA

EXPERIMENT 1: TEAMS AND ISSUES

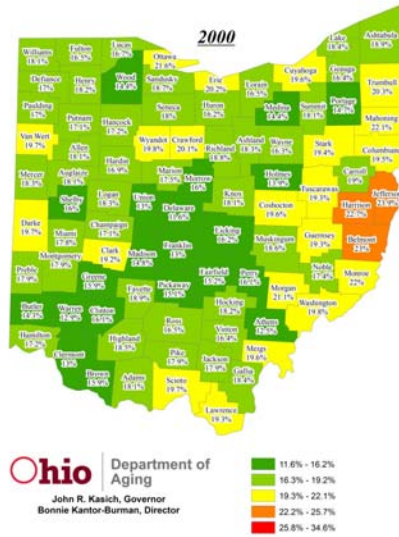
MOVEMENT BUILDING TEAMS AND ISSUE IDS

- 10 organizers – on a movement building team, fluid infrastructure, NOI model, small circles
- 19,175 Issue IDs on jobs, mass incarceration, neighborhood revitalization.
- Movement building organizers followed up with issue IDs on the phone and in person within 1 to 2 weeks of IDs – inviting them to trainings, circle meetings, etc.
- 6.3% of IDs actively engaged post election, 1,208 people.

EXPERIMENT 2: CAG

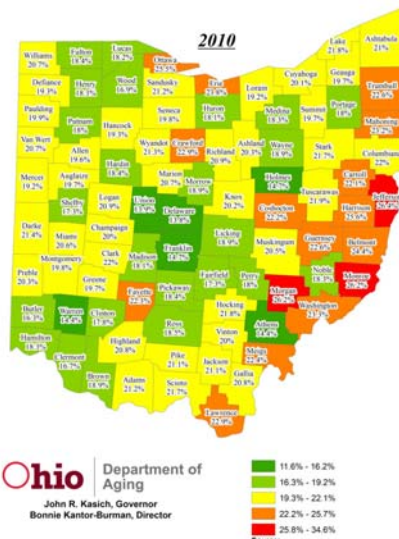
CARING ACROSS GENERATIONS

60 years and older population by county



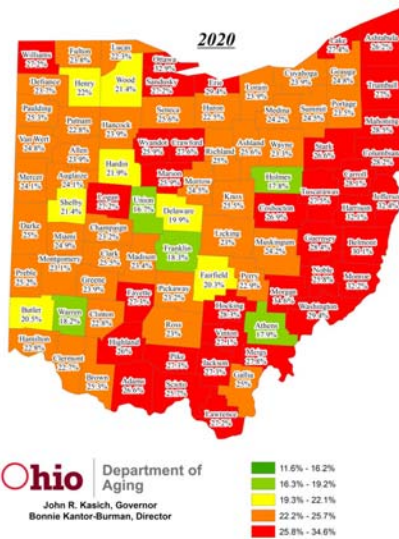
EXPERIMENT 2: CAG

60 years and older population by county



EXPERIMENT 2: CAG

60 years and older population by county



EXPERIMENT 2: CAG

VOTER WORK TRANSITION INTO ENGAGEMENT

- Electoral Results: 44,499 conversations with voters, with a strong focus on early vote and made 7,309 Phone Issue IDs. 172,598 pieces of mail to a target universe of 39,528 unlikely voters

How does this translate into ongoing organizing?

- 2 Care Congresses with 700 people in attendance
- Town Hall Meeting w Senator Brown with 9,000 people
- Base for Medicaid Expansion work in 2013.
- Engaged base of more than 2,000 seniors across Ohio.

EXPERIMENT 3: INTEGRATED TRAINING

INTEGRATED TRAINING

In 2012, a total of 2,137 people went through a formal training sessions (many being multiple days)

- 321 people who attended movement building trainings
- 589 grassroots leaders trained on electoral program
- 1,227 people attending community organizing trainings

IMPLICATIONS FOR FUTURE WORK

- Getting to 15% -- transition from civic engagement to ongoing work.
- Continued integration of tools – targeting, tracking, tele-town halls, and methodology.
- Further development of civic engagement strategies to engagement of unusual suspects
- Use of more fluid organizing models that allow us to capture civic engagement work



CLARIFYING QUESTIONS?



RECOMMENDATIONS GOING FORWARD

PREPARING THE GROUND

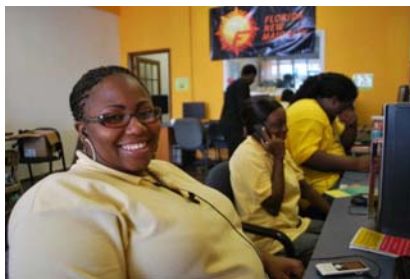


Photo Source: Phone banking for FNM, November 2 2010. Florida New Majority (FNJ)

- Get serious about **data tracking and scale**.
- Use IVE to reach out to **unusual suspects**.
- Stay focused on **converting lists to leaders**.
- Invest the time and resources to **build common ground** among those collaborating on IVE strategies.
- Make use of changing **technology**.

RECOMMENDATIONS GOING FORWARD

SUPPORTING THE FIELD

- Fund IVE innovations **year-round**.
- Recognize the **range of legal vehicles** being utilized.
- Use **anchor community organizations** as intermediaries.
- Continue to **invest in leadership development, base building, and organizing**.
- Work with state-based movement-building organizations to **develop new funding sources**.



Photo Source: Florida's early voters stand in hellish lines with no reprieve this weekend. EURweb.com
Nov 5, 2012. <http://www.eurweb.com/2012/11/Florida-early-voters-have-right-time-their-voice-complaints-are-often/>

RECOMMENDATIONS GOING FORWARD

WINNING THE FUTURE

- Recognize the strategic importance of **state-level work**.
- Poll and organize on **issues and values**.
- Prioritize **strategy over urgency**.
- **Make the case for IVE**.
- **Protect the vote itself**.



Source: Florida New Majority

COMING TO (THE NEW) AMERICA?



Source: Campaigning, Florida New Majority www.flickr.com/photos/flnewmajority/

DISCUSSION



Meeting, Florida New Majority 2012.
<http://www.flickr.com/photos/flnewmajority/7748140998/sizes/l/in/set-72157630989927984>

