

## AN HISTORIC YEAR

POWERPAC REPORT ON EFFORTS TO ENABLE HISTORIC VOTER TURNOUT

JUNE 2008



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#### Introduction

Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr. led the Selma-Montgomery march that eventually resulted in the passage of the 1965 Voting Rights Act, but the march was sparked by a much lesser-known figure in the Civil Rights Movement. Jimmie Lee Jackson was a young civil rights demonstrator who was shot and killed at a voting rights rally at the hands of Alabama state troopers. His tragic death was among the abuses and injustices that galvanized the movement and led to the sweeping political change that helped transform a country.

Forty years after the assassination of Dr. King, we find ourselves in a moment in which those for whom he and Jimmie Lee died can now pick the next President.

The report that follows summarizes PowerPAC's work in 2008. We tell the story of Jimmie Lee because it is important to understand that our work is rooted in this history of our country, and is an attempt to carry on the great legacy of those who fought and died for freedom and justice before us.

As this report shows, PowerPAC is doing all it can to seize this incredible moment we are in, and ensure as many people as possible participate in this historic election, starting with the Primary and going through the General Election. We know Jimmie Lee would demand nothing less of us.

#### TEAM BIOGRAPHIES



#### STEVE PHILLIPS

Steve Phillips is the President and Founder of PowerPAC.org and Vote Hope. Over the past twenty years, Steve has worked as an education reformer, attorney, and elected official.

Steve grew up in Cleveland, Ohio, where his mother was a public school teacher and his father was a physician. He attended Stanford University, where he majored in English and Afro-American Studies and was active in the student government, the Black Student Union, and the Free South Africa Movement. Steve helped build a coalition of students, faculty and staff that pushed Stanford to make major changes in innovations in multi-cultural curriculum and student services for students of color.

Steve continued his public service after graduating from college, devoting his early professional and political life to the issue of education. For four years he worked for the public interest law firm Public Advocates, Inc. as the coordinator of an education reform project that linked low-performing schools with business and local community groups. In 1992, at the age of 28, Steve successfully ran for a seat on the San Francisco Board of Education, and he became the youngest elected official in the history of San Francisco. Steve's work with non-profit organizations includes founding Justice Matters, an education reform and leadership development organization, and serving on the Board of Directors of Progressive Majority, the Democracy Alliance, and the American Conservatory Theater.



#### **ANDREW WONG**

Andy, co-founder of PowerPAC and Vote Hope, has been running political campaigns since the mid-1980s. His career began by winning a series of student government elections at San Francisco State University, UC Berkeley, UCLA and Stanford. Over the next decade he went on to run city and county campaigns in the San Francisco Bay Area, electing people of color and gay community activists to Community College Board, BART Board, School Board and the Board of Supervisors. His background in applied mathematics and computer data systems has enabled him to support numerous campaign infrastructures, including for Prop 54, targeting voters for effective campaigning by using a myriad of techniques for empowering niche constituencies.

Andy also began AJWI, a software company focused on the government and non-profit sectors, in 1998 in San Francisco. This 10 year old company has served over 50 counties in California, state agencies, foundations such as Hewlett, Haas Jr. and Packard, and supported projects in health, economic development, education, early childhood development and criminal justice. Providing software in an Application Service Provider model has helped move government and foundations into the 21st century creating new avenues for cross-agency collaboration and leveraging existing resources for better and more effective strategies. AJWI's work is also helping standardize work in these fields that have previously demanded customized systems opening the door for greater improvements in government productivity.



#### BENJAMIN TODD JEALOUS

Benjamin Todd Jealous is a journalist and civil rights advocate. A proud native-born Californian, he lives in the Bay Area with his wife and daughter.

Mr. Jealous, the newly appointed executive director of the NAACP, got his start in politics 20 years ago organizing high school students in Monterey and Seaside, California to register, educate, and mobilize voters for Rev. Jesse Jackson's 1988 presidential primary campaign. He is a co-founder of Vote Hope and a Board Member of PowerPAC.org.

Formerly, Mr. Jealous served as Executive Director of the National Newspaper Publishers Association (NNPA)—a federation of more than 200 black community newspapers. While at the NNPA, he rebuilt its 90-year old national news service, created an initiative that significantly increased on-line publishing by Black Press publications, and increased the organization's annual revenue by more than 500%. Mr. Jealous oversaw PowerPAC's African-American focused media efforts as part of our voter outreach work during the 2008 primary election.

He began his career as a civil rights advocate and strategist in 1991 while working as a community organizer with the NAACP Legal Defense Fund on issues of health care access in Harlem.

Mr. Jealous holds a bachelor's degree in political science from Columbia University and a master's degree in comparative social research from Oxford University where he was a Rhodes Scholar.



#### KIRK CLAY

Mr. Clay is the National Field Director for PowerPAC. His responsibilities include helping PowerPAC develop and implement a strategic plan to increase African-American voter turnout in the 2008 election cycle. During the primary season he led a field effort that mobilized over 500,000 voters in 10 states.

Before working for PowerPAC, Mr. Clay was the National Director of Outreach for major gifts at Common Cause. His responsibilities included helping Common Cause develop and implement a strategic plan for building relationships with current and future individual contributors.

Mr. Clay was also responsible for building a diverse national coalition of strategic partners to promote election reform, ethics in government and government accountability. Working collaboratively with national staff, he connected Common Cause hot-button issues to broader national policy priorities while building strategic alliances.

Prior to Common Cause, he was Deputy Director of the National Coalition on Black Civic Participation, where he managed the day-to day overall operation. He was also involved with efforts to mobilize members, activists, community leaders, clergy and state legislators in grassroots issue campaigns to affect public policy on all levels. In 2004, he served as National Field Director of the Unity'04 Voter Empowerment Campaign.



## EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

#### **EXECUTIVE SUMMARY**

PowerPAC.org is a \$501(c)4 social justice advocacy organization, created in 2003 by veteran political activists who came of age during the Jesse Jackson political campaigns of the 1980s.

Our primary purpose is advocating for social justice policies and increasing voter participation of people of color. PowerPAC has worked on campaigns to preserve affirmative action, reform Three Strikes laws, lower college student fees, and protect immigrant rights. From time to time, we also endorse inspiring candidates who we believe will help us achieve our major goal of increased voter participation.

In our first few years, PowerPAC focused our work on our home state of California, which we see as strategically significant given its history of setting trends nationally, and because it is at the forefront of demographic shifts taking place across the country. But given the historic nature of 2008—the first presidential contest in 80 years without a sitting president or vice-president running—PowerPAC decided to expand our work nationally.

Our national work in the first half of 2008 had two distinct components: a non-partisan voter education and mobilization drive for the Primary targeting African-American voters in the South and key urban areas; and an independent campaign in several strategic states supporting presidential candidate Barack Obama, with a focus on young, Latino and African-American faith communities. nearly \$10 million operation covered a total of 14 states across the country, and ran from December 2007 to April 2008. See the map to the right for an at-a-glance look at our work.

CALIFORNIA

PowerPAC is now gearing up to build on our work in the Primary and take advantage of the November General Election, with a plan to coordinate registration, education and mobilization efforts of African-American voters and Latino voters nationally.



#### Maximizing African-American Voter Turnout In 2008

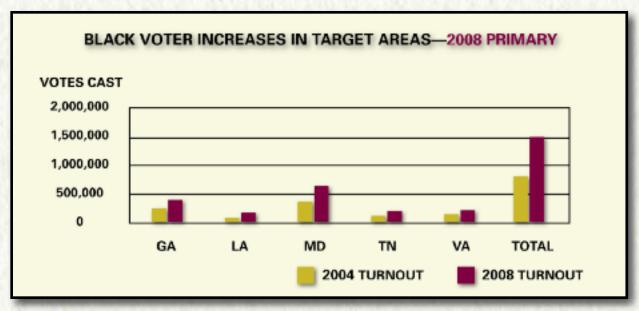
One of the greatest success stories of the 2008 Primary Election cycle has been the inspired, energized and mobilized African-American electorate. Particularly in the South, the cradle of the Civil Rights Movement, Black voters came out to participate in record numbers.

PowerPAC played a key role in taking advantage of this momentum, investing in targeted media and ground operations in 13 states and urban areas with high African-American populations: Tennessee, Georgia, Louisiana, Virginia, Maryland,

South Carolina, Texas, California (Oakland, South Central), New York, New Jersey, Ohio, Wisconsin (Milwaukee) and Pennsylvania (Philadelphia).

In these states, turnout increased significantly in nearly all the precincts and counties targeted by PowerPAC's ground and media campaign. Our work contributed to an overall Black voter turnout increase that averaged 110% compared with the 2004 election in five Southern States—Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Virginia and Tennessee (see graphic below).

In several heavily African-American counties that we invested in with GOTV organizing



this cycle, from New Jersey to Houston, turnout tripled from 2004 numbers, and broke all previous records for voter participation.

Interest in and excitement about the 2008 election created a rare opportunity to increase participation of African-American voters across the country. Despite this excitement, however, reports from the ground indicated that many African-American voters were not aware of the Primary election in their respective states,

many of which had moved their election dates up to hold never-seen-before early primaries.

Black voter participation has historically been very low in primaries, and it was

clear that significant investment, using culturally relevant messages and messengers, would be necessary to fully take advantage of this moment. PowerPAC put together a program and plan to target infrequent African-American voters with non-partisan, inspirational media messages and move them to the polls through volunteer phone banking

and canvassing. In Pennsylvania, PowerPAC also supported efforts to mobilize young voters and students, by partnering with the Hip-Hop Voter Action Network and the United States Student Association Foundation.

We focused our efforts on use of existing African-American infrastructure, including Black labor and Black churches, which exist on the ground in these states but is typically only mobi-lized for General Election work.



PowerPAC's early investment in these communities, most of which were the poorest of the poor, made a tremendous impact, enabling them to take part in an historic election.

### **Increasing Turnout For Barack Obama Among Underserved Communities**

From time to time, PowerPAC endorses political candidates who embody the organization's values of social justice. We endorsed Barack Obama in 2008.

Separate and apart from our non-partisan voter engagement work, PowerPAC supported Obama through independent media and ground operations in 6 states: Alabama, Tennessee, California, Louisiana, Texas, and Maryland.

We focused on three strategic demographics, all of which are historic agents of progressive political change:

#### Students And Young People

In California, we reached out to and supported networks of students on 30 campuses, and executed a voter mobilization campaign for Obama among 75,000 infrequent young voters in California.

#### African-American Faith Community

The Black church is a historic driver for social change that progressives have let languish over the last few decades. Many churches have grown more conservative, despite the deep progressive roots of the institution.

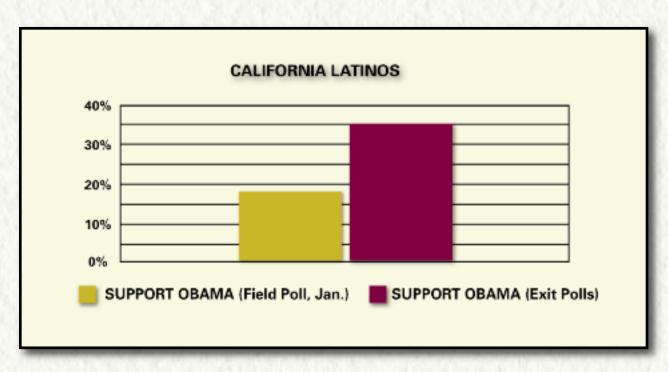
PowerPAC sought to invest in and organize this community, particularly in California but also nationally. We worked with more than 80 pastors in California to participate in a print and TV ad campaign, urging their fellow

pastors and congregations to

#### Latino Community

In California and Texas, PowerPAC produced culturally relevant radio and print media, as well as a direct mail campaign in Texas, targeting hundreds of thousands of

support Barack Obama.



Latino voters. In California, our efforts contributed to a 50% increase in the Latino vote for Obama.

PowerPAC's work in states like Texas and California helped Barack Obama maintain his delegate lead and focus on other states holding contests on Super Tuesday and beyond.

As a result of our efforts, Hillary Clinton's campaign was forced to spend more resources than expected, and Obama won victories by huge margins in other primaries throughout the country.

We also made important inroads with the Latino community that will be critical in the General Election, and built lasting networks in the African-American faith community and student networks that will continue far beyond 2008.



# EMBRACE THE FUTURE: VOTE CHANGE

#### Non-Partisan African American Voter Mobilization: Embrace The Future, Vote Change

Beginning in December 2007, PowerPAC invested in existing infrastructures in the African-American community that do GOTV work—Black labor, historically Black colleges and community-based organizations—and mobilized them for the primary election. These infrastructures typically get tapped by the Democratic Party just before a General Election, but had never been mobilized before in a primary. The result was effectively a turnkey operation in several states, with focused targeting on cities and counties that are heavily African-American.



State directors oversaw operations in each state, with regional and local organizers working in the cities. Organizers hired and

trained volunteers who canvassed and phone banked targeted African-American voters—a mix of reliable and infrequent voters—using materials developed by a team of wellnational media respected and professional who have experience in reaching Black voters, and based on focus group research. Canvassers went to voters' homes, but also to places they gather - churches, community centers, beauty parlors and barber shops. Voter file data was used and captured throughout, and each precinct we targeted had a goal of moving an additional 3-5%-increase in voter turnout to the polls—beyond the turnout increase that was expected due to the historic nature of the 2008 election. As the graphs that follow in this report show, this goal was met in all but a few of the counties and precincts targeted.

The media overlay program included culturally relevant radio ads on Black radio, print ads in Black newspapers, and an aggressive earned media and op-ed program that placed dozens of articles in the Black press and in the mainstream press. As the graphs that follow in this report show, this goal was met in nearly all of the counties and precincts targeted.

Organizers built lists over the course of three to six weeks, depending on the state, which culminated in a GOTV mobilization on Election Day that included reminder calls to vote, rides to the polls, public rallies and sound trucks. Turnout among Black voters increased significantly in all of our target areas.

State directors we interviewed later said that the level of education about voting in the primary was very low when the program began, and that PowerPAC's impact on the turnout levels in states we worked was undeniable.



#### Southern States

PowerPAC's focus on the South was deliberate, as mentioned above, given its historical significance as the Cradle of the Civil Rights Movement. We also chose to work in the South because several Southern states had moved up their primary dates, and we knew that it would require active education and mobilization to ensure voters were aware of their historic opportunity to make their voices heard in the 2008 primary election.

States were chosen based on a few factors, including:

- Number of eligible African-American voters. Both raw numbers and as a percentage of the population were taken into account.
- Existence of indigenous leaders and organizations. It was critical for PowerPAC to invest in infrastructure that was already in these states, and that would remain after the primary election was over.
- Contested primary election.

Studies show turnout increases in contested elections, because people feel like their vote is more likely to matter.

Our target states for 2008 were: South Carolina, Tennessee, Georgia, Louisiana, Maryland, Virginia and Texas.

Working in these seven Southern and Mid-Atlantic states, volunteers coordinated by PowerPac.org and the A. Philip Randolph Institute, along with a targeted radio, print and earned media campaign, helped produce a 110%-increase in turnout in targeted areas during the states' Democratic presidential primaries, which were held between Feb. 5 and Feb. 12. On March 4, our work in Texas also resulted in massive turnout increases, particularly in early voting.

The primaries, in addition to the historic backdrop, took on added significance with the efforts of thousands of volunteers who knocked on doors, placed phone calls, and assisted voters in getting to the polls. The results discussed here provide significant evidence of the large and (previously) untapped potential of the Black vote in primary contests. They also should serve as a lesson to politicians and organizations in the future that as opposed to taking the Black vote for granted, it pays off to invest in this community during the primaries and listen to and be responsive to its concerns.

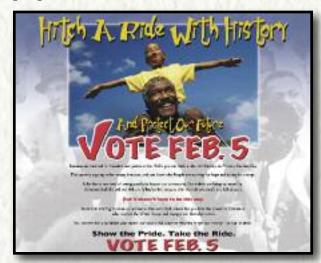
#### South Carolina (Jan. 26, 2008)

Our work in South Carolina was mediaonly. We assessed it was an important state in that it was the first with a sizable African American population to vote, but given its position early on the calendar, there were already considerable ground efforts underway. Our media campaign began 11 days in advance of the Jan. 26 primary, and consisted of two culturally relevant Get-Out-the-Vote radio ads running on Black radio stations throughout South Carolina. "Real Talk" featured mother and daughter talking about the importance of voting in primary. "Hair Salon," which used humor to urge people to vote in a setting of a beauty salon, was mentioned on the Bill Maher show (see Media Report below for full scripts of these and other radio ads).

Our media campaign was the only Black turnout media that ran before Jan. 26 Primary election. Turnout in the South Carolina Primary doubled overall, but was even greater among African-American voters—jumping from 47% of electorate in 2004 to 52% of the electorate in 2008.

#### Tennessee (Feb. 5, 2008)

Early voting was especially heavy in Tennessee, with 320,939 voters casting their ballots in the week before Super Tuesday. Although 1.2 million Tennesseans went to the polls on Feb. 5, breaking the record set in the 1988 primaries when Al Gore was running for president, voter turnout was hampered by a line of tornadoes that hit Memphis, Nashville and other parts of the Volunteer State, leaving more than 30 people dead.

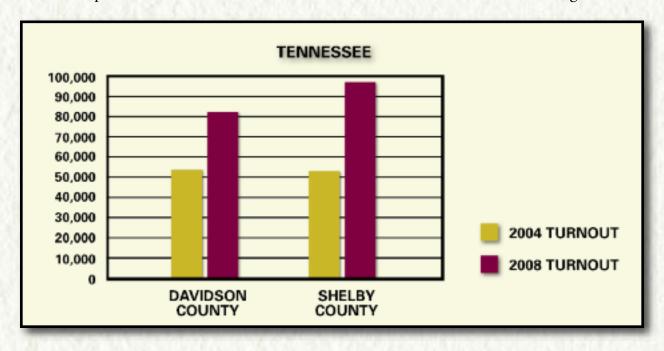


Kermit Moore led the 2008 voter turnout project in Tennessee, with assistance from Dionne Placide in Nashville, both of whom have been political leaders in their communities for several years. They oversaw two PowerPAC offices in the state, one in Memphis and one in Nashville.

Moore said the significance of PowerPAC's effort was felt in neighborhoods where volunteers registered and turned out to vote people—including elderly people—who had never voted in their lives. Despite the media attention put to the primary, many people in the African-American-heavy areas of Nashville and Memphis were not aware of the primary and the impact their state could have on the

election. PowerPAC's investments enabled them to get the word out, and enabled talented local leaders to take part in the historic moment. People were asking what they could do—even after the election was over.

In all, the Tennessee turnout project included more than 75 volunteers who went door-todoor in Memphis and 45 in Nashville. The phone-banking program employed over 20 workers in Memphis and 8 in Nashville and 17 van drivers, who took voters to the polls on Election Day. Volunteers for the campaign came from several African-American organizations,



including Southern Christian Leadership Conference and NAACP, LeMoyne-Owen College and numerous local churches.

The largest event of the campaign was the Memphis town hall meeting and rally on Jan. 19 at the Masonic Temple that included students from LeMoyne-Owen College and featured Dr. Ronald Walters and Rev. Al Sharpton. The rally attracted over 1,200 participants, and generated news coverage on local TV ad radio affiliates (see earned media report below).

A total of 35 precincts were targeted, and within them about 61,300 voters who were over 35 years old, African-American and hadn't voted in the last two primaries. The goal was to reach voters who were beyond the "reliable voter" metric to increase turnout above and beyond what was expected. Using data from the voter file, volunteers and workers contacted these voters through a combination of person-to-person phone banking, canvassing door-to-door and at churches and salons, and through robo-call reminders to vote. The transportation program moved about 225 voters to the polls on Election Day.

#### Georgia (Feb. 5, 2008)

Georgia's presidential primary was a recordsetting one. Forty-four percent of voters in the Peach State turned out on Super Tuesday, casting 1,966,000 votes—nearly double the 1 million voters who turned out in 1988, the primary that had the previous record turnout, with 40% of voters. In addition, nearly 248,000 people participated in absentee or early voting during the period that ended Feb. 2. By comparison, 48,000 voters cast early or absentee ballots in 2004.

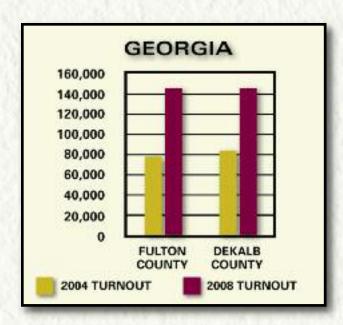
The primary on Feb. 5 was the first statewide election in which Georgia voters were required to show photo identification when voting in person. Long lines were reported in DeKalb and Fulton counties, particularly in the first hours after the polls opened, and some voter check-in terminals were slow as well.

In Georgia, Dr. Hasan Crockett, Ph.D. of Morehouse College, James Andrew of A. Phillip Randolph Institute and Vince Phillips of BMI (Hip-Hop label) coordinated voter turnout efforts in several areas around the state. Their efforts included a town hall meeting on Feb. 2 in Atlanta that featured hip-hop artists, Reverend Dr. Joseph Lowery, and others.

Sheila Erven was the Georgia state director, and said she was amazed at the number of people who told her no one had ever come to ask them to vote in a primary before. Folks assumed that the primary would be decided by someone else, and that they would vote in the General Election. The GOTV effort PowerPAC funded enabled them to get the word out and dramatically increase turnout in African-American neighborhoods that were not being reached by either of the national campaigns.

This mobilization effort also tapped into the network of Morehouse College graduates to conduct our national exit poll program. The Georgia project received local coverage on several local radio stations and national coverage in the Washington Post. From the start, the Georgia 2008 Coalition was determined to engage and support student organizers in their effort to expand civic participation within five colleges comprising the Atlanta University Center.

The coalition included volunteers from the Georgia Coalition for the Peoples Agenda,



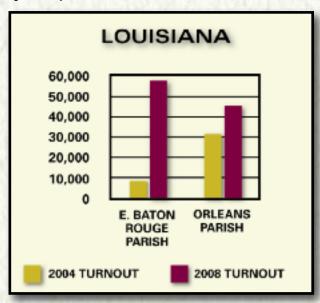
National Action Network, SCLC, and Morehouse College.

Ultimately, the Georgia program targeted 46 precincts and 64,246 voters, using the same methods described above. The transportation program in Georgia moved more than 600 voters to the polls.

#### Louisiana (Feb. 9, 2008)

Each of the four parishes where PowerPAC.org operated in Louisiana saw considerable increases in turnout over the 2004 Democratic presidential primary results. There are two highly interesting points to note in the 2008 results. The first is that East Baton Rouge Parish posted the largest turnout increase among the seven Southern states where we operated—an astounding 553% over 2004. In terms of numbers, turnout in East Baton Rouge increased from just 8,884 voters in 2004 to more than 58,000 in 2008.

The second interesting highlight is found in Orleans Parish. There, despite the population loss caused by Hurricane Katrina and the slow recovery of New Orleans, turnout increased by 47.7% over 2004. Nearly 14,700 more voters participated in the 2008 primary election than voted in 2004.



John Marrero of the Letter Carriers Union led the 2008 Louisiana voter turnout project, with assistance from Vincent Sylvain. They received tremendous help from Ms. Mary Ann Sterling of the Laborers International Union.

Turnout efforts were focused on the cities of New Orleans, Monroe, Shreveport and Baton Rouge. The turnout project included more than 200 volunteers who went door-to-door, and 35 workers who phone banked regularly. Working with volunteers in the target cities, Ms. Sterling, Mr. Marrero and Mr. Sylvain were able to increase voter turnout in the Feb. 9 primary well past our goal of a 5% increase.

#### Maryland (Feb. 12, 2008)

PowerPAC.org concentrated its efforts in Prince George's County and Baltimore City, and some target precincts were located in Anne Arundel, Baltimore and Montgomery counties. All five jurisdictions posted significant increases in turnout over the 2004 Democratic presidential primary, with the greatest turnout increase in Prince George's County (162.1%). Baltimore City turnout increased 113.7%, while turnout in Anne Arundel County (81.6%), Baltimore County

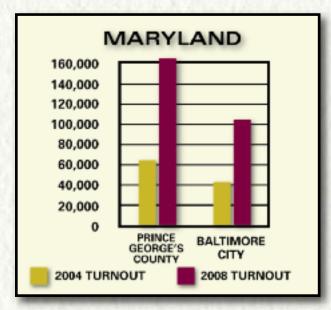


(78.5%) and Montgomery County (66.3%) all showed double-digit increases over the 2004 primaries.

Tom Bacote led voter turnout efforts in Maryland, with his focus on precincts in the Washington suburbs of Prince George's and Montgomery counties, Baltimore City and precincts in suburban Howard County, which lies halfway between Baltimore and Washington. He worked closely with Loretta Johnson, President of the Baltimore Teachers' Union to organize Baltimore.

Efforts in Maryland also included a voter turnout briefing at Ebenezer AME Church in Fort Washington featuring Dr. Ronald Walters, James Forman Jr., Rev Dr. Grainger Browning and Georgetown Professor Roger Wilkins. Professor Walters took the lead on coordinating our Maryland exit poll program. The project received local coverage on five local radio stations, News Channel 8 and national print coverage in the Baltimore Sun.

The three-week turnout push helped increase voter turnout in selected precincts well past our 5% goal in targeted precincts. Volunteers for the campaign came from Howard University, A. Phillip Randolph Institute, NAACP Voter Fund and numerous local churches.

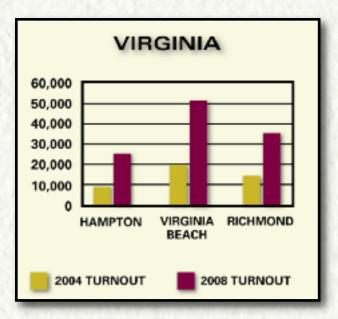


The operation targeted 36 precincts and 61,494 voters, who were contacted via canvassing, phone banking and robo-calls. The transportation program moved over 500 voters to the polls.

#### Virginia (Feb. 12, 2008)

In Virginia, PowerPAC.org concentrated its efforts in the cities of Hampton, Norfolk, Richmond and Petersburg. We also had target precincts in the cities of Virginia Beach and Roanoke. Turnout numbers showed significant increases in all six cities, with Petersburg City showing the greatest gain at 214.3%. Three of the cities in the heavily populated, militaryconcentrated Hampton Roads metropolitan area followed: Hampton turnout increased 189.2 percent, while Virginia Beach, the largest city in the commonwealth, posted a 162 percent increase. Norfolk turnout increased 148.3 percent from 2004 to 2008. smallest increases came in the capital city of Richmond (133.6 percent increase in turnout) and in Roanoke (117.4 percent increase).

Kirk Jones led efforts to increase voter turnout through the commonwealth of Virginia. Mr. Jones is the chair of the Civil



Rights Committee the Communication Workers of America Local 2202. He targeted voters in several locations: the cities of Richmond, Petersburg, Hampton and Norfolk, and a number of counties in northern Virginia.

The project targeted infrequent voters in 30 selected precincts, reaching out to 50,173 voters with a phone banking, canvassing and robocalling program. Voter turnout in the Feb. 12 primary increased well over 5% as a result of this effort. The transportation program moved over 125 voters to the polls.

#### **Texas** (March 4 2008)

PowerPAC partnered with organizations on the ground to open offices in Houston and Dallas in advance of the state's March 4 primary. The lead organization in Houston was SHAPE, a community center geared toward the African-American population in Houston. Deloyd Parker, who runs SHAPE, and headed up PowerPAC's Texas operation, said PowerPAC's resources did more than just produce a GOTV operation—the chance to participate in the historic election actually galvanized the community and brought them closer together.

Seniors at the center were using auto-dialer machines and phone banking African-American voters all day; no one was allowed in the Center without first registering to vote; people came to work their canvassing or phone banking shifts, even when the operation ran out of funds near the end. On Election Day, the 200 people who had been working the primary for the previous 14 days came to the Center for a big feast, and then all went back out to the Texas caucus—most of them for the first time in their lives.

In all, the Texas operation made more than 71,000 phone calls to infrequent voters

and distributed more than 350,000 pieces of literature.

The biggest event took place on the afternoon of March 3 in Houston. PowerPAC partnered with a popular local radio station, KMJQ Radio (Majic 102.1), to put on a Get-Out-The-Vote block party that will educate voters about the "Texas Two-Step"—the voting process that includes a caucus after the polls close—and sign people up for rides to the polls. Radio broadcasters Sam Choice and Carmen Watkins came up with the idea for the event, and PowerPAC supported them. Choice and Watkins enlisted owners of restaurants and cafes in every quadrant of Houston to act as a staging ground for the block party.

About 300 people attended the event, and participated in activities including filling out sample ballots, taking part in trainings for the precinct caucus process, as well as taking dance lessons for those who want to learn the actual "two-step."

#### **Urban Areas**

In addition to the Southern States program, PowerPAC also ran non-partisan ground campaigns and GOTV media in select urban areas of states that were chosen based on the same criteria used to choose the states in the South. Our urban areas program included: California, New York, New Jersey, Wisconsin, Ohio, and Pennsylvania.

#### California (Feb. 5, 2008)

In California, an average of 241 PowerPAC canvassers per day worked heavily African-American neighborhoods in Los Angeles, San Diego, San Bernardino, San Francisco, Alameda and Contra Costa counties. PowerPAC bought demographic data to enhance our voter file database for California, as well as some mapping using Census data, in order to identify precincts with the highest concentrations of African American voters. We contracted with Citizen Services, Inc., and worked in collaboration with the leadership of a network of 300 Black churches for this GOTV project that ran the last 14 days of the election.

The program consisted of canvassing and phone banking a universe of 180,000 voters Feb. 1–3, identifying those who were definitely going to vote in the primary. On Feb. 4, IDd voters were be called, and door hangars with polling place info were put on doors the night of Feb. 4 and early morning of Feb. 5. On Election Day, these voters were tracked and pulled out to the polls.

It is estimated that of 305 precincts targeted in six urban counties, workers completed about 49,000 GOTV calls in the last four days of the effort, resulting in 13,200 positive contacts and an additional 10,000 messages that left voters with polling place information.



The network of African-American churches across the state engaged their memberships in the election with PowerPAC's support, including a major voter registration drive. The programs included GOTV inserts in church bulletins, and vans to pick people up and take them to polls on Election Day.

Statewide turnout surged overall for the Feb. 5th primary, and PowerPAC's analysis of the vote showed that the number of African-Americans voting in the California increased by a whopping 32%—far above our 3–5% increase goal.

#### New York (Feb. 5, 2008)

PowerPAC's program in New York was media-only. We ran radio ads on popular Black radio stations in New York City in the week leading up to the primary. (See Media Report below for links to listen to our ads).

#### New Jersey (Feb. 5, 2008)

In New Jersey, PowerPAC contracted with New Jersey Citizen Action and New Jersey Citizen Action Education Fund to conduct a GOTV operation in African-American targeted counties: Essex (which includes most of our targets in North Jersey); Camden (which includes the City of Camden) and Mercer (includes Trenton).

The operation mobilized hundreds of thousands of citizens, who, because volunteers stood at their doors and emphatically encouraged them, did go out and participate in the historic primary.

The project also allowed these existing groups on the ground to make new relationships with additional organizations, and, to employ new canvassers and field managers that they can add to their stable of vetted, effective personnel for future advocacy and civic engagement projects.

Turnout in the New Jersey primary was the highest in 67 years. New Jersey voters turned out in record numbers, however, turnout was up even more in the major target towns and counties where we conducted GOTV programs. On the next page is a chart that gives a flavor for how much turnout increased in our target towns, compared with the 2006 General Election.

Even more encouraging was that the African-American share of the electorate in New Jersey dramatically increased in the 2008 primary. In the 2008 Democratic Primary, exit polls showed that 25% of the Democratic electorate was African American, compared with less than 10% in 2006.

The GOTV program consisted of canvassing door-to-door, with a target of 60,000 voters, of which 48,775 voters were actually reached on Election Day. In addition, a 30-second robocall recorded by William McNary, President of USAction, went out to 36,474 phone numbers. Here is the text of the robocall:

"This is William McNary calling for New Jersey Citizen Action to ask you to Hitch A Ride With History and Vote today.

The Polls are open from 7am To 8pm, But don't put it off. The minute you put the phone down, go out and vote. Don't miss this historic opportunity to make change in America.

Embrace Hope.... Vote today."

TOWN (COUNTY)	DEM VOTE 2006 GENERAL ELECTION	DEM VOTE 2008 PRIMARY	PERCENTAGE INCREASE
CAMDEN (CAMDEN)	7,869	9,317	118.40%
EAST ORANGE (ESSEX)	10,650	12,463	117.02%
IRVINGTON (ESSEX)	7,521	9,075	120.66%
ORANGE CITY (ESSEX)	4,365	5,186	118.81%
TRENTON (MERCER)	8,770	10,598	120.84%
WILLINGBORO (BURLINGTON)	7,239	8,349	155.33%
PATERSON (PASSAIC)	16,773	17,747	105.81%
TOTALS	63,187	72,735	115.11%

#### Wisconsin (Feb. 19, 2008)

PowerPAC's program in Wisconsin was media-only. We ran radio ads on popular Black radio stations in Milwaukee—which is 42% Black—in the week leading up to the primary. (See Media Report below for links to listen to our ads).

Black turnout in Wisconsin increased overall 2% from turnout numbers in 2004, from 6% to 8% of the electorate.

#### Ohio (March 4, 2008)

PowerPAC had four field offices open in Ohio, focused on the eastern part of the state where no other campaign or outside entity had been trying to mobilize voters. Our work was focused on six cities—Youngstown, Warren, Cleveland, Canton, Akron, Toledo and Cincinnati—and included phone banks, canvassing and rides to the polls.

Workers came from NAACP, Scott High School, Woodward High school, Coalition of Black Trade Unionists, the Urban League and A. Phillip Randolph Institute, and local churches. In all, the operation completed about 70,000 calls and distributed about 190,000 leaflets. About 364 voters were given rides to the polls on Election Day.

Early voting was a main focus of the effort, as bad weather was predicted for the March 4 Election Day.



Reports from the ground were that there was so much excitement in the Black community for getting involved, that they didn't even have to recruit volunteers. People are so excited to get involved in this historic election that they were actually calling them. People are pouring into the offices, begging to be given something to do. As our Field Director Kirk Clay said, "the fish are literally jumping into the boat." It was like nothing they had seen in a long time.

#### Pennsylvania (April 22, 2008)

Our ground campaign in Pennsylvania focused on the cities of Philadelphia and Pittsburgh, both of which have high concentrations of African-American voters. We opened offices in both cities and had paid staffers putting together a GOTV program consisting primarily of canvassing door-to-door of specific voter targets.

The operation began in mid-March with a voter registration drive, yielding about 3,000 new registrants in the areas we worked. Efforts throughout Pennsylvania, including ours, contributed to a total of 160,000 new Democratic voters in the Keystone State.



As with all the other states we worked, we paired the ground program with ad buys on Black radio and print ads in the Black press, building off of the materials we have produced in previous states (see Media Report).

PowerPAC also partnered with hip-hop icon Russell Simmons and the Hip Hop Action Network to put on a major youth GOTV "summit" at Temple University in Pennsylvania on April 20, two days before the Pennsylvania primary.

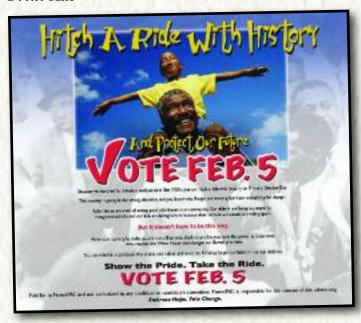
The non-partisan event, which featured 15 popular actors, musicians and other celebrities, drew more than 6,500 attendees, mostly young people of color, and garnered media attention across Pennsylvania raising awareness about the importance of the youth vote.

#### Media Report—Non-Partisan GOTV

As mentioned above, our ground campaign in 13 states was paired with a media campaign that included a combination of print ads in Black newspapers, ads on Black radio stations and an aggressive earned media program including events, placed op-eds and news briefs. All of the media was purchased in the

areas we were doing work, or statewide. What follows are samples of these materials, as well as links to listen to the audio of our radio ads.

#### Print Ads



#### Radio Ads

Please go to www.powerpac.org/gotv\_radio to view a directory that includes samples of all the ads used. Click on each link to listen to the ad. Ads were tailored for each state giving voters accurate information about the Election Day date and times the polls were

open, as well as a phone number hotline to call to get more information.

We also featured a button on the front page of www.powerpac.org that led people to voting information for each state.

#### Earned Media

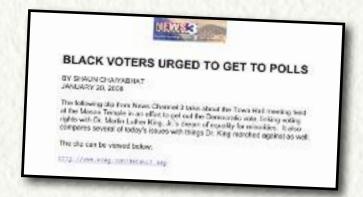
PowerPAC contracted with McKinney & Associates, a well-respected Washington, D.C.-based public relations and media consulting firm, to execute an earned media program that coincided with the launch of our ground campaign in January.

Beginning with a townhall meeting in Memphis on Jan. 19, a series of public events were held on the ground with national and community luminaries in several of our states, attracting local radio and television news coverage. In addition, the firm pitched PowerPAC's ground work to a number of national reporters, generating coverage in the Washington Post, New York Times and Baltimore Sun.

In terms of print media, op-eds written by Rev. Joseph Lowrey and other Civil Rights Movement leaders were placed in Black papers and mainstream press across the country. Weekly news briefs were also sent to a network of more than 90 African-American outlets nationwide.

On the radio, we executed a broadcast tour with community luminaries, frequenting popular talk shows on Black radio.

The news clips pictured here are a sampling of the kind of coverage we received.



# The Washington Post

# GROUP LOOKS TO BOOST BLACK TURNOUT

BY MATTHEW MOSK AND KEVIN MERIDA. JANUARY 26, 2006

The leading Democratic condidates for president continue to benefit subfrom spending by outside groups, though efforts have become more agg on behelf of the one candidate who was most outspoken against such as Barack Obama.

A group called PowerPAC has filed two reports with the Federal Election Committee in the past week revealing that the group spert \$43,000 for planking efforts in California on Oberma's behalf, and another \$16,000 for and newspaper ads in publications targeting African American votors.

The effort appears to run counter to comments Obama made earlier in the campaign, when considerable outside efforts were underway for two of his apponents, Hillary Clinton and John Edwards.

Speaking to MSNBC in December, Oberna complained bitterly about spend by affiliates of the Service Employees International Union on Edwards's beh

"You've got these outside groups that are helping out candidates and it's a vigetting around the campaign finance lows," Obama told the news outlet. "Yo can't say yesterday you don't believe in "em, and today you have three quart of a million dollars being spent for you. You can't just talk the talk. The easier thing in the world is to talk about change during election time."

Obame's campaign has taken issue with the notion that PowerPAC's work on behalf is similar to the labor unions that have helped Edwards. It notes that the group backing fildwards was led by one of the candidate's former close advise That matters, the campaign said, because outside groups are prohibited from coordinating their efforts with a campaign.



# BLACK POWERPAC MACHINE SEEKS TO MOBILIZE VOTERS

BY HAZEL TRICE EDNEY FEBRUARY 1, 2008

In one of the most historical political dection seasons, organizers of African-American voters across the nation – still starkly divided between Serie, Barack Obama and Hillarly Control – are now working to mobilize Black voters to vote in primaries, regardless of who they support.

"We are blending the best parts of traditional cart rights get-out-to-vote operations with maver such cology," says Kirk Clay, organizer for ProverPAC, a non-profit social justice maverage group, which is organizing get out to vote (GOTV) rollins and pit stops in states around the country. "When you're dealing in the primary election, you're looking for those protects of places where Alvison-Americans are more prone to turn out and your in higher numbers." Clay says.

He was preparing for the first stop, which was Mangalis on Jan. 19.
"Our goal is to increase the African-American vote so that they can have impact in the primary election."

Asked if the organization is leaning toward any particular candidate. Clay says the efforts see non-partition, but. "We are very clear that pols above that the more African-Arrandom voters aum out the bottor Barack Obarris will do and that has not discouraged as from increasing Black voter turnout."

The "Southern Strategy" as it is celled in a PowerPAC release, will focus perticularly on eight states. At the Memphis event, hundreds of activists and labor leaders gathered at the historic Meson Tempio, where Dr. Martin Luther King Jr. delivered his last service, the prophetic "Mountain Top" speech.

There, the Rev. Al Strappon - who has not endowed any candidate - cautioned a cheering audience against what he called "widerness talk" and reminded them to define the specific changes that they want, the listed a string of issues that are yet unresolved despite historic candidatess.

"As long as there is inequality, it can hit anybody here." Sharpton said. "They say," back in the civil rights day." You're still in the 'day'. Today, the income level between Blacks and Whites is the some gap as it was 40 years ago.



# SHARPTON ENCOURAGES AFRICAN AMERICANS TO GO TO THE POLLS

BY LORI BROWN JANUARY 20, 2008

A multi-state campaign urging Adrican American voters to go to the polis in this year's presidential primaries visited Memphis' Mason Temple Saturday night, where Rev. Al Sharpton cellwared an impassioned speech.

The event, held by PowerPAC, was almed at getting African Americans to volk Tennessee's upcoming presidential primary. Sharpton said his goal was to urg African Americans to hard politicians accountable on the issues that affect the

"Whoever people decide to vote for is less important to me than what they're voting for," Sharpton said.

"We can get excited about Oberna doing well, and Hillary doing well," he sa "The question is, when the dust settles, what has happened for the people?

At times during his speech Saturday, Sharpton seemed disenchanted will.
Democratic candidates

"Governor Huckabee went to South Carolina and defended the confedera and not one Democrat took him on," he told the crowd.

As Sharpton spoke from the same place where Dr. Martin Luther King spidey before his assassination, he lamented the lack of progress for African Americans forty years taler.

"Today, the income level between blacks and whites is the same gap as forty years ago," he said. "Today we're number one in cleven worst dise America."

PowerPAC's goal is to increase the African American vote in Memphils to five percent on February 5th.

# The Washington Post

# THEY'RE ON A ROLL TO GET OUT THE VOTE

BY KEVIN MERIDA FEBRUARY 8, 2008

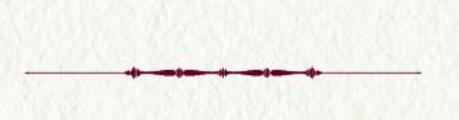
ATLANTA. Feb. 5 — The Communications Workers of America's union half sits on a sprawling parking for off interestra 20, across the street from Mrs. Winner's Chicken & Biscuits. When Charles James armed at 7:20 a.m., the perking follows ready empty, the sky was gray. The air was coall He went treate the half and took a seaf at a table with a phone that soon rang.

"No, you can't register and vote on the same day," he told the woman on the line. "If it's any of my testness, can I ask you who you were going to vote for?" He hung up, dejection on his tabe. "Lost on Charta voter because she's not registered. Doggene at"

By night's end, there were plenty of solers to apere, as Barack Oberta routed Hillary Clinton in the night's first primary win.

But sceres like that one played out Tuesday across the landscape of American politics, as thousands of drivers, door-knockers, phone-bank operators and field generals pushed voters to the polis on the biggest day of the campaign season voters are accustomed to dealing with official compaign vounteers—those who wear candidate T-afrits, chart on comers, carry signs. Presidential campaigns specialists in visitality. Much less viable are operations like the one James ran out of the CWA union half, Local 3204.

James is a longtime labor organizer with many hats. He is a local United Auto Workers trustee, president of the A. Philip Randolph institute in Georgia, vice precident of the Georgia AFL-CIO. On Super Tuesday, though, he was leading a get-out-the-vote team for PowerPAC org. a propriett advocacy group that aims to mobilize black voters and supports Barrios Obarria.





### BARACK THE VOTE!

Our independent campaigns supporting the candidacy of Barack Obama took place in six states, and focused on three demographics that are historic engines for social change:

students and young people, Latinos and the African-American faith community.

Specifically, we were reaching out to new and infrequent voters and trying to move them to the polls for Barack Obama.

PowerPAC's campaign targeting young people focused on California; our campaign targeting Latinos took place in California and Texas; and for the African-American faith community, took place in Louisiana, Maryland, Tennessee, Alabama, Virginia, and Georgia.

In all the states, activities included a combination of media and ground operations. Media focused on radio and print ads in niche markets, but also included a limited TV buy in California. On-the-ground

> operations consisted mostly of canvasing with pro-(see

Obama literature below for examples).

## Students & Young People

In California, PowerPAC's sister organization, Vote Hope, ran student-led operations on some 30 community college and CSU campuses. Students spent 10 months organizing voter registables, tration and getting their fellow students to pledge to vote for Obama.

This ground strategy was augmented by a number of youth-



focused online media ads and PSAs, including one by the rapper and actor Common that ultimately got 60,000 views. We bought ads on Facebook and other youth-focused Wed sites, generating 6 million impressions. Our YouTube videos can be viewed here:

http://www.youtube.com/votehope2008

http://www.youtube.com/powerpacorg

A GOTV campaign targeting 75,000 young voters, ages 18-28, culminated on Election Day with a massive phone bank and canvassing operations in three key regions of the state: Bay Area, Los Angeles and San Diego.

These voters were identified by a paid phone bank program as infrequent voters who planned to vote for Obama. A volunteer and paid operation on Election Day moved about 30,000 of these voters, including rides to the polls.





#### Latinos

In California and Texas, we used culturally relevant and bilingual materials to get out pro-Obama messages to Latino voters, with a focus on younger Latinos. Radio, print, direct mail and Web-based ads reached millions of Latino voters in these states.

In California, we again partnered with our sister organization, Vote Hope, which had been outreaching to Latinos since early 2007, to build on that work in the final days of the campaign before the Feb. 5th primary. We purchased a full-page ad in *La Opinion*, the largest Spanish-language newspaper in the country (see below) and ran Spanish-language and bilingual ads for two weeks prior to the primary on popular radio stations in Northern and Southern California. Our radio ad, Comadres, can be heard at:

## http://www.powerpac.org/obama\_media

Vote Hope also had funded two organizers in the Latino community, Anibal Guerrero and Ana Grande, who registered voters and spread a message about Obama, including a Spanishlanguage flyer, at community events and on campuses. A series of bilingual mini-telenovelas were produced to help educate Latino voters about Obama, and organizers used the new media to organize people at community centers and through a house party program.



The Texas program was executed by PowerPAC in partnership with professionals on the ground with experience running Texas campaigns. We

produced a series of mail pieces targeting about 250,000 Latino households in South Texas. The first mailer, which served as an introduction to Obama and his stances on the issues, dropped on the day early voting began in Texas. The early-voting program was critical, because as much as half of the Latino electorate in South Texas participated in early voting before the actual March 4 election.

Spanish-language and bilingual radio ads were an important piece of the effort, and helped to reinforce the mail program.

You can view all of the Texas mail pieces, and listen to the radio ads, here:

www.powerpac.org/TexasLatinoOutreach





## African-American Faith Community

In California, PowerPAC helped to organize more than 55 prominent pastors of African-American churches to endorse Obama, and to participate in media campaigns to get the word out to the broader faith community. We produced a series of television ad s featuring testimonials about Obama from prominent Black pastors, which ran statewide in California on BET, and in some areas, Lifetime and Oxygen.

You can view the ads here:

## http://www.youtube.com/powerpacorg

We produced a print ad in California that was reproduced in Maryland, featuring the list of Pastors who had endorsed Obama (*see right*).

Radio ads were also used in Maryland, Louisiana and Alabama as persuasion tools for infrequent Black voters, focusing on themes and messages of faith and family. You can listen to the ads here:

http://www.powerpac.org/obama\_media

## Alabama Field Operation (Feb. 5, 2008)

PowerPAC's ground efforts in Alabama began in late December, and contributed to Barack Obama winning the state on Super Tuesday. Even though Feb. 5 was also the



beginning of Mardi Gras in communities like Mobile, and despite the severe weather that pummeled the South, Alabama recorded historic turnout for a presidential primary. Forty percent of registered voters went to the polls on Feb. 5, according to unofficial voting figures, which is 11 percentage points higher than the largest presidential primary in Alabama history. In the Democratic primary, Obama won by significant margins all but one of the counties in which PowerPAC directed its efforts.

The Alabama effort was led by Latasha Brown, one of the leading political organizers in the Deep South. Volunteers for the campaign came from the National Pan-Hellenic Council, Montgomery Improvement Association, the NAACP, One for Life prison outreach, Tuskegee University and numerous local churches. They contacted and mobilized about 150,000 voters across the state and urged them to vote for Obama.

City-based coordinators worked in targeted precincts to identify Obama voters through phone calls, canvassing and leafleting. At right is a poster used to recruit Obama voters.



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