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2006 SEP 21 P 12:17

September 19, 2006

General Counsel  
Federal Election Commission  
999 E Street, N.W.  
Washington, DC 20463

MUR # 5820

2006 SEP 21 P 1:30

Re: Complaint against the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now ("Acorn") And Acorn Affiliated Entity, Project Vote

Dear Sir:

Pursuant to 2 U.S.C. § 437g, and upon information and belief, this complaint concerns violations of the Federal Election Campaign Act of 1971, as amended, 2 U.S.C. § 431 *et seq.* ("the Act"), and Commission regulations at 11 C.F.R. § 1.1 *et seq.*, by the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now ("Acorn") and its affiliated entity Project Vote.

Specifically, based upon publicly available information found on Acorn's web site, depositions and exhibits filed in the federal case *Mac Stuart v. Acorn*, and press coverage of Acorn and affiliated organization, there is reason to believe that Acorn and Project Vote must file the independent expenditure reports required by 2 U.S.C. § 434(c) and 11 C.F.R. §§ 104.4(c), 104.5(c)(2) and 109.2 from 2004 through the current reporting period. Further, Acorn and Project Vote have apparently received contributions or made expenditures whose aggregate value is in excess of \$1,000 during a calendar year and yet they have violated the registration requirements for political committees under the Act and Commission regulations. See 2 U.S.C. §§ 431(4)(A), 433(a); 11 C.F.R. §§ 100.5(a), 102.1(d).

#### I. STATEMENT OF THE FACTS

**A. *In the 2004 General Election Acorn Engaged In A Coordinated Campaign With The Express Purpose of Defeating Republican Candidates for Federal Office and Supporting Democrat Candidates For Federal Office.***

In October 2003 Acorn prepared a campaign plan called "Floridians for All". (Tab 1). In this campaign plan Acorn states as their objective to "defeat George W. Bush and other Republicans by increasing Democrat turnout in a close election\*\*\* A targeted campaign that \*\*\* would not only make the difference for the Democrat Presidential candidate but also lend significant support to Congressional and local races. \*\*\* [this campaign plan] will result in a cohesive strategy to retake the White House in 2004 and rebuild the Florida Democrat Party." The specific stated "goal" of

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this campaign plan was "To increase voter turnout of working class, mainly Democrat voters *without increasing opposition turnout.*" (emphasis supplied).

Acorn's campaign plan was coordinated with other organizations, "We will mobilize a set of organizations in the state and in support of the campaign \*\*\* We have already received the endorsements of the two largest labor organizations in Florida, the Florida AFL-CIO and the Florida Education Association \*\*\* This major institutional support is only the beginning of our coalition building around the state which will result in the endorsements of over 500 organizations statewide. \*\*\* Realizing that no one organization is large enough to run a ballot campaign alone, our coalition will rely on mobilizing our membership and coordinating our message."

These same organizations were also signatories to the "Victory 2004 Florida Coordinated Plan" dated September 3, 2004. (Tab 3). Specifically, the following additional organizations were not just parties to this coordinated plan but actually signed the "Coordinated Plan" agreement affirming that, "I hereby agree to participate in the coordinated campaign, Florida Victory 2004, and to contribute field and fundraising help at the levels ascribed below." The signatories to this coordinated campaign plan included the "Democrat National Committee, Tom, Shea of the Kerry Edwards 2004, Scott Maddox of the Florida Democrat Party, Congressman Kendrick Meek, Kerry-Edward co-chair, Cindy Hall, Florida AFL-CIO, Ken Robinson, Florida Victory 2004, Andy Ford, Florida Education Association, Alexander Clem, Academy of Florida Trial Lawyers and Monica Russo, Florida SEIU."

Part of the Acorn campaign plan was carried out through Acorn's 501(c) (3) subsidiary organization, Project Vote and an affiliated organization, the SEIU. (See, Tab 6 – Acorn's Web site identifying affiliation with Project Vote and SEIU. See also, Tab 4, Plaintiff's Exhibit 4 – "Joint Effort Agreement" between Acorn and Project Vote/Voting for America, Inc. and Tab 11, SEIU press release "Anatomy of an Election Strategy" describing SEIU's coordinated campaign efforts and support for American Families United, Voting Is Power and other 501(c)(3) organizations.) Brian Kettering, Acorn employee and author of the Floridians For All, testified that, "Project Vote is a national voter registration organization. They focus on voter registration in minority communities across the country. They often work very closely with ACORN, so we know them quite well." (Tab 2, p 10).

Acorn's campaign document describes not just a targeted Democrat voter registration and get-out-the-vote effort but also a media strategy. "Developing a strong message through paid but also earned media will be pivotal to the success of our campaign."

While this campaign plan referenced a minimum wage initiative, it was expressly stated to be a get-out-the-vote effort intended to support Democrat candidates and in opposition to Republican candidates, including President Bush. Indeed, the primary purpose and stated goal of this campaign was to defeat President Bush and increase the turnout of only those voters that supported Democrat candidates for federal and state office. The minimum wage initiative was expressly stated to be a subordinate objective to the primary objective of increasing Democrat voter

turnout in a federal election. This campaign plan states that it was expressly coordinated with other organizations, SEIU and AFL-CIO and was coordinated with American Families United.

Acorn's 2004 political campaign activity was not limited to Florida. Acorn was active in other "battleground" states as well. See, Lancaster Newspapers, "Lancaster County, PA. \*\*\* Get-out-the-vote, or GOTV, drives may be the most critical element of a campaign. In a presidential campaign whose focus is on the ground game, expect local GOTV efforts to be record in scope. \*\*\* In a boost for the Democrats, a team from the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, or Acorn, has been doing voter contact in the city in recent days. Acorn held a registration drive in Lancaster just before the Oct. 4 deadline. One resident described the Acorn workers as "really aggressively tracking down voters. They are all from out of town. I have never seen this intensity in my neighborhood." (Tab 7).

***B. Acorn's Campaign Plan Was Funded with Undisclosed and Unlimited Contributions (Including Contributions to Public Charities) and Funds from American Families United.***

Acorn's campaign was funded through monies contributed to 501(c)(3) and 501(c)(4) organizations. These funds were not disclosed or reported to the Federal Election Commission under any provision of federal campaign finance law. Acorn wrote, "We will raise sufficient funds to drive our field and GOTV strategies, pay for campaign necessities, and not compete substantially with other Democrat causes. Through a combination of 501c3 (sic) and 501c4 (sic) dollars, we will raise the necessary funds to facilitate voter registration and voter mobilization statewide, and educate our voters \*\* We are currently in the process of assembling a national fundraising committee, which includes foundation officers, major Democrat fundraisers and other key Progressive allies. This committee will help us raise funds from both the foundation 501c3 (sic) world for education and outreach, as well as 501c4 (sic) political money for partisan outreach."

Acorn and Project Vote also received contributions from American Families United to support this campaign plan and such contributions were not reported to the Federal Election Commission. (Tab 2, p. 63 lines 20 – p. 64, line 6. Deposition of Acorn employee Frank Houston. See also, Tab 4, Plaintiff's Exhibit 10 -.) Acorn's 2004 Florida campaign plan was part of a coordinated national campaign plan supervised by Acorn and Project Vote. (Tab 2, p. 78 – 80)

The voter registration and get-out-the-vote efforts of Acorn and Project Vote in the 2004 campaign were *not* a non-partisan effort but rather were clearly and expressly stated to be part of a coordinated national campaign to elect Democrat candidates and defeat Republican candidates for federal office. The stated "goal" of the Acorn campaign plan was "To increase voter turnout of working class, mainly Democrat voters *without increasing opposition turnout.*" Mac Stuart – former Acorn coordinator – testified that Acorn was fraudulently withholding Republican voter registrations." (Tab 5. P. 63.)

By reference to the Federal Election Commissions' web site, neither Acorn nor Project Vote have filed any reports or disclosure with the Federal Election Commission for their activity in 2004 or current activity.

**C. *Acorn Has A Past History Of Engaging In Illegal Political Activity.***

In the past Acorn (or its affiliated entities) has been found to have engaged in illegal campaign activity directly or through its subsidiary and affiliate organizations. The U.S. House of Representatives issued a report (104-875) stating that Acorn and Acorn's affiliated Housing Corporation engaged in illegal campaign activity using federal funds. (Tab 9). According to this report, in 1995 AmeriCorps gave a large grant to an advocacy group called ACORN. AmeriCorp recruits were assigned to lobby for legislation, collect dues, register voters, and participate in political demonstrations. \*\*\* The Acorn Housing Corporation was forced to return a \$1.1 million grant.

For further discussion of Acorn's use of federal and tax -exempt funds for federal campaign activity See *Acorn & the Money Tree, Taxpayer money helps fund voter fraud.* Meghan Clyne, National Review. (Tab 8)

**D. *Acorn and Project Vote Are Currently Engaged In A Coordinated Campaign To Effect The Outcome Of A Number Of U.S. Senate and Congressional Races In the 2006 General Election, Especially in Pennsylvania and Ohio among other states.***

Acorn and Project Vote appear to be engaged in federal campaign activity in Pennsylvania, Ohio and other states that appears similar to their activity in 2004. See, Pennsylvania Acorn and Project Vote Election Administration Action Agenda, March 29, 2005 in which Acorn and Project Vote jointly state, "During the 2004 Presidential Election, Pennsylvania ACORN members and canvassers registered more than 132,710 voters across the state in 15 counties and increased voter participation by 35% over the 2000 election. \*\*\* We are dedicated to providing quality voter education and conducting mass voter registration and mobilization of voters in Pennsylvania." (Tab 12, p. 12).

Project Vote on their web site (<http://projectvote.org/about-us/our-staff.html>) identifies their staff. Zach Polett is identified as the current Executive Director. Mr. Polett was identified by Mr. Kettering in the Mac Stuart litigation as the individual with most knowledge of how Acorn and Project Vote coordinated their activity in that case. (Tab 2, p.33). The Project Vote web site identifies Mr. Polett and other individuals as involved in Project Vote's current campaign activity in Pennsylvania, Michigan, Maryland, Ohio and Florida as well as other states. Many of these individuals are specifically identified for their experience as campaign operatives. To wit:

Zach Polett, *Project Vote Executive Director*, has spent the past 28 years as a full-time community, labor and electoral organizer. Mr. Polett graduated cum laude from Harvard College with a B.A. in Government & Philosophy, and spent two years at Stanford University School of Medicine before starting full-time organizing in 1975. He has served as a community organizer with Arkansas ACORN, as founding

organizer of Louisiana ACORN, as an ACORN head organizer and regional director in several states and as ACORN's national director of political operations. In this capacity, he has coordinated voter registration drives in most ACORN states and has worked on a series of campaigns to eliminate obstacles to voter registration, including a major Arkansas campaign in the 1980's that led to the ACORN v. Clinton voter registration lawsuit, in which plaintiffs were represented by Lani Guinier and Deval Patrick of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund. Starting in 1985 he built a union of low-wage health care and service workers, Local 100A of the Service Employees International Union, AFL-CIO, that won the first homecare collective bargaining agreement in the South."

"Jehmu Greene, *National Director, Project Vote*. Jehmu's extensive background in public service and issue advocacy has propelled her to become one of the nation's leading experts on empowering disenfranchised citizens through voting and activism. Prior to Project Vote, Jehmu served as President and Executive Director of Rock the Vote where under her leadership, Rock the Vote's membership grew from 1,500 to 1 million and the organization registered 1.4 million new voters. She previously served as the Director of Women's Outreach and Southern Political Director at the Democratic National Committee (DNC) and has worked on numerous political campaigns. She currently serves on the Board of Directors of the American Prospect Magazine, Demos, and Young Voter PAC. \*\*\*

Shawn Carter, Pennsylvania Election Administration Coordinator. From coordinating voter registration drives on college campuses to advocating for children and low-income families, Shawn brings a varied set of experiences to Project Vote. Shawn has served as Deputy Director of the Pittsburgh Young Voter Alliance, and Deputy Field Director then Deputy Political Director for Councilman Bill Peduto's mayoral and council re-election campaigns. \*\*\*

Brian Mellor, Regional Director and Counsel brings to Project Vote a wide array of legal and campaign experience. Prior to attending law school, he worked for two years as a community organizer with ACORN. After graduating from Boston University Law School in 1983, he worked as a field representative with the National Treasury Employees Union, as a junior partner in a small progressive law firm, and in a top management position with the Neighborhood Assistance Corporation (NACA). With NACA, Mr. Mellor participated in a number of high profile campaigns against predatory lending practices.

Michael Slater, Director, Election Administration Program, has thirteen years of community, labor and faith-based organizing experience. He has previously served as Political Director for SEIU Local 503 in Oregon, Executive Director of the Nevada Interfaith Council for Worker Justice, Organizing Team Leader for SEIU District 1199 Ohio, West Virginia and Kentucky, and Head Organizer for Minnesota ACORN. A sample of his contributions include passage in Minneapolis and St. Paul

of two of the country's first living wage ordinances, \*\*\* Michael began his career in progressive politics as an intern for United States Senator Paul Wellstone. \*\*\*"

Acorn sponsored voter registration efforts have involved fraudulent voter registrations. The *Columbus Dispatch* reported on August 11, 2006 that "Workers paid by a liberal group to register voters in Franklin County have turned in more than 500 forms with nonexistent addresses and potentially fake signatures, election officials said yesterday. \*\*\* All the questionable cards were turned in by workers for Ohio Acorn, a group that is also paying people to gather signatures for a proposed November ballot initiative to raise the state's minimum wage." (Tab 10).

Similarly, the Acorn affiliate SEIU states that it paid \$1 Million to the 501(c)(3) organization Voting Is Power for a "registration project in Florida and Pennsylvania" that included 78 full time workers. (Tab 11 SEIU Press Release, p.3) Voting Is Power is the organization that was reported to have been involved in a vote fraud scheme in Philadelphia involving non-citizens. (See, Tab 13, *Wall Street Journal* article and copies of source documents.)

## II. LEGAL ANALYSIS

### A. *Acorn and Project Vote must file the independent expenditure reports required by the Act and Commission regulations.*

Commission regulations provide that any person who makes independent expenditures aggregating must file a signed statement or report on FEC Form 5 with the Commission. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.2.

The expenditures associated with the Acorn campaign activity in 2004 as part of the Floridians for All campaign and their current and continuing campaign activity constitute "expenditures" under the Act and Commission regulations, 2 U.S.C. § 431(9) and 11 C.F.R. § 100.8, because Acorn's expenditures were expressly made for the purpose of influencing an election for Federal office, namely defeating President Bush expressly supporting the election of Democrat candidates for federal office. Therefore, the costs associated with www.gwbush.com constitute "expenditures" under the Act and Commission regulations.

Accordingly, Acorn and Project Vote must file the semi-annual independent expenditure reports required by the Act and Commission regulations for the 2004 activity and any similar continuing election and campaign activity. See 11 C.F.R. §§ 109.2(a)(2) & 104.5(c)(2). Failure to file the required independent expenditure reports constitutes a violation of the Act and Commission regulations and would warrant a through investigation by the Commission.

### B. *Acorn and Project Vote have violated the Act and Commission regulations by failing to register as a political committee.*

The Act and Commission regulations define a "political committee" as a committee, club, association or other group of persons which receives contributions or makes expenditures

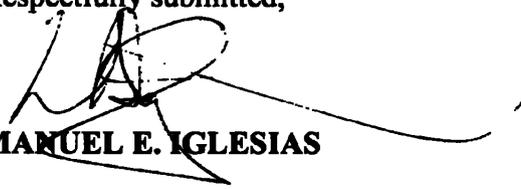
aggregating in excess of \$1,000 during a calendar year. See 2 U.S.C. § 431(4); 11 C.F.R. § 100.5. The costs associated with activity described in the Floridians For All coordinated campaign plan and related communications that advocate the election or defeat of a clearly identified federal candidate constitute expenditures under the Act and Commission regulations. See 11 C.F.R. § 109.1. If a group of individuals satisfy the definition of a political committee, they are required to file a Statement of Organization within ten days of qualifying. See 11 C.F.R. § 102.1(d).

A review of the Commission's web site indicates that neither Acorn nor Project Vote have filed a Statement of Organization with the Commission. If the costs associated with the Floridians For All campaign in 2004 and the cost of continuing similar activity of Acorn and Project Vote in 2006 exceed \$1,000 in any year, then they are required to file a Statement of Organization. This failure to file such a statement constitutes a violation of the Act and requires further investigation by the Commission.

**III. CONCLUSION**

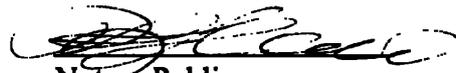
Acorn and Project Vote's failure to comply with the Act and Commission regulations warrants further investigation and enforcement by the Commission. Therefore, the Commission should immediately investigate this matter and find reason to believe that Acorn and Project Vote have violated the Act and Commission regulations for the reasons set forth herein.

Respectfully submitted,

  
**MANUEL E. IGLESIAS**

STATE OF FLORIDA     )  
  )  
MIAMI-DADE COUNTY    )

SWORN TO AND SUBSCRIBED before me on this 20<sup>th</sup> day of Sept., 2006.

  
Notary Public

My Commission Expires:

Attachments

NOTARY PUBLIC-STATE OF FLORIDA  
 Patricia L. Llano  
Commission # DD435257  
Expires: JULY 16, 2009  
Bonded Through Atlantic Bonding Co., Inc.

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ACORN's  
Political  
Activity

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TAB 1

# Floridians for All

## Campaign Plan for a November 2004 Minimum Wage Constitutional Amendment Initiative

October 1, 2003

Prepared by:

**Florida ACORN**  
Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now  
1830 49<sup>th</sup> St. South  
St. Petersburg, FL 33707  
[www.acorn.org](http://www.acorn.org)

**For More Information Contact:**

**Brian Kettenring**  
Florida ACORN Head Organizer

2006 SEP 21 P 1:31  
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## Introduction

A Florida constitutional amendment initiative to create a minimum wage of \$6.15 with indexing will help defeat George W. Bush and other Republicans by increasing Democratic turnout in a close election, will deliver wage gains to at least 300,000 Floridians, and will catalyze the construction of permanent progressive political infrastructure that will help redirect Florida politics in a more progressive, Democratic direction.

The 2004 election in Florida is shaping up to be just as close as 2000, which Al Gore won by 537 votes. Although there have been demographic changes and growth through out Florida when the 2000 total are adjusted for 2004 it is still razor thin. Unofficial NCEC analysis shows that Gore's adjusted margin is 404, combined with the 2004 adjusted Nader voter- 25,138 (assuming 25% stay home, 25% vote for Bush and 50% vote for Gore). The 2004 adjusted margin is 25,542-too close for comfort.

The 2004 projections indicate addition turnout of 370,000 a total of 6.4 million, increasing the vote goal by 200,000 in order to have a winning margin. The other significant change in preliminary analysis is that the electorate will have 10% fewer ticket splitters than 2000. With less persuadable voters, the need to increase base voters and turning out more infrequent voters is critical to reach the vote goal in Florida.

Given that turnout is down when the economy it bad, since our voters are more discouraged, the need for a exciting ballot initiative strategy that works to address the needs of the most economically needy, and also likely Democratic voters, is a fundamental part of a winning strategy in Florida.

Florida ACORN is building a coalition, called Floridians for All, that will unite labor unions, community and civil rights organizations, the faith community, elected officials, sectors of the business community, political organizations, and thousands of grassroots activists behind the proposed strategy. At the same time, we are building the infrastructure to carry out the campaign and ensure the accomplishment of our objectives.

The empirical evidence from other states indicates that initiatives generally increase voter turnout, and that minimum wage initiatives can significantly increase the turnout of supporters without increasing turnout from the opposition. ACORN's own experience running municipal and state minimum wage ballots [Denver, Houston (1996), Missouri (1996), New Orleans (2002)] supports the conclusion that these efforts are highly motivating to low-wage voters. In 2000, 6.1 million voters came to the polls in Florida, a turnout of approximately 70%. A targeted campaign that works to turn out 1% of that electorate, approximately 61,000 voters, would not only make the difference for the Democratic Presidential candidate but also lend significant support to Congressional and local races. As an example, Congressional District 5 was won by conservative Republican Ginny Brown-Waite, by little over 4,000 votes. From the top of the ticket on down, a ballot initiative strategy which mobilizes infrequent voters and energizes

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unregistered Democratic constituency will help defeat George W. Bush and allow Floridians to vote themselves a raise.

An estimated 300,000 Florida workers would receive a direct raise from our proposal. Moreover, thousands more would receive residual raises because of their wage level just above the new minimum. Floridians sorely need this proposed raise. In 2001, over 28% of Florida's workers earned less than the poverty line (approximately \$8.70 an hour). A full 20% of those workers earned less than \$7.69 an hour, a result that can be partially explained by the concentration of workers in the lowest wage job sectors – retail and service. A whopping 37.3% of the state's workforce is employed in service sector jobs, with another 19.6% in the low wage retail sector. The additional earnings of minimum wage workers, almost \$700 million in the first year alone, would be directly pumped back into the economy, helping to stimulate the stagnant economy created under the watch of Bush's destructive tax cuts. Not only is this proposal beneficial to Florida's economy, it also helps to seed a mass constituency for future change.

Because we are starting this campaign early, and because we have a plan, the Floridians for All Campaign will challenge the institutional forces for progressive and Democratic change in the state to build permanent political capacity. This is particularly important to rehabilitating the long-term prospects of our side. In a state where Democrats control only 53 of 160 legislative seats, and zero Constitutional offices, the need to rebuild infrastructure and capacity to win, has never been more important. For example, the signature gathering phase of the campaign will lead to the construction of a vast database of hundreds of thousands of economic justice activists and voters in the state. These are the same voters the Democratic Party must court and win to regain a presence in state politics. The campaign will also force organizations like ACORN to build massive field capacity to deliver these necessary signatures and GOTV. A vast network of activists and voters, combined with a sophisticated field campaign will act as a unifying force among Democratic electoral forces. The combined strength of community, labor, and faith organizations committed to mobilizing their members and leaders at the grassroots level, will result in a cohesive strategy to retake the White House in 2004 and rebuild the Florida Democratic Party.

### **Campaign Goals**

The goals of this campaign are threefold:

1. 1. To increase voter turnout of working class, mainly Democratic voters without increasing opposition turnout;
2. 2. To increase the power of progressive constituencies by moving a mass agenda, putting together the capacity to get on the ballot and win, and by putting our side on the offensive;
3. 3. To deliver a wage increase to hundreds of thousands of Floridians.

Increasing turnout is crucial to a successful 2004 electoral strategy from the top of the ticket all the way down, through the many key races in Florida that include not only the

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Presidency, but also a key Senate race, Congressional seats and also significant turnover in the Florida Legislature. Given these many key races, exciting and mobilizing constituency has never been more important, but in order to do this there must be a compelling issue on the ballot. Though presidential year elections always result in higher turnout, the 2000 elections demonstrate the importance of every vote in Florida, and we do not want to leave turnout to chance. These turnout figures from the most recent Florida elections demonstrate the overall decline in voter participation and the need to refocus efforts on mobilizing and motivating our base.

1992	83%
1994	66%
1996	67%
1998	49%
2000	70%
2002	55%

General Election Turnout Statistics from the Florida Secretary of State  
<http://election.dos.state.fl.us/online/voterpercent.shtml>

Giving our constituency the opportunity to vote themselves a raise is probably the most compelling reason to go the ballot box. Candidates will make many promises, but turning out to vote for a higher minimum wage is a voter's guaranteed chance to affect real change at the ballot box.

The process of building a statewide network of progressive forces can be accelerated greatly through the use of the minimum wage ballot initiative. Though there are many groups that represent and advocate for the needs of social justice, civil liberties, and environmental concerns, the strength of these forces is limited through a lack of coordination amongst these groups. While the groups promote diverse agendas, a coalition of necessity is required in the face of organized and unilateral support amongst opposition groups. This ballot initiative will bring together progressive forces from around the state around a common goal: increasing turnout in the 2004 election in order to support campaigns which represent the interests of all our groups.

Approximately 303,000 workers would be directly affected by a minimum wage increase, putting millions of dollars into the pockets of working families across Florida. In addition to the workers who are directly affected, many more will benefit through the rising tide of wages that results from raising the baseline wage level. Unlike tax cut policies which supposedly put money into peoples pockets, but really just raid state and federal treasuries, a minimum wage increase will put real in the hands of those who need it the most: working families.

### Campaign Strategy

We define winning here as accomplishing the three campaign objectives:

1. 1. Driving heightened Democratic turnout;
2. 2. Passing the initiative
3. 3. Building permanent political capacity for future gains.

Our plan to win centers on a series of strategic premises, layed out as follows:

1. First, we will divide the electorate into targeted groups of voters/potential voters, and make a strategic plan vis-à-vis each group. We are in the process of completing this plan, but roughly, the categories/plans are as follows:

**\*African American voters –** According to NCEC, there are 440,000 unregistered VAP (Voting Age Population) African-Americans in Florida. Of the 440,000 unregistered voters statewide, 176,000 of these voters live in the 475 majority African-American precincts in Florida. This campaign will work to register 50,000 of these potential voters through voter registration drives in the following major metropolitan areas:

VAP (from 2000)	Total VAP	White	Latino	Black	County
Miami	283,673	32,116	195,859	49,000	1.7M
M-Dade					
Orlando	144,987	81,100	23,414	32,563	670K
Orange					
Tampa	228,681	126,387	42,711	50,109	746K
Hillsborough					
Fort Lauderdale	122,821	77,807	11,282	28,620	1.2M
Broward					
St. Petersburg	194,796	141,797	7,618	36,752	744K
Pinellas					
Jacksonville	539,278	353,983	20,759	139,700	573,888
Duval					
Tallahassee	124,431	74,942	5,341	39,327	
Leon	188,445				

This potential universe of newly registered voters, and highly motivated activists can be the deciding factor in the 2004 election. Registering 50,000 new African-American voters in these majority precincts can result in a net vote gain of approximately 21,000 votes (assuming 70% turnout of new registrations and 60% approval for the measure).

**\*Non-Cuban Latino voters –** There are 800,000 Hispanic voters in Florida, 400,000 of whom are non-Cuban, and 345,000 new potential Hispanic voters of Voting Age Population. The Hispanic population is the fastest growing population in Florida, and presents the Democratic Party with an opportunity to build a new, revitalized constituency within Florida. While non-Cuban Hispanic voters have traditionally voted

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Democratic in Florida, the community as a whole has shown significant support for Governor Bush, as evidenced by his substantial in the 2002 gubernatorial race. In order for Democrats to hold this growing population, they must figure out a way to excite Hispanics inspite of the connection that has been created between Gov. Bush and Hispanic voters. The minimum wage ballot initiative is the very type of economic issue that can drive Hispanic turnout, both away from Gov. Bush, but also from the traditional Republican strongholds in the Cuban community. According to Sergio Bendixen, of the 400,000 Cuban voters in Florida, 250,000 of them are "economic refugees" as opposed to "political refugees" who are hard-line anti-Castro and thus strong Republican supporters: Economic refugees are the product of the Mariel boatlift, according to Bendixen, and are more likely to respond to economic concerns. Based on this assessment, the minimum wage campaign could be the very issue that Democratic candidates need to drive turnout in this key constituency.

Floridians for All will register 1/3 of the potential 2000 Census VAP in Miami (195,859) and Orlando (23,414) which will result in 72,360 new registered voters and a gain of 30,391 new votes (based on 70% turnout and 60% favorability)

\*Union members -- The AFL-CIO is formulating a very targeted plan for its members in Florida in 2004. Floridians for All is coordinating with labor as to how best use this effort to the fullest advantage. Many union members are not yet registered, and this is a priority in 2003. Union members are registered at approximately a 60% rate in Florida. Because a number of these voters are Republican or swing voters, the AFL-CIO is going to be targeting registrations and mobilization efforts in Democratic leaning precincts in order to best mobilize their members "on the right issues". Union members have demonstrated that they do not like to be told to vote for a particular candidate. Instead, members respond more favorably to discussions about issues, and where the candidates stand. The minimum wage initiative is an excellent issue for unions to use as a mobilizing tool because it is an issue that labor has a strong history of supporting.

2. Throughout the entire course of this campaign, we will ultimately register 100,000 new poor and working class voters. We will database these voters and integrate them centrally into our strategy. In ACORN's past work, we find that *80% of new registrants vote if a phone number is obtained and used*. The petition gathering process is the opportunity to build a statewide database of working families and activists numbering in the hundreds of thousands. In addition to utilizing phone numbers acquired through petition gathering, we will also develop an extensive email database and the capacity to mass-mail to these voters. The petition give voters the option to provide both phone numbers and email addresses, which we are enthusiastically encouraging.

In early signature gathering efforts we have found that 20% of respondents are providing email addresses; a response rate that would result in an email database of at least 100,000 voters. This database could turn out to be one of the most powerful components of the entire campaign as we build a statewide operation for Election Day 2004. The ability to

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mass-email constituents on upcoming events, releases of new studies, and just generally reach out to supporters in a extremely cost efficient manner is a very powerful tool.

3. We will build the field capacity to directly and personally reach those poor and working class, Democratic voters who will not be reached by labor or other committed forces. These are the voters who we register during the petition gathering process who we will be able to reach through phonebanking, mail, and most important precinct walking and Election Day turnout strategies. We have already started to build this field capacity through the development of a field canvas program. The canvas works to reach both constituents and other voters through direct contact at the doors. An individual canvasser is able to reach approximately 60 voters per night and have conversations with XX voters. Currently we have a canvas staff of 10 people in Orlando and Tallahassee resulting in direct and indirect contact with over 600 voters per night. A field canvas of 45 people in several locations across the state will ultimately be able to reach over 13,000 voters per week resulting in both signatures, phone numbers, emails and donations. Overall, in the course of the campaign, we will reach these voters at least 7 times, through doorknocking, direct mail, phone calls and email where available. The opportunity to utilize email and the web is extensive particularly in neighborhoods we are targeting through our canvass. Our website at [www.floridiansforall.org](http://www.floridiansforall.org) will allow for updates, a download of the petition and also secure online donations.

4. In order to best focus our energies on field and turnout capacity, we will "outsource" those elements of the campaign that are not as critical to directly increasing turnout and building permanent political capacity. This means that paid media and television components of the campaign that are important to persuading the existing "swing" electorate to vote for our issue, while key to winning, will be handled externally so that the campaign can focus on new voters and Democratic constituency turnout. While media will play a crucial role in whether the question is approved by the voters, this element of the electorate is not the focus of our field efforts. The minimum wage initiative is committed to registering and mobilizing new voters from within traditional Democratic strongholds in an effort to drive turnout to the polls. These strategies are detailed in more depth later in this plan.

5. We will put 2,000 volunteers and workers on the doors from April to August, and 3,000 from Labor Day through Election Day. Many of these people will come from organizations that have affiliated with the campaign and through our field captain system that is being created to build the volunteer base statewide. One part of this volunteer network is our March primary program during which we will staff polling sites across the state in order to collect signatures from registered voters going to the polls. The teachers union has shown this strategy to be a very successful one, having gathered over 400,000 signatures in one day alone! At even a quarter of this effort, Floridians for All will be able to gather 100,000 signatures, nearly 14% of our 700,000 goal in one day. We are working to develop a network of poll captains around the state who will be responsible for making this massive one-day mobilization possible.

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6. We will mobilize a set of organizations and forces in the state and in support of the campaign so as to succeed in mobilizing the grassroots and withstanding the onslaught from the business elites. In the early stages of the campaign we have already received the endorsements of the two largest labor organizations in Florida, the Florida AFL-CIO and the Florida Education Association (a joint NEA and AFT union). This major institutional support is only the beginning of our coalition building around the state which will result in the endorsements of over 500 organizations statewide. We will also create a steering committee of elected officials and key supporters from this list of institutional partners to oversee and give leadership to the effort. We will enlist the support of organizations in targeted sectors: e.g. African American churches, community organizations, local unions, local activist groups, etc. Our coalition is already gathering endorsements from local churches, community organizations and local union affiliates. We will mobilize the legal capacity, led by the Brennan Center, and the policy capacity, led currently by the Economic Policy Institute, and the communications capacity, led by the Center for Community Change, to run an aggressive statewide campaign.

7. We will raise sufficient funds to drive our field and GOTV strategies, pay for campaign necessities, and not compete substantially with other Democratic causes. Through a combination of 501c3 and 501c4 dollars, we will raise the necessary funds to facilitate voter registration and voter mobilization statewide, and educate our voters about the benefits of an increase in the minimum wage.

#### **Traditional Assumptions**

GOTV programs not designed to specifically promote a ballot initiative, but designed solely around candidates and political parties sometimes lack the personal handle that excites voters and gets them to the polls. This is not to say that extensive fieldwork through doorknocking, phonebanking, direct mail and large Election Day activities are not a successful means to turnout constituency voters. Traditional GOTV does this very well. The minimum wage ballot campaign is meant to complement that type of GOTV program by appealing to the *non-traditional* voters, those infrequent voters who cannot be counted on to turnout through traditional means, and instead need a more compelling reason to vote. Believing that self-interest and a "what's in it for me attitude" can have significant bearing on voter turnout, we are putting minimum wage on the ballot in order to court those voters. Potential voters who see minimum wage as having a direct impact on their lives, are much more likely to be core Democratic constituency voters, including low-income and minority voters as opposed to Republicans resulting in an increased turnout for Democratic constituencies without the backlash of augmented opposition turnout.

Even though 2004 is a presidential year, and will result in higher turnout than the 2002 midterm election, the need to energize and mobilize core Democratic voters and new voters is of the utmost importance. Low-income workers who are affected by an increase in the minimum wage are more likely to vote, based solely on personal, material returns, rather than the more abstract view of voting for the sake of participation. 2002 was seen

as an opportunity to reinvigorate a Democratic base still recovering from the 2000 Presidential election, but turnout results show that a candidate detached from the needs of working families neither excites Democrats, nor wins. Potential new Democratic voters in working class neighborhoods are also likely to stay home without a direct incentive. Raising the minimum wage is that incentive and can draw out new and core Democratic voters who want the Democratic Party to return to its base. It is an issue that affects lower-wage, working Americans where it matters most, in their pockets and for their families.

Though both major political parties are actively courting African-American and Latino voters, the reality is that any candidate will ultimately fall short of expectations within constituency communities. Given this, and the lingering resentment from the 2000 election debacle which disenfranchised thousands of voters, the chance that base Democratic voters in minority communities will not participate is a real possibility. In order to overcome this, a minimum wage ballot initiative will encourage voters to turnout based on the opportunity to, in theory, vote themselves a raise.

#### Florida Voting Patterns

In spite of a supposedly reinvigorated Democratic base in 2002, turnout was a paltry 55% statewide, a significant factor in Jeb Bush's victory over Bill McBride, 56-43. In spite of the fact that the Florida electorate is still 43% Democratic in registration, as opposed to the Republican 39%, recent election results have failed to reflect any sort of Democratic majority. The reasons are many, but the lack of core Democratic issues that voters can identify with, and in turn *want* to vote for, has played a large role in this downturn. Though turnout was 55% in the 2002 General Election, turnout in Democratic strongholds such as Palm Beach, Miami-Dade and Broward Counties was only 53, 52 and 45 respectively. Broward is the most glaring example; in a county where McBride won 59% of the vote, turnout was an abysmal 45%. Low turnout among Democratic constituencies doomed Democrats in 2002, and in order to avoid these results, there must be a way to pull out Democratic voters, already skeptical of the voting process in light of the 2000 election debacle.

Another lesson from the 2002 election is that Florida voters do not follow the party line, but are instead more nuanced voters who respond to issues, but not necessarily the messengers. Amendment 9, Florida's Amendment to Reduce Class Size was approved by voters 52-48, even though the messenger, gubernatorial candidate Bill McBride was soundly defeated. In spite of the best efforts by Republicans to create doomsday predictions about the effects of this amendment, the electorate was able to differentiate between the issue they supported, and the candidate they did not. This demonstrates that a good issue that appeals to Florida voters can succeed regardless of political party affiliation.

Over the past 3 Presidential Election cycles, 1992, 1996 and 2000, voter turnout has average 73%. While this number is relatively high, these voters are not the ones who can make the difference in the 2004 elections. The voters who already turnout, are the ones

that are being courted by more traditional GOTV methods. Floridians for All is working to mobilize those potential voters in core Democratic constituencies by registering new voters and turning them out around a particular issue. That said, our new voters are not those who are currently represented in past election turnout numbers, but are rather the constituency in high density African-American and Latino neighborhoods as described earlier in this campaign plan.

### *Campaign Elements*

#### **Listening Process & Strategic Analysis**

Since January, the campaign has conducted a systematic process of listening to key institutional forces – in the Democratic Party and its allies, in labor, in the community, etc. - in Florida. Our goal was to answer two major questions:

1. 1. Is there support for the proposed strategy?
2. 2. Will it be possible to put together the necessary funding and capacity to carry out this effort?

In the end, the answer to both questions is clearly yes. However, there is work to be done, and it is clear that only through decisive, immediate action will the pieces of the puzzle come together. Moreover, in talking to key political strategists across the state, it is clear that too few resources are currently geared towards field and expanding and mobilizing the Democratic electorate. It is clear that without this campaign, Democratic forces in Florida will fail to be mobilized in sufficient numbers to win close races. As was shown in the 2002 cycle in Florida and elsewhere, when the Democratic base isn't engaged, when we don't stand for core issues, and when we don't invest early and heavily in field, we lose.

#### **Research**

We are in the process of putting together an extensive collection of research to demonstrate the impact of increasing the minimum wage for Florida's workers. The Economic Policy Institute in Washington, DC has agreed to provide significant technical and research support to our campaign by providing a number of policy pieces that will address the following questions:

- • Looking to examine the history of low-wage workers within the state of Florida, this piece will examine who will benefit from a minimum wage increase, by looking specifically at demographic information. This piece will also examine trends over time in Florida by looking at the history of wage levels and also comparing Florida wage levels to other Southern states and regions of the country. In looking at the impact of a minimum wage increase, we will also look at the impact on social assistance programs and look at some of the other social problems associated with poverty.

- • A second piece will look at the cost of living in Florida and demonstrate what it actually costs to live in Florida today. Incorporating costs of housing, health care, transportation, food, child care and other expenses in several major cities across the state, we will explain the true costs of living for various family sizes in Florida and the impact that a minimum wage increase will have.

We will also have several pieces examining the opposition response to our work. Our analysis will show the fallacies of the doomsday predictions that will be released by business opposition further demonstrate the gains that will be made by workers as a result of our campaign.

Another element that we are looking to examine is the impact on immigrant communities, and how they would directly benefit from our campaign.

The first policy is set to be released October 14, 2003.

### *Polling*

Another part of our research is polling, both at the beginning and later ends of the campaign. We will conduct an early poll that will allow the campaign to ask the critical questions without restrictions. This poll will allow for a strategy that connects registration, signature gathering and mobilization efforts to voters in the base turnout neighborhoods by determining the best localized message. This poll will test both non-voting and infrequent base voters in order to understand not only the motivations of our base voters, but also to drive turnout in under-performing precincts where we focus our registration and mobilization efforts.

We will also conduct polling later in the campaign to determine the effectiveness of our messages and messengers and gauge the responses of the electorate. Using this information, we will be able to better refine our outreach and also our Election Day GOTV efforts.

### **Building the Coalition**

We have begun to build the Floridians for All Coalition at multiple levels. At the "letterhead" level, we are in the process of building a campaign "sponsoring committee" that would consist of leading Democratic elected officials and other key institutional forces at the national and state level. This list currently includes partners such as the Florida AFL-CIO, the Florida Education Association, Alliance for Retired Americans, and others. We are also identifying three elected officials to recruit as campaign co-chairs. This ethnically and geographically diverse trio will serve as public spokespersons for the campaign and will help raise funds.

The coalition itself will be multi-layered. Ultimate decision-making authority will rest with the steering committee. In order to be a member of the steering committee a group will have to meet one of the following requirements: a) either contribute \$50,000 to the

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campaign or b) commit 50,000 signatures gathered. By limiting the steering committee to these groups we will assure that only those groups that are firmly committed and invested in our campaign will have management direction.

The day to day operations will be overseen by a campaign director who will come on staff in the late fall of 2003, as the signature gathering phase progresses (see subsection below).

### **Signature Gathering Phase**

In order to gather the 488,000 necessary valid signatures by August 4, 2004 required to be placed on the ballot we anticipate needing to gather approximately 650,000 signatures (75% validity rate). The signatures must come from at least 12 of the existing Congressional Districts prior to the 2002 redistricting. The required geographic diversity requires our signature gathering programs to be based in major cities around the state (Orlando, Tampa, Miami, Jacksonville, St. Petersburg) in order to both build statewide capacity for the campaign as well as achieve the requisite number of signatures. The signatures will be gathered through both internal capacity (canvass and organizational site gathering) and also professional signature gathering firms.

The internal signature gathering phase has begun with our canvass program in Orlando and surroundings. This program contains two key components, one of which is the door-to-door signature gathering. Our door canvas allows us to not only gather valid signatures and new voter registrations, but also solicit funds to offset the costs of signature gathering. We will also be conducting signature gathering and voter registration at high-density sites such as supermarkets and other retail stores. Signatures that are gathered by coalition members will also be counted as part of the internal signature goal.

We believe that internal ACORN led operations in Orlando, Tampa/St. Petersburg and Miami will be able to provide 100,000 of the required signatures. In combination with 200,000 signatures from organizational partners (Jobs with Justice, AFL-CIO and affiliates, FCAN and congregational groups among others) this will require the campaign to purchase 350,000 signatures. As detailed in the attached budget, this would cost approximately \$490,000. (at \$1.40/signature, based on early quotes).

In early 2004 we will begin using professional signature gathering firms to collect the remaining signatures needed for to qualify for the ballot. Currently, we anticipate contracting with the Associates to provide the necessary signatures. Though the cost per signature has not yet been determined, we anticipate cost in the range of \$1 - \$1.30 per signature, based on both the ultimate number required and the geographical scope of the operation

### **Fundraising**

In order to raise not only the \$490,000 for paid signature gatherers, but also the additional funds for materials and the actual campaign, which commences in late summer of 2004 with the Labor Day kickoff, we will hire a fulltime campaign fundraiser. We are currently working with Terri Shuck, former Development Director for PFAW as our fundraising consultant. One of the fundraising director's responsibilities is to organize a major donor plan as well as working to develop funding sources from unions and other institutions including 501c3 foundation money for education and research on this campaign. We are currently in the process of assembling a national fundraising committee, which includes foundation officers, major Democratic fundraisers and other key Progressive allies. This committee will help us raise funds from both the foundation 501c3 world for education and outreach, as well as 501c4 political money for partisan outreach.

### **Staffing**

The largest portion of staff on our campaign will come from field canvassers. Looking only at the cities where ACORN and Floridians for All will provide direct staffing (as opposed to contractual work with paid signature gathering firms) we are conservatively assuming 10 people per each field canvass (Miami, Orlando and St. Petersburg) with a crew director for each site and a general canvass director based in Orlando. This internal field crew will work on a contractual basis with the campaign and be paid on an incentive driven scale as detailed in attachment A.

Aside from the field canvassers, a fundraising director, we will have a full time volunteer coordinator to work with sites around the state, working with the various sites around the site to oversee organizational signature commitments, provide technical assistance and materials to these sites and also handle local press work. We will also have two people on staff doing database and petition verification work. These two people will work exclusively on ensuring that signatures are presented to county election officials, verified and then presented to state officials. Coordinating with 67 election supervisors is a full time job in itself, and that is why we are devoting 2 people to this exclusively.

The campaign director will have complete oversight of the minimum wage initiative. We anticipate bringing this person on in the late fall of 2003, as the signature gathering phase progresses and we move into further into message development with allies. The campaign director will have ultimate responsibilities for the initiative from supervising staff, raising and distributing funds, coordinating the many site directors statewide, qualifying and ultimately the core of our campaign.

### **Media**

Developing a strong message through paid but also earned media will be pivotal to the success of our campaign. We have not illusions of outspending a business industry that will fight this proposition tooth and nail and can invest many millions of dollars into

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defeating our campaign. While we will want to be on the same television and radio airwaves to make sure our message is heard in that venue, our success will come through earned media development, through press conferences, editorial boards, letters to the editor, and public events.

Through the early signature gathering phase we will limit the amount of publicity work we do. There will be a press conference announcing our filing and the event will highlight the benefits of a minimum wage increase. As we work to gather signatures and raise resources for the campaign we will begin a more public face in the summer of 2004 when we announce our success in qualifying for the ballot, and the real campaign begins. Once we have, then we will ramp up our entire campaign including working with op-ed boards, letters to the editor and press conferences around the state highlighting the impact of a minimum wage increase for Floridians. Local events with minimum wage earners, testimonials detailing the impact of minimum wage increases, and economists debunking to doomsday predictions of conservative economists will all help spread the word about raising wages for all.

### **Technology**

This campaign is an exciting opportunity to use some of the most innovative database and hand-held technology on the market in an effort to both enhance our voter database and ease data collection, but also as a tool to better educate the electorate on our issue. As mentioned earlier in this plan, email collection and database development will play a crucial role in determining the success of the campaign in reaching our targeted constituency. Our database work will allow for the integration of donor information and specified message development into our email lists.

The rapid development of hand-held technology now allows for not only access to voter databases and electronic walklists, but also the ability to integrate video clips and MP3 into doorknocking raps. Based on voting history and demographics, field canvassers could show a short video clip to a potential voter urging their support of the initiative. We estimate the startup costs of handheld technology to be approximately \$10,500 for a crew of 10 field canvassers, including software and hardware costs.

Using data collected from voter files and field outreach, we can then use predictive dialers to target our constituency with a both a recorded message and live opt-out capability. While this technology can be utilized through traditional phonebanks and more technologically savvy call-centers, we can also create localized versions with a few phone lines and a computer. As the costs of hardware and software have both decreased, the ability to cost-effectively reach our audience has risen significantly.

### **Legal**

Paul Sonn and Nathan Newman of the Brennan Center in New York have drafted the ballot initiative language. We have been careful to ensure that the language of the question fulfills the single issue requirement of a Florida ballot initiative so that it will

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pass approval by the Supreme Court. We fully expect an unfriendly opinion on this ballot question from the Attorney General office and an astronomical economic impact statement from Tallahassee. Though these opinions will not help us in the court of public judgment, we will be able to generate our own amicus briefs to the court and release our own economic impact statement.

Once we gather the necessary 10% signature requirement to receive a hearing at the Florida Supreme Court, our lawyers will be prepared to demonstrate how this question satisfies the single issue requirement. After passing this legal challenge, we will proceed to collect the remaining signatures and get the certified by county election officials.

Recent ballot initiatives in Ohio and Oregon have resulted in significant legal challenges on the local level. As Republicans are working to perfect this strategy, Democratic campaigns are also working to prepare their own legal responses. We are currently in the process of contacting Florida and national legal firms about their assistance in these potential challenges.

### **Building the Campaign Infrastructure**

In order to develop the capacity required to implement and win a successful initiative campaign we will need to build our internal staff structure (as detailed above) and also create a larger statewide progressive network. Realizing that no one organization is large enough to run a ballot campaign alone, our coalition will rely on mobilizing our membership and coordinating our message in order to win. Each organization that is a partner in the minimum wage campaign will need to designate someone to act as a liaison to the campaign. That person will be responsible for coordinating the internal signature gathering and organizational media with the larger coalition.

As the signature gathering phase progresses, those partners that committed 50,000 signatures to have a place on the steering committee, will need to develop internal organizational programs to collect these signatures. Signatures will then be turned over to the initiative campaign staff, who will handle verification and submission. Each participating organization will also be expected to host 1-2 large press events in which they target their message to their constituency.

### **Television**

Because Florida is such a large state, the television viewership is broken down into 12 major media markets. This means that in order to run an effective television campaign we would need to hit all of these targets, with varying degrees of density. The cost of such a television campaign will be extremely prohibitive so we will have to target our media buys to areas we believe will most reach our base Democratic constituency, primarily South Florida and Tampa Bay. The South Florida region is broken down into the Miami-

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Ft. Lauderdale (Broward, Miami-Dade and Monroe) and West Palm Beach- Ft. Pierce (Indian River, Martin, Okeechobee, Palm Beach and St. Lucie) markets. Tampa Bay consists of a single Tampa-St. Petersburg market which includes 10 counties (Citrus, Hardee, Hernando, Highlands, Hillsborough, Manatee, Pasco, Pinellas, Polk and Sarasota)

### **Opposition Research, Division, & Cooptation**

In response to our campaign, there will be significant opposition policy research from the usual suspects, including the Employment Policies Institute, an industry sponsored DC think tank that will release data about the negative impact of a minimum wage increase in Florida. There will be numbers citing increased unemployment and the strain on small businesses to pay workers this new minimum wage. It is also likely that David MacPherson, a professor at FSU who has released several studies for the Employment Policies Institute on the supposed negative effects of wage increases, will be commissioned to do similar work on this campaign. While all substantially untrue, we will have our own body of evidence to counteract the effects and media impact of these policy briefs. In addition to the resources of the ACORN Living Wage Center, we are also working closely with the Economic Policy Institute to release our own policy work.

Aside from the think tank level of opposition, we need to ensure that our coalition remains strong and that partners do not split over internal organizational priorities or other electoral strategies that will be in play in the 2004 election. In order for this campaign to succeed we will need partners to deliver on committed signatures and make sure that our message stays on target. Because raising the minimum wage will have impact on so many sectors, coalition partners will be able to market the campaign to their constituency in different ways while still staying on the key message, increasing the minimum wage and demonstrating power at the ballot box.

### **The Campaign Climax (Labor Day 2004 through 11/2/04)**

While gathering the signatures, building the coalition and qualifying for the ballot are large undertakings by themselves, the actual campaign doesn't really begin until Labor Day when voters return from the summer lull and turn their attention to the Presidential election. With the enormous amount of press that will be focused on the Florida election in general, it is important to be able to reach our members and constituency on the importance of turning out to vote for a minimum wage increase. On Labor Day, we will hold a large press conference with allies from across the state as a re-introduction of the campaign to the voters. In late September we will release the results of a statewide poll showing support for the initiative and complement that with personal stories from workers benefiting from this minimum wage increase.

In October we will begin our volunteer phonebanks. Similar to the phone banking operations run as part of the Small Class Size Initiative, we will turn out members and constituents to call petition signers and other targeted voters to come out and vote themselves a raise. Callers will tell personal stories about the impact this raise will have

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for them and urge voters to come out specifically around this issue. Instead of typical GOTV which targets voters to turnout solely for the sake of turning out, the minimum wage campaign gives voters a very clear reason to vote and shows tangible results in the communities.

Leading up to the election, we will coordinate door-to-door efforts with other GOTV efforts including an extensive, yet to be developed, Election Day plan. The popularity of early voting in the 2002 election means that there will be more early voting poll sites and a higher percentage of voters who cast their votes in the weeks leading up to Election Day, instead of only on November 2. Aware of this fact, our phonebanks will highlight the opportunities for early voting and coordinate with voters to provide rides to the polls.

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**TAB 3**

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# FLORIDA VICTORY 2004

September 3, 2004

## **I. INTRODUCTION**

Democrats have a unique opportunity in 2004: to rightfully return the state to the blue side of the electoral ledger. Polling data indicate that the race in Florida is stable with neither side garnering a firm advantage. This underscores the necessity of a well-run and well-funded coordinated campaign.

In order to prevail, Victory 2004 will need the greatest grassroots organization the state has ever seen. Our staff will build, train and activate over 33,000 volunteers, including 3,809 precinct captains, to manage and implement an elaborate voter contact and GOTV plan. This team will be complemented by a generous paid and earned media campaign and an advanced technology system to track and direct progress.

Victory 2004 will focus its ground game primarily on two segments of the Florida electorate: 1) the under-performing Democratic base, particularly in sporadic voting African-American and non-Cuban Hispanic communities, and 2) swing voters, with particular attention paid to women in the I-4 corridor between Tampa, Orlando and Daytona Beach. In addition to following the Kerry-Edwards/DNC field model, this plan outlines several unique elements of Victory 2004's plan, including: our plan for ballot protection; an elaborate Early Vote (Absentee Vote in Person) campaign; a comprehensive and aggressive absentee ballot program and a program to motivate Florida veterans to support our ticket.

In broad geographic terms, it is essential to 1) maintain and increase our base lead in the three key South Florida counties: Miami-Dade, Broward and Palm Beach; equally important is 2) minimizing Republican gains in northern Florida. In tactical terms, it is essential that we cut into the Republicans' traditional advantage among absentee voters and run up our advantage among early voters, especially in base vote communities.

We anticipate amendments and improvements to our plan. We need to quickly develop a systematic market-by-market surrogate-scheduling plan. A Jewish vote plan is being developed along with other constituency-specific organizing plans.

### **Coordinated Campaign Decision Making Table:**

A committee of the following individuals and organizations will serve as table partners of the Coordinated Campaign. This committee will meet bi-weekly through September and weekly during October.

- State Party Chair Scott Maddox
- Kerry-Edwards Campaign
- U.S. Senate Nominee
- Coordinated Campaign Director
- AFL-CIO
- SEIU
- Florida Academy of Trial Lawyers
- Florida Education Association
- Florida Congressional Delegation

### **Goals:**

- Identify undecided and persuadable voters for John Kerry and the Democratic ticket;
- Energize and motivate Democrats with unreliable or non-voting histories;
- Track statewide volunteer efforts in Florida-specific software;
- Recruit and train 1,391 precinct captains in base precincts;
- Recruit and train 2,418 precinct captains in swing precincts;
- Turn out Kerry supporters in base precincts;
- Persuade swing targets in swing precincts;
- Win the state of Florida for Kerry-Edwards with 3,314,240 supporters.

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**II. VOTE GOALS & TARGETING:**

**Vote Scenario:**

	2004		2002		2000
Exp. Vote 70%	6,373,538	Turnout	5,100,581	Turnout	5,963,110
Dem Performance		Bush	2,856,845	Bush	2,912,790
Win # (52%)	3,314,240	McBride	2,201,427	Gore	2,912,253
Nader		Kunst	42,039	Nader	97,488
Vote Deficit	554,498	Vote		Vote	
		Margin	655,418	Margin	537

**Vote Goal:**

The Florida statewide vote goal, based on a 52% Democratic win number, is 3,314,240. Within that goal, Victory 2004's targeting will focus on a universe of persuadable voters derived from the Kerry-Edwards Florida vote model and a turnout target of 711,493 Democrats in our base precincts. Our initial focuses, especially for precinct captain recruitment, will be geographic. We will focus on two precinct types:

Base voter precinct targets are defined as:

- High Democratic Performance (65% +)
- We have 1391 base vote targeted precincts with approximately 711,493 base voters.

Persuasion precinct targets are defined as:

- Democratic Performance between 40% and 65%
- Persuasion Percentage above the statewide average - 14.9%
- We have 2,418 persuasion-targeted precincts that include 408,430 persuasion targets.
- The above numbers are placeholders, pending Florida-specific targeting.

The coordinated campaign will use the state-specific Florida vote model to guide paid voter contact activity, volunteer persuasion phone calling, and volunteer ID calls. Based on currently available modeling data, the campaign assumes a Presidential Swing Target of 926,525 voters. Our persuasion voter contact targets will be pulled from this subset. Given Bull's Eye data, we estimate our GOTV target will number approximately 931,291 infrequent voters and 397,766 new registrants. (Between January 2003 and February 2004, 397,766 Democrats were added to the file statewide.)

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**Early Vote Timeline:**

Saturday, October 16 <sup>th</sup> – Monday, November 1	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Paid canvassing of universe (2x)</li><li>• Volunteer calls to universe</li></ul>
Sunday, October 16 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 1</li></ul>
Monday, October 18 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 2</li></ul>
Monday, October 18 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mail 1 drops</li></ul>
Wednesday, October 20 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 3</li></ul>
Friday, October 22 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 4</li></ul>
Sunday, October 24 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 5</li></ul>
Monday, October 25 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Mail 2 drops</li></ul>
Monday, October 25 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 6</li></ul>
Wednesday, October 27 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 7</li></ul>
Saturday, October 30 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Auto Call 8</li></ul>

For fifteen days leading up to Election Day, Florida residents may vote in person at public places (typically city halls and public libraries). Florida law also provides for traditional absentee voting.

These two forms of voting have played a key role in recent general elections. In 2000, 11% of all votes cast came through Absentee or Absentee in Person (Early Vote), and according to a *St. Petersburg Times* analysis, in 2002 16% of all votes came from the same population.

Kerry-Edwards campaign polling data confirm that Early Vote can play a similarly significant role this year. Most recently, a post-convention Kiley & Company poll indicated that 11% of Florida voters will vote in advance of Election Day.

The Kiley poll describes the universe of early voters as leaning heavily Democratic, including a disproportionately high number of African-Americans and voters from other base Democratic communities.

Given the history and trends of the Early Vote, Florida Victory 2004 views it as a potential gold mine and an excellent opportunity to turn out Florida's energized (and aggravated by 2000) Democratic base.

While keeping an eye on what other organizations are doing to get out this key vote, the Victory 2004 campaign will marshal a significant portion of its resources to make Early Vote's impact as significant as possible. This effort will be focused especially on key urban counties.

To better inform this project, we would like to spend \$20,000 on focus groups to determine base precincts' response to Early Vote. We will also produce a more detailed plan for the Early Vote Program within several weeks. What is contained below is designed to paint in broad strokes the goals and tactics of our program.

**Universe:**

Given the Kiley data and experience from recent elections, the Early Vote program should focus on sporadic voters, especially African-American, Hispanic and female voters with weak voter history, and new registrants. This universe will number approximately 1,329,057 voters.

**Grassroots Leadership:**

Leaders of the campaign at the grassroots will play a key role in the development and execution of the Early Vote Program:

- The campaign will challenge precinct captains to deliver a specific number of early voters. We are looking into the legality of creating a competition among the precinct captains for this project.

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- We will also ask local elected officials to design proposals for local Early Vote Programs.

**Staff Leadership:**

To direct and manage the grassroots leadership, to develop more fully this plan and to ensure the absolute success of the Early Vote plan, the campaign will hire by September 15 a Statewide Early Vote Director and three Regional Early Vote Directors.

- Early Vote staff will also be placed in Miami-Dade, Broward and Palm Beach counties, and Orlando, Jacksonville, in Tampa/St. Petersburg.
- Two Early Vote Cyber Organizers will make use of the FLDP website and email addresses collected by the campaign to motivate volunteers and encourage early votes.

**Training:**

Our Regional Organizing Conferences on September 12<sup>th</sup> and October 9<sup>th</sup> will include training on Early Vote.

**Special Outreach:**

In addition to the broad universe for Early Vote, the campaign will creatively reach out to probable candidates for Early Vote including (but not limited to) seniors with flexible schedules; the unemployed and people at unemployment check pickup locations; community service organizations; people who have unusual jobs; college students; parishioners at African-American churches; business employees through a workplace outreach program; and members of tightly-knit immigrant communities including the Puerto Rican and Haitian communities of South Florida.

**Events:**

- In mid-October, "Early Voting House Meetings" will make use of the network developed by campaign's organizers to encourage strong early turnout. Some of these house meetings will be organized around major campaign and social events through Florida including debate watch parties, Halloween, Labor Day, or even television's Sweeps Night.
- Surrogate and possible principal events that take place near Early Vote locations will be employed to promote Early Vote opportunities and to physically deliver voters to Early Vote sites.
- \$30,000 has been budgeted in October to fund these events.

**Voter Contact:**

Below is an approximate schedule of paid and volunteer contacts to the Early Vote universe. We will submit a more detailed plan after the hiring of an Early Vote Director and closer to the date of the Early Vote period. Please note that Early Vote begins Monday, October 18<sup>th</sup>, fifteen days prior to Election Day.

Note also that the auto calls will likely be sent to specific universes rather than the broad universe; we will work to build these universes after we learn more about what types of voters are open to Early Vote.

**Communication:**

All October campaign voter communication to base communities will emphasize the ease of Early Voting. Extra effort will be made, however, not confuse voters by promoting Early Vote locations too close to Election Day. Among the current ideas:

- Earned and paid media campaign to Hispanic and African-American outlets;
- Sound trucks throughout urban neighborhoods.

**Ballot Pickup:**

In Florida, it is legal to handle ballots. This means it is possible for the campaign to canvass base neighborhoods, pick up completed ballots and deliver them to Early Vote locations. We will incorporate these deliveries into our Early Vote canvassing program.

**Monitoring:**

Throughout the fifteen day Early Vote period, the campaign will monitor on a daily basis the characteristics of voters who are participating so that we can augment or alter the target universe. This will also help the campaign gauge the involvement of other Democratic groups, as well as the RNC, in turning out Early Voters. The data can be collected from town clerks. Victory 2004 will identify which targeted counties will participate in this program.

**Condo Commando Program:**

A Condo Commando Program will use our precinct captain and volunteer structure to turn out condominium residents for the Early Vote Program. The target audience of the program is white, middle class retirees who live in condominium communities, primarily in the Palm Beach - Broward corridor. The campaign will particularly utilize house meetings in these communities to boost together Early Vote. \$20,000 has been budgeted to pay for literature for condo commando canvasses and events.

A similar program may be initiated in conjunction with our College Campus Outreach, along the lines of a 'Campus SWAT Team' focused on Early Vote.

**ABSENTEE VOTE BY MAIL (TRADITIONAL ABSENTEE)**

**Universe:**

The universe for the absentee vote by mail program includes two components:

- Democrats over 65 who have voted in 1 of 4 or 2 of 4 elections since 1996: 267,885 individuals in 223,238 households.
- NPA/Independents over 65 who have voted in 1 of 4 or 2 of 4 elections since 1996: 111,952 individuals in 93,293 households. We assume we will ID approximately 50% of this universe as supporters, which brings the number to: 46,647.

Total absentee universe: 379,837 individuals in 269,885 households of Independent and Democratic voters who are 65+ and who have voted in 1 of 4 or 2 of 4 recent elections.

**Military Ballots:**

The campaign is developing a thorough plan to address proactively the issues experienced in 2000 regarding military absentee ballots.

**Monitoring and Integration:**

Victory 2004 field staff and precinct captains in targeted absentee vote precincts will monitor on a weekly basis the number and type of voters who mail absentee ballots. In addition, the Florida Voter File will be updated to include a system for designating which voters have completed and mailed their absentee ballots. These voters will be removed from the GOTV universe and additional absentee contacts.

**Program:**

Total contacts: 5

- 1 Volunteer call
- 2 Paid mail contacts
- 2 Paid live calls
- 4 Paid automatic calls

**Absentee Program Timeline:**

Wednesday, September 25	Initial Auto Call
Friday, October 1 – Sunday, October 17	Ongoing Volunteer Calls
Friday, October 1	Mail Piece 1 drops
Saturday, October 2	Auto Call 2
Wednesday, October 6	Live Chase Call

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Wednesday, October 13	Auto Call 3
Monday, October 18	Mail Piece 2 drops
Monday, October 18	Auto Call 3

**Voter Contact Totals:**

**BASE VOTE UNIVERSE: 1,329,057 (Strasma GOTV Universe + New Regs)**

EARLY VOTE	Unit Cost	Broad U	Contact	Match/HH	Cost
Volunteer Call	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Volunteer Call to Subset of AB Calls	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.120	\$5,486.35
Phone 1 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Phone 2 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Phone 3 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Phone 4 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Phone 5 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Phone 6 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Phone 7 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Phone 8 Auto	0.0800	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$22,402.58
Paid Phone Live	0.1500	1,329,057	0.43	0.490	\$42,004.85
Mail 1	0.4000	1,329,057	1.00	0.625	\$332,264.25
Mail 2	0.4000	1,329,057	1.00	0.625	\$332,264.25
Paid Canvass	0.5300	1,000,000	1.00	0.625	\$331,250.00
Paid Canvass	0.5300	1,000,000	1.00	0.625	\$331,250.00
					\$1,576,142.96

**GOTV UNIVERSE: 1,000,000 (Estimated Subset of Early Votes)**

BASE/GOTV UNIVERSE	Unit Cost	Broad U	Contact	Match/HH	Cost
Phone Auto	0.0800	1,000,000	0.43	0.490	\$16,856.00
Phone Live	0.1500	1,000,000	0.43	0.490	\$31,605.00
Mail 1	0.4000	1,000,000	1.00	0.625	\$250,000.00
Mail 2	0.4000	1,000,000	1.00	0.625	\$250,000.00
Paid Canvass	0.5300	1,000,000	1.00	0.625	\$331,250.00
					\$879,711.00

**ABSENTEE UNIVERSE: 379,837 voters**

ABSENTEE BY MAIL	Unit Cost	Broad U	Contact	Match/HH	Cost
Volunteer Call	0.0800	379,837	0.43	0.490	\$6,402.53
Mail 1	0.4000	379,837	1.00	0.625	\$94,959.25
Mail 2	0.4000	379,837	1.00	0.625	\$94,959.25
Auto Call 1	0.0800	379,837	0.43	0.490	\$6,402.53
Auto Call 2	0.0800	379,837	0.43	0.490	\$6,402.53
Auto Call 3	0.0800	379,837	0.43	0.490	\$6,402.53
Auto Call 4	0.0800	379,837	0.43	0.490	\$6,402.53
Paid Live Call	0.1500	379,837	0.43	0.490	\$12,004.75
Paid Live Call	0.1500	379,837	0.43	0.490	\$12,004.75
					\$245,940.66

**PRESIDENTIAL PERSUASION UNIVERSE: 926,525 Strasma Placeholder**

SWING/PERSUASION	Unit Cost	Broad U	Contact	Match/HH	Cost
Paid Auto ID Call	0.2000	926,525	0.50	0.490	\$45,399.73
Paid Live ID Call	0.5000	926,525	0.50	0.490	\$113,499.31

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Volunteer Persuasion Call	0.0800	926,525	0.50	0.490	\$18,159.89
Mail 1	0.4000	926,525	1.00	0.625	\$231,631.25
Mail 2	0.4000	926,525	1.00	0.625	\$231,631.25
Mail 3	0.4000	926,525	1.00	0.625	\$231,631.25
Mail 4	0.4000	926,525	1.00	0.625	\$231,631.25
Volunteer GOTV Call	0.0800	926,525	0.50	0.490	\$18,159.89
1 Paid Live GOTV Call	0.1500	926,525	0.50	0.490	\$34,049.79
1 Paid Auto GOTV Call	0.0800	926,525	0.50	0.490	\$18,159.89
					\$1,173,953.50

\$3,875,748.12

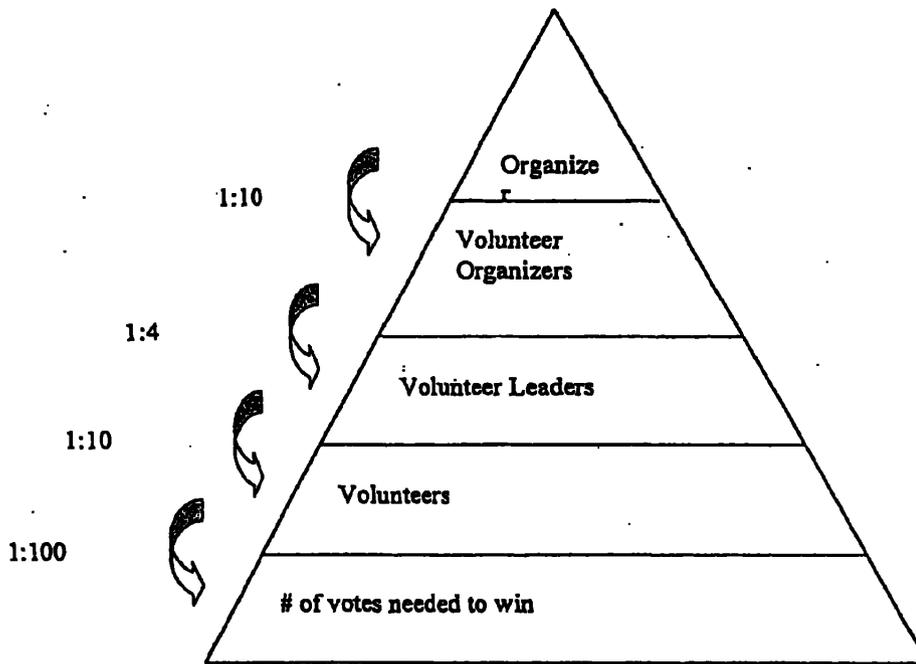
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### III. CAPACITY:

The Victory 2004 campaign must rely on unprecedented volunteer commitment and effort to build a grassroots organization unlike one ever seen in Florida and the Democratic Party. We must engage supporters to build the capacity to carry out our voter contact goals. For example, to meet just the call goals, the campaign will need at least 1,092,230 shifts of volunteer service in the final two months. And given the campaign's assumption that it takes one volunteer to win 100 votes, we will need a total of at least 33,142 (win number 3,314,240 divided by 100) volunteers on our team. Clearly the need to develop an elaborate and intense grassroots campaign organization is of the utmost importance in the coming weeks.

#### Assumptions:

The following pyramid illustrates the assumptions underlying volunteer capacity goals for the campaign:



#### Volunteer Capacity Calculations:

To win, the campaign will need significant manpower from its grassroots volunteer operation. As outlined above, the biggest facet of the volunteer effort will be the completion of 1,092,230 volunteer-to-voter calls. We estimate that this will necessitate 24,282 volunteer shifts:

- Between September 1 and Election Day, there are approximately 71 working campaign days (this excludes Yom Kippur, and Rosh Hashonah, Halloween, and September 11 and counts weekend days as double).
- Each 'working campaign day' will include 3 hours of voter contact, with an estimated 15 attempted contacts per hour.
- At this rate, to meet its goals the campaign will need to include ( 1,092,230 / 45 / 71 ) 342 volunteers per working day for a total of 24,282 volunteers between September 1 and Election Day. (Note: as of this writing, 35,000 volunteers have signed up on the JohnKerry.com website alone.)

These volunteers will be led by the most extensive precinct leader team in Florida history. To date, the campaign has already identified a significant number of precinct leaders through its house meeting and community action meeting programs. To date, more than 27,771 volunteers have also been identified for the effort.

Within several weeks the campaign will have identified a total of 3,809 precinct captains, including 1391 from targeted base precincts and 2,418 targeted persuasion precincts.

But these calls are just one part of the volunteer program. Volunteers will be integral to every part of the campaign. Because the campaign estimates that it takes one volunteer to earn 100 votes, we believe the campaign will need at least the 33,142 volunteers, and probably many more.

To build a team consisting of 33,142 volunteers, we need:

- 15% of our volunteers recruited in June (4,971)
- 25% of our volunteers recruited in July (8,286)
- 50% of our volunteers recruited in August (16,571)
- 80% of our volunteers recruited in September (26,514) and
- 100% of our volunteers recruited in October (33,142)

**Volunteer Phoning and Canvassing:**

Our primary volunteer phoning and canvassing operations will be run through centralized phone banks and canvass sites out of our field offices. By September 10, we will have least 25 field offices throughout the state of Florida.

**Precinct Teams:**

Precinct organizing will anchor our voter contact program. Precinct captains will be recruited in all target base and persuasion precincts. Our primary focus is creating teams with a precinct captain and one volunteer per 100 Democratic votes. Their purpose will be to implement a volunteer-based voter contact program.

**Organizing Conventions & Trainings:**

Our first in-state training for field organizers was held August 27<sup>th</sup>. Two additional trainings will be held in September and October. The goal of each training is to review the strategy of the next phase of the field plan. In addition, regional organizing conventions will be held on September 12<sup>th</sup> and October 9<sup>th</sup>. The October training will focus on Early Vote tactics. Finally, local trainings will be held regularly in every field office for precinct captains, volunteer organizers and phone bank supervisors.

**"Road Trip to Victory" Out of State Volunteers and Travelers:**

Florida is in a unique position to draw out-of-state volunteers because of its status as the site of the Florida recount and as a symbolic battleground. Led by an Out-of-State Volunteer Coordinator, Victory 2004 will coordinate recruitment and deployment of 10,000 out of state volunteers for targeted get out the vote efforts.

The campaign recently brought on additional staffers to help ensure a smooth, efficient and massive out-of-state effort:

- A full-time senior operative joined the Florida campaign recently to identify 'ubers' who can manage counties and key precincts for the final month of the campaign. These ubers will work with existing field staff to implement GOTV efforts in key regions.
- An additional staff member started work in the headquarters recently to secure housing for the influx of out-of-state talent.
- We are also investigating adding several paid staffers to assist with the management of the out of state volunteer program on a regional basis.

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#### IV. ADDITIONAL PROGRAMMATIC ELEMENTS AND TOOLS:

##### Volunteer and Voter Tracking:

- **Voter File:** The Florida voter file is managed by Leverage and hosted online. Each organizer has access to the voter information for his or her geographic region. Organizers will print call and canvass lists using Leverage. The IDs gained through calling and canvassing will be inputted into the voter file nightly. Because the current phone match on the voter file is 49%, we will engage in a program to enhance the Florida voter file with new phone numbers (including possibly prospecting by auto-call for live numbers, i.e. call 240-0000, then 240-0001).
- **Bottled Lightning:** this program tracks and records field volunteer activity including events and office work, house meetings and constituency preferences. It will also communicate with the voter file.
- **Dashboard:** The "Dashboard" online software tracks progress against goals, using information from Bottled Lightning and the Voter File. It allows staff and precinct leaders to easily gauge progress regionally and statewide.

##### Ballot Protection:

We believe a comprehensive program combining and merging legal, field and resources aimed at both preventing and preparing for a potential recount is critical. Dave Friedman has joined the campaign to establish an organization capable of mounting an extremely aggressive legal operation.

The specter of 2000 still haunts Florida politics and the current machination by the Secretary of State regarding the "felon list" demonstrates that without continuous oversight, we should expect no better in 2004.

Critical in a state as large as Florida are varied electoral protection and enhancement strategies relating to absentee ballots (both domestic and overseas); poll protection, felon issues, and machine monitoring and validation. This is a unique necessity combined (as the Recount was) field and lawyer operation that needs the cooperation of the entire team.

We utilized the August 31<sup>st</sup> primary as an opportunity to do a dry run of this lawyers' operation and will develop a comprehensive ballot review, ballot security and voting machine security validity plan.

Total pre-recount cost of this program is \$85,000. Please see Appended Election Protection Plan for additional information.

##### Minority Media:

We believe that it is important to institutionalize a specific minority media, mail and phone program in three different communities - Caribbean, African-American and non-Cuban Latino. We will work to identify vendors in all these areas.

The total media budget would be \$750,000 (\$475,000 African-American and \$275,000 Hispanic). The radio could be paid either on a split if there are partisan references or 100% non-Federal if, for example, the script were simply 'Get Out and Vote Today, Our Lives and Future Depend On It.'

The mail should be a discreet subset of the base program and should have no additional costs element.

##### Military Families:

We believe cutting the Bush margin among military families provides us with a real opportunity in Florida. The margin among military absentee ballots was critical in the 2000 election.



	duates			
University of Florida	47,640	Gainesville	352-392-1365	<a href="http://www.ufl.edu">www.ufl.edu</a>
Florida Institute of Technology	2,300	Melbourne	321-674-8030	<a href="http://www.fit.edu">www.fit.edu</a>
University of Central Florida	44,000	Orlando	407-823-3000	<a href="http://www.ucf.edu">www.ucf.edu</a>
University of North Florida	13,620	Jacksonville	904-620-2624	<a href="http://www.unf.edu">www.unf.edu</a>
University of South Florida	42,000	Tampa	813-974-3350	<a href="http://www.usf.edu">www.usf.edu</a>
University of West Florida	9,267	Pensacola	850-474-2230	<a href="http://uwf.edu">uwf.edu</a>
Florida A&M University	12,463	Tallahassee	850-599-3796	<a href="http://www.famu.edu">www.famu.edu</a>
Florida Atlantic University	23,836	Boca Raton	561-297-3040	<a href="http://www.fau.edu">www.fau.edu</a>
Florida Southern College	2,300	Lakeland	941-680-4111	<a href="http://www.flsouthern.edu">www.flsouthern.edu</a>
Florida State University	37,328	Tallahassee	850-644-2525	<a href="http://www.fsu.edu">www.fsu.edu</a>
Jacksonville University	2,050	Jacksonville	904-744-3950	<a href="http://www.ju.edu">www.ju.edu</a>
Nova Southeastern University	4,100	Ft. Lauderdale	954-262-7300	<a href="http://www.nova.edu">www.nova.edu</a>
Rollins College	2,837	Winter Park	407-646-2000	<a href="http://www.rollins.edu">www.rollins.edu</a>
University of Miami	9,000	Coral Gables	305-284-2211	<a href="http://www.miami.edu">www.miami.edu</a>
University of Tampa	3,000	Tampa	813-253-3333	<a href="http://www.utampa.edu">www.utampa.edu</a>
Florida Gulf Coast University	5,122	Fort Myers	800-590-3428	<a href="http://www.fgcu.edu">www.fgcu.edu</a>
Florida International University	33,436	Miami	(305) 348-2000	<a href="http://www.fiu.edu">www.fiu.edu</a>
<b>Total at Major Campuses:</b>	<b>294,299</b>			

A special outreach effort will be made to historically black colleges and universities throughout Florida. The most significant of these campuses are as follows:

Florida A&M University	11,150	Tallahassee	850-599-3796	<a href="http://www.famu.edu">www.famu.edu</a>
Bethune Cookman College	2,301	Daytona Beach	940-255-1401	<a href="http://www.bethune.cookman.edu">www.bethune.cookman.edu</a>
Edward Waters College	610	Jacksonville	904-355-3030	<a href="http://www.ewc.edu">www.ewc.edu</a>
Florida Memorial College	1500	Miami	305-626-3650	<a href="http://www.fmc.edu">www.fmc.edu</a>

**Student Organizing Goals:**

FL student organizer will facilitate student program to achieve three goals:

- 693 student volunteers;
- Campus organizations (with leaders) on every major campus;
- Participate in voter contact with field organizers.

**Student Organizing Phases:**

- **Recruiting Campus Organizers:** We will establish campus-by-campus steering committees, and campus organizers will work in regional field offices and be responsible for activity on their individual campuses. Individual organizers will not be compensated monetarily but will receive internship credit or recommendations based on performance.
- **Conference Call with Student Leadership:** We will schedule a conference call to introduce our campaign team and to foster a dialogue among interested students. This will be our first opportunity to engage student leaders and interested students.
- **Calendar of Tabling Opportunities and Welcome Back Week:** Assembling a calendar of opportunities at campuses around the state will enable regional organizers to act quickly to recruit students when they arrive in their regions.

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- **Increase Student Vote on FL Campuses:** We will obtain student directories for every major campus and match this data against the voter file will make it easier for the campaign to target the unregistered students as well as ID and turnout those who are already registered to vote.
- **Student Targeted Events and GOTV Concerts:** Events targeted to students and hosted on college campuses in the weeks leading up to November 2 will be critical to motivate large student populations to the polls.

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V. UNIVERSES & CALL PROGRAM:

Florida is a complex state of numerous geographic regions that range from large urban cities to rural towns. It is imperative that targeted call universes and programs be applied regionally rather than to the state as a whole. Call scripts and talking points must also be tailored according to regional polling data.

Kerry Vote Goal By the Numbers:

North: 567,795 Kerry Vote Goal  
497,758 Democratic Base Voters  
196 Base Precincts (108,179 base voters)  
622 Swing Precincts (58,955 swing voters)

Plan of Action:

1. Recruit 818 Precinct Captains
2. Swing Precincts Universe: Blind ID to Independents in swing precincts
3. Base Precincts Universe: Persuasion message & ID to low performing D's & independents

Central: 1,475,361 Kerry Vote Goal  
1,238,432 Democratic Base Voters  
253 Base Precincts (122,346 base voters)  
2379 Swing Precincts (376,587 swing voters)

Plan of Action:

1. Recruit 2632 Precinct Captains
2. Swing Precincts Universe: Blind ID to Independents in swing precincts (Independent voters with verified phones)
3. Base Precincts Universe: Persuasion message & ID to low performing D's & independents

South: 1,271,581 Kerry Vote Goal  
1,058,322 Democratic Base Voters  
937 Base Precincts (490,758 base voters)  
1205 Swing Precincts (174,582 swing voters)

Plan of Action:

1. Recruit 937 Precinct Captains
2. Base Precincts Universe: Persuasion message & ID to low performing D's & independents (Dems & Independents with verified phones, who voted in '00 but not '02)
3. Swing Precincts Universe: Blind ID to Independents in swing precincts (Independent voters with verified phones)

Presidential Swing Precincts:

North: 58,955 voters  
36,846 HH

Week	Dates	Universe	Pct Calls	Total Calls
Week 7	8/24-9/4	36,846	.10	3,684

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Week 6	9/5-9/11	36,846	0.10	3,684
Week 5	9/12-9/18	36,846	0.12	4,422
Week 4	9/19-9/25	36,846	0.14	5,158
Week 3	9/26-10/2	36,846	0.16	5,895
Week 2	10/3-10/9	36,846	0.18	6,632
Week 1	10/10-10/16	36,846	0.20	7,368

Central: 376,587 voters  
235,366 HH

Week	Dates	Universe	Pct Calls	Total Calls
Week 7	8/29-9/4	235,366	0.10	23,536
Week 6	9/5-9/11	235,366	0.10	23,536
Week 5	9/12-9/18	235,366	0.12	28,243
Week 4	9/19-9/25	235,366	0.14	32,951
Week 3	9/26-10/2	235,366	0.16	37,658
Week 2	10/3-10/9	235,366	0.18	42,366
Week 1	10/10-10/16	235,366	0.20	47,073

South: 174,582 voters  
109,113 HH

Week	Dates	Universe	Pct Calls	Total Calls
Week 7	8/29-9/4	109,113	0.10	10,911
Week 6	9/5-9/11	109,113	0.10	10,911
Week 5	9/12-9/18	109,113	0.12	13,093
Week 4	9/19-9/25	109,113	0.14	15,276
Week 3	9/26-10/2	109,113	0.16	17,458
Week 2	10/3-10/9	109,113	0.18	19,640
Week 1	10/10-10/16	109,113	0.20	21,823

Base Precincts:

North: 108,179 voters  
67,612 HH

Week	Dates	Universe	Pct Calls	Total Calls
Week 7	8/29-9/4	67,612	0.10	6,761
Week 6	9/5-9/11	67,612	0.10	6,761
Week 5	9/12-9/18	67,612	0.12	8,113
Week 4	9/19-9/25	67,612	0.14	9,466
Week 3	9/26-10/2	67,612	0.16	10,818
Week 2	10/3-10/9	67,612	0.18	12,170
Week 1	10/10-10/16	67,612	0.20	13,522

Central: 122,346 voters  
76,466 HH

Week	Dates	Universe	Pct Calls	Total Calls
Week 7	8/29-9/4	76,466	0.10	7,646
Week 6	9/5-9/11	76,466	0.10	7,646
Week 5	9/12-9/18	76,466	0.12	9,175

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Week 4	9/19-9/25	76,466	0.14	10,705
Week 3	9/26-10/2	76,466	0.16	12,235
Week 2	10/3-10/9	76,466	0.18	13,764
Week 1	10/10-10/16	76,466	0.20	15,293

South: 490,758 voters  
306,724 HH

Week	Dates	Universe	Pct Calls	Total Calls
Week 7	8/29-9/4	306,724	0.10	30,672
Week 6	9/5-9/11	306,724	0.10	30,672
Week 5	9/12-9/18	306,724	0.12	36,807
Week 4	9/19-9/25	306,724	0.14	42,941
Week 3	9/26-10/2	306,724	0.16	49,076
Week 2	10/3-10/9	306,724	0.18	55,210
Week 1	10/10-10/16	306,724	0.20	61,345

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**VL TIMELINE:**

**Phase II: Building Support-8/23-9/12**

**Goals:**

- Build volunteer capacity in specific areas of concentration to conduct voter contact

**Steps:**

- Call Independents in Swing Precincts
- Call weak-voting Democrats in Base Precincts
- Identify 50% of Precinct Captains

Sunday, August 22 <sup>nd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning meeting with RFDs and FD – 1 pm</li> <li>• Statewide Field Call – 3 pm</li> </ul>
Sunday – Thursday, August 22 <sup>nd</sup> -26 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phone Banks</li> <li>• Calls to ID independent voters in persuasion precincts</li> </ul>
Saturday, August 28 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Statewide Field Training at Broward County AFL-CIO</li> </ul>
Sunday, August 29 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Statewide Planning Meeting – 1-6 pm</li> <li>• Statewide Field Call – 3 pm</li> </ul>
Sunday-Thursday, August 29 <sup>th</sup> – September 3 <sup>rd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phone Banks to independent voters in persuasion precincts</li> </ul>
Sunday, September 12 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Organizing Conventions throughout Florida</li> </ul>

**Phase III: Persuade & Motivate the Voters- 9/13-10/16**

**Goals:**

- Turn persuadable voters into Kerry/Edwards voters through a personal voter contact
- Begin preparations for Early Vote campaign (esp. NPA women in I-4 corridor)

**Steps:**

- Call Independents in Swing Precincts
- Call weak-voting Democrats in Base Precincts
- Identify 100% of Precinct Captains

Sunday-Thursday, September 13 <sup>th</sup> -16 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phone Banks</li> <li>• ID calls to independent voters in persuasion precincts</li> </ul>
Sunday, September 19 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning Call with RFDs and FD – 1 pm</li> <li>• Statewide Field Call – 3pm</li> </ul>
Sunday-Thursday, September 20 <sup>th</sup> – 23 <sup>rd</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phone Banks to ID independent voters in persuasion precincts</li> </ul>
Saturday, September 25 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Canvass</li> </ul>
Sunday, September 26 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Planning call with RFDs and FD – 1 pm</li> <li>• Statewide Field Call – 3pm</li> </ul>
Sunday – Thursday, September 26 <sup>th</sup> – 29 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Phone Banks</li> <li>• Calls to ID independent voters in persuasion precincts</li> </ul>
Thursday, September 30 <sup>th</sup>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Presidential Debate (Miami)</li> <li>• Organize Visibility outside debate</li> <li>• Organize Statewide FDP fundraisers</li> </ul>

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Friday, October 1	• Reporting of Absentee Ballot Requests
Saturday, October 2	• Canvass
Sunday, October 3 <sup>rd</sup>	• Planning meeting with RFDs and FD – 1 pm • Statewide Field Call 3pm
Sunday, October 3 <sup>rd</sup>	• State Leadership Training with Rakis, Shea, Robinson, Baker, Baldick et al
Sunday – Monday, October 3 <sup>rd</sup> – 4 <sup>th</sup>	• Phone Banks to ID independent voters in persuasion precincts
Tuesday, October 5 <sup>th</sup>	• Vice Presidential Debate (Cleveland) • Organize Debate Watch Parties
Wednesday – Thursday, October 6 <sup>th</sup> and 7 <sup>th</sup>	• Phone Banks to ID independent voters in persuasion precincts
Friday, October 8 <sup>th</sup>	• Presidential Debate (St. Louis) • Organize Watch Parties • FDP Low Dollar Fundraiser
Saturday, October 9 <sup>th</sup>	• In-State Training for Field Staff
Sunday – Tuesday, October 10 <sup>th</sup> – 12 <sup>th</sup>	• Phone Banks to ID independent voters in persuasion precincts
Wednesday, October 13 <sup>th</sup>	• PC & Phone Bank Leader Training, followed by Debate Watch Party
Thursday, October 14 <sup>th</sup>	• Early Vote Phone Banks
Friday, October 15 <sup>th</sup>	• Reporting of Absentee Ballot Requests
Saturday, October 16 <sup>th</sup>	• Organizing Convention for field and constituency staff and top volunteer leadership

**Phase IV: Early Vote 10/17-10/28 (Early Vote Begins October 18<sup>th</sup>)**

Goal:

- Turn out voters for Early Vote

Steps:

- See Early Vote section of plan

Sunday, October 17 <sup>th</sup>	• Planning Meeting with RFDs and FD – 1 pm • Statewide Field Call – 3 pm
Sunday-Sunday, October 17 <sup>th</sup> -October 28 <sup>th</sup>	• Early Vote Canvasses and Phone Bank to Base Precincts and Ids
Monday, October 18 <sup>th</sup>	• Early Vote (Absentee Vote in Person) begins
Sunday, October 24 <sup>th</sup>	• Planning meeting with RFDs and FD – 1 pm • Statewide Field Call – 3 pm

**Phase V: Remind the Voters 10/29-11/1**

Goals:

- Remind voters of the how, where, and when to vote

Steps:

- Deploy volunteers for GOTV
- Train volunteers, precinct & phone bank leaders for GOTV

Friday-Monday, October 29 <sup>th</sup> – November 1 <sup>st</sup>	• Phone Banks and Canvasses
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Sunday, October 31<sup>st</sup>

- Planning meeting with RFDs and FD – 1pm
- Statewide Field Call – 3 pm

Phase VI: GOTV-Get out the Vote- 11/2

Goals:

- Turnout all identified 1s and base voters

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VII. PAID FIELD STAFF:

Field Organizers:

Central Region (41 organizers)	North Region (11 organizers)	South Region (41 organizers)
Daytona (5)	Gainesville (4)	Ft. Lauderdale/Broward (14)
Melbourne (5)	Jacksonville (2)	Ft. Myers (4)
Orlando (8)	Pensacola (2)	Miami-Dade (15)
St. Petersburg (13)	Tallahassee (3)	Palm Beach (8)
Tampa (10)		

Late October GOTV Staff (125k):

Senior GOTV, communications, and surrogate advance staff will be added to each field office during September.

Office Locations:

County	City		County	City
Alachua	Gainesville	<i>We anticipate the need for additional offices during September. The offices listed here are the campaign's initial beachheads in the most important counties.</i>	Miami Dade	Little Haiti
Brevard	Melbourne		Miami Dade	Calle Ocho
Broward	Ft. Lauderdale HQ		Miami Dade	Aventura
Broward	Plantation		Miami Dade	Palmetto Bay
Duval	Jacksonville		Orange	Orlando Main
Escambia	Pensacola		Orange	Orlando East
Hillsborough	Tampa		Palm Beach	West Palm Beach
Leon	Tallahassee Main		Palm Beach	Delray
Leon	Tallahassee Storefront		Palm Beach	Belle Glade
Miami Dade	Miami Main		Pinellas	St. Petersburg
Miami Dade	Liberty		Volusia	Daytona Beach

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## APPENDICES

### A. Veterans Organizing Plan

**Veteran Population: 1,875,597 (15% of the state)**

**Congressional Veterans: Sen. Bill Nelson and Rep. Allen Boyd**

**National Guard and Reserve Troops deployed: 42% (13,788 – which I believe is the highest in the nation.)**

**Active Duty: 55,267**

**Reserve: 48,198**

**National Guard: 13,158**

**Killed in Iraq/Afghanistan: 40/13**

If you add in the active duty, reserve and National Guard you add an additional 116,623 military personnel in the state. Also, if you assume that in general there is one member of these units in each household, you are looking a potentially an additional 116K households that have a direct household military connection in the state. Anecdotally, you will have extended families, parents, siblings etc...that may live in the state and have strong military connections.

All of the following numbers are based on population data rather than voter registration data.

Breakdown of Veterans by field region is as follows:

<b>Total</b>	<b>Central</b>	<b>5,248,621</b>	<b>913,369</b>	<b>17%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>South</b>	<b>4,695,372</b>	<b>534,609</b>	<b>11%</b>
<b>Total</b>	<b>North</b>	<b>2,339,493</b>	<b>427,619</b>	<b>18%</b>

Vet population in the state corresponds nicely with the presidential swing voters from the targeting:

<b>Central:</b>	<b>430,601</b>
<b>South:</b>	<b>355,895</b>
<b>North:</b>	<b>140,069</b>

Breakdown of veterans by media market is as follows:

<b>Media Market</b>	<b>Total Pop</b>	<b>% Vet</b>	<b>Raw Vet #</b>
Tampa-St. Petersburg	2,902,829	18%	522,509
Orlando	2,249,316	17%	382,384
Miami	2,999,476	8%	239,958
West Palm Beach	1,262,110	16%	201,938
Jacksonville	1,068,435	18%	192,318
Mobile, AL – Pensacola	910,195	18%	163,835
Fort Myers – Naples	733,795	19%	139,421
Tallahassee – Thomasville, GA	472,504	13%	61,426
Panama City	242,002	19%	45,980
Gainesville	222,023	13%	28,863

Breakdown of media market and corresponding field regions:

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Media Market / Region	Total Pop	% Vet	Raw Vet #
Tampa-St. Petersburg	2,902,829	18%	522509
Orlando	2,249,316	17%	382384
Central	5,152,145	18%	904,893
Fort Myers – Naples	733,795	19%	139421
Miami	2,999,476	8%	239958
West Palm Beach	1,262,110	16%	201938
South	4,995,381	12%	581317
Jacksonville	1,068,435	18%	192318
Mobile AL – Pensacola	910,195	18%	163835
Tallahassee – Thomasville, GA	472,504	13%	61426
Panama City	242,002	19%	45980
Gainesville	222,023	13%	28863
North	2,915,159	17%	492422

It is clear from population numbers that the most crucial veteran region in the state for the campaign is central Florida. 49% of all the veterans in Florida live in the central region - almost one million veterans - and the two main media markets in central FL cover virtually all of the veterans in this region. Almost one in six people in this region are veterans. In addition, this area represents the campaign's highest number of presidential swing voters according to the targeting.

The rest of the veterans in the state are relatively evenly divided between the northern and southern regions. The density of veterans compared to the general population in the north is 30% greater but due to the sheer size of the population in the southern region there is a greater raw number of vets. The small and diverse number of media markets in the north, make communicating through free press on mass more difficult - or at least more balkanized. The large and concentrated markets in the south provide more centralized free press opportunities for high level surrogates.

**Veterans Surrogates:**

Based on the vet population numbers, targeting and set up of the media markets we should concentrate our veteran surrogate trips in the central part of the state with the heaviest emphasis on Orlando, Tampa - St. Pete and the I-4 corridor. My guess is that veterans in the south will tend to be more supportive of Kerry-Edwards than in the north but we need some survey research to here to drive the north / south scheduling. On a basic level, scheduling veteran surrogates for the north could help tamp down GOP vote and cut into their advantage there.

Available veteran surrogates currently used by the campaign and the DNC are:

- Senator Max Cleland
- Crewmates and Swift Boat Captains
- General Clark
- Ambassador and former FL Congressman Pete Peterson
- 12 generals from the convention (including former Joint Chiefs of Staff Crowe and Shalikashvili)
- Balanos Brothers (5 Hispanic brothers who all fought in Vietnam)
- Paul Bucha and other Congressional Medal of Honor Recipients
- General Claudia Kennedy

- Paul Rieckhoff (Served in the Army in Iraq, just came off active duty in May. Has been an outspoken critic of the war)
- Joseph Lesniewski- Kerry's guest for the WWII memorial. 101<sup>st</sup> Airborne, 506<sup>th</sup> Regiment, Easy Company, famous "Band of Brothers."

**Veterans Field Situation:**

Currently there are 4,481 veterans marked on the voter file in FL – this is .2% of the number of veterans in the state. We have 3,390 veterans that have signed up to be Veterans for Kerry in Florida according to the campaign. That gives us a starting point of 7,871 vets in the state in addition to what the local organizers have collected – which seems to be limited to date.

According to research, there are two main ways to find vets in large numbers in FL.

- Any veteran that is at least 10% disabled due to their service is eligible for property tax relief. Property taxes are generally public record but they are assessed by county. We are checking with two or three supportive county commissioners to see how much of this data we will be able to mine but this will still only give us disabled veterans.
- Military plates available in FL if you are a member of the National Guard, U.S. Reserve, Ex-Prisoner of War, Pearl Harbor Survivor, Purple Heart, and Medal of Honor societies. HSMV also issues military services specialty license plates for the United States Army, Navy, Air Force, and Coast Guard. All military plates, except Medal of Honor, are available at local tax collector's offices. I am hopeful that there are 150-200K of these plates in the state. Preliminary research indicates that we will be able to buy these lists through vendors but I will not have an answer to that until Monday at the earliest.

Other options: The remaining options are the traditional networks – VFW, American Legions, Army reserves and national guards and other veteran organizations in the state. We are currently putting together a comprehensive list of all of these organizations in the state and will need to go to the local organizers to collect local veterans lists from supportive vets. This approach is limited in creating enough data to run a real field program unless we hit the jackpot.

**Yet Organizers:**

We should hire 3 organizers, one for each region with the best organizer assigned to central FL. We may even want to consider hiring a late addition to the central region for the final month. Depending on the success of the data search, these folks could be added to the surrogate team if we come up short on the data and need to concentrate on press and surrogates.

**State Leadership Structure:**

We will put together a statewide veterans steering committee with county captains responsible for veteran-to-veteran outreach in their community. This steering committee will have regular conference calls to keep the group updated and on the same program.

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**APPENDIX B. Turnout by Race and Ethnicity in Recent Florida Elections**

**2000 GENERAL ELECTION**

Race	# Reg	% Reg	# Reg Dem	% Reg Dem	# Reg GOP	% Reg GOP	# Reg I/N	% Reg I/N
Caucasian	6,613,587	53.18%	2,614,913	39.54%	2,906,263	43.94%	1,077,495	16.29%
African-American	888,487	38.08%	754,533	84.92%	48,446	5.45%	85,084	9.58%
Hispanic	734,033	31.87%	236,314	32.19%	324,573	44.22%	172,173	23.46%
Hispanic/Other	913,802	35.37%	304,398	33.31%	372,979	40.82%	234,72	25.69%
Total	8,415,876	55.90%	3,673,844	43.65%	3,327,688	39.54%	1,397,299	16.6%

**1998 GENERAL ELECTION**

Race	# Reg	% Reg	# Voted	% of Voters	% Voted (of Reg)	% Voted (of total)
Caucasian	6,586,453	52.96%	3,240,526	83.24%	49.2	26.06%
African-American	856,974	36.73%	357,108	9.17%	41.67	15.30%
Hispanic	655,259	28.45%	225,538	5.79%	34.42	97.90%
Hispanic/Other	767,839	29.72%	295,216	7.58%	38.45	11.43%
Total	8,220,026	54.60%	3,892,850	100.00%	47.36	25.86%

**1996 GENERAL ELECTION**

Race	# Reg	% Reg	# Voted	% of Voters	% Voted (of Reg)	% Voted (of total)
Caucasian	6,565,941	52.80%	3,896,276	82.44%	59.34	31.33%
African-American	845,179	36.22%	446,290	9.44%	52.8	19.13%
Hispanic	583,862	25.35%	300,796	6.36%	51.52	13.06%
Hispanic/Other	666,757	25.80%	383,913	8.12%	57.58	14.86%
Total	8,077,877	53.65%	4,726,479	100.00%	58.51	31.39%

**1994 GENERAL ELECTION**

Race	# Reg	% Reg	# Voted	% of Voters	% Voted (of Reg)	% Voted (of total)
Caucasian	5,845,493	47.00%	0	0.00%		0.00%
African-American	614,384	26.33%	0	0.00%		0.00%
Hispanic	99,720	4.33%	0	0.00%		0.00%
Hispanic/Other	99,720	38.60%	0	0.00%		0.00%
Total	6,559,598	43.57%	0	0.00%		0.00%

Source: 2000 Coordinated Campaign Review

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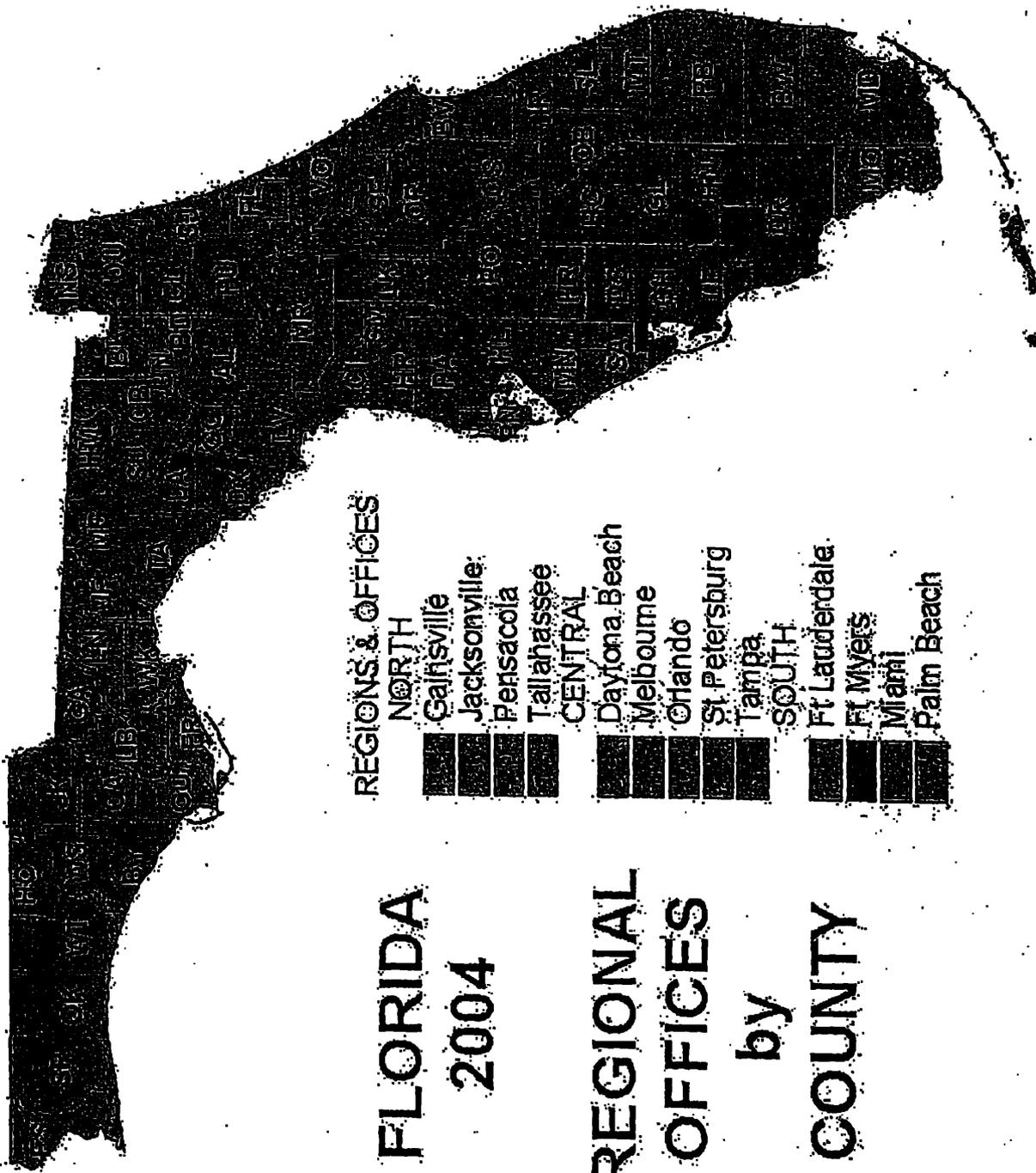
APPENDIX C: Voter Statistics by County

COUNTY	REG	PROJECTED TURNOUT %	EXPECTED VOTE	GOAL TURNOUT %	GOAL TURNOUT RAW	PREZ SWING (PVIDXB)	PREZ SWING VOTERS	GOTV %	GOTV TARGET VOTERS	DEM BASE %	DEM BASE VOTERS	PREZ DEM PERFORMANCE	GOAL %	
Alachua	125,480	71.	89,485	71.3	89,485	11.8	10,389	12.2	15,261	52.8	47,28	58.6	0.62	60.2
Baker	11,589	65.	7,641	65.9	7,641	11.2	863	7.7	.897	31.6	2,41	35.2	0.62	35.8
Bay	99,257	63.	63,188	63.7	63,188	9.4	5,959	6.8	6,573	33.2	20,94	36.6	0.62	37.2
Bradford	13,767	66.	9,176	66.7	9,176	10.4	955	5.8	792	37.4	3,43	41.6	0.62	42.2
Brevard	307,054	77.	236,737	77.1	236,737	19.1	45,335	11.9	36,542	40.2	95,17	49.6	0.62	50.2
Broward	978,297	64.	634,324	64.8	634,324	18.6	118,301	15.9	155,838	55.9	354,42	68.3	0.62	68.9
Calhoun	7,602	71.	5,426	71.4	5,426	13.2	715	12.9	983	43.5	2,36	49.9	0.62	50.5
Charlottesville	105,117	68.	71,964	68.5	71,964	14.6	10,492	6.5	6,830	38.3	27,57	44.9	0.62	45.5
Citrus	84,864	70.	59,866	70.5	59,866	15.2	9,082	6.0	5,067	41.0	24,53	48.3	0.62	48.9
Clay	83,929	66.	55,824	66.5	55,824	8.4	4,700	3.0	2,489	25.2	14,05	27.5	0.62	28.1
Collier	139,179	74.	104,261	74.9	104,261	10.2	10,614	6.4	8,934	29.3	30,56	32.7	0.62	33.3
Columbia	31,791	59.	19,038	59.9	19,038	11.1	2,117	5.3	1,864	39.7	7,55	44.6	0.62	45.2
De Soto	16,884	50.	8,446	50.0	8,446	11.9	1,001	6.5	1,091	41.2	3,47	46.6	0.62	47.2
Dixie	9,247	39.	3,858	39.6	3,858	15.2	557	6.7	821	39.9	1,45	46.9	0.62	47.5
Duval	446,788	65.	290,533	65.0	290,533	10.1	29,344	6.3	28,017	39.2	113,89	43.5	0.62	44.1
Escambia	173,477	68.	119,183	68.7	119,183	6.3	7,509	7.1	12,261	35.8	42,70	38.2	0.62	38.8
Flagler	38,721	81.	31,429	81.2	31,429	16.4	5,148	11.8	4,573	44.5	13,98	53.2	0.62	53.8
Franklin	7,008	62.	4,347	62.0	4,347	11.9	518	6.0	417	44.3	1,92	50.2	0.62	50.8
Gadsden	26,518	60.	15,381	60.2	15,381	17.2	2,641	4.4	1,133	57.6	8,84	69.2	0.62	69.8
Gilchrist	8,169	78.	6,413	78.5	6,413	10.8	691	14.7	1,199	38.7	2,48	43.4	0.62	44.0
Glades	5,737	54.	3,119	54.4	3,119	13.8	429	8.1	349	40.3	1,25	46.6	0.62	47.2
Gulf	9,063	63.	5,736	63.2	5,736	10.7	611	4.2	380	43.0	2,46	47.9	0.62	48.5
Hamilton	7,422	58.	4,353	58.6	4,353	12.6	547	10.7	782	44.1	1,91	50.3	0.62	50.9
Hardee	11,653	57.	6,701	57.5	6,701	12.7	852	7.2	833	38.5	2,57	43.9	0.62	44.5
Hendry	15,396	52.	8,051	52.3	8,051	14.1	1,138	8.0	1,229	37.3	3,00	42.9	0.62	43.5
Hernando	101,013	66.	68,992	68.3	68,992	15.2	10,501	7.7	7,732	44.4	30,66	52.5	0.62	53.1
Highlands	56,434	66.	37,747	66.9	37,747	14.0	5,296	7.0	3,949	37.0	13,94	42.9	0.62	43.5
Hillsborough	530,003	72.	382,572	72.2	382,572	12.4	47,324	10.3	54,796	44.4	169,79	50.5	0.62	51.1
Holmes	9,956	71.	7,142	71.7	7,142	10.4	743	9.8	971	34.8	2,48	38.9	0.62	39.5
Indian River	77,833	69.	54,168	69.6	54,168	12.2	6,614	7.2	5,580	37.2	20,12	42.5	0.62	43.1
Jackson	25,865	69.	17,943	69.3	17,943	7.7	1,389	7.5	1,937	44.4	7,97	48.1	0.62	48.7
Jefferson	8,178	71.	5,823	71.2	5,823	8.1	489	6.5	531	54.2	3,15	58.9	0.62	59.5
Lafayette	4,253	63.	2,695	63.4	2,695	15.0	405	4.8	205	36.0	97	42.4	0.62	43.0
Lake	141,176	68.	96,996	68.7	96,996	13.7	13,288	6.9	9,714	38.2	37,06	44.3	0.62	44.9
Lee	282,260	73.	206,241	73.1	206,241	12.3	25,388	7.2	20,444	35.2	72,57	40.2	0.62	40.8
Leon	145,177	71.	103,580	71.3	103,580	15.7	16,221	9.4	13,609	52.9	54,74	62.3	0.62	62.9

VICTORY 2004 FLORIDA COORDINATED CAMPAIGN

Levy	18,940	69.	13,782	69.1	13,782	11.5	1,585	12.8	2,561	43.3	5.97	48.9	0.62	49.5
Liberty	3,750	64.	2,425	64.7	2,425	12.7	307	6.6	248	45.1	1.09	51.5	0.62	52.1
Madison	38,379	80.	23,174	60.4	23,174	13.7	3,182	27.2	10,430	47.5	11.00	54.9	0.62	55.5
Manatee	177,136	65.	115,620	65.3	115,620	13.9	16,050	6.3	11,165	40.6	46.96	47.1	0.62	47.7
Marion	162,018	69.	112,888	69.7	112,888	14.3	16,132	7.4	11,969	40.3	45.54	46.9	0.62	47.5
Marth	91,360	71.	65,685	71.9	65,685	18.6	12,185	7.2	6,530	35.6	23.38	43.8	0.62	44.4
Miami-Dade	959,720	69.	669,298	69.7	669,298	13.2	88,414	12.1	115,757	46.7	312.78	53.5	0.62	54.1
Monroe	50,429	70.	35,377	70.2	35,377	16.6	5,869	11.8	5,947	43.3	15.31	51.7	0.62	52.3
Nassau	37,897	67.	25,735	67.9	25,735	8.1	2,077	6.2	2,347	30.8	7.93	33.5	0.62	34.1
Okaloosa	110,484	64.	71,184	64.4	71,184	10.4	7,432	4.9	5,410	23.4	16.62	26.1	0.62	26.7
Okeechobee	17,473	58.	10,192	58.3	10,192	14.1	1,435	6.3	1,092	44.1	4.49	51.2	0.62	51.8
Orange	439,652	69.	304,663	69.3	304,663	22.0	66,934	11.5	50,667	41.3	125.95	52.6	0.62	53.2
Osceola	84,513	60.	57,477	60.8	57,477	20.4	11,731	7.2	6,813	42.9	24.63	53.6	0.62	54.1
Palm Beach	714,182	66.	476,489	66.7	476,489	18.7	88,913	11.3	80,442	52.1	248.39	63.7	0.62	64.3
Pasco	231,179	64.	149,607	64.7	149,607	9.1	13,659	6.3	14,570	47.1	70.39	51.8	0.62	52.4
Pinellas	580,851	69.	402,891	69.4	402,891	10.7	42,998	10.0	58,283	48.3	194.40	54.0	0.62	54.6
Polk	265,892	68.	181,298	68.2	181,298	16.0	29,008	9.5	25,124	40.5	73.35	47.9	0.62	48.5
Putham	40,801	65.	26,561	65.1	26,561	12.6	3,352	7.7	3,149	43.8	11.63	50.0	0.62	50.6
Santa Rosa	81,582	64.	52,729	64.8	52,729	8.9	4,877	3.8	3,120	25.8	13.59	28.3	0.62	28.9
Sarasota	230,977	65.	150,489	65.2	150,489	14.5	21,776	8.2	18,973	40.6	61.17	47.5	0.62	48.1
Seminole	205,149	72.	148,377	72.3	148,377	19.3	28,607	11.7	23,891	38.9	54.75	45.7	0.62	46.3
St. Johns	93,589	68.	63,911	68.3	63,911	10.1	6,449	4.5	4,224	30.9	19.73	34.3	0.62	34.9
St. Lucie	127,436	66.	84,699	66.5	84,699	21.8	18,303	10.8	13,711	43.2	36.59	54.8	0.62	55.4
Sumter	35,944	71.	25,744	71.6	25,744	9.0	2,317	12.9	4,632	41.4	10.64	45.4	0.62	46.0
Suwannee	20,598	61.	12,672	61.5	12,672	12.4	1,588	4.5	923	34.7	4.40	39.5	0.62	40.1
Taylor	11,434	57.	6,805	57.8	6,805	21.9	1,445	7.0	801	35.1	2.32	44.3	0.62	44.9
Union	6,751	56.	3,807	56.4	3,807	18.8	715	7.4	498	36.1	1.37	44.4	0.62	45.0
Volusia	276,443	70.	195,264	70.6	195,264	14.1	27,454	10.9	30,156	47.6	92.88	55.3	0.62	55.9
Wakulla	13,744	64.	8,854	64.4	8,854	13.5	1,197	5.4	742	43.5	3.84	50.2	0.62	50.8
Walton	31,098	64.	20,084	64.6	20,084	8.9	1,789	6.5	2,032	32.5	6.52	35.8	0.62	36.4
Washington	13,852	56.	7,800	56.3	7,800	10.6	829	5.9	813	39.6	3.08	44.2	0.62	44.1
STATE TOTAL	9,329,430		6,373,538		6,373,538		926,525		931,291		2,794.51			

**APPENDIX D: Field Organization Regions Map**



**REGIONS & OFFICES**

**NORTH**

- Gainesville
- Jacksonville
- Pensacola
- Tallahassee

**CENTRAL**

- Daytona Beach
- Melbourne
- Orlando
- St. Petersburg
- Tampa

**SOUTH**

- Ft. Lauderdale
- Ft. Myers
- Miami
- Palm Beach

**FLORIDA**

**2004**

**REGIONAL**

**OFFICES**

**by**

**COUNTY**

APPENDIX E: Absentee Vote in Person

Attorney-Client Privileged, Attorney Work Product

MEMORANDUM

To: Dave Friedman

August 21, 2004

From: Stephen F. Rosenthal

Re: Early Voting in Florida

Just three months ago, the Florida Legislature enacted a law creating a new system of "early voting" in the 2004 primary and general elections. Fla. Session Laws Ch. 2004-252, §§ 9-13. The early voting provisions create 15-day windows before election day in which people can cast a ballot, and they also affect certain deadlines for other aspects of the election laws.

1. The Law

1. Early Voting

1. Timing: A voter is entitled to cast a ballot in person during the fifteen days before election day at certain designated locations. Fla. Stat. §101.657(1)(b) (2004). Early voting must be made available for at least eight hours each weekday and at least eight hours in the aggregate during each weekend during the 15-day period.

- For the general election, early voting runs from October 18 - November 1.
- For the primary, early voting runs from August 16-30.

2. Locations: Each County Supervisor must designate early voting locations. Those locations are limited to: (1) the main office of the supervisor, (2) a branch office of the supervisor, provided that it is a "full-service facility of the supervisor" and was designated as such at least one year prior to the election, or (3) city halls and public libraries, provided that they are located "so as to provide all voters in the county an equal opportunity to cast a ballot, insofar as is practicable." §101.657(1)(a) (2004). A supervisor must allow early voting to be conducted at the main office and at qualified branch offices, but has discretion over which city halls and public libraries to open to early voting.

3. Voting procedure: An early voter must complete a special certificate affirming that she is registered in the county and resides at the address shown on the voter registration

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rolls. §101.657(2)(a) (2004). The voter who votes early shall "deposit[] the voted ballot in a voting device used by the supervisor to collect or tabulate ballots."

4: Challenges and provisional ballots: The same challenge procedure (pursuant to Fla. Stat. § 101.111) applies to early voting; however, the law requires that "[a]ny challenged [early] voter *must* vote a provisional ballot." Fla. Stat. § 101.657(2)(b) (2004) (emphasis added).

5. Canvassing: The canvass of early voted ballots "shall be substantially the same" as the canvassing of votes cast on election day. Fla. Stat. §101.657(2)(c) (2004). The ballots are to remain confidential until the close of the polls on election day. Fla. Stat. §101.657(1)(a) (2004) ("The results or tabulation may not be made before the close of the polls on election day"). As to provisional ballots, the canvassing board determines the validity of the ballot by majority vote. Fla. Stat. § 101.657(2)(b) (2004).

## 2. Other Deadlines Affected by the Early Voting Period

Addition of the early voting period required modification of several existing deadlines, which should be noted independently of how early voting is administered.

1. Deadline for revisions to security procedures: Prior to the 2004 amendment, each supervisor had to submit any revisions to the county's security procedures to the Department of State no later than 45 days before election day. That deadline has been advanced fifteen days, as the new law requires submission no later than 45 days before early voting commences. Fla. Stat. § 101.015(4)(c) (2004). For the general election, that deadline is September 2.

2. Timing of Testing of Automatic Tabulating Equipment: Each elections supervisor must now conduct the public test of the accuracy of the automatic tabulation equipment no earlier than ten days prior to the first day of early voting. Fla. Stat. § 101.5612(2) (2004). For the general election, that means the test must be conducted between October 8 and October 17. The supervisor or her designee must notify the county party chair of the date, time and location of the test at least fifteen days prior to the commencement of early voting.

## II Legal and Practical Considerations

### 1. Early Voting Locations

1. Branch offices of the supervisors of elections: The provision permitting branch offices to be used as early voting sites is subject to two tenable interpretations.<sup>1</sup> Sites "designated as such" could refer to sites designated as full-service branch offices one year ago, or it could refer only to branch offices designated as early voting sites one year ago. On its face, the more plausible interpretation would seem to be the former, allowing supervisors to use established branch offices as early voting sites. Branch offices had already been authorized, under the prior version of the statute, as sites at which voters could cast absentee ballots in person. Fla. Stat. § 101.657(2) (2003). Were the new statute to be interpreted otherwise, no branch office could qualify to be used in the 2004 elections, since none of these sites could have been designated as an early voting site a year ago.

2. City halls and public libraries: The equal-opportunity-to-vote provision clearly evidences the Legislature's intent that all citizens, rich and poor, urban and rural, be afforded equal access to early voting sites. Most likely, this will require designating several city halls and public libraries as early voting sites. The supervisor has discretion to make the geographic selections of the city halls and libraries within the bounds of what is "practicable," Fla. Stat. §101.657(1)(a) (2004). In light of this statutory discretion, any challenge to a supervisor's site selection would need to demonstrate a failure to service a geographic sector of voters which has a conveniently located city hall or public library. An equal opportunity analysis would probably require a comparison of the number of registered voters within a certain radius of each designated site as well as an overlay of the party affiliation of registered voters in that area. A public records requests for documents showing how each supervisor arrived at his or her decision of which sites to open would be advisable to prepare for any legal challenge.

## 2. Weekend Hours

Because the statute affords county supervisors discretion over when to conduct early voting during the weekends -- requiring only eight hours of poll opening "in the aggregate" over the course of a weekend -- how that time is allocated could affect which voters might take advantage of the voting opportunity. For instance, a decision not to open early voting sites on a Sunday might weaken the ability of core Democratic church communities to organize trips to the polls.

## 3. Procedures

1. Repeal of witness requirement: Early voting replaced what had been known as in-office absentee ballot voting. Previously, in order to vote an absentee ballot at the supervisor of elections' office, a voter was required to have his signature witnessed by another person. See §101.657(2)(a) (2003). The "early voting voter certificate" replaces the "in-office voter certificate" and is identical except for the change in title and the deletion of the witness requirement. To the extent that any county has not generated revised forms, we should make sure that the defunct witness requirement has not crept into early voting by mistake. (In fact, the Division of Elections' website still erroneously implies that there is a signature verification requirement; its "Early

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<sup>1</sup> The provision reads: "In order for a branch office to be used for early voting, it shall be a full-service facility of the supervisor and shall have been designated *as such* at least 1 year prior to the election" §101.657(1)(a).(emphasis added).

Voting" page advises "[v]oters who want to vote early . . . [to] remember to bring a photo and signature verification with them."<sup>2</sup>

2. Ballot security: The elongation of the voting period creates additional risks of lost or stolen ballots. The new law requires county supervisors to establish written procedures to assure the accuracy and security of "procedures related to early voting." §101.015(4)(b) (2004).

3. Challenges and provisional ballots: The 2004 amendments appear to make it easier for a challenger to force a voter to cast a provisional rather than a regular ballot. On election day at the precincts, the standard procedure is that the clerk and inspectors decide by majority vote whether a challenged voter may cast a regular or a provisional ballot. Fla. Stat. § 101.111(3)(a). The early voting provisions provide that "[a]ny challenged [early] voter *must* vote a provisional ballot." Fla. Stat. § 101.657(2)(b) (2004) (emphasis added). It then falls to the canvassing board to determine whether these ballots should be counted. *Id.* It might be argued that the early-voting-challenge provision's adoption of § 101.111 disallows any change in the rules governing when a voter must cast a provisional ballot. The better argument, however, is that the mandatory command in § 101.657(2)(b) that "[a]ny challenged voter must vote a provisional ballot" creates a different rule for early voting. Practically speaking, since early voting avoids perhaps the biggest downside of provisional balloting -- the incorrect-precinct-invalidation rule -- the effect of the challenge provision may not be that significant.

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<sup>2</sup> <<<http://election.dos.state.fl.us/earlyvoting.shtml>>> (visited August 20, 2004) (emphasis added).

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## APPENDIX F: General Information on Absentee Voting

NOTE: In order for a voter's absentee ballot to be counted, the voter must sign his/her name on the Voter's Signature's line.

NOTE: For an overseas voter, the voter must include the date he/she signed the Voter's Certificate on the "Date" line. §101.65(2004)

### A. Who may vote Absentee?

An elector his or her residence to another is permitted to vote absentee in the county of his/her former residence in that election for President and Vice President, United States Senator, statewide offices, and statewide issues when an elector changes his or her residence to another county in Florida from the county in Florida in which he or she is registered as an elector after the books in the county to which the elector has changed his or her residence are closed. After the general election, such person shall not be permitted to vote in the county of the person's former residence. §101.663(1) (2004).

An elector registered in this state who moves his or her permanent residence to another state and who is prohibited by the laws of that state from voting for the offices of President and Vice President of the United States shall be permitted to vote absentee in the county of his or her former residence for those offices. §101.663(2) (2004).

Although neither the statute nor the administrative code expressly provides for the use of absentee ballots by all other voters, the Florida Department of State website notes that "[a]ll qualified voters are permitted to vote absentee under Florida law." See <http://election.dos.state.fl.us/absenteevoting.shtml>. This is consistent with Fla. Stat. § 101.64, which requires an absentee voter to affirm only that he or she is a registered and qualified voter in the county and that her or she will vote only once in the election. Fla. Stat. § 101.64 (2004).

### B. Procedures for Obtaining

A request to the Secretary of State for an absentee ballot may be in person or in writing or by telephone. Except as provided in *s. 101.694*, one request shall be deemed sufficient to receive an absentee ballot for all elections which are held within a calendar year, unless the elector or the elector's designee indicates at the time the request is made the elections for which the elector desires to receive an absentee ballot. Such request may be considered canceled when any first-class mail sent by the supervisor to the elector is returned as undeliverable. §101.62(1)(a)(2004)

The supervisor may accept a written or telephonic request for an absentee ballot from the elector, or, if directly instructed by the elector, a member of the elector's immediate family, or the elector's legal guardian. For purposes of this section, the term "immediate family" has the same meaning as specified in paragraph (4)(b). The person making the request must disclose the name of the elector for whom the ballot is requested; the elector's address; the elector's date of birth; the requester's name; the requester's address; the requester's driver's license number, if available; the requester's relationship to the elector; and the requester's signature (written requests only). §101.62(1)(b)(2004)

If a request for an absentee ballot is received after the Friday before the election by the supervisor of elections from an absent elector overseas, the supervisor shall send a notice to the elector acknowledging receipt of his or her request and notifying the elector that the ballot will not be forwarded due to insufficient time for return of the ballot by the required deadline.

§101.62(2)(2004)

To each absent qualified elector overseas who has requested an absentee ballot, the supervisor of elections shall, not fewer than 35 days before the first primary election, mail an absentee ballot. Not fewer than 45 days before the second primary and general election, the supervisor of elections shall mail an advance absentee ballot to those persons requesting ballots for such elections.

§101.62(4)(a)(2004)

NOTE: The provisions of this code shall not be construed to prohibit any elector from voting in person at the elector's precinct on the day of an election notwithstanding that the elector has requested an absentee ballot for that election. An elector who has received an absentee ballot, but desires to vote in person, shall return the ballot, whether voted or not, to the election board in the elector's precinct. The returned ballot shall be marked "canceled" by the board and placed with other canceled ballots. However, if the elector does not return the ballot and the election official:

§101.69(2004).

- (1) Confirms that the supervisor *has received* the elector's absentee ballot, the elector *shall not be allowed to vote in person*.
- (2) Confirms that the supervisor *has not received* the elector's absentee ballot, the elector *shall be allowed to vote in person* as provided in this code. The elector's absentee ballot, if subsequently received, shall not be counted and shall remain in the mailing envelope, and the envelope shall be marked "Rejected as Illegal."

Cannot determine whether the supervisor has received the elector's absentee ballot, the elector may vote a provisional ballot.

### C. Deadlines

The absentee ballot should be completed and returned as soon as possible so that it can reach the supervisor of elections of the county in which your precinct is located no later than 7 p.m. on the day of the election. All ballots received thereafter shall be marked with the time and date of receipt and filed in the supervisor's office §101.65(2004), §101.67(2)(2004).

For absentee ballots received from overseas voters, there is a presumption that the envelope was mailed on the date stated on the outside of the return envelope, regardless of the absence of a postmark on the mailed envelope or the existence of a postmark date that is later than the date of the election. §101.6952(2)(2004).

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## FLORIDA LEGAL TEAM OPERATION OVERVIEW

### GOALS

- Ensure every voter can cast a ballot that will be counted
- Promote voter confidence
- Answer questions and provide support to campaign staff

### ORGANIZATION

- Core team of senior counsel and campaign election law coordinators to manage program (see Senior Counsel & Coordinators spreadsheet).
- 67 county lead counsels and deputy lead counsels managing operations at county level.
- 1,500 – 2,000 precinct attorneys for November 2.
- Issues teams and litigation team to address substantive issues and prepare for potential litigation.
- Integration with coordinated campaign – county lead counsel and teams to communicate directly with field offices to address problems, answer questions.

### EARLY PREVENTION AND RESOLUTION OF PROBLEMS

- County lead counsel meet with Supervisors of Elections to collect information, fix problems from August through the November 2 election.
- Legal team provides information to campaign, helps formulate voter education plans.
- County counsel seek to persuade Supervisors to fix problems, litigation as last resort.
- Election law training for all volunteer lawyers, abbreviated training for poll watchers.

### EARLY VOTING & NOVEMBER 2 OPERATIONS (see attached chart on p.2)

- Early voting: precinct lawyers present at all target polling places to assist voters.
- November 2: 1,500 – 2,000 precinct lawyers present at all target polling places, on call near other polling places.
- On-site precinct lawyers work with voters, campaign staff, and election officials to solve problems; county lead & deputy counsel work with Supervisors to fix larger problems.
- Incidents reported to county lead counsel, up to legal boiler room to detect systematic problems, consult with campaign boiler room and national legal team on major decisions.
- Litigation team and campaign press team available for emergency crisis response.

### FIELD IMPLEMENTATION – connecting voters with precinct lawyers (see chart, p.3)

- Campaign volunteers and poll watchers contact lawyers directly for assistance.
  - Field staff and poll watchers get index card with cell phone number for (1) the precinct lawyer who will be present or nearby on call, and (2) county lead counsel/deputy counsel (who can dispatch precinct lawyers).
  - Poll watchers to wear blue hats; poll watchers & precinct lawyers to wear “Every Vote Counts” buttons.
  - Poll workers, precinct lawyers have legal bullet point sheets to answer questions.

- Problems also reported to toll-free 800 number, local campaign numbers; reports relayed to county lead/deputy counsel, who dispatch precinct lawyers to polling places.
  - GOTV lit and palm cards have phone numbers to contact for help.
  - Phone numbers distributed to constituency groups, organizers, etc.
- Legal boiler room to monitor radio, TV, internet reports of problems.

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Florida Democratic Legal Team organization - Election Day

Statewide Legal Team  
 Washington, DC

Legal Team

Boiler Room

on call for assignments from boiler room

Lead counsel & staff (region coordinators?)  
 • Master org lists, incl. issues group experts  
 • Incident report log  
 • Full law manuals  
 • Monitor radio & TV

Talks to:  
 1) county lead counsels  
 2) regional supervisors  
 3) issues group experts when needed  
 4) campaign boiler room  
 5) nat'l legal boiler room

Top campaign staff  
 • Phone #s for legal boiler room

regional legal coordinators in boiler room or campaign field offices will monitor and coordinate with county lead/deputy counsel.

67 lead counsel, 67 deputy leads  
 • Precinct lawyer lists w/phone #s  
 • Basic law manual  
 • Cell phone & Blackberry w/chargers  
 • Phone #s for boiler room, region coordinator

Talks to:  
 1) lawyers in field to monitor, solve problems  
 2) poll watchers if precinct lawyer can't be reached  
 3) campaign field office  
 4) FL legal boiler room (or regional coordinator if necessary) with incident reports, updates

Field Offices (13)  
 Field supervisors & staff  
 Maybe have regional legal coordinators in field offices?

deal program target of lawyers: 3,370 @ targeted pcts 50 roaming (10 pcts each) 820 full-time lawyers (this number may be scaled back)

Poll Watchers (1,171 targeted)

Talks to:  
 1) poll watchers & voters to respond, fix problems  
 2) campaign field office  
 3) county lead/deputy counsel for assignments, reports  
 4) regional supervisor if can't reach county lead counsel

Political Action (5,000 goal)

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*Up to 1,820 precinct  
lawyers: 1,370 at targeted  
pcts, 450 roaming*

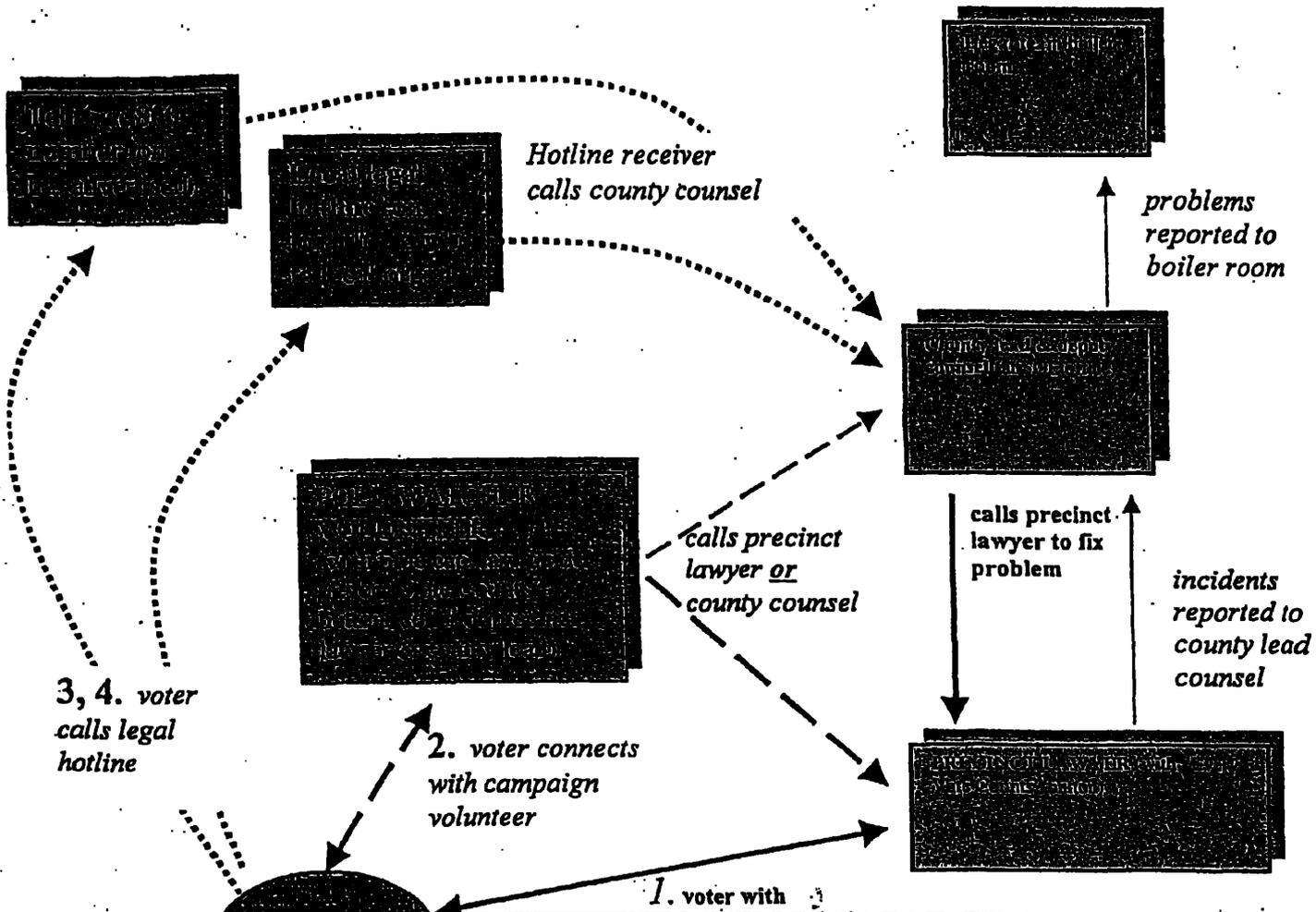
- Legal bullet points
- Basic law manual
- Incident report form
- Affidavit forms
- Phone #s for county  
lead & deputy counsel,  
campaign field office,  
regional supervisors
- Cell phone w/charger,  
Blackberry if possible

Poll watchers – name on  
official list by Oct. \_\_

- Blue hats (*or shirts, etc.*)
- Legal bullet points
- Phone #s for field office,  
precnt. lawyer, county lead  
& deputy counsel if crisis
- Cell phone w/charger
- “How to vote” educ. lit.?
- Poll closing form to  
record all results (incl.  
provisional ballots, etc.)

*FIELD IMPLEMENTATION – connecting voters with precinct lawyers*

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1. Voter and precinct lawyer locate each other directly at polling place.
2. Voter connects with campaign volunteer/poll watcher → if campaign worker cannot fix problem, he/she refers problem directly to precinct lawyer (in person or by cell phone). **If** campaign worker cannot reach lawyer, he/she calls county lead counsel, who calls precinct lawyer to fix problem.
3. Voter calls local legal hotline printed on local lit. → hotline receiver in field office calls county lead counsel → county lead counsel calls precinct lawyer to fix problem.
4. Voter calls statewide toll-free 800 hotline → hotline receiver has numbers for all county lead counsel, calls the right one → county lead counsel calls precinct lawyer to fix problem.

**APPENDIX G: Paid Contact Universes**

Base Universe: 1,329,057 = Strasma GOTV Universe (931,000) + estimated appx. 397,000 new registrants  
 Swing Universe: 926,525 = from model

Universe/Time	Contact Type	Universe	How Derived
Base Early Vote	Volunteer Call	571,496	43% contact rate of 1,329,057
Base Early Vote	ABS Vol Call	159,486	12% of Universe (estimated subset)
Base Early Vote	Auto Call	571,496	43% contact rate of 1,329,057
Base Early Vote	Paid Live Call	571,496	43% contact rate of 1,329,057
Base Early Vote	Direct Mail	1,107,548	Entire Base GOTV Universe, Househoded by 1.2
Base Early Vote	Paid Canvass	1,107,548	Entire Base GOTV Universe, Househoded by 1.2
Base Election Day	Auto Call	430,000	43% contact rate of 1,000,000
Base Election Day	Paid Live Call	430,000	43% contact rate of 1,000,000
Base Election Day	Direct Mail	833,333	1,000,000 (estimated universe after Early Vote removed) Househoded by 1.2
Base Election Day	Paid Canvass	833,333	1,000,000 (estimated universe after Early Vote removed) Househoded by 1.2
Persuasion	Auto ID Call	207,000	50% contact rate of 414,000 phones on file
Persuasion	Paid Live ID Call	207,000	50% contact rate of 414,000 phones on file
Persuasion	Volunteer Persuasion Call	207,000	50% contact rate of 414,000 phones on file
Persuasion	Direct Mail	227,000	Half of vote deficit
Persuasion	Volunteer GOTV Call	300,000	Estimated Universe
Persuasion	Paid Live GOTV Call	300,000	Estimated Universe
Persuasion	Auto GOTV Call	300,000	Estimated Universe
Absentee	Volunteer Call		
Absentee	Direct Mail		
Absentee	Live Call		
Absentee	Auto Call		

**APPENDIX H: Florida New Registrants, By Quarter, 2003-2004**

	2003 Q 1	2003 Q 2	2003 Q 3	2003 Q 4	2004 Q 1	2004 Q 2
New Registrants	204,935	181,676	206,648	188,718	292,612	156,992
New Registrants Dem Male	28,787	25,208	28,713	27,074	43,373	23,228
New Registrants Dem Female	36,442	31,858	37,515	33,235	52,585	27,049
New Registrants NPA/Ind male	26,420	23,861	27,087	25,368	42,465	24,201
New Registrants NPA/Ind female	29,194	25,710	29,673	26,284	41,863	23,558
New Registrants GOP male	34,576	30,287	32,296	30,912	43,870	22,680
New Registrants GOP female	31,198	27,077	30,208	27,019	38,689	19,338
New Registrants African-American male	9,228	8,884	9,307	7,950	14,399	9,110
New Registrants African-American female	12,610	11,858	12,530	10,262	18,047	10,645

New Registrants Hispanic Male	9,509	9,107	12,331	9,644	15,178	8,687
New Registrants Hispanic Female	10,925	10,519	14,396	10,757	16,829	9,545
New Registrants HH	159,540	111,392	82,995	72,985	110,401	58,258
New Registrants Dem Male HH	24,989	17,084	13,423	12,129	18,330	9,410
New Registrants Dem Female HH	31,064	21,529	17,513	15,007	22,635	10,928
New Registrants NPA/Ind male HH	22,627	15,142	10,746	9,543	151,171	8,445
New Registrants NPA/Ind female HH	23,898	16,278	11,520	9,703	15,075	8,050
New Registrants GOP male HH	30,622	21,671	16,924	15,672	21,456	10,860
New Registrants GOP female HH	27,383	19,444	16,368	14,234	19,732	9,594
New Registrants African-American male HH	7,932	5,672	3,488	2,913	5,158	3,129
New Registrants African-American female HH	10,547	7,401	4,644	3,663	6,320	3,418
New Registrants Hispanic Male HH	8,360	5,403	4,373	3,134	5,142	2,811
New Registrants Hispanic Female HH	9,491	6,269	5,133	3,579	5,875	3,153
New Registrants w/phones	204,935	181,676	206,648	188,718	292,612	156,992
New Registrants Dem Male w/phones	16,532	13,944	16,168	15,113	23,667	12,203
New Registrants Dem Female w/phones	20,794	17,908	21,026	18,449	28,649	14,170
New Registrants NPA/Ind male w/phones	15,058	13,119	14,963	13,947	22,709	12,644
New Registrants NPA/Ind female w/phones	15,681	13,967	16,143	14,300	22,308	12,296
New Registrants GOP male w/phones	21,441	18,276	19,750	18,749	25,880	12,854
New Registrants GOP female w/phones	19,157	16,284	18,361	16,296	22,861	11,033
New Registrants African-American male w/phones	4,844	4,503	4,752	4,100	7,361	4,519
New Registrants African-American female w/phones	6,668	6,181	6,595	5,292	9,301	5,331
New Registrants Hispanic Male w/phones	5,096	4,785	6,685	5,142	8,105	4,497
New Registrants Hispanic Female w/phones	574	5,493	7,611	5,637	8,881	4,864

#### **APPENDIX I: Surrogate Scheduling**

With only two months remaining in the general election, the Florida Surrogate operation is working to achieve a near-constant presence of national surrogates within the state. What follows below is an overview of our objectives for the surrogate program as well as some thoughts on the process we will employ to achieve these objectives.

#### **Surrogate Presence:**

During the campaign's 2-month final stretch, we hope to have at least one national surrogate in each of the four major media markets per week. In addition, we should aim to bring additional national surrogates to the other six media markets in proportion to their size, media strength, and strategic importance.

#### **Major Media Markets:**

Miami-Ft.L / Tampa-St.P / Orlando-Daytona / West Palm Beach

1 surrogate/week \* 4 markets \* 8 weeks = 32 national surrogates

#### **Other Media Markets:**

- Jacksonville / Naples-Ft.M / Pensacola / Tallahassee / Panama City / Gainesville
- Using percentage of statewide voters as a rough benchmark, it would be proportional to send to the minor media markets ¼ of the surrogates we send to the major media markets. Padding this number to account for the importance of having a presence in each part of the state, we should aim to send a collective total of 10 - 13 surrogates to the six minor media markets

Thus, on the whole we should seek to bring up to 45 national surrogates to the state between Labor Day and Election Day. This number should and will be adjusted by the amount of time spent in-state by the principals, but for the time being we will need to begin plans to pursue 5-6 national surrogates per week.

Given that only 2 months remain until election day, and taking into account the fact that activity will increase as we near the end, we should be preparing to host approximately 20 surrogates in the month of September.

### Surrogate Strategy:

The three primary purposes of the surrogate program should be as follows: (1) to provide campaign activity and events in lieu of candidate appearances when the principals are unable to be in state; (2) to achieve a campaign presence in all local media markets across the state; (3) to reach out to various constituency groups and to address specific issues important to the campaign, especially as it regards winning the support of swing voters.

In addition to our outreach to various constituency groups, the surrogate program should seek to highlight issues that are crucial to the campaign's core strategy. In our efforts to use the surrogate program to reach out to swing voters, the two foremost issues we will seek to emphasize are **health care and national security.**

Seven key constituency groups have been targeted by the surrogate program. These are:

- Women voters
- Senior voters
- African-American voters
- Hispanic voters
- Jewish voters
- Veterans
- Youth

In scheduling surrogate appearances, specific constituency groups should be matched with specific media markets. Specifically, efforts should be made to focus certain surrogate activity along the following lines:

- Women → Orlando, Tampa, Daytona
- Seniors → Palm Beach, Tampa, Naples-Ft.M, Broward Co.
- African-American → Orlando, Tampa, Miami-Ft.L, Jacksonville, Tallahassee
- Hispanic → Miami-Dade, Orlando, Tampa
- Jewish → Palm Beach, Miami-Ft.L
- Veterans → Pensacola, Jacksonville, Panama City, Tampa, Orlando
- Youth → Gainesville, Tallahassee, Miami, Orlando (college campuses)

### Scheduling Process:

The surrogate operation will inevitably involve a mixture of (a) responding to internal field office requests and external invitations and (b) making proactive requests in accordance with our overall surrogate strategy. Obviously, the bulk of our time and efforts should be focused on the latter. In order to be able to focus our energy on fulfilling our big-picture goals, we will need to adopt an effective process for developing and cultivating surrogate events.

There are a number of somewhat discrete stages in the surrogate scheduling process. I would characterize these as such:

#### 1. Initial Phase

- a) Ideas that originate within campaign are generated, developed, and prioritized.
- b) Requests & invitations received by the surrogate operation are evaluated and either rejected, tabled, or sent to DC.

#### 2. Requests to DC

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Official request form completed and forwarded to the DNC. This step should occur well in advance of the proposed event.

3. Follow-Up

Member of surrogate team keeps abreast of the status of the request, ensuring that all parties are kept informed and making any changes that may be necessary.

4. Scheduling

Once a surrogate visit is confirmed, the scheduler works with DC, field staff, press staff, surrogate advance, and the surrogate's staff to plan day's events and logistics.

5. Day-Of

Prior and subsequent to the surrogate's arrival, the scheduler works with Surrogate Advance in accommodating day-of arrangements and in facilitating any last-minute changes.

6. Post-Visit

Press clippings and general input are collected and forwarded to DC.

Perhaps most important of all steps in the surrogate process is the first – the generation and development of ideas. The surrogate team will solicit considerable input and should meet regularly to ensure that the ideas being produced mesh with the overall strategy and objectives of the surrogate program.

As part of the overall surrogate plan, we should produce a rough blueprint of the 40-45 surrogates we plan to host. Such a blueprint could include our 'wish-list' surrogates and could break down our anticipated surrogate visits in terms of geography, issues, and time.

As it now stands, the surrogate team will work collectively in generating and cultivating ideas for surrogate activity. Soliciting input from key Florida campaign staff, we will work to ensure that the surrogate program is on track to fulfill our goals.

Beyond the idea phase, we will break down individual requests and events by geography, so that one member of the surrogate operation is responsible for dealing with requests and invitations, for following up on requests that have been forwarded to DC, and for scheduling the trips that come to fruition. Gwen Graham will be responsible for events in North Florida, Michael Evans will be responsible for events in Central Florida, and Bill Abely will be responsible for events in South Florida. Under this process, we can be assured that someone is always responsible for each stage of the scheduling process and that no idea or event will fall through the cracks.

Surrogate Resources:

When we go to the trouble and expense of bringing a national surrogate into the state, it is obviously desirable to maximize that surrogate's local exposure. In addition to any headliner events that anchor a surrogate's visit, we should strive to fill in any time we have with additional events or media hits.

In order to facilitate the scheduling of both major surrogate events and additional surrogate uses, we should make efforts to obtain and/or compile the following information:

- List of statewide talk radio programs.
- List of all county and local Democratic Clubs
- List of condo communities or retirement homes that will host political speakers
- List of college & university Democratic and political organizations
- List of significant civic organizations and their regular meeting times

**Florida Victory 2004 Signature Page**

*I hereby agree to participate in the coordinated campaign, Florida Victory 2004, and to contribute field and fundraising help at the levels ascribed below.*

---

**Democratic National Committee**

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**Tom Shea, Kerry-Edwards 2004**

---

**Scott Maddox, Florida Democratic Party**

---

**Congressman Kendrick Meek, Kerry-Edwards Campaign Chair**

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**Ken Robinson, Florida Victory 2004**

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**Cindy Hall, Florida AFL-CIO**

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**Andy Ford, Florida Education Association**

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**Alexander Clem, Academy of Florida Trial Lawyers**

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**Monica Russo, Florida SEIU**

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TAB 6

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## ACORN's Current Web Site.

The following is from Acorn's current web-site.

<http://projectvote.org/newsroom/project-vote-announces-2006-voter-registration-program.html>

click on the main page, <http://www.acorn.org/index.php?id=2703> and there is a "family of organizations" link to the following. As you can see from the bound Floridians for All and related material. (Floridians for All – but not all related material - available at <http://www.ac4vr.com/reports/072005/exhibitP.pdf>). This is definitely NOT a non-partisan organization but one with a very specific purpose of influencing federal campaign activity and doing so for the specific coordinated object of electing Democrats to federal office and preventing Republicans from being elected to federal office. Note, in this press release they specifically reference their activity in Florida in 2004. This coordinated partisan political activity is being funded with 501(c)(3) funds and even with federal Grants. It makes an utter mockery of BCRA and any other effort to have honest federal campaign finance reform that these unlimited, undisclosed campaign contributions are laundered through Acorn to run the Democrat Party "ground game" and election litigation strategy.

### **1.1 MILLION NEW VOTERS REGISTERED!**



**An ACORN volunteer  
in Philadelphia on  
Election Day. Photo  
Edgar Mata.**

In 2004, ACORN took our voter participation work to a new level. In partnership with Project Vote, ACORN registered over 1.14 million voters in low-income African American and Latino neighborhoods – the largest voter registration campaign in the country during the 2004 election cycle! Then ACORN mobilized over 10,000 community residents and volunteers for door-to-door Get-Out-the-Vote visits to newly registered and infrequent voters between two and four times each in October, and reached 2.2 million voters on Election Day. ACORN also directed Election Protection Coalition projects in key cities that placed volunteers at minority polling places to help ensure that no voter was turned away and that every vote was counted. Preliminary assessment of Get-Out-the-Vote efforts by ACORN and Project Vote indicate that in the precincts where we were active voter participation increased by 24% over 2000 – significantly higher than the nationwide increase of 14%.

## NEWS RELEASE

For Immediate Release:  
March 23, 2006

### Project Vote Announces 2006 Voter Registration Program

***Expects to register 510,000 low-income or minority Americans in 9 States***

Washington, DC—Project Vote announced today the beginning of our 2006 Voter Registration Program, which will be conducted in partnership with the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN). The 2006 Voter Registration Program will work to register 510,000 voters in 38 cities in 9 states. Much of the program will focus on registering low-income or minority residents of Ohio, Pennsylvania, Michigan, and Maryland. Other states include California, Colorado, Minnesota and Rhode Island. This is the expected to be the largest non-partisan voter registration program of the 2006 election cycle.

Project Vote and ACORN will also work to register residents of Florida. A new Florida law restricting voter registration activities, however, has forced significant cutbacks in our program and makes the program's overall success uncertain. Florida is one of several states that have imposed new and potentially unconstitutional or illegal restrictions on voter registration activities. In 2004, our joint program submitted 210,700 voter registration applications to Florida election officials.

Project Vote and ACORN are building on the shared success of our 2004 Voter Registration Program, which was the largest non-partisan voter outreach program of that election cycle. Together, we helped 1.15 million low-income and minority Americans register to vote in 102 cities in 26 states and contacted 2.3 million voters through a Get-Out-the-Vote program.

Project Vote's 2006 Voter Registration Program will use an industry-leading quality control program. Separate quality control staff hired and managed by ACORN will review daily applications collected by employees and volunteers to ensure they are complete, and then will call applicants, where possible, to verify submitted information. Quality Control staff will submit detailed nightly reports to program managers. Project Vote will independently assess the strength of the quality control program.

An innovate new component of our 2006 Voter Registration Program is Project Vote's Election Administration Program. This program has dedicated staff in 5 states who build relationships with elections officials, ensure our applicants become registered voters, assess the strength of our quality control systems, and work to overcome any barriers low-income or minority citizens may face either registering to vote or voting. They are supported by a 4-person management team of legal and policy experts.

Project Vote's mission is to increase the electoral participation of low-income and minority Americans. We provide a range of management and technical assistance to local civic engagement organizations. We also support our local partners with an Election Administration Program, which works to make election systems more responsive to the needs of traditionally disenfranchised communities. Project Vote is a nonpartisan, nonprofit, tax-exempt organization.

###

[Download this news release.](#)

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## ACORN Joins Lawsuit to Protect Voting Rights

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Today ACORN joined other community organizations and legal advocates in filing a suit that challenges a 4-month old Washington law that restricts citizen's voting rights by improperly implementing the federal Help America Vote Act (HAVA) of 2002.

The lawsuit takes aim at a law requiring the Secretary of State to match identifying information on a voter registration application -- usually a drivers license number, state ID card, or Social Security number -- to the corresponding government database. If a match cannot be made, and the applicant doesn't correct the situation within 45 days, the applicant is not registered.

Problems with matching records like this include:

- human error by government election workers, including misspellings, omitting or adding letters, and transposing numbers;
- Asian-American, American Indian, and Alaska Natives with names that are especially prone to multiple English spellings or flipping of first and last names;
- married women who have taken haphenated names or their husbands' names but have not yet seen those changes recognized throughout the bureaucracy;
- inconsistent use of nicknames or punctuation;
- computer errors caused by file corruption from computer viruses and absence of uniformity in maintaining, storing, and transferring computer data.

HAVA's matching requirement was designed to help eliminate duplicate registrations over time, but this interpretation creates new and unnecessary barriers for registration. The suit alleges that Washington's law conflicts with HAVA, violates the U.S. Constitution, the Voting Rights Act, and the National Voter Registration Act.

Other plaintiffs joining the complaint include the Washington Association of Churches, SEIU, Local 775, Washington Citizens Action, Organization of Chinese-Americans (Greater Seattle Chapter), Chinese Information and Service Center, Japanese American Citizens League (Seattle Chapter), and Filipino American Political Action Group of Washington, working with the Brennan Center for Justice at NYU. [Click here to read the press release.](#)

24-05-06 13:33

Category: Additional ACORN Accomplishments, Washington

<http://projectvote.org/newsroom/ohio-arizona-violate-national-voter-registration-act-say-advocates.html>

## NEWS RELEASE

*For Immediate Release:*  
May 25, 2006

### Ohio, Arizona Violate National Voter Registration Act Say Advocates

Project Vote, Partners, Send NVRA Notices to Two States Alleging Violation of Important Civil Rights Law

Project Vote, in partnership with several organizations, taken steps in recent weeks to enforce the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA) of 1993.

On May 16, Project Vote, Advancement Project and the law firm of Perkins Coie sent a notice letter to Arizona on behalf of Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) alleging the state's law requiring proof of citizenship with voter registration application violated the NVRA. The NVRA specifically prohibits notarization or authentication of voter registration applications.



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Days earlier, on May 12, Project Vote, Demos, National Voting Rights Institute, Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law and the law firm of Dechert sent a notice letter to Ohio alleging the state was in blatant violation of the NVRA's requirement to offer voter registration opportunities to applicants and clients of public assistance agencies (Section 7).

The purpose of the NVRA is to increase voter registration for Federal elections. The law seeks to accomplish this by reducing government-imposed procedural barriers to the absolute minimum and by requiring states to establish several expansive opportunities for registration. Those opportunities include (1) simultaneous registration with driver's license application or renewal, (2) in person at state-designated agencies, and (3) and by mail. The NVRA is meant to be a complete, uniform and comprehensive system of voter registration for Federal elections.

Project Vote, working with ACORN and People for the American Way, was instrumental in bringing several of the first NVRA cases (ACORN v. Miller, ACORN v. Edgar) in the mid-1990's.

In 2004, Project Vote joined with ACORN and Demos to form the NVRA Implementation Project, which has been providing states with technical assistance to help improve registration performance at public assistance agencies. This partnership has been recently augmented by the inclusion of National Voting Rights Institute and Lawyers Committee.

For more information, contact Michael Slater, Director, Election Administration Program.

###

#### Notice Letters

- Read the Ohio Notice letter. Project Vote with ACORN, Demos, Lawyers' Committee, National Voting Rights Institute and Dechert LLP. May 12, 2006.
- Ohio Coalition's News Release. May 18, 2006.
- Read the Arizona notice letter. Project Vote with ACORN, Advancement Project and Perkins Coie. May 16, 2006.

#### Additional NVRA Documents

- Maximizing Voter Registration Opportunities in Human Services Agencies.
- Executive Summary of "Ten Years Later: A Promise Unfulfilled: The National Voter Registration Act in Public Assistance Agencies, 1995-2005."
- Summary of the National Voter Registration Act.
- Text of the National Voter Registration Act (NVRA).

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See also,

<http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/pdfs/NewBarrierstoVoting.pdf>

<http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/pdfs/States of Disarray1.pdf>

<http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/pdfs/Maximizing Public Agency Registration 2005 NVRA Implementation Guide.pdf>

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[http://acorn.org/fileadmin/ACORN\\_Reports/ACORN\\_ANN\\_REPT2\\_copy.pdf](http://acorn.org/fileadmin/ACORN_Reports/ACORN_ANN_REPT2_copy.pdf)  
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(March 2005 report on 2004 PA election activity)

[http://acorn.org/fileadmin/ACORN\\_Reports/PA\\_EA\\_Action\\_Agenda.pdf](http://acorn.org/fileadmin/ACORN_Reports/PA_EA_Action_Agenda.pdf)

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**ACORN Radio**

### **ACORN Housing Corporation**

[www.acornhousing.org](http://www.acornhousing.org)



The ACORN Housing Corporation (AHC) was created in 1986 to build and preserve housing assets. Since its inception, AHC has assisted over 45,000 families to become first time homeowners, and has rehabilitated over 850 vacant and abandoned housing units. Virtually all of ACORN Housing's work takes place in areas that have been seriously disinvested and forgotten. AHC works in low and very low-income neighborhoods where over 90% of the residents are African-Americans, Mexican-Americans, and/or recent immigrants from Central America or the West Indies. This includes communities such as Flatbush and East New York in Brooklyn; Englewood and North Lawndale in Chicago; and the communities south of the Salt River in Phoenix.

### **Living Wage Resource Center**

[www.livingwagecampaign.org](http://www.livingwagecampaign.org)

**LIVING WAGE**  
*Resource Center*

### **ACORN Law on the Web**

[www.acornlaw.org](http://www.acornlaw.org)



ACORN law is legal activity pursued by ACORN and its allies. Its practice is informed by ACORN perspectives on social change in general and legal practice in particular.

The purpose of the ACORN Law Site is to provide interested parties with

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information concerning ACORN's practice of and approach to legal activity.

## KABF Radio

[www.kabf.org](http://www.kabf.org)

KABF 88.3 FM is a nonprofit, non-commercial, community supported radio station offering alternative listening throughout Arkansas.



KABF broadcasts 24 hours a day, seven days a week. Our weekly programming includes 20 hours of blues, 10 hours of bluegrass, 28 hours of black gospel music, 4 hours of progressive country, 24 hours of alternative rock, 28 hours of jazz, and other diverse and experimental programs. KABF also produces several call-in talk shows giving central Arkansas an opportunity to hear and share opinions from communities across the state.

## KNON Radio

[www.knon.org](http://www.knon.org)

KNON is a non-profit, listener-supported radio station, deriving its main source of income from on-air pledge drives and from underwriting or sponsorships by local small businesses. KNON went on air on August 6, 1983 with 10,000 watts of power. In March 1990, KNON raised its power to 55,000 watts. The signal covers a radius of approximately 60 miles from Cedar Hill. it extends from Mckinney, Hillsboro, Corsicana and from Ft. Worth to Greenville.



KNON is on the air 24 hours, seven days a week, with the most diverse programming in Texas. The volunteer disc jockeys play their own music or conduct talk shows during specifically targeted programs.

## Project Vote

[www.projectvote.org](http://www.projectvote.org)

Project Vote is a 501 (c) (3) non-partisan, nonprofit organization. Since 1982, Project Vote registered and turned out to vote over 2.7 million low income and minority citizens nationwide, won a dozen lawsuits to protect their right to vote, trained hundreds of low income, minority organizers, and provided our registrants with non-partisan follow-up voter education.



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Project Vote's mission is not to help any candidate or party. Our work is non-partisan, as it must be to preserve the tax-deductibility of contributions. Project Vote doesn't tell those we register whom to support. We do tell them that government policies that deeply impact their lives will be determined by who is elected, and that they can and must make their voices heard.

### Service Employees International Union - Local 100

[www.seiu100.org](http://www.seiu100.org)

Local 100's mission has always been to organize and represent unorganized service sector workers in the middle south states of Louisiana, Arkansas, and Texas, and therefore allowing our members to create a vehicle to allow them a clear voice and real power in their workplace and their communities.



### Service Employees International Union - Local 880

[www.seiu880.org](http://www.seiu880.org)

Local 880 is the largest union of homecare, home daycare, and human services workers in the Midwest. Local 880 has led the fight for improvements in wages, hours and working conditions for homecare, home daycare, and human service workers across Illinois and Missouri. Local 880 is one of the fastest growing unions in the 1.4 million member Service Employees International unions - having grown from 200 to over 10,000 dues-paying members - and has a solid track record racking up solid gains for its members. True to its slogan, "We're Fired Up and We Won't Take It No More!" Local 880 has the power to win the necessary changes to improve the quality of life for workers in Illinois and Missouri.



### Activism Is Patriotism

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ACORN is proud to be a partner with Circle of Life in the Activism is Patriotism campaign to empower everyday Americans to make a difference using their MINDS, MONEY, VOICES, and VOTES in this critical election year.



### Links

[:Home](#) : [Who is ACORN?](#) : [Get Connected](#) : [Donate](#) : [Join ACORN](#) : [Campaigns](#) : [International](#) : [Newsroom](#) : [Contact Us](#) : [Links](#) :

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### ***Voter Participation Program***

**Project Vote** works to create a democracy in which all citizens can participate, where Americans are actively engaged in their democracy, and where elected officials are equally accountable to all their constituents. **Project Vote** focuses on communities where the American Dream that has not been fully realized—minority and low- and moderate-income communities. By concentrating on the core of American society, we are taking concrete steps towards building a democracy that works for all our citizens.

Through partnerships with strong grassroots organizations that produce results, *Project Vote has helped 4 million Americans in low-income and minority neighborhoods register to vote* *Project Vote mobilized more than 2.3 million low-income and minority voters to the polls.* Our partn since its founding in 1982, including 1.1 million in 2003-04. In that same period, erships illustrate how underrepresented communities can empower themselves and participate in the fulfillment of America's democratic promise.

**Project Vote's Voter Participation Program** is the main vehicle through which we pursue this goal. Since our inception 24 years ago, Project Vote has engaged in voter registration and voter education efforts with the express purpose of increasing the number of minority and low- and moderate-income citizens participating in the electoral process.

**Project Vote** develops models, trains community leaders, and provides advice and guidance to communities all over the country to engage citizens in issues that directly affect their communities. Our program encourages low- and moderate-income families to stand up and be counted by helping them register to vote, educating them on the issues, and encouraging them to vote.

*For more information on our **Voter Participation Program**, to schedule a training seminar, or to license our materials, please contact Jehmu Greene at [pvnat@acorn.org](mailto:pvnat@acorn.org) or 202-546-4173*

### ***Election Administration***

#### **Our Votes, Our Voices: Making Elections Work for Everyone**

American history is replete with intense campaigns, hotly contested elections, and disputed vote counts--and recounts. Recent elections typifies this history. With an evenly divided electorate, tight statehouse races, and controversial ballot initiatives in many states, 2000 and 2004 reminded us that every vote counts.

Yet in 2004 every vote was not counted, nor was every eligible citizen able to vote. In Ohio, party officials tried to have the state purge 37,000 voters from the rolls. In Pennsylvania, polling places ran out of provisional ballots before noon. In Michigan, ill-trained poll workers turned away voters with legal forms of ID. In Washington, officials refused

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to register applicants who failed to check just one box on the application.

Violations of this sort were not confined to one or two states and, collectively, they silenced the voices of thousands of Americans. Some violations were intentional, political moves to curb voter power, but many were the result of poorly-designed bureaucratic systems, insufficient resources, or inefficient practices. Intentions aside, these barriers were civil rights violations, and all were the product of election administration problems.

Through our *Election Administration Program*, Project Vote is working to bring down these barriers to voting. Election administration is every aspect of the implementation of elections, from the design of registration applications to vote counting procedures and everything in between. Over the past few years, Project Vote has emerged as a leading voice for low-income and minority voters throughout the election administration process.

Contact Michael Slater, *Election Administration Program Director*, for more information.

### **Additional Project Vote Resources**

- [Election Administration Policy Brief Series](#)
- [Model bills](#)
- [Election Law Clearinghouse](#)
- [NVRA Implementation Project](#)
- [Election Administration Reports and Guides](#)

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[http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/pdfs/States\\_of\\_Disarray1.pdf](http://projectvote.org/fileadmin/ProjectVote/pdfs/States_of_Disarray1.pdf)

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**TAB 7**

## **Don't vote early? Expect to get call (get out the vote plans)**

**Lancaster Newspapers, PA ^**

Posted on 10/24/2004 1:56:58 AM PDT by Cincinatus' Wife

LANCASTER COUNTY, PA - A busload of John Kerry supporters from Washington, D.C., was waving Kerry/Edwards placards Saturday in Penn Square.

Teams of volunteers from a Democrat-leaning national organization are knocking on doors in the city.

And some voters can expect to find a soap opera star on their front steps Monday, asking them to vote for President George W. Bush and U.S. Sen. Arlen Specter.

With voter registration at a close for the Nov. 2 election, the political parties are marshaling hundreds of volunteers for the next step in the election game: voter contact and voter turnout.

Get-out-the-vote, or GOTV, drives may be the most critical element of a campaign. In a presidential campaign whose focus is the ground game, expect local GOTV efforts to be record in scope.

Republicans are closely guarding their plans for strategic reasons.

Democrats think they will have 800 volunteers working on election day to get Kerry voters to the polls.

Building excitement is a key to turnout. That's what President Bush's Wednesday rally at the Lancaster Airport, and a Democrat rally tonight featuring Carol Moseley Braun, are intended to do.

Fueled by the "527" organizations, voters of all parties already have been swamped with mailings aimed either at motivating the base or energizing people who vote on issues rather than on party lines.

Republicans have been tasked by the national Bush/Cheney campaign with turning out 125,152 votes for the president, which would be a record.

County Democrat chairman Bruce Beardsley said he thinks the party can produce 70,000 votes for Kerry.

Count on this: If you don't vote by early afternoon on Nov. 2, some party will be looking for you.

Rolling out the big gun

One of the best GOTV tools in the Republicans' arsenal is coming to town Wednesday.

The visit to the Lancaster Airport by President Bush is expected to fire up the GOP faithful, as his trip to Hershey last week did.

As Bush supporters entered Republican headquarters Saturday to pick up tickets for the Wednesday rally, some were asked if they would be willing to help by making calls to voters at the campaign's phone bank.

Republicans, whose biggest margins are in the suburban and rural parts of the county, can be expected to rely on phone calls and neighbor-to-neighbor contact to encourage potential Bush voters to get to the polls.

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Chad Weaver, a co-chairman of the county Bush/Cheney campaign, was cagey about GOTV plans. Poll watchers and workers are being trained, he said, and "hundreds of volunteers" will be mobilized for election-day efforts.

Standard GOTV tools on election day involve poll watchers armed with lists of voters identified as supporters. As each voter checks in at the poll, the watcher crosses off the name.

Periodically, other volunteers take names of voters who haven't turned out yet and start phoning or visiting the missing voters.

"We're going to do whatever we can to encourage as many Lancastrians to come out and support the president on election day," Weaver said.

Republicans also are going door-to-door in the city and suburbs. Monday afternoon, a local celebrity – Manheim Township High School and Franklin & Marshall College alumna Jennifer Gareis, who plays Grace on the soap opera "The Young and the Restless," will be out stumping for Bush and Specter. The trek is organized by Specter's campaign.

"She wanted to do something for Sen. Specter and President Bush while she was in town," said Jess Yescalis, a local consultant for Specter and friend of Gareis'.

The national Bush campaign also is encouraging Republicans to each recruit two new Bush voters before election day.

Republicans here are being asked to work harder than ever.

The GOP-dominated "T" in central Pennsylvania has to perform strongly to help offset Kerry's expected big margins in Philadelphia and some of its suburbs.

U.S. Sen. Rick Santorum, a statewide Republican leader, has said that part of the reason Bush lost Pennsylvania to Al Gore in 2000 was that Republicans were blindsided by a surprisingly strong Democrat GOTV drive in Philadelphia.

An army of 800

Look for some of the same tactics that worked in 2000 for the Democrats to be employed here too.

With county Democrats posting strong registration gains from April to November, the party is now looking to make sure they vote.

Democrats and independents are being bombarded with mailings from the "527" organizations – ostensibly independent, but leaning toward one candidate or another, like America Coming Together and MoveOn.org – on Kerry's behalf.

Another 45,000 pieces of literature have been mailed by the local party, with another 25,000 handed out at homes and community events.

Last Sunday, New Mexico Gov. Bill Richardson, of Hispanic descent, spoke in Lancaster to energize the Hispanic community. Tonight at the Conestoga Lodge of Elks on South Duke Street, former U.S. senator Carol Moseley Braun will keynote a rally from 4 to 9 as part of the mobilization effort.

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And, since much of the party's strength is in urban areas, house-by-house vote hunts are happening daily.

Beardsley, the county chairman, said about 800 volunteers will be on the streets by election day, including poll watchers at each voting district and a team of attorneys ready to battle any election problems.

The Democrats' force will include local party workers and activists from out-of-the-area unions.

Beardsley said the party has identified 60,000 to 65,000 voters "who we expect to vote our way," whether Democrat, independent or Republican.

"All of these people will be contacted one way or the other by election day," he said, with phone calls, literature drops or mailings.

He thinks the Democrats can expect 70,000 votes for Kerry, in contrast to Gore's 56,000 in 2000.

In a boost for the Democrats, a team from the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, or ACORN, has been doing voter contact work in the city in recent days.

ACORN held a registration drive in Lancaster just before the Oct. 4 deadline.

One resident described the ACORN workers as "really aggressively tracking down voters. They are all from out of town. I have never seen this intensity in my neighborhood."

Wes Lathrop, an ACORN spokesman in Philadelphia, said he believes all or nearly all of the roughly eight people here are local. They'll be working through election day on voter contact and turnout.

City voters also got personal visits Saturday from a team of Kerry/Edwards volunteers bused in from the Washington area.

In addition to going door-to-door, some of the activists lined the sidewalks in Penn Square on Saturday and waved Kerry signs at passersby.

Cindy Shogan and Alina Stefanescu, two of the sign crew, said D.C. teams from the Kerry campaign have been coming to Pennsylvania recently to work in a swing state.

The goal: to turn out voters.

"This," Beardsley said, "is where elections are won or lost."

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**TAB 8**

October 31, 2004, 11:42 a.m.

## ACORN & the Money Tree

Taxpayer money helps fund voter fraud.

By Meghan Clyne National Review

**R**eports of voter-registration fraud are tiresomely commonplace. From the 6,000 ineligible felons listed on Colorado's voter rolls, to the cocaine offered in exchange for registrations from Mary Poppins and Dick Tracy in Ohio, this year's swing states have already seen unprecedentedly corrupt get-out-the-vote efforts.

This is especially true in Florida, where the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now (ACORN) is the subject of a state investigation for potentially criminal voter-registration activity.

### THE MONEY TREE

Although ACORN's projects run a wide gamut, the group claims as its purpose helping low- and middle-income Americans — through initiatives ranging from improving urban public schools, to providing counseling on how to avoid "predatory lending," to increasing the availability of "affordable housing." Most of these programs are conducted locally, by state-level ACORN organizations — which are often set up as 501(c)3 nonprofit entities distinct from the national ACORN umbrella, a 501(c)4 lobbying organization. Sounds benign enough — except that, according to Bob Huberty, executive vice president of the Capital Research Center, these tax-exempt 501(c)3s "have no reason for existence other than to get grants from the government and foundations." They are, essentially, an ACORN front for asking Uncle Sam to subsidize political activity.

Ask ACORN does — and it definitely receives. Take, for example, the most recent tax information from one of ACORN's subsidiary nonprofits: the ACORN Housing Corporation, Inc., based out of the organization's national headquarters in New Orleans. For the tax year beginning July 1, 2002, and ending June 30, 2003, ACORN Housing Corp.'s 990 Form shows a total of \$1,710,203 received in government grants (the year before, the total was \$1,977,306).

The nominal purpose of those millions is to "provide low rent housing & loan counseling services to low income individuals." But if the government is funding the actual, legitimate work of ACORN at the local 501(c)3 level, it means that the national lobbying organization can dedicate more of its unrestricted resources to electioneering. Furthermore, explains Craig Garthwaite, director of research at the Employment Policies Institute, "The funding is not only fungible in that if they receive money for X, they can spend more on Y." He cites one particular example of money-rerouting malfeasance: the crooked dealings surrounding an AmeriCorps grant in 1996. According to an EPI study, when the ACORN Housing Corp. applied for the grant, they denied any connections to the main ACORN lobbying group (the grant is not for political advocacy). But the AmeriCorps inspector general discovered that "not only was AHC created by ACORN, engaged in numerous transactions with one another, and sharing staff and office space — but it utilized the AmeriCorps grant to increase ACORN membership, a violation of federal guidelines." (ACORN charges membership dues, much as labor unions do; thus, by exploiting AmeriCorps funding to inflate its membership rolls, ACORN used government resources to bring in even more money — money with no restrictions on its political use.)

### A SHADY PAST . . .

Given that federal funding is used "flexibly" within the ACORN empire, what kind of return is the government getting on its investment? Historically, failed 1960s-style leftism, intimidation and rabble-rousing, and questionable business practices — and hypocrisy. The EPI study documents ACORN's

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involvement in an \$850,000 labor-union embezzlement scheme in the late 1990s; in 2003, ACORN was found to have violated the National Labor Relations Act and was ordered to "rehire and pay restitution to employees terminated for attempting to form a union." (ACORN's in-house union-busting starkly contradicts its prescriptions for private-sector unionization, and is especially two-faced considering that ACORN's chief organizer and co-founder — Wade Rathke — is also the chief organizer of Local 100 of the Service Employees International Union in New Orleans.)

ACORN's hypocrisy also extends to its stand on the minimum wage. While it has often attempted to force minimum-wage increases on private businesses through ballot initiatives and local ordinances, ACORN tried to exempt itself from California's minimum-wage requirements. According to EPI, "ACORN argued that being forced to pay higher wages would mean that they would hire fewer employees — the very dilemma faced by businesses. Incredibly, ACORN stated that paying its employees a lower wage would allow them to be more sympathetic to the low- and moderate-income families they were attempting to help. ACORN argued that abiding by the state minimum wage would limit their ability to promote their agenda and would therefore be a violation of their First Amendment rights."

### ... AND A DARKER PRESENT

Fittingly, wage increases are the centerpiece of ACORN's current woes. This year, Florida's state organization is purportedly helping the indigent by pushing for a ballot initiative that would inflate the state's minimum wage. To oversee the campaign to make Amendment 5 binding law, Florida ACORN spawned the PAC Floridians For All.

Unfortunately, Floridians For All doesn't seem concerned with fair voting for all. In order to put a measure on the Florida ballot, one must collect 500,000 signatures; the catch, however, is that those signatures must belong to men and women registered to vote in Florida *at the time they sign the petition forms*. So Floridians For All, in the process of collecting signatures statewide, had unsuspecting citizens fill out voter-registration paperwork along with the ballot-initiative petition forms. Mark Wilson, vice president of the Florida Chamber of Commerce and executive director of VoteSmartFlorida.org, explains: "In Florida, you must be a registered voter to sign a petition. But you're not registered to vote in Florida until a county supervisor runs you through the computer and says you are." So, says Wilson, Floridians For All "would turn in the voter registrations they'd collected on, say, a Monday, and then hold on to the accompanying petition forms for a couple of weeks before turning them in — so that by the time the petition forms hit the system, it looked like they belonged to people who had already registered to vote." According to Wilson, some petition forms were fraudulently post-dated by ACORN workers; he adds, however, that "they didn't even have to post-date them — handing them in late did the trick in making it look like they belonged to people who were properly registered."

Florida ACORN also registered thousands of felons — who, under Florida law, are ineligible to vote. They can, technically, apply for a restoration of civil rights; according to former Florida ACORN worker Mac Stuart — who has filed a whistleblower lawsuit against his ex-employer — ACORN exploited this hope in order to get felons to sign voter-registration cards. "We'd go up to them and say, 'Want your civil rights restored?' That's the pitch we were using. But those forms are not worth the paper they're printed on — there hasn't been any instance of clemency under the last two governors," Stuart claims. The forms became doubly worthless after Florida ACORN was through with them: "The restoration-of-civil-rights forms would go into the garbage," Stuart says. The voter-registration forms, however, were kept safe — as they were worth much more.

That's because each registration played a valuable part in Floridians For All's alleged pay-per-voter scheme. Stuart claims that Florida ACORN paid workers \$2 for each voter registration they collected, and claims he has receipts to prove it. While it is permissible to pay an individual to register voters, "paying workers *per registration*," explains EPI spokesman Mike Burita, "is a felony in Florida — counted on a per-violation basis — so there could be thousands of crimes here."

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## A TANGLED WEB

Stuart's accusations suggest a process and cycle of kickbacks: "We'd go through colleges, malls, shopping strips, wherever there were people," collecting voter registrations. At the end of each week, he claims, "you made copies of the voter-registration forms — which was illegal. Once a form is signed, it's illegal to make copies of it.... From there, we'd send the copies to Project Vote [a national ACORN voter-registration arm, and yet another sub-group] in Brooklyn, and then Project Vote would send it to America's Families United [an independent 527 organization in Washington, D.C.]." In turn, AFU would send money back to Project Vote — initially \$3.75 per voter registration, later increased to \$4.10, according to Stuart.

"Project Vote would send me e-mails," claims Stuart, "with an allocation saying, 'We got X amount of money from America's Families United for Y number of cards.'" He says that Project Vote would then forward that money to Citizens Consulting, Inc., headquartered out of the same national ACORN building in New Orleans. (Coincidentally, CCI is, according to Garthwaite, run by the brother of ACORN head Wade Rathke.)

Stuart claims that CCI would then write a check to ACORN's Miami account — from which he would distribute the standard \$2 per registration to Florida ACORN workers. Because Stuart, at the behest of ACORN, says he gave registration-gatherers only \$2 per card — when America's Families United was sending \$3.75 (and then \$4.10) to ACORN for each voter registration obtained — every photocopied voter registration submitted earned ACORN a net profit of \$1.75 (later \$2.10) per registration.

NRO's requests for a comment in response to Stuart's allegations went unanswered. In other media, however, ACORN has dismissed the charges, blaming the individual whistleblower for any wrongdoing. This internal e-mail, however — in which Florida ACORN head organizer Brian Ketterning says Stuart is dangerous, "as he knows too much" — suggests that ACORN may, in fact, have something damaging to hide.

## NONPARTISAN?

Granted, Amendment 5 did have other, non-monetary purposes. While Ketterning acquired funding for Floridians For All on the explicit promise that it was promoting a nonpartisan minimum-wage ballot initiative, a copy of Floridians For All's own campaign plan indicates otherwise.

The first paragraph of the plan reads:

*A Florida constitutional amendment initiative to create a minimum wage of \$6.15 with indexing will help defeat George W. Bush and other Republicans by increasing Democratic turnout in a close election, will deliver wage gains to at least 300,000 Floridians, and will catalyze the construction of permanent progressive political infrastructure that will help redirect Florida politics in a more progressive, Democratic direction*

(emphasis added).

Later:

Given that turnout is down when the economy is bad, since our voters are more discouraged, the need for an exciting ballot initiative strategy that works to address the needs of the most economically needy, and also likely Democratic voters, is a fundamental part of a winning strategy in Florida.

Not exactly a nonpartisan effort prioritizing the minimum wage.

Perhaps this explains the \$250,000, \$25,000, and another \$25,000 in donations to Floridians For All from the National Education Association, MoveOn.org, and SEIU, respectively, as well as Nancy Pelosi's awareness efforts in Floridians For All's behalf. (Interestingly enough, Floridians For All also received \$150,000 from the Tides Foundation — on whose board of directors Wade Rathke serves, and to which Teresa Heinz Kerry and her foundation contribute.) Hundreds of thousands of dollars from national left-leaning organizations, and the attentions of the House Minority Leader, seem out of place for an ordinary state ballot initiative — out of place, that is, until you realize that Floridians For All and Florida ACORN do not consider the minimum wage their main priority. It makes much more sense for MoveOn.org, the NEA, SEIU, and Nancy Pelosi to turn out for a massive effort to defeat George W. Bush in Florida — to avenge 2000, and secure one of 2004's most-watched swing states.

In the course of its crusade to defeat the president and establish a Democratic stronghold, ACORN faces remarkable allegations: taking license with its internal bookkeeping; gathering and filing illegitimate petition forms; forging signatures; destroying voter-registration applications and other official documents entrusted to its care; profiting from illegal pay-per-vote schemes; lying to potential donors; abusing a state constitution for national-level partisan exploits; vilifying conscientious employees; and disenfranchising hundreds, and possibly thousands, of citizens.

And — if it's all true — that's just in Florida, itself only a small part of ACORN's antics nationwide.

And those antics are supported by Uncle Sam's dime.

— *Meghan Clyne is an NR associate editor.*

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**TAB 9**

**U.S House Of Representatives Report 104-875 - REPORT ON THE ACTIVITIES OF ACORN**

The full report is here:

[http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/cpquery/?&dbname=cp104&sid=cp1040AFa6&refer=&rn=hr875.104&item=&sel=TOC\\_200449&](http://thomas.loc.gov/cgi-bin/cpquery/?&dbname=cp104&sid=cp1040AFa6&refer=&rn=hr875.104&item=&sel=TOC_200449&)

**It includes this statement on ACORN:**

"Political Activities- Finally, the OIG and the Subcommittee independently found evidence of political activity by grantees of the Corporation. Most notable in this regard is the OIG's findings on the apparent cross-over funding between ACORN, a political advocacy group and ACORN Housing Corp. (AHC), a non profit, AmeriCorps grantee. The OIG recommended, and the Corporation agreed, to suspend AHC's funding after it was learned that AHC and ACORN shared office space and equipment and failed to assure that activities and funds were wholly separate. The Subcommittee held a hearing on this matter where it was revealed that AmeriCorps members of AHC raised funds for ACORN, performed voter registration activities, and gave partisan speeches. In one instance, an AmeriCorps member was directed by ACORN staff to assist the White House in preparing a press conference in support of legislation. AmeriCorps members were also directed to encourage their clients to lobby on behalf of legislation.

On the heels of the ACORN investigation, the OIG also uncovered illegal political activities by the Coal Coalition, an AmeriCorps program in Colorado that was improperly distributing political flyers. In the same vein, another AmeriCorps program, the Border Volunteer Corps (BVC) in Tucson, Arizona was found to have also distributed politically partisan newsletters. These programs were also stripped of Corporation funding. Since the BVC, the Coal Coalition, and AHC were all relatively large AmeriCorps grantees—the Subcommittee is concerned about the oversight and direction of AmeriCorps' funding and activities.

The Subcommittee also identified activities which included voter registration drives, get out the vote campaigns, 'national election' activities, and participation in a Maxine Waters Day of Caring by AmeriCorps volunteers. Most troubling, however, is the continued presence of AmeriCorps members at political rallies and speeches after the assurance of the former Chief Executive Officer of the Corporation, Eli Segal, that such participation would cease. AmeriCorps' presence at such events gives the impression of political support and would give the appearance of impropriety."

In 1995, AmeriCorps gave a large grant to an advocacy group called ACORN (Association for Community Organizations for Reform Now). AmeriCorps recruits were assigned to lobby for legislation, collect dues, register voters, and participate in political demonstrations. After its activities came under scrutiny by AmeriCorps' own Inspector General, the ACORN Housing Corporation was forced to return a \$1.1 million grant.

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**TAB 10**

500 new voters might not exist

State activists might be charged over questionable registrations

Friday, August 11, 2006

Robert Vitale and Mark Niquette

## THE COLUMBUS DISPATCH

Workers paid by a liberal group to register voters in Franklin County have turned in more than 500 forms with nonexistent addresses and potentially fake signatures, elections officials said yesterday.

Board of Elections Director Matthew Damschroder said he has forwarded the cards to county authorities for possible criminal charges.

Elections workers verifying new-voter forms discovered signatures with the same handwriting, addresses that were for vacant lots and incorrect information for voters who already were registered, Damschroder said. One card had the name of an East Side man who's dead.

All the questionable cards were turned in by workers for Ohio ACORN, a group that's also paying people to gather signatures for a proposed November ballot initiative to raise the state's minimum wage.

Katy Gall, the group's head organizer, said ACORN is cooperating with the investigation and already has fired some of its paid circulators.

"We are interested in seeing people who are gaming the system prosecuted," she said.

ACORN, the Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now, faced similar problems in 2004 during a drive that added 189,000 new voters to Ohio's rolls. Prosecutors were unable to trace the originators of some falsified forms, but one ACORN worker was indicted by a Franklin County grand jury.

State law now requires people paid for registering voters to add their own names to the forms. James Lee, a spokesman for Secretary of State J. Kenneth Blackwell, said the new provisions make it easier to investigate problems.

Lee said Blackwell's office also has had inquiries recently about potential voter-registration fraud in Cuyahoga and Summit counties.

In its six Ohio offices, ACORN has about 50 circulators who are paid between \$8 and \$11 an hour, Gall said. The group has eight circulators in Columbus.

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Gall complained that the state's election-law changes make it harder for groups to catch problems because circulators must submit forms directly to elections offices in person or by mail.

In 2004, ACORN began running its own checks on voter forms before submitting them to the Franklin County Board of Elections.

Lee, however, said internal checks are still possible.

It's a felony in Ohio to submit voter-registration forms with false information. The penalty is up to 18 months in jail.

Damschroder said he doesn't think the fake forms were submitted by people intending to cast fake ballots in November.

"I think it's just somebody out there trying to make a fast buck," he said.

ACORN is helping lead the coalition that collected more than 765,000 signatures to put the minimum-wage issue on the Nov. 7 ballot, but Gall said the group has no concerns about the signatures its circulators obtained.

Franklin County elections workers will verify those collected locally, Damschroder said.

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**TAB 11**

SEIU PRESS RELEASE

**FOR IMMEDIATE RELEASE**

Nov 1, 2004

**CONTACT:**

TJ Michels  
Ben Boyd

**Anatomy of an Election Strategy: The Facts on SEIU's Role in Bringing Home a Victory for America's Working Families**

*Nation's Fastest Growing Union Built Largest Mobilization by Any Single Organization in the History of American Politics*

The 1.7 million-member Service Employees International Union (SEIU) has played a critical role in shaping the outcome of the presidential election and several important races in three key ways:

1. applying organizing know-how to help set up the strategy and structure for a whole range of progressive coalitions.
2. providing an unprecedented level of people power, including more than 2,000 members working full-time for months in battleground states, along with more than 50,000 member volunteers.
3. making the largest investment by any single organization in the history of American politics – a total of \$65 million.

"What our members and allies have done will forever change the face of political organizing," said SEIU President Andy Stern.

"This is just the beginning," added SEIU Secretary-Treasurer Anna Burger, who oversees the union's political operation. "Our campaign will continue beyond election day to help John Kerry ensure that every American has access to quality, affordable health care."

***A closer look at the know-how, people-power and money utilized in SEIU's Fight for the Future campaign (also see below for graphic breakdowns):***

- **Creating strategic grassroots organizations.** SEIU's leadership helped build bold new organizations to coordinate and fund sophisticated grassroots efforts. President Andy Stern and other SEIU leaders founded and/or serve on the boards of the largest and most progressive community-based voter mobilization groups like ACT, America Votes, Mi Familia Vota, American Families United, and the New American Opportunity Campaign.
- **The largest single contributor.** SEIU is the largest contributor to ACT at \$26 million (exceeding individual contributions by George Soros and Peter Lewis); the AFL-CIO's Labor 2004 Program; and America Votes (\$900,000). SEIU tripled the amount spent in 2000 (\$65 million in 2004) to make significant donations as well as "in-kind contributions" – SEIU members and staff – to groups like Voting is Power, Mi Familia Vota, ACT and its Caribbean Power Vote, and America Votes, that together registered nearly 4.5 million new voters. SEIU gave \$1 million to the DNC and has made large donations to groups that share our goals, like Rock the Vote and the New Democratic Network.
- **Largest commitment of people power.** Accounting for a pre-GOTV total of more than 6 million voter contacts in the battlegrounds, SEIU recruited more than 2,750 members and staff willing to take a leave from their jobs to do full-time political work with organizations like ACT, allowing

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the union to reach beyond the labor movement for the first time to conduct real voter contact with a wider universe of workers. Roughly 40 percent of SEIU's full-time activists, or "Heroes" don't live in the battlegrounds, so they packed their bags – nearly 1,000 of them as early as April and July – and temporarily moved to 16 key states. SEIU rallied another 50,000 "weekend warriors" who are now ratcheting up their GOTV efforts for a grand total of 19 million phone calls and 10 million doors knocked across the country.

- Independent TV and radio expenditures.** SEIU spent just over \$3 million on federal independent expenditure TV and radio ads, including \$1.4 million for three TV and six radio spots in Wisconsin on health care, and \$500,000 for three Spanish-language TV ads in Florida's three largest markets running since mid-October through Nov. 2. Several other significant radio and TV buys hit the airwaves in ME, MO, NC, and AR. In addition, SEIU put \$ 2.6 million into non-federal independent expenditures and initiative campaigns in CA, ME, AZ, FL, and NV and \$9 million in direct contributions to worker-friendly candidates, campaigns and organizations.
- Worker communication and technology.** 500,000 SEIU members, many of them low-wage workers who earn less than \$30,000 a year, have voluntarily contributed an overall total of \$16 million towards the union's political action fund that helped pay for SEIU's nurses, janitors, security officers, public employees in battleground states to receive over 4 million pieces of direct mail, designed to share with union households John Kerry's vision for the country. Four purple mobile action centers traveled around the country to bring a unique communications technology to SEIU members, allowing them to complete millions of phone calls to voters across the country.
- Early focus on health care.** The SEIU-led Americans for Health Care helped make health care a top campaign issue throughout the primary season with billboards and TV spots featuring Iowa and New Hampshire nurses calling on the candidates to offer comprehensive health care plans. The group has also identified over 300,000 "health care voters" – Americans who have signed pledges to hold politicians accountable on the issue at the polls.
- Health care campaign continues.** SEIU members aren't waiting for the ballots to be counted to spearhead a national effort to make sure quality, affordable health care is the number one priority for the next Administration and Congress. On Election Night, SEIU will begin airing an issue-based ad on CNN. As well, thousands of SEIU members will begin to distribute 1 million stickers that read "Quality, Affordable Health Care: Job 1 in 2005."

###

*With 1.7 million members, SEIU is the largest and fastest growing union in the AFL-CIO, representing nurses, janitors, security officers and public employees, among others. SEIU is the nation's largest union of health care workers, and represents more immigrants than any other union.*

**ANATOMY OF AN ELECTION STRATEGY**

SEIU's Fight for the Future Campaign: Involvement in 2004 Progressive Political Organizations

Organization	Description	Involved in Founding	Board Member	Contributor	Details
America Coming Together (ACT)	Largest voter mobilization effort in history.	x	x	x	SEIU is the largest contributor to ACT at \$26 million (exceeding individual contributions by George Soros and Peter Lewis);

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					1,739 full-time workers; Andy Stern was one of the founding members of the organization; Gina Glantz currently serves on the Board of Directors
America Votes	33 of the largest membership organizations joined together to increase voter participation.	x	x	x	Largest contributor at approximately \$900,000; SEIU was one of the founding organizations and provided thousands of volunteers.
American Families United	Non-profit, non-partisan organization dedicated to registering new voters in low income and historically underrepresented communities.	x	x		SEIU leaders helped found the organization; Dennis Rivera is Chairman of the Board.
Mi Familia Vota	Non-partisan civic participation organization committed to empowering Hispanic citizens.	x	x	x	\$500,000; SEIU leaders helped found the organization; Eliseo Medina is on the Board of Directors
Voting is Power	A 501c3 voter registration project in Florida and Pennsylvania.			x	\$1,000,000 that paid for 78 full-time workers
Arizona United for Immigration Reform	A grassroots campaign to defeat Proposition 200.	x		x	SEIU is the largest contributor at \$670,000.
Americans for Health Care	A grassroots campaign to provide quality, affordable health care to every man, woman, and child in America.	x		x	Over \$6,000,000.
American Federation of Labor (AFL-CIO)	SEIU is the largest union in the AFLCIO.		x	x	Largest contributor to Labor 2004 including 730 full-time workers, staff, and volunteers; Andy Stern is a member of the Executive Council.
New American Opportunity Campaign	Highlights civic participation through voter registration, issue education and GOTV activities within the Hispanic community.	x	x		SEIU leaders helped found the organization; Eliseo Medina serves on the Board of Directors.
Democratic National Committee			x	x	SEIU contributed \$1,000,000 to fund various DNC activities; Anna Burger serves as a Committee at Large Member.
Rock the Vote	Non-profit organization dedicated to empowering young people to change their world through political and civic engagement.			x	\$100,000
New Democratic Network	Leading Democratic issue advocacy group.			x	\$50,000

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**TAB 12**

**Pennsylvania ACORN and Project Vote  
Election Administration Action Agenda  
March 29, 2005**

By Celeste Taylor

**Recommendations:  
Pages 9 through 11**



Pennsylvania ACORN and Project Vote Election Administration  
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## **Pennsylvania ACORN members and canvassers registered 132,710 voters in 2004 and focused to bring all of them to the polls**

Fair and well-run elections are necessary for an effective democratic government. Voters nationwide should be confident that their voter registration applications have been properly processed and that their votes will be fairly counted when they go to their polling places in every election.

The purpose of this report is to examine processes and procedures in Pennsylvania to allow for a fuller understanding of the problems encountered prior to and on Election Day, November 2, 2004. We are recommending changes and calling upon various State and County Governmental entities to act on reforms to safeguard and advance our Pennsylvania election system. This report presents our top priorities, which call for immediate attention.

### **Project Vote Verification Project Uncovers Many Problems Prior to Election Day**

Nationally, Project Vote created the 2004 Voter Verification Project to monitor and ensure that the names of voter registration applicants actually made it onto the voting rolls. The first step of the monitoring program was a surveying process in which Project Vote and allied organizations interviewed local and statewide public and elected officials to determine the breadth of the possible problems voters might be facing in the 2004 elections. This effort along with the voter verification efforts carried out in thirteen states revealed a number of weaknesses in administration of elections across the country, despite efforts to comply with the 2002 Help America Vote Act (HAVA). The problems, which were identified, include:

- Consistent, long-term under funding of election administration and implementation
- Complex and confusing voter registration cards
- Confusing and haphazardly implemented provisional ballot guidelines
- Incorrectly and inconsistently implemented ID requirements
- Inconsistent rejection of voter registration cards
- Continued faulty purges of the voting rolls
- Resistance to allowing access to public information
- Inadequate distribution of voting machines
- The inability to respond to heavy demand for early voting, and
- Poor, incorrect, or nonexistent training for poll workers

In Pennsylvania beginning in July 2004, Project Vote, the American Friends Service Committee and other allies in Allegheny County conducted an extensive review of 10,000 copies of voter registration applications from people who had been registered by Allegheny County ACORN. We embarked on this project to determine how many names were not on the existing and subsequent voter files and to figure out ways in which to correct the problems before the close of the registration deadline. Some of the problems that were encountered mirror the issues listed above, in addition to extreme backlogs of forms waiting to be added to the voter file, and in some cases not being added at all by Election Day.

Project Vote volunteers were committed to ensure that all voters who tried in good faith to become registered were indeed successful. These volunteers spent hundreds of hours reviewing these 10,000 applications that had been submitted to the Allegheny County Board of Elections well

before the registration deadline. Eight thousand of them were found to be on the voter file. Volunteers followed the process in an effort to fix as many of the problems of the remaining 2,000 applications in a timely fashion. Through tracking the voter registration applications 500 additional names were added to the voter file in time to vote on Election Day who otherwise may not have been added.<sup>1</sup> It is not clear whether the remaining 1500 unprocessed applications ever made it onto the rolls prior to Election Day, and certainly the lack of staffing at the County Board of Elections was part of the problem. In turn, these folks would have relied on provisional ballots in order to vote, and provisional ballots – as we discuss later – were not available.

The Project Vote verification process in Allegheny County was aided by two legal victories. In August 2004 the ACLU sued the Allegheny County Board of Elections. Common Pleas President Judge Joseph M. James determined that the fee of \$1,000 for the purchase of the voter file was unreasonable and unfair. Allegheny County citizens are now able to acquire voter files for free and \$50 for each additional copy in an election cycle. In October 2004 Project Vote, assisted by local attorney Mike Healey and the Advancement Project, initiated a Freedom of Information Act (FOIA) request and obtained copies of voter registration applications and letters that had been sent to voters informing them that their voter registration was incomplete. The letter enumerated the problems: no signature, incomplete address, no party affiliation, no birth date and address zoning problems. After receiving these records, Project Vote voter verification volunteers were able to add more than 490 names onto the voter files prior to Election Day.

### **Registration Problems, Fraud and Scams Uncovered Before Election Day**

Everybody Vote, a nonpartisan coalition of young-adult organizations in Pittsburgh, called a news conference on October 27, 2004 to expose a problem of a group of students from the University of Pittsburgh. Their voter registration applications were fraudulently altered by others who changed their party affiliation and addresses. The thirteen students represented at the press conference had been duped by men who claimed to be collecting signatures to legalize medicinal marijuana or to lower auto insurance rates but who deceitfully switched their party affiliation from Democrat to Republican and also changed their address which also relocated their polling site location.

Another voter scam discussed at the news conference was the official-looking notice posted at Ross Park Mall that tells Democrats to wait until Nov. 3 to vote. The notice indicated, "Due to the immense voter turnout that is expected on Tuesday, Nov. 2, the state of Pennsylvania has requested an extended voting period." This faux notice was printed on letterhead with the Allegheny County seal.

The notice states that Republicans will vote on Tuesday, while Democrats will vote on Wednesday. A copy of this notice was presented at the December 15, 2004 hearing in Allegheny County by a North Hills resident.<sup>2</sup>

### **Gathering Evidence on Voting Irregularities**

The Election Day Election Protection (EP) Program of 2004 was the nation's most far-reaching program to protect voter rights. The nonpartisan voter information, advocacy and protection program was carried out by a coalition of more than 150 national and local nonprofit organizations dedicated to ensuring that every citizen had the opportunity to cast a vote that would be counted. In this fall's elections, Election Protection deployed 25,000 volunteers, including 8,000 lawyers and law students in 17 states.

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<sup>1</sup> A Multi-faceted Approach: Bridging differences to advance voters' rights in Allegheny County, Pennsylvania...one voter at a time by Celeste Taylor and Scilla Wahrhaftig. Article available online at [www.advancementproject.org](http://www.advancementproject.org).

<sup>2</sup> A copy of the notice can be found at [www.electionprotection2004.org](http://www.electionprotection2004.org).

In Allegheny County, ACORN and Project Vote coordinated more than 300 local and national election protection volunteers on Election Day in Pittsburgh and Wilkinsburg. A few days before the election, David Schlitz, a volunteer attorney with People for the American Way Foundation, joined with Project Vote and ACORN to conduct multiple trainings and prepare the hundreds of volunteer poll monitors for November 2, 2004.

Volunteer poll monitors represented different racial groups, various faith communities, the disabilities community, civil rights, voting rights and environmental rights organizations. Thirty law students from the University of Pittsburgh and 40 law students from Cornell University – who rode a bus all night to help out with this citizen mobilization to protect voters' rights – joined them. Also assisting in this effort was the law firm of Eckert Seamans Cherin & Mellott, which provided 24 mobile field attorneys throughout the day. Local volunteer attorney Mike Healey stationed himself at the County Courthouse to deal with the many problems that were presented there.

### **Election Day Problems Identified and Recorded**

By using election protection volunteers, 1,000 complaints were logged in from Pennsylvania and 20 affidavits were secured from voters in Allegheny County on Election Day documenting problems involving provisional ballots, name not on the voter file, unknown polling place, broken machines and voter intimidation.<sup>3</sup>

In conjunction with People for the American Way's national Election Protection program and Working Assets, Philadelphia County ACORN and Project Vote recruited, trained and mobilized 400 Election Protection volunteers to assist with GOTV and distribute Know Your Rights literature for the week prior to Election Day. Harrisburg and Lancaster County ACORN and Project Vote had an Election Protection Project with 100 volunteers they had recruited and trained. These volunteers distributed Know Your Rights literature before Election Day and covered 13 precincts on Election Day, handling 50 complaints.

The Election Day EP Program in Allegheny County deployed more than 300 community poll monitors to 60 polling sites where voters reported hundreds of problems throughout the day. The poll-monitoring efforts by the Pittsburgh EP Program have been captured on videotape and show voters experiencing many problems on Election Day 2004 that demonstrate the need for significant reform of the election system.<sup>4</sup>

The most common and disturbing Election Day problem in Allegheny County was the lack of provisional ballots that resulted from the decision of the County Election Bureau to provide only 12 such ballots at each polling site. Some polling locations reported having none at the beginning of the day while others ran out within hours of polls opening. It proved nearly impossible to get any additional provisional ballots delivered throughout the day as frantic voters and frustrated poll workers clogged the phone lines at the Allegheny County Election Bureau and also at the 1-866-OUR-VOTE hotline. As a result, the Friends Meetinghouse staging area for Allegheny County Election Protection received hundreds of calls as cell phones of many of the volunteers rang all day. Hundreds of complaints were subsequently reported and handled from callers and from walk-in voters who saw the Election Protection signs posted outside on the lawn. We have no idea how many more complaints we could have handled had we had even greater capacity.

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<sup>3</sup> Complaints are logged into the Election Information Reporting System at [www.voteprotect.org](http://www.voteprotect.org).

<sup>4</sup> Ten minute documentary produced by Terri Taylor. Copies are available from the Allegheny County ACORN office at 412-441-8551.

This one problem with the provisional ballots alone disenfranchised hundreds of citizens in Pennsylvania who became frustrated with the long lines and confusing messages from poll workers. Voters were told that sites had run out of provisional ballots without any recourse until an unprecedented move by a County Judge who ordered that the Allegheny County Courthouse stay open an hour and a half beyond the usual closing time to 9:30pm, to accommodate the many voters who were not able to obtain a provisional ballot prior to the normal poll closings at 8:00pm.

Many of the problems associated with provisional ballots could have been avoided if voters' names were placed onto the rolls in a timely fashion and if voters were able to definitively confirm their name on the rolls prior to Election Day. This would have also allowed them time to fix the problem before it was too late. A report that examined a sampling of 775 problems nationwide found only 3% of the provisional ballot problems experienced on Election Day 2004 were the fault of the voter.<sup>5</sup>

## **Two National Hotlines Were Created to Document and Resolve Problems Experienced by Voters on Election Day, November 2, 2004**

### **No. 1: Election Incident Reporting System (EIRS)<sup>6</sup>**

- USA Total Incidents Reported—40,003
  - Registration related—14,813
  - Absentee ballot related—3,936
  - Machine related—2,242
  - Provisional ballot related—1,996
  - Voter Intimidation—1,876
  
- Pennsylvania Incidents—4,523
  - Registration related—1,650
  - Absentee ballot related—340
  - Machine related—284
  - Provisional ballot related—327
  - Voter Intimidation—299
  
- Philadelphia County Incidents—1,699
  - Registration related—483
  - Absentee ballot related—123
  - Machine related—180
  - Provisional ballot related—97
  - Voter Intimidation—157
  
- Allegheny County Incidents—1,000
  - Registration related—422
  - Absentee ballot related—340
  - Machine related—30
  - Provisional ballot related—137
  - Voter Intimidation—45

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<sup>5</sup> "Continuing Failures in Fail-Safe Voting: A Preliminary Analysis of Provisional Voting Problems in the 2004 Election". [www.demos-usa.org](http://www.demos-usa.org)

<sup>6</sup> Election Reporting Information System can be accessed at [www.voteprotect.org](http://www.voteprotect.org)

## No. 2: 175,213 Total Calls Received by Common Cause and NBC Hotline

### County Rankings as reported by 1-866-MY VOTE 1

State	County	Calls
1. PA	ALLEGHENY	6089
2. FL	BROWARD	5904
3. CA	LOS ANGELES	5836
4. NY	NEW YORK	5185
5. PA	PHILADELPHIA	4049

### Problems Reported on EIRS and by Affidavits

#### Voter Registration

As reported on EIRS, 1650 Pennsylvania voters complained that they had registered but had never received their registration cards, or were informed that they were not on the rolls. In some cases, this affected voters who had updated their registrations after moving, while other voters who had been voting at the same place or had been registered at the same address for years were also turned away. While there were many scattered complaints across the state, the problems in Dauphin County seemed more severe. In Dauphin County an election protection attorney volunteer documented 4 incidents where persons were turned away who were registered to vote and had voted in 2003 at the same polling location. Calls to the Dauphin County Election Bureau went unanswered and when answered voters were on hold for at least twenty minutes.

#### Absentee Ballots

Nationally, millions of Americans voted early or voted absentee this year and many of them live in Pennsylvania. In news reports and in the calls we received before Election Day, voters, including voters with disabilities, senior citizens and students, complained that they had not received their absentee ballots on time. Some were not allowed to vote in their polling place because the voter eligibility list at every polling place stated they had already applied for an absentee ballot.

Pennsylvania's process to request, receive and return absentee ballots is confusing and places an undue burden on many voters. A voter must fit into one of 14 categories of "exceptions" to be eligible to cast an absentee ballot in Pennsylvania. Except for emergencies, absentee ballots must be returned to election bureaus by the Tuesday before Election Day. To add to the confusion, Pennsylvania created an Alternative Ballot for persons who have a disability or who are 65 years of age or older who are assigned to an inaccessible polling place. Those eligible must apply at least seven days before Election Day.<sup>7</sup>

<sup>7</sup> Election Day 2004: An Analysis Compiled by The Pennsylvania Voters Coalition

Election Protection volunteers helped voters with questions and complaints regarding the use of absentee ballots, mostly from voters who had requested but had never received them. Other voters reported receiving them too late in order to submit them before the deadline. Below is the copy of a report from EIRS at [www.voteprotect.org](http://www.voteprotect.org) that documents the problem of a voter in Allegheny County.

041523	11/02/04, 1:14 PM PST	Absentee- ballot related problem	PITTBURGH , ALLEGHENY County, Pennsylvania	Voter is registered in Clarion County but living (college student) in Allegheny County. He applied for an absentee ballot on 10/22/04 and sent the application on 10/25/04. When he did not receive an absentee ballot later that week, he called and was told they never received his application and that the only way he could vote was to drive (2 hours) to Clarion county. This morning, he got a court order regarding his current address in order to cast a provisional ballot. However, when he got to the polling place that corresponds to his current address (Oakland), he had to wait in a long line and then found out that they had run out of provisional ballots. The officials sent him downtown to County Elections. He had to wait several hours there because they had run out of provisional ballots as well. He did finally cast a provisional ballot there, after waiting for more ballots to arrive.
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### Voting Machines

Numerous voting machine problems were reported and experienced throughout Pennsylvania but none were as severe as those in Mercer County, Pennsylvania.

“Last November, the Mercer County election *was* a nightmare, according to a review committee. The 22-page report goes as far as to say that county workers “demonstrated remarkable negligence,” noting that they failed to store their voting machines properly and to test or certify them before the election. “

This lack of preparation became evident on Election Day, when many of the machines malfunctioned. In one precinct, four out of every five votes cast did not register. As the situation worsened, it became clear that there was little emergency planning, with a “grossly inadequate” number of backup paper ballots and an insufficient number of phone lines.

As a result, more than 4,000 votes were lost out of 52,000 cast. Mercer County can thank its lucky stars that it was not located in Florida in 2000, where those 4,000 votes would have made a difference.”<sup>8</sup>

### Voter Intimidation and Suppression

An EP volunteer in Philadelphia reported three separate incidents of a large SUV with white men parked in front of the polling site in a predominantly black neighborhood. The SUV was idling and the men were staring down voters and pretending to be from the District Attorney’s office. When the EP volunteer confronted them, they admitted that they were in fact Republican attorneys from Tennessee.<sup>9</sup>

<sup>8</sup> Pittsburgh Post-Gazette Editorial, February 15, 2005

<sup>9</sup> EIRS [www.voteprotect.org](http://www.voteprotect.org)

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## **Provisional Ballots**

Provisional ballot problems accounted for hundreds of the problems documented on Election Day in Allegheny County. Volunteer poll monitors were able to document what they experienced onto affidavits.

"I worked for Project Vote at the Wilksburg Senior High School. I was there from 7am-2pm. Approximately 20 out of 100 people were not able to vote despite having voting cards that show the correct polling location. Their names were not on the roster. The polling location began the day with twelve provisional ballots at 7am. There were no provisional ballots between 10am thru 2pm. Five people who wanted to vote by provisional ballot during this period left because there was none available. An additional ten [ballots] were provided around 2pm."<sup>10</sup>

Another Allegheny County voter reported to an EP volunteer that she had changed her name and address and re-registered to vote. However, when she went to her polling place, she was informed by an election official that she was not on the registration roll at either her old or new polling place. The official told her that the polling place did not have any provisional ballots. She left without casting her vote.

## **Allegheny County Advocates Hold Public Hearing on Voting Irregularities**

On December 15, 2004 Project Vote, ACORN and the Election Protection Coalition coordinated a public hearing. The proceeding was held in the Pittsburgh City Council chambers where dozens of disenfranchised voters and poll workers testified about the many problems they encountered on Election Day, November 2, 2004.

The evening meeting was granted by special permission from the City Council. It was presided over by Councilman Doug Shields and a panel that included Scilla Wahrhaftig, American Friends Service Committee; Martha Conley, NAACP Pittsburgh Branch; Sue Broughton, League of Women Voters, Pittsburgh Chapter; Vicki Beasley, People For the American Way Foundation; Aurora Vasquez, Advancement Project; Matt Preston, Everybody Vote volunteer; Rasheedah White, ACORN; Khari Mosley, Pa. Hip Hop Political Convention; and Greg Moore, NAACP National Voter Fund.

Carlos Brossard, of the Western Pennsylvania Black Political Assembly, was critical of the county's decision to supply each polling place with 12 provisional ballots, as were many of the other participants at the hearing.

"This hip-pocket position was not based on sound reason or logic," he said. "There was no single process that told us who was turned away or for what reason they were turned away...How in heaven's name can you have an election without minimum operational procedures?"<sup>11</sup>

Many people testified that the poll workers did not know to use ballots marked "absentee" as provisional ballots when they were told by the County Election Bureau to begin using them once the real provisional ballots ran out.

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<sup>10</sup> Affidavit on file at the Allegheny County ACORN office.

<sup>11</sup> New Pittsburgh Courier story as reported by Sonya Toler on December 18, 2004.

Several people testified to waiting in the long lines for almost three hours to try and vote or straighten things out. Because they had to go to work or school, they simply left before voting.

One man said he substituted for his wife as a poll worker and found that no one else working at the poll had received training on provisional ballots. "I quickly found myself to be the provisional ballot expert," he said.

At the December 15, 2004 hearing in Allegheny County voters submitted voter affidavits that documented problems with provisional ballots. The affidavits are being kept as part of the evidence that will be utilized to bring about reform in Allegheny County and in the state of Pennsylvania. Proceedings of the three-hour hearing were videotaped.<sup>12</sup>

"It is clear that our voting system in Pennsylvania fell short of our democratic ideals on Election Day, November 2, 2004. A total of 175,213 nationwide calls were received on the NBC and Common Cause hotline where two counties, Allegheny and Philadelphia were in the top five in the nation for the number of complaints demonstrate the magnitude of the many problems where local standards varied, national standards were unevenly applied, and inequities and uncertainties abounded. Procedures for registration were unnecessarily complicated and daunting for new voters; election workers and poll workers were too few and inadequately trained; same day remedies for voters were rare and difficult to implement with exceptions due in large to the Election Protection Poll monitors; there were instances of voter intimidation and suppression; and in many areas strong voter turnout simply overwhelmed the system and that lead to the disenfranchisement of thousands of voters."<sup>13</sup>

## RECOMMENDATIONS

### Voter Registration

- Redesign the voter registration application to be less complicated. This could be achieved by working with literacy experts who would make the voter registration application more user friendly and ensure that required information is captured easily.<sup>14</sup>
- The State should offer statewide web access by the citizenry to the voter database to determine whether a person is on the official voter roll.<sup>15</sup>
- The State should create a system for web access to a polling place locator.<sup>16</sup> This polling place locator should include details of handicapped access.
- The State must create a system for statewide standards, guidelines, and deadlines to ensure timely processing of new voter registration applications, e.g. counties shall process all voter applications within seven working days of their receipt.

<sup>12</sup> Copies of the tapes can be requested from Allegheny County ACORN at 412-441-6551.

<sup>13</sup> Shattering The Myth – An Initial Snapshot of Voter Disenfranchisement in the 2004 Election. [www.pfaw.org](http://www.pfaw.org)  
[www.naacp.org](http://www.naacp.org) [www.lawyerscommittee.org](http://www.lawyerscommittee.org)

<sup>14</sup> "American Election Administration: Next Steps", November 2004, Jo-Anne Chasnow.

<sup>15</sup> View the public access portal for North Carolina at [www.sboe.state.nc.us](http://www.sboe.state.nc.us) or view the Kentucky portal at [www.elect.ky.gov](http://www.elect.ky.gov) and go to "voter information".

<sup>16</sup> See [www.everybodyvote.com](http://www.everybodyvote.com), developed by a local non-profit, and housed at Carnegie Mellon University.

## Absentee Ballots

- Pennsylvania law should be changed to provide for “permanent, no excuse” absentee voting, thus allowing citizens to vote absentee for any reason; and once applied for, absentee ballots will be mailed for all future elections.
- The deadlines to apply for and return absentee ballots should be up to the time the polls close, on Election Day.

## Voting Machines

- There must be established statewide standards for the improvement, replacement, acquisition and monitoring of all voting machines to ensure that they are available in sufficient quantities, working properly, tested prior to every election, and able to accurately record how voters want to vote.

## Voter Suppression, Scams and Intimidation

- Scaring, or cheating voters out of their right to vote or to have their vote counted undermines the very foundations of our democratic society. Politicians, political strategists, and party officials who may consider voter intimidation and suppression efforts as part of their tactical arsenal should be prepared to be exposed and prosecuted. State and federal officials including the US Department of Justice, the State Attorney General and all political and party officials should publicly repudiate such tactics make clear that those who engage in these activities are violating the 1965 Voting Rights Act and will be prosecuted to the fullest extent of the law.<sup>17</sup>

## Provisional Ballots

- Provisional ballots in every county should be counted within a specific, reasonable, uniform timeline established by the state. For example, “all provisional ballots will be counted within 10 days of election day.”
- Statewide standards must be established for uniformity in providing a minimum number of provisional ballots at every polling location. Polling places should NEVER run out of provisional ballots.
- Provisional ballots in every county should be counted within a specific, uniform timeline established by the state. For example, all provisional ballots will be counted within 10 days of Election Day.
- Pennsylvania must collect data from every county, after every election, including how many provisional ballots were used, how many were counted, and how many were rejected. The rejections should be in categories of rejection, e.g. not registered, not cast in proper jurisdiction, no ID from newly registered who registered by mail, etc. This data should be posted on the website of the Secretary of State as soon as it is collected, along with other election results.<sup>18</sup>
- State-developed poll worker training must include vital provisional ballot information to be conveyed to each potential provisional ballot voter: 1) does the voter need to provide specific ID for the ballot to count; 2) does the voter have additional time after election day

<sup>17</sup> “The Long Shadow of Jim Crow-Voter Suppression in America Today” [www.pfaw.org](http://www.pfaw.org) and [www.naacp.org](http://www.naacp.org)

<sup>18</sup> Cook County, Illinois Clerk David Orr created a model described in his “Report to the Nation on America’s Election Process”, December 7, 2004.

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to provide necessary ID; 3) is the voter casting the provisional ballot from a polling place in the "correct jurisdiction", to ensure that the provisional ballot will not be discarded?

- Pennsylvania should design the provisional ballot to serve simultaneously as a voter registration application.
- Pennsylvania must act in the best interest of the voters in counting provisional ballots. All ballots cast anywhere in the state should be counted – for all offices for which the voter is eligible to vote.
- Every person casting a provisional ballot must be given a receipt including access to a free-access system to determine if the ballot was counted.

### **Poll worker training and recruitment**

- In response to HAVA, Pennsylvania must develop uniform, statewide, mandatory, substantive training to be used universally throughout the state.<sup>19</sup>
- Insufficient numbers of poll workers at polling places demand that future recruitment efforts are collaborative with various community groups, to encourage more and better recruitments. The State should offer guidelines.
- Pennsylvania must ensure that the recruitment process is inclusive and that it encourages participation by citizens from all communities.

The problems described in this report led to widespread voter confusion, voter discouragement, and voter disenfranchisement. In our experience these problems were more likely to occur in low and moderate-income communities and communities of color. Since our mission is to increase the participation of low and moderate-income people in the electoral process through voter registration, education, and mobilization, these problems directly affect the ability of our constituency to take part in Pennsylvania elections.

Due to the significant problems in Pennsylvania during the November 2, 2004 Election, the trust is at risk. Pennsylvania ACORN and Project Vote are committed to ensure that significant progress happens quickly to correct many of these problems. The Pennsylvanian voters arriving at the polls to vote in important elections in 2005-2006 should not be faced with the same problems that occurred on Election Day November 2, 2004. Improving our election procedures will help to restore trust in our democratic process. Without such trust, our democracy will be in a crisis.

### **National and Pennsylvania ACORN History and Background**

ACORN -- Association of Community Organizations for Reform Now -- is the nation's largest community organization of low and moderate-income families, with over 175,000 member families organized into 800 neighborhood chapters in 80 cities across the country. Since 1970 ACORN has taken action and won victories on issues of concern to our members. Our priorities include: better housing for first time homebuyers and tenants, living wages for low-wage workers, stopping predatory lenders, more investment in our communities from banks and governments, and better public schools. We achieve these goals by building community organizations that have the power to win changes -- through direct action, negotiation, legislation, and voter participation.

In 2004 ACORN registered 1,125,158 voters nationwide in low-income African-American and Latino neighborhoods. We built on our record-breaking voter registration drive by contacting each new and infrequent voter in our communities twice at their home and twice on the phone with information about important issues in the election and a reminder to go vote.

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<sup>19</sup> HAVA impacts every part of the voting process from voting machines to provisional ballots, from voter registration to poll worker training.

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We reached the same registered voters all over again, plus their neighbors resulted in contacting 1,284,909 new and infrequent voters between two and four times each and door-knocked on another 2.2 million voters on Election Day, November 2, 2004.

Our track record of accomplishments in these communities combined with our commitment to recruit our army of canvassers from the residents of the neighborhoods in which we worked has made this one of the most successful voter mobilization efforts in recent memory.

**“ACORN’s goal is to make sure the voices of low and moderate income Americans are heard loud and clear in the political process. We have knocked on virtually every door in our neighborhoods this year, and we brought over a million new voters to the polls. ACORN’s campaign truly represents democracy in action.”**

*Maude Hurd, National ACORN President*

During the 2004 Presidential Election, Pennsylvania ACORN members and canvassers registered more than 132,710 voters across the state in 15 counties and increased voter participation by 35% over the 2000 election.

Pennsylvania ACORN consists of 18 neighborhood chapters. It is the largest grassroots community organization in the state and is made up of low and moderate-income residents. The states’ most tenured office, Philadelphia ACORN was established 977, Allegheny County ACORN opened in the fall of 2000, Harrisburg ACORN opened in the fall of 2003, and Allentown ACORN started signing up its first member in January of 2004.

We are dedicated to providing quality voter education and conducting mass voter registration and mobilization of voters in Pennsylvania. We are committed to protecting the rights of these voters by advocating for greater efficiency, improved accountability and increased transparency of all systems that are encompassed in Our Right To Vote.

*Special thanks and appreciation goes to Jo-Anne Chasnow with Project Vote. Her expertise, experience and perseverance was invaluable with the writing and editing of this Pennsylvania Election Administration Action Agenda.*

*Celeste Taylor, a graduate of the University of Pittsburgh has worked for 25 years as an activist for human and civil rights groups. Currently she is the PA ACORN Policy Director for Election Administration and Legislative Campaigns. From 2001 thru 2004 Ms. Taylor served as a Field Director for Good Schools Pennsylvania, a group that was instrumental in acquiring over 200 million in additional resources for Pennsylvania Public Schools. Ms. Taylor was the 1999-2000 Pittsburgh Director of the NAACP National Voter Fund. Special recognition for her work includes the 2003 Allegheny County ACORN Community Leadership Award, 2002 National Council for Urban Peace and Justice Community Service Award, 2001 League of Women Voters of Greater Pittsburgh Good Government Award and the 2000 YWCA of Greater Pittsburgh Racial Justice Award.*

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**TAB 13**

## 'A Rich History of Corruption'

HARRISBURG, Pa. -- Over five years after the near meltdown of the Florida presidential recount, politicians are still arguing over how best to reform state election laws. Ground zero in that battle now is Pennsylvania, which features two close statewide races, for governor and U.S. senator.



Ed Rendell

Democrats claim anything that impedes or discourages someone from voting is a violation of the Voting Rights Act. Republicans insist the state's rancid history of voter fraud requires preventive measures. The conflict of visions, to borrow Thomas Sowell's phrase, couldn't be more complete.

Take the bill the GOP-controlled Legislature passed, which would require voters show a form of official ID or a utility bill; another bill would end Philadelphia's bizarre practice of locating over 900 polling places in private venues, including bars, abandoned buildings and even the office of a local state senator. City officials admit their voter rolls are stuffed with phantoms. The city has about as many registered voters as it has adults, and is thus a rich breeding ground for fraud.

But Democratic Gov. Ed Rendell vetoed both bills last month, saying that in a time of voter apathy "the government should be doing everything it can to encourage greater participation." He warned that requiring an ID could disenfranchise the homeless, nursing-home residents and the poor. Mr. Rendell says there is no evidence people routinely impersonate others to vote. He also says requiring an ID at the polls doesn't combat absentee ballot fraud. True enough; election officials properly worry that some 25% of voters now don't show their face when voting. In 1998, Austin Murphy, a former Democratic congressman, pleaded guilty to fraudulently voting absentee ballots for nursing-home residents near Pittsburgh.

But Mr. Rendell's history doesn't inspire confidence that he takes fraud of any kind seriously. In 1994, Philadelphia Democrat Bill Stinson was booted from office as a state senator by a federal judge who found his campaign had rounded up 250 tainted absentee ballots. Mr. Rendell, then Philadelphia's mayor, had this reaction to the Stinson scandal: "I don't think it's anything that's immoral or grievous, but it clearly violates the election code." In 1997, Mr. Rendell admitted to the Journal's editorial board that Philadelphia judges had "a rich history of corruption" that called into question how fairly city laws are enforced.

Now governor, Mr. Rendell isn't eager to depart from business as usual. In 2004, a court had to order him to make changes in the deadlines for absentee military ballots so they would be counted. At the same time, his secretary of state asked prison wardens to post a document

outlining how prisoners could vote absentee. When GOP Rep. Curt Weldon held a news conference to denounce illegal voting by prisoners, a TV camera crew captured voter operatives behind him carrying absentee ballots out of the prison.

Still, many liberals insist fraud isn't an issue in Pennsylvania. "Show us the fraud," said Elizabeth Milner, chairman of the state's League of Women Voters, urging a veto of voter ID. Well, Donna Hope of Philadelphia can show her, because in 2004 an organizer for Voting is Power, an offshoot of the Muslim American Society, registered her to vote despite her admission that she was a noncitizen. Although she was turned away from the polls for that reason that November, someone eventually voted in her name.

Ms. Hope, a citizen of Barbados, said the women registering her told her that if she "had been in the U.S. for seven years or more you can register to vote." Jocelyn Budd, the woman who is listed on Ms. Hope's registration form, recalls canvassing her street but not specifically registering her. "I heard that people were forging [registration] cards to meet goals, but I never falsified any information," she says.

As for the group that registered Ms. Hope, Noreen S. Ahmed-Ullah of the Chicago Tribune reported in 2004 on internal Muslim American Society documents which showed it is the "public face" in the U.S. of the Muslim Brotherhood, an international group that has spawned violent organizations including Palestinian Islamic Jihad and Hamas.

MAS leaders say the documents obtained by the Tribune are either outdated or inaccurate. Shaker Elsayed, a top MAS leader, says that while the group was founded by Brotherhood members, it is independent. An MAS spokesperson denies the group has any connection to registration fraud.

Irregularities like these are representative of mushrooming fraud, and the general public clearly believes some safeguards are needed. Despite claims by NAACP chairman Julian Bond that voter ID laws represent "an onerous poll tax," polls show upward of 80% favor them. Andrew Young, the former Atlanta mayor and U.N. ambassador, believes that in an era when people have to show ID to rent a video or cash a check "requiring ID can help poor people." He notes that his native Georgia is deploying a mobile bus to issue free voter IDs.

But no antifraud laws will work if prosecutors and judges don't crack down on election irregularities. Several tell me they fear being accused of racism and aiding voter-suppression tactics if they pursue touchy fraud cases. One district attorney told the U.S. Government Accountability Office that he doesn't pursue phony voter registrations because they are "victimless and nonviolent crimes."

Even those few who are prosecuted often view the punishment as the cost of doing politics. Barbara Landers, a former Democratic state Senate aide, was convicted in 1994 on 30 counts of misleading absentee voters in the Stinson scandal. She was given a suspended sentence and fined only \$1,000. Last month, she pleaded guilty to misappropriating up to \$115,000 in state grants meant to help the needy. "If the book had been thrown at her for voter fraud, she might have been deterred from subsequent behavior," one Philadelphia prosecutor told me.

The integrity of the ballot box is just as important to the credibility of elections as access to it. In not closing off opportunities for fraud and chaos, Pennsylvania is inviting trouble in its fall elections that could rival that of Florida in 2000.

***Mr. Fund is a columnist for OpinionJournal.com<sup>1</sup>.***

<http://online.wsj.com/article/SB114489182380724748.html>

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