

H A R V A R D U N I V E R S I T Y
JOHN F. KENNEDY SCHOOL OF GOVERNMENT

INSTITUTE OF POLITICS

CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENT: YOUNG VOTERS, LESSONS LEARNED2004

Wednesday
April 27, 2005

Penthouse
Littauer Building
79 JFK Street
Cambridge, Massachusetts

BEFORE: PHILIP SHARP
Director
Institute of Politics
Kennedy School of Government

ADVANCE SERVICES
Franklin, Massachusetts
(508) 520-2076

PARTICIPANTS:

Alexandra Acker, Democratic GAIN
Carrie Anderson, Student
Kristin Blagg, Student
Melanie Campbell, National Coalition on Black Civic Participation
Gary Davis, World Wrestling Entertainment
Meighan Davis, AFL-CIO Organizing Institute
John Della Volpe, Schneiders/Della Volpe/Schulman
Ben Ferguson, Host, The Ben Ferguson Show
Jane Fleming, Young Democrats of America
Ron Fournier, The Associated Press
Ryan Friedrichs, Skyline Public Works
Ivan Frishberg, Grassroots Campaigns, Inc.
Jehmu Greene, Rock the Vote
Eric Hoplin, College Republican National Committee
David King, Institute of Politics
Jeffrey Levine, Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute
Alexis McGill, Citizen Change
Cathy McLaughlin, Institute of Politics
Tom McSorley, Student
David Nickerson, Notre Dame
Jennifer Phillips, Institute of Politics
April Rapp, Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute
Jordan Sekulow, Ralph Reed for Lt. Governor, Georgia
Susan Sherr, Rutgers University, Eagleton Institute

ADVANCE SERVICES
Franklin, Massachusetts
(508) 520-2076

PARTICIPANTS: Continued,

Rebecca Sinderbrand, *Newsweek*

Heather Smith, New Voters Project

Kate Snow, ABC News, "Good Morning America, Weekend Edition"

Elise Stefanik, Student

Jaime Uzeta, MTV: Music Television

Tobi Walker, The Pew Charitable Trusts

Hugh Weber, Young Voters Strategies Project.

Paloma Zapeda, Student

P R O C E E D I N G S

(12:08 p.m.)

1
2
3 MR. SHARP: Ladies and gentlemen, welcome to
4 the Institute of Politics and to this wonderful forum
5 that many of you have been involved in helping to bring
6 about. My name is Phil Sharp, I'm the Acting Director
7 at the Institute. And you may or may not have seen the
8 news, but we will have our new director coming up, a
9 former Governor of New Hampshire, Jean Shaheen, who is
10 going to be a fantastic addition here at the Kennedy
11 School.

12 But I'm delighted to see what you are trying to
13 accomplish today for two reasons, one is, as a
14 recovering politician myself, in my very first election
15 in 1970 in the last millennia, I won my first primary
16 by one vote per polling place, by 400 votes and seven
17 people, so I have a particular interest in the notion
18 that every vote counts because I would have been
19 counted out very quickly in that proposition. I also
20 always win narrowly, so maybe I was just a poor
21 politician. But the fact is that they do and, last
22 fall, they really did count, and young people came out,
23 and despite the fact that some commentators seemed to
24 get the message wrong, as you folks know and will be

ADVANCE SERVICES
Franklin, Massachusetts
(508) 520-2076

1 reiterated here, we did see a considerable upsurge in
2 the voting by young people. We think that was heavily
3 concentrated among college students, who tend to turn
4 out better than their peers.

5 And from my perspective and I think from all
6 our perspectives, it went well beyond that, there was
7 an intense interest that showed up in voting, there was
8 an intense interest that showed up in taking the
9 campaign seriously, there was an intense interest that
10 showed up in people's participation in the campaigns.
11 And as I think our polling data will show when it's
12 presented, that interest seems to have held and
13 continued, despite the usual kind of predictions where
14 all the people who don't win their way, or whatever, or
15 after they've won their way, they'll all fall off again
16 and be indifferent to politics. And this represents a
17 very significant change over the last six to eight
18 years in the country with this revival of interest
19 among young Americans, which many of us feel is
20 critical to our democratic institutions.

21 The second, apart from my own personal and
22 selfish reason to get people to vote, no longer in my
23 life but at one point, is we at the Institute of
24 Politics, have a long history, since 1972, of

1 sponsoring something called Campaign Decision Makers
2 where we get the people who led the various campaigns,
3 usually against each other, to come in and sit at a
4 table like this, in a reasonably civil fashion, and to
5 discuss what went on, what they thought was successful,
6 what they thought they were doing to each other for
7 their own campaign, and to answer questions from
8 journalists, as is going to happen here, in that
9 process.

10 And over the years, we've produced that
11 transcript about the American campaigns and while maybe
12 the general public is not buying it immediately and
13 it's at the top of the list, the best seller list, the
14 fact is that journalists involved in politics, people
15 involved in running campaigns often go back to those
16 volumes for insights into how things are done and
17 strategic decisions are made. So, in a way, we are
18 going to replicate that here with the recognition that
19 many of you were involved in organizational efforts
20 last fall to see if you couldn't engage your colleagues
21 in voting, in participation in campaigns and to see
22 what you think worked, in hopes of enlightening others
23 that follow in your footsteps has to how we might make
24 sure this revival of student interest is sustained.

ADVANCE SERVICES
Franklin, Massachusetts
(508) 520-2076

1 Well, with that, I think our goal here, Elise,
2 all of our programs are run by our students, virtually,
3 and Elise is vice president of our student association.

4 I think we are going to go around the room, am I
5 correct? And have everybody introduce themselves.

6 MS. STEFANIK: Yes. I'm just going to say a
7 quick welcome on behalf of the students. I want to,
8 before we begin, give special thanks to Kristin, and
9 Carrie and Adam who, as students, were basically the
10 liaisons who planned this conference, and also a
11 special thanks to Jennifer Phillips and Laura Simolaris
12 for all their planning on this. Director Sharp
13 actually took my, I was going to talk about the
14 campaign managers conference but, as is probably not
15 surprising, every four years, when we have a Campaign
16 Decision Makers Conference, we don't spend a lot of
17 time talking about whether the youth turned out or did
18 not turn out. And I think, for this reason, it's such
19 a pleasure to have all of our guests here today.

20 And I hope that the Campaign Decision Makers
21 Conference, that this becomes something we do every
22 four years so we can really build upon how to reach out
23 to young voters because it is an important constituency
24 that is often overlooked. So, with that, I'm going to

1 go around this way and introduce ourselves. Again, I'm
2 Elise, I'm a junior at the college and I'm Vice
3 President of the Institute of Politics.

4 MR. FLYNN: I just want to make one
5 housekeeping thing, the short mics are for the
6 recording of this event, they will not be amplified,
7 and the taller mikes are for the microphones. If you
8 have a soft voice, just use the tall mikes but if you
9 can belt it out, that's all right too.

10 MR. ZAPEDA: I'm Paloma Zapeda, I'm a junior at
11 Harvard College and I'm a member at large of the
12 Student Advisory Committee of the Institute.

13 MR. WEBER: Good morning. My name is Hugh
14 Weber. At this previous cycle, I was Director of
15 Political Education and Training at the RNC, and now
16 I'm serving as a consultant with Heather Smith and the
17 Young Voters Strategies Project.

18 MR. FERGUSON: My name is Ben Ferguson, I'm a
19 syndicated talk show host, as well as an author, and
20 acted as a surrogate for the Bush/Cheney Campaign
21 during the last during the last election specifically
22 speaking with young people around the country.

23 MS. DAVIS: I'm Meighan Davis, I was the
24 Organizing Director for the youth arm of moveon.org

1 this cycle and right now I'm at the AFL/CIO.

2 MS. FLEMING: I'm Jane Fleming, I'm the
3 Executive Director of the Young Democrats of America
4 and was part of the team that headed up our project
5 called the Young Voter Alliance which was a peer to
6 peer contact project I'll talk about later.

7 MR. HOPLIN: Good day. My name is Eric Hoplin,
8 I'm the National Chairman of the Colleague Republican
9 National Committee.

10 MS. ACKER: My name is Alexandra Acker, I was
11 the National Youth Outreach Director for the Kerry
12 Campaign and I currently work for Democratic GAIN, as
13 their Regional Training Director.

14 MR. SEKULOW: Jordan Sekulow, I was the
15 National Youth Director for the Bush Campaign. We know
16 each other well.

17 (Laughter)

18 MR. SEKULOW: And I am now the Political
19 Director for Ralph Reid's campaign down in Georgia for
20 Lieutenant Governor.

21 MS. ANDERSEN: I'm Carrie Andersen, I'm a
22 freshman at the college and I worked with Kristin and
23 the staff to help put this on.

24 MR. FRIEDRICHS: I'm Ryan Friedrichs, I worked

1 at the Young Voter Alliance in 2004 and am working with
2 Skyline Public Works right now doing a study on young
3 voter turnout in 2004.

4 MS. WALKER: My name is Tobi Walker, I'm a
5 program officer at the Pew Charitable Trust where I do
6 work on youth political engagement and particularly
7 youth voting.

8 MR. DELLA VOLPE: I'm John Della Volpe, I'm a
9 partner in the bipartisan polling firm of Schneiders,
10 Della Volpe and Schulman and since 2000, I've been
11 working with the students here at the IOP on voter
12 opinion surveys.

13 MR. LEVINE: I'm Jeff Levine, I'm the Director
14 of the Center for Public Interest Polling at the
15 Eagleton Institute of Politics at Rutgers University.

16 MS. SHERR: Hi. I'm Susan Sherr and I'm the
17 Director of the Civic Engagement and Political
18 Participation Program also at the Eagleton Institute.

19 MS. RAPP: Hi. I'm April Rapp, I'm a Research
20 Project Coordinator also at the Eagleton Center for
21 Public Interest Polling.

22 MS. BLAGG: Hi. I'm Kristin Blagg, I'm a
23 freshman at the college and I worked with Kerry and the
24 rest of the conferences committee to help put this

1 together.

2 MR. NICKERSON: My name is David Nickerson, I
3 teach political science at Notre Dame and I study youth
4 voter mobilization and program evaluations of different
5 campaigns.

6 MS. CAMPBELL: My name is Melanie Campbell, I'm
7 Executive Director and CEO of the National Coalition on
8 Black Civic Participation. And I have a program called
9 Black Youth Vote which is a youth led program to engage
10 young African American youth, and I was a 2003 fellow
11 so it's nice to be back.

12 MR. DAVIS: I'm Gary Davis, I work with World
13 Wrestling Entertainment and I'm here representing our
14 involvement in the Smackdown Your Vote! partnership.

15 MS. PHILLIPS: I'm Jennifer Phillips, I'm the
16 Director of National Programs here at the IOP and work
17 with a group of colleges around the country under the
18 auspices of the National Campaign for Political and
19 Civic Engagement. Thank you all for coming today.

20 MR. FRISHBERG: Ivan Frishberg, I was the
21 Outreach and Communications Director for the New Voters
22 Project in the `04 cycle, and am now working with Hugh,
23 and Heather and Tobi on the Young Strategies project at
24 George Washington University and work also with

1 grassroots campaigns.

2 MS. MCGILL: I'm Alexis McGill, I'm the
3 Executive Director of Citizen Change and also the, well
4 during the election cycle, I also served as Political
5 Director for the Hip Hop Summit Action Network, so I
6 was involved mobilizing the hip hop generation.

7 MR. UZETA: My name is Jaime Uzeta and I co-
8 developed the political and social campaigns for MTV
9 and Choose or Lose, was our big focus last year.

10 MS. MCLAUGHLIN: I'm Cathy McLaughlin, I am the
11 Executive Director at the Institute of Politics.

12 MS. SMITH: I'm Heather Smith, I was the
13 National Field Director for the New Voters Project in
14 the 2004 elections and now I'm the Director of Young
15 Voters Strategies, based at the Graduate School for
16 Political Management at George Washington University.
17 It's a mouthful.

18 (Laughter)

19 MR. MCSORLEY: I'm Tom McSorley, I'm a junior
20 at Harvard College and I work on campus outreach at the
21 Institute of Politics.

22 MS. SINDERBRAND: My name is Rebecca
23 Sinderbrand I'm a National Affairs Reporter for
24 Newsweek Magazine and last year I was on our political

1 team covering first the Dean Campaign and then the Bush
2 Campaign.

3 MS. SNOW: My name is Kate Snow, I'm the Anchor
4 of weekend *Good Morning America*, and then I work during
5 the week ABC for various different shows, and I covered
6 Kerry during the primary season last year and then
7 Bush, and was at the White House the rest of the time.

8 MR. SHARP: I was very remiss in my remarks in
9 not recognizing a couple of our staff people who have
10 people who really do an incredible amount of work.
11 Each of our programs at the Institute of Politics has
12 student leadership and staff leadership in support.
13 And Jennifer Phillips, who introduced herself and is
14 running our national program has very much been
15 involved in these activities here at Harvard and with
16 19 other schools we have an alliance with. And she is
17 helped by Laura Simolaris, where is Laura?

18 MS. PHILLIPS: Oh, Laura just had to run
19 downstairs.

20 (Laughter)

21 MR. SHARP: She's back. And Christian Flynn
22 helped with the logistics with this. And Cathy of
23 course is our Executive Director who oversees and
24 causes everything to work around here, since the

1 current Acting Director is rather deficient in some of
2 these categories.

3 (Laughter)

4 MR. SHARP: But I'm a recovering politician so
5 everything is excusable. With that, I think we are
6 ready to have Tobi make, we've got a couple of
7 presentations before we start the conversation which
8 our journalists will be leading.

9 MS. WALKER: Great. Well thank you very much
10 and let me just say that I am fighting an allergy
11 attack, so I'm going to be representing two of the
12 seven dwarves, both Dopey and Sneezzy.

13 (Laughter)

14 MS. WALKER: So excuse me in advance, and we'll
15 see just how well the Dopey thing goes when I try to do
16 this. Help? What am I doing here?

17 (Pause)

18 MS. WALKER: Okay, so, the youth vote, you all
19 know the numbers, I'm going to go through them very
20 quickly but I'm going to tantalize you by saying that
21 we are going to release some new data today that looks
22 at -- woo-hoo, we love data -- that looks at the racial
23 and ethnic composition of young voters and this is the
24 first time that that analysis has been done.

1 Everything that I'm presenting today I'm
2 presenting on behalf of CIRCLE, the Center for
3 Information and Research on Civic Learning and
4 Engagement which has become the prime source of data on
5 the youth vote. So what do we know about the youth
6 vote? Well there is actually two ways, using exit
7 polls, that we can calculate the numbers, we can look
8 at the national exit polls which show that turnout
9 among 18 to 24 year olds went up by about 5.3 percent.

10 However, there is a second way to do the
11 analysis which is to look at aggregated state polls.
12 Now I prefer to use that number because it has a much
13 larger sample size and so I think it gives us a little
14 bit more accuracy in trying to understand the impact of
15 young people in this election cycle. When you use that
16 number, you see that the youth vote, among 18 to 24
17 year olds, went up by about 11 percentage points. If
18 these numbers hold true and are verified when the
19 census bureau data comes out in early 2006, this will
20 be one of the most significant election cycles for
21 young people ever since they earned the right to vote
22 in 1972.

23 What I think is particularly exciting about
24 this as well is that this was not driven primarily by

1 candidates. So if you look at 1992, a lot of people
2 will argue that the rise in the youth vote came about
3 because of Ross Perot's entrance into that race. In
4 this cycle, we think actually the youth vote was driven
5 much more by the kind of grassroots and media efforts
6 that were going on, in large part being run by people
7 in this room.

8 Here we see the importance of the battleground
9 states. The youth vote was definitely drive by the
10 battleground states, by the amount of activity among
11 the candidates, among their surrogates and also the
12 amount of grassroots activity that was happening in the
13 battleground states.

14 Women versus men: Women were huge drivers in
15 this election cycle, when we are looking at the youth
16 vote, almost all of the increase we can attribute to
17 the number of young women that were hitting the polls.

18
19 The new data: This, to me, is so fascinating,
20 this increase in the youth vote comes from African
21 American young people, dramatic increases in the number
22 of African American young people that voted in this
23 election cycle. African American young people were far
24 more likely to vote for Mr. Kerry while white young

1 people were far more likely to vote for President Bush.

2 What we see here though is that among Latino
3 and Asian populations, you actually see a decrease in
4 the number of those young people who voted between 2000
5 and 2004. Now I should caution on the Latino vote that
6 the exit polls are highly disputed about what actually
7 happened with Latinos in this election cycle, so look
8 at these numbers with some caution, but I think you see
9 just how dramatically things differed for African
10 Americans in this election cycle.

11 Presidential choice: You all know this number,
12 18 to 29 year olds were the only population, short of
13 those over the age of 75, that preferred Mr. Kerry in
14 this election cycle. We can talk at some point, and I
15 hope we do have an opportunity to talk at some point
16 about why that is the case. Some people will argue it
17 was the draft, it was the war, some folks will argue it
18 was the economy, some folks will argue it was that the
19 Kerry Campaign spent more money and had more surrogates
20 voting out and trying to get the youth vote up and
21 mobilized. I'll be very interested to hear, from those
22 folks who are on the ground, your perspective on why
23 that happened.

24 What's important to note, however, is that this

1 is actually the first time ever that young people did
2 not vote for the winner of the popular vote.
3 Historically, young people have always gone with the
4 winner and so this is the first time that young people
5 kind of veered off from the rest of the population.

6 Issues: Again, this is based upon exit poll
7 data, which we know is problematic in some ways,
8 particularly this moral values question. But what I
9 think is very interesting about this chart is it gives
10 us the sense that young people are not dramatically
11 different from the rest of the population. What they
12 think about, what they care about, what motivates them
13 to vote, they pretty much look like the rest of the
14 population. A little bit higher on education
15 obviously, particularly for those young people that are
16 still enrolled in college. And I should say that the
17 college student data does come from the lovely Harvard
18 poll which everybody cited and which is a fabulous
19 addition to the work in the field.

20 So what happened? Why did this year look so
21 dramatically different? When people ask me what does
22 it take to get young people to vote? I say it's not
23 rocket science, all you have to do is ask them. And in
24 this election cycle, conditions were ripe, there were

1 lots of opportunities for young people to be invited to
2 vote and they responded.

3 First of all, we saw a lot more money going
4 into the election cycle, our sort of back of the
5 envelope calculation is that just among the non-
6 partisan groups, the six major non-partisan efforts,
7 they spent about \$40 million getting young people to
8 vote. Now \$40 million seems like a lot of money except
9 when you put it in the context of a \$3 billion
10 political economy, \$40 million is really a drop in the
11 bucket.

12 We also saw a higher level of interest on the
13 part of campaigns in recognizing the importance of the
14 youth vote, whether it was the College Republicans, who
15 are seen as one of the top organizing forces on college
16 campuses around the country, whether it was the Kerry
17 Campaign sending the Kerry daughters out or buying ad
18 time, we saw the campaigns paying more attention than
19 we had ever seen before to youth voters. And we also
20 saw a much stronger use of data, research and a common
21 message, particularly among the non-partisan groups.

22 There was a higher level, I think, in this
23 cycle, of accountability and honesty about the numbers
24 and about what was going on in the field. And I think

1 that forced the media and political journalists to take
2 the youth vote more seriously than we had ever seen
3 before. Of course we also know how quickly and how
4 easy it was for us to get the youth vote, it was a bust
5 story on election night and I'm just enormously
6 thankful for the folks at CIRCLE who were able to get
7 out the next morning with data that could tell us a
8 different story and the hard work of everybody in this
9 room to change that story.

10 The question we always ask at the Pew
11 Charitable Trust, we have been investing in this area
12 since 1998, we've invested probably \$40 million over
13 the past six years, is what happens next? You saw this
14 big spike, where do we go from here? We think there is
15 a lot of capacity that's been put in place that can be
16 capitalized on in this next cycle, whether it's the
17 thousands of organizers that were trained, whether it's
18 the technology that was used to track young people, the
19 data that was collected about young people, whether it
20 was the political interest that was generated.

21 It's really interesting to see, in the two
22 gubernatorial races that we are seeing in 2005, New
23 Jersey and Virginia, that the candidates are putting
24 higher education affordability at the top of their

1 issue agenda, and then of course we are seeing it as an
2 issue frame. I mean President Bush does not talk about
3 Social Security without talking about young people.
4 Ken Mehlman is out there saying Social Security is a
5 great way for us to build the party and to bring young
6 people onto our team. And so we think, we are looking
7 at this question and saying young people are going to
8 be a hot political commodity going forward, how can we
9 help build that infrastructure? And that's why we
10 think about young people as a political constituency.

11 The example that we are always using is
12 seniors, now what do seniors do? They vote and they
13 are engaged in the policy debate, and that forces
14 politicians to pay attention to them, both in terms of
15 spending resources on them in a campaign but also
16 paying attention to their policy agenda. And so we are
17 asking the question can we really create this cycle of
18 engagement where you've got young people voting,
19 politicians are paying attention, you've got young
20 people engaged in the policy process, and therefore,
21 politicians have to pay attention to their issue
22 concerns.

23 So what's it going to take? Well we think
24 there are four things that have to happen going forward

1 over the next 18 months to two years, first, we've got
2 to register a lot more young people. We all know that
3 it's all about the voter files and until you get young
4 people, their cell phones, their e-mails, their
5 addresses into high quality voter files, they are not
6 going to get contacted by the campaigns.

7 The second thing that needs to happen is we
8 think you've got to engage them on issues. We've got
9 to move passed the let's mobilize them every four years
10 or let's mobilize them every two years and have them
11 involved as full participants in the policy process,
12 but we've also got to pay attention to 2005 and 2006.

13 It's going to be too easy, we know that the
14 youth vote is going to go down in 2005 and 2006,
15 everybody's participation goes down in off year
16 election cycles. Ad so the question is can we at least
17 maintain the level of youth engagement going forward in
18 2005 and 2006? And the final thing we have to do is we
19 have to tell the story, we've got to be out there
20 talking to every constituency group possible, saying
21 young people made a difference in this election cycle,
22 they look like a different generation, you ignore them
23 at your own peril.

24 Thanks very much for your time and I look

ADVANCE SERVICES
Franklin, Massachusetts
(508) 520-2076

1 forward to continuing the discussion.

2 (Applause)

3 MR. SHARP: Thank you very much, Tobi.

4 We'll hear from John next.

5 MR. DELLA VOLPE: I'll spend the next ten
6 minutes finding my PowerPoint and then two minutes
7 talking about it.

8 (Laughter)

9 MR. SHARP: I might just say, procedurally, is
10 what's going to happen is after we have the
11 presentations, we'll have our two journalists begin
12 sort of by asking questions of the panelists, but
13 perhaps of some of you as well, and you may, in that
14 process, get into the conversation. And some of you
15 will have questions I'm sure about what has been said
16 here. And also, if they don't get answered, you can
17 always submit, on the pink cards, the question,
18 Jennifer is holding one up there, they are along the
19 tables here, questions that you want to see answered.

20 MR. DELLA VOLPE: Okay, well, thank you very
21 much. As I said, I've had the pleasure of working with
22 students here at the IOP since 2000, what began as just
23 a single project conceived by some students who were
24 concerned that their fellow classmates and their peers

1 throughout the country were not as involved in politics
2 as they were in community service. And it started with
3 one survey to understand some of the differences that
4 the view points that college students between community
5 service and political service. That was 2000, that was
6 five years ago and eight surveys ago.

7 And what I want to do over the next few minutes
8 is to kind of catch everybody back up to speed here.
9 And I think we've seen some very interesting trends in
10 our data, since 2000, that I think help explain part of
11 the story Tobi was telling regarding the very high
12 turnout just a few months ago.

13 And this is a chart that I've used at every
14 presentation we've had, and I know Tobi just talked
15 about the big turnout, but I was just a luncheon, just
16 a couple of days ago, with some of the board members of
17 the Institute of Politics and some of the conversation
18 around the lunch table was that it's great but it's too
19 bad they didn't turn out like everybody thought they
20 would turn out.

21 It's still being talked about and everybody
22 here knows that's not the case but, unfortunately, it
23 still exists out there in the media. And this, I think,
24 is one of the best graphics that tells the story. Tobi

1 talked about the influence of that senior constituency
2 and how everybody wants to kind of compare their
3 demographic group to see it in terms of their
4 likelihood to vote and their efficacy on lobbying many
5 issues. Well, in the last campaign, in 2004, there
6 were more votes cast by men and women under the age of
7 30 than there were among seniors, 65 plus.

8 Seventeen percent of the electorate, according
9 to a CNN exit poll, were between the ages of 18 and 29
10 and 16 percent were the ages of 65 plus and I think,
11 personally, that the 17 percent number is probably on
12 the conservative side, knowing that we know that a
13 third of all college students cast their votes
14 absentee, which are not recorded in those exit polls.
15 So in terms of a political force, this was the first
16 year that they made their voices known and to the
17 degree that we can all talk about this number, I think
18 it's going to be very significant to help correct much
19 of that record.

20 So just to kind of refresh everybody's memory,
21 in 2000, when we first did the survey, five years ago,
22 we found college students were disengaged politically
23 and had little faith that government could solve any of
24 the major problems facing the nation. Students saw a

1 distinction between social activism and political
2 activism, social activism, community service was viewed
3 as local, micro effective and very tangible. Students
4 talked at length, through our focus groups and through
5 our survey, that you can actually see the results.
6 Whether you are tutoring somebody and teaching them how
7 to read, you can see the results. Building a house or
8 passing food in a homeless shelter, you can see the
9 results immediately. And that wasn't the case in
10 political activism, they could not connect the dots
11 between fighting for some legislation and seeing how it
12 would have an end effect. Political activism was
13 viewed as distant, macro, bureaucratic and abstract.

14 At that time, 75 percent of all college
15 students thought that elected officials were motivated
16 mostly by selfish reasons. The majority thought that
17 there was very little tangible results that could be
18 gathered from political involvement. Only half said
19 they were planning on voting in the 2000 election
20 campaign and only seven percent had planned to or
21 actually did volunteer on that campaign, whereas, 60
22 percent to 75 percent, over the past couple years, have
23 actually volunteered in community service.
24 Volunteerism on college campus is tremendously high,

1 the low point was 2000 where we started the survey, at
2 60 percent and it's been as high as 75 percent in our
3 past surveys. These are habits that they actually
4 picked up in high school and have continued, found out
5 that they are rewarded by it and they continued to do
6 so throughout their college years.

7 So kind of what's changed? I think this past
8 2004 campaign was, in many ways, kind of a perfect
9 storm. I think three things were happening, I think
10 one of the only positive things to happen out of 9/11
11 is that politics very, very quickly became relevant
12 again. Adding two new barriers that we talked about
13 just a minute ago, some personal gains where it began
14 to wither away, I think there were kind of a couple of
15 different barriers, we had the attitudinal barriers
16 about their vote didn't matter, and politics was
17 irrelevant and people involved in the process were just
18 concerned about themselves. And then you also had some
19 kind of mechanical barriers in terms the get out to
20 vote efforts, and absentee ballots and some of those
21 things.

22 The first thing that happened, post 9//1, I
23 think, is the attitudinal barriers slowly began to
24 break away. There are three statements that were

1 measured over time, since 2000, and I'll just walk
2 through those for a moment, you can see the
3 differences. Most of the attitudinal measures that we
4 kept haven't changed too much over the past five years,
5 or eight surveys, these have changed dramatically.
6 Politics is relevant to my life right now. In 2000,
7 when we first did it, 68 percent indicated that was the
8 fact. In 2001, 77 percent, and during the campaign, 87
9 percent.

10 So there has been a net increase of 19 percent
11 where politics is relevant to my life right now. So
12 you can see the spike after 9/11 and then again another
13 spike, not surprisingly, during the 2004 campaign,
14 remembering though that 2000 was also a political year,
15 obviously, of which they were not as engaged.

16 Elected officials seem to be motivated by
17 selfish reasons, there has been a net decrease in that
18 number, down 16 percentage points. In 2004, as I
19 mentioned, in 2000, as I mentioned earlier, three out
20 of four college students believed that elected
21 officials were just motivated for selfish reasons.
22 Today, that's cut by 16 percentage points where it's 58
23 percent. Still too high but some tremendous progress
24 and I think we can understand some of the reasons they

1 actually came out and voted when we look at some of the
2 picture data here.

3 Political involvement rarely has tangible
4 results. And I think this is the best story of all.
5 We talked about the reason they were involved in
6 community service is because you could see the tangible
7 results. Half disagreed that political involvement had
8 those sorts of results four years ago, five years ago
9 and today, that number has been dropped by 50 percent
10 or 25 percentage points, that they can actually see the
11 connection between their political involvement having
12 very specific tangible results.

13 The second piece of this is, after September
14 11th, they had very, very strong views on U.S. policy
15 taking shape. When we did the first survey, we asked
16 an open ended question, what's the number one priority
17 in the United States today? Fourteen percent said
18 education, ten percent said crime, eight percent said
19 health care. There was no compelling issue on college
20 campuses that they felt was kind of affecting their
21 lives. That obviously changed after September 11th and
22 as we progressed in Afghanistan and Iraq. And as they
23 thought about these issues, they saw the kids that they
24 went to high school with and others joining the

1 military and the numbers of casualties increase, they
2 started to think seriously about politics.

3 During that time, a majority of them believed
4 that the country was on the wrong track, more opposed
5 the war than supported it. At the early stages of the
6 war, college students were more likely than their older
7 voters to support the war, and we've seen a dramatic
8 decrease in that support over the past couple of years,
9 and as I said, education and crime were the major
10 issues on college campuses in 2000. In the last couple
11 of years, we've seen Iraq and terrorism be a major
12 concern. The economy, two thirds of students are
13 concerned about getting a job when they graduate.

14 And as Tobi mentioned earlier, that we've seen
15 quite a bit of, in the exit polling as well as in our
16 data, and I think Professor King will talk later about
17 that this afternoon, the kind of importance of moral,
18 religious issues and values effecting their votes.
19 Forty percent, give or take a couple of percentage
20 points, are Born Again Christian on college campuses.
21 The importance of religion and morals, how they view
22 the world and how they view politics is incredibly
23 important and I know Professor King is going to talk
24 more about that this afternoon.

1 And then the other thing is we are seeing
2 partisanship on the increase, not surprisingly, during
3 the election season. We had 40 percent, 41 percent of
4 college students claiming themselves to be independent
5 and self-identified, self-identified independents. As
6 the election drew closer, we saw increasing
7 identification with both of the major political
8 parties.

9 In terms of some of the attitudinal questions
10 that we asked in 2004, 87 percent said they were
11 registered to vote. Also, a similar number, the exact
12 same number, 87 percent followed the campaign closely
13 during the last couple of months of the election in the
14 fall semester.

15 And 87 percent also said the campaign was very
16 relevant in their lives. When we called them up in
17 late September/early October, we asked them, in the
18 last day, when was the last time you talked about the
19 campaign? In the last day? In the last couple of
20 days? In the last week, etcetera? Seventy-five
21 percent had talked about the campaign the last day,
22 something that was the focus, a major focal point of
23 their lives, and 91 percent cared a great deal about
24 who won.

1 Now I remember doing focus groups not too long
2 ago where we would ask which party are you a member of,
3 who are you planning on voting for, and they didn't
4 care, they had thought it was just a bunch of old white
5 men who, excuse me, Director Sharp, a bunch of old
6 white men in Washington, D.C.--

7 (Laughter)

8 MR. SHARP: Pale, male and stale.

9 (Laughter)

10 MR. DELLA VOLPE: And it didn't matter, they
11 didn't think they could relate to them in any way
12 whatsoever, and that changed dramatically.

13 Just to give you some sense of some of the
14 issues I think that were driving the campaign and one
15 of the reasons that Senator Kerry did so well among
16 this demographic, is he understands the problems of
17 people like you. Kerry had a significant advantage in
18 the closing weeks of that campaign in 'shares your
19 values'. I think those are kind of the two drivers
20 behind the Kerry vote. President Bush did well on
21 several, including strong leadership, takes a clear
22 stand on issues, but obviously, they weren't the same
23 issues that the college students cared mostly about
24 during that time, and I think that goes a little way in

1 at least explaining that vote.

2 And this is just, very quickly, looking at the
3 progression of the vote. We saw very early, in the
4 spring, once Senator Kerry became the nominee, that he
5 had an 11 point lead in the spring. We did a panel
6 back survey in the summer, we that lead increase, we
7 saw 19 percent of college students thought through it,
8 before the conventions actually switched their
9 position, from undecided or for one candidate to
10 another, they actually switched. And in the fall, it
11 tightened up from the summer months at 52-39, which is
12 about where it ended in November.

13 I think the third driver, so we first talked
14 about kind of attitudinal barriers and being broken
15 down after 9/11. The second thing is the relevance of
16 it during the '04 campaign cycle. And the third thing
17 is is why most of us are here today, the outreach and
18 mobilization, I think paid off in a major way.

19 Fifty six percent of college students were
20 encouraged to register to vote by others on their
21 campus, 62 percent were encouraged to actually vote.
22 According to our survey that we just completed a few
23 weeks ago, 73 percent said they voted and a third used
24 absentees ballots. This 33 to 40 percent or so who

1 used absentee ballots has been a very solid number that
2 we've seen over the last year actually, in terms of
3 leading up to the campaign and a couple of surveys
4 we've looked at post campaign.

5 Twenty-five percent, again, I think a
6 remarkable number, 25 percent were actively engaged in
7 a political campaign, actively engaged being they gave
8 their time, they gave their money or both. When we
9 first did the survey in 2000, again, a presidential
10 year, only seven percent had plans to become active in
11 the campaign, so five years, three times as many people
12 were involved.

13 And one of the, again, one of the very
14 optimistic numbers is this final number here, that we
15 asked people, based on this last campaign, some people
16 said it's negative, others may debate that but, based
17 on your experience with the last campaign, how likely
18 are you to be involved with politics in the future?
19 Are you more likely or less likely? Two-thirds said
20 they were more likely to be involved in politics in the
21 future, based on their experience with this last
22 campaign, so a tremendously, I think, positive
23 experience for this group, this demographic group.

24 And also, I think there are many, many

1 indications and statistical data that says that once
2 they get involved early, they are much more likely to
3 stay involved and become active as they are getting
4 older. So it's been fun watching this group evolve the
5 next five years, over the last five years and I expect
6 them to become an increasingly important part of the
7 electorate. So thank you very much.

8 (Applause)

9 MR. SHARP: Thank you.

10 Now, we'll turn to Jeff and Susan from the
11 Eagleton Institute.

12 MR. LEVINE: Thank you.

13 So right after the election day in 2004, there
14 was a lot of news, particularly in our neck of the
15 woods in New Jersey, and particularly around the
16 Rutgers campus, that students were having problems on
17 election day actually voting, that is not just standing
18 in long lines, but actually showing up at the polls and
19 having people turn them away and not being able to find
20 their names on the list, and so on and so forth. So,
21 at that time, we actually did a survey of students on
22 the Rutgers campus to find out about what students
23 felt, what their evaluation of the voting process was
24 on that day.

1 We subsequently, after that, decided to do this
2 nationally because we got some good results and we
3 thought it was interesting. The Carnegie Foundation
4 was good enough to give us some funding to do so and so
5 we just recently completed a national survey of
6 students in four year colleges which we just wrapped up
7 a couple of weeks ago, so we are going to give you a
8 quick overview of what we saw. This is sort of
9 literally hot off the presses. I'm going to walk you
10 through some of the turnout stuff that we saw, what
11 students told us they were experiencing, in terms of
12 getting help, and then Susan is going to walk you
13 through some of the problems, and the incidents of
14 problems that students had and the kinds of problems
15 that students said they were experiencing actually on
16 election day.

17 Just real quick, we, as I said, we wrapped this
18 up April 15th so it's a fairly recent study, it was a
19 national sample of 1,000. We also went out and did a
20 couple of extra hundred in the election day
21 registration states to see if there was differences
22 between those kind of states, and we have some of those
23 results here, but obviously we'll be looking into even
24 more as time goes on.

1 So, just a quick, top line overview, we found
2 similar I think to what John was talking about, that
3 students this year were really engaged and active on
4 election day. I'll give you the numbers in a minute
5 but the vast majority of students told us that they
6 showed up and were able to vote without having a lot of
7 problems actually, despite some of the reports that we
8 heard about and saw on the news that students actually
9 had a fairly good experience overall. There was a
10 small percentage who didn't, we'll talk about those,
11 but mainly people felt pretty good on election day.

12 And that students received significant
13 assistance from various groups, various people in the
14 course of the registration process and the course of
15 the voting process that, as I'll talk about here, what
16 was somewhat surprising to us is that it was really
17 mainly they did get help from organizations but they
18 got an enormous amount and at least what they reported
19 was even more help from more informal interactions,
20 particularly with parents, which we thought was an
21 interesting finding. Let me walk you through some of
22 the specific findings.

23 As I said, the vast majority of students in our
24 survey and again, we did a survey of students who were

1 registered to vote in four year colleges, 87 percent
2 said that they voted on election day, six percent said
3 they didn't even try to vote and seven percent, which
4 is a fairly small number, said they tried to but
5 weren't able to vote. And as I said, Susan will talk
6 more about what that really meant and who those seven,
7 the seven percent were saying that, what kinds of
8 things they were talking about.

9 The students who didn't vote wasn't a big
10 surprise to us but they tended to be most likely to be,
11 the extent to which students didn't vote they tended to
12 be younger students, they tended to be students who
13 lived on campus, they tended to be students who voted
14 on campus versus going home to vote. So it's more that
15 it's not particularly surprising to us to find that it
16 is sort of the newer students who live on campus a
17 little more, that's sort of the part of the population
18 that I'm sure comes to no surprise to you, it's a
19 little more vulnerable to having problems or being less
20 inclined to show up and vote.

21 Where did they cast their ballots? We asked
22 people which of the following ways did you vote, did
23 you vote in person? Did you vote absentee? What we
24 saw, which I think is consistent with other stuff that

1 we've seen, that the majority of people voted in person
2 but a good chunk, 34 percent, said that they ended up
3 voting absentee. The people who voted absentee tended
4 to live on campus, tended to get registration help from
5 their parents which we found interesting. Again, it's
6 a common theme that we keep finding, that parents are
7 really not the sole but certainly one of the primary
8 ways that students are getting information, that
9 students are getting encouraged to vote and certainly,
10 in this case, are helping people absentee, walking
11 students through how you absentee vote.

12 A good chunk of people, the majority of
13 students, said that they voted in their home towns but
14 about 44 percent said that they actually voted either
15 on campus or near camps. So it was striking, in New
16 Jersey, when we did that poll, it was even a higher
17 percentage of people that ended up voting in their home
18 towns, but there was a general perception that students
19 are all voting on campus, that's clearly not the case,
20 a good chunk of them are not doing so. The ones who
21 are voting at home tend to be older students, people
22 who are not, who are sophomores and upper classmen,
23 people who registered not at the last minute. So what
24 you are really getting is the segment of students who

1 are voting on campus are students who are younger, who
2 are doing it more at the last minute. Again, that
3 certain segment we see throughout.

4 We asked the question why did they cast or not
5 cast their ballots? Again, most people cast their
6 ballots, 60 percent, my duty as a citizen, lot's of
7 polls show that, a certain segment of students believe
8 that. There is also some social desirability
9 associated with that but that topped out as number one.
10 But then you got into the issues portion of it and the
11 candidate part of it, that that's what they, at least,
12 were telling us was driving them.

13 And I think this gets back to some of the other
14 things that we've, the other point which lots of people
15 have been talking about is that to drive people and to
16 get them to show up, it's getting and making sure
17 students are connected to issues and making sure that
18 that is relevant to them, and so those kind of things.

19 And then just interesting to note about the parent or
20 older adult encouraged me to vote, we'll show that a
21 little bit more down the line but that's a big thing
22 that's driving people.

23 And then the small segment of people who
24 weren't and decided not to vote, too busy popped out

1 but almost just as much as they didn't like the
2 candidates or campaign issues. So, again, it speaks to
3 that point again about the way to mobilize students is
4 certainly to tell them how to vote and show them the
5 process but to get them excited and encouraged, it's
6 making sure that the issues and the parties and the
7 candidates are relevant to them.

8 We took a quick look at the difference between
9 turnout and election day registration states versus
10 non-election day registration states, it fell out kind
11 of like you would expect and in other research that
12 we've seen in election day registration states, turnout
13 or more people reported voting. Part of that is due to
14 the fact that those states, at least three of them,
15 were pretty competitive states anyway, so there is a
16 little bit of a chicken and the egg problem there, but
17 still, there was a bump and in the way that we would
18 expect it to be.

19 We asked people, we asked students where they
20 went to get information, where they went to get
21 assistance and the process of voting. Again, that's
22 really what we were focused most on and we found that a
23 good chunk of students reported getting assistance in
24 the registration process as well as in the voting

1 process, much more on the registration end of things.
2 But again, that, certainly from our experience, is
3 consistent with what we were seeing. Sixty-one percent
4 said that they received some sort of help in terms of
5 registration and 40 percent said they got some sort of
6 help in terms of voting.

7 We just took a look to see whether or not
8 people who got assistance or didn't get assistance
9 displayed a higher incidence of voting, it ended up
10 being pretty similar either way. But again, as John
11 was talking about, this is a way in which a lot of
12 students were interested, a lot of students were
13 motivated, so I think you would probably end up seeing
14 more of an impact perhaps in a year like 2000 where
15 people were, there was a segment of students paying a
16 little bit less attention.

17 We asked people for registration and for
18 voting, we didn't just ask did you get assistance but
19 where you got assistance from, and this chart shows a
20 little bit what I was talking, it demonstrates that
21 look to parents and other relatives more than anyone
22 else for assistance in voting and registering.
23 Clearly, 16 percent for voting, for getting help in
24 terms of voting outdistanced all the other ones,

1 friends, a government office, student university vote
2 drive, professor TA, church, group not affiliated with
3 a political party or issue, group affiliated with a
4 political party or issue, and we gave them examples of
5 each of those different kinds of organizations. And
6 clearly, for both voting and registration help, really
7 the primary place people were getting it was from these
8 informal discussions that they were having with
9 parents.

10 And then we asked, well, that's fine, what
11 kinds of specific information and what kinds of help
12 were you receiving from these different sources? And
13 we asked them, we gave them four, help you fill out a
14 form or submit a form for registration, gave you a
15 registration form, told you where to find information
16 about registering and encouraged you to register. And
17 what you see is for, we took the top three places that
18 people got information about, reported getting
19 information about registration and what you see is that
20 for the state, county and municipal office for,
21 including university effort, they were getting much
22 more of the mechanics of registering. That is gave
23 them a registration form, helped them walk through that
24 process. And what they are getting from parents and

1 informal contacts is sort of that encouragement to
2 actually go out and do it.

3 So it's sort of interesting from our point of
4 view, I mean in terms of mobilizing students, there is
5 certainly the need to get students the practical
6 information to be able to walk through it, but there is
7 also the need to get them motivated and encouraged to
8 do so, and it was interesting to us that people were
9 putting a lot of that coming from their families.

10 So, in terms of communication efforts, that has
11 potential implications to think about in terms of
12 targeting people, not just students themselves and the
13 process of how you register and do things but also the
14 people around them because that has something to say
15 and that certainly is something that at least students
16 reported to us as being important to encourage them to
17 even go through this process.

18 We asked them which websites, if any, did they
19 look to for registration information in particular.
20 This isn't voting information, this is particularly
21 registration information, and 41 percent said they used
22 the website for registration help, the other segment
23 said not specifically for registration help. We asked
24 them which particular kinds, it was sort of a mishmash

1 all over the place. This isn't about voting or voting
2 information, this is specifically about registration
3 information but we thought it would be interesting to
4 take a look at that and at least on the registration
5 end of it, less than half of the people said they were
6 going to websites at that point, so that was something
7 that was obvious we wanted to take a look into this
8 year.

9 Independent, ignore that the title, this slide
10 is probably a little over the top, but we did take a
11 look at Republicans, Democrats and Independents,
12 finding, not so surprisingly, that Independents were
13 less likely to have voted, it's what we would have
14 expected, but they were also less likely to have gotten
15 help registering, or at least reported getting help
16 registering, and less likely to get help voting. So,
17 as a group, obviously Independents are less engaged in
18 various ways but they are also being reached out to
19 less directly, which keeps that cycle going a little
20 bit and keeps them at an additional potential
21 disadvantage.

22 So I'm going to turn it over to Susan and as I
23 said, the other part of this that we wanted to look
24 into is really the process on the day to see what kinds

1 of problems the students actually experience, so she'll
2 walk you through that.

3 MS. SHERR: Okay, so now we'll talk a little
4 bit about what problems students encountered when they
5 were registering and voting. Certainly in order to
6 vote successfully, ultimately, first you have to
7 register successfully and so we began by asking
8 students how difficult they found the registration
9 process and happily, only a small percentage of
10 students reported having any difficulties with
11 registration. In fact only seven percent of students
12 reported having any problems when asked a general
13 question about whether they had any problems with
14 registration.

15 Then we asked them a series of specific
16 questions about whether they had trouble obtaining --.
17 There is a little spider crawling towards me on table
18 here.

19 (Laughter)

20 MS. SHERR: Obtaining a registration form,
21 finding out the deadline for, thank you, filling out
22 the form, finding out where to send the form--

23 (Laughter)

24 MS. SHERR: Or filling out the registration

1 form and in this case, in response to these specific
2 questions, less than six percent of the students
3 reported having difficulty with any of these tasks, so
4 they were having a fairly successful experience there.

5
6 Having had a successful registration
7 experience, we then asked how difficult they found the
8 voting process and it turns out that, again, whether
9 they voted in person or by absentee ballot, students
10 found the voting process to be relatively simple.
11 Ninety-four percent of those who voted said that they
12 found it easy to vote, those were people who voted in
13 person at a polling place, and 80 percent of absentee
14 voters said that they found it was easy to obtain an
15 absentee ballot and 90 percent said that it was easy to
16 cast the ballot. So they clearly weren't having or at
17 least weren't perceiving that they were having
18 difficulty going through the process of casting their
19 ballots.

20 But we wanted to take this apart a little bit
21 more and explore the question to see if we kind of
22 prompted people to think a little bit more about what
23 happened when they voted, if indeed that they would
24 think that they actually had encountered some

1 difficulties. So for those who voted in person, we
2 asked them, first, a general question, as we did with
3 registration, just did you run into any problems in the
4 course of voting and again, here we see that only eight
5 percent said that they did.

6 But we then asked them to respond to a series
7 of possible obstacles that we enumerated, things like
8 encountering long lines at the polling place, or people
9 who are running the polling places not being able to
10 find your name in the book and those sorts of things,
11 and when we presented people with a list of that sort,
12 half of them actually said that they had encountered at
13 least one of these obstacles.

14 Let's take a look a little bit more closely at
15 what these obstacles turned out to be, so you can see
16 that when we asked the students specifically what
17 obstacles they did encounter, 21 percent of them said
18 it was long lines. Now let me say that these are
19 people who voted so they were clearly undeterred by
20 these long lines, they stayed, they voted, and this was
21 kind of unsurprising because of the high turnout in
22 this election, most people actually or many people,
23 certainly those in battleground states, seemed to have
24 encountered long lines when they went to vote.

1 Many fewer people clearly encountered things
2 like poll workers who were impolite to them, or trouble
3 finding their names on the rolls or having their IDs
4 questioned, these didn't seem to be very prevalent
5 problems. And then a bunch of people just didn't
6 really know, at this point, if they had actually
7 encountered any of these things, so clearly they
8 weren't very dramatic experiences for them that really
9 stayed with them, if they had encountered them.

10 Now although there was a group of student who
11 didn't get deterred from voting because of the
12 obstacles they faced, this group, there were students
13 who were unable to vote as a result of the problems.
14 And if you'll recall from the first slide, this is a
15 very small percentage of people, it was only seven
16 percent of the total respondents to the survey and
17 actually, of the seven percent, most of them said that
18 the reason was, the highest percentage of responses
19 about this tended to be about the fact that people did
20 not receive their absentee ballots in time to vote. A
21 very small, small numbers of people here because,
22 again, we are only talking about 69 people altogether,
23 found that the lines were too long and they just ended
24 up leaving or that they couldn't find the polling place

1 in the first place. So, really, the biggest problem
2 here seems to be a lack of absentee ballots arriving on
3 time.

4 So clearly there is a lot of success here and
5 this is not a bad story about students voting, they
6 didn't have a lot of problems, but we were interested
7 in seeing whether there were any differences among
8 students that really stood out, and if there were some
9 groups that had more problems than others or fewer
10 problems than others and what we found were that there
11 really weren't too many, that pretty much we weren't
12 finding a lot of significant differences.

13 However, we did notice that Republicans were
14 slightly less, somewhat less likely than the total
15 sample to have had problems voting and students who
16 voted in their hometowns were less likely than the
17 overall sample to have problems voting. And we can
18 speculate about why this might be, perhaps where large
19 concentrations of students are all voting together at
20 the same time, some of the issues about their transient
21 nature and other things might kind of overwhelm polling
22 places or there might be more town gown sort of
23 antagonism that arises that causes students to feel
24 uncomfortable where they are voting. So if they are

1 just kind of one of a larger group of people in their
2 hometown, they may be less likely to encounter those
3 sorts of issues when they go to the polling place.

4 Now one thing that we thought was interesting
5 was that having actually received help with either
6 registration or with voting actually seems to have made
7 no appreciable difference in whether or not people
8 experienced problems when they actually went to
9 register, I mean went to go and vote. So although it
10 was good to have the help, it didn't seem to have at
11 least effected that aspect of the outcome.

12 So overall, we can certainly say that it seems
13 that student voting in 2004 was a real success story,
14 in terms of people's level of success in casting their
15 votes. But we also wanted to know how the students
16 felt about that, we wanted to know what their attitudes
17 were about what their role have been in the election,
18 so we asked them questions about those attitudes and
19 about their engagement in the political process.

20 Well the vast majority of students believe
21 that, as a group, they had an effect on the outcome of
22 the election, 71 percent said that they thought they
23 had either a large effect or some effect on who was
24 elected president, so students were feeling pretty good

1 about their impact on the election outcome. We also
2 wanted to know, as a result of the discussion we've all
3 been having today about the negative stories that came
4 out the day after the election, whether this had kind
5 of seeped into the mentality of the students and made
6 them feel like in fact they hadn't turned out in big
7 numbers, that their peers, that their age cohort hadn't
8 done what we all know that they did.

9 Well in fact you'll be glad to know at least
10 this group of college students seems to have absorbed
11 the counter message that came out after when all of you
12 did so much work to reframe the issue, 76 percent said
13 they believed that the youth vote increased in 2004 and
14 only four percent thought it decreased, so that's good
15 news for all of us there. We also asked them a little
16 bit about some of the recent civic and political
17 activities they had engaged in recently and as we kind
18 of find in most surveys, with the exception of
19 discussing politics, students were more likely to
20 engage in more civically oriented, what we call might
21 call civically oriented activities like volunteering
22 for a non-political cause or making a contribution to a
23 non-political cause, but 69 percent said that they had
24 recently talked about politics. Which I think we can

1 only view as a hopeful sign that there is a high level
2 of engagement there that can be tapped into to possibly
3 encourage more active, more in person types of
4 activities that students can become involved with.

5 And then finally, we asked the students what
6 they thought was most likely to encourage other young
7 people to go out and vote and interestingly, the things
8 that were mentioned the most frequently were the
9 candidates should focus more on the issues that young
10 people care about and that they would like to get more
11 information about candidates and issues. Things like
12 learning more about voting mechanics were way toward
13 the bottom of the list with only ten percent saying
14 that that would actually do something to get more young
15 people out to vote.

16 And this is really consistent with what
17 everyone has been talking about so far and certainly
18 with our findings that young people really didn't
19 encounter that many problems when they went to vote, so
20 there would be no reason for them to believe that
21 fixing that or mending that problem in any way would
22 encourage youth turnout.

23 So I think this sends a message to us, to some
24 extent, for those of us who are doing on campus

1 mobilization, whether it be for the political parties
2 or as activists, that we shouldn't let information and
3 education about issues take a back seat to the
4 registration and get out the vote efforts. And it
5 certainly sounds like, based on what Tobi was saying,
6 that that's really not the plan, that is the plan for
7 the future, to bring those things to the forefront, and
8 it appears that that's what students are looking for,
9 that they like more information and they believe that
10 young people will be motivated by more information
11 about the substance of elections and not just about how
12 to register and how to cast their votes.

13 Thank you.

14 (Applause)

15 MR. SHARP: Well thank you very much. We are
16 going to make this session run until 1:30 and then take
17 five minute break at that point, so it's an opportunity
18 to ask questions of, there's a considerable amount of
19 data here.

20 But we're very pleased to be able to turn the
21 program over at this point to two folks that we were
22 delighted were willing to spend to their and help us
23 out here today, Rebecca Sinderbrand of *Newsweek* and
24 Kate Snow of "Good Morning America". In fact maybe,

1 Kate, you and I should just switch so the two of you
2 can actually, does that make sense?

3 MS. SINDERBRAND: Do you want to start?

4 MS. SNOW: Journalists always have questions.
5 Do you want to start?

6 MS. SINDERBRAND: Sure, absolutely. There was
7 a lot of information and we have a lot of questions,
8 I'm sure everyone here does. I had a couple of quick
9 questions and I was hoping you guys could illuminate
10 this for me. I think some of the confusion among some
11 of my colleagues in the news media about what the
12 numbers actually meant, what the turnout numbers
13 actually meant. Could you just, as a baseline, tell me
14 a little bit about, when you are talking about a rise
15 in turnout among young people, those numbers that you
16 are talking about, the percentage increase, is that
17 adjusted for population increase? And since it was
18 turnout among all segments of the population, how does
19 this turnout compare to turnout among others segments,
20 the increase among other segments of the population?

21 MR. DELLA VOLPE: If I could just take one stab
22 at that. One of the reasons that people said that
23 young voters did not increase was because in 2000,
24 according to the exit polls, in 2000 and in 2004, 17

1 percent of the electorate were young people, 18 to 29,
2 so the first guess was that they would change, 17
3 percent and 17 percent. The flaw in the logic was
4 that, in 2000, I think it's 107 million people voted
5 and in the last four years, the society aged
6 dramatically, fairly dramatically, and yet, in 2004, we
7 had 119 million people vote. So 17 percent of 107
8 million versus 17 percent of 119 million is an
9 increase. So that's kind of, I think, the flaw in the
10 original logic, people looked at 17 percent as turnout
11 for both 2000 and 2004, whereas, the base number is 12
12 million people higher.

13 MS. SNOW: But has the population of young
14 people gone up or down--

15 MR. DELLA VOLPE: No, the population of older
16 people has increased, so the percent of 18 to 29 year
17 olds today, as relative to four years, is smaller, so
18 the increase is actually more dramatic than even that.

19 And just the other piece is, again, we saw from Jeff's
20 data and from our data, that about a third of young
21 people were not counted in the exit polls because of
22 the absentee issue.

23 MS. SNOW: A third of college students.

24 MR. DELLA VOLPE: A third of college students.

1 MS. WALKER: Yeah, I got really frustrated with
2 that question about sort of as a share of the
3 electorate because my whole thing, the youth voting
4 movement has never been about getting old people not to
5 vote, it's been about getting young people to vote.
6 And so, to me, the share of the electorate question is
7 sort of pointless. The question is did more young
8 people, as a percentage of their numbers in population,
9 vote?

10 MS. SINDERBRAND: That's the question.

11 MS. WALKER: And they did, they did
12 dramatically. Now everybody's vote rose, absolutely,
13 there was a greater level of turnout in this election
14 cycle. But we've actually, as you compare 18 to 24
15 year olds to other percentages of the population, young
16 people were, there was a slight, young people were
17 more, there was a larger increase among young voters
18 than there were among other segments of the population,
19 except for 60 to 75 year olds. So on the whole, young
20 people were voting at a slightly higher rate, when
21 compared to the rest of the population, even though
22 everybody's vote came up.

23 MS. SNOW: I think everyone would agree that
24 it's an accomplishment but I wonder whether, and this

1 is really to, I think, everybody around the table, I
2 wonder whether the expectation was that young people
3 would increase even above and beyond. I mean they
4 would increase over their past numbers but they also
5 would increase their share of the voting pie because of
6 perhaps some fault of ours, the media, for drumming up
7 expectations and for talking about how much effort was
8 being made to get out the vote, I wonder if there was
9 an expectation set that they would go above and beyond
10 even just increasing their numbers.

11 MR. LEVINE: I mean I think there was and part
12 of it was that people thought, you know, you kept
13 hearing people saying, well, young people are going to
14 decide this election, they are going to be, and even
15 though more people came out to vote, since they still
16 ended up being the same percentage of the population,
17 their influence, which everybody thought would somehow
18 be greater, somehow they would turn the tide of the
19 election, given that the percentage stayed relatively
20 the same, it didn't have that kind of impact. Which I
21 think partially accounted for the reason that people
22 are saying oh, well, it was a disappointment.

23 MS. WALKER: I never heard one group talk about
24 increasing young people, young people becoming an

1 increasing share of the electorate. Now if Mr. Kerry
2 had won, a totally different conversation, I mean we
3 would, it would have been the youth vote pushed
4 Mr. Kerry into office. Instead, because Mr. Bush won,
5 then you get the attention on the sort of religious
6 vote among conservative and evangelical Christians. So
7 in part, you are getting the story that's shaped by
8 what's' happening in the external political
9 environment. I don't know if other folks want to--

10 MS. SNOW: I think Ivan had his hand up a
11 second ago, so let's--

12 MR. FRISHBERG: You're going to make the other
13 point which is that the gold points, so I'll leave that
14 alone--

15 (Laughter)

16 MR. FRISHBERG: On the question to Sherr and
17 the actual number, I think, John, you eluded to this
18 earlier, the idea that it was the same is, the jury is
19 out on that in a big way and I think most people
20 looking at the different exit polls and different
21 methodologies would suggest, in the larger exit poll,
22 the 50 state exit polls are aggregated together, it
23 actually does show an increase in the share of the
24 electorate over 2000, and that there is, I think it's

1 around the margin of error. But still, it's edging
2 higher and then that doesn't take into consideration
3 it's an even smaller, a very much smaller part of the
4 population.

5 So I think this share issue we would contend is
6 it's not the question anybody asked, it was not the one
7 that we set our goal around but I think once the census
8 bureau information comes out and we get beyond these
9 exit polls, the sense is that in fact we'll have
10 accomplished that as well.

11 MS. SNOW: Just for the record, does anybody on
12 that table know what that figure is, if you look at the
13 state data? Has that been done?

14 MR. LEVINE: Up two to three percent.

15 MR. FRISHBERG: I think it may be, there are
16 so many numbers, but it may be that 18.4 share.

17 MS. SINDERBRAND: I had a question about a
18 detail which I think gets to a larger point. I was
19 looking at the numbers, the breakdown of young women
20 versus young men, that there was a greater increase
21 among young women voters than there was among young men
22 voters, and I was wondering if that had anything to do
23 with the fact that there are now more young women
24 enrolled in colleges and universities than men, and how

1 matriculation status broke down, in terms of was there
2 a greater increase among college student voters? I
3 believe you talked about it a little bit. But on
4 whether, long term, this speaks to maybe new ways that
5 need to be developed to reach young male voters?

6 MS. WALKER: I think the jury is still out on
7 whether the youth vote was driven by college students
8 increasing or whether it was driven by non-college
9 students increasing. CIRCLE hasn't released this
10 analysis yet and so I'm going to say something I
11 shouldn't say, that their analysis is showing that
12 actually the increase in turn out was driven by non-
13 college. If that proves true, then I think it forces
14 all of us to kind of reshift our, I mean young college
15 that vote, they've always had really high,
16 comparatively speaking, really high voting rates.

17 Now if I was a Republican Party operative, I
18 would be looking at white male young people and saying,
19 boy, if we can increase their turnout, it's going to
20 help our side. If I am a Democrat, I am looking at
21 African American and young women and saying how do we
22 get those people out to vote? So this is where you
23 start talking market typing.

24 MS. SNOW: I think Ben had a --.

1 MR. FERGUSON: I think part of it is too that
2 there has been a lot of the organizations that have
3 gone after young women voters and there has been this
4 ideology out there it seems that men are going to make
5 their decisions on their own, they are going to take
6 care of themselves and they are going to figure it out
7 by themselves, maybe because that's the way we are
8 sometimes. But I also think that when you see the
9 women that, they came out and voted because people talk
10 to women a young voters a lot more than they did the
11 men. I mean our best thing we had was, so, you going
12 to vote? Yeah, I'm going to vote. Who are you going
13 to vote for? Well, I've got a buddy that's, you know,
14 in the war that doesn't like it, so I'm not going to
15 vote for this person, or I've got a friend over there.
16 So that was about the most engaging conversation we
17 had among men, whereas, women actually had issues that
18 they were talking about.

19 (Laughter)

20 MR. FERGUSON: I mean real reasons to go to the
21 poll and I think that part of what we are going to see
22 in the next election is you are going to see both
23 parties try to go after men a lot more on the issues.

24 MS. SINDERBRAND: Well that speaks kind of to a

1 larger issue, and I think you also had your hand up,
2 but a larger issue in that we talk about young voters.
3 Again, as if they are small, a block, and there is one
4 way to reach all of them. But in a lot of ways, you
5 need to start, microtarget your messages when you are
6 trying to reach different parts of the young
7 population, whether you are talking about college
8 students or those who aren't enrolled colleges. Again,
9 when you are talking about young men and young women,
10 there are different issues that may draw them to the
11 polls.

12 MR. FERGUSON: When we heard about it, I think
13 even when the election, when it was Clinton against
14 Dole, who was better looking? And the women vote was a
15 lot higher on that, and you look at this one too, where
16 was the women vote highest? And if you look at the
17 issues that were up there, a lot of it was that you
18 like the appearance of Kerry, you felt like he
19 understood what you believed and he connected with you.
20 When you look at Bush and what connected him with
21 people, it was you knew where he stood on the issues.
22 And I think that is something that guys can relate to a
23 little bit more is I know where he stands and I respect
24 that, whereas we such much higher turnout among women,

1 young people voting for Kerry because they felt like
2 they connected with him on that level that seemed to
3 bring them to the polls.

4 MS. SNOW: Okay, John looks like he is dying to
5 jump in.

6 (Laughter)

7 MR. LEVINE: I mean with all due respect, I
8 think that that's part of the problem sometimes with
9 the people that around talk about young people care
10 only the MTV question. How many years ago was that?
11 Which kind of underwear do you wear? That was a
12 generation ago almost. The fact is college students
13 care tremendously about the same issues that I care
14 about, that my parents care about and my grandparents
15 care about. We just did a survey two weeks ago, we
16 asked them how concerned are you about Social Security?
17 Seventy percent were concerned about Social Security.

18 In the open-ended question, that was the number
19 two voted issue behind Iraq. You know, we've had very,
20 very serious issues that I think that men and women can
21 relate to. I don't think the war is a female issue or
22 a male issue, so I think that it's about some of the
23 grassroots and some of the targeting that may be focus
24 on women but I think both genders were spoken to as

1 well.

2 MS. SNOW: Jordan, do you want to make one more
3 comment about this?

4 MR. SEKULOW: Yes, real quick. From a campaign
5 perspective, when you look at young voters, which both
6 sides had top strategists, numbers folks, that's not
7 what our job typically was to do. And when they looked
8 at it, and even when we look at this time, that it did
9 go up, more and more voting, it's still this percentage
10 of the vote, 17 to 18 total percent, so how much more
11 are campaigns going to spend? Well they'll pay for us
12 to fly around the--

13 MS. ACKER: They paid for you to fly around?

14 MR. SEKULOW: They did.

15 (Laughter)

16 MR. SEKULOW: A lot of what we were doing is
17 training volunteers and I think the difference has to
18 be when can you say, and maybe if Kerry won, that would
19 have changed. I really do think that the fact that we
20 had that, that when you look at it, it's the same
21 percent it's always been, and turnout was up so we did
22 the same kind of thing. And it's not anyone's fault,
23 it's just part of it and it's just showing the
24 differences, I think.

1 MS. ACKER: I disagree because I think that the
2 Democratic Party is very emboldened by the percentage
3 increase of the electorate that we got given that Al
4 Gore only won the youth vote by two points in 2000 and
5 Kerry won by 10 to 12, depending on how you look at the
6 numbers, I would say we look at that very differently.

7 MR. LEVINE: We do, but just to say one quick
8 thing before we, it's not the campaign discussion. We
9 looked at 19 states and it actually got down to eight
10 that we cared about, and the other 42 states in the
11 country, if we lost the youth vote by 70 percent it
12 didn't matter, so--

13 MS. ACKER: So you didn't run the 50 state
14 strategy then.

15 MR. LEVINE: We did, I mean we had activity,
16 but, by the end of it, the volunteers, the supporters
17 that we had in those states that were young people were
18 in other states helping us.

19 MS. ACKER: I agree.

20 MR. LEVINE: So we weren't looking at national
21 numbers and still wouldn't, it's about the
22 battlegrounds.

23 MS. SNOW: Can I take it back to a research
24 question, just for a second, before we move off of this

1 panel? And maybe this is my ignorance but I was struck
2 by the numbers I saw on the screen, the Rutgers study,
3 87 percent of your sample said they voted and I think
4 in your study, did I get that right? In your study, 73
5 percent said they had voted, reported having voted?

6 MR. DELLA VOLPE: Yeah, a marked difference
7 between the studies. Jeff's study talked only with
8 registered voters and mine was of the entire
9 electorate.

10 MS. SNOW: But then we know that the actual
11 turnout was about 48, what's the analogous--

12 MR. DELLA VOLPE: We were just talking about
13 college students, and in the past college students are
14 about twice as likely to vote as non-college students
15 in the same age group.

16 MS. SNOW: My question was is there is over-
17 reporting factor here of kids lying about having voted
18 or am I reading too much into it?

19 MR. DELLA VOLPE: There is some social
20 desirability effect when you ask a survey question like
21 that, but we've tracked it consistently over the last
22 year and there is a percentage of people who said they
23 turned out, the numbers seem to kind of add up and I
24 think that's about what it was. In the past, it had

1 been in the 60s, the actual turnout among college
2 students. As I said, they are twice as likely as
3 non-college students in the same group to turnout and
4 vote.

5 MS. SNOW: Thank you.

6 MR. UZETA: Just a quick question on the social
7 desirability factor, that cuts across all age groups,
8 right? I mean that seems like--

9 MS. SHERR: That's because more educated people
10 being more likely to vote, I mean it's just in the
11 population generally.

12 MS. SINDERBRAND: I have a question which I
13 don't know if you have the answer to but did you have
14 any sense this year on whether college students in
15 particular, I mean you talked a little bit about half
16 of college students were voting on campus and a little
17 more than half were voting either by absentee or in
18 person in their home states or their home areas. Any
19 sense as to whether the focus that was paid this year
20 to swing states and battleground states had any kind of
21 impact in where and how college students decided to
22 vote, whether they decided to vote on their college
23 campus if it was in a swing state or in their home
24 town, whether that had any impact this time around?

1 MS. SHERR: Well, I mean I'm not sure exactly
2 but I do know that, even from our discussions here at
3 Harvard, that there has been kind of an emphasis on
4 getting students to try to vote by absentee ballot. I
5 mean with the, I would like to get some agreement from
6 kind of around the table about whether that's true.
7 But it is because there are some issues with some
8 communities not wanting students vote there and those
9 sorts of things that it is sort of a positive, right,
10 Jennifer? To kind of encourage students to vote by
11 absentee ballots, so that could have--

12 MS. PHILLIPS: They like to vote, they want to
13 vote at home--

14 MS. SHERR: Right.

15 MS. PHILLIPS: --they feel connected, they know
16 the people there.

17 MS. SHERR: It's kind of an interesting
18 question though about how many people actually go home
19 and how that works because I was a little taken aback
20 by actually the high numbers of people who report
21 voting in their home towns, so something we have to
22 kind of go through further, I think we need to do a
23 little more analysis on that.

24 MR. DELLA VOLPE: There was higher turnout in

1 swing states than non-swing states.

2 MS. SNOW: Has anybody looked at the difference
3 between the number of people who download, go to forums
4 or go to your websites and say yes, I am going to
5 register, versus actually carrying it out? And do we
6 have any idea whether the people that download the
7 forms actually vote?

8 MS. WALKER: Oh, you just asked the big burning
9 question.

10 (Laughter)

11 MS. WALKER: A lot of people are trying to
12 answer it, and you can't answer that question until you
13 get the voter files and a lot of states haven't
14 reported their voter files out yet, but I think
15 everybody is dying to know that, to answer that. I
16 mean I have heard preliminary numbers of about 50
17 percent, that 50 percent of people who download their
18 forms actually send the forms in and vote. But I just
19 don't think we know the answer to it yet.

20 MR. FRIEDRICHS: I just had a different
21 question about the race data that Tobi presented. I
22 want to dig into that a little bit because I think that
23 until the census comes out next year, we don't really
24 have those numbers solid, but that's the first real

1 good data I've seen. And the story has been told
2 around gender so much because people haven't been able
3 to talk about race. But those were, even the drops in
4 Asian turnout and Latino turnout, I think, talking a
5 little bit about where that data came from and then
6 just what reactions from the other presenters were to
7 that data, I would be interested to hear.

8 MS. SINDERBRAND: And just following onto
9 Ryan's question there, there was another question that
10 I had, whether we talked about parental help and
11 parental guidance as being a factor in helping people
12 register, figure out how to register the first time,
13 and get their data on where to vote and whether the
14 fact that a lot of the Asian and Latino students and
15 young people may be first generation or second
16 generation, whether that had an impact. Maybe their
17 parents aren't experienced voters.

18 MS. WALKER: So the race-based data uses the
19 national exit poll, the national sample, so it's not
20 the aggregated state sample, so always use caution
21 because again, the sample size for young people is
22 smaller and therefore when you start breaking it out by
23 racial and ethnic groups, it becomes really small, and
24 so it would probably be statistically impossible to try

1 to look at, say, African American women, given the
2 national numbers.

3 But yeah, when I saw that data, it just blew me
4 away because it really forces us, I think, to your
5 question which is to recognize that young people are
6 not a monolith, which we all know and we all give lip
7 service to, but when you actually start to break it
8 down, you really see the tremendous differences among
9 groups of young people.

10 I think that we don't understand yet is kind of
11 why it happened, why were African American young people
12 so much more dramatically likely to vote than they were
13 in 2000. Was it the mobilization effort? Was it the
14 media-driven efforts? Was it, we know a lot of, at
15 least on the progressive side, a lot of the grassroots
16 stuff was targeted at African American young people.
17 Was it the economic issues? I mean my whole theory on
18 this is that young people are the first part of the
19 population that feel an economic downturn and that's
20 part of what drove the youth turnout this year and
21 therefore, more young minority folks were even more
22 likely to feel the economic downturn.

23 I don't think we know that but again, if you
24 are a Democrat, you look at African American young

1 people and you say wow, if you are a Republican, you
2 look at white young men and you say wow, that's our
3 base.

4 MS. MCGILL: I know the end is really small,
5 I'm sorry to jump in, but I know the end? is really
6 small already on race, but did you have any ends on
7 gender within race?

8 MS. WALKER: Uh--uh.

9 MS. MCGILL: It's my understanding this is some
10 work that the Joint Center may be doing is that African
11 American males between 24 and 36 actually drove up the
12 African American vote, and some work that also came out
13 of brilliant corners of Cornell Belcher and Donna
14 Brazile also indicate that the African American vote
15 was surprisingly, there was a surprising increase in
16 it, considering the fact that African Americans are
17 decreasing as a portion of the electorate, and that
18 there wasn't significant room for the African American
19 vote to increase because the majority of the African
20 American voter population is already over 45, I think
21 two thirds of African American voters are over 45, so
22 it really would have been in that space, so I really am
23 curious to see how that shapes up.

24 MS. WALKER: Jennifer, is there an e-mail list

1 that's going to come out of this meeting? Because one
2 of the things because one of the things, in the next
3 couple of days, is get you this facts sheet, we'll send
4 it out by e-mail.

5 MS. CAMPBELL: I would like to, just address
6 that a little because we were on the ground intensely
7 in 14 states, some battleground, some non-battleground,
8 where we actually quantifiable precinct data, we know
9 that there was a major increase in the African American
10 youth, especially on the college campus where you have
11 the ability to aggregate those numbers out. And there
12 was a significant African American coalition that came
13 together that focused on increasing the African
14 American vote and just for clarity on it, for African
15 American as well as the Latino community, that the
16 actual numbers, as far as what is available to increase
17 is youth, not the opposite.

18 Forty percent of young people and for African
19 American, we looked at youth as 18 to 35. I almost
20 fall in that category.

21 (Laughter)

22 MS. CAMPBELL: But on the serious side of that
23 is that that's why, for the last nine years our
24 organization has focused on it. But for the whole

1 effort last year and not just last year but over time.

2 The other thing is too, when you are talking
3 about young people or if you trying to deal with race,
4 you also have to deal with cultural factors on what
5 connects with people. And sometimes in this society we
6 don't want to deal with race, whatever side of that you
7 are on. But you then have to also look at the cultural
8 aspects of how that impacts how somebody wants to get
9 involved, and young people are no different that any
10 other, I'm with you on that, John, any other
11 demographic when it comes to that. So when you are
12 focusing on it, and we've been focusing on it, many of
13 us around, I still say Ivan is the granddaddy and I'm
14 not quite the grandma--

15 (Laughter)

16 MS. CAMPBELL: Ryans's coming along.

17 Just a little on how this thing has played out,
18 being involved with it myself from a student to now,
19 someone who is actively running an organization around
20 it, that that has always been the inconsistency factor
21 plays into a lot of this too when it comes to young
22 people, and listening to Jordan say they're only 17
23 percent, we're not changing our strategy, and there is
24 a lot to be said about what that says about youth vote.

1 MS. SNOW: Can I ask just one last, very
2 quickly, and then we are sort of out of time, but a
3 variation on my question before about whether young
4 voters tend to sort of misreport what they've done.
5 This is a variation, when I was working on a story last
6 fall for ABC about youth vote, I remember my polling
7 department at ABC cautioning me that if I looked at
8 intend to vote, you know, the question do you intend to
9 vote? They told me that young people, in particular,
10 were apt to say yes, I intend to vote, and then never
11 show up, that traditionally, that historically they
12 would report wanting to vote and then just never show
13 up.

14 Did that happen this year or was it better in
15 2004? I mean was there a sort of change of heart where
16 they were saying they intended and then they showed up?

17 MR. DELLA VOLPE: Well, yeah, I think your
18 polling here was correct in terms of, yeah, in the
19 past, it's always been over inflated on expected to
20 vote and that's what people are kind of programmed to
21 believe. But since 9/11, I think young people have
22 changed dramatically. Politics is more of, in 2000,
23 the biggest issue was education and crime, so I think
24 if you look at the hard number, are you definitely

1 going to vote, they were consistent throughout the
2 entire fall where it was going to be about 70-75
3 percent. That's still six months after the percentage
4 of young people in college who said they voted, so I
5 think this was the year that turned the tables on that
6 old saying, that people say they are but they won't
7 vote.

8 MS. WALKER: Yeah, and I remember that the data
9 that I was using was exit poll data, so this is
10 actually talking to people in the polling place so,
11 unless they went in and didn't vote, then came out and
12 said they voted, which would really be kind of weird,
13 it's about as, which is not to say--

14 MS. SNOW: A couple of months beforehand which
15 is what you were talking about.

16 MS. WALKER: A couple of months before when
17 they say they are intending to vote and then they never
18 show.

19 MR. DELLA VOLPE: It was less so this year than
20 other years.

21 MR. SHARP: Well thank you very much, we
22 appreciate this session.

23 We'll take a five minute break, and Jennifer
24 will help with the logistics of how you the rest rooms

1 in this extraordinary building, but the designer forgot
2 the most important thing so you have to find them.

3 (Whereupon, at 1:33 p.m., there was a brief recess.)

4 (1:48 p.m.)

5 MR. KING: We'll move now onto, my name is
6 David King, I'm glad to join you, I'm sorry I was in
7 class.

8 Hey, Melanie, nice to see you again, welcome
9 home.

10 Do we have just about everybody here? Where is
11 Tobi?

12 MS. WALKER: Right here.

13 MR. KING: Hi, Tobi, nice to see you again. My
14 name is David King, I was in a class I had to teach and
15 I'm sorry that I missed the first panel, You were in
16 great hands, it was a terrific group of speakers, more
17 academic and wonkish than many of you but kind of
18 writing. I love the academic stuff, so I have a lot to
19 learn from the practitioners, non-partisan and
20 partisan.

21 We have two panels this afternoon and then I'll
22 close it up with a little look at political ideology a
23 little later on. So we start off now with non-partisan
24 efforts at voter turnout, what went well, what didn't

1 go so well, what can we learn.

2 Not only do we have, of course, the people who
3 are listed on the panel in front of you, but a fabulous
4 audience who you should all be ready to ask questions
5 as well. My old friend, and colleague and co-author
6 David Nickerson is here, Ryan Friedrichs who has done a
7 fabulous job. Where is Ryan? Ryan, feel free, guys,
8 to jump in at any time. Of course Chris Newinski from
9 Smackdown Your Vote! got on the panel, but you guys can
10 all jump in at any time. We have Melanie Campbell,
11 Gary Davis, Ivan Frishberg, Jehmu Greene. Jehmu has
12 just made it in in the terrible weather on the plane.
13 Alexis McGill, Jennifer Phillips and Jaime Uzeta, so
14 we'll be turning to people you have already met in one
15 way or another.

16 You will know Kate Snow from "Good Morning
17 America", she was asking questions a few moments ago,
18 and of course Rebecca Sinderbrand from *Newsweek*. I'm
19 going to turn everything over to Rebecca and to Kate.
20 Thank you all, enjoy this.

21 Remember that if you are speaking for each
22 other, you are speaking into these mics, when we are
23 speaking for transcription, we are speaking into these
24 mics over here. We want to make sure that we capture

1 what you say and for the purposes of transcription,
2 even though we know who you are, please give your name
3 before you speak so that we can have a good record of
4 what we've learned and what we still need to know.
5 Thank you very much.

6 We might as well start with the top of the
7 batting order, with Melanie.

8 MS. SNOW: I think we want to keep it a real
9 Q&A though so, if you guys don't mind, if you don't
10 mind, we are not going to go down the line and have
11 everybody give a ten minute thing because I think that
12 would take too long, but I'm really curious what
13 worked. I think we should just maybe start with what
14 did you do that you think drove some of the numbers we
15 were just talking about?

16 MS. CAMPBELL: Thanks, David, it's always great
17 to be back here, and I see the weather is still sun
18 shiny in Boston.

19 (Laughter)

20 MS. CAMPBELL: At least it was when I was here.

21
22 And one of the things that I think worked, Kate
23 and Rebecca, is that there was some, someone talked
24 about the perfect storm earlier, and there were a lot

1 of things, a lot variables to what took place last year
2 and I think that was the perfect storm, and it didn't
3 just start with this election either. But the main
4 thing, I think, that you had a major focus on young
5 people in a way, many of us around this table were
6 together in times that we had, I think, the coalition
7 efforts that were out there.

8 And for young people who we worked with, and
9 one sitting back here in the corner here, and maybe one
10 day, one moment she'll have the opportunity to share.
11 But feel free to ask her a question, that's Nicole
12 Ealam, who is sitting back in the corner, from my
13 office, who was on the ground, who has just finished at
14 DePaul last year and was on the ground with us for our
15 organization, can tell you what are the things, some of
16 the things, that took place.

17 But young people who we worked with, just two
18 weeks ago we had a conference in Washington, it was our
19 follow-up conference we have every year, and I was
20 mentioned to someone a few minutes ago that it doubled
21 in size, something we did not expect in a "off election
22 year" for us electioneering type folks, and the
23 conversation that was had, it was all about the issue
24 for them.

1 This is not something, I'll speak specifically
2 of the African American young people and black youth,
3 specifically, who the issues that are facing them, not
4 just then but now, also drove it. So you didn't have
5 the conversation that I had been working with young
6 people for about 30 years, where I try to figure out
7 exactly what it is that's going on. It's there, I know
8 that the war impacts me, I know I've got to figure out
9 now how to, when college rates are going up to a point
10 I can't even think about going, so the issues that are
11 impacting their lives are right there.

12 So the politics and so, when you see the trend,
13 if you look at '92 when we saw the last spike, there
14 were different things, Rock the Vote had just started,
15 all these other kinds of things that were happening and
16 all of that, and you have MTV and all of that that was
17 going in '92. But this time that we are living, which
18 is what John talked about, that's what we are hearing
19 and that's, I think, what, so the perfect storm, the
20 issues, and the fact that you had a very much focused
21 approach on young people and a lot of collaboration
22 helped as well.

23 MS. SINDERBRAND: I'm sorry, I just wanted to
24 ask a quick question and it's something to keep in mind

1 when you're hearing form the panel, specifically the
2 challenge facing non-partisan voter registration
3 groups. I felt there was a sense this year, and you
4 can correct me if I'm wrong, that we are seeing a bit
5 of an evolution, we are seeing that perhaps the future
6 of non-partisan registration is more like a loose
7 coalition of partisan groups rather than strictly
8 non-partisan in the sense that what seems to motivate
9 people are, you know, like we saw, Independents are the
10 ones who get left out.

11 You reach people with I'm telling you to vote
12 for this, I'm telling you to vote against this, and
13 this is what draws in people to the polls and this is
14 what drew them to the polls in 2004. And there was
15 already kind of a sense that there was an evolution
16 towards more perhaps partisan groups working together
17 but definitely that partisan edge, and how did
18 non-partisan groups, how are you evolving to kind of
19 meet that challenge?

20 MR. FRISHBERG: --non-partisan panel, so--

21 (Laughter)

22 MS. SNOW: We know as reporters that some of
23 you on this table were, some of your groups, I think we
24 can fairly say, were a little bit more, a little bit

1 less non-partisan than others.

2 (Multiple people speaking)

3 MR. SEKULOW: --Rock the Vote put out well
4 before the election President Bush wants to draft you,
5 now that is ridiculous--

6 MS. GREENE: But I don't think they put that
7 out, they definitely did not put that.

8 MR. SEKULOW: It was on the website, you sent
9 out fake draft cards, unless you didn't know Rock the
10 Vote--

11 MS. GREENE: We sent out a draft card that said
12 you have been drafted, show up to your polling place
13 and--

14 MR. SEKULOW: You were putting that out on TV--

15 (Multiple people speaking)

16 MR. SEKULOW: This is where our problem is with
17 working with a lot, this comes from the Republican
18 angle, they'll reach out to us, and we were going to
19 help and we wanted to work with them but when we see
20 this, and even if it didn't say the partisan things but
21 they are using the language so when we see it, we see a
22 fake draft card, we know the issue is coming up right
23 now about the president, and a man who never said a
24 thing about it and then came out and said no, we are

1 not going to do a draft. It was a Democrat who
2 actually mentioned it.

3 So what do we, why do we need to work with
4 these groups? I mean we won again, so why are we going
5 to go to some people who are going to treat us badly
6 every time?

7 MS. ACKER: That was a month out, when were you
8 making the decision about when to work with them?

9 MR. SEKULOW: We had been working, we had been
10 giving volunteers to Rock the Vote, busses working with
11 the bus crew, we had talked about Jim and Barbara at
12 the very end but, you know, when those kind of things
13 happened, it was over.

14 MS. SINDERBRAND: Well I don't know, I don't
15 want to pick on Ivan, but I don't know if Ivan has any
16 kind of special perspective, as somebody who has kind
17 of made kind of a move towards more of a from the non-
18 partisan, strict non-partisan, to more of a partisan.

19 MR. FRISHBERG: Well, in your question, there
20 are two pieces to it, there are the groups, which is
21 the basically what follows organized money, and then
22 there is young people, and I think it's important in
23 your question to separate those two because they are
24 different. And in the partisan world, my, in '99, you

1 know, there was a bunch of us who were planning the,
2 actually, probably '98, we were planning the youth vote
3 2000 strategy, and a whole set of efforts. And we made
4 a decision, as the board of youth vote, very early on,
5 to engage in a, we weren't just going to try and move
6 young people out to vote, we understood we needed a
7 political strategy to get the parties, these guys over
8 here, to pay attention to young people. And that we
9 had to think about our resources just as a way to
10 leverage that kind of attention because they treat us
11 badly, they treat us well, they never treated us
12 anything.

13 (Laughter)

14 MR. FRISHBERG: And the goal was to get their
15 attention which, I think, now that that's happened, you
16 have the people who are political consultants and money
17 will treat young people differently, and they'll start
18 to be more than, like before, it's the foundations and
19 those sorts of folks who invest in non-partisan civic
20 good, you know, sort of the Harvard approach, it's--

21 MS. SINDERBRAND: So is that the hope, that it-
22 -

23 MR. FRISHBERG: The hope is that it will
24 migrate into the political world because, as Tobi said,

1 that's a \$3 billion political economy. If we wanted
2 something to focus in on young people, it would be
3 that, not the relatively small amount of non-partisan
4 money that's in the civic pot. And then on the, just
5 on the second part of your question for young people, I
6 felt like being non-partisan and being very clear about
7 that in how we presented ourselves to people was really
8 a big asset.

9 I mean we were attacked by partisan groups,
10 mostly on the left, for being non-ideological and not
11 having an issue agenda, not talking about issues, that
12 was part of our thing, we were attacked for that, but I
13 think it was actually what made us effective, in terms
14 of approaching young people on the street, just that
15 one-on-one engagement. They were happy to talk about
16 politics, about why the election was important or their
17 participation was important. I think we did better at
18 that than if we had been going out and being overtly or
19 somewhat overtly partisan on either side of it, so I
20 think being non-partisan helps with young people.

21 MS. SNOW: I think we should give Rock the Vote
22 a chance to respond to

23 MR. SEKULOW: --against the President's current
24 agenda.

1 MS. ACKER: But that's because the policy is
2 not good for young people.

3 MR. SEKULOW: But then you are partisan, if you
4 take a side, that's all I'm saying.

5 MS. SNOW: Jordan?

6 MS. GREENE: Will you let me actually answer a
7 question? I think, one, it's really important to
8 define what being partisan is and your definition of
9 partisanship, right now, is basically having a stance
10 on an issue and that's incorrect. It is absolutely
11 important in a presidential election cycle when you've
12 got issues of critical importance to young people at
13 stake and they do have opinions on them, it's important
14 to identify those issues, to promote where young people
15 stand on those issues, to highlight how these issues
16 are affecting them. And that is what Rock the Vote, I
17 think, did really successfully in the 2004 elections.

18 I'm going back to the question about what
19 worked. I think, for us, we started off with our
20 online voter registration tool which really allowed us
21 to build a list to be able to talk to about these
22 issues. By the end of the election, we had over a
23 million people on our list and were able to communicate
24 to them about the issue of Social Security and continue

1 that engagement that we saw in the 2004 election. But
2 really, the most successful thing for us was the online
3 voter registration campaign.

4 From an issues standpoint, our draft campaign I
5 think absolutely did make a difference. When you saw
6 the members of Congress come out after Rock the Vote
7 sent out our e-mail campaign and literally on the floor
8 of the House say we are taking a procedural vote on
9 this issue that is of critical importance to young
10 people. Young people are fighting and dying on the
11 front lines in Iraq, their peers back here in the
12 States are concerned about who is going to provide the
13 force that was needed for all of the troops and we
14 addressed the issue of the draft.

15 It wasn't about where does the college
16 Republicans, where do they see this issue falling? Is
17 it partisan or non-partisan? Young people wanted to
18 know where do John Kerry and John Edwards stand on
19 this, where does President Bush and Vice President
20 Cheney stand on this, where do members of Congress
21 stand on this, this is affecting us. And that campaign
22 I think was successful, you saw President Bush talk
23 about it in two of the debates, you saw all of the
24 political talk shows, Sunday talk shows start picking

1 it up, it became a part of the conversation and young
2 people were drawn into this election because of it.

3 MS. SNOW: It seems like Rock the Vote, from my
4 perspective as a journalist, like you sort of evolved,
5 like eight years ago, when were you founded, eight
6 years ago?

7 MS. GREENE: Fifteen, it's our 15th
8 anniversary.

9 MS. SNOW: But it seems like you really got a
10 lot of notice a couple of cycles ago and you were
11 fairly, this is just from my outsider perspective as a
12 journalist, it seemed like you were fairly neutral and
13 in this round, you became more issue oriented, you
14 became, is that accurate? Did you find that it was
15 better, unlike what Ivan was saying, to try to stay out
16 of things and be non-partisan? Did you ever find that
17 it was better to engage on issues and take a side?

18 MS. GREENE: It's interesting because Rock the
19 Vote was founded on the issue of protecting freedom of
20 expression and actually fighting against Tipper Gore's
21 PMRC initiative, so we have always been an issue
22 oriented organization, then in the first piece of
23 legislation we worked on was motor voter bill. We have
24 always been about finding ways of doing election reform

1 to increase access and bring more people into the
2 process. I think we have grown into being more
3 provocative with our issues and have learned, from the
4 15 year history of the organization, to really find
5 ways of getting these issues front and center, national
6 media attention, and that's what we did with the draft
7 campaign, that's what we are doing with Social
8 Security.

9 But again, even as the non-partisan groups are
10 talking here, I think it's important to really have a
11 solid definition of what it means to be non-partisan
12 and what it means to be partisan. Just because you
13 take a stance on an issue does not mean that you are
14 partisan, that's one of the ways that, unfortunately, I
15 think some of the parties try to segment groups and
16 block them out. And at the end of the day, we
17 registered more young Republicans than any organization
18 in this country and that's something that members of
19 Congress, that's something that the RNC recognizes,
20 hundreds of thousands of young Republicans registered
21 at rockthevote.com and are engaged in the process
22 because of the work that we did, as well as the
23 Democrats we registered and the Independents. Over 1.2
24 million people downloading voter registration forms is

1 a great thing to get these first time voters in.

2 MS. SINDERBRAND: I was wondering, for anybody
3 on the panel, as a group the constituency isn't
4 Republicans, isn't Democrats, it's just young people,
5 whether some of these legislative solutions that we
6 have been hearing about, you know, the same day
7 registration, no fault absentee and early voting,
8 whether that's something that is going to be more and
9 more part of what you do and more of what you are
10 pushing in an effort to increase young turnout?

11 MR. UZETA: That we're pushing legislatively?

12 MS. SINDERBRAND: Yeah, I mean in different
13 states. The states where turnout was highest among
14 young people are the states with same day registration,
15 states where you can walk up to the polls on election
16 day and vote, where you don't have to think about it
17 beforehand, is that something that people are looking
18 at?

19 MS. PHILLIPS: We are. Just quickly, we went
20 to the National Association of Secretaries of State and
21 made some recommendation. We are looking at the
22 college voter which, as we know, they are sort of easy
23 pickings, they come register. The best year is an
24 election year because their parents have already

1 registered them. We found that there was a lot of
2 confusion and this is anecdotal because Susan and Jeff
3 had good numbers on this, but about the whole process
4 of absentee registration. So a lot thought that once
5 they had registered, that they were all set, they would
6 get their ballot and we had to walk them through the
7 process.

8 But there are things that we are looking at
9 that will make a difference, there are still five
10 states that have laws that you have to either register
11 or vote for the first time in person, and obviously
12 when students leave, if they are going to another
13 state, that hampers them and they can't go back.
14 Students here developed an interactive website for
15 getting information on absentee voting and we found
16 that there was a lot of conflicting information, even
17 when we called secretaries of states' office or
18 elections officials and we really want NAS to help
19 clear that up because you have a first time voter, you
20 have somebody who is already a little bit intimidated
21 by the steps they have to go through and this process
22 should be easier.

23 I know that some on the panel are working
24 towards same day registration, and believe that we

1 register in schools and things like that, we found that
2 students often want to register at home because that's
3 where the people they know are and who they can vote
4 for.

5 So those are a couple of ways, as well as being
6 aware that students and young people are computer savvy
7 and you can do a lot of things, give a lot of
8 information on a website, so making that accessible,
9 making that easy to use is really a good way just to
10 keep those phone lines clear, if anybody tried to call
11 into Florida a few days before the registration
12 deadline or some of the other battleground states, or
13 you had kids running around saying they needed to FedEx
14 something in.

15 I mean it was really people really wanted to
16 participate but got caught up a lot in the steps there.

17 It's not that they are not the top issues and I think
18 that what Jehmu and some of the campaign people are
19 talking about are real issues and getting the
20 candidates to talk about these issues, that's what's
21 going to drive things, that's the big number. But we
22 can still work on some of those logistical pieces that
23 will help young people get into the system.

24 MS. SNOW: I'm curious, one of the presenters

1 at the other end of the table said that getting
2 assistance, I think it was the Rutgers study, that
3 getting assistance with voting or getting assistance
4 with registration, you looked at whether it actually
5 impacted the voting behavior and it didn't make that
6 much difference.

7 MS. SHERR: It didn't make a big difference in
8 terms of whether people had trouble voting. We didn't
9 really see big differences in behavior either because
10 just mostly everyone voted and everything, so it's hard
11 to find--

12 MS. SNOW: So I wondered when you all heard
13 that, do you all feel like, I mean you can sort of take
14 that as a negative like, oh, wow, what we are doing
15 doesn't make a huge difference but I'm sure it does.
16 How do you all interpret that?

17 MS. CAMPBELL: Well I can't interpret it
18 unless I know what, when I look at polls, and nothing
19 against the academicians, I like them, I love you all,
20 I use your stuff, but also know that polls, you have to
21 look a little deeper to know what your over sampling
22 is, if that's what you are doing, what states were you
23 in, African Americans are still 55 percent of that in
24 the south. The south is not a battleground, other than

1 Florida, my home state, so you look at all of that.

2 And for us, we know, Nicole, I mentioned, was
3 on the ground, Georgia, was a place, in Atlanta, where
4 you had African American primarily controlled
5 governments there, you had a lot of problems.

6 You had the mayor running around in the City of
7 Atlanta trying to make sure that young people could
8 vote, you had provisional ballot problems, you had
9 polling problems in the State of Louisiana where they
10 ended up having to keep the polls open until 11:00 or
11 12:00 at night. We had a war room where, the 14
12 primary states that we worked, that we had the
13 information, we did an exit poll from that to get
14 people's experiences and the majority of the, it wasn't
15 for young people because it was everybody. But the
16 majority of the people who responded were, if I had a
17 chance to really, I would have brought that with me, I
18 apologize for that.

19 But the majority of the people who responded
20 were young people who were first time voters. And so
21 when you look at something, when you see seven percent
22 that says it didn't matter, I didn't really have that
23 many problems, seven percent, the partisan people know
24 that can turn an election one way or the other. It

1 doesn't take 50 percent of the people who had problems
2 to give the candidate an edge, it takes sometimes one
3 percent, two percent, three percent, so that percentage
4 number, you have to look at it from various
5 perspectives.

6 MS. SNOW: Gary, go ahead, we haven't heard
7 from you yet.

8 MR. DAVIS: I think what I found more important
9 from the Rutgers study than the fact that assistance
10 didn't make that much of a difference was the fact that
11 the biggest issue for young people was the candidates
12 focusing on issues that related to them, in a way that
13 related to them is what I would add to that statement.

14 And I think that's probably one of the best things we
15 did in this campaign, more than anything else. We
16 worked together as a team, we put out the first ever
17 national voters issues newspaper. We were able to get
18 both presidential candidates, Ralph Nader, other
19 elected officials to respond to that.

20 We were then able to take that response, put it
21 up on the Internet and get it out to college groups,
22 get it out to non-college groups, use it as groups. We
23 all put up, most of us put it up on our Internet sites
24 and we were able to get information out, first of all,

1 that there is an easy way to talk to candidates, and
2 candidates, there is an easy way to talk to young
3 people if you want their vote because they are going to
4 vote and at the same time, we were then able to take
5 that information, get it out directly to everybody so
6 that they could compare it with the reading of the
7 media to what they could see online as what the
8 candidates, what George Bush or John Kerry said about
9 particular issues.

10 And then of course we encouraged them, you
11 know, hey, if what's in here doesn't fit, do your own
12 thing and I think that, as individual organizations, we
13 did that. Different groups had different focuses, what
14 they wanted to focus. And I think if we did one thing
15 right it was better coordination, it was getting the
16 candidates to talk to young people in a way that they
17 related to, to get them excited about getting involved
18 in voting. And I think something we all agreed worked,
19 this is the new voter issues paper for 2005-2006, most
20 of the same people have signed onto it, we are going to
21 be getting it out to Virginia and New Jersey in a
22 couple of weeks to get those gubernatorial candidates
23 to respond.

24 We are going to be creating a network of state

1 legislators in 25 states who are helping to reach out
2 to young people because they recognize there is a
3 connection for them. So I think that's where, at least
4 from my perspective, we made the most ground, doing
5 that real connection. And just getting back to the
6 earlier point, we talked about Smackdown Your Vote,
7 about 18 months out, February of 2003, we announced we
8 are going to get many more young people to vote than
9 voted in 2000, nobody really paid attention to it.
10 Then in September of 2003, we together with the Hip Hop
11 Civil Action Network and all our partners and said
12 we've got to get two million more to vote in 2004 and
13 we got a little more noise.

14 Then MTV came out and that kind of manifested
15 into 20 million are going to vote in this election and
16 I think everybody was like yeah, right, And people are
17 going to increase their numbers? Sure. But then,
18 suddenly, because of a coordinated effort, the message
19 did get out, and so people started buying that geez,
20 maybe young people are going to vote. And so it was
21 very ironic that when actually we hit those targets or
22 passed them, probably beyond anybody's expectations,
23 the message was young people didn't turn out, when
24 actually they did, and that was the, I think Eric

1 covered that issue with the percentages.

2 But I think all of us felt that we finally had
3 turned the tide and what helped us turn the tide, at
4 least in 2004, and now the trick is to continue that
5 momentum in 2006, 2008, was that we were finding a way
6 to get the candidates to finally talk to young people
7 in a way that related to them. So I talked about the
8 economy, we talked to an 18 year old or a 25 year old
9 in a way that they said yeah, okay, now I understand
10 it, now I understand what you are going to do for me,
11 what you are going to do for my dad.

12 MS. SNOW: Do you want to follow on that? Or I
13 have another question.

14 MR. UZETA: I'll stay on that line in terms of
15 things that we did effectively, and then differences
16 from previous efforts and this year's effort. The
17 second one, the level of coordination, which is
18 unprecedented, this was the first time, we had always
19 had nonprofit partners, we do that with all of our pro
20 social campaigns. But this was very, very closely
21 coordinated in terms of weekly conference calls with
22 everybody so that everything was sort of on message,
23 with a focus on delivering the message of empowerment
24 to young people, and really turning it around and

1 shifting the message from, you know, get off our butts
2 and get out and vote kind of idea, from the 20 million
3 loud, 20 million strong type message, which was much
4 more, trying to dispel the myth that young people in
5 the past didn't vote.

6 And a lot of this developed from these
7 conversations that Gary was talking about previously,
8 just with different groups, and then also conversations
9 that we had with the different candidates, with the
10 different campaigns, and finding that there had been
11 this perception that when you actually asked people,
12 even people in the campaigns focusing on young people
13 directly, how many people they thought voted in the
14 last election, people had been talking about the seven
15 million range, two million range. People didn't have
16 any idea it was in the 18 million level, so we really
17 found that that was a big challenge for us and so that
18 really guided the rest of our message.

19 And we see our role at MTV, in general, I mean
20 obviously, these are the guys that are doing the
21 grassroots hardcore work to actually do the
22 registration, etcetera, but part of what we do is try
23 to create, cultivate just the right message, and the
24 right feel and the motivation with the culture in

1 general, so that young people realize the power that
2 they have in general. And we do that through a bunch
3 of different issues and that's what we did this year.
4 It was a shift in the tone of the campaign, I think,
5 and level of coordination so that everybody was really
6 recognizing all the power that young people had.

7 MS. SINDERBRAND: Speaking of coordination, I
8 don't know if we've touched at all on the New Voters
9 Project, which I know was a big part of the non-
10 partisan effort this year was trying out those
11 techniques that you are hoping, at some point, the
12 parties are going to pick up, and take the ball on this
13 one and it won't, you know, take it out of your hands,
14 and I was wondering if there was any kind of
15 preliminary data. I know we talked about this a very
16 little bit before the session started, Ivan, but a
17 little bit of data on how that worked, any kind of
18 anecdotes from the grassroots, people who were actually
19 out there on whether these techniques made any kind of
20 significant difference or whether it was just the
21 issues this year and the techniques themselves
22 weren't --.

23 MR. FRISHBERG: I mean we are in a frustrating
24 position, still waiting for a lot of the data, and to

1 get specific about it, but that's stuff is being worked
2 on and it will, I think, for a lot of groups here,
3 partisan, non-partisan that's waiting for all the state
4 and county voter files to be turned over, and to get to
5 the census bureau level of information and get beyond
6 these exit polls which we do a lot with but are kind of
7 crappy, you know, so--

8 (Laughter)

9 MR. FRISHBERG: There is more to come. I think
10 we have seen, in some county numbers that we
11 participated in and CIRCLE is doing an analysis of more
12 of these as they get the data, and are not just asking
13 the county but are going to actually get the data and
14 double check it too. But in the places where the media
15 has done that kind of analysis, in Iowa, huge increases
16 in registration numbers in counties that were both
17 campus and non-campus populations. Of all of those new
18 registrants, significant increase in the rate at which
19 they turn out. So it wasn't some people said, well, if
20 you get a lot of new registrants to the polls, that
21 many of them aren't going to show up because they are
22 not as motivated, you just stuck a card in front of
23 them at a shopping mall but they are not really a
24 motivated voter. That didn't seem to be true because

1 the rates of turnout went up very significantly.

2 Those registration and turnout rates were
3 higher in those counties than for the age groups older
4 than them, and so we kind of, or actually the newspaper
5 did this, but looked at those. They looked at four
6 counties and young people were kicking old people butt
7 across the board and it was a great, great thing to
8 see. The numbers are very significant and the
9 preliminary numbers from CIRCLE suggest that that was
10 true in a lot of counties across the country and they
11 are looking at the places where we were organized.

12 This is a more theoretical answer to your
13 question but I think it has to be that the registration
14 efforts had an impact, it was a huge part of it. I
15 think that Rock the Vote efforts and there were a lot
16 of people that participated in online partners to Rock
17 the Vote, the on the ground efforts that we did, there
18 is no way that we could have gotten to any kind of
19 significant increase in turnout without huge increases
20 in registration. So I think that was like the number
21 one thing that made a difference in this election
22 cycle.

23 And then I also think, and we didn't know the
24 answer from the panel earlier, definitively, but it was

1 the non-college students that I think probably made the
2 difference and just from the logic of the kind of whole
3 new voter model, that this of the non-voting population
4 of young people, it's about 4 to 1, almost, that are
5 non-college. And so if you are looking to get that
6 kind of very significant increase in turnout, you can't
7 do it by going to the people who will already vote in
8 higher numbers. The only way it statistically plays
9 out is if you go to the people you didn't have before.

10 And that's what we did, that's what a lot of groups
11 did and I think that will, when the census bureau,
12 particularly, comes out, that hopefully, I think, I'll
13 be proved correct in that and if not, then granddaddy--
14 (Laughter)

15 MS. SINDERBRAND: And just to kind of follow
16 that very, very quickly, anything specific? I know the
17 technology--

18 MS. SNOW: Right, it was a very innovative
19 thing that you did.

20 MS. SINDERBRAND: Right, I mean the technology
21 that came to the forefront in this election is
22 technology that young people are most familiar with,
23 most comfortable with, compared to the rest of the
24 population. You're talking about Blogs, you're talking

1 about e-mail, whatever you're talking about, young
2 people are more comfortable with it than any other age
3 group. Was technology one of the factors or was it the
4 person to person contact that was more, what of the
5 methods that the New Voter Project was using seemed to
6 be the most effective?

7 MR. FRISHBERG: For a lot of students,
8 obviously it's person to person because that's how the
9 vast, vast majority of our contact was. But you can't
10 separate technology out from that because through Rock
11 the Vote and Declare Yourself, we were able to get
12 contact information for people. All the people that
13 registered or downloaded their forms for both groups,
14 which are very significant numbers in our states, we
15 had contact information so we could call them, we could
16 knock on their door, we could do that kind of contact.

17 The other piece of technology, which we all know and
18 love here, is the cell phone and for us, being able to
19 collect somebody's cell phone information when we
20 registered them and call them back up on that cell
21 phone.

22 We were nervous that people would react to
23 getting calls on their cell phone, like many of us
24 would, saying hey, it's primary day in Colorado, go out

1 to vote. Like nobody has heard of primary day in
2 Colorado, it's like --. But no one complained, I mean
3 there was a very positive response from young people
4 getting a call on their cell phone in the middle of no
5 time, in terms of the political calendar, saying
6 tomorrow it's caucus, there is caucuses and if you are
7 a Democrat, you go here, if you are a Republican, you
8 go here. People enjoyed that contact, so technology
9 helped us reach more people with the person to person
10 contact.

11 MS. SNOW: A little birdie tells me that David
12 has some data on this, on what worked in terms of--

13 MR. KING: --sort of ask a different question.
14 We've been asked now sort of what works--

15 MS. SNOW: David, but do you have some, you
16 were saying that you might have some empirical data
17 about what works?

18 MR. KING: What do you have from experiments on
19 what tended to increase turnout?

20 MR. NICKERSON: I have results from past
21 elections but precious little from this election
22 because people were unwilling to actually participate
23 in evaluations but--

24 (Laughter)

1 MR. NICKERSON: You know, unwilling to
2 participate and they wanted to wring out every last
3 voter that any sort of control group you might set up,
4 they were completely against it, or things were so
5 pressed for time they are like we are not going to
6 devote any time to this. So you are asking great
7 questions like what techniques work? What works? And
8 they are not going to tell you, say county-wide or
9 precinct-wide is we're not, well exactly what part of
10 it went up, whether it's because of registration --.
11 Which one of their multi-pronged attacks for
12 registration worked? Was the cell phone effective?

13 MR. FRISHBERG: That's not what I was saying
14 and the fact is we did do randomized field experiments
15 with Don Green, and a lot of groups did and so there is
16 that work that was done in this election cycle. Some
17 of it, around registration, was quite frankly, it was
18 too, for us, it was too hard to actually come up with a
19 methodology where we could do this and still meet the
20 goals that we were under to do. But with something
21 like the cell phone thing, I know it works because if
22 you can't call somebody and reach them, you can't have
23 the impact that you've documented previously at five
24 points or what have you.

1 So having a number and a name to call works and
2 every piece of evidence that you've done, that Don
3 Green and other people have done, that we were
4 executing, shows that's the case and so you know it's
5 going to be better if you have more numbers. And
6 that's all I was saying in terms of what works is
7 having greater access to names, and numbers and
8 addresses.

9 MS. CAMPBELL: I was going to say this, David,
10 is that as someone who was part of some of the
11 experiments, this was a, and part of the, even then it
12 was a very highly competitive situation also, so it
13 kind of plays into some people's decision making. But
14 the early vote, in a lot of cases, that's a what worked
15 scenario, many places where we had early voting we
16 partnered with BET, Rock the Vote, we worked with them.
17 Tom Joyner, and there were a lot of the media elements
18 to getting out the message and even utilizing the media
19 in a way that was more the grassroots elements of
20 organizing.

21 We set up a separate hot line, for instance,
22 for people to register to vote, and Tom Joyner, through
23 his show, reaches those millions, and so various
24 things. But at the end of the day, as a practitioner,

1 and what has helped, and I'm saying that facetiously
2 but seriously, is that the academic community has
3 validated the fact that personal touch works, and so
4 there are ways to do that and I think that part of it,
5 in this off election time, I hope that, Jennifer, what
6 we can do is to really have an opportunity to do more
7 work session time with academicians and the people who
8 do the work so that we can come up with ways when
9 you're not under the gun, to quantify for a lot of the
10 folks that need to have that quantified, for people who
11 do it.

12 And whether you are on a partisan side or a
13 non-partisan side, you know what works and it helps to
14 be able to try to have some balance with that, with the
15 academic community as well. But the early vote piece
16 was something that we didn't have four years ago in a
17 lot of places and you did have that. So if you were in
18 Arizona, for instance, two weeks out, I think it was a
19 week or two weeks out, you were able to do that,
20 whereas, four years ago, you may not have been able to
21 do that. And so you were able to, and when the numbers
22 come out, it's not just election day, it's election
23 days that you've got to get a way to analyze too, and
24 those are some places, four years ago, who didn't have

1 that.

2 MR. NICKERSON: I think early voting is a great
3 example of this type of thing. So you've two weeks
4 before the election, you spend the most energy trying
5 to get out people to early voting. Is this going to be
6 the best way to mobilize your constituency? Or are you
7 better off like trying to collect cell phone numbers so
8 you can actually get a hold of them the day or two
9 prior to election day and figure it's too hard to
10 actually get them to the polls before election day
11 because all the media is focused on Tuesday. And so
12 it's a series of tradeoffs, and unless you actually try
13 to do this and evaluate it, you are not going to know
14 the best way to place the resources.

15 I mean if it could be that you said
16 registration is the biggest boost, and I bet you're
17 right, in which case you should try to structure your
18 campaign to get people registered in the months leading
19 up to it and not put so much emphasis on the end part.
20 Because every election campaign I've studied seems to
21 have like this mass of people in the last week, which
22 might be smart, it could be that the last week is all
23 that really matters. But having some sort of
24 evaluation and looking at it actually in a competitive

1 environment. I mean 2001 was great, some of the
2 elections weren't at all competitive.

3 I mean if Jane lived in Ohio and she was
4 contacted by 25 people over the course of the week,
5 your marginal influence might be very little, and so
6 actively trying to figure out a way to work with
7 someone. It doesn't have to be an academic, it could
8 be some campaign, keep it in house, but I think that's
9 a challenge for the nonprofits and the partisan groups,
10 moving forward, is how do you evaluate what you are
11 doing so the next cycle around, you can be that much
12 better. And setting your goals, I guess, not just the
13 county-wide vote went up, it's this particular
14 technology led to part of our success and if the
15 technology isn't successful, we are going to shift our
16 resources elsewhere.

17 MS. SNOW: Maybe this is a little more of a
18 black and white question and easier to answer, what
19 failed? What did not work at all? What were your
20 biggest disappointments? Be honest.

21 (Laughter)

22 MR. UZETA: I was thinking about something we
23 tried that's not as, to try to promote overall
24 engagement, we were experimenting with two different

1 things, one was this concept of a pre-election, which
2 I'll tell you about. But the other one was trying to
3 ride the meet up wave, and you'll recall that that was
4 huge in terms of Dean's involvement, way back, and we
5 tried to see if we could take it to another level by,
6 beyond just having it spread virally, complementing it
7 with an on air component, so advertising to kind of
8 promote it, and making it like an opportunity to meet
9 other people and creating a different feel for it.

10 And the numbers just were not, as much as we
11 tinkered with it every month and did it a bunch of
12 different ways, they just were not what we expected it
13 to be or wanted it to be. And even the meet up folks,
14 who worked closely with them, they were thinking this
15 would blow the Dean numbers out of the water just
16 because nothing has been complemented on air, nothing
17 is with, it just didn't work and we tried it.

18 So I don't know if it was not having, maybe
19 that was the non-partisan, to the extent that we are
20 talking about challenges on a non-partisan level, maybe
21 that's it. Maybe it has to be a specific individual
22 issue but anyway, that was something.

23 And pre-election was actually more successful,
24 which was actually incentivizing the voting process

1 online. That vast majority of people that did click
2 onto the Rock the Vote registration function that we
3 had on our site came to this pre-election, and that was
4 a sort of a mock election that paralleled the actual
5 voting process, and we actually incentivized
6 participation with pre-election. So when you
7 registered to vote in this pre-election, that would
8 represent youth votes' opinion, you would actually be
9 able to just opt into the actual voter registration, so
10 you could, we were complementing it, and that seemed to
11 work in terms of--

12 MS. SNOW: Incentivized? What do you mean?

13 MR. UZETA: Incentivized meaning to participate
14 in the pre-election, you could win a--

15 MS. SNOW: You had prizes.

16 MR. UZETA: Yeah, you had prizes--

17 MS. SNOW: Baseball hats?

18 MR. UZETA: --as an incentive to kind of
19 participate in, right. So the idea was how do you hook
20 them in, give them the message and then educate them,
21 and hopefully create longer term voters and that was
22 actually successful on our site.

23 MS. MCGILL: This is not a failure but I think
24 a challenge that was faced, I think a lot of us used

1 culture to tap into, to normalize the conversation
2 around why people should vote. And I think that, just
3 in the conversation that we had post Tobi's
4 presentation on the numbers of African Americans
5 rising, the post conversation was okay, how do we
6 explain that? How do we tap into that? And I think
7 that for a lot of people that we were going after, and
8 we were tapping into existing institutions, cultural
9 networks, that they are more organic, they are more,
10 you know, lifestyle, they are not things that typically
11 have metrics unless they're tied to units of selling
12 Sean-John, or selling records or something like that.

13 And that space, because we don't have,
14 academically, we don't have, at least I think, metrics
15 that we can now translate into why people turned out to
16 vote or how they really processed that information, I
17 don't think that we can say the things that we all feel
18 we want to say. So a lot of us want to say, well, the
19 reason why the vote increased in certain communities or
20 among young people is because it was complemented with
21 this air and this ground campaign where the air
22 campaign really normalized and drove people into these
23 grassroots organizations on the ground.

24 So it may have been peer-to-peer contact but if

1 that person heard about you know, Puffy saying Vote or
2 die, or someone else making that connection, and so
3 there have to be layers of understanding that I don't
4 think we really have enough data on. And I think that
5 one of the, just to back up because I was trying to say
6 one of the things that really did work for us was that
7 we tapped into institutions that already existed, that
8 already existed to sell records, to sell clothing and
9 ideas, and we used our street teams, we used our
10 underground mix tapes. We tapped into all the
11 technologies that already exist, so it wasn't like we
12 were inventing the wheel, we were just kind of
13 appropriating those structures for political
14 messaging.

15 And I think that that is a place where we can
16 start looking at, again, organically getting the
17 message out in a way that hasn't been done before, and
18 I think that we have to start looking kind of in ways
19 that people receive information. I think that a lot
20 of, someone used the example to me of, particularly for
21 someone who is a minority in whatever way, that there
22 is an office party and someone says, you know,
23 everybody in the office is invited to this party. You
24 may look at that and you may say, you know, I'm really

1 not part of this community so I'm not necessarily going
2 to participate.

3 But when someone comes directly to you, they
4 come, this is the peer to peer contact, they come on
5 your show, they invade your space, they come into your
6 home. All of a sudden you realize, okay, they are
7 really inviting me to participate and there have to be
8 ways and more questions about understanding how young
9 people connected to that space.

10 MS. SNOW: Before we move on, does anybody else
11 want to volunteer any candor about failure?

12 MS. GREENE: I think not so much from a turnout
13 standpoint but a lot of the messaging that we all
14 worked in coalition on to really show the impact that
15 young voters can have. Looking at how we define
16 success with our goal being 20 million voters and on
17 election night and days after, how the media defined
18 success as being what the percentage of the electorate
19 was, I think that we failed, in a sense, to address
20 that electorate percentage in our initial messaging.
21 But if we had had something in addition to 20 million,
22 had addressed the percentage part of it more initially,
23 then we wouldn't have been hit so much on the back end.
24 And so I don't think it's such a turnout thing but it

1 has affected what young people feel their generation
2 did in this election, significantly, and that's
3 something that we are going to have to deal with for
4 years to come.

5 So the meet up point, I would say that in
6 looking at the evaluation after the election, we put 25
7 percent of our organizational resources into meet up
8 for several months and that was obviously, as Jaime
9 said, something that didn't work. I think a lot of the
10 cultural points, connections with the election that
11 were very visible, that were very highly marketed, at
12 times, didn't have as direct connections to voter
13 registration as they should have. We are of course
14 really proud of the numbers we saw for our online voter
15 registration but I think there were so many different
16 things that didn't have --.

17 When we sent out, a project that we did with
18 Taco Bell and they sent out 16 million tray liners with
19 voter registration messages, their link for voter
20 registration was not as strong as it should have been.

21 When 7-11 had five million Rock the Vote Big Gulp
22 cups, their voter registration forms and what was set
23 up within those stores was not as connected as it
24 should have been, so I think a lot of the buzz and

1 excitement, of course we know, I guess anecdotedly,
2 that it did have an impact but I think if we had had
3 those direct connections to voter registration for a
4 more extended period of time, we would have seen higher
5 numbers than we did.

6 MS. SNOW: We don't know what all of you said
7 but somebody failed to talk to the Associated Press on
8 the night of election night because that's where that
9 story, that's where it started, right?

10 FROM THE FLOOR: Oh, she got lots of calls
11 after--

12 (Laughter)

13 MS. CAMPBELL: And on that, I don't know if you
14 were going to say it too but, on that, because we were
15 a part of trying to deal with that issue as well, is
16 that, on the media side, there was not awareness, even
17 with the facts to change. It was say the 17 percent
18 and what's his name? Chris Matthews, you know, 17
19 percent, 17 percent, this never changed.

20 MS. SNOW: But the 17 percent is 17 percent--
21 (Multiple people speaking)

22 MS. CAMPBELL: No, no, no, my point is that you
23 had people who handle the media well talking to the
24 media and trying to break it down, you had academicians

1 who called the media to break it down too. And so I
2 think that, we talked about this earlier on, it also
3 had something with to do with the results and that
4 young people didn't vote for Bush, they voted Kerry,
5 Kerry lost, so you did have some of that in response.
6 I think that if it had gone the other way, and young
7 people voted and Kerry won, you would have had a
8 different conversation. I am feeling pretty old,
9 sitting here right now, just thinking about how many
10 years I've dealt with this stuff--

11 (Laughter)

12 MS. CAMPBELL: --and the conversations we have,
13 and so it just kind of evolves. And the whole
14 conversation about young people, the jury will be out
15 on whether campaigns take it seriously or not with this
16 next midterm election.

17 MS. WALKER: I think one of the big failures
18 this year, and this reflects on my community, the
19 foundation community, is that foundations did not step
20 up to the plate in a major way to support the youth
21 vote, with the exception of Pew which made a huge grant
22 in this area. The Carnegie Corporation, a couple of
23 other smaller foundations made small grants but I don't
24 know of anybody that put more than, I mean except for

1 Pew, I don't know of anybody that put more than
2 \$500,000 into the youth vote. And both from a civic
3 engagement perspective, that's a mistake, but also from
4 a political perspective. It's ridiculous and I think
5 we did not do a good job of communicating the
6 importance of the youth vote to that constituency and
7 for this side of the table, that's huge. This side of
8 the table actually.

9 (Laughter)

10 MS. PHILLIPS: I think the challenge, getting
11 back to your first question, is where do we go from
12 here? I know that we, as a group, tried to do some
13 things around each of the conventions and while our
14 framework and our ways of working together worked well
15 to share information and make sure that we were all on
16 the same page, especially dealing with press, and
17 questions and putting stories together, there is a
18 difference among the non-partisan groups in terms of
19 some who are going to focus on issues, some who are
20 focusing on registration and things like that. And we
21 ended up, I think everybody did, with something a
22 little bit different at the convention, which was
23 great.

24 But I think that's really the challenge, when

1 we look at the next elections, is once you take care of
2 the mechanical stuff, what do you do with the issues
3 things? Where do you go from there? And do you start
4 to, you know, in some ways, I think we really want to
5 hand things over to the partisans and say come and
6 fight for this group, we are showing you, you know, we
7 want to talk about who they are, that they are not
8 monolithic, here is what they care about, here is what
9 the research says.

10 But from my point of view, I would love to
11 think that that's going to happen, that that turnover
12 is going to occur, but I thought that was a real
13 challenge for us.

14 MS. SNOW: Ryan?

15 MR. FRIEDRICHS: That's actually the point I
16 wanted to speak on, as somebody who worked for a number
17 of years in the non-partisan community and then moved
18 into the partisan community in 2004 with that exact
19 goal, to try and leverage, not indirectly, as you do,
20 but directly try and leverage resources into this on
21 this front, to reach out to young voters, and found a
22 tremendous amount of barriers, which we knew were there
23 but found them face to face as opposed to finding them
24 sort of indirectly over a long period of time.

1 I wanted to get your sense, strategically, as
2 to how you want to move forward and if you see that as
3 not necessarily on failure but do you see the response
4 or the lack of a response of the political community to
5 this issue, over a number of years, as something that's
6 getting better, getting worse? I think getting better
7 we would agree to, to a degree, but what, going
8 forward, what is a strategy? With partisans sitting
9 here and academics, what is a good way to move forward
10 to get that \$3 billion economy to really lean into
11 these voters and not to just conveniently continue to
12 maybe backslide or ignore them when the election is not
13 as hot or to keep moving forward?

14 MS. ACKER: Can I just preface that answer
15 really quickly by saying that I would also like to hear
16 your response too, because I agree with you, but I also
17 think that what we do would not have the impact that it
18 has without non-partisan organizations laying the
19 framework, so can you guys address that too because I'm
20 very curious?

21 MR. FRISHBERG: I have a long list of things
22 that--

23 (Laughter)

24 MR. FRISHBERG: And the parties would be one of

1 them, although that was maybe too grand an expectation.

2 The voter file didn't work for us on election night,
3 election day, I mean so there is a lot of technology
4 problems still to be figured out. That's just like a
5 personal thing for us. But I think a lot of campaigns
6 experienced that and if you look at one of the things
7 for the future, 2006, the statewide databases, that
8 will help new voters, not just young voters, but
9 anybody who comes to the voter file late. But it was a
10 huge, huge challenge for anybody who was doing that
11 last three or four week turnout push.

12 We tried a lot of institutional partnerships to
13 do registration, businesses, schools, colleges and
14 universities. That, I don't think, similar to the Move
15 On, it was, for us, one of the things that we didn't
16 get the bang for the buck out of that, just looking at
17 how much resources we put into it and what kind of
18 registrations we got out of it. Nevada didn't work so
19 well, this is a tough place to organize for us, it was
20 hiring people that didn't need our jobs because we were
21 paying campaign wages and you can go park a car for
22 \$80,000 a year in Nevada.

23 (Laughter)

24 MR. FRISHBERG: So it's like there are some

1 places that are just more challenging to do this work.

2 On the partisan piece of it, I think this is probably
3 one of the big challenges because I couldn't really
4 answer your question earlier about what were the
5 results, the very definitive data. We feel like it's
6 all coming at different levels but by the time we get
7 it, the parties will have had to have started to make a
8 set of decisions and priorities, and so we are not in a
9 position to very quickly go out after the election to
10 the parties and say here is what you should do.

11 I mean we can point generally to the case,
12 young people turned out, you should do more, but I
13 think we are not very well equipped to do that, we need
14 to do more. To be able to say, all right, here is your
15 races, here is what the numbers are, here is what we
16 think you could accomplish in those places, which I
17 think there needs to be more of that kind of thinking,
18 which is all we've got until we get real, harder
19 results to put on the table, but I also think that the
20 campaigns, there was more tension in this cycle than
21 ever before, I mean it was historic from both sides.

22 But this is not the kind of success that we
23 really need, where the democrats are sending out
24 surrogates to reach out to young people and republicans

1 are organizing college students to go out and mobilize
2 old people. That's not success, and we need to do a
3 lot more and the campaigns kind of came to it late,
4 when they started to see real numbers.

5 But I'm kind of interested in the partisan
6 panel, to really hear about what they did because I
7 think they did more than some of us know.

8 MR. SEKULOW: We spent more money than any
9 other Republican campaign in history on youth voter
10 turnout, and this is, I mean we spent, I'm not saying,
11 money is not the only issue here but when you bring in
12 the President's daughters to a college, it costs a lot
13 of money to a campaign because of the Secret Service
14 you've got to pay for, the security, the room--

15 MS. ACKER: To a closed event you mean?

16 MR. SEKULOW: But because of security with the
17 Secret Service, you are not understanding that, it's a
18 little bit different when you are running a campaign
19 where you have people that have to be followed around
20 by ten bodyguards. The campaign has to pick up some of
21 that. So when we committed somewhere, we really had,
22 and this is the same thing with the president and all
23 the way down, these guys were travelling with major
24 entourages. It's a little bit different when you are

1 not the incumbent and I think that does help with your
2 flexibility, but what we did was interesting, our first
3 grassroots event of the Bush Campaign was a Students
4 for Bush event. The first grassroots website of the
5 Bush Campaign was the Students for Bush website.

6 We had 128,000 student Bush volunteers, all in
7 college, we had all of their contact info, we knew
8 exactly where they were, what year they were,
9 everything about them, so we had all these things.
10 Yes, we got our 17 percent and that's what the number,
11 for you all, this is what you have to do, you have to
12 tell us, okay, why, instead of one of us on each
13 campaign, why shouldn't there be five?

14 MS. FLEMING: There should be.

15 MR. SEKULOW: Or why shouldn't there be one in
16 each state? And somehow you all, we can't do it
17 because we are not the numbers folks and it can come
18 from you all too. I think people are misunderstanding
19 what I was saying earlier, I'm looking at this from a
20 campaign manager's perspective, 17 percent is 17
21 percent and there is a lot more older people that you
22 can go after, so it's worth spending your money on
23 older people, but if we can show --.

24 I think we have to show that but see you have,

1 someone has got to show it because this election really
2 didn't show it. I mean you all kind of agreed on that,
3 that yes, the numbers went up, all the numbers were up,
4 it's hard to tell yet, but if you can show that, hey,
5 you can go into one of these battleground states,
6 because that's what you've got to focus on, if we are
7 talking about campaign managers here. A big blue state
8 or a big red state, they are going to look at it and
9 say that's great that we can get five more percent of
10 young people there to vote for us but that's still
11 we'll lose by 15 percent.

12 If you can go into a few of those and say, wow,
13 if you really can put in some grassroots drive here,
14 and we did. What we did, as the Bush Campaign, is
15 targeted conservative groups. Well what's
16 conservative, fraternities, sororities, evangelical.
17 We went to Christian concerts--

18 FROM THE FLOOR: Don't get too far ahead of us
19 here.

20 (Laughter)

21 MR. SEKULOW: What I'm saying is that we did
22 things that we've never done before, the RNC did things
23 they never done before and we don't think it failed, we
24 actually thought our youth effort worked. We wanted to

1 mobilize young people, we knew in some places we
2 couldn't win the youth vote, that's part of polling and
3 we went from there.

4 MS. GREENE: Well I think it's interesting the
5 Ken Mehlman said that they did, I think it was at a
6 forum similar to this here at Harvard, that he said,
7 well, we did everything right except for young people.

8 MS. SNOW: Let's save that for the next
9 session.

10 (Laughter)

11 MR. FERGUSON: I was exhausted travelling coast
12 to coast in the last 60 days campaigning.

13 MS. SNOW: This is a great discussion but we
14 really think that it's sort of the next panel. Before
15 we move away from the non-partisan world, just make
16 sure we've got it.

17 MR. UZETA: Just in terms of moving forward and
18 how we are shifting, the results of the election have
19 actually prompted us to shift our strategy, and
20 programming and the way we handle social issues.
21 Whereas before we focused on off year elections,
22 primarily on one issue per year, we are trying to seize
23 on this increased interest that's happened gradually,
24 post 9/11, and then really accelerated during the last

1 election, and actually have a multi issue approach to
2 our social campaign.

3 So young people, in general, are going to hear
4 a lot more from MTV on all the issues of concern,
5 whereas, before they were just, like I said, it was an
6 issue-based approach to try to say, look, you care
7 about this issue, politics is connected with this
8 issue, we feed them all this information, just that one
9 issue. Now there seems to be an increased appetite and
10 we are trying to really kind of pry that open and go a
11 lot further with it, so we are covering several issues
12 at once and we are starting to get a lot more air time
13 on TV. So I think in terms of what young people are,
14 to the extent that they are influenced by what they end
15 up seeing on TV, or MTV or anything like that, they are
16 going to start seeing a lot more on just social issues
17 in general.

18 MS. CAMPBELL: For us, and one of the things
19 that we would recommend and one of the things that's
20 very, very difficult in politics too, because we focus
21 nationally so much, just on the president, which is
22 what we are here to talk about, but also to build on
23 that a systemic way of having impact. So, for us, it's
24 working on the state level and working on a local

1 level. And so with our young people, we have the 14
2 states that we are still in and that you are working
3 through. So, after the election, you bring those young
4 people together and you develop that leadership because
5 part of it is, for politics, you find campaigns, and I
6 hear this from people I know that work on the partisan
7 side, looking for talent, looking for people who will
8 be involved.

9 And when the systemic approach of public
10 policy, when it came down to the voter, not voter
11 registration but the community service, Americorps,
12 whatever that bill that passed, and then you see 13
13 years later, now 12 or 13 years later, that you've got
14 more young people who were volunteering for community
15 service, it was no accident. I talked about this when
16 I was here at Harvard and our study group was focused
17 on this issue, and it was a policy decision that was
18 made by Democrats, who were in control of the Congress
19 at that time, to not allow working on campaigns to be
20 considered a community service.

21 And so young people who come through this body
22 or academic community know that most young people, they
23 got it at high school, on a high school level, and so
24 the policy decisions that are made have to be also

1 impacted, and that's been a very difficult thing to try
2 to tackle because on the partisan side, if you're not
3 voting for my, your people aren't voting for
4 Republicans, I'd rather not change that, or it would be
5 the same thing, so non-partisans, whether my group or
6 any other, have to stay around. I love the partisan
7 folks, there is going to have to, there has to be, for
8 this country, because 50 percent of the people aren't
9 voting in the first place, there has to be vehicles out
10 here that keep driving it home. And so the working
11 consistently outside of elections cycles that has
12 driven up by the federal presidential campaigns is
13 critical and so, for us, that's what we are doing.

14 MR. KING: I'm going to close up this session
15 now. Thank you very much to all the panelists,
16 especially to a wonderful journalist who we are not
17 going to actually allow them to leave, they will be
18 joined by Ron Fournier in just a moment.

19 One of the important distinctions to keep in
20 mind between the partisan and non-partisan sides, and
21 you can feel the heat from the partisan side toward the
22 non-partisan side--

23 (Laughter)

24 MR. KING: --is that politics is way too

1 important to be left up to the partisans because the,
2 and even just to the academics because turnout was much
3 higher in the battleground states than it was in the
4 non-battleground states. And children learn about
5 politics when they are young, 12, 13, 14, 15 years old.

6 After that, it will be much harder to get them engaged
7 in politics generally and campaigns, the longer the
8 campaigns are, are wonderful experiences for them to
9 become active, lifelong participants. And if the
10 parties aren't advertising in their states, if the
11 candidates aren't visiting their states, if they happen
12 to live in three quarters of the states, this campaign
13 went by.

14 The partisans did a fabulous job of boosting
15 turnout in the battleground states and it's the non-
16 partisan organizations that have to continue to try and
17 teach young people about the importance of civic
18 engagement, as our schools are no longer doing a
19 fabulous job, as our families are no longer doing an
20 adequate job. What you all are engaged in, forget
21 about partisan politics, what you are engaged in for
22 the future of the democratic system, small-d, don't
23 worry, is really very important. I thank you very
24 much.

1 on in my business right now, the so many different ways
2 people are getting their information, especially
3 youngsters with the Internet and viral marketing, what
4 new methods are emerging and will emerge to define,
5 target and motivate youths. And secondly, which of
6 these new techniques, these new methods, these new
7 communications channels are particularly unique to
8 young voters because of the communication?

9 Before we get into that though, we can come
10 back to it later, there is one little bit of
11 housekeeping. You were saying earlier that what
12 matters is what happens in the battleground states,
13 that's where you focus your, and that happens to be
14 something that I subscribe to when I do my reporting,
15 when I want to see how effective a turnout operation
16 was or how effective an advertising campaign was. I
17 look at the campaigns where the money was spent, where
18 the campaigns were focused. Do you have any idea how
19 you guys did in those states among young voters?

20 MR. SEKULOW: Well, I was talking about this
21 earlier and kind of our goal for our effort, it was two
22 pronged, our first goal for our youth effort, and I
23 make no qualms about this, the campaign is over, and
24 I'm not with the White House, I'm not with the

1 administration, was to produce volunteers for the
2 campaign. When I was brought in, and Eric is going to
3 agree with me from the College Republicans, we knew,
4 looking at some states, we couldn't win the youth vote,
5 states we were going to win. But at the same time, we
6 picked up states, like Maine, where we lost, which was
7 a battleground state that we won the youth vote in.

8 So there are interesting places now that our
9 polling staff and our statistics people can go back in
10 and look at. You know, I think different things played
11 into this too, the height of the war came in right at
12 the end. We started out very high in the youth vote,
13 nationwide, very high. Harvard actually had a poll out
14 showing us 60 percent versus any of the other
15 Democratic candidates--

16 MR. FOURNIER: Let me ask you about this,
17 overall, Kerry won 54-45, as you know. In the 16 top
18 battleground states, Kerry won 56-43, there was only
19 three states that the Bush Campaign had a higher
20 percentage, although it's statistically negligible,
21 basically it's even, that's Maine, Arizona and New
22 Mexico. You got your butt kicked where--

23 MR. SEKULOW: That was not our goal of the
24 campaign. I mean our youth outreach was to fire up

1 young people because--

2 MR. FOURNIER: I thought getting more votes was
3 the goal of the campaign.

4 MR. SEKULOW: It is a goal but we used the
5 young people that supported us, that we knew supported
6 us, to get more votes for us, and we knew that
7 sometimes calling a bunch of college students who we're
8 pretty sure are just by, and you can look at micro
9 targeting and knowing how people feel about a lot of
10 different issues. Maybe it's better to use those
11 college Republicans and Students for Bush to call
12 likely Republican or undecided voters, instead of
13 calling a bunch of liberal students, and you can look
14 at that in each state.

15 I mean that's, our goal is to maximize our
16 volunteers and our grassroots people's time, we are not
17 going to waste time reaching out to people that are
18 this far left. Now if they are in the middle--

19 MS. FLEMING: If we considered young people a
20 waste of time, we would--

21 MR. SEKULOW: No, I'm not saying that.

22 MS. FLEMING: --consistently be in the
23 situation that we are in.

24 MR. SEKULOW: I'm not saying that--

1 MS. FLEMING: Which is campaigns treating young
2 people as a chicken and an egg--

3 MR. SEKULOW: That is not true. I mean that's
4 what--

5 MS. FLEMING: But I do want to answer your
6 question about battleground states that we were in
7 because we do know--

8 MR. SEKULOW: I think this is the point,
9 students in battleground states--

10 MS. FLEMING: There was a ten percent--

11 MS. ACKER: Let's go one at a time, one at a
12 time.

13 MS. FLEMING: There was a ten percent different
14 between Bush and Kerry on a national average. In the
15 five battleground states that we were in, we had about
16 a 17 percent difference, and that goes back to the
17 model that we put into place for this cycle, which was
18 we were no longer going to stand for sending all of our
19 YDA kids to the campaign to volunteer and go knock on
20 older people's doors. We actually did, for the first
21 time in history, a youth coordinated campaign where
22 young people were talking to their peers.

23 MR. FOURNIER: And that gets to the bigger
24 point I want to get to in a minute, but I wonder if

1 maybe that points out a problem with the strategy. You
2 did what your goal was, the next time though would it
3 be better to try to get your folks to vote instead of
4 just volunteering?

5 MR. SEKULOW: The next time we look at the same
6 kind of things. Remember, I'm not talking from the
7 Republican Party, I'm just talking about Bush Campaign.
8 We knew where we stood, we did lots in those
9 battleground states with different constituency groups,
10 that doesn't mean young people's votes aren't
11 important, but in a battleground state that has had ads
12 run for a year and a half by us and the other side,
13 people are pretty partisan, they are going to be likely
14 voters who we're calling that last week before the
15 campaign, and so we are not going to call the ones who
16 are likely D, we are going to call the ones that are
17 likely R or middle or undecided, and that can change
18 things.

19 MR. FERGUSON: Part of it, I think, too is just
20 that you look at us, we knew we could win battles but
21 we knew we weren't going to win the war, and part of
22 that was because that we knew that some of these
23 "non-partisan" groups were partisan and they weren't on
24 our side. You look at people like P. Diddy who said he

1 was non-partisan until he came out and ripped the
2 president. We knew that, he--

3 MS. MCGILL: --the president in March.

4 MR. FERGUSON: The bottom line is that we know
5 that everything, and the other thing is this--

6 MR. FOURNIER: Is the solution to complain
7 about what the non-partisans do--

8 (Multiple people speaking)

9 MR. FOURNIER: What I want to get to is if you
10 guys can tell me what you would do, what you are going
11 to do next time to get the youth vote up in
12 battleground states because that's the bottom line,
13 you've got to get that--

14 MS. ACKER: I would like to just jump in, in
15 concert, and say that the Kerry Campaign strategy was
16 completely opposite of the Bush Campaign. Not only was
17 my job to mobilize the youth vote and increase our
18 share of it, but we had 12 on the ground organizers in
19 battleground states, who were full-time youth
20 organizers, only three of three of them were so-called
21 full-time volunteers in that they were people who did
22 not need financial assistants. These were paid staff
23 whose sole job was to organize and mobilize young
24 people. And I would get completely thrown off my

1 rocker when I would hear about organizers on the ground
2 using students to then go mobilize older voters.

3 MR. FOURNIER: So what do you do next time to
4 have a higher percentage, to win the youth vote in
5 battleground--

6 MR. SEKULOW: I think this is what we do, we
7 have now seen and I think, like Jaime said, we know,
8 Ken Mehlman said, he is the Chairman of the RNC, the
9 youth vote is important. We didn't do our job, maybe,
10 on the vote, turnout-wise, we still--

11 MR. FOURNIER: What do you to do your job
12 better?

13 MR. SEKULOW: What do we do? I think we have
14 to target those non-college. I think college students
15 who are voting are pretty partisan, I think they know
16 how they are going to vote. I mean unless you have a
17 major thing right before, if a 9/11 occurred a month
18 before an election, maybe it changes, but youth
19 partisan, students at Harvard probably know how they
20 are going to vote.

21 MR. FOURNIER: Let me ask the professor what
22 the partisan breakdown is among college--

23 MR. KING: Well, for all intents and purposes,
24 about 36 percent are Independent, about 33 percent are

1 Democrat, the rest are Republican, so the modal
2 response of course is that I'm an Independent, and when
3 we look at why they call themselves independents, they
4 usually don't have a very clear idea about what it even
5 means to be a partisan. They say things like, well, I
6 don't want anyone telling me how to vote. Now when we
7 also did a panel back survey, which is we go to
8 students at one point and then go ask them a few months
9 later who are you voting for now?

10 We found 20 percent of students, who had made
11 an affirmative choice at time one, changing their mind
12 from Bush to Kerry or from Kerry to Bush. Twenty
13 percent who looked like solid votes, changing their
14 mind in just a few months, so the youth vote is very
15 movable, it's pliable, not necessarily liberal.

16 MR. FERGUSON: I think part of it was is we
17 learned from this election that we know the youth vote
18 is going to be tapped into more, and more and more.
19 When the next election cycle comes up, I think we are
20 going to have to go after them more than we did this
21 time. The bottom line, when you look at it from a
22 campaign perspective, is how much money are you willing
23 to spend on a group that you just don't know about yet?
24 Are you willing to spend the resources? Are you going

1 to spend the resources on a group that you just don't
2 know about, or are you going to spend money on a group
3 you know that you can target and they will turn out?
4 Well now we know--

5 MR. FOURNIER: --change in four years.

6 MR. FERGUSON: And another thing was this too,
7 it's that when you look at the War in Iraq, people
8 assumed that that was going to engage my generation
9 like never before because their friends are over there,
10 they knew people that were that age. Did that issue,
11 something that pivotable of an issue, bring that many
12 extra people out? I don't think so.

13 MR. FOURNIER: Fifty-one percent of people
14 under 30, who were talked to at the exit polls, said
15 they approved of the decision to go to war in Iraq.
16 Let's go real quickly and I'll stop talking, let's go
17 to the other forms of communication. You mentioned
18 talking to friends, the whole idea of viral
19 communications, influentials, connectors, fascinates me
20 in politics and marketing, especially with all these
21 different ways, the diffuseness of the way they
22 communicate. Can both of you guys talk about what
23 steps you took this time to communicate in ways other
24 than national advertising? And how is it going to

1 change in four years?

2 MS. FLEMING: Actually, I have some concrete
3 examples, and I brought plenty if people want to take
4 them back, of the literature that we use door to door.

5 And we went back to old school, we knew, based on
6 actually the research, that Nickerson, Green and
7 Garber, Ryan Friedrichs did, who was part of our
8 national team, that the door to door, peer to peer,
9 talking to young people where they lived and where they
10 hang out was going to be the best thing for us to do in
11 order to get them to the polls to vote for Democrats.

12 And we specifically did a pro Democratic
13 message, everything that we did was here is where the
14 Democrats stand on issues and here is where the
15 Republicans stand on issues, and you are going to be
16 better off with the Democrats. Your future is going to
17 be better off, your families are better off and that's
18 why it's important to vote for Democrats.

19 MR. FOURNIER: Were your kids talking to kids
20 on--

21 MS. FLEMING: Young people talking to young
22 people, we had hip hop kids talking to hip hop kids,
23 punk kids talking to punk kids, and so we very much--

24 MR. FOURNIER: The Bush Campaign did this so

1 much better, so much better, generally, than the Kerry
2 Campaign did. Was it something that--

3 MS. FLEMING: Well I also want to make the
4 distinction that we weren't the Kerry Campaign--

5 MR. FOURNIER: Well I know, that's why I want
6 to, I want to ask the Kerry and Bush Campaigns what you
7 guys did because I know, nationally, the Bush Campaigns
8 get a lot more credit for doing it better.

9 MS. ACKER: Sure. I will say, hands down, that
10 the Bush Campaign website was infinitely better than
11 our website was, and that was one of my biggest
12 frustrations was I did not have any kind of direct
13 control over the content of our young voter outreach
14 website. There was a decision made nationally to kind
15 of make all of our constituency websites, all of our
16 state websites have the same kind of look and feel,
17 which was a huge frustration of mine because obviously
18 you can't talk to a young voter the same way.

19 Your website was amazing, I will totally give
20 you that credit.

21 Our website, however, had three downloadable
22 organizing manuals, which I think were a huge help,
23 they were actually the number one hit on our website in
24 the month of September, it was our campus organizing

1 manual. We had a campus organizing manual, a non-
2 student organizing manual and a voter registration
3 manual, all of which were directed at activists
4 teaching themselves and teaching other students how to
5 organize themselves, and I thought that that made a
6 huge difference.

7 We worked very, very, closely with the campaign
8 and the Democratic National Committee worked very, very
9 closely together in strategically reaching out to our
10 activists via e-mail. The campaign had 80,000 people,
11 the DNC had over 120,000 people and we called them our
12 e-activists, they received monthly and then weekly
13 e-mails with organizing suggestions. So, eight weeks
14 out, it was hold a voter registration drive on your
15 campus. Seven weeks out, it was identify supporters
16 who will be volunteers for you in organizing your
17 peers. Six weeks out, I am getting the calendar wrong
18 here but--

19 MR. FOURNIER: The first thing Matthew Dow did,
20 early in the campaign, was pass around the book,
21 *Influentials*, to Karl Rove and Ken Mehlman, saying
22 we've got to find out who the opinion leaders are in
23 the communities, get them talking to each other, get
24 them talking to their neighbors and friends about the

1 campaign. Did you guys use any of that stuff with the
2 youth vote?

3 MR. SEKULOW: No. I mean that was our, if I
4 could point out one thing in the campaign, we could not
5 counter the surrogates that a Kerry Campaign could
6 have. Now we had Barbara and Jenna, we had high, you
7 know, people that--

8 MR. FOURNIER: Well I'm not talking surrogates,
9 I'm talking about influential members of the community,
10 the coolest kids in the high school and the--

11 MR. SEKULOW: We didn't, we kind of went for
12 the opposite of that at a lot of big schools, if you
13 looked at it, because we knew where our most likely
14 voters were and our most likely voters were evangelical
15 clubs, fraternities and sororities, so we went there,
16 we found our leaders in religious groups. People that
17 go to church more regularly vote more Republican more
18 regularly, and we know that, so we did those kind of
19 things, that's how we targeted and that's why I think
20 you look at the Bush Campaign as micro targeted, it's
21 not even about youth, Hispanic women, it's about
22 person, we had the resources to do that.

23 Our students website, going back to that real
24 quick, that was, the campaign spent more time on our

1 students website sometimes than we did on our regular
2 because who uses websites every day? College students
3 who have fast connections in their rooms or wireless
4 access all over their campus and towns.

5 Our first big thing that we did was in March,
6 way before the election, with March Madness going on,
7 we launched March to Victory, so we took 32 states, put
8 them in brackets, and this took a lot of building to do
9 this kind of thing.

10 They were all going against each other and it
11 was to sign up, who could sign up the most student Bush
12 volunteers and get them on line like immediately,
13 constantly? And in three weeks, we signed up 21,000
14 new students and for us, still a volunteer-driven
15 campaign, going back to those points I discussed.

16 MR. FERGUSON: And I think that's the point of
17 what I was saying earlier is we picked our battles. We
18 knew we didn't have the high profile surrogates, we
19 didn't have the national, per se, media attention that
20 we knew we would need to win the youth vote, but we
21 knew the battles we could win and the campaign gave us
22 everything we needed to win those battles. You know,
23 I'm not going to go to my alma mater in the south,
24 where I know the state is, and go down there and hold a

1 big forum because it's not going to affect that
2 election.

3 And they asked me, they said will you come? I
4 said look, I need to spend my time other places where
5 there is battles that we can win that are up for grabs.

6 And it was more time management, it was more saying be
7 honest with ourselves, going is that really going to
8 work? No.

9 MR. FOURNIER: So you really don't think you
10 could win the youth vote in the battleground states?
11 You're giving that up?

12 MR. FERGUSON: No, no, I'm saying we picked our
13 places where we knew, this time around, we could do it
14 and I think that--

15 MS. FLEMING: Here is the tricky thing, I mean
16 the young Democrats took a risk, we had limited
17 resources, we raised \$1.3 million. We could have gone
18 the safe route and did a snazzy website to get all
19 these volunteers and put them into Move On, or put them
20 into ACT or put them into all these other voter
21 mobilization efforts. But we took a big risk, we took
22 a risk on the youth vote because we knew that if you
23 invested in young people and you invested in a model,
24 which we created, called the New Voter Model, which

1 blended traditional door to door and direct mail
2 campaign with non-traditional techniques, which is more
3 like street teams, and grassroots marketing and viral
4 marketing, that we would have a model that we could
5 build upon, not only for the young Democrats, as an
6 organization, but for state parties and for the DNC.
7 Because right now, state parties, if you say what do
8 you think about the youth vote? They'll be like oh,
9 it's great, we think young people are our future.

10 But zero state parties give money to the young
11 Democrats and zero state parties give money to local
12 youth organizations. And it's time that young people
13 in organizations, young people who lead organizations
14 of young people, that we stand up, and really challenge
15 the party system and challenge where resources are
16 spent.

17 MR. HOPLIN: If I could just interject for one
18 second, you know, the Republican Party, in a lot of
19 ways, does reach out to young people, especially on the
20 local level. For example, I represent the College
21 Republican National Committee and I would say we have
22 20 or so Republican parties that invest in College
23 Republicans. The State of Minnesota, for example, the
24 Republican Party gave the local College Republicans

1 \$30,000. Why? Because the bulk of their volunteers
2 for the phone banks or knocking on doors came from
3 College Republicans.

4 And we had a similar focus to Young Democrats
5 in that we put out 60 full-time, paid field
6 representatives and what they did is they recruited
7 some 200,000 College Republicans who then organized
8 their friends. They went door to door in the dormitory
9 and they said hey, do you like George Bush? Do you
10 like the Republican Party? Hey, where are you on this
11 issue? Hey, are you registered to vote? And so I
12 think that while the Bush Campaign focused a lot on the
13 website and that was very helpful to attract a national
14 audience, what we tried to do is go into the dormitory,
15 talk to people one on one. And I think it was very
16 effective.

17 One of the things that Ivan said in the
18 previous session is something to the effect that it's a
19 failure if young people's times are spent going out
20 trying to get old people to vote. Well it's a failure
21 depending on what your goal is, and our goal is to win
22 the election and if there are many more citizens,
23 whether it's inside the youth demographic or not, that
24 can vote, by manning that phone bank, by going to that

1 door, by stamping that literature, by providing the
2 volunteers that provided the votes for victory, you
3 achieve your goal.

4 Now, at the same time, I will be the first to
5 say yeah, we wanted to win the youth vote, and we spent
6 a lot of our energy trying to get young people to vote
7 for Republicans and to get involved, but I would say
8 more of our energy was expended in getting them
9 involved in the campaign. And I think, for the
10 national media, one of the perspectives that maybe they
11 haven't thought of is they said they were waiting for
12 the young people to make the huge impact in terms of
13 voting, but maybe they did make a pretty big impact and
14 that is young people provided the volunteers that
15 produced the votes that led to victory, and I think
16 that's one thing--

17 MR. FOURNIER: How many people do you think
18 spent the time to go to a campaign and lick stamps--

19 MR. FERGUSON: If you look at the Republicans,
20 when we had one of our very first meetings, they said,
21 Ben, what is your objective? I said look, young people
22 don't have jobs, they are in college, their job is
23 college and you can get them in a campaign and they
24 will work for you until the wee hours of the morning.

1 MS. DAVIS: I don't know what college students
2 they are talking to that don't have jobs, that's the
3 not the case where--

4 MR. FERGUSON: No, I'm saying compared to the
5 older demographics. I mean I have a job but my point
6 is this, if you go after college students, and that's
7 what you did, and they are involved and they want to
8 work for you, they have so many more hours available.
9 They don't have to go home and take care of their
10 families or their kids, they live on campus, they live
11 off campus but they are going to work for you and
12 invest in it, and I think that's what we did.

13 MR. FOURNIER: --to the point that it's a known
14 fact that the way you vote your first two elections is
15 almost for sure how you are going to vote the rest of
16 your life and if you're not getting, if you're losing
17 the youth vote now, when are you going to get them
18 back?

19 MR. SEKULOW: --lost the youth vote last, I
20 mean yes, we've lot a little more this time, we also
21 had a war, but we've lost the youth vote a couple of
22 times now and we still won, and I keep coming back to
23 that. It's there is no youth vote, that's what I'm
24 trying to get to here, if you look at our perspective.

1 Look overall, for a campaign, there is, for voter
2 registration, that is very different but for a
3 campaign, if you know a young person that attends
4 church regularly, shops at the store, you know they are
5 more likely to vote. It doesn't matter if they are
6 young or not, why do you have to always just keep
7 looking at these people just because they are young
8 people? Why not look at them because they are a voter
9 and then obviously a campaign targets likely or
10 undecided voters for their campaign. You don't have to
11 use this young title.

12 MS. ACKER: Jordan, I would just counter what
13 you are saying and say I think that you are seeing
14 buyer's remorse on the side of the president now in how
15 aggressively they are targeting young people for their
16 Social Security plan. I think the Republican Party is
17 saying oh crap, we didn't target this age group and
18 it's going to come back to bite us in next elections,
19 and they are right, and that is, I think, why you are
20 seeing such an aggressive youth strategy on that issue.

21 MR. FERGUSON: I don't think it's oh crap, I
22 think it's we know now that they can be mobilized, we
23 know now that they will respond, and now what we are
24 doing is taking the next steps to get them because now

1 we see I have leverage.

2 MS. SNOW: That's my next question. My next
3 question is having covered, I'm in a unique position
4 because I covered both Kerry and Bush for a time. And
5 I talked to people in both campaigns, and I'm sure Ron
6 will back me up, who said it's not worth our time, it's
7 not worth our money, especially in the Bush Campaign
8 who said, off the record usually, but said, you know,
9 we are not going there, we are not going to even try.
10 Is it changed now, given that we, going back to our
11 discussion about 17 percent or the number--

12 MS. FLEMING: I say no, it's not changed.

13 MR. SEKULOW: I think there is a real big
14 difference about this, I'll use an example, right after
15 the campaign, now I decided to go work on another
16 campaign, I passed up a job in the administration,
17 fine. I got a call from the RNC, one of their
18 directors, a senior staffer said can you come in? We
19 want to really start talking about reaching out to
20 young people. We know you are kind of moving on in
21 your political career. And that's one of the problems
22 with youth politics too is that everyone changes. Eric
23 is not going to be the CR guy next year, I'm not going
24 to be the Youth Director for the next campaign, Alex

1 isn't going to be either.

2 Can we use our ideas? Yes, but we are gone and
3 our people are gone too, so there is shifts. I mean
4 it's very generational, but the RNC is reaching out
5 more so than ever before. It's not about votes, it's
6 about issues and policy. It is something newer for us
7 but I mean I think that's a good sign, I think that's a
8 good sign for the Republican Party is that they are
9 using the resources.

10 MR. SNOW: Alex? Can we just hear from Alex?

11 MS. ACKER: I would just say too that Jane and
12 I had slightly different views of how the state party
13 reacted to young voters because obviously being a 527,
14 the state parties couldn't work directly with YDA this
15 cycle. I would say that, out of the battleground
16 states, there were only a handful that did not actively
17 give money and engage young people in trying to
18 organize young people. And in those states, primarily
19 the two that spring to mind, New Mexico and Iowa, that
20 did not have a specific youth program, those were the
21 two states that flipped from Gore to Bush.

22 So I think that the national party and the
23 state parties see a direct correlation now between
24 young voter organizing and victory, and I think that

1 you are seeing that down the line. I also think we
2 couldn't, perhaps for young people, say what you say
3 about the rest of the party. You couldn't ask for a
4 better spokesperson than Governor Dean to be the
5 chairman of the party right now in speaking to young
6 people and addressing issues that they care about.

7 MS. SNOW: I just want to follow up on Alex,
8 I'm really curious about this, I'm sorry, or to Jane.
9 But for the Democrats, given what happened to you, you
10 lost, how are you going to keep both the focus on youth
11 vote and also keep voters on your side when they feel
12 disenchanted now, they feel discouraged?

13 MS. ACKER: I actually think that they don't
14 feel disenchanted or discouraged, I think that that's
15 been one of the surprising things coming out of this
16 election is that young people are still engaged. There
17 is obviously going to be a small percentage that drop
18 off. I think the work that's being done across the
19 table from me in organizations that are continuing to
20 do mobilizations around issues is very heartening, I
21 think the ideas coming out of the national, state and
22 local party is saying we have to keep doing this, young
23 people actually came out this time, we have to keep
24 engaging them.

1 It's huge because I think the problem that we
2 saw in '92 was Clinton rode in on the youth wave and
3 then the party did nothing to build a continuing
4 infrastructure to keep young people engaged. We did
5 not see Clinton reach out to young people in '96, Al
6 Gore had like two weeks of talking about young people
7 and then it dropped off the planet. Young people were
8 not a targeted demographic for the Democratic Party
9 since 1992. And I think we've learned from that
10 mistake in saying okay, we can count on them to be
11 Democratic voters because we saw in 2000 that you
12 cannot count on them to be Democratic voters. And as a
13 result, we also had a candidate who believed very
14 strongly in reaching out to young people. This was a
15 personal issue for John Kerry, he himself made it a
16 point to address young people and their issues.

17 MS. FLEMING: I think it's important to just
18 look at dollars and look at staffing within state
19 parties, and so time will tell, at the RNC and the DNC,
20 if there is actually a staff member who is dedicated to
21 young people, not just college students and getting
22 them to be volunteers, but actually mobilizing the
23 youth vote, both non-college and college. And if it's
24 not just one person, right because one person is not

1 going to, and all of us know that, being one person on
2 a campaign or one person in an organization, that
3 that's not going to mobilize this constituency.

4 MR. HOPLIN: But, Jane, I would say is there
5 any Democratic youth group on any side that had 60 or
6 more staff members on the college campuses?

7 MS. FLEMING: Yes, actually we did, yes.

8 MR. HOPLIN: For the entire, in the entire
9 election cycle, we had 500 paid staff members worth
10 \$1.3 million?

11 MS. FLEMING: We had 500 paid, we don't pay as
12 well as you do, and we had 36 full-time staffers.

13 MR. HOPLIN: I think if you have 36 and we had
14 60, but your point--

15 MS. FLEMING: But how much did you spend? And
16 how many young people did you talk to door to door?

17 MS. SINDERBRAND: I have a quick question for
18 you, I just wanted to follow something you were saying
19 before about creating a model, that was one of your
20 aims was creating a model that perhaps other people
21 would take up, and that was something that Ivan and
22 other people were talking about before in terms of the
23 New Voter Project. When that data comes in and
24 actually, for both parties, do you see a willingness,

1 if that data does confirm what he is thinking, that in
2 those counties where those methods were put into
3 effect, it had a real impact on the vote? Do you see a
4 willingness on the part of the parties to put resources
5 into those methods in the future?

6 MS. FLEMING: Well we put the same experiments
7 in place that Ivan did. I mean Ivan and the Young
8 Democrats basically ran parallel programs but ours was
9 partisan and his was non-partisan, and so we --. Now
10 do I think that that will change? Time will tell. I
11 think it's going to take a lot of election cycles for
12 us to prove ourselves, that when you target young
13 people and you talk to them about issues, that they
14 vote for the candidate and the party that you want them
15 to. It can't just be one election cycle. I would be
16 fooling myself to think that the DNC and candidates
17 across the nation now are going to pour millions of
18 dollars into the youth vote for their campaigns, that's
19 silly, so we have to take a lot of election cycles to
20 prove ourselves.

21 MR. FERGUSON: You've got two things that came
22 out of this last election, one is 20 somethings,
23 college kids, whatever category you want to put them
24 in, is the new minority and campaigns know that. They

1 have to talk to them and they have to get them to win
2 an election on a national scale. The other thing is
3 you are going to have, for all of us on this side of
4 the table, is we now have legitimacy in what we are
5 trying to do, which is get out the young vote. I can
6 actually pick up the phone now and call someone in a
7 majority position of political power, and they might
8 actually listen to what I have to say about young
9 people. Before this election, the chances of that
10 happening are me winning the lottery twice, it's not
11 going to happen.

12 MR. SEKULOW: I mean I think it helped show the
13 Republicans, who are now in control, what happened to
14 us. We did focus our our time on volunteers and yes,
15 that worked this time, we don't know what's going to
16 happen with the demographic 18 to 21, I mean they
17 change a lot. Look back in history about the shifts
18 between Vietnam, back to conservative, back and forth.

19 But at the same time, that's a considerable margin, so
20 it gives our leaders, our fund raisers, the people at
21 the top who make things happen that we implement, you
22 have a reason to go after it and a reason to really
23 spend not just resources but time and effort on making
24 sure this is done right, and it's going to take more

1 than two people, one on each side, doing that.

2 MS. SINDERBRAND: Because we do have a model in
3 place for young people, as you described, that was very
4 similar to the model used in other groups, the model
5 used with evangelicals, the peer to peer, the ground
6 marketing, why do you think that that didn't come
7 through?

8 MR. SEKULOW: For us? For this campaign?

9 MS. SINDERBRAND: For you. Was is just forces
10 you couldn't control--

11 MR. SEKULOW: Yeah, I really do, I think there
12 is a considerable, and especially in the battleground
13 states where we spend our resources, you had pressure,
14 obviously, on where you are spending your money. You
15 have to realize what we were facing as well, we had the
16 527 groups on campus and they were more than just the
17 young Democrats, Move On had one, ACT had one, so we
18 were outnumbered. I mean the College Republicans, by
19 itself, had more than any Democratic group, just
20 focused on college campuses, but ACT still had 400
21 people in Pennsylvania, 400 staffers in Pennsylvania.
22 They did their job there but then if you look at it,
23 how well they did, why weren't they in Ohio? That's
24 the kind of stuff, you have to think about these

1 things.

2 MS. ACKER: That's the question I was asking.

3 MR. SEKULOW: But see that was the problem.

4 This is the difference between the Bush Campaign and
5 the Kerry Campaign, we ran our grassroots and they let
6 the 527s run it, and I don't think it worked, I think
7 they were mismanaged.

8 MS. ACKER: I love when you say let because we
9 literally did not coordinate. Jane, Meighan and I were
10 all friends before the campaign and I literally did not
11 have a conversation with them the entire time we were
12 on the campaign.

13 MR. SEKULOW: Well I'm not saying that but--

14 MR. FERGUSON: What you are talking about the
15 reality is is that they helped you a lot.

16 MR. SEKULOW: Which is great if you are, if I'm
17 on the campaign--

18 MS. ACKER: I'm not denying that.

19 MR. SEKULOW: --I'd be thrilled to have them.
20 We didn't, I was frustrated that we didn't have them.

21 MS. ACKER: But you spent all your money on the
22 Swift Boat ads.

23 MR. FOURNIER: Let me change the subject real
24 quick.

1 MR. FERGUSON: Since some of the young people
2 had so much cash, I'll give you that, you're right.

3 MR. FOURNIER: Can we start, the two campaign
4 folks, why is it that when people under 30 were asked
5 for the most important issue, 14 percent said Iraq, 16
6 percent said terror, 21 said economy and I think about
7 a half of the youth that didn't vote put the economy as
8 their number one issue, and 22 percent said moral
9 values? I would have thought Iraq would have been
10 higher.

11 MS. ACKER: Well I would love to address that
12 question because I think this is something that the
13 Democratic Party as a whole has not addressed. When
14 people say moral values, you assume that those voters
15 are Republicans and I would strongly disagree with that
16 statement. To me, the War on Iraq is a moral issue. I
17 am pro choice, family planning is a moral issue. And I
18 would say that my opposition to the war in Iraq is
19 because of my morals and my beliefs, so I don't think
20 that you can clump moral voters into a conservative
21 voting block.

22 MR. SEKULOW: I think it works both sides too,
23 I think some of ours are mixed in with that 22 percent
24 and some of theirs because our evangelical students,

1 which is a big chunk of voters, as you talked about,
2 how many students that are college campuses that attend
3 church regularly and that kind of thing. Those things
4 you can't just categorize, oh, those were all the
5 Republicans, there is all the Democrats.

6 MR. FOURNIER: I don't think you'll see that
7 phrasing on the next exit poll. How about economy?
8 Why was economy higher than Iraq? That one really
9 stumped me.

10 MS. ACKER: Young people are the number one
11 most unemployed demographic.

12 MS. FLEMING: It's actually one of our bullet
13 points, no health care, no WMD, no jobs.

14 MR. HOPLIN: I think a lot of people, we've
15 been told, our generation has been told, you know, in a
16 theory, go to school, get an education, get a four year
17 degree, get out and get a good job. You are living the
18 American dream and all of a sudden, you realize, when
19 you are getting out of school, some universities were
20 handing out bumper stickers that said go to grad
21 school, it's easier than getting a job, and I think
22 there is a lot of truth to that.

23 MR. FOURNIER: Did the Kerry and Bush
24 Campaigns, when you were targeting youths, use the

1 economy as an issue--

2 MS. ACKER: Absolutely.

3 MR. FOURNIER: --more than you did on the
4 national level?

5 MR. SEKULOW: Yeah, and what we were trying to
6 say is we talked about different growth options and
7 things like that, and then I think the Kerry Campaign
8 was saying the opposite, they cut taxes, they did
9 different things, and I think we definitely used the
10 economy as an issue. For us, at the time, looking at
11 college students, it was a weaker issue for us to use,
12 it was not one we wanted to just throw out there
13 without having a real response and know what we were
14 going to talk about. So we talked a lot about the
15 future, a lot about savings accounts, personal savings
16 accounts, Social Security reform, those kind of things,
17 saying, listen, we are trying to do things for you in
18 the future that will give you more money.

19 MS. FLEMING: And education as well--

20 MR. SEKULOW: Right.

21 MR. FERGUSON: Because I mean that was one of
22 our strong points. If you look at how much money went
23 into future college funds and education for young
24 people, Bush had done a lot on that without it being

1 publicized.

2 MS. ACKER: Like cutting Pell grants?

3 MR. FERGUSON: What did you say?

4 MS. FLEMING: Like cutting Pell Grants?

5 MR. FERGUSON: Cutting? Have you seen how much
6 money he has given to education?

7 MS. SNOW: We are not going to get into a
8 political debate here.

9 MS. ACKER: I would say the economy, for us,
10 when John Kerry talked to young people about the
11 economy, it was that all issues were essentially tied
12 together. Young people didn't have jobs, they didn't
13 have health insurance and they were dramatically in
14 debt, both because of higher education costs and things
15 like credit card companies targeting young people. I
16 think you can tie issues of personal debt all together,
17 which was a huge issue that the campaign addressed,
18 especially in the last month.

19 MR. FOURNIER: That answers the question, thank
20 you.

21 MS. SNOW: I'm wondering about local versus
22 national, and maybe this is to the party people. Is it
23 better to focus on national issues with the youth vote,
24 do the campaigns think? Or is it better to micro, to

1 focus micro, to focus at home, to focus on things like
2 Pell Grants?

3 MS. SINDERBRAND: Just following on that, by
4 the way, sort of a question I was asking before about
5 when you are targeting college students specifically,
6 you are targeting college students who maybe are going
7 to school in Pennsylvania but they are from, you know,
8 they are from Rhode Island which is going to go
9 Democrat, or vice versa. Is there a different way to
10 reach those students?

11 MS. FLEMING: It's actually an excellent
12 question, it's actually something that we'll be testing
13 in Virginia. We are going into Virginia with our new
14 voter model and we are testing state-based issues and
15 regional issues, and the messages is that we do, both
16 in our materials and when we go door to door, and we
17 are going to be taking out adds in college newspapers
18 and that thing, first it is what we did in this past
19 cycle which was all national messages.

20 And so I have a feeling that the local messages
21 are going to resonate more with young people because
22 it's in their back yard and that's what's hitting them
23 face to face, but I still think that we'll use, we'll
24 still use some national issues, like Social Security

1 will still be an issue that we talk about in the
2 campaign that we are going into in Virginia.

3 MR. FOURNIER: Are you guys going to use
4 Virginia as a test case?

5 MR. SEKULOW: Well I'm working on a different
6 campaign now, so I can't answer on Virginia. But what,
7 I think the best point here is there is a difference
8 between a national election though, too, and a
9 gubernatorial race in Virginia, a big difference. It's
10 a lot easier to go to just Virginia students--

11 MS. SNOW: I was actually asking when you are
12 in a national year, when you are in an '04 or an '08,
13 is it better to focus macro or is it better to focus
14 micro?

15 MS. ACKER: I think it's always a combination
16 of them.

17 MR. SEKULOW: You do both, you micro target
18 when you can but you can't catch every student that
19 might be going to school in a different state.

20 MR. FERGUSON: I mean when I went to some
21 places at the end of the campaign, the first question I
22 was asked was, you know, you have the forum, and the
23 kids would walk up to the microphone and go why is
24 President Bush for the draft? Well that's an issue

1 that, is it national or is it local? Well if we are in
2 a military town, the question usually did not get asked
3 because they knew the answer. But if you went to a
4 place that wasn't, that's the first thing they wanted
5 to know and I would say he is not, he never has been,
6 he has never said that. Well we were told that he is
7 for the draft and if he gets reelected, that we are
8 going to have a draft. Well then you have to spend 20
9 minutes trying to convince them that wherever this came
10 from, it's not a reality.

11 MR. HOPLIN: And I would say on the topic of
12 issues, Ron, you had asked earlier if we didn't, if the
13 Republican Party or the president didn't win the youth
14 vote now, you are never going to have a chance to win
15 them because traditionally they vote, I would say two
16 things to that--

17 MR. FOURNIER: I mean this age group, as it
18 gets older.

19 MR. HOPLIN: Right, it gets more difficult.
20 But I think issues are going to play a big role in that
21 and I think as young people graduate and depend on a
22 full-time salary to support their families, when they
23 are paying more in taxes, they are going to start to
24 wonder which party they should be a part of. When you

1 have important national issues, like the president's
2 leadership and the War on Terror, people think, well,
3 he is keeping us safe.

4 And so I think that issues are more important
5 than mechanics of registering people to vote and things
6 like that. And so this was a snapshot in the 2004
7 election and I don't know that it can portend where all
8 young people are going to go in the future because of
9 the issues.

10 But another thought on the other side I would
11 like to mention about it is there were several polls, a
12 month or two before the election, that were showing it
13 neck and neck, amongst the youth vote, between Kerry
14 and Bush. And I honestly believe that I noticed a 100
15 percent turnaround when the issue started to become the
16 draft. I think a lot of young people just got scared,
17 they were misinformed.

18 Well, when it became a big part of the debate,
19 the president was mentioning it in the presidential
20 debates, I think a lot of support eroded with that and
21 I don't think that's a permanent erosion. I think,
22 since there is no draft, since no one is being drafted,
23 I think young people are not going to say, well, I'm a
24 Democrat--

1 MS. SINDERBRAND: Let me, I'm sorry but just on
2 the issues, the question of moral values was one of the
3 number one issues, and you look at the polling on
4 specific issues like gay marriage, where young people
5 are markedly more progressive, more liberal in their
6 views than their parents are, and I'm curious to what
7 extent either of you think that that played into the
8 result?

9 MR. SEKULOW: Well we had to look at that, that
10 goes back to my question. We knew young people were
11 more likely to not support the president's initiative
12 against gay marriage and because of that, and we knew,
13 I mean the percentages were really high. You are not
14 going to just mass target young people, you have to
15 really go micro target the ones who have got views like
16 that or are more likely to be persuaded to that side or
17 we are wasting our time as a campaign.

18 As a voter registration group, you're not.
19 There is a big difference here between the two of us
20 and I think that's the important thing to point out.
21 I'm ont against voter registration, neither is the
22 camp, but when you are looking at it from a campaign
23 aspect, Alex doesn't want us to go register a bunch of
24 people in the pro life group.

1 MS. SINDERBRAND: In terms of those long term
2 trends that you are talking about, I mean you are
3 talking about when young people grow up and economic
4 concerns come to the forefront. But looking at the
5 long term trends, you are looking at this group coming
6 up where their social views are very different than the
7 generation that came before them.

8 MR. HOPLIN: On that issue and it depends on
9 how active they are in that issue, how important that
10 issue is to them. Will they weigh that against tax
11 cuts? Will they weigh that against protecting American
12 and global security? Will they weigh that against
13 Social Security and will it be around for them? And so
14 maybe that one issue is not going towards the
15 Republican Party but I think there are other issues
16 that are.

17 (Multiple people speaking)

18 MR. KING: I have a question that is related to
19 something you just raised and that is knowing what kind
20 of voter was interested in what sort of thing. We
21 heard earlier that the voter files were hard to work
22 with, to say the least, they may be better after HAVA
23 is fully implemented. Could you all describe for us
24 how you came up with student addresses, phone numbers,

1 the database collection on things such as church
2 attendance, magazine subscriptions, television viewing?

3 We know that you all had sophisticated models to try
4 and predict the likelihood of different kinds of votes
5 and activities, how were those gathered? Who did them?
6 And what did you do with them?

7 MS. ACKER: Do you want to start?

8 MR. SEKULOW: Sure. We did it a few different
9 ways. Much like our church directory program, which
10 was very controversial, we had college students collect
11 their directories. I'm sure any student at Harvard can
12 probably get a full directory, or at least the school
13 they are in, and all the people's, now it might not
14 have the right phone number, it might have a dorm room,
15 but it at least gives us their e-mail and it at least
16 lets us know where we are. Then we can voter vault
17 names, and things like that and check --.

18 Micro targeting, which is very, very expensive
19 and pretty new on campaigns, which we used in only a
20 few states, lets you know hundreds of things about a
21 person whether they are a college student or not. I'm
22 talking what magazine subscribe to, if they go to
23 church regularly, what car they drive, all of these,
24 but the list is gigantic of how you can sort it, so--

1 MR. KING: Walk through how you got that data
2 and how you used it.

3 MR. SEKULOW: It's a corporation that has it,
4 it's the same that you do with direct mail.

5 MS. GREENE: It's from a variety of sources.

6 MR. SEKULOW: I mean you can get it. It's like
7 if you were a credit card company and wanted to send
8 out your credit card to targeted folks.

9 MS. ACKER: That's one of the lessons that
10 we've taken from the campaign. We've actually just
11 partnered with Info USA, which is the largest direct
12 mail company, to look at how we can micro target young
13 people, and match them up to the voter file and pull
14 those ones out that are not registered to vote. Thanks
15 to the great work that the Republicans did with it, we
16 want to follow in their shoes.

17 MR. SEKULOW: You've got to be very well
18 funded. It would be very hard for even a statewide
19 campaign to do it in their state.

20 MS. ACKER: I would say too just the
21 differences in state voter files alone is a huge
22 obstacle to any kind of national campaign in that the
23 Wisconsin voter file is nonexistent versus some state
24 that have state of the art, enhanced voter files that

1 go down to things like magazine subscriptions. Ours
2 was very much state by state, our state parties would
3 determine what kind of information they would add into
4 the voter file and then our young activists, including
5 young activist and campus activists would then enhance
6 that data with whatever names they were able to get by
7 going door to door in dorms, doing voter registration
8 drives on campuses, etcetera. I would say it was
9 probably very similar, except I think that we probably
10 left a lot more up to the state discretion.

11 MR. KING: What should we expect in the near
12 future in terms of voter ID? How are you going to use
13 these databases? What's going to surprise us?

14 MS. ACKER: I mean voter file technology is a
15 newfound passion of mine, simply because I've realized
16 how important it is, and I think that you're finding
17 more and more innovative technologies. And this was
18 the really the first year that the Democratic Party
19 used voter file enhancement data from the private
20 sector to be able to help us target voters more
21 effectively. I would say that the advent of being able
22 to collect cell phone numbers, and e-mail addresses and
23 include that in voter files is huge, especially for
24 this demographic.

1 MR. SEKULOW: Well if you are talking about
2 youth, a phone number, unless it's a cell phone number,
3 it isn't going to last six months.

4 MS. FLEMING: And the voter file is an issue
5 for young people because even with the 527s that we are
6 working in, because we bought into the America Votes
7 table which gave us access to the big voter file, but
8 young people get cut off of all these voter files, and
9 so it was significantly harder for us to really talk to
10 young people at their doors or to append our
11 nontraditional contacts that we got at clubs, and bars
12 and coffee shops back to the big voter file that
13 everybody was using because they thought that that
14 would somehow make the data non-credible.

15 And so young people, once again, faced this
16 barrier of we got their cell phone, we got their e-
17 mail, we got their new address, but we can't put them
18 back onto the voter file because of this system that's
19 in place.

20 MR. FOURNIER: There is no way to fix that
21 system?

22 MS. FLEMING: Not during the election cycle
23 there wasn't, and so we actually had to, Ryan knows
24 this firsthand we had to create this whole separate

1 voter file system, outside of what we paid for when
2 what we thought we were going to be able to use this
3 sophisticated voter file system, so it's something that
4 we are working with other progressive--

5 MR. FERGUSON: Part of it is it changes. I
6 mean you almost have to start anew in four years
7 because I don't have the same e-mail address, I don't
8 have a .edu anymore. I'm done with that part of my
9 life and we know that, and so you are going to see,
10 that's why you are never going to see, in general, the
11 Republicans just go out and just register anyone, we
12 are going to figure out where we are going to register
13 people that more likely are going to vote for us. I
14 mean yes you want people to vote but you are not going
15 to just go out there and be blind to your mission, your
16 mission is to get the people that are going to vote for
17 you to vote for you.

18 And so that's why I think you see what Jordan
19 and I were talking about. We went where we knew the
20 people we could get would vote for us, we are not going
21 to go register, in a sense, the enemy, we are going to
22 make sure we are going forward and not just we are
23 going to register everyone we can.

24 MS. ACKER: And conversely, we asked our campus

1 activists to look at past voting behavior on their
2 campus and if their campus voted 60 percent or more for
3 a Democratic candidate, we encouraged them to do what's
4 called a blind poll where you essentially go door to
5 door in your dorm and encourage everyone to vote.

6 MR. FOURNIER: I'm just wondering if your guys,
7 if the Republican advantage in this election was your
8 ability to micro target and like you say, find the
9 people who would vote for you or who are more likely
10 to. If because those people are harder to collect this
11 data on, if that's one of the disadvantages you had and
12 if so, how do you improve that next time?

13 MR. FERGUSON: I think one of the things you
14 can look at, as far as campaign is part of it, when we
15 were in New York, is the question came up why has
16 President Bush not done MTV? The first candidate in
17 history not to do it. Well, the bottom line is, from
18 my opinion, after the fact, is why would I want him to
19 do that? Because two reasons, one, that's not his
20 constituency overall; two, we thought we tapped into
21 the people that would be watching MTV that would vote
22 for us; and three, it gives some legitimacy to the
23 whole issue of the non-partisan, which we really didn't
24 think was that non-partisan. I mean whether you

1 disagree with it or not, I think that's how we felt.
2 That's the micro targeting--

3 MR. FOURNIER: Is it hard to microtarget this?

4 MR. FERGUSON: It is. In what we do, our micro
5 targeting for youth is different than the micro
6 targeting for a 40 year old. What we do is we micro
7 target a group. Evangelical students, you go right to
8 all those groups in a big school, in a state school
9 with 30,000--

10 MR. FOURNIER: But you don't micro target the
11 youth vote?

12 MR. FOURNIER: Well it's very difficult
13 because--

14 MS. SINDERBRAND: --targeting evangelicals or
15 as evangelical students, is there a specific way that
16 you target these groups, if there are young people, as
17 opposed to--

18 MR. SEKULOW: Well you can go into the clubs--

19 MR. FOURNIER: Do you view them any
20 differently? Is there a way to micro target--

21 MS. SINDERBRAND: Yeah, differently?

22 MR. SEKULOW: Well, right now, you can't
23 because of the voter file problem, they are moving too
24 much.

1 MS. FLEMING: You can, it's just more
2 complicated, right?

3 MS. SINDERBRAND: So you are basically getting
4 them through their parents' church?

5 MR. SEKULOW: No, on their campus--

6 MS. SINDERBRAND: --student council groups--

7 MR. SEKULOW: There are Christian clubs at like
8 a state university with 4,000 students with 4,000
9 people on their e-mail list--

10 MS. FLEMING: We're not talking about
11 non-college young people, we are talking about young
12 people who are working class folks who may not have
13 gone to college or who are out of college, so--

14 MR. SEKULOW: Well I was just talking about
15 once instance that--

16 MR. FOURNIER: So you are saying even when you
17 had them, it was harder to target them because you
18 couldn't append them to the--

19 MS. FLEMING: Right, and then when you are
20 talking about developing walk lists and all this stuff
21 for a field campaign, it was--

22 MR. FOURNIER: So where do we go from here?
23 How do this look four years from now?

24 MR. FERGUSON: Well, one, I think that I know,

1 for us, we realized we've kind of figured out how we
2 are work college campuses, now it's figuring out how
3 you are going to work young people that aren't in
4 college. I still think that's a major thing for, I
5 mean for both parties.

6 MR. SEKULOW: We've got, people talk about
7 NASCAR dads, what about the NASCAR 20 year old? I
8 like NASCAR too and I went to college but it doesn't
9 matter, there is a large, very large voting segment out
10 there, that doesn't go to college, that is maybe still
11 not voting and I think both sides kind of have them up
12 for grabs. They are different depending if you are
13 urban, or rural or what state you are in and I think
14 that's a new area for us because, again, I get back to
15 the college students in a lot of these battlegrounds,
16 minus a few schools, you kind of know how people are
17 going to go.

18 MR. FRISHBERG: It seems to me the whole debate
19 to me is like the Al Gore's stump speech things, like
20 what's up is down and what's down should be up. Because
21 the Republicans have, for a long time now, won
22 elections, not a long but a relatively long time, won
23 elections through a new voter model, a 72 hour project
24 going out and engaging in registration, which is not

1 micro targeted. You could say it's how they live
2 targeted, so you go to places but you are not doing it
3 from the voter file, and but you've been using a new
4 voter model.

5 Democrats come late to the game in 2004 and go
6 we've got to do that to win and they did it
7 successfully with youth, Republicans did it
8 successfully with every other part of the population
9 and now you are kind of switching around. I mean in
10 terms of Jane saying Democrats aren't going to be able
11 to keep pulling this off and you're kind of going,
12 well, maybe we will, maybe we won't.

13 But the micro targeting debate, I think, is a
14 really dangerous one for young people because it cuts
15 totally against the new voter model and the Democrats
16 are going you've got to reach out and do a 50 state
17 strategy, you have to go out there and find these
18 people and talk to them, and that's not something you
19 do from the voter file.

20 And the voter file and micro targeting I think
21 for a long time will be problematic for young people
22 and that the success of this election was that kind of
23 the old model for how you target in campaigns, which is
24 if they never or rarely vote, you never ever talk to

1 them and reach out to them, that the success for
2 Democrats, for young people, was that they abandoned
3 this. And I think a lot of this has to do with getting
4 out beyond the micro targeting thing and really talking
5 to people who, you know, you've got to engage them and
6 win them over. And most young people, as David is
7 pointing out, early on in their life, are not
8 predisposed to being one way or another. There are
9 people at this table who had--

10 MR. FOURNIER: When I'm saying micro targeting,
11 I'm not talking about just going after certain voters
12 because you get the channels, new channels to go after
13 to the voters who you think you can touch.

14 MR. FRISHBERG: Maybe it goes to the definition
15 of micro targeting but that's maybe just those--

16 MR. FOURNIER: I'm not saying--

17 MR. FRISHBERG: --worth pointing out is how
18 they lived then.

19 MR. FRIEDRICHS: My question was on an outreach
20 to Hispanic and Latino voters, I wanted to hear both
21 sides talk about that. It seems like one of the few
22 groups that you buck the trend of young people who move
23 to the left to a degree and they seem not to, and
24 clearly you can get into micro aspects of this,

1 Catholic Hispanic males, etcetera. But in general, one
2 of Ron's points earlier, that is a booming population,
3 that is a big part of the future in politics, just like
4 this generation is, and their first vote matters a lot.
5 So this aspect of it I think is really interesting and
6 I would like to hear people's thoughts on that.

7 MS. ACKER: We were not able to do as much
8 overlapping with our Hispanic outreach program as I
9 would have like, we faced a barrier in resources, to be
10 frank, in being able to produce a lot of our young
11 voter materials in Spanish. It was the wheels were
12 turning and then, at the end of the day, the money
13 wasn't there, which was very disappointing to me. But
14 I am curious about the Hispanic numbers, I would like
15 to know in what areas, I'm just interested in what
16 areas those were in, I would be curious to know of
17 those were also areas where there were high voter
18 suppression tactics against Hispanics as well. But in
19 general, our--

20 MR. SEKULOW: No comment, I mean this --.

21 MS. ACKER: In general, our Hispanic outreach
22 program, like a lot of our youth program, was run
23 through surrogates, and we just had an advantage in
24 having a lot of young Hispanic celebrities and young

1 Hispanic members of Congress, like the Sanchez sisters,
2 who went out and did surrogate programs for us.

3 MR. FOURNIER: Did the Republicans do something
4 more novel than that?

5 MR. SEKULOW: We did. What we did, and this is
6 the interesting thing about it in the way, I saw next
7 to our Hispanic outreach director for a lot of the
8 campaign, before we kept getting moved around inside
9 the building, and we did it two ways and one is if they
10 are a college student, which kind of fell under me, we
11 would outreach through that way, we would have Hispanic
12 outreach tiers in some campuses with large Hispanic
13 populations, so we did try to micro target. They also
14 found with the Catholic, we would have Catholic
15 outreach folks in places that had high Catholic
16 populations on their college campus.

17 But then again, the Hispanic community as well,
18 we did better it, and I think that that's a strong
19 family unit there, so they have very strong family
20 bonds, it's known for that. So if your parents are
21 moving one way, I think that's another group too that
22 might move that way as well, especially with the
23 Catholic vote, it's kind of over-arching.

24 MR. HOPLIN: We spent a long time on it as

1 well. We have a national program called My Party,
2 Manny Espinoza is my national first vice chairman and
3 leads that. We had several of our 60 field staff
4 members were Hispanic and parts of the website are in
5 Spanish, we had a lot of our recruiting materials in
6 Spanish.

7 But more than the Hispanics, we really spent a
8 lot of time focusing on women. Half of my field staff,
9 of the 60, were females because we wanted them to know
10 that this is not the party of rich, old white guys and
11 that they have a place at the table, we want them to be
12 involved.

13 And when I started this just a few years ago,
14 we had one state leader that was female and now we have
15 about a third of our state leaders are female because I
16 think we've done a good job reaching out to them, and
17 we are going to continue to push both Hispanics,
18 African American outreach and women.

19 MS. SNOW: Can I switch a, just slightly switch
20 topic? Meighan, we haven't heard from you and I'm
21 really curious, you are with Move One, right? Or you
22 were with Move On?

23 MS. DAVIS: Yeah.

24 MS. SNOW: 2008, as you look ahead, I mean

1 somebody called it a perfect storm this past year.
2 There were issues that young people cared about, there
3 were candidates that they obviously cared about, a lot
4 of them cared about Kerry. If you look to 2008 and
5 it's an open field, do you think we are going to have
6 the same sense of excitement, or is it going to be an
7 uphill battle for the parties, or for Move On or a
8 group like it to get people as involved, if we don't
9 have the same perfect storm?

10 MS. DAVIS: Well I can say, well, first off,
11 our program was not part of the Move On PAC program
12 where we had 500 field staff. But one thing that Move
13 On is doing now for 2008 that I hope the DNC does in
14 and the party learns is they are trying to create that
15 permanent field and they are going to be hiring more
16 people to be out in the field talking with the voters
17 and setting up the precinct captains and the
18 neighborhood captains right now and continue that
19 through the next presidential.

20 So, hopefully, in terms of the youth vote,
21 garnering that excitement, the one thing it's, it's
22 great that we are on this panel, and we are learning so
23 much and our side won, but we're battling for money
24 right now to stay alive so that we are not doing this

1 every for years and that we are not being, it's great
2 that we did all this work in '04, like peace, we'll see
3 you in '08--

4 Laughter)

5 MS. DAVIS: We're not--

6 MS. SNOW: Well that's what I'm wondering, how
7 do you sustain the excitement?

8 MR. FERGUSON: It's hard because your voter
9 block changes, the people that are going to be
10 possibilities are 14, 15, 16, 17 now. How do you even
11 know what a 14 year old is going to care about in 2008?

12 Or a 15 year old or a 16, you just don't know. And
13 the thing is I think why people were so secure with
14 money is because it was a perfect storm. I mean how
15 much more intense could it get than this election to
16 get young people involved?

17 And the bottom line was it wasn't a massive
18 turnout, so if I'm a guy that has politically, you
19 know, whatever, and I'm looking where I'm going to give
20 my money, am I going to give my money to a huge
21 question mark, basing it 14, 15, 16, 17 year olds? No.

22 And I think that's a problem all of us are going to
23 have is, yeah, we have some legitimacy now but can I
24 get big bucks? I don't know.

1 MS. WALKER: I have a question and I have a
2 comment and let me just say that, Ben, this is directed
3 at you. Let me just say I had no dog in this fight, I
4 didn't care who won, the project we ran didn't care who
5 won and I think anybody that worked on it will tell you
6 that we never once had a partisan conversation.

7 I find it though highly problematic that you
8 wouldn't want the president to go on MVT, not a)
9 because you are assuming that MTV viewers don't care
10 what the president has to say; but b) I think it's, I
11 mean MTV is as close as we get to having a national
12 platform to talk to young people and it seems really
13 important for the legitimacy of young people but also
14 just for the legitimacy of American politics that the
15 president is speaking directly to young people. And so
16 I just make that editorial--

17 MR. FERGUSON: I'm glad you made that comment
18 because, and that's my own personal, first, I was
19 going, why isn't he? But then, when I think about it,
20 I mean the bottom line was when I looked at the
21 coverage from MTV and I look at the people that were
22 out there, by and large they were not for us. And when
23 I see that, I think the president said I'll make my own
24 agenda, I am the president and I'm going to talk to

1 them directly, and he'll send young people people to
2 talk to them directly and that's what we did because if
3 you went there, did it help? No. So if he talks to
4 them directly, then at least he gets all of his side
5 out there and he doesn't have to worry about, I mean
6 dealing with things like--

7 MR. FOURNIER: What's more direct that him
8 talking on MTV in front of a group of kids than talking
9 to them? How was what you did--

10 MS. GREENE: --the most amount of young people
11 in this country than to use MTV?

12 MS. FLEMING: Republican kids watch MTV, I mean
13 Republican kids watch MTV.

14 MS. ACKER: The campaign cared enough to send
15 John McCain as a surrogate but didn't send the
16 president.

17 MS. WALKER: Can I actually ask my substantive
18 question which is what are the three things that you
19 would need, whether it's information, whether it's
20 research, whether it's analysis, whether it is, I know
21 you are going to say dollars, so let's take dollars of
22 the table, but what are the three things that you guys
23 would need in order to make the case in 2006 and 2008
24 to your bosses that it's worth spending real dollars to

1 register and mobilize young people?

2 MR. SEKULOW: You know what I think would be a
3 really cool thing for you all to do and I think you
4 should, like places like Virginia where there is going
5 to be a lot of attention coming up soon, is do some
6 research into it, see what the young people are and
7 then show the two campaigns this is how many people you
8 have, this is who has kind of decided, this is who has
9 not. And that's a good way, you've got to start small,
10 you can't go right to the national level. It all
11 starts, people that worked our campaigns worked on
12 another campaign before, so they just see it work on a
13 small level. 72 Hour, I worked on in its first year,
14 was done in only ten states, now it's done in every
15 state, and the RNC does have a 50 state program, the
16 Bush Campaign was different.

17 MR. FOURNIER: What's the answer to--
18 What is the argument you would make?

19 MR. SEKULOW: That I think the groups here, the
20 non-partisan research groups should do some research
21 into just some local statewide races, get them to those
22 campaigns and then really show the campaigns, make a
23 presentation --.

24 (Whereupon, at 4:00 p.m., there was a short recess due to a

1 building evacuation.)

2 (4:22 p.m.)

3 MR. KING: So the dirty tricks campaign was
4 effective, I'm not sure which party did it but
5 congratulations, it was well timed. And we'll spend
6 another five minutes or so on partisan aspects, turn to
7 Rebecca or to Kate?

8 MS. SNOW: I would love to ask the same
9 question that I asked of the non-partisans. Don't
10 think I'm cynical but I would love to ask the failure
11 question, the what did you do, and we sort of touched
12 on some things, but what failed? What didn't work?
13 Just in the interest of honest disclosure here.

14 MS. ACKER: I would just say, as kind of part
15 of the larger Democratic Party/campaign organizing
16 structure, it was very disconnected. It was very hard
17 for us to be able to know what actually was going on on
18 the ground in the state unless we were there or unless
19 we had a very involved campaign person on the ground
20 there. And similarly, the funding was so disconnected
21 that I still can't get actual hard numbers on how much
22 money was spent on youth organizing in various states,
23 I can't find out how much money was spent on ad buys in
24 various states. So I think that's more a nature of how

1 the campaign as a whole was run and we just
2 consequently suffered from it as well.

3 MR. SEKULOW: We did two things, the RNC
4 implemented, and I think it started off working well,
5 it was just a big thing, we hired College Republican
6 field staff and it did a really good job. I think if
7 we would have hired them earlier, we would have had a
8 lot more help, that we hired them a couple of months
9 before, and Hugh was part of that program and we all
10 helped out and tried to find the right people, but we
11 didn't have the resources to hire the folks until a
12 couple of months before the election, so our best
13 people were already in school, you know, you lose your
14 scholarship if you try to, but that's one thing.

15 The other thing is I think we could have spent
16 more resources on the youth vote in general and I think
17 looking back now, looking at the poll, looking at the
18 numbers and the youth vote, it would have been great to
19 do that. I don't know if the money was there that
20 time, I wasn't at that level in the campaign, so I
21 couldn't make that call but, from my personal
22 experience and the same kind of things. Once you build
23 a big organization, it can be very hard to keep
24 everything on track because everyone is in different

1 states, and there is hundreds of people an point staff
2 and I mean it's the same kinds of things at every
3 campaign, but technology is getting better and I think
4 that's going to help a lot.

5 MS. ACKER: I would also echo that I wish we
6 had started earlier, and something that I think I
7 touched on with the Hispanic outreach question was just
8 extended outreach in general, just based on resources,
9 we had to narrow who we targeted and we targeted campus
10 students overwhelmingly more than non-student youth and
11 I wish we had more time and resources to be able to
12 reach out to non-student youth. We targeted young
13 African Americans and young women.

14 MS. SNOW: You both need to make sure that a
15 transcript of this is available to your successor,
16 since you are both leaving the position.

17 MS. ACKER: And to our current party chairman.

18 MS. DAVIS: Well I mean we had \$300,000, I mean
19 we weren't like that day at Move On, with millions and
20 millions of dollars, and we had three 23 year olds who
21 had laptops. So I think we accomplished a lot in terms
22 of what we did, we vetted out 50,000 volunteers to ACT,
23 we sent 10,000 of our campus volunteers to the Young
24 Voter Alliance and to 21st Century Democrats. But the

1 biggest problem for us was we did get that late start,
2 we didn't launch until like the second week of
3 September so we only had about two weeks, in terms of
4 deadlines for voter registration, to get that happening
5 and for folks to sort of implement this Tammy Baldwin
6 model where they were doing the dorm storms and the
7 vote mobs.

8 But I think one thing a lot of groups we're
9 trying to build this year, that didn't quite happen,
10 was this political friendster, everybody was spending
11 like \$50,000 to \$100,000 to build that technology. We
12 had this vote multiplier where people could load up
13 their face book addresses, and they could load up their
14 Outlook addresses and then send them an instant
15 message, send them a flash movie and an issue card,
16 reminder e-mail on the day of and also a text message.

17 And out of the 250,000 people on our list that we
18 worked with, we only had about 4,000 unique users who
19 only uploaded about 40,000 e-mail addresses and only
20 sent about 7,000 of those persuasion cards, so that was
21 a huge loss for us in terms of our budget.

22 MS. FLEMING: But what people did download on
23 your website were the organizing documents.

24 MS. DAVIS: Yeah, that goes back to we spend

1 our time creating tool kits because all we did, we
2 didn't have folks out in the field, all we had was our
3 partners, so we wanted to engage the self-organizers,
4 the folks out in Omaha, Nebraska, who weren't being
5 talked to by anybody, and get them the tools that they
6 needed to run their own campaign.

7 And then also one thing that we saw, in terms
8 of student organizing, was there weren't a whole lot of
9 resources. Like you might find an organizing manual
10 but where are you going to find that poster that you
11 can download instead of sending a dollar into the Kerry
12 Campaign to get a bunch?

13 So we uploaded just posters that people could
14 print off from their computer in the dorm room and then
15 plaster their campus, and we used all of those sort of
16 really just old hat things that we should have done
17 effectively.

18 MR. FERGUSON: And I don't know if it's so much
19 what didn't work, it was more of not having enough time
20 to do what did work better, do more of that, and I
21 think part of it is, what I hope doesn't happen in four
22 years, is the people on both sides that were involved
23 with the youth side had gumption. I mean we were at it
24 one, and that's one reason why I can respect some

1 people in the other campaign is because we both believed
2 in what we were doing so much that I hope it doesn't
3 become a career, where you have people that are a lot
4 older that try to say okay, I can bank some serious
5 cash on this, and I'm going to run this organization
6 and I'm going to act like I know. Because I'm probably
7 not going to know in four years what young people care
8 about near as much as I do now because I am young. And
9 so I hope that you see that young people keep it going
10 and instead of having a 45 year old pollster come in
11 and try to start it all, which is what I'm afraid might
12 happen in four years from now.

13 MS. FLEMING: For us, the voter file was a big
14 lesson for us, it's something that we are continuing to
15 work on, making sure that that technology that we have
16 is going to be useful and that we are able to print
17 walk lists in time, rather than spending a lot of
18 resources and time on creating walk lists by hand and
19 things like that.

20 And then the other thing, I think, is training
21 our canvassers better. We thought we did a good job
22 but when we spot checked and things like that, and the
23 nature of the new voter model that we created during
24 the election cycle, I think that we have to do a better

1 job at training our canvassers with issues and things
2 like that.

3 MS. GREENE: One of the things that we had
4 hoped for was that the partisan organizations were
5 going to purchase our list at a higher rate than they
6 did. I think the Republican side, again, those
7 hundreds of thousands of young Republicans that we
8 registered should have been contacted by the campaigns,
9 and that list was not purchased. I'm not really clear
10 on the details with Democrats, how they used the list,
11 but I think that it could have been done more
12 effectively for Democrats.

13 When we first sat down with both of the
14 campaigns, there was a big openness or more of an
15 openness from the Bush Campaign than I would say we
16 initially received from the Kerry Campaign. The way I
17 describe it is that the Kerry Campaign went from
18 rolling their eyes --. Not to point anyone out but
19 Steve Elmandore sat in a meeting with me, Alex, I think
20 you were there, and rolled his eyes and had nothing
21 really that he wanted to say or hear about what we were
22 doing. And then a few weeks out from the election,
23 it's not rolling your eyes, your depending on the youth
24 vote and so I do think that Democrats really came to it

1 late.

2 There was a shift I think Jordan mentioned that
3 happened within the Bush Campaign where they may have
4 been more open than less, as they got closer to--

5 MS. SNOW: He was rolling his eyes because he
6 just didn't believe, because of all the things we
7 talked about earlier in terms of people not showing up
8 to vote?

9 MS. GREENE: It was one of probably the most
10 like offensive meetings I've had in a long time, where
11 it was very clear that he did not believe or have any
12 interest in what numbers we were showing him, what our
13 effort was going to be for that cycle. And then it
14 completely changed, all the way to how Senator Kerry
15 responded to Rock the Vote weeks before the election.
16 I think they came really late to the--

17 MR. FOURNIER: He was a political director on
18 the Kerry Campaign the, right?

19 MS. GREENE: Yes.

20 MR. FOURNIER: When was this meeting?

21 MS. GREENE: Alex, do you remember when that
22 was?

23 MS. ACKER: I believe it was like right when we
24 started.

1 MS. GREENE: It was definitely pre-summer.

2 MR. FOURNIER: Who did you meet with on the
3 Bush Campaign?

4 MS. GREENE: We were dealing with Jordan and--

5 MR. SEKULOW: There was a whole, there was a
6 big meeting, I think it was--

7 MS. GREENE: I was not in that meeting so it
8 was our deputy political--

9 MR. SEKULOW: And we were very open, I mean
10 early on, and it wasn't, I don't want to keep saying
11 this about Rock the Vote, I think Rock the Vote, I mean
12 I went to a Rock the Vote thing once when I was 14
13 outside the Republican National Committee, so I've seen
14 it since I've been growing up in politics. But with
15 the campaign, we don't make all decisions here.

16 MS. ACKER: Right. Oh, no, we don't.

17 MR. SEKULOW: Or where the money is spent, so
18 we had to deal with what's done and when they say okay,
19 I just think they've gone over the line--

20 MR. FOURNIER: I have a 15 year old daughter,
21 is there a technology to start touching her now?

22 MS. ACKER: Instant Messenger.

23 MR. FOURNIER: And why isn't anybody doing it?

24 MS. ACKER: They are.

1 MR. FOURNIER: Who is doing it now?

2 MS. DAVIS: Well we used it but the problem
3 that we had with Instant Messenger was the fact we had,
4 and we all, I was amazed to hear about what Rock the
5 Vote did with text messaging because it was really
6 hard for us because we had to know if it was a Sprint
7 phone or an AT&T phone and what the folks, what company
8 they were with.

9 But in terms of text messaging, they hadn't
10 figured out yet how we could just load up all their
11 screen names and just mass IM them, so all of our
12 people had to like individually do that and it didn't
13 quite work out, but it seems like that technology is
14 being developed more so that we can just upload all of
15 those screen names.

16 MS. GREENE: --having Cingular Wireless--

17 MS. DAVIS: Yeah, that was an amazing deal.

18 MS. GREENE: --do the back end.

19 MR. FOURNIER: I wonder what party you are
20 going through.

21 MS. FLEMING: We are actually working with a
22 company that has the back end figured out, that they've
23 developed this technology for Third World countries and
24 we'll be testing in Virginia.

1 MS. ACKER: But college Democrats also collect
2 Instant Messenger names and use that as a regular
3 communication method, and we had a downloadable
4 carrier, an end carrier Edwards IM icon, but I still
5 don't know how you do it, but somehow you download it
6 and it pops up when you send the message.

7 MS. SNOW: But Ron is asking about now, right?
8 You're not asking about--

9 MR. FOURNIER: Yeah, who is touching my
10 daughter right now with the voting--

11 MS. SNOW: Right, who is doing it now? Because
12 she is going to vote in four years.

13 MS. GREENE: I think it's that--

14 MR. FOURNIER: And who would know how to get
15 her--

16 (Multiple people speaking)

17 MS. FLEMING: --MTV's new issue platform is how
18 they are shifting from just focusing on one issue in
19 the off years, but that is definitely for a 15 year
20 old.

21 MR. FOURNIER: I wonder why the parties don't?

22 (Multiple people speaking)

23 MS. FLEMING: That's an excellent question, and
24 why aren't we? It's a shame that parties do not have

1 programs in high schools and in middle schools where we
2 go in together and teach young people about what the
3 party is, and the history of the party and what the
4 party stands for. It's a shame that we don't do that.

5 MR. FRISHBERG: The main thing, we are asking
6 the wrong people though because it's not campaign
7 operations who do this stuff, it's elected officials,
8 and that I think goes back to the point the president
9 is out there talking about young people and Social
10 Security, there has been a lot more attention paid to
11 Pell Grants and to higher education issues. I mean we
12 were--

13 MR. FOURNIER: Howard Dean has the technology
14 and the know how to do this as well, and he is the head
15 of teh party?

16 MR. SEKULOW: I think there might be a question
17 to have a reminder. I mean have you contact, you know,
18 if I instant message a 15 year old girl, that could
19 come out as very bizarre, even it's about political.
20 I'm being stalked. That's the truth, and that's what
21 we are talking about here, so--

22 (Laughter)

23 MR. SEKULOW: --and if I call your house and
24 say is your daughter there?

1 MR. FOURNIER: Are there ways that you can do
2 that?

3 MS. FLEMING: We do have Young Democrat
4 chapters on high schools and so we often have young
5 people in high school, and even in middle schools, to
6 contact us, and ask us how to start a chapter and--

7 MS. ACKER: I think what Jordan was getting at
8 was that it has to be opt in.

9 MS. SNOW: The bottom line is is it because
10 there is no money or is it because there is no
11 infrastructure, no technology--

12 MS. ACKER: No money, no infrastructure, I
13 would say.

14 MS. FLEMING: I would not say the interest, I
15 would say that it's a combination of those three
16 things.

17 MR. FERGUSON: And part of it is money, there
18 isn't a whole lot of money right now.

19 MS. GREENE: On the right, there is \$39 million
20 spent a year in youth leadership development. That
21 maybe is not coming from the groups that are
22 represented right now and I know on the left. This is
23 from a study that people from the American Way did and
24 PFAL has just launched a left effort to try to combat

1 that so, again, but maybe just a different set of
2 people who are doing that right now.

3 MR. KING: I think Melanie had the answer a
4 little earlier when she was talking about the
5 importance of community service and the prohibition in
6 almost every jurisdiction, 14,000 school boards in
7 America have decided that anything political smacks of
8 politics and you can't count that towards community
9 service. If that changes, that will make a difference
10 and young people will be, people will be investing
11 their time in trying to get young people involved. If
12 colleges start to ask on their applications, so, what
13 have you done in terms of politics lately? That will
14 make a difference.

15 MS. CAMPBELL: Just to piggyback, that's one of
16 the things that the Carnegie has been supporting and
17 some of us have been trying to work through that, the
18 civics in schools, the whole trying to make that from
19 being an academic conversation to being more of a
20 movement and getting how you impact it, that's one, but
21 still that's policy. Policy decisions impact why your
22 daughter isn't being touched.

23 The other side too is on the community side.
24 For us, we had a project we started almost the same

1 time we started with Black Youth Vote, called Black
2 Youth Vote Kids. And so when we had our conference two
3 weeks ago, a 16 year old, who was a nine year old at
4 the time when we started in Georgia, were working on
5 environmental issues that were in the community,
6 environmental pollution and things like that.

7 So here this 16 year old, as I briefly
8 mentioned to Ivan, challenged the congressperson the
9 first time we took the kids on the Hill. We actually
10 added a high school track because you're going to have
11 to get young people to these folks sooner, for the
12 various reasons that we talked about. because you're
13 not getting it in school, and if we want someone from
14 various ages around this table, and so you ask yourself
15 the question, well, what made me get involved? Was it
16 when I was in school that it touched me? When I was in
17 high school, did we have, what are the things that are
18 going on? So, for the young people who are coming up,
19 who aren't of voting age, this 16 year old could ---.

20 She challenged these congress folks and when he
21 came up behind her, he had to address what she said,
22 not the 18 year olds who had voted. This young person,
23 who he knew, who says that she's tired of hearing
24 speeches, she's tired of hearing about marches, she

1 wanted to know what you're going to do about my issues,
2 in a polite way but very, very, very powerful, and that
3 same 16 year old has been all over the world focusing
4 on, so there are ways but it's going to have to also
5 come from the community aspect.

6 I beat up on the partisans all the time but
7 they are in the business of winning elections and I
8 don't know that that's going to change.

9 (Multiple people speaking)

10 MR. SEKULOW: We have two groups within the
11 Republican party were recognized, the teenage
12 Republicans, which is a group of high school teenage
13 groups and they are very active. In some of these
14 battleground states alone, they volunteered just as
15 much, they can still drive, so they can get to
16 headquarters and they can get out there. If you are a
17 teenage Republican at 16, it's a pretty good, you can
18 guess how they are going to vote 20 years later, unless
19 there is some major shift with the party.

20 So there are groups out there, the home school
21 community is a very new community for the Republican
22 Party, volunteer-drive, community-driven, activist-
23 driven, so there is lots of new things. I think the
24 more technology we have, the better.

1 MS. ACKER: There was a Kids for Kerry program
2 but we didn't have the resources to get them any money,
3 it was organic.

4 MS. MCGILL: One other thing is I was
5 approached by both sides, post election, in trying to
6 understand really the market aspect, how do you market
7 to young kids? And I think that that's something to me
8 that shows a lot of interest, like there may not be the
9 kinds of resources dedicated to the more traditional
10 connecting to young people in the way that we are
11 trying to prime the 15 to 18 year olds but there
12 definitely has been a lot of interest on both sides of
13 like how do you, this is the most marketed to
14 generation, and so how do you get to them in that way?

15 MR. KING: The other thing, a couple of things
16 we've been thinking about at the IOP, and this is, we
17 all ought to care about the next generation. You have
18 a 15 year old, I have a 14 year old, and a 13 year old,
19 and a 12 year old, and a 9 year old and an 8 year old
20 and--

21 MR. FOURNIER: And the fact that they'll all be
22 voting is depressing.

23 MR. KING: Well they all voted last time, I
24 don't see any problem with that.

1 (Laughter)

2 MR. KING: We'd like the schools to care more
3 about politics and not in a partisan way, by the way,
4 just what are the facts and are you empowered? It's
5 shocking, disturbing that the number of school-based
6 organizations with internal student governments has
7 been declining over 30 years, not going up, not kind of
8 staying flat, but declining, and declining most rapidly
9 in poor communities. It's disturbing that parents are
10 less and less likely to vote because those are the
11 GenXers, and some baby boomers who are still having
12 kids and they weren't all that big on voting in the
13 first place.

14 So we would like to see, for example, maybe
15 questions about politics on the SAT, kids are taught
16 about the SAT all the time. If we add just a few
17 questions, and it's going to make a difference between
18 having an 800 or a 720, about politics, we think the
19 schools are going to pay more attention, but there are
20 all kinds of innovative things old school, like the
21 SAT, or new school, like Instant Messaging my
22 daughters, that you all have to work at.

23 (Laughter)

24 MS. FLEMING: We hope that politics is seen as

1 a vehicle for social change, once again, so hopefully
2 when your daughter is growing up, that's the case.

3 MR. KING: My job now is to briefly describe a
4 little bit more of the survey. I know you heard from
5 John Della Volpe earlier on the survey, I'm going to
6 describe a little bit about this young generation and
7 how they view politics, mainly around the concept of
8 political ideology. I'll give a little bit of a
9 political science lesson on the final payoff slides,
10 near then end, and that's where I show you what we
11 think the political ideology actually looks like. So
12 the outline is a description of this young generation,
13 will touch very lightly on youth and political
14 participation, then talk about the new political
15 ideology.

16 The first thing I want you to be aware of is
17 that these young folks are personally responsible and
18 more spiritual than my generation ever could imagine
19 being. High school kids today are going to church at
20 the highest rate that we've seen since the mid 1950s,
21 high school children today are more likely to be
22 attending churches than their parents are to be
23 attending churches and it's the first time we've ever
24 seen that since the data was starting to be collected

1 in 1938. They are a spiritual generation, they also,
2 by the way, are far less sexually promiscuous than my
3 generation was, certainly than Ron's generation was.

4 The teenage pregnancy rates have been dropping,
5 it's the lowest they've been in 27 years. The
6 percentage of 13 to 15 year old females and males who
7 say that they've had sexual intercourse from 1995 to
8 2003, not that entire period but the drop over that
9 entire period, has gone down by about a third. So
10 different kinds of behaviors among the youngest, they
11 are more likely to be attending churches, they are more
12 optimistic, they are more personally responsible.

13 There are several ways of thinking about this
14 generation. They've been called the Bridger Generation
15 or the Generation 2K, Generation Next, and the most
16 common name, of course, the Millenials.

17 It's no surprise that these books are all about
18 religion and trying to reach the young people, the
19 churches have been especially good about reaching out
20 to young people and it's not just the Christian right
21 or the evangelical churches, or however you want to
22 define it, are pretty good at reaching out to young
23 people, so are the Catholic Church, especially with
24 young Hispanics, it's been very successful in terms of

1 church attendance in the last four years.

2 Millenials, this group tend to be socially
3 liberal on many dimensions. We heard earlier, oh, well
4 maybe we ought to shy away from this concept of gay
5 marriage when we are talking just to young folks.

6 That is true, although for those who believe
7 that gay marriage is morally wrong, it's particularly
8 intensely held, they tend to reject liberal and
9 conservative labels, maybe because they are not
10 entirely sure what those labels mean in the first
11 place. So to call a young person a social liberal,
12 those are fighting terms. Social conservative, oh,
13 those are fighting, even though they may not know
14 entirely what those labels mean, although they tend to
15 be more socially liberal.

16 They are fiscally conservative, this is
17 surprising. We found, in our survey, recently, that
18 they do support private accounts. Our survey of course
19 does not look like Jehmu's survey but it's, well we
20 have, who knows why. They tend to support private
21 accounts more than older people tend to support private
22 accounts. They are also, high school and college
23 students today are saving at a higher rate than high
24 school and college students 10, 15 and 20 years ago.

1 Now this is surprising because you would think that all
2 the money is going into I-Pods.

3 (Laughter)

4 MR. KING: But it's not. They don't plan and
5 don't expect that Social Security is going to be there
6 in the long run and they are saving more for their
7 future, so socially liberal, fiscally conservative and
8 they are also, as I mentioned earlier, personally
9 responsible.

10 Now I mentioned that we talked very, very
11 briefly about political participation, these are, just
12 of college students, the attitudinal barriers, which
13 are one major barrier in terms of getting yourself
14 involved in politics have been changing, so these are
15 the questions that were asked of a national random
16 sample of college students.

17 You see that we have two in 2001, just before
18 and after 9/11. You see that politics is more relevant
19 to people's lives, just before the election 2004, than
20 it has been in the past, even right after 9/11.

21 Elected officials seem to be motivated by
22 selfish reasons, this is a very large decline from 74
23 percent agreeing to 58 agreeing in a four year period.

24 And finally, we know from the community service

1 literature that young people are involved in community
2 service, to a large extent, because they believe that
3 they can make a difference right here and now, the
4 results are right there are your fingertips and
5 political involvement rarely has to any tangible
6 results. Well 51 percent agreed with that in 2000 and
7 only 26 percent now. That's a very dramatic decline by
8 any polling standard.

9 So these attitudinal barriers to participation
10 declined and we know, thanks to the folks on both sides
11 of this table, that the structural barriers were also
12 much better this time, we saw a much higher turnout, as
13 you know, a higher turnout among 18 to 29 year olds
14 than 65 and older, so congratulations. So they are
15 engaged and they are participating, but what do we make
16 of their political ideology? They tend to defy the
17 traditional labels and we are going to argue that
18 attitudes towards social and moral issues are defining
19 this generation.

20 So a little history lesson here now, the
21 political science part of this, David Nickerson,
22 professor at Notre Dame, hop in at any moment now.

23 What is ideology? Well ideology, as a sperate
24 field of study, really began in 1964, although ideology

1 existed before this. This is with an important article
2 called "The Structure of Belief Systems in the Mass
3 Public", a belief system is a way that the
4 constellations of ideas constrain the choices one may
5 make. So someone with a fairly constrained belief
6 system would be able to have a fairly efficient way of
7 handling new information, they would have a world view.

8 Someone who has a loose belief system or an
9 unconstrained belief system would take in information,
10 not know quite what to make of it, not have a standard
11 way of sort of efficiently working through it. Early
12 scholars largely imposed their own view on what
13 ideology would mean. So they would have in their minds
14 a left/right dimension, so liberal or conservative, and
15 they would force things into the left/right divide.
16 Now I don't know why that is actually moving ahead
17 slowly on its own.

18 There were two types of issues that they would
19 do, they would correlate issue to issue, so something
20 that looked like a left leaning issue would be
21 correlated with something else that would look like a
22 left leaning issue, so you can see a correlation
23 coefficient on responses, say, to do you care about
24 whether or not negroes are going to be bussed in the

1 1960s? And that would correlate to questions about
2 other social welfare issues in one time period.

3 Second, they would look at correlations of
4 issues over time, so do you care or do you think that
5 negroes should be bussed, yes or no, in time one and
6 then time three? And you would find that lots of
7 people would really change their mind. And so the
8 political scientists ended up saying, you know, it's a
9 very small sliver of the American public that has a
10 well constrained and consistent ideological world view,
11 and they tend to be left and they tend to be right.

12 Now people who have an ideologically consistent
13 world view, important for politics, are overwhelmingly
14 more likely to be engaged in politics, far more likely
15 to vote, far more likely to contribute to a campaign,
16 far more likely to tell their friends how to vote, so
17 on and so forth. Now that helps to perpetuate, it
18 helps to amplify the political world views of the
19 people who have views of the left or views of the
20 right, so moderates are far less likely to become
21 involved in politics.

22 What we did this time, we started a year ago,
23 we repeated it this time, is we asked a series of 11
24 questions of all college students in our sample and we

1 were not trying, in any way, to impose a left/right
2 dimension. There are statistical techniques, we use
3 one called discriminate analysis, in which the
4 correlations among answers would tell us whether or not
5 there was some unobserved variable out there, whether
6 or not there was some unobserved thing out there called
7 ideology. So the 11 questions were fairly timeless
8 questions, these questions come up all the time in
9 American politics.

10 One of them was the best way to increase
11 economic growth and create jobs is to cut taxes, we see
12 11 percent disagree, strongly disagree, and so forth,
13 and you have a lot of students sort of in the middle,
14 neither agree nor disagree, usually because they don't
15 particularly know.

16 And I'll give you another example of this here,
17 our country's goal in trade policy should be to
18 eliminate all barriers to trade and employment so that
19 we can have a truly global economy. That was question
20 34, question 33 was the one you saw previously and we
21 see that the correlation between those two questions is
22 .1679. So if you agree with this at a high rate, you
23 are also more likely to have agreed with this previous
24 question.

1 So the goal is to try and ask a bunch of
2 questions that will surround something that's
3 unobservable, which is a person's basic ideology,
4 without its imposing on top of it what the structure
5 would be ahead of time. Let me show you just a few
6 more of these correlations.

7 There are some of the correlations and you see
8 a few will kind of stand out as high and positive, a
9 few as kind of high and negative. For example, the
10 relatively strong correlation between the desire to cut
11 taxes to stimulate the economy and the sense that
12 religious values should play a more important role in
13 government. These are positively correlated at .2490.

14 Here we have a positive correlation on what
15 amounts to affirmative action and the desire to have
16 health care cover everybody as a right, also positively
17 correlated. So this matrix of underlying correlations
18 should be a way to tease out something along a
19 dimension.

20 The discriminate analysis comes up with two
21 dimensions and therefore, four quadrants, and we find
22 one that is fairly easily described by the typical
23 left/right dimension and the second one that is
24 religious and secular. Now this is interesting because

1 when we did this survey as well on adults last summer,
2 they don't fall so clearly into these dimensions, older
3 Americans fall much more clearly into just a left and a
4 right dimension, younger Americans you have this
5 additional dimension of religious and secular.

6 So one question we need to ask ourselves is
7 whether or not there is a cohort effect or an age
8 effect. It could be that young people always start off
9 as sort of liberal, and as they age and have to pay
10 taxes and worry about their daughters being IM'd,
11 they--

12 (Laughter)

13 MR. KING: --become a little more conservative
14 over time, that's entirely possible, that's an age
15 effect.

16 A second effect is a cohort effect and this
17 would be when they are young, there are experiences in
18 society that shape their world views, that shape how
19 their belief systems are constrained, that will
20 structure them, say, in a liberal way for a long time
21 or in a conservative way for a very long time. Now
22 it's generally accepted that there is a lifetime
23 effect, as you move from liberal to conservative, over
24 time. College campuses are often described in that

1 way, but we believe that there is also a strong cohort
2 effect, that the experiences of 9/11 have had a deep
3 imprint on the millenials.

4 The experience of growing up in a unipolar
5 world, a world in which there was no boogeyman, the
6 Soviet Union, has had a strong effect in shaping their
7 own self-confidence. Growing up in an environment, in
8 a world rich with information technology, it's very
9 difficult to keep anything hidden from them, has shaped
10 how they view access to information and individual
11 freedom. Growing up in a world in which it has been
12 accepted and expected that there would be a highly
13 homogeneous, I'm sorry, a highly hetero, I'm not going
14 to give that away yet, a highly heterogeneous
15 environment, meaning blacks and whites are going to be
16 together, Hispanics are part of, it is not the world
17 that I grew up in in rural Wisconsin. Young people
18 today expect there to be heterogeneity.

19 In fact, when we first tested questions and
20 asked about affirmative action, with college kids,
21 these are almost nonsense syllables. The words
22 affirmative action next to each other don't make a
23 whole lot of sense, you have to ask the question
24 differently because they expect that there will be

1 diversity and they notice the lack of it. So these are
2 the kinds of things that would lead to a cohort effect
3 as opposed to an age effect.

4 Now when we do the discriminate analysis, we do
5 indeed find some interesting tendencies. College
6 students are far more likely to be liberal than any
7 other category, liberals are more likely female than
8 male. Each one of these points, by the way, is the
9 location of an individual respondent along these
10 dimensions. They voted overwhelmingly for John Kerry,
11 they are against the war, they believe that health
12 insurance is a right, they support gay rights, they
13 don't support private investment in Social Security and
14 liberals were the only group that gained significantly
15 from our numbers last year.

16 Now many of the folks who were sort of secular
17 last year became more liberal. We can't actually say
18 that because we didn't go back to the same people but
19 the characteristics of them seem to indicate that those
20 who were more secular last time are now more
21 traditional liberals and that's because campaigns
22 helped to define things, make choices very clear for
23 voters. But 43 percent is not at all a majority and
24 you'll notice that all of the other centroids, central

1 points in each of these clusters, are to the right, so
2 43 percent are liberal and both the secular and
3 religious groups, that are going to come up here in a
4 moment, are further to the right.

5 Traditional conservatives fall along the
6 dimension you would expect, 14 percent on college
7 campuses. And we have a secular center, mostly male.
8 The secular centers have lost some numbers, they
9 shifted both to the left and to the right, they voted
10 for Bush by a 2 to 1 margin, they were supportive of
11 the war in Iraq, they would tolerate further casualties
12 for continued progress. They also look, in many
13 respects, libertarian, without having gone to church.
14 And this very interesting group we call the religious
15 centrists, I'm sorry about the little-e that's cut off
16 here, it happens over and over again, I couldn't fix it
17 yet.

18 Half of the religious center voted for Bush and
19 the other half went to Kerry, this is a very
20 interesting group because it's the largest
21 concentration of minorities, Hispanics and African
22 Americans, about 22 percent of the folks in this, the
23 students in this group, the religious center, are
24 minorities. They are very concerned about the moral

1 direction of the country, they are supportive of the
2 role that religion plays in politics.

3 So this is a picture of the ideological world.

4 Now I want you to focus on this and think about it in
5 terms of parties. The least likely to vote were people
6 who called themselves secularists or secular centrists.

7 They didn't call themselves that, they ended up being
8 described as secular centrists by the correlations of
9 answers. Liberals and conservatives likely to vote.
10 By the way, traditional liberals, this is where a lot
11 of political independents are. These are not all
12 Democrats, these are people who say, oh, I'm an
13 Independent. Among conservatives, almost to a person,
14 they are all Republicans and the religious centrist is
15 the real interesting battleground.

16 We had this data, data that looked very much
17 like this, a year ago, it was clear that this was where
18 the battleground was going to go. It was befuddling to
19 all of us that the parties didn't begin speaking to
20 young people with more of a religious message earlier
21 on.

22 But please remember that the parties themselves
23 can change. If you think of the constellation of
24 interest groups that support the Democrat and

1 Republican parties now, they will be different in the
2 future. Take, for example, 1954, if you, sorry, we'll
3 just hope we can stop it here. Look at this as it goes
4 along.

5 Take, for example, 1954, somebody who was a
6 regular church attender in 1954, holding everything
7 else in the models constant, was equally likely to be a
8 Democrat or a Republican. Someone who believed in
9 civil rights for African Americans, negroes in those
10 questions, in 1954, holding everything else in the
11 models constant, was more likely to be a Republican.
12 The truth is the parties have changed, the coalitions
13 are dynamic and young people should not accept these
14 coalitions of the old left and the old right as
15 stacked. The religious center and the secular center
16 are very much up for grabs and it's up to young people,
17 who have a different ideological cluster of beliefs
18 than older people, to try and take on their own parties
19 and make a difference. The parties will not
20 necessarily change all their own, you, as voters, have
21 to say these are the issues we care about.

22 This religious center group is very interesting
23 because they are conservative, in many dimensions, yet
24 they are very supportive of the environment over jobs.

1 If you have to make a tradeoff between the environment
2 and jobs, the religious centrists say please take care
3 of the environment. They believe in strong national
4 health insurance much more than the secular centrists
5 and certainly the conservatives. So as the parties
6 change, I mean you ought to never accept the party
7 platforms, the party ideas, as themselves, fixed.

8 And this is just a way to look at things, it
9 falls large in the way you would expect. Democrats
10 far, liberals, they are far more likely to be
11 Democrats, conservatives far more likely to be
12 Republicans, and the religious center is here in the
13 center, as we would hope. So we would hope that we
14 don't think just, among young people, about the
15 religious right, those who are also religious, many of
16 them are centrists. Democrat, Republican, liberal,
17 conservative, many of them were active.

18 This is an interesting dimension, of course
19 this is something you have probably seen from other
20 surveys. People who are liberals tend to be
21 pessimistic about just about everything in life.

22 (Laughter)

23 MR. KING: They are more likely to be
24 pessimistic really about everything. Well do you think

1 you are going to be able to find a job? No, and other
2 groups say yes. Do you think your marriage is going to
3 survive? No, other groups say yes.

4 A message of optimism is a message that
5 resonates with the swing voters, the centrists who are
6 religious or secular, and liberals and Democrats need
7 to be well aware of that. These fall in ways that you
8 would expect.

9 This is also an interesting distinction on
10 foreign policy, part of this was whether or not we
11 should strike before somebody strikes at us, the role
12 of the United Nations and so forth. The rest of the
13 groups are more conservative and on gay rights, a very
14 sharp divide.

15 And I want to underscore that parties can
16 change and it's up to you to change them, and then I
17 want to say thank you and take questions.

18 (Applause)

19 MS. MCGILL: I was just going to ask a question
20 about the traditional, the ideology, just using your
21 framework, how much of it is also adding in what the
22 role of government should be? I mean like,
23 traditionally, we think of the parties as Democrats
24 think big government, conservatives think small

1 government, I mean Republicans think small government,
2 how is that mapped into some of the work that you've
3 done? Or is it?

4 MR. KING: I think that doesn't apply so much.
5 Whether people say government should be big or it
6 should be small, I think often it breaks down on
7 specific issues, so state's rights looks good on some
8 issues but not on others, but I haven't looked at the
9 data on that question specifically so we would have to
10 get back to you on that.

11 MS. MCGILL: I mean it just seems like, it just
12 seems that maybe big government/little government is
13 the wrong dichotomy, it's more like what's a government
14 responsibility versus an individual responsibility?
15 And the religious discussion around that is
16 compromising, not compromising but it's challenging
17 some of our traditional notions of it, so it would just
18 be an interesting place to --.

19 MR. KING: Well the question of religion is so
20 interesting because it does pack into this question of
21 individual responsibility. Americans are rugged
22 individualists in the sense of John Locke, we are born
23 Lockian, we think differently than people in the rest
24 of the world.

1 A set of surveys called The World Values Survey
2 asks two dimensions of this, very interestingly, one
3 dimension, they say, I don't have the question wording
4 directly in front of me, so it is the role of the
5 government or the state, depending on the country, to
6 take care of very poor people who cannot take care of
7 themselves.

8 So the percentage of respondents who agree with
9 that, that it's the role of the government or the state
10 to take care of very poor people, in Latvia, Lithuania,
11 Russia, so forth, it's in the 70s. In Germany, Spain,
12 in the 60s. In England it's a 51-52 percent. There is
13 only one western democracy in which the answer to that
14 is no, it's not the role of the government or the state
15 to take care of very poor people who couldn't otherwise
16 take care of themselves, it's the United States, and
17 that answer is 26 percent. So half of the next closest
18 country in The World Values Survey.

19 The second question was about success, success
20 in life is pretty much determined by forces within your
21 own control. The United States is a dramatic outlier
22 in that way, people in the United States, this is not
23 age specific, tend to believe that success in life is
24 something that's determined by us, and those in non-

1 Lockian countries, everyone else, seems to believe
2 that, you know, there is somebody else to blame. If
3 I'm not getting ahead in life, I've got someone else to
4 blame.

5 All of this speaks toward the desire in the
6 U.S. to have a fairly small government, we believe in
7 small government and as a percentage of our gross
8 domestic product, we are a small government, our taxes
9 are small, our social welfare spending is small and so
10 forth. So there is a very interesting dimension to
11 this.

12 Now if it's not the government that takes care
13 of those who are poor and can't take care of themselves
14 and if people should be taking care of themselves and
15 be to blame if they can't get ahead, who takes care of
16 them? Well, the churches, fraternal or sorority
17 organizations, local communities and so forth, that's
18 the traditional answer in the United States. We have,
19 overwhelmingly, the largest not for profit sector in
20 the world, nobody is even close. Our not for profit
21 sector is about three times the size of the closest
22 country, as a percentage of the work force, it's the
23 percentage of money, the GDP.

24 So there are non-governmental institutions that

1 provide for this, it makes the United States a very
2 peculiar place for the rest of the world ever to try
3 and understand. So even Democrats who believe in "big
4 government" are operating in an environment in which we
5 don't really believe that government ought to be
6 involved in our daily lives, and that is very clearly
7 mapped into religious traditions.

8 We are going to have dinner too, so I want to
9 make sure that --.

10 Jennifer? How many questions should I take?
11 Oh, okay. And anyone else wants to jump into this, you
12 just jump in.

13 Yes, ma'am?

14 MS. ACKER: I'm wondering if liberals have
15 historically been pessimistic or if it's a reflection
16 of the kind of general--

17 MR. KING: That's a good question. Yeah, it's
18 a good question and an easy answer.

19 MS. ACKER: I would guess no.

20 MR. KING: No, the answer is yes, they have
21 been historically pessimistic and I don't know why.

22 MS. ACKER: That's very interesting to me.

23 MR. KING: Yeah, the national election studies,
24 surveys, go back to, the first decent one was 1952,

1 they had a first, there are some surveys that go back
2 to 1948. Democrats have just been a little bit more
3 sour, a little bit more pessimistic about things.

4 MS. ACKER: That's so interesting. Any
5 particular reason why? I mean when you think of like
6 the candidates who ran on optimism, it's Kennedy and
7 Clinton. Am I crazy?

8 MR. KING: Well that's right, Kennedy and
9 Clinton ran on optimism and they won.

10 Yes, Mr. Nickerson?

11 MR. NICKERSON: So how much of the variance do
12 you get by adding the second dimension? Typically,
13 historically, the unidimensional explain 89 percent of
14 the variance. It's slavery explained another five or
15 six points or race during the 60s explained five or six
16 points.

17 MR. KING: Well you are talking about the DW
18 nominee scores, right?

19 MR. NICKERSON: Yeah, but even like NES.

20 MR. KING: No, it's much higher than that.
21 With young people, it's much higher than that. I'll
22 give you the data.

23 Ryan?

24 MR. FRIEDRICHS: How much change do you think

1 is possible outside of a major event, like 9/11 or
2 something, do you see within generations? I mean
3 clearly parties change but that's because people change
4 and generations grow old and die. How set do you think
5 trends are within a generation by the time you are 29?

6 This group that just voted and just established, made
7 a statement this last election, how likely is that to
8 actually change?

9 MR. KING: I think it's highly likely to change
10 because the old socialization patterns have broken
11 down. Before this election, I know you've heard me say
12 this before, that if you look at children before the
13 election in 2004, so not including parents who voted in
14 2004, children living at home, birth up until the age
15 of 18, a majority of them lived in homes in which no
16 parent present in that home had ever voted. So it's an
17 astonishing figure, but there you go, and it's because
18 intergenerational transfer.

19 One result is intergenerational transfer, party
20 preferences and of the tendency to vote have been
21 breaking down.

22 We asked students, in our most recent survey,
23 whether or not they think that maybe they are going to
24 vote for another party next time around, 67 percent

1 said, yeah, I'm open to voting for the other party.
2 Four years from now in the presidential? Yeah, you
3 bet, I'm thinking, 67 percent of those who actually
4 voted said yeah, I think I may vote for somebody else.

5 So the framework for socialization was not
6 particularly laid down solidly when they were 12, 13,
7 14, 15 years old, a lot of kids were just now
8 socialized as college kids or as young working adults
9 into this voting.

10 It's not necessarily the case, as Ron mentioned
11 early, how you vote the first two times you are going
12 to vote the rest of your life. That was true when Ron
13 and I were young, it's not necessarily true anymore and
14 I think that the student vote, the youth vote is very
15 much up for grabs in 2004.

16 MS. ACKER: Was that question worded as are you
17 going to vote for a candidate of the other party or was
18 it worded as are you open to voting--

19 MR. KING: Are you open, I think it was are you
20 open to vote. Yes?

21 MR. FOURNIER: Is part of that because of a
22 change in all the information kids are getting now as
23 compared to what we did?

24 MR. KING: It might be that they are getting

1 different forms of information and it might be that
2 they are--

3 MR. FOURNIER: In particular the information
4 they are getting?

5 MR. KING: I don't know, I don't know. This is
6 the kind of question you have to ask David to study,
7 David Nickerson to actually do a survey.

8 I'm going to make sure all of us stop and thank
9 Ron, Kate and Rebecca.

10 (Applause)

11 MR. KING: And Jennifer is going to tell you
12 how the rest of the night works and if Jennifer is not
13 going to tell you how to get all the vouchers and
14 things paid for, that will be Christian or Laura's job.

15 MS. PHILLIPS: I have cab vouchers over here.
16 So we have cab vouchers over there, we have ??? Feel
17 free to stay, we have this room, stay and talk. If you
18 want to get on the road, you can grab some food to go
19 and we'll give you a voucher to the airport.

20 We are going to e-mail all of you, we will give
21 you everybody's e-mail addresses and we'll e-mail you
22 the reimbursement forms so that you can just put
23 everything together, and send it to us and we can
24 reimburse you for the cabs.

1 MR. KING: And finally, thank you to the folks
2 that put this together, Laura, Jennifer and our
3 students--

4 (Applause)

5 MR. KING: Particular thanks needs to go to
6 carrie Anderson and Kristin Blagg, who did all the
7 rough work for getting this together and were
8 responsible for really the whole idea generation, so
9 thank you to them.

10 MS. PHILLIPS: Thank you very much.

11 (Applause)

12 (Whereupon, at 5:14 p.m., the session was adjourned.)

13

14

15

16

17

18

19

20

C E R T I F I C A T E

This is to certify that the preceding transcript is an accurate record based on the recordings of the proceedings taken:

Before: PHIL SHARP, Moderator

In the Matter of:

CAMPAIGN FOR PRESIDENT:

YOUNG VOTERS, LESSONS LEARNED

Date: April 27, 2005

Place: Cambridge, Massachusetts

Martin T. Farley
Advance Services

05/21/05
Date

ADVANCE SERVICES
Franklin, Massachusetts
(508) 520-2076