

PRESENTED BY



DEMOCRACY IN COLOR



RETURN of the **MAJORITY**

A ROADMAP FOR TAKING BACK OUR COUNTRY

RETURN OF THE MAJORITY

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A SHORT TIME AGO IN A COUNTRY NEAR AND DEAR TO OUR HEARTS...

A demagogue appealing to fear and hatred against specific groups of people ran for President of the United States. The majority of people rejected his hate-based campaign, but because of an electoral system designed hundreds of years ago to accommodate the nation's slave-holding states, and the fact that the opposition to his campaign was divided between three candidacies, the demagogue was able to piece together just enough votes to steal the election. With the additional help of interference from a foreign state, he gained control of the White House. Immediately upon taking office, he began consolidating his fortress of hate—one based on racism, misogyny, xenophobia and religious persecution.

But across the country, The Majority, who had rejected the demagogue, rose up in resistance.

Millions united in love and solidarity across race, religion, and gender. They believed in their hearts that everyone in a society should be embraced—what Martin Luther King, Jr. called “The Beloved Community”—regardless of demographic background. And so the people marched in the streets, jammed the phone lines of Congress, and worked together to take their country back.

When they looked carefully at how the demagogue had prevailed, **they identified 17 states that were decided by narrow margins.** Seeing this lay of the land, the members of The Majority realized that to take back their country they had to direct their energy, activism, and resources to sending as much support as possible to the Freedom Fighters on the Frontlines in the most closely-contested states.



A NATION DIVIDED

America is a nation divided. We are a country largely divided into those who supported the hate-based campaign of the person currently occupying the Oval Office and those who believe society should love, value, and support everyone regardless of race, ethnicity, religion, gender, sexuality, ability or any other demographic background.

Three Categories of States

In order to take back our country, we must apply a sound analysis of the balance of power and potential for change in particular states. Geographically and politically, the country is currently divided into three categories of states:

- **Liberated Zones: 13 states, home to 45 million**

2016 voters, that strongly rejected the hate-based

campaign in 2016 (by a margin of 10% or more) and explicitly embraced messages of love over hate.

- **Occupied Areas: 20 states, with a collective voting**

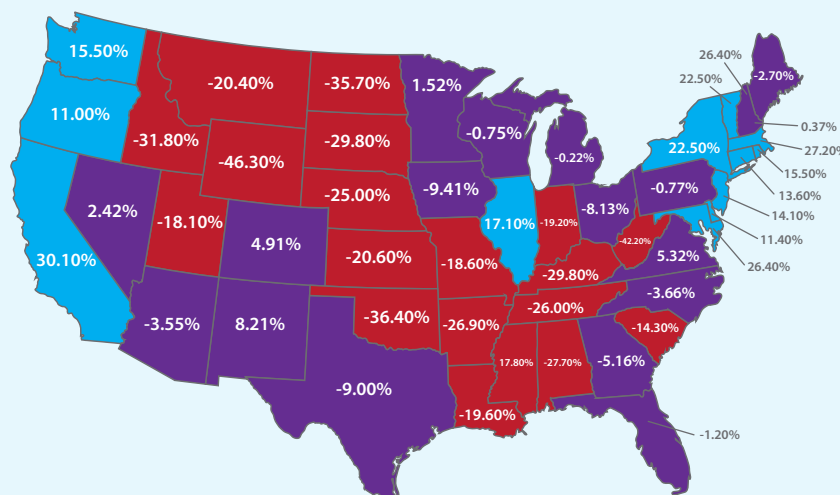
population of 26 million people, that showed strong support for the hate-based campaign of 2016 (by a margin of 10% or more).

- **Frontline States: 17 states are at the frontlines of**

the battle between love and hate. In these states, in which 64 million people cast ballots in 2016, voters were split between supporting messages of hate and messages of love. The 2016 presidential election outcomes in these states were determined by single-digit percentage margins. These 17 states—especially the 10 states that were lost by single digits—hold the key to taking back our country.

FOCUSING ON THE FRONTLINE STATES: ROADMAP TO WINNING OUR COUNTRY BACK

Visit our interactive map at DemocracyInColor.com



LIBERATED ZONES: Democrats won by greater than 10%
OCCUPIED AREAS: Republicans won by greater than 10%
FRONTLINE STATES: States won or lost within 10%



THE ROADMAP TO VICTORY

The fastest route to victory runs through these 17 Frontline states. The 2016 election outcome in these states was determined by single-digit percentage margins.

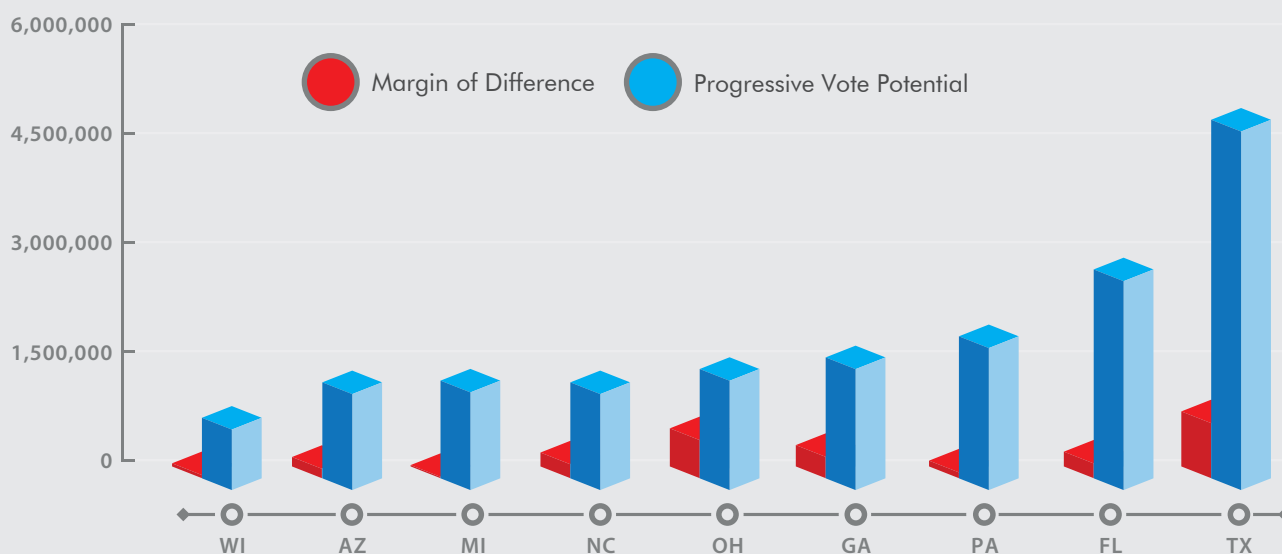
Arizona	New Hampshire
Colorado	New Mexico
Florida	North Carolina
Georgia	Ohio
Iowa	Pennsylvania
Maine	Texas
Michigan	Virginia
Minnesota	Wisconsin
Nevada	

Path Back to Power

Our path back to power requires maintaining support in the seven states won by narrow margins and building greater strength and electoral firepower in the ten states that were narrowly lost. In nine of the ten Frontline states that were lost, the number of eligible non-voting progressive people of color and eligible non-voting progressive whites far exceeds the margins by which we lost. Building the organizational muscle to bring those eligible non-voting individuals to the polls is the fastest and surest way to take back our country.

*The methodology for all the calculations in this Roadmap can be found at: democracyincolor.com

MARGIN OF DIFFERENCE IN 9 OUT OF 10 FRONTLINE STATES THAT WERE LOST IN 2016 AND PROGRESSIVE VOTE POTENTIAL



Progressive Vote Potential = Eligible non-voting progressive people of color and progressive whites, plus ½ of the votes for 3rd and 4th party candidates
Margin of Difference = Number of votes by which the state was lost



Frontline States and Frontline Districts

In addition to the opportunity to take statewide power in the Frontline States, there are an additional 13 congressional districts outside of those Frontline States where the margin of difference is very narrow. Winning these districts in 2018— along with 15 Frontline Congressional Districts in the 17 Frontline States— would result in recapturing control of the House of Representatives and halting the efforts to dismantle the progress America has made towards justice and equality.

Increase in people of color population = increase in numbers of progressive voters.

Our prospects for victory are enhanced by the fact that the population trends in the Frontline States are rapidly moving in a progressive direction. By the next presidential election cycle, people of color will make up roughly half of the population in Arizona, Georgia, and Texas.

Since 1965, when all people of color were granted the right to vote thanks to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, the vast majority of voters of color have consistently voted progressive. When voters of color are united with the meaningful minority of whites who consistently vote progressive (together making up the New American Majority), these states can comprise the Waterloo of White Supremacy—the decisive battle that alters the trajectory of the contest for control of the country.

Developing leaders, strengthening institutions, and fortifying organizations in the Frontline States can bolster the operation necessary to win control of city halls, state capitols, congressional districts, and, in 2020, the outcome of the presidential vote in those states.

For Those Not on the Frontlines

The most strategic course of action for those not on the frontlines is to focus on the Freedom Fighters on the Frontlines and send them as much support as possible as soon as possible. They are holding down the fort, eager for assistance and reinforcements.

THE FRONTLINE FREEDOM FIGHTERS

Too often politics promotes a top-down view of the world where D.C.-based consultants are seen as saviors and wizards. But these “wizards” are really just ordinary people behind a modern high-tech curtain. As Barack Obama once said, “Change doesn’t come from Washington, it comes to Washington.” The power is not in the White House, it’s in our house.

The Real Political Heroes

The real political heroes are those in the trenches in the Frontline States fighting the good fight each day with insufficient resources and against great odds. The destiny of the entire country—if not the world—is directly tied to the capacity of these Frontline Freedom Fighters to win their electoral struggles between the proponents of hate and the champions of love.

What follows is a preliminary list of groups and leaders we have identified in the 17 Frontline States. These groups and leaders have proven track records of conducting **transparent, disciplined, effective, and accountable voter registration and mobilization work**. It is a living list and a starting point for focusing the support and solidarity of members of The Majority across the country.

This is a living document. **This list is not comprehensive, but it is a solid starting point** for supporting the groups we know are conducting documented voter mobilization work in strategic states. We invite local groups and leaders in Frontline States and Frontline Congressional Districts involved in quantifiable voter engagement work, and their supporters, to please contact us so they can be considered for this list. We are looking forward to shining a light on all our sisters and brothers fighting the good fight for all of us, and helping them obtain the resources they need to win.



STATE	GROUP NAME
ARIZONA	Arizona Wins
	One Arizona
FLORIDA	Florida Immigrant Coalition
	New Florida Majority
	Organize Florida
	Southern Elections Fund
GEORGIA	Asian Americans Advancing Justice Atlanta
	Georgia Coalition for the People's Agenda
	New Georgia Project
	Planned Parenthood Georgia
NORTH CAROLINA	A. Philip Randolph Institute North Carolina Chapter(s)
	Blueprint North Carolina
	Conyers Institute of Public Policy
OHIO	Ohio Organizing Collaborative
TEXAS	Battleground Texas
	Planned Parenthood Texas Votes
	Texas Organizing Project
	Workers Defense Project
IOWA	Under Review
MICHIGAN	Under Review
PENNSYLVANIA	Under Review
WISCONSIN	Under Review

THE WAY TO WIN

We actually know what works to win elections. As simple as it sounds, the party that gets the most voters to the polls wins. Unfortunately, **Democrats and progressives still tend to waste hundreds of millions of dollars each election cycle on television ads** trying to change the minds of people who are not, and most likely will never, be with us.

Part of the work of The Majority is holding accountable those who control the largest political budgets and making sure they're spending those dollars in ways that will work to bring out more of our voters and win back power in this country.

Mobilizing Voters

A central challenge of this period in history is to build an electoral operation capable of mobilizing more of our people to the polls in the essential 17 Frontline States. The Freedom Fighters on the Frontlines need as much support as possible building out the organizational capacity and infrastructure to engage, organize, and mobilize large numbers of voters.

In order to win in 2020, and in the coming months and years, we need a disciplined, effective, large-scale electoral operation that is rooted in and led by community-based organizations and leaders in all of the critical areas in the ten states that we lost by single digits (and, to a somewhat lesser extent, the seven states we won by single digits or less).

Lisa García Bedolla, a political science professor at U.C. Berkeley and author of the award-winning book, *Latino Politics*, has studied effective neighborhood-based voter engagement programs. She describes the essence of their structure, operations and key to success as a "Civic Web."

A "Civic Web"

A Civic Web ties together existing community, family, and neighborhood social networks to form an integrated and coordinated voter engagement and mobilization operation. At the center of the web is a small team of paid staff rooted in an existing respected community-based organization. That team recruits and trains volunteer Neighborhood Team Leaders who take responsibility for mobilizing a particular "turf," recruit block captains, and provide feedback to paid staff regarding the best way to mobilize targeted voters.

Neighborhood Team Leaders and Block Captains

Each Neighborhood Team Leader in turn recruits volunteer Block Captains who are identified by their team leaders and who take responsibility for mobilizing a smaller set of voters. They are responsible to the team leaders and paid staff for hitting and sustaining the targets on their "block." They also provide feedback regarding their experiences in the field, helping to refine and hone the organization's field program. All of this is supported, coordinated, and tracked by the core paid staff. In this fashion, a Civic Web anchored by two full-time staff members can consistently and effectively engage a universe of 1,200 voters.

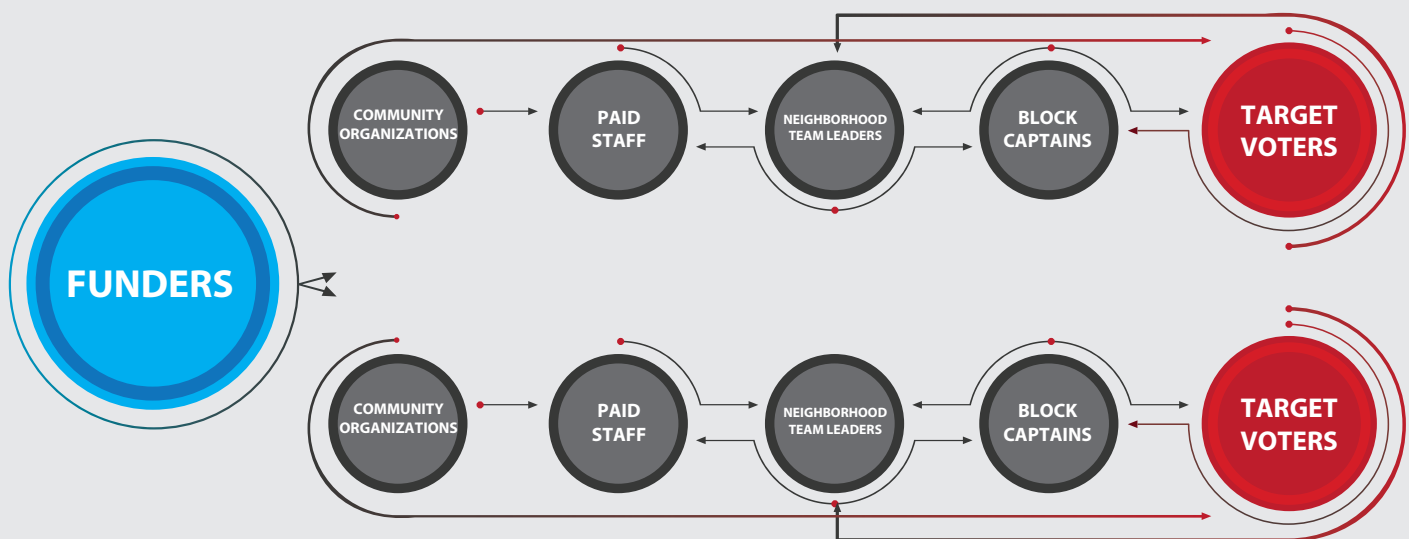


Supporting Civic Webs

Winning back control of our nation will require building strong Civic Webs in the key counties/congressional districts in the 17 Frontline States. That means giving the local leaders the support to attract and train volunteers, register voters, canvass and identify supporters, and mobilize people to vote in upcoming elections in 2017, 2018, and 2019 in the build-up to 2020.

All of us who identify with The Majority can help by sending support to those on the Frontlines so that they can hire the staff to build the Civic Webs critical to winning races.

WEAVING THE CIVIC WEB



FOLLOW THE MONEY

Sending support to groups and individuals on the Frontlines of the struggle can be done for a fraction of the cost of what is traditionally spent on political campaigns. Every two years, the Democratic Party committees and allied outside groups spend in excess of \$500 million. Traditionally, most of that money goes to television ads (generally these ads are immemorable and ineffective).

If half a billion dollars was invested in building out Civic Webs in key states across the country, **we could increase voter turnout by nearly 10 million people in the Frontline States.**

Building Civic Webs in the key areas needed to flip the ten states we lost in 2016 would cost \$98 million/year. (Investing in the capacity to hold the seven states won by single digits would cost an additional \$10 million/year).

We Have What It Takes

Democrats actually have enough money to win. What is lacking are smart, effective, tested strategies for spending that money in ways that will harness the power of the demographic revolution in ways that will transform population trends into lasting political power.

Accountability

A critical part of the work of The Majority must be monitoring, pressuring and holding accountable those Democratic Party and progressive officials responsible for spending the hundreds of millions of dollars that will be dispersed over the next 19 months.

Top Spenders of 2016

What follows is a list of the largest political spenders in 2016. With today's technological tools, political spending need no longer take place behind closed doors. The Majority should engage with and incorporate constructive criticism of those who run and fund Democratic campaigns into its toolkit. Accountability can be uncomfortable, but as Martin Luther King, Jr. pointed out, sometimes it is necessary to "establish such creative tension that a community that has constantly refused to negotiate is forced to confront the issue."

In the spirit of fostering transparency, accountability, and, ultimately, effectiveness in progressive spending, here are the largest funders of Democratic and progressive campaigns in 2016. Let's engage them in a constructive conversation about how money should be spent over the next four years in order to take our country back:



LARGEST FUNDERS OF DEMOCRATIC & PROGRESSIVE CAMPAIGNS 2016

ORGANIZATION	CHAIR/PRESIDENT	EXECUTIVE DIRECTOR	2016 SPENDING
DNC	Tom Perez	TBD	\$347,003,368
DSCC	Chris Van Hollen	Mindy Myer	\$177,414,910
DCCC	Ben Ray Lujan	Dan Sena	\$216,358,583
Priorities USA	None	Guy Cecil	\$190,710,175
NextGen Climate	Tom Steyer	N/A	\$96,036,920
Senate Majority PAC	N/A	Rebecca Lambe	\$91,204,417
House Majority PAC	N/A	Alixandria Lapp	\$55,726,969
Emily's List	Stephanie Schriock	Jessica O'Connell	\$44,954,990
SEIU	Mary Kay Henry		\$55,310,214
NEA	Eskelsen García	John Stocks	\$19,500,000
AFL-CIO	Richard Trumka		\$14,600,000
TOTAL: \$1,308,820,546			

TIMELINE

Every day brings new attacks from those occupying the White House and their collaborators in Congress, and if it seems like we are fighting on multiple fronts, it's because we are. Looking at the current landscape through the lens of what it will take to win back control of our country, we can begin to identify key strategic fights that can both resist the efforts to roll back progress and also establish beachheads from which we can take the fight to those fostering hate and division.

Given the scale and severity of attacks we are facing on several fronts, multiple forms of resistance are required in terms of protest, advocacy, and organizing. In

addition to that work, in order to win elections, we especially need to fortify Freedom Fighters working to turn our population majority into a political governing majority.

One key component of that work is sending support to the Freedom Fighters in the Frontline States. In addition to that form of solidarity, we need to fight and win state and local power in 2017 and 2018.

What follows is an initial description of some of the most promising political opportunities for winning back power over the next 19 months.

2017

STATE	Q2 2017	Q3 2017	Q4 2017
GEORGIA	GA-06 Special Election	GA Governor's Race*	GA Governor's Race*
VIRGINIA	State and Local Elections	State and Local Elections	State and Local Elections
FLORIDA	Andrew Gillum for Governor	Andrew Gillum for Governor	Andrew Gillum for Governor
ARIZONA		AZ Governor's Race Senate Race**	AZ Governor's Race Senate Race**
TEXAS		Texas Senate Race***	Texas Senate Race***
OHIO		Sherrod Brown for Senate	Sherrod Brown for Senate
13 CONGRESSIONAL RACES OUTSIDE OF FRONTLINE STATES		House Races	House Races



2018

STATE	2018
GEORGIA	GA Governor's Race*
VIRGINIA	Tim Kaine Re-election
FLORIDA	Andrew Gillum for Governor
ARIZONA	AZ Governor's Race Senate Race**
TEXAS	Texas Senate Race***
OHIO	Sherrod Brown for Senate
13 CONGRESSIONAL RACES OUTSIDE OF FRONTLINE STATES	House Races

* If GA House Minority Leader Stacey Abrams runs for Governor. (Abrams would be the first black woman governor in history of United States)

** David Garcia, 2014 Democratic nominee for AZ Superintendent of Instruction, may run for governor. Also, the AZ Senate seat is one of Democrats' best pick-up opportunities.

*** Texas represents one of Democrats' best Senate pick-up opportunities if Latino turnout can be significantly increased.

WHAT YOU CAN DO: SHOW SOME LOVE

The most frequent question we have heard since the November election is “What can I do?”

Here are four steps you can take that are strategic, rooted in data-driven analysis, and helpful in our common quest to take back our country:

1. Directly support the Frontline Freedom Fighters

- Send money to one or more of the groups working to build political power in the Frontline States to help them hire staff to build their Civic Webs.
- Give monthly to a leading organization in that state.
- Organize locally to generate support for a group on Frontlines. Hold a house party, bake sale, or other activity to bring together like-minded members of The Majority in your city or neighborhood and collectively pool your resources to send to the Frontlines.
- Sponsor a Frontline State or a city in a Frontline State (Did you go to school or grow up in in a state that is on frontlines? Do you have family that lives in a Frontline State?)
- Invite members of the Frontline Freedom Fighters to come out and share their work. Organize an event with your friends, family, and neighbors to meet them and support them (that means money).

2. Give to candidates in key Frontline campaigns

- The April 18 special election for an open House of Representatives seat in Georgia is the most immediate opportunity to start taking back Congress and sending a powerful message to all members of Congress that siding with the demagogue occupying the Oval Office will have profound political consequences. Jon Ossoff is the Democrat running in that race with the best chance to win the seat
- There are a number of 2018 campaigns that can flip the balance of power and lay the foundation for victory in 2020:

**Give directly to these campaigns (and consider giving monthly)*

**Organize a local event for the candidate of your choice in one of these races (we may be able to help arrange a Skype appearance of the candidate at your local event)*

3. Give to our Democracy in Color “Return of the Majority” pooled fund

- We'll do the due diligence on which groups and campaigns need support and when, and we'll regularly report back on who we're supporting and how it's going.



4. Follow the money: Hold others accountable

- Help be a watchdog of Democratic Party and progressive spending to make sure they're spending the half billion dollars in expenditures in the right places with the right strategy. Show up, send emails and tweets, and ask questions such as the following:
- Where are you spending your money (and does it line up with the 17 Frontline States)?
- How are you spending the money? How much is slated for television ads and how much to hire staff to organize and mobilize voters in high potential areas?
- Which voters are you targeting in order to win? Are you trying to win back defectors to the demagogue in the White House, or are you trying to identify and galvanize people of color and progressive whites who didn't vote or voted third party in 2016?
- What is your budget for the respective parts of the work?
- What is the racial composition of your staff, and how does that correlate with the composition of the Democratic electorate, which is 47% people of color?
- When you get answers (or you don't!) then tweet that out or post on Facebook and let your network (and us!) know what responses you're getting.

CONCLUSION

RETURN OF THE MAJORITY

There has been a lot of angst and anxiety over the past few months among The Majority about how to forge a successful political path forward. Many strategists and pundits are focused on how to change the minds of the people who backed the demagogue occupying the Oval Office. The hatred, hostility, and destructiveness of this administration can make it seem like those of us who reject hate are a powerless minority of the population. But that is not the case.

We must never forget that The Majority of the people in this country rejected the divisive candidacy of this person, and even in the states that he apparently won (barely), the majority of voters did not take his side, as many people opted to vote for third and fourth party candidates. The path back to power, therefore, does not require wringing our hands about what dark sentiments drew some people to the politics of fear and resentment.

This is not an existential crisis about who we are as a nation. We are still a country where the majority of people believe that we should love and embrace and support everyone regardless of which demographic group you belong to.

The task before us in the days, weeks, and months ahead is to increase our ability to get more of our voters to the polls in the most closely contested states in the country. That means sending support to the Frontline Freedom Fighters and building powerful, community-based, voter engagement organizations.

If we move forward with the confidence and conviction that we are The Majority—multiracial and progressive—and we have the numbers to win, we can steadily strengthen our collective capacity to turn our population majority into a lasting electoral and governing majority. And that is how we take back our country.



ABOUT DEMOCRACY IN COLOR

Democracy in Color is a multimedia platform on race, politics, and the New American Majority. Our mission is to elevate the voices of the New American Majority—multiracial, multicultural, and progressive—to create a just and equitable society by transforming our country's political consciousness and culture through meaningful public conversations, insights, and analysis.

In 2016, Democracy in Color organized the only panel on progressive women of color in politics at the Democratic National Convention. In January 2017, Democracy in Color hosted the only DNC chair candidates forum focused on race and diversity.

CONTACT

For more information about this Return of the Majority report and Democracy in Color, please contact us at info@democracyincolor.com.

SOURCES

Figures and analyses for this report based on data from Catalyst and the U.S. Census Bureau's American Community Survey (ACS) (for numbers on Citizens of Voting Age Population-CVAP).

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