



To: Interested Parties

From: OJ Semans, co-Executive Director, Bret Healy, Chief Operating Officer

Re: North Carolina 9th CD Analysis/Plan Special election Sept 10, 2019

Date: August 4, 2019

Background

The Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina and Four Directions are working together to protect and turnout the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina voters in the Special Election on September 10, 2019. Attached is the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina Resolution CLLR-2019-0620-03 reflecting this partnership.

The Special Election in NC-09 was called because of criminal election fraud by the Mark Harris campaign in 2018, with media attention focused on Bladen County (a portion of Bladen County is in NC-09).

Underreported was the extraordinarily high rate of requested, but unreturned, absentee ballots in Robeson County (all of Robeson County is in NC-09). Sixty two (62)% of requested ballots in Robeson County were unreturned, compared with 16% statewide – or four times the statewide rate.

Analysis

Our analysis pertains to data derived from the Quick Facts page of the United States Census, as well as election data from the North Carolina State Board of Elections for 2018. Demographic and voting data are presented in Table 1 and Table 2. Our program data is presented in Table 3.

Our efforts will center on Robeson County, with a smaller operation in Scotland County. There are 37,382 Native Americans of voting age residing in Robeson County and 2,935 Native Americans of voting age residing in Scotland County, for a total of 40,317.

We estimate that Native American turnout in the November, 2018 general election, as a percentage of Native Americans of voting age, was 26% - while white turnout was 55% of whites of voting age.

In the absence of a Native voter drive led by Four Directions, we estimate that the special election turnout on September 10, 2019 for Native American voters - as a percentage of those of voting age - will be 20% less than the 2018 general election, while the drop among whites will be 10%. This results in an estimated turnout of 20.8% for Native American voters, as compared to 49.5% for white voters.

Four Directions Program

Starting August 21, 2019, One-Stop and Early Voting begins at two sites in Robeson County. The public library in Pembroke has hours of 7:00 am to 7:00 pm (12 hours/day) for One-Stop and Early Voting and the Robeson County Board of Elections office in Lumberton has hours of 8:15 am to 5:15 pm (9 hours/day). The One-Stop location in Scotland County is in Laurinburg. There are numerous Election Day polling locations across both Robeson and Scotland counties.

Instead of a door to door canvas, literature drop, phone, text, and social media get-out-the-vote operation, Four Directions hires Native American drivers (who own their own cars) and other Native American workers who assist with all other aspects of the operation.

Our teams show up at the voter's door, request that they go vote immediately, provide transportation to and from the One-Stop voting location (or, in the case of Election Day, to and from polling locations), and provide assistance in understanding the voting process. We also train our teams in election protection, to make sure that voter suppression tactics fail.

We have had great success for over 16 years employing this strategy (see fourdirectionsvote.com for case studies). Brief reports of our work in 2018 in North Dakota, Arizona, and Nevada are available upon request. In addition, a snapshot of the Standing Rock results from 2018 is attached to this report.

Table 3 of this report explains our budget and program analysis. With full funding of approximately \$350,000, we will be able to increase Native American votes by 9,575 over what the likely Native American voter turnout would be in the absence of our program. Table 2 of this report provides an analysis of the likely effect on Native voter turnout for the upcoming special election in the 9th Congressional District, assuming a fully-funded Four Directions program.

In 2018, we improved turnout on the Navajo Nation by over 10,000 votes, with approximately \$10.67 of funding per Navajo citizen of voting age. Our estimates for the current project forecast an increased turnout of 9,575 Native American voters, which translates into approximately \$8.75 per Native American of voting age.

Attachments

Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina Resolution CLLR-2019-0620-03

Results Snapshot of Four Directions 2018 Standing Rock project.

Table 1 – Analysis of Demographic and voter turnout data

Table 2 – NC-9 Analysis of voter turnout data with and without Four Directions

Table 3 – Four Directions Native Voter Transportation Budget and Plan

Table 4 – Dem and GOP margins in Indian Country in 2016 and 2018

Conclusion

If you are interested in contributing to Four Directions for our Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina/Four Directions Native Voter Mobilization Plan, Please contact:

OJ Semans, Co-Executive Director. 605-828-1422 (cell). tateota@hotmail.com
Bret Healy, Chief Operating Officer, 605-216-1825 (cell). brethealysd@gmail.com
Lewis Cohen, Chief Finance Officer. 917-653-2255 (cell). Lewsicohen6@gmail.com
Matt Samp, Communications Director. 402-321-3510 (cell). matt@fourdirectionsvote.com

LUMBEE TRIBE OF NORTH CAROLINA

CLLR-2019-0620-03

DATE: JUNE 20, 2019

"LUMBEE TRIBE VOTER REGISTRATION AND GET-OUT-THE-VOTE DRIVE"

WHEREAS, The Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina ("Lumbee Tribe") is a recognized American Indian Tribe of the State of North Carolina, subject to the Constitution of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina ("Tribal Constitution") and its inherent powers and self-government, and;

WHEREAS, Article VII, Section 1 of the Tribal Constitution delegates all legislative authority to the Tribal Council of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina ("Tribal Council"), and;

WHEREAS, The Lumbee Tribal Council in conjunction with the Lumbee Tribe Finance Office is responsible for the oversight, and management of tribal funds, and;

WHEREAS, Four Directions, Inc. has expertise and knowledge of State and Federal election laws, has conducted successful Native voter registration and get-out-the-Native-vote drives on a non-partisan basis, and has assisted Tribes across the United States in gaining equal access to the ballot box; and

WHEREAS, Four Directions will work on the behalf of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina to achieve equal access to the ballot box, train and assist Lumbee tribal members in getting out the Lumbee vote, and protect against voter suppression and voter fraud tactics used against Lumbee voters in Federal and State elections in 2019 and 2020; and

NOW THEREFORE BE IT RESOLVED, That the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina hereby conveys its full support of Four Directions, Inc. in planning and managing Lumbee voter registration and get-out-the Lumbee vote drives on a non-partisan basis and approves of Four Directions, Inc. meeting and communicating with North Carolina officials on the importance of equal access to the ballot box for Lumbee voters in Federal and State Elections; and

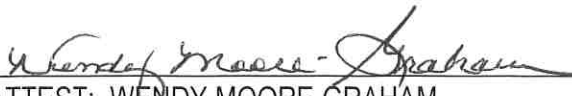
NOW THEREFORE BE IT FINALLY RESOLVED, The Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina requests that North Carolina officials cooperate with the Lumbee Tribe and Four Directions, Inc. in working for equal access to the ballot box for Lumbee voters in the upcoming Federal and State elections in 2019 and 2020.

CERTIFICATION

THIS CLLR-2019-0620-03 "LUMBEE TRIBE VOTER REGISTRATION AND GET-OUT-THE-VOTE DRIVE", ADOPTED AT A MEETING OF THE TWENTY-ONE (21) MEMBER TRIBAL COUNCIL OF THE LUMBEE TRIBE OF NORTH CAROLINA WHERE 17 MEMBERS WERE PRESENT, CONSTITUTING A QUORUM, THIS THE 20TH DAY OF JUNE, 2019, BY A VOTE OF 17 YES, 0 NO, AND 0 ABSTENTION(S).


ATTEST: RICKY BURNETT
Speaker, Tribal Council of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina

6/20/19
Date


ATTEST: WENDY MOORE-GRAHAM
Secretary, Tribal Council of the Lumbee Tribe of North Carolina

06/20/19
Date

ROLL CALL VOTE RESULTS

CLLR-2019-0620-03 "LUMBEE TRIBE VOTER REGISTRATION AND GET-OUT-THE-VOTE DRIVE"

ADOPTED JUNE 20, 2019

17 YES, 0 NO, 0 ABSTENSION(S)

District 1:	Carvicous Barfield	YES
District 2:	Sharon Hunt	YES
	Janie McFarland	YES
District 3:	James B. Hunt	YES
	Vacant	-----
District 4:	Ted Woodell	YES
District 5:	Wendy Moore-Graham	YES
	Jarrod Lowery	YES
District 6:	Larry Chavis	YES
	Douglas Locklear	YES
District 7:	Reginald Oxendine	YES
	Jan Lowery	ABSENT
	Alvin Mercer	YES
District 8:	Corbin Eddings	YES
District 9:	Dewey J McNeill	YES
District 10:	Marshil Locklear	ABSENT
District 11:	Frank Cooper	ABSENT
District 12:	Annie Taylor	YES
	Michael Chavis	YES
District 13:	Ricky Burnett	YES
District 14:	Terry Hunt	YES



Four Directions

Advancing equality at the
ballot box across Indian Country
fourdirectionsvote.com

To: Interested Parties
From: Bret Healy
Date: July 30, 2019
Re: Standing Rock Sioux Indian Reservation, North Dakota 2018

Background

Four Directions developed a work-around in early October, 2018 for the vote-suppressing law implemented by North Dakota officials when the US Supreme Court allowed North Dakota to do so. Attached is a report on Four Directions efforts in North Dakota in 2018.

Four Directions also worked with the Standing Rock Sioux Tribe to ensure Tribal members could vote by managing a full-fledged Get-Out-the-Native Vote program starting on October 19, 2018 – an 18 day program that nearly achieved turnout parity between Standing Rock Tribal members and non-Indians (nearly all white voters) in North Dakota.

Comparing the mid-term 2018 election to the mid-term 2014 election turnout:

2014

North Dakota Statewide turnout as a percentage of eligible voters was 46%
Sioux County (81.6% Native American) turnout on same benchmark was 25%
As a ratio, Standing Rock voters at 25/46 – or 54% of white turnout.

2018

North Dakota Statewide turnout as a percentage of eligible voters was 57%
Sioux County (81.6% Native American) turnout on same benchmark was 53%
As a ratio, Standing Rock voters at 53/57 – or 93% of white turnout. This was record turnout for any election, mid-term or Presidential in Sioux County, ND.

Conclusion

Four Directions closed the gap with only 18 days. Funding was extraordinarily robust at \$53 per person of voting age in Sioux County. Sioux County is 1,128 square miles in area and the persons in poverty measure is 36% - compared to 12% for the United States.

Table 1. Analysis of Demographic and Voter turnout Data

Native VAP % below

68.00%

	1-Jul-18		Native	Native	Pop	VAP	Total
Counties fully in NC-9	Total Population	% Native	Population	VAP	< 18	% eligible	VAP
Union	235,908	0.60%	1,415	963		26.80%	73.20%
Anson	24,877	1.00%	249	169		19.70%	80.30%
Richmond	44,887	3.20%	1,436	977		22.90%	77.10%
Scotland	34,810	12.40%	4,316	2,935		22.60%	77.40%
Robeson	131,831	41.70%	54,974	37,382		24.80%	75.20%
Counties partially in NC-9							
Mecklenburg	1,093,901	0.80%	8,751	5,951		23.60%	76.40%
Cumberland	332,330	1.80%	5,982	4,068		24.70%	75.30%
Bladen	33,190	3.00%	996	677		20.40%	79.60%
Voter turnout 2018	% White	reg voters	votes total (NC9)	% turnout	Harris (REP)	McCreedy (DEM)	Scott (LIB)
Robeson	30.90%	77,300	31,695	41.00%	12,691	17,419	777
Scotland	45.10%	22,910	10,845	47.34%	4,463	5,908	197
Bladen	60.80%	16,857	9,398	55.75%	5,413	3,856	129
2018 General Election							
	McCreedy (D)	Harris (GOP)	McCreedy margin	McCreedy margin			
share of 2 party vote (Robeson)	57.85%	42.15%	15.70%	4,728			
share of 2 party vote (Scotland)	56.97%	43.03%	13.93%	1,445			
share of 2 party vote (Bladen)	41.60%	58.40%	-16.80%	-1557			

Table 2. NC-9 Analysis of Voter Turnout

Effect of Four Directions Program

County	"% White	"% Native	"2018 turnout %	"2018 turnout %
				26.00% <<<Est. Native turnout
Robeson	30.90%	41.70%	31.97%	
Scotland	45.10%	12.40%	40.25%	
Bladen	60.80%	3.00%	49.12%	
				55.00% <<<Est. White turnout

Group	"2018 est. turnout, %	"2019 est. turnout, %	"2019 est, with 4d turnout, %
Native	26.00%	20.80%	44.55%
Whites	55.00%	49.50%	49.50%

Without Four D Voter Engagement	NA VAP	NA Votes C	With Four D fully funded NA VAP
Robeson	37,382	7,775	37,382
Scotland	2,935	610	2,935
total	40,317		16,654

total	8,386	17,961
increase NA votes	9,575	

With Full Four Directions Funded Program

	if at Navajo 2016 level	if at Oglala 2016 level	if at Ft Belknap 2018 level
2019 Special Election est	McCready (D) Bishop (Rep)	McCready (D) Bishop (Rep)	McCready (D) Bishop (Rep)
Native American (Robeson+Scotland)	16,634 1,327	16,388 1,573	17,351 610

Without Four Directions Program

Native American (Robeson+Scotland)	7,766	620	7,651	735	8,101	285
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Table 3. Four Directions Native Voter Transportation NC-9

Voters likely to vote	8,386	
New Voters goal	9,575	
Total voters	17,961	
Adjusted Hours available	132	120 early, 12 hr Eday
New Voters/hr	73	
New voters per driver/hour	1.1	
Other voters per driver/hour	0.9	
Drivers to Early vote/polls	66	
Drivers return to home	10	
Total Drivers	76	
Hourly Driver Time cost	\$15.00	
Hourly Car cost	\$10.00	
Team leader	\$5.00	\$25/hr for 5 drivers
Drivers to vote location-team cost	\$30.00	
Driver return cost	\$25.00	
Voter to vote location costs	\$261,144	
Voter return from location costs	\$33,000	
Total before overhead	\$294,144	
Plus 20% overhead	\$352,973	
Cost per new voter voted	\$36.86	
Cost per Native voters voted	\$19.65	Navajo 2018, 4-Directions moved 10K new voters
NA VAP	40,317	75,000
Cost/VAP	\$8.75	\$10.67

Table 4. Dem and GOP margins in Indian Country

2016 Navajo, Cottonwood Precinct

	Votes	%
Clinton/Kaine	589	92.61%
Trump/Pence	47	7.39%
Two Party	636	
Clinton margin	85.22%	
Vote ratio	12.53 to 1	

2016 Oglala, Oglala Lakota County

Clinton/Kaine	2510	91.24%
Trump/Pence	241	8.76%
Two Party	2751	
Clinton margin	82.48%	
Vote ratio	10.41 to 1	

2018 Fort Belknap Indian Community, Hays-Lodgepole precinct

Tester	540	96.60%
Rosendale	19	3.40%
Two Party	559	
Tester margin	93.20%	
Vote ratio	28.42 to 1	