

CAMPAIGN BOOT CAMP 2.0

Basic Training for Candidates, Staffers, Volunteers, and Nonprofits



A SEVEN-STEP GUIDE TO WINNING

**CHRISTINE
PELOSI**

"Christine Pelosi is a sharp and knowledgeable drill sergeant looking to whip our democratic process back into shape."

— Arianna Huffington

An Excerpt From

***Campaign Boot Camp 2.0:
Basic Training for Campaigns, Staffers, Volunteers and Nonprofits***

by Christine Pelosi
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Introduction

My political activism began in the stroller. Every year, right before Halloween, my mom took us door to door through our neighborhood with election leaflets. Then a few days later we returned for trick-or-treating. To this day, we are not entirely sure whether those leaflets had any bearing on the kind of treats we received. Maybe all that excess chocolate from certain neighbors was a coincidence.

It was unfathomable to us then that she would become Speaker of the House of Representatives nearly forty years later. But politics isn't about the big leap to power; it's about the thousands of steps taken with family, friends, and neighbors every day, from voting to volunteering to full-time civil, military, and political service. Millions of Americans have heeded a personal call to service: a voice of conscience that springs from vision, ideas, and values and urges participation. For many of us, activism begins with the rhythms of family traditions in civic, political, or faith-based action before we hear a singular beat that resonates. Now a mother myself, I am taking my daughter in her stroller to neighborhoods around the country engaging in participatory democracy. My lesson to her and to others: answer your call to service, follow your passion, and send your message to the future *today*.

Campaign Boot Camp 2.0 has emerged from my own call to service as a lifelong grassroots activist in politics and policy. From the stroller, I have enjoyed the engagement of campaigns, the excitement of current events, and the empowerment of using my voice and my vote to make a difference. Walking precincts, practicing law for the City of San Francisco, studying legislation while serving in the Clinton-Gore administration and on Capitol Hill, winning campaigns for Democratic Party office, and managing political organizations have given me the opportunity to work with thousands of people committed to fulfilling their dreams and imprinting their humanity on our society. I've been on the road in blue, red, and purple states for historic Democratic victories in 2006 and 2008, heartbreaking defeats in 2010, and resurgence in 2011. All the way through, the common thread has been a fight for progressive values and participatory democracy: elections come and go, official power comes and goes, issues fade. My call to service endures.

Why a “campaign”? Meeting the challenges that America faces depends on our participation in our democracy. Performing service, and attracting others to it, requires a *campaign*—a mechanism to work with people in a disciplined way toward a common goal. A campaign can be an effort to be elected to office, to build capacity for a nonprofit, or to increase legislative recognition of civil rights. Whatever form it takes, a winning political campaign is a fusion of a large social movement and a small-business start-up. It takes a long-term dedication to values and a short-term, nuts-and-bolts strategy to earn the votes needed to win come Election Day.

Why a “boot camp”? Public service requires identifying and harnessing the inspiration, perspiration, and perseverance that transform dreams into actions. In my experience elections are like graduations—some folks come magna cum laude and others come “lawdy, lawdy.” The more magna cum laude campaigns out there with candidates and volunteers trained to put their best feet forward, the more vibrant and effective their service will be.

This is where the *boot camp* format—short, concentrated training sessions that respect people’s time by providing questions and tools that hone skills and talent—comes in. We focus on a core curriculum of *message, management, money, and mobilization* to help people learn from others’ successes and failures. I used this format with the AFSCME PEOPLE/New House PAC Congressional Candidates Boot Camp. The American Federation of State County Municipal Employees (AFSCME) Public Employees Organized to Promote Legislative Equality (PEOPLE) convened boot camps with over 100 challengers and twenty-six members of congress from 2006 to 2011. My leadership boot camps have included seminars, regional round tables, a University of California at Berkeley Extension class called Public Service Leadership Boot Camp, and several Young Democrats of America trainings on creating jobs, performing community service and outreach, building labor coalitions, and keeping America safe and free.

My material for boot camps comes in part from the opportunities I’ve had to travel around the country following my two passions: baseball and politics. In 1993 I toured baseball parks while awaiting the results of the California bar exam, traveling to over twenty ballparks and following my beloved San Francisco Giants to four of them along the way. From 2005 to 2011, I visited over thirty states conducting campaign boot camps. Both tours allowed me a community-based introduction to the American people. On my 1993 baseball tour, I studied the architecture of the ballparks, the lore of the game, and the pride of the communities, paying special attention to the game’s fundamentals—teamwork, hitting, pitching, and fielding—without which no team can win.

On my political tours (which happily included a little baseball on the side), the stakes were considerably higher, but my approach was similar. I studied the architecture of the campaigns, the lore of political traditions, and the pride of the communities, paying special attention to campaign fundamentals—message,

management, money, and mobilization—without which no campaign can win.

Sitting at a candidate rally is similar to sitting in a ballyard. Both give you the opportunity to assess the technical metrics and reflect on the intangibles—what politics calls “character” and baseball calls “make-up”—you look for in your heroes and admire even in your opponents.

As a baseball fan, I know that some of the best advice about hitting comes from the other team’s pitcher. That’s why as a proud Democrat I’m telling my story and learning from conservative Republicans and not just other progressives. Good organizing ideas come from institutions and from start-ups; from adopting childhood traditions and from rebelling against them; from friends and from opponents. As a prosecutor in San Francisco, I often sought advice on how to evaluate and try cases from defense attorneys. As chief of staff on Capitol Hill for Congressman John F. Tierney, Democrat of Massachusetts, I learned management techniques from a campaign management manual issued by the office of Congressman Dick Armey, Republican of Texas. I blog regularly at the *Huffington Post* and *POLITICO’s Arena*, two venues where a variety of political views stimulate conversation and cross-training.

After campaigning across America in 2005 and 2006, I wrote the first edition *Campaign Boot Camp: Basic Training for Future Leaders* to capture the best practices on strategy and tactics from Democrats, Republicans, and Independents. *Campaign Boot Camp 2.0* builds on the first edition by including insights from the dozens of boot camps and trainings I have conducted with first-time candidates, staff, volunteers, nonprofits, and students from 2007 to 2011. It includes more information about leadership attributes, ethics, and strategies in the brave new world of online politics, social networks, and electronic interdependence.

What has changed over the last five years? In 2006, while there was a broad range of issues that moved voters, *nothing* shaped the perceptions of the people I met on the campaign trail more

than the events of Hurricane Katrina and the Iraq War. In 2008, a bit of Bush fatigue and a protracted Democratic primary ushered in Democratic President Barack Obama. In 2010, Tea Party Republicans swept much of the country fueled by an enthusiasm gap over Democrats due to a 9 percent unemployment rate through which progressive messages were unable to penetrate. In 2011, Tea Party overreach in restricting workers' rights, women's health, and voters' protections awakened progressives who organized to fight anti-labor laws in Wisconsin and Ohio, defend Planned Parenthood, and literally Occupy Wall Street.

Looking to 2012, redistricting (which alters all state legislative and congressional district lines) and recession (which still affects too many families) will contribute to a fourth straight change election. Americans are anxious about the fragile markets for jobs, housing, and stocks. Middle-class families have already exhausted their coping mechanisms: women have entered the workforce, just about everyone is working longer hours at higher productivity for stagnant or lower pay, and homes are mortgaged to the hilt. Slow growth plus rising unemployment have eroded consumer confidence and increased exasperation at any politicians who do not appear to be working as hard to create jobs as people are working to find them.

We know that the two major parties will be rocked by this change election. The Tea Party will play a significant role in nominating the 2012 Republican candidate for president and continue to affect legislative races. The Occupy movement has captured the frustrations of working people fed up with waiting for Wall Street bailouts to trickle down to Main Street, yet whether that translates into coalitions that occupy the voting booth for Democrats (or anyone else for that matter) remains to be seen.

What we do know is that, quite simply, millions of people believe the American Dream is out of reach and under attack—and have decided to make incumbents and institutions pay the price. We are experiencing a cultural phenomenon and a political

power shift: beyond left and right, the fight is bottom-up versus top-down, ranging from progressives quoting the old Hopi Indian prayer: “We are the ones we have waited for” to Tea Partiers saying, “There is no one Tea Party leader—we are all leaders.” An illustration for the visually inclined: in the twentieth century, the blackberry was a fruit and the beehive was a hairdo. Now, in the twenty-first century, the blackberry is one of many handheld technology tools that connect people, and the beehive is a social networking model—a series of concentric circles linking technology, coalitions, and human networks—that has replaced the old hierarchical pyramid. The beehive model maximizes personal participation, creativity, and impact. It also poses leadership challenges for longtime politicians or business leaders who came up the old way, because there are no more filters or layers that buffer them from public opinion. Today’s leaders have to adapt to this new reality: prepare to lose control and listen to the wisdom of crowds.

Adapting to this political and economic turmoil—in which no incumbency is safe, no nonprofit is sure of its funding stream, and no true leader is buffered from the public—means that aspiring public leaders will have to work harder and smarter in leaner and meaner times to gain trust and contribute to a culture of service where we ask the best of people. Working harder and smarter means having the grace and guts to make strategic choices about message, management, money, and mobilization, and to implement them under pressure. The strategic choices include whether to attract innovators and take risks against the establishment to define your message, whether to make pledges to special interest groups when you seek endorsements and money; whether to use one-to-many television ads or many-to-many social media messaging; and, how to mobilize supporters based upon those choices.

In my many interviews, a common theme from Democrats, Republicans, and Independents was this: two kinds of people enter public life—those who want to *do* something and those

who want to *be* something. *Campaign Boot Camp 2.0* is for people who want to *do* something. It's basic training for future leaders who hear a call to service and are looking for a roadmap of how to transform dreams into actions through connecting with people and organizing with social networks, nonprofits, and policy initiatives. It sets forth seven essential steps: Identify Your Call to Service, Define Your Message, Know Your Community, Build Your Leadership Teams, Raise the Money, Connect with People, and Mobilize to Win. Each chapter concludes with a Get Real exercise to personalize and integrate these ideas into your own scope of service. *Campaign Boot Camp 2.0's* online home, www.PelosiBootCamp.com, provides additional training resources and blog postings. Throughout the book you'll find testimonials from prominent leaders about their calls to service.

Whether you're a young mom leafleting your neighborhood, an aspiring public leader, or a veteran politician, *Campaign Boot Camp 2.0* will help you answer your call to service, follow your passion, and send your message to the future *today*.

PART I

MESSAGE

ONE



Identify Your Call to Service: Your Message to the Future

The future belongs to those who believe
in the beauty of their dreams.

ELEANOR ROOSEVELT

The beauty of our founders' dreams is set forth in the Preamble to the U.S. Constitution:

We the people of the United States, in order to form a more perfect union, establish justice, insure domestic tranquility, provide for the common defense, promote the general welfare, and secure the blessings of liberty to ourselves and our posterity do ordain and establish this Constitution for the United States of America.

Our democracy is a call to reimagine the founders' vision for America through the years. It requires a binding commitment between people, a commitment that begins with the earliest actions in family, school, worship, and community. It is a commitment that develops over time and experience, based on a call to service—the vision, ideas, and values that motivate each public servant.

Each of us has a personal call to service that motivates and inspires our actions in family, community, and public life.

Whether your public service involves helping a nonprofit agency achieve its mission, voting or volunteering in an election, mastering the skills of running for public office, studying political science and civics, or networking with your peers in a community improvement project, everything you do to engage in democracy begins with your call to service. Your call to service springs from your vision for the future, the values that drive it, the ideas that embody it, and your commitment to work in a community with others to achieve it. Your call to service is your message to the future.

Whether your household is grounded in social responsibility, politics, workers' rights, civil rights, or military service, your call begins at home with a family ethic, manifests itself in community work, and provides a touchstone for all you do, inspiring you on the good days and strengthening you on the bad days.

Many Americans find our personal calls to service inspired by the national vision, values, and ideas framed by our founders and realized by succeeding generations. We share a common American Dream yet have the freedom to express our personal interpretations of that vision. To many, that goes without saying, but when we consider the bloodshed of recent democratic reform movements in countries like Egypt, Tunisia, Libya, and Syria, we Americans can never take our individual liberty for granted.

Why answer the call to service? For many people the answer is to help others: to give back to a country that has given them opportunity or to help people achieve their stake in the American Dream. Volunteerism is the backbone of society: nothing happens in politics or community life without it. A secondary reason is that we help others in order to help ourselves: we build confidence and self-esteem through accomplishment; we connect with others, including role models or mentors; and we gain valuable experience for a job or business opportunity. Nothing is more satisfying than identifying your call to service, following your passion, and making a difference in the lives of others.

As President Barack Obama often says, success is measured by “progress for the American people.”¹

In assessing your own participation in our democracy, the first essential question is what is your personal call to service?

ARTICULATE YOUR VISION FOR THE FUTURE

For many, the call to service springs from a vision of America as a better place. What change do you want? In reading the Preamble to our Constitution, what resonates? What compels you to give your time, energy, and resources, and to stake your reputation? Consider what you have done in your community—with nonprofits, educational or religious organizations, civic associations, and political or cause-related campaigns. Go back and read essays you wrote for high school, college, or job applications: How did you describe yourself? What was your favorite job or volunteer activity? What was your major in school? Your most treasured campaign? Your best writing? A closer look will tell you the message you have been sending to the future.

COMMUNICATE THE IDEAS THAT WILL REALIZE YOUR VISION

“Ideas have consequences,” says columnist George F. Will, “large and lasting consequences.”² Our Constitution was a bold stroke of ideas, imagination, and intellect that brought to life our founders’ vision of the future. It continues to have global consequences.

My own call to service includes promoting democracy. During the tenth anniversary of the 9/11 terrorist attacks, the vision that kept coming to mind was a secure America where an engaged citizenry protects and defends our people and our Constitution. As the kids who were third graders on 9/11 are now young adults eligible to vote, I’d like to see them all registered and voting, and all serving their communities in national or civic service regardless of race, creed, nationality, gender, sexual orientation, or identity. I’d like to see the 9/11 generation of patriots come home to a society worthy of their sacrifice, with

jobs, education, health care, and housing. I'd like a better balance of liberty and security for all Americans and an appreciation of our military as a force for good in the world.

Many ideas implicit in that vision require concrete answers. How do we share the sacrifice? Who is required or recruited or allowed to serve? How do we maintain force readiness and care for troops, military families, and veterans? How much of the federal budget do we spend in relation to all the other needs of the country? Do we raise taxes, and, if so, whose? Most important are the practical consequences: When and how do we propose to deploy the strong military to go to war and to protect us here at home? Should we continue with deployments to Iraq, Afghanistan, or other nations? Each answer has a large and lasting consequence.

ARTICULATE THE VALUES THAT SHAPE YOUR VISION AND IDEAS

Just as integral to your vision of the future and your big ideas are the core values—such as equality, responsibility, and justice—that inspire the vision. Too often we jump into political discussions without articulating our values. We may assume that others know what we believe or impute a value to our action, but assuming is always a mistake.

If, to take my example, your vision is a secure America where an engaged citizenry protects and defends our people and our Constitution, and your idea is to provide for the common defense through a strong military, your values will shape your treatment of the military servicemen and servicewomen. Equality shapes who gets called to serve and how: Would you enforce a draft or keep military service voluntary? Are all people, regardless of race, gender, class, or sexual orientation welcome to serve? Responsibility shapes how you prepare them when you deploy them in harm's way at home or overseas. Justice guides whether you keep promises to military families and properly provide for veterans upon their return home.

TEST YOUR VISION, IDEAS, AND VALUES TO SEE THE DIFFERENCE THEY MAKE IN PEOPLE'S LIVES

So far we've been dealing with the imagination; your vision becomes real when you make choices in public life that make a difference in people's lives.

On a personal level, you might achieve your vision for a safer America, your idea of a strong military, and your values of equality, responsibility, and justice by enlisting in the military or by supporting the families of people who enlist. On a community level, you might achieve the vision by supporting initiatives to provide workforce training and small-business loans to veterans returning home.

How can you tell if a candidate shares your vision? Let's say, for example, that you were evaluating candidates for president, and several promise a vision of America with the idea of a strong military and the values of equality, responsibility, and justice. So far, so good, but who will achieve the vision in the manner you intend? Until a crisis brings it home, it's just a theory.

On a political level, you might volunteer to work for a candidate who shares your vision. However, two people with a shared vision can have vastly different values about how to get there. Consider the debate over the December 2010 repeal of the military's Don't Ask, Don't Tell (DADT) policy that prohibited gay and lesbian military servicemembers from serving openly in the U.S. armed forces.

To the vast majority of Americans, the votes to repeal DADT fit comfortably within the Pledge of Allegiance: "with liberty and justice for all." (Even conservative icon Barry Goldwater advocated for opening the military to gays as early as 1993: "You don't have to *be* straight to be in the military; you just have to be able to *shoot* straight.") While there must be work to achieve the vision of equality in deed as well as in law, at a time of war with a volunteer military comprised of only 3 percent of eligible servicemembers, most believed a DADT repeal could not come too soon. In addition, the Pentagon's 2010 Comprehensive



NORAD TEST: SEVEN MINUTES TO KNOW IF A PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE SHARES YOUR VISION

Before volunteering or voting for a presidential candidate, apply this NORAD test: Assume that, as happened on September 11, 2001, it takes about seven minutes from the time the North American Aerospace Defense Command (NORAD) gets word that the country is under attack to the time fighter jets arrive in response. If NORAD identifies a threat—a hijacked airplane or a missile over a densely populated area—should the president order the jets to fire? At whom? How many American lives are at risk on the plane or on the ground?

Picture yourself or a loved one on the plane, in the targeted area, or watching—safe from immediate harm—as the crisis unfolds. What do you want your president to do? What vision, ideas, and values do you want the president to apply in those seven minutes? Would it make any difference if the NORAD commander or the U.S. president were a woman? A member of a racial minority? Openly gay?

Although few other tests will be as dramatic, you must articulate your vision for the future, your ideas, and the values and code of ethics that guide your call to service and your decisions under fire to see how they will affect people's lives.

*Source: National Commission on Terrorist Attack upon the United States, *The 9/11 Commission Report*, <http://www.9-11commission.gov>, p. 20.*

Working Group report revealed that over two-thirds of service-members did not think ending this policy would have an impact on military cohesion and readiness.

However, there were others who disagreed because their values took them in another direction. A Pew poll taken in November 2010 found that liberal Democrats backed a repeal by 6 to 1. And two voter groups—the religiously unaffiliated and voters under 30—backed ending DADT in proportions almost as large.

By contrast, 52 percent of self-described conservative Republicans opposed a repeal and only 28 percent supported it, while among white evangelical Protestants, 48 percent opposed it and 34 percent supported it.³ But note that many Republicans voted for the end of DADT and a handful of house Democrats voted against—proving that one’s personal values and party affiliation are not one and the same.

BE PART OF SOMETHING LARGER THAN YOURSELF

To experience the challenges and rewards of public service, and to find out what kind of engagement best suits your talents, work with people who share your vision, ideas, and values. Volunteer with a student organization, a community project, a nonprofit, or an election campaign. The way you act to achieve your vision is a signal to you and to others that you are engaged to *do* something: to make a difference in your community and make the future better.

In her best-selling book *Know Your Power*, my mother, U.S. House Democratic leader Nancy Pelosi, says if you hear a call or see a problem, “organize, don’t agonize.”⁴ *Organize* means be part of something larger than yourself, work with others on their own paths to service, and remember that it is amazing how much you can accomplish if you are willing to share the credit.

You must do something for people before you ask them to do something for you. Think of it this way: if you had a friend who showed up only when she needed something or called only to ask you for money, you would probably not stay friends for long. The same is true in public life. Don’t be a taker. If someone gives you the opportunity to serve, pay it forward by helping someone else get involved or by donating money or resources to improve an organization.

Volunteer. To get started, give your time as a volunteer. “Every job I got I volunteered first,” recalled Lezlee Westine, a founder

and former president of TechNet, a bipartisan network of technology companies designed to promote innovation and competitiveness. “You cannot underestimate the huge value of volunteering for your first job. Volunteering is a great opportunity to show your passion for a cause and catapults you faster to a leadership role in an organization.”⁵

STRENGTHEN YOUR FRIENDSHIPS AND ALLIANCES IN NETWORKS

As you articulate your vision, ideas, and values; as you begin the service that puts them into action; and as you emerge as a trustworthy policy advocate, you will develop friendships and alliances. Westine advises aspiring leaders to “build technology networks to bring people together, coalition networks to accomplish a policy goal, and human networks to advance and mentor other people.”

Technology networks. Create technology networks through the Internet to organize local groups and individuals for fundraising, communicating with the public on a grassroots level without using traditional media, and targeting favorable voters for get-out-the-vote efforts.⁶

I saw many of these networks firsthand on the campaign trail these past few years. Many fresh recruits—from New Direction Democrats to Tea Party Republicans—were volunteers connected with partisan groups like Young Democrats and College Republicans. But just as significant were the people mobilized by progressive netroots (Internet-based grassroots organizers) such as MoveOn.org and the *Daily Kos* community, by conservative networks such as the Club for Growth, and by fiercely independent communities such as the Iraq and Afghanistan Veterans of America (IAVA).

This new blend of asymmetrical politics thrives on bringing old-school politics and new media together. In communities around the country, I visited with people who had lost confi-

★ ★ ★ CALL TO SERVICE ★ ★ ★

NANCY PELOSI

“Our diversity is our strength,” says House Speaker Nancy Pelosi. Pelosi grew up in multiethnic Baltimore, where she heard the call to service as a young girl. Her family home was always open to constituents of her father, the late Mayor Thomas D’Alessandro Jr., and she attributes her call to service to her parents, who, she says “raised us to be proud of our Italian Catholic heritage, patriotic in our love of country, and respectful of other people’s pride in their heritage.”

“When people ask me why I serve, I always answer in the same way: our children, our children, our children: the air they breathe, the water they drink, the food they eat, their health and education, a world at peace in which to live, the job security of their parents and the retirement security of their grandparents. I see my own service as an extension of my role as a mother and a grandmother.”

When asked how she handled being the subject of multimillion-dollar attack ads in 2010: “If I were not effective, if I hadn’t passed health care and Wall Street [regulatory overhaul] and the rest, I would not have been the target that I was. I came here to do a job. I didn’t come here to keep a job.”

Source: Nancy Pelosi, interviews, July 14, 2007 and January 3, 2011.

dence in the large institutions yet felt intense pride in their own community institutions and service traditions. Not only were they voting out a culture of corruption, they were ushering in a culture of service: walking precincts for candidates and walking 10Ks for AIDS or breast cancer research; meeting to clean up politics and to clean up beaches, parks, and neighborhoods. American politics is being reinvigorated by these social networks

of people willing to come together around a shared mission, stay together through challenges, and work together despite the inevitable clashes of personalities and agendas.

Coalition networks. Westine's service in the White House involved working with a series of coalition networks, which she describes as a "temporary alliance of groups to achieve a common goal." These coalition networks can include journalists, nongovernmental organizations, corporate executives, and political leaders—"groups of people with followings beyond themselves" organized around a specific policy objective.

Human networks. The most effective way to build a culture of service is to develop a network of people who share your call to service. For example, your call to service may be the economic empowerment of women. A women's business network will help achieve the vision because it will do the following: host fund-raisers for women candidates or candidates who champion issues important to women; lobby government by showcasing the impact of women-owned businesses in terms of numbers of workers and revenues; influence media coverage of the most powerful women business owners; support women for political positions; and encourage successful women to mentor younger women. "From handshaking to supporting your peers to supporting a candidate, human networks will advance your goals and have untold benefits," advises Westine.

Start building your human networks with the people whose leadership you admire. Work with a local nonprofit or political leader on a public service effort to learn the ropes, develop relationships, and take a shared risk.

Above all else, build connections and relationships—what Westine calls the glue that holds together any network.

To build networks, start with your call to service. Lead with your passion and ask yourself, "Which one of the issues or causes calls me to serve?" There are great online sources for finding

volunteer opportunities and networks such as volunteermatch.com, school alumni associations, and local campaign offices.

Look into a particular group and ask: What is the reputation? Do people in it have fun? Do they make an impact? Are my friends involved? How would I fit in? Also consider the management style: the simple fact of having a Web site or Listserv doesn't tell you everything. Look deeper: consider whether the network is using the old top-down pyramid style or has adopted the modern beehive model. If there are still only a couple of decision makers who don't want volunteer feedback or who expect junior members to filter for them, you will not be as fulfilled as you will by the beehive model where every worker adds value, and leaders have learned to delegate, interact with supporters, and heed the wisdom of crowds.

You may be shy about putting yourself out there, but you may enjoy volunteering at a networking event, rather than attending as a guest. Can you work the phones or the doors? Can your business offer a service rather than cash? If you're not sure, take a risk! The worst that can happen is you help other people and decide that a particular task or group is not for you. Finding your own style will help maximize your impact and fulfillment.

Demonstrate that you want to DO something, not just BE something. Begin with a good work ethic so that you are known as a workhorse, not a show horse. We all know the difference between colleagues who contribute and those who sail in at the last minute to avoid the heavy lifting. Performing the basic tasks of campaigning—sorting mail, stuffing envelopes, answering phones, handing out leaflets, making calls, updating Web sites—gives you hands-on experience in mobilization and exposure to the areas of messaging, fund-raising, and media outreach. Your willingness to do the basic work tests your commitment to a cause and seeds the grassroots of future support.

Register to vote—and vote! Dozens of elected officials at all levels of government come up for reelection every two, four, or six

years. In addition, ballot measures at the local and possibly state levels are subject to voter approval. These are all opportunities to learn. Register to vote and know where to vote. If you have moved, update your registration. Being registered to vote is not enough; studying the issues, comparing each candidate's position, and actually voting are critical for those considering a run for public office. Register other people to vote as well: encourage family and friends; register new citizens at their swearing-in ceremonies; and participate in voter registration drives.

Unhappy are the candidates who register or vote only shortly before running themselves and have to answer for the fact that they haven't voted when others were up for consideration. Republican candidates for California's biggest public offices in 2010—Meg Whitman for governor and Carly Fiorina for the senate—had spotty voting records that reinforced the notion that they weren't interested in politics unless they could start at the top. The public didn't trust them to grapple with tough issues as leaders since they hadn't grappled with those issues (abortion rights, immigration, taxes) as voters.

Train and be trained. You must excel in the core areas of public service: message, management, money, and mobilization. Challenge yourself. Many local nonprofit organizations and political parties sponsor training sessions for potential candidates and volunteers. Many of my leadership boot camps have included training materials and speakers from Democratic Party committees as well as AFSCME, AFL-CIO, Democracy for America, EMILY's List, Equality California, Fair Share Alliance, Human Rights Campaign, SEIU, Truman National Security Project, Veterans and Military Families for Progress, and the Women's Campaign Forum, each of whom perform their own trainings helping activists develop advocacy skills. Take courses that teach you how to write op-eds (from "opposite editorial" page), which you can submit to your local paper, and how to create presentations and informational videos that you can upload to YouTube.

Once you've recruited people, be sure to tweet them updates. Start an online group on LinkedIn, Facebook, Google Plus, or other social network, if none already exists that shares your vision, and invite people to join it. When I started boot camps in 2005, there were none I could find that performed cross-training among different groups, but just about everyone is conducting trainings these days. Be sure you get materials in advance and testimonials from those who have already participated to see what is worth your time and money, and check for interactivity and media training. Nothing solidifies your training better than having to stand up and talk about what you just learned.

If you are conducting trainings, be sure to invite people from different disciplines—business, labor, constituency groups—as well as at least one alum to come back as a presenter. We did this with our Congressional Candidates Boot Camps to show challengers that our message, management, money, and mobilization metrics are indeed keys to victory. After one boot camp, a candidate e-mailed me his feedback, concluding: "I am going to win and come back as a presenter." He did: our 2006 alum, Congressman Ed Perlmutter of Colorado, came back in subsequent years to affirm the importance of grassroots organizing. He told us that one reason he ran for Congress was to push for expanded research that could help cure his oldest daughter, who has epilepsy. After over a year of walking door to door to door talking about stem cell research and other issues of the day, Perlmutter built a commanding lead, attracted a large volunteer corps, won that election, and has won two others since. Perlmutter's simple and profound message: "I won because I walked."

Pay it forward: mentor people as people mentored you. Everybody got a start from somebody. Sharing information, imparting wit and wisdom, and offering unvarnished advice is essential. This can be as simple as a few words of encouragement or as committed as a decades-long advisory role. Anyone new to a job or a position needs to learn the ropes. When running for chair

of the California Democratic Party Women's Caucus in 2011, I was nominated by my longtime mentor, Democratic National Committeewoman Rosalind "Roz" Wyman, who has advised me since I was her podium page when she ran the 1984 Democratic National Convention. Not only did I want people to hear from a woman of great achievement in our state, I wanted my caucus to know that we all still need advice and support from our mentors. Our successful team of officers won on the WOMEN Slate: Women Organizing Mentoring Electing and Networking. Our pledge is to pay it forward; the women we mentor are our messages to the future.

Match your skills to a position. Consider preparing yourself for one of the campaign staff roles in an upcoming election. When trying to make a match, identify your top five or ten experiences from campaigning to carpooling to coaching. What do they tell you about how you answered your call to service and how you helped others? Do you like to be the disciplinarian or the free spirit in the group? Leverage your participation: you don't need to have political experience to be a good organizer with a nonprofit or get an entry-level position with a political campaign. Are you a stay-at-home mom? You're an organizer. Have you coached, worked on the PTA, or driven carpool? You're an organizer. A careful look at your service contributions, lessons learned, and value added will reveal your networks and (perhaps hidden) talents.

Be part of a team. Networking requires you to work with and for other people. Politics and policy are about teamwork. Some people like to study, worship, and work alone; if you do, perhaps a behind-the-scenes role is appropriate for you. Assuming you enjoy the camaraderie and cooperation of a team effort, you will be spending most of your time asking other people to volunteer their time, write a check, bring their networks in common cause with yours, and/or hire your candidate to work for them.

If you decide to become a candidate or commissioner or non-

profit trustee, you will have a constituency to which you will have to answer, and each member of that constituency gets to vote on whether you get the job, has an opinion of how you are doing in the job, and ultimately decides whether you should keep the job. None of this will be communicated in the old hierarchical ways: any moment could bring a tweet or a message assessing your performance or offering new ideas. If you shy away from conflict or have slow response times, being out front is going to be a hard adjustment. On the other hand, if you are open to crowd sourcing, a network can help you assume a position of leadership based upon what you can contribute to the network.

Finally, campaigns are environments where the stakes are high and the pressure is intense. Networking means listening, and the feedback you hear will not always be favorable. You will have to hear criticism about work that springs from your intensely personal core vision, ideas, and values—and not take it personally. Remembering that you are a part of something larger than yourself will help you on the bad days—and even on the good days—to develop a thick skin.

WOMEN LEADERS: CONSIDER YOURSELF ASKED

Women often find it harder to make the leap into campaigns because many of us remain the primary caregivers for our children and our parents, so family time is harder to let go. And public attitudes remain stereotypical, even among close supporters. I remember receiving an award at the pre-Columbus Day luncheon of the Irish-Israeli-Italian Society of San Francisco during my days as a deputy prosecutor. There I was, my speech all lined up about the caring traditions of Trócaire, Tikkun Olam, and Caritas when a family friend approached my table announcing loudly, “I’m praying for your husband.” My response, thinking she mistook me for one of my married sisters: “It’s Christine; I don’t have a husband.” “I know,” she replied, “that’s why I am



TIPS FOR WOMEN CANDIDATES: CONFRONTING STEREOTYPES

Gender bias is real. People will view your leadership through the lens of their perceptions.

| <i>You . . .</i> | <i>What They'll Say . . .</i> |
|------------------|---------------------------------|
| Single? | You can't attract 'em. |
| Married? | You should put 'em over career. |
| Got Kids? | You should stay home with 'em. |
| Divorced? | You couldn't keep 'em. |
| Widowed? | You killed 'em. |

Don't let these perceptions silence you! Be ready to meet strangers and get out of your comfort zone. Prepare to be questioned about your life choices. Remember criticism and effectiveness go hand in hand. (Life's too short. . .)

SHARE THE CREDIT: “. . . LIKE JANE SAID”

Other aspects of mentoring arise in the rough and tumble of competitive campaigns and high-level meetings. All too often I hear a version of this story: Jane articulates an idea. Joe repeats the idea. Others speak afterward and say, “Didn't Joe have a great idea?” or “. . . like Joe said.” So it is up to someone to interject “. . . like Jane said” to give credit where it is due. A curious but common condition afflicts some people in which they seem to have an inability to hear something said by someone younger, by those lower on the professional ladder, or by people who are unlike them in some way.

praying for him!” My colleagues roared with laughter. One who has since gone on to elected office herself said, “When people ask me where my husband is, I say, ‘I don't know, but if you find him tell him I'm looking for him.’”

It's not just pressure to have a family—it is pressure from

a family member. More recently, two female candidates dealt with family pressure. One was starting her campaign when her mother asked her, “Who’ll take care of your children?” (Translation: “Not Grandma.”) The other got a call from home that her daughter’s response to mom contemplating a primary was to dye her hair “one of the primary colors.” (Translation: “Mom, stay home.”) These are quite legitimate issues—and ones we encounter every day. Primary caregivers of small children find that before we can accept any opportunity, our first question is about childcare. I traveled to over twenty states with my infant daughter, and each boot camp from halfway across my hometown to halfway around the world began with: “How will I care for Isabella?” One person asked me, “Why don’t you bring your nanny?” “I am the nanny,” I replied. Every primary caregiver has to answer that childcare question, so candidates must remember this is not a trick question, just a very public one.

A Brown University study addressed the issue of women candidates with a report that asked “Why Don’t Women Run for Office?” The researchers found that women are less likely than men to have received the suggestion to run for office from party and elected officials, political activists, or family and friends; yet when women receive external support from formal and informal political and nonpolitical sources, they are twice as likely to run.⁷

Ellen Malcolm, founder of EMILY’s List, a national network of 100,000 members who recruit, train, and support Democratic pro-choice women candidates, says the Brown study shows that people who care about public service should encourage others to run. The theory behind EMILY’s List—*EMILY* stands for Early Money Is Like Yeast—is that early networking and institutional support helps the campaign “dough” rise. Malcolm says establishing a pipeline for women to run is essential because “progress doesn’t happen in a moment, but in battle after battle for our values.” Malcolm’s message to potential candidates: “Consider yourself asked.”⁸

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