

Political Organizing Manual

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Introduction

In 1997, the National Organization for Women launched the Victory 2000 campaign with the goal of electing two thousand feminist candidates to office by the year 2000. This campaign endeavors to create enthusiasm and provide resources to encourage every chapter to work for the election of at least one of its activists to local, state, or federal office by the year 2000.

This guide has been prepared to assist NOW chapters and state NOW organizations to participate in Victory 2000 effectively and lawfully. It is designed to address specific questions frequently asked by NOW subunits about political action committees (PACs) and political activities within NOW. This manual is not addressed to the particular concerns of PACs established by corporations, labor unions or other types of groups.

Because state campaign finance laws are continually fluctuating and compliance requirements change frequently, it is of utmost importance that chapters and state organizations contact the appropriate supervisory state agency in January of each year (or after any legislative session) to obtain any changes in the law or the regulations.

Please read this material carefully before undertaking electoral activity. The concepts explained here may be new and the language unfamiliar but nothing about PACs needs to be unmanageable or mysterious. The laws governing PAC use are available to anyone and the agencies charged with administering these laws are usually cooperative and accessible. This manual should give you a basic understanding of PAC operations. In addition NOW's political director is readily available to assist you with any questions that may arise.

I. PAC Structure and Operation

A. Introduction

This guide has been prepared to assist NOW chapters and state NOW organizations to participate of electing more feminist candidates to office. It is designed to address specific questions frequently asked by NOW subunits about political action committees (PACs) and political activities within NOW. This manual is not addressed to the particular concerns of PACs established by corporations, labor unions or other types of groups.

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B. Purpose of a NOW PAC

The purpose of NOW's political action committees is to increase dramatically the number of feminists elected to public office and to advance the feminist agenda through electoral activity. NOW PACs are the only PACs that evaluate candidates' positions on the full range of feminist issues including but not limited to:

- **support for reproductive rights without restrictions,**
- **economic equality,**
- **civil rights for all, with special emphasis on equal rights for people of color and lesbians and gays,**
- **constitutional equality for women,**
- **affirmative action,**
- **elimination of violence against women**

In order to achieve the ultimate goal of full equality for women, achieving parity for women in policy-making bodies is critical. Therefore we aggressively seek, support, and endorse feminist women candidates at the national, state and local levels.

C. What is a PAC?

A political action committee is a regulated entity created to allow a group of individuals to expend funds to exercise political influence in an election. Through PACs, individuals and organizations can significantly enhance their collective impact on the electoral process. This usually includes supporting, endorsing or opposing candidates for public office. In some states, PACs are the vehicle to work on and influence issues presented to the public as ballot initiatives or referenda. To further political objectives, PACs raise money to help elect candidates (or pass referenda) or they spend money, including direct contributions, to defeat those candidates (or issues) they oppose. Generally PACs are formed by entities such as membership organizations, labor unions, and corporations which cannot, as a matter of law, engage in electoral activities directly.

D. Why is it Necessary to Form a PAC?

Internal Revenue Service (IRS) regulations restrict non-profit corporations from directly engaging in electoral activity. The National Organization for Women and its constituent chapters are classified as a tax exempt "social welfare organization" under section 501 (c) (4) of the Internal Revenue Code. IRS regulations state that "the promotion of social welfare does not include direct or indirect participation or interventions in political campaigns on behalf of or in opposition to any candidate for public office". Therefore, it is only through establishing a PAC (which is regarded as a separate tax exempt entity by the IRS) that NOW and its subunits can participate in electoral contests without jeopardizing the entire organization's tax exempt status.

E. What kinds of PACs does NOW have?

NOW operates three types of PACs.

1. National Organization for Women Political Action Committee (NOW/PAC)*
 - Supports and endorses feminist candidates for federal office and, state law permitting, some statewide offices.
 - Is regulated by federal law administered by the Federal Election Commission.
 - Is a "separate segregated fund" of NOW, Inc. which by law can solicit and

accept contributions only from current NOW members.

2. NOW PAC Equality Fund (NEP)**

- Supports and endorses feminist candidates running in state and local elections (state law permitting) with special emphasis on supporting NOW activists running for office.
- NEP provides technical assistance and political training to state and local PACs.

3. State and Local PACs

- A state or local PAC operated by NOW subunits is governed by the laws of the state in which it is established, the locality in which it is located, and by the laws of the state in which it expends funds. An example of this would be a state PAC in Michigan raising funds for a candidate in Illinois. The PAC must comply with the PAC regulations of both states in order for the PAC money and resources to be legal.

*Be careful not to confuse the NOW/PAC with the generic term "NOW PACs" throughout this handbook. The NOW/PAC is a specific federal political action committee while there are various NOW PACs run by the national, state and local NOW organizations.

**Sometimes referred to as NOW Equality PAC

F. Anatomy of a PAC

Since a PAC committee is merely a conduit for expenditure of funds or contributions to a political candidate in pursuit of goals already established by a NOW subunit, the committee does not have to be large. For the smoothest operations the majority of state or chapter PAC members should be state or chapter board members, and the state or chapter president should also serve as the PAC chair. This will ensure that all subunits of NOW speak with the same voice and minimize the confusion which could result if the chapter or state and its PAC have conflicting leadership with different priorities.

For example, the board of NOW/PAC and NOW Equality PAC consists of 9 voting members:

- NOW President, who serves as PAC Chair,
- National NOW Vice President Membership, who serves as PAC Treasurer,
- National NOW Action Vice President,
- 3 NOW National Board members appointed by the President with the

consent of the National NOW Board, and

- 3 at-large members appointed by the President with the consent of the National NOW Board.

All meetings are open to NOW membership

G. How Often Should a PAC Meet?

The National NOW PACs meet periodically to evaluate endorsement requests for state and federal candidates. Meetings are scheduled more frequently in the beginning of the election cycle in order to plan election strategy and develop fundraising goals. PACs can also conduct business by conference calls between meetings.

It is important for state and local PACs to be familiar with the political calendar of their jurisdiction and schedule their meetings appropriately. For example, although a PAC may wish to endorse certain candidates before the filing deadline to strengthen their candidacy or to discourage others from entering the race, a meeting should be scheduled after the close of the filing period for state office so that the PAC can evaluate the entire field of candidates for office.

H. Subcommittees

The PAC may want to break down its functioning into areas, like fundraising or campaign planning, and assign each of those areas to subcommittees. This way each PAC member will develop expertise in a specialized area and be able to advise the PAC accordingly. The Chair of the PAC will oversee all operations and ultimately will be responsible for any subcommittee activity.

I. Budget

Preparing a budget for a new PAC may be difficult as its fund-raising capabilities may not yet be known. However, the PAC must make a realistic assessment of its potential income in order to plan its strategy and to allow the NOW subunit to consider this in its own strategy.

In preparing a budget, the PAC should determine if state laws permit the parent organization (NOW subunit) to pay for the PAC's administrative costs. If such payment is permissible, the PAC and the chapter/state should decide which unit will pay those expenses or whether they will be shared. Both the budget of the NOW subunit and the PAC's own income potential should be considered when making the decision.

Remember that there are probably restrictions on the sources of PAC contributions. This makes PAC money more difficult to raise than general state or

chapter funds. Additionally, since the chapter's funds cannot legally be used for direct electoral activity, the PAC will probably want to reserve as much as of its own resources as possible for this purpose. For this reason, many NOW units pay all of the administrative expenses of their PAC where this is permitted.

The PAC budget will reflect the total campaign strategy. It is vital that the PAC develop an overall plan in advance of any campaign and that it adhere to its plan as much as possible. Those outstretched hands that begin to appear near election time can make for very difficult situations. Remember that the PAC is a tool for OUR strategy, a strategy that is long-range and far-reaching.

J. Rules

The rules and procedures for operating a PAC should be discussed and decided upon before the PAC takes any action. These rules should immediately provide for a method to keep minutes and record decisions. To facilitate this record keeping, all motions should be put in writing and all decisions carefully recorded. A procedure for the timely notification of members about meetings should be specified and agreed upon, as well as a method and time frame for calling special meetings, conference calls, and phone polls.

The PAC should also establish a method by which decisions will be made. Some PACs require more than a majority vote for public endorsement of a candidate.

In order to avoid any legal problems, your PAC should be in communication with the National Political Department prior to its first meeting. A method for continuing, ongoing communication should be clearly established. As pointed out frequently in this handbook, failure to maintain those relations with the National NOW Action Center could have disastrous legal repercussions for your chapter and for National NOW.

K. Establishing a PAC Checking Account

As soon as the PAC is established, the Treasurer should open a PAC checking account with at least two signatories: including the Chair and Treasurer of the PAC. It is recommended that 2 signatures be required on all checks drawn or at least any checks over \$50.

L. Record Keeping and Reporting

The importance of the responsibilities of a PAC Treasurer cannot be overemphasized. Not only are PAC treasurers legally (and possibly criminally) responsible for state reporting requirements, they are also responsible for accurate reporting to their PAC and to the chapter or state organization. Compliance with state or local legal requirements is the sole responsibility of

NOW PAC subunits. National NOW cannot be responsible or liable for violations by state and local PACs of state and local campaign reporting requirements.

Improperly filed or late reports can have serious political consequences and be blown out of proportion by those who would discredit NOW. A critical campaign could be tied-up or even halted if we have to defend ourselves against allegations of wrong doing or improper reporting, and financial and legal penalties can be substantial.

The most common restrictions are those on corporate (including non-profit) and labor union contributions. Because NOW falls into an overlapping area between both of those categories it is advised that a PAC check in with the state agency to determine your specific regulations.

Money raised by a PAC as political campaign money (except money used to raise money) must be used for its intended purpose or the IRS will consider it taxable income. Contributions and expenditures must be carefully recorded and reported to the state regulatory agency on a timely basis. Failure to comply with reporting regulations could open the affairs of the organization to governmental and public scrutiny - a time and energy consuming ordeal.

M. Contributions

In accepting contributions, the Treasurer must be aware of several responsibilities in addition to careful record keeping.

There are many state contribution limitations. Check state law to determine which entities may contribute to PACs and what (if any) is the maximum amount permitted for individual contributions. In some states, for example, a PAC may accept contributions only from individuals and other PACs. In such states, PACs cannot receive contributions from NOW chapters or NOW state organizations (even if the board or membership have voted to make the contribution). Other organizations (such as labor unions and corporations) are also prohibited in some states from contributing to PACs. Some states prohibit funds from anyone other than individual members of the parent organization (NOW state/chapter). Contributions from foreign nationals are also forbidden. Some states allow cash or anonymous contributions up to a certain amount. Many states allow the parent organization to pay for the administrative expenses of the PAC. Know your state law!

All contributions, whether obtained through direct solicitation or through fundraising events like raffles or dinners are subject to the regulations and reporting requirements set by your state.

All contributors must be clearly informed that the funds being solicited are for political purposes and are not tax deductible. Written solicitations should

include a disclaimer identifying the group paying for the solicitation. Some states require specific wording on the disclaimer; check before printing materials.

In most states, loans to PACs are considered contributions unless they are obtained from a bank and are made in the ordinary course of business. In states where loans are considered contributions, they are subject to all applicable contribution law requirements and limitations.

The names and addresses of each contributor should be recorded. Almost all states require PACs to report the names, addresses, and amounts for contributors who give more than a specified amount. For example, if a state has a threshold of \$50 for itemizing contributions, a contributor who donates two \$25 gifts would have to be reported after the second gift. By the same logic, a person who makes a single \$50 donation must be reported in the very next report. Some states require that the occupation and principle place of business of contributors above a certain contribution amount must also be reported. Monetary thresholds vary according to state, so it is imperative that the state agency be contacted before soliciting contributions.

If the requisite information does not accompany a donation, a letter (called "Best Efforts Letter") must be sent immediately to the donor requesting it. Often the information is required regardless of the method of solicitation; therefore it is important to include a space for this data on all contribution requests. Additionally, when "passing the hat" be sure to remind the larger contributors to include the necessary information, preferably on the back of their check or on a separate contribution card.

N. Expenditures

Whether a PAC uses multi-copy voucher checks or traditional check stubs, as much information as possible must be recorded. Name, date, address, invoice number, type of expense and the candidate's name must all be reported. No check should be issued without an invoice approved by the PAC chair or treasurer. Similarly, no check should be issued against a budget line item that has not been adopted by the PAC.

Although operating expenses may be paid from the same checking account, it is important to differentiate the type of expenditure in your record keeping. Check stubs can be the basis of reports and must be meticulously kept.

The bank statement must be reconciled monthly. Canceled checks, voided checks, deposit slips, and bank transaction slips should be kept together and filed accordingly. Any invoice or document stamped "paid" should also be kept, both for records and to avoid duplicate payment.

Because all expenses paid to any vendor and all expenditures made on

behalf of a candidate must be disclosed in many states, separate files should be kept for bills paid for expenses incurred on behalf of candidates.

O. Filing

The following suggestions and clarifications may be helpful in filing reports:

- Keep a calendar of all reporting dates. Make special notations on the calendar at least 10 days prior to the due-date so that the treasurer will have ample preparation time.
- Keep all records current so that reporting will be simple.
- To guarantee that reports are received they should be hand-delivered or sent certified mail, return receipt requested.
- The treasurer must retain copies of all filings for the PAC's permanent records.
- Many states now require electronic filing of campaign reports. Be familiar with electronic filing instructions sufficiently ahead of any report-due dates to minimize chances of misfiled documents.

P. PAC Employees

There may be occasions when a PAC will hire a person to work on specific campaigns. Remember that the salary paid to that person must be reported as an in-kind contribution to the candidate's campaign. If the person works on the campaigns of several candidates, her/his salary must be apportioned accordingly.

If a PAC hires a person to work on campaigns, all federal and state tax withholding requirements must be strictly followed. Great caution should be exercised when hiring "consultants." Please contact NOW/PAC before hiring.

A person whose salary is paid for by a NOW chapter or state organization cannot do campaign work on such paid time, but can work as a volunteer on her/his own time.

II. Fundraising

A. Introduction

Fundraising is critical to accomplishing your political goals. Although many people shy away from it, it need not be intimidating. It is important to keep in mind that funds for the National NOW/PAC (federal) can only be raised from current NOW members because of federal election law requirements. However, there is no such restriction on fundraising for the NOW Equality PAC and many state PACs. This allows solicitation of funds from the general public thus expanding opportunities. No state or local chapter should embark on any fundraising project for federal candidates unless coordinated with the National Action Center.

As stated earlier, the most effective method to comply with campaign finance law is to keep accurate records. Like any successful business, PACs require a good system of record-keeping and accounting. This is particularly true for any fundraising project, and expenditures relating to the project must be carefully recorded and reported to the state regulatory agency on a timely basis. If the fundraiser is held to benefit a candidate, all costs relating to the event should be reported as in-kind contributions to that candidate. There are significant legal consequences for inaccurate or untimely reporting.

B. PAC Funds Used for PAC Administrative Costs

Some states permit PACs to use general funds of the parent organization to establish, administer, and even solicit funds for the PAC. Ultimately, the decision as to which entity will pay the PAC administrative expenses must be carefully considered with regard to the organization's total budgetary requirements.

Because money raised for political purposes must be carefully monitored and reported, and because the methods of solicitation are restricted, it may be advantageous for the PAC to reserve its donated funds for expenditures relating only to campaigns or candidates.

C. Sensitive Elements of Fundraising

Most state election laws regulate fundraising activities by imposing:

- prohibitions or restrictions on labor unions' and corporations' contributions;
- limitations on individual contributions;
- limitations on cash and anonymous contributions;
- limitations on expenditures in support of, or in opposition to, political

candidates;

- requirements with respect to disclosure of information on campaign advertising literature.

When setting up a PAC, contact the agencies responsible for implementing state laws. Election officials can act as guides through the maze of regulations. Copies of election laws are available in each state. It is our experience that state agencies are extremely helpful with inquiries relating to interpretation and implementation of state law.

D. Development of a Fundraising Plan

What are your PAC'S objectives?

Contributions to NOW PACs help fund our coordinated feminist campaign strategy, where trained activists are sent to communities to help organize door-to-door and telephone canvassing to identify supportive voters in areas with two or more feminist candidates. By election day these campaigns shift into massive get-out-the-vote efforts. Funds must be raised to pay for phone banks, lists of registered voters, and materials. If the campaign is to culminate in a get-out-the-vote rally there will be costs incurred to stage such an event.

Perhaps your PAC's goal is more modest; for example electing one of your activists to the school board. The wonderful spirit of camaraderie that develops from working together in a phone banking room can improve the number of voters reached, the success of your calls, and the number of volunteers who return. However, if necessary, you could have your members call the chapter list from their homes, thereby eliminating phone banking costs. You could also help your candidate by raising funds to create palm cards (post-card sized endorsement cards) to distribute on election day, or run an ad in the local newspaper's election edition. And direct campaign contributions are always greatly appreciated.

It's important for PACs to meet in the political off-years - the years in between elections. Even if the field of candidates is not settled, a PAC can make preliminary plans for recruitment of candidates, and future electoral activities. Off-years are also great years to build up PAC treasuries. Remember that in most states, the NOW chapter can contribute administrative costs to the PAC. Administrative costs are those costs that do not constitute direct candidate contributions. Consequently a PAC contribution line item should always be in the chapter budget, so that the PAC has seed money to launch fundraising activities.

Build flexibility into political plans. It might look like all of the conservative incumbents are planning to run for reelection and that it would be useless to launch a political project. One thing that we have learned time and

time again is that political campaigns are unpredictable. Scandals, deaths and retirements come unexpectedly. NOW PACs shouldn't be caught with an empty bank account and no credible feminist candidate in case an opportunity presents itself. And if there is absolutely no chance in a local community to elect feminists you may still want to run a candidate to ensure that feminist issues are addressed. There may also be state-wide candidates to rally behind. You could also help our national Victory 2000 campaign and help elect feminists around the country. The more feminists that are elected nationally, the better the political climate in your own neighborhood.

E. The Budget

How much money will you need, where will you get it and how much will it cost to raise it? If you can answer these three questions you will have created a budget. A secondary, but important question that will also need to be answered is when do you need the money? (Yesterday is always the correct answer!)

How much money do you need?

Answering this question involves some research. How much does it cost to run a phone bank in your town? What are printing costs for flyers, invitations, etc.? How big is your mailing list for determining postage costs? (Remember that federal law governs what materials can be mailed by chapters for a congressional or other national candidate and what mailings must be paid for by PACs). If you plan to make political contributions, either directly or in-kind, check again the legal limitations for contributions. What is the cost of advertising in the local papers?

Where will you get the money?

There are many tried and true methods of fundraising. They include personal solicitation, direct mail and event fundraising. A major component of all of these methods is effective list development. Your most valuable political possession is your list. Your chapter list is gold, as is the NOW at-large list in your community. (See "List Development" in the next section)

When do you need the money?

There is no point in holding an event for Suzy Feminist on March 1, when there is a crowded primary on February 28 that she needs to win! If the crucial primary is February 28, you need to plan your fundraising schedule so that you have raised enough money in advance to fund a get-out-the-vote project in the last weeks before the election. If the filing deadline has passed and Suzy has no primary opposition, your emphasis has to shift to the General Election.

Become familiar with the candidate's campaign reporting schedules. If the campaign finance reporting deadline is March 1, and the filing deadline to enter

the race is March 15, it becomes crucial for your candidate to be able to report raising significant funds, to discourage others from entering the race. **What can you got for free?**

Goods and services which are donated to a candidate or political committee are called in-kind contributions. Many times businesses prefer to make their contributions to you in this manner. For fundraising events it is sometimes possible to get your site, flowers, invitations, and food donated. This will enable you to tell prospective contributors that every penny they give will go to electing feminist candidates and to realize a greater profit from the event. Remember that you must value the donations at their normal purchase price for reporting purposes, and in-kind donations can never exceed the legal contribution limits.

F. Fundraising Techniques

List development

Whether you are making a list of people to call to ask for donations, planning a reception, or developing a fundraising direct mail piece, the first step is developing the list of your targets. It is a task that continues throughout the campaign as you build your lists for the ultimate campaign activity - Get Out the Vote or GOTV. The following guide is helpful to identify potential donors; however the key to effective list building is creativity:

- chapter members (in some states your PAC might be restricted to only fundraising from members)
- at-large NOW members
- friends of activists, the candidate, friends of friends
- political allies and their membership
- progressive religious communities
- party activists
- lists of campaign supporters
- likely women voters, women voters within targeted districts
- petition drive names
- volunteer lists
- clinic defense lists
- women's yellow pages
- all registered voters

You can see that the lists can be as specific or general as you deem appropriate.

Usually, your budget and energy determine the size of your list.

It is important that you maintain this list. Continually be on the lookout for more names, and make sure that you update all name, address and phone

number changes. It is amazing how quickly a non-updated list becomes outdated. Categorize the list; some prospects should be approached personally for a substantial contribution, others should only be approached for a small donation. As your fundraising progresses, your categories will shift - the person identified as your most likely prospect could be furious with NOW over some issue totally unrelated to politics, and the inactive member who has never been seen at a NOW function could send in a large check.

To understand list development, it is important to understand what motivates people to give. For example if your friend is running for office you will most likely give her as much as you can spare because of your personal relationship - polls or the political message will not be important factors. Many people always donate to the party candidate - they view it as their duty. Some contributors donate as a thank you to the candidate because of past actions that candidate has performed for them. They donate for access - it's a good investment for their business, or its important for them to be able to get in to see their representative or have their phone calls answered. Some donate for altruistic reasons - they are motivated because they want to advance a political viewpoint. Fear of the opposing candidate motivates other donors. There are donors who donate to make sure that they have covered all political bases, or just because they were asked! Understanding these principals, one should tailor contributor lists according to the donor type.

Just as important is understanding why people don't donate to candidates. It doesn't always mean that they disagree with their politics. Many people would donate to candidates or causes in which they believe if they were just asked - it seems so obvious, but many people just do not know how to donate. Many people would jump at the opportunity to attend a fun event with a reasonable price tag and also support a good woman for office. It is also true that a badly written or offensive direct mail piece can dry up contributions. After the last election many women stated that they were turned off by divisive rhetoric and mean-spirited politics.

Personal Solicitation

Donors who could potentially contribute large amounts often require personal solicitation. Usually the best person to do this is the candidate, unless there is some other key person on the campaign team who has a personal relationship with that donor. Sometimes, the best person to solicit a NOW member for a donation would be the NOW chapter or state president who can assure the donor that the candidate is a strong feminist.

Personal solicitation is a very effective form of fundraising. Unfortunately, many candidates and campaign workers are intimidated by asking for money. They find excuses, such as that they are too busy or they are afraid of being turned down. It cannot be emphasized enough how important this exercise is to candidates - and in recent years most candidates raise a considerable proportion

of their funds by "dialing for dollars." It has been estimated that Barbara Boxer had to raise \$33,000 dollars a day during the year prior to her election in order to wage a competitive Senate race. Hopefully your candidate will not need to be under the same pressure!

It's important to know the prospective donors political giving history, what issues move them to donate, and who would be close to them to help persuade them to your cause. You must develop a fundraising pitch - and then adjust it to fit each target.

Although the goal of the call is to receive the largest pledge possible, you should not begin the call asking for money. Your goal is to persuade that donor to invest in your candidate. You must listen to them, discover their political needs and then demonstrate to them why your candidate or campaign would help meet their needs. After a friendly conversation with them on common ground, you can attempt to close the deal. Always ask for a specific amount which is appropriate for that targeted donor. If you get resistance for the amount you have solicited, make the donor feel important to you and ask for a smaller amount. If you still get a no, don't give up. A refusal to contribute now does not mean that you will never get that person on board - ask if you can call them again and if she or he can suggest others you might call. Leave the person feeling good, not guilty.

Always follow up your calls. With a pledged donation, send a letter thanking the donor and confirming the amount of the pledge. Make it easy on your donor. Tell them you can send someone to pick up the check or send a stamped return envelope. For those potential donors who did not pledge money, write and thank them for their time. If they expressed concern about an issue in your telephone discussion, mention it in your letter with what you or your candidate would do about their concern. Then ask again for a contribution!

Be persistent in reaching your targets and keep accurate records on the content of your conversations. If they mention an issue, record it; if they talk about their kids, make a note. Make sure to note if they tell you to get back to them at a later date. You and the candidate will be making so many calls that you will not remember the details without accurate notes. And nothing prompts a donor to give donations more than feeling that you have a personal relationship with them!

Direct Mail

Although less personal, direct mail solicitation enables you to reach the maximum number of potential donors with the least amount of time. However, production of the direct mail package and the postage can be quite expensive. Care must be taken to produce an effective letter and choose the appropriate list to mail. Because of the expense, it is advisable to do a sample mailing of a smaller group as a test, and if it is successful then expand the circulation of the mailing.

The typical direct mail piece contains a letter from either the candidate or a well-known supporter, a reply card and reply envelope. The letter or reply card should ask for a specific amount or give options for a range of donations.

There is no one way to conduct a direct mail campaign. Creativity in the letter or on the envelope can make the difference between a successful campaign and a losing one. The envelope must intrigue the addressee enough so that they open it, since these days many people toss their direct mail directly into the trash if it doesn't look interesting. If you have the volunteers to do follow up calls, you can increase the yield of your mailing significantly.

Remember that there are strict legal limitations on who can pay for campaign materials and specific disclaimers that must be printed on any campaign solicitation. Do not use chapter funds to solicit funds for any candidate, although in most jurisdictions you can use chapter funds to solicit for your PAC.

If you do not have a PAC, a chapter officer can still write a letter endorsing a candidate - although in her personal capacity and not as a leader of NOW. The campaign could then circulate the letter (after buying the list from the chapter).

G. Events

During the campaign season, a typical political campaign will hold a number of fundraising events. There are financial and political benefits to raising contributions through events.

If the event is well-planned and coordinated, it can raise large sums of money in a relatively short period of time. Bringing campaign supporters together can create enthusiasm and momentum. Major donors can be rewarded at events by giving them special recognition - either on a host committee, by special seating, or public recognition. Events can be timed to give a campaign needed infusions of cash at critical junctures. And, of course, events help build your lists for further fundraising efforts.

Be aware that an uncoordinated and carelessly planned event has the potential not only of costing the campaign or PAC money, but also of reflecting badly on the candidate. On the other hand, the size of the event or the amount of money raised is not necessarily the measure of its success. For example, if no money were raised, but the candidate received a lot of media, the event could be deemed a success. Or if the profit margin was slim, but you generated a core group of volunteers for the campaign, you have clearly benefitted the candidate.

There are unlimited types of events - from a formal sit-down dinner in a hotel to a potluck in someone's home. In deciding what kind of event to hold,

the following considerations are important:

- Who can do the volunteer work, and how much time can they devote to the project?
- What is your fundraising goal?
- What will it cost to stage the event and where will you get the seed money?
- Where will you hold it?
- Who are you planning to invite?
- What price event can your target invitees afford?
- Can you reach your fundraising goal - taking into account the cost of the event and the ticket price you have set?

III. Analyzing Districts and Recruiting

A. Introduction

The purpose of NOW's political action committees is to dramatically increase the number of feminists elected to public office and to advance the feminist agenda through electoral activity. To reach our goal of electing 2000 feminists by the year 2000, we must aggressively seek feminist candidates to run for all levels of political office. There are three essential elements to a successful candidate recruitment project: 1) analyzing political districts, 2) analyzing seats, and 3) finding a strong feminist candidate.

B. Analyzing a District

It is essential to understand a district before beginning an extensive candidate recruitment campaign. The demographics of that district and type of seat being considered will provide clues as to the type of candidate who will be successful in winning the race.

Demographics - the study of who lives in the district.

- Is the area rural or urban?
- Is there a cross-section of economic groups or does it tend to be rich or poor?
 - What is the ethnic and racial mix of the district?
 - What is the educational level of the voters?
- Other relevant factors to examine might be age, sex or employers.

Voter analysis - voter registration and potential registrants.

- What percentage of the district voters are registered Republican, Democrat or Independent?
- How many unregistered potential voters live in the district?
- What are the voter registration regulations?
- Can Independent voters vote in party primaries?

Past Voting Performance - the study of past primary and general election returns.

- Does the district usually elect a Republican or a Democrat? Or is it a "swing" district (meaning that depending on the issues and the candidate's strengths, either party could win)?

- How large is the vote in the general elections? In the primary elections? Does it make a difference in voter turnout what other offices are being contested?
- Does voter registration track voter turnout, or are there a lot of disaffected voters?
- Are registration figures compatible with electing a feminist candidate, or would it be a waste of time, for instance, trying to elect a feminist candidate in a district that has consistently elected conservative Republican men to its seats?
- If registration is low, could an intense, well-organized voter registration drive add enough women's rights supporters to the polls to elect someone out of the ordinary voting pattern of the district?
- Have voters turned out in greater numbers when a hot political issue arose in the district? If so, have any of these hot issues related to women's rights issues?

C. Identifying Seats

The Open Seat

The open seat historically has presented the best opportunity for feminists to be elected. Seats become open due to the retirement, resignation or death of an incumbent. Additionally, seats are redistricted to reflect population changes following a census or as a result of a court decision. This can create an excellent electoral opportunity.

The Challenger

Is the seat safe or vulnerable? Examine previous election returns and analyze the margin of the incumbent's win. Remember, however, that numbers do not reveal the whole picture. For example, incumbents are most vulnerable on their first reelection bid and cement their strength the more times they run and win. Perhaps in the last term a scandal broke implicating the incumbent - or is about to break in the current term. The incumbent may have voted wrong on the hot community issue since his or her last election; or maybe the district has not been made aware of the incumbent's voting record being out of sync with the district.

Should you challenge a safe incumbent? Is there benefit to running a feminist candidate so that women's issues will become part of the dialogue? Would the feminist candidate benefit from the campaign experience, increased name recognition and exposure as a credible candidate so that she will have an advantage when the seat becomes winnable? Also, one can never know when an incumbent may be affected by scandal, illness or even death, so there may be

benefit to political risk-taking. Is there a scenario in which massive voter registration and an effective get-out-the-vote project could defeat the incumbent? What is the political mood? In times of dissatisfaction voters often like to "throw the bastards out."

Should you seek a woman candidate to challenge a feminist male legislator? Although one of NOW's goals is to win a fair share of power for women in elected positions, we know that many of our staunch political allies are feminist men. Although achieving parity is critical, our first goal is the election of feminists to office. If the incumbent strongly supports women's rights, he is gaining seniority through his incumbency. Your recruitment energy might be best used elsewhere. However, his district may be the only one, or one of the few in that area, that will elect a candidate, male or female, who supports a feminist agenda.

Consider the long term. Is the incumbent legislator reaching retirement in two, four or six years? Have term limits been enacted in your state? If it is not the time to challenge, it is still important to find a good woman candidate and prepare her for the future race. What does this preparation include?

- *Visibility.* Getting the candidate out in public and in the press is vital to a successful candidacy.
- *Education.* Make sure the candidate is well versed on issues that are important to the district. Become a trusted resource on women's issues.
- *Community Outreach.* Ensure that the candidate is regularly in touch with important community groups.
- *Credentials.* Seek appointment for the candidate to a board, committee or commission dealing with a set of issues important to the district. This has the added benefit of the network necessary to getting the appointment as well as through the work of the body.

What about the "hopeless" race? There are many stories where a seemingly hopeless campaign resulted in an exciting win. If conventional wisdom was always followed, many of our strongest allies in the US House and Senate, such as Representatives Cynthia McKinney, Loretta Sanchez and Lynn Woolsey and former Senator Carol Moseley-Braun would never have been elected. Scandal, illness, and a badly run campaign by the opponent can always turn conventional wisdom on its head. However, we also recognize that some campaigns really do appear to be unwinnable. You must judge each race on a case-by-case basis, bearing in mind such factors as gaining credibility for the candidate and her issues, future political plans, the benefit of the introduction of feminist issues into the dialogue, and NOW's credibility as a political force.

D. Finding the Feminist Candidate

Now that you have identified a seat with political opportunity for feminists, the challenge is to recruit the winning candidate. There are many factors to consider before launching a candidate recruitment project. First, you should look at elected feminist leaders who have proven their commitment to our issues and are now ready to move up the political pipeline. The best way to find possible candidates who have not previously held office is to look for women who have already proven their commitment to bettering the community in which they live through volunteering their time and energy to other campaigns or to community-service organizations. If they are truly committed to public service, they will have expressed their dedication through their actions and involvement. Unless great feminist women are pounding down your door volunteering to run for office, you will need to conduct a systematic search for your candidate.

Where to find the feminist candidate:

- **The National Organization for Women!** NOW leadership is a great stepping stone for moving into political office. Investigate your chapter and state ranks first. Conduct discussions with your chapter board and/or state council. Announce that at your next meeting the discussion will center around recruiting NOW members to run for political office. You might be amazed to discover a qualified member within your chapter who has always dreamed of running for office and needs only the slightest encouragement to make the leap. **Remember that NOW strongly encourages every chapter to work for the election of at least one of its activists to local, state or federal office.**

If you can't recruit within NOW, do NOW members have suggestions for possible candidates within the organization? Members should be encouraged to devote energy to the development of a list of potentially qualified candidates. Not all of these candidates will be suitable or appropriate for this election cycle, but perhaps the next election will present a perfect opportunity for that candidate. This list is an important resource to your chapter and should be periodically updated.

- **Women's Organizations.** Look to leaders of other women's organizations. Do they have any candidates that they would recommend? The following are a sampling of other women's organizations with politically active women: American Association of University Women, Business and Professional Women's Clubs, Hadassah, MANA (National Latina Organization), League of Women Voters, National Abortion Rights Acton League, National Association of Negro Business and Professional Women's Clubs, National Women's Political Caucus, National Association of Arab American Women, National Association of Professional Asian American Women, National Council of Negro Women, National Political Congress of Black Women, Women of All

Nations...

- **Progressive Civic and Political Organizations.** There are feminists active in many "progressive" organizations. Many of our allies come from other organizations or professional associations such as the American Nurses Association, Labor Unions, NEA, NAACP, National Rainbow Coalition, or environmental groups. It will take a coalition effort to elect your candidate to office. Call a meeting to brainstorm candidates with your allies.
- **Attend Public Hearings and Meetings.** Go to meetings of the City Council, Board of Education, Mosquito Board, etc.. You might identify an articulate woman leader from her participation in the hearings or meetings.
- **Read the Local Newspapers.** Stories about recent campaigns or local leaders may provide clues about potential candidates.
- **Attend Campaign Training Sessions.** Keep your eyes peeled for possible candidates. Those who are attending are obviously interested in politics.
- **Consult Political Party Leadership.** Once you have identified a target seat, you can be sure that the political parties are also engaged in recruitment. It is important to emphasize the importance of electing feminists to office and to demonstrate the voting and coalition strength that a feminist would bring. If the party has already "anointed" a candidate, you need to discover quickly whether that candidate would be acceptable to the feminist community and if not, communicate immediately to the party that you will be challenging their candidate in the primary. Additionally, don't ignore third party candidates - there are feminist members in parties such as the Green Party and the New Party. NOW is non-partisan - and we do not have to accept the candidates offered to us by the major parties.

E. Characteristics of a Strong Feminist Candidate

- **Commitment to Feminist Issues.** Most important is the candidate's stand on feminist issues. She may be a perfect candidate for many reasons, but unless she is strong on our issues, she is not a candidate NOW members will work for and support. You must understand that even if her views on abortion, for example, are not relevant to potential duties on the Mosquito Control Board, we view elected office as a political pipeline. One office leads to another until we fill all levels of elective office with feminists. NOW PAC support from the beginning must only go to candidates who are "perfect" on our issues.
- **Power Base/Local Clout.** A candidate needs dedicated supporters to form a foundation of support: political, financial, as well as ideological. It is necessary to have a core group of dedicated people to help run the campaign. She needs to be able to motivate people to volunteer. It is helpful if she has name recognition with both constituents and the press. If they remember her as the

woman who has helped their community and identified with their needs, they are far more likely to volunteer their time and energy to the campaign.

- **Experience with a High Energy Job.** Campaigning takes stamina. A candidate is always on the go. Even after an 18 hour day, she must be able to perform well at a breakfast the next morning. The candidate and her family must be able to withstand the emotional and physical demands of a campaign.
- **Time.** A political campaign can take over one's life. There are meetings, fundraisers, and events. Even when not directly on the campaign trail, she must always be concentrating on her race. There is an enormous time commitment involved in running for elected office. It is very difficult to juggle a full time career, a family, and a well-run campaign.
- **Commitment.** Be careful in recruiting. While bolstering spirits and drumming up enthusiasm are part of finding a good candidate, don't get people so excited that they blindly volunteer to run without understanding the full extent of the commitment involved. In addition, when running for office a candidate's life becomes an open book. No person should run for office unless they are willing to have their lives and the lives of their family members subjected to personal scrutiny.
- **Ability to raise money.** Political campaigns cost an inordinate amount of money. Each state has its own set of laws regulating campaign finance. There may be limitations on who can donate to the campaign and how much they may contribute. In order to launch a successful candidacy, unless she is willing to personally fund the campaign, the candidate must have the ability to raise large sums of money. This is often the most intimidating aspect of campaign work. However, any community activist with a good rolodex has the resources to raise money for the race. The candidate must commit to spending significant time "dialing for dollars" since no one can raise more money to fund a campaign than the candidate herself.

F. Convincing a Candidate that She Should Run

The decision whether or not to run for political office is often a difficult one. If you have discovered a politically attractive feminist candidate, it may become necessary to convince her to run.

This is where all the research you have conducted will pay off. Explain to her why the seat is winnable. Bring forth the demographic data you have compiled with the voting history of the district. Show her the analysis of voter registration and the opportunity presented by a well-organized voter registration drive. She should be impressed that the race can be won. You have done her homework for her. If you are trying to convince her to challenge an incumbent, you should be prepared to demonstrate why his record is worth challenging.

Explain why she has been chosen and how strong the support is for her candidacy. Convince her that she is a strong candidate because she has acted on her beliefs and that as she spreads her ideology and builds a record she will gain more support from the community.

Inevitably the candidate will have questions for you. Be familiar with the duties of the office and be prepared to answer questions honestly. Examples of questions you should be ready to answer: Why me? Do you really think that I can win? Why should I run? Who will pay for the campaign? What if I lose? Will NOW pay for my race?

In answering these questions, make sure that you emphasize that she would be an attractive candidate because of her positions on vital issues. On the other hand, it must be clear that although you can promise excitement and volunteer support - it would be her race to run and her responsibility to raise the money to fund the race. Overall, we would like to leave the potential candidate feeling equally confident about her decision to run and her ability to succeed.

IV. Candidate Support and Endorsement

A. What are the NOW PAC Criteria for Supporting Candidates?

Candidates must be feminist leaders and strong supporters of women's rights issues including, but not limited to:

- **support for reproductive rights without restrictions,**
- **economic equality,**
- **civil rights for all, with special emphasis on equal rights for people of color and lesbian and gays,**
- **constitutional equality for women,**
- **affirmative action,**
- **elimination of violence against women**
- **opposition to constitutional amendment limiting marriage to a man and a woman**

Endorsements go to the strongest feminist candidate. Experience has taught us that, between two candidates with equal records on our issues, over time women candidates will generally perform better than their records would indicate, and that we must have large numbers of feminist women, a sort of critical mass, to win when women's rights are at stake. However, while NOW PACs seek to bring more women into public office, it will not support a woman against a "good" man when he is the better candidate on our issues. Our goal is to elect the strongest supporters of women's rights, and NOW PAC is the only women's rights PAC that endorses strong feminist male candidates. **When all other criteria are equal NOW PAC will support a woman candidate over a man.**

The National NOW/PAC and NEP use the following definitions in determining whether to endorse, support or contribute to a candidate. It is suggested that state and local PACs use the same criteria.

Endorsement is the highest show of support and should be reserved for those candidates who are leaders on all of NOW issues, such as NOW activists.

Support is an infrequently used, lesser category and can be given with

or without a financial contribution. This category is useful for those candidates who are not perfect on NOW issues but who are identified as women's rights supporters and who would be clearly preferable to their opposition. It would be unacceptable, however, to support a candidate who opposes any of our priority issues.

Contributions can be made to either endorsed or supported candidates. They can include either monetary or in-kind donations and are reportable to the appropriate state regulatory agency. In-kind contributions are generally defined as anything donated to a candidate that has monetary value. Although state law varies, generally volunteer time is not considered an in-kind contribution. Typical in-kind donations are postage, printing, labels, and phone charges. Check with your state regulatory agency to determine how your state defines an in-kind contribution.

The most common in-kind donation from NOW PACs is the use of labels of NOW members. A NOW PAC endorsed or supported candidate can reap contributions, volunteers, and committed voters by mailing to such a list. Lists usually are donated for the electoral district in which the candidate seeks office. In special cases, NOW leadership will write and sign a letter to NOW members. The return on these mailings make this a valuable contribution to a campaign. The cost of the labels must be reported as a donation and is computed at the rate of \$75 per 1000 names.

Note: Under no circumstances should a NOW chapter or state organization allow a federal candidate to use its labels. This is a violation of federal campaign laws.

B. Independent Expenditure Campaigns

This is an alternative vehicle to direct endorsement for political activity. In Independent Expenditure campaigns NOW PAC can either run a positive or negative campaign completely separate from the candidate's campaign. The NOW PAC cannot even communicate or coordinate in any way with the candidate or the campaign. Such a strategy can be especially effective if one candidate is generally good on our issues-but not perfect vs. a candidate who is very bad on our issues. In such a situation you might want to run a negative campaign against the latter. This strategy also can allow you to run a separate campaign emphasizing NOW's issue(s). It also allows you to spend more on a campaign than the law allows you to donate directly to a candidate. However, due to the complexity of the law and its continual fluctuations please consult with National NOW before setting up an Independent Expenditures campaign for further strategy and legal advice.

C. Evaluation Standards

NOW PACs use the same standards when evaluating male and female candidates. Some people seem to hold women to a higher standard (looking for absolute perfection) than men and are willing to support less-than-perfect men, but not less-than-perfect women candidates. This is a discriminatory, double standard. No candidate should be endorsed unless they are strong supporters of our issues. It is also not NOW/PAC policy to endorse the lesser of two evils. You do not have to and should not endorse in every race.

D. Incumbent Friends

We must support those who have worked hard and led in the drive for our key issues as strongly as we must defeat our opponents. We cannot forget our friends who have been fighting for us, especially when they really need our support. However, you should also evaluate an incumbent's enhanced fund-raising capabilities when deciding where to allocate our hard-earned and limited PAC funds.

E. Party Affiliation

NOW PACs are non partisan and determine their support, endorsement, and contributions according to NOW's purpose and goals. It is beneficial to have NOW supporters in position to influence the policies of all political parties. It is valid, however, to look at the implications of party control in legislative bodies when determining endorsement and electoral strategy.

F. Coordination of Political Activity between Federal and State PACs

NOW's federal PAC supports candidates for federal office. No state or local NOW chapter may establish a federal PAC because of the impossibility of complying with federal legal requirements and the possibility of jeopardizing NOW's non-profit status. State and local NOW organizations should request support from National NOW/PAC for federal candidates.

A state PAC is established to support candidates for state or local office and, in many states, ballot initiatives/referenda. A state PAC is governed by the laws of the state in which it is established and by the laws of the state in which it expends funds. An example of this would be if Michigan NOW PAC decided to raise funds for a candidate in Illinois. The PAC must comply with the PAC regulations of both states in order for the PAC money and resources to remain untainted. Many states have very stringent filing and timing requirements and impose substantial financial penalties for late or incomplete filings.

In many districts there are feminist candidates running for federal, state and local offices. In these areas NOW PACs have the opportunity of running

coordinated feminist campaigns. Such campaigns give NOW PACs the ability to work for a slate of candidates and enhance our ability to achieve multiple feminist electoral wins. NOW PAC encourages state and local PACs to look for clusters of feminist candidates running in the same district and work to elect a feminist slate. **If your cluster also includes a candidate running for federal office the federal law requires all electoral activities must be coordinated by the National Action Center.**

G. How do State Organizations Refer Federal and State-Wide Candidates for Endorsement to the National PACS?

NOW/PAC's policy is to endorse only candidates who are recommended by the appropriate state NOW organization. It is the state NOW's responsibility to insure that any candidate recommended for NOW/PAC endorsement be fully supportive of NOW's issues. If requested by the state organization, NOW's Political Director will conduct the screening interview of a candidate. Requests for endorsement should be in writing and can be conveyed to NOW's Political Director by letter, e-mail or fax. It would be extremely helpful to NOW/PAC if such requests were accompanied by supporting documentation such as interview notes or questionnaires.

H. What NOW Members, Chapters and States Can and Cannot do for Federal Candidates

Introduction

These guidelines are designed to answer the most frequently asked questions concerning what NOW chapters and states may do on behalf of the U.S. Senate, House, Presidential or other federal candidates. While some actions might be technically legal, we are asking NOW subunits not to go into "borderline" areas not outlined here. By staying within these guidelines, we will avoid the more subtle and complex areas of the federal election laws and hope to avoid expensive challenges concerning compliance. Before taking any action which is not addressed in these guidelines or about which there is any question, please contact the Political Department at the National Action Center for advice.

General Principles to Keep in Mind

NOW, at all levels, is prohibited by law from making contributions to any candidate for federal office. Political Action Committees organized under state and not federal laws are also prohibited from making such contributions. A "contribution" to a candidate has been made if funds, no matter how small, are spent in support of the candidate (except for communications limited to currently

paid NOW members) or if materials, labels, paid staff or services (other than volunteer services) are provided without reimbursement to NOW for the total cost of providing them.

Only a federal PAC, such as the national NOW/PAC, may lawfully contribute to a federal candidates' campaign. NOW/PAC's limit for such contributions is \$5,000 per candidate per election period. NOW subunits are prohibited from forming federal PACs to avoid violations of the federal limits, since the contributions of all affiliated PACs would be aggregated in determining whether contribution limits had been exceeded. Violations of these limits could subject NOW/PAC and any NOW affiliated PACs to substantial penalties. When a presidential candidate has qualified for and accepted public financing, NOW/PAC cannot make any contributions to the campaign.

Because of the prohibitions against NOW making contributions, NOW regions, states and chapters cannot allow a federal candidate's campaign to use NOW phone banks or mailing list without payment or reimbursement. All rentals or exchanges of mailing lists must be arranged through the National Action Center.

NOW members, acting as individuals, may take action or make contributions to any campaign.

What NOW Members Can DO

Action by NOW members, working as individuals, and not through their chapter or state, is one of the easiest ways to help a federal campaign, with a minimum of restrictions under election laws. The main requirement to keep in mind is that the individual members or the campaign must pay for any election related expenses.

Individual NOW members can, for example, sponsor a house party, reception or other fund-raising event and can invite both NOW and non-NOW members. Individual NOW members can also solicit volunteer time, contributions and votes from other NOW members or from the general public, by mailing followed up by phone calls or by phone calls alone. (Mailings alone are unlikely to be productive.)

NOW must be paid for any NOW lists which are used for mailings or phone banks, and neither NOW staff nor telephones paid for by NOW can be used without reimbursement to NOW. (The "going rate" for lists is \$75 per 1000 names or labels). Please remember that NOW's policy prohibits giving membership lists or labels directly to a campaign, therefore when requesting labels from the National Action Center be sure you have the name and address of the mail house to which labels are to be sent for mailing or the name of a NOW activist who will oversee the one time mailing. See "What NOW Subunits Cannot Do," for further discussion of this matter.

In soliciting contributions, individual members may provide the address of the campaign to which money may be sent. They may also choose to have the contributions, made payable to the campaign, sent to a central location where they will be "bundled" and sent as a group to the campaign. Again, an individual member's address should be used for this purpose, not the chapter address.

If expenditures, no matter how small, are made by individuals on behalf of a candidate, they must be reported to the campaign as contributions; otherwise, they will be deemed to be "independent expenditures." If independent expenditures are made, the candidates campaign cannot be involved in any way with the expenditures or the related activities, including a candidate appearance at the event. If the total of the independent expenditures is \$5000 or more, in the aggregate, it must be reported by the individuals to the Federal Election Commission (FEC).

What NOW Subunits Can DO

NOW chapters and states can include news stories on NOW/PAC endorsements, campaign activities and issues in NOW newsletters, but cannot urge support or votes for any federal candidate. A comparison of the candidates' and parties' positions on issues, for example, can be published in your chapter newsletter or distributed as a flyer. NOW subunits can also sell newsletter ads to political candidates, individuals or independent expenditure campaigns.

NOW states and chapters may use phone banks paid for by NOW to call absolutely current NOW members to solicit volunteers, funds or votes for a candidate without the cost of the phone bank being regarded as a "contribution". Such calls must be limited to current paid up NOW members only and may not be made to expired members even if they are in the grace period before renewal and therefore still listed on NOW's membership rolls. Therefore, please limit calls to known activists and begin the call by confirming that they are members in good standing. We are asking that NOW subunits limit such communications to telephone calls to avoid unintentional errors in mailing to chapter or state lists which may include not only expired members, but also media representatives, public officials or others who are not members. NOW chapters and states should not mail to either the NOW list or the general public in support of a candidate.

NOW states and chapters may call the general public urging support and contributions for a candidate only if (i) volunteers rather than paid staff make the calls,

(ii) the NOW chapter or state has not itself paid for any list, and (iii) the chapter or state has been paid fair value for any NOW list, telephones, office space or other NOW resources by, or on behalf of, the campaign requesting help.

Telephone calls soliciting money may provide the address of the campaign to

which the contribution may be seen. However, since a chapter or state may not spend any unreimbursed money on behalf of a candidate, the cost of following up the calls must be paid by someone other than the chapter or state. It is specifically prohibited to follow-up the call by sending a return envelopes in which contributors can send their contributions to the campaign, unless the campaign pays for the entire mailing: envelopes, postage, return envelopes, office space and the like.

In recruiting volunteers, the address and telephone number of the appropriate campaign office may be provided. NOW chapters and states may wish to urge NOW members to volunteer to work for the campaign on a certain day (preferably a day set aside for NOW volunteers) and to wear NOW buttons or certain types of clothing (such as NOW logo T-shirts or a specific color of clothing) while volunteering to identify them as NOW activists. You may also urge NOW activists who volunteer for the campaign to coordinate the work of other NOW volunteers, since NOW and paid NOW staff can only urge members to volunteer and cannot organize the volunteers' activities.

What NOW Subunits Cannot Do

NOW/PAC was engaged in a dispute with the FEC, from shortly after the 1984 elections until 1991, over practices which the court ultimately found were legal. Nevertheless, the litigation was very expensive and time-consuming. We do not want to spend our money and time defending our activities, so please do not go outside of these guidelines.

NOW states and chapters:

(a) cannot form a federal PAC

(b) cannot endorse presidential or other federal candidates. Only a federal PAC can lawfully spend any money to support such candidates; even the PAC cannot contribute to the presidential candidates when they are receiving public funding. In addition, all contributions from NOW subunits will be aggregated in determining whether campaign contribution limits have been exceeded.

(c) cannot give a campaign direct access to NOW membership lists, even if the cost is reimbursed. Because of our concern for confidentiality of our lists, NOW policy requires that membership lists be sent to the mail house handling the mailing and not to the campaign directly. Alternatively, with oversight by chapter or state leadership, chapter members can volunteer to prepare the mailing for a NOW/PAC endorsed candidate's campaign using membership lists or labels one time provided by the Action Center. Chapter or state Board members must oversee the use of the list to insure confidentiality . Labels should be ordered and arrangements for payment or exchange should be made through National NOW. Federal candidates endorsed by NOW/PAC, if desired, receive an in-kind contribution of the NOW labels for members residing in their districts.

- (d) cannot mail or otherwise distribute a candidates literature to the general public.
- (e) cannot distribute campaign literature to NOW members, unless the literature is created, produced and paid for by NOW/PAC.
- (f) cannot make any financial or in-kind contribution (including nonreimbursed use of paid staff or lists) to a federal candidate.
- (g) cannot make any fund-raising appeal for a candidate to the general public except as outlined above where everything--lists, phones, etc.-- is paid for by someone other than NOW;
- (h) cannot mail any fund-raising appeal to NOW members which includes an envelope in which members can send their contributions to the campaign (it is unlawful to do so); we are asking NOW subunits not to mail appeals of any sort on behalf of a candidate to NOW members or the general public including an appeal in a newsletter unless it is an ad paid for by an individual;
- (i) cannot expend NOW funds or use paid NOW staff to organize the activities of NOW members who volunteer to work for a federal campaign.
- (j) cannot pay for any expenses of NOW members who volunteer for a campaign;
- (k) cannot pay any expenses of NOW officers or other spokespersons who travel for the purposes of speaking or working on behalf of a campaign, even if most of the trip is devoted to NOW business;
- (l) cannot allow the second class or non-profit bulk mail permit of NOW unit to be used for any political purpose.**

If you have questions or need further information, please contact the NOW Political Department at the National Action Center - political.director@now.org.

V. Interview and Questionnaire Guidelines

A. How Can You Get Information on a Candidate's Position on Key Issues?

Although questionnaires are valuable to narrow the field of candidates, there is no substitute for face-to-face meetings with candidates. In constructing questionnaires the goal should be to identify those candidates whose basic philosophy is feminist. Questions should be easily understood to elicit responses on our primary issues. For instance a general question on reproductive rights might read "are there any restrictions on women's reproductive freedom that you would support?" and will identify quickly which candidates are on our side. Questionnaires are most effective at identifying those candidates with whom you need to interview in person.

It is hard to imagine that all candidates have not even formulated reasoned positions on our issues, but believe it or not many candidates file for office never having thought twice about teen endangerment or hospital mergers. Specific questions written with a "gotcha" attitude only serve to eliminate potential future allies.

A few things to note on questionnaires:

- The busier the candidate the more likely a campaign worker will fill out the questionnaires.
- Many incumbents will not fill out questionnaires believing that your endorsement should rest on their record.
- Candidates are inundated with questionnaires and will often refuse to answer lengthy ones.
- No questionnaires can give you a true sense of a candidate's depth of commitment to our issues.
- Many candidates will answer your questions with the answers they think you require to get an endorsement.
- Male candidates are most eager to impress your PAC as an endorsement from NOW/PAC can be invaluable in a contested race. On the other hand, a woman candidate may not put a lot of effort into her answers as she may assume support because of her gender.

B. Interview

Face to face interviews are strongly recommended and permit the fullest measure of a candidate.

- Many candidates are more comfortable with oral communication.
- Interviews have the advantage of affording NOW the opportunity to educate candidates on our issues, explain the reasons for our commitment, and help candidates develop positions on our issues.
- Interviews also allow the opportunity to do some persuading while questioning.
- An interview begins a personal relationship between NOW and the candidate who, once elected, will be more responsive to a familiar organization when lobbied on our issues.

C. Tips on Interviewing Candidates:

- Call to make an appointment and determine in advance how much time will be allotted to you (so that you have an idea of how many questions you can expect to ask or so that you can concentrate on the basics if you only get a few minutes).
- Ask the most important questions at the beginning of the interview in case the interview needs to be terminated. If the candidate disagrees with a priority issue of NOW there is no point in continuing the interview.
- Avoid one-on-one interviews (since if there is a later disagreement on a candidate's answer, you have no witness to support you).
- Two to four interviewers are preferable with one person as lead interviewer, one taking notes, and any others to listen and observe the candidate carefully or possibly assigned to ask questions on particular issues. Definitely take notes.
- Interviewers should appear to be informed, responsible, interested, polite and business-like - people who should be taken seriously. Well thought out, precise questions pinpointing particular issues (one per question) help to guard against vague answers. And you can always add after a question - "Please be specific."
- We should not approach candidates with a "gotcha" attitude, hoping to trick them on a question and thus deeming them unworthy of NOW support. Rather, the interview can be used as an opportunity to educate and or persuade the candidate on our issues. Remember, we are trying to build an alliance.

- If a candidate asks for NOW's position on an issue and you are unclear, tell them that you will get back to them and contact the National NOW office.
- Experience has shown that it is important to observe a candidate's demeanor and body language when discussing our feminist issues. Do they seem sincere? Are they comfortable with the issues and rhetoric?
- If the candidate is an incumbent, first check her/his voting record in any of the resources available. If you ask about an issue on which there was a vote, ask if her/his position has changed. Ask challengers how they would have voted on that bill.
- If a candidate is known for not supporting our issues or does not respond to your questionnaire or interview request, you do not have to interview them.

D. What You Should Know Before the Interview

About the candidate:

- Candidate's name
- Office sought, party affiliation
- NOW member and/or activist

Specifics of the election:

- Date of primary, election, filing dates and other relevant dates
- Open seat, incumbent etc.
- Demographics of the district - racial background, changes and/or shifts in voting trends and party registration, political activity, prior election results.

E. Information to Gather at the Interview

Campaign information:

- Campaign plan - What kind of political support does the campaign have and from whom (organizational, political leaders etc.)? Discuss with candidates their analysis of their district and their campaign plans, i.e. how do they expect to win?
- Who are the campaign managers?
- Staff- who are the women and minorities on the staff, what are their responsibilities?
- Base of support - volunteers, contributions
- Viability of candidate - "conventional wisdom", polling data, strength of opponent
- Estimated cost of the race/estimated amount of money raised already
- How will the candidate use NOW's endorsement?
- Candidate's personal history
- Political Experience
- Views on feminism
- Positions on NOW's priority issues

F. Issues to Cover:

Affirmative Action:

- Workplace
- Education
- Contracting

Civil Rights for People of Color/Lesbian Rights

- Employment
- Housing
- Health Insurance
- Ban of lesbian and gay men in the military
- Domestic Partnerships/Marriage
- Custody, Foster Care, and Adoption
- Opposition to a constitutional amendment limiting marriage to between a man and a woman

Economic Rights/Welfare

- Minimum Wage
- Child Care
- Social Security
- Immigrants
- Re-prioritization of military budgets to domestic needs

Equal Rights Amendment - ERA

- Abortion and Reproductive Freedom
- Sexual Orientation

Reproductive Freedom

- Young women's rights - Parental consent/notification, criminalization of assistance to teenagers in crossing state lines to obtain abortions
- Funding for abortion and family planning for low income women
- Clinic access laws
- Coercive use of contraception/sterilization
- Emerging issues: hospital mergers, mifepristone (RU-486), fetal protection laws
- Commitment to supporting international family planning
- Emergency contraception
- Access to abortion in overseas military hospitals

Violence Against Women

- Funding for VAWA programs
- Funding for women's shelters - federal and local
- Judicial and law enforcement training education
- Rape and assault laws
- Stalking legislation
- Gender as a hate crime

Other Issues That Can Be Discussed with Candidates:

- **Public School Vouchers**
- **Title IX Funding**
- **Comprehensive Health Care**
 - Reproductive services
 - Women and Research
 - Long Term Care
 - Preventive health services
 - Single payer plan

U.S. Senate Candidates:

- Ratification of the UN Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women.

G. Sample Questions to Guide You Through Your Interview:

On Gay and Lesbian Rights:

Q. Would you support legislation that would prohibit discrimination on the basis of sexual orientation?

A. Candidates should support lesbian and gay rights. NOW believes that an individual's sexual preference is not a valid basis on which to deny or abridge full legal rights.... "Be it resolved that NOW will publicly oppose any organized or individual efforts to deny full human rights to lesbians and gay men" (1977).

Q. Would you support legislation to remove sodomy laws?

A. NOW supports the repeal of any laws which criminalize sexual activity between consenting adults in private (such laws are often referred to as consensual sodomy laws).

Q. Would you support legislation to restrict the right to marry for lesbians and gays?

A. NOW PAC requires any candidate who receives our endorsement to oppose any constitutional amendment which would limit marriage to be between a man and a woman. In 1995 NOW affirmed marriage as a fundamental constitutional right that should not be denied because of a person's sexual orientation. NOW PAC requires candidates to support the rights of lesbian and gay partners to nondiscriminatory health insurance benefits, taxation, child custody, survivor and inheritance benefits, community property and any other legal benefit accruing to heterosexual married couples.

On Racial Issues:

Q. What is your position on designation of English as the national language?

Q. What is your position on states officially flying the confederate flag?

Q. Do you support goals of the Voting Rights Act?

A. A priority issue for NOW is ending racism in all its forms.

On the Equal Rights Amendment:

Q. Would you support an expanded ERA that would include equal protection of the law against discrimination based on gender, sexual orientation, reproductive decisions and reproductive status?

A. NOW has supported the introduction of the ERA in every Congress since it was founded in 1966.... "Therefore be it resolved that NOW reaffirm and reassert the absolute necessity of winning the ERA as fundamental to the achievement of equality of women" (9/84). In 1994 and 1995, NOW developed an expanded ERA encompassing the right to be free from discrimination on account of sex, race, sexual orientation, marital status, disability, ethnicity, national origin, color and indigence.

On Reproductive Freedom:

Q. Do you support abortion rights without restrictions?

A. Candidates support full reproductive rights if they support medicaid funding for abortion, teenagers access to abortion without parental notification or consent and accept no restrictions on abortion based on age, economic ability or limitations on their doctors ability to determine appropriate medical procedures.....

"A woman's right to have a safe, legal, and accessible abortion is an absolute right without restrictions"(1989). Abortion rights should be treated as any other civil right with one federal standard applied to all women regardless of age, economic status, or geography.

On Domestic Violence:

Q. Would you support increased funding for domestic violence and sexual assault programs and making the services available in every state and county?

Q. Would you support funds for judicial training and educational efforts on college campuses on the issue of violence against women?

A. Combating violence against women, which allows men to dominate and control women, is one of NOW's priority issues. NOW played a key role in getting the Violence Against Women Act (VAWA) passed in 1994 as part of the Crime Bill. "Be it resolved that NOW will recommend to NOW/PAC that they support members of Congress who meet our criteria for electoral support on other issues, who support full VAWA funding and other aspects of the 1994 VAWA as it was authorized" (1995).

On Affirmative Action:

Q. Do you support Affirmative Action programs in the workplace and educational institutions for women and people of color?

A. In 1995, NOW recommended that National NOW PAC endorse no candidate who expresses opposition to affirmative action laws or programs. Since 1980, NOW has committed itself to support affirmative action both internally and as a strategy to afford equal opportunity for women and people of color in the workplace and within institutions.

On Child Care:

Q. What steps would you recommend to encourage provision of child care services by various sectors of society?

Q. What form, if any, of government support for child care would you support (e.g. tax credit, direct funding etc).

A. NOW has been at the forefront of the movement to establish a national policy on child care and establish child care as a political priority... " We demand that child care facilities be established by law on the same basis as parks, libraries, and public schools, adequate to the needs of children from the pre-school years through adolescence, as a community resource to be used by all citizens from all income levels (1967). Adequate childcare must be included in any "welfare reform" as a non negotiable demand.

VI. Campus Campaign Organizing

Campuses are frequently an untapped resource of potential voters and volunteers for feminist campaigns. A complementary campus campaign strategy can be readily established because students live in concentrated areas and many politically organized groups already exist. Outlined in this section is how to organize effectively on a campus by recruiting volunteers, educating students and mobilizing voters.

A. Candidate Event Planning

A great way to initiate a campus campaign is to plan an event. Events are an excellent way to build candidate support, recruit volunteers, educate and mobilize voters. Having the groundwork for an action planned will give you the opportunity to talk with supportive groups about your candidate.

- Choose a date and time for the events
- Choose a site for the events. The locations should accommodate a reasonable number based on past attendance at similar events, and should be wheelchair accessible.
- Reserve audio-visual and sound equipment, if necessary
- Arrange for sign interpreters
- Arrange accommodations and transportation for speaker, if necessary.
- Arrange on-campus parking for speaker, if necessary.
- Provide the speaker's scheduler with detailed directions to campus, including directions to the room/lecture hall.
- Submit check request to funding organizations/advisors/treasurers, if necessary

B. Coalition Building

Work on building a coalition with other progressive groups on the campus. Creating a strong coalition will allow for a broad-based candidate outreach as well as the possibility of recruiting new volunteers. A major component of campus organizing is the need for lots of volunteers. Because students frequently have a flexible schedule, they often have time to volunteer for a campaign. Students identified as voters for the candidate should be asked to also volunteer.

Organizations and Groups

- Contact the following types of groups, organizations and associations on campus:

- Women's Rights
- Lesbian and Gay Rights
- Civil Rights
- Welfare Rights
- Abortion and Reproductive Rights
- Religious (including churches and synagogues)
- Political
- Professional
- Environmental
- Community and Civic
- Health and Abortion Clinics
- Women's Sports
- Labor
- Social Service Agencies
- Battered Women's Shelters
- Rape Crisis Centers
- Student Government
- Sororities

Don't forget a number of contacts within the University System:

- Women's Studies Departments
- Women's Resource Centers
- Dean of Students
- Dean of Faculty
- Office of Multi-cultural Affairs
- Campus Programming/Events
- Diversity Committee
- President's Commissions on Women, GLBT Concerns, etc.
- Academic Departments, including Women's Studies, Political Science, Cultural Studies, Sociology, and History

- Create a "Leadership Council" of representatives from allied groups if one does not already exist. The Leadership Council model creates an instant network, which increases the ease and power of organizing efforts.
- Plan a strategy meeting with coalition members and local NOW activists before the campus events. Ask them to co-sponsor the campus events.
- Ask them to pledge group resources (money and time) to ensure the success of the organizing efforts and costs.
- Ask to speak at their meetings and ask them to speak at their own meetings

to recruit additional volunteers and publicize the events, as well as announce the campus events in their newsletters, classes, and dorms.

- Ask group to do a special mailing to their members
- Ask for workers to help in your voter registration project
- Ask faculty members to give credit to students for becoming key coordinators in the organizing events
- Meet periodically to update each other on progress, reassign responsibilities as needed, find out where you need more help, brain storm new ideas.

Public Figures

- Ask political candidates and faculty and staff members to push the campus events and discuss the issue in all of their public speaking to groups, radio and TV shows.
- Ask the department chairs, deans and other school officials to attend the campus events.
- Ask influential people in the community to participate in both publicity for the campus events and in recruitment, including recruiting their friends.

C. Campus Outreach

Once a coalition is established and candidate activities are planned, begin outreach to the general student body and faculty.

Phone Banking

- Call all supporters in your phone bank box (members of your organization, local NOW members, membership lists of other supportive campus groups, women's studies students, your own address book, etc.) to come to the campus events and to work on recruitment, phone banking organizational outreach, leafleting, fundraising, publicity.
- Get supporters to recruit their friends, family, co-workers, other student organizations, faculty and staff unions. Have them invite their address book lists.
- Refer to the enclosed phone banking manual if necessary

Leaflets, Posters and Tabling

- Create fliers for campus events. Photocopy design onto colored paper.

- List all sponsoring organizations, as well as a contact name and phone number on flier.
- Distribute leaflets/fliers at malls, shopping areas, lunch time crowds, cafeteria, library, class room buildings, faculty offices, faculty lounges, clubs, locker rooms, bathrooms, dorms, labs, student union, grocery stores, bars, post offices and political events - anywhere that crowds gather.
- Poster coffee shops, book stores, grocery stores, laundromats, libraries, telephone poles and campus bulletin boards. Ask to display fliers in business windows. In addition, leave a stack of fliers near the door or in a designated area.
- Set up tables to distribute fliers (and register voters) at campus centers, meetings, progressive political events, fairs, feminist bookstores, cafeterias, the library, class room buildings, labs, the student union - anywhere supporters are likely to gather.

D. Publicity/Media

An effective media campaign is important to reach as many students as possible. Developing a good relationship with and an understanding of the local press should be a priority for a campus campaign

Newspapers

- Send letters to the editor of your campus paper discussing the candidate and include information on the upcoming campus events.
- List the organizing meetings on community calendars in local and campus newspapers.
- Publish articles discussing the candidate prior to the campus events.
- Ask the sponsoring coalition for contributions to self-supporting signature ads for the campus events.
- Ask for donations from individuals, businesses and organizations to sponsor and fund paid advertisements.

Radio

Many Universities have a radio station that provides free air time to students. You can utilize this resource (as well as local radio stations) in a number of ways to increase publicity:

- Public Service Announcements
- Interviews discussing your involvement in the campaign or issues relevant to the election. Announce upcoming campus events.
- Talk shows
- Community Calendars that list the upcoming campus events

- Announcements on News Shows

Television

Many Universities also have television stations that will provide the same free air time for students, which you can utilize for:

- Community Calendars
- Public Service Announcements
- Interviews
- Talk shows

Visuals

- Put fliers in dorm room windows and stores and restaurants where students frequently shop and eat.
- Place banners on buildings, bridges and across streets.
- Purchase poster space on public buses and trains that travel in the area of your campus.
- Post campus event information on video display systems, e-mail or other electronic announcement locations
- Have volunteers wear sandwich boards and pass out flyers at special events and on busy sidewalks.

Fundraising

- Phone bank or dial for dollars
- solicit donations from organizations
- Pass the hat at local actions
- Sell products on campus

E. Collecting the Votes

Voter Identification

- Set-up phone bank to contact voters you have registered and call them with a script.
- Obtain a student directory with phone numbers. Prioritize dorms and call through student list. Ask students if they plan to vote for your candidate. If they are in support of your candidate, make sure they are registered to vote and know where to go on election day. Make a list of all yes voters to call them on election day with a vote reminder.
- During campus activities, collect names and numbers of candidate supporters with a petition. These yes voters should also receive a reminder call on election day.

Voter Registration (see Campus Voter Registration Guide)

- Coordinate efforts with local activists for information and forms to register new voters.
- Find the location of the nearest polling place.
- Find the closest city clerk/town hall for voter registration.
- Photocopy voter registration information and use that list for future recruitment efforts, GOTV efforts, and potential new numbers.

Get Out The Vote (GOTV)

- There are two primary goals for election day GOTV activities:
 1. Create visibility
 2. Turn out your voters
- Schedule an event with cheap, free food (coffee and donuts) the morning of the election to get voters to one place at the same time.
- Call through list of yes student voters and remind them to vote.
- Have all students walk over to polls together, if polling place is within walking distance.
- If polling place is out of walking distance, rent or borrow busses - commercial, school or church buses - or rent or borrow vans from your campus student activities center, senior citizen centers, community organizations or car rental agencies to get campus voters to the polls.
- Have several cars travel together, caravan style.
- Have some students stay at the polls after voting to leaflet and hold signs as close to polling places as legal.

Campus Voter Registration Guide

(As used in our winning Maine Campaign which defeated an anti-lesbian and gay referendum)

Voter registration coordinators are the key to maximizing votes. To ensure victory on election day, each campus coordinator should:

Prepare for the New Voter Registration Drive

With good preparation, voter registration can be a breeze. Determine when the last day to register people to vote. Start the following list today!

Compile an Up-To-Date List of Student Voters

- Obtain a complete student directory with address and phone numbers.
- Obtain a student directory for each dorm from the Resident Director.

Recruit and Train Volunteers

- Volunteers are the only way to prevent the voter registration coordinator from shouldering the responsibility alone.
- Utilizing NOW's campus organizing kit, contact student leaders from allied organizations to help recruit volunteers.
- Appoint one voter registration coordinator for each dorm and /or sorority house.
- Delegate responsibilities to volunteers.
- Train volunteers with talking points regarding referendums, and provide answers to frequently-asked questions regarding voter registration (i.e. — does it matter if I'm registered to vote in another state/county/city?" the answer is —No". You can register and vote right here and then change back to your home state/county/city, with no problem").
- Get commitments from more than the number of volunteers needed for each dorm/sorority to assist with door-to-door registration and/or tabling efforts.
- Continuously recruit volunteers for election day get-out-the-vote(GOTV) efforts, as-well-as registration. You will need all the help you can get.
- Schedule regular meetings with volunteers to update each other on progress, reassigning responsibilities, and finding out where more help is needed.

Obtain Necessary Voter Registration Materials and Information

(most of this can be accomplished with a quick visit to the Town Clerk or Registrar in your town's municipal building).

- Identify the closest polling place to campus.
- Obtain enough voter registration cards to register a significant number of people on your campus (and then some). Don't ever be stranded with a

potential voter and no registration material.

- Obtain a copy of voter registration regulations in your state.
- Read those regulations thoroughly to ensure strict compliance.
 - Are there restrictions on registering new voters?
 - Is there a specific procedure for filling out registration cards?
 - When is the last day to register other people to vote?
 - When is the last day voters can register themselves?

If you have any questions about voter registration regulations, call the Elections division of the Secretary of State's office

Prepare Campus Strategy

- Get every allied person on campus involved in the voter registration drive.
- Contact Office of Residential Life
 - Make them aware of your intentions.
 - Ask if there are restrictions on door-to-door activities in the dorms.
 - Ask RDs/RAs if voter registration drive could be integrated into their dorm programming.
- Contact Pan-Hellenic Office
 - Ask for a list of presidents/programming officers of each sorority.
 - Ask if voter registration would fulfill their philanthropic/programming requirement for the year.
 - Ask for membership list for phone banking.
 - Ask them to set up a voter registration table in their sorority house.
- Compile a list of all student groups
 - Ask student leaders to compile lists of their membership for phone banking.
 - Compile a list of all women's sports team names/numbers of captains.
- Ask every one of these contacts to:
 - Register voters at their meetings.
 - Help recruit volunteers to assist in registration and GOTV efforts.
 - Provide you with a comprehensive list of their membership (with phone numbers).
 - Be involved in some way to guarantee victory.

Voter Identification/Persuasion

Voter identification allows you to identify which voters are already plan to vote for our candidate or with us for on a ballot measure (preaching to the choir), which voters are undecided (persuadable), and which voters oppose our candidate or are against our position on the ballot measure (never gonna' get there).

Our goal is to build a list of voters on campus who are with us on the issue or candidate, and to have that list outnumber the votes needed from your campus to win the election.

To reach our goal, we will need to convert some "persuadables" to become a part of the choir. Persuasion on a local level is accomplished by voter contacts through phone, door-to-door, and tabling efforts.

A simple message is important. Don't take too much of people's time and possibly confuse them with a complicated message. Train your volunteers to deliver that message. Also, remember to focus on the persuadable, don't waste your time and theirs by trying to convert hard-core, never-gonna-get-there opponents.

Throughout the identification and persuasion process, it is crucial to keep accurate records on each voter contact. We will utilize the information repeatedly, before and after the election.

Voter Registration

Our goal is to register as many people that are likely to vote for our candidate or with us on a ballot measure as possible. Some tips to help achieve that goal are:

- Divide the campus into smaller units and assign a coordinator to each unit.
- Dorms, sororities, classrooms, academic departments, sports teams, and student groups are some of the natural divisions.
- In dorms, go door-to-door or set up a table in the entry hall during high traffic times.
- Use the attached script as a basis for each voter contact. Remember to be thorough without taking too much of their time.
- Don't forget to register faculty and staff, in addition to students.
- Set up tables in heavily populated areas on campus during busy hours.
- Think beyond campus space - register people in the local town too.
- Keep detailed records of each voter contact.
- Photocopy all registrations you receive for GOTV and future recruiting efforts.

Get Out The Vote (GOTV)

This is the most crucial phase of the project. It doesn't matter if people register to vote if they don't make it to the polls. GOTV can't be done successfully without thorough voter identification information and a well-organized phone bank.

At this point, we are no longer concerned with persuading undecided voters. GOTV is the time to get our voters out to the polls, which entails reminding "the choir" to vote.

Repetition and a simple message are the key. Remind "the choir" to vote for our candidate or a certain way on the ballot measure by:

- A week before Election Day, organize a team of volunteers to drop literature at the door of all the "choir members."
- Thursday before Election Day, have the phone bankers call the choir to remind them to vote and to see if the voter needs a ride to the polls, or a babysitter to ensure they will vote.
- Monday evening before Election Day, the phone team might call with another reminder.
- On Election Day, in most jurisdictions, you can check the voter rolls during the day to make sure your voters have cast their ballots and activate phone banks again for last-minute reminders for those who haven't.
- Also on Election Day, post signs and flyers in visible places to remind people to vote for our candidate or with us on the ballot measure.
- For a final Election Day reminder, organize poll workers to greet voters before they enter the polls (instructions for poll workers enclosed-established meeting locations and a system to distribute materials).

Other Election Day GOTV strategies are:

- Have unit coordinators schedule an event with free food (something cheap, i.e. coffee and donuts) in the morning of the election to get voters in each dorm/sorority in one place at the same time.
- Have all students from each dorm/sorority walk over to the polls together, if the polling place is within walking distance from campus. If the polling place is out of walking distance organize car pools to transport students (this is an easy volunteer opportunity for students with cars). Have several cars travel together, caravan style.
- If obtaining cars is difficult, rent or borrow buses--commercial, school or church buses--or rent or borrow vans from your campus student activities center, senior citizen center, community organization or car rental agencies.

Have fun, work hard, and prepare for victory on Election Day!

VII. Hands-on Campaigning

The most crucial aspect of election work is organizing a field campaign. Recruitment of committed volunteers is key to implementing an effective field campaign. Field operations bring uninvolved voters into the political process and send the message that your candidate has widespread community grassroots support.

A. Victory 2000 - Chapter Time Line

One year before general election:

- Commit Chapter to activism
- Organize Chapter Campaign Team
- Obtain copy of state's current election law and district maps
- Review PAC filing deadlines and NOW PAC operating procedures (if applicable)
- Become familiar with dates of filing deadlines for candidates and dates for the primary and general elections
- Set date for first campaign team meeting to determine feminist political issues

Note: most state filing deadlines are between March and July. However, IL, KY, NE, NC, OH, TX and WV have extremely early filing dates, so adjust your campaign schedule accordingly.

11 months before candidate filing date:

- Meet for the purpose of determining feminist political issues and political opportunities
- Appoint a task force to analyze incumbent voting records and political offices which might be winnable
- Assign campaign team members to develop a list of potential feminist candidates
- Talk to chapter members, "sister" organizations, the community and newspapers for names of potential candidates.
- Set a chapter meeting for the following month to talk about candidate recruitment- members are encouraged to think about running or coming with suggested names.

10 months before candidate filing date:

- Meet with the chapter to discuss candidate recruitment; have the task force report about political opportunities in the community; brainstorm a list of names; make assignments.
- Approach potential candidates in a systematic manner in the following weeks. Talk with other progressive organizations to help approach potential candidates.
- Follow state or chapter PAC endorsement procedures when a candidate is identified to obtain endorsement, which will be announced when they file.

Note: Candidate must understand that it is ultimately her decision to run, and that although the chapter will work hard and launch a project to elect her, it is not responsible for the financing or conduct of the campaign.

Filing Deadline: Announcing the NOW Victory 2000 Campaign

- Make arrangements for press conference following filing date to announce support of feminist candidate. Announce state or chapter PAC endorsement. If no PAC, watch legal limitations on chapter political activity and craft press release accordingly.
- Enlist political allies to join you in your press conference
- Write press release announcing feminist support for candidate

Primary Election Planning: Development of Campaign and Fundraising Plan

- Have campaign team meet to develop campaign and fundraising plan for primary election. Discuss goals, time lines and events.
- Develop a budget. Remember that every step of the plan has a price tag. Include printing and phone banking costs.
- Remember that chapter funds cannot pay for any electoral campaign expense.

Hands On Campaigning for the General and Primary Election:

- Target potential voters
- Recruit volunteers
- Phone Banking
- Lit Drops
- Campus Outreach
- Community Canvassing

Election Day Preparation:

- Prioritize precincts
- Develop and print palm cards
- Volunteer recruitment for election day work: precinct work, phone banking, drivers, childcare for voters, food distributors for volunteers, sign distribution, troubleshooters, lawyers —on call“
- Assignments
- Identification of central coordinating point
- Appointment of election day coordinator

Election Day:

- Volunteers meet at election central for last minute instructions and pep talk
- Implement election day plan
- Volunteers report back after shifts

Victory Party

B. Working as a Chapter on Political Campaigns

Elections work is and always has been a key part of NOW's agenda. Our slogan - "If we can't change their minds, we'll change their faces" has echoed in many post-election parties as we have increased the numbers of feminist women and men in elective office in this country. And political campaigns offer great opportunities to involve new members, as well as activists with limited time, in important work that often has a real payoff for our issues.

Political activism can help participants gain a solid feeling of accomplishment. Campaigns offer activities that will motivate new activists, teach valuable skills they can then bring to chapter work, and provide networking opportunities with other potential chapter activists. And if the candidate wins, chapter members will feel they've helped bring a legislative contact and ally to the movement. Even candidates who don't win remember who supported them, and many will run and win next time.

NOW chapter members as campaign workers can also help to shape and focus a campaign. All too often, candidates either forget or are advised to abandon issues viewed as "women's issues." We know that these issues enjoy majority support and want to keep the campaign team on track. At a time when the candidate may feel vulnerable because of attacks on their positions on our issues, it can be a great boost for them to have a group on board who can work to garner support and reaffirm the validity of their stands.

Political Campaigns as Chapter Actions

One of the most important benefits, however, is getting members involved in taking action! Most members join NOW to DO something, to feel that they are making a difference and changing things. They like to feel needed, and want to be plugged into well-planned and purposeful work. A campaign is a natural vehicle for getting folks involved. Most people understand that the more elected officials we have with views matching our own, the more progress we'll see on the feminist agenda. In other words, most activists don't need convincing of the value of campaign work.

Another ingredient of action is the opportunity to interact with individuals who share our goals and involve them in our work. And the chances are good that any candidate who has been endorsed by one of NOW's political action committees will have campaign workers who share our views. Chapter members can wear NOW buttons or shirts to the campaign office and carry signs at campaign functions -- this lets everyone know that NOW is involved and may attract new members who are potential chapter activists.

Skills for Chapter Members

Having individual members working on campaign tasks does much more than garner elected officials who support our views. The chapter, in reality, gains much more. Members get valuable knowledge and campaign experience -- and that knowledge can be powerful. When members work on a phone bank or a mass mailing, they are learning skills that will benefit the chapter's issue campaigns.

Other skills you can learn in a campaign can then be used to strengthen and promote the feminist agenda. For example:

- raising funds
- organizing volunteers
- planning and executing literature drops
- canvassing neighborhoods

Strategies and skills needed for most campaign work are fairly basic, easy to learn, and can help your chapter in all kinds of issue work. And once you're well versed in campaign techniques, your support is even more valuable to the next candidate or campaign!

Working on a Political Campaign

Political campaigns rely heavily on the commitment of supporters who give their time and efforts. Campaigns are usually very welcoming and appreciative of any help they can get. Winning candidates are not likely to forget your efforts either, which can be quite beneficial when lobbying them in the future.

Many necessary campaign tasks are unfortunately considered dull and boring. For example, when asked to stuff envelopes some members may think, "I could be directing this activity" or "My expertise is being wasted!" But it is what the campaign needs from volunteers at the time.

Before getting into such a situation you should take the time to decide your approach:

- Communicate specifically with the campaign organizers what level of tasks your members are capable of doing, and identify individuals with specific expertise the campaign might need. Then arrange your participation so that the campaign's needs match the skill level of your members.
- Or, see an evening of labeling or envelope stuffing as a great opportunity to help a candidate AND have a needed board or planning meeting at the same time -or just make it a special occasion during which a newer member can be included and feel a part of the chapter.

Another option would be to utilize the specific organizing and political skills of your members by organizing complete actions or activities that the campaign needs anyway. This way your volunteers would have a specific project to take responsibility for, organize and complete. For example,

- Offer to organize a series of "house parties" at members' homes (or some variation on that theme). Invite potential new members and encourage their support for both the campaign and NOW.
- Offer to coordinate an entire area of the city (perhaps an area that has a large concentration of NOW members or where NOW has good credibility or name recognition) for a particular task, such as voter identification or canvassing.
- Coordinate literature drops or door-to-door canvassing in a particular neighborhood, and coordinate all of the volunteers for that effort. This again allows chapter members to work together and to do something in which members may have expertise.
- Other tasks, which can be done by an individual NOW member or a group, might include:
 - Voter registration
 - Phone banking
 - Data entry
 - Handing out leaflets
 - Phone calling for volunteers or follow up calls for campaign staff members
 - Turning out folks for a rally or campaign appearance
 - Putting up signs and flyers

It is important to organizing volunteers to remember that, in general, campaign offices are incredibly hectic and somewhat disorganized. Staffers are responsible for many different tasks and everything is going on at once! Please don't expect a volunteer coordinator or staff person to spend a great deal of time discussing the details of the campaign with individuals who have come to volunteer.

Chapter leaders who serve as campaign liaisons should carefully assess in advance who they are sending over to the campaign as to their time, availability, skills, and limitations. You may want to organize this information in a card system or data base in order to keep miscommunications to a minimum. Central to this is the idea that one member should serve as liaison between the chapter members who are volunteering and the campaign (make sure it's not a paid chapter staff person, because this would constitute an unlawful financial "contribution" to the campaign).

Consider Forming a Political Action Committee

If your state or chapter does not have a PAC to support state and local candidates, consider starting one. Although state law varies, your state's board of elections can usually help guide you through the process. The most important

requirement is that you have a chair and a treasurer who are committed to complying with your state's campaign reporting requirements, since the fines for failing to comply can be high and will come out of the chapter treasury. Once you have a PAC, elections activities for state and local candidates can be conducted by the PAC and you won't have to worry so much about compliance (though some care is still required). Election work for federal candidates can only be undertaken in strict compliance with federal election laws. National NOW/PAC is NOW's federal campaign committee, and NOW states and chapters should not form separate federal PAC's. NOW chapters may not support U.S. Senate or House candidates except as follows.

What an Individual Can Do for a Candidate

NOW members (individuals -- NOT the chapter) may do unlimited work for a candidate as volunteers. It is important to keep in mind that it must be the members, as individuals, who pay for any resources. For example, members, acting as individuals and not on behalf of the chapter (or the candidate's campaign) may pay to make copies of flyers advertising a candidate's fundraiser -- the chapter cannot pay for or reimburse the expenditure. Such a flyer cannot be inserted in the chapter newsletter -- doing so could keep you from getting a non-profit mail permit, or could cause you to lose the one you have!

What a Chapter Legally Can and Cannot Do

Many chapters want to endorse and turn over their own mailing lists or phone bank names to the campaign, and use their newsletter to urge readers to contribute to, vote for, and volunteer for the candidate. This is not allowed. Some chapters unknowingly break federal campaign laws governing endorsement of and financial support of candidates (set by the FEC, the Federal Elections Commission), and the consequences can be severe. In addition, it is important that a politically active chapter become familiar with their state's PAC regulations, since state laws vary widely.

CHAPTERS MAY SUPPORT A CANDIDATE ONLY IF A NOW PAC HAS ENDORSED THAT CANDIDATE AND ONLY IF THERE IS NO USE OF CHAPTER RESOURCES OR EXPENDITURE OF CHAPTER FUNDS.

Before a chapter may "support" (within limitations) a federal candidate -- this means a Presidential or Congressional candidate -- the National NOW PAC must have endorsed the candidate. For a state candidate -- such as state senator or governor -- the state PAC must have endorsed them. For a local candidate -- such as mayor or school board -- the chapter PAC or state PAC must have endorsed them.

Permissible "support" -- according to law and experience -- is narrowly defined for a tax-exempt organization like NOW. You cannot expend any funds or give anything of monetary value in support of a federal candidate, and that

means any. For example, using the chapter newsletter to urge members to work on a campaign is support that has a monetary value, and would not be permitted. Likewise, stating in your newsletter that Candidate X deserves our votes would also be viewed as having monetary value.

To avoid this problem, Candidate X or your state NOW PAC (or your chapter PAC) can take out a paid advertisement (be sure it contains the legal disclaimer required by the various state and federal laws). Your membership list has a monetary value, and you must consult with the National PAC Director in order to make sure that you do not violate the law by allowing its use in any way.

Assuming that a candidate has been endorsed by a NOW/PAC, you can report this fact as a news event, and even interview the PAC director about the endorsement. But you may not add commentary from the chapter.

In the event that you wish to tell members about candidates who are not endorsed or supported by a NOW PAC, so that they can make an informed decision about their votes, you may list side-by-side, or in comparison, the key positions of ALL candidates in the race in a factual way. For example, Jones is against all abortion and reproductive health positions, Smith supports a woman's right to choose abortion, but is not firm in her position on minor's access.) You must leave it to your members to understand that Smith would be the preferred candidate -- albeit the lesser of two evils.

If you mail your questionnaires and Jones doesn't return the form, you may say that he did not -- and you must note other candidates who didn't return the form either. In any case, you cannot say that Smith is the preferred candidate.

If you have questions about indicating support for a candidate without actually endorsing, please contact NOW's Political Director, at 202-628-8669 x 121 or e-mail at political.director@now.org.

Conclusion

As you can see, working on a campaign is an extremely worthwhile venture for both the chapter and the individual member. Not only are you putting a feminist face on the legislatures of our country, your members gain invaluable experience and knowledge for the chapter as well as gaining confidence, enthusiasm for activism, and a solid feeling of accomplishment.

C. Membership and Activist Recruitment

There are many activists in our organization with varying degrees of available time, talent and money. Some members join NOW solely to support NOW's work financially, and while they understand and agree with our goals,

they may not want to become actively involved. Other members want to devote their time, energy and talents to the organization in an "active" way.

Each chapter should understand these differences in our membership and find a place for each prospective new member to fit in. We try to encourage members to become activists, but it isn't always possible. It is helpful to identify members who fall into different categories, using some version of a member survey or file card, so that you can call on them to contribute in a way that fits their time and abilities.

Membership recruitment is an ongoing effort that involves every member!

Recruiting Members

The first, and most important, rule in successfully recruiting new members is -ASK! Start by asking friends, neighbors, and co-workers. Then build your membership by contacting other like-minded people in your community. For example, watch your local newspaper for Letters to the Editor that are sympathetic to women's issues, and try to recruit the writer into the chapter or you can't have too many good letter-writers!

There are lots of other free and low-cost ways to advertise:

- ACTIONS! Free media exposure is a positive result of well-planned and publicized actions
- Information booths (malls, county fairs, etc.)
- Public Service Announcements (PSA's) on radio or TV
- Appearances by chapter/state/national leaders on TV/radio
- Chapter posters with information about upcoming meetings
- Printed materials (brochures or flyers) in targeted areas (libraries, YWCA's, bookstores, women's centers). Consider placing a brochure in feminist books in your library where interested readers are likely to see them.
- Membership advertisements in local newspapers and newsletters of other organizations as well as your chapter newsletter
- Chapter phone listing in the area directory (important!)
- Public speaking engagements and presentations to other organizations about NOW and our goals

Another important component of membership recruitment is having inclusive meetings. Almost anyone who feels positive about the group and its progress will come back. Suggestions for successful participation include:

- Meet in a public, central location, with plenty of parking and security lighting
- Develop and use new member packets (these can include chapter, state and/or national newsletters, information about NOW and issue brochures or

fact sheets, as well as any specific chapter information you have, such as regular meeting information and chapter contacts)

- Assign one or more chapter members to greet new people at each meeting
- Avoid the use of acronyms like CR (Consciousness-Raising), ABC bill (Act for Better Child Care), or NNT (National NOW Times) without explaining them to all present
- Provide new member briefings or orientations
- Ask new members to do something important, even if it is a small task, before the next meeting - make them feel involved!
- Follow up with a phone call to each new member or potential member shortly after their first meeting. Have an activist "adopt" each new member for post-meeting contacts. Invite them to come back!
- Get as many new members as possible involved in Consciousness-Raising (CR)

Other helpful hints:

- put the chapter number on every membership form (ex: MD0300)
- carry membership applications everywhere
- include the chapter contact and phone number on all printed materials

Here are some ideas for getting new NOW members and getting them involved:

- Many women and men join NOW as at-large members, as a result of direct mail or advertising from the national office of NOW. Recruit at-large members in your chapter area. Contact your state coordinator or state chapter developer to request their names and get these members involved in your actions. Send them your newsletter and invite them to affiliate with the chapter. (See Chapter Development Report #21 on Recruiting At-Large Members)
- Develop a card file with a listing for every member. This should include the member's skills, experience, what they like to do, projects/tasks they've successfully completed, and personal limits (what they'd prefer not to do).
- Prepare a list of skills or abilities needed by the chapter and publish it in the chapter newsletter. Job descriptions for officers and task force chairs can also be circulated in this way. Members are more likely to get involved if they know exactly what they are being asked to do.
- Delegate some relevant responsibility to new members but don't make them feel burdened. In addition to ending each meeting with an action idea, it is also helpful to make sure new people are offered the opportunity to participate in some way before the next meeting, such as going with other members to visit an elected official, or working on some research for new

chapter fact sheet.

- Organize chapter retreats (you could call them "advances"!) or weekend meetings designed to bring members closer together, get to know each other and have fun in an informal setting. This builds a sense of camaraderie and teamwork among your core activists and encourages others to be a part of that core.

D. Volunteer Recruitment and Coordination

A winning political campaign may involve hundreds, even thousands, of volunteers depending on the size of the district. One of the most important campaign jobs is the volunteer coordinator who must not only recruit, but nurture the volunteer base.

When dealing with all aspects of volunteer work, one must always remember that volunteers are contributing their valuable time and energy. Below are some tips on coordinating volunteers most effectively:

- Volunteer locations should be accessible and near public transportation.
- If volunteers are not well taken-care-of they may leave the activity early and are not likely to come out for future volunteer opportunities.
- Too much work can burn out volunteers and not enough work might not make a volunteer feel needed. Assignments should be fun as well as productive. Try and provide a space for volunteer interaction. If volunteers get to know others they will be more likely to volunteer more of their time.
- Some volunteers love to stuff envelopes and despise making phone call. The volunteer coordinator should match volunteers. skills and interests with campaign tasks. For example, if the volunteer activity is a phone bank, then a great non-calling activity is looking up bad numbers in the phone book.
- Thorough instructions of the activity should be given orally to all the volunteers. It is best to give explanations to the whole group, but individual instructions should be given if someone shows up late. Be sure to include how the volunteers. work fits into the campaign strategy.
- Volunteers need to be closely supervised - their actions reflect the candidate and, unanticipated questions or problems may arise that need attention.
- Most importantly, volunteers need to be thanked.

Where to Find Volunteers

The ideal volunteer is one that has many hours to contribute, but any volunteer time is helpful. The best place to start recruiting volunteers is from your chapter activist base. Once chapter activists have been contacted, chapters

should branch out to at-large NOW membership, and then to membership lists of other progressive groups such as:

- Other women's rights groups
- Civil rights organizations
- Environmental groups
- Unions
- Lesbian and gay organizations
- Campaign contributors
- College campuses (see campus organizing section)
- Community centers

E. Voter Registration

An effective voter registration effort can provide necessary votes in an election. A voter registration drive should be targeted to voters who support our candidate or issue.

Simply increasing voter registrants will not help our campaign. Registering voters allows you to build a voter identification list which should be added to GOTV calls on Election Day.

Below is an outlined strategy for a targeted drive to register progressive voters:

Research State Laws

Voter registration strategies vary from state to state, so be sure to check with your state elections division.

- Who may register voters?
- When is your state's deadline for in person voter registration?
- What is the deadline for mail-in voter registration?
- Where are your local election board and registrar's office?
- What are the state laws on voter registration drives?
- What type of resident proof is necessary for new voters?

Determining a Strategy

Once you know state law determine your voter registration goals.

- How many voters does the campaign need to register?
- How many volunteers will you need? (See volunteer section)
- Find people who live and work in progressive areas. College campuses are an excellent source of progressive voters, as are community events

Establish a Timetable

The state's voter registration laws will largely affect your timetable. Note

important deadlines then look for community events that will likely draw progressive voters.

Training Volunteers

Prepare volunteers with as much voter registration information as possible. Anticipate questions that potential voters may ask about such as:

- How can I volunteer for the campaign?
- Where can I vote on Election Day?
- What hours are the polls open?
- I voted last year in a different district, can I re-register to vote?
- How do I get an absentee ballot?
- What happens if my name is not on the rolls at my polling place on Election Day?

Create a question and answer sheet on voter registration information. Your state may have this type of material available to distribute.

F. Phone Banking

What is a Phone Bank?

A phone bank is a central location with more than one telephone which is used to locate and activate supporters for issues, pending legislation, membership drives, marches, drives, rallies, and other events. The phone bank system is adaptable to all issues and campaigns, and is a cost-effective organizing tool essential to any size chapter. Phone banks can meet as often as nightly, weekly or monthly.

What is the Objective of a Phone Bank?

The purpose of a phone bank is to identify candidate voters, persuade the persuadables and get them out to vote on election day. Phone banking can be used for a candidate with whom you are working closely. A phone bank would also work for calls in support of many NOW endorsed feminist candidates.

Phone banks have been used across the country in all types of campaigns in order to contact as many people as possible and thereby generate as much activity as possible in a short period of time. While the primary function of a phone bank is to concentrate on one specific message and generate one specific activity, phone banks also play an important role in long-term member retention and activism. Once organized, a phone bank can be used to advertise events, recruit members, involve supporters and raise funds: the possibilities are endless. Organizing a phone bank takes work and commitment, but it is invaluable once set in motion.

The Phone Bank Coordinator

The successful phone bank coordinator needs to be an organized individual with good interpersonal skills. Volunteers can be discouraged by excessive wrong numbers, no answers and unfriendly contacts. It is up to the phone bank coordinator to maintain a positive atmosphere. Also, she/he must be ready to answer all of the questions the phoners may have, even if they seem basic. Phone banking can be social and fun, and with the right leader, callers are motivated to achieve a higher rate of phone calls and will return regularly to work. It can also be useful to organize a pizza party or other social gathering along with a phone bank session.

Phone Bank Planning Guide

Preparation is essential. Please do not skip any of these steps or try to cut corners to save time. Poor planning will lead to an unorganized phone bank which will result in poor experiences for your activists. Since many activists value their time more than their money- you've got to do the prep work necessary to have a good phone bank.

Go through your list of chapter members, volunteer cards and petitions. Contact the people on this list and tell them about your chapter's political goals. Invite everyone to attend a special briefing on the upcoming elections. Try to have a hook to get folks in the door. You can include a reception as part of the briefing, or you can get a high-profile person to make a brief presentation during the briefing.

You may find that some people will be willing to phone on a regular basis, others less frequently and still others not at all. However, if you can establish a core group of regular phone bankers, calling will be easier, more fun and more successful.

Building a Volunteer Base

One way to identify supporters who may volunteer for your phone bank is to obtain signatures on authorizing petitions at fairs, shopping centers, in malls, grocery stores, concerts, movie lines of events that may draw a supportive audience. Your petition, where appropriate, should allow the signer to authorize you to communicate in their name on the issue. Be sure to take advantage of places where there is a high density of activity and people. Also, use petitioning in conjunction with NOW organized door-to-door issue campaigns. Petitioning works well on weekends and during the summer months when phoning can be more difficult because people are on vacation. Names collected from petitioning should be transferred to Phone Bank Individual Cards--after being cross-checked for duplication with existing cards -- to be called about volunteering, giving a

contribution, attending local, state or national events, etc. Keep a file of the permission cards/petitions for future reference. These are your primary records to prove you actually did receive the individual's permission to communicate in their name.

Preparation for the Phone Bank

- Set up an initial chapter meeting to discuss the work to be done to prepare for your political project.
- Encourage people who attend the initial meeting to bring with them lists of people who support our issues. They should include names of friends, relatives and other contacts.
- Be sure to share information so people feel connected and can buy into the project. Stress the importance of elections and your chapter's work. Be ready to answer any questions they may have.
- Ask for volunteers to locate an office, storefront, campus, union or other facility that could be for evening phone banks. Determine how many phones you need.

Getting a List of Phone Numbers

A list of potential voters is an absolute necessity for phonebanking. The first list of voters you should call are NOW members. The Action Center can send you a list of member in a given area.

Lists of registered voters can be obtained by the state board of elections. In most cases you can order the names by precinct or alphabetically. Some lists will indicate frequency of voting which will help you target likely voters. Registered voters are also collected by political parties. Usually political parties maintain a voter database which would allow you to purchase or have donated part or all of their list. You may just want a list of the women in their party or the names in a given precinct.

If your phone bank is on behalf of a candidate, it is also important to develop lists of groups or politicians who are likely to support your candidate. Organizations are often willing to donate their list of supporters. Politicians in your candidate's district that would attract similar voters would also be a good resource.

If your phone bank is for several feminist candidates, many times individual candidate's calling lists are too large for their volunteer base to handle and they are happy to have your phone bank assist with calling.

Phone Bank Supplies

- 4x6 cards for the phone bank list. Order or produce a set of sticky labels with your chapter member's names, addresses, and phone numbers. Stick each label on a card.

- Rubbing alcohol and paper towels (to clean phones),
- Envelopes (to address for information requests) and scratch paper
- Copies of instructions for the phone bank coordinator and callers
- Background campaign information
- Black pens, pencils, paper clips, rubber bands, etc.
- Tally sheets
- New volunteer sheet for people recruited over the phone who will be attending the next session
- A great phone script (see example phone script)

Procedures for the Phone Bank

For calling NOW members, the first task is to transfer information from your membership list to cards. Sticky labels are the easiest and most efficient way to do this. Any missing phone numbers should be looked up by volunteers. By keeping your cards in alphabetical order, you will be better able to avoid duplicate calls to the same household. (It can be embarrassing to call the same person more than once.) Duplicate calling makes the phone bank look disorganized and can frustrate volunteers.

Other lists may not be in this format. Duplications should be removed. Once you have gathered all your phone numbers, you are ready to begin phone banking.

Calls should be documented in the following five categories:

- A - Yes, will vote for candidate
- B - Is likely to vote for candidate
- C - Unsure
- D - Not likely to vote for candidate
- E - Not voting for candidate

The coding system allows the coordinator and phoners to easily identify potential voters. Phoners should have a copy of the coding system to avoid confusion.

The list will be sorted in the different categories and will be called according to priority. Voters in category A will be called on election day and reminded to go to the polls. A persuasion call should be made to voters in categories B and C if time allows. C and D voters will not be called again. No need to remind our opposition to vote.

Tips for Coordinator

Regular briefings are a key ingredient to your phone banks' success. Take 15-30 minutes at the beginning of each phone bank to brief the callers on the focus of the evening. Include a general overview of the campaign, detailed information on the candidate(s) and a review of the script. If they have a thorough understanding of the issues, the phoners will feel confident and be much more effective. Whenever possible, the phone bank coordinator should highlight the progress you've made. Measure your work and share the successes with the phoners. Also, make the phoners feel like valuable members of your team- because they are! Give them briefings and valuable information- and they will keep coming back.

- Greet the phoners and always say —Thanks!“ People are motivated by recognition and respect. A warm greeting and a sincere —thank you“ will improve morale. If you take the volunteers for granted, they won't be back.
- Never fail to ask for a donation from a supporter. Organizing is expensive, and most people are willing to donate a few dollars to help cover the cost.
- Help phoners be successful. Many volunteers enjoy phone work. Others are uncomfortable talking on the phone. Help the phoners with the first few calls. The first call is the hardest to make. Suggest they practice the script in order to get the feel for it. You should model for the group by making a call. If, after listening to them for their first few calls, it is obvious that someone doesn't like calling or isn't as effective as you hoped, suggest that she/he switch to another job.
- Be sure that calls are not mechanical. Encourage the phoners to be friendly and ask them not to read the script verbatim. Revise the script to ensure it flows.
- Encourage phoners to get all the information with one call. Avoid having people call you back. Often times the lines will be busy or the place from which you are calling would like to remain anonymous. However, don't be afraid to call the person back if necessary.
- Ask phoners not to give out the location of the phone bank over the phone. We do not want radical right wing groups or antis disrupting activities of our phone bank facility.
- Under no circumstances should there be press coverage of the phone bank. We do not want to inform our opposition about our organizing efforts.
- Be flexible and work with all volunteers. Give them all the information that is available. And encourage them to talk to you. Ask for suggestions and ideas.
- College and university campuses are full of potential supporters and volunteers. Since students are difficult to reach on the phone, petition on campus to locate supporters. Always ask for students' e-mail addresses since e-mailing is the most effective method of communication. Contact campus

groups about working on your campaign (see campus organizing section).

- Tune into the vibes of the phoners. If people seem to be dragging or having trouble, take a break. Be sure to have snacks and beverages available. Debrief with every phoner and offer encouragement and suggestions.
- Praise in public and criticize in private. If someone is making mistakes, point it out in a constructive way. Talk to that phoner privately. Point out the good parts of their work, not just the problem. And don't over-manage. Let people use their own style.
- Have fun! Fun is the most important of all. Remember that activists are attracted to NOW for a lot of different reasons, but everyone is turned-off when an activity isn't fun and fulfilling.
- BE ORGANIZED! The phone bank coordinator must be on-time. Be sure to make confirmation calls to remind phoners of the time and place. Always have all of your supplies in order.

If you remember these points, you'll probably have a successful phone bank. However, the unexpected can always pop-up. So, you have to be flexible and able to roll with the punches. Just remember that you're not alone in this project. If you're having trouble, brainstorm solutions with your chapter and the Action Center.

Tips for the Session

- Always schedule twice the number of phone bank workers than phones. If everyone shows up there is always administrative work to be done, such as looking up phone numbers.
- Never schedule a phone bank for more than three hours, unless you are planning two shifts.
- On week nights do not start calling earlier than 6 PM or later than 9 PM.
- Always schedule several nights consecutively. Never cancel a phone bank.

Tips for Phoners

- **Develop a good telephone personality:** You need to develop a voice that smiles. Your voice must take the place of the usual methods of face-to-face communications: a handshake, a grin, a look of pleasure or surprise. Your voice is the only contact with the person on the other end of the line. You must be able to communicate with that person through the skilled use of your voice. You will need to project warmth and enthusiasm in your presentation. Smile as you dial! A smile really does travel over the phone.
- **Develop a good telephone ear:** Listening skills are as important as talking skills. You must learn to listen to comments, questions and objections. Always

trying to emphasize in a positive way something the "callee" has said and tie it in to why you've called. For example:

Callee: "I'm too busy worrying about my job to focus on elections. I don't have time for politics!"

Caller: "That's exactly why we need to elect Maria Mujer to the US Congress. She's a busy career woman and the mother of two children. She understands what its' like to juggle work and family. If we send her to Washington, she'll work for better child care. I'm sure you'll agree that we need someone like Maria working on the issue we care about in Congress."

Generally a comment she/he makes about an issue will be a personal concern. So listen to what she/he says , the use it to cement her/his support. Remember, communication by phone is a two-way affair.

- **Be Courteous:** Easy to say, but sometimes hard to do if the person at the other end of the line is unpleasant or abusive. Simply thank them for their time and go on to the next call. A smile in your voice may be the first smile they've had all day. Remember your phone call is always an interruption into someone's personal life. Their rudeness may be simply the result of bad timing.
- **Be Confident, Positive and Enthusiastic:** You've heard it said many times that enthusiasm is contagious. The reason you've heard it so often is because it's true! If you are excited about your issue, then you likely generate similar energy commitment in others. When you phrase things in a positive way it shows confidence in what you are saying. People like doing business with people who appear to "have it together."
- **Do not let yourself become engaged in discussion with a hostile "callee".** You will not convince them to change their position and they will keep you from making important calls.
- **Tempo and Volume:** In your telemarketing efforts it is important to adjust your rate of speech to the needs and personality of the person at the other end of the line. It is always acceptable to cut back on your tempo if its apparent that the person you've called has delayed reactions. However, never speed up your presentation to accommodate an impatient person. If you've called at an inconvenient time, find out when you can call back. Most people do not like fast talkers. People often perceive a fast talker is either reading or trying to put something over on them, causing them to feel uncomfortable or suspicious. Moderate your voice so that you consistently speak at normal conversational voice level. The use of pausing at strategic spots in the sentence, (where to take a breath) will prevent the listener from interrupting you at points that you want her/him to listen. You don't have to shout to be heard. Speak clearly and in a normal tone, directly into the mouthpiece.

- **Inflection:** If you speak in a monotone, you run the risk of mesmerizing and/or boring the callee so that she/he doesn't even understand what you are trying to say. Give the listener the benefit of a pleasant telephone personality; it will make her/him want to listen. Remember, this may be your 100th call, but it is the first time your listener is hearing it.
- **Remember the reason for the call:** The callee may try to sidestep you with idle conversation. Always try to tie in what she/he has said with the reason for you call and go back to the script. Remember, use the "KISS" method: Keep It Simple Sister!
- **Test Your Verbal Effectiveness:** One way to test yourself on the clarity of your presentation is to tape record a complete presentation. When you play it back you may be surprised to hear that you don't sound the way you "think" you sound. You may find some of your syllables sound mumbled, or that your voice is not projecting warmth. Try to improve on this without losing any naturalness, for that is the key that really sells.
- **Don't Take Rejection Personally:** The callee, in most cases, doesn't even know you. She/he doesn't know what you look like or anything about you. When she/he says "no," unless you've been rude, she/he is possibly reacting to your timing of your call or the very fact that a stranger is calling to ask for something. Just think of what your own household is like during the day or when you get home from work. And think about how you respond to callers. If you get a bad response don't let it get you down. One great call is worth a night's worth of phoning.

Sample Telephone Script

(The purpose of your calls is to encourage support for Maria Mujer who is running for state Senate. Please remember that you are calling from Hometown NOW. Most important of all, smile while you dial and have fun!)

Script for an answering machine:

(We suggest that callers do not leave messages unless you are calling from a campaign office.)

Script for a person:

Good evening. May I please speak with (name of member)? My name is (your name). I'm a volunteer calling from Hometown NOW with important information on the upcoming election. Do you have a few minutes to talk? *(If unavailable, please note the best time to call back. If she/he thinks you're calling for money, be sure to mention that you are calling with important information -- and you are **not** asking for donations. In those cases, skip the section which mentions giving opportunities.)*

As you have heard, Maria Mujer is running for the State Senate. Maria Mujer is a longtime supporter of women's rights. Her record in the state assembly is excellent. She has been a stalwart supporter of all of women's rights issues.

Just last session, Maria helped stop an anti-abortion bill. She also introduced legislation that would dedicate more money to helping victims of domestic violence. Maria is with us on all of NOW's issues. If she wins, we'll finally be rid of Stanley Sexist- who currently holds the seat. In fact, Stanley Sexist voted against the anti-domestic violence measure sponsored by Maria Mujer. I'm sure you'll agree that he does not represent our best interests. *(Pause to allow her/him to agree with you.)*

Can we count on you to vote for Maria Mujer on November 3rd?

If She/He Will Not Vote for Mujer:

Thank them for their time and hang up and write "E" on their card.

If She/He is Uncertain:

Try to determine why. If she/her raises issue you're not able to address, ask if you can have someone more familiar with those issues call back to discuss them. If you do that, be sure to take very detailed notes about the callee's concerns. If she/he raises concerns you are comfortable addressing do so. If she doesn't discuss voting issues on the phone, respect that and proceed to the closing. *(Categorize call as B, C or D depending on the position of the voter.)*

If She/He WILL Vote for Mujer:

That's great! I'm glad we can count on your vote. To win this election, we're going also going to need a lot of help. We need volunteers to call our Hometown NOW members -- like I'm doing tonight. We also need people to distribute information before the election and at the polls on Election Day.

Can you volunteer some time to work on Maria Mujer's campaign?

(If not, go to "Donation Request.")

If Able to Volunteer:

Wonderful! I have the volunteer schedule in front of me. Would you like to come in to make phone calls Tuesday evening? *(Work with the activist and try and get her/him to commit to a specific shift. After doing so, proceed to "Closing".)*

Donation Request:

I certainly understand that there simply isn't time in your schedule for a volunteer shift. As you can imagine, Maria's campaign also needs donations.

Can you make a contribution to the Maria Mujer for State Senate campaign?

(If not, proceed to "Closing".)

If Able to Make a Donation:

Maria really will appreciate your financial support. If you have a pen and paper, I'll give you her address:

Maria Mujer for State Senate 1313 Mockingbird Ln.
Muenster, OH 33333 (make check payable to "Maria
for State Congress")

Closing:

We certainly appreciate your time this evening and your ongoing support of Hometown NOW. Thanks so much for talking with me. Good night! (Be sure to document the voter's position with one of the five letters.)

G. Door-to-Door Canvassing

A door-to-door canvass is a systematic method for locating and activating political supporters in a community. Canvasses can be used for fundraising, issue development, legislation, campaigns, and other activities. The purpose of this section is to outline the "how to's" of a door-to-door political canvass for NOW chapters.

Why Have a Canvass?

The primary focus of a door-to-door canvass is to identify and activate people in the community who are not already known to your chapter as supporters of women's rights so that they will vote on election day. This labor intensive activity is cost-effective when it is run with volunteers, but can be costly if you use paid canvassers. In addition to mobilizing voters, your chapter can recruit new members and supporters of our issues, and mobilize them to act on NOW's agenda. You can increase NOW's visibility one-on-one. Finally, it gives activists the opportunity to articulate NOW's position on key political issues.

When? Successful canvasses can be used:

In conjunction with an existing campaign - e.g., a referendum or electoral campaigns, or to organize an event.

Where to Canvass?

Canvassing requires different types of lists. For canvassing the geographical area is of prime importance. Certain areas of town will be better suited to canvassing than others. If you are canvassing for an existing campaign, precincts or district areas may have already been targeted by the candidate. You may want to look at pro-woman voting patterns, how close the houses are to one another (to save time and energy), and how safe the neighborhood is generally. Walking lists can be ordered by precinct and further broken down by party voters, women voters or independent women voters. It is important to obtain accurate maps and break down your walking lists into manageable sections so as not to tire out your volunteers. Canvassers should employ the same system created for phone banking to identify and record candidate preference of each voter for follow up and election day.

Preparing for a Canvass

The key to a successful canvass is proper goal setting, planning and follow-up. An approximate time line for implementing a short-term canvass follows.

4-6 Weeks Prior:

Initiate an organizing meeting of interested activists, determine who will be responsible for overall coordination, and set dates and times for the actual event(s).

The following responsibilities should be divided:

- recruiting activists/supporters to go door-to-door
- targeting specific areas of the community and investigating permit requirements
- developing the message and focus of the canvass so that a clear canvass script can be written
- preparing canvass petitions and other materials: membership applications, fact sheets, information and brochures

It is also helpful to keep a file on this particular project for reference for a future canvass. Acting on information gathered by activists after the initial meeting, an area or areas should be chosen for canvassing.

2-4 Weeks Prior:

During this period, canvass coordinators should be recruited, and activists should be scheduled for specific days and times. A script should be written and a "Fact Sheet" should be developed for canvassers with tips, information about the candidate, talking points for the issue involved in the campaign, etc. A briefing should be held to review progress and do troubleshooting for the coordinators. It is also helpful to schedule a meeting for about one week after the canvass to evaluate the event (include the date and time on information given to volunteers). Take a drive through the neighborhood(s) to be canvassed. Make sure the map you use is up to date.

1 Week Prior:

Send reminder post cards or phone all canvassers to confirm date, time and location. Include directions, parking information, food arrangements, etc. Secure canvass permits through town or city clerk's office and local police.

Day of the Canvass:

Do a briefing for the canvassers on the purpose of the canvass, the importance of the election, do several role-plays to practice the script, and give instructions on doing the paperwork for the canvass. Drive to the area(s) and drop off pairs of canvassers, with reminders of their pick-up corner and time. Be sure to pick up the canvassers on time so no one has a long wait to begin the debriefing. Collect materials and debrief, encouraging people to share experiences and suggestions for next time.

Follow Up and Evaluation:

It is important to make sure that the information gathered during the canvass is utilized. A discussion of what went right and what needs to be changed for future canvasses is important. Documenting this discussion for chapter files and the campaign will help in planning future projects. The group should be able to decide what political goals of the canvass were met, and whether further action is needed.

Thank you notes should be sent out to participants. It is also important to go over the canvasser's sheets to be sure that any special notes or requests for information are handled promptly.

Miscellaneous Tips and Suggestions

- It's a good idea to check with other groups, or to see if there are any regularly scheduled canvasses in the area to coordinate the timing of NOW's canvass - it's easy to "overload" an area.
- Saturday and Sunday canvasses are best for getting volunteers and for securing permits. However, many NOW members are most available between 5-9 PM weekdays. You may consider both an evening and weekend canvass to utilize all of the volunteers.
- Always schedule twice the number of canvassers that you need. Last minute cancellations will occur.
- A canvass project can be a good draw for members who are relatively new to the chapter, and who want to be active in a short term project.

Literature Drop

Although door-to-door canvassing and a literature drop have many similarities the main difference is, the primary goal of canvassing is personal contact with potential allies and the goal of a drop is to distribute as much material as possible, not necessarily to converse with voters. Literature drops are an excellent way to provide a large number potential voters with information about a feminist candidate or issue. It is also a relatively inexpensive way to get NOW's message out in the community. If printing costs are prohibitive talk to friends who may have access to a copier and would be willing to copy materials.

It is also a good volunteer activity to that can be fun and build a strong team.

Literature Drop Advice:

Encourage everyone to walk with a partner. For safety and it's more fun!

- Call volunteers the several days before your literature drop. Remind them of

the meeting time and location. Stress the importance of volunteering even if they can only give an hour of their time. The more volunteers, the more information that will be distributed.

- Obtain a current street map of the area you plan to cover. Note progressive areas of town and densely populated neighborhoods. These are the areas to target. No need to encourage our opponents to get out and vote. One effective way to coordinate volunteers may be to jot down neighborhoods or certain streets on index cards that you feel are most important to cover. This way, volunteers will know exactly where to go with the lit drop.
- Palm cards may be dropped in newspaper boxes, in mail slots, wedged in the front doors or the front door glass, in between the front door and a screen door, in a doorknocker, etc. The only place you may NOT leave palm cards is in the mailbox. It is illegal for anyone to use official US mailboxes except for US postal workers.
- If voters ask for information about the candidate or issue, have talking points available. Our goal is to connect with supportive voters. Engaging with our opponents won't win us a vote. They merely want to keep volunteers from reminding our allies to vote.
- Any extras can be handed out the remaining days before Election Day. Keep in mind any state restrictions on information distributed near the voting polls.

H. Election Day

All the hard work put into campaigning builds toward one central event - election day. Who gets to the polls and how they decide to vote is what can make your campaign one of victory or defeat. The work must not stop on election day! Listed below are three components that are essential to an election day operation poll work, palm cards and visibility action.

Poll Work

Poll work requires a very organized and concentrated effort to gain visibility. Voters should be reminded of the endorsed candidates and the need to elect women just before they go into the polls. An effective way to remind voters of the endorsed candidates is to provide them with an endorsement slate, palm card or sample ballot which they can take into the voting booth with them. Be sure to monitor any illegalities at the polls. It is also very helpful if you report any information you might have about voting turnout back to the campaign headquarters to enable them to get more activists out to the polls if needed.

Though some campaigns may have the ability to cover all the polls all day, effective coverage can also be done by concentrating your campaign poll work on those polls you have established as high priority.

- Peak hours for voting 7:00 - 10:00 a.m. and 4 p.m. until closing.

- At least two activists should be assigned to each poll. Poll watchers compare yes voters with the actual voting list. The names of the yes voters who have not yet voted should then be returned to the election day phone banking site.
- Those who will cover the polls in the early morning should be given a briefing and the necessary poll materials the night before. This will allow them to go directly to the polls in the morning.
- Three or four poll captains or coordinators should be assigned the responsibility of going around and checking coverage at the various polls. They will pick-up and drop-off volunteers, replenish campaign materials, provide food and soft drinks and pick-up the counts of those who have voted during the day and relaying that information to the Victory 2000 campaign headquarters. Check these counts with your list of names periodically throughout the day.
- Counts of voters should be taken so that:
 - Phone bankers can concentrate their calls to encourage voters to come out and vote. Prioritize calls based on ratings.
 - At polls where there is a lower turnout of voters than expected, the campaign can send more volunteers out to visibility sites to encourage people to vote.
- Those who have not voted can be called and asked if they need a ride, child care etc...
- Activists at the phone banks can call all your yes voters in the morning, then check at noon, and start calling again, repeat the process.

Palm Cards

Palm cards, slate cards or sample ballots are pieces of campaign materials that have been specially prepared for handing to voters just before they enter a polling place. Voters can use the palm card to assist them in voting for your candidate or slate of candidates.

Check your state regulations for reference to electioneering laws. Some states prohibit electioneering within 100 yards or 200 yards of the entrance to the polls. If restrictions exist, research further if such laws will still let you make contact with the voters.

Palm cards or slate cards should be small enough to be easily taken into the voting booth and can be printed 4 on a page and cut up. They carry a slate of candidates who the Victory 2000 campaign wishes voters to support when they enter that particular polling place.

Palm cards or slate cards usually have on them the particular slot or number listed on the voting machine of the candidates you are supporting.

In areas where large numbers of voters want to vote for feminist candidates, or women candidates who support women's rights issues, using the

NOW Victory 2000 slate card with the names of the candidates that the NOW PAC supports is very helpful to voters who may not know who to vote for.

Visibility Action

A visibility action is having several activists go out to targeted sites and hold up "NOW Victory 2000" signs and candidate signs and hand out NOW PAC endorsement cards.

Actions have several purposes:

- Provides name recognition for the candidates
- Reminds the public to vote
- Gets the NOW name out to the public.

In regions where poll work is not traditionally used, the visibility action works as a great substitute. Poll work and visibility actions can supplement one another as well, especially in large states like California where there is an enormous number of polls to be reached. Both actions work simultaneously to create name recognition for all the feminist candidates.

Below are suggestions for labor intensive visibility actions:

- Visibility actions can begin 24 hours prior to the election.
- Recommended times:
 - 4:00 - 7:00 p.m.- the day prior to the election
 - 7:00 - 9:00a.m.- the day of the election
 - 12:00 - 2:00 p.m. the day of the election
 - 4:00 - 7:00 p.m. the day of the election
- Define strategic locations for visibility hits: media stops, major commuter highways and key intersections, public transportation venues and concentrated lunch spots.
- Hanging a large poster board at the campaign's headquarters that charts the location and time where you need people is crucial.
- If a volunteer is unable to make it to one of the specific locations targeted, encourage them to stand in another populated area which might be closer to their workplace or home.
- Each location should have at least three volunteers.
- It works to coordinate the visibility action with NOW PAC endorsed candidates. Often the campaigns will plug into the project and provide the candidate's campaign paraphernalia.

Visibility Paraphernalia

When sending activists out to the targeted visibility site there are some items they should have:

- NOW PAC endorsement card should be given to the activists who will be at metro stops, public transportation venues, concentrated lunch spots and other sites where they have person-to-person contact with the public.
 - Cut to index card size and print on card stock
 - List all NOW PAC endorsed women candidates in the area.
 - The voter is able to take these cards into the polls.
- Candidate stickers or candidate signs.
- Designated pick-up point for visibility paraphernalia should be established immediately.

Election Night Watch

- Invite volunteers to come back to campaign headquarters to debrief and watch the returns.
- Have refreshments ready.
- Prior to election day, find out where all your candidates' victory parties will be and how to reach them while they are awaiting results.
- Alert the media that you will be holding an Election Night Watch and who will be available for comments.
- Deploy some NOW activists to attend the parties for our candidates. It is important to be there for both the winners and those who will run again.

Day After Election

Contact the media to alert them of your availability for comments on the election results and send out a press release with your comments.

Follow-Up

Organize a gathering for volunteers to celebrate their hard work, debrief on what aspects were successful and which can be improved on and begin the initial planning for the next steps. Reach out to new activists who worked hard on the campaign so they will feel welcomed into long term NOW involvement.

Reference

A. Helpful Campaign Terms

District: An area designated by law for specific representation. Districts may be federal, state or local.

FEC: Federal Election Commission. The FEC is an independent regulatory agency charged with administering and enforcing campaign finance law. The FEC has jurisdiction over the financing of campaigns for the presidency, the vice presidency, the US Senate and the US House of Representatives. Call the FEC at 1-800-424-9530 to get detailed information about federal laws that apply to your campaign.

GOTV: Get out the vote. Describes the final effort to ensure that all supporters show up on election day to vote.

Incumbent: The person who currently holds a particular elected office and is running for re-election.

Non partisan: Not having to do with a particular political party.

Phone Bank: A central location from which a large number of calls are made in a short period of time; used for canvassing, volunteer recruitment, coffees, and GOTV activities.

Political Action Committee (PAC): A legal entity organized for the purpose of political education and capable of providing direct financial support to a candidate up to the legal limit.

Precinct: The smallest political subdivision, with defined street boundaries.

Split ticket: Voting for one or more candidates from more than one political party.

Straight ticket: Voting for all of the candidates of the same political party.

Swing Voters: This word has two meanings: Persuadable voters who could "swing" your way or ticket-splitters who "swing" both ways on their ballots.

Targeting: Identifying particular areas (or groups of people) where support for the candidate is expected to be exceptional.

Ticket Splitters: Voters who do not vote the straight party ballot.

Undecided Voters: Voters who have not decided who they will vote for.

B. Resources for the Researcher

On line services that you might find useful in your political research:

FEC On-Line: Information on individual contributors, campaign finances and PACs is available through the Federal Election Commission's \$20/hour dial in service. Call 1-800-424-9530 for more information.

Lexis/Nexis: This service offers libraries of full text publications by tens of thousands of sources, including news organizations, government agencies, and courts. Find information on individuals, companies, legislation and just about anything else. Contact Mead Data Central at 1-800-227-4908 and ask about a trial subscription. Be sure to investigate which local publications that will help your research are available as well.

Datetimes & Dialog: Are services very similar to Lexis/Nexis. They offer hundreds of databases with news, business and government information. Contact Datetimes at 1-800-642-2525 and Dialog at 1-800-334-2564 to ask for a trial subscription.

Legi-Slate: Is a great resource for researching a member of the U.S. Congress. Legi-Slate is a comprehensive database including legislative activity, member information, voting data, publications, key votes, the Congressional Record, and more - all of it is searchable and easily organized into custom reports. Contact 1-800-733-1131 for subscription information.

Citizen Network: The Citizen Network is an on-line research service for Democratic state legislators. The service includes state-by-state information on Republican and democratic proposals, demographic and polling data by region or state, and information on specific legislation in each state. Subscription cost \$50 per year and include access to Women's Net, an on-line service for Democratic women. Call the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee at 202-488-5041 for research requests and subscriptions.

Washington Alert: Like Legi-Slate, Congressional Quarterly's Washington Alert service has an excellent vote database and also has an on line service called Washington Alert that includes their excellent vote database. Call 202-887-8366 for information.

Here are some additional resources: **Project Vote Smart:** Provides unbiased research on members of Congress. If you are researching an incumbent member of Congress, call 1-800-622-SMART and request a copy of the "U.S. Government Owner's Manual" (containing general campaign finance, voting, and interest group rating information on all members) and the "Voter's Self Defense Manual" tailored specifically to the member you are researching. Project Vote Smart data can also be accessed through the World Wide Web at this address: gopher://gopher.neu.edu.

Almanac of American Politics: Contains information on governors, U.S. Representatives, and U.S. senators including population statistics, voting patterns,

biographical information, interest group ratings, campaign finance information, key votes and more. The Almanac is available at libraries or bookstores and also through The National Journal at (202-857-1400).

Politics in America: Published by Congressional Quarterly, it provides similar information to the Almanac of American Politics on congressional members and their districts.

Statistical Abstract of the United States: The Statistical Abstract is the single best source of national and state statistics based on U.S. Census Surveys. Other Census Bureau publications include the State and Metropolitan Area Data Book, County and City Data Book, and the Census Catalog and Guide. Look in your local library, or contact the U.S. Government Printing Office at (202)-783-3238.

Federal Election Commission's Combined Federal/State Disclosure Directory:

The Combined Disclosure Directory describes how to get campaign finance and other public disclosure information in all states and territories. Call 1-800-424-9530 for a free copy.

Almanac of Federal PACs: The Almanac of Federal PACs gives detailed information on every federal PAC that has contributed over a threshold amount. Contains information on who sponsors the PAC, where it's located, how much it has contributed in recent election cycles, and whether it favors Democratic or Republican candidates.

Congressional Quarterly Weekly Report: Tracks all congressional votes and offers analysis of Congress at work. It is available in most libraries. Congressional Quarterly can be directly reached at 1-800-638-1710.

Washington Representatives: This is a great resource if you want to know who's lobbying for whom.

The Capital Source: Published by the National Journal (202-857-1400) it is one of the best sources for information on contacting thousands of offices in Washington DC.

Congressional Quarterly Almanacs: Is an annual publication that has complete summaries of legislative activities and all roll call votes. CQ Almanacs is a useful tool to researchers seeking information on longtime congressional incumbents.

Congressional Record: Chronicles the proceedings of the U.S. Congress verbatim, including bill/amendment submissions, votes, written statements and floor debates. It is published daily by the U.S. Government Printing Office.

America Votes: This series, from Congressional Quarterly (1-800-638-1710) is a comprehensive source for election results.

Martindale-Hubbell Directory: If you're researching a lawyer, you'll want to look at this Directory. It lists lawyers, firms, and gives some client information, and is available at the local library, law firms, the local bar association, or on-line.

The Reporter's Handbook: This is one of the best resources around for doing

investigative research from A to Z. It is produced by the Investigative Reporters and Editors Inc. and published by the St. Martin's Press.

Monitor Leadership Yellow Books: Monitor Leadership Directories Inc (202-347-7757) publishes quarterly Yellow Books with address, phone and fax listings of officeholders, staff, and bureaucrats at all levels of government. Yellow Books are a great way to identify offices that might have the information you're looking for. Each Yellow Book contains tens of thousands of phone numbers. Yellow Books are published for Congress, the Federal Government, state governments and municipal governments. The books are expensive, so look in your library first.

Info-Power II: Is a comprehensive and inexpensive guide to government and other information. The phone book sized Info Power II sells for \$29.95 and contains over 45,000 entries that will point you in the right direction to search for just about any kind of information you are looking for.

C. Addresses of State Election Departments

Inquiries regarding campaign finance filing dates and forms may be addressed to:
(updated Fall 2006)

ALABAMA

Elections Division

State Capitol Building

Room E-204

Montgomery, AL 36130

Tel: (334) 242-7559

<http://www.sos.state.al.us/election>

ALASKA

Division of Elections

Court Plaza Building

240 Main Street, 4th Floor

Juneau, AK 99801

Phone (907) 465-4611

Fax (907) 465-3203

<http://www.elections.state.ak.us/>

ARIZONA

Secretary of State

1616 W. Adams, Suite 110

Phoenix, AZ 85007

Tel: (602) 364-3477

Fax: (602) 364-3487

<http://www.ccec.state.az.us/ccecweb/ccecays/home.asp>

ARKANSAS

Elections Department

26 State Capitol Building

Little Rock, AR 72201

Tel: 1-800-482-1127

Email: electionsemail@sos.arkansas.gov

<http://www.sosweb.state.ar.us/elections.html>

CALIFORNIA

Secretary of State

Political Reform Division

1500 11th Street, Room 495

Sacramento, CA 95814-2974

Tel: (916) 653-6224

Fax: (916) 653-5045

<http://www.ss.ca.gov/election/election.htm>

COLORADO

Secretary of State

1560 Broadway

Suite 200

Denver, CO 80202
Tel: (303) 894-2200
Fax: (303) 869-4861
Email: sos.elections@sos.state.co.us
<http://www.sos.state.co.us/pubs/elections>

CONNECTICUT

Secretary of State

Director of Elections
30 Trinity Street
Hartford, CT 06106
Tel: (860) 509-6100/(800) 540-6100
Fax: (203) 509-6127
Email: lead@po.state.ct.us
<http://www.sots.ct.gov/LEAD/LeadIndex.htm>

DELAWARE

Commissioner of Elections

111 S. West Street
Suite 10
Dover, DE 19904
Tel: (302) 739-4277
Fax: (302) 739-6794
Email: coe_vote@state.de.us
<http://www.state.de.us/election/>

DISTRICT OF COLUMBIA

Board of Elections and Ethics

Government of the District of Columbia
One Judiciary Square
441 4th Street NW
Suite 250 North
Washington, DC 20001
Email: boee@dc.gov
Tel: (202) 727-2525
Fax: (202) 347-2648
<http://www.dcboee.org>

FLORIDA

Secretary of State

Division of Elections
Room 316, R.A. Gray Building
500 South Bronough Street
Tallahassee, FL 32399 - 0250
Tel: (850) 245-6200
Fax: (850) 245-6217
Email: DivElections@dos.state.fl.us
<http://election.dos.state.fl.us/>

GEORGIA

Secretary of State

Elections Division

2 Martin Luther King, Jr. Drive, SE
Suite 1104
Atlanta, GA 30334-1505
Tel: (404) 656-2871
Fax: (404) 651-9531
<http://www.sos.state.ga.us>

HAWAII

Campaign Spending Commission

235 South Beretania Street
Room 300
Honolulu, HI 96813
Tel: (808) 586-0285
Fax: (808) 586-0288
E-Mail: aloha@csc.state.hi.us
<http://www.hawaii.gov/campaign/>

IDAHO

Secretary of State

Elections, Campaigns Disclosure and Lobbyists
203 State House
P.O. Box 83720
Boise, ID 83720
Tel: (208) 334-2300
Fax: (208) 334-2282
Email: elections@sos.idaho.gov
<http://www.idsos.state.id.us/elect/eleindex.htm>

ILLINOIS

State Board of Elections

1020 South Spring Street
Springfield, IL 62704
Mailing Address: P.O. Box 4187
Springfield, IL 62708
Tel: (217) 782-4141
Fax: (217) 782-5959
<http://www.elections.state.il.us/>

INDIANA

Indiana Election Division

302 West Washington Street, Rm E-204
Indianapolis, IN 46204-2767
Tel: (317) 232-3939/(800) 622-4941
Fax: (317) 233-6793
<http://www.in.gov/sos/elections/>

IOWA

Ethics and Campaign Disclosure Board

514 East Locust, Suite 104
Des Moines, IA 50309
Tel: (515) 281-4028

Fax: (515) 281-3701
<http://www.state.ia.us/government/iecdb/>

KANSAS

Governmental Ethics Commission

109 SW 9th Street, Suite 504
Topeka, KS 66612
Tel: (785) 296-4219
Fax: (785) 296-2548
<http://www.kansas.gov/ethics/>

KENTUCKY

Registry of Election Finance

140 Walnut Street
Frankfort, KY 40601
Tel: (502) 573-7100
Fax: (502) 573-4369
<http://www.elect.ky.gov/>

LOUISIANA

Board of Ethics and Supervisory

Committee on Campaign Finance Disclosure
2415 Quail Drive, Third Floor
Baton Rouge, LA 70808
Tel: (225) 763-8777/ (800)842-6630
Fax: (225) 763-8780
<http://www.ethics.state.la.us/>

MAINE

Commission on Governmental Ethics and Election Practices

135 State House Station
Augusta, ME 04333-0135
Tel: (207) 287-4179
Fax: (207) 287-6775
<http://www.state.me.us/ethics>

MARYLAND

State Board of Elections

151 West Street
Annapolis, MD 21401
Mailing Address: P.O. Box 231
Annapolis, Maryland 21404-0231
Tel: (410) 269-2840 /(800)-222-8683
Fax: (410) 974-2019
<http://www.elections.state.md.us>

MASSACHUSETTS

Office of Campaign and Political Finance

1 Ashburton Place, Room 411
Boston, MA 02108
Tel: (617) 727-8352/(800)-462-OCPF
Fax: (617) 727-6549

Email: OCPF@cpf.state.ma.us
<http://www.state.ma.us/ocpf>

MICHIGAN

Bureau of Elections

1st Floor Richard H Austin Building
430 West Allegan Street
Lansing, MI 48918
Tel: (517) 373-2540
Fax: (517) 241-4785
<http://www.michigan.gov/sos/0,1607,7-127-1633---,00.html>

MINNESOTA

Campaign Finance and Public

Disclosure Board
658 Cedar Street
First Floor South
St. Paul, MN 55155-1603
Tel: (651) 296 -5148/(800) 657-3889
Fax: (651) (800) 357-4114
Email: cf.board@state.mn.us
<http://www.cfboard.state.mn.us/>

MISSISSIPPI

Secretary of State

State Capitol- Elections Commission
401 Mississippi Street
Jackson, MS 39201
Mailing Address: P.O. Box 136
Jackson, MS 39205-0136
Tel: 601-359-6359
Fax: (601) 359-5019
<http://www.sos.state.ms.us/elections/CampFinc/>

MISSOURI

Missouri Ethics Commission

221 Metro Drive, Suite A
Jefferson City, MO 65102
Mailing Address: P.O. Box 1254
Jefferson City, MO 65102
Tel: (573) 751-2301
Fax: (573) 526-3242
Email: elections@sos.mo.gov
<http://www.sos.mo.gov/elections/>

MONTANA

Commissioner of Political Practices

1205 8th Avenue
P.O. Box 202401
Helena, MT 59620-2401
Tel: (406) 444-2942

Fax: (406) 444-1643
<http://politicalpractices.mt.gov/5campaignfinance/>

NEBRASKA

Accountability and Disclosure Commission

State Capitol, 11th Floor

P.O. Box 95086

Lincoln, NE 68509

Tel: (402) 471-2522

Fax: (402) 471-6599

<http://nadc.nol.org/>

NEVADA

Commission on Ethics

3476 Executive Pointe Way, Suite 10

Carson City, Nevada 89706

Phone: (775) 687-5469

Fax: (775) 687-1279

Email: ncoe@ethics.nv.gov

<http://ethics.nv.gov/>

NEW HAMPSHIRE

Secretary of State

State House, Room 204

Concord, NH 03301

Tel: (603) 271-3242

Fax: (603) 271-6316

<http://www.sos.nh.gov/electionsnew.htm>

NEW JERSEY

Election Law Enforcement Commission

28 West State Street

P.O. Box 185

Trenton, NJ 08625-0185

Tel: (609) 292-8700/ (800) 313-3532

Fax: (609) 292-7662

<http://www.elec.state.nj.us/index.html>

NEW MEXICO

Bureau of Elections

Office of the Secretary of State

State Capitol Annex North

325 Don Gaspar, Suite 300

Santa Fe, New Mexico 87503

Tel: (505) 827-8403/ (800) 477-3632

Fax: (505) 827-3634

<http://web.state.nm.us/Main/Elections/ElectionInfo.htm>

NEW YORK

NYC Campaign Finance Board

40 Rector Street, 7th Floor

New York, NY 10006

Tel: (212) 306-7100
Fax: (212) 306-7143
Email: info@nyccfb.info
<http://www.nyccfb.info/>

NORTH CAROLINA

State Board of Elections

133 Fayetteville Street Mall, Suite 100
Raleigh NC 27601
P.O. Box 2169
Raleigh NC 27602-2169
Tel: (919) 733-7173
Fax: (919) 715-0135
Email: campaign.reporting@ncmail.net
<http://www.state.nc.us/SBOE>

NORTH DAKOTA

Secretary of State

600 East Boulevard Avenue, Dept. 108
Bismarck, ND 58505-0500
Tel: (701) 328-4146 / (800) 352-0867
Fax: (701) 328-2992
<http://www.nd.gov/sos/electvote/index.html>

OHIO

Ohio Secretary of State

Campaign Finance
180 East Broad Street, 15th Floor
Columbus, OH 43215
Tel: (614) 466-4980
Fax: (614) 466-2892
<http://www.state.oh.us/sos/>

OKLAHOMA

Ethics Commission

2300 North Lincoln Boulevard, Rm B-5
Oklahoma City, OK 73105- 4812
Tel: (405) 521-3451
Fax: (405) 521-4905
<http://www.ethics.state.ok.us/>

OREGON

Secretary of State

Elections Division
141 State Capitol
Salem, OR 97310 - 0722
Tel: (503) 986-1518
Fax: (503) 373-7414
<http://www.sos.state.or.us/elections/>

PENNSYLVANIA

Secretary of the Commonwealth

Bureau of Commissions, Elections, and Legislation
210 North Office Building
Harrisburg, PA 17120-0721
Tel: (717) 787-5280
Fax: (717) 787-1734
Email: RA-BCEL@state.pa.us
<http://www.dos.state.pa.us>

RHODE ISLAND

Rhode Island Ethics Commission

40 Fountain Street
Providence, RI 02903
Tel: (401) 222-3790
Fax: (401) 222-3382
Email: ethics@ethics.state.ri.us
<http://www.ethics.ri.gov/>

SOUTH CAROLINA

State Ethics Commission

5000 Thurmond Mall, Suite 250
Columbia, SC 29211
PO Box 11926
Columbia, SC 29201
Tel: (803) 253-4192
Fax: (803) 253-7539
<http://www.state.sc.us/ethics>

SOUTH DAKOTA

Board of Elections

Capitol Building
500 East Capitol Avenue, Suite 204
Pierre, SD 57501-5070
Tel: (605) 773-3537
Fax: (605) 773-6580
Email: elections@state.sd.us
<http://www.sdsos.gov/electionsvoteregistration/boardofelections.shtml>

TENNESSEE

Elections Division

312 8th Avenue North
9th Floor, Snodgrass Tower
Nashville, TN 37243
Tel: (615) 741-7959
Fax: (615) 532-8905
Email: tennessee.elections@state.tn.us
<http://www.state.tn.us/sos/election/index.htm>

TEXAS

Texas Ethics Commission

201 East 14th Street, 10th Floor
P.O. Box 12070

Austin, TX 78711-2070
Tel: (512) 463 - 5800/(800) 325-8506
Fax: (512) 463-5777
<http://www.ethics.state.tx.us>

UTAH

Office of the Lieutenant Governor

State Capitol Complex, Suite E325
Salt Lake City, UT 84114-0601
(801) 538-1041
Fax: (801) 538-1133
Email: gherbert@utah.gov
<http://www.governor.state.ut.us/lsgov>

VERMONT

Secretary of State

Elections Division
26 Terrace Street
Montpelier, VT 05609-1101
Tel: (802) 828-2464
Fax: (802) 828-5171
<http://vermont-elections.org/soshome.htm>

VIRGINIA

State Board of Elections

200 North 9th Street
Suite 101
Richmond, VA 23219
Tel: (804) 864-8901/ (800) 552-9745
Fax: (804) 371-0194
<http://www.sbe.virginia.gov/cms/>

WASHINGTON

Public Disclosure Commission

711 Capitol Way
Suite 403
PO Box 40908
Olympia, WA 98504-0908
Tel: (360) 753-1111
Fax: (360) 753-1112
<http://www.pdc.wa.gov>

WEST VIRGINIA

Ethics Commission

210 Brooks Street, Suite 300
Charleston, WV 25301
Tel: (304) 558-0664/ (866) 558-0664
Fax: (304) 558-2169
Email: ethics@wvadmin.gov
<http://www.wvsos.org/adlaw/>

WISCONSIN**State Elections Board**

P.O. Box 2973

Madison, WI 53701

44 East Mifflin Street, Suite 601

Madison, WI 53703

Tel: (608) 266-8123

Fax: (608) 264-9319

<http://ethics.state.wi.us/>

WYOMING**Secretary of State**

Elections Office

Capitol Building, Room B-38

200 West 24th Street

Cheyenne, WY 82002-0020

Tel: (307) 777-7186

Fax: (307) 777-7640

Email: elections@state.wy.us

<http://soswy.state.wy.u>