SCRAPPY CAMPAIGNING

10 Things I Learned About Leadership & Life on the Campaign Trail





"This book comes at an important time when we need more women in leadership positions. Dr. Lucius has found that intersection between empowering women and improving government through public service." —Atalie Ebersole, President of Women Under Forty Political Action Committee

"After reading this book cover to cover, I strongly feel that it will be helpful in healing the current divide between Democrats & Republicans (of which I am neither), and in general prying us loose from our political stereotypes. I am also personally inspired by Casey's journey, lessons, and scars. Reading her story will prove extremely valuable, and incredibly inspiring, for anyone who is facing the challenges of a political campaign." —Kimberly Wiefling, Author, Scrappy Project Management

"Participating directly in our democracy has never been more important than now. While millions wonder why we have the leaders we do, we welcome the thousands of women who are stepping up at all levels of government to run for office. Dr. Lucius is a courageous candidate with personal experience, intellectual expertise, and an inspirational story to guide the curious on their journey from consideration to candidacy. Be sure to put this book on your must-read list for activists and candidates, especially if you're a conservative." —Missy Shorey, Executive Director of Maggie's List

Scrappy Campaigning (Book Excerpt)

10 Things I Learned about Leadership & Life on the Campaign Trail

By Casey Lucius, PhD Foreword by Kip Hawley

"Watch out for those who cause divisions and put obstacles in your way that are contrary to the teaching you have learned . . . for such people serve their own appetites. By smooth talk and flattery, they deceive the minds of naïve people." Romans 16:17–18 (57 AD.)



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Scrappy means having the steely resolve of a street fighter.

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Scrappy means being determined to make a positive difference even when you are not positive you can succeed.

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Scrappy Campaigning: 10 Things I Learned about Leadership & Life on the Campaign Trail

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Dedication To God and His plan.

Acknowledgments

First and foremost, I want to thank my husband, Bob Lucius, for putting up with me. He has been my partner and cheerleader for the past 16 years. He dealt with my late nights when I was on city council, always with a smile, but the real test of our relationship was when I came home and told him I wanted to quit my job and run for Congress. He not only went along with it, but he encouraged me and believed in me. I also have to thank our son, Bobby, who was the star in most of my commercials. He walked door-to-door with me, marched in parades with me, and told everyone we met that his mom was running for office. I could not have undertaken such a challenging endeavor without the support of my husband and my son. Thank you both!

I also want to thank my mom. This is the lady who raised me to be a strong, independent, go-getting, scrappy young woman. She has always been proud of me, and encouraged me every step of the way through my life. When I told her I wanted to run for Congress, she said, "Go big or go home, baby!" Thank you, Mom, for never making me feel like my dreams are silly.

To my team: thank you! Kip, Mike, Laura, Jennifer, Robert, Megan, Ren, Andrew, and Val, I can't thank you enough for taking a year out of your lives to help me run a national campaign in a really tough district. You all are amazing people, and I'm a far better person for knowing you. Thank you to the 1,108 donors who believed in me enough to open up their checkbooks. Whether it was ten bucks or a thousand, your contributions meant the world to me. Some of you also opened your homes to me. Some of you volunteered or sent me notes of encouragement. You know who you are. Thank you!

Finally, thank you to the endlessly scrappy Kimberly Wiefling, who answered my email when I wanted to write this scrappy book. Thank you for the time you spent walking me through the process and editing it. And I truly appreciate my publisher, Mitchell Levy, and the entire Happy About publishing team, for making this book a reality.

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Texas's controversial 2003 partisan gerrymander produced TX District 22 for former Representative Tom DeLay, a Republican (image credit: nationalatlas.gov, public domain)
The New Republic has named Maryland's 3rd Congressional District as America's most gerrymandered district (image credit: nationalatlas.gov, public domain)
Image: Speaker of the House Paul Ryan with Casey, June 28, 201651
Photo credit: Monterey County Weekly 79



Foreword

Scrappy Campaigning draws from the experience of a remarkable woman who served our country overseas, both on active duty and as a civilian, and who then came home to embody practical applications of American values. In this book, she shares with us the roller-coaster moments she experienced as she engaged in the core of the democratic process to which she has devoted her life. Casey Lucius running for Congress was an act of patriotism, bravery, and faith. Scrappy Campaigning takes us on that journey with her as she shares the lessons learned that come only from running in those shoes. Regardless of party affiliation or political background, anyone interested in campaigning in the US will benefit from reading this book filled with Casey's real-life experiences in public service and politics.

When House Speaker Paul Ryan came to San Francisco in July 2016 to raise money, he stood before an exclusive crowd of potential contributors and . . . introduced Casey Lucius. There were 52 other Republicans running for Congress from California that year, but the Speaker invited only one to his event. Even more of an honor, he chose to give her precious air-time during his remarks. Why? Paul Ryan wanted new blood in Congress, change agents and doers. Casey was, in many ways, the perfect example of that—a veteran, a mom, an experienced elected official, smart, practical, and energetic. So, when a packed house of the power elite shuffled forward in the front room of a mansion with a glorious view of the San Francisco Bay that summer evening to hear Paul Ryan, they also got to hear from Casey. After some introductory remarks of his own, the US Speaker of the House turned and said, "Ladies and gentlemen, Casey Lucius!" And Casey stepped up.

I met Casey the previous year at the beginning of her Congressional campaign, drawn to the same qualities in her that caught the Speaker's attention. I was a constituent, since I live in Pacific Grove where Casey served as a City Council Member, and a 20-year resident of California District 20. I was frustrated that, despite enormous change in the economic and social dynamics of our area, the same closed fraternity of old school political/business buddies got to pick our elected officials.

The trigger for me was when long-time Congressman Farr announced his retirement. The flock of potential successors who had been patiently and graciously waiting for Farr to retire magically scattered! The credentials of those leaving the race were formidable—a former major city mayor who was a woman, the leader of the Assembly's Hispanic Caucus, the State Senate Majority Leader, and a serving mayor. After they all backed out, the only Democrat running was the son of Farr's predecessor, the iconic Leon Panetta. I vented to my wife in our kitchen as I read about Panetta's announcement, "How can this happen? They just picked him and nobody said a word!" I thought the job was supposed to be elected, not inherited! It felt wrong.

Early in my career, I worked on a Senate staff, and also served in the Reagan Administration in a variety of jobs, including one in charge of Congressional Relations at the Department of Transportation. After a spell as a senior official in the White House, I switched to a business career that lead me to California. After 9/11, I was asked to come back to Washington and lead the creation of the Transportation Security Administration (TSA). A few years later I returned to TSA to be the Administrator until 2009. All this is to say that I have a deep interest in, and somewhat eclectic experience with, the US Congress and the people who inhabit it. So it rankled me that, despite the obvious need for new energy and diversity in the Congress, my own district was a stale political backwater. As I put the paper down on the kitchen table, rant concluded, my patient wife

said, "There's a young female Republican running. You ought to read up on her." Indeed!

Casey Lucius is impressive on paper and blows you away in person. I met Casey much the way you readers someday might, one on one over a cup of coffee. We talked about the campaign and who she was. In truth, I had already figured that out, as it was obvious. Casey grew up in modest means and enrolled in the Navy's Officer Candidate School right out of college. She served seven years on active duty as an Intelligence Officer, including on the aircraft carrier USS Stennis as one of only a handful of women on this 5,000-crew ship. Casey went on to be the lead intelligence briefer to the Commander of the Pacific Fleet. Hers was not an easy path, and "self-made" jumps off the page when you read about her experiences. Casey decided that she wanted to shape policy and, after earning a master's degree, challenged herself to get a PhD in political science. In the midst of all that, Casey served in our Embassy in Hanoi. When that mission was accomplished, the now "Dr. Lucius" got selected to be a Professor at the Naval War College. Phew! Self-made with a bullet. This is a woman who watched C-SPAN as a kid and used the Star-Spangled Banner as her career guide!

By the time I met her, Casey had added a young son and had been elected to the City Council. Before meeting her to talk about her campaign, I wanted to see Casey in action, so I went to a City Council meeting. You know it when you see it, and Casey Lucius is a natural. Add polish and civic accomplishment to that background of hers, and you have a star. Taking the next step to Congress did not seem like too big of a leap.

In my time in Washington, I got to know dozens of Members of Congress and had seen the inner workings at all levels—from alcoves in the Capitol to the Oval Office. The question I asked myself after meeting Casey was, "Why is this woman not already in some national office?" Apart from the

Paul Ryan wanting new energy in Congress, Casey has rare intangibles. She knows how to deeply listen—to absorb the facts, note the nuances, and read the subtext of what someone tells her. Her questions (and there are always a lot of them) reflect her understanding of, and gently probe, what she hears. Casey is pleasantly relentless in inserting a "therefore" into whatever you are discussing. Once you know her, you come to know that your conversation is not finished until you have agreed upon a specific action item. This is unusual in a public figure. Most people in politics lead by talking. Casey is not driven by hearing herself talk, she is committed to getting concrete things done. I was so motivated by the notion that Casey should be in national politics that I basically took the next year off and worked on her campaign full-time to help make that happen.

Unfortunately, at the conclusion of that year, I was reminded that victory does not always go to the most deserving. Ideas, ideals, and intelligence do not trump embedded local power. And, as you will read in this book, we made some mistakes along our difficult campaign path. Nevertheless, Casey was undaunted, even against stiff odds. She refused to be thrown off when allies wilted or trolls came at her from the shadows. Casey generated buzz wherever she went. It was a revelation, no matter what the issue, to see how a crowd would turn from skeptical . . . to curious . . . to engaged . . . and then riveted, until coming alive with positive energy at the end. This happened at event after event. In every dimension but votes. Casey came out of her Congressional race a winner. And, as a result, she now has a story to tell that we can all learn from.

Just as Casey's remarks at the Speaker's event in San Francisco that night lit up that room, in *Scrappy Campaigning*, Casey Lucius inspires us with this challenge: in order to live in the land of the free, we must first be the home of the brave.

Kip Hawley

Author of Permanent Emergency: Inside the TSA and the Fight for the Future



Casey Lucius and Kip Hawley

1

The Personal Side of Public Service

"I get up every morning both determined to change the world and have one hell of a good time. Sometimes, this makes planning the day difficult." —E.B. White

The Beginning: A Reason to Serve

From the time I was a little girl, I wanted to change the world. When I was 10 years old, I started telling people I was going to be the first woman president. One of my favorite shows was C-SPAN and I desperately wanted to be there on the floor of the Senate with them, debating the merits of this or that policy. This seemed quite ambitious considering that I grew up in an apartment in a small town in Ohio with my mom working two jobs and my stepdad working in a factory. No one in my family had ever run for office, no one had served in the military, and we had no family money or a famous last name. But that never stopped me from dreaming of someday serving in public office . . . and of course, changing the world!

Because of this pull to "serve" from a young age, I ran for the student council when I was in high school and was selected to be the class vice president. I attended college at Ashland University where, as a sophomore, I ran for president of the student

senate, winning the race, using the extremely popular slogan: "It's Miller Time! Vote for Casey Miller!" This made me the only sophomore to ever be student senate president. After college, I joined the military and served for seven years on active duty as a Naval Intelligence Officer. This included two glorious years on an aircraft carrier and three years working in the not-so-glorious basement of the Pacific Fleet Headquarters. Regardless of the level of glamour, nothing could pull me away from this work.

Throughout my life, I've always found ways to serve by volunteering in my community, including working for Habitat for Humanity, raising money for the Kairos Coalition, serving on the Board of Directors of Pearl Buck International and Jacob's Heart, and more. In my mind, these were necessary steps to prepare for real public service—running for office. Looking back, I realize that volunteering for nonprofits, serving on local committees, and joining the military are all real public service, but I maintained my interest and proclivity toward political office. Many people run for office because they have an interest in politics or a specific issue, and some are interested in the fame that comes with that, but most are likely doing so because they want to make a positive difference. Recently, many people feel frustrated by those who are currently in leadership positions, believing that things could be better if only we had different, less self-centered, public leaders. A lot of us want to "do something," but we don't even know where to begin. My political life, such as it is, started with a speed bump—literally, a speed bump!

My husband and I had just bought our first home in Pacific Grove, California, in 2009. This was thrilling because I grew up living in apartments and moving around a lot. The thought of owning a house and settling into a quaint neighborhood was truly the American dream being realized. I was also pregnant with our son at the time, which made this "happy homeowner" experience all the more blissful. Then one day, someone knocked at our door complaining about cars driving too fast and asking me to sign a petition to have a speed bump installed in our neighborhood. It turns out that there was a tricky three-way intersection behind our house, and some of the parents and neighbors found it to be dangerous. They thought a speed bump would help. Fair enough. I signed the petition. The next thing I knew, I was applying to be on the Traffic Safety Commission. You may be wondering how signing a petition led to being nominated to a city commission, but I won't bore you with those details. The bottom line is, I noticed something that needed to be done and I took action.

In case you don't know how commissions like this work, let me briefly explain. Every city and county has about a dozen boards and commissions

made up of local residents who take up important local issues and make recommendations to the city council or board of county supervisors. These officials then make the final policy decisions. Becoming a member of one of these advisory councils usually starts with an easy application form available on the city or county website, and the applicants are normally nominated and approved by the mayor or full council. From 2009-2012, I served on the Traffic Safety Commission and the ADA Compliance Committee. Although we only met once a month, contributing in these ways made me feel like I was more a part of our community. It also gave me the opportunity to attend the city council meetings, and even make comments and recommendations during the meetings. I highly recommend that anyone interested in knowing what's going on in your neighborhood should attend a council meeting. They are open to the public, the agendas are posted online in advance, and there is usually time at the beginning or end of each meeting for public comment. Even if you're not interested in running for office, these meetings can be very informative. You'll find out fascinating things like how to get a pothole filled or how to get new books ordered for the library. They can be very entertaining as well!

After participating in the process for a couple of years, in 2012, I decided to run for city council. You see, I had noticed that there was only one woman among the seven council members, and there was no one under the age of 60. Since I was 36 at the time, I figured I could simultaneously double the number of women on the council and drop the average age a few years by joining them. As a new mom and a new homeowner, I had new priorities like investments in our parks, family-oriented recreational activities, public meetings that were accessible to people who worked during the day, and more women and younger people making decisions for the future of our town. Thanks to a successful campaign, I had the opportunity to sit on the city council for four years representing the citizens of Pacific Grove, which I did with honor.

I loved being on the city council, but my call to serve kept nagging me, and by 2016, I found myself in another race. This time, it was much bigger, and much more of a commitment. I ran for the US House of Representatives. I know what you're thinking, it's a mighty jump from city council to the US House, but my opponent had never even served in a local elected office, so he was making an even bigger leap. He did have one advantage, however, as he happened to have a famous father who had been the Director of the CIA, the former Secretary of Defense, and Chief of Staff to President Clinton. This surely made his leap to national office much easier, and probably made his campaign experience quite a bit different

from my own. At this point, you may be wondering, "why should I read a book about campaigning from a candidate who didn't even win her race?" Fair question! Running for office and campaigning are not merely about the final outcome. This book is meant for people who want to get involved, but don't know how. It's for people who have a desire to serve, but don't have big money or a famous last name. And it's for people who simply aren't prepared for the obstacles that are inherent in a political campaign. This book isn't about winning or losing, it's about running the race and being prepared for the challenges that will be thrown at you. It's about jumping in, avoiding as many pitfalls as possible, facing the political machine with courage and conviction, and—most importantly—leaving our cities, counties, states, and our country, in a better condition than we found them.

Unlike other campaign books that talk about yard signs, advertising, mailers, and how to get-out-the-vote, this book provides both my personal story and the practical steps required to run a successful campaign while avoiding some of the dangers that no one ever talks about. While many of us feel baffled by politics, we can and must get involved! There are many ways to serve and contribute in a meaningful way, and I hope that my experience will inspire you to do so at whatever level you wish to get involved.

In the following chapters, I'll share in detail the important lessons learned from both my local and national campaign experiences. Together, we'll explore everything from my personal desire to serve and the practical implementation of the campaign, to the reality of running right into a political brick wall. What happens when you are doing everything right, following your well-thought-out campaign plan, but get hit right in the face by the political machine? We'll delve into the role of political parties, money, the media, and the overall intimidation often associated with political campaigns. How can you overcome what you can't control? The short answer is that you can overcome anything if you are properly prepared. This book will prepare you to be scrappy in the face of the seemingly overwhelming odds against you.

It is my hope that this book will encourage you to take a stand, have courage, focus on substance, and keep pressing on in spite of those odds. At the end of the day, our cities, counties, states, and our country will always need good, smart, thoughtful people to run for office. We cannot and *must* not throw up our hands and imagine that it's useless to even try to make a difference. We can do our part to make the issues substantive again, to bring independent thought back into the debate, and make our votes more valuable than money.

Lesson 3: Your Political Party May Not Support You

This one might not surprise you, but it sure surprised me! I assumed that, because I was a Republican running in a partisan race, with an R next to my name on the ballot, that the Republican party would support me and Republicans would vote for me. Oh boy, was I wrong!

Remember the story about the prominent Republican who asked me all the questions about numbers of voters? Well, not only did he not support my candidacy, but he actually supported my Democratic opponent! He said it was because they were longtime friends. Nevertheless, he was in a leadership role in the county Republican party, as well as the state party. These are the kind of things that I was just completely unprepared for, but hopefully, you will be prepared after reading this book.

When I was in third grade, I asked my mom if we were Republicans or Democrats. The conversation went something like this:

Me: Mom, are we Republicans or Democrats?

Mom: We're Democrats.

Me: Why?

Mom: Because Democrats support the working class and we're working class.

Me: Okay. (But in truth, it really wasn't okay, because I was wondering why we'd want to be part of a group that would keep us in the working class. I mean, wouldn't we want to get out of the working class and into some other class?)

Fast forward to my time in college at Ashland University in Ohio, studying political science. I was an Ashbrook Scholar, which was a program named after John Ashbrook, a former Republican Senator. The program reinforced the basic ideas of the Founders of the United States, and required that we study the Federalist papers and the US Constitution.

I also began studying the principles of the two main parties. It turns out that my mom was right, the Democratic party does believe in greater equality for all, including among those of differing incomes. They are also committed to ensuring that the same opportunities are available to people regardless of class, gender, or ethnicity. But where I think my mom was wrong was in the Party's role. She thought that someone, somewhere, was advocating for her, helping her. She thought that Democrats and their policies would somehow elevate her position and her standard of living. Unfortunately, that never happened. My mom always worked hard, and still lived paycheck-to-paycheck long after I left home. There was no person, policy, or party that offered her more. I began to wonder if what the working-class people like my family were seeking was economic stability rather than economic growth. Even though I was told at a young age that I was a Democrat, and that we were working class, I struggled with this. I didn't want that same life. It may not be accurate, but I associated Democrat with blue-collar jobs, and I didn't want to be a bluecollar worker. So, when I registered to vote for the first time, I registered as a Republican. Sorry, Mom!

No, I'm not trying to convince anyone to become a Republican. In fact, after this chapter, you may want to run far away from the Republican party and possibly from all political parties. Personally, I had a higher expectation of the Republican party. Just like my mom believed that her party was advocating for her, I assumed that my party was working on my behalf. I was convinced that Republicans also believed in opportunity and equality, and I was inspired by the fact that the first women to hold seats in the House and the Senate were Republican. It was a Republican who issued the Emancipation Proclamation, and it was a Republicancontrolled Congress that passed the 13th Amendment abolishing slavery. What's more, the first African-American governor was a Republican, and it was a Republican-controlled Congress that passed the 19th Amendment guaranteeing women the right to vote. And there's more! The first Hispanic Senator and the first Asian-American Senator were both Republicans. Supreme Court Justice Earl Warren, a former Republican, struck down racial segregation in public schools. I was proud of these accomplishments by Republicans, and this is the kind of upward mobility and opportunity that inspired me to register as a Republican. Plus, my mom said, "Republicans are all rich." That cinched the deal for me. If that was true, then I definitely wanted to be a Republican!

When my husband and I first moved to California in 2008, I got involved in the county Republican party. I was new to the area and didn't know anyone, so one of the first things I did was join the Monterey Bay

Republican Women Federation. (There is also a Democratic Women's Federation with clubs in nearly every city.) I volunteered for a short time before being asked to be president of the club. It sounds flattering, but the club was made up of mostly older ladies, and I think most of them were just too tired to take on the task. They saw me as a new and eager young lady, and jumped at the opportunity to toss this leadership role my way. It turns out that I really enjoyed it. I was the club president for one year, until I had my son, and had to take a break from lunching with the ladies. Also, in 2008, I volunteered on the McCain for President campaign. I felt a certain personal affinity to John McCain because my husband and I had lived in Hanoi, Vietnam, for three years, and the apartment we lived in was just across the street from the lake where John McCain had been shot down. In 1967, then-Lieutenant McCain was flying an A-4 jet over North Vietnam during the US-Vietnam War, when his airplane was shot down. He and the plane landed in a lake in the center of Hanoi. He was pulled out of the lake by some local farmers, beaten, and dragged off to prison where he remained for the next seven years. To this day, there is a small stone monument near that lake acknowledging the heroes who captured the enemy, John McCain. I saw that monument almost every day for three years, and had great respect for both his service in the military, and for what he endured in a Vietnamese prison. Thus, I volunteered to work on his presidential campaign.

Monterey County had set up a small campaign office. That's where I worked, raised money, handed out yard signs, and met lots of people who were also interested in supporting McCain. One nice thing about this experience was that I got to meet everyone associated with the local Republican party. Between this campaign and the women's club, I created a pretty robust network among local Republicans.

In 2010, a woman who was the former mayor of Pacific Grove was running for the regional water district and asked me to volunteer on her campaign. I really liked her and believed in what she wanted to accomplish, so I gladly helped out. This was much different than my experience with the McCain campaign because this was a real grassroots effort. We had staff meetings once each week, met with her campaign manager, devised a media and advertising strategy, mobilized college Republicans to walk door-to-door, spent time making phone calls, and more. It was a terrific opportunity to experience the real nuts and bolts of campaigning at the local level. I went through every detail of the process with her, everything from ordering remittance envelopes, to building a website, picking colors and fonts for yard signs, designing a tri-fold flier, and debate preparations. If there's one thing that helped prepare me for my own campaigns, it

was working on Jeanne Byrne's campaign for the water district. I got to see how she solicited endorsements from the realtors' association and the hospitality association. I witnessed firsthand how her finance committee made lists of donors and nagged those donors relentlessly until they gave money. I even became good friends with her treasurer and campaign consultant, who would later help me with my campaigns. If you are thinking about running for office, first consider working on someone else's campaign, especially at the local level. Working on a big state or national campaign might draw greater attention, but I guarantee you will learn a whole lot more if you work on a local or county campaign.

When I ran for city council in 2012, I had Jeanne's campaign model to guide me. I knew who donated to her campaign, who endorsed her, which media outlets could be trusted, who to avoid, and even where to order my thank you cards. Details like thank you cards may sound silly, but when you're starting a campaign, there is so much that you don't know. Every bit of experience helps! Even figuring out what paperwork you have to file with the city clerk or the secretary of state can be very overwhelming at first. Having someone who has been through a campaign who can tell you where to order yard signs and how many to order, what should be printed on your remittance envelopes, and introduce you to the local press, can be extremely helpful and save you a lot of time and aggravation.

When I ran for city council in 2012, it was a non-partisan race, but because I had developed friends and contacts in the local Republican party, they eagerly supported my race. Mostly, they were excited to see a younger woman run for office, and they knew that my military background and having earned a PhD would make me a strong candidate. There were no controversial issues at the local level to create any concern for my base supporters. The ladies from the Women's Republican Club helped by stuffing envelopes and making phone calls to donors. I employed (with pizza) the college Republicans to walk door-to-door, and many local Republicans donated to my race. The Republican party even sent out a mailer with my name and photo on it, encouraging voters in Pacific Grove to vote "Casey for Council."

I have to admit, though, that the real ticket to success in my city council race was not a result of the efforts of the Republican party, or even my own efforts. It was the firefighters who saved the day. I had been interviewed by the firefighters' association (the IAFF), and they decided to endorse me. I grew to love these firefighters because they didn't just give me their endorsement, they paid for a mailer and walked door-to-door distributing my flier, all the while wearing their IAFF t-shirts. Come

on, everyone loves it when a firefighter shows up at their door, right? The next best thing would have been to have a Casey for Council calendar with pictures of firefighters . . . but I digress.

I wish that my race for the US Congress would have been as light-hearted and easy as my race for city council. It wasn't. I struggled with the Republican party from day one. My problems started with the prominent Republican coffee meeting that made me want to stop drinking coffee, and the challenges continued throughout the entire campaign. As I said at the beginning of this chapter, it really surprised me that my own party wouldn't be eager to support me in this race. Looking back, I somewhat see their perspective. They must have been thinking, "Why should we spend money on someone who can't win, when we could instead spend our money on Republicans who can win?" This is a sound argument, but the fact was that those other Republicans were running in non-partisan races, and didn't have a "R" next to their name on the ballot. I was the one sticking my neck out there in a partisan race, in a Democratic district, no less, trying to make the case that a Republican could win. It sure didn't help when even Republicans were saying that I couldn't win!

I remember one of the first meetings that I had with the chair of the county Republican party. I asked him for donor lists, and he refused. He also had a favorite campaign manager that he wanted me to use, but that particular person had a very bad reputation as being unethical and generally kind of sleazy. I knew this, and I never really liked the guy anyway, so I told the chair that I had no plans to use that campaign manager. He told me in so many words that if I didn't run my campaign his way, then he would make it difficult for me. Well, all you have to do is tell a scrappy lady that she has to do things "your way," and you're pretty much guaranteed that's not going to happen! Unfortunately, my defiance hurt me in the long run. The chair of the party was very influential because he had raised a lot of money, he knew donors, and many people called him to ask his advice on which candidate to support. After I denied his request to hire the seedy campaign manager, he used every opportunity to undermine my candidacy. I know this because some of my donors told me that they had talked to him, and he had told them not to donate to my campaign. Can you imagine, your own party working against you? Hmmm, I'm guessing Bernie Sanders knows exactly how that feels. That's right, regrettably, this sort of thing happens at all levels and within both parties.

I decided at that point to bypass the local party and talk directly to our state party leadership. There, I was told that the state Republican party was not interested in my race because they were focusing on those candidates running for the state legislature. Okay, that makes sense. But then they also told me that the Republican party's strategy in California was to support candidates in non-partisan races. I didn't get this logic at all. Why support those in races who don't have to affiliate with a party? It turns out that the answer is, basically, because it's easier. It's easier in some states to get certain candidates elected as judges, sheriffs, council members, and county supervisors than it is to get candidates elected into higher level positions in seats that are dominated by the opposite party. I get that it's easier, but I've never been one to take the easy way, so to me, this is just plain irritating! This was one kind of party that definitely was NOT fun!

About six months into my 17-month campaign, I was tempted to leave party politics behind, and change my voter registration party affiliation to Independent, and run for Congress as an Independent candidate. I wasn't sure how this would go over with Republican voters, or Democrats, for that matter, but I was fed up. Then I met Kip Hawley. He was a local resident who had watched me during my tenure on the city council, had been tracking my campaign, and was interested in helping me. He had also worked in the Reagan Administration, the George H.W. Bush Administration, and the George W. Bush Administration. I told him everything that was going on with the local party (and more to the point, without the party), and he told me to go straight to Washington, DC, and appeal to the National Republican party, specifically, the National Republican Congressional Committee (NRCC). He also advised me to hire a national campaign consultant and a proper campaign staff. He walked into my life just at the right time, shook up my campaign operations in a way that we needed to be shaken up, and believed in me when I was greatly in need of encouragement.

Onward to Washington, DC! In the winter of 2016, I flew to Washington, DC, to introduce myself to the NRCC leadership and to my new campaign consultant. It was a very encouraging visit because I learned about the Young Guns program, in which national Republican candidates meet certain milestones that enable them to advance through this program and ultimately earn the endorsement of the Speaker of the House, as well as earn the financial support of the Republican party. The first step was to raise \$100,000 to earn the right to be considered "On the Radar." The second step was a secret! It was a target amount of money, but it wasn't clear what the amount was. I was guessing that perhaps \$400,000 or more would get me "Contender" status, but I had no idea what was required to get to the final stage, which was being declared a "Young Gun." Oh, and I don't know why this term was chosen—seems like there

3

The Realistic Side of Public Service

"What is noble can be said in any language, and what is mean should be said in none. — Maimonides

Lesson 7: The Media (Not Your Campaign) Controls the Narrative

Oh, the media—we love it and we hate it! We love the media when their reporting about us is positive, and we hate it when the reporting is negative or unfair. Get this through your head: the only time you can control what is said about you on TV or in the newspapers is when you are paying for it. The majority of your campaign budget should be spent on advertising, not on paying for staff or office space. Invest your precious campaign budget in TV, radio, and on-line advertising. This is the only way you can control the narrative of your campaign and the race in general.

The reality of politics is that your campaign is largely dependent on the media. I remember one debate that we had prior to the primary in which I outperformed my opponent in a big way. I had thoroughly prepared, typed up notes, and rehearsed repeatedly. This was our first debate,

Lesson 8: There Is a Political Machine, and It's Not Friendly

I strongly believe that the political machine consists of money, the media, political parties, and the intimidation and hypocrisy associated with political campaigns. I've talked a little bit about each of these already, and I'll go into more detail about money in politics in the next chapter. Here, I want to paint a realistic picture of how brutal campaigning can be. I don't write this to discourage anyone from running for public office. Rather, I've decided to include this chapter because there is so much you must know going into a campaign that no one will ever tell you. It's kind of like having a baby. When people approach a pregnant woman, they congratulate her and tell her what a blessing it is to be a mother. No one says, "Oh my God, it hurts like hell to give birth, it takes weeks to heal, and months to feel like yourself again. And you'll be exhausted for the next three years!" Why doesn't anyone say this? It's all true, but it's only part of the story. Being a mother is a blessing, just like running for office is an amazing opportunity. It's exciting and fun, and a great learning experience. But it can also hurt like hell, take months before you feel like yourself again, and you'll be exhausted for years, especially if you win!

Let me share a few of my experiences during the campaign that I wish someone would have warned me about so that I could have been better prepared. A lot of things happened on the campaign trail, but it was the hypocrisy that surprised me the most. I was a woman running for office in the "Year of the Woman." This was an exciting time! It was a time when we might have the first woman US President, and the first woman to represent California's 20th District. Neither of those possibilities came to fruition. I learned the hard way that women don't vote for women candidates just because they're women. We talk a good game about supporting and empowering women, but the truth is, people vote based more strongly on party affiliation than gender affiliation. In fact, in 2016, more women turned out to vote than men. The Center for American Women in Politics at Rutgers University conducted a study in July 2017 of voter turnout in elections from 1980-2016. In 2016, 63.3% of women reported voting compared to 59.3% of men. So, if women voted for women, and we elected our president based on the popular vote instead of the Electoral College, Hillary Clinton would have won the 2016 US Presidential election. Most voters vote based on party affiliation, not gender preference or important issues. Actually, I'm glad that women voters are thoughtful, and not just voting for women merely because they are women. But voting for a Republican or a Democrat primarily because

he or she is a Republican or a Democrat is really no different. As voters, we need to think more deeply about why we are casting our vote for a particular candidates. We need to dig into the issues and ethics of each candidate before we make our decision about who to support in the polls.

Not only was I unpleasantly surprised that more women didn't support my candidacy, especially in the Year of the Woman, but I was also taken aback by how many women were critical of my candidacy. This applies both to my experience running for Congress and when I ran for City Council. In 2012, during my Council race, I went to a women's luncheon and gave a speech about local issues and my positions on those issues. At the end of my talk, I took questions, at which point, one of the ladies said, "Shouldn't you stay home and raise your son instead of running for office?" I'm not kidding, someone actually said this to me in the 21st century! My answer was, "This is how I'm raising my son. I'm showing him the importance of public service. I'm showing him that, instead of just complaining, we have to get involved and present solutions. I'm showing him that we sacrifice our time to make contributions to our community. I'm showing him that his mother is a strong and independent woman." Any other questions?

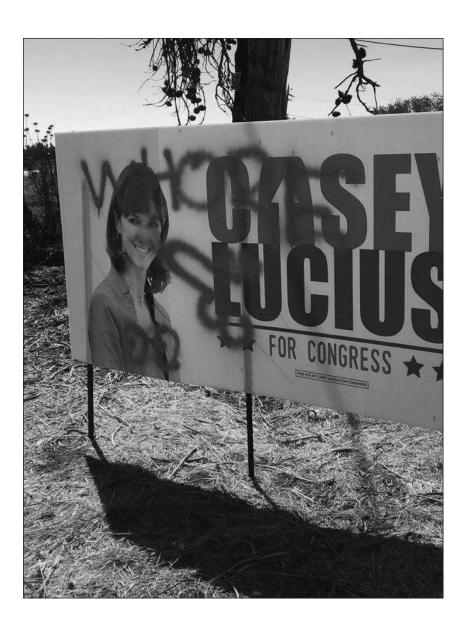
That wasn't the last time I got that question. When I ran for Congress, nearly every debate or candidate forum included a question directed only to me, regarding how I planned to balance my family commitments with the travel that would be required if I won the election. People would ask if we planned to move to Washington, DC so that I could continue to fulfill my parental responsibilities. My opponent also had young children, but he was never asked this question. Shockingly, it's still not easy for some people in our society to wrap their heads around the idea of a mother going out working and travelling while the father stays home to take care of the kids. Even some women have difficulty accepting this as a viable option.

Maybe it was my optimistic nature, but I also expected to receive support from women Republicans in Congress and conservative Republican leaders in California like Condoleezza Rice. In addition, I wrongly assumed that women legislators at the state level would step up to show their support for a female candidate. None of these women at any level came through for me. Perhaps they didn't like me, or maybe they just didn't want to support my campaign for whatever reason. Fair enough, but as women, we do need to decide whether we want to see more women in office, and if we do, let's put our money where our mouth is! Let's stop talking about it, get moving, and start helping qualified women who put their names on the ballot.

Once a local reporter asked me why I put my picture on my large yard signs. He suggested that I only included it because I was using my looks to get preferential treatment. In fact, I put my picture on those signs because I have a gender-neutral first name, and I wanted voters to know that Casey Lucius is a female. By the way, the picture on the sign wasn't an advantage, in part because voters don't vote based on gender, but mainly because hoodlums drew mustaches on my face or horns coming out of my head. Ouch! There was also one incident in which someone drew a penis on my sign and spray-painted the word "Whore" across my face. On another sign, someone painted boobs on my chest. You can't really do much about these kinds of attacks, and you can't control them. But they really irritated me because, like the "good mom" questions, I knew these were annoyances that only female candidates were likely to encounter. No one was painting "whore" on my opponent's signs. (I was tempted to add a tricycle to his signs, but I resisted.)

One of the most important issues we face as a society today is how women are treated in the workforce. The #MeToo movement has provided an outlet for many women to share their stories of gender harassment, abuse, and violence. It has also provided an opportunity for women to encourage each other to no longer tolerate those types of working conditions. It's hard to believe that we're still dealing with these types of injustices in 2018. Women in campaigns are encountering the same things that working women endure. What are we going to do about it? I'd never advise a woman to vote for a candidate based on gender alone, but I implore both women and men to support qualified women candidates in order to help put an end to the nonsense that many women put up with in their professional lives.

I hoped to never utter the words "good ol' boy," but the truth is, I was fighting against the ultimate good ol' boy network. I've come to believe that the only way women will make headway in politics, in Hollywood, in the media, in the military, and in many professions, is if we kick down the door to the good ol' boy clubhouse and let men in leadership positions know that more is required of them on the issue of gender. Now, don't get me wrong. I don't want to kick men out of their jobs or out of public office, but I want them to know that our standards must change, their leadership style must change, and women must be treated fairly and equally. As Reese Witherspoon's organization says, "Time's up"! We mean it, and we expect results.



Throughout our campaign, people tried to intimidate me into dropping out of the race. In addition to the threatening tweets, negative comments on social media, biased press coverage, and vandalism, I also had my car keyed from bumper to bumper while it was parked in the driveway at our home. It's amazing how vicious people become regarding politics. I was not expecting any of this. I had guit my job to run for Congress. I thought people would thank me for stepping up and making this sacrifice for our community. I imagined that people would appreciate me for taking the time to learn the issues and offer thoughtful solutions. I hallucinated that people would respect me for being ethical and running a clean campaign. (Did I mention that most candidates are narcissistic? Me too, I guess!) It sounds ridiculous even to me now, but I did consider myself a great candidate, and I thought everyone else would see me that way too, even if they chose not to vote for me. That was certainly not the case! Please don't expect people to thank you or be nice to you when you're a candidate. It's not that you don't deserve this kind of civility, it's to protect yourself from disappointment and discouragement when you're the target of this kind of behavior. If there's one good thing about egotistical people, it's that they bounce right back—and that I did, over and over and over again!

The political machine also includes the influence of political parties. I already mentioned that I assumed Republicans would support me because I was Republican. The voting data says this is largely true, but only if you appeal to your base, which is where I missed the mark. Nevertheless, I was proud to earn the endorsement of some leading local Republicans. There were also some prominent business leaders, especially in the agricultural industry, that supported me and in spite of the influence of my opponent and his famous family members. However, there were also prominent Republicans who initially endorsed me only to call me later to ask to have their names removed from my website. This happened with two local mayors who endorsed me early on in the campaign. They later said that they couldn't have their names associated with my campaign because they were nervous about the implications. What implications? From who? Was the party intimidating them? Was my opponent pressuring them? Maybe their mothers were concerned about my parenting duties? They declined to explain their reversal. What do you say when someone endorses you and then un-endorses you? All you can do is respect their request, ask for an explanation, and ask them to vote for you anyway. I had to remind a lot of people that, while their endorsement was public, their vote was private.

When the vandalism, threats, and reversal of endorsements didn't work, the opposition went after my husband. Bob spent 23 years in the Marine

Corps, and he's a vegetarian and an animal lover. After his time in the military, he transitioned to the nonprofit world and began advocating for animals. Someone from my opponent's side generated a false email about my husband, saying he was a vegan who worked for the Humane Society and that he was the mastermind behind my campaign. The email suggested that, if I were elected, my husband would draft policies that would hurt farmers. It was complete and utter nonsense! My husband is a long-time vegetarian (as am I), not a vegan. He did work for Humane Society International, primarily on a Green Monday campaign in Asia. His work had nothing to do with farming practices in the United States. Nevertheless, this phony email was sent to farmers throughout the district, and it significantly hurt my campaign. Up to that point, I had the support of many in the agricultural industry, but after this "fake news," it was difficult to convince them that my vegetarianism or my husband's work to protect animals would not impact their business. It all seems quite silly in retrospect, given that we lived in the Salad Bowl capital of the world, and I was a vegetarian, promoting eating more veggies. Be prepared for these types of underhanded attacks against the candidate and their family. Yes, we've seen this type of illegal and unethical activity occasionally in presidential campaigns, but it can still be a bit of a shock when it seeps into our neighborhoods and our own races.

There were also several organizations that refused to endorse in this election at all. I was rarely given an answer about why they weren't endorsing, so I could only assume that it was because they didn't want to get involved and face the possible blowback if they made the "wrong" decision. Like those mayors who withdrew their support, there were certain organizations such as the Farm Bureau, CalFire, and the Hospitality Association that chose to stay out of the fray. Not endorsing at all was better for me than if they had endorsed my opponent, but staying neutral is a position that lacks principle. In my view, I had the courage and tenacity to jump into this race, so the least these organizations could do was have the courage to state publicly who they thought was the best candidate. It wasn't clear to me why they wouldn't, but it was perfectly clear that there was some underlying intimidation going on that was quieting their voices.

The best thing any campaign can do in the face of intimidation, media bias and political games is to stay focused on the day-to-day operations of the campaign. As the candidate, my primary job was to raise money and connect with voters. My campaign manager worked to keep the rest of our staff motivated and focused. The staff and volunteers needed to make brochures, design mailers and ads, call voters, be at the farmer's

markets, deliver yard signs, write press releases, update social media, and get out the vote. We were able to use some of these negative incidents as media opportunities, or as a reason to ask volunteers to write about them in letters to the editor, but mostly, we needed to ignore these tactics and keep pressing forward.

Negative campaigning is part of the political process. In some cases, it works, and in other cases, it doesn't. In one ad, I stated that my opponent shouldn't be elected simply due to his family name or because of his father's credentials. It wasn't that negative, but it was shot in black and white and had eerie music playing in the background, so it had a negative vibe to it. It didn't work. I should have known better. Numerous studies conducted on the impacts of negative campaigning show that only four areas consistently fall into fair territory: 1) voting record, 2) ethical problems, 3) business practices, and 4) money from special interest groups. Attacking someone's name or family connections doesn't resonate with voters, and bringing my opponent's father into the race was no different than them dragging my husband's diet into the fray.

When negative things do happen in your campaign, call a meeting of your core team to let them all know what happened and decide how you will deal with it. Make sure everyone knows what to say if the press calls. The answer may be as simple as, "This is very unfortunate, and we have no other comment." Not every attack has to be responded to, but you must be prepared for negative attacks, and even imagine possible scenarios in advance.

As I've mentioned, my expectation for my staff was that people work hard and be committed to the campaign. But above all, I expected ethical and professional behavior. During these kinds of difficulties in our campaign, I constantly reminded myself of two things. First, we all needed to stay focused on these core values. Second, I reminded myself of why I was running. I was running for many reasons, but I needed to stay focused on my belief that it was time for a woman, for a new generation, for someone with a middle-class background, and for new ideas, to inhabit this leadership position. I was running because I had something to contribute and wanted to serve my community. When you think about the big picture like this, the tweets, the nasty sign vandalism, the hurtful emails and comments, all fade into the background. Yes, you need to be prepared for these kinds of incidents, but you also need to rise above them. Stay true to your purpose, and keep your team focused on the new ideas and the professionalism that people deeply desire, and that our political system desperately needs.

4

The Substantive Side of Public Service

"Make no little plans; they have no magic to stir men's blood...Make big plans, aim high in hope and —work." —Daniel H. Burnham

Lesson 10: Whether You Win or Lose, You Will Win and Lose

A few months after the US Congressional race, I was asked to be on a panel to speak about women's empowerment. One of the other women on the panel happened to be my former opponent's wife. She's a Superior Court Judge and all-around intelligent, impressive woman. I hadn't seen her or talked to her since before the election, so I walked over to say hello. She had always been kind to me, even during the heat of the campaign. I asked her how things were going and how her husband enjoyed his new post in Washington, DC. She said something about being exhausted-not him, but her. She was now at home, mostly on her own, working full-time and raising their two daughters. I realized at that moment that perhaps I was the winner in that race. I lost the election, but I got to continue living in my home with my son and my husband. The "winner" of the race had to travel

back and forth to Washington, DC each week, leaving his family behind and relying on his wife to pick up additional family duties. This was an aha moment for me. I realized that losing a race might mean winning in certain ways, while winning might mean losing parts of life that are precious.

Winning an election will change your life, as will losing an election. Either way, your life will never be the same. Since I'm an optimist, let me start by sharing with you some of the things I gained by running for office and how my life was changed for the better. Both in my city council race and my Congressional race, I gained knowledge. I learned about community issues and challenges. In particular, on the city council, I learned about sewer laterals, infrastructure planning, desalination plants, stormwater runoff catchment systems, airport land use, and more. I could go on and on about the local issues that city councils and county commissions tackle on a daily basis, but what was even more interesting to me was learning about political processes. I had studied political science in college, even earning a PhD in political science, but nothing really teaches you about the political process as well as sitting in that leadership position making policy decisions. On the City Council, there were only seven of us, unlike in Congress, where there are 435 representatives, and not one of us could pass any legislation, or achieve anything, really, without majority support. We followed all of the state's public meeting laws and took public comment at each meeting. We weighed the views of the public with the realities of the budget. We debated revenue options and alternatives to cutting spending. We negotiated with public employee unions to ensure fair pay and benefits for the city staff. I learned more during the one year that I campaigned and the four years that I sat on the Pacific Grove City Council than I did in 10 years of higher education.

I also learned a great deal about leadership and building consensus. There were times when I was faced with a dilemma where I had to choose between my personal preferences and what was in the best interest of the community. There were times when the vote was 6-1 and I was the sole dissenter. And there were times when the vote was 7-0 because I was able to make a convincing argument to my colleagues that got them to vote with me. At times, the public was happy with my decisions, and at other times, they were unhappy and very critical. I got both good press and bad press during my tenure on the City Council. I also learned patience and when not to speak up. I learned just because you have an opinion, that doesn't mean you have to share it. We had long meetings in which I had to be exceedingly patient with the public and with the other

council members. Patience is not one of my strengths, but serving in a public role and being required to listen to others and be thoughtful in my own decision making certainly has strengthened this quality in me.

I also gained new friends and met business leaders and community members. I formed a strong bond with our mayor and another council member. The three of us didn't always see eye-to-eye on the issues, but we had a great respect for each other's intellect and the process by which we each made decisions. I also gained a new respect for small business owners who are often negatively impacted by the policies made at the local level. Business leaders are a unique bunch because, not only do they live in the community and have their own concerns as residents, but they are also trying to run a successful business, hire employees, provide a service, attract new customers to town, and generate revenue, which in turn generates revenue for the city. Small business owners are a bit like military members—they make a sacrifice because they believe in something bigger than themselves, and in return, they face challenges and receive few assurances about their future. If you've ever walked up to a service member to thank them for their service, consider doing the same with your local business owners. They're not risking their lives, but they are making meaningful contributions to the local community through their business leadership.

In running for Congress, I had similar opportunities to learn and grow. In addition to learning about broader issues, I met some amazing residents and made lifelong friends. Running for Congress required a different level of skill because it involved understanding local, state, and national issues. Not only did I have to understand the challenges surrounding healthcare and immigration reform, I also had to be able to speak to those points concisely on camera, debate them knowledgeably, answer questions off-the-cuff, and put my solutions in writing for all to see. Previously, I mentioned that I wrote over 26 issue papers for my campaign website. I also prepared and presented my solutions on dozens of topics at candidate forums and organized events. My learning curve was steep, but by the end of the campaign, I felt confident that I could speak intelligently on any topic, make a logical argument, do a press interview, and debate with even the strongest opponent.

Most of us have some opinion on major political issues. For example, if someone asked what you think about the 2018 tax reform bill, you could probably say one or two sentences about it and give your opinion for or against it. But someone running for office has to be able to do

more than share their opinion. They have to know the facts about the bill, what aspects are beneficial for different sectors, and what parts of the bill could be improved upon. They must know enough not just to form an opinion about an issue, but to answer tough questions about that issue. They need to be able to speak about it live on TV without stumbling over their words. Because of my campaign experience, I can now do all of this with confidence on any issue, given enough prep time.

Another great thing about running for office, despite occasional negative media reporting, is the opportunity to build a credible reputation. If you are strong on the issues, articulate, and come across in a professional manner, people will grow to respect you, even if they don't vote for you. I accomplished this in my Congressional campaign, and even more importantly, I generated credibility for the Republican party. No credible Republican had run for that district seat in decades! But now people in that community know that the Republican party does have young, smart, female candidates who can and will challenge the status quo. I earned a reputation as someone who was gutsy, as well as professional and polished. People say some unflattering things about political candidates, but I consider ending the election being described as gutsy and credible a huge win!

Finally, I gained new friends and true friends. I've already talked about a few of the wonderful people who contributed in some way my Congressional race. I've also talked about the disappointment I felt when confronted with the lack of support I received from certain groups and a few individuals. But the truth is, it's extremely touching when someone you don't even know sends a donation or writes you a letter of encouragement. It's amazing when a friend hosts not one, not two, but three meet-and-greets for you, and gives you tickets to every event possible so you can go mingle and garner more support. The people who stood by my side or came onboard during the campaign were my lifesavers. I couldn't possibly thank them all individually. There were 1,108 people who donated to my campaign. There were hundreds of people who wrote me notes of encouragement, called me to check up on me, and kept me in their thoughts and prayers during the campaign. After the campaign was over, I put all of the press reports into two binders, and filed all of the letters and cards (and even sticky notes) I received into a scrapbook. Looking through that book the other day, I found this note:

Dear Casey, Thank you so much for running for the Congressional seat in our district. You have been a strong current of fresh sir in an otherise predictable, delle political climate here in District 20 where we seen to attract lubewarm performances. I have enjoyed watching you gather momentum, squarly face issues. then was your improved knowledge, honesty i directivess to offer ways and means to solutions. I have no doubt of your capability to eventually foce the nationwide problems that have led to this circus tent election on the upper levels. I am very proud of you and Even myself for bring a wocal supporter. Thank you Casey for stopping up. June Badical This type of support meant the world to me, and reading these inspiring messages got me through some of the toughest days of our campaign. In fact, when I sat down to write this part of the book, I started feeling melancholy, as all of the emotions from the campaign came rushing back to me. The heartbreak that I felt on election night hit me again as I started to outline this chapter. I decided to take a break, went into my little office, and checked my email. To my surprise and delight, there was a message there from a complete stranger asking me if I planned to run for Congress again. His email made my day, and it came at just the right time! He explained that he and his wife had never voted for a Republican before, but they both voted for me because, even though we would have disagreed on certain issues, they would have been proud to be represented by me in Washington.

There are certainly many heartbreaks during a campaign, especially a large, national one, but there are also moments and people who warm your heart, lift you up, and remind you that this is an important endeavor and overall, a wonderful life experience. I lost the election, but I gained much more than a seat in Congress. In fact, as the 115th Congress took their seats in January 2017 and proceeded to vote on over 700 resolutions, and eventually, a government shutdown, I realized once again that maybe I was the lucky one. Maybe I wasn't meant to be there, in the midst of all this negativity and dissention. I wondered if God was somehow protecting me by not sending me to Washington, DC. I lost, and yet, in this way, I won. Okay, I'll admit it, I would have rather won the race! But there's nothing wrong with digging for treasure when life serves you up a big pile of disappointment!

While I may have won the personal victory of not engaging in the mess that is Washington, DC, the bottom line is that I still lost the election, an election I truly wanted to win. And I lost badly. If the results were close, I may have considered another run and tried again. But the results were a landslide in favor of my opponent. It seems clear that I wasn't supposed to go to Washington or be in Congress, not at that time or in that district anyway. But there's always another election, so who knows!

Party		Candidate	Vote %	Votes
	Democratic	Jimmy Panetta	70.8%	180,980
	Republican	Casey Lucius	29.2%	74,811
Total Votes				255,791

This campaign took nearly 18 months out of my life. My son was five when we started and almost seven when we ended. I missed a lot of time with him while I was traveling all over the district raising money and trying to get votes. I've heard people say that they are running for office for their kids, so that their kids can have a better future. My advice is, if you are doing it only for your kids, then don't do it! The best thing you could do for your kids' future is to be present for them during the precious time they are with you at home. Read with them, play with them, and spend time teaching them. I missed the nighttime tuck-ins, the after-school homework, the karate and baseball practices, and dozens of other experiences that I can never recapture. At the time, I rationalized this sacrifice by telling myself that the campaign was important, and I still believe it was. Whether or not they have children, every candidate has to make sacrifices. Unfortunately, I sacrificed time with my child in order to run for Congress. That is time I will never get back. But just as I said during my city council race, I believed I was setting an important example for my son and I will continue my community involvement whether in an elected position or not.

The campaign also took a toll on my family in other ways. With a little help from friends, my husband was left to take care of our home, do all the shopping and cooking, take care of our son, and work at the same time. I was tired while campaigning, but he was tired from pulling double duty at home. Since I had quit my job as a professor to run for office, our checkbook also took a beating. Our income was basically cut in half. We knew this would happen, and we had prepared a budget to ensure that we could afford this decision. We could still pay our bills, but our quality of life absolutely suffered. Not only did we not have much family time, but we also didn't have extra money for dinners out, gifts, or anything else out of the ordinary. By the time the campaign was over, we had completely depleted our savings. We decided not to use personal funds to pay for the campaign, and absolutely not to go into debt. Nevertheless, living along the California coast is expensive, and without two incomes, we couldn't make it work. Because of my decision to run for office and the subsequent loss, we ended up selling our house and moving to a less expensive area. I carry a lot of guilt for my responsibility for this decision. We moved out of our town to another state, left our home (the first home we ever owned), made our son change schools, and uprooted all of our lives. This was all so I could run for office. Was it worth it? Well, I'm a big believer that you can't tell good luck from bad luck when it's happening. I may not know for years whether it was the right decision, but living with no regrets is guite a challenge during an experience like what we've gone through after I lost the election.

Running for office is simultaneously very selfish and selfless. On the one hand, you're putting yourself out there as a potential leader for the betterment of your community, ideally because you want to serve your constituents. Yet, nearly everything about the campaign process is focused around the candidate. My husband and son had to rearrange their schedules around my schedule. We dramatically rearranged our finances to enable me to run for office. Volunteers gave their time to support me. Donors gave their money. It's challenging to come to terms with all of this, especially when the outcome is not a successful election. I share this because, if you do lose an election, of course you will feel disappointed, but the weight of that disappointment will be multiplied because of all the people you've let down by your defeat.

Now that I've had time to reflect on the campaign and its outcome, I realize that I gained a lot and lost a little. Primarily, I lost time and money. The money I can earn back, the time I cannot. More importantly, I didn't lose my integrity or my character, which are core to my being. I didn't lose my desire to serve in public office. Surprisingly, I didn't lose my love of politics, in spite of all that I experienced. What else did I lose? Perhaps my innocence. Next time I run for public office, my son will be older, and I will be much wiser thanks to this adventure. As frustrating as it was, I still watch the news every night and track votes in Congress. I still go to county meetings, so I know what's going on in my area. And I still volunteer on advisory boards so that I can contribute in some small way to the process of decision making in organizations whose cause I support.

These are all things to think about before you commit to your campaign. Determine what you are willing to lose, and even more importantly, what you are *not* willing to lose in the campaign experience. Make sure your immediate family members have a say in this as well, and are completely onboard with your decision to run, as well as your guidelines for your life on the campaign trail. Set expectations about what specifically you expect of them, and in particular, what they are unwilling to endure. When

the campaign's over and the dust settles, there can be resentment among people who are personally impacted by your decision to run.

On election night, when the results came in and it was clear that I'd lost, I called my opponent and congratulated him. It was one of the hardest calls I've ever made. But in addition to wishing him well, I promised him that I would do anything that I could to ensure his success in office. He was very gracious. He complimented me on a well-run campaign and he said we put up a really good fight. When I hung up the phone, it hit me that, suddenly, it was done. After 18 months of fighting, hustling, fundraising, interviewing, smiling, speaking, debating, and agonizing—it was finally and completely finished.

I made that phone call alone, outside. When I walked back into our election night party, I went to the microphone to announce that it was all over. This was another tough moment, but this moment wasn't about me. It was about my team and all of the people who supported our campaign. I thanked them all and let them know that night's party wasn't about the election results, it was to celebrate them and honor their hard work and uncountable contributions throughout the entire campaign. From the heart, I told them how much I appreciated each and every one of them and their priceless support. And then we celebrated. In spite of the outcome, we celebrated.

The morning after the election, I woke up with a splitting headache. No, I wasn't hungover. In fact, I didn't drink at all during the party. I think it was stress and anxiety that had built up over the past weeks and months. My husband made me a delicious breakfast, and then I went for a massage with my mom. We decided at the last minute that it would be a great way to escape from the world, at least for an hour. (Is there anything that a massage can't improve? If so, I haven't found it yet.) I relaxed, knowing that the most important people in my world were still by my side, and I would survive this as I've survived so many other challenges in my life.

Conclusion

Do It Anyway!

Before I jump into all the reasons why you should still run for office despite my lessons and warnings, let's do a quick summary of what we've covered in this book.

The 10 Lessons I Learned on the Campaign Trail:

- Donations Know how much money you need to raise to run a successful campaign (look at prior campaigns in that district), have a plan to raise that money, and put a finance committee in place before your campaign begins.
- 2. Numbers It's worth paying for accurate voter data. Also, consider voter demographics and registration before you launch your campaign (remember how gerrymandering can predetermine election outcomes).
- Party Support (or Not) Decide early on if you want or need the support of your political party, and determine what concessions you're willing to make to acquire and maintain their support.
- 4. Family Support (or Not) Politics is very divisive, even in families. Figure out whose support you absolutely need (i.e., your children, life partner, and other immediate family members), and consider support from other relatives a bonus.
- Staff Pay for the right people with the right level of experience. Demand professionalism and ethical behavior from every single person associated with your campaign.

- **6. Organize Your Time** It's perfectly fine to decline invitations, but never turn down free press. Spend most of your time raising money and being in front of a camera.
- Media Control The media is unfair. Get over it! Figure out how to get the most and best press coverage through both personal contacts and paid advertising.
- 8. The Machine Scrappy candidates will not be intimidated into dropping out of a race. It's part of the game. Don't take it personally, and don't get your feelings hurt. Just grow a bigger backbone and keep fighting the good fight!
- **9. Mo' Money** Know your reporting responsibilities, and set personal standards regarding PAC donations.
- 10. Winning and Losing Get ready to win and lose regardless of the outcome. You will lose time and money, but you will gain experience, exposure, connections, and relationships regardless of the outcome.

Now on to substance, standards, and strength! If you have read this entire book, then you already know that there are plenty of reasons why running for office is daunting and risky. Similarly, there are a host of reasons why people would rather watch the news and complain than stick their necks out and run for office and work to change things. The world of politics is hard work—there's no doubt about it. Running for any political office is difficult, discouraging, exhausting, and all-consuming. But our cities, counties, states, and our country need good, smart, motivated people as our political leaders. So, if you feel a burning desire to serve in this way, do it anyway!

Personally, I'd encourage anyone who reads this book to either put your own name in the hat, or work on a campaign to support a candidate you believe in. If you're not yet sure this choice is for you, consider these three major benefits of running for office: substance, standards, and strength. These are not just benefits for the candidate or the campaign team, these are the benefits our society will experience if we initiate positive changes to our political system and improve the campaigning process.

Let's start with substance. Please raise your hand if you would love to hear a political debate or television ad that focuses on issues rather than rhetoric and personal attacks. Is your hand in the air? Good! Mine is too! I have to say that it seems that we've reached a new low in this country when it comes to personal attacks during campaigns. But the historical truth is that the earliest political attacks were those made in 1796 against our first president, George Washington! An anti-federalist newspaper at

that time warned that our nation was being deceived by a "debauched" George W. In 1856, a member of the House of Representatives literally beat a Senator with his cane because he had said something disparaging about South Carolina, the Representative's home state. And in 1964, Lyndon Johnson ran an ad literally suggesting that we all might die in a nuclear holocaust if we didn't vote for him. That was two years after the Cuban Missile Crisis, and Johnson's team was appealing to voters' fear and emotions, a tactic that continues to be used in recent times. Johnson's ad was controversial and distasteful, but Johnson won. Manipulating people through fear works, but shame on those who stoop to this level to get elected.

More recently in our presidential campaigns, we've heard candidates make fun of one another's height or the size of their hands, as if either of these characteristics had any bearing on their ability to lead this country. We've seen women judged based on their physical appearance and the suits they wear. This kind of negative advertising and offensive campaign tactics have made a mockery of our political system. We live in a country where every citizen can exercise their right to vote, and where anyone can put their name on the ballot for consideration as a candidate. This is a precious part of our freedom. I've lived overseas, so I know firsthand that this is not the case in many countries around the world. While living in Vietnam for three years, I learned that each citizen does indeed have the right to vote, but there is only one name on the ballot, so that "right" is severely limited.

In America, we are not limited, and we should not allow a corrupt political process to limit us to choosing between the "lesser of two evils," especially when it comes to electing people to top leadership positions. We must demand substance in our political campaigns. Let's not be limited to sound bites on the news or 140-character tweets! Instead, let's demand that candidates dig into the issues and answer questions that go beyond party talking points. If you are a candidate, or participating on a campaign, set this standard for yourself. Research the issues that are important to voters, and take time to deeply explore the problems and possible solutions. Thinking back to the issues in my own race in California, we were facing a long-term drought and needed new sources of water. Some of the options being debated were building desalination plants, mandating more conservation, digging wells, and purchasing water rights from other jurisdictions or federal lands. There was nothing about these potential solutions that was either Republican or Democrat. They all had merits and they all had risks. As candidates in that race, we had a responsibility to focus on the specific and diverse needs of our

cities and then determine the solutions that our residents could afford. To me, the debate was one of substance, not politics.

Think about the issues facing your city today, write down the main problems, and then generate three or four possible solutions. Go in search of different perspectives to ensure you really understand the problems at hand. Debate the pros and cons of each of the possible solutions for each problem on your list with your campaign team. Dive into the details, do the research, and seek to truly understand the depth of the situation for each problem, as well as the overall system and context influencing the situation. Then, in your advertising, public speaking, and debates, you will be able to speak to these issues at a level that most Americans have not seen nor heard. You can engage on these issues from a place of expertise rather than perceptual bias and cognitive distortion, something to which human brains are exceedingly susceptible. Rather than being political, let's focus our campaigns on being substantive.

Next, let's grapple with the concept of standards. I've talked in this book about setting standards for yourself and your campaign staff. I have always held high expectations for myself and those around me. I require hard work, commitment, and honesty from anyone who works with me or for me. I absolutely demand ethical behavior. It doesn't mean people can't make mistakes. Lord knows, I've made lots of mistakes, and this book is chockful of them! But, just as we need to be substantive in our campaigns, we also need to raise our standards and our expectations for our own behavior, those around us, and our opponents. Challenge your opponent to run a clean campaign. Go to the media together and announce that both of you commit to stick to the issues and avoid personal attacks.

You can set a standard with the media as well. One tactic used by the media is to try to lure you into a discussion about your opponent. Make clear to them that there are certain topics that are off-limits for you. Set this standard and maintain it, no matter how tempting the topics might be. If you are determined to run a clean campaign, stick to your commitment and don't take shortcuts. Some people may offer you an endorsement or a large donation in exchange for saying or doing something that they want. Stick to your personal and professional standards, and don't compromise them for anything or anyone. When your campaign is over, whether you win or lose, you will have your integrity and your character intact.

You can also set a standard for raising money. Consider making a public statement at the beginning of your campaign listing the organizations or

companies that you will not accept money from. Ask the public to hold you accountable to this pact. Similarly, set a standard with your political party. They may want you to endorse another candidate or support a specific position in exchange for their endorsement. Decide how you truly feel about that person or that position before you accept the endorsement. Can you do it without compromising your standards? If not, don't do it! It's time to start running a different kind of campaign. It's time for candidates to stop relying so heavily on their Party's support or Super PAC funding, and start appealing directly to the voters. It's the voters who have a say in the outcome of every election. We must not allow any party, PAC, or company to take away the influence and decision-making power of our citizens. It's time to put democracy back into our democratic process.

Finally, let's bring a new level of strength to campaigns. I'm talking about growing a backbone, people! If you're serious about running a campaign based on substance, standards, and strengths, then you must be gutsy and scrappy. You need to let people know that you are serious about winning your race. If you are a woman running for office some people may tend to underestimate you, or label you as "only a wife and mother." Others may try to intimidate you into dropping out of the race. Don't run away. Run anyway! Do not be deterred. Stick to it and show everyone how strong and scrappy you truly are.

When I think of strong women, I think of my hero Amelia Earhart, the first female aviator to fly solo across the Atlantic Ocean (in 1928). Amelia also published two books, founded an organization for female flyers, became a professor, and became a member of the National Women's Party advocating for the Equal Rights Amendment. She faced her fair share of challenges and opposition. She was often asked why she chose to engage in the dangerous activity of flying. In the movie *Amelia*, a reporter asked her why she wanted to fly. She replied, "Because I want to. I want to be free." When she set out to fly around the world, she was told it could never be done.

My favorite Amelia Earhart quote is, "Never interrupt someone doing what *you* said couldn't be done." Can you imagine how many times she was told that she was crazy, or that she should focus on marriage and children instead of flying? Imagine the media portrayals of her personal goals, and the investors who refused to finance her vision. Imagine the naysayers and critics, and the daily discouragement she must have felt. But Amelia had something more important than the support of the C.A.V.E. people (Citizens Against Virtually Everything)—she believed in herself. She also had her family, who strongly believed in her and

consistently encouraged her. Her husband enthusiastically supported her career and cheered her on, and it was her father who took her to the airfield for the very first time and paid \$10 for her first flight. These men made a meaningful contribution in her success.

If you are a woman reading this, I want to encourage you to be strong and courageous. If you are a man, I want you to be strong and courageous too! And I hope you will show your strength by supporting the women around you. Support women who run for office. If you're a male candidate, surround yourself with smart women who will make your staff even stronger. As I said in the introduction of this book, I believe we all benefit from diversity of representation. Every group, team, and organization needs people of different genders, races, income levels, personal styles, family histories, educational backgrounds, and more. It is through these different and varied perspectives that we can collaborate to generate better ideas and superior solutions to the challenges that we face together as a society. Wherever your future path takes you, be strong!

I hope the advice, stories, wit, and wisdom I've shared here will aid you in your campaign planning and implementation. But even more, I hope you will move forward with strength and conviction toward whatever vision you have for our political process, our society, and Our World. Whether a candidate or a concerned citizen, I hope that you will set a new standard in politics by engaging in substantive debates. And I hope that you will not be dissuaded from running for office if you feel drawn to that path.

It certainly can be risky to put yourself, your family, and your beliefs and ideas on display in front of the entire world. You will be criticized. You will be challenged. Do it anyway! Run for office anyway! Take a risk, take a stand for what you believe in, build a team, and tackle the impossible. You will be better for it, and so will our political system and Our World.

The Man (or Woman) in the Arena

Excerpt from the speech "Citizenship in a Republic" by Theodore Roosevelt, delivered at the Sorbonne, in Paris, France on April 23, 1910

It is not the critic who counts; not the man who points out how the strong man stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the man who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, who comes up short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends himself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if he fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that his place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who neither know victory nor defeat.

Author

About the Author



Dr. Casey Lucius is the founder and CEO of Launch Learning Systems in Naples, Florida, a certified woman-owned and veteran-owned small business focusing on strategic planning and team building for government, non-profits, and private industry staffs. From 2008–2016, Lucius and her family lived in California, where she served as a professor of national security decision making at the Naval War College. She was elected to the Pacific Grove City Council from 2012–2016. In 2012, Lucius was certified as an IIMC trainer and began leading strategic planning workshops with local and state agencies. She also offers coaching for political candidates.

Lucius also lived in Hanoi, Vietnam for three years where she served as the Chief of Staff to the US Ambassador at the US Embassy. While in Vietnam, she conducted research and published a book about the political decision-making process. She has published two books and dozens of articles in academic journals, magazines, and online.

Lucius served on active duty as a Naval Intelligence Officer for seven years from 1998–2005. During this time, she earned a master's degree in national security affairs from the Naval Postgraduate School. She deployed to the Middle East on an aircraft carrier, and served at the Pacific Fleet Headquarters in Hawaii as the daily intelligence briefer. While in Hawaii, she utilized the GI Bill and earned a PhD in Political Science from the University of Hawaii.

Dr. Lucius has also worked at the Ohio House of Representatives and the National Association of Manufacturers. She is a graduate of Ashland University and the Naval War College. She is married to Lieutenant Colonel Robert Lucius, USMC (ret). They have one son and too many cats. She can be reached at casey@caseylucius.com.

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THE (WO)MAN IN THE ARENA, By Theodore Roosevelt

It is not the critic who counts; not the woman who points out how the strong woman stumbles, or where the doer of deeds could have done them better. The credit belongs to the woman who is actually in the arena, whose face is marred by dust and sweat and blood; who strives valiantly; who errs, who comes short again and again, because there is no effort without error and shortcoming; but who does actually strive to do the deeds; who knows great enthusiasms, the great devotions; who spends herself in a worthy cause; who at the best knows in the end the triumph of high achievement, and who at the worst, if she fails, at least fails while daring greatly, so that her place shall never be with those cold and timid souls who neither know victory nor defeat.

Adapted from the speech "Citizenship in a Republic" delivered at the Sorbonne, in Paris, France on April $23^{\circ i}$, 1910

Image credit to Dennis and Ann Appel





Casey Lucius, Ph.D.

Casey Lucius is a Navy veteran, author, wife, and mother. She is a former professor of national security and now a scrappy consultant leading strategic planning workshops.

In SCRAPPY CAMPAIGNING, Lucius captures the joys and struggles of running a political campaign, whether it is for a small local election or a large national one.

This book is both personal and practical, and will help anyone interested in running for office or working on a campaign. Since many people are baffled by politics today and want to "do something," she provides the tools and encouragement to contribute and be successful, at any level. She also details, through experience and analysis, the unexpected things that can happen during a political campaign. While there are often difficult experiences associated with leading any organization, this is a positive and encouraging book full of helpful lessons.

Anyone who reads it will be prepared to run a successful scrappy campaign with their eyes wide open. Whether you are the candidate, campaign manager, a volunteer, or team leader, this book will prepare you to lead a team and stand strong in the face of any obstacle.

POLITICAL SCIENCE: POLITICAL PROCESS: CAMPAIGNS & ELECTIONS