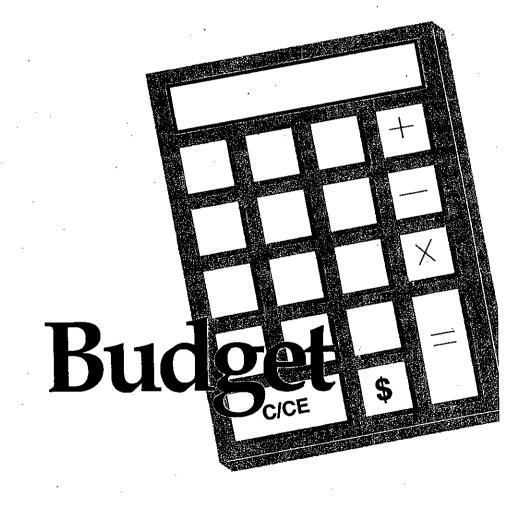
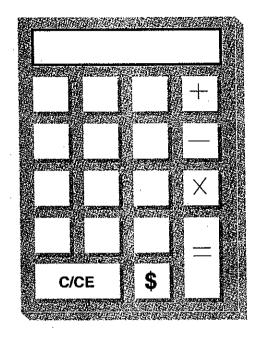
Democratic National Committee

Campaign Training Manual





DNC Campaign Division



# Budget



## DEMOCRATIC \* NATIONAL \* COMMITTEE

Donald L. Fowler, National Chair . Christopher J. Dodd, General Chair





Dear Democrat:

The Democratic National Committee is deeply committed to providing our candidates and party workers with the best possible materials, information and technical assistance available. To that end, the Democratic National Committee has produced this new series of Campaign Training Manuals. Each manual focuses on a different aspect of campaigning and the whole series will help you put together an effective strategy and message and a winning campaign organization.

We believe that well trained, dedicated operatives, staff members, and volunteers are key to retaining the White House and winning Democratic majorities in the Congress and at the state and local levels. These manuals, along with the Democratic Campaign Training Academy, will give Democrats the skills needed to win in '96.

We both wish you good luck in your upcoming campaigns!

Cordially yours,

Donald L. Fowler National Chairman Um.

Christopher J. Dodd General Chairman

#### **D**EDICATION

People who do the work to build effective campaigns are the unsung heroes and heroines of our democracy. They are the people who make the phone calls, walk door to door, mail the letters, write the papers, and talk to our voters. They are the people who write the campaign plans and raise the funds, who manage the candidate schedule and who recruit the volunteers. They are the people who make sacrifices every day to help the Democratic Party and make this country a better place.

These manuals are dedicated to the memory of two of our most dedicated workers, Paul Tully and Jenifor Klindt.

Paul served as the Political Director of the Democratic National Committee from 1989 - 1992. Prior to that he worked on behalf of Democratic candidates at virtually every level of political office. He had been a fixture on every Presidential campaign for three decades. In 1992, he designed and implemented the Coordinated Campaign that resulted in the election of President Bill Clinton and other Democrats throughout the nation. His wisdom and dedication lives on in the thousands of "organizers" he taught over the years. Much of what is in the pages of this and other manuals comes from Paul Tully. Day in and day out, he demonstrated the qualities that we hold most dear in political life: tireless in his dedication, brilliant in his understanding of strategy, and, above all, committed to the principles of his party and his candidates.

Jenifor embodied those same qualities. For over twenty years, she worked diligently and selflessly to strengthen the voices of working men and women in the political process. As Founder and Executive Director of the Democratic Legislative Campaign Committee, she focused her efforts on the election of Democrats to our nation's state legislatures. She spearheaded the use of new technologies in political campaigns, and masterfully trained a new generation of campaign workers.

Paul and Jenifor were each motivated by a common belief: that justice, opportunity and compassion define what is best not only about the Democratic Party, but about American society, as well. In each and every working day of their lives — lives that ended far too suddenly and far too soon — they demonstrated an uncommon devotion to their work. They inspired their peers, brought victory to their party, and helped to make America a better land for all.

In a democracy, bad government is the handiwork of good people who do not vote. Paul and Jenifor devoted their working lives to enabling good people to cast their ballot. That, they understood, is the only sure route to success for our party and our nation. These training manuals are dedicated to their memory in the hope that others will carry forward the noble cause they so ably advanced.

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## I. Executive Summary

A campaign budget is a financial blueprint of a campaign strategy. It sets to paper all the items and services the campaign plans to buy, the amounts each will cost, when each purchase is planned, and when the bill comes due.

If you tried to build a house without a blueprint, the walls would be uneven, the windows wouldn't match, and you'd be lucky if the structure didn't collapse around you. The same could be said about a campaign without a budget.

All campaigns have limited resources. The most important job of the campaign manager is to allocate resources efficiently and effectively. The campaign budget is a written plan for allocating one of the most scarce resources — money.

The budget is the one place where all elements of your campaign interconnect. When writing a budget, you are forced to put a price tag on each element or activity of your campaign plan. If the overall price of the plan is too high, you may need to adjust the plan. As you work your way through these revisions, the budget is the visual illustration of the campaign's priorities.

The budget is also, in effect, a formal request to your fundraising department. You are communicating how much money you need and when you need it to run a winning campaign — communicating, in essence, that you are counting on the fundraising team to meet these goals or let you know in a timely fashion that the goals can't be met.

The campaign budget is a series of choices you have made, priorities you have set. It is the campaign plan expressed in numbers. With the resources projected to be available, this is your formula for winning.

Of course, the budget is never set in stone. New information sometimes alters campaign strategy, and the budget must be revised accordingly. You may decide to send out one more piece of persuasion mail or purchase paid television advertisements a few days earlier than expected. These decisions will change your budget. But while your budget should be expected to go through many stages, it should never be changed on impulse. Each new campaign plan and budget should reflect your best blueprint for victory, all things reconsidered.

## II. OVERVIEW

## What Does a Budget Look Like?

On the following pages you will find two sample budgets: one for a congressional race, and one for a state legislative campaign.

## Budget Format

As you can see, a campaign budget is a two-dimensional spreadsheet. You list your programs and all the activities and elements that make up each program down the left column, and you list units of time (quarters, months, weeks, days) across the top. All spreadsheet software packages on the market today can assist you in setting up your budget.

While there are many options for how a final budget can look, in this manual, when we refer to a campaign budget, it is a budget consistent with the following rules:

- \$ Expenses are grouped by department. For example, you will see printing and postage under numerous departments. Each staff member should be listed under its respective department. You may even have travel under more than one department.
- \$ Each department has a subtotal. The expense subtotals of a program budget allow the campaign manager to identify the costs of each department. For example, to easily monitor what percentage of the budget is being spent on the central headquarters' field organization as opposed to regional field office activities.
- \$ All expenses will be listed under the appropriate unit of time. In your campaign, that may be quarters, months, weeks or days. As the campaign progresses, the units of time on your budget should become increasingly smaller. (See sample budget on following pages.)
- \$ Each time unit is broken into two columns: "budget" and "actual." As you begin to spend money, you will need to keep the "actual" column up to date.



### Why Do You Need a Budget?

A seemingly perfect campaign strategy is useless unless the manager can develop a realistic budget that pays for it. A campaign budget serves as a road map for the campaign manager, and provides continuity in times of chaos. In addition, it can serve as an indicator that your campaign is viable. For example, a campaign could have the largest trained staff, the biggest yard signs, and the most in-depth research data. However, if the campaign does not have the money in the bank for the final paid-media push, victory may be elusive. A campaign budget keeps the campaign on track.

A budget helps a campaign manager:

Spend smart.

All campaigns have limited resources. There is no money to waste. Dollars should not be spent on impulse. Always ask yourself, "was this item budgeted?"

Stay on track. When dozens of people realize that the key to winning the election is just one hundred more car-top signs or a few thousand personalized emery boards, the budget will be there to provide the answer. Even if the cash is available, if it has not been budgeted for, it is not in the plan.

Establish credibility.

Members of your Finance Committee, major donor prospects (including corporate donors if allowed by law), political action committees (PACs), Democratic Party committees and opinion leaders often want to see a version of your budget to help them understand and believe in your strategy. Even consultants you plan to hire may want to see a budget. For these players, a summary of your budget is a prerequisite to establishing your credibility and proving your sophistication. They know that a plan is not a "campaign plan" until it has been tallied up and committed to paper.

Manage through crises.

It is not the least bit unusual for campaigns to enter into stages of crisis management at any moment. A completed budget process and corresponding documents can be very useful to the campaign in these times.

## SAMPLE BUDGET FOR A STATE LEGISLATIVE RACE (2 pages)

		,				,	·	
	June	Actual	July	Actual:	August	Actual	September	Actual
ADMINISTRATION								-
Campaign Manager	\$1,500		\$1,500		\$1,500		\$1,500	
Comptroller	\$800		\$800		\$800		\$800	
Rent/Utilities	\$500		\$500		\$500		\$500	
Furniture/Office Equipment	<b>\$9</b> 5		\$95		<b>\$9</b> 5		\$95	
Computer Hardware & Software	\$125		\$0		\$0		\$0 \$0	
Phone Install/Deposit	\$300		\$0		\$0		\$0 \$100	
Phone/FAX Use	\$100		\$100		\$100		\$100	
Letterhead & Envelopes	\$1,500		\$0		\$0		\$150	
Photocopying	\$150		\$150		\$150		\$100	
Postage/Courier	\$50		\$100		\$100		\$150 \$150	
Office Supplies	\$200		\$150		\$100 \$750		\$750	
Payroli Taxes/FICA/Health Ins./Soc. Sec.	\$750		\$750		\$750		\$30	
Miscellaneous (Coffee, Volunteer Snacks)	\$15		\$15		\$30		\$4,175	
SUBTOTAL	\$6,085		\$4,160		\$4,125	•	37,173	
FUNDRAISING	11-4		<b>e</b> 0		\$0		\$0	
I III III III III III III III III III	n-kind		\$0 \$0		\$0		\$1,000	
Printing - Invitations & Invite Envelopes	\$750		\$0 \$0		\$0 \$0	•	\$500	
Printing - BREs	\$1,000		-		\$500		\$700	
Postage Meter, Stamps, Bulk	\$500		\$300 \$100		\$300 \$100		\$100	
Business Reply Account	\$250		\$100 \$500		\$0		\$250	
Event Costs	\$0		\$900		\$600		\$2,550	
SUBTOTAL	\$2,500		2300		3000	•	,	
MEDIA - Paid	\$0		\$0		\$0		\$5,000	
Persuasion Mail	\$0 \$0		\$0		\$0		\$200	•
Persuasion Mail Consultant Fees/Expenses	. \$0		\$0		\$0		\$2,000	
TV/Radio Production	\$0 \$0		\$0		\$0		\$0	
TV/Radio Time	\$0 \$0		\$0		\$0		\$0	
Time Buyer	40		-					
MEDIA - Earned	\$0		\$0		\$0		\$500	
Press Secretary	\$150		\$0		\$0		\$0	
Equipment	\$25		\$25		\$25		\$25	
Newspapers/Publications suprotal	\$175		\$25		\$25		\$7,725	
SUBTOTAL	•		<b>V</b>					
FIELD ORGANIZATION	\$0		\$0		\$0		\$500	
Field Director	\$0		\$2,000		\$0		\$0	
Brochures	<b>\$</b> 0		\$0		\$0		\$0	
Palm Cards	\$0		\$0		\$0		\$0	
Yard Signs	\$0		\$500		\$0		\$0	
Bumper Stickers	\$1,000		\$0		\$0	-	\$0	
Voter Lists	\$1,000		\$0	1.5	\$0		\$0	
Paid Phonebank	\$0 \$0		\$0		\$0		\$0	٠.
Election Day Expenses sustoTAL	\$1,000	٠	\$2,500		\$0	•	\$500	
RESEARCH								
Baseline / Tracking Polls	\$0		\$0		\$0		\$6,000	
Polling Consultant Travel & Expenses	\$0		\$0		\$0		\$150	
Opposition Research	\$1,000		\$0		\$0		\$0	
SUBTOTAL	\$1,000		\$0		\$0	-	<b>\$6,</b> 150	
TOTAL:	\$10,760		\$7,585		\$4,750		\$21,100	

#### SAMPLE BUDGET FOR A STATE LEGISLATIVE RACE, continued

	•						_
	October Wks 1 & 2		ctober ks 3 & 4	Actual Nov. Wk 1	Actual	Nov. Wk 2	TOTA
,							
ADMINISTRATION	\$750		\$750	•	<b>\$</b> 0	\$750	\$8,250
Campaign Manager	\$400		\$400		\$0	\$400	\$4,400
Comptroller	\$ <del>4</del> 00 \$500		\$0	\$2	•	\$0	\$2,750
Rent/Utilitles	\$95		\$0		95	\$0	\$570
Furniture/Office Equipment Computer Hardware & Software	\$0		\$0	•	\$O :	\$0	\$125
Phone Install/Deposit	\$0		\$0		\$O	\$0	\$300
Phone/FAX Use	\$0 \$0		<b>\$175</b>		\$O	\$75	\$650
Letterhead & Envelopes	\$0		\$0		\$0	- \$0	\$1,500
•	\$0		\$150		\$0	\$75	\$825
Photocopying Postage/Courier	\$75		\$75		50	\$25	\$575
Office Supplies	\$75		\$75		50	\$50	\$850
Payroll Taxes/FICA/Health Ins./Soc. Sec.	\$375		\$375	•	03	\$375	\$4,125
Miscellaneous (Coffee, Volunteer Snacks)	\$25		\$25		25	\$25	\$190
MISCERATIONAS (COTTON, VOIDTREET STREETS)			\$2,025	\$4		\$1,775	\$25,110
	,						
FUNDRAISING					•-	••	
Finance Director	\$0		\$0		<b>5</b> 0	\$0	\$0
Printing - Invitations & Invite Envelopes	\$600		\$0		50	\$0	\$2,350
Printing - BREs	\$0		\$0		50	\$0	\$1,500
Postage Meter, Stamps, Bulk	\$500		\$500	\$30		\$200	\$3,500
Business Reply Account	\$100		\$100		75	\$0	. \$825
Event Costs	\$500		\$200		. 08	\$0	\$1,450
SUBTOTAL	\$1,700		\$800	\$3:	75	\$200	\$9,625
MEDIA - Paid							\$0
Persuasion Mail	\$0	Ş	\$20,000	\$5,00	00	\$0	\$30,000
Persuasion Mail Consultant Fees/Expenses	\$1,000		\$1,000	\$1,00	00	\$0	\$3,200
TV/Radio Production	\$0		\$0	;	\$0	\$0	\$2,000
TV/Radio Time	\$0		\$5,000	\$9,0	00	\$4,500	\$18,500
Time Buyer	\$0		\$500	\$1,00		\$500	\$2,000
MEDIA - Earned							\$0
Press Secretary	\$250		\$250	;	<b>\$0</b>	\$500	\$1,500
Equipment	\$0		\$0	:	<b>60</b>	\$0	\$150
Newspapers/Publications	\$25		\$0	\$	15	\$0	\$140
SUBTOTAL			\$26,750	\$16,0	15	<b>\$5,</b> 500	\$57,490
FIELD ORGANIZATION	<b>€</b> 0€0		\$250		<b>60</b>	\$250	\$1,250
Field Director	\$250		\$0		\$O	\$0	\$2,000
Brochures	<b>\$</b> 0		\$0 \$0	\$1,0	•	\$0	\$1,000
Palm Cards	\$0		\$0 \$0		\$O	\$0	\$1,000
Yard Signs	\$1,000		\$0 \$0		\$O	\$0	\$500
Bumper Stickers	\$0		\$0 \$0		\$O	\$0	\$1,000
Voter Lists	\$0		\$200		\$O	\$2,000	\$2,200
Paid Phonebank	\$0		\$200 \$0		\$O	\$300	\$300
Election Day Expenses	\$0	-	\$450	\$1,0		\$2,550	\$9,250
SUBTOTAL	\$1,250		<b>3430</b>	<b>Ψ1,0</b>		,_,,,,,,,,	<b>~~</b> ,
RESEARCH							\$0 640.000
Baseline / Tracking Polls	\$0		\$0	\$4,0		\$0	\$10,000
Polling Consultant Travel & Expenses	\$0		\$0	\$2		\$0	\$350
Opposition Research	· \$0		\$0		<b>\$0</b>	\$0	\$1,000
SUBTOTAL	\$0		\$0	\$4,2		. \$0	\$11,350
TOTAL:	\$6,520	:	\$30,025	<b>\$22</b> ,0	60	\$10,025	\$112,825

## SAMPLE BUDGET FOR A CONGRESSIONAL RACE

	June	July	August	September	October Wks 1 & 2	October Wks 3 & 4	November	TOTAL
ADMINISTRATION								***
Campaign Manager	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$1,750	\$1,750	\$1,750	\$19,250
Office Manager/Volunteer Coordinator	\$1,200	\$1,200	\$1,200	\$1,200	\$600	\$600	\$3,000	\$9,000 \$9,050
Comptroller	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$750	\$750	\$750 \$275	\$8,250 \$7,875
Scheduler	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$750	\$750 \$0	\$375 \$500	\$7,675 \$5,500
Rent/Utilities	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$0 \$0	\$300 \$300	\$1,800
FAX / XEROX Machine	\$300	\$300	\$300	\$300	\$300 \$0	\$0 \$0	\$300	\$0,500 \$0
Computer Hardware/Software - In-Kind	\$0	. \$0	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	\$0 \$0	\$0	\$1,500
Phone Instail/Deposit	\$1,500	\$0 ************************************	\$0 \$1.000	\$1,000	\$1,300	\$0 \$0	\$1,200	\$5,700
Phone/FAX Use	\$400	\$800 \$0	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$500	\$0	\$0	\$3,000
Letterhead & Envelopes & Remits	\$2,500	\$200	\$200	\$350	\$200	\$200	\$200	\$1,550
Photocopying	\$200 \$200	\$250	\$250	\$250	\$125	\$125	\$50	\$1,250
Postage/Courier	\$200 \$100	\$230 \$100	\$100	\$100	\$75	\$75	\$50	\$600
Office Supplies	3100	<b>4100</b>	Ψ100	Ψ100	•	• • •		<b>\$0</b>
Payroll Taxes/FICA/Health Ins./SS	\$300	\$400	\$400	\$400	\$200	\$200	\$100	\$2,000
Candidate Travel/Expenses, inc. cellular	\$100	\$100	\$100	\$100	\$50	\$50	\$25	\$525
Miscellaneous subtotal		\$10,850	\$11.050	\$11,200	\$7,600	\$4,500	\$8,300	\$67,800
30010142	•,	<b>0.0,0</b> 00						
FUNDRAISING		00.000	<b>**</b> 000	ee oog	£1 500	\$1,500	\$750	\$15,750
Finance Director	\$3,000	\$3,000	\$3,000	\$3,000	\$1,500 \$2,000	\$2,000	\$1,000	\$8,500
Fundraising Staff	\$0	. \$0	\$1,000	\$2,500	\$500	\$0	\$0	\$4,000
Printing - Invitations	\$500	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000 \$200	\$150	S150	\$200	\$1,250
Postage (thank yous)	\$150	\$200	\$200 \$1,500	\$1,500	\$500	50	\$0	\$4,000
Event Costs	\$0 6750	\$500 \$1,000	\$1,000	\$1,000	\$500	\$500	\$0	\$4,750
Direct Mail (prospects & resolicits)	\$750 <b>\$4,400</b>	\$5,700	\$7,700	\$9,200	\$5,150	\$4,150	\$1,950	\$38,250
SUBTOTAL	34,400	33,700	47,700	43,243	50,100	* ***		•
MEDIA - Paid	• •					<b>¢¢ 000</b>	<b>\$0</b>	\$30,000
TV/Radio Production	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$15,000	\$10,000	\$5,000 \$160,000	\$115,000	\$300,000
TV/Radio Time	\$0	\$0	. \$0	\$0	\$25,000	\$190,000	\$113,000	\$14,000
Media Consultant Fee & Expenses	\$0	\$7,000	\$0	\$7,000	\$0 \$0	\$83,500	\$0 \$0	\$83,500
Persuasion Mail	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0 \$0.500	\$0 \$0	\$03,300	\$0	\$10,500
Persuasion Mail Consultant Fees/Expenses	\$0	\$3,500	\$3,500	\$3,500	30	90	. 45	\$0
MEDIA - Earned		A4 COO	e4 coo	64 500	\$750	\$750	\$375	\$6,375
Press Secretary	\$0	\$1,500	\$1,500 \$0	\$1,500 \$0	\$7.50	\$0	\$0	\$600
Equipment (fax modern, tape recorder)	\$0	\$600 \$100	\$100	\$100	\$100	\$0	\$25	\$525
Newspapers/Publications	\$100		\$5,100	\$27,100	\$35,850	\$249,250	\$115,400	\$445,500
SUBTOTAL	\$100	\$12,700	<b>3</b> 5,100	427,100	400,000	42 (0)200	<b>VJ</b>	
FIELD ORGANIZATION		1	_		<b></b> -	A	\$375	\$4,875
Field Director	\$0	\$0	\$1,500	\$1,500	\$750	\$750	\$250	\$1,250
Field Staff	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$500	\$500	\$0	\$10,000
Palm Cards / Walk Brochure	\$0	\$8,000	\$0	\$0	\$2,000	\$0 50	_	\$5,000
Yard Signs	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$5,000	\$0 **	\$0 \$0	-	\$3,000
Voter Lists	\$0	\$3,000	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0		\$0
Paid Phonebank (coordinated campaign)			**	**	\$0	\$0	\$5,000	\$5,000
Election Day Expenses	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$0 ************************************	\$3,250	\$1,250		\$29,125
SUBTOTAL	\$0	\$11,000	\$1,500	\$6,500	\$3,250	\$1,230	40,020	
RESEARCH								en 4 000
Polls (Baseline, Tracking)	\$0	\$16,000	\$0	\$0	\$8,000	\$0		\$24,000
Focus Groups	\$0	\$0	\$0	\$8,000	\$0	\$0		\$8,000
Polling Consultant Fee & Expenses	\$0	\$750	\$750	\$750	\$750	\$0		\$3,000
Research (candidate & opponent)	\$20,000	\$0	\$0			\$0		\$20,000
Targeting Data (in-kind)	\$0	\$2,500	\$0		\$0			\$2,500 esz 500
SUBTOTAL	\$20,000	\$19,250	\$750	\$8,750	\$8,750	, <b>\$</b> 0	\$0	\$57,500 ·
TOTAL:	\$35,700	\$56,400	\$23,000	\$59,650	\$59,050	\$257,600	\$128,525	\$619,925

## The Budget and the Campaign Plan

Let's say the campaign plan is an automobile. The campaign budget is like the steering wheel: you could try to drive a car without a steering wheel, but who knows where it will go?

The campaign plan and the budget are dependent on each other. Changes in the campaign plan will almost always be reflected by changes in the campaign budget. While the campaign is a combination of all the campaign's strategies and tactics — those that cost money and those that don't — the budget summarizes those items and activities in the campaign plan which cost money. As the campaign progresses, the plan and the budget need to be coordinated every step of the way.

For example, say the campaign plan calls for a certain piece of literature to be delivered to a targeted universe of voters. The plan initially called for those pieces to be delivered by mail. When the plan changes so the piece will be dropped by volunteers (therefore saving the campaign money), the budget must change accordingly.

It is important to note that the majority of your fundraising activity needs to take place before the final six to eight weeks of the campaign. During that crucial last two months you will spend the majority of the money you have labored to raise. Your campaign plan must reflect this budgetary reality.

As the campaign progresses, the plan and the budget need to be coordinated every step of the way.

## III. Preparing a Campaign Budget

#### Necessary Resources

When you're ready to write the first draft of your campaign budget, what do you need? The following list will guide you through the process:

## 1. A FRANK ASSESSMENT OF YOUR CAMPAIGN'S FUNDRAISING POTENTIAL.

There is no sense writing a budget you can't afford. Research your candidate's history of past fundraising activities, consult with your finance director and then create three estimates (high, medium and low) of the financial resources likely to be available to the campaign.

### 2. A COPY OF YOUR CAMPAIGN PLAN.

The budget must reflect the campaign plan. For each activity listed in the plan, you will need to decide how much you plan to spend and when you want it spent.

## 3. DETAILED PROJECTED BUDGETS FROM EACH DEPARTMENT OF THE CAMPAIGN.

Where you have hired staff, they will need to submit estimated budgets for their projected programs. Where you haven't, you will need to make the estimates for yourself.

## 4. DETAILED PROJECTED BUDGETS FROM EACH CAMPAIGN CONSULTANT.

If you have not yet hired consultants, collect the best estimates you can. For example, call local printers, graphic designers, mail vendors, television and radio stations — or contact other individuals who have worked on a campaign in your area.

## 5. A COPY OF APPROPRIATE CAMPAIGN FUNDRAISING AND SPENDING LAWS.

If your campaign is a federal race, you can get the information from the Federal Election Commission. For a state or local race, contact your local board of elections office.

#### 6. AN ACCOUNTING SOFTWARE PACKAGE.

There are numerous computer software products designed specifically to link your expenditures, financial contributions and compliance reporting activities together. Shop around and find an affordable package that works for you and your campaign.

### Participants In the Budget Process

The campaign manager is ultimately responsible for the budget. However, depending upon the size of your campaign, there are at least three other individuals who should be included early in the preparation stages. They are:

#### THE CANDIDATE

The candidate clearly has the most at stake in any race. Therefore, he or she needs to be consulted early in the budget process. Key areas need to be discussed, for instance:

- ✗ Past campaign activities and their costs.
- ✗ Available personal resources,
- ✗ Willingness to operate with a debt.

#### THE FINANCE DIRECTOR

One challenge commonly faced by campaigns is having the necessary financial resources in the bank when the bills come due. By including the finance director in the early stages of budgeting, you are giving him or her a greater understanding of the strategy behind each expense item and its payment schedule. This lays the groundwork for a workable cashflow operation.

The budget is a highly confidential document.
Limit access to those who need to know.

#### THE COMPTROLLER

The position of comptroller is essential in every campaign — this is the person who essentially "owns" the budget. While small campaigns may not have a single staff person devoted to this role, the role nevertheless needs to be filled. In the early stages of preparing the budget, the comptroller (or person who will be filling this role) should be prepared to give estimated prices for various elements of the campaign plan.

Input on the budget is helpful. However, one must always remember that the budget reflects your campaign plan. It is a highly confidential document. Limit access to those who need to know.

#### Guidelines

Every campaign is different, and budgets for statewide campaigns are clearly more complex than those of small local races. It is important to note that much of the field operation of a campaign can be paid for out of the Coordinated Campaign, if in fact that there are joint field operations with other campaigns. So field operations may be a much more substantial part of your campaign activity, but it may not be reflected as that substantial a part of your individual campaign budget.

However, there are some basic guidelines for allocation of resources that can keep you on target:

Administration:	10% - 20%
Fundraising:	10% - 15%
Media:	50% - 70%
Field Organization:	5% - 10%
Research:	5% - 15%

As you begin to work through the initial draft of your campaign budget, you may want to set up a worksheet for specific campaign activities. For example, within your field organization budget, you might find it helpful to create a separate "materials" budget. (See Appendix A.) In addition, you may want to refer to a sample price list in the preliminary stages of preparing your budget. (See Appendix B.) However, keep in mind that prices change rapidly and every race is different. Do your own research.

Furthermore, your campaign may be in a position to benefit from the Democratic state party Coordinated Campaign activities. It is designed by the statewide candidates and is reflective of the general election strategy of the party nominees. Coordinated Campaigns allow campaigns at all levels to pool their resources and perform basic organizational tasks - such as voter registration and absentee ballots - that benefit all Democratic candidates in the general election.

Your campaign should be prepared to review all Coordinated Campaign activities and your budget should reflect these opportunities. Contact your state party executive director for more information.

Finally, remember that the majority of the money raised in your campaign will need to be allocated toward those activities that communicate the message of the campaign directly to the voters. Resources are often interchangeable. You may find that volunteers can be substituted for an activity you initially budgeted money for. (See Appendix C.) Most campaigns must be in a position to do everything they can to maximize the percentage of resources to be spent on paid advertising: television, radio and direct mail.

## **Budget Categories**

Following the guidelines outlined above, you are ready to begin developing your budget. Review your plan, step by step. Be specific. All of your expenses should be able to fall under one of the categories outlined. For instance, you may decide to separate all office overhead costs by each division as shown below. On the other hand, you may decide to categorize all photocopying and phone bills under administration. Remember, this is just a menu to help you. Obviously your campaign budget will not include all these items.

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#### **ADMINISTRATION**

	Campaign Manager Salary Comptroller Salary Speechwriter Salary Data Entry Staff Salary Administrative Staff Expenses Candidate Expenses Legal Fees Utilities Parking Petty Cash Phone Installation Phone Bill:		Office Manager Salary Scheduler Salary Database Manager Salary Computer Consultant Administrative Staff Travel Candidate Travel Rent Office Insurance Furniture Phone Equipment Phone Deposits
Posta	Bulk Mail Account Business Reply Account Setup Fees Bank Charges (checks, process fees) Messenger Service		Long Distance Car Phone Office Supplies Computer Hardware Computer "On-line" costs Photocopy Fees Outside Broadcast Faxing Service Stamps Business Reply Account Bulk Mail Account Setup Fees Overnight Mail
Printi	ing: General Office Use Letterhead Other Graphic Design Fees Payroll Taxes: All Staff Office Maintenance	<del>-</del>	Envelopes  Health Insurance: All Staff Workers' Compensation: All Staff Miscellaneous

#### FUNDRAISING

Finance Director Salary				
Fundraising Staff Salaries	,		•	
Fundraising Staff Expenses				
Fundraising Staff Travel		_1		
Fundraising Postage	:			
Fundraising Printing				
Fundraising Photocopying				
Event Costs:				
Printing			. •	-
Graphics			•	
Catering	*	•		
Postage		,		
Facility Rentals				
Sound System Rentals				٠
Entertainment				•
Direct Mail Costs:				
Consultant Fees				
Printing				
Production				
Postage	,			
Rental of Fundraising Lists				٠
Lock Box Fee				
Telemarketing:	•		•	-
Consultant Fees				
Program Fees	. '			
In-Kind Contributions	No.			

#### MEDIA

PAID:	·
	Media Consultant Fees
	Media Consultant Expenses
	Media Consultant Travel
	Persuasion Mail Consultant Fees
	Persuasion Mail Consultant Expenses
	Persuasion Mail Consultant Travel
	TV Production
	TV Time
	Radio Production
	Radio Time
	Time Buyer
~ —	Print Ads
	Persuasion Mail
EARNED:	•
EARNED:	Press Secretary Salary
	Press Department Staff Salaries
<del></del>	Press Department Staff Expenses
	Press Department Staff Travel
	Press Department Postage
	Press Department Printing
. —	Press Department Photocopying
	Newspaper Subscriptions
<del></del>	Newspaper Clipping Service
	Press Fax Machine
<del></del>	Outside Broadcast Faxing Service
	Video Releases
<del></del>	Satellite Feeds
	Tape Recorder and Microphone
	TV (or TV rental)
	VCR (or VCR rental)

#### FIELD ORGANIZATION

	Political Director Salary	Field Organi	zation Events
	Field Director Salary		Announcement
	Volunteer Coordinator Salary		Debate Parties
	Field Staff Salaries		Caucus/Convention
	•		Primary Night
Const	ituency Organizers		Election Night
	Labor Coordinator	Field Paraph	nernalia
	Student Coordinator		Buttons
	Seniors Coordinator		Bumper stickers
	Field Organization Training	·	Yard Signs
	Field Organization Expenses	_	Window Signs
	Field Organization Travel		Brochures
	Field Organization Postage		Palm Cards
	Field Organization Printing		Pole signs
	Field Organization Photocopying	·	Lapel Stickers
			Banners
Field	Office(s):		
	Rent	Field Activit	ies
	Utilities	<u>.</u>	Voter registration
	Postage		Early Vote Project
-	Supplies		Absentee ballots
	Equipment Rental		Field Phonebanks
	Copiers		Phonebank Consultant
	Computer		•
	Fax Machine	Voter Lists	
	Postage Machine		Phone Lists
	Phone Equipment		Walk Lists
	Phone Installation	<del></del>	Cards
	Phone Deposit		Get-Out-The-Vote
	Phone Bills:	<del></del>	
	Local		
	Long Distance		

## RESEARCH

	Research Director Salary
	Issues Director Salary
	Research Consultant Fee
	Research Staff Salaries
	Research Staff Expenses
	Research Staff Travel
	Research Postage
	Research Printing
	Research Photocopying
	Periodicals
·	Targeting Data
	Polling Consultant Fee
	Polling Consultant Expense
	Polling Consultant Travel
	Polls
	Baseline
•	Tracking
	Focus Groups
	Lexis/Nexis Service

## Budget Do's and Don'ts

**DO** consider every expense in your campaign plan. Try to picture the activity taking place, so that you envision all the hidden costs in each step.

**DO** save copies of your calculations. After you calculate an expense and place the figure into the budget, save the "basis" for the figure, for example, how many units, cost per unit. As you research you may find out information that will change your calculations and it will be helpful to know what you based your numbers upon.

**DO** estimate. There will be many numbers that you just don't feel confident about. Make an educated estimate, and mark it as such. Keep a list of items you need to research and numbers you need to verify. As you get more accurate numbers, recalculate your budget.

**DO** set aside money for your media buy. Consider setting up a separate "media account," that is used solely for paid media activities and earns you interest.

DON'T assume that the budget from another campaign will suffice for your current campaign. Every election is different Think for yourself.

**DON'T** lump expenses together on the same budget line. It's good to remind yourself of all the costs you will have to face within every campaign program.

**DON'T** assume that when you budget a particular expense that it is also when you need to pay for that expense. Your budget should reflect when checks must be written, cashed and disbursed.

DON'T plan to end with a deficit. Be fair to the individuals and businesses that trust your campaign to pay its bills. Plan to pay them what you agreed to pay when you agreed to pay.

DON'T rush. The budget is crucial, so take your time and do it right.

#### Planning For Contingencies

You finally finished your budget — but wait, you're not through. Hopefully, your campaign team will work night and day to raise the contributions necessary to fund your planned budget. What if you're a bit short? Or what if you actually raise more money than expected? To plan for these contingencies, you have to design a low and a high budget.

In preparing a low budget, you need to ask what is the very minimum you need to spend on each campaign program (or which programs could be cut altogether), and still win. Create this budget and save it. If you discover that you need to cut the budget, this document will come in handy.

If extra money comes your way, it is likely everyone in the campaign will have a scheme for using the windfall. Be thoughtful. Prepare a high budget now so that you will use extra money as carefully as you used the planned-for money.

## IV. Making Your Budget Work for You

## The Budget as a Living Document

Once you have designed the initial campaign budget, you will need to use it — week by week, day by day, hour by hour. Don't let it sit on the shelf.

Every day you learn something new about your expenses — your opponent has placed an early TV buy — your consultants suggest a targeting change based upon new research — your volunteers are eating pizza at an alarming rate.

The budget needs to reflect your new decisions.

But remember: budget decisions cause tension. You may have to cut a program or activity that a member of your senior staff or finance committee feels is vital. Offering a private arena to hear from those who are affected can often help morale and prevent them airing their grievances publicly.

## Monitoring Cash Flow

It is the responsibility of the campaign manager to compare expected and actual income, expected and actual bills due, and reconcile them with the campaign budget. With each new piece of information, the budget should be updated and reviewed. Early in the campaign, the campaign manager, finance director and budget staff should begin meeting weekly to discuss the budget. At these weekly budget meetings, the budget team should review the documents listed below. (In the final stretch of the campaign, these meetings will take place daily.)

he finance director must be prepared to provide daily and weekly fundraising projections at each budget meeting.

### UPDATED FUNDRAISING PROJECTIONS

Accurate fundraising projections are essential for budget discussions. The finance director must be prepared to provide daily and weekly fundraising projections at each budgetary meeting. Both hard and soft pledges should be reviewed.

#### CASH FLOW REPORT

The difference between expenses and contributions period by period is your cash flow. The cash flow informs the campaign manager of how much money is available to be spent. A daily and/or weekly cash flow report must be generated by the budget operation of the campaign and reviewed at the budget meetings. (See Appendix D & E for sample weekly cash flow reports.)

#### **OUTSTANDING BILLS**

Controlling costs internally is a key element to any budget. At the weekly budget meetings, your comptroller should present all outstanding bills. Your campaign should establish and implement a strict check request and reimbursement procedure. (See Appendix F for sample check request form.)

#### UPDATED BUDGET

As projected expenses become actual expenses, the budget should be updated to show what you actually spent. For example, when you receive a \$117.65 phone bill for June and you pay that bill, the budget column for June will still read \$100.00, but the actual column of your budget will read "\$117.65." At the end of the month, you will have two totals to look at, the budget column and the actual column.

#### Staffing the Budget Operation

The campaign manager has the overall responsibility to create, analyze, revise and implement the budget. That means they have to fully understand where all the money is coming from and where it is going at all times. However, they cannot do this in a vacuum. Below is a suggested budget operation. In smaller races, some of these positions would be combined. In larger races, the staff size would be expanded.

- Finance Director: responsible for raising the money, overseeing all fundraising expenses, and providing candid, skillful estimates of projected income.
- ✓ Comptroller: responsible for receiving and prioritizing the campaign's bills and consulting with the campaign manager to determine a payment schedule. Oversees bank deposits, posting, reporting and generating all expense reports. In charge of processing expenditure and reimbursement requests.
- ✓ Treasurer: responsible for reviewing and signing the financial reports filed with the Federal Election Commission, or the state or local board of elections office.

## **Compliance Activities**

Compliance procedures present not only a responsibility for the budget staff but an opportunity for the overall campaign. Campaign finance disclosure reports tell the world how much money you have raised and from whom, and how much money you have spent and where.

The first step you must take is to research the campaign finance disclosure laws that apply to your race. Check federal, state and local laws. (Most election boards will send you a copy of all relevant election laws when your campaign committee is filed.) Read and understand them. Don't be afraid to get advice from an experienced lawyer and accountant who specialize in the law of campaign finance.

One of the most effective ways to deliver the message of a winning campaign is to file a financial disclosure report with a strong cash on hand balance.

The second step of compliance procedures is to design all campaign

accounting systems in accordance with these laws. You will want to set up an organized record-keeping operation that includes detailed check request and reimbursement systems. The fundraising team, comptroller and treasurer should be responsible for understanding and implementing compliance procedures throughout the campaign.

Organize the campaign's financial information strategically. For example, the laws in your particular state for reporting contributions may be limited to those contributions over a certain dollar figure. However, you may want to show the grassroots support for your candidate — you may therefore decide to include every single contributor when filing your report.

Finally one of the most effective ways to deliver the message of a winning campaign is to file a financial disclosure report with a strong cash on hand balance. However, this is not done in a vacuum 48 hours before the report is due. You begin your compliance strategy on day one of your budgeting process.

## V. Conclusion

A campaign budget is nothing less than the campaign plan expressed in terms of dollars and cents. Reduced to paper in columns that rigorously match functions to costs, the budget reflects your campaign priorities, charts the path to funding these priorities, and tells you where on this path you are every day to Election Day.

But the budget you begin on the first serious day of your campaign will look very different each day. The budget is a living document. New demands on your spending for the priorities you have already chosen, simultaneous important projects looking for the same dollar, new priorities that arise, and the ebb and flow of money — all compete for attention as a campaign heats up.

If you budget carefully, monitoring and adjusting the budget to maintain a constant and real picture of your campaign, the budget can act as a firewall against decisions made amidst the heat of the campaign and become the most important strategic tool you have.

VI. Appendix

COUNTS (High/Medium/Low)

APPENDIX A — DRAFT SAMPLE MA	UERIALS
DATE:	
DAIL	
1 Litametrum Compaign Prochure	
1. Literature: Campaign Brochure a. Central office	
	-
b. Four regional areas	
c. Special Events	
d. Bi-lingual English/Spanish	
Subtotal:	
2 Puttana & Pumpar stickers	
2. Buttons & Bumper stickers a. Central office	
b. Four regional areas	·
c. Special events	
Subtotal:	
2 Window Signs	
3. Window Signs	
a. Central office	
b. 4 regional areas	
c. Special events	
Subtotal:	
4. Yard Signs	
a. Central office	
b. Four regional areas	
c. Special events	
Subtotal:	
Subtotal.	
5. Materials for County Fairs and S	tate Fair
a. Campaign brochure	
b. Buttons	
c. Bumper stickers	
d. Window signs	
e. Yard signs	
f. Lapel stickers	
g. Banners	
g. Daimers Subtotal:	
· ·	
6. GOTV Materials	
a. Palm cards	•
b. Pole signs	
c. Volunteer instructions	
d. Doorhangers	
e. Reminder slips	
~	
f. GOTV postcards Subtotal:	
วนบเมเสา.	

Democratic National Committee

TOTAL:

When reviewing the following price list you should keep two things in mind:

- 1. All costs in any campaign depend on many variables. For example: type of campaign (incumbent vs challenger), primary election vs. general election, and geographic makeup of the race (legislative, congressional, statewide).
  - 2. Remember, free is better than cheap! Try to get services and equipment donated.

#### **ITEM**

**COST** 

#### **ADMINISTRATION**

\$1,500 - \$5,000 per month
\$ 800 - \$2,000 per month
\$1,500 - \$3,000 per month
\$ 800 - \$2,000 per month
\$ 500 - \$1,500 per month
\$10 - \$15 per square foot per month
\$200 per month
\$250 per month per office
\$95 per month
\$186 per month, and 2.2 cents per copy
\$100 per week
\$50 - \$2,500
\$55 per line
\$500 - \$800 per line
Campaign Specific
\$.05 per piece
\$.07 per piece
\$.32 per piece (1st ounce)
\$.15 - \$.25 per piece
\$9 - \$22 per piece
\$5.50 - \$25.50 (depending on distance)
\$100 - \$200 per month
25% of your total payroll
\$ 200 - \$1000 per month
Campaign Specific

#### **FUNDRAISING**

Finance Director	\$1,500 - \$3,000 per month
Fundraising Staff	\$ 800 - \$1,600 per month
Printing - Invitations	\$.05 per piece
Printing - Envelopes	\$.07 per piece
Printing - Reply Cards	\$.05 per piece
Printing - Return Envelopes	\$.07 per piece
Business Reply Postage	\$.45 per piece
Event Costs	Campaign Specific
Direct Mail Consultant	\$2,000 - \$15,000 per race
Direct Mail Production	Campaign Specific

#### MEDIA - PAID

\$3,000 - \$10,000 for 30 sec. spot
\$2,000 - \$4,100 (30-60 sec. spots)
Campaign Specific
8 - 15% of cost time bought
\$20,000 - \$60,000 per race
\$.3560 per piece (including postage)
\$10,000 - \$30,000 per race

## MEDIA - EARNED

Press Secretary	\$1,000 - \$3,000 per month
Broadcast Fax Service	\$.10 - \$.35 per page per individual
Tape Feed Equipment	\$500 (one-time)
TV Rental	\$55 per month
VCR Rental	\$45 per month
Newspaper Clipping Service	\$35 per month

## FIELD ORGANIZATION

Field Director	\$1,000 - \$3,000 per month
Field Staff	\$1,000 - \$2,500 per month
Brochures/Palm Cards	\$.10 - \$.15 per piece
Yard Signs	\$.60 per sign
Bumper Stickers	\$.30 per sticker
Voter lists (Phone & Walk)	\$15 - \$25 per 1,000 voters
Paid Phonebank	\$.70 - \$2.00 per call
Election Day Expenses	Campaign Specific
Banner	\$100 - \$250 per banner

## RESEARCH

Research Director	\$1,000 - \$3,000 per month
Baseline Poll	\$10,000 - \$18,000 per poll
Tracking Poll	\$5,000 - \$8,000 per tracker
Focus Groups	\$4,000 - \$6,000 per group
Polling Consultant Fee & Expenses	\$1,000 - \$5,000 per month
Opposition Research	\$5,000 - \$15,000 per candidate
Targeting Data	\$3,000 - \$5,000
Newspapers/Publications	\$15 - \$25 per month

## ACTIVITY: CONTACTING 10,000 REGISTERED VOTERS BY TELEPHONE.

#### Assumptions:

- 1. Paid phoner earns \$5.00 per hour.
- Space for a phone bank costs \$400 per month.
- 3. Phones cost \$100 per month.
- 4. Registered voter list costs \$25 per 1,000 voters.
- 5. Full-time supervisor earns \$1,200 per month.
- 6. Paid phoner works 7 hours of an 8 hour shift.
- 7. Volunteers in a phone bank work 6 hours of an 8 hour shift.
- 8. Paid phoner in a phone bank completes 15 calls per hour.
- 9. Volunteer in a phone bank completes 15 calls per hour.
- 10. Volunteer at home completes 12 calls per hour.
- 11. Paid supervisor will spend 15 days preparing for calling.
- 12. Volunteer supervisor will spend 24 days preparing for calling.
- 13. Volunteers require refreshments and parking.
- 14. You have one month to complete the calls.