

## **POLS 43001: Political Campaigns (Fall 2016)**

Instructor: Andre P. Audette

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Meeting Schedule: MW 8:00-9:15

Classroom: DeBartolo Hall 143

Office Hours: T 12-2, W 10-12, or by appointment

Decio Hall Commons, Floor 2

*“Political campaigns bring out the best and worst in people... They demand much – often and brutally – too much. By nature of the process, they yield more losers than winners. They may be messy, confusing, and ephemeral, and occasionally silly, mindless and ferocious, but they provide the pivot upon which our democracy turns. Without them, free government for, by, and of the people could not exist.” – Ronald Faucheux (Winning Elections)*

### **Course Description**

This is the course I always wished I had as a political science major. It is geared toward students who want to work on campaigns, run for office, or those who want to learn more about the science of campaigns and elections. In this seminar, we'll examine political campaigns in the United States from a practitioner's perspective, using the political science literature to discuss campaign tactics and strategies, including recent innovations that have transformed the campaign process. We'll decide what works, what doesn't work, and how to evaluate a political campaign. We will also discuss the highly dynamic roles of candidates, political parties, the media, voters, and interest groups. To put theory into practice, over the course of the semester you will “advise” a 2016 political campaign of your choosing.

### **Course Objectives**

After successfully completing this course, you will be able to:

- Identify campaign tactics and strategies that are effective or not effective
- Explain how internal and external forces affect campaign decisions and success
- Apply the political science literature to real-world campaigns
- Think critically about the role of political campaigns in American democracy, both empirically and normatively
- Better synthesize and intelligently express your own points of view, both orally and in writing

## **Required Texts**

The following materials are available in the campus bookstore or through other online retailers. Please be sure to purchase the correct edition.

- Burton et al. *Campaign Craft: The Strategies, Tactics, and Art of Political Campaign Management*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. Praeger.
- Green & Gerber. *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. Brookings.
- Issenberg. *The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns*. Broadway.
- Johnson. *Political Consultants and Campaigns: One Day to Sell*. Westview.

All other course materials will be available on Sakai, unless otherwise indicated. I will also occasionally email short articles that are relevant to our class discussions.

## **Course Requirements**

To help you achieve the course objectives, final grades will be assessed through the following evaluations:

- Weekly White Papers (40%)
- Final Campaign Paper (20%)
- Experiential Video, Event, and Book (20%)
- Class Participation (20%)

**\*Further information on these course requirements will be distributed in class\***

### *Weekly White Papers*

As a campaign consultant, every week you will write a 2-4 page (double-spaced) white paper (a campaign strategy memo) that will examine a particular aspect of your candidate's campaign. Most memos will include: an evaluation of what the candidate's current strategy is, what strategies you recommend, and (most importantly) justification for your recommendations. While our class discussions and course materials are a starting point for these papers, outside research is expected. Some memos will also include a small project, such as analyzing poll numbers, creating a radio advertisement, or designing a campaign poster.

You are allowed to choose 2 "free weeks" where you do not have to write a memo, with the exception that everyone must write a memo and complete the assignment on campaign advertisements. If you complete all campaign memos, I will drop the two lowest scores. While this may seem like a lot of work up front, these memos actually replace all exams for the course and will form the basis for your final paper.

### *Final Campaign Paper*

In lieu of a final exam, you will write a comprehensive paper that analyzes why your candidate won or lost their election. You should feel free to draw heavily from your white papers, while adding in additional research on political campaigns. The papers should be around 10 (double-spaced) pages, though I am more concerned about coverage of the material and you demonstrating success in the course objectives than the ultimate length of the paper.

### *Experiential Video, Event, and Book*

At any point over the course of the semester, you will watch one video, attend one event, and read one book related to political campaigns. After each one, you should write a 1-2 page (double-spaced) response paper of how it related to the readings, what we are talking about in class, or to your candidate's race. This is meant to give you additional "real-world" experience with political campaigns and the ability to apply the course materials to your own political interests. If you complete more than one experiential paper in each category (video, event, or book), I will count only the highest score. All experiential papers must be turned in by the final class period. Suggestions are on the final page of this syllabus.

### *Class Participation*

This is a seminar, which means that it is essential that you come to class ready to actively participate. This includes (but is not limited to): attending class regularly, carefully reading the assigned texts, sharing your thoughts, opinions, and insights in discussion, considering and raising opposing viewpoints, engaging in respectful dialogue with others, listening attentively to others' perspectives, and following the discussion policies listed in this syllabus. Participation grades will be calculated from: your assessment of your participation in class, my assessment of your participation in class, and in-class discussion and activities. You will receive an advisory midterm participation grade to help you assess where you are at halfway through the course.

### **Grades will be calculated using the following scale:**

| <u>Letter Grade:</u> | <u>Percentage</u> | <u>Letter Grade:</u> | <u>Percentage</u> |
|----------------------|-------------------|----------------------|-------------------|
|                      | <u>Grade:</u>     |                      | <u>Grade:</u>     |
| A                    | 93-100%           | C                    | 73-76.99%         |
| A-                   | 90-92.99%         | C-                   | 70-72.99%         |
| B+                   | 87-89.99%         | D+                   | 67-69.99%         |
| B                    | 83-86.99%         | D                    | 63-66.99%         |
| B-                   | 80-82.99%         | D-                   | 60-62.99%         |
| C+                   | 77-79.99%         | F                    | 0-59.99%          |

## **Course Policies**

### *Academic Honor Code*

All students are expected to be familiar with and uphold the University of Notre Dame Academic Code of Honor (<http://www.nd.edu/~hnr/code/>). Any student found to have violated these policies of academic integrity will receive a failing grade on the assignment and may be subject to further penalties by the university. If you have any questions about avoiding plagiarism or any of the other policies, please do not hesitate to ask.

### *Late Work/Extra Credit*

An important part of career preparation and campaign work is the ability to meet deadlines and fulfill the requirements of your work. Therefore, late assignments will be subject to a half-letter grade reduction for every 0-24 hour period that the assignment is late. Additionally, there will be no extra credit given on an individual basis.

### *Laptops and Electronic Devices*

Unless instructed otherwise, you are permitted to use laptops in class for note-taking purposes only. Cell phones and other electronics should be put away during class. To do otherwise detracts not only from your learning, but from other students' as well.

### *Attendance*

Class attendance is expected, but not required, in this course. However, keep in mind that it is impossible to participate if you do not attend class. Furthermore, you are responsible for all of the material covered in class, and it is thus in your best interest to attend every class. If you must miss a class, it is your responsibility to get notes from another student or to contact me before the next class to discuss the material you missed.

### *Discussion Policies*

The goal of discussion is to understand and learn from the viewpoints and experiences of others in order to better understand our own opinions and the functioning of the world around us. Specifically, our goal in this course is to consider various components of and to think critically about American democracy. Just as multiple voices are necessary for a healthy democracy, your participation is important for the learning experiences of your fellow classmates and your instructor. Therefore, participation will be graded on the quality, and not just quantity, of your contribution to this endeavor. To create an environment where everyone has the opportunity to participate, respect for individual differences and viewpoints will be maintained at all times. In sum, you are allowed and encouraged to disagree with other students, the professor, or the texts, but disagreement should always be expressed in a respectful manner inside and outside of the classroom.

### *Exceptions, Extensions, and Exemptions*

Exceptions to the policies and schedule on this syllabus are granted only in the cases of a true emergency. Please make arrangements with me if an emergency arises.

### *Learning Differences*

If you have a disability, I am happy to work with you and the Office of Disability Services (ODS) to provide the appropriate accommodations. At the beginning of the semester, please contact the ODS ([disabilityservices.nd.edu](http://disabilityservices.nd.edu)) to make the necessary arrangements.

### *Syllabus Changes*

I reserve the right to make changes to the syllabus or the course schedule if it will benefit all students. Advance notice will be provided for any changes.

### **Questions, Concerns, Comments**

If you have any questions at any point, please do not hesitate to contact me. I encourage you to come to my office hours even if you just want to discuss politics or some other subject, and I can set up appointments if you are unable to meet during the scheduled times. (Please try to give me at least 24 hours notice if you'd like to make an appointment.)

### **Other Resources**

As your instructor, I am happy to assist you in meeting your goals for this semester. Notre Dame also has a number of other resources to assist you with this process. I will highlight a few here, and am willing to discuss any additional concerns you may have in my office hours or via email.

*Writing Center:* Schedule appointments online at [writingcenter.nd.edu](http://writingcenter.nd.edu)

*Library System:* [library.nd.edu](http://library.nd.edu) or political science librarian Doug Archer ([archer.1@nd.edu](mailto:archer.1@nd.edu))

*University Counseling Center:* (574) 631-7336 or [ucc.nd.edu](http://ucc.nd.edu)

*Campus Ministry:* 114 Coleman-Morse Center or [campusministry.nd.edu](http://campusministry.nd.edu)

*Career Center:* 248 Flanner Hall or [careercenter.nd.edu](http://careercenter.nd.edu)

## **Course Outline and Schedule**

\*Reading assignments are to be completed before the date they are listed.

\*Please bring all assigned readings to class (paper or electronic).

*Wednesday, Aug. 24<sup>th</sup> – Introductions, 2016: An Outsider Election?, The Syllabus*

*Monday, Aug. 29<sup>th</sup> – Campaign Fundamentals: Smart Campaigns Plan Ahead*

- Burton et al. Chapters 1-2.
- “Napolitan’s Rules: 112 Lessons Learned From a Career in Politics,” 26-58 (Sakai)
- **DUE: Candidate Selection via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Aug. 31<sup>st</sup> – Campaign Fundamentals II: The Candidate and the Campaign*

- Johnson. Chapter 1.
- “50 Things Never to Do in a Political Campaign,” 59-65 (Sakai)
- “Campaign Self-Examinations: Taking Your Political Pulse,” 106-114 (Sakai)
- Skim: “The Candidate,” 205-225 (Sakai)

*Monday, Sept. 5<sup>th</sup> – Targeting Voters: All About That Base*

- Burton et al. Chapter 4.
- “The Myth of Independent and Swing Voters,” 37-46 (Sakai)
- **DUE: White Paper #1 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Sept. 7<sup>th</sup> – Targeting Voters II: Intro to Microtargeting*

- Burton et al. Chapter 6.
- Issenberg. Chapters 2 & 5.

*Monday, Sept. 12<sup>th</sup> – Political Messaging: A Good Message is Hard to Find*

- Johnson. Chapter 2.
- **DUE: White Paper #2 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Sept. 14<sup>th</sup> – Political Messaging II: Assembling, Avoiding, and Addressing Issues*

- Burton et al. Chapter 3.
- Johnson. Chapter 3.

*Monday, Sept. 19<sup>th</sup> – GOTV: The One with the Most Votes (Usually) Wins*

- Burton et al. Chapter 10.
- Green & Gerber. Chapters 1-2.
- **DUE: White Paper #3 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Sept. 21<sup>st</sup> – GOTV II: Got Junk Mail?*

- Green & Gerber. Chapters 3-5.
- Issenberg. Chapter 3.

*Monday, Sept. 26<sup>th</sup> – GOTV III: Constant Contact*

- Green & Gerber. Chapters 6, 8, 10.
- “Lawn Signs,” 91-98 (Sakai)
- **DUE: White Paper #4 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Sept. 28<sup>th</sup> – GOTV IV: Shame, Shame*

- Green & Gerber. Chapter 11.
- Issenberg. Chapters 7-8.
- “Radio Spots That Pop,” 382-383 (Sakai)

*Monday, Oct. 3<sup>rd</sup> – The Internet and New Media Strategies*

- Green & Gerber. Chapter 7.
- Johnson. Chapter 5.
- **DUE: White Paper #5 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Oct. 5<sup>th</sup> – Traditional Media: Still Important*

- Burton et al. Chapter 8.
- Green & Gerber. Chapter 9.
- Johnson. Chapter 4.

*Monday, Oct. 10<sup>th</sup> – There’s No Such Thing as Free Media (Only Earned Media)*

- Burton et al. Chapter 9.
- **DUE: White Paper #6 via email by Noon (\*The only mandatory white paper\*)**

*Wednesday, Oct. 12<sup>th</sup> – The One Before Fall Break*

- Issenberg. Chapters 9-10.
- Johnson. Chapter 6.

*Monday, Oct. 17<sup>th</sup> – Wednesday, Oct. 19<sup>th</sup> NO CLASS – FALL BREAK*

*Monday, Oct. 24<sup>th</sup> – \$\$\$: Get That Cash*

- Burton et al. Chapter 7.
- “Fundraising Strategies in the 2012 Presidential Campaign,” 101-121 (Sakai)
- “Eight Cardinal Rules of Effective Fundraising Letters,” 282-286 (Sakai)

*Wednesday, Oct. 26<sup>th</sup> – \$\$\$ II: Mo' Money*

- Burton et al. Chapter 11.
- “How to Ask for Money,” 248-257 (Sakai)
- “Fund-raising,” 49-89 (Sakai)
- Overview of Open Secrets data on campaign finance (Sakai)

*Monday, Oct. 31<sup>st</sup> – Join the Party...Or “Run From It”*

- “The Roles of Party Organizations, Party-Connected Committees, and Party Allies in Elections,” 1207-1224 (Sakai)
- Resources for Did the Party Decide on Donald Trump? (Sakai)
- **DUE: White Paper #7 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Nov. 2<sup>nd</sup> – Interest Groups Are Your Friends*

- “PAC Mentality: How to Get Money from Political Action Committees,” 300-303 (Sakai)
- “Can Learning Constituency Opinion Affect How Legislators Vote? Results from a Field Experiment,” 55-83 (Sakai)
- “How Are Interest Groups Involved in Campaigns?” 171-176 (Sakai)

*Monday, Nov. 7<sup>th</sup> – Polls Before Going to the Polls*

- Burton et al. Chapter 5.
- “Science or Voodoo? Misconceptions about National Election Polls,” 99-111 (Sakai)
- “The Use of Survey Research in Campaigns,” 47-76 (Sakai)
- **DUE: White Paper #8 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Nov. 9<sup>th</sup> – The Day After*

- No reading assignment – come prepared to talk about the election & your candidate

*Monday, Nov. 14<sup>th</sup> – New Voters and Candidates*

- “Reaching – and Winning – Young Voters,” 127-136 (Sakai)
- “Why Are Women Still Not Running for Public Office?” 1-20 (Sakai)
- **DUE: White Paper #9 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Nov. 16<sup>th</sup> – Mobilizing A New Electorate*

- “Proactive, Reactive, and Tactical: Mobilizing the Latino Vote in 2012,” 19-46 (Sakai)
- “Mobilizing Asian American Voters: A Field Experiment,” 102-114 (Sakai)

*Monday, Nov. 21<sup>st</sup> – Catch-up Day and Taking Stock of What We've Learned*

- Gerber & Green. Chapter 12.
- **DUE: White Paper #10 via email by Noon**

*Wednesday, Nov. 23<sup>rd</sup>* **NO CLASS – HAPPY THANKSGIVING!**

*Monday, Nov. 28<sup>th</sup> – Giving Thanks for No More White Papers*

- “Candidate Presentation and Preparation,” 433-447 (Sakai)
- “Caught in the Ground Wars: Mobilizing Voters during a Competitive Congressional Campaign,” 123-141 (Sakai)
- “Inside the Secret World of the Data Crunchers Who Helped Obama Win,” (Sakai)

*Wednesday, Nov. 30<sup>th</sup> – All Politics is Local*

- “The Issue-based Campaign,” 235-247 (Sakai)
- Skim: “Why & How to Run For Local Elected Office” (Sakai)

*Monday, Dec. 5<sup>th</sup> – SCANDAL! What to Do When Things Go Wrong*

- “Doing Opposition Research...on Yourself,” 221-222 (Sakai)
- “Crisis Management in Campaigns,” 482-486 (Sakai)
- “Damage Control: Preparing for the Unexpected on the Campaign Trail,” 491-500 (Sakai)

*Wednesday, Dec. 7<sup>th</sup> – Do Campaigns Even Matter, And Are They Good or Bad?*

- Burton et al. Chapter 12.
- “The Study of Political Campaigns,” 1-26 (Sakai)

*Tuesday, Dec. 13<sup>th</sup> – You’re Done!*

- **DUE: Final Campaign Paper via email by Noon**

## **Suggested Materials for Experiential Video, Event, and Book**

\*These assignments are meant to be useful for your final papers and to give you greater insight into on-the-ground campaign narratives. You are welcome to choose materials from this list or to suggest alternatives, but please email me and get approval before starting something that is not on this list.

### **Books**

*The Candidate: What it Takes to Win and Hold the White House* (Popkin)

*Collision 2012: The Future of Election Politics in a Divided America* (Balz)

*Electing the President 2012: The Insiders' View* (Jamieson)

*The Gamble: Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election* (Sides & Vavreck)

*Ground Wars: Personalized Communication in Political Campaigns* (Nielsen)

*How to Rig An Election: Confessions of a Republican Operative* (Raymond)

*Whistlestop: My Favorite Stories from Presidential Campaign History* (Dickerson)

*Winning Right: Campaign Politics and Conservative Policies* (Gillespie)

*Winning Your Election the Wellstone Way: A Comprehensive Guide for Candidates and Campaign Workers* (Blodgett & Lofy)

### **Events**

Attend an event through ND Votes or a political group on/off campus. I will announce events on campus in class; please do the same if you know of an event going on.

### **Videos**

*Street Fight* (2005) \*My favorite\*

*The Candidate* (1972)

*Anytown, USA* (2005)

*Mitt* (2014)

*By The People: The Election of Barack Obama* (2009)

*Our Brand is Crisis* (2005)

*A Perfect Candidate* (1996)

*Can Mr. Smith Get to Washington Anymore?* (2006)

*The War Room* (1993)