PubPol 683  
Elections & Campaigns  
Fall Semester, 2019

Rusty Hills  
Wednesday 5:30 to 8:30 p.m., 1220 Weill Hall (Max & Marjorie Fisher Classroom)  
Office Hours: By appointment, Room 5303; Preferably before or after class.

Phone: Cell phone (517) 648-2520  
E-mail: rustyhills@gmail.com

Course Overview: The purpose of PubPol 683 is to examine campaigns and explain what happens and why. Remember: There is no policy without victory.

This course will introduce you to the practical side of political campaigning: how to win elections. There will be a strong emphasis on political communication, including speeches & debates, earned, paid and social media, and crafting and framing a message.

In addition, other topics to be discussed include campaign planning and management, polling and research, identifying, targeting and turning out voters, coalitions and interest groups, budgeting and fundraising, the political environment and Get Out The Vote (GOTV) efforts.

PubPol 683 will also feature several special guests to discuss their experiences in politics, government and winning elections.

ASSIGNMENTS

1. This I Believe essay. (3-page limit.)  
2. A Memo to the Professor. (6 pages.) You will write me a memorandum, of your choice, on a political topic. Please list the issue, your recommendation, facts and discussion. Some options:  
   a. “The future of the Democrats: should the Party turn more toward the center, similar to what Bill Clinton did in 1992, or should the party embrace the progressive left as emphasized by Senator Bernie Sanders?” OR,
b. “The future of the Republicans: should the Republican Party embrace President Trump and offer a vigorous and bold defense of his policies or should the party return to its historical roots and offer a different path forward more aligned with past Republican policies (such as free trade and strong opposition to Russia, for example), even if it means breaking with the President of your party?” OR

c. “The future of politics: has the two-party system become so broken that it is time for America to emulate other democracies, and spur the creation of a new, third party that better represents the hopes and dreams of a majority of Americans who no longer find a comfortable home with the Democratic and Republican parties?”

d. I am also open to additional topics, but before writing, you must consult with the Professor first on the topic to be covered. World peace, for example, is too broad of a topic to be adequately covered in a 6-page memo.

3. **Book Review** (6 pages.) Your choice of “Shattered,” by Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes or “American Carnage” by Tim Alberta. NOTE: Alternative political titles will also be considered (such as ‘The Making of the President’ series or similar books.). Consult with Professor first.

4. **Final Project**: Write a campaign plan. (10 pages.)
   a. Select one upcoming election in 2020 – presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, congressional, state house or state senate or a ballot issue.
   b. Then, write a ten (10) page paper that includes the following elements:
      i. Prepare a Win Number. (5% of paper.) How many votes do you need to win your election? Explain how you arrived at that number.
      ii. Ninety-five percent (95%) of the paper should be devoted to the following points:
         1. SWOT analysis [Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats]
         2. Voter Coalition
         3. Message
      iii. The **SWOT analysis** is straightforward: list for me the various elements in each category for the candidate whom you have selected. For example, what are the candidate’s strengths? What are her or his weaknesses? Opportunities? Threats?
iv. For the **Voter Coalition** portion of your final paper, list and give a reason for the voter groups – the voters, coalitions & interest groups – that will support your candidate, and how those groups combine to achieve 50% plus one of the electorate. In other words, tell me how you plan to assemble a winning coalition.

v. For the **Message** portion of your paper, tell me what is your candidate’s message, and why you have selected this message. Explain how you will apply your candidate’s message to the voter, coalition & interest groups you are appealing to. Why will these groups vote for you? What is your message to them?

**Help with Writing:** We are blessed to have an outstanding Writing Center at the Ford School, and I would encourage students to take advantage of all the services that the Center offers. For more information, I would direct you to [www.fordschool.umich.edu/writing-center/](http://www.fordschool.umich.edu/writing-center/)

**Required Texts:** “*Shattered,*” by Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes or “*American Carnage*” by Tim Alberta. But the real textbook will be each days’ headlines and news stories that pertain to politics and government.

Because you are a student at the University of Michigan Ford School, I expect you to be conversant with national and state politics. The New York Times and Washington Post are excellent resources for national politics. I also recommend the Politico and Real Clear Politics websites. The Detroit Free Press and Detroit News, and the Michigan state government reports, Gongwer and MIRS, provide solid coverage of state politics. Read the news each day and come prepared.

**Class Format:** The class will combine lecture with discussion, supplemented with guest lecturers.

**Course Requirements:** Attendance is required and will be taken in class. Student participation is critical to understanding the material, and therefore is a healthy percentage of your final grade. Students are expected to arrive on time, finish assignments on time, be prepared for the weekly discussions and topics, participate in discussions, AND be respectful of the opinions of all other students and guests.

**NOTE:** Even if you miss a class, all assignments are still due on the date assigned.

What does that mean? Your grade will be lowered for each class period that an
assignment is not handed in. In other words, missing a class is not an excuse for failing to complete an assignment.

Ford School of Public Policy Inclusivity Statement

Members of the Ford School community represent a rich variety of backgrounds and perspectives. We are committed to providing an atmosphere for learning that respects diversity. While working together to build this community we ask all members to:
• share their unique experiences, values and beliefs
• be open to the views of others
• honor the uniqueness of their colleagues
• appreciate the opportunity that we have to learn from each other in this community
• value one another’s opinions and communicate in a respectful manner
• keep confidential discussions that the community has of a personal (or professional) nature
• use this opportunity together to discuss ways in which we can create an inclusive environment in Ford classes and across the UM community

Student Mental Health and Wellbeing Resources

The University of Michigan is committed to advancing the mental health and wellbeing of its students. We acknowledge that a variety of issues, such as strained relationships, increased anxiety, alcohol/drug problems, and depression, directly impacts students’ academic performance.

If you or someone you know is feeling overwhelmed, depressed, and/or in need of support, services are available. For help, contact Counseling and Psychological Services (CAPS) and/or University Health Service (UHS). For a listing of other mental health resources available on and off campus, visit: http://umich.edu/~mhealth/.

Accommodations for Students with Disabilities

If you believe you need an accommodation for a disability, please let your instructor know at your earliest convenience. Some aspects of courses may be modified to facilitate your participation and progress. As soon as you make your instructor aware of your needs, they can work with the Services for Students
with Disabilities (SSD) office to help determine appropriate academic accommodations. Any information you provide will be treated as private and confidential.

Please review additional information and policies regarding academic expectations and resources at the Ford School of Public Policy at this link: [http://fordschool.umich.edu/academics/expectation](http://fordschool.umich.edu/academics/expectation)

**Grading:** Students will be graded on class participation and the successful, on-time completion of the four individual assignments: essay, speech, book review and Memo to the Candidate.

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Grade</th>
<th>Points</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>4.0</td>
<td>94-100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>3.7</td>
<td>93-90</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B+</td>
<td>3.3</td>
<td>89-86</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>3.0</td>
<td>85-80</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>2.7</td>
<td>79-75</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+</td>
<td>2.3</td>
<td>74-70</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>2.0</td>
<td>69-64</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D+</td>
<td>1.3</td>
<td>59-56</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>1.0</td>
<td>55-52</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D-</td>
<td>0.7</td>
<td>51-50</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>E</td>
<td>0.0</td>
<td>Less than 50</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

**Plagiarism:** In a word – Don't! Plagiarism is grounds for failing the class. The University of Michigan and the Ford School take this offense seriously.

**TOPIC SCHEDULE**

**September 4**
Class Overview
Review of syllabus, all assignments and expectations, topics to be covered, questions answered.

**September 11**
Campaign Planning & Management
All the elements of a political campaign. Strategy (Your overarching path to victory).
Tactics (how to implement your strategy.)
SWOT analysis: Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats. **Win Number.**

**Assignment #1**: Go to NPR web site and review "This I Believe" essays. Then, write your own personal political testament, your own "This I Believe." **Due date: September 25**

September 18
**Crafting a Message & Message Development**
Targeting messages.
Different messages, different audiences, different mediums, different timing.
Big Picture. Framing. Going on offense, setting the agenda.

How to deal with the media when your campaign is dealing with a crisis.

September 25
**Speeches & Debates**
Tips & tricks of the trade for crafting successful speeches and for winning debates.

**Assignment #1 is DUE.**

**Assignment # 2:**
A **Memo to the Professor**. You will write me a memorandum, of your choice, on some political topic, listing the issue, your recommendation, facts and discussion. Some options include the following:

a. “The future of the Democrats: should the Party turn more toward the center, similar to what Bill Clinton did in 1992, or should the party embrace the progressive left as emphasized by Senator Bernie Sanders?” OR,

b. “The future of the Republicans: should the Republican Party embrace President Trump and offer a vigorous and bold defense of his policies or should the party return to its historical roots and offer a different path forward more aligned with past Republican policies (such as free trade and strong opposition to Russia, for example), even if it means breaking with the President of your party?” OR

c. “The future of politics: has the two-party system become so broken that it is time for America to emulate other democracies, and spur the creation of a new, third party that better represents the hopes
and dreams of a majority of Americans who no longer find a comfortable home with the Democratic and Republican parties?”

d. I am also open to additional topics, but before writing, you must consult with the Professor first on the topic to be covered. World peace, for example, is too broad to be adequately covered in a 6-page memo.

e. (6 pages)

**Due Date: October 16**

**October 2**

**Paid Media**

Television, Internet, digital and social media, direct mail, newspaper. Comparative communications (otherwise known as negative ads). Who defines whom? And who gets there first?

**October 9**

**Earned Media**

Generating press and media coverage without paying for it. Press releases, debates, speeches, newspaper and other endorsements. How to deal with the press? Is that even possible? If so, how?

**October 16**

**Social & Digital Media**

The new communications. How has the changing nature of communications, new media, digital and social media, affected campaigns? Digital Data. How do we mine data, and what is the most effective use of data?

---

**Assignment #2 is DUE.**

**Assignment #3:**

Write a book review of “Shattered,” by Jonathan Allen and Amie Parnes or “American Carnage” by Tim Alberta. Other political books will also be considered.

Key points for your book review:

1. What was the main point of the book?
2. Did you agree or disagree with the author(s)?
3. Why or why not?
4. Was anything important missed?
   Limit it to no more than 6 typewritten pages, double-spaced.
   
   **Due Date: November 6**

October 23

Polling & Research
1. Polling as a snapshot in time. What polling can do, what polling cannot do. Why bother to pay for polling if every media outlet is already polling?

2. Research. Know yourself, your strength and weaknesses; know your opponent, strength and weaknesses; know your voters, your state, your environment, your issues.

October 30

Voter Contact I
Identifying, differentiating, targeting & turning out Voters. Microtargeting. Who are our voters, and how in the world do we find them?

November 6

Book Review

**Assignment #3 is DUE.**

**Assignment #4**
Final Project: Write a campaign plan.
   a. Select one upcoming election in Michigan in 2018 or 2020 - presidential, gubernatorial, senatorial, congressional, state house or state senate or a ballot issue.
   b. Then, write a ten (10) page paper that includes the following elements:
      i. Prepare a Win Number. How many votes do you need to win your election? Explain how you arrived at that number.
      ii. Ninety-five (95%) of the paper should be devoted to the following points:
      iii. SWOT analysis [Strengths, Weaknesses, Opportunities, Threats]
      iv. Voter Coalition
      v. Message
      vi. The SWOT analysis is straightforward: list for me the various elements in each category for the candidate
whom you have selected. For example, what are the candidate’s strengths? What are his or her weaknesses? Opportunities? Threats?

vii. For the Voter Coalition portion of your final paper, list and give a reason for the voter groups – the voters, coalitions & interest groups – that will support your candidate, and how those groups combine to achieve 50% plus one of the electorate. In other words, tell me how you plan to assemble a winning coalition.

viii. For the Message portion of your paper, tell me what is your candidate’s message, and why you have selected this message. Explain how you will apply your candidate’s message to the voter, coalition & interest groups you are appealing to. Why will these groups vote for you? What is your message to them?

DUE DATE: December 11

November 13
Voter Contact II – Case Studies
A look at past campaigns, including the 2018 gubernatorial primaries and general election to understand what decisions were made and the reasons behind those decisions.

Also, a closer look at the candidates for 2020 and what strategies and tactics they are pursuing to win a primary and a general election.

November 20
Fundraising, Budgeting & Scheduling
The not very glamorous, but absolutely essential elements of all winning campaigns. How to raise money, 101.

Strategic scheduling (P.S. Don’t ever be the Scheduler!)

November 27 (No Class)
Happy Thanksgiving
December 4
Political Environment;
Coalitions & Interest Groups;
Wedge Issues

**Political Environment.** Just as the weather affects people, so too does the political environment. How does the political environment affect message, issues, coalitions, etc.? Is the Political Environment a force beyond your control?

**Coalitions and Interest Groups.** Friends don’t let friends win alone.

December 11
Final Thoughts, Lessons from Winning & Losing

**Assignment #4 is DUE.**

*NOTE:* The dates on which topics are to be covered are subject to change, but assignment due dates will remain the same.