

**Fall, 2015**  
**PMGT 4192, Tutorial in American Electoral and Political Movements**  
**PMGT 6436, National Campaign Dynamics**  
**Course Syllabus** (Tentative)

**BASIC INFORMATION AND RESOURCES**

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**Instructor**

Professor Gregory G. Lebel

**Contact Information**

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**Communication**

Please contact me by e-mail, unless it is an emergency, in which case you may reach me on my office phone. I will respond within 24 hours to all student e-mails. If you would like to arrange an appointment to discuss your work, I am available each week for an hour prior to class.

**Classroom**

Room B-17, 1957 E Street, NW

**Blackboard Site**

A Blackboard course site has been set up for this course. Each student is expected to check the site throughout the semester, as Blackboard will be the primary venue for outside classroom communications between the instructors and the students. Students can access the course site at <https://blackboard.gwu.edu>. Support for Blackboard is available at 202-994-4948 or [helpdesk.gwu.edu](http://helpdesk.gwu.edu).

**Academic Integrity**

All members of the university community are expected to exhibit honesty and competence in their academic work. Students have a special responsibility to acquaint themselves with, and make use of, all proper procedures for doing research, writing papers, and taking exams. Members of the community will be presumed to be familiar with the proper academic procedures and will be held responsible for applying them. Deliberate failure to act in accordance with such procedures will be considered academic dishonesty. Academic dishonesty is defined as “cheating of any kind, including misrepresenting one’s own work, taking credit for the work of others without crediting them and without appropriate authorization, and the fabrication of information.” Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be prosecuted through the proper university channels. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at <http://www.gwu.edu/~ntegrity/code.html>.

**Support for Students with Disabilities**

GW’s Disability Support Services (DSS) provides and coordinates accommodations and other services for students with a wide variety of disabilities, as well as those temporarily disabled by injury or illness. Accommodations are available through DSS to facilitate academic access for students with disabilities.

Please notify your instructor if you require accommodations. Additional information is available at [www.gwu.edu/~dss](http://www.gwu.edu/~dss).

### **In the Event of an Emergency or Crisis during Class**

If we experience some an emergency during class time, we will try to stay at this location until we hear that we can move about safely. If we have to leave here, we will meet at **[fill in proximate location]** in order to account for everyone and to make certain that everyone is safe. Please refer to Campus Advisories for the latest information on the University's operating status: <http://www.campusadvisories.gwu.edu/>.

### **Attendance Policy**

Attending class is required. Should you find yourself with a scheduling conflict, please contact me as soon as you are aware of the issue to let me know that you will absent, otherwise, it will be considered an unexcused absence and it will negatively count against your participation grade.

### **Course Evaluation**

At the end of the semester, students will be given the opportunity to evaluate the course through GW's online course evaluation system. It is very important that you take the time to complete an evaluation. Students are also encouraged to provide feedback throughout the course of the semester by contacting any/all of the following:

Gregory G. Lebel  
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## **THE COURSE**

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### **Political Management Program Objectives**

1. Assess a political environment, develop an appropriate strategy to achieve specified goals, and execute that strategy.
2. Draw upon a repertoire of effective communication skills and techniques for use in a political environment.
3. Collect, evaluate and incorporate relevant empirical evidence to shape, optimize, and continuously inform the developed strategy.

4. Find, engage and motivate the essential and appropriate leaders, professionals and citizens to achieve the developed strategy.
5. Recognize and work through recurring political dilemmas in a manner that upholds ethical standards in the profession and exhibits principled leadership.

### **Course Description and Overview**

The presidential nomination process in the United States is a long, drawn-out process often running for two years before the actual nominating conventions occur. It consists of a series of local, regional, and state-wide caucuses and conventions, primaries where delegates to the national convention are chosen as well as those “beauty contests” which leave delegate selection to a totally separate process, and sometimes combinations of these events (I’m looking at you, Texas!).

In 2016, we will again begin this important, entertaining, confusing, and sometimes terribly unpredictable process. Some seventeen Republicans are vying for their party’s nomination. Four Democrats are running in a field so far dominated by former Secretary of State, United State Senator and First Lady, Hillary Rodham Clinton, whose grip on the nomination, once seen as unbreakable, has slipped under pressure from an unlikely self-described socialist independent U.S. Senator and some unforced errors on her part.

Both sides will face their first tests among voters in the Iowa caucuses in February, 2016 – Iowa caucuses on Feb. 1 and NH primary on Feb. 9. After that, they will head for New Hampshire for the first primary of the season. We will be focusing specifically but not exclusively on the New Hampshire contest in part because it is the first time the candidates will face the entire electorate rather than a relatively small slice of the voting public in Iowa – those who attend the caucuses.

New Hampshire is significant for two other reasons. First, several of the Republican candidates (Christy, Kasich, and Paul, among others) are banking on the NH primary to boost their chances in subsequent nomination contests. This is so in part because of the second feature of the NH primary. It is an “open primary,” that is, anyone – registered Democrats, Republicans, and Independents can vote in either party’s contest. NH boasts a large and engaged population of voters not registered with any party and these voters often play outsized roles in who wins and loses the state’s presidential contest. In 2000, independents voted heavily in the Bush/McCain primary, their presence giving McCain a decisive victory over Bush and bringing about a recalibration of the campaign message by the Texan. Meanwhile, the dearth of independents on the Democratic side assured Al Gore a comfortable victory over his opponent, Bill Bradley.

In 2016, there is no incumbent president running, and no incumbent vice president running – yet - which leads to more potential for surprises in the results. And the results in NH matter as candidates head west and south to Nevada and South Carolina.

In October, SIWP students will travel to Manchester, NH where they will work as a volunteer in the presidential campaign of their choice; thereby getting a first-hand, on-the-ground feel for the pace of a presidential nomination campaign.

### **The View from the New Hampshire Primary Campaign**

This course will delve into the presidential nominating process using the New Hampshire presidential primary as a lens. The NH primary is traditionally one of the two key early contests in any presidential

year, along with the Iowa caucuses. It is especially important and interesting in 2016 because both Democrats and Republicans will be choosing nominees for the open White House seat.

The NH primary is the source of some controversy but has maintained its central place in the process over the years. Lyndon Johnson, Walter Mondale, and Barack Obama suffered surprising blows to their candidacies in New Hampshire; Jimmy Carter, John McCain, and Bill Clinton found new life breathed into their presidential campaigns from New Hampshire's voting results.

2016 offers two very different scenarios for our study. The Democratic Party faces an historic polling advantage by former Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton despite the current Sanders surge, while the Republican field has achieved historic heights in the number of declared candidates. These two scenarios offer a rich opportunity to observe the nomination process up close from a number of key angles.

New Hampshire voters are notorious for overturning expectations – sometimes building on the results of the Iowa caucuses, sometimes reversing gains made there. Whatever the case, the state allows for the kind of campaigning that is rarely possible once this initial phase is over. With only 874,417 registered voters (230,186 Democrats, 263,069 Republicans, 380,532 Independents) and the possibility of registered independents voting in either contest, campaign strategies must be carefully thought out and meticulously played out.

We will take utmost advantage of this laboratory of democracy as we observe the campaigns from two different but complementary angles. From Washington, we will hear from national media, interest groups with something to gain or lose in the presidential contest, and the national parties. From New Hampshire, we will observe at close range the candidates and their organizations, how the local and regional media are covering the races (and how this may differ from national coverage, and how interest groups apply pressure on candidates and campaigns at the grassroots level.

Each week, we will join with a class like this At Saint Anselm College in Manchester, NH to hear from the key players either in Washington or in New Hampshire. Through our electronic hook-ups we will be able to engage in discussions with our counterparts in the Granite State, and they with us.

We will develop 15 segments, likely beginning with a look back at the race for the presidency in 2016 as it has moved forward to Labor Day, 2015, including straw polls, fundraising, media coverage, and candidates' early forays into the process. Then the program will delve into the various components of the campaigns including the candidates themselves, the nature of grass-roots campaigns, the role of paid and earned media, fundraising, the role of interest groups and specific issues, and the nuts and bolts of on-the-ground campaigns. Towards the end of the program we will consider the contests in the larger context of American democratic systems and processes.

Course will consist of one in-class joint session with St. Anselm featuring guest speakers or panels of experts from various groups associated with presidential politics and this race in particular and followed by classroom discussion.

## Course Learning Objectives

The goal of this course is to dispel the false notions by teaching the class how to perform campaign and policy research. By the end of the course, the students will;

1. Understand the structural and political antecedents that set the stage for presidential campaigns. This class focuses on the candidates, and follow their campaigns through the first stages of a campaign for their party's presidential nomination. In short, it focuses on understanding the systematic and historical political dynamics known to political scientists and political practitioners. Whether it is different rules, absentee balloting same-day registration, caucuses versus primaries; open or closed nominating contests), this class will delve into the ways that "structures" affect elections.
2. Be able to account for structure and systematic effects as part of your campaign strategy and take into consideration when planning tactics and responding to changes in the environment. Students will prepare three deliverables for a candidate over the course of the class where they will be expected to address the challenges posed by specific electoral contexts. Undergraduates will be responsible for three deliverables worth 75% of the final grade. Graduate students will be responsible for the same three deliverables worth 60% of the final grade and three additional short topical memos worth a total of 15% of the course grade. The remaining 25% of the course grade will be determined by classroom participation for both groups. This includes not only regular and timely attendance, but, more important, active, informed, and positive participation and engagement with speakers.
3. Become more analytical and professional, but also more creative in your thinking with regard to your passion for partisan politics and advocacy issues - This class is designed to teach you to be able to evaluate the true prospects for your candidate in an election. You will be able to accurately assess the opportunities for and the constraints on your candidate's success. You will also be a better judge of which campaigns you can win and which you may lose, and how you may truly be able to impact them. In short, campaigns affect elections at the margins, and while these margins are important and make all the difference in terms of who is serving in elective office, there is also the reality that campaigns do not have the ability overcome some fundamentals (e.g., in certain instances, a down economy).

## Course Requirements, Evaluation and Grading

Assignment	Learning Objective(s) Addressed	Due Date	Weight
Deliverable 1 --	<p>Choose a candidate for either the Republican or Democratic presidential nomination. Provide a memo outlining how your candidate must position her/himself relative to the national I party, your Congressional leadership, and your fellow contenders for the nomination. Consider specifically how your position will work relating to opinion leaders, political networks, including fund raisers and contributors. Memo should be 1000 words and written in profession, not academic style.</p>	Week 4	<p>PMGT 4192 &amp; 4101: 25%</p> <p>PMGT 6436: 20%</p>
Deliverable 2 --	<p>Consider Matt Bai’s organizing principle regarding the relationship between presidential candidates and the media, and specifically the impact of this relationship on how scripted presidential candidates have become in their public appearances. What are the up sides and the down sides of this development as candidates for the nomination look towards the general election, and then to governing? Think piece should be 1000 words.</p>	Week 7	<p>PMGT 419 &amp; 41012: 25%</p> <p>PMGT 6436: 20%</p>

Deliverable 3 -	Write an article for the Manchester Union Leader describing the state of the race for the New Hampshire primary. Consider all the aspects we've considered through this semester in predicting who will do well and who will not do well on primary day. Consider the impact of the Iowa caucuses as you see them playing out, the expectations game, etc. 1500 words.	Week 13	PMGT 4192 & 4101: 25%  PMGT 6436: 20%
<b>Graduate Students must complete these three additional assignments.</b>			
<b>Hypotheticals - Candidates &amp; Their Electoral Contexts</b>	Three times during the semester, I will distribute a one-page "backgrounder" on a candidate and their electoral situation. You will be expected to write an approximately 250-word paragraph explaining to me why you think this candidate will win or lose, and what could be a potential "game-changer." Remember it is harder to write "short" than "long," so be sure to make your 250-words really count and focus on what you believe will be the most critical issue for this hypothetical candidate.;'t wa.	Weeks 3, 8, 10	5% each; total for 3 hypotheticals is 15%
Attendance and Participation	Your class engagement is required and in order for you to earn a high mark, you must fully engage in this class. Besides, it will make it much		PMGT 4192 & 4101: 25%

	<p>more interesting and fun.</p> <p>You must submit to me via Black Board at least one thoughtful question for our speaker each week based on either the assigned reading or on the speaker's biography. These submissions will be factored into the Attendance and Participation portion of your final grade.</p>		<p>PMGT 6436:</p> <p>25%</p>
Total			100%

Following is the grade scale for all GSPM/SIWP classes:

Grade*	Grading Standard
A 94-100	Your work is outstanding and ready for submission in a professional environment. Your material, effort, research, and writing demonstrate superior work.
A- 90-93	Represents solid work with minor errors. Overall, excellent work.
B+ 87-89	Very good. Represents well-written material, research, and presentation, but needs some minor work.
B 83-86	Satisfactory work, but needs reworking and more effort. Note that although not a failing grade, at the graduate level, anything below a "B" is viewed as unacceptable.
B- 80-82	You've completed the assignment, but you are not meeting all of the requirements.
C+ 77-79	Needs improvement in content and in effort. Shows some motivation and concern.
C 73-76	Needs reworking, improved effort, and additional research. Shows minimal motivation and concern.
C- 70-72 (lowest grade to pass)	Poor performance. Major errors, too many misspellings, problems with accuracy, etc.
F Below 70	Unacceptable performance, or inability to submit the assignment.

\*Please note that you will be penalized for late submission of assignment(s).

#### Required Texts and Learning Materials

Additional readings may be assigned. **Additional readings are available on Blackboard.**

Matt Bai, *All the Truth is Out* A.A. Knopf, 2014.

Lara M. Brown, *Jockeying for the American Presidency: The Political Opportunism of Aspirants* (Cambria Press, 2010), Segments to be provided. No need to purchase the book.

Jason Grumet, *City of Rivals*. Lyons Press, 2014.

Elaine Kamarck, *Primary Politics: How Presidential Candidates Have Shaped the Modern Nominating System*, Brookings Publications 2009

Barbara Norrander, *The Imperfect Primary, 2<sup>nd</sup> Ed.*, Routledge 2015

Kenny Whitby, *Strategic Decision-Making in Presidential Nominations: When and Why Elites Decide to Support a Candidate*, University of NY Press, 2015.

*Politico* daily news and opinion on all things political. Balanced coverage. [www.politico.com](http://www.politico.com). Be especially attentive to the weekly “Insiders” survey of key Democratic and Republican party activists and opinion leaders in Iowa and New Hampshire.

**Recommended:**

William G. Mayer & Jonathan Bernstein, *The Making of the Presidential Candidates 2012*, Rowman & Littlefield, 2012.

David P. Redlawsk and Caroline J. Tolbert, *Why Iowa?: How Caucuses and Sequential Elections Improve the Presidential Nominating Process*, University of Chicago Press, 2010,

**Stormy Weather, Dante Scala Macmillan, 2003**

## **Tentative Course Calendar\***

\*the instructor reserves the right to alter course content and/or adjust the pace to accommodate class progress. Students are responsible for keeping up with all adjustments to the course calendar.

\*Guest speakers are all subject to change to accommodate speakers' schedules.

### Week 1 September 3

#### **Leading up to the "First in the Nation":**

How does the New Hampshire primary fit into the larger presidential nomination process? How do the Iowa caucuses set up the primary? What's the history behind these early contests and the ultimate nominees? Who votes? Who doesn't? Why?

**Speaker: Clinton '92 Senior Advisor, Political Consultant, CNN Analyst, James Carville**

### Week 2, September 10

#### **The Main Event:**

How does the primary actually work? What are the secrets to running a good campaign in NH? How is the state representative or not of the rest of the country? Does that matter?

**Reading: Barbara Norrander, *The Imperfect Primary***

**Speaker: TBD**

### Week 3, September 17

#### **TENTATIVE: The Role of the National Parties**

**While the national parties always take on neutral stances during the contests over their presidential nominees, what are these organizations doing –officially and unofficially – to prepare for the general election? Do they try to influence choice of the party's ultimate standard-bearer?**

**Readings:** Whitby, *Strategic Decision-Making in Presidential Primaries*

**Speaker:**

### Week 4, September 24

#### **The Invisible Primary : Gaining Support**

What are the campaigns doing to line up early support among opinion-leaders on the national level as well as in the early states' political networks? Are these mating dances potentially detrimental to the larger nomination and general election effort? What are the roles of polling and fundraising at this point?

**Reading: Kenny Whitby, *Strategic Decision-Making in Presidential Nominations: When and Why Elites Decide to Support a Candidate*, U of NY Press, 2015.**

**Speaker: Matt Rhoades, Romney 2012 Campaign Mgr., Principal, America Rising PAC**

Week 5, October 1

**Invisible Primary: The Media**

How has the relationship between the media and presidential candidates evolved in the last generation? What is that relationship like now? How do candidates and journalists cope with it? Is it healthy?

**Reading: All the Truth is Out, Matt Bai, Alfred A. Knopf, 2014**

**Speaker: Journalist & Author, National Political Columnist at Yahoo News, Matt Bai**

Week 6, October 8

**Women and Political Power**

How do women gain power and how do they use it in American politics? Are there gender-related differences? If so, what are the origins/causes of these differences?

**Reading: TBD**

**Speaker: Stephanie Schriock, President EMILY's List, Former CM for Senators Al Franken & Jon Tester**

Week 7, October 15

How the calendar is shaping up and how the order of contests is key to candidate strategy and positioning -- especially, with respect to the Republican field.

**Reading: Lara M. Brown, Handout from Jockeying for the American Presidency: The Political Opportunism of Aspirants.**

**Speaker: Director, Campaign Management Track, GSPM, GWU, Dr. Lara Brown**

Week 8, October 22

***New Hampshire Field Trip***

*There will be events in NH in addition to your volunteer work on the campaign of your choice. Read the Manchester Union Leader, the Concord Monitor, and Politico.*

Week 9, October 29

**Local and National Earned Media**

Do local and regional media outlets cover the campaigns the same way that the national media do? What are the similarities and differences? What drives these approaches?

**Reading: Elaine Kamarck, *Primary Politics: How Presidential Candidates Have Shaped the Modern Nominating Process***

**Speaker: TBD**

Week 10, November 5

**Paid Media and Nominations**

What's the role of paid media in these early contests? In the absence of party affiliation as a driver, what are the ways in which candidates make their case for support to potential voters?

**Reading: TBD**

**Speakers: Democratic Media Consultant, Peter Fenn; Republican media Consultant, Paul Curcio**

Week 11, November 12

Money and Politics. Super PACS, the impact of Citizens United and related Supreme Court decisions on the conduct of the 2016 race so far and thoughts about the future of campaign financing.

**Reading: TBD**

**Speaker: Former Chair, Federal Elections Commission, Partner Riley-Rein, Michael Toner**

Week 12, November 19

Topic: TBD

**Reading: TBD**

**Speaker TBD**

Week 13

**T-day Break**

Week 14, December 3

**Future of NH Primary and Nominating Process and Electoral Reform**

**Reading: City of Rivals, Grumet**

**Speaker: Jason Grumet, President, Bipartisan Policy Center, Author, *City of Rivals*.**