



CAMPAIGN STRATEGY PRIMER

A COMPANION TO DAVID AXELROD AND KARL ROVE'S MASTERCLASS





WELCOME TO CLASS

Whether you aspire to hold office, build or advance a career in politics, work on campaigns, or simply want to become a more informed and engaged citizen, David and Karl have you covered. Consider the following suggestions for engaging with the material you will encounter in this class:

If you are pondering a run for office, move through the class as though you're in candidate bootcamp. Put yourself in the shoes of the candidates David and Karl discuss. Why are you running? What would your message be? Which issues impacting the people you hope to serve would you need to understand in order to develop policy and messaging?

If you are curious about a career in politics or working on a campaign, imagine taking on the roles that David and Karl mention, with an eye to which appeal to you and why.

If you want to get involved as a volunteer, think about the roles in different areas of a campaign you feel best match your skills. You can jump in by signing up to volunteer for the candidate of your choice. Most candidates or party websites have options for how to volunteer.

If your aim is to broaden and deepen your understanding of our electoral process and how campaigns work, then this class will help you bring key concepts to life so you can apply them to the current, past, and future election cycles. As a thought exercise, you might compare and contrast past presidential candidates and their campaigns. For example, in less than 20 words, what was Barack Obama's central argument during the 2008 campaign? What was Donald Trump's core message during the 2016 campaign? Who were the insurgent candidates during the 2016 presidential primaries? Who were the establishment candidates? And how did their messages and central arguments differ?





ROLL CALL: WHO'S WHO ON POLITICAL CAMPAIGNS

Although the size of staffs vary depending on the financial resources of a campaign, there are core responsibilities in all campaigns. A well-funded campaign can afford to distribute those responsibilities among staff, advisors, and consultants who specialize in their areas of expertise. On smaller campaigns, however, it is common for each member of a small team to take on multiple responsibilities across core areas, and for important leadership roles to be filled by volunteers. Here are summaries of the most common roles on a campaign. (Keep in mind that the configuration of duties can vary across campaigns).



CAMPAIGN MANAGER

Responsible for creating, implementing, and overseeing a campaign's strategic plan. The Manager reports directly to the candidate and is responsible for conducting the campaign in accordance with the candidate's mission, vision, and values. With the help of advisors and consultants, he or she writes the Campaign Plan; hires and manages the core team responsible for the campaign's operation; and makes strategic and tactical decisions throughout the race. He or she is responsible for making certain that the campaign is organized to make decisions effectively, efficiently, and quickly and must have final approval (next to the candidate) of the budget and all sponsoring decisions.

**CONSULTANTS**

These are experts in particular areas of planning and running campaigns who take on advisory roles. Campaigns hire consultants when existing staff and volunteers do not have sufficient expertise or time, or when it is financially advantageous versus adding staff. In a state-wide race, for example, a campaign might draw on the assistance of consultants in areas where the candidate, key supporters, and staff have few connections and little experience. Consultants can be freelancers or work for outside firms. There are consultants available for every imaginable function of a campaign, but common consultants are listed below.

GENERAL CONSULTANT

If a campaign has a General Consultant, he or she typically aids the candidate and the managers in developing the campaign strategy and plan, and then helps navigate major issues and events. Sometimes, they also oversee the advertising and messaging. A General Consultant might be a former Campaign Manager possessing extensive knowledge and experience, and he or she may work across multiple campaigns simultaneously.

FUNDRAISING CONSULTANT

Advises the Finance Director on strategy and planning for fundraising. The consultant is generally someone known to the donor network and has experience in introducing candidates to potential donors, hosts for events, and bundlers. They may also know how to organize events, call programs, mail, and internet fundraising.

MEDIA CONSULTANTS

Advises on messaging, and strategy, and handles the creation of advertisements. Campaigns will most commonly hire consultants with expertise in specific types of media, including television, digital/online, direct mail, and radio. Campaigns may also retain firms that place ads on televisions, cable or digital.

**COMMUNICATIONS DIRECTOR**

Leads the Communications team, and oversees all campaign interactions with media outlets and members of the press. On a small campaign, the Communications Director will handle press themselves; on a larger campaign, the Communications team is generally comprised of several aides, who share information with journalists and editors to generate press coverage for the campaign. Communications may also be responsible for all social media and web activity, ensuring that the campaign is heard online and that the campaign's message is advanced across all platforms. Communications also corrects or refutes adverse or inaccurate information. The Communications Director reports to the Campaign Manager.

**FIELD DIRECTOR**

Leads a campaign's grassroots organization. At the start of a campaign, the Field Director designs a Field Plan, which lays out tasks to achieve goals for voter identification, persuasion, and turnout among target groups. During the campaign, the Field Director manages Field Organizers and reports to the Campaign Manager.

**FIELD ORGANIZER**

Recruits, trains, and manages the volunteers in the grassroots effort to identify, persuade, and mobilize targeted voters. Field Organizers also recruit other volunteers. Field Organizers report to the Field Director and are most commonly assigned specific geographical areas.



FINANCE DIRECTOR

Responsible for creating and executing a campaign's fundraising plan. The Campaign's fundraising goals are driven by the projected funds needed to carry out all aspects of a campaign's operation, balanced against what's possible to raise. Finance Directors work closely with Campaign Managers to define goals and make strategic and tactical adjustments over the course of a race. Finance Directors tend to manage a portion of the candidate's time for personal fundraising appeals.



SOCIAL MEDIA DIRECTOR

Plans and executes strategies and tactics for reaching target audiences over social media platforms. On some campaigns, the Social Media function falls within the Communications department, but it can often be a consultant role or a senior function that reports directly to the Campaign Manager.



POLLSTER

The Pollster is responsible for conducting the campaign's survey research and focus groups, analyzing the results, and interpreting their implications for campaign messaging and strategy. Typically reports to the Campaign Manager.



SPEECH WRITER

Writes speeches for the candidate and perhaps also for representatives of the campaign. The Speech Writer works closely with the candidate and Campaign Manager and also with Policy Advisors, Researchers, and Communications staff. Reports to the Campaign Manager or Director of Communications.



POLICY ADVISOR

Does research to help develop and shape the Candidate's public policy agenda. The Policy Advisor reports to the Campaign Manager, and may also work with the Speech Writer or Communications Director to craft messages for the campaign.



TREASURER/CONTROLLER

Campaign laws require a Treasurer to sign the campaign finance reports, certifying their accuracy. In a smaller campaign, that function may be combined with the Controller's duties, which include paying bills, overseeing the deposit of contributions, managing the budget, and ensuring compliance with campaign finance laws, including the preparation of any campaign finance reports of donations and expenses.



SCHEDULER

Manages the candidate's calendar. All requests for the candidate's time go through the Scheduler, who works closely with the Campaign Manager and the candidate to prioritize.





GLOSSARY

ARC OF THE NARRATIVE

A term used to describe the sequence and timing with which campaign's themes and messages are deployed over the course of a race. The campaign's narrative encompasses the candidate's personal story, message, and argument; the arc is the strategic sequence by which the campaign directs attention to various elements. Particularly powerful messages might be slated to appear or be restated in new ways during moments of a race in which strategists feel they can gain maximum advantage toward winning. In practice, opposing campaigns vie over the course of a race to keep or take "control of the narrative." A campaign seen as "controlling" the narrative is on the offense, talking about what it wants, when it wants. A campaign that might be described as having "lost control" of the narrative has been forced by their opponent to talk about what it doesn't want to talk about. Campaigns have a plan for their desired narrative arc, but it's ultimately the chess match of messaging that defines the actual shape of the narrative arc of a race as it unfolds.

ARGUMENT

The argument of a campaign is the candidate's meta message for a specific contest in a specific political landscape. Elections are about choices, and the argument is the core reasoning presented by a candidate for why voters should choose them. David describes the argument as the "bulwark of your campaign," a filter through which all messaging and communications need to pass in order to ensure alignment and consistency with the campaign's central appeal to voters.

BASE

Members of the voting electorate who are ardent supporters of a candidate or party and seen by campaigns as having a relatively high likelihood of voting. This segment of the electorate is considered by the opponent's campaign to be unsympathetic to attempts at persuasion. In discussing campaign planning, Karl refers to the base as making up the "floor," or the campaign's estimate of the

minimum number of votes a candidate might reasonably expect to receive in a given election.

BUNDLER

An individual who brings together donors to make contributions to political campaigns. Historically, the term was used when the individual collected checks into a bundle and handed all the checks to the campaign.

CAMPAIGN SLOGAN

A campaign slogan distills the candidate's message and/or argument into a succinct phrase used in speeches, on advertisements, and might even become a chant at campaign events, like the "Yes We Can" slogan of the 2008 Obama campaign. Slogans for incumbent candidates, for example, tend to discourage voters from voting for change, as exemplified by versions of the idiom "don't change horses in midstream" used during Abraham Lincoln's 1864 reelection campaign, or "four more years of the full dinner pail," a slogan from the 1900 William McKinley reelection campaign. Cycling through too many slogans can indicate confusion within the campaign on its singular message and authentic argument. For David, this foreshadows an election loss, so choose your slogan wisely and aim for clarity.

CAMPAIGN PLAN

The master plan created by the Campaign Manager at the beginning of a campaign that charts its course. Similar to a business plan, the Campaign Plan is a dynamic document that details goals and strategies for all aspects of the campaign, including elements such as goals for fundraising or staffing needs that can change over the course of a race. It must include a budget, which is the plan reduced to its expenses and spread over time.

CANDIDATE RESEARCH

The effort undertaken by a campaign to acquire information about its candidate that will be useful in developing the candidate's message, designing campaign communications and advertisements, and preparing for contrast or

attack messaging deployed by an opponent. A campaign will seek information such as: personal history, the candidate's record and accomplishments while holding office, and a comprehensive accounting of public statements and voting record. David suggests: "Really understand who your candidate is: their biography, their record, what makes them tick, what's important to them, what they've done with their lives. You need to know the good, the bad, and the ugly."

CANDIDACY TYPES

Candidates for office generally fall into one of the following categories, based on their background, their positioning, and the nature of the race in which they compete.

- ✓ **Incumbent:** A candidate holding the office for which he or she seeks reelection. For example: George W. Bush, 2004.
- ✓ **Status Quo:** A candidate of the incumbent party who appeals to the electorate to vote for continuity of leadership. For example: George H. W. Bush, 1988.
- ✓ **Change Agent:** In direct opposition to the status quo appeal, the change agent candidate crafts a platform that focuses on the governing party's shortfalls and failures. The change agent's message and argument demonstrates a need for true change in representation, leadership, and governance, as well as an overhaul in personnel, policy prescriptions, values, and vision. For example: Barack Obama, 2008.
- ✓ **Insurgent:** A candidate seen as outside the mainstream of their party, whose ascendancy challenges existing orthodoxy. For example: Donald Trump, 2016.
- ✓ **Establishment:** A candidate seen as deeply embedded in, or a product of, a party's governing elite, whose policy prescriptions, behaviors, and postures should be shaped by adherence to and operation within the party's dominant power element. For example: Hillary Clinton, 2016.

CAUCUS

In nominating contests, a caucus is a meeting of voters who select delegates for their party's convention, usually in hopes that a preferred candidate will be nominated to represent their party in the general election. As of 2018, there are 13 states and three territories in which both major parties use this method of selecting delegates. Caucuses differ from primaries, as caucus-goers assemble in a room and move through a process of physically

sorting themselves into "preference groups" to be counted as having "caucused" (voted) for their preferred candidate. The term caucus also refers to a conference or sub-group of members of Congress belonging to a particular faction: the Freedom Caucus, for example, is comprised of Republican members of the House of Representatives who share a core ideology and work collaboratively.

CONSTITUENCY

Residents of a district or state represented by the same elected official.

DIRECT VOTER CONTACT

The central strategy for a Field Program in which campaign representatives, typically volunteers, communicate with voters. Campaigns employ tactics customized for particular voter groups, including:

- ✓ **Canvassing:** Volunteers going "door to door" to speak with targeted voters. (Karl calls this a "walk program.")
- ✓ **Phone banking:** Volunteers making phone calls to speak with targeted voters.
- ✓ **Text banking:** Volunteers texting targeted voters.

ELECTORATE

The total of the persons legally eligible—registered or not—to vote in a given electoral district, state, or nation.

ELECTORAL COLLEGE

The body comprised of electors from each state that elects the president, as established by the United States Constitution. The number of electors from each state is the same as the total of that state's representatives in Congress (each state has two senators and a number of congressmen that is proportional to its population.) Presently, the 538 total members of the Electoral College, none of whom can be federal officeholders, vote for the candidate who won the popular vote in their state, and the candidate who ends up with a majority of votes from the Electoral College wins the presidential election. The original Constitutional purpose of the Electoral College was to prevent majority voting blocs to trample the rights of voters who are in the minority. Alexander Hamilton, who wrote passionately in favor of the Constitution's ratification, argued for this system in part because he envisioned that electors would have information on candidates unavailable to the public and could save the nation

from demagoguery. As Hamilton explained, the Electoral College was created so “that the office of President will never fall to the lot of any man who is not in an eminent degree endowed with the requisite qualifications.”

ELECTORAL DISTRICT

The geographic area that defines an electorate (see electorate).

ELECTORAL LANDSCAPE

A snapshot of the range of political, social, and economic conditions that together create the environment in which an election is held. A Campaign Manager endeavors to understand and operate from an accurate picture of the Electoral Landscape to shape the goals, strategies, tactics, and day-to-day operations of the campaign.

FIELD PROGRAM

The arm of a campaign responsible for contacting and communicating with individual voters. In its most common form, volunteers carry out or support tactics such as voter registration, canvassing, and phone banking. Field Organizers manage the volunteers. A Field Director manages the Field Organizers and reports to the Campaign Manager.

FOCUS GROUP

A research method used to collect qualitative information from a collection of individuals who share same characteristics (e.g. undecided women, millennial independents). A facilitator will often lead a discussion with the goal of eliciting opinions, attitudes, and feelings about a particular element of a candidacy, candidate, campaign, strategy or tactic. (Note that the term also refers to the group itself, and can even be used as a verb.)

GENERAL ELECTION

The contest between opposing candidates selected by their parties to run for a specific office. In a General Election, all voters, regardless of party affiliation, can vote for their preferred candidate, from those approved for the ballot.

GERRYMANDERING

The manipulation of the boundaries of electoral districts for partisan gain. In most states, district boundaries are drawn by state legislators; the majority party controls

the process and Governors can approve or veto a plan. During redistricting, legislators from the majority party can achieve advantage by including or excluding voters from districts using predictive modeling of voting behaviors based on party affiliation, race, age, gender, income level, education level, and consumer data. Each congressional district is required to have equal populations and must follow other legal requirements such as the 1965 Voting Rights Act. Gerrymandering is done by both of the major parties.

GET OUT THE VOTE (GOTV)

GOTV refers to efforts to mobilize eligible citizens to cast a ballot. Campaign organizations want to mobilize their supporters only. GOTV takes place immediately in advance of and during days on which voters can actually cast their ballots. On these days, a campaign’s Field staff and volunteers devote maximum resources and energy to making sure every last one of its supporters vote. Every state allows some form of absentee ballot, while 37 allow some form of early voting, including in person, over an extended period of time, which informs the strategies of campaign field programs. In the handful of states, such as Washington State and Oregon, whose citizens receive a mail-in ballot and there are no traditional election day precincts, GOTV begins in the days just before ballots arrive in mailboxes and ends on the last day ballots can be mailed in.

GROUND GAME

The colloquial term for a campaign’s Field Program.

MESSAGE

A succinct definition of the core argument of a campaign. Properly drawn, it should implicitly present a candidate’s comparative advantages over an opponent on issues and qualities that are most salient to voters.

MESSAGING

The tactical deployment of the candidate’s message through all means of communication available to the campaign. Types of messaging can include explicit or implicit arguments and contrasts; insights into the candidate’s values, story, and achievements; messages intended to motivate volunteer recruitment or persuade and mobilize voters; or background on the candidate’s positions on important issues. Vehicles of messaging might include

advertisements, candidate speeches, direct mail, social media postings, or press coverage.

MICROTARGETING

The use of personal, online, consumer behavior, and voting data to identify target groups open to mobilization and persuasion, and provide insights into the issues and messages most effective with them.

MIDTERM

An election cycle that falls in the middle of the four-year term of a presidential administration. Examples: 2014, 2018, 2022.

MOBILIZATION

Set of strategies and tactics to connect with, engage, and move a candidate's supporters to vote. Karl discusses mobilization as having a specific focus on what field program directors and organizers might call "low-propensity voters," or voters with inconsistent voting histories, as well as persuadable voters, who are up for grabs.

OPINION RESEARCH

Pollsters use survey instruments (or questionnaires) to collect quantitative data on the opinions of voters and their reactions to potential campaign messages, both for and against a candidate, and track voter attitudes and perceptions over time.

OPPOSITION RESEARCH

The collection and analysis of information about an opponent. Campaigns may do this research in-house or hire an opposition research firm to conduct a thorough investigation. Opposition research might include checking the veracity of a candidate's personal story or biography. Opposition Researchers might comb through the social media accounts of opposing candidates, talk to past colleagues or employers, and inspect the candidate's voting record and tax records. Prior to sharing information collected about an opponent, a campaign must, as David advises, run the idea—the tenor, timing, and content of attack and contrasting messaging—through the filter of the central argument of the campaign to ensure alignment and consistency with that argument and the campaign's core message.

PARTISAN

A strong supporter of a political party.

PARTISANSHIP

The inclination of individuals to support policies, candidates, laws, and appointees out of party loyalty.

PERSUASION

The strategies and tactics used to generate support in the electorate among undecided voters and "soft" supporters of the opposing candidate. Persuasion efforts involve specially-designed messages, arguments, and messaging for a given "persuadable" target audience delivered through all the means available to the campaign, including television, social media, direct mail, and earned media; direct voter contact conversations and campaign literature delivered by field organizers and volunteers; or in speeches and appearances by the candidate or their representative.

POLARIZATION

The condition in which individuals strictly adhere to the stances of their own political parties or factions, which creates a divide between staunch partisans on opposing sides.

POLLING

The use of survey instruments to elicit and record an individual's opinions, attitudes, and personal information. Instruments can be designed to capture qualitative data by asking open-ended questions of voters and recording answers in their own words. Quantitative instruments provide fixed options for their respondents' answers, such as "What is your opinion of the candidate? Choose one: favorable, somewhat favorable, not sure, somewhat unfavorable, unfavorable." Common polls include:

- ✓ **Baseline/Benchmark Poll:** These are conducted at the beginning of a campaign to establish baselines levels of voters' perceptions, knowledge, and opinions of a candidate. David and Karl use the terms Baseline and Benchmark interchangeably.
- ✓ **Brushfire Poll:** These are conducted to gauge changes in voter sentiment during a race. A common Brushfire Poll seeks to measure a candidate's popularity by checking "favorable" and "unfavorable" ratings.

- ✓ **Tracking Poll:** A shorter, smaller poll conducted daily among the same universe of voters at key periods in primaries or general elections to track how their perceptions, attitudes, and opinions about a candidate change.
- ✓ **Exit Poll:** Surveys given to voters exiting polling locations to learn how they voted. These polls are only useful in retrospect (to learn from the past).

PREDICTIVE MODELING

The use of data and working assumptions to ascribe probabilities to various outcomes; also known as analytics. For example, campaigns use predictive modeling to create goals for voter turnout among different segments of an electorate and to use the results of phone programs, canvassing, and absentee or early voting to project possible results.

PRIMARY

An election comprised of candidates vying to become the nominee of a party for the general election. In an open primary, eligible voters may cast a vote in any party primary of their choosing, regardless of their own party affiliation. States such as New Hampshire and Michigan have open primaries. This is in contrast to a closed primary, in which voters may only participate in the party primary matching their party affiliation. States such as Florida, Nevada, and Pennsylvania have closed primaries. Nearly half of the US states have hybrid forms of primaries that enable unaffiliated voters to participate in party primaries of their choosing.

PROFILES IN COURAGE

A book written by then-Senator John F. Kennedy (with assistance from his speechwriter Ted Sorensen) published in 1956 comprised of short biographies of eight United States Senators focused on their acts of bravery and integrity. The book won the Pulitzer Prize for Biography or Autobiography in 1957.

REDISTRICTING

The process undertaken every ten years in which each state draws new electoral districts. Redistricting happens next in 2021. The United States Census Bureau conducts a census every ten years, aiming to count and collect information on every person in the nation, including

precisely where people live within a state. This influences the ways in which electoral districts can be drawn during redistricting, since all districts in a given state are required to have the same population.

PERSONAL STORY

A cogent narrative that seeks to illustrate key aspects of a candidate's biography, work, life, challenges and values. A candidate's personal story is a central part of the core message of a campaign as validation of the argument that underpins his or her entire candidacy.

SURROGATES

Guest representatives of a candidate with particular appeal for target audiences. Examples from the 2016 Presidential election include then-First Lady Michelle Obama on the Hillary Clinton campaign and former New York Mayor Rudy Giuliani on the Donald Trump campaign.

SWING VOTERS

Voters who tend to "swing" their votes from race to race and election to election between candidates of different parties.

TICKET-SPLITTERS

Individuals who choose to vote for candidates of different parties across multiple races in the same general election.

TYRANNY OF THE MAJORITY

A concept defined by political economist and philosopher John Stuart Mill in the nineteenth century describing a potential problem for a democracy in which those in the majority voting bloc advance their interests at the expense of those in the minority voting bloc. The Electoral College—a body of electors charged with electing the president—was written into the Constitution to prevent the situation in which pure direct democracy breaks down in this way; the Framers were concerned specifically about the majority consistently ignoring and then alienating the rights of a minority.

VOTER FILE

Publicly-available information (generally through a county registrar or a state's Secretary of State office) on those who are registered to vote. Records for each individual include names and pertinent information such as a person's party affiliation, age, address, phone number, and sometimes race. These files often are enhanced by

campaigns, parties, and independent groups with a raft of additional commercially available consumer data to help flesh out the profile of voters.

VOTER UNIVERSE

This term is used by Campaign Managers and Field Programs to describe all of the voters a campaign intends to identify, persuade, and mobilize. The foundation of such records is the publicly-available information on voters contained in the Voter File.

VOTING PATTERNS

The historical voting tendencies of individuals who share common characteristics. Campaigns use this information to shape their assumptions and predictions about how segments of voters will vote, which is necessary to establishing goals in the Campaign Plan that drive strategies for direct voter contact, messaging, public relations, fundraising, and event planning. An example might be helpful here. Say a Democratic campaign considers voting pattern data showing that 59% of Millennials tend to vote Democratic. Voting pattern data also show that Millennial voters continually vote at the lowest rates of any other voter age group. A campaign will use these two patterns, among others, to estimate the number of votes their candidate might receive from Millennials in a given area, and shape strategy accordingly.

VOTER REGISTRATION PICTURE

The percentage of voters registered as members of each party and those unaffiliated with any party.

VOTER TARGETING

The process campaigns use to identify the segments of a voting population they intend to engage for identification, persuasion, and/or mobilization. Goals for outreach to different targeted voter segments drive strategy and tactics in all areas of a campaign, including messaging and the Field Program's direct voter contact efforts.

VOTER TURNOUT

The share of registered voters who cast votes in a given election.

WIN NUMBER

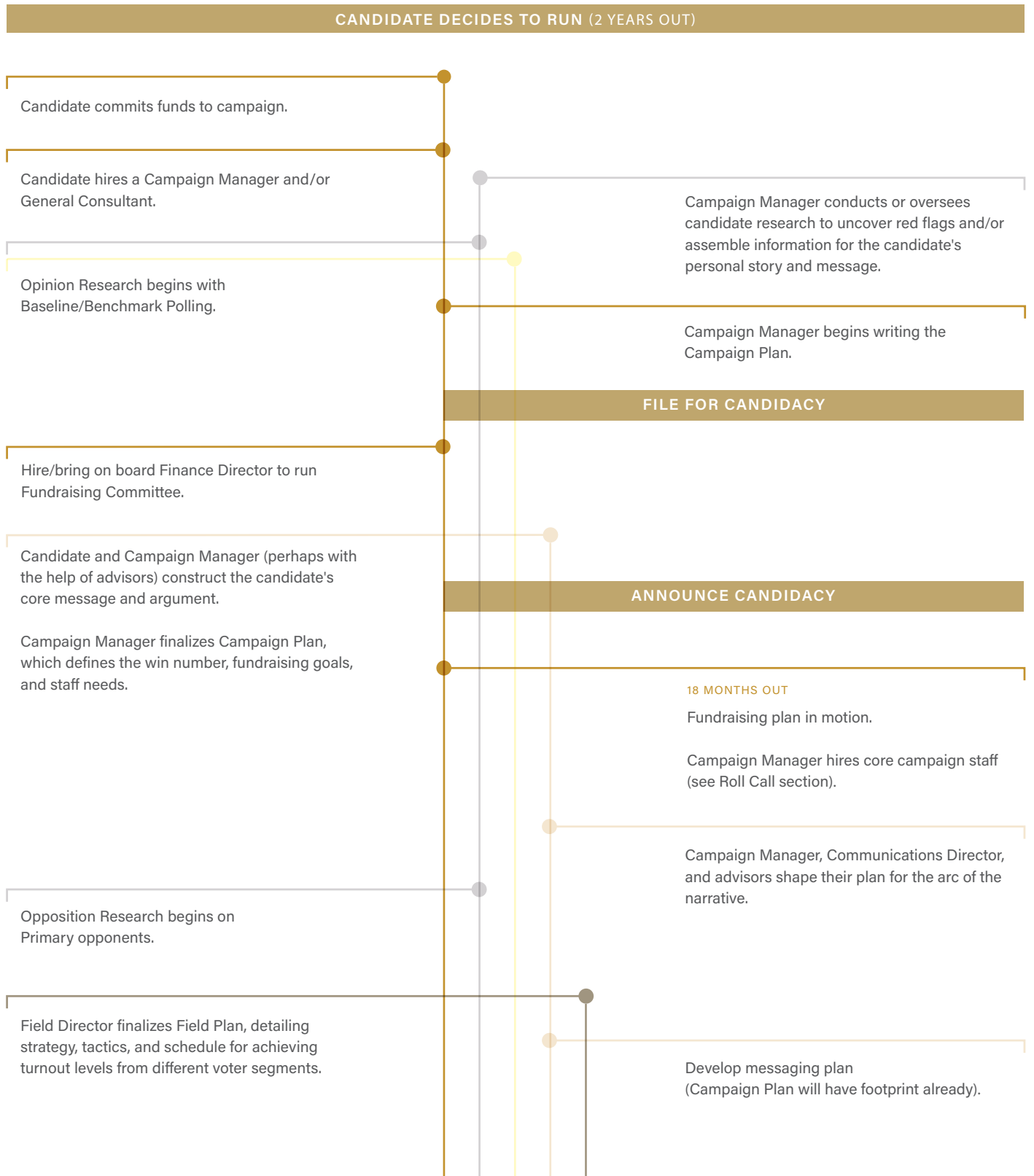
Also referred to as a Vote Goal on some campaigns, the Win Number is the estimate made by a campaign of the number of votes a candidate will need to win an election. Though neither of the instructors use this exact term, this concept was discussed in depth and is crucial to understanding how campaigns develop strategy. In short, most campaigns begin the planning process by calculating their Win Number by city, county, neighborhood, or even precinct. They then create a model that breaks that number down into the number of votes needed from particular voter segments, which directs strategic planning, staffing needs, and the use of resources.



CAMPAIGN TIMELINE

The following is an overview of a general campaign.

First the candidate will soul search, network, and explore the idea of running for office.



Opposition Research begins on likely General Election opponents.

Field Program kicks into full gear.

Social media and press communications underway.

In-cycle Opinion Research continues, perhaps with Focus Groups to test messages or Brushfire Polls to gauge perceptions of the candidate.

Campaign advertisements online, in print, and on TV designed and deployed.

Direct mail deployed to targeted voters.

Field Program launches Get Out the Vote (GOTV) push in the final stage of the Primary Election.

Field Program deploys candidate for appearances, events, and speeches, as well as volunteers for canvassing and phonebanking.

PRIMARY ELECTION

Candidate unifies the party, and seeks support and endorsements from Primary opponents that he or she beat.

Key campaign surrogates are deployed for events and interviews.

Field Program hires additional Field Organizers; volunteers continue identifying and persuading voters, and recruiting volunteers to expand and strengthen the campaign's operation.

Field Program executes final voter registration push before the deadline.

VOTER REGISTRATION DEADLINE (MID-OCT)

Campaign schedule packed with events, candidate and surrogate speeches, and appearances.

Communications, direct mail, messaging all focused on finding every last advantage to persuade undecided voters and to mobilize supporters to vote.

Field Program devotes maximum resources on recruiting volunteers for GOTV.

GOTV push to the finish line.

ELECTION DAY



READING LIST

FROM THE MASTERS

Believer: My Forty Years in Politics by David Axelrod. Penguin, 2015.

Courage and Consequence: My Life as a Conservative in the Fight by Karl Rove. Simon and Schuster, 2010.

The Triumph of William McKinley: Why the Election of 1896 Still Matters by Karl Rove. Simon and Schuster, 2016.

RECOMMENDED BY DAVID

The Audacity to Win: The Inside Story and Lessons of Barack Obama's Historic Victory by David Plouffe. Viking, 2009.

What It Takes by Richard Ben Cramer. Vintage, 1993.

RECOMMENDED BY KARL

The Responsive Chord by Tony Schwartz. Doubleday, 1973.

The New Politics of Old Values by John Kenneth White. University Press of America, 1988.

The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns by Sasha Issenberg. Broadway Books, 2012.

KNOWLEDGE & HISTORICAL CONTEXT

"[Campaign Circular from Whig Committee](#)" by Abraham Lincoln, 1840. From ***Collected Works of Abraham Lincoln, Volume 1***.

Campaigns on the Cutting Edge, edited by Richard J. Semiatin. CQ Press, 3rd edition, 2016.

"[The Diversity Of Black Political Views](#)" by Perry Bacon Jr. and Dhruvil Mehta, FiveThirtyEight.com, 2018.

Game Change: Obama and the Clintons, McCain and Palin, and the Race of a Lifetime by John Heilemann and Mark Halperin. HarperCollins, 2010.

"[How Donald Trump's Personal Brand Won Him The Presidency: A case study for the ages](#)" by Nicolas Cole, Inc.com, 2016.

"[How Female Candidates are Changing the Way Campaigns are Run](#)" by Cheryl Hori, Campaigns&Elections.com, 2018.

Give Us the Ballot by Ari Berman. Farrar, Straus and Giroux, 2015.

"[Keeping up Your Social Presence in the Emoji Era](#)" by JR Starrett, Campaigns&Elections.com, 2016.

"[The Partisan Divide on Political Values Grows Even Wider](#)" by the Pew Center, 2017.

Political Consultants and American Elections: Hired to Fight, Hired to Win by Dennis W. Johnson. Routledge, 2015.

"[Political Polarization, 1994-2017](#)" by the Pew Center, 2017.

"[The Strength of the Latino Vote: Current and Future Impact on the U.S. Political Landscape](#)" Unidos US, (2018).



The Race to 270: The Electoral College and the Campaign Strategies of 2000 and 2004 by Daron R. Shaw. University of Chicago Press, 2008.

Campaigns & Elections: Rules, Reality, Strategy, Choice by John Sides, Daron Shaw, Matt Grossman, and Keena Lipsitz. Norton, 3rd edition, 2018.

The Signal and the Noise: Why So Many Predictions Fail—But Some Don't by Nate Silver. Penguin, 2012.

STRATEGY

"A Candidate's Guide to Polling" by Justin Wallin, Campaigns&Elections.com, 2017.

Campaign Craft: The Strategies, Tactics, and Art of Political Campaign Management by Daniel M. Shea, Michael John Burton, and William J. Miller. Praeger, 5th edition, 2015.

The Campaign Manager: Running and Winning Local Elections by Catherine Shaw. Routledge Press, 6th edition, 2018.

Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout by Donald P. Green and Alan S. Gerber. Brookings Institution Press, 2015.

The Media Handbook: A Complete Guide to Advertising Media Selection, Planning, Research, and Buying by Helen Katz. Taylor & Francis, 2016.

Political Campaign Planning Manual by J. Brian O'Day. National Democratic Institute for International Affairs, USAID.

Political Targeting by Hal Malchow. Predicted Lists, 2008.

Political Polling: Strategic Information in Campaigns by Jeffrey M. Stonecash. Rowman & Littlefield, 2013.

ACTION

"The 2016 U.S. Presidential Candidates' Logos, Ranked" by Chris Stout-Hazard, Organizer Sandbox, 2015.

"Building a Cybersecurity Culture in Campaign Space" by Benjamin Barret, Campaigns&Elections.com, 2018.

"Conducting Focus Groups," *Community Toolbox*, Chapter 3, Section 6.

"The Final Push to Election Day: 4 Ways Campaigns Can Use Direct Mail to Finish Strong" by Elena Neely, Campaigns&Elections.com, 2017.

"How to Assemble Your Campaign Team" by Benjamin A. Katz, Aristotle.com, 2014.

"An Introduction To The Dark Arts Of Opposition Research" by Hilary Krieger, FiveThirtyEight.com, 2017.

"It's Not About the Zingers and 7 Other Debate-Prep Tips" by Stuart Stevens, The Washington Post, 2016.

"Online Fundraising 101" by Colin Delany, Campaigns&Elections.com, 2016.

"The Power of the Message Box" by Suzanne Hawkes, 2010.

"Why Your Researcher Needs to Dig up Dirt on You" by Jacob G. Daniels, Campaigns&Elections.com, 2016.

