The Graduate School of Political Management
THE GEORGE WASHINGTON UNIVERSITY

M.P.S. in Political Management
Spring 1 2022 (Jan. 10 – Mar. 20)

Campaigns Around the World
PMGT 6442
Three Credits

Thursdays 6:10 – 8:10 pm

Instructor Information

Instructor
Gary Nordlinger, MA, JD, a "career" political campaign and public affairs consultant (specializing in media and message) who has 35+ years of experience working with campaigns and public officials in more than 40 countries on six continents.

Contact Information
Phone Number: (202) 255-2434
Email Address: Nordling@gwu.edu

Communication
 Mr. Nordlinger is available via phone or in-person at a mutually convenient location. He is happy to discuss the class, politics in general, or your career goals.

Course Details

This is a course originally designed for graduate students by graduate students (Yeonathan Abelson, Ricardo Castillo and Florencia Filadoro; now successful campaign consultants who remain senior course advisors).

Each week, we study a recent national election of international significance through a case study given by a senior "insider" from that election. To permit comparability among nations studied, each speaker is asked to follow the "Case Study Outline" on pages 4-5.

Plenty of time is available for questions and discussion.

We will use remaining class time for discussion on a broader topic – like "Why are political attitudes in the US different from other industrialized countries?," Mr. Nordlinger's "Five Universal Political

Common Denominators," or guest speakers on topics "Life in the US Foreign Service," or "What life is like for a 'back bench' Member of Parliament."

Your questions and discussion are an important component of this course. While campaign techniques (polling, advertising, etc.) are discussed, no in-depth knowledge of these techniques is needed.

Please note: There are multiple written assignments due each week. If your schedule does not permit your timely submissions, please defer this course until you have more time available.

Course goals
Whether your career interests are political, policy, international business or diplomacy; this course will hopefully be useful in helping you analyze future events on the world stage.

By the end of this course, you will understand that:

1. A nation's electoral process plays a key role in determining its public policy and "political personality."

2. Most of the world does not use a US style "separation of powers" model. You will be familiar with systems that use parliamentary style governments, proportional representation and "party lists" in lieu of single member districts (among others).

3. Campaigns laws dictate what techniques of voter contact are used, and campaign styles must fit within the culture of the county.

4. The United States is not the center of the political universe – US consultants are relatively "minor players" on the world stage and campaign techniques and technology are evolving throughout the world in real time. We have as much to learn from elections in other countries as they have to learn from us.

5. The US president is a relatively weak chief executive by world standards and, especially by European standards, the US Republican and Democratic parties are so weak that it is most useful to think of them as "party coalitions."

Relationship to GSPM Political Management Program Goals

1. Assessing a political environment, developing a strategy to achieve specified goals within that environment, and acting to carry out that strategy through a campaign.

You will see and learn from the specific case studies how this is done in different political systems and cultures.

2. Drawing upon a repertoire of effective campaign communication skills.

Please see points 3 and 4 above.

3. Collecting, evaluating, and incorporating empirical evidence to shape and optimize a campaign.

You will see how this is done throughout the world. My own experiences have taught me that the process of message development translates worldwide while the process of message delivery differs based on election laws and culture.

4. Finding, engaging, and motivating the right people –leaders, professional colleagues, and citizens-- to join and contribute to a campaign.

Again, you will see and learn from the specific case studies how this is done in different political systems and cultures.

5. Addressing the recurring dilemmas of political life in a manner that upholds ethical standards as they practice the profession.

One of my "universal political common denominators" is "we all want a political process of which we can be proud." You will see examples of countries where people both have and lack confidence in its basic electoral fairness and rule of law.

Countries studied

Countries for 2022 are still being selected. In past years we have case studied elections in Albania, Argentina, Australia, Austria, Brazil, Canada, Chile, China, Colombia, Costa Rica, Dominican Republic, France, Germany, Ghana, Greece, Guatemala, Honduras, India, Indonesia, Israel, Japan, Ghana, México, Mongolia, Myanmar, Nigeria, Philippines, Russia, Spain, South Korea, Sweden, Switzerland, Tunisia, Turkey, Ukraine, United Kingdom, and Venezuela.

Course requirements

The good news is there will not be a final exam. Given the condensed ten week class schedule (and terms of our accreditation for a three credit hour course) you will be expected to devote at least three hours a week outside of class preparing your memos and other assignments.

Your grade will be based on:

Weekly written assignment (65%): Most weeks before class you will submit a memo of at least 1,500 words (not counting sources or headers) on the political/electoral system of the nation we will analyze. More specifics will be provided, but this is essentially a "briefing memo" I would ask a staff member to give me in preparation for the initial meeting with a potential client.

These memos will be due by Noon on Tuesdays.

Blackboard Assignments and Discussions (30%): To maximize class time for discussion, speakers will often be recorded after Noon on Tuesdays. You are welcome to attend online if your schedule permits. Please watch these recordings before class on Thursdays. The speaker will then be "live" during class for questions and discussions.

Class participation (5%): This will be based on your contribution to the intellectual curiosity and discussion within the classroom.

Readings

Electoral System Design: The New International IDEA Handbook. International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) Copyright © 2005.   This free publication can be downloaded at www.idea.int/publications/esd or from the class Blackboard.

Electoral system design in the context of constitution-building, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) Copyright © 2018.   This free publication can be downloaded at https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/electoral-system-design-in-the-context-of-constitution-building.pdf or from the class Blackboard.

Electoral System Reform and Design, International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) Copyright © 2019.   This free publication can be downloaded at https://www.idea.int/sites/default/files/publications/electoral-system-reform-and-design.pdf or from the class Blackboard. **Page Three and the first paragraph on Page Four provide a valuable summary of electoral systems.**

Recommend but not assigned: *American Exceptionalism: A Double-Edged Sword*, Seymour Martin Lipset (W.W. Norton, 1996). (This is the single most useful book I have ever read on why we in the US are inherently anti-statist, suspicious of government, and right of center by world standards).

Resources for your weekly case study memos:

Must use: "Political Handbook of the World 2020-2021" available through the GW library on-line within the CQ Political Reference Suite within the political science section of the "Articles and Data Bases".

While you will need to login to the GWU library to view this, the link is https://sk-sagepub-com.proxygw.wrlc.org/cqpress/political-handbook-of-the-world-2020-2021

For reasons we will discuss, each cases study memo must include at least one reference from this source.

Also useful: http://www.electionguide.org/

http://aceproject.org/

https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/

http://www.state.gov/

http://www.economist.com/topics/

http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/country_profiles/default.stm

http://www.americasquarterly.org

http://www.politicsabroad.com/

Websites of Transparency International, Freedom House, and Reporters Without Borders

Websites of major "in country" newspapers

Case Study Outline that guest speakers are asked to follow:

Please use the following questions to structure your presentation and allocate your time. This will help the audience to understand the strategy and tactics used on the campaign, why they were used, and to maintain consistency between the nations studied.

The "Ground" Rules (20 minutes or less):

1.   Is it a parliamentary or a presidential system?

2.   Who are the major non-governmental powers (including business, labor, or religious interests)? Is there a King or Queen? Are there NGO's which can influence the politics of a given country or area? What role does the "free press" play? What about social media?

3.   What are the major elected offices?

4.   Is reelection permitted?

5.   Is there a second "round" if no one gets more than a certain percentage?

        a. If so, how does this encourage alliances?

6.   How important are political parties?

        a. Do people actually become dues paying members of the party?

        b. Who selects the party leaders?

7.   How do parties select their candidates?

8.   Is voting mandatory?

9.   Are legislators elected from districts (constituencies) or from party list?

a. If from districts, who draws the boundaries and what are the criteria? Are partisan/political factors taken into account?

10.   How do parties raise their money? How do campaigns raise their money?

11.   Do campaigns have time limits for when money can be spent?

Political Climate (10 minutes):

1.   What party won the last elections?

2.   What were the dynamics of the last campaign for national office?

3.   What was the mood of the voters during the campaign? What were the major issues?

4.   Were polling and focus groups important for this election? Was there any other type of research used?

Campaign strategies and tactics (30 minutes):

5.   What was the main strategy? How did you craft such a strategy?

6.   What was the targeted group?

7.   What was the main message of the campaign? How did you arrive to this message? How the campaign messages were developed?

8.   Were there any coalitions in place?

9.   How were campaign messages delivered (in-person, paid radio and/or TV, telephone/cell phones, outdoor posters, mail, newspapers, magazines, on-line)?   Was digital and social media used?

10.   How was the grassroots mobilization strategy? How did you do it? Was it effective? Are citizens living outside the country allowed to vote? If so, are they an important element? Are persuasion or voter turnout messages delivered to them?

11.   How did the campaign manage the fundraising?

Conclusion (10 minutes)

1.   What would are the best lessons to be learned from this campaign?

2.   What are your predictions about the next campaign for national office?

Questions and discussion (20 minutes)

Expectations and Responsibilities

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 GWU Blackboard. Please note that your access to this course on Blackboard will continue for one month after the course ends. If you wish to keep any work or materials, you must download or save them before the course closes. Support for Blackboard is available at 202-994-4948 or IT Blackboard web page.

Out-of-Class/ Independent Learning Expectation
For face-to-face classes:
Over the course of the semester, students will spend approximately three hours per week in combined online class meetings (synchronous learning) and engaged in asynchronous instructional learning activities (done weekly on one's own time) over the 10-week term. In addition to these required asynchronous and synchronous activities, reading for the class meetings and written response papers or projects are expected to take up, on average, 8¼ hours per week. Over the course of the semester, students will spend 30 hours in instructional time (asynchronous and synchronous) and 82.5 hours preparing for class for a total of 112.5 hours. Hybrid and Online courses meet the total 112.5 hours of total instruction.

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." Copying information and pasting it into a paper without a quotation and citation is an act of plagiarism. Acts of academic dishonesty are a legal, moral, and intellectual offense against the community and will be prosecuted through the proper university channels. For the first offense, the student will receive an "F" for the assignment and formal charges will be filed with the Office of Academic Integrity. For the second offense, charges will again be filed and the student will receive an "F" for the final course grade. Penalties for academic dishonesty are not negotiable. You will not be offered a "do-over" or resubmission. The University Code of Academic Integrity can be found at http://studentconduct.gwu.edu/code-academic-integrity

Attendance Policy
Regular attendance is expected.   If you must miss class, please let me know in advance if possible.

University Policy on Observance of Religious Holidays
Students must notify faculty as early as possible, but no later than three weeks prior to the absence, of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance. If the holiday falls in the first three weeks of class, the student must inform the faculty within the first week of the semester that they are enrolled in the course.

To the greatest extent possible, faculty must continue to extend to these students the courtesy of absence without penalty on such occasions, including permission to make up examinations.

Faculty who intend to observe a religious holiday must arrange at the beginning of the semester to reschedule missed classes or to make other provisions for their course-related activities.

For the full text of the policy and calendar of religious holidays, please see the Office of the Provost's Policies web page (Religious Holidays document).

Online Classroom Conduct Policy

You should behave in class as if you are in a professional setting. Unless you are having connection difficulties, you are expected to activate your camera and to be present, attentive, and engaged during online course meetings. Please do not attempt to multitask, as it is almost impossible to read something while simultaneously listening to something else. Please observe the following rules of netiquette for communicating online:

- Remain professional, respectful, and courteous at all times.
- Remember that a real human being wrote each post and will read what you write in response. It is easy to misinterpret discussion posts. Let's give the benefit of the doubt.
- If you have a strong opinion on a topic, it is acceptable to express it as long as it is not phrased as an attack. Please be gracious with differing opinions.
- When upset, wait a day or two prior to posting. Messages posted (or emailed) in anger are often regretted later.
- Proofread and use the spell check tool when you type a post. It makes the post easier to read and helps your readers understand what you are saying.

Your instructor reserves the right to delete any post that is deemed inappropriate for the discussion forum, blog, or wiki without prior notification to the student. This includes any post containing language that is offensive, rude, profane, racist, or hateful. Posts that are seriously off-topic or serve no purpose other than to vent frustration will also be removed.

Technology Requirements

It is your responsibility to ensure that you have the required technology to fully participate in this course. The minimum technology requirements for learning online at GW are outlined on the Technical Requirements and Support web page. If you have any problems with the technology in this course, you can seek technological support from GW in a variety of ways, outlined on the IT Support website. GW is committed to providing an inclusive and welcoming environment that is accessible for everyone, including people with disabilities. The following links provide more information about the accessibility of technologies that may be used in this course:

- Blackboard accessibility
- Microsoft Office accessibility
- Adobe accessibility
- Vimeo accessibility
- YouTube accessibility
- VoiceThread accessibility
- Webex accessibility
- Zoom accessibility

If you have any issues regarding the accessibility of the technology used in this course, please contact your instructor. You may also explore the Disability Support Services website (see above).

Technology Expectations
Regarding technology skills, you should be able to (delete all not needed):
- Create documents and presentation slides
- Use a webcam and microphone
- Use a digital camera or scanner
- Upload files, including recordings and images
- Be open to learning and registering for new technologies
- Be flexible when technological glitches happen (which is a given)
- Seek technological help when necessary by contacting the Division of Information Technology

If you have any problems with the technology expectations in this course, please contact your instructor.

Use of Electronic Course Materials and Class Recordings
Students are encouraged to use electronic course materials, including recorded class sessions, for private personal use in connection with their academic program of study. Electronic course materials and recorded class sessions should not be shared or used for non-course related purposes unless express permission has been granted by the instructor. Students who impermissibly share any electronic course materials are subject to discipline under the Student Code of Conduct. Please contact the instructor if you have questions regarding what constitutes permissible or impermissible use of electronic course materials and/or recorded class sessions. Please contact Disability Support Services if you need additional accommodations for accessing electronic course materials.

Copyright Statement
Unless explicitly allowed by the instructor, course materials, class discussions, and examinations are created for and expected to be used by class participants only. The recording and rebroadcasting of such material, by any means, is forbidden. The Copyright Act (17 U.S.C. § 10) governs the rights attributed to owners of copyrighted work. Under certain circumstances, educational institutions may provide copies of copyrighted works to students. The copies may not be copied nor used for any other purpose besides private study, scholarship, or research. Users should not provide electronic copies of any materials provided on this course's Blackboard site to unauthorized users. If a user fails to comply with Fair Use restrictions, he/she may be held liable for copyright infringement. No further transmission or electronic distribution is permitted.

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 https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/.

Counseling and Psychological Services
GW's Colonial Health Center offers counseling and psychological services, supporting mental health and personal development by collaborating directly with students to overcome challenges and difficulties that may interfere with academic, emotional, and personal success. For additional information call 202-994-5300 or visit the Counseling and Psychological Services website.

Title IX: Confidentiality and Responsible Employee Statement
The George Washington University (GWU) and its faculty are committed to helping create a safe and open learning environment for all students. If you (or someone you know) have experienced any form of sexual misconduct, including sexual assault, dating or domestic violence, or stalking, know that help and support are available. GWU strongly encourages all members of the community to take action, seek support and report incidents of sexual misconduct to the Title IX Office. Please be aware that under Title IX of the Education Amendments of 1972, faculty members are required to disclose information about such misconduct to the Title IX Office.

If you wish to speak to a confidential employee who does not have this reporting responsibility, you can contact Mental Health Services through Colonial Health (counselors are available 24/7 at 202-994-5300 or you can make an appointment to see a counselor in person.). For more information about reporting options and resources at GWU and the community, please visit https://haven.gwu.edu/.

The Writing Center
The Writing Center is located in Gelman Library at 2130 H St NW in Suite 221 and they can be reached at 202-994-3765 or via email at gwriter@gwu.edu. You can schedule writing center appointments, both in-person or by phone, in advance. Daytime and evening hours are available. Check for this semester's hours at the writing center contact page. The Writing Center offers summer hours.

GWU Libraries
Off campus students have full access to all of the research resources, services, and assistance that the Library offers. The GW community has access to 500+ online subscription databases and to millions of items, electronic and print, in the library catalog. Off-campus students even have additional privileges because the Library will FedEx print materials to your home. For more information visit the GW Libraries homepage.

Call the Ask Us desk at 202-994-6048 or contact someone at the library to answer any questions. For questions beyond "Do you have this book/article?" and "How do I login?" use the website mentioned to make a research consultation appointment with a librarian. Librarians are there to guide students through any aspect of the research process, from selecting and narrowing a topic, crafting a research strategy to citation management.

Safety and Security
- **In an emergency**: call GWPD at 202-994-6111 or call 911
- **For situation-specific actions**: review the Emergency Response Handbook
- **In an active violence situation**: Get Out, Hide Out or Take Out
- **Stay informed**: review notification tools for staying informed during emergency and safety related situations

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:

Dr. Todd Belt
Director, Political Management Program

tbelt@gwu.edu | 202-994-4363

Suzanne Farrand
Director of Academic Administration, GSPM
sfarrand@gwu.edu | 202-994-9309

Following is the grade scale for all GSPM 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 may be penalized for late submission of assignment(s).

Copyright Statement

Unless explicitly allowed by the instructor, course materials, class discussions, and examinations are created for and expected to be used by class participants only. The recording and rebroadcasting of such material, by any means, is forbidden.