Political Campaigns (POLM 5011)

Course Description

A strategic approach to developing and executing political campaigns, including: campaign ethics, strategy, message, communications planning, paid media, earned media, policy, public opinion, issues management, budget, campaign structure, debates, local campaigns, and GOTV.

Learning Outcomes

Students will develop the skills needed to take on major roles on political campaigns. They will develop a deep understanding of the strategic decisions facing political candidates, and the tactics used by modern campaigns.

Reserved Reading List

Students are not required to purchase textbooks or other learning materials for this course.

Most of the readings from the following books are available electronically through MacOdrum library. In addition, the full copy of many of these books are on reserve at MacOdrum library. Students are encouraged to read the identified sections by the dates indicated in the course outline:

- Burton, M.J., Miller, W.J., & Shea, D.M. (2015). Campaign craft: The strategies, tactics, and art of political campaign management (5th ed.). Santa Barbara, CA: Praeger, ABC-CLIO, LLC. ISBN: 9781440837326.
- Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). *Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals* (2nd ed.). Thousand Oaks, CA: CQ Press. ISBN: 9781544316741.
- Green, D.P. & Gerber, A.S. (2019). Get out the vote: How to increase voter turnout (4th ed.).
 Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. E-book available online at MacOdrum library.
- Faucheux, R.A. (Ed.) (2003). Winning elections: Political campaign management, strategy, and tactics. New York: M. Evans & Company. JK2281 .W56 2003
- Issenberg, S. (2013). *The victory lab: The secret science of winning campaigns*. New York: Broadway Books. JK2281 .177 2013.
- Thurber, J.A. & Nelson, C.J. (Eds.) (2019). *Campaigns and elections American style: Transforming American politics* (4th ed.). Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. JK2281 .C353 2019
- Ibbitson, J. (1997). *Promised land: Inside the Mike Harris revolution*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada. FC 3077.2. 122
- Gagnon, G. & Rath, D. (1991) *Not without cause: David Peterson's fall from grace.* Toronto: HarperCollins. FC 3076.2. G34
- Trippi, J. (2004). *The revolution will not be televised: democracy, the Internet, and the overthrow of everything.* New York: ReganBooks. JK 1764 T75 2004

- Delacourt, S. (2016). Shopping for Votes: How politicians choose us and we choose them (2nd ed.). Madeira Park, BC: Douglas & McIntyre. JL195 .D44 2016
- Ridout, T.N. (2013). New directions in media and politics. New York: Routledge. JA85.2.U6 N49 2013
- Allen, J. & Parnes, A. (2017). *Shattered: Inside Hilary Clinton's doomed campaign*. New York: Crown Publishing Group. E911 .A45 2017

Inclusion on the reading list does not imply endorsement of the content or any strategy, tactic, policy or position described therein. The readings are intended to help students form their own individual judgements about what works and what doesn't work in campaigns.

Evaluation

Students will be evaluated based on four assignments, an in-class exam, and a take-home exam.

The in-class exam will be conducted November 19, during the first 60 minutes of class. It will be worth 20% of the final mark. It covers all lecture content, mandatory readings, and guest speakers through the first ten lessons. It will be primarily multiple choice and short answer questions.

The take-home examination will be worth 20% of the final mark. To complete it, you should pull from all lecture content, mandatory readings, and guest speakers covered throughout the entire term.

The four assignments will be worth 15% each, for a total of 60% of the final mark.

- Assignment #1 (SWOT, targeting):
 - To be completed individually
- Assignment #2 (campaign ad):
 - Can be completed with a partner To be presented in class
- Assignment #3 (policy, message note):
 - To be completed individually
- Assignment #4 (crisis management):

Can be completed with a partner (but must be a different partner than assignment #2) To be presented in class

The oral presentations might be made on the submission deadline, or the following week, depending on the volume of course business. Students should be prepared to present on the submission date and, if not called to present, should come prepared the next class.

Standing in a course is determined by the course instructor subject to the approval of the Faculty Dean. This means that grades submitted by the instructor may be subject to revision. No grades are final until they have been approved by the Dean.

Submitting Assignments

Assignments must be submitted via <u>Brightspace</u> (Brightspace will automatically log and backup all submissions, so there is no risk of bouncing e-mails). Each student should write the student number on the front page and each subsequent page of the assignment. **The name should not appear anywhere on the assignment.**

Assignments must be submitted by the deadline. Late assignments will lose 10% of the mark for each 24-hour interval, or fraction thereof, that it is late. For example, if an assignment due Wednesday at 6:00 p.m. is received after 6:00 p.m. Wednesday but before 6:00 p.m. Thursday, 10% will be deducted from the mark. If the assignment is received after 6:00 p.m. Thursday but before 6:00 p.m. Friday, then 20% will be deducted from the mark, and so on. If the assignment is not received within 10 days, the mark is automatically zero.

After receiving the grade for an assignment, a student has the option to redo and then resubmit the assignment for re-grading. The content for the resubmitted assignment must be different from that of the original assignment. The resubmitted assignment must be resubmitted within one week after the graded assignment is returned. It is always possible that the grade of the resubmitted assignment will be the same as, or lower than, the original grade. Students may only resubmit <u>one assignment</u> throughout the term without penalty.

Seminar Protocol

Students may use laptops, personal data assistants, smart phones and other devices to take notes, non-disruptively, in seminar. Students may not use technology to make a video, audio or photographic record of any part of the seminar, or to broadcast any part of the seminar content.

Seminar Plan

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Lesson 1 - Introduction & overview / Campaign ethics
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Lesson 2 - Strategy

Lesson 3 - Message

Lesson 4 - Communication Planning

Lesson 5 – Paid Media

Assignment 1 due

Lesson 6 - Earned Media

Lesson 7 – Policy

Assignment 2 due

Break Week - No Classes

Lesson 8 – Public Opinion

Lesson 9 – Issues Management

Assignment 3 due

Lesson 10 – Budget / Campaign Structure

Lesson 11 – Debates

In-Class Exam

Lesson 12 – Local Campaigns

Assignment 4 due

Lesson 13 – GOTV

Take-home exam due

This plan is only a guide. We will depart from the seminar plan slightly when discussion of some topics takes longer than a full class, or to accommodate guest speakers.

Details of Seminar Topics, Content and Advance Reading

1. Introduction & overview / Campaign ethics

Introduction & overview. Do campaigns matter? Ethics & legal compliance.

- Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). *Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals* (2nd ed.). Chapter 1 (Losing and winning: The craft and science of political campaigns). Chapter available on Ares. (Read the entire chapter)
- Green & Gerber, *Get out the vote*, Chapter 2 (Evidence Versus Perceived Wisdom), pp. 11-20. Chapter available on Ares. (Read the entire chapter)
- United Kingdom Conservative Party (2022). Code of Conduct for Members and Representatives of the Conservative Party. https://www.conservatives.com/code-of-conduct
- Conservative Party of Canada (2019). Code of Conduct for Volunteers, Campaign Staff, and EDA Staff. https://cpcassets.conservative.ca/wpcontent/uploads/2019/07/15151428/bf82499b1f205f1.pdf
- Liberal Party of Canada (2018). Respectful Workplace Policy. http://www.liberal.ca/legacy-uploads/wp-content/uploads/2018/12/LPC-Respectful-Workplace-Policy.pdf
- OPTIONAL: Commissioner of Canada Elections. (updated regularly). Compliance agreements and undertakings. Retrieved from Commissioner of Canada Elections, https://www.cefcce.ca/content.asp?section=agr&document=index&lang=e
- OPTIONAL: CBC News (2023). Former PMO staffer fined for voting in the wrong riding in the 2021 election https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/former-staffer-fined-voting-wrong-riding-1.6942852

- OPTIONAL: Global News (2021). Calgary Skyview MP George Chahal pays \$500 fine for taking Tory election pamphlet from front door https://globalnews.ca/news/8537407/calgary-liberal-mp-george-chahal-election-pamphlet-fine/
- OPTIONAL: CBC News (2020). Bill Morneau violated Elections Act ahead of 2019 election: commissioner. https://www.cbc.ca/news/politics/morneau-elections-commissioner-1.5718605

2. Strategy

What is strategy? Developing strategy. Winning Coalition. Situational analysis.

First assignment (SWOT) distributed.

Readings:

- Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals (2nd ed.). Chapter 8 (Producer and stage manager: Creating and presenting the campaign's messages). Chapter available on Ares. (Read the sections under "The Making of The Guru Spot" and "James Carville's First Win")
 - Watch the Guru Spot this reading discusses: https://www.nytimes.com/video/weekinreview/1194817112035/the-guru-ad.html?smid=url-share
- OPTIONAL: Jennifer Bieman (2022). How Doug Ford union nods reflect right's inroads with working-class voters. Retrieved from London Free Press. https://lfpress.com/news/ontarioelection/how-doug-ford-union-nods-reflect-rights-inroads-with-working-class-voters

3. Message

Ballot question. Framing. Contrast. Message box. Testing the message. Strategic considerations. Changing strategy.

- Klar, S., Robison, J. & Druckman, J.N. (2013.) Political dynamics of framing. In Ridout, T.N. (Ed.).
 New directions in media and politics. New York: Routledge. (Chapter 12, pp. 173-192) Chapter available on Ares. (Read entire chapter)
- Bradshaw, J.C. (2004). Who will vote for you and why: Designing campaign strategy and message. [part] In J. A. Thurber & C.J. Nelson (Eds.) Campaigns and elections American style: Transforming American politics (2nd ed.). (pp. 50-51). Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press. Chapter available on Ares. (Read the section under "Strategy When to change?")
- OPTIONAL: Struble, K. (1997, July). How to beat an incumbent: The inside story of the hard-fought Johnson vs. Pressler U.S. Senate race in South Dakota. *Campaigns & Elections*, p. 24.
 Retrieved from LexisNexis Academic via MacOdrum Library, https://ocul-crl.primo.exlibrisgroup.com/permalink/010CUL_CRL/1ortgfo/cdi_gale_infotracmisc_A55939643

- OPTIONAL: Herle Burly Podcast: Kory Teneycke, 2022 Ontario PC Campaign Manager. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=nFGx4ZIHw7A
- OPTIONAL: Lakoff, G. (2006, Feb. 16). An introduction to framing and its uses in politics.
 Retrieved from Cognitive Policy Works via Internet Archive: Wayback Machine,
 https://web.archive.org/web/20170707054930/http://www.cognitivepolicyworks.com/resource-center/frame-analysis-framing-tutorials/simple-framing/

4. Communications planning

Slogans. News media environment. Communications plan. Visual identity. Communications concepts. Digital comms. The future of communications.

Readings:

- Cain, Patrick (2019), What Facebook ad data tells us about the parties' social media strategy, retrieved from Global News: https://globalnews.ca/news/5969133/facebook-election-adcanada/
- Flom, Hannah (2020, December). Does this bring in money or votes? Newsletter 24. Retrieved from DNC Mobilization Team: https://thedncmobilizationteam.substack.com/p/does-this-bring-in-money-or-votes-b65
- OPTIONAL: Trippi, J. (2004). *The revolution will not be televised: democracy, the Internet, and the overthrow of everything.* New York: ReganBooks. JK 1764 T75 2004 Chapter 6, New York (pp. 95-114). Chapter available on Ares.

Resources:

• Elections Canada (May 2020). Interpretation Note: Partisan and Election Advertising on the Internet. Retrieved from https://www.elections.ca/res/gui/app/2020-05/2020-05_e.pdf

5. Paid Media

The evolution of advertising. The basics of campaign advertising. Media Buying. The medium. The message. The impact of advertising. Advertising case studies.

First assignment (SWOT) due. Second assignment (advertising) distributed.

Class Discussion – view these ads before class, we will discuss them:

- Museum of the Moving Image, The living room candidate: Presidential campaign commercials 1952-2008. www.livingroomcandidate.org. View these commercials:
 - Daisy (Democrat, 1964),
 http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1964/peace-little-girl-daisy#3983
 - Laughter (Democrat, 1968), http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1968/laughter#4018

- Morning in America (Republican, 1984),
 http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1984/prouder-stronger-better#4085
- Revolving Door, (Republican, 1988),
 http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/revolving-door#4121
- Willie Horton (Third Party, 1988),
 http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/1988/willie-horton#4123
- Any Questions? (Third Party, 2004),
 http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2004/any-questions/
- Understands (Third Party, 2012),
 http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2012/understands
- Mourning in America (Third Party, 2020),
 http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2020/mourning-in-america
- Kamala for They/Them (Republican, 2024),
 https://www.livingroomcandidate.org/commercials/2024/sex-changes-for-prisoners
- ERASE BORDER (Liberal, 1988), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=jKQPw9vmG04
- FACE AD (PC, 1993), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QMjdp3TTTyk
- JUST VISITING (CPC, 2011), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=wcUN4IVVPMo
- ATTENDANCE (NDP, 2011), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=i8eJrv2OOGo
- HAMSTER (NDP, 2011), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WxglDEYNFIA
- JUST NOT READY (CPC, 2015), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=c86-9HitWg0
- READY (Liberal, 2015), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=1gFyv2M84nl
- ESCALATOR (Liberal, 2015), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=-wYJ-xNeEe4
- BLAIR ON GUNS (Liberal, 2021), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=NUpG9APVWpY
- CAN YOU TRUST HER (Alberta NDP, 2023), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fLR_TQwJgIU&t=188s
- MADE IN AMERICA (Liberal, 2025), https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WPzLs31fE_8

- Sides, J. (2011, October 5). The Moneyball of campaign advertising. The New York Times. Retrieved from FiveThirtyEight, http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/2011/10/05/the-moneyball-of-campaign-advertising-part-1/?_r=0 (Part 1) and http://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-moneyball-of-campaign-advertising-part-2/ (Part 2)
- OPTIONAL: Gagnon, G. & Rath, D. (1991) Not without cause: David Peterson's fall from grace.
 Toronto: HarperCollins. FC 3076.2. G34 Chapter 8, Sultans of spin (pp. 250-285). Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Delacourt, Susan (2016). Shopping for Votes: How politicians choose us and we choose them (2nd ed.). Chapter 11 (Ready), pp. 293-324. Chapter available on Ares.

6. Earned media

Media strategies. Media relations. Tour and advance. Speeches.

Readings:

- Einhart, Nancy (2016), "Advance Man" Was the Most Mysterious Job in Politics Until Now. Retrieved from PopSugar, https://www.popsugar.com/news/What-Advance-Team-Politics-42193567
- OPTIONAL: Patterson, Thomas (2020), *A Tale of Two Elections*. Retrieved from Harvard Kennedy School. https://shorensteincenter.org/patterson-2020-election-coverage/
- OPTIONAL: Scaramucci, A. (2017, July 30). Communications. Reproduced by Warzel, C. (2017, August 2). Here is Anthony Scaramucci's "communications plan" from before he was fired.
 Buzzfeed. Retrieved from Buzzfeed, https://www.buzzfeed.com/charliewarzel/here-is-anthony-scaramuccis-communications-plan-from-before?utm_term=.dkv4MvKar#.ghBrAZJjV
- OPTIONAL: Schreckinger, B. (2015, December 6). Marco Rubio's 'water thing.' Politico.
 Retrieved from Politico, http://www.politico.com/story/2015/12/marco-rubio-love-water-216441

7. Policy

The role of policy on campaigns. Targeting policy. Cognitive & emotive policy. The motive. Priming. Policy consistency. Building a platform. Selling policy.

Second assignment (campaign ad) due. Third assignment (policy) distributed.

Class Discussion: (ensure you read this before class)

• Ibbitson, J. (1997). *Promised land: Inside the Mike Harris revolution*. Scarborough: Prentice Hall Canada. FC 3077.2. I22 Chapter 3, Writing a revolution, (pp. 43-74). Chapter available on Ares.

- OPTIONAL: Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). *Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals* (2nd ed.). Chapter 6 (Ideologist and policy wonk: Standing for something), pp. 103-114. Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Ed Kilgore (2016). Rubio as a weather vane: Bush super-pac hits rival with a classic meme of political attack ads. Retrieved from Intelligencer. https://nymag.com/intelligencer/2016/01/bush-hits-rubio-with-classic-attack-ad-meme.html
- OPTIONAL: Conservative Party of Canada (2021). Costing Canada's Recovery Plan. https://cpcassets.conservative.ca/wp-content/uploads/2021/09/08163147/4a29f9be58288c4-1.pdf

8. Public opinion

Evidence vs. perceived wisdom. Does polling work? Types of research tools. Campaign uses of public opinion research. Push polling. A/B Testing. Micro-targeting. Linking data and field.

Readings:

- Delacourt, Susan (2016). Shopping for Votes: How politicians choose us and we choose them (2nd ed.). Chapter 7 (Market Leader), pp. 177-183. Chapter 9 (Sliced and Diced), pp. 233-262. Chapter available on Ares.
- Green & Gerber, Get out the vote, Chapter 2 (Evidence versus received wisdom), pp. 19-29.
 Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Issenberg, S. (2013). *The victory lab: The secret science of winning campaigns*. Chapter 8 & Chapter 10. Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Nate Silver (2021). The Death of Polling is Greatly Exaggerated. Retrieved from FiveThirtyEight. https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-death-of-polling-is-greatly-exaggerated/
- OPTIONAL: Eric Grenier, the Writ Podcast (2022). *Episode 26 Dan Arnold on polling for the Liberals*. https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=IM05OrW-sMs
- OPTIONAL: Cuelpepper, Sophie (2023). With five old phones and some Pew data, the BBC's Marianna Spring monitors social media from the inside.
 https://www.niemanlab.org/2023/08/with-five-old-phones-and-some-pew-data-the-bbcs-marianna-spring-monitors-social-media-from-the-inside/

9. Issues management

Opposition research. Using opposition research. Candidate vetting. War rooms. Crisis response.

Third assignment (campaign ad) due. Fourth assignment (crisis management) distributed.

Class Discussion:

- Brody, Tyson (December 2022). George Santos and How Opposition Research Really Works.
 Retrieved from New York Times: https://www.nytimes.com/2022/12/22/opinion/george-santos-oppo-research-dccc.html
- OPTIONAL: George Santos Opposition Book: George-Santos-Research-Book.pdf (dccc.org)

Readings:

• Faucheux, R.A. (Ed.) (2003). Winning elections, chapter 98, pp. 491-500 Chapter available on Ares.

- Johnson, Daniel (2021), N.S. Liberal candidate says she was pressured to drop out of race over 'boudoir photos'. Retrieved from National Post at https://nationalpost.com/news/canada/n-s-liberal-candidate-says-she-was-pressured-to-drop-out-of-race-over-boudoir-photos
- OPTIONAL: Lebrun, Luke (2024), Leaked Dossier Reveals 200 Pages of Conspiracies and Controversial Statements From John Rustad's BC Conservative Candidates at https://pressprogress.ca/leaked-dossier-reveals-200-pages-of-conspiracies-and-controversialstatements-from-john-rustads-bc-conservative-candidates/
- OPTIONAL: Simmons, Paula (2015), The lake of fire is just too crowded to burn the Wildrose this time around. Retrieved from Edmonton Journal at https://edmontonjournal.com/news/localnews/paula-simons-the-lake-of-fire-is-just-too-crowded-to-burn-the-wildrose-this-time-around
- OPTIONAL: Berkowitz, J. (2010, Dec. 28). Opposition research in political campaigns. Video of
 presentation to American University Campaign Management Institute. Retrieved from C-SPAN,
 http://www.c-span.org/video/?297260-1/opposition-research-political-campaigns
- OPTIONAL: Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). *Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals* (2nd ed.). Appendix D (A case study in crisis management), pp. 311-331. Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Nova Scotia Liberal Party leadership nomination package. Retrieved from: https://liberal.ns.ca/wp-content/uploads/2020/09/LCNP-Final-1.pdf

10. Budget and fundraising / Campaign organization and structure

Political contributions. Political expenses. Third parties. Fundraising. Campaign structure.

Fourth assignment (crisis management) scenarios assigned.

- Burton, Miller & Shea, *Campaign Craft*, Chapter 7 (Fundraising strategies and tactics), pp. 121-139. Chapter available on Ares.
- Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals (2nd ed.). Chapter 12 (Candidate caretaker and confidant: Handling details of building trust), pp. 243-262. Chapter available on Ares.
- Varley, Peter (2018). Ontario PCs and a Story too Shocking to Tell Until Now. Retrieved from LinkedIn: https://www.linkedin.com/pulse/ontario-pcs-story-too-shocking-tell-until-now-peter-varley/
- OPTIONAL Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals (2nd ed.). Chapter 5 (Team builder), pp. 85-101. Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Faucheux, R.A. (Ed.) (2003). Winning elections, chapter 40 (How to ask for money), pp. 248-257 Chapter available on Ares.

Resources:

 Elections Canada. (February 2025). Political financing handbook for registered parties and chief agents. Retrieved from https://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=pol&dir=can/fin/ec20155_c76&document=inde x&lang=e

11. Debates

Debates

Midterm conducted during the first hour of class.

Readings:

 Allen, J. & Parnes, A. (2017). Shattered: Inside Hilary Clinton's doomed campaign. New York: Crown Publishing Group. Chapter 17, "Demeanor is the debate" (pp. 322-337). Chapter available on Ares.

12. Local Campaigns / Internal Party Contests

Targeting. Types of voter contact. Voter contact laws. Local campaign comms. Local campaign events. Leadership races.

Fourth assignment (crisis management) due.

- Burton, Miller & Shea, Campaign Craft, Chapter 10 [part] (Direct voter contact, pp. 177-191).
 (Read the section up until "Get Out The Vote Drives") Chapter available on Ares.
- Green & Gerber, Get out the vote, Chapter 3 (Door-to-door canvassing) p.21-38 Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Green & Gerber, Get out the vote, Chapter 4 (Leaflets and signage) & Chapter 5 (Direct mail). Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Feltus, W.J., Goldstein, K.M., Dallek, M. (2018). Inside campaigns: Elections through the eyes of political professionals (2nd ed.). Chapter 10 (Field general: Waging the war on the ground), pp. 205-222. Chapter available on Ares.
- OPTIONAL: Levitz, Stephanie (2022). 678,000 Conservatives were sent leadership ballots. For the contenders, the final battle is now underway. Retrieved from Toronto Star:
 https://www.thestar.com/politics/federal/2022/08/10/678000-conservatives-were-sent-leadership-ballots-for-the-contenders-the-final-battle-is-now-underway.html?utm_source=Twitter&utm_medium=SocialMedia&utm_campaign=Federalpolitics&utm_content=ballotvote

Resources:

- Perrault, S. (2019). Letter regarding candidates' access to public places. Retrieved from Elections Canada, https://web.archive.org/web/20190612031019/http://www.elections.ca/pol/can/let-acc_e.pdf
- Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. (2015, August 7). Voter contact registry for federal elections. Retrieved from CRTC, http://crtc.gc.ca/eng/phone/rce-vcr/reg1.htm (p. 1), http://crtc.gc.ca/eng/phone/rce-vcr/reg2.htm (p. 2) and http://crtc.gc.ca/eng/phone/rce-vcr/reg3.htm (p. 3)
- Canadian Radio-television and Telecommunications Commission. (2019, March 7). Rules for unsolicited telecommunications made on behalf of political entities. Retrieved from CRTC, http://www.crtc.gc.ca/eng/info_sht/t1041.htm
- Elections Canada (2022). Guidelines for the use of list of electors. Retrieved from Elections Canada: https://www.elections.ca/pol/ann/loe_guide/loe_guide_e.pdf
- Conservative Party of Canada (2022). Rules and Procedures for the 2022 leadership. Retrieved from Conservative Party of Canada: https://cpcassets.conservative.ca/wpcontent/uploads/2022/03/09111707/bb6620b6a719d2b.pdf
- Liberal Party of Canada (2020). National rules for the selection of candidates. Retrieved from Liberal Party of Canada: https://liberal.ca/wp-content/uploads/sites/292/2020/12/FINAL-National-Nomination-Rules_ENG-Amended-Dec-16-2020-002-1.pdf
- New Democratic Party of Canada (2025). Leadership governance rules. Retrieved from NDP: https://www.ndp.ca/sites/default/files/2026-leadershipgoverningrules.pdf
- Elections Canada (2025). Political Financing Handbook for Nomination Contestants and Financial Agents. Retrieved from Elections Canada: https://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=pol&dir=nom/fin/ec20182_c76&document=ab&lang=e
- City of Ottawa (2022). Current regulations regarding election signs in the city of Ottawa.
 Retrieved from City of Ottawa:
 https://engage.ottawa.ca/22955/widgets/97315/documents/61353

13. Getting out the vote

Alternative voting methods. Turnout. Advance voting. E-Day. After E-Day.

- Burton, Miller & Shea, Campaign Craft, Chapter 10 [part], pp. 191-192 (Read section under "Get Out The Vote Drives"). Chapter available on Ares.
- Green & Gerber, *Get out the vote*, Chapter 6 (Commercial phone banks, volunteer phone banks, and robo calls), pp. 79-100. Chapter available on Ares.

- OPTIONAL: Statistics Canada (2022). Reasons for not voting in the federal election, September 20, 2021. The Daily. Retrieved from Statistics Canada: https://www150.statcan.gc.ca/n1/daily-quotidien/220216/dq220216d-eng.htm
- OPTIONAL: Elections Canada (2020). The Burden of Voting in the Canadian Federal 2019 Election.
 Retrieved from Elections.ca:
 https://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=res&dir=rec/part/burd&document=index&lang=e

Resources:

- Elections Canada. Ways to vote. Retrieved from http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=vot&dir=vote&document=index&lang=e
- Elections Canada. FAQs on voting. Retrieved from http://www.elections.ca/content.aspx?section=vot&dir=faq&document=faqvoting&lang=e
- Elections Ontario. How to vote. Retrieved from https://www.elections.on.ca/en/voting-in-ontario/how-to-vote.html#accordionHow