

## Political Campaigning Newsletter

UF MA/PC Program

Spring 2018



The Campaigners visit Tallahassee

### Director's Corner

As I continue to mull the possibilities of retirement, three things have kept me going. First, I still enjoy teaching (if not grading) and, lord knows, there is plenty of stuff going on in the world of politics to provide fodder for lectures and class discussion. Second, I am reluctant to leave until the Campaigning Program is on a firm financial footing, and that continues to be a work in progress.

Third, I remain a sucker for a good research idea — and, boy, have I stumbled onto a juicy one this time. As the Trump presidency began to take shape in the spring of 2017, someone casually mentioned that a study of the “fake news” phenomenon could make for interesting reading. I wasn’t sure exactly what that might look like in terms of my own interests (public opinion and voting behavior) but, as the months went by, there was another development that captured the public’s (and my) attention: an avalanche of allegations relating to sexual harassment and assault that were levied against political leaders and other public figures. It finally started to click in my mind.

Some of you are familiar with the work I’ve done with Paulina Cossette (née Rippere) over the past several years on negative campaign attacks, and the relative effectiveness of different types of responses candidates make when they are attacked. It occurred to me that we could do something similar in an effort to see how citizens react to situations involving alleged sexual misbehavior. The bottom line is that Paulina and I are planning to write a book, the tentative title of which pretty much says it all: *Politicians Behaving Badly: The Politics of Sexual Harassment*.

What does any of this have to do with fake news? Not a lot, except in one sense: Some of the politicians behaving badly have not only denied the accusations made against them . . .

(Continued on page 3)

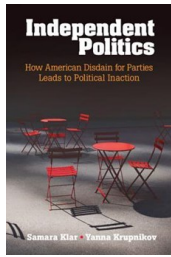


**Dr. Stephen Craig**  
Director

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## The Political Bookshelf



**Samara Klar and Yanna Krupnikov. 2016. *Independent Politics: How American Disdain for Parties Leads to Political Inaction*. Cambridge University Press.**

The authors show that many Americans have become embarrassed about their political party. They deny their true partisan leanings to pollsters, party activists, friends, and even themselves – choosing instead to go "undercover" as independents. These attitudes make such individuals reluctant to engage in the types of political action that sustain the grass-roots movements of American politics.

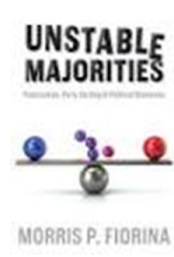
**John H. Aldrich et al. 2018. *Change and Continuity in the 2016 Elections*. CQ Press.**

Is America in the midst of an electoral transformation? What were the sources of Trump's unexpected victory in 2016, and how do they differ from Republican coalitions of the past? Does his win signal a long-term positive trajectory for Republicans' chances in presidential elections? These are among the questions the authors try to answer in this latest edition of their popular "change and continuity" series.



**Lilliana Mason. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. University of Chicago Press.**

Mason looks at the growing social gulf across racial, religious, and cultural lines that divide the major parties in America today. Even when Democrats and Republicans can agree on policy outcomes, they tend to view one another with distrust ("us vs. them") and to work for party victory over all else. This creates an anger and resentment on both sides that makes any sort of cooperative action to solve social problems almost impossible to achieve.



**Morris P. Fiorina. 2017. *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting and Political Stalemate*. Hoover Institution Press.**

Fiorina challenges the widely shared notion that the American electorate is more polarized today than it has ever been. He argues that voters are responders rather than initiators in the political process, forced to choose between the increasingly distinct alternatives presented to them in most elections – and are often dissatisfied with those choices. Nevertheless, by placing contemporary events in historical context, Fiorina sees some reasons to be optimistic about the future.

## The UF/PC Network

Over the years, alumni of the Political Campaigning Program have been extremely helpful in terms of providing both internships and job opportunities for those who followed in their footsteps. Here are just a few examples:

- Ian Rayder (UF/PC 2003) and Kevin Gerson (UF/PC 2016) have worked as legislative aides for U.S. Rep. Debbie Wasserman Schultz (UF/PC 1990).
- Ani de la Quintana (UF/PC 2004) and Kevin Akins (UF/PC 2008) worked for Dave Beattie (UF/PC 1997) when he was president of Hamilton Campaigns (polling and general consulting).
- Two of our current students, Michael Russel and Ben Torpey (both UF/PC 2019) are interning this summer on with local political consultant Alex Patton (UF/PC 2017).

The UF/PC professional network is alive and well, and it grows larger with every new graduating class.



Our 2018 PC award winners (from left): Taryn Boyer, who received the Walter "Skip" Campbell Leadership Award; and Matthew Riedi, winner of the Ralph E. Gonzalez Independent Spirit Award.

# Former DNC Chair Returns to Gainesville

Perhaps the Political Campaigning Program's most famous graduate, U.S. Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz, stopped by last fall for a lively discussion of matters both personal and political. Wasserman Schultz, who completed her M.A. in 1990, is no stranger to the spotlight or to national politics. After serving in both the Florida House of Representatives and Florida Senate, she moved onto the national stage in January 2005 after becoming the first Jewish congresswoman ever elected from the state of Florida.

Having served as chairperson of the Democratic National Committee for more than five years, Wasserman Schultz stepped down from that position in July 2016 after Wikileaks released a large number of hacked emails alleging that she and other members of the DNC staff may have shown bias against the presidential campaign of Senator Bernie Sanders, and in favor of Hillary Clinton's campaign.

Congresswoman Wasserman Schultz, who now has two children attending UF, visited Anderson Hall last October before heading off to cheer for the Gator football team at Ben Hill Griffin Stadium. In an informal meeting with several of her old professors and students who are currently enrolled in the Political Campaigning Program, she engaged in a frank conversation on a range of topics.

The Congresswoman began by talking about her days as a student in the Program and how she got her start in politics. She then fielded questions from the room, many of which focused on the 2016 presidential election and its aftermath. She candidly discussed the allegations by Bernie Sanders that she had rigged the Democratic primary against his campaign. She dismissed those allegations as false, adding that the reason Sanders lost was not due to any actions taken by her or the DNC, but simply that his campaign did not get as many votes as Hillary Clinton's.

A clear pattern in the discussion was her distaste for the actions and the policies of President Trump. Wasserman Schultz revealed her belief that there is much about the Trump campaign's alleged collusion with Russian President Vladimir Putin that we will come to discover in time.

Wasserman Schultz concluded her discussion on a positive note, explaining how the Program had been instrumental in helping her land a job as legislative assistant to Florida Rep. Peter Deutsch, whose seat she later won when Deutsch decided to run for the Florida Senate. The rest, as they say, is history. The Political Campaigning program thanks the Congresswoman for taking the time to have an exciting and candid discussion.



Campaigning students with Congresswoman Debbie Wasserman Schultz (D-FL)



## Director's Corner, continued

... but also criticized the media for reporting such "unfounded" claims in the first place. We will be looking to see if this type of response is more or less effective than others (including apologies, or what we call "mea culpas").

Our analysis will be based on an internet survey experiment involving a national sample of registered voters. The experiment part of the study will vary the accused legislator's party (sometimes Democrat, sometimes Republican), gender (sometimes male, sometimes female), and type of response.

We want to know whether people react differently depending on these factors — and whether there are different reactions among voters themselves (for example, are Republicans more tolerant of sexual misconduct than Democrats? men more tolerant than women? voters of either party more tolerant when their fellow partisans are accused than when it's someone from the other side?).

This topic is obviously timely and, sadly, it doesn't seem likely to go away anytime soon. The only up side is that it's given me (at least) one more thought-provoking project to chew on before calling it a career.





## Alumni Spotlights

**Elizabeth Sena**  
**Partner**  
**Greenberg Quinlan Rosner**

Elizabeth likes to say that she grew up on politics and CNN. There is nothing better to solidify an early interest in politics than running a good friend's high-school student body presidential campaign, which she did. That's when Elizabeth decided that she was destined for a career in politics.

As a 19-year-old student at the University of Toronto, Elizabeth's interest centered on polling and political survey research. She remembers watching the news and listening to consultants discuss polls, and decided that polling was her calling. Elizabeth went on to attend the Political Campaigning program, which led to an internship with a polling firm headed by fellow UF/PC alum Dave Beattie. She was later offered a job with the firm after completing the Program. That internship was the launching pad for what has become an impressive career in polling and campaign strategy.

While Elizabeth always wanted to be a pollster and help good Democrats get elected, her exact career path was not what she originally expected. In the end, though, it worked out better than she ever could have hoped. She attributes this to the Campaigning Program, as well as to the amazing mentors and fellow pollsters that she has worked with.

Today, Elizabeth is a Partner in the Washington-based firm Greenberg Quinlan Rosner. She spends her days reviewing data, advising clients, pitching to prospective clients, conducting focus groups, and doing lots of traveling. The best part, she says, is getting to work with amazing people and being able to give back. Elizabeth is also an adjunct professor of Survey Research at UF.

**Scott Laster**  
**Managing Partner**  
**Kairos Government Affairs**

Scott got his start in politics by working as the campaign manager for former state Representative Doug Holder of Sarasota 2006 and 2008. Those experiences led to an interview with the North Carolina Republican State House Caucus for a position as Political Director going into the 2010 elections, after which he was named Executive Director for the North Carolina Republican Party in the 2012 cycle.

Scott subsequently decided that he wanted to go into lobbying. Many of the opportunities that have opened up for him were unexpected as Scott originally did not see himself transitioning into policy work, and certainly never imagined that he might end up pursuing a career in government affairs.

After making sure that his three children are prepared for school, Scott usually begins his mornings with a check of the national and state headlines. A typical day includes responding to emails, strategizing with his team, speaking with clients, meeting with legislators and staff, attending committee meetings, and occasionally checking some polling or district data. Looking back on his days at UF, every so often Scott will find himself "recalling what Dr. Craig said about Gerber and Green's classic studies on voter mobilization."

He describes his career path as a "steep incline" that began with Doug Holder's campaigns, moved to the oversight of GOP House races in North Carolina, and today has him as Managing Partner for an award-winning lobbying firm. Scott is happy with the way things have turned out. He sees his firm and the industry at large as strong, and is confident that this will continue to be the case.

# The World of Lobbying

## Political Campaigning Perspectives

The fall 2017 seminar on Lobbying (and fundraising) included both first- and second-year Campaigners. Taught once again by three noted practitioners, this course focused primarily on the nuts and bolts of lobbying at several levels. It also allowed students to see lobbying from the perspective of those who engage in it every day.

Doyle Bartlett is a former Chief of Staff on Capitol Hill who now operates his own lobbying firm (the Eris Group) in Washington, DC, focusing on the insurance industry. David Mica began his political career as a campaign aide to Lawton Chiles in the 1970s, and is now the Executive Director of the Florida Petroleum Council. Our third instructor, Ian Rayder, is Senior Manager of Government Affairs at Cisco, and was previously the Deputy Chief of Staff for U.S. Rep. Debbie Wasserman Shultz.

First up was Doyle Bartlett, who focused on lobbying at the federal level. The class was divided into teams and told to devise a comprehensive lobbying strategy for PayPal. Both teams chose a core message and theme, identified key targets to lobby for votes, and recommend (in a mock pitch to a Member of Congress) changes that would increase the bill's chances of passage.

Next was David Mica who, in addition to his regular sessions in Gainesville, hosted the class in Tallahassee as part of a lesson on state lobbying (see p. 7). Students heard from several guest speakers with experience dealing with state legislatures on issues ranging from gun control to education. There also was a tour of both the current State Capitol and the Historic State Capitol, as well as a tour of the Florida State Lottery, a government agency.

Finally, Ian Rayder (UF/PC 2003) introduced the class to the basics of political fundraising — from donor research, targeting, and management to making call time more efficient and writing quality fundraising appeals. Drawing on Ian's experience as finance consultant on multiple campaigns, this section of the course included practical advice on planning and implementing a fundraising plan.

The Campaigning Program stresses the importance of introducing students to practitioners in various fields of government and politics. Lobbying is a core component in the applied section of the graduate degree. As with all applied courses, students are able to compare and contrast what they learn on the academic side with insights provided by those who operate on the front lines of politics.



## UF/PC Post-Election Workshop 2019

In February 2005, the Political Campaigning Program hosted a workshop that brought together two groups of individuals who did not typically interact with (or, for that matter, trust) each other very much: academic political scientists and professional consultants (with one or two reporters thrown into the mix for good measure).

The result was a lively exchange of views that was published in 2006 (CQ Press) as *The Electoral Challenge: Theory Meets Practice*, edited by UF/PC director Stephen C. Craig. A 2nd edition followed in 2011, with pollster David Hill joining Craig to produce a volume that not only reviewed academic research in a variety of areas relevant to political campaigns (advertising, mobilization, and others) but also included responses from leading consultants such as Charlie Black, Celinda Lake, and Mike Murphy.

The 2005 event quickly evolved into a biennial workshop in which political scientists, practitioners, and journalists reflect upon the most recent national election and look ahead to what might happen in the next one. Given the unexpected outcome two years ago and the uncertainty about what lies ahead, our next gathering should be especially interesting.

Details, including a date (probably late January 2019), have yet to be worked out. Those who might wish to attend can keep tabs by checking the UF/PC web page periodically. Hope to see you there!



Doyle Bartlett



David Mica



Ian Rayder



## Voter Registration in America

**By Dr. Daniel Smith**  
**Professor and Chair, Department of Political Science**

Do Americans have the right *not* to vote? This question lies at the heart of a 2018 United States Supreme Court case, *Husted v. A. Philip Randolph Institute*.

For years, Ohio has interpreted the list maintenance provision under the 1993 National Voter Registration Act as allowing election authorities to purge registered voters who do not exercise their franchise. Thus, Ohio requires that lax but otherwise registered voters re-register even if their eligibility status has not changed.

In 2017, I was hired as an expert in the *Husted* case by Demos and the ACLU of Ohio, who filed a federal lawsuit on behalf of the Ohio A. Philip Randolph Institute (APRI), the Northeast Ohio Coalition for the Homeless (NEOCH), and Ohio resident Larry Harmon. Harmon, a Navy veteran, was purged from the voter list in 2015 under the state's so-called "Supplemental Process," along with hundreds of thousands of similar Ohio voters who had last cast a ballot in 2008. My analysis helped to determine how many voters were purged over the years from Ohio's rolls through Supplemental Process, and how they could accurately be restored to the rolls.

Prior to the 2016 General Election, the U.S. Court of Appeals for the Sixth Circuit struck down Ohio's controversial method of purging voters of infrequent voters from its voter rolls. The appellate court found that Ohio's voter list maintenance practice violated the NVRA's prohibition of removing registered voters just because they had failed to vote.

Should the Supreme Court uphold Supplemental Process, many other states including Florida may well follow Ohio's lead and remove otherwise eligible registrants

from the voter rolls merely because they exercised their right *not* to cast a ballot.

The irony, of course, would be rich if the court rules in favor of the state of Ohio. Many voters came out of the woodwork after years of not participating in the electoral process to cast a ballot in the 2016 presidential election. The irony, of course is that these individuals supported in disproportionate numbers the upstart Republican nominee, Donald Trump.

### Some Interesting Facts from the 2016 Election

Did you know that (according to exit polls as reported by the Pew Research Center) . . .

- whites without a college degree favored Trump over Clinton by a margin of 39 points (compared with an advantage of 18 and 25 points for the Republican nominees in 2008 and 2012, respectively)?
- the gender gap was 24 points, with men favoring Trump by 12 points (53% to 41%) and women supporting Clinton by a similar margin (54% to 42%)?
- Clinton's advantage among voters under age 30 was 18 points (55% to 37%), but this was less than the 24-point cushion enjoyed by Obama over Romney among young voters in 2012?
- the overall edge for Clinton among blacks (+80 points, down from +87) and Hispanics (+36 points, down from +44) was smaller than for Obama in 2012?

However, there are those who believe that the exit polls may have been mistaken in certain key aspects. For example: <https://www.americanprogress.org/issues/democracy/reports/2017/11/01/441926/voter-trends-in-2016/>



# The Campaigners Visit Tallahassee

David Mica, adjunct instructor with UF/PC and Executive Director of the Florida Petroleum Council, taught the second module of the Lobbying seminar in fall 2017. Mica's focus was on state lobbying and, as usual, one highlight was when he hosted students on a day trip to Tallahassee.

Several guest speakers were invited to address the class in the morning, including:

- Samantha Sexton (UF/PC 2013 and vice president of legislative and regulatory affairs at the Personal Insurance Federation of Florida)
- Christopher Emmanuel (director of infrastructure & governance policy at the Florida Chamber of Commerce)
- Matt Mohler (senior strategist at Frontline Strategies)
- Marion Hoffman (associate vice president of government relations for the University of Florida)

Samantha Sexton and Christopher Emmanuel each spoke to the class about their career paths and gave advice on breaking into the profession. Samantha advised students to always keep in

mind the political behavior literature discussed in Dr. Craig's class because that material is eminently useful in formulating political strategy.

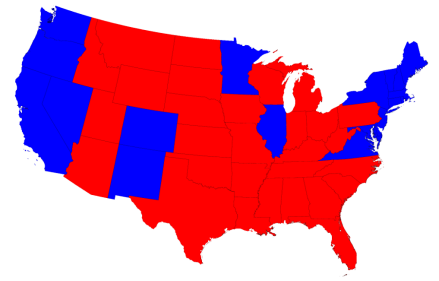
Matt Mohler reminisced with the class about his experiences as a campaign consultant and provided some advice and tips based on those experiences. Marion Hoffman spoke about her role in lobbying on behalf of the University of Florida, especially on matters relating to funding for higher education.

Following the morning session, the class was treated to a tour of both the current State Capitol and the Historic State Capitol. This was followed by a tour of the Florida State Lottery, which is run by none other than David Mica, Jr., son of our very own instructor. After observing a lottery drawing, students were introduced to Jim Poppell, appointed by Governor Rick Scott as Secretary of the Florida Lottery.

This biennial visit to the state capital is a great learning experience because it provides students with insight into the inner workings of Tallahassee and, specifically, into how lobbying operates within the state government system.



Campaigners in front of the lottery drawing green screen in Tallahassee



## Where Are They Now?

**Lee Concha (UF/PC 2000)** is Senior Vice President for University Enhancement at Rosalind Franklin University of Medicine and Science in Chicago.

**Kenton Ngo (UF/PC 2014)** is Director of Analytics for the Progressive Change Campaign Committee in Washington, DC.

**Ramon Martinez (UF/PC 1994)** works in the Tampa Bay area as a senior project manager for the Trinity Health System.

**Elizabeth Hyatt (UF/PC 2015)** is a Strategy and Operations Consultant at Deloitte.

**Kimberly Hall (UF/PC 2004)** is Senior Manager of Communications Campaigns at the Campaign Legal Center.

**Kevin Gerson (UF/PC 2016)** is Press Secretary for the Office of U.S. Representative Debbie Wasserman Schultz.

**Ansley Tuten (UF/PC 2015)** is Senior Associate at Convergence Targeted Communications in Washington, DC.

**Joel Mendelson (UF/PC 2015)** is Communications Strategist at Jobs with Justice in Washington, DC.



# UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA POLITICAL CAMPAIGNING PROGRAM



The University of Florida's Graduate Program in Political Campaigning (UF/PC) is designed to provide students with the skills, insights, and experiences that are critical for success in the ever-changing profession of politics and political consulting. Unlike other programs in professional politics, UF's M.A. in Political Campaigning combines the best of both academic study and practical experience.

By incorporating academic study in the fields of voting behavior, political participation, public opinion, political parties, and political communication, students are presented with a sound theoretical basis that can be used to better understand the "how" and "why" of political campaigns.

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Walter ("Skip") Campbell Leadership Award  
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