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Introduction: Constantly Shopping for Votes
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Pages 3–27

Inside the Campaign: Managing Elections in Canada
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Copyright: UBC Press, 2020
ISBN 9780774864688 (PDF)
www.ubcpress.ca/inside-the-campaign

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COMMUNICATION STRATEGY AND POLITICS

Introduction
Constantly Shopping for Votes

Alex Marland with Susan Delacourt

This chapter begins by observing that Canadian political parties engage in a continuous quest to win public support between elections, known as the permanent campaign. We summarize the layers of election campaigning with a particular focus on communications. A brief synopsis of the 2019 Canadian federal election provides some context for the chapters authored by academics and their practitioner coauthors who share real-world experiences from inside the campaign. Each chapter's profile of work carried out behind the scenes of a Canadian election will be of particular interest to readers drawn to political management.

Ce chapitre débute en notant que les partis politiques s'engagent dans une quête incessante visant à s'assurer de l'appui du public entre les élections, c'est-à-dire qu'ils mènent une campagne permanente. Les différents aspects d'une campagne électorale y sont également présentés sommairement; une attention particulière est portée à la communication. Une brève présentation du déroulement de l'élection fédérale canadienne de 2019 permet de définir le contexte dans lequel s'inscrivent les chapitres corédigés par des universitaires et des praticiens faisant part d'expériences électorales concrètes. Au sein de chaque chapitre, les descriptions de différentes tâches et fonctions menées en coulisse d'une élection canadienne sauront capter l'attention des lecteurs s'intéressant à l'organisation politique.

DESPITE CONSIDERABLE scrutiny of Canadian election campaigns and their importance in determining the formation of the next government, we know relatively little about the work that goes into them. Sometimes the journalists who criss-cross the country on leaders' tours expose their backstage moments. Occasionally, party strategists tell stories about their experiences many years later. After election day, academics write summaries of campaign dynamics and analyze voter behaviour data as they try to make sense of the election results. Deep descriptions of what happens on the ground are confined to a geographic area or one political party.[1] Rarely do we get an enduring sense of the labour carried out by the wide variety of people involved.

You are about to learn about the roles and responsibilities of some of the political actors who make Canadian democracy work. For the first time, academics and public sector practitioners have come together to provide an authentic look at what happens behind the scenes in Canadian elections. The objective of *Inside the Campaign: Managing Elections in Canada* is to describe, in plain language, the activities of people with varied responsibilities in an election campaign. Yet it is difficult to capture the profound emotional journey and intense stress that these personnel experience; as one veteran campaigner put it: "A lot of pressure goes with the responsibility."[2] Before we take a tour of the fourteen vocations examined in this book, let us consider some of the elements of the permanent campaign that lay the groundwork for the official campaign.

The Permanent Campaign

Politicians are always campaigning for public support. In *Fights of Our Lives: Elections, Leadership, and the Making of Canada,* political strategist John Duffy describes the pre-campaign and official campaign machinations of various Canadian prime ministers. Throughout history, they have concocted policies that cater to supporters and drive wedges between opponents. Their governments

have changed election rules to benefit their own party. They have curried favour from financial backers, and they have turned to the latest communication technologies for a competitive edge. Duffy describes an extended period of campaigning that at times is indistinguishable from governing:

> Most of us think of election campaigns as the period from the call to Election Day. Politicos, however – a century ago as today – define the whole affair more broadly, with a pre-writ campaign leading up to the issuance, or "dropping," of a writ of election, and then a writ-period campaign until voting day. In our day the pre-writ and writ-period campaigns are equally important. A century ago the writ period was little more than a brute organizational effort that came at the end of an elaborate and more critical pre-writ battle.[3]

Today the activities undertaken during pre-writ campaigning are so similar to what happens during official campaigning that political scientists refer to the permanent campaign.[4] Permanent campaigning concerns political parties leveraging all available resources as they infuse campaign-style behaviours into the executive and legislative branches of the government. It reflects a competitive mentality to win all public battles – the news cycle, Question Period debates, public opinion polls, fundraising, and so forth. As in an official campaign, political staff rapidly respond to allegations and misinformation and strive to control the public agenda by implementing strategic communication plans. Politicians and their aides have a relentless motivation to shore up votes, especially as the next election approaches.

The rise of advertising and consumer culture has transformed political parties into marketing machines.[5] In Canada, political parties are relatively small operations that come to life as elections approach, and their marketing sophistication is limited compared to that of large corporate actors. But political actors do possess certain marketing advantages over those in the private sector – they

have access to the list of electors to construct databases, donations qualify for generous tax reductions, and their leaders are regularly in the news. No sales event on the commercial calendar remotely compares with the scope of society coming together to vote.

Political parties are in constant pursuit of voters' attention, personal information, and dollars. Politicians push their brands and parties shop for votes with many of the same tools used in the consumer marketplace. Between elections, political parties make sustained pushes to add information about Canadians to relationship-management databases, just like the big stores that gather data on their customers. The parties solicit donations from supporters by asking them to "chip in," especially at the end of each quarter, when a party is judged by its standing in political fundraising horse-race data.[6] The quarterly fundraising reports are essentially political sales data.

A party that prioritizes political marketing infuses discipline into all aspects of its communication, especially what happens in the legislature. Members of Parliament (MPs) are expected to vote as partisan blocs; the leader's office coordinates MPs' activities in the House of Commons and on committees, including voting, and key messages are distributed so that everyone affiliated with the party brand will repeat the same corporate messaging.[7] The competitive drive to win every communication battle increases relative to the proximity of the next campaign. Periods of minority government are therefore especially prone to the characteristics of permanent campaigning. In all circumstances, election readiness builds as the parties recruit candidates, conduct public opinion research, plan their advertising strategies, and coordinate candidate training schools. The media report, to some extent, on this choreography but rarely on how the steps are plotted.

Permanent campaigning is especially pertinent to the governing party. A prime minister and cabinet have much more power than backbench MPs do. Political staff in the Prime Minister's Office (PMO) and senior public servants in the Privy Council Office (PCO) negotiate policies with ministers, their political staff, and

their deputy ministers.[8] A political pollster can be embedded within the government to oversee public opinion research and to share polling insights with partisans sprinkled throughout government offices.[9] Senior political personnel strive to align all government communications, as one political scientist has observed:

> Every action, decision, and communication by government has been strategized, tested, and deliberately conveyed according to an overall theme or message designed to win public approval. The permanent campaign has implications for political communication, since it is essentially the conflation of campaigning and communications into permanent election communications. Governments must be able to consistently and effectively express what they are doing and why in a format that is both easily digestible by voters and appealing to core supporters.[10]

Elections are fundamentally different from permanent campaigning if only because during an official campaign period all politicians must interact with electors directly. Between elections, the executive branch of government is supposed to consider the views of elected representatives who, in theory, speak on constituents' behalf. Outreach to engage citizens in the policy-decision process can be perfunctory.[11] Limited consultation causes frustration when political actors challenge traditional power structures and believe that the public has a right to pass judgment on the social acceptability of government actions.[12] However, from the perspective of the governing party, Canadians collectively commented at the ballot box. The government believes that it has a mandate to follow through on implementing the promises outlined in the party's campaign platform, especially if it controls a majority of seats.[13] It matters little to the governing party that election campaigns are stage-managed events or that most voters base their decisions on partisanship and political values rather than on specific policy proposals.[14] Nevertheless, elections constitute the core of a democracy. This is

when interactions between politicians, political parties, the media, interest groups, and citizens are their liveliest.

Behind the Scenes of Election Campaigning

Election campaigns provide people with knowledge that can only be learned by doing. At some point, everyone holding a role in a campaign – from the party leader standing on stage during a leaders' debate to the election scrutineer at a polling booth – has learned on the job. It is a high-wire act. Errors can be public and costly. Some of these on-the-job trainees will never again hold an official role in a campaign. The vast majority will return and build on their experiences.

Peruse a book written by someone who has been in the thick of a Canadian election campaign, and you will soon spot divergence among communication (the air war), national-level strategy (the war room), and the grassroots level (the ground war). *Inside the NDP War Room,* by former journalist James McLean, exposes the strategies and tactics of party operatives in the nerve centre of a campaign headquarters. Political personnel manage the message by disclosing controversial information about opponents and by coordinating rapid responses to repudiate criticisms of their own campaign. War-room personnel circulate talking points and key messages to support the leader's message of the day. They busily monitor all media interventions to isolate any instances of spokespeople going off-message and off-brand.[15] The need for communication control comes through in *Harper's Team: Behind the Scenes in the Conservative Rise to Power,* in which former Conservative strategist Tom Flanagan reveals the inner workings of a campaign operation.[16] Flanagan describes a seemingly endless inventory of details requiring attention in an intense environment in which a slip-up can be magnified into a public controversy that costs votes. How do we go about renting an airplane? What should be on the bus-wrap livery? What is the campaign slogan? Have we secured the rights to play a campaign song? Who is in charge of costing the promises

in our platform? How do we ensure that the people travelling with the leader are synchronized with the people in the war room? What do we do when the leader's political instincts seem to be distorted by the bubble of the leader's tour? Who is responsible for dealing with the maverick candidate distracting from the party's messaging? Who is writing the leader's speeches? How many people need to sign off on a press release? Who is heading up our public opinion research? How does our polling inform our advertising? How are we going to pay for all this? *Harper's Team* is exceptional in its detail. No other academic work has divulged such a trove of inside information about the back rooms of a Canadian political party's election campaigns.

A national election campaign is an enormous operation that requires complete dedication from a tightly connected group willing to work long hours in a fast-paced, high-stakes atmosphere. Consider the work involved in putting on a political rally.[17] When a leader arrives in a community and enters a room full of cheering supporters waving campaign signs, all that most Canadians see is a brief media clip of something that the leader says, punctuated by visuals of the words on a podium sign and whoever or whatever is behind the leader. The goal is to create the look of a spontaneous show of adulation in an event the opposite of spontaneous. Campaign workers put a lot of effort into generating that brief media coverage. Tour advance personnel are tasked with scouting out a location and mapping an event scenario, with particular attention given to what cameras will catch. Sound systems, lighting, and teleprompters must be set up. In preparation for the rally, local candidates are engaged, and electronic invitations are issued to supporters in the party's database. On the day of the leader's visit, workers decorate the location with party colours and signs. An enormous Canadian flag is often draped on the wall so that the leader can stand squarely in the middle of the maple leaf, or perhaps workers wearing hard hats will stand on a tiered stage to form a topical backdrop. Supporters begin showing up hours before the leader arrives. Reporters might interview people waiting in line

while protesters clamour outside vying for media attention. When attendees register, they can be given wristbands to authorize their entry. By registering, perhaps by showing an electronic ticket with a quick response (QR) code, they provide the party with additional information for its database. An invitation to a campaign event is considered a benefit for party supporters. As a former PMO director of communications puts it, "the daily rallies at the end of a campaign day are meant to reward the faithful for their hard work and contributions ... and to fire them up to keep pounding in lawn signs, knocking on doors, and adding new supporters into the party's database. They're also meant to bludgeon the ballot question into the travelling press pack's heads."[18]

The leader's arrival at a campaign rally is all about showmanship. Smiling supporters greet the leader before the entourage disappears into a hold room. Partisans with local profiles warm up the crowd in preparation for a grand introduction. As the party's campaign song begins to blare, the smiling leader takes the stage, with the crowd signalling its approval. The leader consults a teleprompter to deliver a variation of the script used at all of these packaged events. Talking points are emphasized, partisan jabs are thrown, and crowd reactions are elicited. When the speech is over – naturally to thunderous applause – supporters clamour for selfies with the leader. Staff begin the teardown process of removing chairs and signs, dismantling audiovisual equipment, and storing props. The whole thing is replicated elsewhere the next day as the leader's tour rolls through the country while, behind the scenes, the campaign wagon master worries about the logistics of transporting the large media entourage.[19] In some ways, the spectacle is relatively unchanged from the time when John A. Macdonald gave speeches from raised platforms decorated with bunting or when Wilfrid Laurier addressed crowds as he passed through their communities on a whistle-stop tour.

The media travelling with the tours willingly play along with this show – the journalists' presence and the bank of cameras reinforce the impression that something big is happening. Their reports on

the events amplify the message, as politicians and journalists call the leaders' scripted utterances. This is a symbiotic relationship.

Of course, in some parts of Canada, it is not always easy to co-ordinate a rally, especially for an opposition party. Pseudo-events for opposition leaders are often little more than pop-ups. The leader stands at a podium outside a local campaign headquarters or a strategically selected location that fits the intended message. Candidates dutifully nod as the leader addresses the media. Staff huddle on the sidelines, busily checking their smartphones. The visuals give the impression of professional delivery, albeit without the aura of popularity, resources, or momentum. Walking through a restaurant and touring a local business are other practices. Whether the leader is available to speak with reporters has much to do with calculations of whether the message is controllable.

The experiences of local candidates in a campaign are diametric-ally opposed to those of national candidates. Imagine the excite-ment of being declared an official candidate and the rush of seeing your name on signs dotted throughout your community. It can be a thrill to talk policy on doorsteps and to network with public figures. Granting interviews to the media and watching your social media followers increase in number can make you feel like a VIP. Watching the tallying of votes on election day can be euphoric. Visions of being elected to Parliament and being able to fix Ottawa can be intoxicating.

In reality, being a candidate is as frustrating as it is exhilarating.[20] It is hard work, and you have to check your ego. People aspiring to run as candidates for a political party are required to fill out an invasive questionnaire and sign quasi-legal paperwork.[21] A vetting committee asks probing questions and scours the Internet for any-thing controversial. Much of this is done with journalism in mind, which has built up a new genre of political reporting in recent years, exposing flawed candidates with embarrassing details of their pasts. Punishment is usually severe for candidates outed this way in the media: swift ejection and public shaming. Prospective candidates who survive this intense screening process must then compete in a

nomination contest to drum up local support.[22] The nomination is won by default if nobody else steps forward, which can signal that the party is weak in that electoral district. It is at this point that the nominated candidates are told that they must stick to the party message and never publicly contradict the leader. Candidates then begin to realize that the local media have limited interest in them and that it is difficult to get traction on local policy issues.[23] Those who have the privilege of being invited to stand with the leader at a campaign rally might be told just to smile and nod. By now, notions of being a political force have been tempered by the growing realization that candidates are cogs in the large party machine. Salvation is found in the camaraderie of a local team that works tirelessly to identify the vote, deliver brochures, and get supporters to the polls. Most of a candidate's local network consists of hardcore partisans, friends, and family members who must collectively interpret the instructions relayed from national campaign operatives. For many people, election campaigning can be considered a social event as much as a contest for power.

People experience the same campaign differently because they are exposed to different information and process that information in different ways. This has implications for how political parties deploy resources. As a Canadian political marketer once observed, the political views of a woman in downtown Toronto who likes organics and yoga are likely distinct from those of a young single guy working at Canadian Tire.[24] Likewise, how candidates campaign in densely populated, multicultural, urban areas home to many renters differs from how they campaign in vast rural areas with homogeneous and aging populations.[25] As well, political cultures, economies, and cleavages vary across the country.[26] Differences are pronounced in a fractured media market in which citizens choose to consume information that fits their political tastes – or perhaps to tune out of Canadian news altogether. Finding ways to get the right message to intended target audiences is a constant communication struggle, one made easier by advances in technologies.

As the communication landscape evolves, we develop a new sense of normal and forget what normal used to be.[27] Transformations in communication technologies indeed change campaign practices, even as basic principles such as voter identification persist. A generation ago campaigners were concerned with renting fax machines and land-line telephones, and election rules intended to level the playing field centred on limiting how much money candidates could spend.[28] Gradually, there were fewer community newspapers available to profile local candidates and issues, and campaign workers have acquired their own mobile phones. By the 2008 federal election, campaign news was criss-crossing the country in real time, and political parties busily uploaded to their websites raw video footage of campaign events. Social media were emerging in Canadian politics: the Facebook pages of party leaders were rarely updated and some leaders' Twitter accounts were created for that campaign.[29] Today social media are displacing mainstream news and advertising as the primary outlet for political campaigning. Political parties are using sophisticated computerized segmentation analysis to pinpoint potential supporters. They push micro-refined messages through database marketing and targeted advertising on social media.[30]

Digital strategists occasionally reveal the value that a national campaign attaches to digital data. "You don't win close campaigns trying to convince people something they don't believe," says the chief digital strategist of the Liberals' 2015 and 2019 campaigns. "It's totally inefficient and a waste of time. You win them by being efficient at finding and mobilizing people that already support you."[31] Digital platforms allow political operatives to test multiple versions of advertisements and word choices used in messaging. They improve the ability to monitor local outreach by tallying how frequently candidates and local workers are door knocking and placing phone calls. Across the country, they constantly upload data to a central database that becomes an arsenal of information to inform communication precision, from analytical modelling to

get-out-the-vote operations. Literally thousands of variants of digital advertising are deployed to match targeted audiences.

The influence of digital media extends beyond party politics to empower activists who mobilize political protests and digital activism.[32] The visuals of conflict are attractive to news media. News organizations compete for audience attention and find it difficult to tell captivating stories about public policy. Similarly, social media outrage can be fodder for news content, causing every politician to be fearful of doing or saying something that goes viral and generates a pile-on. At the other extreme are the politicians who peddle soft messages on non-political programming, known as infotainment.[33] This too has evolved in a digital media ecosystem: during the 2019 campaign, Prime Minister Justin Trudeau engaged in a rare sit-down interview with the host of the Facebook Watch series *New Mom, Who Dis?* in which the studio audience was young schoolchildren.

The 2019 Canadian Federal Election

Most of the experiences described in this book are grounded in Canadian federal election campaigns. Many of the contributors know what it is like to work in campaign war rooms, to travel with the leader's tour, or otherwise to be involved in the cut-and-thrust of electioneering. They avoid discussing the minutiae of the 2019 Canadian federal election in order to explain how campaigns work in general. Here we provide a brief overview of that election as context for the chapters that follow.[34]

An element that courses through election campaigns is that they must often abide by new rules every election. The Liberal majority government led by Trudeau passed the Elections Modernization Act in time for the 2019 campaign. This act introduced spending rules for political parties and advocacy groups during the period leading up to the dissolution of Parliament. It expanded the scope of communication activities by Elections Canada and required online platforms to publish a registry of digital political advertising.

Through an Order-in-Council, the government created the Leaders' Debate Commission to organize two official national leaders' debates in English and French. Rules, of course, are subject to interpretation. One example of controversial decisions by non-partisan administrators included Elections Canada warning environmental groups that, in order to engage in political advertising about climate change, they would have to register formally as third parties; another was the commission's deliberations on whether to invite or exclude the leader, Maxime Bernier, of the recently formed People's Party of Canada.

As the forty-second Parliament ended, ministers fanned out across the country to make a plethora of spending announcements, and all parties busily recruited candidates. Justin Trudeau was still the country's most popular national party leader. However, the Liberals jockeyed with the Conservatives, led by Andrew Scheer, for top spot in public opinion polls. The New Democratic Party (NDP), led by Jagmeet Singh, had trouble with candidate recruitment because of a toxic combination of incumbents who did not seek re-election, money woes, and weak public support.

On 11 September, Prime Minister Trudeau asked the governor general to dissolve Parliament. A forty-day campaign would be held, culminating in a general election on 21 October, the date prescribed by law. At dissolution, the seat counts were 177 Liberal, 95 Conservative, 39 NDP, 10 Bloc Québécois, 2 Green, 1 People's Party, and 9 independents. Five seats were vacant.

Aggregates of public opinion polls forecast the Liberals picking up NDP seats in Quebec, which might compensate for seat losses elsewhere. The polls also predicted that the Conservatives would dominate the Prairies but that vote inefficiencies would make it difficult to win enough seats to form the government. They suggested that the NDP risked losing official party status (twelve seats) in the House of Commons.[35] The Greens, led by Elizabeth May, were poised for a breakthrough given a spate of recent electoral successes and global concerns about climate change. For the first time, the Green Party was competing with the New Democrats for

third place in opinion polls. Many pundits thought that the Bloc Québécois, led by Yves-François Blanchet, would struggle to regain official party status or even survive the election. The People's Party – led by libertarian MP Bernier, a former Conservative – was a wild card. At the local level, two former prominent members of Trudeau's cabinet promised to be potential disrupters. Jody Wilson-Raybould and Jane Philpott, expelled from the Liberal caucus in April 2019 amid the SNC-Lavalin affair, were rare cases of independents with a chance of being elected.[36] As is so often the case, Ontario and Quebec would play formidable roles in determining which party would form a majority or minority government.

Normally, when an election is called, the media coverage is formulaic, focusing on the remarks of the prime minister outside Rideau Hall, the official residence of the governor general. That normalcy was disrupted during the 2019 election period by a *Globe and Mail* story that Prime Minister Trudeau's unwillingness to waive cabinet confidences was blocking the RCMP's investigation of the SNC-Lavalin affair.[37] The media then proceeded to report on controversial social media posts unearthed by the opponents of candidates, which led to some resignations. A week into the campaign, images rocketed around the world of Trudeau wearing brownface and blackface before he became an MP, throwing the Liberal campaign into disarray. Scheer was knocked off message multiple times, including on his personal position regarding abortion rights and by news that he holds dual American-Canadian citizenship. Singh found his stride by presenting a positive alternative to the main front-runners and through strong performances in the leaders' debates. Blanchet performed well in the French debates. Two instances of a "media tsunami" occurred, in which all news outlets converge on a single story and suggest a social crisis.[38] The first was the brownface and blackface photos and video; the second was climate change, peaking with protests during the Global Climate Strike day of action on 27 September.

As the campaign wore on, public opinion polls continued to place the Liberals and Conservatives in a statistical tie nationwide. The

Bloc Québécois and NDP rode the momentum of their leaders' debate performances while the two front-runners traded nasty barbs.[39] Among the more distinctive ways in which the Liberals sought advantage was coordinating a public expression of support from former US President Barack Obama, who tweeted his hope that Canadians would return Trudeau to office for another term.

Heading into election day, commentators observed that it was "a disgraceful election," reflecting on the fact that it was the first time in Canadian history that the two parties contending to form the government had garnered such low support in public opinion polls.[40] Pollsters largely predicted a tie between the Conservatives and Liberals in the popular vote but that seat counts would result in a Liberal minority government. They were right. The Conservatives marginally won the largest share of the popular vote, but the results in terms of MPs were 157 Liberal, 121 Conservative, 32 Bloc Québécois, 24 NDP, 3 Green, and 1 independent (Wilson-Raybould). The results exposed a divided country and were magnified by an electoral system that exposes regional concentrations. As Canadians began to process the implications of a return to minority governance, politicians and political staff turned their minds to the forty-third Parliament as the gears of permanent campaigning machinery restarted.

The Challenges of Political Management

Academic and media attention to campaign activities tends to focus on what is visible. Thus, we see the leaders' debates without being privy to the considerable planning required to pull off those high-stakes focusing events. We look at party platforms and advertising in the absence of the strategic considerations that contributed to their production. Some campaign tactics, such as digital fund-raising, are visible only to select people, and rarely do the media engage in public self-analysis of their role in reporting information. Some aspects of a campaign receive little attention, such as the work done by government employees while the campaign is under way

or the electoral journey of an independent candidate. Furthermore, when these phenomena are explored, it is normally in the context of a specific election.

Inside the Campaign explores the inner workings of a Canadian election campaign. As indicated, books that combine both scholarly insights and voices of experience are rare. This book features chapters authored by academics collaborating with practitioner co-authors in their areas of expertise. The chapters encompass an array of partisan and non-partisan perspectives. Grounded in the 2019 federal election, the book attempts to present information relevant to understanding campaigns of the recent past and the near future.

The objective of this book is to profile campaign jobs and, by extension, to reveal the hidden work that occurs during a Canadian election campaign. It chronicles fourteen different types of actors as parts of the campaign infrastructure. The intended contribution to knowledge is to document professional practices that occur behind the scenes during elections. We anticipate that this book about the practical side of politics will appeal to anyone who studies Canadian politics or identifies as a political practitioner. It will be of particular value to those intrigued by applied politics, including those affiliated with Canada's first graduate program in political management at Carleton University. Political management is an emerging subfield that harnesses political science, political communication, and political marketing to provide a professional foundation for people who work in the political arena. The political management curriculum is skills-based and integrates interconnected subject areas that include "qualitative and quantitative analysis of survey research data, understanding of voter behaviour, campaigns and election law, information management, get-out-the-vote activities, microtargeting, grassroots organization, fundraising, strategic communications, strategic public relations, political branding, strategic thinking, the business of political consulting, issue advocacy, relationship marketing, civic engagement, political advertising, and more."[41] Many of these topics are addressed in this

book and featured in other titles in the UBC Press Communication, Strategy, and Politics series in which it appears.

We might expect practitioners to be keen to profile their expertise in a volume that contributes to the development of political management as an academic subfield in Canada. However, Canadian practitioners are constrained in what they can say and how they can say it. People who work in ministerial or campaign offices, who are public servants, who are employed in the media or polling industries, or who are members of advocacy groups are subject to forms of reserve and discretion unfamiliar to those in academia. They must exercise caution about what they disclose. They might be averse to criticism because they are acutely aware of employer sensitivities and the risk of an opponent torquing a remark. Practitioners must be careful about casting doubt on their employers; after all, they are not shielded by academic freedom. Furthermore, being publicly self-critical can be anathema to their occupation and identity. Partisan politics is still at its core an ideological activity. For some practitioners, contributing to this book was an opportunity to provide a frank description of what goes on during campaigns, whereas for others pulling punches was a necessary condition of their participation. We hope that readers agree that the result is a valuable peek inside the countless hidden practices that occur in a Canadian election campaign.

Getting *Inside the Campaign*

This book is divided into two parts. Content in the "Caretakers and Participant Observers" section describes the work of people involved in caretaking and election-preparedness roles in the government and those who participate by commenting publicly on the campaign. The second section is titled "Campaign Offices and the Campaign Trail." It profiles the work of people who toil in campaign offices and out on the hustings. Each chapter is organized in a common manner, beginning with a summary of public knowledge about the profiled occupation that weaves together information

from published sources. Next the authors demystify the profiled occupation by outlining hidden roles, difficulties, and time frames largely unknown to most Canadians. The chapters conclude with a vignette explaining the challenges in the federal campaign and how the obstacles were handled internally.

The first section begins with Chapter 1 and its look at the campaign from the perspective of Elections Canada. We learn how the non-partisan organization has responded to challenges to uphold the integrity of the democratic process. Andrea Lawlor builds on her work studying election administration. The chapter's profile of Elections Canada is punctuated with contributions from Marc Mayrand, a former chief electoral officer of Canada.

Chapter 2 discloses the work of political staff who remain in their departmental offices. They maintain connections with public servants as well as provide information and support to their ministers. In particular, the authors analyze the role of ministerial staff in the lead up to and during an election campaign. Paul Wilson, acting chief of staff to Prime Minister Stephen Harper during the 2011 campaign, writes about the role of political staff. He collaborates with Michael McNair, a former policy director for Prime Minister Justin Trudeau.

Next, we learn about the senior public servants during an election campaign working to support the transition to government. In Chapter 3, Lori Turnbull draws on her knowledge of public administration and her experience in the Privy Council Office when the Liberal government was formed in 2015. Donald Booth, a member of the Machinery of Government Secretariat at the Privy Council Office, joins her to reveal what happens as the public service awaits the formation of a new government.

Chapter 4 documents the deliberations held within the new federal Leaders' Debate Commission during the production of its first debates. That body sought to minimize uncertainty about debate formats and participation that climaxed when Stephen Harper was prime minister. Brooks DeCillia is a former CBC journalist turned academic. He collaborates with Michel Cormier, a

former executive with Radio-Canada and the executive director of the commission in 2019.

Chapter 5 features a discussion about the evolving terrain of news production in a mediated environment fraught with the perils of fake news, cyberhacking, and evolving business models. News production has become highly metrics-driven, which has implications for campaign coverage and audience trust. Colette Brin harnesses her research examining changes in journalistic practice and is joined by Ryan MacDonald, a senior editor at the *Globe and Mail*.

Chapter 6 examines the interactions among media polling, party polling, and media reporting in the framing of an election campaign. The authors show that the role of opinion polling has come a long way from the neutral recording of citizens' views as once envisioned by acclaimed pollster George Gallup. André Turcotte has extensive experience in both studying and leading public opinion survey research for political parties. His coauthor, Éric Grenier, is familiar to Canadian political observers as the face of Poll Tracker on CBC News.

The second section of the book begins with an examination of the work of party fundraisers in Chapter 7. It considers how technological trends and the news cycle affect fundraising efforts. Erin Crandall leverages her expertise in studying election law to describe the parameters of fundraising by Canadian political parties. Michael Roy draws on his online fundraising experiences with the New Democratic Party in 2015. Their insights are punctuated by information obtained from conversations with some personnel involved with fundraising during the party's 2019 campaign.

Chapter 8 introduces the strategic objectives involved in building major party platforms in Canada. It examines the tactics involved in marketing the platform as party personnel attempt to set the media agenda. Jared Wesley researches public policy and electioneering. His coauthor, Renze Nauta, held a senior role in platform development with the Conservative Party in 2019.

Chapter 9 provides a job description of national campaign directors by examining what they do on a day-to-day basis. David

McGrane expands on his research on political marketing and electioneering. Anne McGrath, his coauthor, was the NDP's national campaign director in 2015. Their chapter includes insights provided by her 2019 counterpart. Collectively, they look at the chronological arc of a national campaign by exploring the various stages of preparation that a campaign director must oversee from appointment to election day.

Working closely with a national campaign director is the director of communications, a position profiled in Chapter 10. To assemble that summary, Stéphanie Yates leveraged her research on how communications and politics intersect. Coauthor John Chenery reflects on his experience as director of communications with the Green Party in 2019.

A related position is profiled in Chapter 11, in which we are introduced to political leads, also known as senior campaign advisers. This chapter provides an under-the-hood look at how senior advisers accompany and counsel political leaders about their public image on tour. In it, Mireille Lalancette evokes her past work examining how politicians and political strategists construct political images. Marie Della Mattia contributes her own insights gleaned from over three decades of experience working with NDP leaders.

This attention to image management transitions into a discussion about political advertising in Chapter 12, which looks at how advertisers leverage media platforms to share issue- and image-based political ads. It unpacks how advertising professionals reach out to specific target audiences in order to deliver messages appealing to narrow interests and objectives. Vincent Raynauld draws on his scholarship in political and digital communications. His coauthor, Dany Renauld, has extensive expertise in the advertising industry, helping to produce advertising for the Conservative Party in Quebec in 2019.

Building on this examination of political parties' communication strategies and tactics, Chapter 13 invites us into the complementary world of registered third parties, more commonly known as advocacy groups. The chapter focuses on the political orientations and

strategies adopted by labour unions when registered with Elections Canada as third parties during federal elections. In it, Thomas Collombat builds on his research on the socio-political aspects of trade union activities, and Magali Picard shares her experiences as a senior executive with the Public Service Alliance of Canada during the 2019 campaign.

The final chapter will intrigue Canadians who have concerns about the gatekeeping role of political parties in the House of Commons. Chapter 14 profiles the opportunities and considerable challenges of being an independent candidate in a Canadian election campaign. Tamara Small, a leading expert in the study of digital politics in Canada, turns her attention to constituency campaigning. The focus is on the experiences of coauthor Jane Philpott, a high-profile former Liberal MP and cabinet minister who ran as an independent in 2019.

After this sobering tale, everything in the book is brought together in the Conclusion, written by Anna Lennox Esselment and Thierry Giasson. Drawing on their knowledge of political marketing practices, party politics, and electoral strategies in Canada, they summarize what we have learned about campaign workers in recent Canadian elections. The Conclusion includes a tour of recent findings about the nature of campaign work from past contributors to the UBC Press series.

We hope that you enjoy getting *Inside the Campaign*.

Notes

[1] For example, see Sayers, *Parties, Candidates, and Constituency Campaigns in Canadian Elections;* Flanagan, *Harper's Team;* and McLean, *Inside the NDP War Room*.
[2] Brook, *Getting Elected in Canada,* 68.
[3] Duffy, *Fights of Our Lives,* 30.
[4] For example, see Esselment, "The Governing Party and the Permanent Campaign."
[5] Delacourt, *Shopping for Votes*.
[6] Marland and Mathews, "'Friend, Can You Chip in $3?'"

7   For a good overview of a Canadian political party's use of political marketing, see McGrane, *The New NDP*.

8   Wilson, "The Inter-Executive Activity of Ministerial Policy Advisors in the Government of Canada."

9   Turcotte and Vodrey, "Permanent Polling and Governance."

10 Esselment, "The Governing Party and the Permanent Campaign," 24.

11 Turnbull and Aucoin, *Fostering Canadians' Role in Public Policy*.

12 Yates with Arbour, "The Notion of Social Acceptability."

13 For more, see Birch and Pétry, *Assessing Justin Trudeau's Liberal Government*.

14 Gidengil et al., *Dominance and Decline*.

15 McLean, *Inside the NDP War Room,* 67.

16 Flanagan, *Harper's Team*.

17 Some information in this section is drawn from Aiello, "Election 2019."

18 MacDougall, "Rallying the Faithful."

19 Rodier, "Confessions of a Campaign Wagon Master."

20 For an excellent account of life as a party candidate, see Richler, *The Candidate*.

21 See Chapter 2 in Marland, *Whipped*.

22 For more on candidate nomination processes, see Pruysers and Cross, "Candidate Selection in Canada."

23 Tolley, *Framed,* 145.

24 Delacourt, *Shopping for Votes,* 199–200; Flanagan, *Harper's Team,* 223–24.

25 For example, see Koop, *Grassroots Liberals,* Chapter 5.

26 See Wesley, *Big Worlds*.

27 Taras, *Digital Mosaic,* 2.

28 For example, see Brook, *Getting Elected in Canada,* 91; and Lawlor and Crandall, "Understanding Third-Party Advertising."

29 Small, "Still Waiting for an Internet Prime Minister."

30 Giasson and Small, "Online, All the Time."

31 Tom Pitfield, quoted in Raj, "How Justin Trudeau Didn't Lose the 2019 Election."

32 See many of the chapters in Lalancette, Raynauld, and Crandall, *What's Trending in Canadian Politics?*

33 Bastien, *Breaking News?*

34 For further communication-related information about the 2019 campaign, see Gillies, Raynauld, and Turcotte, *Political Marketing in the 2019 Canadian Federal Election*.

35 CBC, "Canada Votes 2019."

36   For a summary of the SNC-Lavalin political controversy, see Chapter
      11 in Marland, *Whipped.*
37   Leblanc and Fife, "Ottawa Blocks RCMP on SNC Inquiry."
38   Giasson, Sauvageau, and Brin, "From Media Wave to Media Tsunami."
39   For example, see Rana, "Election Campaign One of the Dirtiest in
      Recent History."
40   Coyne, "Can't They Both Lose?"
41   Johnson, "Political Management," 1155.

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