THE UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

# CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS

Government 381L
38908
Professor Daron Shaw
Fall 2011


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| MEETING PLACE: | BATTS 1.104 | MEETING TIME: TH 6:30-9:30 |
| OFFICE: | BATTS 4.146 | PHONE: 232-7275 |
| EMAIL: | dshaw@austin.utexas.edu | OFFICE HOURS: T, TH 1:30-3:00 |


## Overview

This course has two objectives. The first is to introduce you to the literature and controversies that animate our understanding of American elections and political campaigns. In this sense, the format of the class will be fairly typical; weekly reading assignments will serve as the basis for critical inquiries into a range of issues. The second objective is to teach you what it means to do empirical research in this area. Most of us can readily identify the short-comings of the political science we read, but far fewer can pose interesting alternatives, formulate testable hypotheses and research designs, acquire pertinent data and carry out convincing tests and analyses. This course aims at focusing your abilities and talents on these endeavors as well as bringing you up to speed on the literature.

## Course Format

Class meetings will run approximately two hours and forty-five minutes, with a 15-minute break about an hour and forty minutes into class. The first portion of class will be devoted to a consideration of the week's assigned readings. (A typical week consists of 250 pages of reading. Some weeks will be less and some will be more). You are required to do all of the readings for a given week. Students from the course will sign up to give 20-minute presentations of the materials for a given week and lead the class in a discussion of those readings. These presentations will be graded and everyone in the course will be responsible for a set of readings at some point during the semester (you could be asked to do more, depending on the number of students enrolled).

The last hour of class meetings will be devoted to students' research projects for the course. Initially, this hour will be geared towards development and design issues. As the semester wears on, students will present weekly (or bi-weekly) progress reports and the class will serve as a sounding board for more specific research questions. Attendance of all sections is expected and can affect your grade through the presentation/participation component of evaluation.

## Evaluation

Your grade will be determined as follows:

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| Class Assignments | | | |
| 1. | Weekly Overviews of the Readings | 20% | |
| 2. | Discussion Leader Presentations | 20% | |
| Research Paper | | | |
| 3. | Proposal | 5% | (Due October 13) |
| 4. | Draft | 15% | (Due November 17) |
| 5. | Final Draft | 40%. | (Due December 8) |

Grades for all assignments will be on a 0-100 scale. Grades will be determined based on your weighted average on this scale (93-100 is an A, 90-92 is an A-, 87-89 is a B+, 83-86 is a B, etc.). You must complete all of the assignments to pass. The nature of the proposal and paper will be discussed later. The due dates listed below are firm, though I am willing to discuss accommodations for compelling reasons. I reserve the right to determine what is "compelling". Needless to say, all work must be original and your own. Collaboration is not an option for the papers, though you may wish to consult with others on the readings and on your presentations.

You may choose your "discussion" week by signing up on the sheet posted outside my office.

## Other Matters

Research into campaigns, voting behavior, and elections has traditionally relied heavily on statistical analyses of surveys, experiments, and/or election results. This will be obvious in your readings. It is not imperative that you have a strong statistical background to take this course. Furthermore, you are not required to conduct a research inquiry that uses survey or ballot data. However, these are the forms of evidence and analysis that mark the field. If you choose to specialize in this area, expect to be asked to back your arguments with "hard" data. This does not necessarily mean polls or voting data, though these are certainly the most accessible and accepted forms of "hard" data. For those of you who are just getting started, I'd be happy to help you become familiar with the most common data sets (NES, the Annenberg rolling cross sectional survey, GSS, etc.).

**Readings**

1. Daniel Shea and Michael Burton (2010), "Campaign Craft." 4th edition. Praeger Press.
2. Donald Green and Alan Gerber, (2004), "Get Out the Vote." Brookings Press.
3. Sunshine Hillygus and Todd Shields (2008), "The Persuadable Voter." Princeton University Press.
4. Lynn Vavreck (2009), "The Message Matters." Princeton University Press.
5. Michael Lewis-Beck, Helmut Norpoth, William Jacoby, and Herb Weisberg (2008), "The American Voter Re-Visited." University of Michigan Press.
6. Shanto Iyengar and Steven Ansolabehere (1997), "Going Negative." Free Press.
7. Thomas Patterson (1993), "Out of Order." Knopf.
8. Marty Cohen, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller (2008), "The Party Decides." University of Chicago Press.
9. Richard Johnston, Michael Hagen, Kathleen Hall Jamieson (2004), "The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundation of Party Politics." Cambridge University Press.
10. Larry Bartels (1989), "Presidential Primaries." Princeton University Press.
11. Daron Shaw (2006), "The Race to 270." University of Chicago Press.
12. John Heilemann and Mark Halperin (2010), "Game Change." Harper Publishing.

Students will have to purchase these texts online. All readings are available either in the assigned text books or through JSTOR (which you can access through any UT computer).

**POLICY & PROCEDURES**

- ✓ It is distracting and discourteous to arrive late or leave during the lecture. I would discourage you from making a habit out of it.
- ✓ There will be one break during the class, so food, beverage and restroom necessities should be (mostly) taken care of prior to class.
- ✓ Please turn off all cell phones and pagers prior to entering the classroom.
- ✓ You are permitted to use your laptops to take notes.
- ✓ You are not permitted to transmit, copy, or otherwise distribute lecture material without my expressed written consent.
- ✓ At a more general level, please show respect for the classroom environment.

**STUDENTS WITH DISABILITIES**

Any disabled student may request appropriate academic accommodations from the office of Services for Students with Disabilities (471-6259).

http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/

**DISHONESTY**

Incidents of cheating, plagiarism, and general academic dishonesty will be treated as per university guidelines. Please note the Honor Code of the University:

http://registrar.utexas.edu/catalogs/gi09-10/ch01/index.html

## OTHER RESOURCES

There are a number of web sites that will be useful for this course.

1. David Leip' Atlas of U.S. Presidential Elections (http://uselectionatlas.org/)
2. Texas Legislative Council (http://www.tlc.state.tx.us)
3. CNN's Exit Poll Archive (http://www.cnn.com/ELECTION/2000/ or /2004/)
4. National Election Study (http://www.umich.edu/~nes/)
5. Roper Center for Public Opinion (http://www.ropercenter.uconn.edu/)
6. JSTOR site for academic journal articles (http://www.jstor.org)
7. Polling Report (http://www.pollingreport.com)
8. Pollster.com (http://www.pollster.com)
9. RealClear Politics (http://www.realclearpolitics.com)
10. OpenSecrets (http://www.opensecrets.org)
11. FollowtheMoney.org (http://www.followthemoney.org)
12. Federal Election Commission (http://www.fec.gov)
13. The Living Room Candidate (http://www.livingroomcandidate.movingimage.us/index.php)
14. Stanford Political Communication Laboratory (http://pcl.stanford.edu)
15. Vanishing Voter Project (http://www.vanishingvoter.org)
16. Nate Silver's 538.com (http://fivethirtyeight.blogs.nytimes.com/)
17. MonkeyCage (http://themonkeycage.org/)

**COURSE SCHEDULE**

| | Date | Subject | Reading |
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| 1 | Aug. 25 | The Decision to Run | "Campaign Craft," ch. 2<br><br>Jacobson, "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections, 1946-86." *American Political Science Review,* 33, 3 (Aug. 1989): 700-36.** |
| 2 | Sept. 1 | OUT | "Heilemann and Halperin, "Game Change." |
| 3 | Sept. 8 | Campaign Organization and Plan<br><br>Campaign Finance | "Campaign Craft," ch. 1<br><br>"Campaign Craft," ch. 7<br>Jacobson, "The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science,* 34, 2 (May, 1990): 334-362.**<br>Gerber, "Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes Using Instrumental Variables." *American Political Science Review,* 92, 2 (Jun., 1998): 401-411.**<br>Erikson and Palfrey, "Campaign Spending and Incumbency: An Alternative Simultaneous Equations Approach." *The Journal of Politics,* 60, 2 (May, 1998): 355-373.** |
| 4 | Sept. 15 | Consultants, Polls, and Research | "Campaign Craft," Introduction, ch. 5<br>Medvic, "The Effectiveness of the Political Consultant as a Campaign Resource." *PS* 31, 2 (Jun., 1998): 150-154.**<br>deSart and Holbrook**, "**Campaigns, Polls, and the States: Assessing the Accuracy of Statewide Presidential Trial-Heat Polls**."** *Political Research Quarterly* , Vol. 56, No. 4 (Dec., 2003), pp. 431-439.** |
| 5 | Sept. 22 | Public Opinion and Voting | Lewis-Beck, et al., "The American Voter Re-Visited."<br>Markus, "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 32, No. 1 (Feb., 1988), pp. 137-154.**<br>Petrocik, "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science,* 40, 3 (June 1996): 825-50.** |
| 6 | Sept. 29 | Voter Turnout | Plutzer, "Becoming a Habitual Voter: Inertia, Resources, and Growth in Young Adulthood." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 96, No. 1 (Mar., 2002), pp. 41-56.**<br>McDonald and Popkin, "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 95, No. 4 (Dec., 2001), pp. 963-974.** |

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| | | | Aldrich, "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 37, No. 1 (Feb., 1993), pp. 246-278.**<br>DeNardo, "Turnout and the Vote: The Joke's on the Democrats." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 74, No. 2 (Jun., 1980), pp. 406-420.** |
| 7 | Oct. 6 | Primaries and Nominating Contests | Bartels, "Presidential Primaries."<br>Cohen, et al., "The Party Decides."<br>Geer, "Assessing the Representativeness of Electorates in Presidential Primaries" *American Political Science Review,* 32, 4 (Nov., 1988): 929-945.** |
| 8 | Oct. 13 | Candidate Strategy and Targeting | "Campaign Craft," ch. 4, 6.<br>Shaw, "The Race to 270," ch. 3.<br>Vavreck, "The Message Matters." |
| 9 | Oct. 20 | OUT | |
| 10 | Oct. 27 | Television Advertising | "Campaign Craft," pp. 159-171.<br>Iyengar and Ansolabehere, "Going Negative."<br>Shaw, "The Race to 270," ch. 4-5.<br>Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, Babbitt, "The Effects of Negative Political Advertisements: A Meta-Analytic Assessment (in Forum)." *American Political Science Review*, 93, 4 (Dec., 1999): 851-875.**<br>Goldstein and Freedman, **"**New Evidence for New Arguments: Money and Advertising in the 1996 Senate Elections**."** *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 62, No. 4 (Nov., 2000), pp. 1087-1108.** |
| 11 | Nov. 3 | Radio, Direct Mail, Telephones, Face-to-Face, Online and Social Media Outreach | "Campaign Craft," pp. 171-76, ch. 10.<br>Gerber and Green, "Get Out the Vote."<br>Huckfeldt and Sprague, "Political Parties and Electoral Mobilization: Political Structure, Social Structure, and the Party Canvass." *The American Political Science Review*, Vol. 86, No. 1 (Mar., 1992), pp. 70-86.**<br>Druckman, Kifer, and Parkin. "Timeless Strategy Meets New Medium: Going Negative on Congressional Campaign Websites, 2002-2006," *Political Communication* 27: 88-103, 2010.** |
| 12 | Nov. 10 | The News Media | Patterson, "Out of Order."<br>Mutz, "Contextualizing Personal Experience: The Role of Mass Media." *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 56, No. 3 (Aug., 1994), pp. 689-714.** |
| 13 | Nov. 17 | Gauging Campaign Effects | Finkel**, "**Reexamining the "Minimal Effects" Model in Recent Presidential Campaigns**."** *The Journal of Politics*, Vol. 55, No. 1 (Feb., 1993), pp. 1-21.**<br>Holbrook**, "**Campaigns, National Conditions, and U.S. Presidential Elections**."** *American Journal of Political Science*, Vol. 38, No. 4 (Nov., 1994), pp. 973-998.** |

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| | | | Gelman and King, "Why are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls so Variable when Votes are so Predictable?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23 4(Oct. 1993): 409-451.** |
| 15 | Dec. 1 | Gauging Campaign Effects<br><br>Reforming Campaigns | Johnston, Hagen, and Jamieson, "The 2000 Election and the Foundation of Party Politics."<br>Hillygus and Shields, "The Persuadable Voter."<br><br>Shaw, "The Race to 270, ch. 6. |