

UNIVERSITY OF TEXAS AT AUSTIN

GOVERNMENT 370J

## CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS

PROFESSOR DARON SHAW

SPRING 2023

UNIQUE #:	38295	MEETING TIME:	MO, WE 11:30-1:00
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### COURSE OVERVIEW

This course is designed to introduce you to American political campaigns and elections through lectures and readings. It is not designed to serve as a “how to” manual for aspiring politicians or consultants. Often, it is more theoretical than practical. Still, some nuts and bolts information is essential and will be part of the curriculum. My focus is on federal elections, though references are made to state and local elections. We spend some time revisiting past campaigns and elections to contrast and explicate contemporary American electoral politics. In particular, the lectures and readings pay attention to the presidential elections of 2016 and 2020. The races between Hillary Clinton and Donald Trump, and between Donald Trump and Joe Biden, are not only the most recent, but provide vivid details supplementing the theoretical and descriptive points raised in the course.

The course has three primary objectives. The first is to provide basic information about American elections and electioneering by examining both the rules of the game and the players. The second is to develop analytical skills with which to analyze complex relationships and phenomena. The third is to introduce you to the work of the political scientist by concentrating on paradigms and techniques of the discipline. Unlike the lower division version of the course, the emphasis is on the latter two goals.

### COURSE REQUIREMENTS

#### *Midterm Examinations*

Midterm #1	80 points (16%)
Midterm #2	80 points (16%)
Midterm #3	80 points (16%)

#### *Campaign Simulation*

Group Presentation	100 points (20%)
Individual Paper	120 points (24%)

#### *Participation and Attendance*

40 points (8%)

There are two main requirements for this course. First, there will be **three exams**. The first is worth sixteen percent (16%) of your grade and will probably be given on **February 13**. The second will also be worth sixteen percent of your grade and will probably be given on **March 27**. The third and final midterm will also be worth sixteen percent (16%) of your grade and will probably be given on **April 24**, the final day of class. The examinations are not cumulative; exam #1 covers material

through week 5, while exam #2 covers material from weeks 6-10, and exam #3 covers weeks 11-15. They will feature a mixed format, with multiple choice and short answer questions. The exams draw roughly equally from lecture and the readings. When taking the exams, you are not allowed to talk or use your notes, books or neighbor's test. Anyone caught cheating will be treated per University guidelines. Study groups, on the other hand, are encouraged. Failure to take either of the exams at the appointed times results in a grade of F. I allow cumulative exams for those with compelling excuses, but I am the sole arbiter of what constitutes a compelling excuse. You need medical or extreme personal difficulties before I will consent to such an action. There will be no early exams, nor can exams be taken at any place other than the scheduled room. If you cannot take the exams at the scheduled time and place, you should not enroll in the course.

Second, there will be a ***campaign simulation***. I have selected four elections—this yields a total of eight campaigns. For every campaign, each candidate will have a team of five students, each of whom will be responsible for ***a report on a selected aspect of the campaign***. The individual reports will be 8-10 pages long and will count for twenty-four percent (24%) of your grade. Details on the expectations for the report will be provided in class, but suffice it to say that you are expected to provide a plan detailing how your candidate will deal with one of the following aspects of the campaign: (1) budget, resource allocation, and fundraising, (2) polling and GOTV, (3) issues and messaging, (4) social media, TV and other paid advertising, and (5) scheduling, advance, and media.

Each campaign team will also be responsible for ***a twelve (12) minute presentation***. Presentations will be held during a Saturday session on **April 22**. The audience will include me, other professors and political consultants, and several graduate students currently studying campaigns and elections. The point of the presentation is to present a strategic overview of the candidate's prospects. Unlike the reports, the grade for the presentation will be collective (everyone on the team gets the same mark), and will constitute twenty percent (20%) of your overall grade.

Finally, attendance and participation are strongly encouraged. I reserve the right to give pop quizzes at any time, and these quizzes are worth eight percent of your final grade.

## READINGS

There is one required text for the course. It is available online through Canvas.

John Sides, Daron Shaw, Matt Grossman, Keena Lipsitz. *Campaigns and Elections: Rules, Reality, Strategy, and Choice*. 4<sup>th</sup> edition. New York: Norton Publishing, 2021.

Other readings are available either online or through Canvas.

## COURSE FORMAT

Class meetings run approximately 75 minutes and rely on a lecture format. However, I ask questions of the class and may call on students at random. On the other side of the lectern, questions and observations are always encouraged. I try to recognize those raising their hand to ask a question as soon as possible. Keep in mind that the lectures parallel, but do not repeat the readings. Because of this, not attending class is a particularly bad practice.

Anyone having difficulty with the course should feel free to see me after class or in office hours. If I can't help solve the problem myself, I can point you towards one of the many excellent support systems for students who need to improve their writing, research or study skills.

## CANVAS

Course materials and grades will be available online through Canvas.

<https://utexas.instructure.com/courses/1355800>

## 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 no breaks during the class, so food, beverage and restroom necessities should be taken care of prior to class.
- ✓ Please turn off all cell phones 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

Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities at (512) 471-6259 (voice) or (512) 410-6644 (video phone) or <http://diversity.utexas.edu/disability/>.

## TITLE IX REPORTING

Title IX is a federal law that protects against sex and gender-based discrimination, sexual harassment, sexual assault, sexual misconduct, dating/domestic violence and stalking at federally funded educational institutions. UT Austin is committed to fostering a learning and working environment free from discrimination in all its forms. When sexual misconduct occurs in our community, the university can:

1. Intervene to prevent harmful behavior from continuing or escalating.
2. Provide support and remedies to students and employees who have experienced harm or have become involved in a Title IX investigation.
3. Investigate and discipline violations of the university's relevant policies.

Faculty members and certain staff members are considered "Responsible Employees" or "Mandatory Reporters," which means that they are required to report violations of Title IX to the Title IX Coordinator. **We are Responsible Employees and must report any Title IX related incidents** that are disclosed in writing, discussion, or one-on-one. Before talking with us, or with any faculty or staff member about a Title IX related incident, be sure to ask whether they are a responsible employee. If you want to speak with someone for support or remedies without making an official report to the university, email [advocate@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:advocate@austin.utexas.edu). For more information about reporting options and resources, visit [titleix.utexas.edu](http://titleix.utexas.edu) or contact the Title IX Office at [titleix@austin.utexas.edu](mailto:titleix@austin.utexas.edu).

## RELIGIOUS HOLIDAYS

By UT Austin policy, you must notify us of your pending absence at least fourteen days prior to the date of observance of a religious holy day. If you must miss a class, an examination, a work assignment, or a project to observe a religious holy day, you will be given an opportunity to complete the missed work within a reasonable time after the absence.

## **ACADEMIC HONESTY**

The core values of The University of Texas at Austin are learning, discovery, freedom, leadership, individual, opportunity, and responsibility. Each member of the university is expected to uphold these values through integrity, honesty, trust, fairness, and respect toward peers and community:

<http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/standardsconduct.php>

In addition, the University of Texas at Austin Academic Integrity Principles call for students to avoid engaging in any form of academic dishonesty on behalf of yourself or another student:

<http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/index.php>

By taking this class, you agree to abide by the University of Texas regulations concerning cheating. While working on your tests or activities, your work must be your own. On the written assignments, you can discuss ideas with others and ask others to read over drafts. However, you cannot receive help from others on the exams. If you observe others cheating, you are honor bound to contact the teaching team.

Grade-related penalties are assessed for dishonesty (for example, a grade of "F" for the course), but students can also be suspended or even permanently expelled from the University for scholastic dishonesty: <http://deanofstudents.utexas.edu/conduct/academicintegrity.php>

## **INTERNET RESOURCES & INFORMATION SITES**

Here are some websites that might be useful for this course:

### Politics Analysis and News

JSTOR site for academic journal articles (<http://www.jstor.org>)

<https://fivethirtyeight.com/politics/>

<https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/>

<http://www.realclearpolitics.com>

<http://www.politico.com>

<https://votesmart.org/>

<http://www.cnn.com>

<http://www.foxnews.com>

<http://www.nytimes.com>

<http://www.washingtonpost.com>

<http://www.latimes.com>

### Historical Data on Voting and Public Opinion

<http://uselectionatlas.org/>

<http://www.umich.edu/~nes/>

<http://www.pollingreport.com>

<http://www.ncsl.org/>

<https://ropercenter.cornell.edu/>

### Television Advertising

<http://livingroomcandidate.movingimage.us/index.php>

<http://mediaproject.wesleyan.edu/>

### Money & Politics

<http://www.fec.gov>

<http://www.opensecrets.com>

<http://www.followthemoney.org>

Texas Voting and Polling Data

<http://texaspolitics.laits.utexas.edu/>

<http://www.tlc.state.tx.us/redist/redist.htm>

<http://www.texastribune.org>

National and State Parties

<http://www.democrats.org>

<http://www.gop.com/>

<http://www.txdemocrats.org>

<http://www.texasgop.org>

<http://www.gp.org/>

<http://www.lp.org/>

<http://www.sp-usa.org/>

<http://reformparty.org/>

<http://www.thirdway.org/>

In addition, you may want to find the Secretary of State's web site for the state of your election. The Election Division is usually housed in that department and should provide useful information about past results and the upcoming election.

## COURSE SCHEDULE

\*available in Files section on Canvas

Wk	Date	Subject	Readings
1	Jan. 9	What are campaigns? Why do we care?	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 1
	Jan. 11	The Decision to Run	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 2 Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 5 (pp. 140-144) Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 10 (pp. 281-284)
2	Jan. 16	<b>MLK Holiday</b>	
	Jan. 18	The Decision to Run	
3	Jan. 23-25	Building an Organization	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 5 (pp. 155-160) Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 10 (pp. 285-287)
4	Jan. 30-Feb. 1	Developing a Plan and Targeting	Campaigns & Elections: Chapters 5, 9, & 11 Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 10 (pp. 290-301)
5	Feb. 6-8	Public Opinion and Polling	<a href="http://www.aapor.org/Standards-Ethics/Best-Practices.aspx">http://www.aapor.org/Standards-Ethics/Best-Practices.aspx</a> <a href="https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2021/03/02/what-2020s-election-poll-errors-tell-us-about-the-accuracy-of-issue-polling/">https://www.pewresearch.org/methods/2021/03/02/what-2020s-election-poll-errors-tell-us-about-the-accuracy-of-issue-polling/</a> <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-death-of-polling-is-greatly-exaggerated/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/the-death-of-polling-is-greatly-exaggerated/</a> Petrocik, "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." <i>American Journal of Political Science</i> , 40, 3 (June 1996): 825-50.*
6	Feb. 13	<b>Midterm #1</b>	
	Feb. 15	Turnout	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 12
7	Feb. 20-22	Voting	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 13 <a href="https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/republicans-house-election-margin/">https://projects.fivethirtyeight.com/republicans-house-election-margin/</a> <a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/videos/do-you-buy-that-young-voters-handed-democrats-wins-in-close-races/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/videos/do-you-buy-that-young-voters-handed-democrats-wins-in-close-races/</a>
8	Feb. 27-Mar. 1	Campaign Finance	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 4 Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 10 (pp. 285-287)
9	Mar. 6-8	Primary Elections	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 9 (pp. 244-250) Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 10 (pp. 287-290) Sides, Tausanovitch, Vavreck, & Warshaw. 2016. "On the Representativeness of Primary Electorates."*
	Mar. 13-17	<b>SPRING BREAK</b>	
10	Mar. 20-22	Television Advertising	<a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/06/its-time-to-stop-the-endless-hype-of-the-willie-horton-ad/?utm_term=.da1326e17e04">https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/monkey-cage/wp/2016/01/06/its-time-to-stop-the-endless-hype-of-the-willie-horton-ad/?utm_term=.da1326e17e04</a> Sides, Vavreck, & Warshaw. 2022. "The Effect of Television Advertising in the United States." APSR 116(2): 702-718.*
11	Mar. 27	<b>Midterm #2</b>	
	Mar. 29	Digital Advertising	<a href="https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2022/11/14/snapchat-political-ads-democrats-republicans-2022/10460387002/">https://www.usatoday.com/story/news/politics/2022/11/14/snapchat-political-ads-democrats-republicans-2022/10460387002/</a> <a href="https://www.campaignsandelections.com/campaign-insider/5-evolutions-in-digital">https://www.campaignsandelections.com/campaign-insider/5-evolutions-in-digital</a> <a href="https://www.markpack.org.uk/134116/9-steps-to-effective-online-political-campaigning/">https://www.markpack.org.uk/134116/9-steps-to-effective-online-political-campaigning/</a>

12	Apr. 3	Radio, Phones, and Mail Outreach	<p>"Campaigns turn to a cheaper medium to get voters' ears." New York Times. 2015.*</p> <p><a href="https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/10/27/political-campaign-data-targeting/">https://www.washingtonpost.com/technology/2020/10/27/political-campaign-data-targeting/</a></p> <p><a href="https://www.newyorker.com/news/campaign-chronicles/the-trump-campaigns-mobile-app-is-collecting-massive-amounts-of-voter-data">https://www.newyorker.com/news/campaign-chronicles/the-trump-campaigns-mobile-app-is-collecting-massive-amounts-of-voter-data</a></p> <p><a href="http://www.orlandosentinel.com/news/politics/os-political-campaign-fliers-mailers-20161021-story.html">http://www.orlandosentinel.com/news/politics/os-political-campaign-fliers-mailers-20161021-story.html</a></p> <p>Dun, Heise, &amp; Shaw. 2022. "Mobilizing Peripheral Partisan Voters: A Field Experimental Analysis from Three California Congressional Election Campaigns." <i>American Politics Research</i>: 1-16.*</p> <p>Shaw, Seaborn, &amp; Blunt. 2017. "Testing Overall and Synergistic Campaigns Effects in a Partisan Statewide Election." PRQ: 1-19.*</p>
	Apr. 5	Opposition Research	<a href="https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/an-introduction-to-the-dark-arts-of-opposition-research/">https://fivethirtyeight.com/features/an-introduction-to-the-dark-arts-of-opposition-research/</a>
13	Apr. 10-12	News Media	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 8 "How the Media Polarized Us," 2022. <i>The Social Order</i> .
14	Apr. 17	Conventions, Debates, & the Electoral College	Campaigns & Elections: Chapter 9 (pp. 252-255; 268-271; 256-261)
	Apr. 19	Do Campaigns Matter? Reforming Campaigns	
	Apr. 22	<b>Group Presentations</b>	
15	Apr. 24	<b>Midterm #3</b>	

## Campaigns & Elections Podcasts

Note: Follow the link to the website. Many will say “couldn’t find that track.” Don’t worry. Just hit the “download” link (underneath the sound file) and it should play the episode.

Wk	Date	Subject	Podcast
1	Jan. 9	What are campaigns? Why do we care?	
	Jan. 11	The Decision to Run	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/10/mario-cuomo-hems-and-haws-about-a-white-house-bid-until-the-bitter-end.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/10/mario-cuomo-hems-and-haws-about-a-white-house-bid-until-the-bitter-end.html</a>
2	Jan. 16	<b>MLK Holiday</b>	
	Jan. 18	The Decision to Run	
3	Jan. 23-25	Building an Organization	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/06/george-mcgoovern-and-tom-eagleton-shock-therapy-and-the-bungled-selection.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/06/george-mcgoovern-and-tom-eagleton-shock-therapy-and-the-bungled-selection.html</a>
4	Jan. 30-Feb. 1	Developing a Plan and Targeting	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/07/when-ted-kennedy-challenged-incumbent-president-jimmy-carter-for-the-democratic.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/07/when-ted-kennedy-challenged-incumbent-president-jimmy-carter-for-the-democratic.html</a>
5	Feb. 6-8	Public Opinion and Polling	
6	Feb. 13	<b>Midterm #1</b>	
	Feb. 15	Turnout	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/12/in-1840-whigs-and-democrats-turned-out-record-numbers-of-voters.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/12/in-1840-whigs-and-democrats-turned-out-record-numbers-of-voters.html</a>
7	Feb. 20-22	Voting	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/10/bill-clinton-demonstrates-the-power-of-empathy-at-the-1992-presidential.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/10/bill-clinton-demonstrates-the-power-of-empathy-at-the-1992-presidential.html</a>
8	Feb. 27-Mar. 1	Campaign Finance	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2017/01/gerald-r-ford-nelson-rockefeller-and-economic-entanglements-of-a-rich-family.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2017/01/gerald-r-ford-nelson-rockefeller-and-economic-entanglements-of-a-rich-family.html</a>
9	Mar. 6-8	Primary Elections	<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2016/02/john-dickerson-revisits-john-mccain-s-new-hampshire-primary-victory.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2016/02/john-dickerson-revisits-john-mccain-s-new-hampshire-primary-victory.html</a>
			<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2016/01/john-dickerson-revisits-the-dean-scream-of-2004.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2016/01/john-dickerson-revisits-the-dean-scream-of-2004.html</a>
			<a href="http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/11/jfk-parries-anti-catholic-attacks-to-win-west-virginia-s-1960-democratic.html">http://www.slate.com/articles/podcasts/whistlestop/2015/11/jfk-parries-anti-catholic-attacks-to-win-west-virginia-s-1960-democratic.html</a>
	Mar. 13-17	<b>Spring Break</b>	
10	Mar. 20-22	Television Advertising	<a href="https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2015/12/how-george-h-w-bush-vanquished-michael-dukakis.html">https://slate.com/news-and-politics/2015/12/how-george-h-w-bush-vanquished-michael-dukakis.html</a>
11	Mar. 27	<b>Midterm #2</b>	
	Mar. 29	Digital Advertising	



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### **A Brief Description of the Simulation Exercise**

1. Each team has five people:
  - a. Budget, resource allocation, and fundraising;
  - b. Polling, focus groups, micro-targeting, strategic research;
  - c. Issues and messaging;
  - d. Scheduling, advance, and earned media;
  - e. Digital outreach, paid media and advertising.
2. There will be as many as eight campaigns across four key 2024 U.S. Senate elections:

	<u>Republican</u>	<u>Democrat</u>
Texas	Ted Cruz*	xxx
Montana	xxx	Jon Tester*
Ohio	xxx	Sherrod Brown*
West Virginia	Alex Mooney	Joe Manchin*
Florida	Rick Scott*	xxx

‘\*’ incumbent

The campaign you will work for and the team you will work with will be determined by a random draw. Not everyone will be working for a candidate (or a party) that they support. Welcome to American politics!