

Government 370L
Fall, 2010
Unique number: 38705

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MW 3:30-5:00, WAG 308

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Tuesday, 2:45-4:45, & by appointment

American Election Campaigns

This course comes in three intermingled parts. The bulk of our meetings will be as a seminar, meaning that *we*, not *I*, shall discuss the readings (see below). The next largest share of our meetings will be devoted to a computer simulation of a U.S. Senate election. Your candidate may make personal appearances, produce and air campaign commercials, make appeals by direct mail, fund-raise, conduct polls, and so on, and the outcome will depend on the choices you and your opponents make. Another few sessions will be given over to guest panelists who have been involved in election campaigns in one capacity or another.

This semester's panelists have not yet been slated, but by way of example past panelists have included Tom Craddick, a Texas State Representative (formerly Speaker of the Texas House of Representatives); U.S. Representative Henry Cuellar; Justice Bob Gammage, late of the Texas Supreme Court and before that a U.S. Congressman; Bernard Rapoport, a longtime Democratic activist and fundraiser (and former Chair of the UT Board of Regents); Royal Masset, Political Director of the Republican Party of Texas; Dave MacNeely, a journalist covering state and national politics for the Austin-American Statesman; William P. Hobby, the former Lieutenant Governor; Susan Hendrix of H & C Media, a Democratic media consultant; Dean Rindy of Rindy Media, another Democratic media consultant; David Weeks of Media Southwest, a Republican media consultant; Blaine Bull of Public Strategies, Inc., then a Democratic consulting firm; Matthew Dowd, then of Public Strategies, Inc., but more recently of the Bush 2000 and 2004 campaigns and Bush administration, and now a prominent national political commentator; Mark MacKinnon, also of Public Strategies, Inc., the principal media advisor to George W. Bush's 2000 and 2004 campaigns and to John McCain's 2008 nomination campaign; and also now a prominent national political commentator; Bill Emery and Peck Young of Emery and Young, a Democratic consulting firm; Dan Bartlett, a spokesman for Governor Bush and the Bush 2000 campaign (and an alumnus of this course), later Communications Director in the Bush White House; and Karl Rove, then of Karl Rove & Company, a Republican consulting firm, more recently the chief political strategist for the Bush 2000 and 2004 campaigns and Counselor to President Bush), and now (does anyone not know all this?) a prominent national political commentator.

There are no formal prerequisites beyond eligibility to take upper division Government courses. The goal is for students to learn and think about contemporary American election campaigns—about both how they work and the ways in which that may be desirable or undesirable. There will be no exams, but a great deal of reading and a term paper drawing on the readings. The paper and contributions in class discussion will be the means of assessing how far individual students have met this goal.

The class is a seminar, and I expect students to participate in the discussion. Not just to talk for the sake of talking, of course, but to make sensible, insightful contributions. Please keep

up with and be prepared to discuss the readings. That will also make writing the paper less of a painful rush. I'd suggest taking note, as you read, of facts and arguments you find particularly interesting, important, or questionable. A tentative course schedule, indicating when we shall do what, is given below. The class will use the UT Blackboard website, on which I shall post some course materials, and through which I shall send emails as necessary. Students with disabilities may request appropriate academic accommodations from the Division of Diversity and Community Engagement, Services for Students with Disabilities, 471-6259, <http://www.utexas.edu/diversity/ddce/ssd/>

Your grade will be determined on the basis of your class participation and the paper. Class participation will count for 35% (25% for attendance/discussion and 10% for effort in the simulations), and the papers for 65%. The paper will be graded heavily on your making generous, appropriate, and sensible use of the assigned readings. Attendance is required, and there is a penalty (in the participation grade) for every unexcused absence beyond a quota of two. The course grades will include pluses and minuses, as appropriate.

There will be bonuses of three points (on the standard 100-point scale) in the simulation grade for members of teams that win the simulated election and further small bonuses, also in the simulation grade, for members of teams that do much better than other teams of the same party. The attendance/discussion grade is based on my overall impression of the quality and quantity of your participation, adjusted downward for excessive absences.

The reading load is unusually heavy, and I do sometimes ask students about their reactions to the readings. So, even though the paper is the only written assignment, and there are no exams, this is not a course for the faint-hearted. Be warned! It will be a lot of work. But also a lot of fun.

Texts

Assigned

Herbert B. Asher. 2007. *Polling and the Public: What Every Citizen Should Know* (7th ed.). Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Janet M. Box-Steffensmeier and Steven E. Schier (eds.). 2009. *The American Elections of 2008*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Robert S. Erikson and Kent L. Tedin. 2010. *American Public Opinion* (8th ed., updated). New York, NY: Longman.

Paul S. Herrnson. 2007. *Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington* (5th ed.). Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Costas Panagopoulos (ed.). 2009. *Politicking Online: The Transformation of Election Campaign Communications*. New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers University Press.

William H. Flanagan and Nancy Zingale. 2009. *Political Behavior of the American Electorate* (12th ed.). Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Donald P. Green and Alan S. Gerber. 2008. *Get Out the Vote: How to Increase Voter Turnout* (2nd ed.). Washington, DC: Brookings.

Daron R. Shaw. 2006. *The Race to 270: The Electoral College and the Campaign Strategies of 2000 and 2004*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Daniel M. Shea and Michael John Burton. 2010. *Campaign Craft: The Strategies, Tactics, and Art of Political Campaign Management* (4th ed.). Westport, CT: Praeger.

James A. Thurber and Candice J. Nelson (eds.). 2009. *Campaigns and Elections American Style* (3rd ed.) Boulder, CO: Westview.

Darrell M. West. 2009. *Air Wars: Television Advertising in Election Campaigns 1952-2008* (5th ed.). Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Course packet, consisting of *On the Campaign Trail* (a manual to the simulation that also contains a great deal of information about real-world campaigns), to be available from Paradigm, on 24th St., just off Guadalupe, and a supplementary set of instructions, to be posted on Blackboard.

Recommended

William Strunk, Jr., and E.B. White. 1995. *The Elements of Style* (3rd ed.). New York: Allyn and Bacon.

Robert's Rules (a guide to writing), to be posted on Blackboard.

Outline and Readings

I The Electorate

A. How We Know about Voters

Erikson and Tedin, secs. 1.3-1.5, ch. 2.

Asher, chs. 3-5, 8.

Flanagan and Zingale, app.

B. What (and How Much) People Think about Politics

Erikson and Tedin, secs. 3.1-3.2, chs. 4, 7.

Asher, ch. 2.

Flanagan and Zingale, chs. 1, 6.

C. Who Are the Voters (and Nonvoters)?

Flanagan and Zingale, ch. 2

D. How People Vote

Erikson and Tedin, ch. 9.

Flanagan and Zingale, ch. 8.

Box-Steffensmeier and Schier, chs. 6-7.

II The Role of the Parties

Erikson and Tedin, sec. 3.3.

Flanagan and Zingale, chs. 3-5.

III The Role of the Media

Erikson and Tedin, secs. 8.1-8.2.

Asher, ch. 6.

Flanagan and Zingale, ch. 7.

IV The Campaign

A. Organization and Strategy

West, chs. 7-8.

Shea and Burton, chs. 1-3, 8.

Thurber and Nelson, chs. 2-4, 17.

Herrnson, chs. 3, 5, 7.

B. Polls, Focus Groups, and Other Research

Shea and Burton, chs. 4-7.

Thurber and Nelson, chs. 13-14.

C. Advertising

West, chs. 1-3, 5, 9.

Shea and Burton, ch. 10.

Thurber and Nelson, chs. 7-8.

Herrnson, ch. 8.

D. Campaigning Online

Panagopoulos, chs. 1-4, 12-16.

E. “Free Media”: Press Coverage of Campaigns

West, chs. 4, 6.

Shea and Burton, ch. 11.

Erikson and Tedin, sec. 8.3.

Thurber and Nelson, chs. 9-10.

Box-Steffensmeier and Schier, ch. 2.
 Asher, ch. 6-8.

F. Field Organization and Getting Out the Vote

Green and Gerber, entire.
 Thurber and Nelson, chs. 11-12.
 Shea and Burton, ch. 12.
 Panagopoulos, chs. 7-8.

G. Fund-Raising

Shea and Burton, ch. 9.
 Thurber and Nelson, chs. 5-6.
 Herrnson, ch. 6.
 Panagopoulos, ch. 6.
 Box-Steffensmeier and Schier, ch. 8.

V Congressional Elections

Box-Steffensmeier and Schier, ch. 5.
 Herrnson, chs. 1, 4, 5, 9.
 West, ch. 9.
On the Campaign Trail, entire.

VI Presidential Elections

Shaw, chs. 1-5.
 Box-Steffensmeier and Schier, ch. 4.

VII Nomination Campaigns

Herrnson, ch. 2.
 Box-Steffensmeier and Schier, ch. 3.

VIII Overview and Evaluation

Asher, chs. 1, 9.
 West, ch. 10.
 Shea and Burton, ch. 13.
 Thurber and Nelson, chs. 15-16, 18.
 Herrnson, chs. 10-11.

Requirements

Paper

The paper topic (no choice) is what (if anything) is right and what (if anything) is wrong about American elections and election campaigns. You should develop your reasons and your evidence, drawing on the course readings as appropriate. **You should make generous—and explicit—use of the course readings, your use of which will be a prime criterion in your paper grade.**

The paper should be at least 15 and no more than 25 pages. The font should be 12 point, the margins between 1 and 1.25 inches. Endnotes, tables, figures (graphs), references, and appendices do not figure in these page totals. **Number your pages!!! Use the APSA format for citations.** (Look at the articles in any recent issue of the *American Political Science Review* to get the idea.) **All papers are to be submitted as email attachments in MS-Word format.**

There will be a penalty of 4 points on the usual 50-100 scale for each day a paper is late (including weekends). The penalty may only be waived for legitimate and fully documented excuses. (What is “legitimate” and “fully documented” is up to me.) Cheating or plagiarism means a failing grade not only for the paper but for the course.

Class Participation

The class is a seminar, and I expect students to participate in the discussion. Not just to talk for the sake of talking, of course, but to make sensible, insightful contributions. Please keep up with and be prepared to discuss the readings. (That will also make writing the papers less of a painful rush.) I’d suggest taking note, as you read, of facts and arguments you find particularly interesting, important, or questionable.

Attendance

Attendance is required. Unexcused absences affect the participation grade (see above). It is up to me to determine what absences may be excusable.

Tentative Schedule*

August`		25 (Organizational)
	30 (Labor Day)	
September		1 (IA)
	6 (IB)	8 (IB-IC)
	13 (IC-ID)	15 (ID)
	20 (II)	22 (III)
	27 (IVA-B)	29 (IVC-D)
October	4 (OCT practice)	6 (OCT Week 1)
	11 (OCT Week 2)	13 (OCT Week 3)
	18 (OCT Week 4)	20 (OCT Week 5)
	25 (OCT Week 6)	27 (OCT Week 7)
November	1 (OCT Week 8 & Election)	3 (IVE)
	8 (Guest Speaker, TBA)	10 (Guest Speaker, TBA)
	15 (IVF-G)	17 (Guest Speaker, TBA)
	22 (V-VII)	24 (VIII)
November	29 (VIII, PAPER DUE)	
December		1 (VIII)

*The exact dates *are* tentative. Much depends on our progress through the material and the schedules of our guest speakers. The dates of the simulation and the date on which the paper is due are fixed, however.