

US Campaigns, Elections, & Voting 2022

COURSE INFORMATION	<i>Term:</i> Fall 2022 <i>Level:</i> Topics (open to all) <i>Time:</i> Fridays 2:30-3:50 <i>Room:</i> LBR 252 <i>Syllabus Revision:</i> September 1, 2022	<i>Instructor:</i> Jack Reilly <i>Office:</i> Social Sciences 205 <i>E-mail:</i> jreilly@ncf.edu <i>Office Hours:</i> Wednesdays, 12-3, and by appt <i>Appointments:</i> jackkreilly.com/appointments
DESCRIPTION	The link between elected representatives and the people is arguably the most important aspect of political life in a democracy. This course begins by examining this link in the context of the United States, focusing on parties, campaigns, and elections as the critical mediating connection between private citizens and the institutions of government. Special attention will be paid to the elections of 2016, 2018, and 2020. Who gets elected? Why do they get elected? Can we forecast who will get elected? Does polarization harm the electoral process? Does the media cover the right things? What is important, what is not important, and perhaps most critically, how do we tell the difference? We conclude by examining alternative political contexts to examine how different electoral institutions lead to different behavior on the part of citizens and representatives. How can we best ensure effective democratic representation? Do different voting and electoral systems lead to better political outcomes, and how so? What can we learn from other systems to inspire potential reforms here at home?	
TOPICS	Presidential, congressional, state, and local elections, primaries, gerrymandering, alternative voting and electoral systems, political parties, Duverger's law, interest groups, campaign finance, campaign strategy, the media, vote choice, and turnout, among others.	
PREREQUISITES	None. This is a topics level course open to students at all levels.	
MATERIALS	There are no required materials for this course. All of our reading for the course will be posted electronically on the course Google drive.	

Course Requirements

REQUIREMENTS	Satisfactory completion of the course requires completion of the following: <ol style="list-style-type: none">1. Weekly Work<ol style="list-style-type: none">(a) Reading (about 1 article per week)(b) Class Attendance2. Campaign Project<ol style="list-style-type: none">(a) Strategy Memo (5-10 pages)(b) Executive Summary (1 page)(c) Presentation (5 minutes)(d) Post-Mortem (2-3 pages)3. Class Assignments<ol style="list-style-type: none">(a) The 2022 Forecasting Game(b) Final "Quiz"
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CAMPAIGN PROJECT	<p>The main independent work for the course involves a study of a particular campaign this fall, with the primary goal of crafting a campaign strategy customized for the district or state of the campaign and the candidate. There are four components to each campaign project:</p> <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. An <i>campaign strategy memo</i>, outlining and identifying a path to victory for your chosen candidate. 2. An <i>executive summary</i> of your memo, prepared particularly for your busy candidate. 3. A <i>campaign presentation</i>, where you tell the class what your campaign/race is about, who is likely to win, and why. 4. A <i>campaign post-mortem</i>, identifying which candidate won in your race, and why. Consult the exit polls, media coverage, and events particular to the campaign as well as the overall national environment. Did the campaign effectively follow its strategy, and earn its success or failure, or did national trends swamp local efforts?
QUIZ	A final quiz covering all aspects of the course but focusing on voting and electoral systems.

Course Expectations & Guidelines

ETIQUETTE & DECORUM	A college course is fundamentally a learning community. Be courteous to fellow students and the professor. Don't let yourself be distracted by your cell phone in class. If you disagree with something someone says, do so respectfully (but do so! one of the best ways to learn is from disagreement). Engage with each other and remember: your shared goal is to learn from each other as well as the professor and TA.
OFFICE & CONSULTATION HOURS, APPOINTMENTS	I encourage you to chat with me at any point if you have questions about the course, the readings, college, political science, etc. You can schedule a meeting with me by going to my website here: http://jacklreilly.com/appointments and sign up for time at your convenience. You can also always just drop in during my regularly scheduled drop-in hours without appointment.
E-MAIL	Email is the best way to contact me. Students can generally expect a response to all e-mails within 24 hours (and typically sooner), excepting weekends. If your email requires a long response, expect me to encourage you to schedule an appointment with me so that we can more effectively discuss the matter.

Campus Academic Resources

YOUR ACADEMIC ADVISOR	Your academic advisor is your first resource at the college for navigating your courses and academic work at the college. Many first year students find themselves uncertain about when it is "ok" to go their advisor with questions or for advice—but the real answer is "anytime"! We all have open office hours that you can simply drop in at, even if you don't have an appointment, and are eager to help you.
WRITING SKILLS	Clear writing and argumentation is a critical element to success in college (not to mention, life generally). That said, writing is hard, and students come to college with very different levels of preparation for college level and professional writing. Regardless of your skill and comfort with writing, I strongly recommend exploring the options for writing (and revising!) assistance

at the Writing Resource Center. You can schedule an appointment through the writing center here: <https://ncf.mywconline.com>

QUANTITATIVE SKILLS Like writing skills, quantitative literacy is an integral element to success in college (not to mention, life generally). That said, math is (also) hard, and students come to college with very different levels of preparation for college level and professional data literacy. While this course will cover many aspects of data literacy, should you desire additional support beyond what I and/or the course TA can provide, I recommend exploring the options for assistance at the Quantitative Resource Center. The QRC is located in the Academic Resource Center (ARC), located on the first floor of the Jane Bancroft Cook Library.

STUDENT SUCCESS CENTER Having trouble figuring out how to manage it all? In addition to your faculty mentor and professors, New College has peer to peer coaching and group workshops available at the Student Success Center. The SSC helps you develop the skills necessary for success in college. We offer one-on-one appointments with trained peer coaches, group study sessions, recurring appointments, workshops, printable resources, regular newsletters, and referrals to other campus services. You can find more information here: <https://www.ncf.edu/academics/student-success-center/>

ADDITIONAL RESOURCES Please see the Campus Support Resources document—located in the course canvas page and google drive—for all the academic resources available to you at New College.

New College & Community Academic Policies

CRITICAL THINKING Students are encouraged to employ critical thinking and to rely on data and verifiable sources to interrogate all assigned readings and subject matter in this course as a way of determining whether they agree with their classmates and/or their instructor. No lesson is intended to espouse, promote, advance, inculcate, or compel a particular feeling, perception, viewpoint or belief.

COVID19 You can find the College's Covid19 response page here: <https://www.ncf.edu/covid-19/>.
You can find the CDC's Covid recommendations here: <https://www.cdc.gov/coronavirus/2019-ncov/index.html>

STUDENT ACCESSIBILITY New College of Florida is committed to creating a learning environment that meets the needs of its diverse student body. If you are a student with a disability, or think you may have a disability, you are encouraged to initiate a conversation with the AALC (Advocacy and Accessible Learning Center). The AALC works with students with disabilities to identify reasonable accommodations and plans ways to implement these with your faculty members. Please visit their website for additional information: <https://www.ncf.edu/departments/advocacy-accessibility/>. You may also contact the AALC in-person (HCL3), via phone at 941-487-4844, or via email at aaalc@ncf.edu. Students are welcome to discuss privately any concerns related to barriers to both fully participating and learning in this course. Students with accommodations are highly encouraged to meet with their primary or partner instructor as soon as possible.

TITLE IX New College of Florida is committed to equal access to education pursuant to Title IX of the Educational Amendments of 1972. The law protects all individuals on our campus from gender-based discrimination or exclusion or instances of sexual misconduct. All full-time faculty, full-time staff, and resident advisors are Responsible Employees required to report

any known instances of sexual misconduct or gender discrimination to the Title IX Coordinator. Please contact our Title IX coordinator (titleix@ncf.edu) or see the website (<https://www.ncf.edu/campus-life/title-ix/>) for more information.

EQUITY,
DIVERSITY, AND
EQUAL
OPPORTUNITY

New College's commitment to excellence can only be realized in a learning environment that is inclusive, characterized by openness to diverse perspectives, and marked by mutual respect. Anything short of this aspiration is inconsistent with our commitment. Equal access, and the opportunity to participate fully in all of our programs and facilities, without regard to race, color, creed, religion, political ideology, national origin, age, marital status, disability, public assistance status, veteran status, gender identity, gender expression, or sexual orientation, is essential to that commitment and will be the standard to which we expect all members of our learning community to adhere.

ACADEMIC
INTEGRITY

Academic integrity is essential to maintaining a vibrant, healthy, and engaging learning environment for which we all must take responsibility. The New College faculty considers academic dishonesty to be a serious violation of community standards. Students are expected to refrain from acts of academic dishonesty, which may include:

1. cheating and/or plagiarism (such as: presenting the intellectual work of others as one's own; failing to cite sources; improper paraphrasing via failing to use own words even if a citation is given; partial, incomplete, or inaccurate citation of work of others);
2. unauthorized multiple submissions (submission of the same work for different academic activities, without the approval of the instructor);
3. false citation (false citation of a source or knowingly attributing work to a source from which the referenced material was not obtained);
4. falsifying data (fabricating or altering data to deliberately mislead; for example, changing data to get better experiment results is academically fraudulent);
5. falsifying information, signatures, or initials on official and academic forms.

If you are in doubt about what practices are permissible in an examination, you should consult the professor prior to sitting for the exam. If you lack understanding of how, in a paper or other presentation, to distinguish your thoughts from those of others, the faculty can refer you to standard guidelines and discuss specific questions.

CLASSROOM
RECORDING

Florida State Law allows students to record classroom lectures without a requirement for prior notice and without the faculty member's consent, with specific limitations on where and how those recordings can be used.

"A recorded lecture may not be published without the consent of the lecturer," and it may be employed only

- a. "for a student's own personal educational use"
- b. "in connection with a complaint to the public institution of higher education where the recording was made"
- c. "as evidence in, or in preparation for, a criminal or civil proceeding"

Recorded lectures used for other purposes may allow the faculty member to seek damages plus court costs and reasonable attorney fees, with the total recovery not to exceed \$200,000.

A class lecture is defined as an educational presentation delivered by faculty or guest lecturer, as part of a New College course, intended to inform or teach enrolled students about a particular subject. A class lecture does not include lab sessions, student presentations, clinical presentations such as patient history, academic exercises involving student participation, assessments (quizzes, tests, exams), field trips, private conversations between students in the class or between a student and the faculty or lecturer during a class session.

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Class Schedule

OVERVIEW	Topics Outline (Subject to change)	
W	Topics	Campaign Project
-	ORIENTATION & MINI-CLASSES	
1	10 Things Political Scientists Know (That You Don't)	Campaign Project Overview
2	2016: The Death of the Polls?	
3	2018 & 2020: Successive Elections & Vote Trends	Candidate Identification Due
4	Campaigning 101	
5	Polarization	
6	ADVISING DAY (NO CLASS)	
7	Party Systems & Realignment	
-	FALL BREAK	
8	Forecasting	Campaign Memo & Exec. Summary Due
9	<i>Student Campaign Talks</i>	Campaign Presentation (5 mins, in class)
10	VETERAN'S DAY (NO CLASS)	<i>Election Day!</i> Prognostication Activity Due
11	2022: What Happened?	
12	THANKSGIVING (NO CLASS)	
13	Gerrymandering, Reforms, & Alternatives	
14	Course Wrap-Up	Campaign Post-Mortem
-	FINALS WEEK	

Weekly Agenda

- WEEK 1 10 Things Political Scientists Know that You Don't
1. Read
 - Syllabus
 - Campaigns Project Assignment
 - *Optional:* Noel, "10 Things Political Scientists Know that You Don't"
 2. Submit: course interest form (if you have not already.)
 3. Confirm that you have access to Canvas *and* the course Google Drive. If you do not, email the professor: jreilly@ncf.edu
 4. Think:
 - How does a political scientist think about politics differently than a media commentator?
 - Which campaign do you want to claim for your project?

WEEK 2

2016 in Review: The Death of the Polls?

1. Read: Jackson, Lewis-Beck, and Tien (2020). Pollster Problems in the 2016 US presidential election. *Italian Journal of Electoral Studies*
2. *Optional:*
 - Woo, Election polls aren't broken, but they still can't predict the future
 - Rivers, First Thoughts on Polling Problems in the 2016 US Elections
 - What really happened in 2016, in 7 charts
 - New Study Shows What Really Happened in the 2016 Election
3. Think:
 - What is a responsible way for media to cover election polling?

WEEK 3

2018 & 2020: Successive Elections and Vote Trends

1. Read: Jacobson (2019) Extreme Referendum: Donald Trump and the 2018 Midterm Elections. *Political Science Quarterly*
2. *Optional:*
 - Levitz, 2020. *David Shor's Postmortem of the 2020 Election*
 - Warner & Alba, The 2020 census has arrived. Here's why the population count matters. (Comic!)
 - How Voting Blocs Have Shifted from the 1980s to Now
 - Is The Electoral Map Changing? We looked at how 16 battleground states have voted in the last five presidential elections to see how they might go in 2020
3. Think: What moves voters from one party to the other? How and why?
4. Submit: Campaign choices for projects (via email to jreilly@ncf.edu)

WEEK 4

Campaigns 101

1. Read: Shaw, The Campaign Manger: Running and Winning in Local Elections. ch 1-2 [drive]
 - Brookman & Kalla (2022). When and Why Are Campaigns Persuasive Effects Small? Evidence from the 2020 U.S. Presidential Election
 - Jacobson, "How Do Campaigns Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science*.
 - Sides, Shaw, Grossman, Lipsitz (2022). "Modern Campaign Strategies"
2. Think: How should your campaign strategy memo advise your candidate to get to 50%+1? What particular strategies should they employ? More mobilization or persuasion? Over what media?

WEEK 5

Polarization (CANCELLED - HURRICANE IAN)

1. Read: Mason (2012). "The Rise of Uncivil Agreement: Issue Versus Behavioral Polarization in the American Electorate" *American Behavioral Scientist*
2. *Optional:*

- Abramowitz and Webster (2016). "The Rise of Negative Partisanship"
- Ansolabehere, Rodden, and Snyder, "Purple America." *Journal of Economic Perspectives*
- See Also: Mason, Lilliana:
 - 2016. "A Cross-Cutting Calm: How Social Sorting Drives Affective Polarization"
 - 2015. "Ideologues without Issues: The Polarizing Consequences of Ideological Identities",
 - 2018. "I Disrespectfully Agree: The Differential Effects of Partisan Sorting on Social and Issue Polarization"

3. *Optional Activities:*

- Listen: *You Are Not So Smart*, Episode 133: Lilliana Mason
4. Think: How troubling an issue is polarization for contemporary United States elections?

WEEK 6

No class - NCF Advising Day

1. Note: Campaign Strategy Memos due in three weeks!

WEEK 7

Party Systems & Realignment

1. Read: Trende (2021). *Was Trump Worth it For Republicans?* [drive]
2. *Optional:*
- Sides, Shaw, Grossman, Lipsitz (2022). "The Transformation of American Campaigns"
 - Mayhew, *Electoral Realignments*, chs 2 & 3
3. Think: How have party coalitions shifted over time? How are we likely to see party coalitions continue to shift over the next 20-40 years?

WEEK 8

Forecasting

1. Read:
- Read: Lelkes, Messing, & Westwood (2020). Election forecasts helped elect Trump in 2016. It could happen again in 2020.
 - Scan: The 2022 Forecasting Symposium, *PS: Political Science & Politics*
 - *Optional:*
 - Election Forecasting: The Long View
2. Think: What are the costs and benefits to political forecasts? To such extensive coverage of political forecasts as we currently have?
3. **Submit: Campaign Strategy Memo & Executive Summary. Turn in to Canvas.**

WEEK 9

A Guide to Election 2022

1. **Campaign Presentations Day!**
2. **Submit: Class citizen forecasting activity (by Noon Monday, November 7).**
3. Think: So, who do you think is going to win? Where? Why?

WEEK 10

Election 2022!

No class - Veteran's Day

1. **VOTE.**
2. Watch: Tuesday night election coverage
3. Read: News and election results, coverage, and returns.
4. Think: Why did whatever happen, happen? How well did the forecasts perform? The polls? What significant shifts in constituencies did we see? Was what happened truly surprising? A "wave"? How? Why or why not?
5. Attend: Optional Election Day discussion, 4 PM, LBR252.
6. **VOTE.**

WEEK 11

2022 - What Happened?

1. Read: Hersch, Eitan. 2020. *Politics is for Power, Not Consumption*, *Boston Review*
 - See also: Hersch, *Politics is For Power: How to Move Beyond Political Hobbyism, Take Action, and Make Real Change*. Simon & Schuster.
2. Think: What have you learned about elections and our electoral system this semester? How differently do you view politics now than at the beginning of the course? What of note happened in the 2020 election, and how does this set us up for the 2022 and 2024 cycles?

WEEK 12

No Class - Happy Thanksgiving!

WEEK 13

Gerrymandering, Reforms, and Alternatives

1. Read:
 - Dynes & Wood, "The party decides the rules: How different vote counting rules change the outcome of the 2016 Republican Primary."
 - *Optional*: Drutman, "Elections, Political Parities, and Multiracial, Multiethnic Democracy: How the United States Gets it Wrong."
2. Think: What reforms do you think would be most valuable to our system for conducting elections? What are the advantages and disadvantages to different changes?
3. *Optional Activities*:
 - CGP Grey, "Politics in the Animal Kingdom" Voting Systems video series: <https://www.cgpgrey.com/politics-in-the-animal-kingdom/>
 - See examples of recent Canadian elections under different systems:
 - How would proportional representation have shaped this election's results?
 - What the Canadian election results would have looked like with electoral reform
 - Who wins Election 2019 under a ranked-ballot system

WEEK 14

Course Wrap-Up

1. **Submit: Campaign Post-Mortem. Submit to Canvas.**