Congratulations on being selected as a Cole Scholar! The Oberlin Initiative in Electoral Politics has three major elements. You will begin by successfully completing this seminar. You will then complete a summer internship before returning to campus in the fall to participate in a second seminar (Polt 422) in which you will combine your academic and real world knowledge in a rigorous and original research paper. This program is intended to give you the preparation and skills necessary to run for office one day.

Course Objectives
This course has three core objectives:

1. To introduce you to the academic literature on campaigns and elections. By the end of the semester, you will have acquired a better understanding of how researchers think about electoral politics.
2. To teach you about the challenges and benefits of running for public office. A good deal of this class is devoted to thinking about establishing a career in public service. Through discussions, workshops, and presentations, we hope to strengthen your resolve to run for office one day.
3. To provide you with the practical skills needed for your internship and in later campaigns. You will have multiple opportunities to hone your political skills in simulated and real world settings. Our goal is to ensure that you will be well prepared for campaign work.

Class Structure
This class will be run as a seminar. You are required to complete all required readings before class. You should come to class prepared to discuss the readings and your reactions to them. Your active participation is critical to the seminar’s success.

Course Requirements and Grading
Final grades will be based on class participation, weekly discussion questions, a paper on the 2015 campaign environment, a book review, and a placement research paper. The relative weight and due date of each component is as follows:

- Class Participation: 10% (due each Monday before 3:00 pm)
- Weekly Discussion Questions: 10% (due Monday, February 23rd before 3:00 pm)
- 2015 Campaign Environment Paper: 20% (due Monday, April 27th before 3:00 pm)
- Book Review: 20% (due Sunday, May 17th before 11:00 am)
- Placement Research Paper: 40% (due Sunday, May 17th before 11:00 am)

Participation: Active and engaged participation is critical to the success of this class. Your participation grade will be based on the quality of your participation. Quality participation requires consistent attendance, thoughtful contributions, and a positive attitude toward the class and its activities. Your comments are expected to be reasonable, well considered, and on-topic. You should come to class prepared to engage in discussion at any moment. You are also required to participate actively in class exercises. From time to time, you will be asked to jump into the role of a campaign worker or candidate. When this happens, your enthusiasm, effort and execution will be evaluated.
Discussion Questions: Please post a discussion question on Blackboard before 3:00 pm on Monday for those weeks that we have assigned readings (except April 6th and 27th). Your question will address a particular aspect of the week’s readings and may be used during class discussion. You should write insightful and thought-provoking questions that are connected to the readings, and you should have some idea of how you might answer your own question before coming to class. (Please see Appendix 1 for more information on how these questions should be written.) You are also required to read and consider the questions posted by your fellow students before class begins. In fact, you may be called upon to answer one of the posted questions at the start of each class—be prepared! Your grade for this part of the course is based on your general ability to pose good questions—individual questions will not be graded although you must post a question each week when we have appropriate readings.

2015 Campaign Environment Paper: For your first writing assignment, you will research political races occurring during the summer of 2015. You are required to identify and discuss at least four possible internship opportunities. Your paper will provide a succinct, yet detailed, synopsis of each opportunity, discussing things like candidate experience, opponent, chances of winning, relevant district attributes, contact information and any other piece of information you deem important. You should make an argument for why it would be an interesting place to work. Collectively, our goal is to generate a list of potential internship sponsors. To that end, you should try to find opportunities that will not be listed by your classmates. You will submit your 4 to 5 page paper prior to class on February 23rd (i.e., post it on Blackboard by 3:00 pm). Our meeting that evening will be spent discussing these candidates and their potential viability as internship sponsors.

Book Review: Near the end of the semester, you will read a selected “campaign manual” and write a 4 to 5 page review that discusses the book in relation to the literature we have read throughout the semester. This assignment is intended to pull together course materials and have you think about campaigns holistically before heading to your internship. Please submit your review via Blackboard before 3:00 pm on April 27th.

Placement Research Essay: This final project will help you prepare for your summer placement. Your paper should be approximately 10 to 12 pages long (double-spaced) and you should use parenthetical citations in the text with a corresponding bibliography. The purpose of the paper is to conduct research on topics that will be relevant to your placement. Your main objective is to write a “Campaign Plan” for your candidate or office (see the Campaign Plan in McNamara as a starter). It is absolutely essential that you explain why certain factors are important given what you know about campaigns and voters—i.e., your paper must incorporate evidence from class readings and discussions. Your goal is to present a clear, concise, and insightful analysis of the race on which you will work. Researching and writing this paper will enable you to ‘hit the ground running’ when you arrive at your internship.

All final papers are due on Sunday, May 17th before 11:00 am—of course, you are welcome to submit your paper earlier. Papers will NOT be accepted after this deadline unless an “incomplete” is granted by the college. In other words, you will receive a “0” and probably fail the course if you do not meet this deadline, so plan accordingly.

Note on Deadlines: Please note that late assignments will not be accepted without prior arrangements and official documentation. You will receive 0 for any and all assignments that are submitted after the deadline unless you have made prior arrangements with me. You will be submitting all written work via Blackboard so I will be able to tell when things are handed in—yes, an assignment that comes in one minute past the deadline

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1 For example, you might write “according to Smith (2005, 24), lawyers are…” or “scholars (e.g., Smith 2005, 25; Jones 2003, 56) have argued that…”.” Complete references are then given in the bibliography following the text.
will be considered late. I use this policy to help you meet deadlines and to keep things organized—I’m not trying to be difficult. As you will learn this summer, campaign deadlines are serious and non-negotiable, so this is a good time to practice meeting them. All deadlines are clearly marked in this syllabus; please take note of them and plan accordingly.

Note on Submissions: All written work is to be submitted via Blackboard as a single Microsoft Word file. Please do not email your assignment to me, and do not submit a paper copy of your work—let’s save some trees! Your work must come in as a Word file (i.e., .doc or .docx). I cannot accept PDFs or other word processing files because I will be grading your work using “track changes.” It also helps with organization if you submit your assignment as a single file, rather than multiple files (e.g., do not upload your essay in one file and your bibliography in another). I will upload your graded paper to Blackboard, so please check there for comments and grades.

Final letter grades will be assigned in the following way:

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Please note that any student who fails POLT 421 will not be eligible for the summer internship or POLT 422.

General Course Policies

Courtesy
Please exercise common courtesy (e.g., no talking at inappropriate times, Internet browsing) and come to class on time—pretty simple.

Honor Code
Oberlin College policy mandates that your performance in this class adhere to the honor code. This means that you will be given significant freedoms in exchange for your promise to not cheat, plagiarize material, fabricate information, or participate in any other dishonest academic activity. If you have any questions, please visit: http://new.oberlin.edu/office/dean-of-students/honor/students.dot.

Accommodations
Any student with a documented need for accommodations should see me immediately.

Topics and Readings
This course combines practical know-how with academic studies of electoral campaigns. As such, we will read work from both practitioners and scholars. The following books are required and can be purchased online or from the college bookstore. One copy should also be available on reserve in the library.

Other required readings (e.g., chapters, articles) are available on Blackboard. You are expected to do all of the readings before the class for which they are assigned. Optional readings are available online (through the library website) or from the instructor.

Class One (February 2nd): Introduction
This class is obviously devoted to discussing the syllabus and providing a course overview. We will also watch the documentary “Can Mr. Smith Get to Washington Anymore?” to get a sense of the type of campaigns on which you may ultimately work. I also encourage you to watch the short web documentary “Lone Star Candidate” after class.

Class Two (February 9th): The General State of Politics and Campaign Strategy
This class introduces a number of key issues in contemporary politics and campaigns. We start by considering what people think about politicians and what could be gained from a life in public service. We then consider the idea, expressed by Thurber and Johnson, that practitioners and academics differ in their approach to understanding campaigns before analyzing the general state of contemporary campaigns in America. What common practices do candidates share? How have campaigns changed over time? And how do candidates win?

Required Reading:

Class Three (February 16th): Understanding Voters and Voting Behavior
Campaign success requires knowledge of voters and voting behavior. Campaigns need to understand what voters care about and how they think. This class introduces the academic literature on how voters vote. In large part, formal theories of voting behavior have given way to psychological explanations that highlight the role of emotion, morality and cognitive processing. By the end of this class, you should have a solid understanding of what campaigns are dealing with when they go after voters’ support.

Required Reading:

Optional Reading:

Class Four (February 23rd): Cole Scholars Dinner and 2015 Campaigns Discussion
We will start the evening by having dinner with past Cole Scholars (time and place to be announced). This is your opportunity to learn about their experiences and ask questions about the program and internship. We will then move to our regular classroom for a discussion of the 2015 races you researched for your paper. As noted above, you will prepare a 4 to 5 page paper in which you write about at least four campaign opportunities that will be available during the summer of 2015. Our goal is to create a long list of potential internship locations.

Potential Sources of Information on 2015 Candidates
• Project Vote Smart (http://votesmart.org/)
• Ballotpedia (http://ballotpedia.org/Main_Page)

Class Five (March 2nd): Political Finance: Fund-Raising and Campaign Spending
Money is an important factor in almost all American campaigns. Indeed, without it, candidates can do little to persuade voters and thus win the election. This class explores how candidates go about getting money and how they spend it. We will also engage in an activity aimed at improving your fundraising abilities.

Required Reading:
• Daniel Weeks. 2008. “Does Money Buy Elections?” Concord, NH: Americans for Campaign Reform. 82-
119.


To get a sense of campaign spending, browse the following:

- [www.opensecrets.org](http://www.opensecrets.org)
- [www.fecinfo.com](http://www.fecinfo.com)
- [www.followthemoney.org](http://www.followthemoney.org)

*Optional Reading:*


Class Six (March 11th): **Placement and Personal Finances**

This class is devoted to your placement and a discussion of how you will keep track of your personal finances during your internship. We will also discuss appropriate behavior in regards to both your internship supervisors and the Politics Department staff. Please note that we will be meeting at 12:15 on a Wednesday rather than our regular meeting time. In exchange for this inconvenience, there will be pizza!

*Required Reading:*

- Oberlin Initiative in Electoral Politics “Internship Procedures”

Class Seven (March 16th): **Campaign Communications**

There is much that goes into a campaign’s communication strategy. This class will introduce you to some of the work on political communications. What role does the news media play in a campaign’s success? How do candidates get their message across to voters? How do voters react to these appeals? Which strategies work the best and when do they succeed/fail?

*Required Reading:*

No Class (March 23rd): Spring Break

Class Eight (March 30th): Polling and Research
This class starts with a discussion of polling and its role in modern campaigns. Most campaigns either contract to do their own polling or rely heavily on the polling of others. It is, therefore, important to understand how polling is done correctly and how to interpret the results. We will also consider the methods used in political research—both on your candidate and the opposition.

Required Readings:
- See http://www.scribd.com/doc/223591137/Hogan-Internal-Polling-Memo-5-12-14 for an example of an internal polling report.
- Jeff Blodgett and Bill Lofy. 2008. “Getting to Know Your Candidate and Understanding Your Opponent” in Winning Your Election the Wellstone Way. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. 197-211.
Optional Readings:


Class Nine (April 6th): Image and Public Speaking
This class will give you a chance to improve your personal presentation style. Indeed, self-presentation is a critical aspect of politics and life in general. Having the ability to present yourself in a confident and engaging way will serve you well in your internship and other endeavors. You are required to prepare your own stump speech before class. Then, during class, you will deliver your speech and take feedback on your performance. This exercise should not only improve your presentation abilities but also help you understand some of the things that might make your candidate successful.

Required Reading:

• To watch famous political speeches, check out:
  • http://www.americanrhetoric.com/top100speechesall.html

Class Ten (April 13th): Mobilization and Field Operations
This class focuses on “field” and mobilization operations—the laborious efforts of campaign workers to ensure that supporters get to the polls. As you will see in the readings, campaigners have made significant strides in this area and they are now much more sophisticated than they were in the past. These efforts may not be considered the most glamorous campaign activities but they are often considered quite important to the outcome.

Required Readings


Optional Reading:

• Alan S. Gerber and Donald P. Green. 2000. “The Effects of Canvassing, Telephone Calls, and Direct Mail
on Voter Turnout: A Field Experiment” *American Political Science Review* 94(3): 653-663.


Class Eleven (April 20th): “This Ain’t Beanbag”: Campaign Ethics and Personal Behavior

In this class, we will discuss the role that ethics play in a campaign. We will consider the boundaries for appropriate and inappropriate behavior by the candidate and his/her staff. We may also watch parts of the documentary “Street Fight” to get a sense of the ethical issues that can arise in a campaign. Is it wrong to lie to voters? Are mudslinging and/or going negative fair campaign tactics? Is there a limit to the resources that a candidate can use to win an election?

**Required Readings**


**Optional Readings**


Class Twelve (April 27th): Putting it All Together

Prior to this class, you will read and review Michael McNamara’s *Political Campaign Desk Reference*. Please submit your 4 to 5 page (double-spaced) review via Blackboard before 3:00 pm on April 27th. Your review should discuss the book in relation to the literature we have read throughout the semester. Does the book conflict with or challenge the arguments of other scholars? What does the book add to our understanding of campaign politics? What does the book seem to miss or underappreciate? Your review should be evenhanded, thoughtful and constructive—this is not the place to be overly critical and grumpy. Our objective is to pull all of the readings together for one last discussion before your internship.

**Required Reading:**

Class Thirteen (May 4th): **Placement Research Presentations**
During this final meeting, you will present and discuss your placement research essay. You will have 7 minutes to discuss the key factors in your race/district before answering a few questions. Be sure to practice your presentation and keep it under 7 minutes! (I will stop you if you go over 7 minutes!) Active participation throughout the class is required of all students.

**Placement Essay is Due Sunday, May 17th at 11:00 am**
Appendix 1: Discussion Questions

You are required, each week, to write a discussion question(s) based on the week’s topic/reading. Here are some pointers for writing a good discussion question:

1. Relate your question to the assigned readings and identify your sources.
2. Ask questions that are sure to generate debate and discussion—i.e., don’t write questions with easy and/or predictable answers.
3. Seriously consider and think about the topic before you write your question.
4. Try to ask questions that deal with multiple readings—i.e., think holistically about the week’s topic.
5. Feel free to connect your questions to material and discussions from past classes—i.e., put your question in the larger context of the class (but don’t simply repeat old questions).
6. Have an answer to your question and at least one other question in mind before coming to class.

Here are some examples of questions from the 2008 Studies in Electoral Politics class. All of these questions come verbatim from our class on negative campaigning and campaign ethics.

On Negative Campaigning:

It is hard to imagine campaigns without the candidates going negative, attacking each other or dishing the dirt on their opponents. I'm going to be an athlete for a minute and say that no one wins any sort of game by being nice, so why should campaigns be an exception? It was stated nicely in the Allen piece that voters like a fight, and the press will be more likely to cover a campaign or candidate if there are negative tendencies. This isn't to say that there are no disadvantages to going negative in a campaign and that we should move with reckless abandon when attacking the opponent. I think that we could have an endless discussion about what is right and wrong in a campaign, and the different legislation that can be put into place to forward more ethical campaigns. But, I don't think this will do anything to solve the "problem" of campaign ethics. Maybe it's just me being cynical, but I really believe that a candidate has the right to go negative, assuming that they accept the consequences for going negative (i.e. lost votes, less funding, a greater attack upon them etc...) and they know how to counter attacks. I know that this is a broad question, but does going negative really take away from the content of a campaign or the message of the candidate? Does the "average American voter" have the ability to sift through the "muck" of attack ads in order to choose who they want?

As a side note, it would be more frightening to me to see a squeaky clean candidate (or two for that matter) participating in a completely ethical campaign, than to see two candidates at each others' throats, (to use extremes). While I do view some of the tactics pulled by candidates to be dirty and unnecessary, I think it's a critical part of the campaign, and I also think that the "average voter" is smarter than some people give them credit for and can pick out what is right and wrong with a candidate.

Ethical Campaigns:

Carol Whitney gives a list of four categories of information use that she views to be unethical, but all four are major staples of campaign politics. False information (list item #1) is used to great effect all the time (just ask John McCain's illegitimate black daughter), and information appealing to base human instincts (list item #4) has produced some of the most effective political ads of all time. (And also some of the most insidious.) Maybe I'm just morally bankrupt, but it seems to me like there couldn't be campaigns as we know them without these four unethical uses of information. (If all four were to be abolished, campaigns would just feature candidates talking plainly about their policy prescriptions, with no mention of their rivals. What's so great about that?)

It makes me think that maybe unethical campaigning is almost a necessary part of the process; is a candidate's job to be honest to voters, or is it to get elected and thus implement the policies that they think best? I like how right now it seems like we have a checks and balances system on campaign ethics, with candidates doing what they can to gain an advantage on their opponent, and with the media on hand to deliver a slap on the wrist (or punch in the gut) to candidates when they get caught acting unethically.
The Campaign Ethics They Deserve:

In her essay “Campaign Ethics and the Politics of Personal Destruction”, Linda Fowler makes the point that the episodic nature of campaigns and campaign season invites candidates to engage in vicious attacks on their opponents, backhanded or not, with the intent of scoring a few more critical votes in the race to the finish line: “Roughly two-thirds of the electorate decides on a candidate before or during the party conventions, but for the remaining voters the campaign starts on Labor Day.” Question: Are the voters themselves to blame for this? Does the typical American voter – not necessarily well-informed, generally politically inactive, somewhat inattentive – get the campaign ethics they deserve?

Fact Check:

The idea that not all attack ads are viewed equally in the eyes of voters (Freedman) and that there are right and wrong ways of engaging in negative campaigning (Allen) was something that was really interesting to me. It's perhaps easy to condemn all of negative campaigning until you read statistics saying that voters respond well to candidates who do respond to attacks–it shows character, and that the candidate will stand up for them if elected.

In the Whitney article, one of the unethical practices concerning communication was the use of a voting record to create a false impression of your opponent. In class, we have talked about spin extensively. Where do you draw the line between spin and false impressions?

Also to comment a bit on Elijah's post, I've been reading factcheck.org, produced by UPenn's Annenberg's School of Public Policy, to fill in the context of attack ads. The NY Times cites them often, and I found it to be thorough and responsible. To bring in an example off the site, I was wondering what you all thought about recent ads produced by Clinton and Obama in which they both lead viewers astray on the other's record on accepting money from PACs:

http://www.factcheck.org/elections-2008/pac-ing_heat.html

Do you think one is acting more unethically than the other? Clinton began the attacks by juxtaposing Obama's current presidential pledge with statistics from his state senate, and U.S. senate campaigns. Did that then give Obama the right to respond with his own misleading attack ad on Clinton's record?

The Right Context:

I am most interested by the ethics in making issue attack ads. I thought the Whitney and Fowler chapters' comments that it is not only wrong or underhanded, but unethical, to use information on your opponent out of context was very interesting. Obvious it is impossible to make a bright line distinction. However, I was wondering if we could discuss how far a candidate should go to present their opponent's statements within the correct context. After all, candidates only have a limited amount of time and they do not want to spend it making their opponent's arguments. Should we place our trust in the media to put the context back into the statements? Right now the media is doing a horrible job at that, if they are trying to at all, and especially when it comes to Obama.

Online Negativity:

One feature that recurs in this week's readings is how frequently candidates fumble the attempt to go negative without alienating voters. How do you think the advent of the internet era (and the resulting provision of anonymity) has changed this? Several examples of the internet's power to shape the news, such as George Allen's macaca slip, have had a distinctly partisan edge. With this profusion of new avenues for disseminating information incognito, leaking a story about your opponent can be done with a much greater level of impunity. A candidate no longer has to risk the possibility of fallout for approaching a reporter. The disclosure of Barack Obama's comments about "small town resentment," although reported by an ostensibly pro-Obama blogger, are one example of what I'm talking about.

Also, whereas other mechanisms for attacking opponents come with legal implications (push polling is a criminal offense in New Hampshire), the legality of many practices is still unsettled with regard to the internet.