Online Appendices

Appendix A   Data Collection and Ethics Statement

A.1   Survey of Simulation Participants (Spring 2024)

This manuscript features human subject data in the form of a survey experiment that students in the Spring 2024 semester had the option of completing. The data was collected in accordance with the American Political Science Association's standards for professional ethics and principles for human subjects research. The Institutional Review Board at the author's university approved of the survey experiment and the data handling procedures. This section briefly describes these procedures.

After the simulation concluded, students who had participated in the exercise were given the option to respond to a survey pertaining to the exercise. In order to minimize any and all risk to the students, the university's IRB mandated that the survey be optional and fully anonymous. The survey was built using Qualtrics, which is noted for its data security procedures. No identifying information of the students who responded to the survey was collected or stored at any point in the process. The survey itself was distributed through secure, password-protected links. Students were informed of these facts. They were likewise informed that they were under no obligation whatsoever to answer any or all of the questions featured on the survey, and that their affiliation with the university and their grade in the course would not be impacted in any way by their responses or by their decision not to respond to the survey. All respondents were at least 18 years old. 16 students in the course responded to the survey, all of whom consented to have their responses featured in a pedagogical publication.

A.2   Course Evaluations (Spring 2023; Appendix D)

An appendix to this manuscript features human subject data in the form of two instructor-added questions which were included in the evaluations of the course in the Spring 2023 semester. A brief description of how these data are collected is provided below.

In the final two weeks of the semester, students are given the option to complete course evaluation surveys. These surveys are implemented by the university and students are informed that their participation is completely voluntary. Every evaluation features a set of common questions, prepared by the Academic Programs Committee with input from faculty in each department. Instructor-added questions may be featured in course evaluations. The anonymized results of course evaluations are automatically released to instructors after final grades are submitted, when respondents are no longer in a direct-dependency relationship with the course instructor. Other vulnerable populations (e.g. prisoners or decisionally impaired individuals) were unlikely to be included as respondents, as they were unlikely to be students in the course. Respondents are all aged 18 years or older. Items with fixed responses are presented in the aggregate. Free-response items are listed in random order.

The two free-response items pertaining to the simulation exercise were added to the evaluations by the instructor to gather feedback on the simulation exercise. Students were reminded about the course evaluations two weeks prior to their distribution, and were informed that specific questions pertaining to the simulation would be included on it. While students did not provide written consent to have their responses featured in this manuscript, they were informed that the instructor was drafting a pedagogy manuscript, and that their responses to questions pertaining to the simulation exercise would be used to inform both the manuscript in question and future course designs. To help ensure students' privacy, while I do reference certain ideas that were

brought up in these evaluations, I do not include any exact statements from in these open-ended responses at any point in the appendices or in the body of the manuscript. Appendix D contains a summary of the responses, not the full list of responses themselves. As these course evaluations are fully anonymized, university-sanctioned, and completely optional, as students participated of their own free will, and as their aggregated use here poses no more than a minimal risk to participants' privacy, I believe that the use of this data in this manuscript in this manner is in keeping with the American Political Science Association's Principles and Guidance for Human Subjects Research.

Appendix B   Iowa Caucus Simulation Characters

B.1   2020 Democratic Characters (Spring 2023, Spring 2024)

The list below provides the characters that were assigned to students for the simulated 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus. Each character was given a name, a most-preferred candidate, and a brief background paragraph highlighting the character's political priorities and guiding principles.

1. Alan: Bernie Sanders

   Alan is a 51-year-old who works in a factory that manufactures airplane parts. He is deeply concerned about economic issues – he and many of his friends lost their jobs during the 2008 recession – and while he isn't a fan of Donald Trump, he shares the president's suspicion of foreign trade deals. He strongly supports Bernie Sanders's message about fighting for the working class and creating better living conditions for blue-collar Americans.

2. Andy: Elizabeth Warren

   Andy is a 45-year-old defense attorney who grew up poor in Chicago. His parents worked hard to help put him through college. Now that his own kids are getting ready to attend college themselves, he's shocked by how expensive things are. He also has a chip on his shoulder against the rich – he's never forgotten what it was like to barely scrape by, living from paycheck to paycheck. His first pick is Elizabeth Warren, whom he thinks has the right mix of idealism and gumption to lead America into the 21st century.

3. Anna: Pete Buttigieg

   Anna is a 56-year-old surgeon. Perhaps predictably, she feels very strongly about healthcare policy. She is not in favor of Medicare-for-All – she thinks that a degree of privatization in the healthcare industry is necessary to drive innovation and save lives. However, she is deeply disturbed by the crushing weight healthcare costs impose upon the ininsured, and she strongly supports protecting and expanding the Affordable Care Act. She prefers Pete Buttigieg for the nomination, viewing him as a dynamic new force in American politics who strikes a good balance between moderate and progressive policies.

4. Bea: Joe Biden

   Bea is a 71-year-old who runs a toy store. She doesn't feel very strongly on most of the issues, but she is very concerned about stability in government and in the economy – her business barely weathered the 2008 recession. She thinks Joe Biden is a very boring politician, and that's precisely why he's her first choice for the nomination. In her eyes,

politics has gotten out-of-hand as big personalities and people with out-there ideas have gained prominence on both sides of the aisle. She wants the president to a competent, professional person who will get the job done with as little drama as possible.

5. Ben: Amy Klobuchar

Ben is an 85-year-old retired U.S. Army NCO, and a veteran of the Korean and Vietnam Wars. He is very invested in foreign policy, having a deep mistrust for Russia and China. He is not particularly impressed by the progressive figures in the Democratic Party – while he agrees that everybody deserves a fair shot in life, and that many Americans have been denied this, something about them rubs him the wrong way. He's a fan of Amy Klobuchar's blunt, unyielding style of politics, and she is his first choice for the nomination.

6. Chloe: Bernie Sanders

Chloe is a 32-year-old child psychologist who recently married her longtime boyfriend. They have been discussing whether they will ever have children, and they are both very concerned about the state of the world. These concerns are exacerbated by Chloe's young patients talking to her about their anxieties surrounding such issues as climate change and school shootings. Chloe thinks that sweeping change is needed in the U.S., and she thinks that Bernie Sanders's longtime independent streak stands a good chance of bringing it about.

7. Chuck: Joe Biden

Chuck is an 82-year-old who worked in a coal mine until he turned 70. A widower, he lives with his adult son and his family. Chuck is a strong believer in the importance of unions, having been a dues-paying member throughout his time in the labor force. His first choice for the nomination is Joe Biden, who he thinks has the best chance of winning in November, but he also likes what Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren have to say about the economy.

8. Connie: Andrew Yang

Connie is a 21-year-old college student majoring in computer science. She doesn't usually pay too much attention to politics. When she does, her mind is boggled by how out-of-date everything is. Nobody in politics, it seems to her, has the slightest idea about how to confront the salient issues that have arisen in the digital age. Nobody, that is, except for Andrew Yang. She thinks his fresh new ideas are exactly the sorts of things the U.S. needs to enact going forward.

9. Dana: Amy Klobuchar

Dana is a 55-year-old environmental engineer and a married mother of three. She used to consider herself a Republican, but that was before Donald Trump won the nomination and the presidency in 2016. She despises the president with a passion, and her main goal in attending the caucus is to pick the candidate who can beat him. She thinks the country is seriously underestimating Amy Klobuchar's chances – she thinks a quick-tempered Mid-westerner who can work across the aisle, and also tell Trump to go to hell and how to get there, is exactly the sort of person the Democrats should be running this year.

10. Debby: Tom Steyer

Debby is a 49-year-old who works as the director of communications for a regional environmental advocacy group. She has done meticulous research on each of the candidates'

positions on the issues which concern her most – perhaps unsurprisingly, environmental issues are at the top of that list. She was very pleasantly surprised by what she found on Tom Steyer's campaign site – even though he's received very little attention so far, he strikes her as a principled candidate with good ideas. She has a feeling she might wind up having to go with one of her backups on caucus-day, but even so, she plans to vote for Steyer on the first ballot.

11. Deirdre: Pete Buttigieg

Deirdre is a 55-year-old owner of a pub her family has operated for almost 60 years. A landmark in the community, she knows just about everyone in town, and knows a lot of people have fallen on hard times. She thinks the country needs some fresh ideas, and needs to put more of a priority of the rural, working class folks who include so many of her family and friends. None of the candidates strike her as perfect on this front, but she does think that Pete Buttigieg has some good, fresh ideas about how to move this country forward. She also likes Amy Klobuchar quite a bit, but because she'd like to see a newer face in Washington, Buttigieg is her first choice for the nomination.

12. Eli: Bernie Sanders

Eli is a 61-year-old former construction worker who now works as a courier and a part-time Uber driver. His father had been a construction worker, and had been able to provide a good standard of living for the family. Now, however, a lot of the jobs have gone away, and what pay increases came in the jobs that remained have not matched increases in the cost of living. He thinks that America needs a president who will put their money where their mouth is and fight for the working man. He likes Bernie Sanders's consistent commitment to the working class and labor unions, and prefers him for the Democratic nomination.

13. Emma: Elizabeth Warren

Emma is a 24-year-old recent college graduate who works in web design, building and maintaining sites for nonprofits. She feels very passionately about social issues and economic injustice. She thinks Elizabeth Warren has the sort of sensible progressive politics that would improve the lives of hundreds of millions of people in the United States, and prefers her for the nomination.

14. Flo: Bernie Sanders

Flo is an 85-year-old retiree who lives with her son and his family. She always had a passing interest in politics, but never participated much until she retired. However, she has become significantly more engaged in her old age, and she doesn't like what she's seen. She was born in FDR's first term, and for the first few decades of her life, America achieved big, sweeping things on a regular basis. Now, she feels, the country has stagnated. She wants a president who has big ideas to bring grand new things to the national policy stage. She thinks Bernie Sanders has the same sort of policy-spark that FDR and LBJ had, and might be able to achieve big, sweeping new things for the country.

15. Frank: Andrew Yang

Frank is a 24-year-old data scientist fresh out of grad school. He works for the Associated Press, creating political forecasting models. He is a big fan of Andrew Yang's policies, thinking that new developments like universal basic income, a focus on new infrastructure,

and an emphasis on cybersecurity are essential policy points that just about every other candidate isn't even considering.

16. Gerry: Elizabeth Warren

    Gerry is a 34-year-old high school English teacher, and a mother to four-year-old triplets. She and her husband, also a teacher, have had to scrape together to make ends meet. On top of this, she is very disturbed by the active shooter drills her school has held, especially by the fact that they are necessary. She thinks the U.S. needs to overhaul its education system and gun laws, and she thinks it needs fresh new ideas. Her first choice for the nomination is Elizabeth Warren, whom she strongly respects and admires.

17. Henry: Pete Buttigieg

    Henry is a 29-year-old accountant. He double-majored in political science and economics, and has always maintained an interest in politics. Growing up in a liberal family in a liberal part of the state, he was caught by surprise when Donald Trump was elected in 2016. He thinks that certain basic institutions in the United States ought to be reformed significantly. He wants the electoral college scrapped, for one thing. He thinks Pete Buttigieg strikes a good balance between meaningful reforms and moderate-enough positions to win the presidential election and bring about meaningful change.

18. Hilda: Amy Klobuchar

    Hilda is a 75-year-old retired cattle rancher. Her family has been raising livestock on the same land since before the Civil War. Hilda has voted for Democrats all her life, and has no plans to stop now. However, she does think some parts of the party embrace some pretty outlandish ideas. She sees in Amy Klobuchar a kindred spirit – a no-nonsense Midwestern moderate – and plans to vote for her on caucus-day.

19. Ian: Joe Biden

    Ian is a 49-year-old high school history teacher. He considers himself a centrist, and is deeply concerned about the rise of political extremism in the United States. He despises Donald Trump, but is also concerned about left-wing extremism, and he fears that Bernie Sanders's claims to be a "democratic socialist" legitimize such groups. He strongly supports Joe Biden, seeing him as a return to normalcy and a repudiation of extremist politics.

20. Ida: Joe Biden

    Ida is a 50-year-old nurse who works in a maternity ward. She and her husband both work long hours to provide for their two kids. Ida cares a great deal about a number of issues, including wages, healthcare costs, gun violence, and the cost of a college education. Her main concern with the Democratic nomination is to pick the person who can beat Donald Trump and help bring success to Democratic candidates up and down the ticket. She thinks Joe Biden's experience and prominence make him the best choice to head the Democratic ticket and push for the presidency.

21. Jenny: Amy Klobuchar

    Jenny is a 71-year-old city councilor with a background in law. She takes public service very seriously, and thinks that a lot of people in national politics are just in it for the attention – she thinks Andrew Yang's candidate is a joke, and that Marianne Williamson's recently-ended run was an embarrassment. She thinks that a lot of her progressive copartisans don't

have a realistic sense of how much money it costs to pursue the policies they champion – while she agrees with most of them in principle, she can't get behind the Green New Deal and Medicare-for-All in practice. She thinks a no-nonsense, sensible moderate candidate is the Democrats' best move for 2020, and she thinks Amy Klobuchar is their best bet for picking up support in crucial swing states.

22. Jim: Bernie Sanders

Jim is a 36-year-old electrician who works for MidAmerican Energy. He is very concerned about the state of economic affairs. His father and grandfather were both electricians as well, and they were able to provide good lives for their families. Now, prices are going up, and wages aren't rising to meet them. He wants to be able to put his kids through college, but he worries they'll have to take out loans. He thinks Bernie Sanders will stick up for the working class and unions, and he also thinks that Sanders will make it easier for his kids to go to college and get better jobs when they grow up.

23. Kim: Pete Buttigieg

Kim is a 68-year-old hotel manager. She and her husband are both looking to retire, but they're very concerned about their funds. They've seen a lot about potential funding cuts to Medicare and Social Security. They trust most of the Democratic candidates on these issues, and their main concern is picking someone who can win in November. Kim thinks that folks like Bernie Sanders and Elizabeth Warren are a bit too radical, and she thinks that Joe Biden is too old and boring. She thinks Pete Buttigieg is dynamic and energetic enough to appeal to a broad array of people and win the presidency, and so he's her first choice.

24. Laura: Amy Klobuchar

Laura is a 67-year-old optometrist who lives on a farm she operates with her husband. She counts herself as a pragmatic political moderate, and is not too keen on the policy proposals of progressive Democrats. She thinks that Washington needs a healthy dose of common sense and down-to-earth midwestern values, and Amy Klobuchar is her first choice for the Democratic nominee.

25. Lou: Elizabeth Warren

Lou is a 25-year-old web designer who works in marketing. He went to school in New York, where he was exposed to a lot of different people and made a lot of friends from different backgrounds. He came back home with a more progressive brand of politics. He thinks that the U.S. needs to do a lot more to welcome immigrants, provide for marginalized groups, and rebuild its economy for the 21st century. His partner is a precinct captain for the Warren campaign, and he strongly admires Warren's principles and positions.

26. Marian: Bernie Sanders

Marian is a 75-year-old retired music teacher and a beloved grandmother to six grandchildren. Her husband, Harry, recently passed away after a battle with cancer. Marian feels very strongly about healthcare policy and education. She believes that the United States needs to drastically overhaul many of its existing programs, and she thinks Bernie Sanders is the right man for the job.

27. Michelle: Elizabeth Warren

Michelle is a 41-year-old professor of American history at Iowa State. She is very concerned about the sort of world her two children are going to grow up in, and is very concerned about gun violence, economic opportunity, and healthcare costs. She strongly believes that the wealthiest Americans do not pay their fair share in taxes. Elizabeth Warren is her first choice for the nomination – she finds Bernie Sanders's campaign somewhat off-putting.

28. Nate: Bernie Sanders

Nate is 22-year-old community organizer who recently graduated from college. He has a passion for social justice of all stripes – racial justice, economic justice, environmental justice. He thinks that a lot of changes need to be made to the way the United States runs its government, and the way it treats marginalized groups. He thinks bold new policies are needed to improve the country, and he thinks Bernie Sanders's policies are exactly what are in order.

29. Nicole: Elizabeth Warren

Nicole is a 25-year-old dietician. Originally a New Yorker, she moved to Iowa for school, and stayed there for work. She works at a free clinic, and a lot of her clients are immigrants who work low-wage jobs and don't have health insurance. She wants a president who will push for policies that will bring about substantive improvements in the lives of disadvantaged and marginalized people. Her feelings on the Democratic nomination aren't as strong as many of her friends' are, and she doesn't dislike any of the leading candidates. Elizabeth Warren would be her first choice for the nomination – in terms of policies and style, she's the best fit.

30. Noel: Pete Buttigieg

Noel is a 37-year-old single mom who works as a Supervisor for the Iowa Department of Natural Resources. She is deeply concerned about environmental issues and climate change. She thinks candidates like Joe Biden and Amy Klobuchar wouldn't do enough to address the issue, and she doubts Bernie Sanders or Elizabeth Warren would be able to defeat Donald Trump at the general election. Her first choice is Pete Buttigieg.

31. Oscar: Bernie Sanders

Oscar is a 35-year-old truck driver. By its very nature, his job requires long hours and a lot of time spent away from his wife and his twin toddlers. Oscar places a high premium on union membership and collective bargaining for better conditions for workers like himself. He thinks that American politics has gotten too far removed from the concerns of labor. He thinks Bernie Sanders's emphasis on blue-collar politics is exactly the sort of thing that would help the country get back on the right track.

32. Pam: Bernie Sanders

Pam is a 20-year-old college student who volunteers at an animal shelter on the weekends. She is deeply disturbed by Congress's inaction on climate change, and by the U.S.'s withdrawal from the Paris Climate Accords under President Trump. She strongly believes in the Green New Deal, and her first pick for the Democratic nomination is unquestionably Bernie Sanders, whom she believes will refuse to kowtow to special interests and fight for a real change in environmental policy.

33. Penny: Bernie Sanders

Penny is a 59-year-old floor manager in a factory which manufactures pesticides. She had previously worked in a fertilizer plant, but lost that job in 2008. It was a while before she was able to be rehired. She thinks that Washington politicians have forgotten about working-class Americans in the past few decades. One of the few exceptions, as she sees it, is Bernie Sanders. She admires that he's always stuck to his guns, and that he's never toed either party's line. She supported him in 2016, and she's supporting him again in 2020.

34. Riley: Bernie Sanders

Riley is a 47-year-old construction worker. He was injured on the job a few years back, and had a difficult time getting back on his feet. He's only recently been able to return to work, and his family fell on hard times while he was out of a job – not least because of his medical bills. He thinks that healthcare should be cheaper, and that unions should be stronger, and that the social safety net should have fewer gaps. He was a strong supporter of Bernie Sanders in 2016, and he's more committed than ever now.

35. Rita: Joe Biden

Rita is an 81-year-old retiree. She used to work on a poultry farm, but has since moved to the city to be closer to her grandchildren. She has voted in every election since 1960, and is very proud of that fact – the first presidential vote she cast was for John F. Kennedy. It seems to her that, back in her youth, America did big things on a regular basis. Now, things seem to have stagnated. She wants a president who can do big things again. That said, having seen this show a few times, she worries that a lot of the progressive candidates making big promises won't be able to get them through Congress. She thinks Joe Biden has the policymaking know-how and mainstream-enough positions to get some big things done in the next four years.

36. Sam: Pete Buttigieg

Sam is a 26-year-old paralegal who lives in Des Moines with her partner. While she likes progressive politicians, she is concerned that they would lose the presidency, thus giving Donald Trump more opportunities to, say, appoint conservative justices to federal courts. Her first choice for the nomination is Pete Buttigieg, who she feels strikes a solid balance between dynamic new policy positions and pragmatic (and, she thinks, highly electable) center-left politics.

37. Sara: Elizabeth Warren

Sara is a 54-year-old chemist who works at a biodiesel plant. As part of her job, she works alongside chemists and engineers from around the globe. Though she never says so to her European colleagues, and though they never bring it up, she feels that America is falling behind the rest of the developed world on a wide array of political and societal fronts. She wants a president who can beat Donald Trump and bring about real, meaningful policy changes in the coming term. She thinks that Elizabeth Warren's progressive platform will bring about the changes the country needs on healthcare, the economy, the environment, and guns.

38. Terry: Pete Buttigieg

Terry is a 44-year-old pediatrician. He grew up on a farm in the western part of the state, and was able to work his way through college and medical school. He's a firm believer in the American dream, but he also feels that it's become increasingly difficult for many

people to achieve it. He was a big fan of Barack Obama, and wants someone who can take up the mantle of the cool, confident, center-left leader. Pete Buttigieg's impressive resume, policy positions, and political style seem like an ideal step forward to him.

39. Tess: Elizabeth Warren

Tess is a 39-year-old dentist who recently moved to Iowa from Boston. She was born and raised in New England, and she views herself as very progressive. As a Bay Stater, Elizabeth Warren used to be her senator, and she was always a fan. She thinks Warren's progressive policies are precisely what the United States has lacked on the national level in recent years. She also thinks Warren would be a much stronger candidate in November than Bernie Sanders would – she personally doesn't mind that he calls himself a socialist, but she knows a lot of people do.

40. Tom: Amy Klobuchar

Tom is a 42-year-old pig farmer who lives out in the countryside with his wife and two children. He has very little patience for a lot of what's going on in American politics. He has no love to lose for Donald Trump and his bombastic style of politics, and he doesn't understand why so many of his friends and neighbors are such big fans of the president. However, he shares their scorn for the left wing of the Democratic Party, and he thoroughly distrusts the leading figures of the progressive movement. He wants a capable president who will focus on attainable policies, not pie-in-the-sky rhetoric. He thinks Amy Klobuchar's no-nonsense Midwestern common sense is exactly what's needed in the White House.

41. Trent: Pete Buttigieg

Trent is a 68-year-old soybean farmer who is looking forward to a well-earned retirement. For most of his life, he was disinterested in politics. However, China recently imposed a tariff on U.S. soybeans, and he's feeling the pinch. He wants a cool-headed, competent person to be at the helm of the United States for the next four years. He's been reading up on the Democratic candidates, and Pete Buttigieg is his first choice – he's very impressed by his character and resume.

42. Tyler: Pete Buttigieg

Tyler is a 71-year-old journalist who manages a prominent paper in the state capital. He has covered politics throughout his career, and is very displeased by the current direction of the country. All else being equal, he would prefer for someone new, with fresh ideas, to restore a sense of normalcy to American politics. He prefers Pete Buttigieg for the Democratic nomination, viewing him as a more dynamic candidate than folks like Joe Biden or Amy Klobuchar, and also thinks he'll do a better job at restoring normalcy than progressives like Bernie Sanders or Elizabeth Warren.

43. Ulysses: Pete Buttigieg

Ulysses is a 47-year-old insurance agent who is married with three kids. He and his wife immigrated to the United States when they were in their twenties. He considers himself a moderate and decidedly errs on the mainstream side of politics. He likes and respects Joe Biden, but thinks he's too old and gaffe-prone to be a strong candidate in November. Pete Buttigieg is his first choice for the Democratic nomination.

44. Victor: Andrew Yang

   Victor is a 45-year-old who works as an engineer at a wind farm. He feels that many leading figures in the Democratic Party are concerningly ignorant of a lot of the issues that are going to dominate discussions in 21st-century American politics – even though he thinks most of them have good intentions, he wants somebody who appreciates how changing technology is going to impact government and society. Andrew Yang's unconventional bid for the White House feels like a breath of fresh air, and he plans to vote for him.

45. Will: Joe Biden

   Will is a 64-year-old who recently retired from the U.S. Air Force, where he reached the rank of brigadier general. He feels very passionately about foreign policy, having begun his career during the Cold War era. Joe Biden's foreign policy experience from his Senate days make him Will's first choice for the nomination.

B.2   2024 Republican Characters (Spring 2024)

The list below provides the characters that were assigned to students for the simulated 2024 Republican Iowa caucus. Each character was given a name, a most-preferred candidate, and a brief background paragraph highlighting the character's political priorities and guiding principles.

1. Aiden: Donald Trump

   Aiden is a 45-year-old construction worker who values a strong economy. He supports Donald Trump for his pro-business policies and success in fostering economic growth. He firmly believes that the election was stolen from Trump in 2020, and is deeply loyal to the former president. If Trump is not re-nominated, he has no intention whatsoever of backing whichever disloyal Republican is at the top of the ticket.

2. Anne: Vivek Ramaswamy

   Anne is a 33-year-old anaesthesiologist who recently finished her residency and landed her first big job. Having been raised in a deeply Christian, conservative household, Joe Biden's policies are anathema to her. But then again, Donald Trump isn't exactly in line with her values, either – he's an opportunistic clown, as far as she's concerned. She was initially a big fan of Ron DeSantis's candidacy, but that fell flat in short order. Vivek Ramaswamy is an interesting character. He brings some life into the stolid masses of Republican candidates, and gives voice to issues that aren't on the others' radar. She doesn't really expect him to win the caucus – to say nothing of the presidency – but she's going to cast her primary ballot for him all the same. Maybe 2028 will be different...

3. Ava: Donald Trump

   Ava is a 55-year-old Navy veteran who prioritizes security at home. She is deeply concerned about reports of rising crime in cities run by Democrats across the country. She views Joe Biden as little more than a mouthpiece for leftists who seek to undermine stability across America. She supports Donald Trump for his tough stance on crime and his commitment to maintaining a robust police force, and for his tough stance agains the radical left.

4. Blake: Ron DeSantis

Blake is a 37-year-old truck driver for a meatpacking company. He was a big fan of Donald Trump in 2016 and 2020. The president's message to the forgotten men and women struck a resonant chord with him – he'd been out of work for years after the Recession hit in the late aughts. He appreciates the fact that the Republican Party has gone in Trump's direction, but he's beginning to think that Trump has become more of a hindrance than a help. Ron DeSantis has all the right positions, and he isn't going to waste time rambling about a stolen election, and he isn't going to be bogged down by a bunch of court cases in the lead-up to the election. DeSantis is Blake's first pick for the nomination.

5. Brooke: Ron DeSantis

Brooke is a 54-year-old optometrist and a married mother of four kids. She hardly recognizes the America she sees in the news nowadays, with violence and looting rocking the nation and radicals screaming in the streets of the big cities...the country is devolving into a dystopia before her very eyes, as far as she's concerned. She wants a Republican candidate who can beat Joe Biden and set America back on the right path. She sees a lot to like in Ron DeSantis. He might not be a captivating public speaker, but he's a tremendous policymaker. His record as a policymaker turned Florida ruby-red, too – she's sure he would sweep through the swing states devastated by a Democratic administration.

6. Caleb: Donald Trump

Caleb is a 50-year-old energy industry executive who values energy independence – not only because it's his field, but because having a reliable source of energy is crucial in a dangerous world. He supports Donald Trump for his strong stance on domestic energy production and reducing reliance on foreign sources. He wouldn't be terribly upset with any of the other Republican candidates – for the most part, he would trust any one of them to pursue a platform that would help ensure America's energy independence – but he trusts Trump's proven record on this issue.

7. Chelsea: Donald Trump

Chelsea is a 37-year-old law enforcement officer who prioritizes law and order. She deeply resents left-wingers who call to "Defund the Police" from their cushy homes in safe neighborhoods. She supports Donald Trump for his tough-on-crime policies and commitment to ensuring the safety of communities – and for the fact that he doesn't hesitate to go after those insufferable left-wingers.

8. Claire: Ron DeSantis

Claire is a 29-year-old economist and the mother of a one-year-old daughter. She worries every day about the sort of world her daughter is going to grow up in. The old family and community values that were instilled in her from a young age have been stripped away. In their place, she sees nothing but vapid, hedonistic individualism. But Ron DeSantis's candidacy provides her with a ray of hope. A rock-solid family man who's deeply committed to the values of her childhood, she sees in DeSantis a vision of the America she loved for all her life. DeSantis's America would be one she could find herself in, and DeSantis would be a president her daughter could admire.

9. Cole: Ron DeSantis

Cole is an 83-year-old retiree and widower. He has been a Republican all his life, and has voted for the Republican candidate in every presidential election since 1972, the first one

where he was eligible to vote. He is firmly loyal to the party, and voted for Donald Trump in 2016 and 2020. He has significant doubts about Trump now, though. Quite simply, he doesn't think he can win – and he isn't sure he should win, either, after what he pulled in the months after the 2020 election. Ron DeSantis is a much better candidate in his mind – an effective conservative policymaker without nearly so much baggage. He might not be the most charismatic guy, but Cole thinks that there are things that matter much more than that. He thinks DeSantis's record as a policymaker speaks for itself, and he's confident DeSantis can unite the GOP and beat Joe Biden in November.

10. Dana: Donald Trump

    Dana is a 37-year-old small business owner who values innovation and economic growth. She views Democratic economic policies as an unmitigated disaster. As far as she's concerned, the burdensome regulations they impose upon businesses have forced American jobs overseas in the millions. She wouldn't be upset with any of the Republican candidates – all of them have a sound economic message. But why wouldn't she back President Trump again? He's a tried and true leader, and she's certainly going to back him once again.

11. Dylan: Donald Trump

    Dylan is a 30-year-old software engineer. He ardently believes that the country needs a sea change in its politics to recover from Joe Biden's presidency. He wants the Republican Party to nominate a candidate who can defeat Biden in November and usher in a sweeping conservative agenda on economic and social policy. He thinks Donald Trump probably can't beat Biden, and isn't interested in the business of governing. He thinks Nikki Haley probably could beat Biden, but would be a waffling RINO of a president. Ron DeSantis might not be electric on the stump, but Dylan believes he has what it takes to appeal to swing voters – just look at his share in Miami-Dade County in 2022! – and the policy chops to make for an excellent president for a new generation of conservatives.

12. Ella: Donald Trump

    Ella is a 50-year-old real estate agent who values a strong housing market. She feels that the Biden administration's ham-fisted policies are depressing the market. She supports Donald Trump for his pro-growth policies and commitment to ensuring a robust real estate industry.

13. Elle: Nikki Haley

    Elle is a 43-year-old real estate developer and a married mother of two teenagers. She has been a supporter of Nikki Haley's campaign ever since it was announced. Elle believes in sound fiscal conservative economic policies and a strong foreign policy – peace through strength, as Ronald Reagan put it. With Donald Trump, there's nothing but bluff and bluster. She was intrigued by Ron DeSantis at first, but his trainwreck of a campaign has thoroughly dampened whatever enthusiasm she felt for his candidacy. Haley is a sensible, competent, thoroughly professional stateswoman. Her views on policy are self-evidently reasonable. Elle has no doubts Haley will beat Biden in November. She has serious doubts that any of the other Republican nominees could do the same.

14. Emma: Donald Trump

    Emma is a 60-year-old retired army officer who values a strong military. She thinks Joe Biden has been a disastrous president on a range of issues, from the Taliban's takeover of

Afghanistan to the rising cost of gas and groceries. She believes that America was much safer and more secure when Donald Trump was president. She isn't sure about the claims that the election was stolen from President Trump, but she wholeheartedly plans to cast her vote for him regardless.

15. Ethan: Donald Trump

Ethan is a 35-year-old business owner who values innovation and economic growth. He supports Donald Trump for his pro-business agenda and commitment to fostering a climate conducive to technological advancements. Ron DeSantis would make for a decent president – maybe even a better one than President Trump – but Ethan thinks he's just too uncharismatic to beat Biden.

16. Eve: Nikki Haley

Eve is a 39-year-old orthodontist who was raised in a conservative household. She is married, and has three young children. A lifelong believer in traditional conservative values, she was never especially fond of Donald Trump. In 2020, she wrote in Mitt Romney's name – and Trump's conduct after he lost the election only reinforced her opinion that that was the right call. She wants to restore the compassionate, commonsense conservatism that the Republican Party espoused when she young, and she wants a president her children can be proud of and look up to. Donald Trump and his many imitators don't fit the bill. Nikki Haley, on the other hand, will restore sense and decency to the GOP – and if she's nominated, she'll restore sensible conservative policies to the White House, because she'll beat the pants off Joe Biden in November.

17. Finn: Nikki Haley

Finn is a 46-year-old cattle rancher. The issue he cares the most about is immigration – he is deeply concerned about the caravans of migrants massing on the nation's southern border, and he fears that the Biden administration will let them in, regardless of consequences. He firmly believes in the sanctity of legal immigration, and staunchly believes that people who do things the right way deserve a fair shot and a clear path to citizenship. The most important thing in his mind is to elect a sensible Republican president who will adhere to basic common sense and decency on this policy. Donald Trump seems entirely disinterested. And Ron DeSantis's stunts with migrants left a bad taste in his mouth. Nikki Haley is the clear choice.

18. Grace: Donald Trump

Grace is a 48-year-old retired nurse who values healthcare reform. She supports Donald Trump for his efforts to improve healthcare accessibility and affordability while maintaining a free-market approach. She is also deeply distrustful of the Washington establishment, and believes that the election was stolen from President Trump in 2020 – she wants to send him back to D.C. so he can finish the job and drain the swamp.

19. Ivy: Ron DeSantis

Ivy is a 28-year-old committee staffer in the Iowa State Senate. She has been around politics all her life – her father was a Republican State Representative for a few terms in the 1990s. She knows intimately well that enacting good public policy isn't something that comes from bellicose tweets – or x's, or whatever the hell they're called now. It takes hard work,

more than a bit of grit, and a realist's approach. She has no patience for the pie-in-the-sky, "I alone can fix it" attitude of Donald Trump. Vivek Ramaswamy is a blowhard who thinks he's much smarter than he actually is. Ron DeSantis and Nikki Haley are actually competent public servants. She would be fine with either, but as DeSantis is a closer match for her personal positions, she intends to vote for him in the caucus.

20. Jack: Donald Trump

    Jack is a 46-year-old law enforcement officer who prioritizes law and order. Like most of the men and women in his field, he's deeply concerned by the attacks the left has raised against his profession, and thoroughly unsurprised that violent crime rose after those attacks. He supports Donald Trump for his tough-on-crime policies and commitment to ensuring the safety of communities.

21. Jade: Nikki Haley

    Jade is a 57-year-old high school teacher and an officer in the Army Reserve. Having come of age in the Cold War, she is deeply concerned about foreign policy. She fondly remembers Ronald Reagan's firm but sensible approach to the Cold War, and the gains that were made in forming a safer, freer world under American leadership. In the last few decades, she has seen Democratic – and Republican presidents – undermine those hard-won gains. She wants a president who will stand up to Russian and Chinese aggression and effectively manage the powderkeg that is the Middle East. Nikki Haley is the clear choice – the only real choice. If Haley isn't the nominee, she isn't sure if she would support whichever Republican is at the top of the ticket.

22. Jake: Nikki Haley

    Jake is a 41-year-old lawyer who values America's role as a steadying force for freedom and democracy in an uncertain world. He supports Nikki Haley for her diplomatic approach to foreign policy and commitment to strengthening America's global standing. He is also repulsed by Donald Trump's bogus claims that the election was "stolen" – and, moreover, he fully believes that if Trump is the nominee, that means four more years of Biden.

23. James: Donald Trump

    James is a 42-year-old factory worker who places a high premium on the success of domestic manufacturing. He resents the flight of good industrial jobs overseas, and he resents the Democrats for claiming to stand by the working people while they sell out to wealthy coastal elites who don't give a damn about real kitchen-table issues. He supports Donald Trump for his tariff policies and his tough stance on trade issues.

24. Jude: Nikki Haley

    Jude is a 56-year-old manufacturing executive who values free-market capitalism. His first and foremost priority is choosing a Republican candidate who can win in the fall. He supports Nikki Haley for her pro-business policies and commitment to limited government intervention – and because he thinks she'd trounce Joe Biden. He has serious doubts about how viable a candidate DeSantis would be, and, frankly, he thinks Trump would lose.

25. Kate: Nikki Haley

    Kate is a 50-year-old law enforcement officer who prioritizes law and order. She supports Nikki Haley for her tough-on-crime policies and commitment to ensuring the safety of

communities. She used to count herself as a staunch supporter of President Trump, but the January 6th attack shook her faith in the president. This isn't to say she would be terribly upset if he were re-nominated – she would certainly vote for him over Joe Biden. However, she has some doubt about how committed he is to law enforcement – and, moreover, she thinks Biden would beat him again.

26. Levi: Ron DeSantis

Levi is a 64-year-old professor at the University of Iowa. Growing up, he was thoroughly disillusioned with the Democrats during Jimmy Carter's less-than-stellar years in the White House. He voted for Ronald Reagan in 1980 and never looked back. The Republican Party has been through ups and downs in Levi's life. Trump's presidency was mostly an up; Trump himself was – and is – mostly a down. His policies are perfectly fine, but the man himself leaves much to be desired. Ron DeSantis has a similar – if not more robustly conservative – agenda, and strikes Levi as a much more electable candidate than Trump. He frankly believes that the people complaining about DeSantis's lack of charisma need to stop their bellyaching.

27. Liam: Donald Trump

Liam is a 53-year-old manufacturing executive who values free-market capitalism. He supports Donald Trump for his pro-business policies and commitment to limited government intervention. He resents Nikki Haley and Ron DeSantis for the marked disloyalty they've shown to the man who made their political careers. He doesn't strongly believe that the 2020 election was stolen, but he wouldn't put that sort of malfeasance past the Democrats.

28. Lily: Donald Trump

Lily is a 49-year-old real estate developer who values a strong housing market. She supports Donald Trump for his pro-growth policies and commitment to ensuring a robust market. As far as she's concerned, the Biden administration has been an unmitigated disaster on every meaningful economic question – the Democrats care more about radical socialist experiments that won't work than they do about policies that benefit the American people.

29. Logan: Donald Trump

Logan is a 49-year-old manufacturing executive who values free-market capitalism. He supports Donald Trump for his pro-business policies and commitment to limited government intervention. He has some qualms about Trump's tariff policies, but at the end of the day, he still firmly believe that President Trump's record and appeal will help him beat Joe Biden and take back the White House in November.

30. Lucas: Donald Trump

Lucas is a 34-year-old pastor who is deeply concerned about the trajectory of the United States. Everywhere he looks, he sees the tried-and-true Christian values that have always formed the bedrock of American society under attack from the destabilizing, delusional forces of the far left. For a while, he thought Ron DeSantis would be the perfect candidate to lead the fight back against the woke left – he did an excellent job of it in Florida. But then, as far as Lucas is concerned, Disney made DeSantis look like a fool, and he proved himself a wet blanket on the campaign trail. He is a staunch supporter of Donald Trump, who has what it takes to win back the White House and continue the battle for America's soul.

31. Lucy: Donald Trump

    Lucy is a 50-year-old farmer who has faced challenges due to trade policies. Many of her friends were forced out of business after the Great Recession. She supports Donald Trump, appreciating his America-first trade policies and commitment to protecting the interests of American farmers. She was always a strong supporter of Trump, who never forgot about the forgotten men and women who always made America great.

32. Luke: Ron DeSantis

    Luke is a 50-year-old financial advisor and a devoutly religious man. He is deeply conservative on economic and social issues, and tends towards an isolationist foreign policy. He supports Ron DeSantis, who is a close match for him on policy, and whose record he believes speaks for itself.

33. Martin: Asa Hutchinson

    Martin is a 48-year-old small business owner who values a balanced budget and pragmatic governance. He supports Asa Hutchinson for his record of fiscal responsibility and commitment to effective, sensible policies. He also believes that Hutchinson, as a pragmatic, moderate-minded governor, stands a much better chance of winning in November than Donald Trump.

34. Mason: Donald Trump

    Mason is a 28-year-old veteran, currently pursuing a nursing degree, who appreciates candidates who prioritize veteran support – his wife, who's pursuing a BA, is also a veteran. He supports Donald Trump for his dedication to improving veterans' services and addressing military families' unique challenges. He also appreciates Trump's unfailing support for police officers at home.

35. Max: Nikki Haley

    Max is a 61-year-old high school teacher and Air Force veteran who prioritizes national security. Having been stationed in Europe at the height of the Cold War, he is deeply concerned by the rise of Russia and China. He supports Nikki Haley for her stances on foreign policy and commitment to maintaining a robust national defense. He also isn't particularly interested in voting for President Trump – he supported him in 2016 and 2020, but January 6th was a bridge too far.

36. Maya: Ron DeSantis

    Maya is a 32-year-old physician's assistant and married mother of infant twins. She and her husband recently moved to Iowa from Chicagoland, in large part because of the cost of living. Even in Iowa, they were hit hard by inflation at the gas pump and the grocery store. Maya wants a president who will put forth a sound fiscally conservative policy platform that will promote businesses and minimize the consequences of inflation. Ron DeSantis is the clear choice for the job – a proven policymaker with nothing resembling the mountains of baggage Donald Trump brings to the table.

37. Mia: Donald Trump

    Mia is a 69-year-old retired nurse. The issue she cares about most is the opioid crisis, which resonates with her on a deeply personal level. Her only daughter died of an opioid

overdose several years ago. She supports Donald Trump for his efforts to crack down on drug dealers and violent criminals more generally.

38. Nate: Donald Trump

Nate is a 67-year-old retired teacher whose chief concern is a robust economy. He supports Donald Trump for his pragmatic approach to economic policies. He is also deeply concerned about the direction the country is heading, and believes that a second Trump term will help put it back on track.

39. Owen: Donald Trump

Owen is a 55-year-old small business owner who belileves in a free market and secure borders. Everything since 2020 has illustrated to him the perils of having the Democrats in control. He wouldn't be surprised if the 2020 election really was stolen from President Trump. Deeply concerned about the rise of socialism in America and the rise in crime under Biden, he is a staunch Trump supporter.

40. Paige: Nikki Haley

Paige is a 52-year-old small business owner who values strong leadership. She supports Nikki Haley for her experience and strong leadership qualities, believing she can bring stability to the country. She wants a competent, capable conservative who will focus on governance – and Haley is all of those things in spades, whereas Trump, DeSantis, and Ramaswamy are all a bunch of blustering showmen.

41. Rose: Ron DeSantis

Rose is a 25-year-old biology PhD student. She is a devout Catholic, and has been involved in pro-life student groups since she was in high school. She happened to be in Washington with her college's pro-life group when the Dobbs decision came down, and the celebrations which followed were one of the most incredible moments of her life. Abortion is the most important issue to her, and Ron DeSantis is far and away the best candidate on the issue. Donald Trump may have appointed the justices who overturned Roe V. Wade, but as far as she's concerned, anybody should be able to see that he doesn't personally give a damn about the anti-abortion cause – he just does what's politically expedient for him in any given moment. She believes Ron DeSantis, a fellow devout Catholic, truly cares about the fight to defend unborn life, and strongly supports his bid for the presidency.

42. Ruby: Donald Trump

Ruby is a 40-year-old small business owner who values individual freedoms. She supports Donald Trump for his commitment to protecting personal liberties and resisting government overreach. She was deeply troubled by the government-imposed lockdowns across most of the country during the COVID pandemic – it isn't the government's place to tell people how to live their lives like that.

43. Ryan: Ron DeSantis

Ryan is a 28-year-old data scientist. He grew up in a Republican household, and he and his wife are both rock-ribbed conservatives. Neither of them is especially fond of Donald Trump, though they held their noses and voted for him in 2016 and 2020. They'll vote for him in 2024 if he gets the nomination, but both of them would much prefer voting for Ron DeSantis, a rock-solid family man with a sweeping conservative agenda. Ryan thinks that

DeSantis is the perfect standard-bearer for a new generation of American conservatism, and can help the Republican Party move on from the less-than-stellar Trump years.

44. Seth: Vivek Ramaswamy

Seth is a 31-year-old who works for a software company. He has little love to lose for Joe Biden – but he isn't exactly a huge fan of Donald Trump's, either. When he looks at his party, he sees a lot of folks who are clinging to the past. Vivek Ramaswamy's somewhat contrarian candidacy has caught his eye. Ramaswamy has a lot of big ideas for the country, and isn't afraid to shove them in the face of the party establishment. Seth doesn't really think Vivek is going to win the nomination, but he's going to cast his vote for him anyway.

45. Zoe: Donald Trump

Zoe is a 45-year-old environmental engineer and a mother of two high-schoolers. She dreads over the sort of world her kids are about to enter – a world where inflation is running rampant, and crime is on the rise, and the Democrats couldn't care less. She supports Donald Trump because she believes he can save the American economy from Bidenflation, and she believes he'll fulfill his promise to make America safe again.

Appendix C   Assignment Prompts

C.1   Spring 2023: 2020 Democratic Iowa Caucus Alone

[Course Number], Spring 2023: Iowa Caucus Simulation

A bevy of literature on political science education speaks to the value of in-class simulations. By obliging students to apply key concepts from class in scenarios mirroring real-world political situations, simulations may help students think critically about course materials and deepen their understanding of fundamental concepts and specific subjects. Because of their applied nature, simulations furnish students of social science with an opportunity to directly engage with subject matter in a way lectures cannot match. For all these reasons, on Monday, February 20th, we will hold a simulated 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus in class.

Preparation

Each of you will be randomly assigned a character by the end of the day on Monday, February 6. These may be found under the Dropbox tab on Sakai. Each character has a name, a most-preferred candidate, and a description of who they are, what they prioritize, and why their most-preferred candidate is their first choice. The characters' biographical and demographic details are included to help you get a sense of what this person would consider when making political choices. Some characters' priorities are very explicitly ideological. Others are motivated by partisan goals. Still others are primarily concerned with the characters and styles of the candidates. Some of their motivations are big-picture; some of their motivations are deeply personal. The characters are designed to represent a rough cross-section of the sort of people who showed up to the Iowa caucuses in 2020.

In preparation for the simulation, you will consider how your character would view the candidates beyond their first choice. For our purposes, you will only need to consider the top eight candidates from the actual 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus – those being, alphabetically, Joe Biden, Pete Buttigieg, Tulsi Gabbard, Amy Klobuchar, Bernie Sanders, Tom Steyer, Elizabeth Warren,

and Andrew Yang. You will write up a brief 1-3 page paper with two components: (1) how your character would rank the top eight candidates, and (2) which, if any, candidates your character would consider supporting if their first choice is not secured in the first round of voting. You should explain why your character would prefer certain candidates over others, and why they would or would not be willing to consider supporting certain candidates if they are not locked in after the first alignment. If you write a thoughtful, detailed, stylistically and grammatically strong short paper which demonstrates to me that you thoroughly considered how your character would approach the Iowa caucus and consider different candidates, you will earn one extra credit point (out of thirty) on your upcoming midterm exam.

You will be responsible for submitting your short paper here (under the designated Sakai assignment) by 11:59pm on Sunday, February 19th. You should also bring a hard copy of your ranking on the day of the simulation.

In the best of all possible worlds, we would be holding this simulation close to an actual Iowa caucus, and you would be using campaign resources that were available to voters at the time to inform your rankings. Of course, given that this Iowa caucus was held more than three years ago, many of these resources have been taken down. With that said, there are some that are still online. I have included a link to one below – you may use any other relevant resources you choose to supplement this. Please see me in office hours if you would like to discuss this in more detail. (Note that the Politico page linked below is very thorough, and that I do not expect you to use all the information on it to rank your character's preferences – use as much as you need.)

2020 Candidates Views on the Issues: A Voter's Guide - POLITICO

The Day of the Simulation

We will follow the procedures held at actual Iowa caucuses as closely as the logistics of this simulation will allow. Upon entering the classroom on the morning of the 20th, you will sign in with the "precinct chair" (me). There will be eight designated positions around the room for each of the top candidates. At the actual caucuses, each campaign sends a precinct delegate who serves as the rallying point – for our purposes, it will be a print-out of the candidate taped to the wall. Once the simulation begins in earnest, each caucus-goer will go to the designated position for their character's most-preferred candidate.

At this stage, the first alignment will be held, and the precinct chair will tally the votes. Every candidate who receives at least 15% of the total vote will be "locked in," and will be guaranteed a portion of the precinct's delegates. Caucus-goers who voted for a locked-in candidate on the first alignment are locked in themselves, and will not be able to change their vote on the second alignment. Those caucus-goers whose candidates are not locked in are still free agents, and may vote however they choose on the second alignment. As in the actual caucuses, a 15-minute period of discussion will follow the first alignment in the lead-up to the second alignment.

During this period of discussion, different caucus-goers will have different goals. Caucus-goers whose candidates did not meet the 15% threshold have a choice to make. Do they continue to support their own candidate, and try to win other caucus-goers whose candidates didn't meet the threshold to their side? After all, if a candidate reaches 15% of the vote on the second alignment, they will receive a share of the precinct delegates. Or should they change their vote to another candidate? Perhaps they would prefer to support their second or third choice, who might already be guaranteed delegates, or might stand a chance of reaching the 15% threshold. Caucus-goers who are locked in after the first alignment have an incentive to try and convince

their fellows who can change their votes to support their candidate. As we discussed in class, your performance in the simulation counts toward your course participation grade. Students who engage in noteworthily detailed, thoughtful discussions during this period will be eligible to earn another extra credit point on the midterm exam.

It goes without saying that I expect you will treat one another with respect during this discussion. Don't take it personally when your peers disagree with you here – after all, they were randomly assigned a character to represent, too. Furthermore, I expect that caucus-goers who are able to change their votes for the second round will consider their courses of action, and their fellows' arguments, in a way which comports with their characters' rankings of the candidates. (You don't necessarily need to adhere to them concretely if someone makes a case you feel your character could be convinced by. However, if you ranked, say, Tulsi Gabbard towards the bottom of your character's list, you probably shouldn't have them vote for Tulsi Gabbard on the second alignment.)

After the fifteen minutes are up, those caucus-goers who are locked in will return to their designated position. The remaining caucus-goers will then vote as they choose. Every candidate who reaches the 15% threshold will receive a portion of the precinct delegates, which will be calculated based on their proportion of the vote.

C.2 Spring 2024: Multiple Simulated Nominations

Nominations Simulation

[Course Number], Spring 2024

Preface

A bevy of literature on political science education speaks to the value of in-class simulations. By obliging students to apply key concepts from class in scenarios mirroring real-world political situations, simulations may help students think critically about course materials and deepen their understanding of fundamental concepts and specific subjects. Because of their applied nature, simulations furnish students of social science with an opportunity to directly engage with subject matter in a way lectures cannot match. For all these reasons, across the week of February 19th, we will simulate presidential nominations in three eras of American political history. On Monday, February 19th, we will simulate the Democratic-Republican congressional caucus (the "King caucus") of 1824; on Wednesday, February 21st, we will simulate the Democratic National Convention (DNC) of 1968; and on Friday, February 23rd, we will simulate a 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus and a 2024 Republican Iowa caucus.

Character Assignments

Each of you has been randomly assigned one character for each of our four nominations. The assignments and the characters may be found within the Google Sheets linked here: You will note that you can observe your peers' character assignments as well. This is intentional. In the first two simulations, every historical participant had prior knowledge of all the others. And in the Iowa caucuses, caucus-goers are likely to know some other attendees at their respective caucuses. Moreover, as caucus-goers tend to be more engaged than other citizens, they are likely to have an idea of the sorts of arguments they will encounter, and the sorts of people they may need to convince to join their side.

For the King Caucus, you have each been assigned a representative who represents a particular constituency. In lieu of a specific historical figure, you will be tasked with embodying the general principles and political values of the spot in 1820s American you are representing. (The simple, unsatisfying reason for this is that I have not been able to find records of which representatives partook in the King Caucus, to say nothing of how they voted – and not for lack of trying! Had I been able to, I would have assigned you specific historical figures.)

For the 1968 DNC, you have each been assigned a particular historical figure who served as a delegate to the convention. Many of these figures have multiple students assigned to them – this is intentional. (We'll talk more about why at the end of the day on Wednesday!) Each of these character assignments is accompanied by a discussion of which candidate is that figure's first choice – if they have one – and a brief description of their political priorities.

For the 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus and 2024 Republican Iowa caucus, you have each been assigned a hypothetical character. Each character has a name, a most-preferred candidate, and a description of who they are, what they prioritize, and why their most-preferred candidate is their first choice. The characters' biographical and demographic details are included to help you get a sense of what this person would consider when making political choices. Some characters' priorities are very explicitly ideological. Others are motivated by partisan goals. Still others are primarily concerned with the characters and styles of the candidates. Some of their motivations are big-picture; some of their motivations are deeply personal. The characters are designed to represent a rough cross-section of the sort of people who showed up to the Iowa caucuses in 2020 and 2024.

Preparing for the Simulation

To prepare for the King Caucus, you should review the portfolio of documents I have compiled. You should pay particularly close attention to the politics of your section and the broader context of national party politics in 1824. As your character, you should consider the four major candidates in contention for the Democratic-Republican nomination – John Quincy Adams, Henry Clay, William Crawford, and Andrew Jackson. You should consider which of these figures your character would support the most, which ones they would be willing to support if they became the nominee, and whether they would deem any candidates utterly unacceptable. You should also consider some arguments you can make – whether in a speech or in unstructured debates upon the floor – to persuade others of your candidate's viability or virtue (or both). You will write up a short document featuring these elements, to be submitted on Canvas no later than 5pm on Saturday, February 17th. You should bring a hard copy of this document to class the day of the simulation as a reference point.

To prepare for the DNC, you should review the details of your assigned role, and the brief document I have put together (which I have principally adapted from *Chicago, 1968: Policy and Protest at the Democratic National Convention* by Nicolas W. Proctor [UNC Press, 2022] – always cite your sources!). You should consider how your character feels about the top two candidates for the nomination – Hubert Humphrey and Eugene McCarthy – and whether they would consider voting for a potential dark-horse candidate, such as George McGovern or Ted Kennedy. You should also consider your character's feelings on the war in Vietnam. You will write up a short document featuring these elements. You will write up a short document featuring these elements, to be submitted on Canvas no later than 5pm on Monday, February 19th. You should bring a hard copy of this document to class the day of the simulation as a reference point. We'll talk about the primaries of 1968, and a bit about the DNC itself, in the week prior to the simulation.

At the beginning of class on Wednesday, we'll watch a few minutes of a PBS documentary entitled "American Experience: Chicago 1968" to help you get in the mindset of the convention's delegates.

To prepare for the Democratic Iowa Caucus, you will consider how your character would view the candidates beyond their first choice. For the sake of convenience, you will only need to consider the top eight candidates from the actual 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus – those being, alphabetically, Joe Biden, Pete Buttigieg, Tulsi Gabbard, Amy Klobuchar, Bernie Sanders, Tom Steyer, Elizabeth Warren, and Andrew Yang. You will write up a short document with two components: (1) how your character would rank the top eight candidates, and (2) which, if any, candidates your character would consider supporting if their first choice is not secured in the first round of voting (more on this in the next section!). You will submit this write-up on Canvas no later than 5pm on Wednesday, February 21st, and you should bring a hard copy of this document to class as a reference point. The following link is a useful starting point for making these rankings: 2020 Candidates Views on the Issues: A Voter's Guide - POLITICO

To prepare for the Republican Iowa Caucus, once again, you will consider how your character would view the major candidates beyond their first choice. More conveniently for our purposes here, the list was quite a bit shorter in the 2024 Iowa caucuses. The major candidates you should consider are, alphabetically, Ron DeSantis, Nikki Haley, Vivek Ramaswamy, and Donald Trump. Other minor candidates who were in the race who you may consider are Asa Hutchinson and Ryan Binkley. Most voters did not seriously consider these two candidates, as evidenced by their lackluster showings at the polls, so you do not need to consider them if you don't feel your character would. As with the Democratic Iowa caucus, you should write up a document with two main components: (1) how your character would rank the four major candidates (and potentially the other two) and (2) which, if any, candidates your character might consider voting for apart from their first choice. You will submit this write-up on Canvas no later than 5pm on Wednesday, February 21st, and you should bring a hard copy of this document to class as a reference point. The following link is a useful starting point for making these rankings: The 2024 GOP field: How they win, how they lose

There will be no specific grade for the four write-ups – only a completion grade that counts toward your final simulation grade. These write-ups are first and foremost for your reference the day of the simulation, and they are intended to help you participate fully in the PBS exercise. Your write-ups may accordingly be lists of bullet-points – as long as you are participating fully in the simulation, you will receive full credit.

Extra Credit Opportunities

There will be four opportunities for extra credit in the simulation.

For the King Caucus, you may choose to deliver a speech (no more than three minutes) in which you praise (or condemn) aspects of a particular candidate's character or positions and encourage your fellow representatives to vote for (or against) them. Students wishing to take this opportunity should notify me no later than 5pm on Saturday, February 17th. I encourage you to write up the speech and send it to me as well – you also won't need to memorize the speech before you deliver it. If you deliver a thorough speech which demonstrates to me that you thoroughly considered how a typical representative from your assigned region would approach the King Caucus of 1824 and goes beyond the basic facts presented in the portfolio, you will earn half a point (out of thirty) on your midterm exam.

For the 1968 DNC, you may choose to deliver a speech (again, no more than three minutes) in which you voice your support for a particular presidential candidate, or in which you give reasons to support or oppose the Vietnam War. You will earn an extra credit half-point on your midterm if your speech reflects a well-researched presentation of your historical character's views on the key issues confronting delegates to the 1968 DNC.

For the Iowa caucus, you may choose to write a brief 1-3 page paper on why your character in either the Democratic or Republican caucus would prefer certain candidates over others, and why they would or would not be willing to consider supporting certain candidates if they are not locked in after the first ballot (again, more on this in the next section!). If you write a thoughtful short paper which demonstrates to me that you thoroughly considered how your character would approach the Iowa caucus, you will earn an extra half-point on your midterm. (You may write such a paper for both caucuses if you choose. If you do this well, you'll get both half-points).

Any students who deliver two speeches and write a thoughtful paper for one of our two Iowa caucus simulations (or both of them) will earn an additional two (full) points of extra credit on the final exam.

The Days of the Simulation

On Monday, we will convene in class for the simulated King Caucus. At the start of the simulation, students will have five minutes of unstructured discussion for meetings with other members. Students should ascertain which of their peers support the same candidate they do, and which candidates might plausibly be persuaded. At the end of this time, the King Caucus will "come into session." We'll be taking some slight historical liberties here for the purposes of the simulation – the actual King Caucuses were informal events, and we will be adding in some structure for the purposes of the simulation. Members wishing to speak on behalf of a certain candidate (or against others) will be given the opportunity to make their case to the assembly. After all those members wishing to speak have had their say, we will return to five minutes of unstructured debate (I reserve the right to extend this period if conversations are ongoing). At the end of this time, we will vote on the Democratic-Republican nominee; a candidate must receive a majority to receive the nomination. After this point, we will hold a debriefing session on the King Caucus, and we will discuss how it compares with other systems of nominating candidates.

On Wednesday, we will convene for the simulated 1968 DNC. As mentioned earlier, to help you get into the mindset of the convention's delegates, we will watch a selection of a documentary to help you get into the headspace of your respective characters. After this point, we will hold three votes as a convention. The first of these will be to decide on our party's nominee. Delegates wishing to make the case for their preferred candidates will have the opportunity to speak on their behalf. Once we have decided on the presidential nominee, we will vote on the vice-presidential nominee. Delegates will have the opportunity to make their case on how (or whether) to balance the ticket. Finally, the convention will vote on a plank calling for peace in Vietnam. Once again, debate will be allowed on this matter. We will conclude with a debriefing session.

On Friday, we will follow the procedures held at actual Iowa caucuses as closely as the logistics of this simulation will allow. Upon entering the classroom on the morning of the 20th, you will sign in with the "precinct chair" (me). There will be eight designated positions around the room for each of the top candidates. At the actual caucuses, each campaign sends a precinct delegate who serves as the rallying point – for our purposes, it will be a print-out of the candidate taped to the wall. Once the simulation begins in earnest, each caucus-goer will go to the designated position for their character's most-preferred candidate. At this stage, the first ballot will be held, and the

precinct chair will tally the votes. Every candidate who receives at least 15% of the total vote will be "locked in," and will be guaranteed a portion of the precinct's delegates. Caucus-goers who voted for a locked-in candidate on the first ballot are locked in themselves, and will not be able to change their vote on the second ballot. Those caucus-goers whose candidates are not locked in are still free agents, and may vote however they choose on the second ballot. As in the actual caucuses, a 15-minute period of discussion will follow the first ballot in the lead-up to the second ballot. During this period of discussion, different caucus-goers will have different goals. Caucus-goers whose candidates did not meet the 15% threshold have a choice to make. Do they continue to support their own candidate, and try to win other caucus-goers whose candidates didn't meet the threshold to their side? After all, if a candidate reaches 15% of the vote on the second ballot, they will receive a share of the precinct delegates. Or should they change their vote to another candidate? Perhaps they would prefer to support their second or third choice, who might already be guaranteed delegates, or might stand a chance of reaching the 15% threshold. Caucus-goers who are locked in after the first ballot have an incentive to try and convince their fellows who can change their votes to support their candidate. After the fifteen minutes are up, those caucus-goers who are locked in will return to their designated position. The remaining caucus-goers will then vote as they choose. Every candidate who reaches the 15% threshold will receive a portion of the precinct delegates, which will be calculated based on their proportion of the vote. After the Democratic caucus, we shall hold the Republican caucus. I will describe the process to you all the day of – it's rather more straightforward than the Democratic version. To close out class, we will discuss how different institutions might have yielded different results from our simulated precinct, and we will explore some concepts relating to the mathematics of politics.

It goes without saying that I expect you will treat one another with respect during these simulations. Don't take it personally when your peers disagree with you here – after all, they were randomly assigned a character to represent, too. Furthermore, I expect that you will act in a way which comports with your characters' views on the candidates or issues at hand, not your own. (You don't necessarily need to adhere to the character's stated views concretely if someone makes a case you feel your character could be convinced by. However, if, for example, you ranked Tulsi Gabbard towards the bottom of your character's list for the simulated Democratic Iowa caucus, you probably shouldn't have them vote for Tulsi Gabbard on the second ballot.)

Appendix D   Student Evaluation Responses, Spring 2023

The questions listed below were featured in evaluations for an intermediate-level class on parties and elections in the United States in Spring of 2023. As mentioned elsewhere, these evaluations are fully anonymous, university-sanctioned, and university-implemented. Filling out the evaluations was optional for students; 29 out of 42 students in this class (69.0%) chose to submit evaluations. As the responses were open-ended, the students' feelings are not always clear, hence the "unclear" rows in the tables presented.

Question 1: This class featured a simulated 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus. Between time constraints and the greater distance between the last Republican Iowa caucus, we did not do a simulated Republican caucus. If I teach this class again in 2024, I plan to hold a simulated Republican caucus, using 2024 as the main case study, instead of a Democratic caucus. Be honest with me – do you think you would have enjoyed the caucus exercise more, less, or about the same if we had done a Republican one rather than the Democratic one?

Would Have Enjoyed a Simulated GOP Caucus:	Number of Responses	Percent of Respondents
More	3	10.3%
About the Same	17	58.6%
Less	8	27.6%
Unclear	1	3.4%

Question 2: Having never run a full simulation in a class before, I only attempted the one this semester. Were I to teach this class again, do you think I should include other simulations? And would you have felt comfortable with a simulation earlier in the semester?

Additional Simulations?	Number of Responses	Percent of Respondents
Yes	26	89.7%
No	1	3.4%
Neutral/Unclear	2	6.9%

Simulations Earlier in the Semester?	Number of Responses	Percent of Respondents
Yes	17	58.6%
No	4	13.8%
Neutral/Unclear	8	27.6%

Appendix E   Pre- and Post-Test Results of Students Who Missed Simulated Caucus

Question	Pre-Test		Post-Test	
	Mean	Median	Mean	Median
What institutional structures made the Democratic Iowa caucuses distinct from other state-level Democratic nominations?	0	0	0	0
_____% of the vote "locks in" a candidate's supporters in the first round of the Democratic Iowa caucuses.	0	0	0.2	0
Why wasn't an Iowa Caucus the first Democratic contest in 2024?	0	0	0	0
Please discuss some of the advantages and drawbacks the Democratic caucuses have with respect to Democratic primaries.	0	0	0.2	0
In what core way(s) do Republican Iowa caucuses differ from Democratic Iowa caucuses?	0	0	0.1	0

| In what core way(s) do the results of the Republican Iowa caucuses differ from the results of most Republican caucuses and primaries? | 0 | 0 | 0 | 0 |

Whereas the students who were present for the simulated Iowa caucus performed markedly better on the post-test's questions pertaining to the matter, the five students who were absent did not improve much. The means which change reflect a single student out of the five receiving full credit or partial credit on a given response. Of course, this is a very small sample, and one which likely exhibits some bias.

Appendix F   Discrete Survey Questions and Summary of Responses, Spring 2024

The following questions were presented to students on an optional survey experiment. Each answer choice is listed in the order it appeared, along with the number of students (out of 16 respondents, unless otherwise indicated) who chose each option.

1. How much did you enjoy the simulation?

    · A great deal: 8

    · A lot: 6

    · A moderate amount: 2

    · A little: 0

    · Not at all: 0

2. All things considered, would you say you enjoyed the week of the simulation more than, less than, or about as much as a typical week of lecture and discussion in [course number]?

    · More: 14

    · About the same: 1

    · Less: 1

3. Did you find the simulation to be a helpful educational experience?

    · Yes: 14

    · Maybe: 2

    · No: 0

4. Suppose a question pertaining to the King Caucuses of 1824, the Democratic National Convention of 1968, and/or the Iowa Caucuses of 2020 appeared on the midterm exam. Would you feel more or less comfortable answering that question, relative to a question on another subject we only covered in lecture and the readings?

    · More comfortable: 13

· About the same: 3

· Less comfortable: 0

5. We briefly discussed the King Caucus of 1824 a few weeks ago, whereas we discussed the Democratic National Convention of 1968 in painstaking detail last week. Do you think this impacted your enjoyment of those respective days of the simulation?

    · I enjoyed the simulated 1968 Democratic National Convention more, because we went into that portion of the simulation with more historical context/greater familiarity with the case: 11

    · I enjoyed the simulated 1824 King Caucus more – given that we had not discussed the subject in depth, it felt like we had more agency within the simulation: 3

    · The difference did not impact my enjoyment of the simulated King Caucus and 1968 DNC: 2

6. Do you think you would have enjoyed the simulated 2020 Democratic Iowa caucus more if you had been randomly assigned a character whose views more closely aligned with yours? (If you feel that your randomly assigned character was a close match for your personal views, please leave this one blank and proceed to the next question.) *Nine students responded.*

    · Definitely yes: 1

    · Probably yes: 4

    · Probably not: 3

    · Definitely not: 1

7. If you feel that your randomly assigned character for the Iowa caucus simulation was a close match for your personal views, do you think you would have enjoyed that portion of the simulation less if you had been randomly assigned a character whose views were more distant from your own? (If you answered the previous question, please skip this one.) *Seven students responded.*

    · Definitely yes: 1

    · Probably yes: 2

    · Probably not: 3

    · Definitely not: 1

8. A previous version of this simulation lasted only one day, and consisted only of a simulated Iowa caucus. Student's positive reactions to that simulation, and feedback they provided on my course evaluations that semester, prompted me to expand that simulation into the one you just participated in. With this in mind – logistically, what do you think would be the most enjoyable, educationally valuable use of simulations in a future version in this class?

    · A weeklong (three-day) simulation roughly midway through the semester, plus 1-2 one-day simulations at other points in the semester: 4

- A weeklong (three-day) simulation roughly midway through the semester (what we did this semester): 9

- 3-5 one-day simulations at different points in the semester: 3

- 1-2 one-day simulations at different points in the semester (what was done in the previous semester mentioned in the question): 0

- No simulations at all: 0

The survey also featured open-ended prompts about elements of the simulation which students enjoyed or did not enjoy.

Appendix G   Exam Grade Analysis

In both the Spring 2023 and Spring 2024 semesters, the students' midterm exams featured at least one question which asked about a matter which had been covered in the simulation. The exams consisted of six short-essay responses chosen from a list of seven possible prompts. Each response was scored on a scale from 1 to 5. The question prompts for both exams, the mean score, the median score, and the number of students who chose not to answer a given question are presented in the tables below. ***Questions which pertained to the Iowa caucus simulation conducted in that semester are emphasized.***

G.1   Spring 2023

Spring 2023 Midterm Summary

Question:	Mean:	Median:	Omitted:
1. Explain what sorts of institutions tend to favor multi-party systems, what institutions tend to result in two-party systems, and why.	4.34	4	3
2. Aldrich (2011) discusses the median voter theorem multiple times in Why Parties? A Second Look. Describe the median voter theorem. Does it seem to apply to American elections today? Why or why not?	4.6	5	1
3. What factors contribute to third parties reaching more prominence at certain points in American history than others?	4.68	5	0
4. What recent changes at each of the tripartite levels of parties might lead someone to conclude that we have reached a seventh party system?	4.45	5	10

5. Rauch (2016) argues that certain reforms that were intended to counter corruption have degraded American democracy. Identify two or three of these, and explain why, in Rauch's view, they have negatively impacted American politics and/or government.	4.62	5	20
6. Describe the process of delegate apportionment at the Democratic Iowa caucuses. How are these practices indicative of the Democratic Party's apportionment methods? How do Republican methods tend to differ?	*4.69*	*5*	*2*
7. What does it mean to say that congressional nominations have become increasingly nationalized in recent decades? Why has this happened?	4.43	4	6

In the spring semester of 2023, students' overall performance on the one exam question pertaining to the Iowa caucuses compared favorably to their overall performance on the other exam questions. Only two students in the class chose to skip this question, and the average score on this question was higher than that of any of questions principally drawn from the lecture and course readings.

G.2 Spring 2024

Spring 2024 Midterm Summary

Question:	Mean:	Median:	Omitted:
The United States has the strongest two-party system of any contemporary democracy because of its political and electoral institutions. Describe the institutions which are chiefly responsible for this and explain how they contribute to the strength of our two-party system.	4.51	5	2
The Fifth Party System was an era of unprecedented Democratic dominance in federal politics. Why was this the case? And what issues spelled the end of the Fifth Party System?	4.3	4	3
Describe the median voter theorem. Does it seem to apply to American elections today? Why or why not?	4.83	5	1

Rauch (2016) argues that certain reforms which were intended to counter corruption have degraded American democracy. Identify two or three of these, and explain why, in Rauch's view, they have negatively impacted American politics and/or government.	4.61	5	7
Describe the two key differences between Democratic and Republican presidential nominations, and explain what effects they may have on the outcomes of nominating contests.	*4.6*	*5*	*13*
For the first time in decades, the Democratic presidential nomination of 2024 did not begin with an Iowa caucus. How do the flaws the DNC identified (openly or otherwise) with the Iowa caucuses speak to the flaws of primaries and caucuses more generally?	*4.86*	*5*	*8*
What does it mean to say that congressional nominations have become increasingly nationalized in recent decades? Why has this happened?	4.5	4.5	13

Two prompts pertaining to the Iowa caucuses were included on the midterm in the Spring 2024 semester. One of these, which asked about the differences between Democratic and Republican nominations, had the median average score of the seven prompts. However, it was also one of the most frequently-omitted questions on the exam. Students' performances on the second question, which asked about the Democratic Party's reasons for stripping the Iowa caucus of its first-in-the-nation status and how those reasons were more generally indicative of faults with primaries and caucuses, were stronger overall. Although quite a few students omitted this question, the responses of those students who did answer it were the strongest, on average, of any of the prompts.