

CAMPAIGNS AND ELECTIONS

Government and Politics 828A

Spring 2000

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When [George] Washington ran for the Virginia House of Burgesses in 1758, he saw to it that the 391 voters and their friends received 160 gallons of rum, beer, and cider on election day. This was called "swilling the planters with bumbo." The swilling was still going on in 1792.... A bystander observ[ed]... "That the Voice of the People, was the Voice of Grog."

--Paul F. Boller, Jr.

Presidential Campaigns

Election campaigns have long been of interest to candidates, parties, voters, and journalists, but it is only in recent years that political scientists began to systematically study them. Participants in this seminar will participate in a comprehensive examination of campaigns and elections in the United States. We will review the major research on the subject and the principal approaches to studying it. The topics to be discussed include: the strategic environment, voting behavior, candidates, campaign organizations, campaign finance, campaign strategy and communications, voter mobilization, election outcomes, and campaign reform.

The goals of the seminar are to critically discuss the literature on campaigns and elections, to examine the major approaches to research in the sub-field, to carry out a piece of original research, and to practice other professional skills used in academia.

Prerequisite

There are no formal prerequisites for the course, but students are expected to have a basic knowledge of campaigns and elections. I will suggest additional readings to individuals who would like some extra background reading on the subject.

Required Texts

Corrado et al., *Campaign Finance Reform: A Sourcebook* (Brookings Institution, 1997), available free at <http://www.brook.edu/gs/cf/sourcebk/default.htm>

Flanigan and Zingale, *The Political Behavior on the American Electorate* (CQ Press 1999).

Holbrook, *Do Campaigns Matter?* (Sage, 1996).
Herrnson, *Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington 3rd ed.* (CQ Press, 2000), provided free.
Kahn and Kenney, *The Spectacle of U.S. Senate Campaigns* (Princeton, 1999)
Malbin and Gais, *The Day After Reform* (Brookings, 1998).

Optional Texts

Ansolabehere and Iyengar, *Going Negative: How Attack Ads Shrink the Electorate* (Free Press, 1995).
Jacobson, *The Politics of Congressional Elections, 4th ed.* (Addison-Wesley, 1997).
Miller and Shanks, *The New American Voter* (Harvard, 1996).
Popkin, *The Reasoning Voter* (Chicago, 1991).
Sorauf, *Inside Campaign Finance* (Yale, 1992).

Additional Reading Assignments

Other assignments include articles that can be found in the major political science journals and readings that I will distribute in class. Additional readings may be assigned as the semester progresses.

Course Requirements

Evaluations will be based on four sets of exercises:

- 1) research paper (60%)
- 2) book review and critical reviews of two journal manuscripts (20%)
- 3) seminar participation and participation in a mini-conference (15%)
- 4) annotated bibliography (5%)

Course Outline

February 1 Introduction

February 8 The Institutional Setting and Research Strategies

Herrnson, Introduction, ch.1.
Kahn and Kenney, chs. 1-2.
Holbrook, chs. 1-3.

February 15 Voting Behavior

Flanigan and Zingale, chs. 1-6

*Roundtable on Research. Write two research questions and related hypotheses.

February 22 Candidates

Herrnson, ch.2.

Canon, "Sacrificial Lambs or Strategic Politicians? Political Amateurs in U.S. House Elections," *AJPS* 37 (1993): 1119–1141.

Epstein and Zemsky, "Money Talks: Deterring Quality Challengers in Congressional Elections," *APSR* 89 (1995): 295-309.

Castle, "State Governors and Progressive Ambition: Who will Run for President in 2000" *ARP* 18 (1997): 211-225.

Maisel and Stone, *The Candidate Emergence Study* (read the materials posted at <http://socsci.colorado.edu/CES/home.html>)

*Roundtable on Research. Write two research questions and related hypotheses.

*February 24 at 7pm Campaign Organization and Political Consultants (Guest speaker, Professor James Thurber)

Herrnson, ch. 3.

Tenpas and Dickinson, "Governing, Campaigning and Organizing the Presidency," *PSQ* 112 (1997): 51.

Thurber, "The Study of Campaign Consultants: A Subfield in Search of Theory," *PS* 31 (1998) 145-149.

Medvic, "The Effectiveness of the Political Consultant as a Campaign Resource," *PS* 31 (1998) 150-154.

*Roundtable on Research. Write two research questions and related hypotheses.

*Manuscript review due in class.

March 7 Campaign Finance

Corrado et al., pp. 5-24, 27-35, 53-57, 59-60, 63-77, 87-92, 167-177, 198-213, 217-222, 227-242, 267

Malbin and Gais, chs. 1-6

Herrnson, chs. 4-6

Gerber, "Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes Using Instrumental Variables," *APSR* 92 (1998): 401-411.

Haynes et al., "The Role of Candidate Spending in Presidential Nomination Campaigns," *JOP* 59 (1977): 213-225.

*Paper proposals due. Bring one for each member of the class.

March 14 Campaign Strategy and Communications

Herrnson, chs.7-8.

Flanigan and Zingale, ch. 7

Kahn and Kenney, 3-6

Holbrook, 4-5

Hogan, "Voter Contact Techniques in State Legislative Campaigns: The Prevalence of Mass Media Advertising," *LSQ* 22 (1997): 551-571.

Michael Hannahan, "Direct Voter Contact and Voter Turnout," from *Playing Hardball: Campaigning for the U.S. Congress*, distributed in class.
Beck et al., "Presidential Campaigning at the Grass Roots," JOP 59
*Roundtable on Research. Write two research questions and related hypotheses.

March 28 Negative Advertising

Abbe, Herrnson, Magleby, and Patterson, "Are Negative More Professional Campaigns More Negative Campaigns?," from *Playing Hardball: Campaigning for the U.S. Congress*, distributed in class.
Lau, Sigelman, Heldman, and Babbit, "The Effects of Negative Political Advertising a Meta-Analytic Assessment," APSR 93 (1999): 851-876.
Kahn and Kenney, "Do Negative Campaigns Mobilize or Suppress Turnout? Clarifying the Relationship between Negativity and Turnout" APSR 93 (1999): 877-890.
Wattenberg and Briens, "Negative Campaign Advertising: Demobilizer or Mobilizer?" APSR 93 (1999): 891-901.
Ansolabehere, Iyengar, and Simon, "Replicating Experiments using Aggregate and Survey Data: The Case of Negative Advertising and Turnout," APSR 39 (1999): 901-910.
Freedman and Goldstein, "Modeling Negative Campaigning," AJPS 43 (1999): 1189-1208

April 4 Election Outcomes

Herrnson, ch. 9
Kahn and Kenney, chs. 7-10
Flanigan and Zingale, ch.8.
Lodge, Steenbergen, and Brau, "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation," APSR 89 (1995): 309-326
Holbrook, chs.6-7.
Petrocik, "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 198-0 Case Study, AJPS 40 (1996): 825-850.
Thorson and Stambaugh, "Anti-Incumbency and the 1992 Elections: The Changing Face of Presidential Coattails," JOP 57 (1995): 210-220.
Campbell and Sumners, "Presidential Coattails in Senate Elections," APSR 84 (1990): 513-524.
*Manuscript review due in class.

April 11 Reform

Herrnson, *Congressional Elections*, ch. 11
Corrado et al., pp. 95-120, 337-343, 379-392
Malbin and Gais, chs. 7-8
*Book review due in class.
*Review syllabus.

April 18-25 Individualized Research Tutorials

May 5-7 National Campaign Training Seminar and Trade Show, sponsored by
Campaigns & Elections, attendance recommended.

May 9 Individualized Research Tutorials

May 11 Papers Due

*Distribute Research papers. Put two copies in instructor's box and one copy in each student's box.

May 16- Mini-Conference

*Students present and discuss research papers.

*Annotated bibliography due in class.