The Seminar

This seminar is a basic survey of the academic literature on campaigns and elections, including specific discussion of American political parties, electioneering, and voting behavior. While I am certainly interested in real world applications, the focus here is on the scholarship, not the practice. Like most of you, I have had only previous semester at NYU, so we will be learning about the program together.

Three general concerns underlie the topics and readings. What does the literature of political science tell us that can be applied to actual campaigns? What is the desirability and possibility of reform in current electoral practices? What is the relationship of empirical realities of U.S. elections to normative theories of democracy?

Because much of the seminar will involve discussion of published works in the syllabus, it is critical that you do readings before the designated class. To ease your work, the principal reading comprises six books for purchase: L.S. Maisel and Kara Z. Buckley, Parties and Elections in America, 4th ed.; W.H. Flanigan & N.H. Zingale, Political Behavior of the American Electorate, 10th ed.; T. Patterson, The Vanishing Voter; R.G. Niemi & H.E. Weisberg, Controversies in Voting Behavior, 4th ed.; M. Fiorina, Culture War?, and M. Nelson, ed., The Elections of 2004 (the last will be available by March 15).

Three optional books are available for purchase as well as on reserve in the Library: David Mayhew, Electoral Realignments, G. Pomper, ed., The Election of 2000 (I will refund my paltry 75-cent royalty on new purchases), and C. Prysby and C. Scavo, Voting Behavior: The 2000 Election. Other readings (designated by @) will be available in a coursepack and/or electronic reserve. Some book chapters will may also be on 2-hour reserve at the Library; most articles can also be easily obtained through JSTOR.

A vital part of the seminar will be reports, usually two each week, on additional readings (marked with *), beginning on February 8. Each student is expected to report on two books from the list in the syllabus. Two students may share the reports for each week. These will be oral presentations, but it would be helpful if you prepared a summary, with any relevant data, for advance distribution. Books on the list will be on Library 7-day reserve. If you run into problems, I can usually provide a copy.

A research paper of about 5,000 words is due April 19. You should prepare a thesis statement for preliminary discussion on March 1. In your paper, you should apply whatever course readings and other materials are relevant to an actual campaign - perhaps one in which you were personally engaged. The central questions in your paper should be: What might these readings have contributed to an effective campaign? What does the campaign experience demonstrate about the utility and truth of these readings?

Grades should not be your major concern, as I assume anyone admitted to the program has already proven their worth. For this seminar, they will be determined by equal 25% weights to the reports, class participation, the paper, and the final exam.

Please feel free to contact me with any questions, comments, and suggestions. I will have office hours on campus each week at 3 p.m., and can arrange other times on Tuesdays. Since I travel from New Jersey, you may also want to reach me by e-mail, gpomper@rci.rutgers.edu, or phone (732-846-2064). I welcome these contacts and look forward to getting to know each of you. Have fun!
Campaigns and Elections

Topics and Readings

1. **Overview** (Jan. 18)
   W. Flanigan and N. Zingale, *Political Behavior of the American Electorate*, ch. 1

2. **American Political Parties** (Jan. 25)
   @N.S. Gilman, "What the Rise of the Republicans as America's First Ideological Party Means for the Democrats," *The Forum*
   @G. Pomper, "The Presidential Election of 2004," *The Forum*

3. **Political Parties in Action** (Feb. 1)
   Maisel and Buckley, ch. 2, 9
   @W. Mayer, "The Basic Dynamics of the Contemporary Nominating Process"
   @CBS News Poll, "Attitudes of Party Convention Delegates"

4. **Campaigns in America** (Feb. 8)
   Maisel and Buckley, chs. 6, 7
   L. Bartels and L. Vavreck, *Campaign Reform*, ch. 1
   @Polling Problems: *Washington Post*, "Don't Ask Me"
   @The Ground War: *Time*, "Fighting for Every Last Vote"
   *R. Hart, *Campaign Talk: Why Elections are Good for Us*
   *A. King, *Running Scared: Why America's Politicians Campaign Too Much and Govern Too Little*

5. **Campaigns: Negative Campaigning** (Feb. 15)
   J. Geer, "Assessing Attack Advertising," in Bartels and Vavreck, ch. 2
   @R. Lau and G. Pomper, 'Normative Thoughts on Negative Campaigning, " in *Negative Campaigning*, ch. 7
   *K. Jamieson *Dirty Politics*
6. **The Mass Media** (Feb. 22)
   Maisel and Buckley, ch. 10
   Flanigan and Zingale, ch. 7
   T. Patterson, *The Vanishing Voter*, chs. 4,5
   @S. Farnsworth and S. Lichter, *The Nightly News Nightmare*, pp. 151-176
   @B. Bimber and R. Davis, *Campaigning Online*, pp. 143-71.
   *T. Cook, *Governing with the News*

7. **Research Paper Proposals** (March 1)

8. **Money in Politics** (March 8)
   Maisel and Buckley, chs. 4, 5
   @A. Corrado and T. Mann, "In the Wake of BCRA," *The Forum*
   *M. Malbin, ed. *Life After Reform: When the Bipartisan Campaign Reform Act Meets Politics* (Campaign Finance Institute, 2003)

9. **Turnout and Election Administration** (March 22)
   Maisel and Buckley, ch. 3, pp. 71-89
   Flanigan and Zingale, ch. 2
   Patterson, chs. 1,2,5
   R. Niemi and H. Weisberg, *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, Introduction; Part I
   @J. Citrin, et al, "What If Everyone Voted?: Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections," *American Journal of Political Science*
   *A. Downs, *An Economic Theory of Democracy*
   *R. Teixeira, *The Disappearing American Voter*

10. **Voting: Partisanship** (March 29)
    Maisel and Buckley, ch. 3, pp. 89-121
    Flanigan and Zingale, ch. 3
    Niemi and Weisberg, Part V
    @M. Hetherington, "Resurgent Mass Partisanship: The Role of Elite Polarization," *American Political Science Review*
@Economic Models: *Washington Post*, "Is It the Economy?"
*D. Green, B. Palmquist & E. Schickler, Partisan Hearts and Minds*
*M. Wattenberg, The Rise of Candidate-Centered Politics*

11. **Voting: Candidates, Social Characteristics and Ideology** (April 5)

- Flanigan and Zingale, chs. 4-6
- Niemi and Weisberg, Parts II, III
- M. Fiorina, *Culture War?*

@P. Klinkner, "Red and Blue Scare," *The Forum*


*E. Carmines and J. Stimson, Issue Evolution: Race and the Transformation of American Politics*

*S. Popkin, The Reasoning Voter*

12. **The Election of 2004: Results and Implications** (April 12)

- M. Nelson, ed., *The Elections of 2004*
- Maisel and Buckley, ch. 11
- G. Pomper, "The Presidential Election," in *The Election of 2000, ch. 6*

@G. Miller and N. Schofield, "Activists and Partisan Realignment in the United States," *American Political Science Review*

@Year of Passion: Todd Purdum, *The New York Times*

*W. Mayer, The Divided Democrats*

*J. White, The Values Divide*

13. **Elections: Results and Realignment** (April 19)

- Flanigan and Zingale, ch. 8
- Niemi and Weisberg, Part VI
- D. Mayhew, *Electoral Realignments*, especially chs. 1, 2, 4, 7


@M. Fiorina, et al., "The 2000 US Presidential Election: Can Retrospective Voting Be Saved?" *British Journal of Political Science*

*D. Lawrence, The Collapse of the Democratic Presidential Majority*

*J. Judis and R. Teixeira, The Emerging Democratic Majority*
14. Reform? (April 26)
   Maisel and Buckley, ch. 12
   Patterson, ch. 6
   "Report of the Task Force on Campaign Reform," in Bartels and Vavreck, ch. 8
   A. Hamilton, *The Federalist*, No. 68
   B. Buchanan, *Renewing Presidential Politics*
   J. Green and P. Herrnson, ed., *Responsible Partisanship?: The Evolution of American Political Parties Since 1950*

Final Exam: (May 3)