

PSC 8286
CAMPAIGNS, ELECTIONS, AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Fall 2017
Tuesday, 12:45-3:15 pm
Bell Hall 107

Professor Danny Hayes
dwh@gwu.edu
Monroe 471
202-994-4344

Office hours: Thursday, 1:30-3:30 pm and by appt.

COURSE OVERVIEW

This course surveys major theoretical approaches and empirical research in the study of campaigns, elections, and political communication. We will focus primarily on American politics, although many of the theoretical perspectives are applicable outside the United States. Among the topics we will address: voting behavior, campaign strategy and effects, the role of groups and identity in elections, media effects, why people run for office, and voter turnout.

This course has four learning objectives:

- You will become familiar with a wide range of literatures that are routinely part of Ph.D. field examinations, particularly in American politics.
- You will understand contemporary debates in the study of campaigns, elections, and political communication.
- You will be able to think both appreciatively and critically about social scientific research.
- You will develop a research question and make progress on a paper intended to result in a dissertation topic and/or publication.

COURSE REQUIREMENTS

This course is a seminar, which means it will be driven by class discussion. You are expected to come to class prepared to engage in a thoughtful, critical, and lively conversation about the questions, issues, and debates raised in the week's required reading. The more you participate, the more you will benefit from the course.

Each week, one student will be designated to lead the seminar. On your week, you will be responsible for organizing and stimulating a discussion of the week's readings. This should not take the form of a lecture or lengthy summary of the material. Instead, you should highlight the most important questions arising from the collection of readings and use those to generate discussion among the rest of us. To facilitate this, you should circulate (by e-mail) a list of 8-10 questions for discussion by **5 pm the Monday before the class**.

Every other week, you will submit a short paper (no more than 2-3 pages, double-spaced) responding to the week's readings. (I will divide up the weeks alphabetically, so that half of the class will be writing a paper each week. All told, you will write six papers.) These should be e-mailed to me by **12 pm the Monday before the class**, and I will return them to you the next day. The papers should critically discuss a portion of the week's readings. You do not need to shoehorn in every article or chapter, but you should address several works. There is no single template for a good paper, but you should minimize the summary of the readings; I am

more interested in your discussion of their strengths and weaknesses. Here is an incomplete list of questions that might animate your weekly papers:

- Are there competing explanations of, or approaches to understanding, a single substantive phenomenon?
- Is there a fundamental argument between or among authors?
- Do different authors employ different methods? Do those differences lead them to draw different conclusions? Would another methodological approach be better?
- Are there major shortcomings in a set of readings on a topic? How could they be addressed?
- What questions for future research emerge from the readings, and how might those questions be answered?
- Does the empirical evidence support an author's (or authors') claims?

At the end of the semester, you will be required to submit a research paper of 15-20 (double-spaced) pages. The paper may take one of two forms. First, you may write a paper based on original empirical research, similar to much of the work we'll be reading this semester. Second, you may write a paper that addresses a debate in the literature and proposes a research project, including a research design. At some point during the semester (with the date to be determined), I will ask you to submit a paragraph describing your proposed final project. The due date for the paper will be announced later in the semester. Finally, you will be expected to present a preliminary version of your paper at a mini-conference during our last class session, on December 5. It will be fun.

Your course grade will be determined by an overall evaluation of your participation in class, your weekly papers, and your final research paper.

READINGS

There are five required books. The list is below. The bulk of the course reading, however, consists of journal articles, chapters from edited volumes, or excerpts from books. Most of the readings are available through JSTOR and/or the GW library's electronic journal collection.

Some readings, however, are not available online. Those are marked with (*) below, and I have placed them on our course Blackboard page.

Books

Achen, Christopher H. and Larry M. Bartels. 2016. *Democracy for Realists: Why Elections Do Not Produce Representative Government*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Bartels, Larry M. 1988. *Presidential Primaries and the Dynamics of Public Choice*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Berelson, Bernard F., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Campbell, Angus, Philip E. Converse, Warren E. Miller, and Donald E. Stokes. 1960. *The American Voter*. New York: John Wiley and Sons.

Sides, John, and Lynn Vavreck. *The Gamble: Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

August 29: Introduction

*Bartels, Larry M. "The Study of Electoral Behavior." In Jan E. Leighley (ed.), *Oxford Handbook of American Elections and Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. pp. 239-261.

September 5: Early Studies of Voting

Berelson, Lazarsfeld, and McPhee, Intro, Chs. 2, 6-7, 10-14

Campbell, Converse, Miller, and Stokes, Chs. 1-4, 6-8, 19-20

Bartels, Larry M. 2000. "Partisanship and Voting Behavior, 1952-1996." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(1): 35-50.

September 12: Economic and Retrospective Voting

Sides and Vavreck, Chs.1-2

Kramer, Gerald H. 1971. "Short-Term Fluctuations in U.S. Voting Behavior, 1896-1964." *American Political Science Review* 65(1): 131-143.

Hibbs, Douglas A. Jr. 2000. "Bread and Peace Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections." *Public Choice* 104(1/2): 149-180

Powell, G. Bingham and Guy D. Whitten. 1993. "A Cross-National Analysis of Economic Voting: Taking Account of the Political Context." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(2): 391-414.

*Fiorina, Morris. 1981. *Retrospective Voting in American National Elections*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chs. 1, 5, 9, 10

Healy, Andrew and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2014. "Substituting the End for the Whole: Why Voters Respond Primarily to the Election-Year Economy." *American Journal of Political Science* 58(1): 31-47.

September 19: Issue Voting, the Spatial Model, and the Folk Theory of Democracy

*Downs, Anthony. 1957. *An Economic Theory of Democracy*. New York: Harper Collins. Ch. 1, 3, 7-8

Enelow, James M. and Melvin J. Hinich. 1982. "Ideology, Issues, and the Spatial Theory of Elections." *American Political Science Review* 76(3): 493-501.

Jessee, Stephen A. 2009. "Spatial Voting in the 2004 Presidential Election." *American Political Science Review* 103(1): 59-81.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder. "The Strength of Issues: Using Multiple Measures to Gauge Preference Stability, Ideological Constraint, and Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 102(2): 215-232.

Achen and Bartels, Chs. 1-2, 4-5, 7

September 26: Campaign Agendas and Strategy

*Riker, William. 1990. "Heresthetic and Rhetoric in the Spatial Model." In James M. Enelow and Melvin J. Hinich (eds.), *Advances in the Spatial Theory of Voting*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Petrocik, John R. 1996. "Issue Ownership in Presidential Elections, with a 1980 Case Study." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(3):825-50.

Sigelman, Lee and Emmett H. Buell Jr. 2004. "Avoidance or Engagement? Issue Convergence in U.S. Presidential Campaigns, 1960-2000." *American Journal of Political Science* 48(4): 650-661.

Sides, John. 2006. "The Origins of Campaign Agendas." *British Journal of Political Science* 36(3):407-36.

Lenz, Gabriel. 2009. "Learning and Opinion Change, Not Priming: Reconsidering the Evidence for the Priming Hypothesis." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (4): 821-37.

Sides and Vavreck, Ch. 5

October 3: Candidate Traits and Image

Kinder, Donald R., Mark D. Peters, Robert P. Abelson, and Susan T. Fiske. 1980. "Presidential Prototypes." *Political Behavior* 2(4): 315-337.

Hayes, Danny. 2005. "Candidate Qualities through a Partisan Lens: A Theory of Trait Ownership." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(4):908-23.

*Bartels, Larry M. 2000. "The Impact of Candidate Traits in American Presidential Elections." In Anthony King (ed.), *Leaders' Personalities and the Outcomes of Democratic Elections*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Todorov, Alexander, Anesu N. Mandisodza, Amir Goren, and Crystal C. Hall. 2005. "Inferences of Competence from Faces Predict Election Outcomes." *Science* 308(5728):1623-1626.

Hayes, Danny. 2009. "Has Television Personalized Voting Behavior?" *Political Behavior* 31(2): 231-260.

Lenz, Gabriel S. and Chappell Lawson. 2011. "Looking the Part: Television Leads Less Informed Citizens to Vote Based on Candidates' Appearance." *American Journal of Political Science* 55(3):574-89.

Atkinson, Matthew D., Ryan D. Enos, and Seth J. Hill. 2009. "Candidate Faces and Election Outcomes: Is the Face-Vote Correlation Caused by Candidate Selection?" *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 4:229-49.

October 10: Fall Break. Go Nuts.

October 17: Groups and Identity in Elections

- Hutchings, Vincent L. and Ashley E. Jardina. 2009. "Experiments on Racial Priming in Political Campaigns." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 397-402.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings, and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 75-90.
- Paolino, Phillip. 1995. "Group-Salient Issues and Group Representation: Support for Women Candidates in the 1992 Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 39(2):294-313.
- Dolan, Kathy. 2008. "Is There a 'Gender Affinity Effect' in American Politics?" *Political Research Quarterly* 61(1): 79-89.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Guarav Sood, and Yphtach Lelkes. 2012. "Affect, Not Ideology: A Social Identity Perspective on Polarization." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 76(3):405-31.
- Achen and Bartels, Chs. 8-11

October 24: Campaign Effects

- Gelman, Andrew and Gary King. 1993. "Why Are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls So Variable When Votes Are So Predictable?" *British Journal of Political Science* 23: 409-451.
- Shaw, Daron R. 1999. "The Effect of TV Ads and Candidate Appearances on Statewide Presidential Votes, 1988-96." *American Political Science Review* 93(2): 345-361.
- Huber, Gregory A., and Kevin Arceneaux. 2007. "Identifying the Persuasive Effects of Presidential Advertising." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 957-977.
- *Hillygus, D. Sunshine, and Todd G. Shields. 2008. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. pp. 82-106 (Chapter 4, "Capturing Campaign Persuasion").
- *Vavreck, Lynn. 2009. *The Message Matters: The Economy and Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chs. 1, 6.
- Gerber, Alan S., James G. Gimpel, Donald P. Green, and Daron R. Shaw. 2011. "How Large and Long-lasting Are the Persuasive Effects of Televised Campaign Ads? Results from a Randomized Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 105(1): 135-150.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2014. "Remembering to Forget: A Note on the Duration of Campaign Advertising Effects." *Political Communication* 31(4): 532-544.
- Sides and Vavreck, Chs. 6-7

October 31: News Media

- Iyengar, Shanto, Helmut Norpoth, and Kyu S. Hahn. 2004. "Consumer Demand for Election News: The Horse Race Sells." *Journal of Politics* 66(1): 157-175.

- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87(2): 267-285.
- Hetherington, Marc J. 1996. "The Media's Role in Forming Voters' National Economic Evaluations in 1992." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(2): 372-395.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Patrick J. Kenney. 2002. "The Slant of the News: How Editorial Endorsements Influence Campaign Coverage and Citizens' Views of Candidates." *American Political Science Review* 96(2): 381-394.
- Bennett, W. Lance and Shanto Iyengar. 2008. "A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication." *Journal of Communication* 58(4): 707-731.
- Prior, Markus. 2005. "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 577-592.
- Hopkins, Daniel J. and Jonathan M. Ladd. 2014. "The Consequences of Broader Media Choice: Evidence from the Expansion of Fox News." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 9(1): 115-135.
- Druckman, James N., Matthew S. Levendusky, and Audrey McLain. 2017. "No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Interpersonal Discussions." *American Journal of Political Science* DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12325.

November 7: Presidential Primaries

- Bartels, Chs. 1-7, 11-12
- Sides and Vavreck, Chs. 3-4
- Cohen, Marty, David Karol, Hans Noel, and John Zaller. 2016. "Party Versus Faction in the Reformed Presidential Nominating System." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 49(4): 701-708.

November 14: Deciding to Run

- Black, Gordon S. 1972. "A Theory of Political Ambition: Career Choices and the Role of Structural Incentives." *American Political Science Review* 66(1): 144-159.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1989. "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections, 1946-86." *American Political Science Review* 83(3): 773-793.
- Canon, David T. 1993. "Sacrificial Lambs or Strategic Politicians? Political Amateurs in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(4): 1119-1141.
- Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2005. "To Run or Not to Run for Office: Explaining Nascent Political Ambition." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 642-659.
- Thomsen, Danielle M. 2014. "Ideological Moderates Won't Run: How Party Fit Matters for Partisan Polarization in Congress." *Journal of Politics* 76(3): 786-797.

Fox, Richard L. and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 310-326.

Karpowitz, Christopher F., J. Quin Monson, and Jessica Robinson Preece. 2017. "How to Elect More Women: Gender and Candidate Success in a Field Experiment." *American Journal of Political Science* DOI: 10.1111/ajps.12300.

November 21: Theoretical Perspectives on Turnout

John Aldrich. 1993. "Rational Choice and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(1): 246-278.

Brady, Henry E., Sidney Verba, and Kay Lehman Schlozman. 1995. "Beyond SES: A Resource Model of Political Participation." *American Political Science Review* 89(2): 271-294.

*Leighley, Jan E. and Jonathan Nagler. 2014. *Who Votes Now: Demographics, Issues, Inequality, and Turnout in the United States*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Chs. 1-3.

*Sinclair, Betsy. 2013. *The Social Citizen: Peer Networks and Political Behavior*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Preface, Chs. 1-2.

November 28: Mobilization

*Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan. Selected chapters.

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

Gerber, Alan S., Donald P. Green, and Christopher W. Larimer. 2008. "Social Pressure and Voter Turnout: Evidence from a Large-Scale Field Experiment." *American Political Science Review* 102(1): 33-48.

Arceneaux, Kevin, and David W. Nickerson. 2009. "Who Is Mobilized to Vote? A Re-Analysis of 11 Field Experiments." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(1): 1-16.

Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2016. "Aggregate Effects of Large-Scale Campaigns on Voter Turnout." *Political Science Research and Methods*. <https://doi.org/10.1017/psrm.2016.21>

Fraga, Bernard L. 2016. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1): 97-122.

December 5: PSC 8286 Mini-Conference