

**PSC 8286**  
**CAMPAIGNS, ELECTIONS, AND POLITICAL COMMUNICATION**

Fall 2021  
Tuesday, 12:45-3:15 pm  
1776 G St. NW, C-106

Professor Danny Hayes  
dwh@gwu.edu | Monroe 466  
Office hours: Wednesday, 1:30-3:30 pm and by appointment

**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 analyze contemporary debates in the study of campaigns, elections, and political communication.
- You will 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.

**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, you will submit 4-5 discussion questions related to the week's readings. These will be due **by 5 pm the Monday before the class**. I will then compile and organize the questions from the class around relevant themes, and circulate the list to everyone. These will help facilitate our discussion in seminar.

Every other week, you will submit a short paper (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 **5 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?
- Does the empirical evidence support the author's (or authors') claims?
- What questions for future research emerge from the readings, and how might those questions be answered?

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 November 30. 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. A few are linked in the syllabus.

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, NJ Princeton University Press.

Arceneaux, Kevin and Martin Johnson. 2013. *Changing Minds or Changing Channels? Partisan News in an Age of Choice*. Chicago: University of Chicago 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, Michael Tesler, and Lynn Vavreck. 2018. *Identity Crisis: The 2016 Presidential Campaign and the Battle for the Meaning of America*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

### August 31: Introduction

\*Bartels, Larry M. 2010. "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 7: Early and Classic 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.

#### *More Reading*

Lazarsfeld, Paul. F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1948. *The People's Choice*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Campbell, Angus, Gerald Gurin, and Warren E. Miller. 1954. *The Voter Decides*. Oxford: Row, Peterson, and Company.

Converse, Philip E. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David E. Apter (ed.) *Ideology and Discontent*. New York: Free Press. pp. 206-261.

Popkin, Samuel L. 1994. *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*, 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Miller, Warren E. and J. Merrill Shanks. 1996. *The New American Voter*. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

Lewis-Beck, Michael S., William G. Jacoby, Helmut Norpoth, and Herbert F. Weisberg. 2008. *The American Voter Revisited*. Ann Arbor: University of Michigan Press.

### September 14: Economic and Retrospective Voting

Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck, Chs.1-2

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

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

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.

Healy, Andrew, and Neil Malhotra. 2013. "Retrospective Voting Reconsidered." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 285-306.

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.

*More Reading*

Markus, Gregory B. 1988. "The Impact of Personal and National Economic Conditions on the Presidential Vote: A Pooled Cross-Sectional Analysis." *American Journal of Political Science* 32(1): 137-154.

Erikson, Robert S. 1989. "Economic Conditions and the Presidential Vote." *American Political Science Review* 83(2): 567-573.

MacKuen, Michael B., Robert S. Erikson, and James A. Stimson. 1992. "Peasants or Bankers? The American Electorate and the US Economy." *American Political Science Review* 86(3): 597-611.

Nadeau, Richard, and Michael S. Lewis-Beck. 2001. "National Economic Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections." *Journal of Politics* 63(1):159-181.

Duch, Raymond M. 2007. "Comparative Studies of the Economy and the Vote." In Carles Boix and Susan C. Stokes (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Comparative Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Pp. 805-844.

Lewis-Beck, Michael S., and Mary Stegmaier. 2007. "Economic Models of Voting." In Russell J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann (eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Behavior*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Huber, Gregory A., Seth J. Hill, and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2012. "Sources of Bias in Retrospective Decision Making: Experimental Evidence on Voters' Limitations in Controlling Incumbents." *American Political Science Review* 106(4): 720-741.

Healy, Andrew J., Mikael Persson, and Erik Snowberg. 2017. "Digging into the Pocketbook: Evidence on Economic Voting from Income Registry Data Matched to a Voter Survey." *American Political Science Review* 111(4): 771-785.

**September 21: 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

Rabinowitz, George and Stuart Elaine Macdonald. 1989. "A Directional Theory of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 83(1): 93-121.

Tausanovitch, Chris and Christopher Warshaw. 2018. "Does the Ideological Proximity between Candidates and Voters Affect Voting in U.S. House Elections?" *Political Behavior* 40(1): 223-245.

Ansolabehere, Stephen, Jonathan Rodden, and James M. Snyder. 2008. "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

*More Reading*

Nie, Norman, Sidney Verba, and John R. Petrocik. 1976. *The Changing American Voter*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Markus, Gregory B. and Philip E. Converse. 1979. "A Dynamic Simultaneous Equation Model of Electoral Choice." *American Political Science Review* 73(4): 1055-1070.

- Page, Benjamin I. and Calvin C. Jones. 1979. "Reciprocal Effects of Policy Preferences, Party Loyalties, and the Vote." *American Political Science Review* 73(4): 1071-1089.
- Carmines, Edward G. and James A. Stimson. 1980. "The Two Faces of Issue Voting." *American Political Science Review* 74(1): 78-91.
- Enelow, James M., and Melvin J. Hinich. 1984. *The Spatial Theory of Voting: An Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1986. "Issue Voting Under Uncertainty: An Empirical Test." *American Journal of Political Science* 30(4): 709-728.
- Aldrich, John H., John L. Sullivan, and Eugene Borgida. 1989. "Foreign Affairs and Issue Voting: Do Presidential Candidates 'Waltz Before a Blind Audience'?" *American Political Science Review* 83(1): 123-141.
- Jessee, Stephen A. 2009. "Spatial Voting in the 2004 Presidential Election." *American Political Science Review* 103(1): 59-81.
- Joesten, Danielle A. and Walter J. Stone. 2014. "Reassessing Proximity Voting: Expertise, Party, and Choice in Congressional Elections." *Journal of Politics* 76(3): 740-753.

### September 28: 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.
- Sides, John. 2006. "The Origins of Campaign Agendas." *British Journal of Political Science* 36(3):407-36.
- 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.
- Tomz, Michael, and Robert P. Van Houweling. 2009. "The Electoral Implications of Candidate Ambiguity." *American Political Science Review* 103(1): 83-98.
- Nteta, Tatishe, and Brian Schaffner. 2013. "Substance and Symbolism: Race, Ethnicity, and Campaign Appeals in the United States." *Political Communication* 30(2): 232-253.
- McDonald, Maura, Rachel Porter, and Sarah A. Treul. 2020. "Running as a Woman? Candidate Presentation in the 2018 Midterms." *Political Research Quarterly* 73(4): 967-987.

#### More Reading

- Shepsle, Kenneth A. 1972. "The Strategy of Ambiguity: Uncertainty and Electoral Competition." *American Political Science Review* 66(2): 555-568.
- Budge, Ian and Dennis J. Farlie. 1983. *Explaining and Predicting Elections: Issue-Effects and Party Strategies in 23 Democracies*. London: Allen & Unwin.
- Norpoth, Helmut and Bruce Buchanan. 1992. "Wanted: The Education President: Issue Trespassing by Political Candidates." *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 56(1): 87-99.

- Simon, Adam F. 2002. *The Winning Message: Candidate Behavior, Campaign Discourse, and Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Holian, David B. 2004. "He's Stealing My Issues! Clinton's Crime Rhetoric and the Dynamics of Issue Ownership." *Political Behavior* 26(2): 95-124.
- Damore, David F. 2005. "Issue Convergence in Presidential Campaigns." *Political Behavior* 27(1): 71-97.
- Kaplan, Noah, David K. Park, and Travis N. Ridout. 2006. "Dialogue in American Political Campaigns? An Examination of Issue Convergence in Candidate Television Advertising." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(3): 724-736.
- Hersh, Eitan, and Brian F. Schaffner. 2013. "Targeted Campaign Appeals and the Value of Ambiguity." *Journal of Politics* 75(2): 520-534.
- Abrajano, Marissa. 2010. *Campaigning to the New American Electorate: Advertising to Latino Voters*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Herrnson, Paul S., J. Celeste Lay, and Atiya Kai Stokes. 2003. "Women Running as 'Women': Candidate Gender, Campaign Issues, and Voter-Targeting Strategies." *Journal of Politics* 65(1): 244-255.
- Dolan, Kathleen. 2005. "Do Women Candidates Play to Gender Stereotypes? Do Men Candidates Play to Women? Candidate Sex and Issues Priorities on Campaign Websites." *Political Research Quarterly* 58(1): 31-44.

## October 5: Groups and Identity in Elections

- 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.
- Banks, Antoine J., and Heather M. Hicks. 2018. "The Effectiveness of a Racialized Counterstrategy." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(2): 305-322.
- Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck, Ch. 5-6
- Jardina, Ashley. 2020. "In-Group Love and Out-Group Hate: White Racial Attitudes in Contemporary U.S. Elections." *Political Behavior*. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1007/s11109-020-09600-x>.
- White, Ismail K., Chryl N. Laird, and Troy D. Allen. 2014. "Selling Out? The Politics of Navigating Conflicts between Racial Group Interest and Self-Interest." *American Political Science Review* 108(4): 783-800.
- 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.
- 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

### *More reading*

- Green, Donald, Bradley Palmquist, and Eric Schickler. 2002. *Partisan Hearts and Minds: Political Parties and the Social Identities of Voters*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Chs. 1-2.

- Hutchings, Vincent L. and Ashley E. Jardina. 2009. "Experiments on Racial Priming in Political Campaigns." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12: 397-402.
- Boudreau, Cheryl, Christopher S. Elmendorf, and Scott A. McKenzie. 2019. "Racial or Spatial Voting? The Effects of Candidate Ethnicity and Ethnic Group Endorsements in Local Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(1): 5-20.
- Jardina, Ashley. 2019. *White Identity Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mendelberg, Tali M. 2001. *The Race Card: Campaign Strategy, Implicit Messages, and the Norm of Equality*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Dolan, Kathy. 2008. "Is There a 'Gender Affinity Effect' in American Politics?" *Political Research Quarterly* 61(1): 79-89.
- Mason, Lilliana. 2018. *Uncivil Agreement: How Politics Became Our Identity*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Philpot, Tasha S., and Hanes Walton Jr. 2007. "One of our Own: Black Female Candidates and the Voters Who Support Them." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(1): 49-62.
- Hopkins, Daniel J. 2009. "No More Wilder Effect, Never a Whitman Effect: Why and When Polls Mislead about Black and Female Candidates." *Journal of Politics* 71(3):769-781.
- Tesler, Michael, and David O. Sears. 2010. *Obama's Race: The 2008 Election and the Dream of a Post-Racial America*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Carnes, Nicholas, and Noam Lupu. 2016. "Do Voters Dislike Working-Class Candidates? Voter Biases and the Descriptive Underrepresentation of the Working Class." *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 832-844.
- McConaughy, Corrine M., Ismail K. White, David L. Leal, and Jason P. Casellas. 2010. "A Latino on the Ballot: Explaining Coethnic Voting among Latinos and the Response of White Americans." *Journal of Politics* 72(4): 1199-1211.

## October 12: 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. 2002. "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. Available at: <https://scholar.harvard.edu/files/renos/files/atkinsonenoshill2009.pdf>.

#### *More Reading*

- Popkin, Samuel L. 1994. *The Reasoning Voter: Communication and Persuasion in Presidential Campaigns*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kinder, Donald. 1986. "Presidential Character Revisited." In *Political Cognition: The 19th Annual Carnegie Symposium on Cognition*, ed. Richard R. Lau and David O. Sears. Hillsdale, New Jersey: Earlbaum, pp. 233-55.
- Funk, Carolyn L. 1999. "Bringing the Candidate in to Models of Candidate Evaluation." *Journal of Politics* 61(3): 700-720.
- Fridkin, Kim L., and Patrick J. Kenney. 2011. "The Role of Candidate Traits in Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 73(1): 61-73.
- Hardy, Bruce. 2017. "Candidate Traits and Political Choice." In Kate Kenski and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Hayes, Danny. 2010. "Trait Voting in U.S. Senate Elections." *American Politics Research* 38(6): 1102-1129.
- Jacobs, Lawrence R., and Robert Y. Shapiro. 1994. "Issues, Candidate Image, and Priming." *American Political Science Review* 88(3): 527-540.
- McDonald, Jared, David Karol, and Lilliana Mason. 2020. "'An Inherited Money Dude from Queens County': How Unseen Candidate Characteristics Affect Voter Perceptions." *Political Behavior* 42: 915-938.
- Berinsky, Adam J., Sara Chatfield, and Gabriel Lenz. 2019. "Facial Dominance and Electoral Success in Times of War and Peace." *Journal of Politics* 81(3): 1096-1100.

### **October 19: Campaign Effects**

- Jacobson, Gary C. 2015. "How Do Campaigns Matter?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 18: 31-47.
- 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.
- Huber, Gregory A., and Kevin Arceneaux. 2007. "Identifying the Persuasive Effects of Presidential Advertising." *American Journal of Political Science* 51(4): 957-977.
- Brader, Ted. 2005. "Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(2): 388-405.
- 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.
- Kalla, Joshua L., and David E. Broockman. 2018. "The Minimal Persuasive Effects of Campaign Contact in General Elections: Evident from 49 Field Experiments." *American Political Science Review* 112(1): 148-166.



Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck, Chs. 7-8

*More Reading*

- 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.
- Hillygus, D. Sunshine, and Todd G. Shields. 2008. *The Persuadable Voter: Wedge Issues in Presidential Campaigns*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Hill, Seth J., James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, and John Zaller. 2013. "How Quickly We Forget: The Duration of Persuasion Effects from Mass Communication." *Political Communication* 30(4): 521-547.
- Sides, John, and Lynn Vavreck. 2013. *The Gamble: Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Holbrook, Thomas. 1996. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Selb, Peter, and Simon Munzert. 2019. "Examining a Most Likely Case for Strong Campaign Effects: Hitler's Speeches and the Rise of the Nazi Party, 1927-1933." *American Political Science Review* 112(4): 1050-1066.
- Hillygus, D. Sunshine, and Simon Jackman. 2003. "Voter Decision Making in Election 2000: Campaign Effects, Partisan Activation, and the Clinton Legacy." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(4): 583-596.
- Bartels, Larry M. 2014. "Remembering to Forget: A Note on the Duration of Campaign Advertising Effects." *Political Communication* 31(4): 532-544.
- Sides, John, Lynn Vavreck, and Christopher Warshaw. 2021. "The Effect of Television Advertising in United States Elections." Working paper, available at: <http://chriswarshaw.com/papers/advertising.pdf>.

**October 26: Voters and the Modern Media Environment**

Arceneaux and Johnson, entire

Guess, Andrew M. 2021. "(Almost) Everything in Moderation: New Evidence on Americans' Online Media Diets." *American Journal of Political Science*. Available at: <https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12589>.

Peterson, Erik, Sharad Goel, and Shanto Iyengar. 2021. "Partisan Selective Exposure in Online News Consumption: Evidence from the 2016 Presidential Campaign." *Political Science Research and Methods* 9(2): 242-258

Sides, Tesler, and Vavreck, Ch. 4

Allcott, Hunt, and Matthew Gentzkow. 2017. "Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election." *Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31(2): 211-326.

*More Reading*

- 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.
- 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.
- Prior, Markus. 2013. "Media and Political Polarization." *Annual Review of Political Science* 16: 101-127.

- Stroud, Natalie J. 2011. *Niche News: The Politics of News Choice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Gans, Herbert. 1979. *Deciding What's News: A Study of CBS Evening News, NBC Nightly News, Newsweek, and Time*. New York: Random House.
- Druckman, James N., Matthew S. Levendusky, and Audrey McLain. 2018. "No Need to Watch: How the Effects of Partisan Media Can Spread via Interpersonal Discussions." *American Journal of Political Science* 62(1): 99-112.
- Hindman, Matthew. 2018. *The Internet Trap: How The Digital Economy Builds Monopolies and Undermines Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Faris, Rob, Hal Roberts, Bruce Etling, Nikki Bourassa, Ethan Zuckerman, and Yochai Benkler. 2017. "Partisanship, Propaganda, and Disinformation: Online Media and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election." Available at: <https://cyber.harvard.edu/publications/2017/08/mediacloud>.
- Prior, Markus. 2007. *Post-Broadcast Democracy: How Media Choice Increases Inequality in Political Involvement and Polarizes Elections*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2016. *Women on the Run: Gender, Media, and Political Campaigns in a Polarized Era*. New York: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 4.

## November 2: Media Effects in Elections

- \*Iyengar, Shanto. 2017. "A Typology of Media Effects." In Kate Kenski and Kathleen Hall Jamieson (eds.), *Oxford Handbook of Political Communication*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87(2): 267-285.
- 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.
- 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. Available at: [https://www.jonathanmladd.com/uploads/5/3/6/6/5366295/published\\_version.pdf](https://www.jonathanmladd.com/uploads/5/3/6/6/5366295/published_version.pdf)
- Lelkes, Yphtach, Gaurav Sood, and Shanto Iyengar. 2017. "The Hostile Audience: The Effect of Access to Broadband Internet on Partisan Affect." *American Journal of Political Science* 61(1): 5-20.
- Guess, Andrew M., Brendan Nyhan, and Jason Reifler. 2020. "Exposure to Untrustworthy Websites in the 2016 US Election." *Nature Human Behavior* 4, 472-480.
- Darr, Joshua P., Matthew P. Hitt, and Johanna L. Dunaway. 2018. "Newspaper Closures Polarize Voting Behavior." *Journal of Communication* 68(6):1007-28.

### More Reading

- Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald Kinder. 1987. *News That Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Gerber, Alan S., Dean Karlan, and Daniel Bergan. 2009. "Does the Media Matter? A Field Experiment Measuring the Effect of Newspapers on Voting Behavior and Political Opinions." *American Economic Journal: Applied Economics* 1(2): 35-52.
- 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.
- 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.
- Prior, Markus. 2006. "The Incumbent in the Living Room: The Rise of Television and the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 68(3): 657-673.
- Druckman, James N. 2004. "Priming the Vote: Campaign Effects in a U.S. Senate Election." *Political Psychology* 25(4): 577-594.
- Panagopoulos, Costas, and Donald P. Green. 2008. "Field Experiments Testing the Impact of Radio Advertisements on Electoral Competition." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(1): 156-168.
- Ladd, Jonathan McDonald, and Gabriel S. Lenz. 2009. "Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(2): 394-410.

### **November 9: Political Ambition and Candidate Emergence**

- 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. 2010. "If Only They'd Ask: Gender, Recruitment, and Political Ambition." *Journal of Politics* 72(2): 310-326.
- Thomsen, Danielle, and Aaron A. King. 2020. "Women's Representation and the Gendered Pipeline to Power." *American Political Science Review* 114(4), 989-1000.
- Broockman, David E., Nicholas Carnes, Melody Crowder-Meyer, and Christopher Skovron. 2021. "Why Local Party Leaders Don't Support Nominating Centrists." *British Journal of Political Science*, 51(2), 724-749.
- Arceneaux, Kevin, Johanna Dunaway, Martin Johnson, and Ryan Vander Wielen. 2020. "Strategic Candidate Entry and Congressional Elections in the Era of Fox News." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(2): 398-415.

#### *More Reading*

- Lawless, Jennifer L. and Richard. 2010. *It Still Takes a Candidate: Why Women Don't Run for Office*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

- Schlesinger, Joseph A. 1966. *Ambition and Politics: Political Careers in the United States*. Chicago: Rand McNally and Co.
- Maestas, Cherie D., Sarah Fulton, L. Sandy Maisel, Walter J. Stone. 2006. "When to Risk It? Institutions, Ambitions, and the Decision to Run for the U.S. House." *American Political Science Review* 100(2): 195-208.
- 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* 61(4): 927-943.
- Carnes, Nicholas. 2018. *The Cash Ceiling: Why Only the Rich Run for Office – and What We Can Do about It*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Carson, Jamie L., and Jason M. Roberts. 2005. "Strategic Politicians and U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 67(2): 474-496.
- Sanbonmatsu, Kira. 2002. "Political Parties and the Recruitment of Women to State Legislatures." *Journal of Politics* 64(3): 791-809.
- 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.

#### **November 16: 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.
- 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.
- \*Sinclair, Betsy. 2013. *The Social Citizen: Peer Networks and Political Behavior*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. Preface, Chs. 1-2.

#### *More Reading*

- Schlozman, Kay Lehman, Sidney Verba, and Henry E. Brady. 2012. *The Unheavenly Chorus: Unequal Political Voice and the Broken Promise of American Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E. Wolfinger, and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Powell, G. Bingham. 1986. "American Voting Turnout in Comparative Perspective." *American Political Science Review* 80: 17-43.
- McDonald, Michael P., and Samuel L. Popkin. 2001. "The Myth of the Vanishing Voter." *American Political Science Review* 95(4): 963-974.
- Blais, Andre. 2006. "What Affects Voter Turnout?" *Annual Review of Political Science* 9: 111-125.
- Gentzkow, Matthew. 2006. "Television and Voter Turnout." *Quarterly Journal of Economics* 121(3): 931-972.
- Berinsky, Adam J. 2005. "The Perverse Consequences of Electoral Reform in the United States." *American Politics Research* 33(4): 471-491.

## November 23: Mobilization

- \*Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 1993. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. New York: Macmillan. Chs. 1-2, 6.
- 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.
- Fraga, Bernard L. 2016. "Candidates or Districts? Reevaluating the Role of Race in Voter Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 60(1): 97-122.
- Philpot, Tasha S., Daron R. Shaw, and Ernest B. McGowen. 2009. "Winning the Race: Black Voter Turnout in the 2008 Presidential Election." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 73(5): 995-1022.
- Valentino, Nicholas A. and Fabian G. Neuner. 2017. "Why the Sky Didn't Fall: Mobilizing Anger in Reaction to Voter ID Laws." *Political Psychology* 38(2): 331-350.

### *More Reading*

- Highton, Benjamin. 2017. "Voter Identification Laws and Turnout in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science* 20: 149-167.
- Valenzuela, Ali A., and Melissa R. Michelson. 2016. "Turnout, Status, and Identity: Mobilizing Latinos to Vote with Group Appeals." *American Political Science Review* 110(4): 615-630.
- Enos, Ryan D. and Anthony Fowler. 2018. "Aggregate Effects of Large-Scale Campaigns on Voter Turnout." *Political Science Research and Methods* 6(4): 733-751.
- Hayes, Danny and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2015. "As Local News Goes, So Goes Citizen Engagement: Media, Knowledge, and Participation in U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 77(2): 447-462.
- Hayes, Danny, and Jennifer L. Lawless. 2021. *News Hole: The Demise of Local Journalism and Political Engagement*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Dale, Allison, and Aaron Strauss. 2009. "Don't Forget to Vote: Text Message Reminders as a Mobilization Tool." *American Journal of Political Science* 53(4): 787-804.
- Citrin, Jack, Eric Schickler, and John Sides. 2003. "What if Everyone Voted? Simulating the Impact of Increased Turnout in Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 47(1): 75-90.
- Bond, Robert M., Christopher J. Fariss, Jason J. Jones, Adam D. I. Kramer, Cameron Marlow, Jamie E. Settle, and James H. Fowler. 2012. "A 61-Million-Person Experiment in Social Influence and Political Mobilization." *Nature* 489: 295-298.
- 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.

## November 30: PSC 8286 Mini-Conference

## Other Course and University Information

### Credit Hour Policy

Over 15 weeks, students will spend 2 hours (100 minutes) per week in class. Required reading for the seminar meetings and written response papers or projects, final exam, or final projects are expected to take up, on average, ~6 hours (350 minutes) per week. Over the course of the semester, students will spend 25 hours in instructional time and 87.5 hours preparing for class.

### University Policy on Religious Holidays

In accordance with University policy, students should notify faculty during the first week of the semester of their intention to be absent from class on their day(s) of religious observance. For details and policy, see: [students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays](https://students.gwu.edu/accommodations-religious-holidays).

### Support for Students outside the Classroom

#### *Disability Support Services (DSS)*

Any student who may need an accommodation based on the potential impact of a disability should contact the Disability Support Services office at 202-994-8250 in the Rome Hall, Suite 102, to establish eligibility and to coordinate reasonable accommodations. For additional information see: [disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/](https://disabilitysupport.gwu.edu/)

#### *Mental Health Services*

The University's Mental Health Services offers 24/7 assistance and referral to address students' personal, social, career, and study skills problems. Services for students include: crisis and emergency mental health consultations confidential assessment, counseling services (individual and small group), and referrals. For additional information see: [counselingcenter.gwu.edu/](https://counselingcenter.gwu.edu/)

### Academic Integrity Code

Thinking of cheating? Don't do it. Academic integrity is an essential part of the educational process, and all members of the GW community take these matters very seriously. As the instructor of record for this course, my role is to provide clear expectations and uphold them in all assessments. Violations of academic integrity occur when students fail to cite research sources properly, engage in unauthorized collaboration, falsify data, and otherwise violate the [Code of Academic Integrity](#). If you have any questions about whether particular academic practices or resources are permitted, you should ask me for clarification. If you are reported for an academic integrity violation, you should contact the Office of Student Rights and Responsibilities (SRR) to learn more about your rights and options in the process. Consequences can range from failure of assignment to expulsion from the university and may include a transcript notation. For more information, please refer to the SRR website (<https://studentconduct.gwu.edu/academic-integrity>), email [rights@gwu.edu](mailto:rights@gwu.edu), or call 202-994-6757.

### Safety and security

In the case of an emergency, if at all possible, the class should shelter in place. If the building that the class is in is affected, follow the evacuation procedures for the building. After evacuation, seek shelter at a predetermined rendezvous location.