

Political Science 420
Voting, Campaigns and Elections
California State University, Long Beach

Fall, 2002
Tuesday and Thursday, 11:00 - 12:15 pm
SPA 110
Course #17059

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Thursday 1:00 pm - 2:00 pm;
and by appointment.

Course Description

The purpose of this course is to explore the factors that explain citizens' vote choices and the strategies used by candidates and their campaigns to win these votes. Additional consideration will be given to the structural factors influencing elections in the United States. This is an "American Politics" class, and examples and analyses in class discussion will focus predominantly on the electoral system of the United States. However, students are invited to explore foreign electoral systems and politics in this course for purposes of class discussion and research.

Goals of the Course

Upon completion of this course, you should be able to understand many things about voting, campaigns and elections in America:

- You will understand why some people choose to vote and others do not.
- You will be able to explain why the United States has a lower voter turnout than other industrial democracies.
- You will be able to compare and contrast different theories developed by political scientists to explain citizens' vote choices.
- You will understand how campaign messages are tailored to different segments of society.
- You will develop the analytic tools to critically assess media messages about candidates and their campaigns.
- You will understand the ways in which you can take a more active part in *doing* electoral politics, instead of just being a spectator or an isolated analyst.
- You will understand the influence that public opinion polling has on electoral politics.
- You will understand changes and trends in American elections.
- You will understand how campaigns and elections affect public policy and governance.
- You will be able to debate the major contemporary issues facing campaign and election reform.
- You will be able to discuss the merits and drawbacks of different proposed campaign reforms.

Required Texts

- Bailey, Michael A., Ronald A. Faucheux, Paul S. Herrnson, and Clyde Wilcox, eds. 1999. *Campaigns & Elections: Contemporary Case Studies*. Congressional Quarterly. Paperback. ISBN 1-56802-495-9.
- Maisel, L. Sandy. 2002. *Parties and Elections in America: The Electoral Process* 3rd ed. (Post-Election Update). Rowman & Littlefield. Paperback. ISBN: 0-7425-1627-X.
- Nader, Ralph. 2002. *Crashing the Party: How to Tell the Truth and Still Run for President*. St. Martin's Press. Hardcover ISBN: 0-312-28433-0; Paperback ISBN: 0312302584 (available October 2002); Microsoft Reader ISBN: B00005YU1U.
- Wayne, Stephen J. 2001. *The Road to the White House 2000 : The Politics of Presidential Elections*. (Post-election Edition). Bedford/St. Martin's (Wadsworth). Paperback. ISBN: 0-312-39304-0.

You are required to read from the above texts as part of your coursework. I have placed the above readings on reserve library, so you need not purchase these books if you do not wish to do so. In addition, handouts distributed in class will be required reading, and students are required to follow current campaigns and elections in a national newspaper such as *The New York Times* or *The Los Angeles Times* (both are available for delivery with a student discount and are also available on-line).

Course Requirements

There are four requirements for the course:

1. **Participation:** includes contributions to classroom discussion as well as attendance (do not be tardy or leave class early). In order to participate well in this class, you must pay close attention to assignments and deadlines (all of which are listed in this syllabus). You must complete all assigned readings prior to coming to class. Attendance is a very important aspect of this class — you will not receive the full benefit of this course if you are not in class to learn from your peers and to offer your own analyses. Do not expect to get a good participation grade if you do not contribute to class discussion. To get credit for attending class, you must show up within 10 minutes of the start of class. If you are not in class within the first 10 minutes, you will be marked absent for the day. You will also be marked absent if you leave class early. You will be permitted two unexcused absences. An excused absence is an illness that prevents you from attending class, religious holiday or a death in the family. Do not schedule meetings, banquets, employment, vacations, or work for other classes during our regular class meeting time. If you have any concerns regarding your ability to attend class on a regular basis, please consider dropping the class to make room for someone who can attend on a regular basis. Beyond your first two unexcused absences, your participation grade will be reduced by one-third of a letter grade for every time you are marked absent. For example, if you earned a participation grade of a B+ and had four unexcused absences, you will be penalized two-thirds of a letter grade, and your final participation would be a B-. Similarly, if you had seven unexcused absences and you had earned an A- for your participation grade, you would be penalized for five-thirds of a letter grade, meaning that you would end up with a C for your final participation grade.

Turn off all pagers, phones and other electronic devices prior to entering the classroom. If you have an electronic device that emits noise during class (even an audible “vibration”), you will be asked to leave and will be marked absent for that day —no excuses and no exceptions.

2. **Assignments:** are take-home work which will receive a grade, unless otherwise specified in the course outline. You will also be required to participate in a mock class debate as an assignment. Any assignments turned in after the first 10 minutes of class will be treated as late by one day. Late assignments will be deducted one-third of a letter grade for every day they are late (see above for an example of this type of calculation). Assignment sheets specifying requirements will be distributed in class. They will not be emailed. See me during class or during my office hours if you missed any of them, or copy the assignment sheet from a classmate. Assignments must be typed and double spaced and turned in as a hard copy, they may not be emailed. Do not show up to class with a diskette and attempt to explain why you have not yet printed your assignment. Always back-up your computer files in at least two places. It is your responsibility to keep track of due dates and to follow up on missed exercises and assignments. Telling the instructor that you “did not know” about a course requirement is not an acceptable excuse. It is your responsibility to keep yourself informed. Refer to this syllabus frequently. Please do not hesitate to email or call me if you have any questions or need any assistance. It is better to email me as I am on campus only one day per week. Late assignments and exercises must be returned to me directly, they may not be turned into the Department Office or slid under my office door.

3. **Examinations:** will include multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions. The final exam will not be cumulative. Make-up exams are rarely given and only when a university-authorized excuse is provided. These excuses include illness, religious holiday, or a death in the family only. You will not be excused from an exam simply because you missed the prior class. Similarly, being scheduled to work during class time is not a valid excuse for a make-up exam. Any requests for a make-up exam must be made *before* the exam is given (call me). You will not be permitted to take a make-up exam if you do not request one before the exam is given. Make-up examinations will not include multiple choice questions. If you wear a hat with a brim on the day of an examination, you will be asked to remove it. If you have a disability that warrants additional consideration for examinations, please inform me so that I can accommodate you.

4. **Participation Project or Research Paper:** You will be required to undertake a Participation Project or to write a Research Paper for this course. If you choose the Participation Project, you are to volunteer for a campaign during the current election cycle. The duration of your participation is to run from October 1st to November 5th (Election Day), and you should volunteer for approximately four (4) hours per week. You may choose to volunteer for a candidate or for an issue campaign (i.e. a proposition). I will give you paperwork to complete so that I can monitor your progress with your supervisor. You will be required to present what you learned from your project to the class on November 26th (25% of Project grade) and to turn in a 2-3 page analysis of what you observed and learned (also due on November 26th, 75% of Project grade).

If you choose to write a Research Paper, you will be asked to analyze a contemporary issue in the domain of voting, campaigns and/or elections (your choice) in terms of the analytical skills learned during this course. The paper is to be 8-10 pages in length and must include at least six textual (not internet) sources. Do not be afraid of the library. You may cite internet sources, but they must be authoritative and will not count towards your requisite five. Course texts may be cited, but again, they will not count toward the requisite five. The paper will be due on November 26th. The paper must:

- be typewritten in 12 point Times Roman font
- be double spaced
- have 1 inch margins on top, bottom, and both sides
- include a title and cover page (do not put a cover on the paper, just staple it)
- include a bibliography page
- done in the citation style of your choice (footnotes or parenthetical — be consistent)
- include page numbers
- include an introduction, body, and a conclusion that looks toward the future

You will also be required to give a brief presentation of your findings to the class on November 26th (25% of the Research Paper grade, the paper is 75% of the Research Paper grade). Late papers must be turned in directly to me. Late papers will be down-graded one full letter grade for every class meeting that they are late (i.e. a B becomes a C if the paper is one class meeting). Purchasing a paper constitutes plagiarism. I am familiar with all of the on-line term-paper sites and I *will* check your paper against those available on-line. Plagiarism is a *very serious* offense, and you should be familiar with this university's policy and penalties for plagiarism. A list of books that may help you in writing your paper is listed on pages 8 and 9 of this syllabus.

Grading

Participation	10%
Assignments	15%
Midterm Examination	25%
Participation Project or Research Paper	25%
Final Examination	25%

A plus/minus system of grading will be used for all assignments, exams, papers and projects, but the final course grade will not include a plus/minus, as per university policy. A letter grade will be assigned for each of the above categories. The grade will be converted to grade points and weighted by the corresponding percentage (see above). Here is an example: Suppose Margaret received a B- for Participation, an B+ for Exercises and Assignments, a C+ for her Midterm Exam, a B+ for her Participation Project (she wisely chose not to do the Research Paper), and a B- for her Final Exam. Margaret's final grade would be calculated as follows:

$$\text{Final Grade} = (2.7 * .10) + (3.3 * .15) + (2.3 * .25) + (3.3 * .25) + (2.7 * .25)$$

$$\text{Final Grade} = .270 + .495 + .575 + .825 + .675$$

Final Grade = 2.840, which is closest to 3.0 grade points, which is equivalent to a B.

Course Outline

Week 1 (9/3, 9/5). Course Introduction and Voting I: Turnout and Trends

Reading: Maisel, ch. 4.

- ◆ Syllabus Distributed
- ◆ Who Votes?
- ◆ Voter Turnout Trends
- ◆ Why Do Americans Not Vote?

Week 2 (9/10, 9/12). Voting II: Theories of Vote Choice

Reading: Maisel, ch. 5;

Wayne, ch. 8.

- ◆ Sociological Theory of Voting (Columbia School)
- ◆ Social-Psychological Theory of Voting (Michigan School)
- ◆ Economic Theories of Voting (Rochester School)
 - ◆ Simple Economic
 - ◆ Retrospective
 - ◆ Prospective
 - ◆ Sociotropic
- ◆ Spatial Theory of Voting (AKA Issue Voting)
- ◆ Affective Intelligence Theory of Voting

Week 3 (9/17, 9/19). Electioneering

Reading: Bailey, Faucheaux, Herrnson and Wilcox, chs. 1, 3, 7 and 9.

- ◆ Nuts and Bolts of Campaign Management
- ◆ Spin and Media Relations
- ◆ Campaign Events
- ◆ Grandstanding
- ◆ How To Pitch a Story to Reporters
- ◆ Fundraising
- ◆ Canvassing
- ◆ Polling
- ◆ Focus Groups
- ◆ Get-Out-The-Vote Drives
- ◆ The Role of Political Parties

Week 4 (9/24, 9/26). Municipal and County Elections

Reading: Bailey, Faucheaux, Herrnson and Wilcox, chs. 15, 17 and 18;
Maisel, ch. 7;

Handout: Moncrief, Squire and Jewell: "Who Runs for the Legislature?"

- ◆ Two Theories of Elections: Pluralism and Elitism
- ◆ Who Runs and Why?
- ◆ Candidate Recruitment
- ◆ The Importance of Contacts
- ◆ Non-partisan Elections
- ◆ Third-party Opportunities
- ◆ Ballot Measures
- ◆ Local Recall
- ◆ Information Quality
- ◆ Influence on Public Policy and Governance

Week 5 (10/1, 10/3). State and Congressional Elections I

Reading: Bailey, Faucheaux, Herrnson and Wilcox, chs. 4, 8, 12 and 14;

Handout: Gerber, Lupia, McCubbins and Kiewet: "Stealing the Initiative;"

Maisel, ch. 8.

Assignment: Participation Project paperwork or Research Paper topic (one paragraph) due Tuesday (not graded).

In-class Film: "Bob Roberts"

- ◆ Jesse Ventura - Aberration or the face of things to come?
- ◆ The Incumbent Advantage
- ◆ Winning Issues
- ◆ Recall
- ◆ Referenda
- ◆ Initiative
- ◆ Divided Government
- ◆ Congressional Election Composition Cycles
- ◆ Influence on Public Policy and Governance
- ◆ The Role of Political Parties

Week 6 (10/8, 10/10). State and Congressional Elections II and Presidential Elections I: Primaries

Reading: Maisel, ch. 9;

Nader, chs. 1-3;

Wayne, chs. 4 and 5.

Assignment: Write a 1-2 profile of a candidate for office in the upcoming election. An assignment sheet will be provided in order to help you structure your profile; due Tuesday (graded).

- ◆ Divided Government
- ◆ Congressional Election Composition Cycles
- ◆ Influence of Congressional Elections on Public Policy and Governance
- ◆ Presidential Nomination Process
- ◆ Presidential Primaries and Caucuses
- ◆ Chasing Delegates
- ◆ Conventions

Week 7 (10/15, 10/17). Presidential Elections II: The General Election

Reading: Maisel, ch. 10;

Wayne, ch. 6.

- ◆ Electoral College
- ◆ Strategies
- ◆ The Influence of Media Bias on Elections
- ◆ The Politics of Vice-Presidential Selection
- ◆ The Role of Political Parties, Including Third Party Influences
- ◆ Recent History
- ◆ Influence on Public Policy and Governance

Week 8 (10/22, 10/24). Midterm Week: Midterm Review (Tuesday) and Midterm Exam (Thursday)

No Reading

Assignment: Write a 1-2 page synopsis of a ballot measure. An assignment sheet will be provided in order to help you structure your synopsis; due Tuesday (graded).

Week 9 (10/29, 10/31). Case Study of the 2000 Presidential Election

Reading: Handout: Hightower: "If the Gods Had Meant Us to Vote They Would Have Given Us Candidates;"

Nader, chs. 4-9, 13-15.

- ◆ Candidates and Issues
- ◆ Conventions and Protests
- ◆ The Gore Kiss
- ◆ The Florida Debacle
- ◆ Media Frenzy
- ◆ Did Nader cost Gore the Election?
- ◆ The Clinton Legacy (Lost in the shuffle?)
- ◆ The 2000 Election as Civic Education

Week 10 (11/5, 11/7). Election Week Activities: Debate (Tuesday) and Post-Mortem (Thursday)

Reading: Wayne, ch. 8.

Assignment: Prepare for your role in the debate on Tuesday (graded)

- ◆ Analysis of Results of the Election
- ◆ Lessons from the 2002 Mid-Term Elections

Week 11 (11/12, 11/14). Campaign and Election Issues and Controversies I: Campaign Finance

Reading: Handout: Ackerman and Ayres, "Campaign Reform's Worst Enemy;"

Bailey, Fauchaux, Herrnson and Wilcox, ch. 2;

Maisel, ch. 11;

Wayne, ch. 2.

- ◆ EMILY's List
- ◆ Problems with Campaign Finance
- ◆ Interest Groups and PACs
- ◆ Anti-kickback Measures
- ◆ Campaign Finance Reform
- ◆ FEC Implementation

Week 12 (11/19, 11/21). Campaign and Election Issues and Controversies II: Presidential Selection and The Electoral College

Reading: Handout: Dudley and Gitelson: “American Elections: The Rules Matter;”

Wayne, ch. 1.

- ◆ Electoral College Rules
- ◆ What Happens When the Electoral College Fails
- ◆ Regional Primaries
- ◆ Reform of the Electoral College

Week 13 (11/26). Project Presentations (Tuesday), No Class Thursday (11/28), Thanksgiving Holiday

No Reading

Assignment: Participation Projects / Research Papers due Tuesday (Participation Project / Research Paper grade).

Present your findings to the class (Participation Project / Research Paper Grade)

- ◆ Review and Critique of Research and Participation Projects

Week 14 (12/3, 12/5). Campaign and Election Issues and Controversies III: Campaign Media

Reading: Bailey, Faucheaux, Herrnson and Wilcox, chs. 5 and 11;

Maisel, ch. 12;

Nader, ch. 10-12;

Wayne ch. 7.

- ◆ Free Media
- ◆ Third Party Access
- ◆ Debates
- ◆ Conventions
- ◆ General Coverage Issues
- ◆ Coverage of Polls
- ◆ Infotainment
- ◆ The Internet

Week 15 (12/10, 12/12). The Future of Campaigns and Elections, Review for Final

Reading: Bailey, Faucheaux, Herrnson and Wilcox, ch. 6;

Nader ch. 16 and Appendix J;

Wayne, ch. 9.

- ◆ Media Celebrities and Politics
- ◆ Scandal Coverage
- ◆ The Internet as the Great Window on Politics
- ◆ Electoral Reform
- ◆ Do People Get the Government They Deserve? (to quote Adlai Stevenson)

Final Exam: Thursday, December 19th, 10:15 to 12:15 in our regular classroom.

Recommended Research Paper Resources:

- Abramson, Paul R., John H. Aldrich, and David W. Rohde. 2002. *Change and Continuity in the 2000 Elections*. Congressional Quarterly.
- Ackerman, Ian and Bruce A. Ayres, *Voting With Dollars: A New Paradigm for Campaign Finance*. Yale University Press.
- Ahuja, Sunil and Robert Dewhurst. 2002. *The Roads to Congress 2000* 2nd ed. Wadsworth.
- Alesina, Alberto, Nouriel Roubini Gerald D. Cohen. 1997. *Political Cycles and the Macroeconomy*. MIT Press.
- Bibby, John F. 2003. *Politics, Parties and Elections in America* 5th ed. Wadsworth.
- _____. 2002. *Two Parties -- or More?* Westview Press.
- Boynton, G. Robert. 1998. *The Art of Campaign Advertising*. Chatham House. CD-ROM.
- Davis, Richard. 2001. *Press and American Politics: The New Mediator* 3rd ed. Prentice Hall.
- Diamond, Edwin, and Stephen Bates. 1999. *The Spot - Third Edition: The Rise of Political Advertising on Television* 3rd ed. MIT Press.
- DiClerico, Robert E. 2000. *Political Parties, Campaigns and Elections*. Prentice Hall.
- Dudley, Robert and Alan Gitelson. 2002. *American Elections: The Rules Matter*. Longman.
- Eldersveld, , Samuel J. and Hanes Walton, Jr. 2000. *Political Parties in American Society* 2nd ed. Wadsworth.
- Flanigan, William H. and Nancy H. Zingale. 2002. *Political Behavior of the American Electorate* 10th ed. Congressional Quarterly.
- Fowler, Linda L. and Robert D. McClure. 1990. *Political Ambition: Who Decides to Run for Congress*. Yale University Press.
- Galderisi, Peter F., Marni Ezra and Michael Lyons. 2001. *Congressional Primaries and the Politics of Representation*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Gerber, Elizabeth R., Arthur Lupia, Matthew D. McCubbins, D. and Roderick Kiewiet. 2001. *Stealing the Initiative: How State Government Responds to Direct Democracy*. Prentice Hall.
- Gillman, Howard. 2001. *The Votes That Counted: How the Supreme Court Decided the 2000 Presidential Election*. University of Chicago Press.
- Gierzynski, Anthony. 1999. *Money Rules: Financing Elections in America*. Westview Press.
- Hayduk, Ronald and Kevin Mattson (eds.). 2002. *Democracy's Moment: Reforming the American Political System for the 21st Century*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Herrnson, Paul S. and John C. Green. 2002. *Multiparty Politics in America: Prospects and Performance*. Rowman & Littlefield.
- Herrnson, Paul S. 2001. *Playing Hardball: Campaigning for the US Congress*.
- _____. 2000. *Congressional Elections: Campaigning at Home and in Washington* 3rd ed. Congressional Quarterly.
- Hightower, Jim. 2001. *If the Gods Had Meant Us to Vote, They'd Have Given Us Candidates* (Revised Edition). Harper Perennial.
- Hrebenar, Ronald J., Matthew J. Burbank, and Robert C. Benedict. 1999. *Political Parties, Interest Groups and Political Campaigns*. Westview Press.
- Jackson, John S. III, and William Crotty. 2001. *The Politics of Presidential Selection* 2nd ed. Longman.
- Jacobson, Gary. 2001. *The Politics of Congressional Elections* 5th ed. Longman.
- Jamieson, Kathleen and Paul Waldman (eds.). *Electing the President, 2000: The Insiders' View*. University of Pennsylvania Press.
- Just, Marion, Ann Crigler, Dean Alger, Tim Cook, Montague Kern and Darrell West. 1996. *Crosstalk: Citizens, Candidates, and the Media in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kerbel, Matthew R. 2001. *If It Bleeds, It Leads: An Anatomy of Television News*. Westview Press.

- Keyssar, Alexander. 2001. *The Right To Vote: The Contested History of Democracy in The United States*. Basic Books (Westview Press).
- Lavrakas, Paul J. and Michael W. Traugott. (eds.). 2000. *Election Polls, the News Media, and Democracy*. Chatham House.
- Mayer, William G. (ed.). 2000. *In Pursuit of the White House 2000: How We Choose Our Presidential Nominees*. Chatham House.
- Menefee-Libey, David J. 2000. *The Triumph of Campaign-Centered Politics*. Chatham House.
- Moncrief, Gary F., Peverill Squire, and Malcolm E. Jewell. 2001. *Who Runs for the Legislature?* Prentice Hall.
- Nelson, Michael. ed. 2001. *The Elections of 2000*. Congressional Quarterly.
- Palmer, Niall A. 1999. *The New Hampshire Primary and The American Electoral Process*. Westview Press.
- Parenti, Michael. 2002. *Democracy for the Few* 7th ed. Wadsworth.
- Piven, Frances Fox and Richard A. Cloward. 2000. *Why Americans Still Don't Vote: And Why Politicians Want It That Way*. Beacon Press.
- Polsby, Nelson W. and Aaron Wildavsky. 2000. *Presidential Elections: Strategies and Structures in American Politics* 10th ed. Chatham House.
- Pomper, Gerald M. 2001. *The Election of 2000: Reports and Interpretations*. Chatham House.
- Rosenstone, Steven J. and John Mark Hansen. 2003. *Mobilization, Participation, and Democracy in America*. Longman.
- Schumaker, Paul D. and Burdett A. Loomis. 2002. *Choosing A President: The Electoral College and Beyond*. Chatham House.
- Shaw, Catherine M. 2000. *The Campaign Manager: Running and Winning Local Elections* 2nd ed. Westview Press.
- Simon, Adam F. 2002. *The Winning Message: Candidate Behavior, Campaign Discourse, and Democracy*. Cambridge University Press.
- Stonecash, Jeffrey M., Mark D. Brewer. 2002. *Diverging Parties: Social Change, Realignment, and Party Polarization*. Westview Press.
- Stonecash, Jeffrey M. 2000. *Class & Party in American Politics*. Westview Press.
- Thurber, James A., Candice J. Nelson, and David A. Dulio (eds.). 2000. *Crowded Airwaves: Campaign Advertising in Elections*. Brookings.
- Tolchin, Susan J. 1998. *The Angry American: How Voter Rage Is Changing The Nation* 2nd ed. Westview Press.
- Traugott, Michael W., and Paul J. Lavrakas. 2000. *The Voter's Guide to Election Polls* 2nd ed. Chatham House.
- West, Darrell M. and John M. Orman. 2003. *Celebrity Politics*. Prentice Hall.
- West, Darrell. 2001. *Air Wars*, 3rd ed. Congressional Quarterly.
- White, John Kenneth and Daniel M. Shea. 2001. *New Party Politics: From Jefferson and Hamilton to the Information Age*. Wadsworth.
- Wolfinger, Raymond E. and Steven J. Rosenstone. 1980. *Who Votes?* New Haven: Yale University Press.