

**PSC 313.001**  
**CAMPAIGN ANALYSIS**

Fall 2007  
MWF, 9:30-10:25am  
HL 214

Professor Danny Hayes  
E-mail: [dwhayes@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:dwhayes@maxwell.syr.edu)  
Office: Eggers 322  
Office Hours: M&W, 1:30-3:00pm  
Phone: (315) 443-3829

Teaching Assistant: Ebrahim K. Soltani  
E-mail: [ekhalife@maxwell.syr.edu](mailto:ekhalife@maxwell.syr.edu)  
Office: Eggers 023  
Office Hours: W, 11am-12:30pm  
Phone: (315) 443-9071

**COURSE OVERVIEW AND GOALS**

Election campaigns are, without a doubt, the premier events of American politics. More than any political happening not named Monica Lewinsky, elections simultaneously draw the concentrated attention of candidates, journalists, interest groups, and citizens. And while many regard campaigns as vapid spectacles—most memorable for things like George W. Bush’s reference to “the internets” or Bill Clinton’s preference for boxers, not briefs—elections are an indispensable part of a working democracy. Beneath the hoopla, they are the mechanism by which citizens hold their government accountable. When elected representatives perform poorly, their constituents can boot them out of office. Alternatively, they can vote to keep politicians who do well. In the words of one political scientist, elections give the citizenry a chance to act as a “rational god of vengeance and reward.” As a result, campaigns are central to understanding the relationship between the government and the governed, and the operation of American politics.

In this class, we will take up a number of questions about election campaigns. Among them: What is their purpose in American democracy? Why do people decide to run for office, and how do they organize, plan, and pay for their campaigns? Why do some citizens vote, while others don’t, and how do voters decide whom to cast ballots for? What kind of influence do news coverage and candidate advertising have on voters? And at the end of the day, what effect do contemporary political campaigns have on American democracy? In our quest for answers, we will occasionally tap the wisdom of campaign professionals and journalists, but will rely most heavily on political science research. As such, this class will give you an introduction to the theory and practice of campaigns, but it is not a “how-to” guide to becoming the next Karl Rove or James Carville.

Still, it will not be a mere academic exercise. We are fortunate to be in the midst of the so-called “invisible primary” of the 2008 presidential election. As Hillary Clinton, Barack Obama, Mitt Romney, Rudy Giuliani, and others jockey for support from fundraisers, activists and potential voters, we have the opportunity to watch their campaigns in real time in the lead-up to the first caucuses and primaries. In addition, as part of this course you will be involved in conducting an exit poll of Onondaga County voters during the November 2007 elections for county executive and other local offices. This class, in other words, will give you a sense of both the theory and practice of political campaigns.

The course has two primary goals:

- To help you understand how American campaigns work, how voters behave, and the importance of elections in a democratic society
- To help you understand the kinds of research questions that engage political scientists, and how they go about trying to answer them

## ATTENDANCE

It is important that you attend class. We will monitor your attendance with that great American icon, the pop quiz. **Six** times throughout the semester, we will give a quiz consisting of one question about current events. If you are present for at least **four** of the quizzes, you will receive full credit for attendance. If you are present for fewer than four, **you will lose 5 points** on your final grade.

Correct answers to the quizzes will earn you bonus points: for each quiz you answer correctly, you will have one-third of a point added to your final grade. For example, if you correctly answer all six quizzes throughout the semester, you will receive a 2-point bonus on your final average. If you think the attendance policy will be difficult for you to adhere to, you should drop this course. If you miss a quiz because of illness or another serious emergency, we can make other arrangements. But in such a case, you must let us know *immediately* of your absence.

## READINGS

There is no textbook for this course. All of the readings—mostly journal articles and book chapters—will be available for download through our course's Blackboard page (<http://blackboard.syr.edu>). You are also expected to keep up with current events by regularly reading a newspaper.

### Articles and Chapters

There are several assigned articles or book chapters for most weeks. Some are freely available on the Internet, with the URLs in the course schedule below. The rest are posted on Blackboard. On the Blackboard page for this class, click the “Tools” button on the left-hand menu, and then click “Course Reserves.” There, you will find links to PDF versions of the readings. Even factoring in the cost of printing (and those outrageously priced printer cartridges!), my hope is that this will be less expensive than purchasing a course packet of photocopied readings. The flip side, of course, is that it will be your responsibility to download the items as they are assigned. It might be worthwhile to print the readings early in the semester, which will keep you from having to do this every week.

### The Newspaper

It should come as no surprise in a political science course that you are expected to keep up with politics in the news, especially with the presidential primary battles in full swing. Our discussions in class will frequently touch on current events, so it is imperative that you keep apprised of major political goings-on. Reading a newspaper is the best way to do this. Not only will this often bring course material to life, but it will undoubtedly make the class more interesting. (As a non-trivial side benefit, being a news junkie invariably gives you interesting things to talk about at parties when you find yourself in a conversation that has lapsed into awkward silence.)

You are free to read (in print or online) any paper(s) of your choosing, with the following limitation. You need to choose a news source that includes frequent coverage of national politics. For that reason, *The Daily Orange*, fine publication that it is, does not count. The following are a few suggestions, any of which are excellent sources of political news:

*The New York Times*: [www.nyt.com](http://www.nyt.com) (requires free online registration)

*The Wall Street Journal*: [www.wsj.com](http://www.wsj.com) (requires paid online subscription)

*The Los Angeles Times*: [www.latimes.com](http://www.latimes.com)

*The Washington Post*: [www.washingtonpost.com](http://www.washingtonpost.com) (requires free online registration)

## EVALUATION

Your grade in this class will be based on (1) class attendance (2) two exams (a midterm and a final), (3) four writing assignments that will be handed out during the semester, and (4) your participation in conducting a November 6 exit poll around Onondaga County. The breakdown is as follows:

- Attendance: 5%
- Midterm exam: 25%
- Final exam: 25%
- Four writing assignments: 40% total (10% each)
- Exit poll participation: 5%

## Exam Format

Both the midterm and final exam will consist of essay questions and short-answer identifications. The midterm will be taken in class on **October 19**, but I will hand out a list of possible essay questions on **October 10**. One of the questions will appear on the exam. The final exam is a take-home. I will distribute it **December 7**, and it will be due one week later, **December 14**.

Makeup exams will be given only in extreme circumstances, such as the death of an immediate family member. I will be the final arbiter of what “extreme” means. If you miss an exam or assignment, it is your responsibility to notify me *immediately*.

## Assignments

Four times during the semester, I will hand out a short assignment that will be due two class periods later. (For example, if the assignment is handed out on a Wednesday, it will be due **in class** the next Monday.) These assignments typically will ask you to write a short paper (2-4 pages typed, double-spaced) engaging a question raised by a reading or class discussion. Missing the due date will cost you one-third of a letter grade for each day the assignment is late. For example, if your paper is three days late, you can score no higher than a B+. These deductions are not negotiable.

## SCHOLASTIC DISHONESTY

Thinking about cheating? Don't do it. The University has established the following statement as its understanding of what constitutes a student's breach of the principles of academic honesty: “Syracuse University students shall exhibit honesty in all academic endeavors. Cheating in any form is not tolerated, nor is assisting another person to cheat. The submission of any work by a student is taken as a guarantee that the thoughts and expressions in it are the student's own except when properly credited to another. Violations of this principle include: giving or receiving aid in an exam or where otherwise prohibited, fraud, plagiarism, the falsification or forgery of any record, or any other deceptive act in connection with academic work. Plagiarism is the representation of another's words, ideas, programs, formulae, opinions, or other products of work as one's own either overtly or by failing to attribute them to their true source.” We take plagiarism and academic dishonesty seriously. If you are unsure about what constitutes scholastic dishonesty, consult with us on how to avoid it. You can also educate yourself on the College of Arts and Sciences' policies and procedures, here: <http://provost.syr.edu/integritypolicies/ASPoliciesProcedures.pdf>.

## ACADEMIC FREEDOM

Each student is strongly encouraged to participate in class discussions. In any classroom situation that involves discussion and critical thinking, particularly about political ideas, there are bound to be many differing viewpoints. Students may not only disagree with each other at times, but the students and instructors may also find that they have disparate views on sensitive and volatile topics. It is our hope that these differences will enhance class discussion and create an atmosphere where all of us will be encouraged to think and learn from each other. Therefore, be assured that students' grades

will not be affected by any beliefs or ideas expressed in class or in assignments. Rather, we will all respect the views of others when expressed in classroom discussions.

### **ACCOMMODATIONS**

The Syracuse University Office of Disability Services (<http://disabilityservices.syr.edu>) provides support and resources for students with disabilities. Please let us know as soon as possible if you will need special accommodations this semester.

### **THOSE INDISPENSABLE CELL PHONES**

While I'm as big a fan as anyone of hearing Gwen Stefani's "The Sweet Escape" as a ringtone, the fact is that cell phones are a distraction. As a courtesy to me and your classmates, please turn off yours before entering class. If you don't, the rule is this: If your phone rings in class, I get to answer it and talk to whomever is on the line—whether it's your mother, brother, or that person you met at a bar last night. So leave it on at your own peril.

---

### **COURSE SCHEDULE** (*Note: This is subject to change as we proceed through the semester.*)

#### **August 27:** Course Introduction

#### **Part I: The Significance and Rules of American Elections**

(August 29-September 10)

#### **August 29:** Why Elections Matter, and the Current Electoral Landscape

- Pomper, Gerald M. 1968. *Elections in America: Control and Influence in Democratic Politics*. New York: Dodd, Mead & Company. Chapter 2 ("The Ballot in Political Theory").
- Barone, Michael. 2006. "American Politics in the Networking Era." In Michael Barone and Richard E. Cohen (eds.), *Almanac of American Politics, 2006*. Washington, DC: National Journal.

#### **August 31-September 3:** No class—American Political Science Association Meeting and Labor Day

- Wayne, Stephen J. 2004. *Road to the White House 2004*. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth. Chapter 1 ("Presidential Selection: A Historical Overview").

#### **September 5-10:** Electoral Rules, Redistricting, and the Two-Party System

- Jacobson, Gary C. 2004. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition. New York: Longman. Chapter 2 ("The Context").
- Gimpel, James G., Karen M. Kaufmann, and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2007. "Battleground States versus Blackout States: The Behavioral Implications of Modern Presidential Campaigns." *Journal of Politics* 69(3): 786-797.

## **Part II: Campaign Essentials: Candidates, Organization, and Campaign Strategy** (September 12-28)

### **September 12-14: Who Are These People, and Why Do They Run for Office?**

- Ehrenhalt, Alan. 1992. *The United States of Ambition: Politics, Power, and the Pursuit of Office*. Chapter 1 (“Thinking about Politicians”).
- Jacobson, Gary C. 2004. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition. New York: Longman. Chapter 3 (“Congressional Candidates”).
- ASSIGNMENT 1 HANDED OUT 9/12 (DUE 9/17)

### **September 17-19: Organizing, Planning, and Paying for Campaigns**

- Wayne, Stephen J. 2004. *Road to the White House 2004*. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth. Chapter 2 (“Campaign Finance”).

### **September 21: No class—Yom Kippur**

### **September 24: Campaign Targeting and Strategy**

- Shea, Daniel M. and Michael John Burton. 2001. *Campaign Craft: The Strategies, Tactics, and Art of Political Campaign Management*. Westport, Conn.: Praeger. Chapter 6 (“Prior Electoral Targeting”).
- Shaw, Daron R. 1999. “The Methods Behind the Madness: Presidential Electoral College Strategies, 1988-1996.” *Journal of Politics* 61(4): 893-913.

### **September 26-28: The Dynamics of Presidential Primaries**

- Wayne, Stephen J. 2008. *Road to the White House 2008*. Belmont, Calif: Wadsworth. Chapter 5 (“Campaigning for the Nomination”).
- Popkin, Samuel L. 1993. “Decision Making in Presidential Primaries.” In Shanto Iyengar and William J. McGuire (eds.), *Explorations in Political Psychology*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press.

## **Part III: Voters and Voting: Turnout and Candidate Choice** (October 1-17)

### **October 1-8: Voter Turnout**

- Niemi, Richard G. and Herbert F. Weisberg (eds.). 2001. *Controversies in Voting Behavior*, 4<sup>th</sup> ed. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press. Chapter 2 (“Why Is Voter Turnout Low [and Why Is It Declining]?”).

- Althaus, Scott L. 2005. "How Exceptional Was Turnout in 2004?" *Political Communication Report* 15(1). Online at: [http://www.ou.edu/policom/1501\\_2005\\_winter/commentary.htm](http://www.ou.edu/policom/1501_2005_winter/commentary.htm)
- Patterson, Thomas E. 2005. "Young Voters and the 2004 Election." Vanishing Voter Project, Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics, and Public Policy, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University. Online at: [http://www.vanishingvoter.org/Releases/Vanishing\\_Voter\\_Final\\_Report\\_2004\\_Election.pdf](http://www.vanishingvoter.org/Releases/Vanishing_Voter_Final_Report_2004_Election.pdf)
- Wattenberg, Martin P. 2007. *Is Voting for Young People?* New York: Pearson Longman. Introduction and Chapters 6 & 7 ("Introduction," "Does Low Youth Turnout Really Matter?" & "What Can Be Done?").
- ASSIGNMENT 2 HANDED OUT 10/3 (DUE 10/8)

**October 10: How Voters Decide**

- Menand, Louis. 2004. "The Unpolitical Animal: How Political Science Understands Voters." *The New Yorker*, August 30. Online at: [http://www.newyorker.com/printables/critics/040830crat\\_atlarge](http://www.newyorker.com/printables/critics/040830crat_atlarge)
- MIDTERM ESSAY QUESTIONS HANDED OUT

**October 12: No class—Eid Ul-Fitr**

**October 15-17: How Voters Decide (cont.)**

- Jacobson, Gary C. 2004. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 6<sup>th</sup> Edition. New York: Longman. Chapter 5 ("Congressional Voters," pp. 116-146).
- Zaller, John. 2001. "Monica Lewinsky and the Mainsprings of American Politics." In W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman (eds.), *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

**October 19: \*\*\*MIDTERM EXAM\*\*\***

**Part IV: Campaign Communications, the News and New Media, and Their Effects**  
(October 22-November 12)

**October 22-26: Candidate Communications and TV Advertising**

- West, Darrell M. 2001. *Air Wars*. Washington, DC: CQ Press. Chapters 1 and 3 ("Overview of Ads" and "Ad Messages").
- Ansolabehere, Stephen and Shanto Iyengar. 1995. *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*. New York: Free Press. Chapters 2 and 5 ("The Studies" and "The Withdrawal of the Voter").

- Geer, John G. 2006. *In Defense of Negativity*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. Chapter 3 (“The Information Environment and Negativity”).

**October 29-November 2: The News Media**

- Patterson, Thomas E. 1994. *Out of Order*. New York: Vintage. Prologue and Chapter 1 (“Truth and Falsehood on the Campaign Trail,” “The Miscast Institution”).
- Druckman, James N. 2004. “Priming the Vote: Campaign Effects in a U.S. Senate Election.” *Political Psychology* 25(4): 577-594.
- Fridkin, Kim L., Patrick J. Kenney, Sarah Allen Gershon, Karen Shafer, and Gina Serignese Woodall. 2007. “Capturing the Power of a Campaign Event: The 2004 Presidential Debate in Tempe.” *Journal of Politics* 69(3): 770-785.
- ASSIGNMENT 3 HANDED OUT 10/31 (DUE 11/5)

**November 5: Exit Poll Training and Instruction**

**November 6 (Tuesday): Conducting of Exit Poll**

**November 7: No class**

**November 9-12: Campaigns and the New Media**

- Kenski, Kate and Natalie Jomini Stroud. 2006. “Connections between Internet Use and Political Efficacy, Knowledge, and Participation.” *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media* 50(2): 173-192.
- Baumgartner, Jody and Jonathan S. Morris. 2006. “The *Daily Show* Effect: Candidate Evaluations, Efficacy, and American Youth.” *American Politics Research* 34(3): 341-367.
- Lizza, Ryan. 2006. “The YouTube Election.” *New York Times*. August 20, Week in Review.

**Part V: Election Campaign Potpourri**

(November 14-December 7)

**November 14-16: Movie: “Last Man Standing: Politics, Texas Style”**

- ASSIGNMENT 4 HANDED OUT 11/14 (DUE 11/19)

**November 19: The Challenges Facing Third Parties in American Elections**

- Rosenstone, Steven J., Roy L. Behr, and Edward H. Lazarus. 1996. *Third Parties in America*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press. Chapters 1 and 2 (“Introduction” and “Constraints on Third Parties”).

**November 21-23:** No class—Thanksgiving (Stuff yourselves!)

**November 26-28:** Red vs. Blue? The Great Polarization Debate

- Fiorina, Morris P. 2004. “What Culture Wars? Debunking the Myth of a Polarized America.” *Hoover Digest* 4. Online at: <http://www.hoover.org/publications/digest/3010006.html>
- Abramowitz, Alan and Kyle Saunders. 2005. “Why Can’t We Just All Get Along? The Reality of a Polarized America.” *The Forum* 3(2): Article 1.

**November 30-December 3:** Are Presidential Campaigns Mere Sound and Fury Signifying Nothing?

- Holbrook, Thomas M. 1996. *Do Campaigns Matter?* Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications. Chapter 1 (“Campaigns and Elections”).

**December 5-7:** The Prospects for Campaign Reform

- Buchanan, Bruce. 2001. “Mediated Electoral Democracy: Campaigns, Incentives, and Reform.” In W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman (eds.), *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- \*\*\*TAKE-HOME FINAL HANDED OUT DEC. 7, DUE DEC. 14\*\*\*