PRESIDENTIAL CAMPAIGNS

PSC 344, Spring 2014
University at Buffalo, SUNY
115 Talbert Hall
3:30 – 4:50pm Tuesdays & Thursdays
Office Hours:
5 -5:30pm Tuesdays & Thursdays,
1-2:30pm on Thursday and by appt.

Prof. James E. Campbell
511 Park Hall
645-8452
e-mail: jcampbel@buffalo.edu

Course Description
This course examines the fundamental characteristics of American presidential campaigns and how they affect elections and the public's ability to control the government. This semester the course will focus particular attention on explanations of the 2012 presidential election, the impact of the candidates in presidential elections, the systematic or regular aspects of campaign effects on elections, and concerns about the negativity of presidential campaigns.

The course lectures and readings address many other basic questions about political campaigns as well: How have presidential campaigns changed over American history? What are the basic strategies involved in political campaigns? What resources are most important in campaigns? Has the increased polarization of the public and the parties affected campaigns and election outcomes? Do campaigns stimulate citizens to participate or turn them off on politics? Do presidential campaigns help to inform voters about the issues and the candidates or do they help candidates to manipulate what voters think? Are campaigns too negative and what kind of candidates run more negative campaigns? Have campaigns grown more negative in recent years? Is the television advertising of the candidates' messages to voters effective, either from an informational standpoint or in terms of gaining votes? Do presidential campaigns weaken or strengthen partisanship in the electorate? What is the role of the economy in elections? Are elections with an incumbent in the race fundamentally different from “open seat” elections? Do all incumbents have the same advantages or are first party-term incumbents particularly privileged? How much of a difference do campaigns make to the vote margins between the candidates? How often do presidential campaigns make a difference to the outcomes of the election? Are campaign effects on the vote systematic or do they depend largely on the chance developments of events, the particular strategies of the candidates' campaigns, and unforeseeable errors and gaffes of the candidates and their supporters?

Student Learning Outcomes
My hope is that this course will teach you to think more rigorously in general and particularly about the politics involved in the electoral process. Beyond that, I hope is that the course will provide you with important information and theories regarding the electoral process in a democratic republic. If successful, these learning outcomes will be useful to you in many capacities of everyday life, in your roles as active citizens, and in your occupations, should your careers move you toward an engagement in the political process and government. More specifically, students are expected by the end of the semester to have achieved the following learning outcomes:
1. Be familiar with different explanations of the effects of presidential campaigns,
2. Understand the history of recent elections,
3. Understand the fundamental characteristics of American electoral politics,
4. Improve their ability to apply social scientific reasoning,
5. Improve their ability to express clearly their reasoning in both written and verbal forms,
6. Be able to interpret statistics applied to social scientific questions,
7. Understand the strengths and weaknesses of modern campaigns in democratic politics.
**REQUIRED READING**

There are four required texts and several articles available through the internet for this course. The books in their order of appearance in the course are:


These books are available for purchase at the UB bookstore. The books are referred to by the author’s last name in the listing of reading assignments. In addition to these books, we will read five short articles or book chapters that I published over the last few years about elections and campaigns, plus an excerpt on campaigns taken from Karl Rove’s memoir. These will be available on HUB. These readings are:


The chapters and articles in these reading assignments are designated below for weeks throughout the course. Consult the reading list in this syllabus frequently. It is important that you do not fall behind. Note that the class lectures will be covering material not in the reading.

Also, because of the need to discuss some background material early in this class, your reading will be “ahead” of what we initially discuss in class, but classes will eventually discuss the readings at the appropriate time. Also, since the course is being conducted in the midst of a midterm congressional campaign, we will regularly discuss issues and questions raised by the campaign. This is part of the course and you are as responsible for this material as that in the lectures and readings.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS**

Your course grade will be based of five considerations. These will combined in the following percentages to compute your overall course grade:

- Class Participation 10%
- Quizzes 10%
- Election Analysis Paper 16%
- Midterm Examination 30%
- Final Examination 34%
Student Learning Outcomes and Grades: The extent to which you have achieved the learning outcomes itemized at the beginning of this syllabus will be assessed by each of the five evaluation components of the grade: participation, quizzes, the term-paper, and the two examinations.

PARTICIPATION
Class participation counts for 10 percent of your course grade. Although the evaluation of your course participation is unavoidably subjective, two factors will affect this component of your grade.

(1.) Attendance counts. You are expected to attend class regularly. You are expected to know about anything said in the class lectures or discussions. Nothing short of a personal or family emergency is as important as this class during its scheduled meeting time. Attendance will be taken at different times in the course on a random basis. Unless it cannot possibly be avoided, do not plan to be anywhere else when this class is scheduled (no vacations, no appointments, etc.)

(2.) The quality of your participation counts. Insightful questions and comments will be rewarded in the participation grade. Inattentive and/or distracting behavior will detract substantially from your participation grade. In this regard, I must also make a point of classroom behavior. All students attending class are expected to pay attention and attend the entire class meeting, unless arrangements have been made with me before the class. Students who are obviously not paying attention (e.g., reading newspapers) or who leave class prior to the end of the class meeting will receive a failing class participation grade. Also, remember that this is not a “movie.” It is inappropriate to leave the class room while a lecture or discussion is in progress unless it is an emergency (you feel sick or must otherwise use the bathroom facilities).

QUIZZES
There will be at least two quizzes and perhaps a few more. One will be an unannounced quiz sometime before the midterm exam. Another will be a quiz after the midterm examination drawn from that exam. There are absolutely no make-up options for these quizzes. There may also be other quizzes given, especially when videos are shown to the class. The quizzes will count for a combined 10 percent of your grade. Any quiz given before the third week of the class can be dropped from the grade if it hurts your overall quiz grade—that is, it will only be counted if it helps your grade.

MIDTERM EXAMINATION
A midterm is scheduled for Week 7, October 10. It will cover the lectures and assigned readings up to and including that covered in Week 7. I reserve the right to push back the date of the midterm based on the progress of the course, but will inform you of any change at least two class meetings before the test.

ELECTION ANALYSIS PAPER
Since 1900, there have been 29 presidential elections. Of these 29, nine have been “open seat” elections. These are elections without an incumbent president in the race. Twelve have been elections with first party-term incumbents running. These are incumbents whose party is completing its first term in the presidency. It had succeeded a president of the opposite party. The final eight elections were contested by an incumbent whose party had been in office for more than one term. Table 1 (next page) is a list of these presidential elections, the winning and losing candidates, the incumbent president, and whether the in-party held the White House.

Your paper assignment will be to write a paper on the effects of the incumbent president and his record on the election, whether his own reelection or that of a would-be successor candidate of his party. You will each be assigned one of the elections since 1948 to analyze the incumbent’s role. The questions you should address in your paper are:

To what extent and in what specific ways did the incumbent president and the record of his administration affect the election results of the election? Did the incumbent president and his record help, hurt, or make no difference to the vote for his party’s presidential candidate and on what specific evidence do you base this conclusion? If the record did not make much of a difference, why not? And, again, report whatever evidence you have used to reach this conclusion.
Be specific about the ways and extent to which the previous incumbent president affected the election and provide thorough documentation of any effects. Please remember to respond to the question. This is not a general essay on a particular election. READ your paper. It should be coherent and tightly organized.

In answering the question, you should examine as many sources as possible, including newspapers and news magazines, economic data, personal and electoral histories, and any other reliable source that you can find. Preference should be given to original rather than secondary sources (e.g., Wikipedia is definitely a least preferred source, not the highest authority).

Your grade on the paper will be based on:
(1.) how thoroughly and creatively you have searched for reliable information to assess the incumbent’s role in the election (dig for original sources, read newspapers and news magazines of that time such as Time, Newsweek, U.S. News and World Report and others, read presidential speeches, etc.). Do not just rely on convenient website materials. They are only a starting point. Do Not make vague assertions and provide evidence for specific assertions. If you write X, why should anyone believe it?

You should examine presidential approval ratings available at the Roper Center’s website and Gallup’s Job Approval Center (1948 to present) at the Gallup website. At Gallup, presidential approval ratings are available for the general public as well as for party identifiers (Democrats, Independents, and Republicans).

You should examine economic data such as the % change in real GDP available at the website of the Bureau of Economic Analysis (since 1930 annually and 1947 quarterly) and unemployment rates available at the Bureau of Labor Statistics (since 1948).

Your paper should also draw on at least three histories or political science studies of the election. You might start looking for these through search engines such as J-Stor.

Do not use encyclopedias as authoritative sources.

(2.) how carefully you have analyzed this information to assess the incumbent’s role, and

(3.) how well you have organized the paper to present clearly your assessment of the nature and extent of the incumbent’s role in the election.

Table 1. Election Results for the In-Party Presidential Candidate, 1900-2012

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>In-Party Candidate and Election Type</th>
<th>Two-Party Popular Vote Percentage</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td>Won</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Not Incumbent, Open Seat</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incumbent, First-Party Term</td>
<td>11</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Incumbent, Not First-Party Term</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Note: 2000 is counted as a popular vote win for the in-party candidate. Counted as an electoral vote loss, the open seat record is 3 wins and 6 losses. The mean vote for the in-party candidate is unchanged.
<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Year</th>
<th>In-Party Candidate</th>
<th>Out-Party Candidate</th>
<th>In-Party Outcome</th>
<th>Type of Race</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1900</td>
<td>McKinley (R)</td>
<td>Bryan (D)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1904</td>
<td>T. Roosevelt (R)</td>
<td>Parker (D)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1908</td>
<td>Taft (Repub)</td>
<td>Bryan (Dem)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1912</td>
<td>Taft (Repub)</td>
<td>Wilson (Dem)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1916</td>
<td>Wilson (Dem)</td>
<td>Hughes (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1920</td>
<td>Cox (Dem)</td>
<td>Harding (Repub)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1924</td>
<td>Coolidge (Repub)</td>
<td>Davis (Dem)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1928</td>
<td>Hoover (Repub)</td>
<td>Smith (Dem)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1932</td>
<td>Hoover (Repub)</td>
<td>F. Roosevelt (Dem)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1936</td>
<td>F. Roosevelt (Dem)</td>
<td>Landon (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1940</td>
<td>F. Roosevelt (Dem)</td>
<td>Willkie (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1944</td>
<td>F. Roosevelt (Dem)</td>
<td>Dewey (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1948</td>
<td>Truman (Dem)</td>
<td>Dewey (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1952</td>
<td>Stevenson (Dem)</td>
<td>Eisenhower (Repub)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1956</td>
<td>Eisenhower (Repub)</td>
<td>Stevenson (Dem)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1960</td>
<td>Nixon (Repub)</td>
<td>Kennedy (Dem)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1964</td>
<td>Johnson (Dem)</td>
<td>Goldwater (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1968</td>
<td>Humphrey (Dem)</td>
<td>Nixon (Repub)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1972</td>
<td>Nixon (Repub)</td>
<td>McGovern (Dem)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1976</td>
<td>Ford (Repub)</td>
<td>Carter (Dem)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1980</td>
<td>Carter (Dem)</td>
<td>Reagan (Repub)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1984</td>
<td>Reagan (Repub)</td>
<td>Mondale (Dem)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1992</td>
<td>G.H.W. Bush (Repub)</td>
<td>Clinton (Dem)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Incumbent/Not 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1996</td>
<td>Clinton (Dem)</td>
<td>Dole (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2000</td>
<td>Gore (Dem)</td>
<td>G.W. Bush (Repub)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2004</td>
<td>G.W. Bush (Repub)</td>
<td>Kerry (Dem)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2008</td>
<td>McCain (Repub)</td>
<td>Obama (Dem)</td>
<td>Lost</td>
<td>Open Seat</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2012</td>
<td>Obama (Dem)</td>
<td>Romney (Repub)</td>
<td>Won</td>
<td>Incumbent/ 1st Party Term</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Regarding the format and length of your paper:

1. The text of the paper (excluding title page, endnotes and references) should be no longer than **8 pages** (double-spaced with 1 inch margins and a 12 point font). Observe the correct capitalization of parties and offices: Republican Party, Democratic Party, Congress, president (unless title).

2. Citations within the paper to sources listed in a reference section at the end of the paper should use the standard social scientific format. For example, (Skowronek 2008) or specifically to a page, (Skowronek 2008, 52). You must cite sources correctly and enter them in the references correctly.

3. The references should be listed alphabetically on a separate page(s) after the text.

4. Endnotes should be used sparingly and only for substantive comments. These should be placed between the text and the list of references.

5. The paper should have a cover page with a title, your name, the course number and name, the university, and the semester.

Since we will discuss the 2012 election at some length in the class, that election will not be included among those assigned. Given the size of the class (roughly 50 students) and the number of elections available for assignment (16), most elections will be examined by three or more students. You will be each be randomly assigned an election in the first two weeks of the class. Do not wait to get a start on this paper.

Your paper will be due on **Tuesday, May 6th**. The final two classes will be devoted to panels on each election in which those of you who have written on the election discuss what you have learned about it. Your paper will count for 16 percent of your course grade.

**FINAL EXAMINATION**

The final exam will be comprehensive, covering material throughout the course, but will emphasize material covered after the midterm test. The midterm examination will be composed of "objective" questions (true-false, multiple choice, list). Once examinations are distributed to the class, no one will be permitted to leave the room and return to the test. The midterm counts for 30 percent of your course grade and the final examination counts for 34 percent of your grade.

**Grades:** Grades on the five components of your overall course grade are based on 100 point scale. Numerical grades are rounded. The instructor reserves the right to scale exams and quizzes depending on their degree of difficulty. The numerical and letter grades are associated as follows:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Letter Grade</th>
<th>Numerical Grade</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A</td>
<td>91.5 to 100</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>A-</td>
<td>89.5 to 91.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B+</td>
<td>87.5 to 89.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B</td>
<td>81.5 to 87.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>B-</td>
<td>79.5 to 81.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C+</td>
<td>77.5 to 79.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C</td>
<td>71.5 to 77.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>C-</td>
<td>69.5 to 71.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D+</td>
<td>67.5 to 69.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>D</td>
<td>59.5 to 67.4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>F</td>
<td>59.4 and below</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
You are expected to take the exams at the times scheduled for the whole class. Failure to take a test at the specified time will be counted as a zero for that portion of the course. Exceptions to this rule will only be made when the student confronts extreme circumstances and then, only when arrangements have been made with me prior to the examination or due date. If you have difficulty getting in touch with me, you can always send me an e-mail or leave a message for me on my office phone answering machine. But in any case, if you have significant problems you should get in touch with me as early as possible. My contact information is at the top of the first page of this syllabus. You should familiarize yourself with UB’s policy regarding incomplete grades.

In more general terms, you are expected at all times to conduct yourself in accord with the university’s policy regarding **Academic Integrity**. If you are not already familiar with UB’s standards of academic responsibility and integrity, you should familiarize yourself with them at http://academicintegrity.buffalo.edu/ You should also be familiar with UB’s policy regarding “Obstruction or Disruption in the Classroom” at http://www.student-affairs.buffalo.edu/judicial/classroom.php

Finally, as the **Accessibility Resources** website indicates: “the University at Buffalo is committed to providing students with disabilities access to all the university's resources and programs. While this goal is shared across the campus community, AR coordinates requests for reasonable accommodations to help ensure that your needs are met in a timely and effective way. Accommodations are various modifications or adjustments that are made to provide people with disabilities equal opportunity to access information, programs, services. If you need to request an accommodation please contact us to arrange a meeting with AR staff.” For more information see: http://www.buffalo.edu/accessibility/students.php

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**COURSE OUTLINE**

I. The 2008 and 2012 Presidential Elections: The Fundamentals, the Forecasts, and the Unforeseen

II. An Outlook on the 2014 Midterm Election

III. Forecasting Elections: If we can forecast elections accurately before the campaign does this mean that campaigns do not matter?

IV. Some Groundwork for the Scientific Study of Campaigns
   A. What or When is the Presidential Campaign?
   B. What are the Different Types of Campaign Effects?
   C. What is Evidence of a Campaign Effect?
   D. Some Background in Social Science Methodology

V. The Functions of Political Campaigns in the Electoral Process

VI. The Context of Voter Predispositions and Information, the Media, and the Political Party System

VII. The History of Modern Presidential Campaigns

VIII. Campaigns from the Candidates' Perspective
    A. The Candidate’s Strengths and Weaknesses
    B. Evaluating the Opposition
    C. The Campaign Organization
    D. Resources: Campaign Financing & the Advantages of Incumbency
    E. Candidate Strategy: Giving Voters a Convincing Reason to Vote for You
IX. The Impact of Presidential Campaigns
   A. Do Campaigns Affect Turnout?
   B. Do Campaigns Affect the Vote Percentages for Candidates?
   C. The Basis for Doubts about the Impact of Presidential Campaigns
      1. Individual Vote Choice Stability
      2. Early Vote Decisions
      3. A Stable Partisan Electorate
      4. The Minimal Effects Conundrum: The Two-Edges of Political Interest
      5. Issue Voting Drawing on the Past
      6. Predictable Election Results before the Campaign Takes Place
      7. Talking Past Each Other or the Multiple Agendas of Campaigns:
         The Candidates, the Media, and the Voters

X. The Theory of the Predictable Campaign
   A. Limits to Campaign Effects: A Solid Pre-Campaign Background
      1. The Known Factors and Early Decisions
      2. The Importance of Early Party Unity
   B. Systematic Factors Incorporated Over the Campaign: Incumbency & the Economy
      1. How Much and When does the Economy affect Presidential Campaigns?
      2. Is there a Presidential Incumbency Advantage?
   C. How Does Partisanship affect Campaigns?
   D. The Competitive Effect of Campaigns
      1. Convention Effects
      2. General Campaign Effects
      3. Debate Effects
   D. The Unsystematic Effects of Campaigns
   E. Overall Campaign Effects on the Vote and on Election Outcomes

XI. Negative Campaigning
   A. What Campaigns are Most Negative?
   B. Is Negative Campaigning Increasing?

XII. Evaluating Campaigns
   A. How Much Do Campaigns Matter?
      1. The Typical Campaign
      2. The Electorate and Predictable Campaigns
      3. Two Views on Campaign Effects: Is the Glass 20% Full or 80% Empty?
      4. Voter Information and the Campaigns
   B. Campaigning and Governing: Is There a Disconnect?
      1. Do Elections Produce Mandates?
      2. Does Campaigning Overshadow Governing?
      3. Are First Party-Term Incumbents Free to Evade Responsibility for their Records?
      4. Has "Governing" become Campaigning?
   C. Are Campaigns in Need of Reform? How can they be Improved?
      1. Who are Campaigns For and What Do They Need to Do?
      2. Are Campaigns too Long?
      3. Are Elections being Bought? The Issues of Campaign Finance Reform
      4. Can Campaigns be made more Substantive and More Accurate?
      5. Do Voters Learn Enough from Campaigns?
      6. Is the Electoral College an Anachronism?
   D. Democracy, Competition, and Political Campaigns

Additionally, running throughout the course will be discussions of particular presidential campaigns over the course of American history.

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COURSE TOPICS AND READING ASSIGNMENTS

WEEK 1: January 28 & 30
Introduction to the Course
Fundamentals, Forecast, Candidates, and Campaigns
Lessons from Recent Presidential Elections: 2008 and 2012
An Outlook on the 2014 Midterm Elections
Some Background in Social Science Methodology: Getting Beyond Opinion
Forecasting Presidential Elections
View:  
The Making of the President, 1960, 1964 or 1968
Read:  
Campbell, “The Exceptional Election of 2008: Performance, Values, and Crisis,”  

WEEK 2. February 4 & 6
Some Basic Questions About Campaigns
The Functions of Campaigns: What is a Campaign? What are Campaigns supposed to do?
Read:  
Jamieson (ed.), Electing the President, 2012: The Insiders’ View. chapters 3, 4, & 5

WEEK 3. February 11 & 13
The Context of Campaigns: Values and Performance
The Contexts that Shape Campaigns
Polarization and Partisanship: Hyper-Competition
The In-Party’s Record
Read:  
Jamieson (ed.), Electing the President, 2012: The Insiders’ View, chapters 6 & 7
Popkin, The Candidate, chapter 1

WEEK 4. February 18 & 20
The Rawest of the Raw Materials: The Candidate
Before the Campaign: The Nominating Process
>> On Popkin: Challengers and Hillary Clinton
View:  
The Making of the President, 1968
Read:  
Popkin, The Candidate, chapters 2, 3, & 4

WEEK 5. February 25 & 27
Campaigns from the Candidates' Perspective
Changes in Presidential Campaigning
>> On Popkin: Incumbents and George H. W. Bush
Read:  
Popkin, The Candidate, chapter 5 & 6
Rove, “What Is a Rovian Campaign?”

WEEK 6. March 4 & 6
Campaigns from the Media’s Perspective
>> On Popkin: Successor Candidates and Al Gore
Read:  
Popkin, The Candidate, chapters 7 & 8
WEEK 7. March 11
The Impact of Presidential Campaigns
Read: Popkin, *The Candidate*, chapter 9

MIDTERM EXAM ON MARCH 13

SPRING BREAK. March 17-24

WEEK 8. March 25 & 27
The Impact of Presidential Campaigns: Do Campaigns Affect the Vote Percentages for Candidates?
Why Some Doubt the Impact of Presidential Campaigns
The Theory of the Predictable Campaign
The Stable Context of the Campaign: The Partisan and Ideological Starting Point
Who Decides Their Vote Before the Campaign and Why?
View: CNN: *Election 2000*
Read: Campbell, *The American Campaign*, chapters 1 & 2

WEEK 9. April 1 & 3
The Variable Context of the Campaign: The Presidential Incumbency Advantage
Is the Incumbency Advantage linked to the Incumbent Personally or to his Party?
The First Party-Term Advantage: An Eight Year Term?
Read: Campbell, *The American Campaign*, chapters 3 & 4 and Appendices A & B

WEEK 10. April 8 & 10
The Variable Context of the Campaign: It’s the Economy Stupid!
Are Voters Like Cash-registers? Is it Only Money that Matters?
Who Gets Credit or Takes the Blame for the Economy?
How Much Growth do Voters Require Before they Give Credit to the In-Party?
What Timing of Economic Growth is Important to the Election and Why?
Read: Campbell, *The American Campaign*, chapters 5, 6, & 7

WEEK 11. April 15 & 17
Is there a Momentum to Campaigns?
Is there a Narrowing Effect of Campaigns?
How do Party Conventions affect the Campaigns?
What Happens Within the Parties affects What Happens Between the Parties
View: *The 1968 Democratic National Convention*
Read: Campbell, *The American Campaign*, chapters 8 & 9
Campbell, “Nomination Politics, Party Unity, and Presidential Elections.”

WEEK 12. April 22 & 24
How Does Partisanship affect Campaigns?
Turnout, Swing Voters and the Base
Campaign Strategies and Negative Campaigning
Read: Buell and Sigelman, *Attack Politics*, chapters 1, 2 & 3

WEEK 13. April 29 & May 1
Do Campaigns Affect Turnout?
Do Campaigns Persuade or Reinforce Voters?
Evaluating Campaigns: How Much and How Often Do Campaigns Matter?
Have Unsystematic Effects Decided Election Outcomes?
Two Views on Campaign Effects: Is the Glass 20% Full or 80% Empty?
Who Should Be Served By Campaigns?
Do Voters Learn from Campaigns?
Read: Buell and Sigelman, *Attack Politics*, chapters 4, 5, & 6
WEEK 14. May 6 & 8
Interpreting Campaigns: Do Elections Provide Mandates for Public Policy?
Campaigning and Governing: Is There a Disconnect?
Democracy, Competition, and Political Campaigns
Evaluating Campaigns: Should Campaigns Be Reformed? Are they too Long?
Can Campaigns be made more Substantive and More Accurate?
Should the Electoral College System be Abolished?
Read: Buell and Sigelman, Attack Politics, chapters 7, 8, & 9

Presentations of Term Papers

FINAL EXAMINATION, TBA

This syllabus is in keeping with UB’s policy of May 8, 2013 regarding “Course Syllabi Requirements.” The above sections of the syllabus have presented a course description, course requirements, the academic content of the course, intended student learning outcomes, my grading policy, the link of the intended learning outcomes to each of the components in the course grade, UB’s academic integrity policy (they are for it), UB’s available accessibility resources, and my office hours. If this syllabus gets any longer, it may rival the small print of a credit card application or the license agreements on software that none of us read — but it is all here, and if not, please feel free to let me know. I will try to answer any question about the course that you might have.