Political Science 8110 RESEARCH ON ELECTORAL BEHAVIOR

Fall 2024 (59598) Baldwin 302 T 3:55 – 6:40 p.m.

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Office Hours: Th 3:35-4:30 and by appointment http://spia.uga.edu/faculty_pages/carson/

Course Overview

This research seminar is intended as a broad survey of the literature on electoral behavior and politics. The central focus of the course will be on congressional elections, but much of what we discuss will have direct relevance for the study of elections more generally. As such, we will focus on the behavior of "strategic" politicians, the electoral connection, the incumbency advantage, congressional campaigns, representation, and election outcomes. Since this is an election year, we will also be spending some time understanding how political scientists seek to explain why some candidates seeking elective office win while others lose. Throughout the course, we will pay attention to current political and scholarly controversies (as well as some "classics") in terms of identifying important research questions as well as examining and improving upon existing research designs. By the end of the course, you should have a better understanding of the nature of elections research, even thought it would be impossible to cover all facets of electoral behavior in a single graduate seminar.

Required Texts

- Aldrich, John, Jamie Carson, Brad Gomez, and Jennifer Merolla. 2023. *Change and Continuity in the 2020 and 2022 Elections*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Brunell, Thomas L. 2008. *Redistricting and Representation: Why Competitive Elections are Bad for America*. New York: Routledge.
- Carson, Jamie and Gary C. Jacobson. 2024. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*. 11th Edition. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Carson, Jamie, Joel Sievert, and Ryan Williamson. 2024. *Nationalized Politics: Evaluating Electoral Politics Across Time*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Hassell, Hans J. G. 2018. *The Party's Primary: Control of Congressional Nominations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lee, Frances E. 2016. *Insecure Majorities: Congress and the Perpetual Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Mayhew, David R. 2004. *Congress: The Electoral Connection*. 2nd edition. New Haven: Yale University Press.

Course Materials

The readings for the course will be drawn from the list of books above, in addition to several scholarly articles each week. On occasion, we may also read unpublished papers (which will generally be made available electronically). Required books are available for purchase from the usual sources or may be checked out from the library. Unless otherwise indicated, articles for a given week can be downloaded from www.jstor.org or from the UGA library. Please keep in mind that assigned readings or the course schedule may be altered at the discretion of the instructor.

Course Expectations and Evaluation

You will be required to complete several written assignments in this course. First, there will be three critical evaluations of the assigned readings, each for one of the weeks of the course. I would expect this to run something like 5-6 double-spaced pages. These reviews should summarize, analytically synthesize, and critique the literature in the particular area of emphasis. More effort and attention should be focused on analysis and criticism and comparatively less on summarization. You have some leeway in terms of when to turn in your critical evaluations, with the only restriction being that two must be completed prior to the midpoint of the semester (prior to October 15) and the remaining one due before the Thanksgiving break. These writing assignments will represent 30% of your course grade.

The other writing assignment will involve you completing a research paper on a selected topic by the end of the semester. These research projects will be judged by the same criteria I would apply to a paper delivered at a professional conference or one submitted to a journal. Your completed research paper will be due on **December 3rd**. Additionally, all students will be required to present their paper to the class on **November 26th**. This paper and presentation will represent 40% of your overall course grade. I would encourage each of you to contact me as early as possible to begin planning for your research project.

The remainder of your grade (30%) will depend on your active participation in the course. On any given day, you may be asked to lead the discussion on one or more of the assigned articles or books. As such, you are expected to read all the assigned material, to analyze it seriously, and to demonstrate that you have read and mastered that material by sharing your views and evaluations with the class (you want to understand what the author is trying to say and do, and to assess the strengths and weaknesses of the author's theoretical framework, methodology, and substantive conclusions). If you do not do this, you will not be able to receive an "A" in the class. Remember that this class is a collaborative enterprise. For the seminar to be a useful learning experience you must come to class every week and be prepared to participate in discussions. You alone are responsible for taking an active role in shaping your intellectual development and your research agenda. Both energetic and thoughtful participation in graduate seminars is a necessary step in that process.

Incompletes and Late Assignments

Incompletes will only be given under exceptional circumstances. As a rule, late assignments will not be accepted unless approval is obtained in advance from the instructor.

Instructor Availability

If you would like to speak with me outside of class time, feel free to stop by my office (Baldwin 304B) or schedule an appointment. Keep in mind that occasionally I have meetings during the day and may be unavailable. To ensure that I am in my office on a given day, email me (carson@uga.edu) ahead of time to set up a specific time to meet. I generally also respond quickly to email inquiries.

Academic Integrity and Special Needs

All students are responsible for maintaining the highest standards of honesty and integrity in every phase of their academic careers. The penalties for academic dishonesty are severe and ignorance of the policy is not an acceptable defense. Students with special needs that require accommodation should notify me and the Office for Disability Services as soon as possible so the appropriate arrangements can be made.

Mental Health and Wellness Resources

- If you or someone you know needs assistance, you are encouraged to contact Student Care and Outreach in the Division of Student Affairs at 706-542-7774 or visit https://sco.uga.edu/. They will help you navigate any difficult circumstances you may be facing by connecting you with the appropriate resources or services.
- UGA has several resources for a student seeking mental health services (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga) or crisis support (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/info/emergencies).
- If you need help managing stress anxiety, relationships, etc., please visit BeWellUGA (https://www.uhs.uga.edu/bewelluga/bewelluga) for a list of FREE workshops, classes, mentoring, and health coaching led by licensed clinicians and health educators in the University Health Center.

<u>Course Schedule</u> (Assigned readings are to be completed by the dates listed below)

August 20 – The Electoral Connection in Congress

Mayhew, David. 1974. Congress: The Electoral Connection. New Haven: Yale University Press.

- Herrick, Rebekah, Michael Moore, and John R. Hibbing. 1994. "Unfastening the Electoral Connection: The Behavior of U.S. Representatives when Reelection is No Longer a Factor." *Journal of Politics* 56(February): 214-227.
- Rothenberg, Lawrence, and Mitchell Sanders. 2000. "Severing the Electoral Connection: Shirking in the Contemporary Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(April): 310-319.
- Carson, Jamie L., Michael H. Crespin, Jeffery A. Jenkins, and Ryan Vander Wielen. 2004. "Shirking in the Contemporary Congress: A Reappraisal." *Political Analysis* 12(Spring): 176-179.
- Carson, Jamie L. and Erik J. Engstrom. 2005. "Assessing the Electoral Connection: Evidence from the Early United States." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(October): 746-757.
- Clemens, Austin C., Michael H. Crespin, and Charles J. Finocchiaro. 2015. "The Political Geography of Distributive Politics." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40(1): 111-136.

- Bianco, William T., David B. Spence, and John D. Wilkerson. 1996. "The Electoral Connection in the Early Congress: The Case of the Compensation Act of 1816." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(February): 145-171.
- Carson, Jamie L. and Jeffery Jenkins. 2011. "Examining the Electoral Connection across Time." *Annual Review of Political Science* 14: 25-46.

August 27 – Congressional Elections and Electoral Accountability

- Carson, Jamie L. and Gary C. Jacobson. 2024. *The Politics of Congressional Elections*, 11th edition. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Mann, Thomas E. and Raymond Wolfinger. 1980. "Candidates and Parties in Congressional Elections." *American Political Science Review* 74(September): 617-632.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice, David W. Brady, and John F. Cogan. 2002. "Out of Step, Out of Office: Electoral Accountability and House Members' Voting." *American Political Science Review* 96(March): 127-140.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen and Philip Edward Jones. 2010. "Constituents' Responses to Congressional Roll-Call Voting." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(July): 583-597.
- Carson, Jamie L., Gregory Koger, Matthew J. Lebo, and Everett Young. 2010. "The Electoral Costs of Party Loyalty in Congress." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(July): 598-616.
- Bonica, Adam and Gary W. Cox. 2018. "Ideological Extremists in the U.S. Congress: Out of Step but Still in Office." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 13(2): 207-236.
- Canes-Wrone, Brandice and Michael R. Kistner. 2022. "Out of Step and Still in Congress? Electoral Consequences of Incumbent and Challenger Positioning Across Time." *Quarterly Journal of Political Science* 17(3): 389-420.

Recommended:

- Erikson, Robert S. 1971. "The Electoral Impact of Congressional Roll Call Voting." *American Political Science Review* 65(December): 1018-1032.
- Lipinski, Daniel, William T. Bianco, and Ryan Work. 2003. "What Happens When House Members 'Run with Congress"? The Electoral Consequences of Institutional Loyalty." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 28(August): 413-429.
- Jones, David R. 2010. "Partisan Polarization and Congressional Accountability in House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 54(April): 323-337.

September 3 – Congressional Primaries

- Hassell, Hans J. G. 2018. *The Party's Primary: Control of Congressional Nominations*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawless, Jennifer and Kathryn Pearson. 2008. "The Primary Reason for Women's Underrepresentation? Reevaluating the Conventional Wisdom." *Journal of Politics* 70(January): 67-82.
- McGhee, Eric, Seth Masket, Boris Shor, Steven Rogers, and Nolan McCarty. 2014. "A Primary Cause of Partisanship? Nomination Systems and Legislator Ideology." *AJPS* 58(2): 337-351.
- Hall, Andrew B. 2015. "What Happens When Extremists Win Primaries?" *American Political Science Review* 109(1): 18-42.

- Pyeatt, Nicholas. 2015. "Party Unity, Ideology, and Polarization in Primary Elections for the House of Representatives: 1956-2012." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 40(4): 651-676.
- Treul, Sarah, Danielle M. Thomsen, Craig Volden, and Alan E. Wiseman. 2022. "The Primary Path for Turning Legislative Effectiveness into Electoral Success." *Journal of Politics* 84(3): 1714-1726.

- Brady, David W., Hahrie Han, and Jeremy C. Pope. 2007. "Primary Elections and Candidate Ideology: Out of Step with the Primary Electorate?" *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 32(February): 79-105.
- Carson, Jamie, Michael Crespin, Carrie Eaves, and Emily Wanless. 2012. "Constituency Congruency and Candidate Competition in Primary Elections for the U.S. House." *SPPQ* 12(June): 127-145.
- Silva, Andrea and Carrie Skulley. 2019. "Always Running: Candidate Emergence among Women of Color over Time." *Political Research Quarterly* 72(2): 342-359.

September 10 – Ambition and Strategic Politicians

- Rohde, David W. 1979. "Risk-Bearing and Progressive Ambition: The Case of Members of the United States House of Representatives." *American Journal of Political Science* 23(February): 1-26.
- Krasno, Jonathan S. and Donald Philip Green. 1988. "Preempting Quality Challengers in House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 50(November): 920-936.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1989. "Strategic Politicians and the Dynamics of U.S. House Elections, 1946-86." American Political Science Review 83(September): 773-793.
- Banks, Jeffery S., and Rod Kiewiet. 1989. "Explaining Patterns of Candidate Competition in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 33(November): 997-1015.
- Canon, David T. 1993. "Sacrificial Lambs or Strategic Politicians? Political Amateurs in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(November): 1119-1141.
- Maestas, Cherie D., Sarah A. Fulton, L. Sandy Maisel, and 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(May): 195-208.
- Porter, Rachel and Sarah A. Treul. 2024. "Evaluating (in)Experience in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12854

- Hall, Richard and Robert Van Houweling. 1995. "Avarice and Ambition in Congress: Representatives" Decisions to Run or Retire from the U.S. House." *American Political Science Review* 89 (1): 121-136.
- Carson, Jamie L. 2005. "Strategy, Selection, and Candidate Competition in U.S. House and Senate Elections." *Journal of Politics* 67(February): 1-28.

September 17 – The Incumbency Advantage

- Mayhew, David R. 1974. "Congressional Elections: The Case of the Vanishing Marginals." *Polity* 3(Spring): 295-317.
- Fiorina, Morris P. 1977. "The Case of the Vanishing Marginals: The Bureaucracy Did It." *American Political Science Review* 71(March): 177-181.
- Alford, John R., and John H. Hibbing. 1981. "Increased Incumbency Advantage in the House." *Journal of Politics* 43(November): 1042-1061.
- Cover, Albert D., and Bruce S. Brumberg. 1982. "Baby Books and Ballots: The Impact of Congressional Mail on Constituency Opinion." *American Political Science Review* 76(June): 347-359.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1987. "The Marginals Never Vanished: Incumbency and Competition in Elections to the U.S. House, 1952-1982." *American Journal of Political Science* 31(February): 126-141.
- Bauer, Monica and John R. Hibbing. 1989. "Which Incumbents Lose in House Elections: A Response to Jacobson's 'The Marginals Never Vanished'" *American Journal of Political Science* 33(1): 262-271.
- Abramowitz, Alan I. 1991. "Incumbency, Campaign Spending, and the Decline of Competition in U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 53(February): 34-56.

Recommended:

- Erikson, Robert. 1971. "The Advantage of Incumbency in Congressional Elections." Polity 3(1): 395-405.
- Cover, Albert D. 1977. "One Good Term Deserves Another: The Advantage of Incumbency in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 21(August): 523-542.

September 24 – The Incumbency Advantage II

- Cox, Gary W. and Jonathan N. Katz. 1996. "Why Did the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections Grow?" *American Journal of Political Science* 40(May): 478-497.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, James M. Snyder, Jr., and Charles Stewart, III. 2000. "Old Voters, New Voters, and the Personal Vote: Using Redistricting to Measure the Incumbency Advantage." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(January): 17-34.
- 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.
- Schaffner, Brian F. 2006. "Local News Coverage and the Incumbency Advantage in the U.S. House." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 31(November): 491-511.
- Carson, Jamie L., Erik Engstrom, and Jason Roberts. 2007. "Candidate Quality, the Personal Vote, and the Incumbency Advantage in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 101(May): 289-301.

- Kim, Henry A. and Brad L. Leveck. 2013. "Money, Reputation, and Incumbency in U.S. House Elections, or Why Marginals Have Become More Expensive." *American Political Science Review* 107(August): 492-504.
- Druckman, James N., Martin Kifer, and Michael Parkin. 2020. "Campaign Rhetoric and the Incumbency Advantage." *American Politics Research* 48(1): 22-43.

- Gelman, Andrew and Gary King. 1990. "Estimating Incumbency Advantage without Bias." *American Journal of Political Science* 34(November): 1142-1164.
- Stone, Walter J., Sarah A. Fulton, Cherie D. Maestas, and L. Sandy Maisel. 2010. "Incumbency Reconsidered: Prospects, Strategic Retirement, and Incumbent Quality in U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 72(January): 178-190.
- Wilkins, Arjun S. 2012. "Electoral Security of Members of the U.S. House, 1900-2006." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 37(August): 277-304.

October 1 - Nationalized Politics

- Carson, Jamie, Joel Sievert, and Ryan Williamson. 2024. *Nationalized Politics: Evaluating Electoral Politics Across Time*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 2015. "It's Nothing Personal: The Decline of the Incumbency Advantage in U.S. House Elections." *Journal of Politics* 3(July): 861-873.
- Abramowitz, Alan I. and Steven Webster. 2016. "The Rise of Negative Partisanship and the Nationalization of U.S. Elections in the 21st Century." *Electoral Studies* 41(1): 12-22.
- Sievert, Joel and Seth C. McKee. 2019. "Nationalization in U.S. Senate and Gubernatorial Elections." *American Politics Research* 47(5): 1055-1080.
- Moskowitz, Daniel J. 2021. "Local News, Information, and the Nationalization of U.S. Elections." *American Political Science Review* 115(1): 114-129.
- Dancey, Logan, John Henderson, and Geoffrey Sheagley. 2023. "The Personalized Vote in a Polarized Era." *American Journal of Political Science* https://doi.org/10.1111/ajps.12815

- Fiorina, Morris P. 2017. "The (Re)Nationalization of Congressional Elections." A Hoover Institution Essay on Contemporary American Politics. Series No. 7. https://calgara.github.io/Pol1_Fall2017/fiorina_renationalizationofcongressionalelections_7.pdf
- Zingher, Joshua N. and Jesse Richman. 2019. "Polarization and the Nationalization of State Legislative Elections." *American Politics Research* 47(5): 1036-1054.

October 8 – Money and Election Outcomes

- Jacobson, Gary C. 1978. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in Congressional Elections." *American Political Science Review* 72(June): 469-491.
- Green, Donald Philip, and Jonathan S. Krasno. 1988. "Salvation for the Spendthrift Incumbent: Reestimating the Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections." *AJPS* 32(November): 884-907.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 1990. "The Effects of Campaign Spending in House Elections: New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science* 34(May): 334-362.
- Green, Donald Philip, and Jonathan S. Krasno. 1990. "Rebuttal to Jacobson's New Evidence for Old Arguments." *American Journal of Political Science* 34(May): 363-372.
- Gerber, Alan. 1998. "Estimating the Effect of Campaign Spending on Senate Election Outcomes using Instrumental Variables." *American Political Science Review* 92(June): 401-411.
- Fouirnaies, Alexander and Andrew B. Hall. 2014. "The Financial Incumbency Advantage: Causes and Consequences." *Journal of Politics* 76(3): 711-724.
- Thomsen, Danielle M. 2023. "Competition in Congressional Elections: Money versus Votes." *American Political Science Review* 117(2): 675-691.

Recommended:

- Levitt, Steven D. 1994. "Using Repeat Challengers to Estimate the Effect of Campaign Spending on Election Outcomes in the United States House." *Journal of Political Economy* 102(August): 777-798.
- Erikson, Robert S., and Thomas R. Palfrey. 1998. "Campaign Spending and Incumbency: An Alternative Simultaneous Equations Approach." *Journal of Politics* 60(May): 355-373.

October 15 - Money and Election Outcomes II

- Box-Steffensmeier, Janet M. 1996. "A Dynamic Analysis of the Role of War Chests in Campaign Strategy." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(May): 352-371.
- Sellers, Patrick J. 1997. "Fiscal Consistency and Federal District Spending in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 41(July): 1024-1041.
- Goodliffe, Jay. 2001. "The Effect of War Chests on Challenger Entry in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 45(October): 830-844.
- Gimpel, James G., Frances E. Lee, and Shanna Pearson-Merkowitz. 2008. "The Check Is in the Mail: Interdistrict Funding Flows in Congressional Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(April): 373-394.
- Maestas, Cherie D. and Cynthia R. Rugeley. 2008. "Assessing the 'Experience Bonus' through Examining Strategic Entry, Candidate Quality, and Campaign Receipts in U.S. House Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 52(July): 520-535.

- Aldrich, John H., Andrew O. Ballard, Joshua Y. Lerner, and David W. Rohde. 2017. "Does the Gift Keep on Giving? House Leadership PAC Donations before and after Majority Status." *Journal of Politics* 79(4): 1449-1453.
- Baker, Anne E. 2020. "The Partisan and Policy Motivations of Political Donors Seeking Surrogate Representation in House Elections." *Political Behavior* 42(4): 1035-1054.

- Jacobson, Gary C. 1993. "Deficit-Cutting Politics and Congressional Elections." *Political Science Quarterly* 108(Autumn): 375-402.
- Epstein, David and Peter Zemsky. 1995. "Money Talks: Deterring Quality Challengers in Congressional Elections." *American Political Science Review* 89(June): 295-308.
- Bickers, Kenneth N. and Robert M. Stein. 1996. "The Electoral Dynamics of the Federal Pork Barrel." *American Journal of Political Science* 40(November): 1300-1326.
- Bovitz, Gregory L. 2002. "The Electoral Consequences of Porkbusting in the U.S. House of Representatives." *Political Science Quarterly* 117(Autumn): 455-477.

October 22 – Congressional Campaigns

- Lee, Frances E. 2016. *Insecure Majorities: Congress and the Perpetual Campaign*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Sellers, Patrick J. 1998. "Strategy and Background in Congressional Campaigns." *American Political Science Review* 92(March): 159-171.
- Larson, Bruce A. 2004. "Incumbent Contributions to the Congressional Campaign Committees, 1990-2000." *Political Research Quarterly* 57(March): 155-161.
- Wolak, Jennifer. 2009. "The Consequences of Concurrent Campaigns for Citizen Knowledge of Congressional Candidates." *Political Behavior* 31(June): 211-229.
- Sides, John, Lynn Vavreck, and Christopher Warshaw. 2022. "The Effect of Television Advertising in United States Elections." *American Political Science Review* 116(2): 702-718.
- Porter, Rachel, Sarah A. Treul, and Maura McDonald. 2024. "Changing the Dialogue: Descriptive Candidacies and Position Taking in Campaigns for the U.S. House of Representatives." *Journal of Politics* https://doi.org/10.1086/726928

- Sulkin, Tracy. 2011. The Legislative Legacy of Congressional Campaigns. Cambridge University Press.
- Bickers, Kenneth N., and Robert M. Stein. 1994. "Congressional Elections and the Pork Barrel." *Journal of Politics* 56(May): 377-399.

October 29 – Media and Elections

- Stewart, Charles, and Mark Reynolds. 1990. "Television Markets and U.S. Senate Elections." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 15(November): 495-524.
- Goldstein, Ken and Paul Freedman. 2000. "New Evidence for New Arguments: Money and Advertising in the 1996 Senate Elections." *Journal of Politics* 62(November): 1087-1108.
- Druckman, James N. and Michael Parkin. 2005. "The Impact of Media Bias: How Editorial Slant Affects Voters." *Journal of Politics* 67(November): 1030-1049.
- Levendusky, Matthew S. 2013. "Why do Partisan Media Polarize Viewers?" *American Journal of Political Science* 57(July): 611-623.
- 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.
- Martin, Gregory J. and Zachary Peskowitz. 2018. "Agency Problems in Political Campaigns: Media Buying and Consulting." *American Political Science Review* 112(2): 231-248.
- Arceneaux, Kevin, Johanna Dunaway, Martin Johnson, and Ryan J. Vander Wielen. 2020. "Strategic Candidate Entry and Congressional Elections in the Era of Fox News." *American Journal of Political Science* 64(2): 398-415.

Recommended:

- Goidel, Robert K. and Todd G. Shields. 1994. "The Vanishing Marginals, the Bandwagon, and the Mass Media." *Journal of Politics* 56(August): 802-810.
- Ridout, Travis N. and Glen R. Smith. 2008. "Free Advertising: How the Media Amplify Campaign Messages." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(December): 598-608.

November 5 – Presidential Elections

- Aldrich, John, Jamie Carson, Brad Gomez, and Jennifer Merolla. 2023. *Change and Continuity in the 2020 and 2022 Elections*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield.
- Holbrook, Thomas M. 1994. "Campaigns, National Conditions, and U.S. Presidential Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 38(November): 973-998.
- Karol, David and Edward Miguel. 2007. "The Electoral Cost of War: Iraq Casualties and the 2004 U.S. Presidential Election." *The Journal of Politics* 69(August): 633-648.
- Gomez, Brad, Thomas Hansford, and George Krause. 2007. "The Republicans Should Pray for Rain: Weather, Turnout, and Voting in U.S. Presidential Elections." *Journal of Politics* 69(3): 649-663.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 2021. "The Presidential and Congressional Elections of 2020: A National Referendum on the Trump Presidency." *Political Science Quarterly* 136(1): 11-45.
- Jacobson, Gary C. 2023. "The 2022 Elections: A Test of Democracy's Resilience and the Referendum Theory of Midterms." *Political Science Quarterly* 138(1): 1-22.

- Campbell, James E. 1992. "Forecasting the Presidential Vote in the States." *American Journal of Political Science* 36(May): 386-407.
- Hayes, Danny. 2005. "Candidate Qualities through a Partisan Lens: A Theory of Trait Ownership." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(October): 908-923.
- Wlezien, Christopher and Robert S. Erikson. 2002. "The Timeline of Presidential Election Campaigns." *The Journal of Politics* 64(November): 969-993.

November 12 – U.S. Senate Elections

- Lublin, David I. 1994. "Quality, Not Quantity: Strategic Politicians in U.S. Senate Elections, 1952-1990." *The Journal of Politics* 56(February): 228-241.
- Kahn, Kim Fridkin and Patrick J. Kenney. 1999. "Do Negative Campaigns Mobilize or Suppress Turnout? Clarifying the Relationship between Negativity and Participation." *American Political Science Review* 93(December): 877-889.
- Highton, Benjamin. 2000. "Senate Elections in the United States, 1920-94." *British Journal of Political Science* 30(July): 483-506.
- 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(January): 75-90.
- Jones, David R. 2003. "Position Taking and Position Avoidance in the U.S. Senate." *Journal of Politics* 65(August): 851-863.
- Schaffner, Brian F. 2005. "Priming Gender: Campaigning on Women's Issues in U.S. Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(October): 803-817.
- Johnson, Gbemende, Bruce I. Oppenheimer, and Jennifer L. Selin. 2012. "The House as a Stepping Stone to the Senate: Why Do So Few African American House Members Run?" *American Journal of Political Science* 56(April): 387-399.

- Squire, Peverill S. 1992. "Challenger Quality and Voting Behavior in United States Senate Elections." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 17(May): 247-263.
- Druckman, James N. 2004. "Priming the Vote: Campaign Effects in a U.S. Senate Election." *Political Psychology* 25(August): 577-594.

November 19 – Race, Redistricting, and Representation

- Brunell, Thomas L. 2008. *Redistricting and Representation: Why Competitive Elections are Bad for America*. New York: Routledge.
- Bafumi, Joseph and Michael C. Herron. 2010. "Leapfrog Representation and Extremism: A Study of American Voters and their Members in Congress." *American Political Science Review* 104(3): 519-542.
- Grimmer, Justin. 2013. "Appropriators not Position Takers: The Distorting Effects of Electoral Incentives on Congressional Representation." *American Journal of Political Science* 57(July): 624-642.
- Cottrell, David. 2019. "Using Computer Simulations to Measure the Effect of Gerrymandering on Electoral Competition in the U.S. Congress." *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 44(3): 487-514.
- Hassell, Hans J.G. and Neil Visalvanich. 2019. "The Party's Primary Preferences: Race, Gender, and Party Support of Congressional Primary Candidates." *American Journal of Political Science* 63(4): 905-919.
- Thomsen, Danielle and Aaron King. 2020. "Women's Representation and the Gendered Pipeline to Power." *American Political Science Review* 114(4): 989-1000.

Recommended:

- Fenno, Richard F., Jr. 1977. "U.S. House Members in Their Constituencies: An Exploration." *American Political Science Review* 71(September): 883-917.
- Hetherington, Marc, Bruce Larson, and Suzanne Globetti. 2003. "The Redistricting Cycle and Strategic Candidate Decisions in U.S. House Races." *Journal of Politics* 65 (November): 1221-1234.
- Carson, Jamie L., Erik J. Engstrom, and Jason M. Roberts. 2006. "Redistricting, Candidate Entry, and the Politics of Nineteenth Century House U.S. Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 50(April): 283-293.
- Friedman, John N. and Richard T. Holden. 2009. "The Rising Incumbent Reelection Rate: What's Gerrymandering Got to Do With It?" *Journal of Politics* 71(April): 593-611.

November 26 – *Research Paper Presentations*

December 3 – *Final Papers Due*