This course examines linkages between the mass citizenry and elite policymakers in America. Its goals are four: (1) to thoroughly acquaint you with the actual operation of parties, interest groups and elections; (2) to examine the degree of correspondence between public opinion and the activities of parties and interest groups; (3) to explore the configuration of public opinion in the 1992 and 1994 elections; and (4) to consider reforms of the electoral process -- particularly of campaign finance.

The course is organized around group projects in which all students will participate. During the first five weeks, the class will divided into four analysis groups to examine voting behavior in the 1992 election. Each group will analyze the 1992 voters in reference to one of the following four types of characteristics: (1) gender, (2) race, (3) religion and marital status and (4) education and income. Group reports will be given (each 30 minutes in length) on April 22 and 24.

For the second half of the course, four student groups will be organized to propose reforms in campaign finance. Drawing from pages 238-243 of the Sorauf book, each group will propose one of four models of campaign finance reform: (1) grass-roots, (2) party-centered, (3) comprehensive public funding or (4) organizational status quo. The groups will present their reform proposals (30 minutes each) on May 24 and 27. During our final class day, the class as a whole will choose one of the four models.

Students will write a 5-7 page paper for each project. The voter analysis paper should examine one aspect of the group topic in detail, with references to related scholarly literature. It is due in class on May 6. The campaign finance reform paper should critique the four alternative approaches and present your own overall recommendations for reform. It is due at my office by NOON, Friday, May 31. More information on the projects is included later in the syllabus.

The following books are required and available in the bookstore:

- L. Sandy Maisel, PARTIES AND ELECTIONS IN AMERICA (2nd. ed.)
- Mark Petracca, ed., THE POLITICS OF INTERESTS
- Frank J. Sorauf, INSIDE CAMPAIGN FINANCE
- Steven Rosenstone and John Mark Hansen, MOBILIZATION, PARTICIPATION AND DEMOCRACY IN AMERICA
- Nelson Polsby and Aaron Wildavsky, PRESIDENTIAL ELECTIONS (9th ed.)

In addition, you must each purchase at the bookstore an individual copy of the LADD ELECTION ANALYZER software for use in our first group project.

The total cost for class materials is a bit steep. Accordingly, two copies of each of the books are available on
closed reserve in the library. You may want to avoid purchasing one of the books by reading it on reserve.

Final grades will be calculated on the following basis:

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Assignment</th>
<th>Percentage</th>
<th>Points</th>
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<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Electoral analysis paper</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Campaign finance paper</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Midterm examination</td>
<td>20%</td>
<td>60</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Class and group participation</td>
<td>15%</td>
<td>45</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Final examination</td>
<td>25%</td>
<td>75</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Final grades are figured from a total of 300 points. A's range from 270-300, B's from 240-269, C's from 210-239 and D's from 180-209.

Certain readings marked with a (r) are on closed reserve (2 hours) in the library.

What follows is a schedule of class sessions by topic. We'll usually spend one day on each topic.

### 1. Introduction

### 2. Parties and voters: an overview

Maisel, chs. 1 & 4; Rosenstone and Hansen (R&H), ch. 1; Polsby and Wildavsky (P&W), ch. 1

### 3. Introduction to the Ladd Election Analyzer

Ladd Election Analyzer booklet; R&H, ch. 3

**NOTE:** CLASS WILL BE HELD AT CMC 102

**NOTE:** BRING A BLANK 3 1/2 INCH DISKETTE TO CLASS

### 4. Interest groups and campaign finance in overview

Sorauf, ch. 1; Petracca, ch. 1; P&W, ch. 2

### 5. The history and functions of parties

Maisel, chs. 2 & 3

### 6. The puzzle of participation

R&H, chs. 2, 4, 5

### 7. Solving the puzzle

R&H, chs. 6-8

### 8. State and local nominations and elections

P&W, ch. 3

10. Presidential nominations and the fall campaign

P&W, chs. 4-5

11. Evaluating presidential elections

P&W, chs. 6-7 ASSIGNMENT: Write a one-page opinion statement in favor of either policy government or consensus government. HAND THIS IN AT MY OFFICE (403 WILLIS) BEFORE CLASS, BY 10 AM.

12. I am out of town on April 19, presenting a paper on political activism in the American electorate. Enjoy your break!

13. ANALYSIS PROJECT PRESENTATIONS IN ROOM CMC 102

14. ANALYSIS PROJECT PRESENTATIONS IN ROOM CMC 102

15. Declining Social Trust in America

Putnam handout and other handouts ASSIGNMENT: Hand in two discussion questions on Putnam and his critics AT MY OFFICE (403 WILLIS) BEFORE CLASS, BY 10 AM. **MIDTERM BREAK -- APRIL 29**

16. MIDTERM EXAMINATION (May 1)

ASSIGNMENT: Robert Putnam will speak on campus on Thursday, May 2 at 4:30 pm. You are required to attend.

17. Polling and political strategy: a videotape presentation

featuring Fred Hartwig of Peter Hart Survey Research handouts

18. The art of political commercials: videotapes

1992 AND 1994 ANALYSIS PAPERS DUE

19. The campaign finance thicket
20. Does money talk?

Sorauf, chs. 3, 6, 8; Maisel, ch. 10

21. Campaign finance: current proposals

Sorauf, ch. 7

22. Interest groups: overview and how they form

Maisel, ch. 5; Petracca, chs. 4-5

23. Interest group influence

Petracca, chs. 13-15

24. How groups work in national institutions

Petracca, chs. 9, 10, 12

25. Parties, groups, and governing

Maisel, ch. 11; Petracca, pp. 348-355, 358-360; P&W, chs. 6-7

26. CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM PRESENTATIONS

27. CAMPAIGN FINANCE REFORM PRESENTATIONS

28. CLASS DELIBERATION AND DECISION ON REFORMS

ELECTION ANALYSIS PROJECT

Your first task is to draw up a list of your preferences for which group you wish to work in. The preferences should be listed in rank order and handed in on the second day of class. Group assignments will be distributed on the third day of class.

Once your group forms, it is important to divide up its responsibilities. The group will first need to examine the related literature. Check political science journals -- particularly PUBLIC OPINION QUARTERLY, the AMERICAN POLITICAL SCIENCE REVIEW, AMERICAN JOURNAL OF POLITICAL SCIENCE, WESTERN POLITICAL QUARTERLY, POLITY and AMERICAN POLITICS QUARTERLY -- for articles on public opinion and voting behavior as it relates to the characteristics you are examining. Check the reserve books concerning voting behavior and the 1992 elections (see appended list). Useful journal articles can be found by checking the footnotes in the reserve books. Examining the literature first gives you an idea of what is
commonplace and what is surprising in the data you are about to examine.

Once the literature review is completed, divide up the subject area so that each person has a distinct paper topic that relates to your project. You might subdivide gender, for example, in terms of (A) attitudinal and demographic variations among women, (B) southern men and women versus other men and women, (C) male and female Democrats versus Republicans, and (D) abortion attitudes among male and female voters. Other combinations of paper topics about gender are certainly possible. Be sure, however, that overall your group does examine the major characteristics of your topic in the data.

To do this, you might adopt the following procedure. You might first get information on the characteristics in the overall electorate for each value of your characteristic(s) (male/female, for example) for each of the following seven dependent variables: presidential vote, party ID, political views, views on the national economy, abortion, government/family values and government taxes/services.

Next, examine each of the eight variables in greater depth. Add to your original analysis other demographic variables. When studying gender, add variables such as age, race, region, education and income and examine subcategories for each of the eight dependent variables. If you are examining marital status and religion, examine them by variables such as gender, age, race, region, and education and income and examine subcategories for each of the eight dependent variables. You will not want to report all of these results, only those of particular help in depicting variation in attitudes, party ID and candidate preference. Keep your eyes open for interesting findings.

Once you have finished with the 1992 data, check out 1994 results in reference to your topic. They can be found in Everett C. Ladd, ed., AMERICA AT THE POLLS 1994, on closed reserve.

Finally, to examine for change, compare selected findings with the 1988 results. Where is there continuity and where is there change?

Your group presentation in CMC 102 will allow you to call up tables from the disk onto a projection screen. Decide in advance which ones you want to show. You may want to present some on paper to us. Be SELECTIVE, though, because time is limited. Present your most important and interesting findings and explain WHY they are important and interesting.

Your papers should first state your topic clearly and then relate your findings to the relevant literature on your topic. Particular surprises in your findings should be emphasized.

Complete citations must accompany your paper.

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**CAMPAIGN FINANCE PROJECT**

Your first step involves reading pages 238-243 of Sorauf in order to acquaint yourself with the four possible reform "models." Then write down your preferences among the models in rank order and hand them to me.

Once the groups are assigned, your first task is to examine possible reforms that might comport with your model. The sources on closed reserve may help you (see the appended list), but you also need to examine two periodicals for additional suggestions. They are CONGRESSIONAL QUARTERLY and NATIONAL JOURNAL, both weeklies from D.C. that cover campaign finance. You may also want to examine recent congressional committee hearings on campaign finance reform, where various reform ideas are floated. Check with Carolyn Sanford, the government documents librarian, if you need help locating this material.

Your group goal is to present a list of reforms no longer in two pages in length during your group presentation.
Your two-page handout may include brief explanations and justifications for your proposals. Remember that thirty minutes is not a long time to explain complex proposals, so strive to make your proposals and presentation comprehensible.

During our last day of class we will discuss each group proposal and see if we can agree upon one of them. Be prepared to consider supporting another model, if any is to pass!

Your papers will certainly draw on your group research, but must consider the topic of campaign finance more broadly as well. In your paper feel free to critique the proposals of each group, but be certain to present a clear justification for your particular reform ideas as well. Be sure to include full citations of your sources as well.

RESERVE READINGS FOR GROUP PROJECTS

(the following are on closed reserve for this class unless otherwise noted)

ELECTION ANALYSIS PROJECT

- Gerald M. Pomper, ed., THE ELECTION OF 1992: REPORTS AND INTERPRETATIONS (uses the Ladd data)
- Everett Carl Ladd, "The 1992 Vote for President Clinton: Another Brittle Mandate?" POLITICAL SCIENCE QUARTERLY (Spring 1993), PP. 1-28. (uses the Ladd data)
- Everett Carl Ladd, AMERICA AT THE POLLS 1994 (Ladd data for 1994!)
- William Crotty, ed., AMERICA'S CHOICE: THE ELECTION OF 1992 (NOTE: THIS IS ON RESERVE FOR MY 122 CLASS -- uses the Ladd data)
- James Ceaser and Andrew Busch, UPSIDE DOWN AND INSIDE OUT: THE 1992 ELECTIONS AND AMERICAN POLITICS (uses the Ladd data)
- Elizabeth Adell Cook, Sue Thomas and Clyde Wilcox, THE YEAR OF THE WOMAN: MYTHS AND REALITIES (4 copies; uses the Ladd data)
- Walter Dean Burnham, "Realignment Lives: the 1994 Earthquake and Its Implications,"
- Michael Dawson, BEHIND THE MULE (African American voting behavior)
- Rodolfo O. de la Garza et. al., LATINO VOICES
- Rodolfo O. de la Garza and Louis DeSipio, FROM RHETORIC TO REALITY: LATINO VOICES IN THE 1988 ELECTIONS
- Katherine Tate, FROM PROTEST TO POLITICS: THE NEW BLACK VOTERS IN AMERICAN ELECTIONS
- Robert C. Smith and Richard Seltzer, RACE, CLASS AND CULTURE: A STUDY IN AFRO-AMERICAN PUBLIC OPINION
- Wayne Parent and Paul Stekler, "Black Political Attitudes and Behavior in the 1990s."

CAMPAIGN FINANCE PROJECT

- Frank J. Sorauf, MONEY IN AMERICAN ELECTIONS
- Larry Sabato, PAYING FOR ELECTIONS
- David Magleby and Candice Nelson, THE MONEY CHASE
- Herbert E. Alexander, FINANCING ELECTIONS: MONEY, ELECTIONS AND POLITICAL REFORM (4th ed.)
- David E. Price, BRINGING BACK THE PARTIES (pro party model)
- Larry Sabato, THE PARTY'S JUST BEGUN (pro party model)
- Dan Clawson, Alan Neustadt, and Denise Scott, MONEY TALKS: CORPORATE PACS AND POLITICAL INFLUENCE (for public financing)