

Elections and Participation

Fall 2020

01:790:303

Instructor: Kyle J. Morgan Ph.D.

Instructor's Email: Kyle.Morgan@rutgers.edu

Class Meetings (ONLINE): Tuesday/Thursday 3:55-5:15

Office Hours: Via Webex (<https://rutgers.webex.com/meet/kjm225>)

Tuesday and Thursday 1:30-2:50, or by arrangement.

Course description

In this course we will be discussing both the structure of American elections, who runs for office and how they do so, how voters make decisions during an election, and what it means to participate in politics and our democracy more broadly. This course is not about the 2020 Election, but unsurprisingly we will use the Election as a vehicle to understand these topics and also as a way by which we can see how the scholarly literature matches up against politics as we observe it. Additionally, the 2020 Election will look different from any election that has come before (and hopefully after) so a part of this class will be analyzing just how it is different and why those differences may, or may not, matter.

By the end of this course, students will be able to understand the structure of our elections (both primary and general) and how those structures influence the decisions candidates make. Students will also gain an understanding of what goes into the decision's voters make when they decide to vote for a candidate, or against one, and how people participate in politics outside of the voting booth.

Important Note: This class will be taught synchronously. This means that students are expected to attend, and participate in, the live online lectures that will occur during the time when the course is scheduled for (Tuesdays and Thursdays, 3:55-5:15). A link for the lectures will be posted on the course's Canvas page.

Please be aware, that this course requires a lot of work, especially reading. You are expected to complete all the readings for this course prior to class so that we can have a discussion about the readings and the themes that motivate each class. There also will be reading quizzes during the semester (details below).

Required Texts

All readings will be made available on Canvas

Grading:

Final grades will be determined based on the following percentages:

Midterm	25%
Participation/attendance	10%
Reading Quizzes	10%
Elections in a pandemic paper	25%
Election reflection paper	10%
Final Paper	20%

Policies

- Attendance and participation in all classes is expected.
- Note: I realize in the current environment we're all working under less than ideal conditions. IF you have a problem (technical, environmental, or anything else) being able to participate in the live (online) lectures, please contact me so we can work out an alternative to cover the participation requirement for this course.
- Students are expected to abide by the University's code of student conduct while attending classes. Instances of misconduct, disruption, harassment, defamation, or other violations will be reported to administrators, and will be adjudicated in accordance with Rutgers policy. Please review section seven of the Rutgers University Code of Student Conduct: <http://studentconduct.rutgers.edu>.
- You must review and abide by the University's Policy on Academic Integrity. This can be found online at: <http://academicintegrity.rutgers.edu>.
- Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey abides by the Americans with Disabilities Act of 1990, the Americans with Disabilities Act Amendments (ADAA) of 2008, and Sections 504 and 508 that mandate that reasonable accommodations be provided for qualified students with disabilities. If you have a disability and may require some type of instructional and/or examination accommodation, please register with the Office of Disability Services for Students, which is dedicated to providing services and administering exams with accommodations for students with disabilities. **The Office of Disability Services for Students can be contacted by calling 848.445.6800 and is located on the Livingston campus at the following address: 54 Joyce Kilmer Avenue, Suite A145, Piscataway, NJ 08854.**
- If you believe you will be requiring an accommodation, please get the process started with ODS soon. I will gladly work with you to make sure we can structure things to make the class work for you, but you still need to speak with ODS to formally get this process started.

Email, contacting me, and office hours

I am here to help! If you have questions, concerns, or need extra discussion for readings and assignments, I am your resource. Please email me (Kyle.Morgan@rutgers.edu) with any questions or come by office hours.

Students can reach me on weekdays, Monday through Friday. Please note that I check my email periodically between 8 AM and 6 PM; depending on the complexity of the question and day it was emailed, allow one to two days for a response, Monday through Friday.

Like most of you my inbox gets clogged with incoming emails, please if you email me something and I have not gotten back to you in a few days send me an email to remind me. Help me help you.

Academic Integrity

“Academic freedom is a fundamental right in any institution of higher learning. Honesty and integrity are necessary preconditions of this freedom. *Academic integrity requires that all academic work be wholly the product of an identified individual or individuals. Joint efforts are legitimate only when the assistance of others is explicitly acknowledged.* Ethical conduct is the obligation of every member of the University community, and breaches of academic integrity constitute serious offenses.”

<http://teachx.rutgers.edu/integrity/policy.html#Integrity>

I expect that all of the work you hand in to me is work that you have produced on your own and that any information you obtain from other sources will be properly cited. While I encourage students to study together, *when you submit work for this class, it must be wholly your own*. If you have any questions or concerns about plagiarism, please see the university policy on academic integrity at <http://nbacademicintegrity.rutgers.edu/> or see me. Plagiarizing someone else's work or other suspected violations of academic integrity will be referred to the appropriate Dean for investigation. If you have any questions or concerns about my expectations, please do not hesitate to ask me.

Assignments

Reading quizzes: These quizzes are to be completed via Canvas PRIOR to the scheduled class. These readings are NOT designed to trick you or to be overly difficult, these are here to show me that you did the readings.

Midterm: There will be an “in class” midterm. You will be asked a series of identification questions and also several short essay questions based on the readings and class lectures up to that point. Even if we did not discuss a reading in class, it is fair game on the midterm.

Elections in a pandemic paper: This paper will ask you to contact a campaign and ask them how they are running an election during the pandemic. You don't need to speak to the candidate (though that would be great if she would speak with you!) but speak to someone in the office about what is going on there. Using that information, and information you find via their campaign website, write a paper about how their adjusting to the current climate. How, if at all, is this “new” style of campaigning different from the past? A more complete assignment sheet will be available on canvas for this paper and we will discuss it in class as well.

Election reflection paper: Reflect upon the election that has just passed. Part of the paper should reflect upon the campaign that you spoke with for the “Elections in a Pandemic paper”. In retrospect, what did they do well, or not so well? You can also reflect upon other campaigns and elections as well. A more complete assignment sheet will be available on canvas and we will discuss this paper in class as well.

Final paper: This final paper will take the place of a final exam. Much like the Republicans conducted an “autopsy” in the wake of the 2012 election, congratulations, you've been hired to write an autopsy of the 2020 Presidential Election. You can pick whichever party/candidate you would like to write about here. Your task is to use the materials covered in this course to analyze what went well and what went wrong. Where can that party, realistically, adjust their electoral strategy to be more successful in 2024? How can they increase turnout or engagement with their candidates? Remember, this paper is not asking for your opinion about the outcome of the race, you've been “hired” as a cold hearted political analyst to fix their strategy after all, instead your goal is to analyze their successes and failures in 2020, and provide them with a plan (using materials from the course) by which to fix those going forward. A more complete assignment sheet will be available on canvas and we will discuss this paper in class as well.

An important note regarding late assignments. Unless we have spoken and made prior arrangements, reading quizzes CANNOT be made up, they are due before class begins each week. Papers will be penalized ½ a letter grade if they are submitted late, but on the day they are due, and each day the paper is late after that a full letter grade will be deducted.

Finding Support At Rutgers

Rutgers Health Services

- <http://health.rutgers.edu>
- Medical <http://rhsmedical.rutgers.edu>
- Counseling, Alcohol & Other Drug Assistance Program & Psychiatric Services (CAPS) <http://rhscaps.rutgers.edu>
- Pharmacy <http://rhspharmacy.rutgers.edu>
- Health Outreach, Promotion & Education (H.O.P.E.) <http://rhshope.rutgers.edu>

Academic Deans and the Office of Academic Services

- <http://sasundergrad.rutgers.edu>
- <https://sebs.rutgers.edu/academics/>
- <http://www.business.rutgers.edu/>
- <http://www.masongross.rutgers.edu/content/undergraduate-academic-advisors>
- http://pharmacy.rutgers.edu/content/academic_services
- <http://soe.rutgers.edu/oas/advising>

Dean of Students

- <http://deanofstudents.rutgers.edu>
- <https://undergraduate.rutgers.edu/for-students/student-resources/campus-deans>

Writing Centers

- <http://wp.rutgers.edu/tutoring/writingcenters>

Office of Violence Prevention & Victim Assistance

- <http://vpva.rutgers.edu>

Center for Social Justice & LGBTQ Communities

- <http://socialjustice.rutgers.edu/>

Office of Disabilities Services

- <https://ods.rutgers.edu>

Public Safety

- RUPD <http://publicsafety.rutgers.edu/rupd/>
- Department of Transportation Services <http://rudots.rutgers.edu/>

COVID-19 and the Fall Semester:

We are all going to be going through this unique semester together. If you are having trouble with this course, please do not hesitate to reach out to me. I want everyone to succeed in this course, and I am more than happy to work with you towards that. Please be in contact with me during the

semester if you are having trouble or run into unforeseen complications, it is much easier to work through these during the semester than at the very last minute.

We're all in this together, so let's make this semester as enjoyable and successful as possible!

Class code of conduct:

This is an election year, further this election year is especially contentious. I expect that there will be disagreement in class, in fact it would be really boring if we all agreed, so when disagreement happens, I encourage (respectful!) debate. It is worth repeating that debate and disagreement in this class **MUST** be respectful. You can disagree, you can disagree strongly, but we will respect the dignity and humanity of everyone in the class. There is no place in this class for bigotry of any form. I take it seriously to encourage healthy debate and disagreement. I also take it seriously that all students regardless of their sex, gender identity, race, ethnicity, sexuality, disability, ideology, class, or religion are all treated with dignity and respect. If you feel uncomfortable with a conversation during class, please bring this to my attention (privately) as soon as possible so we can remedy the situation.

Elections and Participation Class Schedule:

- Class 1: Tuesday September 1st
 - Introductions
 - Reading:
 - Politics is for Power (Hersch) 1 - 11
- Class 2: Thursday September 3rd
 - Structure of Elections (Primaries)
 - Readings:
 - Why Iowa (Redlawsk, Tolbert, and Donovan) 3-41
- Class 3: Tuesday September 8th
 - **RUTGERS LABOR DAY SCHEDULE CHANGE: NO CLASS**
- Class 3: Thursday September 10th
 - How 2020 will (continue to) change elections
 - Readings:
 - Berman and Godfrey (American Elections won't be the same after 2020)
 - Hartig et al (As states move to expand the practice, relatively few americans have voted by mail)
 - Bazelon (Will americans lose their right to vote in the pandemic?)
 - Shapiro (Voting during the pandemic)
 - Cillufo and Fry (An early look at the 2020 electorate)
- Class 4: Tuesday September 15th
 - Who runs for office? Gender and candidate emergence
 - Readings:
 - It still takes a candidate (Fox and Lawless) 1-44
- Class 5: Thursday September 17th
 - Who runs for office? Race and candidate emergence
 - Readings:
 - Stepping up (Shah)
 - The wielding influence of political networks (Ocampo)
 - Always running (Silva and Skully)
 - The importance of race and ethnicity in congressional primary elections (Branton)
- Class 6: Tuesday September 22nd
 - Gender, Race, and Campaigning
 - Readings:
 - It Still Takes a Candidate (Fox and Lawless) 89-111
 - Race, Gender, and Symbolic Representation (Stokes-Brown and Dolan)

- Class 7: Thursday September 24th
 - A ~~Four~~, I mean twelve, letter word: Electability
 - Readings
 - Blaming Women or Blaming the System? (Dolan and Hansen)
 - Primary Politics (Jackman and Vavreck)

- Class 8: Tuesday September 29th
 - Campaigning
 - Readings:
 - U.S. House Members and Their Constituencies: An exploration (Fenno)

- Class 9: Thursday October 1st
 - Campaigning Guest Lecture (Councilman Fred Wied and Political Consultant Matthew Krayton)
 - Readings:
 - The American Congress (Smith, Roberts, and Vander Wielen) 91- 126

- Class 10: Tuesday October 6th
 - Power!
 - Readings:
 - Politics is for Power (Hersch) 13 - 50

- Class 11:
 - Public Opinion Polling Guest Lecture (Dr. Ashley Koning, Director of the Eagleton Center for Public Interest Polling [and also my boss])
 - Readings:
 - The Polls are All Right (Silver)
 - Forthcoming Oxford Handbook Chapter (Koning)

- Class 12: Tuesday October 13th
 - And now for something completely different: Judicial Elections
 - Readings:
 - Electing Judges (Gibson) Chapters 1,2 (Skim pages 30-52), and 3.

- Class 13: Thursday October 15th
 - How Voters Decide
 - Readings:
 - How Voters Decide (Lau and Redlawsk) 1-31, 229-252

- Class 14: Tuesday October 20th
 - Correct voting?
 - Readings:

- An Exploration of Correct Voting in Recent Elections (Lau, Andersen, and Redlawsk)
 - “Do women vote less correctly? The effect of gender on ideological proximity voting and correct voting” (Dassonneville et al)
- Class 15: Friday October 23rd
 - Polarization
 - Readings:
 - Uncivil Agreement (Mason) 1-44
- Class 16: Tuesday October 27th
 - The future of partisanship
 - Readings:
 - Uncivil Agreement (Mason) 102-141
- Class 17: Thursday October 29th
 - Media and Voter Decision Making
 - Readings:
 - Talking the Vote (Baum)
 - From Cronkite to Colbert (Baym) 1-21
- Class 18: Tuesday November 3rd
 - ELECTION DAY! AHHH!
 - Readings:
 - TBD
 - **ASSIGNMENT DUE: Elections in a Pandemic Paper Due**
- Class 19: Thursday November 5th
 - Election Day Post-Mortem
 - Readings:
 - What you need to read in the RNC Election-Autopsy Report (Franke Ruta)
 - The Hilary Hypothesis (Lewis-Beck and Quinlan)
- Class 20: Tuesday November 10th
 - Political Knowledge?
 - Readings:
 - What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters (Deli Carpini and Keeter) 1-25, 41-61
- Class 21: Thursday November 12th
 - Ill-informed voting?
 - Readings:
 - The American Voter?

- What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters (Deli Carpini and Keeter) 62-104
- Class 22: Tuesday November 17th
 - The Politics of Protest
 - Readings:
 - Hands Up (Cobbina) 72-127
- Class 23: Thursday November 19th
 - **IN "CLASS" EXAM**
- Class 24: Tuesday November 24th
 - What does protesting change?
 - Readings:
 - Social Networks and Protest Participation (Larson et al)
 - Spatial and Temporal Proximity (Wallace et al)
 - Protest and Congressional Behavior (Gillon)
- Class 25: Thursday November 26th
 - No Class, enjoy your Thanksgiving break!
 - **ASSIGNMENT DUE: Election Reflection Paper Due**
- Class 26: Tuesday December 1st
 - What does bowling have to do with democratic decline?
 - Readings:
 - Bowling Alone (Putnam) 1-64
- Class 27: Thursday December 3rd
 - What "Counts" as participation?
 - Readings:
 - New Engagement (Zukin et al) 1-15, 59-81, 89-120
- Class 28: Tuesday December 8th
 - Is democracy in danger?
 - Readings
 - How Democracies Die (Levitski and Ziblasi) 1-10, 204-230
 - Democracy in America (Graham and Svobik)