

Campaigns and Elections Around the World

Boston University
Political Science 302
Spring 2012

Last Revised: January 17, 2012

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Office hours: Tuesday/Thursday 2-3:30

Lecture location: CAS 324

Lecture time: Tuesday/Thursday 12:30-2

Course home page: http://blackboard.bu.edu/bin/course.pl?course_id=12sprgcaspo302_a1

Course Description:

The media lavish vast amounts of attention on electoral campaigns in the United States, but how do these events play out beyond our borders? This course will examine electoral campaigns in comparative perspective, with examples drawn from Latin America (Argentina, Bolivia, Brazil, Chile, Mexico, Peru), Western Europe (Italy, Spain, Sweden, U.K.), Eastern Europe (Russia and Ukraine), and Asia (Japan and the Philippines). In the first part of the course, we examine how campaigns change over time, whether they have become more professionalized or “Americanized,” and what role international political consultants play in this process. In the second part, we examine how campaigns vary across countries according to party and electoral systems, campaign finance regulations, the prevalence of vote buying, and the nature of the mass media. The third part of the course examines how campaigns affect voters. Here we will focus on both news coverage and television advertising, including negative ads. The course will take a multi-media approach to all of these questions, supplementing course readings with documentary films and clips of televised campaign advertising.

I assume that students enrolled in this course have some background in political science, but not necessarily in comparative politics or campaigns. Those who are primarily interested in American politics are as welcome as those who focus on other regions. This course is intended as a complement to PO 300: Campaigns and Elections, which is focused on American politics, though neither is a prerequisite for the other.

Grade Breakdown

Attendance and participation: 15%

Response paper 1: 15%

Response paper 2: 15%

Group presentation and paper: 25%

Final exam: 30%

Required Readings

All required readings are available electronically as Mugar Library E-reserves (<http://library.bu.edu/search/p?SEARCH=Boas&submit=Search>). The password is po302. You can print these out or read them online, however you prefer. For each week of the course, I have assigned about 60-80 pages of reading.

Response Papers

At the end of each of the first two parts of the course, students are required to write a 5-6 page paper (double spaced) that addresses themes raised in lecture, course readings, and the documentary films. I will distribute paper prompts for these papers 2-3 weeks before the due dates listed on the syllabus.

Group Presentation and Paper

The final project for this course will consist of a 12-15 minute presentation and a 10-12 page paper, both of which will be prepared by groups of approximately four students working jointly. The same grade will be given to all students in the group. The assignment will consist of analyzing an electoral campaign outside of the U.S. that is either underway at the time of the course or has recently occurred (e.g., during the prior semester). We will discuss this assignment in more detail and choose groups early on so students have plenty of time to prepare, and—for those studying upcoming elections—to follow the campaigns over the course of the semester.

Final Exam

A final exam, covering all of the course material, will be held during the scheduled exam period: Thursday, May 10, 9-11 a.m.

Academic Integrity

Students are expected to do their own work and to accurately and honestly give credit for information, ideas, and words obtained elsewhere. Plagiarism will be dealt with strictly according to the Academic Conduct Code (<http://www.bu.edu/cas/students/undergrad-resources/code/>); please review the website for examples of what counts as plagiarism so you know how to avoid it. If you have questions or concerns about how to properly cite outside sources, please let me know and I will be happy to assist.

The Internet makes it quite easy, and tempting, to cheat by copying and pasting material that you found online, or by buying a paper that someone else wrote. But it also makes it much easier to

get caught. I have caught plagiarizers in the past and am always on the lookout. Don't do it. You will make the semester much better for both of us.

Schedule and Required Readings

Part I: International Influences and Changes in Campaigns over Time

Tuesday, January 17. Introduction and Course Overview.

Thursday, January 19. Americanization and Modernization.

Paolo Mancini and David L. Swanson, "Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: Introduction," in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini, eds., *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996).

Pippa Norris, *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000). Ch. 7: "The Evolution of Campaign Communications."

Tuesday, January 24. International Influences on Campaigning.

David M. Farrell, "Political Consultancy Overseas: The Internationalization of Campaign Consultancy." *PS: Political Science & Politics* 31 (1998), 2: 171-176.

Fritz Plasser, "American Campaign Techniques Worldwide," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 5 (2000), 4: 33-54.

Thomas Carothers, *Aiding Democracy Abroad: The Learning Curve* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1999). "Political Party Assistance," pp. 140-155, excerpt from Ch. 6: "Basic Steps: Elections and Political Parties."

Thursday, January 26. Consultants Abroad: Sawyer-Miller in Chile.

James Harding, *Alpha Dogs: The Americans who Turned Political Spin into a Global Business* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008). Introduction, pp. 3-8 only, and Ch. 6, pp. 153-160 only.

Jeffrey Puryear, *Thinking Politics: Intellectuals and Democracy in Chile* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1994). Ch. 5, "Modernizing Politics: 1987-1988."

Tuesday, January 31. Consultants Abroad: Sawyer-Miller in Peru.

James Harding, *Alpha Dogs: The Americans who Turned Political Spin into a Global Business* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2008). Ch. 7, pp. 169-193 only.

Mark Malloch Brown, "The Consultant," *Granta* 36 (1991): 88-95.

Thursday, February 2. Consultants Abroad: Greenberg-Carville-Schrum in Bolivia (movie).

No readings; watch *Our Brand is Crisis* (2005) in class.

Tuesday, February 7. Consultants Abroad: Greenberg-Carville-Schrum in Bolivia.

Stanley B. Greenberg, *Dispatches from the War Room: In the Trenches with Five Extraordinary Leaders* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2009). Ch. 7: "Gonzalo 'Goni' Sánchez de Lozada."

Thursday, February 9. Consultants Abroad: Americans in Russia.

Michael Kramer, "Rescuing Boris," *Time* 148, 4 (July 15, 1996): 28-37.

Michael McFaul, "Time: Scoop or Dupe?" *Moscow Times* (July 17, 1996).

Michael McFaul, *Russia's 1996 Presidential Election* (Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press, 1997). Ch. 3: "The Yeltsin Campaign."

Tuesday, February 14. Russia's "Political Technologists."

Andrew Wilson, *Virtual Politics: Faking Democracy in the Post-Soviet World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005). Ch. 3: "The 'Political Technologist': Machiavelli as Corporate Advisor."

Michael McFaul, "Political Charades," *Moscow Times* (September 30, 2005).

Thursday, February 16. Consultants Abroad: Russians in Ukraine.

Nikolai Petrov and Andrei Ryabov, "Russia's Role in the Orange Revolution," in Anders Åslund and Michael McFaul, eds., *Revolution in Orange: The Origins of Ukraine's Democratic Breakthrough* (Washington, DC: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 2006).

Taras Kuzio, "Kuchma to Yushchenko: Ukraine's 2004 Elections and 'Orange Revolution,'" *Problems of Post-Communism* 52, 2 (2005): 29-44.

Tuesday, February 21. No class (follow Monday schedule of classes).

Thursday, February 23. FIRST PAPER due in class.

Part II: Cross-National Variation in Campaign Styles

Thursday, February 23. The Effects of Party and Electoral Systems.

Shaun Bowler and David M. Farrell, "Conclusion: The Contemporary Election Campaign," in Shaun Bowler and David M. Farrell, eds., *Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1992).

Tuesday, February 28. Campaigns in Sweden, Spain, and Japan.

Lars W. Nord, "Still the Middle Way: A Study of Political Communication Practices in Swedish Election Campaigns." *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 11, 1 (2006): 64-76.

Juan I. Rospir, "Political Communication and Electoral Campaigns in the Young Spanish Democracy," in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini, eds., *Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 1996).

Gerald L. Curtis, "Japan," in David Butler and Austin Ranney, eds., *Electioneering: A Comparative Study of Continuity and Change* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992).

Thursday, March 1. Campaigns in Collapsed Party Systems: Italy.

Paul Statham, "Berlusconi, the Media, and the New Right in Italy," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 1, 1 (1996): 87-105.

Tuesday, March 6. Campaigns in Collapsed Party Systems: Brazil, Peru, and the Philippines.

Francisco Panizza, "Neopopulism and its limits in Collor's Brazil," *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 19 (2000): 177-192.

Steven Levitsky and Maxwell A. Cameron, "Democracy without Parties? Political Parties and Regime Change in Fujimori's Peru," *Latin American Politics and Society* 45, 3 (2003): 1-33.

Steven Rood, "Elections as Complicated and Important Events in the Philippines," in John Fuhsheng Hsieh and David Newman, eds., *How Asia Votes* (New York: Seven Bridges Press, 2002).

Thursday, March 8. Campaign Finance and Corruption.

Michael Pinto-Duschinsky, "Financing Politics: A Global View," *Journal of Democracy* 13, 4 (2002): 69-86.

David Samuels, "Money, Elections, and Democracy in Brazil," *Latin American Politics and Society* 43, 2 (2001): 27-48.

Benjamin Goldfrank and Brian Wampler, "From *petista* way to Brazilian way: How the PT changes in the road," *Revista Debates* 2, 2 (2008): 245-271.

Tuesday, March 20. Mobilization and Vote Buying: Mexico.

Frederic Charles Schaffer, "Why Study Vote Buying?" in Frederic Charles Schaffer, ed., *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).

Wayne A. Cornelius, "Mobilized Voting in the 2000 Elections: The Changing Efficacy of Vote Buying and Coercion in Mexican Politics," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Chappell Lawson, eds., *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election: Candidates, Voters, and the Presidential Campaign of 2000* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Thursday, March 22. Mobilization and Vote Buying: Argentina and the Philippines.

Mariela Szwarcberg, "Uncertainty, Political Clientelism, and Voter Turnout in Latin America: Why Parties Conduct Rallies in Argentina" *Comparative Politics*, Forthcoming.

Frederic Charles Schaffer, "How Effective is Voter Education?" in Frederic Charles Schaffer, ed., *Elections for Sale: The Causes and Consequences of Vote Buying* (Boulder: Lynne Rienner Publishers, 2007).

Tuesday, March 27. The Mass Media and Elections: United Kingdom.

Pippa Norris, John Curtice, David Sanders, Margaret Scammell, and Holli A. Semetko, *On Message: Communicating the Campaign* (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1999). Ch. 5: "The News Agenda."

Thursday, March 29. The Mass Media and Elections: Mexico and Brazil.

Sallie Hughes and Chappell Lawson, "Propaganda and Crony Capitalism: Partisan Bias in Mexican Television News," *Latin American Research Review* 39, 3: 81-105.

Mauro P. Porto, *Media Power and Democratization in Brazil: TV Globo and the Dilemmas of Political Accountability* (New York: Routledge, forthcoming). Ch. 4: "Shifts in News Coverage of Presidential Elections."

Tuesday, April 3. SECOND PAPER due in class.

Part III. How do Campaigns Affect Voters?

Tuesday, April 3. Media and Campaign Effects: Mexico.

Chappell Lawson and James A. McCann, "Television News, Mexico's 2000 Elections and Media Effects in Emerging Democracies," *British Journal of Political Science* 35 (2005): 1-30.

Thursday, April 5. Media and Campaign Effects: Brazil and the United Kingdom.

Mauro P. Porto, "Framing Controversies: Television and the 2002 Presidential Election in Brazil," *Political Communication* 24 (2007): 19-36.

Jonathan McDonald Ladd and Gabriel S. Lenz, "Exploiting a Rare Communication Shift to Document the Persuasive Power of the News Media," *American Journal of Political Science* 53, 2 (2009): 394-410.

Tuesday, April 10. Advertising and Negative Advertising: Mexico and Brazil.

Alejandro Moreno, "The Effects of Negative Campaigns on Mexican Voters," in Jorge I. Domínguez and Chappell Lawson, eds., *Mexico's Pivotal Democratic Election: Candidates, Voters, and the Presidential Campaign of 2000* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2004).

Scott Desposato, "The Impact of Campaign Messages in New Democracies: Results From An Experiment in Brazil," unpublished manuscript, University of California, San Diego.

Thursday, April 12. NO CLASS; instructor out of town.

Tuesday, April 17. Social versus Traditional Media: Brazil and the United Kingdom.

Nick Anstead and Andrew Chadwick, "Parties, Election Campaigning, and the Internet: Toward a Comparative Institutional Approach," in Andrew Chadwick and Philip N. Howards, eds., *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics* (New York: Routledge, 2009).

Jason Gilmore, "Ditching the Pack: Digital Media in the 2010 Brazilian Congressional Campaigns," *New Media & Society* (Forthcoming).

Dominic Wring and Stephen Ward, "The Media and the 2010 Campaign: The Television Election?" *Parliamentary Affairs* 63, 4 (2010): 802-817.

Thursday, April 19, Tuesday, April 24, and Thursday, April 26. Group presentations.

Tuesday, May 1. Conclusion; GROUP PAPER due in class.

Thursday, May 10, 9-11 a.m.: Final exam