

PO 325/IR 302: Campaigns and Elections Around the World

Boston University, Spring 2017

Last revised: April 5, 2017

Professor: Taylor C. Boas

Email: tboas@bu.edu

Office location: 232 Bay State Rd., rm. 311B

Office phone: 617-353-4214

Office hours: Wednesday 3–4:30, Thursday 3:15–4:45

Lecture location: KCB 102

Lecture time: Monday, Wednesday, Friday 10:10–11 a.m.

1 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 (France, 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 are becoming 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, the nature of the mass media, and use of the Internet and social media. The third part of the course examines how campaigns affect voters. Here we will focus on news coverage, television advertising, and get-out-the-vote campaigning. 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.

2 Requirements

Grade Breakdown

Attendance and participation: 15%

Response paper 1: 15%

Response paper 2: 15%

Group presentation: 10%

Group paper: 15%

Final exam: 30%

Required Readings

For each week of the course, I have assigned about 60–80 pages of readings, which are available electronically as Mugar Library E-reserves. The easiest way to access these is via an electronic copy of this syllabus (on Blackboard, or at http://people.bu.edu/tboas/campaigns_syllabus.pdf). Click on the hyperlinks in the reading list below (you will need to enter your BU ID and password).

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 and course readings. I will distribute paper prompts for these papers 2–3 weeks before the due dates listed on the syllabus. Late papers are penalized a third of a letter grade (e.g., B+ to B) per day, including weekends and holidays.

Group Presentation and Paper

The final project for this course will consist of a 15-minute presentation and a 10–12 page paper, both of which will be prepared by groups of 3–4 students working jointly. The same grade will be given to all students in the group. For both the paper and presentation, group members will put themselves in the shoes of a political consulting firm, offering advice to a specific candidate or party in an electoral campaign outside of the U.S. that is either underway at the time of the course or has recently occurred (i.e., 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: Monday, May 8, 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;¹ 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.

3 Schedule and Required Readings

Note: Each entry contains a hyperlink to the electronic reading, where available.

3.1 Part I: International Influences and Changing Campaigns

3.1.1 Friday, January 20. Americanization, Modernization, and Success Contagion.

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).

Taylor C. Boas, *Presidential Campaigns in Latin America: Electoral Strategies and Success Contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. "[The Theory of Success Contagion](#)," pp. 18–28, excerpt from Ch. 1: "Success Contagion and Presidential Campaigns in Latin America."

3.1.2 Monday, January 23. International Influences on Campaigning.

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

Taylor C. Boas, *Presidential Campaigns in Latin America: Electoral Strategies and Success Contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. "[Political Consultants](#)," pp. 37–40, excerpt from Ch. 1: "Success Contagion and Presidential Campaigns in Latin America."

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."

¹<http://www.bu.edu/academics/resources/academic-conduct-code/>

3.1.3 Wednesday, January 25. Consultants Abroad: Sawyer-Miller in Chile.

Fritz Plasser, [“American Campaign Techniques Worldwide,”](#) *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 5 (2000), 4: 33–54.

Taylor C. Boas, *Presidential Campaigns in Latin America: Electoral Strategies and Success Contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. [“The Campaign for the ‘No,’ 1988,”](#) pp. 50–56, excerpt from Ch. 2: “Convergence on a Personalistic Strategy in Chile.”

3.1.4 Friday, January 27. Consultants Abroad: Sawyer-Miller in Chile, continued.

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.”](#)

3.1.5 Monday, January 30. Consultants Abroad: Greenberg Carville Shrum in Bolivia (movie).

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

3.1.6 Wednesday, February 1. Consultants Abroad: Greenberg Carville Shrum in Bolivia (movie).

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

3.1.7 Friday, February 3. Consultants Abroad: Greenberg Carville Shrum 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.”](#)

3.1.8 Monday, February 6. 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.

Taylor C. Boas, *Presidential Campaigns in Latin America: Electoral Strategies and Success Contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. [“Mario Vargas Llosa, 1990,”](#) pp. 154–157, excerpt from Ch. 4: “Limited Contagion and Inward-Oriented Reactions in Peru.”

3.1.9 Wednesday, February 8. 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](#).”

3.1.10 Friday, February 10. 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).

3.1.11 Monday, February 13. 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, “[From Kuchma to Yushchenko: Ukraine’s 2004 Presidential Elections and the Orange Revolution](#),” *Problems of Post-Communism* 52, 2 (2005): 29–44.

3.2 Part II: Cross-National Variation in Campaign Styles

3.2.1 Wednesday, February 15. 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).

3.2.2 Friday, February 17. Overview of Countries for Group Project.

No readings

3.2.3 Tuesday, February 21. RESPONSE PAPER DUE IN CLASS; Campaigns in Sweden and Spain.

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).

3.2.4 Wednesday, February 22. Campaigns in Japan.

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).

Ray Christensen, “[The Effect of Electoral Reforms on Campaign Practices in Japan: Putting New Wine into Old Bottles](#).” *Asian Survey* 38, 10: 986–1004.

3.2.5 Friday, February 24. 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.

3.2.6 Monday, February 27. Campaigns in Collapsed Party Systems: Brazil and Peru.

Francisco Panizza, “[Neopopulism and its limits in Collor’s Brazil](#),” *Bulletin of Latin American Research* 19 (2000): 177–192.

Taylor C. Boas, *Presidential Campaigns in Latin America: Electoral Strategies and Success Contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. “[Fernando Collor de Mello: The Failure of a Neopopulist Outsider](#),” pp. 90–95, excerpt from Ch. 3: “Convergence on a Technocratic Strategy in Brazil.”

Taylor C. Boas, *Presidential Campaigns in Latin America: Electoral Strategies and Success Contagion*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. “[Limited Success Contagion: Alberto Fujimori and Neopopulism, 1990–2000](#),” pp. 138–152, excerpt from Ch. 4: “Limited Contagion and Inward-Oriented Reactions in Peru.”

3.2.7 Wednesday, March 1. Campaigns in Collapsed Party Systems: The Philippines.

Thompson, Mark R. 2010. “[Populism and the Revival of Reform: Competing Political Narratives in the Philippines](#).” *Contemporary Southeast Asia* 32, 1: 1–28.

Friday, March 3. NO CLASS (Instructor out of town).

3.2.8 Monday, March 13. Campaign Finance and Corruption: Brazil.

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.

3.2.9 Wednesday, March 15. Mobilization and Vote Buying.

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).

3.2.10 Friday, March 17. Mobilization and Vote Buying: Mexico.

Simeon Nichter and Brian Palmer-Rubin, “[Clientelism, Declared Support, and Mexico’s 2012 Campaign.](#)” In Jorge I. Domínguez, Kenneth F. Greene, Chappell H. Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno, eds., *Mexico’s Evolving Democracy: A Comparative Study of the 2012 Elections*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.

3.2.11 Monday, March 20. 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*, 45, 1 (2012): 88–106.

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).

3.2.12 Wednesday, March 22. 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.](#)”

3.2.13 Friday, March 24. The Mass Media and Elections: Mexico.

Sallie Hughes and Chappell Lawson, “[Propaganda and Crony Capitalism: Partisan Bias in Mexican Television News,](#)” *Latin American Research Review* 39, 3: 81–105.

Jo Tuckman, “[Computer files link TV dirty tricks to favourite for Mexico presidency,](#)” *The Guardian* June 7, 2012.

Jo Tuckman, “[Mexican media scandal: secretive Televisa unit promoted PRI candidate,](#)” *The Guardian* June 26, 2012.

Monday, March 27. NO CLASS (Instructor out of town).

3.2.14 Wednesday, March 29. The Mass Media and Elections: Brazil.

Mauro P. Porto, *Media Power and Democratization in Brazil: TV Globo and the Dilemmas of Political Accountability* (New York: Routledge, 2012). Ch. 4: “Shifts in News Coverage of Presidential Elections.”

3.2.15 Friday, March 31. New versus Old Media: Brazil and the United Kingdom.

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

Jason Gilmore, “Ditching the Pack: Digital Media in the 2010 Brazilian Congressional Campaigns,” *New Media & Society* 14, 4 (2012): 617–633.

3.3 Part III. How do Campaigns Affect Voters?

3.3.1 Monday, April 3. RESPONSE PAPER DUE IN CLASS; Media 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.

Alejandro Díaz-Domínguez and Alejandro Moreno, “Effects of #YoSoy132 and Social Media in Mexico’s 2012 Presidential Campaigns.” In Jorge I. Domínguez, Kenneth F. Greene, Chappell H. Lawson, and Alejandro Moreno, eds., *Mexico’s Evolving Democracy: A Comparative Study of the 2012 Elections*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2015.

3.3.2 Wednesday, April 5. Media Effects: Brazil

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

3.3.3 Friday, April 7. Media Effects: United Kingdom.

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.

3.3.4 Monday, April 10. Advertising Effects: 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.

3.3.5 Wednesday, April 12. Advertising Effects: Chile.

Taylor C. Boas, “Voting for Democracy: Campaign Effects in Chile’s Democratic Transition,” *Latin American Politics and Society* 57, 2: 67–90.

3.3.6 Friday, April 14. Get-out-the-Vote: United Kingdom.

John, Peter, and Tessa Brannan. 2008. “How Different Are Telephoning and Canvassing? Results from a ‘Get Out the Vote’ Field Experiment in the British 2005 General Election.” *British Journal of Political Science* 38: 565–574.

Fieldhouse, Edward, David Cutts, Paul Widdop, and Peter John. 2013. “Do impersonal mobilisation methods work? Evidence from a nationwide Get-Out-the-Vote experiment in England.” *Electoral Studies* 32: 113–123.

3.3.7 Wednesday, April 19. Get-out-the-Vote: Spain and France

Ramiro, Luís, Laura Morales, and María Jiménez-Buedo. 2012. “The Effects of Party Mobilization on Electoral Results: An Experimental Study of the 2011 Spanish Local Elections.” Paper presented at the World Congress of Political Science, International Political Science Association, Madrid, July 8–12.

Pons, Vincent. 2014. “Does Door-to-door Canvassing Affect Vote Shares? Evidence from a Countrywide Field Experiment in France.” Manuscript, Harvard Business School.

3.3.8 Friday, April 21. Group presentations

3.3.9 Monday, April 24. Group presentations

3.3.10 Wednesday, April 26. Group presentations

3.3.11 Friday, April 28. Group presentations

Monday, May 1. NO CLASS (Instructor out of town).

3.3.12 Wednesday, May 3. Conclusion; GROUP PAPERS DUE IN CLASS

3.4 Monday, May 8, 9 a.m.: Final Exam