



CM/PO 323 CAMPAIGNING IN EUROPE: FROM PROPAGANDA TO POLITICAL MARKETING
IES Abroad Barcelona

DESCRIPTION:

A national political campaign is better than the best circus ever heard of, with a mass baptism and a couple of hangings thrown in.
H. L. Mencken

Politics is as old as humankind, and the electoral campaign – political parties seeking to win voter support in the period preceding an election – is one of the fundamental moments of the democratic life of every society.

Candidates use a variety of techniques to reach voters: the effort to execute or banish Socrates from Athens in the 5th Century BC or the uprising of petty nobility against John of England in the 13th Century, can be considered examples of proto-political campaigns. But nowadays established democracies seem to be witnessing a decline in vitality in that formal political systems are not able to mobilize the support and engagement of citizens as in the past: we are facing a decline in civic engagement, a decreasing voter turnout during elections and a significant decline in party-membership. To face this situation politicians have to create new ways to get closer to people, such as the application of marketing principles and procedures in political campaigns.

The main focus of this interdisciplinary course is to provide the student with a complete understanding of both the development of political campaigns through history and the relations between political systems and political campaigns.

CREDITS: 3 credits

CONTACT HOURS: 45 hours

INSTRUCTOR: Ib Schumacher

LANGUAGE OF INSTRUCTION: English

REQUIRED WORK AND FORM OF ASSESSMENT:

The course is largely discussion-based. Students are expected to come to class prepared (i.e. not only having done the readings but also having considered them in depth) and participate actively in the discussions. Each student will be appointed to lead the discussion in class for one reading.

Assignments and Grading:

1. Midterm Exam (20%)
2. Research paper (20%): Students are asked to prepare a research paper (8-10 pages, Times New Roman 12) on a topic agreed with the instructor
3. Oral presentation (20%): Students will be asked to present a group research project, on a topic agreed with the instructor, to the class, generating a debate.
4. Concluding debate (10%): In the second part of the course, students are asked to take part in a Concluding Debate, based on what they have learned, and on specific reading, about differences and similarities between American Presidential Campaigns and European National Campaigns, where they have to show that they can compare and assess differences and similarities.
5. Class participation (10%): insights and comments about course readings, responsiveness to classmates' contributions.
6. Final Exam (20%).

LEARNING OUTCOMES:

By the end of the course students will be able to:

- **Knowledge**
- Identify the main political actors in Europe;
- Outline the historical evolution of political campaigns;



- Differentiate campaigning strategies;
- Connect campaigns to political systems.
- **Skills**
- Describe and analyze the different and contradictory dynamics of European political communication;
- Analyze the relations between different political environment and different communication strategies;
- Explain contemporary trends in the relationship between politics, marketing and communications;
- Analyze political implications of new media and new strategies.
- **Values**
- Compare strategies in different European countries;
- Assess the differences between Europe and USA;

ATTENDANCE POLICY:

Attendance is mandatory for all IES Abroad classes, including course-related trips. Any exams, tests, presentations, or other work missed due to student absences can only be rescheduled in cases of documented medical or family emergencies. If a student misses more than three classes in any course 3 percentage points will be deducted from the final grade for every additional absence. Seven absences in any course will result in a failing grade.

CONTENT:

Session	Content	Required readings
Session 1	Introduction. From propaganda to political marketing	
Session 2	Fascist and Nazi propaganda: <i>Theoretical introduction</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Melograni, P., "The Cult of the Duce in Mussolini's Italy", <i>Journal of Contemporary History</i>, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Oct., 1976): pp. 221-237. • Schnapp, J. T., "Fascist Mass Spectacle", <i>Representations</i>, No. 43 (Summer, 1993): pp. 89-125. • Doob Source, L. W., "Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda", <i>The Public Opinion Quarterly</i>, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950): pp. 419-442. • Fellows, E. W., "Propaganda: History of a Word", <i>American Speech</i>, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Oct., 1959): pp. 182-189.
Session 3	Nazi: Goebbels and the cinema: Audiovisual presentation	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Schulte-Sasse, L., "Leni Riefenstahl's Feature Films and the Question of a Fascist Aesthetic", <i>Cultural Critique</i>, No. 18 (Spring, 1991): pp. 123-148.
Session 4	The Cold War: Propaganda in the US and in the Soviet Union	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Bolsover, G. H., "Soviet Ideology and Propaganda", <i>International Affairs</i>, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Apr., 1948): pp. 170-180. • Whitton, J. B., "Cold War Propaganda", <i>The American Journal of International Law</i>, Vol. 45 (Jan., 1951): pp. 151-153. • White, S., "The Effectiveness of Political Propaganda in the USSR", <i>Soviet Studies</i>, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jul., 1980): pp. 323-348.
Session 5	Franco. Political Communication in Spain under Franco's regime	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Ortiz, C., "The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime", <i>The Journal of American Folklore</i>, Vol. 112, No. 446 (Autumn, 1999): pp. 479-496.

Session 6	The end of the cold war and the emergence of the Catch-all parties: <i>Theoretical introduction</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Krouwel, A.P.M., "The catch-all party in Western Europe 1945-1990. A study in arrested development", Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, (1999, unpublished document). • Wolinetz, S. B., "Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies", in: Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, Juan Linz (eds.), <i>Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges</i>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, (2002): pp. 136-165.
Session 7	Invited speaker: P.O. Costa, PhD and SpinDoctor. <i>New cleavages and the Americanization of European Politics</i>	
Session 8	Pattern of democracy: cleavages and parties. A theoretical framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Lijphart, A., "Patterns of democracy: government forms and performance in thirty-six countries", New Haven, Yale UP, (1999): pp 1-41. • Rokkan, S., (ed. by Peter Flora, et al.), <i>State Formation, Nation-Building, and Mass Politics in Europe: The Theory of Stein Rokkan</i>, Oxford, Oxford University Press, (1999): pp. 108-121.
Session 9	Hallin and Mancini typology: Atlantic, Center-European and Mediterranean model. A theoretical framework	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hallin, D., Mancini, P., "Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (2004): Chapter 1 and 2.
Session 10	Midterm exam	
Session 11	Campaigning in the Atlantic model: USA	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • McLeod, J. R., "The Sociodrama of Presidential Politics: Rhetoric, Ritual, and Power in the Era of Teledemocracy", <i>American Anthropologist</i>, New Series, Vol. 101, No. 2 (Jun., 1999): pp. 359-371.
Session 12	Campaigning in the Center-European model: the case of Belgium	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hooghe, M., Maddensa, B., Noppea, J., "Why parties adapt: Electoral reform, party finance and party strategy in Belgium", <i>Electoral Studies</i>, Vol. 25, Issue 2 (Jun., 2006): pp. 351-368.
Session 13	Campaigning in the Mediterranean model: polarized pluralism in Italy	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Gunther, R., "Parties and Electoral Behavior in Southern Europe", <i>Comparative Politics</i>, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Apr., 2005): pp. 253-275. • Semino, E., Masci, M. "Politics is Football: Metaphor in the Discourse of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy", <i>Discourse & Society</i>, Vol.7, No.2 (1996): pp.243-269. • Cervi, L., "Exclusionary Populism and Islamophobia: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Spain", <i>Religions</i>, Vol.11 (Oct., 2020): pp. 516-537.
Session 14	Campaigning in the Mediterranean model: SPAIN. <i>Theoretical</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Molas, I., Bartomeus, O., "Structure of Political Competition in Spain (1986-2000)", in: <i>BCN Political Science Debates 2</i>, Barcelona, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, (2003): pp. 191-219.

	<i>introduction</i>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Vidal, G., "Challenging business as usual? The rise of new parties in Spain in times of crisis", <i>West European Politics</i>, Vol.41, No.2 (2018): pp. 261-286.
Session 15	Campaigning in the Mediterranean model: SPAIN. Case study: Terrorism and elections	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Lago, I., Montero, J. R., "The 2004 Election in Spain: Terrorism, Accountability, and Voting", <i>WP</i>, núm. 253, Barcelona, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, (2006).
Session 16	Campaigning in the EU.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Ferrara, F., Weishaupt, J. T., "Get Your Act Together. Party Performance in European Parliament Elections", <i>European Union Politics</i>, Vol.5 (2004): pp. 283–306.
Session 17	Student Debate. Comparing USA and European campaigns.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Fabbrini, S. "American Democracy from a European perspective", <i>Annu. Rev. Political Science</i>, (1999): pp. 65-91.
Session 18	Campaigning in a multi-fractured system: CATALONIA	
Session 19	Course-related trip: Visit to a Catalan political party and conference by the Head of Campaign	
Session 20	Political campaigns and new media: Obama's revolution.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Stelter, S., "The Facebooker Who Friendened Obama", <i>The New York Times</i>, July, 7 2008. Stirland, S. L., "Inside Obama's Surging Net-Roots Campaign", <i>The Wired</i>, March, 3 2008, Inside Obama's Surging Net-Roots Campaign WIRED Zeitsoff, T., "How Social Media Is Changing Conflict", <i>Journal of Conflict Resolution</i>, (2017), https://www.zeitsoff.com/uploads/2/2/4/1/22413724/zeitsoff_how_social_media_jc_r.pdf
Session 21	Political campaigns and post-truth: Trump's revolution	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> Conley, B., "Thinking What He Says: Market Research and the Making of Donald Trump's 2016 Presidential Campaign", in: Jamie Gillies (ed.), <i>Political Marketing in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election</i>, Cham, Palgrave MacMillan, (2018): pp.29-48. Stockemer, D., Barisione, M., "The 'new' discourse of the Front National under Marine Le Pen: A slight change with a big impact", <i>European Journal of Communication</i>, Vol.32, No.2 (2017): pp. 100-115. Cervi, L., et. al., "Populism, Twitter, and COVID-19: Narrative, Fantasies, and Desires", <i>Soc.Sci.</i>, Vol.10 (2021): pp. 294-312.
Session 22	Paper Presentations and Debate	
Session 23	Paper Presentations and Debate	

Session 24	Review class	
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Final exam

REQUIRED READINGS:

- Bolsover, G. H., "Soviet Ideology and Propaganda", *International Affairs*, Vol. 24, No. 2 (Apr., 1948): pp. 170-180.
- Cervi, L., " Exclusionary Populism and Islamophobia: A Comparative Analysis of Italy and Spain", *Religions*, Vol.11 (Oct., 2020): pp.516-537.
- Cervi, L. et.al., "Populism, Twitter, and COVID-19: Narrative, Fantasies, and Desires", *Soc.Sci.*, Vol.10 (2021): pp.294-312.
- Conley, B., "Thinking What He Says: Market Research and the Making of Donald Trump's 2016 Presidential Campaign", in: Jamie Gillies (ed.), *Political Marketing in the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election*, Cham, Palgrave MacMillan, (2018): pp.29-48.
- Doob Source, L.W. "Goebbels' Principles of Propaganda", *The Public Opinion Quarterly*, Vol. 14, No. 3 (Autumn, 1950): pp. 419-442.
- Fabbrini, S., "American Democracy from a European perspective", *Annu. Rev. Political Science*, (1999): pp. 65-91.
- Fellows, E. W., "Propaganda: History of a Word", *American Speech*, Vol. 34, No. 3 (Oct., 1959): pp. 182-189.
- Ferrara, F., Weishaupt, J. T., "Get Your Act Together. Party Performance in European Parliament Elections", *European Union Politics*, Vol.5 (2004): pp. 283–306.
- Gunther, R., "Parties and Electoral Behavior in Southern Europe", *Comparative Politics*, Vol. 37, No. 3 (Apr., 2005): pp. 253-275.
- Hallin, D., Mancini, P., "Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (2004): Chapter 1 and 2.
- Hooghe, M., Maddensa, B., Noppea, J., "Why parties adapt: Electoral reform, party finance and party strategy in Belgium", *Electoral Studies*, Vol. 25, Issue 2 (Jun., 2006): pp. 351-368.
- Krouwel, A.P.M., "The catch-all party in Western Europe 1945-1990. A study in arrested development", Amsterdam, Vrije Universiteit, (1999, unpublished document).
- Lago, I., Montero, J. R., "The 2004 Election in Spain: Terrorism, Accountability, and Voting", *WP*, núm. 253, Barcelona, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, (2006).
- Lijphart, A., "Patterns of democracy: government forms and performance in thirty-six countries", New Haven, Yale UP, (1999): pp 1-41.
- Melograni, P., "The Cult of the Duce in Mussolini's Italy", *Journal of Contemporary History*, Vol. 11, No. 4 (Oct., 1976): pp. 221-237.
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- Molas, I., Bartomeus, O., "Structure of Political Competition in Spain (1986-2000)", in: *BCN Political Science Debates 2*, Barcelona, Institut de Ciències Polítiques i Socials, (2003): pp 191-219.
- Ortiz, C., "The Uses of Folklore by the Franco Regime", *The Journal of American Folklore*, Vol. 112, No. 446 (Autumn, 1999): pp. 479-496.
- Rokkan, S., (ed. by Peter Flora, et al.), "State Formation, Nation-Building, and Mass Politics in Europe: The Theory of Stein Rokkan", Oxford, Oxford University Press, (1999): pp. 108-121.
- Schnapp, J. T., "Fascist Mass Spectacle", *Representations*, No. 43 (Summer, 1993): pp. 89-125.
- Schulte-Sasse, L., "Leni Riefenstahl's Feature Films and the Question of a Fascist Aesthetic", *Cultural Critique*, No. 18 (Spring, 1991): pp. 123-148.
- Semino, E., Masci, M., "Politics is Football: Metaphor in the Discourse of Silvio Berlusconi in Italy", *Discourse & Society* , Vol.7, No.2 (1996): pp.243-269.
- Stelter, B., "The Facebooker Who Friendened Obama", *The New York Times*, July, 7 2008.
- Stirland, S. L., "Inside Obama's Surging Net-Roots Campaign", *The Wired*, March, 3 2008, [Inside Obama's Surging Net-Roots Campaign | WIRED](#)

- Stockemer, D., Barisione, M., "The 'new' discourse of the Front National under Marine Le Pen: A slight change with a big impact", *European Journal of Communication*, Vol.32, No.2 (2017): pp.100-115.
- Vidal, G., "Challenging business as usual? The rise of new parties in Spain in times of crisis", *West European Politics*, Vol.41, No.2 (2018): pp.261-286.
- White, S., "The Effectiveness of Political Propaganda in the USSR", *Soviet Studies*, Vol. 32, No. 3 (Jul., 1980): pp. 323-348.
- Whitton, J. B., "Cold War Propaganda", *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 45 (Jan., 1951): pp. 151-153.
- Wolinetz, S. B., "Beyond the Catch-All Party: Approaches to the Study of Parties and Party Organization in Contemporary Democracies", in: Richard Gunther, José Ramón Montero, Juan Linz (eds.), *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*, Oxford, Oxford University Press, (2002): pp. 136-165.
- Zeitzoff, T., "How Social Media Is Changing Conflict", *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, (2017), https://www.zeitsoff.com/uploads/2/2/4/1/22413724/zeitsoff_how_social_media_jcr.pdf

RECOMMENDED READINGS:

- Faris, R. M. et.al., "Partisanship, Propaganda, and Disinformation: Online Media and the 2016 U.S. Presidential Election", Cambridge, Berkman Klein Center for Internet & Society Research Paper, (2017).
- Hallin, D., Mancini, P., "Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (2004).
- Lilleker, D. G., Lees-Marshment, J., "Political marketing: a comparative perspective", Manchester, Manchester University Press, (2005).
- Lijphart, A., "Patterns of democracy: government forms and performance in thirty-six countries", New Haven, Yale UP, (1999).
- Maarek, P. J., "Political marketing and Communications", London, John Libbey, (1995).
- Norris, P., "A Virtuous Circle: Political Communication in Postindustrial Societies", Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, (2000).

Stanford Political Communication Lab

<http://pcl.stanford.edu/common/docs/research/iyengar/2006/softnews/ch1-vppreview.pdf>

Some films on Campaigns.

There are two types: propaganda films, aimed to persuade people, and films on political campaigns.

Propaganda:

Sergei Eisenstein, *The Battleship Potemkin*, 1925 (*USSR propaganda*)

Leni Riefenstahl, *Triumph of the Will*, 1934 (*Nazi propaganda*)

Films and Documentaries:

Orson Welles, *Citizen Kane*, 1941, (USA)

Roberto Rossellini, *Rome, Open City*, 1945 (about Fascism)

Gillo Pontecorvo, *Kapò*, 1959 (about Holocaust)

Peter Cohen, *The Architecture of Doom*, 1989 (about Nazi)

Mark Herman, *The Boy in the Striped Pyjama*, 2008 (about Holocaust)

Michael Ritchie, *The Candidate*, 1972

Mike Nichols, *Primary colors*, 1998 (USA)

Nanni Moretti, *Il Caimano*, 2006 (Italy and Berlusconi)

Joshua Michael Stern, *Swing Vote*, 2008 (USA)

TV Shows:

Aaron Benjamin Sorkin, *The West Wing*, 1999 (USA).