



School of History, Philosophy and Political Science

POLS 364: The Media and Election Campaigns: A Comparative Survey

Trimester II, 2009
13 July to 15 November 2009

Name and contact details:	Dr Kate McMillan MY 532 kate.mcmillan@vuw.ac.nz Ph: 463 9595
Office Hours:	Wednesday: 2.00-2.45 pm Other times by arrangement
Lecture times and locations:	Wednesdays 12.00 – 2.00pm HM 003

Course content

Elections represent a critical juncture in democratic politics. How much influence do election campaigns have on election outcomes? Under what rules are those campaigns conducted? How do the media report campaigns, and what influence do they have on election campaigns and outcome? The course will examine these questions through case studies of recent election campaigns in four English-speaking liberal democratic states. Topics covered will include structural influences on campaigning such as electoral and party systems, electoral finance law and media systems, and party and candidate-level campaigning techniques. An additional focus will be the effect of digital and other media technologies on evolving election campaign strategies.

Course delivery

The course will be delivered through weekly two-hour lectures. Students will be expected to read a set of assigned readings before attending each class. Blackboard will be utilised throughout the course and students will be expected to check Blackboard regularly.

Communication of additional information

Additional information or information on changes will be conveyed to students during class via Blackboard or an email to all class members. Students will be expected to check the Blackboard site and their vuw.ac.nz email address regularly in order to keep up with class announcements and emails.

Learning objectives

Students passing the course should be able to:

- critically analyse campaign effects literature with reference to recent elections in the case study states examined in the course;
- discuss the effects of campaign finance laws on recent election campaigns and outcomes in the case study states;
- identify and critically analyse differences between and among the media systems in each of the four case study states, and the effects of those differences on the way media cover elections in each state;
- identify how electoral and party systems may affect election campaigns and outcomes in the case study states;
- identify and critically analyse changing election campaign strategies in the case study states.

Essential texts:

- Chris Rudd, Janine Hayward, Geoffrey Craig, *Informing Voters? Politics, Media and the New Zealand Election 2008*, Northshore, 2009 (\$49.99)
- POLS 364 Book of Readings (\$ TBA)

Other readings are available on-line or on closed reserve in the library.

For the first two weeks of trimester all undergraduate textbooks and student notes will be sold from the Memorial Theatre foyer, while postgraduate textbooks and student notes will be available from the top floor of VicBooks in the Student Union Building, Kelburn Campus. After week two all undergraduate textbooks will be sold from VicBooks and student notes from the Student Notes Distribution Centre on the ground floor of the Student Union Building.

Customers can order textbooks and student notes online at www.vicbooks.co.nz or can email an order or enquiry to enquiries@vicbooks.co.nz. Books can be couriered to customers or they can be picked up from the shop. Customers will be contacted when they are available.

Opening hours are 8.00 am – 6.00 pm, Monday – Friday during term time (closing at 5.00 pm in the holidays). Phone: 463 5515.

Recommended Reading: The required reading for each lecture is listed in the lecture outline below. For a list of additional readings see the end of this course outline.

Trimester dates

Teaching dates: 13 July to 16 October

Study week: 19 to 23 October

Examination/Assessment period: 27 October to 14 November

Assessment:

In class work:	One hour test: 20%	(20 August)
	Essay (2,000 words): 40%	(due 8 October)
Final exam:	Three hour, closed book, 40%	(during university examination period)

Mandatory requirements:

In order to pass this course students must:

- Sit a one-hour test worth 20% of the final grade. This test will be held in the second hour of class on August 20.
- Submit a 2000 word essay by 8 October. An **electronic version** of this essay must be submitted to turnitin.com. If you are not already registered with turnitin.com you will need to do so. The turnitin ID for this class is 2753545, and the password is elections. A **hard copy** of the essay must be deposited in the POLS 364 box outside the PSIR office on the 5th floor of the Murphy Building. Essay questions will be posted on Blackboard.
- Sit a three-hour, closed book examination during the university examination period outlined above.

Relationship between assessment and course objectives

The test is designed to test students' knowledge and understanding of the electoral system, campaign finance law and media system in each of the case study states. In addition, it will require students to demonstrate some understanding of the potential and demonstrated effects of these systems on election campaigns in the case study states.

The essay is designed test students' ability to gather material on a specialised topic, analyse the data and ideas, and marshal the data and ideas to develop a coherent argument in a literate and structured form.

The final examination tests students' overall grasp of the content of the course, their ability to structure ideas quickly, and answer questions in brief, relevant essays.

Penalties

Students will be penalised for late submission of essays – a deduction of 5% for the first day late, and 2% per day thereafter, up to a maximum of 8 days. Work that is more than 8 days late can be accepted for mandatory course requirements but will not be marked. However, penalties may be waived if there are valid grounds (for example, illness [presentation of a medical certificate will be necessary] or similar other contingencies). In all such cases, prior information will be necessary.

Turnitin.com

Student work provided for assessment in this course will be checked for academic integrity by the electronic search engine <http://www.turnitin.com>. Turnitin is an online plagiarism prevention tool which compares submitted work with a very large database of existing material. At the discretion of the Head of School, handwritten work may be copy-typed by the School and subject to checking by Turnitin. Turnitin will retain a copy of submitted material on behalf of the University for detection of future plagiarism, but access to the full text of submissions is not made available to any other party.

Academic Integrity and Plagiarism

Academic integrity means that university staff and students, in their teaching and learning are expected to treat others honestly, fairly and with respect at all times. It is not acceptable to mistreat academic, intellectual or creative work that has been done by other people by representing it as your own original work.

Academic integrity is important because it is the core value on which the University's learning, teaching and research activities are based. Victoria University's reputation for academic integrity adds value to your qualification.

The University defines plagiarism as presenting someone else's work as if it were your own, whether you mean to or not. 'Someone else's work' means anything that is not your own idea. Even if it is presented in your own style, you must acknowledge your sources fully and appropriately. This includes:

- Material from books, journals or any other printed source
- The work of other students or staff
- Information from the internet
- Software programs and other electronic material
- Designs and ideas
- The organisation or structuring of any such material

Find out more about plagiarism, how to avoid it and penalties, on the University's website:
<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/study/plagiarism.aspx>

Expected workload

In accordance with Faculty Guidelines, this course has been constructed on the assumption that students will devote on average 15 hours per week to this course. This includes attendance at 2 hours of lectures per week and time completing the readings in preparation for the lectures. More hours will be devoted per week in the weeks leading up to the test, the final exam, and during the period in which students are preparing their essays.

GENERAL UNIVERSITY POLICIES AND STATUTES

Students should familiarise themselves with the University's policies and statutes, particularly the Assessment Statute, the Personal Courses of Study Statute, the Statute on Student Conduct and any statutes relating to the particular qualifications being studied; see the *Victoria University Calendar* or go to the Academic Policy and Student Policy sections on:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/policy>

The AVC (Academic) website also provides information for students in a number of areas including Academic Grievances, Student and Staff conduct, Meeting the needs of students with impairments, and student support/VUWSA student advocates. This website can be accessed at:

<http://www.victoria.ac.nz/home/about/avcacademic/Publications.aspx>

Lecture outline

Lecture date	Lecture topic	Required readings (those with an asterisk * are in your book of readings)
16 July	<p>Introduction to course.</p> <p>Media and elections; Campaign effects</p>	<p>Paolo Mancini and David L. Swanson, 'Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: Introduction', in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini, (eds.), <i>Politics, Media, and Modern Democracy. An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences</i>, Westport, Praeger, 1996, pp. 1-28*</p> <p>Thomas Holbrook, <i>Do Campaigns Matter?</i> Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, Sage, 1996, pp. 1-19*</p> <p>Pippa Norris, 'Do campaign communications matter for civic engagement ? American elections from Eisenhower to George W. Bush', in David M. Farrell and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, (eds.), <i>Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign effects in elections and referendums</i>, London and New York, Routledge and ECPR, 2002, pp. 127-144 read online: http://victoria.lconz.ac.nz/cgi-bin/Pwebrecon.cgi?v1=21&ti=1,21&Search%5FArg=Political%20advertising&Search%5FCode=GKEY%5E%2A&CNT=25&PID=O2d8oFqyPYihAYPgRpVrBbZOwP&SEQ=20090617111024&SID=1</p> <p>Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck and David M. Farrell, 'Do political campaigns matter? Yes, but it depends', in David M. Farrell and Rüdiger Schmitt-Beck, (eds.), <i>Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign effects in elections and referendums</i>, London and New York, Routledge and ECPR, 2002, pp. 183-193.*</p>
23 July	<p>Media systems and regulation: framework for analysis. Case studies: UK, US, Australia New Zealand</p>	<p><i>Theoretical framework</i></p> <p>Daniel C. Hallin & Paolo Mancini, 'Comparing Media Systems' in <i>Comparing Media Systems Three Models of Media and Politics</i>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 21-45. *</p> <p>Daniel C. Hallin & Paolo Mancini, 'The North Atlantic or Liberal Model' in <i>Comparing Media Systems Three Models of Media and Politics</i>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 198-248.*</p> <p>Frank Esser and Barbara Pfetsch (eds.), <i>Comparing Political Communications. Theories, Cases and Challenges</i>, Cambridge, CUP, 2004, pp. 25-43.*</p> <p>US: Robert McChesney <i>The Problem of the Media US Communication Politics in the 21st Centruy</i>, New York, Monthly Review Press, 2004, pp. 16-56.*</p> <p>Pew Project for Excellence in Journalism, 'State of the US News Media': http://www.stateofthedia.org/2009/index.htm See the sections on TV,</p>

<p>23 July (cont)</p>		<p>radio, newspapers and internet</p> <p><i>The United Kingdom</i> Anthony McNicholas and David Ward, 'United Kingdom' in Bernd-Peter Lange and David Ward (eds), <i>The Media and Elections A Handbook and Comparative Study</i>, London and New Delhi, Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004, pp. 145-163*</p> <p>Colin Seymour-Ure, 'Are the Broadsheets becoming Unhinged?' in Jean Seaton, (ed.), <i>Politics and the Media Harlots and Prerogatives at the Turn of the Millennium</i>, Oxford, Blackwell, 1998, pp. 43-54.*</p> <p><i>New Zealand:</i> http://canterbury.cyberplace.org.nz/community/CAFCA/publications/Miscellaneous/mediaown.pdf</p> <p><i>Australia:</i> http://www.aph.gov.au/library/intguide/SP/Media_Regulation.htm</p> <p>http://www.reuters.com/article/industryNews/idUSSYD15898620070329</p> <p>Rod Tiffen, 'Political Economy and News' in Stuart Cunningham and Graeme Turner (eds.), <i>The media and communications in Australia</i>, (2nd edition), Crows Nest NSW, Allen & Unwin, 2006pp. 28-42.*</p>
<p>30 July</p>	<p>Electoral systems and rules and their effects on election campaigns: framework for analysis</p>	<p><i>The US electoral system:</i> http://www.archives.gov/federal-register/electoral-college/faq.html</p> <p>http://bensguide.gpo.gov/9-12/election/</p> <p><i>The Australian electoral system:</i> http://www.aec.gov.au/Voting/index.htm</p> <p><i>British electoral system</i> http://british-house-of-commons.suite101.com/article.cfm/the_british_electoral_system</p> <p>Anthony Mughan, 'Presidentialization of Presentation and Impact', in <i>Media and the Presidentialisation of Parliamentary Elections</i>, Hampshire and New York, 2000, pp. 22-51.*</p> <p><i>New Zealand electoral system</i> Juliet Roper, 'New Zealand: adapting to proportional representation', in Juliet Roper, Christina Holtz-Bacha, Gianpietro Mazzoleni, <i>The politics of representation: election campaigning and proportional representation</i>, New York, Peter Lang, 2004, pp. 99-122.*</p> <p>Stephen Levine and Nigel S. Roberts, 'The Baubles of Office: Winning and Losing Under MMP', in Levine and Roberts, <i>Baubles of Office The NZ General Election of 2005</i>, Wellington, VUW Press, 2007, pp. 23-49.*</p>

		See also: http://www.elections.org.nz/voting/mmp/
6 August	Campaign finance laws and electioneering I: The US and UK	<p>Jacob Rowbottom, 'Access to the Airwaves and Equality: The Case against Political Advertising on the Broadcast Media', in K.D. Ewing and Samuel Issacharoff (eds.), <i>Party Funding and Campaign Financing in International Comparison</i>, London and Portland, Oregon, Columbia-London Law Series, 2006, pp. 75-96. *</p> <p>Linda Lee-Kaid & Clifford A. Jones, 'United States of America', in Bernd-Peter Lange and David Ward (eds.), <i>The Media and Elections A Handbook and Comparative Study</i>, London and New Delhi, Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004, pp. 25-57 *</p> <p>US Electoral Commission: http://www.fec.gov/</p> <p>UK Electoral Commission on campaign finance : http://www.electoralcommission.org.uk/party-finance</p>
13 August	Campaign finance II: Australia and New Zealand	<p><i>Australia</i></p> <p>Julianne Stewart, 'Political Advertising in Australia and New Zealand', in Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holtz-Bacha, <i>The Sage Handbook of Political Advertising</i>, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, Sage, 2006, pp. 269-457*</p> <p>Graeme Orr, 'Political Finance Law in Australia' in K.D. Ewing and Samuel Issacharoff (eds.), <i>Party Funding and Campaign Financing in International Comparison</i>, London and Portland, Oregon, Columbia-London Law Series, 2006, pp. 99-122. (Closed Reserve)</p> <p><i>Australian election commission on campaign finance:</i> http://www.aec.gov.au/Parties_and_Representatives/index.htm</p> <p><i>New Zealand</i> http://www.elections.org.nz/rules/advertising/</p>
20 August	Pre-modern, modern, post-modern campaigns; development of candidate-led campaigning	<p>Rudger Schmitt-Beck 'New Modes of Campaigning' in Russel J. Dalton and Hans-Dieter Klingemann, <i>The Oxford Handbook of Political Behaviour</i>, Oxford University Press, 2007, pp. 744-764.*</p> <p>Pippa Norris, 'The Rise of the Postmodern Campaign?' in <i>A Virtuous Circle Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies</i>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2000, pp. 162-179.*</p> <p>David L. Swanson, 'Transnational Trends in Political Communication: Conventional Views and New Realities', in Frank Esser and Barbara Pfetsch (eds.), <i>Comparing Political Communication Theories, Cases, and Challenges</i>, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2004, pp. 45- 63.*</p>
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	In-class test in second hour of lecture : 1.00-2.00pm	

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10 Sept	Campaign communications I Theory and Practice; United States	<p>Stephen Ansolabehere and Shanto Iyengar, 'Conclusion', <i>Going Negative How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarize the Electorate</i>, New York, Free Press, 1995, pp. 145-158.*</p> <p>Brian McNair, 'Political Advertising' in <i>Introduction to Political Communication</i>, London and New York, Routledge, 2004, pp. 95-129.*</p> <p>Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holtz-Bacha, 'Television Advertising and Democratic Systems Around the World A Comparison of Video Style Content and Effects', in Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holtz-Bacha, <i>The Sage Handbook of Political Advertising</i>, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, Sage, 2006, pp. 445-457.*</p> <p><i>United States</i> Lynda Lee Kaid, 'Political Advertising' in Lynda Lee Kaid, (ed.), <i>Handbook of Political Communication Research</i>, New Jersey, London, Lawrence Earlbaum, 2004, pp. 155-202.*</p> <p>Watch US ads online: http://www.livingroomcandidate.org/</p>
17 Sept	Campaign communications II: UK	<p>Margaret Scammel and Ana Inés Langer, 'Political Advertising in the United Kingdom, in Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holtz-Bacha, <i>The Sage Handbook of Political Advertising</i>, Thousand Oaks, London, New Delhi, Sage, 2006, pp. 65-82.*</p>
24 Sept	Campaign communications III: Australia	<p>Ian Ward, 'Political Ads, Politics and Television, <i>Politics of the Media</i>, South Yarra, MacMillan Publishers, 1995, pp. 179-206.*</p> <p>See Australian election advertisements online: http://www.soapbox.unimelb.edu.au/</p>
1 October	Campaign communications IV: New Zealand	<p>Chapters 2 , 5 and 8 of Rudd, Hayward and Craig.</p> <p>Chris Rudd and Janine Hayward, 'Campaigning' in <i>New Zealand Government and Politics</i>, 4th ed., Oxford University Press, 2006*</p> <p>Claire Robinson, 'Images of the 2005 Campaign' in Levine and Roberts, <i>Baubles of Office</i>, pp. 180-196.*</p> <p>Rudd, <i>et al.</i>, 'Political advertising in the Metropolitan Newspapers' in Levine and Roberts, <i>Baubles of Office</i>, pp. 197-210*</p>
8 October	Media coverage of elections: The US and Australia	<p>US :http://www.stateofthemediamedia.org/2009/narrative_special_lessonsoftheelection.php?cat=1&media=12</p> <p>Dan Nimmo, 'Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: The United States', in David L. Swanson and Paolo Mancini, (eds.), <i>Politics, Media, and Modern</i></p>

	<p>Essay due today</p>	<p><i>Democracy. An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences</i>, Westport, Praeger, 1996, pp. 29-47.*</p> <p>Stephen J. Farnsworth and S. Robert Lichter, 'A Plague on all your Houses', in <i>The Nightly news Nightmare Television's Coverage of U.S. Presidential Elections, 1988-2004</i>, (2nd edition) Boulder, New York, Toronto, Oxford, Rowman and Littlefield, 2006, pp. 111- 157*</p> <p>David Denmark, 'Television Effects and Voter Decision Making in Australia: A re-examination of the Converse Model', <i>British Journal of Political Science</i>, Vol. 32, No. 4, pp. 663-690: read online, through JSTOR: http://www.jstor.org/helicon.vuw.ac.nz/stable/4092378?&Search=yes&term=election&term=australia&term=campaign&term=media&list=hide&searchUri=%2Faction%2FdoAdvancedSearch%3Fq0%3Daustralia%26f0%3Dall%26c0%3DAND%26q1%3Dmedia%26f1%3Dall%26c1%3DAND%26q2%3Delection%26f2%3Dall%26c2%3DAND%26q3%3Dcampaign%26f3%3Dall%26wc%3Don%26Search%3DSearch%26sd%3D%26ed%3D%26la%3D%26jo%3D&item=11&ttl=1991&returnArticleService=showArticle</p> <p>ABC's coverage of the 2007 federal election, with links to earlier elections: http://www.abc.net.au/elections/federal/2007/</p>
<p>15 October</p>	<p>Media coverage of elections II: The UK and New Zealand</p> <p>Conclusion to course</p>	<p><i>UK</i></p> <p>Dominic Wring, 'The media and the election', in Geddes and Tonge (eds.), <i>Labour's Landslide</i>, New York, Manchester University Press, 1997, pp. 70-83.*</p> <p>Martin Harrison, 'On Air', in Dennis Kavanagh and David Butler, <i>The British General Election of 2005</i>, Hampshire and New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2005, pp. 94 -118. *</p> <p>Margaret Scammell and Martin Harrop, 'The Press, : Still for Labour, Despite Blair', in Dennis Kavanagh and David Butler, <i>The British General Election of 2005</i>, Hampshire and New York, Palgrave MacMillan, 2005, pp. 119-145. *</p> <p><i>New Zealand</i></p> <p>Chapters 3,4 and 6 of Rudd, Hayward and Craig.</p> <p>Tim Bale, 'News, Newszak, New Zealand: The Role, Performance and Impact of Television in the General Election of 2002', in Boston, Church, Levine, McLeay and Roberts, (eds.), <i>New Zealand Votes The General Election of 2002</i>, Wellington, VUW Press, 2003, pp. 217-234.*</p> <p>http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/election-day/radio-and-tv</p> <p>http://www.nzhistory.net.nz/politics/election-day/peddling-politicians</p> <p>Jack Vowles, 'Afterword: Do Campaigns Matter?', in Hayward and Rudd, <i>Political Communications in New Zealand</i>, Pearson, 2007, pp. 183-199.*</p> <p>Bernd-Peter Lange, 'Media and Elections: Some Reflections and</p>

		Recommendations', in Bernd-Peter Lange and David Ward (eds.), <i>The Media and Elections A Handbook and Comparative Survey</i> , London and New Delhi, Lawrence Erlbaum, 2004, pp. 205-231.*
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