

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

G8247: Mass-Mediated American and Global Politics

Spring 2012
Tuesdays 11:00 a.m. - 12:50 p.m.

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Office Hours at 736 IAB, Tuesdays 1-3 and Fridays, 11-1

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Course Description: Readings and class discussions explore the domestic and global traditional and new media landscape at the beginning of the 21st century and their impact on mass-mediated domestic and international politics. The focus is on conditions and changes in media/communication in terms of ownership, technologies, organizational and individual imperatives as well as their impact on political power. Given the partisan/ideological polarization in the United States and elsewhere, we will pay attention to neo-populism in different countries and explore the importance of traditional and social media in contentious politics and social movements. We will discuss the role of Communication in the Arab uprising and the emergence of Tea Party and Occupy Wall Street.

Requirements: Regular attendance of class sessions, reading of required texts before the class sessions they are assigned for, participation in class discussions, and a research paper on a topic directly or indirectly related to media/communication and politics/policies. Each student will select one case study in Gianpietro Mazzoleni et al., *The Media and Neo-Populism* (or pick another case) and provide a summary of the chapter's most important points, when we discuss populism and demagoguery.

Topics and Readings:

Session 1: The Age of Global Communication:
(Jan. 17) Problems and Opportunities
Introduction and Discussion of Course Topic and Requirements

Session 2: News: Commodity or Public Good? (Jan. 24)
Readings:
James Hamilton, *All the News That's Fit to Print* (Princeton, 2004), chap.1;

Dean Sparkman, "Confidence Game: The limited vision of the news gurus."
Columbia Journalism Review, November/December 2011

Leonard Downie Jr. and Michael Schudson, "The Reconstruction of American Journalism, Columbia Journalism Review:

http://www.cjr.org/reconstruction/the_reconstruction_of_american.php?page=all

Brenda Sandberg, "For a Newsman and his Town, the End of an Era." *New York Times*, Oct. 3, 2010,

<http://www.nytimes.com/2010/10/03/nyregion/03editor.html?scp=1&sq=for%20a%20newsman%20and%20his%20town,%20the%20end%20of%20an%20era&st=cse>

Session 3: Press Freedom, Ethic Codes, Democracy: Stated Ideals and Reality
(Jan. 31)

Readings:

The American Society of News Editors' "[Statement of Principles](#)"

Freedom House, "Map of Press Freedom" at

<http://www.freedomhouse.org/template.cfm?page=251&year=2009>, see global results and pick 2 countries for report on specific state of press freedom

Kai Hafez, "Journalism Ethics Revisited," *Political Communication* 19 (2002): 225-250.

Pippa Norris, "Global Political Communication: Good Governance, Human Development, and Mass Communication." In Esser and Pfetsch, *Comparing Political Communication*, 115-150.

Michael Schudson, "Tocqueville's Interesting Error." In Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobson, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media* (Oxford 2011), 61-73.

Session 4: Traditional Media, Free Newspapers, Online News

(Feb. 7) Rolando Pujol, Daily News, formerly Managing Editor of AM New York lectures/leads discussion

Readings:

Avery, James M. "Videomalaise or Virtuous Circle? The Influence of the News Media on Political Trust." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 14(4) 2009.

Pew Research Center's Project for Excellence in Journalism, The State of the News Media: An Annual Report on American Journalism, 2011, available at: <http://stateofthemedias.org/2011/overview-2/>

Session 5: Social Media: Will the Revolution Be Tweeted—or Not?
(Feb. 14)

Readings:

Clay Shirky, “The Political Power of Social Media.” *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb. 2011.

Evgeny Morozov. *The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom* (Public Affairs 2011), chap. 1-5

Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen, “The Digital Disruption: Connectivity and Diffusion of Power.” *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2010

John B. Alterman, “The Revolution Will not Be Tweeted.” *The Washington Quarterly*, Fall 2011.

Session 6: Mass Media and Contentious Politics/Social Movements
(Feb. 21)

Readings:

Sidney G. Tarrow. *Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics*, Revised and Updated Third Edition (Cambridge: 2011), Preface, Introduction, and pp. 58-60; 89-90; 147-149.

Charles Tilly and Lesley J. Wood. *Social Movements 1786-2008* (Paradigm Publisher, 2009), chap. 1 and “Movements and Media,” pp. 84-89.

Heinrich Boell Foundation, “Revolutions in Real Time: The Mediatization of Political Struggle.” *Perspectives*, May 2011, pp. 68-95.

Samuel Huntington. *American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony* (Belknap 1981), chap.1 and pp. 85-105;

Session 7: Communication and Protests: From Protests against Iraq Invasion to the Tea Party Mobilization and Occupy Wall Street Protests
(Feb. 28)

W. Lance Bennett, Christian Breunig, and Terri Givens, “Communication and Political Mobilization: Digital Media and the Organization of the Anti-Iraq War Demonstration in the U.S.” *Political Communication* 25(3) (2008), 269-289.

Street, Paul and Anthony DiMaggio. *Crashing the Tea Party: Mass Media and the Campaign to Remake American Politics*. (Paradigm Publisher 2011), chaps.1, 2, 6.

Rasmussen, Scott and Douglas Schoen. *Mad as Hell: How the Tea Party Movement is Fundamentally Remaking Our Two-Party System* (Broadside Books 2010), Introduction and chaps. 1, 2, and 6.

Session 8: Populism and Demagoguery

(Mar. 6)

Readings:

Ben Stanley, "The thin ideology of populism." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13(1) (Feb. 2008).

Panizza, Francisco and Romina Miorelli. "Populism and Democracy in Latin America." Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, 2009.

Jacques Rupnik "From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backlash: Is East-Central Europe Backsliding?" *Journal of Democracy* 18(4) 2007.

Campus, Donatella. "Mediatization and Personalization of Politics in Italy and France: The Cases of Berlusconi and Sarkozy." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 15(2), 2010.

Patricia Roberts-Miller, "Democracy, Demagoguery, and Critical Rhetoric." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs*, 8 (3) (2005), 459-467.

Ceaser, James W. "Demagoguery, Statesmanship, and the American Presidency." *Critical Review* 19 (2-3), 2007

(No Class March 13th—Spring Break)

Session 9: Are All of Today's Political Leaders Neo-Populist Communicators?

(Mar. 20)

Readings:

Gianpietro Mazzoleni et al., The Media and Neo-Populism (chapter you selected).

Students report on one chapter (Austria, France, Italy, Australia, Canada, etc., you can also select a case not covered in the book) and we will discuss cases.

Session 10: Liberal, Conservative, Racial, Gender, and other Real and Alleged Biases
(March 27)

Readings:

Robert Eisinger et al., "What Media Bias? Conservative and Liberal Labeling in Major U.S. Newspapers." *Press/Politics* 12(1) (2007): 17-36.

Martin Gilens, *Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago, 2000, chapters 5 and 6.

Scheuer, *The Sound Bite Society*, chapters 1 and 2

Leon Barkho, "The Arabic Aljazeera vs. Britain's BBC and America's CNN: Who does journalism right?" *American Communication Journal* 8 (1) 2006, available at <http://www.acjournal.org/holdings/vol8/Essays/arab2.pdf>

Berry, Jeffrey and Sarah Sobieraj, "Understanding the Rise of Talk Radio." *Political Science & Politics* 44(4), Oct. 2011, 762-767.

Session 11: Propaganda, Public Diplomacy, Strategic Communication and the Limits
(April 3)

Readings:

Steward Ewen, *PR! A Social History of Spin*. New York: Basic Books, 1996, chapters 1, 2, and Coda.

Edward Bernays, "The Engineering of Consent." *Annals of the American Academy of Political Science*, vol. 250 (March 1947), 113-120.

Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson, *Age of Propaganda*. New York: W.E. Freeman and Co., 1991, chapters 1-4, 23, 30-37 (all very short chapters).

Zaller, John. 1998. "Monica Lewinsky's Contribution to Political Science." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 31(2), 182-189 (I will provide the file)

Session 12: News Media and Entertainment Media: Similarities and Differences
(Apr. 10)

Readings:

Althaus, Scott L. "The Forgotten Role of the Global Newsreel Industry in the Long Transition from Text to Television." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 15(2), 2010.

Delli Carpini, Michael X. and Bruce A. Williams. "Methods, Metaphors, and Media Research: The Uses of Television in Political Conversation." *Communication Research* 21:782 (1994)

Feldman, Lauren and Dannagal Goldthwaite Young, "Late-Night Comedy as a Gateway to Traditional News." *Political Communication* 25 (4) (Oct./Dec. 2008).

Holbert, Lance R. "A Typology for the Study of Entertainment Television and Politics." *American Behavioral Scientist* 49(3), 2005

Kraidy, Marwan M. *Reality Television and Arab Politics*. Cambridge University Press, 2010, Introduction and chapters 1-4

Session 13: Media and Violence: Crime, War, Terrorism, and Counterterrorism
(Apr. 17)

Readings:

Sissela Bok, Mayhem: Violence as Entertainment, pp. 13-39

Bennett, W. Lance, Regina G. Lawrence and Steven Livingston. *When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media from Iraq to Katrina* (University of Chicago Press, 2007), Introduction, chapters 1-3.

Brigitte L. Nacos, Yaeli Bloch-Elkon, and Robert Y. Shapiro. Selling Fear: Counterterrorism, the Media and Public Opinion (University of Chicago Press 2011), chapters 1, 2, 4, 7 and Postscript

Session 14: Last Class: Discussion of Students' Research Findings
(Apr. 24)

Term Papers are due!

All books and articles listed on the syllabus are required readings and available on reserve at Lehman Library (3rd floor of the International Affairs Building). The assigned articles are available electronically via the library reserve or Courseworks and via the Library Web. I will e-mail articles that are not available via reserve.

I did not order books in the Columbia Bookstore. If you decide to buy some of the books, you can order them at a book store or from Internet bookseller.

The following books are on reserve at Lehman Library:

Bennett, W. Lance, Regina G. Lawrence and Steven Livingston. When the Press Fails: Political Power and the News Media from Iraq to Katrina (University of Chicago Press, 2007).

Bok, Sissela. Mayham: Violence as Entertainment (MA: Perseus Books, 1998).

Cohen, Jeffrey E. Going Local. Presidential Leadership in the Post-Broadcast Age. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Edelman, Murray. Constructing the Political Spectacle. University of Chicago Press, 1988.

Entman, Robert M. and Andrew Rojecki. The Black Image in the White Mind: Media and Race in America. (The University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Esser, Frank and Barbara Pfetsch. Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges (Cambridge, 2004)

Ewen, Stuart. PR! A Social History of Spin. Basic Books, 1996.

Gilens, Martin. Why Americans Hate Welfare: Race, Media, and the Politics of Antipoverty Policy (University of Chicago Press, 2000).

Hamilton, James T. All the News that's Fit to Sell (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2004).

Huntington, Samuel. American Politics: The Promise of Disharmony (Belknap 1981).

Kraidy, Marwan M. Reality Television and Arab Politics. Cambridge University Press, 2010.

Mazzeletti, Gianpietro et al., eds. The Media and Neo-Populism (Praeger, 2003).

MacArthur, John R., Second Front (University of California, 1992).

Morozov, Evgeny. The Net Delusion: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom (Public Affairs 2011).

Nacos, Brigitte L., Yaeli Bloch-Elkon and Robert Y. Shapiro. Selling Fear: Counterterrorism, the Media, and Public Opinion (University of Chicago Press 2011).

Nacos, Brigitte. Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism, Second Edition (Rowman & Littlefield, 2007)

Nacos, Brigitte and Oscar Reyna-Torres. Fueling Our Fears: Stereotyping, Media Coverage and Public Opinion of Muslim Americans (Rowman & Littlefield, 2006).

Pratkanis, Anthony and Elliot Aronson. Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion (W. H. Freedman, 1991).

Rasmussen, Scott and Douglas Schoen. Mad as Hell: How the Tea Party Movement is fundamentally Remaking Our Two-Party System (Broadside Books, 2010).

Rosenberg, Howard and Charles S. Feldman. No Time to Think. New York: Continuum, 2008.

Scheuer, Jeffrey. The Sound Bite Society: Television and the American Mind (Four Walls Eight Windows, 1999).

Shapiro, Robert Y. and Lawrence R. Jacobs. The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media (Oxford University Press, 2011).

Street, Paul and Anthony DiMaggio. Crashing the Tea Party: Mass Media and the Campaign to Remake American Politics (Paradigm Publisher 2011)

Tarrow, Sidney G. Power in Movement: Social Movements and Contentious Politics, Revised and Updated Third Edition (Cambridge 2011)

Tilly, Charles and Lesley J. Wood. Social Movements 1786-2008 (Paradigm 2009).

Articles electronically accessible via Library Reserves/ or CourseWorks:

Alterman, Jon B. "The Revolution will not be Tweeted." The Washington Quarterly, Fall 2011.

Althaus, Scott L. "The Forgotten Role of the Global Newsreel Industry in the Long Transition from Text to Television." International Journal of Press/Politics 15(2), 2010.

Anker, Elisabeth, "Villains, Victims and Heroes: Melodrama, Media, and September 11." Journal of Communication 55 (1) (March 2005), 22-37.

Avery, James M. "Videomalaise or Virtuous Circle? The Influence of the New Media on Political Trust." International Journal of Press/Politics 14(4) 2009.

Baym, Geoffrey. "The Daily Show: Discursive Integration and the Reinvention of Political Journalism." Political Communication 23 (3) (2005): 259-276.

Bakker, Peter, "Free Daily Newspapers: Business Models and Strategies." International Journal on Media Management 4(2) (2002), 180-187.

Bennett, W. Lance. "Beyond Pseudoevents: Election News as Reality TV." American Behavioral Scientist 49(3), 2005.

Bennett, W. Lance, Christian Breunig and Terri Givens. "Communication and Political Mobilization: Digital Media and the Organization of the Anti Iraq War Demonstrations in the U.S." Political Communication 25 (3), 269-289.

Campus, Donatella. "Mediatization and Personalization of Politics in Italy and France: The Cases of Berlusconi and Sarkozy." International Journal of Press/Politics 15(2), 2010.

Ceaser, James W. "Demagoguery, Statesmanship, and the American Presidency." Critical Review 19 (2-3), 2007.

Delli Carpini, Michael X. and Bruce A. Williams. "Methods, Metaphors, and Media Research: The Uses of Television in Political Conversation." Communication Research 21:782 (1994)

Downie, Leonard Jr. and Michael Schudson, "The Reconstruction of American Journalism," *Columbia Journalism Review* (see link under Session 2)

Eisinger, Robert et al., "What Media Bias? Conservative and Liberal Labeling in Major U.S. Newspapers." Press/Politics 12(1) (2007): 17-36.

Feldman, Lauren and Dannagal Goldthwaite Young, "Late-Night Comedy as a Gateway to Traditional News." Political Communication 25 (4) (Oct./Dec. 2008).

Hafez, Kai, "Journalism Ethics Revisited." *Political Communication* 19 (2002), 225-250.

Holbert, Lance R. "A Typology for the Study of Entertainment Television and Politics." American Behavioral Scientist 49(3), 2005.

Jackson, David J. and Thomas I.A. Darrow, "The Influence of Celebrity Endorsements on Young Adults' Political Opinions." Press/Politics 10(3): 80-98.

Panizza, Francisco and Romina Miorelli. "Populism and Democracy in Latin America." Carnegie Council for Ethics in International Affairs, 2009.

Pease, Andrew and Paul R. Brewer, "The Oprah Factor: The Effects of Celebrity Endorsement in a Presidential Primary." *Press/Politics* 13 (4), 2008.

Roberts-Miller, Patricia, "Democracy, Demagoguery, and Critical Rhetoric." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8(3) (2005), 459-467.

Rupnik, Jacques, "From Democracy Fatigue to Populist Backlash: Is East-Central Europe Backsliding?" *Journal of Democracy* 18(4) 2007.

Schudson, Michael, "Tocqueville's Interesting Error." In Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobson, eds. *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media* (Oxford University Press 2011), 61-73.

Shirky, Clay, "The Political Power of Social Media." *Foreign Affairs*, Jan/Feb. 2011.

Schmidt, Eric and Jared Cohen, "The Digital Disruption: Connectivity and Diffusion of Power." *Foreign Affairs*, Nov./Dec. 2010.

Sparkman, Dean, "Confidence Game: The limited vision of the news gurus." *Columbia Journalism Review*, November/December 2011.

Stanley, Ben. "The thin ideology of populism." *Journal of Political Ideologies* 13(1) (Feb. 2008).

Steel, Janet, "Professionalism Online: How Malaysikiani Challenges Authoritarianism." *Press/Politics* 14 (1) (Jan. 2009), 91-111.

Stroembaeck, Jesper. "Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics." *Press/Politics* 13(3), July 2008.