

COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY
DEPARTMENT OF POLITICAL SCIENCE

POLS UN3921 (Section 004) Fall 2016: Media in American Politics

Wednesdays, 12:10-2:00 p.m.

Dr. Brigitte L. Nacos, Office: 736 IAB; Phone: 854-5254; bn1@columbia.edu.
Office Hours: Wednesdays, 2:00-3:00; Fridays, 11:00-1:00.

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Course Description: We will examine the central role of mass communication (traditional media) and mass self-communication (internet/social media) in American politics and policy-making with special attention to the role of news, social, and entertainment media in presidential and other elections. While the primary focus is on the American setting, we will also look at the global context as it relates to media structures, ownership, freedom of expression/press, etc.

Requirements: Regular attendance of class sessions is required except for serious health problems or absences on religious holidays for observant students. If a student misses more than 2 classes without proof of sickness or other exceptional reasons, the final grade will be lowered by ½ point for each missed class; if a student misses five or more sessions without proof of serious sickness, he/she will fail the class.

Students must read the assigned material in preparation for each session and participate in class discussions. To make sure that everyone is well prepared, each student will compile for each class a short list (one page or less) of interesting points, issues, and questions concerning the assigned readings.

Each student selects one chapter in Gianpietro Mazzoleni et al., *The Media and Neo-Populism* or another past or present populist here or abroad (for example, Trump, Sanders, Le Pen, Farage) and reports about the chosen case in class, when we discuss populism and demagoguery.

Each student writes a research paper of about 25 pages (double spaced) on a topic related to media/communication and American politics/policies. I encourage you to select a topic related to this year's primary season or general election campaign. You will report on your research findings in our last class meeting.

Grades will be based on class participation (one third of final grade) and term paper (two thirds).

Topics and Readings:

Session 1 The Age of Information and Communication

(Sept. 7) Introduction of seminar topics; discussion of class format; requirements.

Session 2 Political Role of the American Press: a Historical Perspective

(Sept. 14)

Readings:

Jesper Stroembaeck, "Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics." *International Journal Press/Politics* 13 (3) (2008); 228-246.

Doris Graber and Johanna Dunaway, *Mass Media and American Politics*, Ninth Edition, chapters 1, 2, 4, 5, 6.

Paul Starr, *The Creation of the Media*, chapters 2, 3, 4, 6, 7.

Manuel Castells. *Communication Power*. New York: Oxford University Press: 2009, chapter 2.

James Hamilton, *All the News That's Fit to Print* (Princeton, 2004), chapter 1

Session 3 Press Freedom, Human Rights, and Media Ethics

(Sept. 21)

Readings:

The American Society of News Editors' Statement of Principles
<http://asne.org/content.asp?pl=24&sl=171&contentid=171>

Graber and Dunaway, chapter 3.

W. Lance Bennett, Regina G. Lawrence, and Steven Livingston. *When the Press Fails*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2007, Introduction and Chapters 2 and 6.

Peter J. Boyer. *Who Killed CBS? The Undoing of America's Number One News Network*. New York: Random House, 1988, chapters 1, 16, 17.

Rodney A. Smolla. *Suing the Press: Libel, the Media, and Power*. New York: Oxford University Press: 1986, chapters 1-2.

Stephen J. Ward, "Digital Media Ethics."
<http://ethics.journalism.wisc.edu/resources/digital-media-ethics/>

Session 4 Effects of the Media

(Sept. 28)

Readings:

Manuel Castells, *Communication Power*. New York: Oxford, 2009, chapter 2.

Shanto Iyengar. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991, chapters 1-5 and Conclusion.

Walter Lippmann, *Public Opinion*. New York: Free Press Paperbacks. 1997 [1922], chapters 1, 16, and 24.

Graber and Dunaway, chapter 10

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

Session 5 Media Biases

(Oct. 5) 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, chs. 5 and 6.

Jeffrey Scheuer. 1999. *The Sound Bite Society*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows, chapters 1 and 2.

Graber and Dunaway, chapter 12

Miller, Melissa K. and Jeffrey S. Peake, "Press Effects, Public Opinion, and Gender: Coverage of Sarah Palin's Vice-Presidential Campaign." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 18(4): 482-507.

Short (2-3 paragraphs) Proposal for Research Paper is due Today

Session 6: Mainstream and New Media in Election Campaigns

(Oct. 12) Readings:

Hamby, Peter, "Did Twitter Kill the Boys on the Bus?" Discussion Paper Series, September 2013, Joan Shorenstein Center, Harvard University, available at:

http://shorensteincenter.org/wp-content/uploads/2013/08/d80_hamby.pdf

Graber and Dunaway, chapter 11

Johanna Dunaway and Regina G. Lawrence, "What Predicts the Game

Frame? Media Ownership, Electoral Context, and Campaign News.”
Political Communication 32 (1) (2015): 43-60.

Mitchel S. McKinney,” Social Watching a 2012 Republican Presidential
Presidential Primary.” *American Behavioral Scientist* 58 (4), 2015.

Alan Schroeder. *Presidential Debates: Forty Years of High Risk TV*. New
York: Columbia University Press, 2000, Introduction, chapters 1-3.

Session 7: Paid Media in Election Campaigns
(Oct. 19) Readings:

West, Darrell. 2014. *Air Wars: Television Advertising and Social Media in
Election Campaigns 1952-2012 (Sixth Edition)*. Los Angeles: Congressional
Quarterly Press/Sage, chapters 1, 4, 5, 10.

Kim Fridkin, Patrick J. Kenney, and Amanda Wintersieck, “Liar, Liar,
Pants on Fire: How Fact-Checking Influences Citizens Reactions to
Negative Advertising.” *Political Communication* 32 (1) (2015): 127-151.

Stephen Ansolabehere and Shanto Iyengar. *Going Negative: How Political
Advertisements Shrink & Polarize the Electorate*. New York: Free Press,
1995, chapters 1, 5, 6, and 7.

Sessions 8/9: Communication, Populism, and Demagoguery
(Oct. 26,
Nov.2) Readings:

Gianpietro Mazzoleni, Julianne Steward and Bruce Horsfield. 2003. *The
Media and Neo-Populism* (foreword and chapter 1).

Michael Kazin. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*, Cornell
University Press, 2004, introduction and chapter 1.

Roberts-Miller, Patricia. 2005. “Democracy, Demagoguery, and Critical
Rhetoric.” *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 8 (3): 459-476.

Students report on the case they have picked

On November 2, the detailed Paper Outline with Sources is due

Session 10: Public Relations, Propaganda, and Public Diplomacy

(Nov. 9) 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).

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

Graber and Dunaway, chapter 9

Session 11: Media, Participation, Socialization, Polarization

(Nov. 16) Readings:

Robert D. Putnam, "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6 (1) (1995): 65-78.

Sherry Turkle. *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other*. New York: Basic Books, 2011, Introduction, Chapter 8, and Epilogue.

Mark Oppenheimer, "Technology is Not Driving US Apart After All." *New York Times Magazine*, January 18, 2014.

Markus Prior, "Media and Political Polarization." *Annual Review Political Science* 2013: 101-127.

Todd K. Hartman and Adam J. Newmark, "Motivated Reasoning, Political Sophistication, and Associations between President Obama and Islam." *PS (Political Science)*, July 2012: 449-455.

Patricia Moy and Muzammil M. Hussain, "Media Influences on Political Trust." *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*. 2013, pp. 236-250.

Session 12: Media , Presidents, and Other Authoritative Actors and Institutions

(Nov. 23) Readings:

Graber and Dunaway, chapters 7 and 8

Nacos, Brigitte, Yaeli-Bloch-Elkon and Robert Shapiro. *Selling Fear: Counter terrorism, the Media, and Public Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011, chapters 1, 2 and 4.

Brody, Richard A. *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1991, chapter 3.

Doris Kearns Goodwin. *The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism*. New York: Simon & Schuster, 2013, chapters 7 and 11.

Session 13: Media and Violence-as-Crime and Violence-as-Terrorism

(Nov. 30) Readings:

Sissela Bok, *Mayhem: Violence as Public Entertainment*. Reading, MA: Perseus Books 1998, Part One.

Brigitte L. Nacos, *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: Third Edition: Mainstream and Digital Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2016, chapters 1-5.

Session 14: Last Class: Students report on their Research

(Dec. 7) **Research Papers are due**

Doris A. Graber and Johanna Dunaway, 2015, *Mass Media in American Politics, Ninth Edition* (Sage/Congressional Quarterly Press is the required textbook for this seminar; we will use it throughout the course. It is a good idea to read the whole book early one because it will give you an overall understanding of the role of mass media in American politics and policy making.

According to the publisher, “this text is available as an eBook through www.VitalSource.com, and many instructors have found it beneficial to include a link to the eBook on their syllabus so students have another option to purchase the text. Here is the VitalSource link for the above text:
<https://www.vitalsource.com/textbooks?term=9781452287287>

Students save **50%** off the retail price of the print text.

Books I have asked to be available at the reserve desk in Butler Library:

- Ansolabehere, Stephen and Shanto Iyengar. 1995. *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink & Polarize the Electorate*. New York: Free Press.
- Bennett, W. Lance , Regina G. Lawrence, and Steven Livingston. 2007. *When the Press Fails*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Bok, Sissela. 1998. *Mayhem: Violence as Public Entertainment*. Reading: Perseus.
- Boyer, Peter J. 1988. *Who Killed CBS? The Undoing of America's Number One News Network*. New York: Random House. .
- Brody, Richard A. 1991. *Assessing the President: The Media, Elite Opinion, and Public Support*. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.
- Castells, Manuel. 2009. *Communication Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Ewen, Stuart. 1996. *PR! A Social History of Spin*. New York: Basic Books.
- Gilens, Martin. 1999. *Why Americans Hate Welfare*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Graber, Doris and Johanna Dunaway. 2015. *Mass Media in American Politics, Ninth Edition*. Los Angeles: Sage/Congressional Quarterly. .
- Hamilton, James T. 2004. *All the News that's fit to Print*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.
- Hetherington, Mark J. and Thomas J. Rudolph. 2015. *Why Washington Won't Work*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto. 1991. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Kazin, Michael. 2004. *The Populist Persuasion: An American History*. Ithaca: Cornell University Press.
- Kearns Goodwin, Doris. 2013. *The Bully Pulpit: Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and the Golden Age of Journalism*. New York: Simon & Schuster.
- Lippmann, Walter. 1997 [1922]. *Public Opinion*. New York: Free Press.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro, Julianne Steward and Bruce Horsfield. 2003. *The Media and Neo-Populism*. New York: Prager.
- Mills, C. Wright. 1959. *The Power Elite*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Mutz, Diana C. 2006. *Hearing the Other Side: Deliberative versus Participatory Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nacos, Brigitte L. 2016. *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media and Terrorism and Counterterrorism Third Edition: Mainstream and Digital Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

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

Pratkanis, Anthony and Elliot Aronson. 1992. *Age of Propaganda*. New York: W.E. Freeman and Co.

Scheuer, Jeffrey. 1999. *The Sound Bite Society*. New York: Four Walls Eight Windows.

Schroeder, Alan. 2000. *Presidential Debates: Forty Years of High Risk TV News*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Smolla, Rodney A. 1986. *Suing the Press: Libel, the Media, and Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Starr, Paul. 2004. *The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications*. New York: Perseus Books.

Turkle, Sherry. 2011. *Alone Together: Why We Expect More from Technology and Less from Each Other*. New York: Basic Books.

West, Darrell. 2014. *Air Wars: Television Advertising and Social Media in Election Campaigns 1952-2012 (Sixth Edition)*. Los Angeles: Congressional Quarterly Press/Sage.

Articles accessible via library reserve and CourseWorks

Baum, Matthew and Angela Jamison, "Soft News and the Four Oprah Effects." *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*. 2013, pp. 121-137.

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

Brown, Katherine A. and Todd Gitlin. "Partisans, Watchdogs, and Entertainers: The Press for Democracy and its Limits." *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*, 2013, pp.74-88.

Cammaerts, Bart and Leo Van Audenhove, "Online Political Debate, Unbounded Citizenship, and the Problematic Nature of a Transnational Public Sphere." *Political Communication* 22 (2) (2005): 179-196.

Dahlgreen, Peter. "The Internet, Public Spheres, and Political Communication: Dispersion and Deliberation." *Political Communication* 22 (2) (2005): 147-162.

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).

Dunaway, Johanna and Regina G. Lawrence, "What Predicts the Game Frame? Media Ownership, Electoral Context, and Campaign News." *Political Communication* 32 (1) (2015): 43-60.

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).

Fridkin, Kim, Patrick J. Kenney, and Amanda Wintersieck, "Liar, Liar, Pants on Fire: How Fact-Checking Influences Citizens Reactions to Negative Advertising." *Political Communication* 32 (1) (2015): 127-151.

Habermas, Juergen et al., "The Public Sphere: An Encyclopedia Article (1964). *New German Critique*, No. 3 (Autumn 1974): 49-55.

Hartman, Todd K. and Adam J. Newmark, "Motivated Reasoning, Political Sophistication, And Associations between President Obama and Islam." *Political Science (PS)*, July 2012, 449-455.

McKinney, Mitchel S., "Social Watching a 2012 Republican Presidential Primary." *American Behavioral Scientist* 58 (4), 2015.

Miller, Melissa K. and Jeffrey S. Peake, "Press Effects, Public Opinion, and Gender: Coverage of Sarah Palin's Vice-Presidential Campaign." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 18(4): 482-507.

Moy, Patricia and Muzammil M. Hussain, "Media Influences on Political Trust." *The Oxford Handbook of American Public Opinion and the Media*. 2013, pp. 236-250.

Oppenheimer, Mark. "Technology is Not Driving Us Apart After All." *New York Times Magazine*, January 18, 2014.

Prior, Markus, "Media and Political Polarization." *Annual Review Political Science* 2013: 101-127.

Putnam, Robert D. "Bowling Alone: America's Declining Social Capital." *Journal of Democracy* 6 (1) (1995): 65-78.

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

Shapiro, Robert Y. "Hearing the Opposition: It Starts at the Top." *Critical Review: A Journal of Politics and Society* 25 (2) 2013.

Ward, Stephen J. "Digital Media Ethics." (I will email file)

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