

Political Science 627: Democracy and the Media in Western Europe

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Office Hours: M, W: 3:30-5 p.m, and by appointment
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Course Objectives

This course is intended to provide students with an introduction to some of the main issues in contemporary discussions in established democracies about the relationship between democracy and the mass media of political communication. Two types of democracy are identified, "representative" and "direct", and the basic question addressed throughout the course is how well the mass media serve the two forms of democratic politics. The bulk of the course focuses on the media and representative democracy. The final weeks look at the potential for the internet in particular to bypass elected representatives and forge direct links between rulers and ruled.

The course will revolve around class discussion more than formal lectures and, to get discussion rolling, individual students will be asked questions directly. You are therefore strongly encouraged to be prepared for each class in order to be able to participate in discussion on an informed basis.

Course Requirements

There will be a midterm (30 per cent), a final (30 per cent) and a ten-page paper (40 per cent) on a subject of the student's own choosing. Student will consult with me in choosing their paper topic. An appointment can be made by telephoning 292-9657 and every student should have been to see me by the end of the seventh week of classes (February 20). Lecture attendance is compulsory and students will lose one full letter grade if they have three or more unexcused absences.

Students with disabilities that have been certified by the Office for Disability Services will be appropriately accommodated, and should inform the instructor of their needs.

Required Purchase

1. Photocopied packet of readings available from Cop-Ez on Neil Avenue

Recommended texts:

1. Robert K. Avery, *Public Service Broadcasting in a Multichannel Environment*
2. Lance Bennett and Robert Entman, *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of*

Democracy

3. Shaun Bowler and David Farrell, eds., *Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing*
4. Sandra Coliver, *Press Law and Practice*
5. Kenneth Dyson et al., *Broadcasting and New Media Policies in Western Europe*
6. Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan, *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*
7. Jens Hoff, Ivan Horrocks and Pieter Tops, eds., *Democratic Governance and the New Technology: Technologically Mediated Innovations in Western Europe*
- 8.. Lynda Lee Kaid and Christina Holz-Bacha, *Political Advertising in Western Democracies*
9. Lynda Lee Kaid et al., *Mediated Politics in Two Cultures: Presidential Campaigning in the United States and France*
10. Judith Lichtenberg, *Democracy and the Mass Media*
11. Ralph Negrine, *The Communication of Politics*
12. Ralph Negrine, *The Internationalisation of Television*
13. Eli Noam, *Asymmetric Deregulation: The Dynamics of Telecommunications Policy in Europe*
14. Eli Noam, *Telecommunications in Europe*
15. Eli Noam, *Television in Europe*
16. Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Societies*
17. Everett. M. Rogers and Francis. Balle, *The Media Revolution in America and Western Europe*
18. Holli Semetko et al., *The Formation of Campaign Agendas*
19. Anthony Smith, *Television: An International History*
20. Chris Toulouse and Timothy W. Luke, eds., *The Politics of Cyberspace*
21. David Swanson and Paolo Mancini, *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy*

Students are also recommended to consult the following journals, *Media, Culture and Society*, *Political Communication*, *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics*, *Public Opinion Quarterly* and *European Journal of Communication*.

Political Science 627: Lecture Schedule

WEEK 1

- Jan. 7 **Introduction**
- Jan. 9 **Perspectives on the Media and Politics**
Fred. S. Siebert "Introduction" from Siebert, *Four Theories of the Press* In Packet.
Terje S. Skjerdal, "Siebert's Four Theories of the Press: A Critique" Available at www.geocities.com/terjeskjerdal/siebert.htm

WEEK 2

- Jan. 14 **Models of Democracy: Representative**
Phillipe C. Schmitter and Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is...and Is Not," *Journal of Democracy* 2 (1991). In Packet.
Representative: Michael Gurevitch and Jay G. Blumler, "Political Communications Systems and Democratic Values" from Judith Lichtenberg, *Democracy and the Mass Media*. In Packet

- Jan. 16 **Media Pluralism and Ownership**
Els de Bens and Helge Ostbye, "The European Newspaper Market" in Denis McQuail and Karen Siune, eds., *Media Policy: Convergence, Concentration and Commerce*. In Packet.
Werner A. Meier and Josef Trappel, "Media Concentration and the Public Interest" in McQuail and Siune, eds. In Packet.
Edward S. Herman and Robert W. McChesney, *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism*, ch. 1. In Packet.

WEEK 3

Jan. 21. Martin Luther King Day - No Class

- Jan. 23 **The Role of Journalists**
Lance Bennett, "An Introduction to Journalism Norms and Representations of Politics." *Political Communication* 13 (1996), 373-84. In Packet.
Thomas Patterson, "Political Roles of the Journalist" In Graber et al, *The Politics of News, The News of Politics*. In Packet.
Ellen Mickiewicz, "Transition and Democratization: The Role of Journalists in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union" in Graber et al., eds. In Packet.

WEEK 4

- Jan 28 **Models of Broadcasting: The Commercial Model**
William D. Rowland, Jr., "Public Service Broadcasting in the United States: Its Mandate, Institutions, and Conflicts" from Robert K. Avery, *Public Service Broadcasting*. In Packet
Stanley Rothman, "The Development of the Mass Media" from Stanley Rothman, *The Mass Media in Liberal Democratic Societies*. In Packet

- Jan. 30 **Models of Broadcasting: The Public Service Model**
Jay G. Blumler, "The British Approach to Public Service Broadcasting: From Confidence to Uncertainty" from Robert K. Avery, *Public Service Broadcasting*. In Packet.
Paddy Scannell, "Public Service Broadcasting and Modern Public Life," *Media, Culture and Society* 11: 135-66. In Packet

WEEK 5

- Feb. 4 **Bias in the Media**
Andrew Goodwin, "TV News: Striking the Right Balance" from Andrew Goodwin and Garry Whannel, *Understanding Television*. In Packet
Elizabeth Noelle-Neumann, "The Spiral of Silence: A Theory of Public Opinion" *Journal of Communication*, (1974). In Packet
Holli Semetko, "Political Balance on Television: Campaigns in the US, Britain and Germany," *Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 1: (1996) 51-71. In Packet.

Feb. 6. MIDTERM EXAMINATION

WEEK 6

- Feb. 11. **Campaigns and Elections**
John Bochel and David Denver, “Canvassing, Turnout and Party Support: An Experiment,” *British Journal of Political Science* 1 (1971). In Packet
David Swanson and Paolo Mancini, “Patterns of Modern Electoral Campaigning and their Consequences” in Swanson and Mancini, *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy*. In Packet.
- Feb. 13. **The “Americanization” of Election Campaigns?**
Thomas Patterson, “The United States” in Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan, eds., *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. In Packet.
Jay G. Blumler and Michael Gurevitch, “‘Americanization’ Reconsidered: U.K.-U.S. Campaign Communication Comparisons Across Time” from Lance Bennett and Robert Entman, *Mediated Politics*. In Packet

WEEK 7

- Feb. 18 **Media Effects: The Conventional Wisdom**
Paul Lazarsfeld et al., "A Minimal-Effects Model" in Lazarsfeld et al.'s *The People's Choice*. In Packet.
David Butler and Donald Stokes, “Newspaper Effects” in Butler and Stokes’ *Political Change in Britain*. In Packet.
Anthony Mughan, “The Media in Democratic and Nondemocratic Regimes: A Multilevel Perspective” in Gunther and Mughan, eds. In Packet
- Feb. 20 **Media Effects: Agenda Setting, Priming and Framing**
Shanto Iyengar and Adam Simon, “News Coverage of the Gulf Crisis and Public Opinion: A Study of Agenda Setting, Priming and Framing” in David Paletz and Lance Bennett, eds., *Taken by Storm: The Media, Public Opinion and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*. In Packet.
Dennis McQuail, "The Influence and Effects of Mass Media" in Doris Graber, *Media Power in Politics*. In Packet.

WEEK 8

- Feb. 25 NO CLASS
- Feb. 27 **Media Effects: Demobilization and Cynicism: The Case For**
Stephen Ansolabehere, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, Nicholas Valentino “Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?” *American Political Science Review*, 88 (1994), 829-838. Available through JSTOR.
Michael J. Robinson, “Public Affairs Television and the Growth of Political Malaise: The Case of”
e Selling of the Pentagon" *American Political Science Review* 70, (Jun., 1976), 409-432. Available through JSTOR

WEEK 9

Mar. 4 **Media Effects: Demobilization and Cynicism: The Case Against**
Kenneth Newton, "Mass Media Effects: Mobilization or Media Malaise?"
British Journal of Political Science 29 (1999), 577-99. In Packet.
Pippa Norris, "Television and Civic Malaise" in Susan J Pharr and Robert
Putnam, eds. *Disaffected Democracies*. In Packet.

Mar.6 **Models of Democracy: Direct**
Ian Budge, "Direct Democracy: Setting Appropriate Terms of Debate" in
David Held, ed., *Prospects for Democracy*. In Packet
Christine Bellamy, "Modelling Electronic Democracy" in Jens Hoff et al.,
eds., *Democratic Governance and New Technology*. In Packet.

WEEK 10

Mar. 11 **The Internet**
Pieter Tops, Ivan Horrocks and Jens Hoff, "New Technology and Democratic
Renewal: The Evidence Assessed" in Jens Hoff et al., eds., *Democratic
Governance and New Technology*. In Packet.
Colin Sparks, "The Internet and the Global Public Sphere" in Lance Bennett
and Robert Entman, eds., *Mediated Politics*. In Packet.

Mar. 13 **Overview**

