Political Science 4650/5650 **Global Media Politics** Fall 2021

Instructor: Dr. Andrew Ross < rossa@ohio.edu>

Virtual office hours: Tu 1-3, Th 9-10

Course Description

This course examines the role of media in international and global affairs. It addresses important and timely questions about the rapidly changing landscape of communication in international and global politics: What impact are social media and other digital technologies having on democratic politics? How do mass (and social) media shape public opinion on foreign policy? How have states historically used mass media to shape public perceptions of international politics, and who pulls the levers of communication in the digital age? What are the political and ethical consequences of real-time media coverage of war and humanitarian crises? How and with what effect are protest movements and non-state actors using social and other digital media? Have digital media created a global public sphere or a multiplicity of echo chambers and fragmented micro-publics? How are social media and other algorithms shaping public perceptions of political life? How well is the aspiration to Internet freedom and "global connectivity" serving societies in the Global South? Who are the winners and losers in this new environment of global connectivity? The course aims to build a better understanding of the political contexts and impacts of historical and emerging media practices.

Learning Outcomes

Students should complete the course with an ability to:

- 1. employ basic concepts in the political study of mass and social media;
- 2. evaluate competing perspectives on how to study mediated communication and what sorts of political, social, and cultural impacts it can have;
- 3. think critically about global media, even forms that appear to be democratic or justice-seeking;
- 4. design, plan, and deliver written projects that are organized coherently and logically, that employ relevant evidence and examples, and that evaluate ideas in a clear and compelling way; and
- 5. cite and document primary and secondary sources to support an argument using a consistent and formal method of citation and format;

Assignments for POLS 4650

Assignments are described in greater detail on Blackboard (hereafter "Bb"). All assignments will be submitted via Bb.

Participation: Regular attendance and participation are essential requirements for this course. Students are expected to come to class having completed and thought about the readings; you should also bring them to class. The participation grade will be based on your attendance (see below) and the quality and quantity of your contributions in class, during office hours, and over email.

Critical Responses: You will complete and submit via Bb a series of written reflections based on weekly readings. These will be minimum 250 words and will (a) briefly summarize key ideas in <u>two</u> of the weekly readings and (b) present a critical response to or commentary on those ideas. Completing these

assignments is important preparation for your contributions to in-class discussion and for your final exam. You may complete as many of these as you want during weeks 2-13, and I will count your best ten grades. These assignments are **due by Wednesday** noon of the week for which the readings are assigned. I will grade these check, check+, check-; check+ will count as "A" or 95; check will count as "B" or 85; and check- will count as "C" or 75.

Paper #1: A 1,200-word paper based on the readings assigned for Weeks 2 and 3. You will submit a full draft of your paper by Sunday, **September 19 at 11:59pm**, and you will read and comment on two other student papers by **Wednesday**, **September 22 at 11:59pm**. On-time submission of the full draft is worth 2% of your overall course grade, and peer review comments are worth another 2%. The revised version of your paper is then due by **Sunday**, **September 26 at 11:59pm**; it is worth 15% of the course grade.

Paper #2: A 1,600-word paper based on one of the prompts relating to readings and topics from Weeks 4 to 12. All papers should incorporate ideas from at least five course readings not used for Paper #1. You may submit this paper any time between 9/26 and **Sunday, November 21 at 11:59pm**; it is worth 20% of the course grade.

Final exam: There will be a take-home exam covering readings and topics from the entire course. The exam will require you to have completed assigned readings and thought about how they connect to the main themes and topics we have discussed. The exam will consist of **two essays of 1,200 words each**. Note that you won't have time during the week the exam is available to complete a lot of course readings you missed; I strongly recommend keeping up with the readings, and keeping notes on them, as preparation for the exam. I will post the exam on Bb on the day of our last class, and it will be **due one week later, on Wednesday, December 8 at 11:59pm**.

Research option for POLS 4650

Undergraduates who receive 88% or higher on the first short paper may opt to write a research paper in lieu of the second short papers. The paper will be 3,000-3,500 words long (excluding bibliography/references) but will otherwise follow all the same requirements and due dates as the research paper for 5650.

Assignments for POLS 5650

Participation: Regular attendance and participation are essential requirements for this course. Students are expected to come to class having completed and thought about the readings; you should also bring them to class. The participation grade will be based on your attendance (see below) and the quality and quantity of your contributions in class, during office hours, and over email.

Critical Responses: You will complete and submit via Bb a series of written reflections based on weekly readings. These will be minimum 250 words and will (a) briefly summarize key ideas in two of the weekly readings and (b) present a critical response to or commentary on those ideas. Completing these assignments is important preparation for your contributions to in-class discussion and for your final exam. You may complete as many of these as you want during weeks 2-13, and I will count your best ten grades. These assignments are due by Wednesday noon of the week for which the readings are assigned. I will grade these check, check+, check-; check+ will count as "A" or 95; check will count as "B" or 85; and check- will count as "C" or 75.

Paper #1: A 1,200-word paper based on the readings assigned for Weeks 2 and 3. You will submit a full draft of your paper by Sunday, **September 19 at 11:59pm**, and you will read and comment on two other

student papers by **Wednesday, September 22 at 11:59pm**. On-time submission of the full draft is worth 2% of your overall course grade, and peer review comments are worth another 2%. The revised version of your paper is then due by **Sunday, September 26 at 11:59pm**; it is worth 15% of the course grade.

Research paper: You will write a research paper of 4,500-5,500 words (excluding bibliography/ references) on a topic relating to this course. The research paper can build on ideas developed in your first short paper but cannot recycle prose from that assignment. You will choose your topic, but also obtain my approval by **Friday, Oct. 1** (meeting with me at least once to discuss the paper topic). There are then three graded components to this assignment:

- Paper Proposal & Annotated Bibliography: one document consisting of (a) a 400-500 word prospectus for the paper and (b) a bibliography of the materials you have gathered to date. For the bibliography, you should have a special sub-section listing scholarly secondary sources, and at least six of these should be annotated. This document is due by Sunday, Oct. 17 at 11:59pm;
- Paper draft: submit and circulate a draft of your paper by Sunday, November 28 at 11:59pm. You will submit this via Bb, and I will then forward it to the classmates in your peer review group. Be prepared to read drafts from two other students. On-time submission of the full draft is worth 2% of your overall course grade, and on-time completion of the peer reviews is worth another 2%; and
- **Final paper**: Revise your draft and submit the final paper by **Wednesday, December 8 at 11:59pm**.

GradesOverall grades will be calculated as follows:

4650		4650 research option		5650	
Participation/attendance Critical Responses (10) Paper #1 draft + peer review	15 % 20 % 4 % 15 % 20 % 26 %	Participation/attendance	15 %	Participation/attendance	15 %
		Critical Responses (10)	20 %	Critical Responses (10)	20%
		Paper #1 draft + peer review	4%	Paper #1 draft + peer review	4%
		Revised paper #1	15 %	Revised paper #1	15 %
Revised paper #1		Research proposal & bib.	10 %	Research proposal & bib.	10%
Paper #2		RP draft + peer review	4%	RP draft + peer review	4%
Take-home final exam		Revised research paper	32 %	· •	32 %

Course Policies

Academic misconduct: Students in this course are expected to follow the University's standards of academic integrity and honesty and are responsible for understanding what constitutes plagiarism. One reference is here: http://www.ohio.edu/communitystandards/academic/students.cfm. If you are caught cheating or plagiarizing, you may receive a grade deduction on the assignment, a failing grade for the assignment, or a failing grade for the class. You may also be reported to the Office of Community Standards and Student Responsibility for additional sanctions. Students may appeal academic sanctions through the grade appeal process.

Attendance: I strongly encourage students to attend as close to every class as possible. To accommodate minor illness and other occasional events, I allow all students to miss up to three classes (excluding any paper workshop) without documentation or explanation. I strongly recommend reserving these allowed absences in case you get sick later in the semester. If you miss class due to minor illness, traffic delays, student conferences, athletics events, family obligations, or the like, that missed class will

count toward the allowed absences. Your participation grade will be reduced starting with the fourth missed class. The penalty will increase for each class missed, up to six absences. If you miss seven or more classes, you will get zero for your participation grade. Please arrive to class on-time to minimize disruptions to the class. Students are responsible for all course materials covered and announcements made during missed classes. If you are missing class due to major, on-going health problems (physical or mental), please discuss the situation with me as early as possible. See below for exceptions related to Covid-19; I will not allow classes missed due to self-isolation or quarantine to impact a student's grade.

Blackboard: I expect you to use the Bb system to submit assignments and to access readings, announcements, and other course materials. I will not use Bb to calculate or communicate your running average or overall grade in the class. If you encounter a broken link, a missing content item, or something else I need to fix, please let me know via email asap. If you are having general Bb problems, contact the Help Desk. It is your responsibility to ensure that your documents are properly uploaded and open-able by me. Uploading formats other than MS Word-created .docx and .pdf documents may cause problems; again, it is your responsibility to ensure that your document is intact and accessible to me. Bb will always give you a confirmation that your document was uploaded.

Accessibility accommodations: Any student who suspects s/he may need an accommodation based on the impact of a disability should contact the class instructor privately to discuss the student's specific needs and provide written documentation from the Office of Student Accessibility Services. If the student is not yet registered as a student with a disability, s/he should contact the Office of Student Accessibility Services.

Classroom COVID-19 Policies: All members of the OHIO community <u>are expected to take certain precautions</u> in classrooms and elsewhere on campus to keep each other safe:

- Select a testing pathway as part of the <u>COVID-19 Testing Pathway Program</u>. If you have not already made your pathway selection, please do so immediately. If you select the Weekly Testing Pathway, I expect you to adhere to your required testing schedule.
- Maintain physical distance as directed on signage in classrooms, vaccinated or not.
- All individuals are required to wear masks in indoor public spaces on campus, including classrooms.
- Complete a daily <u>COVID-19 symptom assessment</u> and do not come to class if you feel sick, even if you are vaccinated against COVID-19. If you need a thermometer, you can request one at the Guest Services desk on the fourth floor of Baker Center.
- If you test positive, feel sick or suspect exposure to COVID-19, it is your responsibility to follow the OHIO COVID-19 Protocol.

If you do test positive or need to isolate or quarantine this semester, after you have taken care of yourself and followed all the steps in the OHIO COVID-19 Protocol, please email me so that we can develop a plan for you to receive necessary course content. COVID-related illness, quarantine, isolation, and remain-in-room directives are legitimate university absences, and I will work with you to manage your academic requirements and connect you to resources. If you feel that your class performance is being impacted by COVID-19, please talk with me and/or contact COVID Operations by phone (740.566.8445) or email (COVIDoperations@ohio.edu) Monday through Friday, 8 a.m. to 8 p.m., and noon to 5 p.m. on weekends. The University has resources available to help with quarantine and isolation support, as well as access to COVID-19 testing, counseling services, food assistance, and more.

Email: Check your OU email regularly for announcements or other communications. You may contact me via email at any time, but please try first to answer your question using the syllabus and the resources on Blackboard. I do my best to reply to student emails same or next day M-F, and Monday for messages sent Friday. If you want to discuss course themes and readings, or if you have a complex or sensitive question, please make use of office hours.

Grading: I do not offer make-up assignments, extra credit assignments, or opportunities to revise and resubmit assignments for a higher grade. If you have concerns about your grade or questions about my expectations, please schedule a meeting with me as early as possible in the semester. I use the following grading scale for determining letter grades: A = 93 and above; A = 90-92; B + 87-89; B = 83-86; B = 80-82; C + 77-79; C = 73-76; C - 70-72; D + 67-69; D = 63-66; D - 60-62; E = 60-62; E =

Late papers: Assignments subject to peer review will not receive credit if submitted late. Revised papers and assignments not part of a peer review exercise will be penalized 6 points per day (e.g. a paper awarded an 88/B+ submitted one day late will receive an 82/B-), including weekend days, to a maximum of three days (after which the assignment will not be graded). No exceptions in cases of computer malfunction, loss of data, or incomplete Bb submission. Cases of serious illness (physical or mental) or family emergency should be brought to my attention, with documentation from the appropriate University office, prior to or immediately following the missed assignment. Late papers may not receive instructor feedback and will be graded when I have time; in some cases, this may not be until the end of the semester.

Office hours: these are designated blocks of time for consultation with students. You do not need an appointment; they are first-come, first-served.

Required texts: All course readings are available on Bb. Minor modifications to weekly readings may become necessary; I will notify you of any changes in class and/or via email.

Syllabus changes: In the event of further disruptions related to COVID-19 or other emergency beyond the instructor's control, course requirements, deadlines, and grading percentages are subject to change. Any changes will be communicated in class and/or via Bb/email.

The lectures, classroom activities, and all materials associated with this class and developed by the instructor are copyrighted in the name of Andrew Ross on August 25, 2021.

Course Topics and Readings

PART I: INTRODUCTION TO MEDIA POLITICS

Week 1 (Aug. 25): Introduction

Read the syllabus thoroughly

Lippmann, Walter. "The World Outside and the Pictures in Our Heads," Ch. 1 of *Public Opinion*. New York: Free Press, 1922. Available here:

http://xroads.virginia.edu/~Hyper2/CDFinal/Lippman/cover.html

Week 2 (Sep. 1): Theories of Communication and Mediation

- Thompson, John B. "Communication and Social Context." Ch. 1 in *The Media and Modernity: A Social Theory of the Media*. Palo Alto, CA: Stanford University Press, 1995. [pp. 10-43]
- Castells, Manuel. "Communication in the Digital Age." Ch. 2 in *Communication Power*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2011. [pp. 54-71 only]
- Gillespie, Tarleton. "The Relevance of Algorithms." In *Media Technologies: Essays on Communication, Materiality, and Society.* Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2014.
- Turkle, Sherry. "Always-on/Always-on-You: The Tethered Self." In *Handbook of Mobile Communication Studies*, edited by James Everett Katz, 121-37. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2008.
- View prior to class: Connected, but Alone? (TED Talk by Sherry Turkle, 20mins)

Week 3 (Sep. 8): Popular Media and the Public Sphere

- Habermas, Jürgen. Ch. 1 & 18, *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society.* Trans. Thomas Burger. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 1991. [pp. 1-5; 159-75]
- Dean, Jodi. "Technology: The Promises of Communicative Capitalism." Ch. 1 in: *Democracy and Other Neoliberal Fantasies: Communicative Capitalism and Left Politics*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2009. [pp. 19-42 only]
- Davis, Mark. "The Online Anti-Public Sphere." *European Journal of Cultural Studies* 21, no. 1 (2021): 143-159.
- Forestal, Jennifer. "Beyond Gatekeeping: Propaganda, Democracy, and the Organization of Digital Publics." *Journal of Politics* 83, no. 1 (2020): 306-320.
- View prior to class: *Habermas: The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* (Then & Now Youtube video, 2017) [~8mins]

PART II: MEDIA, PUBLIC OPINION, AND FOREIGN POLICY

Week 4 (Sep. 15): Secrecy and Foreign Policy

- Moynihan, Daniel Patrick. "The Culture of Secrecy." The Public Interest 128 (1997): 55-72.
- Lovink, Geert and Patrice Riemens. "Twelve Theses on Wikileaks." Ch. 15 in: *Beyond Wikileaks: Implications for the Future of Communications, Journalism, and Society*, ed. Benedetta Brevini, Arne Hintz, and Patrick McCurdy, pp. 245-253. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013.
- Masco, Joseph. "Sensitive but Unclassified: Secrecy and the Counterterrorism State." *Public Culture* 22, no. 3 (2010): 433-463.
- Stampnitzky, Lisa. "Truth and Consequences? Reconceptualizing the Politics of Exposure." *Security Dialogue* 51, no. 6 (2020): 537–556.
- View prior to class: We Steal Secrets: The Story of Wikileaks (dir. Alex Gibney) [selections, 64mins]

Week 5 (Sep. 22): Public Opinion and Foreign Policy

- Kaufmann, Chaim. "Threat Inflation and the Failure of the Marketplace of Ideas: The Selling of the Iraq War." In *American Foreign Policy and the Politics of Fear: Threat Inflation since 9/11*, edited by A. Trevor Thrall and Jane K. Kramer, 97-117. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Thrall, A. Trevor. "Framing Iraq: Threat Inflation in the Marketplace of Values." In *American Foreign Policy and the Politics of Fear: Threat Inflation since 9/11*, edited by A. Trevor Thrall and Jane K. Cramer, 174-91. New York: Routledge, 2009.
- Baum, Matthew A. and Philip B. K. Potter. "Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy in the Age of Social Media." *Journal of Politics* 81, no. 2 (2019): 747-756.
- Lynch, Colum and Elias Groll. "How Social Media Built the Case for Trump's Strike on Syria." Foreign Policy.com 17 April 2018.

View prior to class: Youtube clip on Colin Powell at the UN [5mins]

Complete prior to class: peer reviews of two student papers

Week 6 (Sep. 29): Public and Digital Diplomacy

- Comor, Edward, and Hamilton Bean. "America's 'Engagement' Delusion: Critiquing a Public Diplomacy Consensus." *International Communication Gazette* 74, no. 3 (2012): 203-20.
- Duncombe, Constance. "Twitter and Transformative Diplomacy: Social Media and Iran-US Relations." *International Affairs* 93, no. 3 (2017): 545-562.
- Ross, Andrew A.G. "The Power of Viral Expression in World Politics." In: *The Power of Emotions in World Politics*, ed. Simon Koschut. New York: Routledge, 2019.
- Pamment, James. "Digital Diplomacy as Transmedia Engagement: Aligning Theories of Participatory Culture with International Advocacy Campaigns." New Media & Society 18, no. 9 (2016): 2046-2062.

View prior to class: Youtube clip on Global Summit to End Sexual Violence in Conflict [7mins]

PART III: MEDIA, TECHNOLOGY, AND WARFARE

Week 7 (Oct. 6): Media and War

- Roeder, George. "Rationing Death." Ch. 1 in *The Censored War: Images of WWII in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.
- Mandelbaum, Michael. "Vietnam: The Television War." Daedaus 111, no. 4 (1982): 157-169.
- Robinson, Piers. "The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?" *Review of International Studies* 25, no. 2 (1999): 301-09.
- Baudrillard, Jean. "Introduction", Ch. 1, plus Ch. 2 (selections only) *The Gulf War Did Not Take Place*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1995. [pp. 1-20, 23-28, and 41-50]

View prior to class: CNN Retrospective on Gulf War Coverage [4mins]

Week 8 (Oct. 13): War in the Age of Citizen Journalism

- Kuntsman, Adi and Rebecca L. Stein. "'Another War Zone': The Development of Digital Militarism," Ch. 2, Digital Militarism: Israel's Occupation in the Social Media Age. Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2015. [pp. 19-38]
- Smit, Rik, Ansgard Heinrich, and Marcel Broersma. "Witnessing in the New Memory Ecology: Memory Construction of the Syrian Conflict on YouTube." *New Media & Society* 19, no. 2 (2017): 289-307.
- Andén-Papadopoulos, Kari. "Citizen Camera-witnessing: Embodied Political Dissent in The Age of 'Mediated Mass Self-Communication'." *New Media & Society* 16, no. 5 (2014): 753-769.
- Della Ratta, Donatella. "Syria's Image-Makers: Daesh Militants and Non-Violent Activists." Ch. 7, Shooting A Revolution: Visual Media and Warfare in Syria. London: Pluto Press, 2018.

View prior to class: City of Ghosts (dir. Matthew Heineman, 2017) [~37mins]

Week 9 (Oct. 20): Cybersecurity and Cyberwar

- Kello, Lucas. "The Meaning of the Cyber Revolution: Perils to Theory and Statecraft." *International Security* 38, no. 2 (2013): 7-40.
- Deibert, Ronald. "Stuxnet and the Argument for Clean War." In: Deibert, Ronald. *Black Code:*Surveillance, Privacy, and the Dark Side of the Internet. Expanded edition. ed. Toronto: Signal, 2013.
- Singer, P.W. and Emerson T. Brooking. "LikeWar: The Conflicts That Drive the Web and the World," Ch. 7 in *LikeWar: The Weaponization of Social Media*. New York: Houghton Mifflin Harcourt, 2018. [181-217]

View prior to class: Zero Days (dir. Alex Gibney) [~70mins]

PART IV: MEDIA AND NON-STATE/TRANSNATIONAL ACTORS

Week 10 (Oct. 27): Social Media and Social Movements

- Gladwell, Malcolm. "Small Change: Why the Revolution Will Not Be Tweeted." *The New Yorker*. (4 October 2010).
- Shirky, Clay. "The Political Power of Social Media: Technology, The Public Sphere, and Political Change." *Foreign Affairs* 90 (2011): 28-41.
- Bennett, W. Lance, and Alexandra Segerberg. "The Logic of Connective Action." Ch. 1 in: *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. [pp. 19-54]
- Papacharissi, Zizi. "The Virtual Sphere 2.0: The Internet, the Public Sphere, and Beyond." In *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*, eds. Andrew Chadwick and Philip N. Howard. New York: Routledge, 2009. [pp. 230-45]

View prior to class: Israel and Iran: A Love Story? [15mins]

Week 11 (Nov. 3): Media and Humanitarianism

Peters, John Durham. "Witnessing." Media, Culture, & Society 23, no. 6 (2001): 707-723.

- Moeller, Susan D. "A Hierarchy of Innocence: The Media's Use of Children in the Telling of International New." *The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics* 7, no. 1 (2002): 36-56.
- Hutchison, Emma. "Emotions and Transnational Community." Ch. 5 in *Affective Communities in World Politics: Collective Emotions after Trauma*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016. 183-210
- Chouliaraki, Lilie. "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication Beyond a Politics of Pity." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (2010): 107-26.
- View prior to class: Kony 2012 (Invisible Children) [30mins] and PBS spot on #BringBackOurGirls [4mins]

Week 12 (Nov. 10): Media and Terrorism

- Nacos, Brigitte. "Introduction: The Calculus of Violence." Ch. 1 in *Terrorism and The Media: From the Iran Hostage Crisis to The World Trade Center Bombing*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1994. [pp. 1-15]
- Friis, Simone Molin. "'Beyond Anything We Have Ever Seen': Beheading Videos and the Visibility of Violence in the War against ISIS." *International Affairs* 91, no. 4 (2015): 725-46. [OR: Euben, Roxanne L. "Spectacles of Sovereignty in Digital Time: ISIS Executions, Visual Rhetoric and Sovereign Power." *Perspectives on Politics* 15, no. 4 (2017): 1007-33.]
- May, Rob and Matthew Feldman. "Understanding the Alt-Right: Ideologues, 'Lulz' and Hiding in Plain Sight." In: Maik Fielitz and Nick Thurston, eds. Post-Digital Cultures of the Far Right: Online Actions and Offline Consequences in Europe and the US, 25-36. Bielefeld: Transcript Verlag, 2019.

Video content TBA

PART V: A GLOBAL PUBLIC SPHERE?

Week 13 (Nov. 17): Political Participation and Transnational Democracy

- Bohman, James. "Expanding Dialogue: The Internet, The Public Sphere and Prospects for Transnational Democracy." The Sociological Review 52, no. 1 supplement (2004): 131-155.
- Zuboff, Shoshana. "Surveillance Capitalism and the Challenge of Collective Action." *New Labor Forum* 28, no. 1 (2019): 10-29.
- Moffitt, Benjamin. "Transnational Populism? Representative Claims, Media and the Difficulty of Constructing A Transnational 'People'." *Javnost: The Public* 24, no. 4 (2017): 409-425.
- View prior to class: *Web*, dir. Michael Kleiman (2014; 1hr 23 mins) OR *The Social Dilemma*, dir. Jeff Orlowski (2020; 1hr 34 mins)

Week 14 (Nov. 24): No meeting or readings due to Thanksgiving Break

Week 15 (Dec. 1): Final Peer Review Exercises (5650) and Exam Review (4650)