POLS 4904/5904
GLOBAL MEDIA POLITICS
Fall 2015

Instructor: Dr. Andrew Ross <rossa@ohio.edu>   Meeting times: W: 3:05 – 5:50pm
Office: Bentley Annex 255   Location: Bentley 215
Office Hours: Tu 1:30-3:30; W 8:30-9:30

Course Description

This course examines the role of mediated communication in international affairs. It addresses important and timely questions about the rapidly changing landscape of communication in international and global politics: How do mass media and cultural frames shape public opinion on foreign policy? What impact do mass media have on perceptions of human suffering during war? 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? What new types of political actors now communicate globally using digital media? What role are social media platforms playing in sustaining so-called leaderless social and revolutionary movements? Have digital media created a global public sphere or a multiplicity of echo chambers and fragmented micro-publics? How is the aspiration to Internet freedom being implemented and resisted in the global periphery? Who are the winners and losers in this new environment of global connectivity? We address these questions in relation to brief case studies of: WWII, the Vietnam War, the Gulf War, the Iraq War, the Abu Ghraib controversy, the Arab Spring, various human rights cases, the "Israel Loves Iran" initiative, the Danish Cartoon controversy, and the One Laptop per Child program.

Learning Outcomes

Students should complete the course with an ability to:

1. employ basic concepts in the study of mass media and political communication;

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 those being used in pursuit of justice;

4. design, plan, and deliver a written project that is organized coherently and logically, and that employs relevant evidence and examples;

5. cite and document a broad range of sources to support an argument using a consistent and formal method of citation and format (research paper only); and

6. summarize and evaluate complex ideas in an accurate and compelling way.

Assignments

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.

Paper #1: A four to five-page paper based on the readings assigned for Week 3. The paper will be due on **Friday, September 18 at noon**. You will submit this paper via Blackboard. I will give more details in class and post a handout on Blackboard.

Paper #2: A four to five-page paper based on the readings assigned for Weeks 6 and 8. The paper will be due on **Friday, October 23 at noon**. You will submit this paper via Blackboard. I will give more details in class and post a handout on Blackboard.

Paper #3: A four to five-page paper based on assigned for Weeks 9-12. The paper will be due on **Wednesday, December 2 at noon**. You will submit this paper via Blackboard. I will give more details in class and post a handout on Blackboard.

Final exam: There will be a take-home final exam covering all course readings and topics, but with emphasis on materials not used for your three papers. I will distribute it at our final class, and it will be due one week later on **Wednesday, December 9 at noon**. You will submit your exam via Blackboard.

Research option for POLS 4904

Undergraduates who receive 88/100 or higher on the first short paper may opt to write a research paper in lieu of the second short paper and the final exam. The paper will be 15-17 pages long (excluding bibliography/ references) but will otherwise follow all the same requirements and due dates as the research paper for 5904.

Course Requirements for POLS 5904

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.

Paper #1: A four- to five-page paper based on the readings assigned for Week 3. The paper will be due on **Friday, September 18 at noon**. You will submit this paper via Blackboard. I will give more details in class and post a handout on Blackboard.

Research paper: You will write a research paper of 18-20 pages (excluding bibliography/references) on a topic relating to this course (and not overlapping with the first short paper topic). You will choose your topic, but also obtain my approval by **Thursday, October 1** (please plan to meet with me during office hours at least once before that date). There are then three graded components to this assignment:

1. **Abstract and annotated bibliography**: one document consisting of (a) a 1.5-page (double-spaced) abstract of 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 secondary sources, and at least five of these should be annotated. This part of the assignment is worth 15% of your overall grade, so you should get to work early. This document is due via Blackboard by **Friday, October 16 at noon;**

2. **Paper draft**: submit and circulate a draft of your paper two days before our last class, i.e. **by Monday, November 30 at noon**. You will submit a copy via Blackboard, and I will then email it to the classmates in your working group for the workshop. Be prepared to read drafts from one or two other students.

3. **Final paper**: Revise your draft and submit the final paper via Blackboard by **Wednesday, December 9 at noon**.

More information about the research paper will be posted on Blackboard under "assignments."

Grades and Late Papers

There will be no 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.

Late papers 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 or loss of data. Cases of serious illness should be brought to my attention, with official documentation, prior to or immediately following the missed assignment.

I use a standard grading scale for determining letter grades: A = 93-100; 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; F = <60. Overall grades will be calculated as follows:

4904		4904 research option		5904	
Participation/attendance	20 %	Participation/attendance	20 %	Participation/attendance	20 %
Paper 1	15 %	Paper 1	15 %	Paper 1	15 %
Paper 2	20 %	Abstract & bibliography	15 %	Abstract & bibliography	15 %
Paper 3	20 %	Draft & workshop	10 %	Draft & workshop	10 %
Take-home exam	25 %	Research paper	40 %	Research paper	40 %

Attendance

I strongly encourage students to attend as close to every class as possible. To accommodate minor illness or other occasional events, I allow all students to miss one or two classes without documentation or explanation. I recommend reserving some or all of 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 these allowed absences. Your participation grade will be reduced if you

miss more than the allowed absences. The penalty will increase for each class missed, up to five absences. If you miss six or more classes, you will get zero for your participation grade. Do not expect full attendance credit if you arrive late or leave early; arriving late on a regular basis will count as part of your allowed absences. 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.

Communications and Technology

Email: I expect you to check your OU email regularly for announcements or other communications. You may contact me by email at any time, just be aware that I may not reply instantly (I am so old that I do not send or receive emails by phone ☺). I try to reply within 24 hours during the week, and by Monday noon for messages sent Friday afternoon. If you have a complex or sensitive question, let's discuss it during office hours.

Devices in class: Please turn off the ringer on your phone *and* put it away during class time. Laptops and tablets are not allowed in class, except for the purposes of referring to electronic readings during class discussion.

Blackboard: I expect you to use the Blackboard system to access readings, announcements, and handouts, and to submit assignments. If you encounter a broken link, a missing content item, or something else I need to fix, please let me know via email as soon as possible. If you are having general problems with Blackboard, contact the Help Desk as soon as the problem arises. All assignments due via Blackboard should have links posted under "submissions"; please email me if you do not see a link for an upcoming assignment. It is your responsibility to ensure that your documents are properly uploaded and open-able by me: "oops, I accidently uploaded a draft of my paper instead of the final version" or "golly, it looks like I mistakenly uploaded my music history paper" will not work ☺. 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 in-tact and accessible to me.

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 useful 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.

Disability 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.

Required Texts

The following books are available for purchase at the Little Professor Bookstore on Court St. (there may also be copies at the other bookstore); they are also available at the library reserves.

Butler, Judith. *Frames of War: When is Life Grieveable?* New York: Verso, 2010.
Herrera, Linda. *Revolution in The Age of Social Media: The Egyptian Popular Insurrection and The Internet*. New York: Verso, 2014.
Roeder, George. *The Censored War: Images of WWII in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1995.

All other readings are available in PDF on Blackboard under "readings."

COURSE TOPICS AND READINGS

PART I: INTRODUCTION, CONTEXT, AND THEORY

1. Aug. 26: Introduction

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

2. Sep. 2: Conceptualizing Politics and Mass Media

Herman, Edward S. and Noam Chomsky, Introduction and Preface to *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of The Mass Media*. New York: Pantheon, 1988. [pp. xi-xlix; lix-lxiii]
Entman, Robert M. "Framing: Toward Clarification of A Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43, no. 4 (1993): 51-58.
Carey, James W. "A Cultural Approach to Communication." *Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society*. Winchester, MA: Unwin Hyman, 1992. [pp. 13–35]
Habermas, Jürgen. Ch. 1 and 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]
In-class: *Why We Fight* (selections) and *Triumph of the Will* (selections)

PART II: MEDIA AND WAR

3. Sep. 9: War, Propaganda, and Censorship

Roeder, Prologue, Ch. 1, 3, and 4, *The Censored War*.
In-class: *Why We Fight* (selections) and *Triumph of the Will* (selections) cont'd

4. Sep. 16: Framing, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy
(Note: First paper due Friday of this week)

Almond, Gabriel A. "Public Opinion and National Security Policy." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 20, no. 2 (1956): 371-78.
Hallin, Daniel C. Ch. 1, *The 'Uncensored War': The Media and Vietnam*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1989.
Baum, Matthew A. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96, no. 1 (2002): 91-109.
Entman, Robert M. Ch. 5. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2003. pp. 95-122.

5. Sep. 23: War and Entertainment

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, 21-28, and 41-50]
Virilio, Paul. "Desert Screen." In *The Paul Virilio Reader*, ed. Steve Redhead, 155-64. New York: Columbia University Press, 2004.
Der Derian, James. Prol, Ch. 3. *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network*. Boulder, CO: Westview, 2001.
In-class film: short clip on MIME-Net, dir. James Der Derian. (14mins)

6. Sep. 30: Photography and Wartime Atrocities
(Note: Research paper topic approval by Oct. 1)

Sontag, Susan. "Regarding the Torture of Others." *New York Times Magazine*, 23 May 2004.
Sontag, Susan. Ch. 5-7 (selections), *Regarding the Pain of Others*. New York: Picador, 2003. [pp. 81-113]
Butler, Introduction and Ch. 2, *Frames of War*.
In-class film: portions of *Standard Operating Procedure*, dir. Errol Morris (2008)

PART III: INTERLUDE: NEW THEORY FOR NEW MEDIA

7. Oct. 7: New Media and Human Perception

McLuhan, Marshall. Intro., Ch. 1, and Ch. 4, *Understanding Media: The Extensions of Man*. New York: Zone Books, 1994 [orig. 1964]. [pp. 3-21, 41-7]
Paparachisi, Zizi. Ch. 1, *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics.* New York: Oxford University Press, 2015. [pp. 6-29]

Kember, Sarah, and Joanna Zylinska. Ch. 6, *Life after New Media: Mediation as a Vital Process*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2012. [pp. 153-72]

Bogost, Ian. "Ian Became A Fan of Marshall McLuhan on Facebook and Suggested You Become A Fan Too." In *Facebook and Philosophy*, ed. D. E. Wittkower, 21-32. Chicago: Open Court, 2010.

Lovink, Geert. "MyBrain.net: The Colonization of Real-Time and Other Trends." *Eurozine* (18 March 2010). Available at: http://www.eurozine.com/articles/2010-03-18-lovink-en.html

Booth, Robert. "Facebook Reveals News Feed Experiment to Control Emotions." *Guardian* (29 June 2014). Available at: http://www.theguardian.com/technology/2014/jun/29/facebook-users-emotions-news-feeds

Margalit, Ruth. "Israel Loves Iran (on Facebook)." *The New Yorker* (23 March 2012).

Gorry, G. Anthony. "Empathy in the Virtual World." *Chronicle of Higher Education* 56, no. 2 (4 September 2009): B10-B12.

In-class: *Israel and Iran: A Love Story?* (TED Talk by Ronny Edry, 2012; 15mins)

PART IV: MEDIA AND JUSTICE

8. Oct. 14: The Mediatization of Humanitarianism

(Note: Abstract/annotated bibliographies due Friday of this week)

Boltanski, Luc. Ch. 1, *Distant Suffering: Morality, Media, and Politics.* New York: Cambridge University Press, 1999. [pp. 3-19]

Hutchison, Emma. "A Global Politics of Pity: Disaster Imagery and The Emotional Construction of Solidarity after The 2004 Asian Tsunami." *International Political Sociology* 8, no. 1 (2014): 1-19.

Chouliaraki, Lilie. "Post-Humanitarianism: Humanitarian Communication beyond A Politics of Pity." *International Journal of Cultural Studies* 13, no. 2 (2010): 107-26.

Hesford, Wendy. Introduction (selections), *Spectacular Rhetorics: Human Rights Visions, Recognitions, Feminisms.* Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011. [pp. 1-20]

9. Oct. 21: Digital Media and Global Social Movements

(Note: Second paper due Friday of this week)

Castells, Manuel. "Networking Minds…" and "Changing the World…" In *Networks of Outrage and Hope: Social Movements in the Internet Age*. London: Polity, 2012.

Bennett, W. Lance and Alexandra Segerberg. Ch. 1, *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013. [pp. 19-54]

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.

10. Oct. 28: Social Media and Revolution

Herrera, Ch. 1, 3, 5, 6, and 7, *Revolution in the Age of Social Media.*

PART V: GLOBAL PUBLICS

11. Nov. 4: The Global Circulation of Ideas, Images, and Insults

Hansen, Lene. "Theorizing the Image for Security Studies: Visual Securitization and the Muhammad Cartoon Crisis." *European Journal of International Relations* 17, no. 1 (2011): 51-74.

Devji, Faisal Fatehali. "*Imitatio Muhammadi*: Khomeini and the Mystery of Citizenship." *Cultural Dynamics* 13, no. 3 (2001): 363-71.

Hansen, Randall. "The Danish Cartoon Controversy: A Defense of Liberal Freedom." *EUSA Review* 19, no. 2 (2006): 1, 3-6.

Mahmood, Saba. "Religious Reason and Secular Affect: An Incommensurable Divide?" *Critical Inquiry* 35, no. 4 (2009): 836-64.

Cole, Teju. "Unmournable Bodies." *The New Yorker* (9 January 2015). Available at: http://www.newyorker.com/culture/cultural-comment/unmournable-bodies

*Ross, Andrew A.G. "Why They Don't Hate Us: Emotion, Agency and the Politics of 'Anti-Americanism.'." *Millennium: Journal of International Studies* 39, no. 1 (2010): 109-25.

*Optional ☺

12. Nov. 18: The Politics of Global Connectivity

Chan, Anita Say. Preface, Ch. 6. *Networking Peripheries: Technological Futures and the Myth of Digital Universalism*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, 2013. [pp. ix-xxiv; 173-95]

Clinton, Hillary. "Remarks on Internet Freedom." Delivered at the Newseum, Washington, DC (21 January 2010). Available at: http://www.state.gov/secretary/20092013clinton/rm/2010/01/135519.htm

In class film: "Web," dir. Michael Kleiman (2014; 1hr 23 mins)

13. Dec. 2: Paper Workshop and Exam Review
(Note: Third paper due Wednesday of this week)

Students completing the research project should arrive at the beginning of class. All others should come at 3:30 for the exam review. Students completing the research project will be expected to read one or more student papers in advance of this class.