Department of Media and Communications

MC71032B (Option)
MC71083A (Core)

The Structure of Contemporary Political Communications

Term: Autumn 2011

Course Leader: Aeron Davis

Seminar leaders: Aeron Davis, Paolo Gerbaudo

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Course outlines are also available on the Goldsmiths Website under learn.gold.ac.uk/Media & Communications/Media & Communications Undergraduate Virtual Office

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Department of Media and Communications
Goldsmiths - University of London

5

Goldsmiths
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1

THE STRUCTURE OF CONTEMPORARY POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

Course Description: This course examines the actors and communication processes involved in contemporary political communication. It combines theoretical insights and empirical information from the fields of media studies, journalism, sociology and political science. It mainly focuses on democracies, particularly in the US and UK, but literature and examples are also drawn from other types of political system and country.

Weekly topics combine standard political communication topics and contemporary examples, with discussions of related theory and concepts. The following topics are covered: The crisis of politics and media in established democracies; Comparative political and media systems; Mass media and the news production process; Political parties, citizen relations and political marketing; Government media management and journalist-source relations; Symbolic and cultural political communication, celebrity and brands; Media effects and audiences; Campaigning in civil society (unions, NGOs and corporations); Digital media and online politics; Globalisation and international political communication. Theories and concepts drawn upon include: Theories of democracy (from weak, representative to direct, deliberative); public sphere theory (national, parliamentary, local, global, online, counter); Political economy and related critiques of capitalist democracy; Work, organisation, professionalization and bureaucracy; Promotional culture (PR, advertising, marketing and branding); Media logic, mediation and mediatisation; Primary definition, media consecration, and celebrity; Field theory and forms of capital; Social networks and social capital; New technologies, technological determinism and social shaping; Globalisation, transnationalism, cosmopolitanism and global civil society.

Much of the material for this course is highly contemporary, so students are encouraged to maintain an awareness of current developments in political communication in the UK and elsewhere, through newspapers, television, radio and the internet. Students are very much encouraged to bring contemporary examples into the seminar discussions and their essays. The course will be examined by one 6,000 word essay, to be submitted on **Friday 6th January 2012** between 10am and 2pm in NAB 302. Tutorial hours will be given at the start of the course.

Learning Outcomes

Knowledge and Critical Understanding

By the end of the course students should be able to:

- Identify the main components of the political communication process and evaluate the dynamics of this process in relation to the wider political and media environments in which political communications takes place;

- Demonstrate high levels of awareness of the contributions of the major schools of thought and theoretical perspectives in the field of political communications studies;

- Assess the relationships between political systems, institutional structures, professional and ethical values, modes of regulation, technological systems, media forms and audience responses in the political communications environment;

- Deploy their knowledge of a range of political communications systems and demonstrate their sensitivity towards different political communications cultures and controversies;

- Apply different theoretical perspectives in the identification and evaluation of specific political communications campaigns.

Skills and other attributes

By the end of the course students will also have demonstrated capacities in the following – broadly professional – skills:

- The ability to locate and retrieve appropriate forms of information – either electronically or from an archive and to communicate the results effectively
- The ability to work to deadline, managing a complex array of competing demands
- The ability to participate positively in group discussion
- The ability to work independently
- The ability to think critically.

Assessment

The course is assessed by one essay of 6,000 words to be submitted on xxx January between 10am and 2pm in xxx

Assessment Criteria

The marking criteria for essays are in general:
- the extent to which the specified course learning outcomes have been achieved
- the originality, ambition, scope and relevance of the essay in terms of the topic being addressed
- the structure and form of the essay
- the presentation of the essay in terms of attention to clarity of expression, clear print/handwriting, spelling and punctuation.

Marking guidelines

Distinction: A mark of **70%-79%** is awarded when the essay demonstrates *the very effective application* of appropriate knowledge, understanding and skills specified in the learning outcomes of the course. The outstanding work will show evidence of extensive relevant reading and an impressive grasp of current major issues in the field. This knowledge will have been reviewed critically with insight and independence of thought. Arguments and the presentation of evidence will demonstrate sophisticated reasoning, with clear awareness of issues of methodology and evidence, and be particularly clear, well-focussed and cogent. A mark of 80% or higher is awarded when a candidate satisfies the requirements for a distinction, but to an outstanding degree. Such work may be of publishable quality, and will be a significant contribution to debate within the field.

Pass: A mark of **60-69%** is awarded when candidates demonstrate *the effective application* of appropriate knowledge, understanding and skills specified in the course learning outcomes. The essay will show consistency and fluency in discussing and evaluating evidence and theories drawn from a wide range of sources. They will demonstrate an ability to relate this reading to their topic, and will clearly have understood and assimilated the relevant literature. A mark of 50-59% is awarded when the essay demonstrates *the satisfactory application* of appropriate knowledge, understandings and skills specified in the learning outcomes of the course. There is clear evidence of knowledge and understanding, but where there may be limited development of ideas, critical comment or methodology. Within these limitations there will be indication that the candidate has grasped fundamental concepts and procedures in the field.

Fail: A mark below **50%** indicates that a candidate has demonstrated *an unsatisfactory application* of appropriate knowledge, understandings and skills specified in the production courses learning outcomes.

Plagiarism

Essays are likely to be subjected to JISC plagiarism detection software. Plagiarism is a serious offence and incurs heavy penalties. All work submitted for examination should be your own. Where you are engaging with other people's work, this should be clearly attributed to the source. Refer to the handbook if you are at all unsure.

*You are now also required **to hand in an electronic version (on disc or CD)** of your examined essay along with the print versions. The following formats are acceptable: rich text (rtf); word (doc); portable document format (pdf); postscript (ps); html (html); plain text (txt). You must also keep a copy of your essay.*

There are three possible results for students on the MA programme as a whole – fail, pass, or distinction. A distinction is marked at 70% or above; a fail at below 50%. In order to pass, you are required to achieve 50% or above in all seven units of assessment. Students will be awarded a distinction if they gain 70% or above in four of those units, one of which would normally be expected to be the dissertation.

Summary of Content: All lectures given by Aeron Davis except week 4 (Des Freedman) and 8 (James Curran)

1. Introduction: The Crisis of Politics and Media in Established Democracies
2. In Search of the 'Good' Democracy: Comparing Political and Media Systems
3. The Production of News Media and Political Coverage: The Future of News
4. War, Terrorism and Propaganda – Des Freedman
5. Political Parties, Elections and Citizen Representation: From Political Ideologies to Professionalized Parties
6. Civil Society, Interest Groups and the Policy Process: Economic Policy, Welfare and the Environment
7. The Citizen, Media Effects, Public Engagment and Participation
8. New Media, E-Democracy and Online Political Communication – James Curran
9. Symbolic and Cultural Politics: Celebrity, Tabloidisation and Mediatization
10. Globalisation, International Political Communication and Global Civil Society

Key Reading:

There is no one textbook covering every week. The most used and referred to is the Davis (2010) book. McNair's (2011) book is a useful basic-level introduction and offers simple overviews of several topics.

***A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Routledge

** B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication, 4th edn*, Routledge

Other useful texts that cover several weekly topics are:

* W L Bennett and R M Entman eds. (2001) *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press

* J Stanyer (2007) Modern Political Communication: Mediated Politics in Uncertain Times

* R Negrine and J Stanyer eds. (2007) Political Communication Reader, Routledge

* S Oates (2008) Introduction to Media and Politics, Sage

* K Sanders (2008) Communicating Politics in the 21st Century, Palgrave MacMillan

Journals:
Political Communication; Harvard Journal of Press/Politics; Media, Culture and Society; European Journal of Communication; Parliamentary Affairs; New Media and Society; British Journalism Review; Political Studies; Journal of Political Marketing; Public Opinion Quarterly; Journalism Studies; Journalism: Theory, Criticism and Practice.

Other Resources (a small selection of potentially useful websites)

http://opendemocracy.org/home/index.jsp
Open democracy is an online global magazine of politics and culture

http://www.parliament.uk/
Website of Parliament full of information on current UK legislation, debates, policy issue research by library, etc.

http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/
Hansard Society produces reports and research on UK Parliament and Democracy.

http://www.ofcom.org.uk/
Ofcom is the UK regulator for media and communication. Has many surveys and research reports to access.

http://uk.oneworld.net
OneWorld aims to provide the UK's best online coverage of human rights and sustainable development issues, news, campaigns, events and resources - thinking globally and acting locally.

http://www.demos.co.uk
Demos is an independent think-tank and research institute based in London which seeks to help reinvigorate public policy thinking.

http://www.panos.org.uk
Panos London is an international NGO working with the media to produce news, views and analysis on the most critical issues of today.

http://www.mediachannel.org
Probably the best all round independent media website – smart, scrupulous and tenacious – with impressive international coverage from its network of partners. Features, quizzes and debates; toolkits for media activism, and a comprehensive index.

http://www.imf.org/
The International Monetary Fund's country reports are a valuable reference source

http://www.corporatewatch.org.uk/
Corporate Watch believes that corporations are destroying the world; this is their evidence

http://www.europa.eu.int
The official site of the EU, containing essential information its history, institutions, treaties, and statistics. A useful initial reference point for research and discussion. See in particular the sections on EU Enlargement and the Multilingual Citizens' Debate Forum.

www.counterpunch.org
The US bi-weekly radical newsletter, edited by Alexander Cockburn and Jeffrey St.Clair, has an excellent links section, including many Middle Eastern sources.

www.icg.org
The ICG is an independent, multinational organisation working through field-based analysis and advocacy to prevent and resolve conflict. Its authoritative reports are a great resource for anyone with a serious interest in world affairs.

http://www.iwpr.net
Institute for War and Peace Reporting: IWPR strengthens local journalism in areas of conflict, and

supports democratic change through training journalists from Afghanistan to the Balkans. Its site provides high-quality coverage of conflict-riven regions.

http://www.theglobalsite.ac.uk/

This academic site has wide-ranging and informed articles from Fred Halliday, Saskia Sassen, Martin Shaw, Mary Kaldor and many more.

www.cia.gov

CIA - Central Intelligence Agency World Fact Book. Has several sets of comparative country data.

http://www.freedomhouse.org

Freedom House, Offers 'Freedom' ratings and reports, including freedom of the press ratings on most nations

http://www.undp.org

UNDP - United Nations Development Programme , again has many data sets on all nations

http://portal.unesco.org

UNESCO - United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation, also has many data sets, especially ones relating to media, education and culture, of all nations

http://www.worldvaluessurvey.org

World Values Survey data, collected over many years and from several countries. Easily accessible and comparable survey data sets on public opinion.

CURRICULUM

1. Introduction: The Crisis of Politics and Media in Established Democracies

Topic: This first week introduces the course before discussing the first topic. This is concerned with the perceived crisis of political and media systems in many established democracies. Voter turnout and party memberships are dropping, news media business models appear unsustainable, and publics remain deeply cynical about political institutions, politicians and journalists. Does this amount to a crisis of democracy? If so, what are its causes and what are the solutions?

Seminar questions:
1) Is there a long-term crisis in democracies? Are politics and media just different and going through cyclical change?
2) If there is a crisis what are the key factors that have produced it? Is it more down to 'supply-side' or 'demand-side' problems?
3) Are there more obvious solutions?

Key Reading:
C Hay (2007) *Why We Hate Politics*, Polity

A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Chapter 10

Highly Recommended
Crouch, C (2004) *Post-Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity

P Norris (2011) *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*, Cambridge University Press

R Putnam (2001) Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, Simon and Schuster

Norris, P (2000) *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communication in Postindustrial Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

N Couldry, S Livingstone and T Markham (2010) *Media Consumption and Public Engagement: Beyond the Presumption of Attention*, Palgrave MacMillan

Dalton, R (2004) *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Davies, N (2008) *Flat Earth News*, London, Chatto and Windus

Hansard (2009) *Audit of Political Engagement 6: The 2009 Report*, London: Hansard Society

E Herman and N Chomsky (2002) *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media* Pantheon Books

Additional
B Franklin (2004) *Packaging Politics*, 2nd Edn, Arnold, chp 1

McNair, B (2006) *Cultural Chaos: Journalism, News and Power in a Globalised World*, London: Routledge

J Blumler and M Gurevitch (1995) *The Crisis of Public Communication*, Routledge

Putnam, R ed. (2002) *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Societies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Pharr, J and Putnam, R eds. (2000) *Disaffected Democracies: What's Troubling the Trilateral Countries?*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

7

Inglehart, R (1999) 'Postmodernization Erodes Respect for Authority, but Increases Support for Democracy' in Norris, P (1999) ed. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Inglehart, R (1997) *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Countries*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Power Report (2006) *Power to the People: An Independent Enquiry into Britain's Democracy*, York, Joseph Rowntree Trust

Swanson, D and Mancini, P eds. (1996) *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*, New York: Praeger Press

Norris, P (2002) *Democratic Phoenix: Political Activism World Wide*, New York: Cambridge University Press

Schudson, M (2006) *Why Democracies Need an Unlovable Press*, Cambridge: Polity Press

McChesney, R (1999) *Rich Media, Poor Democracy: Communication Politics in Dubious Times*, Urbana: University of Illinois Press

Patterson, T. (2002) *The Vanishing Voter: Public Involvement in an Age of Uncertainty*, Alfred A. Knopf.

2. In Search of the 'Good' Democracy: Comparing Political and Media Systems

Topic: The second week breaks looks at theories, component parts and debates over what exactly makes for 'good, democratic' political and media systems. Using Habermas's key work, it lays out some of the core ideals of democratic and media theory. This framework is then used to compare and judge varied systems in democracies of all varieties.

Seminar questions:
1   Identify and evaluate the 'ideal' elements of Habermas's bourgeois public sphere?
2   Can they still be applied to democracies in the 21st Century?
3   Can you decide which ideals of democracy should take greater priority in a contemporary political system?
4   Is it practically and morally possible to compare and judge democracies?

Key Reading:
L Goode, Chapter One 'Excavations: The History of a Concept' in L Goode (2005) *Jurgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere*, London, Pluto

Chapter 11 by Hallin, D and Mancini, P in Curran, J ed. (2005) *Mass Media and Society*, 4th edn., Arnold

A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Routledge, Chapters one and two

Highly Recommended
B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication*, Chapters one and two

L Goode (2005) *Jurgen Habermas: Democracy and the Public Sphere*, Pluto Press

Hallin, D and Mancini, P (2004) *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hague, R and Harrop, M (2007) *Comparative Government and Politics*, 7th Edn., Houndmills, Basingstoke, Palgrave Macmillan

Lijphart, A (1999) Patterns of Democracy: Government Forms and Performances in Thirty

Six Countries, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press

J Curran and M Park (2000) *De-Westernizing Media Studies*, Routledge

W L Bennett and R M Entman eds. (2001) *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press

Stromback, J (2005) 'In Search of a Standard: Four Models of Democracy and their Normative Implications for Journalism' in *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp 331-345

Donsbach, W and Patterson, T (2004) 'Political News Journalists: Partisanship, Professionalism, and Political Roles in Five Countries' in Esser, F and Pfetsch, B eds. *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases and Challenges*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 251-70

Additional (Media in Democratic Societies)

L LeDuc, R Niemi and P Norris (2009) *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in the 21st Century*, Sage

Hardy, J (2008) *Western Media Systems*, London: Routledge

R Gunther and A Mughan (2000) *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*, Cambridge University Press

R Hackett and Y Zhao (2005) *Democratizing Global Media*, Rowman and Littlefield

Norris, P (2000) *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press

F Esser and B Pfetsch eds. (2004) *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases and Challenges*, Cambridge University Press

Swanson, D and Mancini, P eds., (1996) *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: an International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and their Consequences*, Westport, CN: Praeger

Hay, C (2007) *Why We Hate Politics*, Cambridge: Polity

Kluver, R, Jankowski, N, Foot, K and Schneider, S (2007) *The Internet and National Elections: A Comparative Study of Web Campaigning*, Routledge

Negrine, R (1998) *Parliament and the Media: a study of Britain, Germany and France,* Pinter.

S Waisbord (2000) *Watchdog Journalism in South America*, Columbia University Press

Additional (Political Theory and Democracy, Habermas and the Public Sphere)

D Held (2006) *Models of Democracy, 3rd edn*, Polity

P Dunleavy and B O'Leary (1987) *Theories of the State, 2nd edn.* MacMillan

R Dahl (1989) *Democracy and Its Critics*, Yale University Press

J Habermas (1989) *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere,* Polity

T Glasser ed. (1999) *The Idea of Public Journalism*, The Guildford Press

Calhoun, C. (1992) (ed.) *Habermas and the Public Sphere*, MIT Press.

Louw, E. (2005) *The Media and Political Process.* London: Sage

Graber, D (2005) *Mass Media and American Politics*, CQ Press

J Keane (1991) *Media and Democracy*, Polity

3. The Production of News Media and Political Coverage

Topic: Week three looks specifically at theories of news production in society. Several theoretical perspectives are explored - each of which has a bearing on news production. The discussion has clear implications for citizens, governments and interest groups as each looks to news media to fulfil a variety of functions in democratic societies. Issues discussed include: news values and professional objectivity, news ownership and advertising, organisation and bureaucracy, and news cultures and ideologies . Lastly, the lecture will discuss the current crisis in news journalism and speculate on its future existence.

Seminar questions:
1. What theoretical perspective best describes the production of news in society?
2. What are the most significant influences on journalists at work?
3. Do such influences mean that news media output reproduces certain patterns of bias in society?
4. Is there a long-term future for news reporting?

Key Reading:
Curran, J (2002) *Media and Power*, Routledge, Chapter 8
Chapter 5 in Schudson, M (2008) *Why Democracies Need an Unlovable Press*, Polity
A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Routledge, Chapter four

Highly Recommended
B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication,* Chapters four and five

J Stanyer (2007) Modern Political Communication, chapters four and five

S Oates (2008) Introduction to Media and Politics, Chapter two

N Fenton (2009) New Media, Old News: Journalism and Democracy

H Tumber (1999) *News: A Reader*, Oxford University Press

M Shudson (2003) *The Sociology of News*, New York, Norton

J Curran (2002) *Media and Power*, Routledge

S Allan (2005) *Journalism: Critical Issues*, Open University Press

N Davies (2008) *Flat Earth News*, Chatto and Windus

R McChesney and J Nichol (2009) *The Death and Life of American Journalism*, Da Capo Press

Special Editions of *Journalism Studies* (2008), Vol. 9. No. 5, and (2010) Vol 11., No. 4. Both issues on the Future of Journalism

Lewis, J, Williams, A and Franklin, B (2008) 'A Compromised Fourth Estate? UK News Journalism, Public Relations and News Sources' in *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 9, No. 1, pp 1-20

Additional
J Curran ed. (2010) *Media and Society*, 5th Edn, Bloomsbury

B Zelizer (2004) Taking Journalism Seriously: News and the Academy, Sage

Overholser, G and Hall Jamieson, K eds., (2005) *The Press*, Oxford University Press

B McNair (1998) *The Sociology of Journalism*, Arnold,

Lichtenberg, J. (ed.) (1990) *Democracy and the Mass Media,* Cambridge University Press.

Barnett, S and Gaber, I (2001) *Westminster tales: the twenty-first century crisis in political journalism*, Continuum.

Cook, T (1998) *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution.* University of Chicago Press.

M Schudson (1995) *The Power of News*, Harvard University Press

10

Franklin, B (1997) *Newzak and News Media*, London, Arnold

T Glasser ed. (1999) *The Idea of Public Journalism*, The Guildford Press

B Bagdikian (2004) *The Media Monopoly, 7th Edn.* Beacon Press.

V Mosco (1996) *Political Economy of Communications*, Sage

E Herman and N Chomsky (2002) *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media 2nd edn.*, Pantheon Books, chp 1

P Schlesinger (1987) *Putting Reality Together*, Routledge

H Tumber ed. (2000) *Media, Power, Professionals and Policies*, Routledge

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4. War, Terrorism and Propaganda (Des Freedman)

Topic: Just over 10 years since the events of 9/11, this week covers the linked areas of war, terrorism and propaganda. The session examines the role that media play in normalizing, challenging and generally providing the frames through which we understand war and terrorism. The times when governments most attempt to manage their media is during perceived national crises, usually brought about by war or terror. An important part of any effort by Government and the military is in winning the information war as public opinion can play a major role in the conduct of war. To what extent do the media and journalists resist these pressures? Can they or should they?

Seminar questions:

1) In what ways do media help to define, legitimate and challenge, narratives of war and 'terror'?

2) How *should* journalists cover these events?

3) Is war propaganda inevitable?

Key Reading:

D Freedman and D Thussu (2011) Introduction , 'Geopolitics of the "War on Terror"' in *Media and Terrorism: Global Perspectives*, Sage.

A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Chapter nine

Highly Recommended

P Knightley (2000) *The First Casualty*, Prion 2000

D Miller ed. (2004) *Tell Me Lies: Propaganda and Media Distortion on the Attack on Iraq*, Pluto Press

D Freedman and D Thussu (2011) *Media and Terrorism: Global Perspectives*, Sage

Connelly, M. and Welch, D. (eds) (2005) *War and the Media: Reportage and Propaganda 1900-2003*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Additional

War

Tumber, H and Webster, F (2006) *Journalists Under Fire: Information War and Journalistic Practice*, Sage

S. Carruthers (2000) *The Media At War*, Macmillan.

Tim Allen & J. Seaton (eds.) (1999) *War Reporting and Representations of Ethnic Violence*, Zed Books.

E S Herman and N Chomsky (2002), *Manufacturing Consent: The Political Economy of the Mass Media*, Pantheon Books.

Taylor, P. (1999) *British Propaganda during the Twentieth Century: Selling Democracy*. Edinburgh University Press.

Chomsky, N. (2002) *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda*. 2nd edn. Seven Stories Press.

Jowett, G. and O'Donnell, V. (1999) *Propaganda and Persuasion*, Sage.

11

D Hallin (1986) *The Uncensored War: The Media and Vietnam*, Oxford University Press.

D Morrison and H Tumber (1988) *Journalists at War: The Dynamics of Reporting the Falklands Conflict*, Sage

Glasgow University Group (1985) *War and Peace News* , Open University Press

A Hoskins (2004) *Televising War: From Vietnam to Iraq*, Continuum

Der Derian, J. (2009) *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-Industrial-Media-Entertainment Network*, second edition, New York: Routledge.

Terrorism

Nacos, B. (2007) *Mass-Mediated Terrorism: The Central Role of the Media in Terrorism and Counterterrorism*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Hoskins, A. and O'Loughlin, B. (2007) *Television and Terror: Conflicting Times and the Crisis of News Discourse*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Hoffman, B. (2006) *Inside Terrorism*. New York: Columbia University Press.

W Hachten and J Scotton (2002) *The World News Prism: Global Media in an Era of Terrorism*, Iowa State Press

D L Paletz and A P Schmid (eds) (1992) *Terrorism and the Media*, Sage

P Norris (2003) *Framing Terrorism*, Routledge

D Thussu and D Freedman eds. (2003) *War and the Media Reporting Conflict 24/7*, Sage

E Gilboa ed. (2002) *Media Conflict*, Transnational Publishers

D Miller (1994) *Don't Mention The War: Northern Ireland, Propaganda & the Media* Pluto Press

P Schlesinger, G Murdock and P Elliott (1983) *Televising Terrorism*, Comedia

P Schlesinger <u>Putting Reality Together</u> 1987 ch 8

The Gulf War, 9/11 and the Middle East

Beck, S and Downing, M eds. (2003) *The Battle for Iraq*, BBC Books

H Tumber and J Palmer (2004) *Media at war; the Iraq Crisis*, Sage

W L Bennett & D L Paletz (1994) *Taken By Storm; The Media, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy in the Gulf War*, Univ. of Chicago press.

H Mowlana, G Gerbner and H Schiller (1992) *Triumph of the Image: The Media's War in the Persian Gulf - A Global Perspective*, Westview Press.

B Greenberg ed. (2002) *Communication and terrorism public and media responses to 9/11*, Hampton Press

S Hess and M Kalb (2003) *The Media and the War on Terrorism*, Brookings Institute

B Zelizer and S Allan (eds.) *Journalism After September 11*, 2002

G Philo and M Berry (2004) *Bad News from Israel*, Pluto Press

G Philo and M Berry (2011) *More Bad News from Israel*, Pluto Press

G Wolfsfeld 'The Political Contest Model' in S Cottle ed (2003) *News, Public Relations and Power*, Sage

G Wolfsfeld 'Political Waves and Democratic Discourse: Terrorism Waves During the Oslo Peace Process' in W Lance Bennett and R Entman eds. (2001) *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, Cambridge

5. Political Parties, Elections and Citizen Representation: From Political Ideologies to Professionalized Parties

Topic: The session looks at political parties, elections and citizen representation. Parties are the key organisations representing citizens and interests in society. Over several decades a mix of changing electorates, evolving mass media, and changing party organisation, have reshaped parties and their communication. Traditional political ideologies and core party supporters have declined as parties have become moved to the centre-ground and become professionalised in their organisation. The question is are parties now more or less engaged with, and representative of, ordinary citizens?

Seminar questions:
1) Has political marketing made political parties more responsive to citizens or contributed to increasing alienation?
2) Is it harder to distinguish the differences between parties?
3) Is selling policies and politicians any different to selling other commodities in the market place?
4) Will party politics survive in the long-term? If not, what will replace it?

Key Reading:
Chapter 1 in Lees Marshment, J (2001) *Political Marketing and British Political Parties*, Manchester University Press

'The Political Party Under Post-Democracy' in Crouch, C (2004) *Post Democracy*, Polity

A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Chapter Three

Highly Recommended
M Halperin and J Heilemann (2010) *Race of a Lifetime: How Obama Won the Whitehouse*, Viking

P Cowley (2010) *The British General Election of 2010*, Palgrave

B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication,* chapters six and seven

J Lees Marshment (2001/2008) *Political Marketing and British Political Parties*, Manchester University Press

P Norris (1999) 'New Politicians? Changes in Party Competition at Westminster' in P Norris and G Evans eds. *Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective*, Sage

Entman, R (2005) 'Media and Democracy Without Party Competition' in Curran, J and Gurevitch, M eds. *Mass Media and Society*, 4th Edn. London, ArnoldD Wring (2005) *The Politics of Marketing the Labour Party,* Palgrave.

B Franklin (2004) *Packaging Politics*, 2nd Edn, Arnold

Dalton, R and Wattenberg, M eds. (2002) *Parties Without Partisans: Political Change in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Corner, J and Pels, D (2003) *Media and the Restyling of Politics*, London, Sage

Gunther, R, Mantero, J and Linz, J (2002) *Political Parties: Old Concepts and New Challenges*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Dalton, R (2004) *Democratic Challenges, Democratic Choices: The Erosion of Political Support in Advanced Industrial Democracies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

D Lilleker and J Lees Marshment (2005) *Political Marketing: A Comparative Perspective*, Manchester University Press

Scammell, M (1999) 'Political Marketing: Lessons for Political Science' in *Political Studies*, 47 (4), pp 718-39

Additional on Political Ideologies and Parties

A Heywood (2007) Politcal Ideologies: An Introduction, Palgrave Macmillan

P Norris (2005) *Radical Right: Voters and Parties in the Regulated Market*, Cambridge University Press

J Bartle (2005) *The New British Politics: 2005 Election Update*, Pearson

A Heath, R Jowell and J Curtice (2001) *The Rise of New Labour: Party Policies and Voter Choices*, Oxford University Press

P Richards (2000) *Is the Party Over: New Labour and the Politics of Participation*, Fabian Society

R Hefferman (2001) New Labour: Political Change in Britain, Palgrave

G Evans and P Norris eds. (1999) Critical Elections: British Parties and Voters in Long-Term Perspective, Sage

See publications on CREST website (http://www.crest.ox.ac.uk) and Hansard website (http://www.hansardsociety.org.uk/)

Additional on Professionalisation and Marketing

Savigny, H (2008) *The Problem of Political Marketing*, Continuum

Crouch, C (2004) *Post-Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity

Entman, R (1989) *Democracy Without Citizens: Media and the Decay of American Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Swanson, D and Mancini, P eds. (1996) *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: An International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and Their Consequences*, New York: Praeger Press

R Negrine and J Stanyer eds. (2007) Political Communication Reader, Routledge, Section Four

D Lilleker, N Jackson and R Scullion (2006) *The Marketing of Political Parties at the 2005 British General Election*, Manchester University Press

J Lees Marshment (2004), *The Political marketing revolution – Transforming the Government of the UK*, Manchester University Press

P Maarek (1994) *Political marketing and Communication*, John Libbey

D Kavanagh (1995) *Election Campaigning: The New Marketing of Politics* Blackwell

J Blumler and M Gurevitch (1995) *The Crisis of Public Communication*, Routledge.

M Scammell (1995) *Designer Politics: How Elections are Won*, MacMillan.

Gould, P. (1998) *The Unfinished Revolution; how the modernisers saved the Labour Party*, Little Brown.

See also the *Journal of Political Marketing*

Additional on Campaigning in Elections

S Oates (2008) Introduction to Media and Politics, chapter five

L LeDuc, R Niemi and P Norris (2009) *Comparing Democracies: Elections and Voting in the 21st Century*, Sage

S Ansolabehere and S Iyengar (1995) *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarise the Electorate*, New York, Free Press

P Norris et al., (1999) *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*, Sage

Swanson, D and Mancini, P eds., (1996) *Politics, Media and Modern Democracy: an International Study of Innovations in Electoral Campaigning and their Consequences*, Westport, CN: Praeger

P Norris and N Gavin (2001) *Britain Votes 2001*, Oxford University Press

Chadwick, A (2006) *Internet Politics: States, Citizens and New Communication Technologies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

N Jankowski et al. eds. (2007) The Internet and National Campaigning: A Comparative Study of Web Campaigning, Routledge

J Bartle, R Mortimore and S Atkinson eds. (2001) *Political Communications: The British General Election of 2001*, Frank Cass

I Crewe, B Gosschalk and J Bartle (1998) *Political Communications: Why Labour Won the General Election of 1997*, Cambridge University Press

K Hall Jamieson (1992) *Dirty Politics*, Oxford University Press

D Kavanagh (1995) *Election Campaigning: The New Marketing of Politics* Blackwell

N Jones (2000) *Sultans of Spin*, Orion

M Rosenbaum (1997) *From Soapbox to Soundbite: Party Political Campaigning in Britain Since 1945*, MacMillan, 1997

W Lance Bennett and R M Entman eds. (2001) *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, Cambridge University Press, chp 8, 10, 13

Butler, D. and Kavanagh, D. (2002) *The British General Election of 2001* Macmillan

6. Civil Society, Interest Groups and the Policy Process: Economic Policy, Welfare and the Environment

Topic: This week focuses on political communication in civil society focusing on the attempts of interest groups to influence public debate, and the policy and legislative processes. It covers work on media-source relations and lobbying, looking at the factors which aid or hinder certain groups from gaining access and influence in news media and policy networks. The session will also focus on particular policy areas, such as economic policy, the banking crisis, welfare and the environment.

Seminar questions:
1) What are the differences between 'insider' and 'outsider' groups, 'resource-rich' and 'resource-poor' ones, and how do such differences affect their political communication strategies.
2) What does the rise of 'single-issue' interest groups and 'post-material' social movements mean for traditional party politics and trade unions?
3) Is the current Coalition Government's policies on cutting the deficit and shrinking the state right?

Key Reading:
Chapter 1 in Lukes, S (2005) *Power: A Radical View*

N Sireau and A Davis 'Interest Groups and Mediated Mobilisation' in Davis A (2007) *The Mediation of Power*, London, Routledge

Highly Recommended
Civil Society, Interest Groups and Communication
S Lukes (2005) *Power: A Radical View*

Jeremy Gilbert (2008) *Anticapitalism and Culture: Radical Theory and Popular Politics*, Berg

Cammaerts, B and Carpentier, N eds. *Reclaiming the Media: Communication, Rights and Democratic Media Roles*, Bristol: Intellect

Downey, J. and Fenton, N. (2003) 'Constructing a Counter-Public Sphere', *New Media and Society* (5)2:185-202.

Couldry, N. and Curran, J. (eds.) (2003) *Contesting Media Power: Alternative Media in a Networked World*. Oxford: Rowan and Littlefield.

P Norris (2002) Democratic Phoenix: Political Activism Worldwide, Cambridge University Press

W de Jong, M Shaw and N Stammers (eds.), (2005) *Global Activism, Global Media*, pp.17-33.

London: Pluto Press.

Downing, J (2001) *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements*, London: Sage. (Chapter 1)

Mitchell, N (1997) The Conspicuous Corporation - Business, Publicity, and Representative Democracy, Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press

W Grant (1995) Pressure Groups, Politics and Democracy in Britain, MacMillan

W Grant (2000) Pressure Groups and British Politics, MacMillan

della Porta, D. and Diani, M. (1999) *Social Movements: An Introduction*. Oxford, Malden, Mass.: Blackwell

Marsh, D. and Rhodes, R. (eds) (1992) *Policy Networks in British Government*, Oxford University Press

P Shlesinger, D Miller and W Dinan (2001) Open Scotland? Journalists, Spin Doctors and Lobbyists, Polygon

Media-Source Relations, Public Relations and Lobbying

B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication,* chapter eight

P Schlesinger and H Tumber (1994) *Reporting Crime*, Clarendon Press, Chapter One

A Davis (2002) Public Relations Democracy

D Miller and W Dinan (2008) A Century of Spin: How Public Relations Became the Cutting Edge of Corporate Propaganda, Pluto Press

W Dinan and D Miller (2007) *Thinker, Faker, Spinner, Spy: Corporate PR and the Assault on Democracy*, Pluto

S Cottle ed (2003) News, Public Relations and Power, Sage

P Manning *News and News Sources*, Sage, 2000

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

J Stauber and S Rampton (1999) Trust Us We're Experts, Penguin Putnam

J Stauber and S Rampton Toxic Sludge is Good For You - Lies, Damn Lies and the Public Relations Industry, Common Courage Press, 1995

Nelson, J (1989) *Sultans of Sleaze - Public Relations and the Media*, Toronto, Between the Lines

T Sulkin (2005) Issue Politics in Congress, Cambridge University Press

K Kollman (1998) Outside Lobbying: Public Opinion and Interest Group Strategies

Interest Groups, Social and Environmental Issues

Sireau, N (2008) *Make Poverty History: Political Communication in Action*, Palgrave

S Allan, B Adam and C Carter (eds.) Environmental Risks and the Media, Routledge, 2000

A Anderson Media, Culture and the Environment, UCL press 1997

Weaver, C. Kay and Motion, J. (2001) Sabotage and subterfuge: public relations, democracy and genetic engineering in New Zealand. Media, Culture and Society. (24) 325-343.

A Hansen (ed.) Mass Media and Environmental Issues, Leicester University Press, 1993

J C Pierce et al (1992) Citizens, Political Communications and Interest Groups: Environmental Organisations in Canada and the United States, Praeger

The North South Divide, Routledge, 1997

M Paterson and B Doherty eds. (2000) Direct Action in British Environmentalism, Routledge

Media, the Economy and Finance

Harvey, D (2007) *A Brief History of Neoliberalism*, OUP

Cable, V (2009) *The Storm: The World Economic Crisis and What it Means*, London: Atlantic Books

Krugman, P (2008) *The Return of Depression Economics and the Crisis of 2008*, London: Penguin Books

Elliott, L and Atkinson, D (2009) *The Gods that Failed: How the Financial Elite Have Gambled Away Our Futures*, London: Vintage

Davis, A (2007) *The Mediation of Power: A Critical Introduction*, London, Routledge

Dinan, W and Miller, D (2007) *Thinker, Faker, Spinner, Spy: Corporate PR and the Assault on Democracy*, London, Pluto

Gavin, N. (2007) *Press and Television in British Politics: Media, Money and Mediated Democracy*, Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Gavin, N ed. (1998) *The Economy, Media and Public Knowledge*, Leicester: Leicester University Press.

Philo, G. (ed.) (1995) *Glasgow Media Group Reader, Vol. 2: Industry, Economy, War and Politics*, London: Routledge.

Doyle, G (2006) 'Financial News Journalism: A Post-Enron Analysis of Approaches Towards Economic and Financial News Production in the UK' in *Journalism: Theory, Practice and Criticism*, Vol. 7, No. 4, pp 433-52

Durham, F 'Framing the State in Globalization: The Financial Times' Coverage of the 1997 Thai Currency Crisis' in *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp 57-76

Kantola, A (2006) 'On the Dark Side of Democracy: The Global Imaginary of Financial Journalism' in Cammaerts, B and Carpentier, N eds. *Reclaiming the Media: Communication, Rights and Democratic Media Roles*, Bristol: Intellect

Parsons, W (1989) *The Power of the Financial Press: Journalism and Economic Opinion in Britain and America*, London: Edward Elgar

7. The Citizen, Media Effects, Public Engagment and Participation

Topic: This week looks at the public and the ways individual citizens engage with, and participate in, politics. This includes national, formal politics, and less formal and local participation. It covers arguments about social capital, civic volunteerism and general incentives to participate, as well as engagements with cultural and social politics. The week also covers the issue of media effect, asking how much does the mass media and political coverage actually influence our political opinions, election choices and political activity? A range of direct and indirect effects, short and long-term influences are discussed, as well as their overall impact on the political process.

Seminar questions:
1) Does local, social engagement and volunteerism on political matters translate to better political engagement with formal, national politics?
2) What are the key social and personal factors which encourage individuals to be more or active and participatory?
3) Are there strong or weak media effects in play?
4) How does media content influence public understanding and engagement with formal politics?

Key Reading:
Chapter 1 in Norris, P al., (1999) *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*, Sage,

Chapters 1/9 of N Couldry, S Livingstone and T Markham (2010) *Media Consumption and Public Engagement: Beyond the Presumption of Attention*, Palgrave MacMillan

Highly Recommended
P Dahlgren (2009) Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication and Democracy, chapters four and five

N Couldry, S Livingstone and T Markham (2010) *Media Consumption and Public Engagement: Beyond the Presumption of Attention*, Palgrave MacMillan

P Norris (2011) *Democratic Deficit: Critical Citizens Revisited*, Cambridge University Press

Curran, J, Iyengar, S, Lund, A and Salovaara-Moring, I (2009) 'Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy' in *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp 5-26

R Putnam (2001) Bowling Alone: The Collapse and Revival of American Community, Simon and Schuster

Pattie, C, Seyd, P and Whiteley, P (2004) *Citizenship in Britain: Values, Participation and Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

G Turner (2009) *Ordinary People and the Demotic Turn*, Sage

J Stanyer (2007) Modern Political Communication, Polity, Chapter Six

B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication*, chapter three

S Oates (2008) Introduction to Media and Politics, Chapter four

Additional – Citizen Engagement and Participation

Norris, P (2000) *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communication in Postindustrial Societies*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Hansard (2009) *Audit of Political Engagement 6: The 2009 Report*, London: Hansard Society

Putnam, R ed. (2002) *Democracies in Flux: The Evolution of Social Capital in Contemporary Societies*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Inglehart, R (1999) 'Postmodernization Erodes Respect for Authority, but Increases Support for Democracy' in Norris, P (1999) ed. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Inglehart, R (1997) *Modernization and Postmodernization: Cultural, Economic and Political Change in 43 Countries*, Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press

Hibbings, J and Theiss-Morse, E (2002) *Stealth Democracy: Americans' Beliefs About How Government Should Work*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Power Report (2006) *Power to the People: An Independent Enquiry into Britain's Democracy*, York, Joseph Rowntree Trust

Lewis, J., Inthorn, S. and Wahl-Jorgenson, K. (2005) *Citizens or Consumers? The Media and the Decline of Political Participation*. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.

Additional Media Effects

J Bryant and M Oliver (2008) *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, Routledge

Iyengar, S. and R. Reeves (eds) (1997) *Do the Media Govern?* Sage Section 4.

Ruddock (2001) *Understanding Audience Theory and Method*, Sage

McQuail, D. (2000) *McQuail's Mass Communications Theory - 4th Edn*. Chaps. 17,18,19.

P Norris et al (1999) *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*, Sage Chps 1 and 11

S Ansolabehere and S Iyengar (1995) *Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarise the Electorate*, New York, Free Press

D Gauntlett (2006) *Moving Experiences: Media Effects and Beyond*, 2nd Edn., John Libby

Lewis (1991) *The Ideological Octopus: An Exploration of Television and its Audience*, Routledge

S Iyengar and D Kinder (1987) *News that Matters*, University of Chicago Press

S Iyengar (1994) *Is Anyone Responsible?* University of Chicago Press

Zaller, J (1992) *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*, Cambridge University Press

Bryant, J and Zillman (1994) *Perspectives on Media Effects*, Lawrence Earlbaum Assoc

8. New Media, E-Democracy and Online Political Communication – James Curran

Topic: This session explores how the arrival of the Internet is shifting the way politicians communicate with citizens. This includes fund raising (the Howard Dean effect), communication with supporters, appeals to voters, and deliberation with citizens. Most of all it focuses on the debate about whether the Internet can reinvigorate the political public sphere. For some new media provides the means to restore deliberation and interaction between politicians and citizens. For others this is a very over-optimistic assessment.

Seminar questions:
1) What opportunities does the Internet offer to the formal political process?
2) Will the Internet, in time, increase the deliberative and participatory elements of democracies?
3) Will the Internet ultimately revitalise and enhance the political public sphere? In what ways?

Key Reading:

M Castells 'Communication Power' and S Livingstone 'Interactive, Engaging but Equal' in J Curran (2010) *Media and Society*, 5th Edn., Bloomsbury

A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Chapter Seven

Highly Recommended

A Sreberny and G Khiabany (2010) *Blogistan: The Internet and Politics in Iran*, IB Taurus

Polat, R (2005) 'The Internet and Political Participation' in *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 20, No. 4

N Fenton ed. (2009) *New Media, Old News*, Sage

Chadwick, A (2006) *Internet Politics: States, Citizens and New Communication Technologies*, Oxford, Oxford University Press

Matthew Hindman (2009) *The Myth of Digital Democracy*, Princeton University Press

P Dahlgren (2009) Media and Political Engagement: Citizens, Communication and Democracy, chapters seven and eight

S Oates (2008) Introduction to Media and Politics, chapters eight and nine

S Coleman and J Blumler (2009) The Internet and Democratic Citizenship, Cambridge

Oates, S, Own, D and Gibson, R eds. (2006) *The Internet and Politics: Citizens, Voters and Activists*, Routledge

Gillmore (2006) *We the Media: Grassroots Journalism, By the People, For the People*, 2nd edn., O'Reily Media Inc.

Sunstein, C (2007) *Republic.com 2.0*, Princeton University Press

Livingstone, S (2005) 'Critical Debates in Internet Studies: Reflections on an Emerging Field' in

Graber, D (2004) 'The Internet and Politics: Emerging Perspectives' in Nissenbaum, H and Price, M eds. *Academy and the Internet*, Peter Lang, New York

A Davis (2007) *The Mediation of Power: A Critical Introduction*, Routledge, Chapter Seven

W de Jong, M Shaw and N Stammers (eds.), (2005) *Global Activism, Global Media*, pp.17-33. London: Pluto Press.

S Allan (2006) Online News: Journalism and the Internet, Open University Press

Additional

R Negrine and J Stanyer eds. (2007) Political Communication Reader, Routledge, Section Eight

P Norris (2002) Democratic Phoenix: Political Activism Worldwide, Cambridge University Press

Kluver, R, Jankowski, N, Foot, K and Schneider, S (2007) *The Internet and National Elections: A Comparative Study of Web Campaigning*, Routledge

Lusoli, W, Ward, S and Gibson, R (2006) '(Re) Connecting Politics? Parliament and the Internet' in *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 59, No.1

Coleman, S and Ward, S (2005) *Spinning the Web: Online Campaigning in the 2005 General Election*, Hansard Society, London

Wikland, H 'A Habermasian Analysis of the Deliberative Democratic Potential of ICT-Enabled Services in Swedish Municipalities' in *New Media and Society*, Vol. 7, No. 5

Political Communications (2005) Special Edn on the Internet and Public Sphere, Vol. 22, No. 2

Bimber, B. and Davis, R. (2003) *Campaigning Online: The Internet in US Elections.* Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dahlberg, L (2001) 'The Internet and Democratic Discourse: Exploring the Prospects of Online Deliberative Forums Extending the Public Sphere' in *Information, Communication and Society*, Vol. 4, No. 4

Jackson, N and Lilleker, D (2004) 'Just Public Relations or an Attempt at Interaction?: British MPs in the Press, On the Web and "In Your face"' in *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 19, No. 4

Bimber, Bruce (2003) *Information and American Democracy: Technology in the Evolution of Political Power*, Cambridge University Press

W Lance Bennett and R Entman eds. (2001) *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, Cambridge, Chps by Dahlgren (2), Sparks (4), Gandy (7)

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9. Symbolic and Cultural Politics: Celebrity, Tabloidisation and Mediatization

Topic: This week looks at the more cultural and symbolic forms of political communication. As parties downplay their ideologies and policy proposals, and media become more focused on personalities and scandals, so politics becomes represented in more cultural and symbolic ways. Parties project themselves as brands and their leaders as celebrities with a personal appeal. For some, these moves towards tabloidisation, or mediatization, disrupt the elite-dominated power bloc that excludes ordinary citizens. For others, however, the populist public sphere has become detached from hard policy-making, mostly conducted in private. The gap between private and public is growing.

Seminar questions:

1) Why have the images of parties and the personalities of leaders become so important in party communication?
2) What are the political and communicative consequences of a more symbolic and cultural form of political communication?
3) Are politicians still managing the media or has politics become mediatized?

Key Reading

Corner, J and Pels, D (2003) 'Introduction: the Restyling of Politics' in Corner, J and Pels, D eds. (2003) *Media and the Restyling of Politics*, London: Sage, Introduction and J Corner Chapter

A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Chapter Six

Highly Recommended

B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication*, chapters five and ten

Corner, J and Pels, D eds. (2003) *Media and the Restyling of Politics*, London: Sage

D Kellner (2005) *Media Spectacle and the Crisis of Democracy*, Paradigm

Boorstin, D (1962) *The Image*, London: Weidenfeld and Nicolson

Franklin, B (2004) *Packaging Politics: Political Communications in Britain's Media Democracy*, 2nd Edn., London: Arnold

P David Marshall (1997) *Celebrity and Power: Fame in Contemporary Culture*, University of Minnesotta Press, Chp 8

C Rojek (2001) *Celebrity*, Chp 5

Hall Jamieson, K (1996) *Packaging the Presidency: A History and Criticism of Presidential Campaign Advertising*, 3rd edn., Oxford: Oxford University Press

J Stanyer (2007) *Modern Political Communication: Mediated Politics in Uncertain Times*, Chapters Three and Five

P Dahlgren (2009) Media and Political Engagement, Chapter Six

Thompson, J (2000) *Political Scandal,* Cambridge: Polity Press

Additional

Crouch, C (2004) *Post-Democracy*, Cambridge: Polity

Horton, D and Wohl, R (1993) 'Mass Communication and Para-Social Interaction' in Corner, J and Hawthorn, J eds. Communication Studies: An Introductory Reader, 4th Edn., London: Arnold

Meyer, Thomas with Lew Hinchman (2002) Media Democracy: How the Media Colonize Politics: Cambridge, Polity Press

Stanyer, J and Wring, D (2004) 'Public Images, Private Lives: An Introduction', Special Issue of *Parliamentary Affairs*, Vol. 57., No. 1

Wernick, A (1991) *Promotional Culture - Advertising, Ideology and Symbolic Expression*, London: Sage, Chapter Six

West, D and Orman, J (2003) *Celebrity Politics*, Upper Saddle River, NJ: Prentice Hall

J Street (2001) *Mass Media, Politics and Democracy*, Palgrave

P Dahlgren (1995) *Television and the Public Sphere: Citizenship, Democracy and the Media*

C Sparks and J Tulloch eds. (2000) *Tabloid Tales,* Rowman and Littlefield

J Langer (1998) *Tabloid Television: Popular Journalism and the "Other News"*, Routledge

John Hartley (1996) *The Uses of Television*, Routledge

P Dahgren and C Sparks (1992) *Journalism and Popular Culture*, Sage

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10. Globalisation, International Political Communication and Global Civil Society

Topic: This last lecture looks at the general topic of globalisation, democratic politics and international political communication. Increasingly, many political and other issues that affect nation state politics and citizens, emanate from beyond nations. The environment, finance, crime, trade, food and water, energy, conflict and peace-keeping, and media and culture, are some of the political issues that have become both national and transnational in nature. What does all this mean for nation state politics and public communication? Transnational institutions, NGOs and networks, cosmopolitanism, global civil society and the global public sphere are each discussed.

Seminar questions:

1) How much is globalisation a myth and how much a reality?
2) Can democracy be reproduced on the international scale in any meaningful way?
3) Are such things as cosmopolitan identity, global civil society and a global public sphere really emerging?
4) Is there such a thing as international political communication and, if so, what is it?

Key Reading:

Fraser, N (2007) 'Transnationalizing the Public Sphere: On the Legitimacy and Efficacy of Public Opinion in a Post-Westphalian World' in *Theory, Culture and Society*, Vol. 24, No. 7, pp7-30

Sparks, C (2005) 'Media and the Global Public Sphere' in de Jong, W, Shaw, M, and Stammers, N eds. *Global Activism Global Media*, Pluto Press

A Davis (2010) Political Communication and Social Theory, Chapter Eight

Highly Recommended

B McNair (2011) *An Introduction to Political Communication,* chapter nine

P Norris and Inglehard, R (2009) *Cosmopolitan Communications: Cultural Diversity in a Globalized World,* Cambridge University Press

Held, D and McGrew, A (2003) 'The Great Globalization Debate: An Introduction' in Held, D and McGrew, A eds. *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate,* Cambridge: Polity Press

Special edition of the *European Journal of Communication* (2007), Vol. 22, No. 4, with articles by Baisnee, Gripsrud, Schlesinger and others.

Albrow, M, Anheier, H, Glasius, M, Price, M and Kaldor, M eds. (2008) *Global Civil Society 2007/08: Communicative Power and Democracy,* London: Sage

Boyd-Barrett, O and Rantanen, T (1998) 'The Globalisation of News' in Boyd-Barrett, O and Rantanen, T eds. *The Globalisation of News,* London: Sage, pp 1-18

Chalaby, J (2009) *Transnational Television in Europe: Reconfiguring Global Communications Networks,* London: IB Tauris

Dahl, R (1999) 'Can International Organisations Be Democratic: A Skeptics View' in Shapiro, I and Hacker-Cordon eds. *Democracy's Edges,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp 19-36

de Jong, W, Shaw, M, and Stammers, N eds. *Global Activism Global Media,* London: Pluto Press pp 110-124

Held, D (2002) 'Laws of States, Laws of Peoples' in *Legal Theory,* Vol. 8, pp 1-44

Habermas, J (1999) 'The European Nation State and the Pressures of Globalization' in *New Left Review,* Issue 235, pp 425-36

Hirst, P and Thompson, G (1996) *Globalization in Question: The International Economy and the Possibilities of Governance,* Cambridge: Polity Press

Kaldor, M (2003) 'The Idea of Global Civil Society' in *International Affairs,* Vol. 79, No. 3, pp 583-93

Keane, J (2001) 'Global Civil Society?' in Anheier, H, Glasius and Kaldor, M eds. *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2001,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 23-47

Volkmer, I (2005) 'News in the Global Public Sphere' in Allan, S ed. *Journalism: Critical Issues,* Maidenhead: Open University Press, pp 357-69

Thussu, D ed. (2007) *Media on the Move: Global Flow and Contra-Flow,* London: Routledge

Additional on Globalisation, Governance and Civil Society

Anheier, H, Glasius and Kaldor, M (2001) Introduction in Anheier, H, Glasius and Kaldor, M eds. *Global Civil Society Yearbook 2001,* Oxford: Oxford University Press, pp 3-22

Beck, U (2006) *Cosmpolitan Vision,* Cambridge: Polity Press

Cerny, P, Menz, G and Soderberg, S (2005) 'Different Roads to Globalization: Neo-Liberalism, the Competition State, and Politics in a More Open World' in Soderberg, S, Menz, G and Cerny, G eds. *Internalizing Globalization: The Rise of Neo-Liberalism and the Decline of National Varieties of Capitalism,* Houndsmill, Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, pp 1-30

Dryzak, J (2006) *Deliberative Global Politics,* Cambridge: Polity

Habermas, J (2001) *The Postnational Constellation: Political Essays,* Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press

Hardt, M and Negri, A (2000) *Empire,* Cambridge, MA.: Harvard University Press

Held, D (2003) 'Cosmopolitanism: Globalisation Tamed?' in *Review of International Studies,* Vol. 29, pp 465-80

Held, D and McGrew, A eds. (2003) *The Global Transformations Reader: An Introduction to the Globalization Debate*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Keck, M and Sikkink, K (1998) *Activists Beyond Borders: Advocacy Networks in International Politics* Ithaca, New York: Cornell University Press

Ohmae, K (1995) *The End of the Nation State*, New York: Free Press

Slaughter, A (2000) 'Governing the Global Economy through Government Networks' in Byers, M ed. *The Role of Law in International Politics*, Oxford: Oxford University Press,

Strange, S (1996) *The Retreat of the State: The Diffusion of Power in the World Economy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

Additional on International Political Communication and Global Public Sphere

Cottle, S and Rai, M (2008) 'News Providers: Emissaries of Global Dominance or Global Public Sphere' in *Global Media and Communication*, Vol. 4, No. 2, pp 157-181

Downey, J and Koenig, J (2006) 'Is There a European Public Sphere? The Berlusconi-Schulz Case' in the *European Journal of Communication*, Vol. 21, No. 2, pp 165-87

Downing, J (2001) *Radical Media: Rebellious Communication and Social Movements*, London: Sage

Durham, F (2007) 'Framing the State in Globalisation: The Financial Times' Coverage of the 1997 Thai Currency Crisis' in *Critical Studies in Media Communication*, Vol. 24, No. 1, pp 57-76

Eide, E, Kunelius, R and Phillips, A eds. (2008) *Transnational Media Events: The Mohammed Cartoons and the Imagined Clash of Civilisations*, Goteborg: Nordicom

Herman, E and McChesney, R (1997) *The Global Media: The New Missionaries of Global Capitalism,* London: Cassell

Kantola, A (2006) 'On the Dark Side of Democracy: The Global Imaginary of Financial Journalism' in Cammaerts, B and Carpentier, N eds. *Reclaiming the Media: Communication, Rights and Democratic Media Roles*, Bristol: Intellect, pp 192-216

Knudsen, J (1998) 'Rebellion in Chiapas: Insurrection by Internet and Public Relations' in *Media, Culture and Society*, Vol. 20, No.3, pp 507-518

MacBride Report (1980) *Many Voices, One World: Communications and Society Today and Tomorrow*, International Commission for the Study of Communication Problems, Paris: UNESCO

McLuhan, M (1962) *The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man*, Toronto: University of Toronto Press

McNair, B (2006) *Cultural Chaos: Journalism, News and Power in a Globalised World*, London: Routledge

Rantanen, T (2005) *The Media and Globalisation*, London: Sage

Robinson, P (1999) 'The CNN Effect: Can the News Media Drive Foreign Policy?' in *Review of International Studies*, Vol. 25, pp 301-09

Schiller, H (1992) *Mass Communication and American Empire*, Boulder: Westview Press

Sreberny-Mohammadi, A (1996) 'The Global and the Local in International Communications' in Curran, J and Gurevitch, M eds., *Mass Media and Society* (2nd Edn), London: Arnold, pp 204-224

Thussu, D ed. (1998) *Electronic Empires: Global Media and Local Resistance*, London: Arnold

Tomlinson, J (1999) *Globalization and Culture*, Cambridge: Polity Press

Tunstall, J (2007) *The Media Were American: US Mass Media in Decline*, Oxford: Oxford University Press

Volkmer, I (1999) *CNN News in the Global Sphere: A Study of CNN and its Impact on Global Communication*, Luton, Beds: University of Luton Press