

# Political Communication Report

Fall 1997 Edition

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## Political Communication Panels at the 1997 APSA Annual Meeting

Panel 37-1. Campaign Strategies: Where They Come From, Why They Matter Cosponsored by Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior

Chair To be announced

Paper "Candidate Appearances and Television Advertising in the 1996 Presidential Election," Daron R. Shaw, University of Texas, Austin

Paper "Characterizing Campaigns: Differences in Maintaining and Insurgent Campaigns in Strategy and Effect," Lynn Vavreck, University of Rochester

Paper “How Do Professional Strategists Think about Voter Decision-Making?,” Alan Gerber, Yale University

Paper “Spin Doctors, Reporters, and Citizens: Implications for the Democratic Process,” Mark Fischle, Duke University, Fritz Mayer, Duke University, and Jay Hamilton, Duke University

Discussant Jonathan S. Krasno, Princeton University

Panel 37-2. Social Contexts and Networks Cosponsored by Elections, Public Opinion, and Voting Behavior

Chair To be announced

Paper To be announced

Paper “Political Discussion, Social Networks, and Vote Choice (1952-1992),” Jeffrey W. Levine, Indiana University

Paper “The Dynamics of Collective Deliberation in the 1996 Election Campaign,” Robert Huckfeldt, Indiana University

Paper “Voting in Context: Personal, Media, and Organizational Intermediaries and Political Behavior,” Paul Allen Beck, Ohio State University, and Russell J. Dalton, University of California, Irvine

Discussant To be announced

Panel 37-3. Political Communication Via the Internet Cosponsored by Computers and Multimedia

Chair Charles Mitchell, Grambling State University

Paper “Building Cyber-Age Information Bridges between Citizens and Public Agencies,” Doris Graber, University of Illinois at Chicago

Paper “Early Politics on the World Wide Web: Congress and Organized Interests on the Internet,” John Messmer, University of Missouri, Columbia

Paper “Electronic Lobbying: Interest Groups and Grassroots Mobilization,” Richard Davis, Brigham Young University

Paper “The Internet as an Alternative Means of Public Opinion Research for Non-Mainstream Populations,” Nadine Koch, Eric Schockman, University of Southern California, and Jolly Emrey,

Emory University

Discussant Michael Margolis, University of Cincinnati

Panel 37-4. Minority Politics and the Media Cosponsored by Race, Ethnicity, and Politics

Chair To be announced

Paper "Media Coverage of African Americans in Congress," Jeremy Zilber, College of William and Mary, and David Niven, Ohio State University

Paper "Million Man March: A Content Analysis of the International Press Coverage," Katina Stapleton, Duke University

Paper "Narrowing and Re-Imagining the Political Community: Elite Cutes and Media Framing of Proposition 187," Paula O'Loughlin, University of Minnesota, Morris

Paper "Rioting in Black and White: The Portrayal of Racial Unrest in the Black and Mainstream Press," Kimberly A. Gross, University of Michigan

Discussant Gadi Wolfsfeld, Hebrew University of Jerusalem

Panel 37-5. Roundtable: Assessing the Press Coverage of the 1996 Presidential Campaign

Chair Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Annenberg School

Paper "Mapping the Press and Candidate Discourse of the 1996 Campaign," Rod Hart, University of Texas, Austin

Paper "Press Coverage of the 1996 Presidential Campaign," Kathleen Hall Jamieson, Annenberg School

Respondent Lisa Myers, NBC News

Respondent Bob Schieffer, CBS News

Discussant Howard Kurtz, Washington Post

Panel 37-6. The Changing Institutional Context of Elections: A Cross-National Perspective on Media Content and Effects Cosponsored by Cosponsored by the Political Communication Research Committee of the International Political Science Association

Chair Barbara Pfetsch, Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin

Paper “For Whom the Bell Tolls: Competition for Audiences in Spain’s Election Campaigns,” Juan Diez-Nicolas, Complutense University of Madrid, and Holli A. Semetko, University of Amsterdam

Paper “Issue News and Vote Choice in a Multi-Party System,” Jan Kleinnijenhuis, Free University of Amsterdam, Dirk Ogema, Free University of Amsterdam, and Jan de Ridder, University of Amsterdam

Paper “News, ‘Infotainment’ and Media Use in the Netherlands: The Changing Campaign Information Environment,” Philip van Praag, University of Amsterdam, Kees Brants, University of Amsterdam, and Peter Neijens, University of Amsterdam

Paper “Old Values versus News Values: The Media in the 1997 British General Election Campaign,” Margaret Scammell, University of Liverpool

Discussant David Swanson, University of Illinois

Panel 37-7. New Media Institutions for a New Century: Toward Understanding Public Policy toward the News

Chair Timothy Cook, Williams College

Paper “Policy Implications of an Institutional Media,” Bartholomew Sparrow, University of Texas, Austin

Paper “Television Broadcasters as Political Actors: The Case of the Telecommunications Act of 1996,” James Snider, Northwestern University, and Benjamin Page, Northwestern University

Paper “The ‘Fourth Branch’ and the First Amendment: News Subsidies Past, Present, and Future,” Timothy Cook, Williams College

Discussant Thomas Patterson, Kennedy School of Government

Panel 37-8. Explaining Patterns of News Coverage

Chair To be announced

Paper “Corporate Ownership and Media Content: Newspaper Coverage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act,” Martin Gilens, Yale University

Paper “Human Rights Coverage by the Electronic Media,” Mark P. Gibney, Purdue University

Paper “Look Who’s Talking: Elite Interest Group Dominance of the News,” A. Trevor Thrall, University of Michigan

Paper “The Origins of Feminist Identity in Shared Beliefs and Common Social Characteristics,” Leonie Huddy, SUNY, Stony Brook

Discussant David L. Paletz, Duke University

Panel 37-9. Information, Communication, and Public Opinion: The Question of Quality

Chair Barry J. Balleck, Georgia Southern University

Paper “Communication Across Lines of Difference: Social Context and the Public Sphere,” Diana C. Mutz, University of Wisconsin, Madison, and Paul Martin, University of Wisconsin, Madison

Paper “Leaders and Followers? The Media, Political Institutions, and Policy Deliberation,” Christopher J. Mackie-Lewis, Princeton University

Paper “News Coverage of the Presidential Campaign: What Do Citizens Want to Know?,” Donna Wasserman, University of Michigan, Dearborn

Paper “On Public Opinion and Leadership: Views from the 1996 Convention Delegates,” Robert Eisinger, Lewis and Clark College, and Susan Herbst, Northwestern University

Discussant Martin Gilens, Yale University

Panel 37-10. Media Campaigns: Strategies and Consequences

Chair Karen M. Kedrowski, Winthrop University

Paper “A Theory of Media Politics,” John Zaller, UCLA

Paper “Cable Television, Local Media Markets, and the ‘Post-Network’ Trends in Campaign Advertisements of the 1990s,” Patrick Novotny, Georgia Southern University

Paper “Journalists’ Decision-Making and the Message,” Barbara Trish, Grinnell College, Department of Political Science

Paper “The Struggle for Control over the News Media’s Agenda: How Candidates Influence the Content and Tone of News Coverage,” Kim Kahn, Arizona State University, and Patrick J. Kenney, Arizona State University

Discussant Stephen C. Craig, University of Florida

Panel 37-11. Political Advertising

Chair Arthur Sanders, Drake University

Paper “Message and Strategy in Television Political Advertising,” Stephen C. Brooks, University of Akron, and Marilyn Roberts, University of Florida

Paper “Newspaper Adwatches and the Less Experienced Voter,” Jennifer Greer, University of Nevada, Reno

Paper “Political Advertising and the Illinois Press,” Andrew McNitt, Eastern Illinois University

Paper “The Effectiveness of Negative Political Advertisements,” Lee Sigelman, George Washington University, Richard R. Lau, Rutgers University, Caroline Heldman, Rutgers University, and Paul Babbitt, Rutgers University

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Discussant Shanto Iyengar, UCLA

## Minutes of the ICA Political Communication Division Montreal Meeting

The meeting was conducted by Wolfgang Donsbach. It was announced that there had been a slight increase in the membership of the division over the past year. Susan Herbst announced that the acceptance rate of papers for the Montreal conference was 42 percent and that the process of acceptance had become more competitive in recent years. A discussion ensued about whether there were too many papers on each panel since presentations tended to be quite short. One proposal was a limit of three papers on a panel. There was also a general discussion on the tardiness of publication and mailing of the preliminary program. Some present suggested the printed preliminary program should be replaced by a Web version. Others, however, favored maintaining a printed program with an earlier printing in time for all members to receive it before leaving to attend the conference. Rod Hart gave a report for the ICA Board of Trustees meeting. The two site options the board is considering for the 1999 ICA meeting are San Diego and San Francisco. There are two new divisions within the ICA--Public Relations and Popular Communication. The ICA Board has lowered the threshold for division creation from 200 members to 150. The ICA Board considered moving the national office to Washington, D.C., but decided against it. After Rod Hart’s report, a general discussion ensued about division policy concerning

acceptance of completed papers rather than paper proposals. The policy of completed papers will be continued. The deadline for submission for the next ICA meeting in Jerusalem is November 1.

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## 1997 SCA/NCA Political Communication Division Program in Chicago

You are most cordially invited to participate in the 1997 SCA Political Communication Division program which will be held in Chicago, November 20-23, 1997, at the Chicago Hilton & Towers. Twenty-one refereed and theme panels, as well as two poster sessions, are planned, representing a variety of theoretical and methodological approaches. There are seven hundred and eighty members of the SCA Political Communication Division. This year division member Judith S. Trent, as SCA/NCA president, presides over a diverse communication organization whose name will change on January 1, 1998 from Speech Communication Association, to National Communication Association. Major panels include: Political Communication: The State of the Field (Roundtable) Chair: Kathleen E. Kendall, University at Albany, SUNY Participants: Kurt Ritter, Texas A&M University Susan Herbst, Northwestern University Bruce E. Gronbeck, University of Iowa Michael Pfau, University of Wisconsin-Madison Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois-Chicago Media Frames and Their Effects on Political Discourse and Public Opinion Chair and Respondent: Doris A. Graber, University of Illinois, Chicago

Debate Watching: Form and Function of the 1996 Debates Chair: Diana P. Carlin, University of Kansas Respondent: Mari Boor Tonn, University of New Hampshire

Findings from the Campaign Mapping Project Chair: Montague Kern, Rutgers University Patterns of Argument in American Politics Kathleen Hall Jamieson, University of Pennsylvania Patterns of Style in American Politics Roderick P. Hart, University of Texas at Austin

The Rhetoric of Change: Social Movements and Press Portrayals Chair: Christ'l De Landtsheer, University of Amsterdam Respondent: Deborah C. Robson, Syracuse University

Gender and Political Communication Chair: Barbara J. Walkosz, Montana State University-Billings Respondent: Dianne Bystrom, Carrie Center for Women and Politics, Iowa State University The Political Logics of Soundbite Argument Chair: David H. Cheshier, Georgia State University Respondent: Herbert W. Simons, Temple University

The Racial Divide in American Politics and Society: The Role and Responsibility of the Press Chair: Che Baysinger, Rutgers University Presentations: Keith Reeves, John F. Kennedy School of Government, Harvard University Carol Conaway, College of the Holy Cross Respondent: Marion Just, Wellesley College and Harvard University

The Public Sphere in Contemporary Democracy: Assessment and Interpretation Chair: Ellen Reid Gold, University of Kansas Respondent: G. Thomas Goodnight, Northwestern University

Electronic Election: Diverse Media, Diverse Methods Chair: Mitchell McKinney, University of Oklahoma Respondent: Lynda Lee Kaid, University of Oklahoma The Cold War as Bequest: From Ancestor to Descendant Chair: Edward M. Panetta, University of Georgia Respondent: Ralph B. Levering, Davidson College

Political Cartoons: Communication With a Bite Chair and Respondent: Bonnie Clark, St. Petersburg Junior College, Clearwater

New Approaches Linking Rhetoric and Communication Theory Chair: Gary C. Woodward, The College of New Jersey Respondent: Benjamin Fisher, Rowan University of New Jersey Dialogue or Diatribe? Citizen and Official Discourse in Western Deliberative Democracies Chair: Theodore O. Windt, University of Pittsburg Respondent: Moya A. Ball, Trinity University

The American First Lady in the Media Age: Performance, Presentations and Perceptions Chair and Respondent: Marilyn Roberts, University of Florida Building the Rhetorical Bridge to the 21st Century: A Roundtable Chair: Janette K. Muir George Mason University Delia B. Conti, Pennsylvania State University, McKeesport Robert E. Denton, Jr., Virginia Technical University Henry E. Kenski, University of Arizona Craig A. Smith, University of North Carolina, Greensboro Rita Kirk Whillock, Southern Methodist University The Changing Face of Terrorism: New Threats of the 21st Century Chair: Darin Klein, Georgia State University Respondent: Cori Dauber, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill

Dimensions of Presidential Leadership: Studies of the Rhetorical Dimensions of Ideology, Morality and Context Chair: Craig A. Smith, University of North Carolina, Greensboro Respondent: Robert L. Ivie, Indiana University 1996 Political Ads, Ad Watches and Assessments of the Political Process Chair: Jean DeHart, Appalachian State University Respondent: Susan A. Hellweg, University of Southern California

How Citizens Used Traditional Media and Worldwide Web Sites in 1996 Election Campaigns Chair: John Peterson, Rutgers University Respondent: Lawrence J. Mullen, University of Nevada

Best Student Papers in Political Communication Chair: John C. Pollock, The College of New Jersey Respondents: Robert H. Gobetz, University of Indianapolis Vincent Fitzgerald, College of Mt. St. Vincent

For more information contact SCA, 5105 Backlick Rd., Building #E, Annandale VA 22003 Phone 703-750-0533 (<http://ww/scassn.org>) or Montague Kern, Rutgers, 4 Huntington Street, New Brunswick, NJ, 08903 ([mkern.scils.rutgers.edu](mailto:mkern.scils.rutgers.edu))

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# Survey Course Sample Syllabi

Syllabus construction usually is a solitary task based on graduate course syllabi or text formats. Since readers of PCR might be interested in knowing how others who teach Political Communication courses approach the subject, sample syllabi are provided herein. These samples come from course web sites. If others would be willing to share copies of their syllabi, I would be happy to post them on the newsletter's web site. Please send an electronic version preferably in either html format or WordPerfect 7.0 to richard\_davis@byu.edu or, by regular mail, to Richard Davis 745 SWKT Department of Political Science, Brigham Young University, Provo, UT 84602.

## Political Science 171: Politics and Communication

Brought to you by **Robin P. Datta** and The Department of Political Science University of California at Santa Barbara Office: South Hall 6432-S Office hours: MW 9:30 am-11:00 am in SH Office; TR 9:30 am-11:00 am @ IV Roma; by appointment and by Email. Phone: 562-5290 Email: datta@alishaw.ucsb.edu Web Site: <http://www.sscf.ucsb.edu/~datta>

**Shortcuts:** If you are interested in seeing what we will be doing in this class and what the course philosophy is then read: An Introductory Paragraph of Sorts and the Goals of this Course. I am experimenting with the incorporation of central data distribution points. For more on this please read The Role of Email and The Political Science 171 Website. You will also want to check out the Pols 171 Information Center, which is where all of the information is going to go.

**The Class Schedule:** This is how this class is going to flow, or not flow as the case may be. During week one we will be covering some concepts essential to the study of politics and the media (such as power, communication, and culture) as well as trying to get a handle on the confusion that surrounds the study of the media's role in contemporary politics (there are way too many ways of look'n at things!). We will do all of this despite the break for our yearly celebration of nationalism. During week two we will look at the media as a pluralist institution or instrument of hegemony. That is, how do liberals and radicals look at the media. We will continue this inquiry into week three and then introduce the legitimacy crisis critique and the public sphere argument. Along the way we will examine the development of the dominant forms of media. Part two of the course will be spent looking at cases which problematize the media's role in the representation of political events. During week four we will look at the role that television played in the 1991 Persian Gulf War and the LA uprising/rebellion/riots. Week five will see us looking at the media and its effects upon electoral politics and presidential news. Finally, during week six we will examine the latest information technologies as media, and consider the changes that they will bring, or have brought, to contemporary American politics. Whew! What a tall order! Ever feel like you are on a bus that is going down the Grapevine and then all of a sudden the

brakes fail....

**The Pols 171 Information Center:** This is the bit that I hope grows and grows. I will be posting Weekly Lecture Summaries. It might also be neat for you to post questions about or discussions about the class materials and lectures. That way everyone in the class can have access to them. Of course you will be able to get your exams and paper topics from the Examinations page. To help in researching and other such scholarly activities here are some Media Resources to which you can transport yourself. If you come across interesting sites in your travels please let me know and we can link this page to others. Naturally, I always find things of interest, especially when they deal with topics that we discuss in class. So here is a link to a page of Supplemental Readings.

**An introductory paragraph of sorts:** The study of the media and its relationship to politics is, in essence, an investigation of the creation of the information society. Information and the various industries that create, gather, and disseminate it, have become the means by which our social and political structures are maintained, managed, and given legitimacy. This realization problematizes the more 'traditional' views of the media as mere entertainment or as the product of liberal-democratic politics. If we accept the challenge presented by linking the media with the legitimation process, it is insufficient to dismiss the media, as media critic Todd Gitlin does, as "an industry that devotes hundreds of millions of dollars to the production of Junk Food for the mind." Rather, the media's role is deeply related to societal stability in ways that go beyond simple manipulation. The media helps us to orient ourselves, and our society, in the disorienting world of seemingly ever expanding information and threat. In the words of Cedric Robinson, "the media are industries which determine and contour tolerable information. That is, they 'help' us to remember what is past and to anticipate what is to come."

**Course structure and goals:** This class will be divided into two sections. The first is a discussion of fundamental concepts and theories which have been applied to the role that the media plays in politics. In this section we shall focus on the media as an institution and critique both liberal and radical thinking on the media's role. In the second, via case study, we shall ask how the media is changing politics and is being changed by politics in light of shifts in the realm of political action. It is my hope that you will leave this class with a better understanding of the media's complex societal role and that you will begin to approach what you see in the media more critically.

**The Role of Email and The Political Science 171 Web site:** I shall be holding virtual office hours in addition to my "real" ones. Each one of you should have an email account already. If you have questions or comments and cannot meet me in my office or at Roma, feel free to submit questions via email. You may also elect to submit your exams via email as well. If you do not have an account, sign up for one at the Micro Computer Lab (Phelps Hall 1521, 893-3002) as soon as possible. You will be able to access course materials (weekly lecture summaries, exam questions and submission guidelines, supplemental readings, and links to media research resources) via the Pols 171 Website. The MCL or the Social Science Computing Facility (SSCF, 2626 Ellison Hall, 893-2349) have various web-readers available (Mosaic, Netscape, Lynx etc.). It is in your best interest to acquaint yourself with these new resources. I hope that this web site becomes a dynamic document to which you contribute. The web site's Uniform

Resource Locator (URL) is: <http://www.sscf.ucsb.edu/~datta/pols171/pols171.html>

If you are intimidated by computers or need some help with email or web navigation and manipulation please feel free to see me in the SSCF on Tuesday and Thursday afternoons from 1-5 pm. Of course, if you are reading this here page then you probably aren't in need of this. But visit me anyway! I need the company....

**Grades:** Your final course grade will be based upon three factors: 1) a take home mid-term examination (40%); 2) a take home final examination (50%); and 3) class participation (10%). All of your written work should clearly and carefully consider the questions presented to you. That these papers should be typed, fully cited, and well edited is without question. The exam questions will be “published” on the 171 web site approximately a week in advance. Since you will have the questions in advance, late papers will not be accepted except under the most urgent of circumstances.

**Required Reading:** Downing, Mohammadi, and Sreberney-Mohammadi, *Questioning the Media: A Critical Introduction*, (Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications, 1995). ISBN: 0-8039-7196-6

A required reader is available from The Alternative in Isla Vista and Santa Barbara (955 Embarcadero del Mar, Suite F, Isla Vista (968-1055).

### **Class and Reading Schedule:**

Week One: Provocations, Confusions, Power, and Communications

6/26-Introductions 6/27-Journalism As A Liberal Pluralist Institution. 6/28-Liberal Journalism Problematic: The Role of Power, Propaganda, and Political Communication in Liberal Politics. 6/29-Discussion.

Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson, “The Psychology of Everyday Persuasion” in *Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion*, (W.H. Freeman and Company: New York, 1992). 1-39. Jacques Ellul, “Preface.” and “Propaganda and Democracy” in *Propaganda: The Formation of Men’s Attitudes*, (Vintage Books: New York, 1965). ix-xviii, 232-257. Downing, Mohammadi, and Sreberney-Mohammadi (D, M, S-M): Preface, Part One (xv-75).

Week Two: Pluralism or Hegemony?

7/3-No class. (Please use this time wisely!) 7/4- No class. 7/5-The Problematic Continues: The Hegemony Critique. 7/6-The Development Of Media As Capitalist Institution.

D, M, S-M: Chapters 5, 7, 8, 11, 19 Calvin Exoo, *The Politics of The Mass Media*, (Los Angeles: West Publishing Company, 1994), 2-43.

## Week Three: Pluralism, Hegemony, and the Public Sphere

7/10-Radio and TV: The Twins of Hegemony. 7/11-The Hegemony Critique Problematicized. 7/12-Critical Media Theory Moves On: Habermas And The Legitimacy Crisis. 7/13- Discussion

Daniel Hallin, "American Journalism And The Public Sphere," "The American News Media: A Critical Theory Perspective," "The Media, The War In Vietnam, And Political Support: A Critique Of The Thesis Of An Oppositional Media," and "We Keep America On Top Of The World: TV News In The Age Of Reagan," in *We Keep America On Top Of The World: Television Journalism And The Public Sphere*, (New York: Routledge, 1994) 1-17, 18-39, 40-57, and 86-112.

## Week Four: Television, War, and Other Disasters

7/17-News And The Myth Of Public Stability. 7/18-The Gulf War. 7/19-Oklahoma City, The La Riots, The Northridge Earthquake And Other Disasters. 7/20-Guest Speaker: Elizabeth Robinson on "Arabs And Other Villains: Racism's Role In Disaster Reportage."

D, M, S-M: Chapter 20 Tom Engelhardt, "The War as Total Television," in Jeffords and Rabinovitz, ed., *Seeing Through the Media: The Persian Gulf War* (New Brunswick, New Jersey: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 81-97. Hakan Hvitfelt, "The Dramaturgy of War: Notes on the Gulf War and the Media," in *The Nordicom Review of Nordic Mass Communication Research*, No. 2, 1992. 47-60. Patricia Williams, "The Rule Of The Game," in Robert Gooding-Williams, ed., *Reading Rodney King: Reading Urban Uprising*, (New York: Routledge, 1993) 51-55. Kimberl Crenshaw and Gary Peller, "Reel Time/Real Justice," in Robert Gooding-Williams, ed., *Reading Rodney King: Reading Urban Uprising*, (New York: Routledge, 1993) 56-70. Mark Schubb, "Race, Lies & Videotape: The L.A. Upheaval And The Media," *Extra! "Focus on Racism in the Media"* July/August 1992 Vol. 5, No. 5, 8-11.

## Week Five: Assassination or Exaltation?

7/24-Getting To Be A President: Media Effects On Campaign Strategies. 7/25-What To Do To Manage News (or How To Be Presidential?) 7/26-Presidential Rhetoric, The Press, and Crises. 7/27- Discussion.

D, M, S-M: Chapter 6 Calvin Exoo, "Selling Ourselves Short: The Politics Of Advertising," in *The Politics Of Mass Media*, (Los Angeles: West Publishing Company, 1994) 257-299. John Anthony Maltese, "Introduction," "Origins Of The Office Of Communications," and "The Bush and Clinton Years," in *Spin Control: The White House Office Of Communications And The Management Of Presidential News*, (Chapel Hill: North Carolina University Press, 1994) 1-12, 13-27, and 215-239. Jim Naureckas, "Unfair To Bush? Unfair To Clinton? Campaign Coverage Was Unfair To Voters," *EXTRA!* Vol. 5, no. 8: 5-6, 17. Justin Lewis and Michael Morgan, "Issues, Images & Impact: A FAIR Survey Of Voter's Knowledge," *EXTRA!* Vol. 5, no. 8: 7-10.

## Week Six: Interactive Information Technologies and Public Spheres

7/31-Interactive Technologies: New Realms Of Action Or Panoptic Sort? 8/01-Guest Discussant: Elizabeth Robinson on “Resistance Radio and New Public Spheres.” 8/02-Review Day. 8/03- Last Day of Class.

D, M, S-M: Chapters 14, 15, 16, 17, 21 or 25 Larry Smith, “Hate Talk: Talk Radio That’s All Right, All The Time,” EXTRA! Vol. 8:23. Robin Anderson, “That’s Entertainment: How “Reality-Based” Crime Shows Market Police Brutality,” EXTRA! Vol. 7, no. 3: 15-16.

## **Political Science 243: Mass Media and Politics**

**Dr. Stephanie Larsen**, Dickinson College

### **Books:**

Graber, Doris. 1997. *Mass Media and American Politics* (5th Edition). Washington D.C.: Congressional Quarterly Press.

Bennett, Lance W. 1996. *News: The Politics of Illusion* (3rd Edition). New York: Longman Press.

Patterson, Thomas E. 1993. *Out of Order*. New York: Knopf.

**Grades:** Test #1--20% (Feb 25) Test #2--20% (April 15) Final--20% (May 13) Attendance/ Participation--15% Pair Paper--25% (April 25)

**Exams:** Exams are long, difficult, and comprehensive. They include questions which ask you to repeat material given to you in class and in the readings. Answers are graded by awarding points for mentioning specifics, not for being generally well written or not blatantly incorrect. Makeups are rare and must be arranged prior to the exam. Medical excuses must be documented. It is important that you attend class to do well on the tests because you are responsible for material in the videos shown. These videos are not available for viewing outside of class.

**Attendance/Participation:** It’s important to come to class to do well on the paper and the exams. The lecture material and the reading material overlap topically but do not sufficiently replace each other. In addition, the attendance/participation grade is a way to “bring up” your overall grade. All you can get a good grade here. Participating in class discussion can help make up for some (but not too many) missed classes.

**Paper:** The paper is a content analysis which requires an understanding of content analysis which I will go over on Feb. 27 (when pairs are picked). It would not be a good idea to miss this day of class. The

paper is due on April 25. Since this is early and the paper is different than any you have had before, you need to start it in March so that there will be time for me to respond to specific questions and problems you have. Leave time to work through these problems.

**Class Material:**

Jan. 23 Introduction to Class Jan.

28 Historical Overview Graber Ch. 1

Jan. 30 News Selection: Government Graber Ch. 3

Feb. 4-6 News Selection: Audience Bennett Ch. 1-2

Feb. 11 News Selection: Organization Graber Ch. 4

Feb. 17 Special Event: Kathleen Hall Jamieson

Feb. 18 No Class (Instead you need to attend the PAS speech the night before)

Feb. 20 News Selection: Bias? Bennett Ch. 5 Feb.

25 Test #1 (Covers seven lectures, one speaker, and eight chapters)

Feb. 27 Paper preparation: Content Analysis Wimmer/Dominick Note: This material will not be on the test (on reserve)

March 4 Content: Crisis Coverage Graber Ch. 5

March 6-13 Content: Foreign News, War and Terrorism Graber Ch. 11

March 18-20 SPRING BREAK (you might want to tape your news shows for your paper)

March 25 Content: Coverage of Courts Graber Ch. 10

March 27 No Class (I'm at a conference)

April 1-3 Content: Coverage of the President Graber Ch. 9 (pp. 269-287)

April 8 Content: Watergate Graber Ch. 6

April 10 Content: Coverage of Congress Graber Ch. 9 (pp. 288-305)

April 15 Test #2 (Covers nine lectures and five chapters)

April 17-24 Election Coverage Graber Ch. 8 (pp. 228-257) Patterson

April 29-May 1 Coverage Impact Graber Ch. 7, 8 (remaining part) & Bennett Ch. 6-7

May 13, 9am Final Exam (Covers five lectures and ten chapters)

This schedule is subject to change.

J520 -- Press and Government Relations, 1996 Instructor: Dr. Dorothy Bowles, University of Tennessee Knoxville Phone: 974-4454 or 974-5155 (office) 588-6793 (home) E-mail: bowles@utk.edu Home Page: <http://excellent.utk.com.edu/~bowles>

**COURSE DESCRIPTION:** This seminar examines the relationships between the mass media and government and the role of the mass media in a democratic society. The work of public relations practitioners in election campaigns and in government information offices, as well as media use of public relations materials, will be examined. Topics to be covered during the fall 1996 semester are campaign coverage and media use by political candidates, media coverage of the military, both during peacetime and war, coverage of the White House and executive branch agencies, the courts, Congress, and special interest groups. Problems concerning press access to government information and public access to the media also will be considered. This semester, more than usual attention will be given to media coverage of presidential campaigns. The course will be conducted as a seminar, which means active involvement of seminar participants and a minimum of lecture from the instructor.

**TEXTBOOKS:** Richard Davis, *The Press and American Politics: The New Mediator*, 2nd edition, Prentice Hall, 1996. Matthew Robert Kerbel, *Remote & Controlled: Media Politics in a Cynical Age*, Westview Press, 1995. *1-800-PRESIDENT: The Report of the Twentieth Century Fund Task Force on Television and the Campaign of 1992*, The Twentieth Century Fund Press, 1993.

**NEWSPAPERS / MAGAZINES:** No subscriptions will be required this semester, but you will need access to the New York Times and/or news magazines for selected weeks immediately before Election Day.

**INTERNET:** If you do not already have one, you should get a CAFE account immediately. Subscribe to the class discussion list J520-L. To subscribe: 1. Send an e-mail message to [LISTSERV@UTKVM1.UTK.EDU](mailto:LISTSERV@UTKVM1.UTK.EDU) 2. Leave the subject line blank. 3. In the body of the message, type **SUBSCRIBE J520-L** [your first and last name] You should check your e-mail for material concerning this class at least twice a week.

**COURSE REQUIREMENTS:** 5% Class participation, as evidence of having read assignments. This assumes on-time attendance. Evidence of participation will be oral contributions, especially during seminar 15% Focus papers over textbook assignments for sessions when you have no other written assignment--more explanation to be given 25% Written and oral summaries and commentaries of journal articles (several times during the semester); one Internet assignment. [on weeks you have these assignments, post them to J520-L no later than 7 p.m. on the Monday before class on Tuesday] 25% Two written and oral book reports. A list of books will be provided. Other books are acceptable, but talk with me first if you want to read something not on the list. Select your books as soon as possible. No more than one person can report on a particular book. Send e-mail to J520 to indicate your choices. 15% Mid-term exam [NOTE: Whether we have a midterm exam depends on performance of every student during the first half of the term. If we don't have a single slackard in the seminar, we will probably omit the midterm exam, which will mean moving assignments for weeks 9, 10 and 11 ahead one week each so that we can do something different for Election Night on Nov. 5.] 15% Final exam (take home or modified take-home exam) \* If no mid-term exam is given, these assignments will increase 5 percent each. \* Students taking the seminar for Ph.D. credit will be expected to prepare two reports (written and oral, about 20 minutes each) on topics related to the course, using several sources other than those listed as additional readings in the list below. Examples are topics like right-wing movements (or other social movements), influence of talk radio, efforts to interest youth in government, political activities of religious groups, SLAPPS suits, descriptions of specific public journalism projects, etc. These reports will be scheduled for presentation during the seminar session most relevant to the topic, so decide your topics within the first couple of weeks. Talk with me or send e-mail as soon as you decide, so we can determine the most appropriate date. These reports will count 15 percent toward your final grade, so the focus papers will count 5 percent less and the article summaries/commentaries will each count 10 percent less than indicated above. It is permissible to select topics related to the books you select for your book reports. No formal research paper or proposal is required this semester, but one or both of these assignments might become literature reviews and background for future research papers.

**TENTATIVE SCHEDULE:** (Items will be added from time to time to the additional readings part of the list.)

Week 1 -- Aug. 27 Introductions; Syllabus; Sign up for CAFE account; Subscribe to J520-L

Week 2--Sept. 3: Historical Overview of Press Coverage of Politics/Government

Read: Davis: Ch. 2: Colonial America to 1830: The Partisan Press, Ch. 3: Post-1830: The Penny Press, Yellow Journalism, and Political Independence, Ch. 4: The Twentieth Century: The Rise of Broadcasting, Media Conglomerates, and the New Journalism. Kerbel: Chapter 2: Two Hundred Years of Politics and Reporting. Additional Reading: W. Lance Bennett, Origins of the New American Politics, chapter 4 in *The Governing Crisis: Media, Money and Marketing in American Elections*, 2nd edition, 1996. Mathew D. McCubbins, Party Decline and Presidential Campaigns in the Television Age, Chapter 1 in McCubbins (ed.) *Under the Watchful Eye: Managing Presidential Campaigns in the Television Era*, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992. From Cronkites Complaint to Orwells Oversight,

Chapter 1 in Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*, 2nd edition, St. Martins Press, 1993. Barry A. Hollander, *Talk Radio: Predictors of Use and Effects on Attitudes about Government, Journalism and Mass Communications Quarterly* (Spring 1996), pp. 102-113. These selections (8 to 10 pages each) from *Media Studies Journal*, issue titled *Media and Democracy*, Summer 1995 (If unavailable at library, I have a copy) : *Media and Democracy*, Leo Bogart *New Roles for New Times?* Denis McQuail *Creating Public Knowledge*, Michael Schudson Stephen Bates, *Realigning Journalism with Democracy: The Hutchins Commission, Its Times, and Ours*, Washington, D.C.: The Annenberg Washington Program in Communications Policy Studies of Northwestern University, 1995.

Week 3--Sept. 10: Models of Press-Government Relationships; Press Freedom and Democracy

Read: Davis: Introduction: Assumptions about Media Power Ch. 1: Communications Revolution, Ch. 5: The Global Perspective, Ch. 6: Regulating the Press. Additional Reading: *The Media Fight the Red Menace*, Chapter 8 in Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*, 2nd edition, St. Martins Press, 1993. Larry J. Sabato, *Open Season: How the News Media Cover Presidential Campaigns in the Age of Attack Journalism*, Chapter 4 in Mathew D. McCubbins (ed.) *Under the Watchful Eye: Managing Presidential Campaigns in the Television Era*, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992. From *Censored: The News That Didn't Make the News and Why: The 1996 Project Censored Yearbook*, read the introduction by Walter Cronkite and Chapter 1 by Carl Jensen, director of Project Censored. (AS LEAD IN TO NEXT SESSION) W. Lance Bennett, *Inside the Profession: Objectivity and Other Double Standards*, Chapter 5 in *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 3rd edition, 1996.

Week 4--Sept. 17: Profiles of Journalists; News Makers and News Gathering Routines

Read: Davis: Ch. 7: Who Are the News Media?, Ch. 8: News Gathering, Ch. 9: News Making. Additional Reading: *Freedom of the Press Belongs to the Man Who Owns One, and Who Controls the News*, Chapters 2 and 3 in Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*, 2nd edition, St. Martins Press, 1993. W. Lance Bennett, *News Content: Messages for the Masses*, Chapter 2 in *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 3rd edition, 1996. W. Lance Bennett, *How Politicians Make the News*, Chapter 3 in *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 3rd edition, 1996. W. Lance Bennett, *How Journalists Report the News*, Chapter 4 in *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 3rd edition, 1996.

Week 5--Sept. 24: Media Electoral Roles and Media-Based Campaigns

Read: Davis: Ch. 12: Media Electoral Roles, Ch. 13: Media-Based Campaigns. Kerbel: Ch. 3: *A War of Words: Coverage of Politics and the Politics of Coverage*. 1-800-President: Jamieson essay and Auletta essay. Additional Reading: Stephen J. Wayne, *The Campaign: Organization, Strategy and Tactics*, Chapter 6 in *The Road to the White House, 1966: The Politics of Presidential Elections*, St. Martins Press, 1996. W. Lance Bennett, *Wait! Hasn't It Always Been Like This?* Chapter 5 and *The Big Buydown: Media, Money, and Marketing at Work*, Chapter 6 in *The Governing Crisis: Media, Money and Marketing in American Elections*, 2nd edition, 1996. John H. Aldrich, *Presidential Campaigns in Party- and Candidate-Centered Eras*, Chapter 2 in Mathew D. McCubbins (ed.) *Under the Watchful Eye:*

Managing Presidential Campaigns in the Television Era, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992. F. Christopher Arterton, The Persuasive Art in Politics: The Role of Paid Advertising in Presidential Campaigns, Chapter 3 in Mathew D. McCubbins (ed.) Under the Watchful Eye: Managing Presidential Campaigns in the Television Era, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992. Lori Melton McKinnon, L.L. Kaid, J. Murphy and C. K. Acree, Policing Political Ads: An Analysis of Five Leading Newspapers Responses to 1992 Political Advertisements, in Journalism and Mass Communications Quarterly (Spring 1996), pp. 66-76. Hallin, Daniel C., Sound Bite News: Television Coverage of Elections, 1968-1988, Journal of Communication 42 (Spring 1992): 5-23. (readings for two people) from Lemert, James B. et. al. News Verdicts, the Debates, and Presidential Campaigns, 1991. [ON RESERVE AT HODGES] (1) Network Television News Coverage of the Debates: 1976 to 1988 and Candidate Verdicts in Post-Debate Analysis Programs, pp. 39-79. (2) Journalists and the Idea of Presidential Debates, pp. 81-108 and Debates in the Context of the Rest of the Campaign, pp. 239-251. Gary L. Rose, (ed.) Controversial Issue in Presidential Selection. 1991. [ON RESERVE AT HODGES] (1) Do the Media Inform? pp. 107-130. (2) Should Campaign Commercials Be Regulated? pp. 131-153.

Week 6--Oct. 1: Media Electoral Roles and Media-Based Campaigns (continued)

Read: Kerbel: Ch. 5. 1-800-President: Patterson essay Report of the Task Force, pp. 3-31. First Campaign Watch assignment due Additional Reading: Samuel L. Popkin, Campaigns That Matter, Chapter 5 in Mathew D. McCubbins (ed.) Under the Watchful Eye: Managing Presidential Campaigns in the Television Era, Congressional Quarterly Press, 1992. W. Lance Bennett, Reversing the Decline by Reforming the System, Chapter 10 in The Governing Crisis: Media, Money and Marketing in American Elections, 2nd edition, 1996. From Media Studies Journal, issue titled Media and Public Life, A Retrospective, Winter 1995: Maureen Dowd, Requiem for the Boys on the Bus, pp. 45- 48. Reuven Frank, Let's Put on a Convention, pp. 101-108. Frank Mankiewicz, Can the Media Tame the Outsiders? (And Can the Outsiders Tame the Media), Media Studies Journal, issue titled The Presidency in the New Media Age, Spring 1994, pp. 6-19. Chautauqua: Are Media News Spectacles Perverting Our Political Processes? Communication Monographs, 59 (1992), 395-420. Arterton, F.C. The Media Politics of Presidential Campaigns: A Study of the Carter Nomination Drive, in Race for the Presidency: The Media and the Nomination Process, J. D. Barber (ed.) Englewood Cliffs, N.J.: Prentice- Hall, 1978. [ON RESERVE AT HODGES] Cohen, Jeremy and Robert G. Davis, Third-Person Effects and the Differential Impact in Negative Political Advertising, Journalism Quarterly, 68 (1991), pp. 680-688. Drew, Dan and David Weaver, Voter Learning in the 1988 Presidential Election: Did the Debates and the Media Matter? Journalism Quarterly, 68 (1991), pp. 27-37. In the Freedom Forum Media Studies Center, Covering the Presidential Primaries, (one of a series of reports on Campaign '92): pp. 35-47 on Video Sources in the Newsroom and Covering the Campaign Via Satellite. pp. 47-62 on The Public Opinion Beat and What the Polls Say about Campaign Coverage pp. 73-83, The Media Scoreboard: Experts Assess Campaign '92 Coverage (summarize main ideas of the participants in this discussion, but don't bother with attributing ideas to specific individuals) OKeefe, M.T. and L. Sheinkopf, The Voter Decides: Candidate Images or Campaign Issues? Journal of Broadcasting 40 (1976), pp. 304-319. Patterson, Thomas E., The Press and Its Missed Assignment, in The Elections of 1988, edited by Michael Nelson, Washington: CQ Press, 1989.

## Week 7--Oct. 8: Media Impact on Public Attitudes about Government and Politics

Read: Kerbel: Ch. 1, Introduction: Under the President's Clothes, Davis: Ch. 10, The Interactive Audience, Ch. 11, The Effects of Political Participation and Voting. Additional Reading: Herbert J. Gans, Bystanders as Opinion Makers--A Bottoms-Up Perspective, *Media Studies Journal*, issue titled *Media and Public Life, A Retrospective*, Winter 1995, pp. 93-100. These selections from *Politics and the Media* by Richard Davis, Prentice Hall, 1994: Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Berelson, Bernard, and Gaudet, Hazel, *The People's Choice*, pp. 133-141. Iyengar, Shanto and Kinder, Donald R., *News That Matters*, pp. 148-154. Noelle-Newmann, Elisabeth, *The Spiral of Silence*, pp. 155-163.

Week 8--Oct. 15: Midterm Exam NOTE: Whether we have a midterm exam depends on performance of every student during the first half of the term. If we don't have a single slackard in the seminar, we will probably omit the midterm exam, which will mean moving assignments for weeks 9, 10 and 11 ahead one week each so that we can do something different for Nov. 5 (Election Night).

## Week 9--Oct. 22: Coverage of the Presidency

Read: Kerbel: Ch. 4, Presidential Governance and Other Fantasies. Davis: Ch. 14. Additional Reading: Robert MacNeil, *The Flickering Images that May Drive Presidents*, *Media Studies Journal*, issue titled *Media and Public Life, A Retrospective*, Winter 1995, pp. 121-130. These selections from *Media Studies Journal*, issue titled *The Presidency in the New Media Age*, Spring 1994: Thomas E. Patterson, *Legitimate Beef--The Presidency and a Carnivorous Press*, pp. 21-26. *Assessing the Press and Clinton in the New Media Age: An Expert Roundtable*, pp. 27-41 Mark A. Thalhimer, *Adventures in Ideospace: The Electronic Age Comes to 1600 Pennsylvania Ave.*, pp. 139-143. Michael Nelson, *Why the Press Exalts Presidential Power*, pp. 155-162. *Stranded Outside the Inner Sanctum: A Conversation with the White House Press Corps*, pp. 163-175. Michael X. Delli Carpini, *Critical Symbiosis -- Three Themes on President-Press Relations*, pp. 185-197.

## Week 10--Oct. 29: The Media and Congress

Read: Davis: Ch. 15. Additional Reading: David, "The View from Capitol Hill," in *Behind the Front Page: A Candid Look at How the News Is Made*, (1987) 208-238. Cook, Timothy E., *Making Laws and Making News: Media Strategies in the U.S. House of Representatives*, Washington: Brookings Institution, 1989. [ON RESERVE AT HODGES LIBRARY] Two chapters for each person: *Regulation and Accommodation*, Chapter 2; *House Reporters and House Reporting*, Chapter 3; *Press Secretaries and Press Strategies*, Chapter 4; *Getting Re-elected*, Chapter 5; *Setting the Congressional Agenda*, Chapter 6; *Enacting Legislation*, Chapter 7; *Media Power and Congressional Power*, Chapter 8 Cook, Timothy, *House Members as Newsmakers: The Effects of Televising Congress*, *Legislative Studies Quarterly* 11 (May 1986): 203-226. Karp, Walter, *All the Congressmen's Men*, *Harpers* July 1989, pp. 55- 63. Linsky, Martin, *The Conditions for Big Press Impact*, in *Impact: How the Press Affects Federal Policymaking*, (1986) 119-147. Robinson, Michael J. and Kevin Appel, *Network News Coverage of Congress*, *Political Science Quarterly* 94 (Fall 1979): 407-418. Squire, Ferill, *Who Gets National News*

Coverage in the U.S. Senate, *American Politics Quarterly* 16 (April 1988): 139-155.

#### Week 11--Nov. 5: Media Coverage of the Judiciary

Read: Davis: Ch. 16. Additional Reading: Bowles, Dorothy and R.V. Bromley, *News Magazine Coverage of the Supreme Court During the Reagan Administrations*, 69 *Journalism Quarterly* 948-959 (Winter 1992). Bowles, Dorothy, *Missed Opportunity: Educating Newspaper Readers About First Amendment Values*, *Newspaper Research Journal*, Vol. 10, Winter 1989, pp. 39-52. Bowles, Dorothy, *Newspaper Attention to (and Support of) First Amendment Cases, 1919-1969*, *Journalism Quarterly*, Autumn 1989. Caldiera, Gregory, *Neither the Purse nor the Sword: Dynamics of Public Confidence in the Supreme Court*, *American Political Science Review* 80 (December 1986): 1209-1228. Taylor, Stuart A. Jr., *Blackmun Provides a Peek at the people under Those Robes*, *New York Times*, July 25, 1988, p. B6. and Taylor, Stuart A., *Lifting of Secrecy Reveals Earthy Side of Justices*, *New York Times*, February 22, 1988, and Taylor, Stuart Jr., *A Candid Talk with Justice Blackman*, *New York Times Magazine*, February 22, 1982. Article(s) on O.J. Simpson trial coverage will be added.

#### Week 12--Nov. 12: Coverage of the Military, National Security Policy and Foreign Affairs

Read: Davis: Ch. 20: *Covering Foreign Affairs*, Ch. 21: *National Security Policy*. Additional Reading: *Doing the Third World and For the New World Order*, Chapters 9 and 10 in Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*, 2nd edition, St. Martins Press, 1993. *Propaganda Themes*, Chapter 11 in Michael Parenti, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of News Media*, 2nd edition, St. Martins Press, 1993. Bennett, W. Lance, "Taking the Public by Storm: Information, Cuing, and the Democratic Process in the Gulf Conflict," *Political Communication*, Vol. 10, No. 4, 1993, pp. 331-351. Week 13--Nov. 19: Coverage of Administrative Agencies and Special Interest Groups Read: Davis: Ch. 17: *The Bureaucracy*, Ch. 18: *Interest Groups*, Ch. 19: *Covering Public Policy* Additional Reading: list to come

#### Week 14--Nov. 26: Suggestions for Improving Journalistic Performance in a Democracy

Read: Davis: Conclusion, pp. 341-346. More to be added. Additional Reading: W. Lance Bennett, *Freedom from the Press: Solutions for Concerned Citizens*, Chapter 7 in *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 3rd edition, 1996. Readings to be assigned from Jay Rosen, *Getting the Connections Right: Public Journalism and the Troubles in the Press*, 1996. Davis Merritt, *Public Journalism--Defining a Democratic Art*, *Media Studies Journal*, issue titled *Media and Democracy*, Summer 1995, pp. 125- 133.

Week 15--Dec. 2: Catch up session; finish book reports Wednesday, Dec. 11, 5:05 p.m. Final Exam period (If we have a take-home exam, rather than writing during class, the exam answers will be due earlier in the week.)

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## **New Books.....**

Beer, Francis A. and Robert Hariman. 1996. *Post Realism: The Rhetorical Turn in International Relations*. East Lansing,MI: Michigan State University Press.

Chesebro, James W. and Dale A. Bertelsen. 1996. *Analyzing Media: Communication Technologies as Symbolic and Cognitive Systems*. New York: Guilford Publications.

Glasser, Theodore L. and Charles T. Salmon. 1995. *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent*. New York: Guilford Publications.

West, Darrell. 1997. *Air Wars: Television Advertising in Election Campaigns, 1952-1996, Second Edition*. Washington, D.C.: CQ Press.