Digital Media in Politics: Syllabus

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Winter 2018, University of Zürich

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Office hours: Wednesdays 16:00–17:00

1   Course Description

The course examines the impact of digital media on politics in international comparison. Digital media play an increasingly important role in politics. Be it political communication, the coverage of politics in the news, campaigning, public discourse, or collective action, various political fields are changing due to digital media. This makes it paramount to identify, assess, and understand the role of digital media in politics. Over the course, students will be introduced to important approaches in conceptualizing and measuring the effects of digital media on politics. In this, we will focus on the role of digital media in helping political actors fulfill specific tasks in their work, such as gaining representation in the political information space, reaching people, convincing and mobilizing people, coordination, organizing, and measuring and evaluating the impact of their actions.

Learning Objectives: Students are able to characterize and identify diverse influences of digital media on various areas and aspects of politics.

2   Requirements

2.1   Regular and active participation

The course features the discussion of the required readings. To benefit from this, students are expected to read the texts listed as required readings before each session and actively participate in the discussion for each session. Don't be scared off by the *Background Readings*. Those are meant to offer you a starting point if you decide to dig deeper into one of the topics discussed during the course. They might offer a promising starting point for you, once you start thinking about your term paper. Participation will not be graded.

2.2 Presentation

Students will be asked to present a research paper during one of the topical session. During the first session, each student will be assigned a text from the listed readings for presentations. In preparing the presentations please use the following guiding questions:

1. What is the research question?

2. What are the concepts used in the study?

3. What are the mechanisms proposed in the study?

4. What are the hypotheses? How are they linked with concepts and mechanisms under study?

5. What empirical approach do the authors take? What is the data in use? How are the data analyzed? Does this seem appropriate?

6. What are the results and how are they connected with concepts and mechanisms under study?

7. How does the study related to the topics discussed in the required readings for the respective session?

8. How convincing do you find the arguments presented by the authors?

Beyond these guiding questions, please keep the following considerations in mind in preparing your presentation:

- Please plan your presentation to take between 7-10 minutes;

- Please prepare a slide deck with a presentation program of your choice (except for Prezi);

- Please prepare a handout of one to two pages for your fellow students, summarizing the main points of your presentation;

- Upload the handout on the day your presentation is due to the assignment folder on the course's OLAT repository. Use the following template for the filename `"your_last_name-handout..."`;

- The presentation will be graded and contribute 30% to your final grade;

- Please make sure to see me at least once during office hours to discuss the topic and scope of your presentation.

2.3 Term Paper

Following the course, students will be asked to hand in a term paper. The aim of this paper is for you to independently develop and present the current state of research on one of the topics discussed during the course. This can take either of two formats:

1. Systematic literature review on aspects related to the topics discussed during the course;

2. Identification of a current research gap in the literature and proposal of a research design addressing this gap.

If you choose to perform a literature review, make sure to use the following guiding questions to assess the plausibility of causal claims:[1]

1. Is there a plausible mechanism for the effect?

2. Does evidence come from peer-reviewed sources?

3. Are all relevant studies considered?

4. Are results of specific studies misrepresented?

5. Are causal claims based on experiment, correlation or analogy?

6. Is technical, scientific terminology used to obfuscate rather than clarify?

For the term paper, please adhere to the following guidelines:

- Style requirements:

  - Font: Times New Roman, 12pt;
  - Line-separation:1.5;
  - Page borders: 2.5 cm left and right, 2cm above and below;
  - Page set: Block;
  - The first line of each paragraph is indented.

- Citation Style: Please follow the citation convention of the American Political Science Review (APSR) available at
  `http://www.apsanet.org/APSR-Submission-Guidelines-August-2016`;

- Cover page: University, department, course title, paper title, name, Matriknr., semester count, study program, and e-mail-address;

- Length: ca. 3000 words +/-10%

- Deadline: Please return the paper by January 10, 2019 electronically at andreas.jungherr@gmail.com and by hardcopy at my University of Konstanz address (Box 85, Universitätsstrasse 10, D–78464 Konstanz). The date is mandatory and can only be extended in case of officially certified illness;

- Use the following template for the filename `"your_last_name-paper..."`.

- The term paper will be graded and contribute 70% to your final grade;

- Please make sure to see me at least once during office hours to discuss the topic and scope of your term paper.

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[1]Questions slightly shorted from David Robert Grimes and Dorothy V. M. Bishop. 2018. "Distinguishing Polemic From Commentary in Science: Some Guidelines Illustrated With the Case of Sage and Burgio (2017)". *Child Development* 89 (1): 141–147. doi:`10.1111/cdev.13013`

3 Course Outline

Class will meet at the following times and locations:

Fridays, 12:15 - 13:45 (AFL-E-022)
Exception: On Friday, November 30 we will meet in Room AFL-E-020)

3.1 Week 1: Introduction (September 21)

3.2 Week 2: No meeting (September 28)

3.3 Week 3: Media Systems (October 5)

3.4 Week 4: No meeting (October 12)

3.5 Week 5: Publics and Counterpublics (October 19)

3.6 Week 6: Polarization (October 26)

3.7 Week 7: Election Campaigns (November 2)

3.8 Week 8: No meeting (November 9)

3.9 Week 9: Political Participation and Collective Action (November 16)

3.10 Week 10: Data-Driven Campaigning (November 23)

3.11 Week 11: Modes of Control (November 30)

3.12 Week 12: Disinformation and Manipulation (December 7)

3.13 Week 13: Platforms as Political Actors (December 14)

3.14 Week 14: Discussion of Open Questions and Term Paper (December 21)

3.1 Week 1: Introduction (September 21)

Introduction, housekeeping, and assignment of presentations.

Doing Academic Research:
– Howard S. Becker. 1998. *Tricks of the Trade: How to Think About Your Research While You're Doing It.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
– Howard S. Becker. 2007. *Writing for Social Scientists: How to Start and Finish Your Thesis, Book, or Article.* 2nd ed. Champaign, IL: University of Chicago Press.
– John Gerring. 2012. *Social Science Methodology: A Unified Framework.* 2nd ed. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
– Christopher Howard. 2017. *Thinking Like a Political Scientist: A Practical Guide to Research Methods.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Academic Presentations:
– Jonathan Schwabish. 2017. *Better Presentations: A Guide for Scholars, Researchers, and Wonks.* New York, NY: Columbia University Press.

Background Readings: Digital Media and Politics
– Andreas Jungherr. 2017. "Das Internet in der politischen Kommunikation: Forschungsstand und Perspektiven". *PVS: Politische Vierteljahresschrift* 58 (2): 284–315. doi:`10.5771/0032-3470-2017-2-284`.
– W. Russell Neuman, Bruce Bimber, and Matthew Hindman. 2011. "The Internet and Four Dimensions of Citizenship". Chap. 2 in *The Oxford handbook of American public opinion and the media*, ed. by Robert Y. Shapiro and Lawrence R. Jacobs, 22–42. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press. doi:`10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199545636.003.0002`.

3.2 Week 2: No meeting (September 28)

3.3 Week 3: Media Systems (October 5)

Required Reading:
– Chapter 2: Media Regimes and American Democracy (pp. 16–50) in Bruce A. Williams and Michael X. Delli Carpini. 2011. *After Broadcast News: Media Regimes, Democracy, and the New Information Environment.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
– Chapter 8: Shaping a New Media Regime (pp. 278–326) in Bruce A. Williams and Michael X. Delli Carpini. 2011. *After Broadcast News: Media Regimes, Democracy, and the New Information Environment.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Background Readings:
– Andrew Chadwick. 2017. *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power.* 2nd ed. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.
– Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing media systems: Three models of media and politics.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
– Daniel C. Hallin and Paolo Mancini, eds. 2012. *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the*

Western World. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

– Ralph Schroeder. 2018. *Social Theory after the Internet: Media, Technology and Globalization.* London, UK: UCL Press. doi:`10.14324/111.9781787351226`.

Presentations:
– Nick Anstead and Ben O'Loughlin. 2015. "Social Media Analysis and Public Opinion: The 2010 UK General Election". *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 20 (2): 204–220. doi:`10.1111/jcc4.12102`.

– Andrew Chadwick. 2011. "The political information cycle in a hybrid news system: The British Prime Minister and the "Bullygate" affair". *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 16 (1): 3–29. doi:`10.1177/1940161210384730`.

– W. Russell Neuman et al. 2014. "The Dynamics of Public Attention: Agenda-Setting Theory Meets Big Data". *Journal of Communication* 64 (2): 193–214. doi:`10.1111/jcom.12088`.

3.4   Week 4: No meeting (October 12)

3.5   Week 5: Publics and Counterpublics (October 19)

Required Reading:
– Zizi Papacharissi. 2009. "The virtual sphere 2.0: The internet, the public sphere, and beyond". In *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*, ed. by Andrew Chadwick and Philip N. Howard, 230–245. Oxon, UK: Routledge.

Background Readings:
– Nancy Fraser. 1990. "Rethinking the Public Sphere: A Contribution to the Critique of Actually Existing Democracy". *Social Text*, **numbers** 25/26: 56–80. doi:`10.2307/466240`.

– Zizi A. Papacharissi. 2015. *Affective Publics: Sentiment, Technology, and Politics.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Presentations:
– Sarah J. Jackson and Brooke Foucault Welles. 2015. "Hijacking #myNYPD: Social Media Dissent and Networked Counterpublics". *Journal of Communication* 65 (6): 932–952. doi:`10.1111/jcom.12185`.

– Zizi A. Papacharissi and Maria de Fatima Oliveira. 2012. "Affective News and Networked Publics: The Rhythms of News Storytelling on #Egypt". *Journal of Communication* 62 (2): 266–282. doi:`10.1111/j.1460-2466.2012.01630.x`.

– Adrian Rauchfleisch and Mike S. Schäfer. 2015. "Multiple public spheres of Weibo: a typology of forms and potentials of online public spheres in China". *Information, Communication & Society* 18 (2): 139–155. doi:`10.1080/1369118X.2014.940364`.

3.6 Week 6: Polarization (October 26)

Required Reading:
– Andrew Guess et al. 2018. *Avoiding the Echo Chamber about Echo Chambers: Why selective exposure to like-minded political news is less prevalent than you think.* Miami, FL: Knight Foundation. `https : / / kf – site – production . s3 . amazonaws . com / media _ elements / files / 000 / 000 / 133 / original / Topos _ KF _ White – Paper_Nyhan_V1.pdf`.

Background Readings:
– Morris P. Fiorina. 2017. *Unstable Majorities: Polarization, Party Sorting, and Political Stalemate.* Stanford, CA: Hoover Institution Press.

– Eli Pariser. 2011. *The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is Hiding From You.* New York, NY: The Penguin Press.

– Jaime E. Settle. 2018. *Frenemies: How Social Media Polarizes America.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

– Cass R. Sunstein. 2017. *#Republic: Divided Democracy in the Age of Social Media.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

– James G. Webster. 2014. *The Marketplace of Attention: How Audiences Take Shape in a Digital Age.* Boston, MA: The MIT Press.

Presentations:
– Christopher A. Bail et al. 2018. "Exposure to opposing views on social media can increase political polarization". *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences.* doi:`10 . 1073/pnas.1804840115`.

– Seth Flaxman, Sharad Goel, and Justin M. Rao. 2016. "Filter Bubbles, Echo Chambers, and Online News Consumption". *Public Opinion Quarterly* 80 (1): 298–320. doi:`10 . 1093/poq/nfw006`.

– James G. Webster and Thomas B. Ksiazek. 2012. "The Dynamics of Audience Fragmentation: Public Attention in an Age of Digital Media". *Journal of Communication* 62 (1): 39–56. doi:`10.1111/j.1460–2466.2011.01616.x`.

3.7 Week 7: Election Campaigns (November 2)

Required Reading:
– Andreas Jungherr. 2016b. "Four Functions of Digital Tools in Election Campaigns: The German Case". *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 21 (3): 358–377. doi:`10 . 1177/1940161216642597`.

Background Readings:
– Daniel Kreiss. 2012. *Taking Our Country Back: The Crafting of Networked Politics from Howard Dean to Barack Obama.* Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press.

– Daniel Kreiss. 2016. *Prototype Politics: Technology-Intensive Campaigning and the Data of Democracy.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

– Jennifer Stromer-Galley. 2014. *Presidential Campaigning in the Internet Age.* New

York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Presentations:
– Bruce Bimber and Lauren Copeland. 2013. "Digital Media and Traditional Political Participation Over Time in the U.S." *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 10 (2): 125–137. doi:`10.1080/19331681.2013.769925`.

– Lauren Copeland and Bruce Bimber. 2015. "Variation in the Relationship Between Digital Media Use and Political Participation in U.S. Elections Over Time, 1996–2012: Does Obama's Reelection Change the Picture?" *Journal of Information Technology & Politics* 12 (1): 74–87. doi:`10.1080/19331681.2014.975391`.

– Matthew Hindman. 2005. "The Real Lessons of Howard Dean: Reflections on the First Digital Campaign". *Perspectives on Politics* 3 (1): 121–128. doi:`10.1017/S1537592705050115`.

– Daniel Kreiss and Christopher Jasinski. 2016. "The Tech Industry Meets Presidential Politics: Explaining the Democratic Party's Technological Advantage in Electoral Campaigning, 2004–2012". *Political Communication* 33 (4): 544–562. doi:`10.1080/10584609.2015.1121941`.

3.8 Week 8: No meeting (November 9)

3.9 Week 9: Political Participation and Collective Action (November 16)

Required Reading:
– Yannis Theocharis and Jan W. van Deth. 2018b. "The continuous expansion of citizen participation: a new taxonomy". *European Political Science Review* 10 (1): 139–163. doi:`10.1017/S1755773916000230`.

Background Readings:
– W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg. 2013. *The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

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

– Bruce Bimber, Andrew J. Flanagin, and Cynthia Stohl. 2012. *Collective Action in Organizations: Interaction and Engagement in an Era of Technological Change.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

– Philip N. Howard and Muzammil M. Hussain. 2013. *Democracy's Fourth Wave? Digital Media and the Arab Spring.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

– David Karpf. 2012b. *The MoveOn Effect: The Unexpected Transformation of American Political Advocacy.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

– Yannis Theocharis and Jan W. van Deth. 2018a. *Political Participation in a Changing World: Conceptual and Empirical Challenges in the Study of Citizen Engagement.* New York, NY: Routledge.

Presentations:

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– W. Lance Bennett and Alexandra Segerberg. 2012. "The logic of connective action: digital media and the personalization of contentious politics". *Information, Communication & Society* 15 (5): 739–768.

– Philip N. Howard and Muzammil M. Hussain. 2011. "The role of digital media". *Journal of Democracy* 22 (3): 35–48.

– Yannis Theocharis, Silia Vitoratou, and Javier Sajuria. 2017. "Civil Society in Times of Crisis: Understanding Collective Action Dynamics in Digitally-Enabled Volunteer Networks". *Journal of Computer-Mediated Communication* 22 (5): 248–265. doi:`10.1111/jcc4.12194`.

3.10   Week 10: Data-Driven Campaigning (November 23)

Required Reading:
– David W. Nickerson and Todd Rogers. 2014. "Political Campaigns and Big Data". *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 28 (2): 51–74. doi:`10.1257/jep.28.2.51`.

Background Readings:
– Jessica Baldwin-Philippi. 2017. "The Myths of Data-Driven Campaigning". *Political Communication* 34 (4): 627–633. doi:`10.1080/10584609.2017.1372999`.

– Eitan D. Hersh. 2015. *Hacking the Electorate: How Campaigns Perceive Voters.* Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

– Sasha Issenberg. 2012. *The Victory Lab: The Secret Science of Winning Campaigns.* New York, NY: Crown Publishing Group.

– David Karpf. 2017. *Analytical Activism: Digital Listerning and the New Political Strategy.* New York, NY: Oxford University Press.

Presentations:
– Robert M. Bond et al. 2017. "Social Endorsement Cues and Political Participation". *Political Communication* 34 (2): 261–281. doi:`10.1080/10584609.2016.1226223`.

– Andreas Jungherr. 2016a. "Datengestützte Verfahren im Wahlkampf". *Zeitschrift für Politikberatung* 8 (1): 3–14. doi:`10.5771/1865-4789-2016-1-3`.

– Simon Kruschinski and André Haller. 2017. "Restrictions on data-driven political microtargeting in Germany". *Internet Policy Review* 6 (4): 1–23. doi:`10.14763/2017.4.780`.

3.11   Week 11: Modes of Control (November 30)

Required Reading:
– Jennifer Pan. 2017. "How Market Dynamics of Domestic and Foreign Social Media Firms Shape Strategies of Internet Censorship". *Problems of Post-Communism* 64 (3-4): 167–188. doi:`10.1080/10758216.2016.1181525`.

Background Readings:
– James Beniger. 1989. *The Control Revolution: Technological and Economic Origins of*

the Information Society. Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

– Andrew Guthrie Ferguson. 2017. *The Rise of Big Data Policing: Surveillance, Race, and the Future of Law Enforcement.* New York, NY: New York University Press.

– Frank Pasquale. 2015. *The Black Box Society: The Secret Algorithms That Control Money and Information.* Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press.

– Margaret E. Roberts. 2018. *Censored: Distraction and Diversion Inside China's Great Firewall.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

– James C. Scott. 1998. *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

– Fred Turner. 2006. *From Counterculture to Cyberculture: Stewart Brand, the Whole Earth Network, and the Rise of Digital Utopianism.* Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Presentations:
– Sarah Brayne. 2017. "Big Data Surveillance: The Case of Policing". *American Sociological Review* 82 (5): 988–1008. doi:`10.1177/0003122417725865`.

– Danielle Keats Citron and Frank Pasquale. 2014. "The Scored Society: Due Process fo Automated Predictions". *Washington Law Review* 89 (1): 1–33.

– Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2013. "How Censorship in China Allows Government Criticism but Silences Collective Expression". *American Political Science Review* 107, no. 2 (): 326–343. doi:`10.1017/S0003055413000014`.

3.12 Week 12: Disinformation and Manipulation (December 7)

Required Reading:
– Andrew Guess, Brendan Nyhan, and Jason Reifler. 2018. *Selective Exposure to Misinformation: Evidence from the consumption of fake news during the 2016 U.S. presidential campaign.* `http://www.dartmouth.edu/~nyhan/fake-news-2016.pdf`.

Background Readings:
– Evan Davis. 2017. *Post-Truth: Why We Have Reached Peak Bullshit and What We Can Do About It.* London, UK: Little, Brown.

– Jason Stanley. 2015. *How Propaganda Works.* Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.

Presentations:
– Hunt Allcott, Matthew Gentzkow, and Chuan Yu. 2018. *Trends in the Diffusion of Misinformation on Social Media.* Working Paper. `http://web.stanford.edu/~gentzkow/research/fake-news-trends.pdf`.

– Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, Not Engaged Argument". *American Political Science Review* 111 (3): 484–501. doi:`10.1017/S0003055417000144`.

– Eni Mustafaraj and Panagiotis Takis Metaxas. 2010. "From obscurity to prominence in minutes: Political speech and real-time search". In *WebSci 2010: Proceedings of the*

Web Science Conference 2010.

– Eni Mustafaraj and Panagiotis Takis Metaxas. 2017. "The Fake News Spreading Plague: Was it Preventable?" In *WebSci '17: Proceedings of the 2017 ACM on Web Science Conference*, 235–239. New York, NY: ACM. doi:`10.1145/3091478.3091523`.

3.13   Week 13: Platforms as Political Actors (December 14)

Required Reading:
–   Daniel Kreiss and Shannon C. McGregor. 2018. "Technology Firms Shape Political Communication: The Work of Microsoft, Facebook, Twitter, and Google With Campaigns During the 2016 U.S. Presidential Cycle". *Political Communication* 35 (2): 155–177. doi:`10.1080/10584609.2017.1364814`.

Background Readings:
–   Andrew McAfee and Erik Brynjolfsson. 2017. *Machine Platform Crowd: Harnessing Our Digital Future.* New York, NY: W. W. Norton & Company.

–   Carl Shapiro and Hal R. Varian. 1999. *Information Rules: A Strategic Guide to the Network Economy.* Boston, MA: Harvard Business Review Press.

Presentations:
–   Tarleton Gillespie. 2010. "The politics of 'plattforms'". *New Media & Society* 12 (3): 347–364. doi:`Pasquale:2016aa`.

–   Rasmus Kleis Nielsen and Sarah Anne Ganter. 2017. "Dealing with digital intermediaries: A case study of the relations between publishers and platforms". *New Media & Society.* doi:`10.1177/1461444817701318`.

– Frank Pasquale. 2016. "Platform neutrality: enhancing freedom of expression in spheres of private power". *Theoretical Inquiries in Law* 17 (2): 487–513. doi:`10.1515/til-2016-0018`.

3.14   Week 14: Discussion of Open Questions and Term Paper (December 21)

Required Reading:
– David Karpf. 2012a. "Social Science Research Methods in Internet Time". *Information, Communication & Society* 15 (5): 639–661. doi:`10.1080/1369118X.2012.665468`.