



CENTRE FOR THE STUDY OF DEMOCRACY

MA International Relations and Political Theory

Politics, Power and the Media (1ISP7B1)

Module Leader: Professor John Keane (with Giovanni Navarra and Dr Simon Joss and Dr Mark Harrison)

Location: 32 Wells Street, Westminster Forum,
Monday, 6-9 pm, Second Semester

Office Hours: Tuesday 1-2 pm, by appointment

Tel: 020 7911 5000 ext. 7608

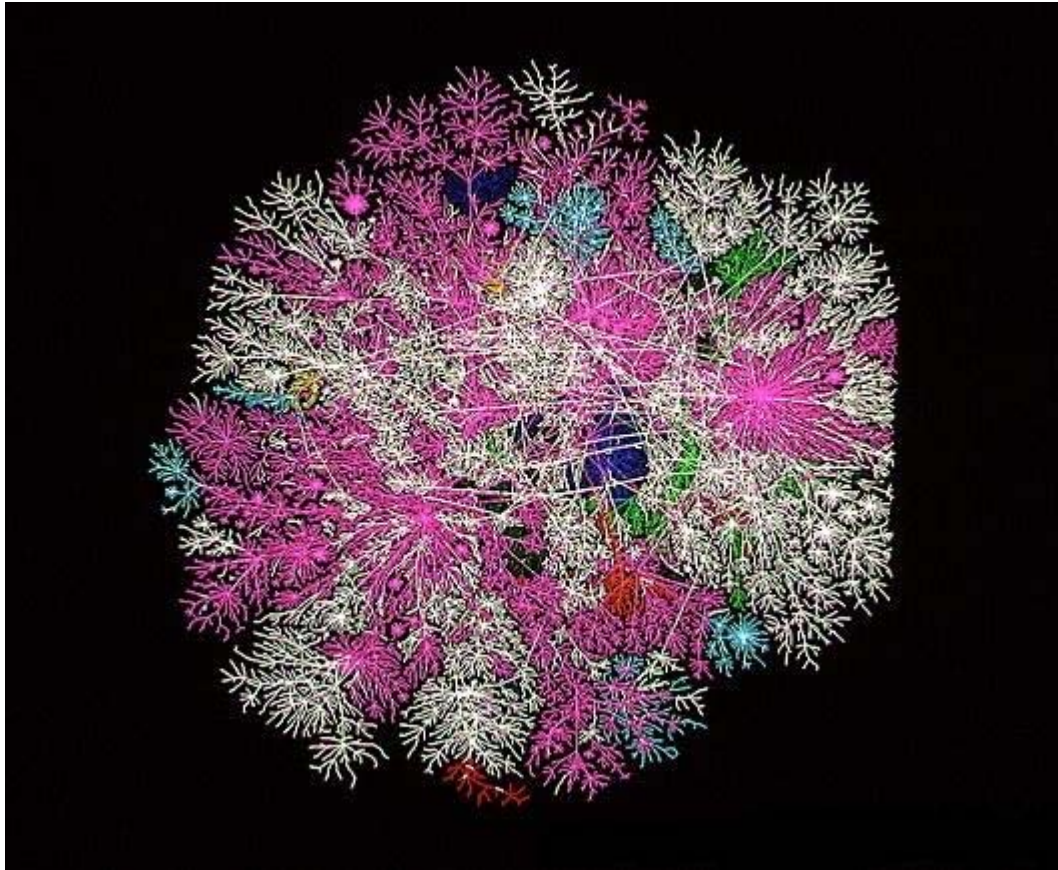
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Blackboard:
www.johnkeane.net/teaching/blackboard/blackboard.htm

Course Aims:

The aim of this course of seminars and discussions is to familiarise students with the growing political role in modern times of communications media such as newspapers, books, radio, television, and computers. Drawing upon the familiar thesis that the struggle to create a public sphere and to define and influence public opinion is a distinctive feature of modern European societies, the course highlights several different interpretations of the way in which communications media now envelop such bodies as governments, businesses, churches and political parties, as well as serve as means of forming and representing citizens' opinions and distributing power. The course examines the historical development of modern communications media, from the advent of print culture through to today's digital and multi-media revolution. The course raises questions about why we study communications media and it introduces students to the works of such leading scholars as Bruno Latour, Marshall McLuhan, Jürgen Habermas, Stanley Fish and Manuel Castells. Special emphasis will be given to the twin concepts of public sphere and democracy, and to the actual and potential roles played by communications media in nurturing and sustaining - and undermining - democratic institutions.

Particular topics covered include the effects of print culture; early modern criticisms of absolute monarchy and struggles for publicity; the rise and decline of the public service broadcasting model; global media conglomerates, advertising and the revival of 'freedom of choice' as a central slogan of contemporary market liberalism; old and new forms of political accountability and government censorship; the Internet and other forms of networked communications; communicative abundance; new types of journalism; global publics; the meanings of 'freedom of expression'; and the need for a new understanding of the vexed relationship between the media and power in complex democratic societies.



Internet traffic: Computer graphic of global internet traffic. Each line represents the path of sample data sent out to one of 20,000 pre-selected locations using a system called *Skitter*. The lines are colour-coded to show the nationality of that part of the internet, for example: USA (pink), UK (dark blue), Italy (light blue), Sweden (light green) and white (unknown). The internet is a global computer network through which information can be shared. Maps like this will make moving around the internet easier, as well as showing when and where data jams occur. Made by the Cooperative Association for Internet Data Analysis, University of California, USA.

Seminar Programme:

16 January	:	Welcome; Complex Democracy, Communicative Abundance and Bruno Latour's <i>Making Things Public</i>
23 January	:	Gutenberg's World; Habermas on the Rise and Fall of the Public Sphere
30 January	:	Public Service Broadcasting; Murdoch's World
6 February	:	Journalism Across Borders
13 February	:	The Logic of Media Events: the case of the BBC and China (MH)
20 February	:	The Internet Galaxy (GN)
27 February	:	Government, Media, and Power in the Age of the Internet (GN)
6 March	:	A New Politics? (GN)

13 March	:	Threats to Complex Democracy
20 March	:	Public Accountability and the 'Third Transformation' of democracy (SJ)
27 March	:	Freedom of Speech?
3 April	:	Course summary

Assessment:

Students are required to write one essay of around 5,000 words in length. The essay should be typed, with footnotes and a bibliography. The deadline for the essay is Thursday 6 April, 2006. Please note CSD's strict rules against plagiarism.

Preliminary Reading:

Saramago, José The Tale of the Unknown Island (The Harvill Press, London 1999)

* John Keane, The Media and Democracy (Blackwell 1999), introduction

* Bruno Latour, Making Things Public, introduction

* John Keane, Complex Democracy?

Please note that asterisked reading is compulsory. As far as possible, all of it is posted on the course blackboard: www.johnkeane.net/teaching/blackboard/blackboard.htm. All other reading listed is available from either the University of Westminster library or the Internet and other London libraries, use of which is strongly encouraged.

Course Outline:

1. Introduction : Complex Democracy and Communicative Abundance

Seminar/Essay Topic : What are the principal effects of the growth of media-saturated societies?

Readings:

* Bruno Latour, Making Things Public, introduction

* Manuel Castells, 'The Culture of Real Virtuality', in The Rise of The Network Society (Blackwell, 1996), pp. 327-375.

* John Keane, Public Life in the Era of Communicative Abundance

* John Keane, Complex Democracy?

John Keane, *Whatever Happened to Democracy?* (IPPR, London 2002; also posted on the CSD website)

Paul Starr, The Creation of the Media: Political Origins of Modern Communications

Horace Newcomb and Paul M. Hirsch, 'Television as a Cultural Forum', in Horace Newcomb (ed.), Television : The Critical View, 5th edition (Oxford University Press) pp. 503-515

Lincoln Dahlberg, 'Democracy via cyberspace. Mapping the rhetorics and practices of three prominent camps', New Media and Society 3, 2 (2001), pp. 187-207

Nicholas Negroponte, Being Digital

James Slevin, The Internet and Society

Joshua Gamson, 'Why I Love Trash', Freaks Talk Back (The University of Chicago Press, 1998), pp. 3-26

Michael X. Delli Carpini and Bruce A. Williams, 'Let Us Infotain You : Politics in the New Media Environment', from W. Lance Bennett and

Robert M. Entman (eds.), Mediated Politics. Communication in the Future of Democracy (Cambridge University Press, 2001), pp. 160-181

Kalle Lasn, 'Introduction : Culture Jamming', Culture Jam (Quill, 1999), pp. xi-xvii

John Durham Peters, 'A Squeeze of the Hand', Speaking Into The Air. A History of the Idea of Communication (The University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 263-271

W.J.T. Mitchell, 'Representation', from Critical Terms for Literary Study (University of Chicago Press 1995), pp. 11-21

2. Gutenberg's World; Habermas on the Rise and Fall of the Public Sphere

Seminar/Essay Topic : How significant was the rise of print culture and invention of the printing press? Are the publics they enabled now in long-term decline?

Readings:

* Elizabeth Eisenstein, 'Some Features of Print Culture' in The Printing Revolution in Early Modern Europe (Cambridge 1983), pp. 41-64, 78-91

Patrick Collinson, The Reformation, chapter 3

Bill Kovach and Tom Rosenstiel, 'The Journalism of Assertion', Warp Speed (The Century Foundation Press, 1999), pp. 1-9

Michael Schudson, 'Three Hundred Years of the American Newspaper', from The Power of the News (Harvard University Press, 1995), pp. 37-52

George Steiner, 'After the Book?', in On Difficulty and Other Essays (Oxford University Press 1978), pp. 186-203

John Keane, Tom Paine. A Political Life (Little Brown 1995), pp. 101-119

Henri-Jean Martin, The History and Power of Writing

* Jürgen Habermas, 'The Public Sphere', New German Critique, 3 (1974).

John Keane, 'Structural Transformations of the Public Sphere', The Communication Review, volume 1, 1 (1995), pp 1-22 (and the following debate)

* John Keane, Public Life in the Era of Communicative Abundance

* John B. Thompson, 'The Theory of the Public Sphere : A Preliminary Assessment', from The Media and Modernity (Polity Press, 1995), pp. 69-75

Calhoun, Craig (ed.) Habermas and the Public Sphere

Keane, J. The Media and Democracy

Keane, J. Whatever Happened to Democracy?

Habermas, J. Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere

Lippmann, Walter The Phantom Public

Hartley, John The Politics of Pictures. The Creation of the Public in the Age of Popular Media

Herman, E and McChesney, R The Global Media

Claude Fischer, 'Personal Calls, Personal Meanings', from America Calling : A Social History of the Telephone to 1940 (University of California Press 1992)

3. Twentieth-Century Public Service Broadcasting

Seminar/Essay Topic : Does public service broadcasting still make a difference in such matters as programming, audiences and politics?

Readings:

Scannell, Paddy 'Public Service Broadcasting: History of a Concept', in A Goodwin and G Whannel (eds.) Understanding Television.

* Scannell, Paddy 'Public Service Broadcasting and modern public life', Media, Culture and Society, 11, 2, (1989), pp135-166.

Mulgan, Geoff 'Television's Holy Grail: Seven Types of Quality.' in G. Mulgan (ed.) The Question of Quality. (pp 4-32).

Carey, J. Communication as Culture: Essays on Media and Society

* Keane, John The Media and Democracy, pp 116-127

Scannell, P. 'Music for the Multitude? The Dilemmas of the BBC's Music Policy, 1923-1946'. Media Culture and Society, 3 (1082), 263-60.

Scannell, P and Cardiff, D. A Social History of British Broadcasting.

Meyrowitz, Joshua No Sense of Place (Parts 1 and 5)

Lippmann, Walter The Phantom Public

Blumler, Jay (ed) Television and the Public Interest: Vulnerable Values in West European Broadcasting

Garnham, Nicholas 'Media and the Public Sphere', in Peter Golding et.al. (eds.), Communicating Politics

Bondheim, Menahem News Over the Wires. The Telegraph and the Flow of Public Information in America, 1844-1897

BBC, The Future of Public Service Broadcasting (London, 2004)

* 'Rupert Murdoch', http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rupert_Murdoch

4. Journalism Across Borders

Seminar/Essay Topic : ‘Global media cultivate passive global audiences who are taught to swoon, consume, and forget their own local culture’. Discuss.

Readings:

* Manuel Castells, ‘The Culture of Real Virtuality’, in The Rise of The Network Society (Blackwell, 1996), pp. 327-375.

John B. Thompson, ‘The Globalization of Communication’, The Media and Modernity (Polity Press, 1995), pp. 149-178

* John Keane, Journalism and Democracy Across Borders

Michael Ignatieff, ‘Is Nothing Sacred? The Ethics of Television’, from The Warrior’s Honor (Chatto and Windus 1998), pp.9-33

Peter Golding, ‘Worldwide Wedge : Division and Contradiction in the Global Information Infrastructure’, in Daya Kishan Thussu (ed.), Electronic Empires (Arnold Press 1998), pp. 135-148

Meyrowitz, Joshua No Sense of Place (Oxford University Press, 1985)

De Sola Pool, I. Technologies of Freedom (Harvard University Press, London 1983)

De Sola Pool, I.(ed) Technologies without boundaries: on Telecommunications in a global age (Harvard University Press, 1990)

Hallin, Daniel We Keep America on Top of the World: Television Journalism and the Public Sphere

McLuhan, Marshall and The Global Village: transformations in world life and

* ‘Rupert Murdoch’, http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Rupert_Murdoch

5. How the Media Writes History and Makes Knowledge: the case of the BBC's 'China Week' (MH)

Seminar/Essay Topic : Drawing upon materials held in the CSD archives (available on request) and provided by other parts of the course, write an account of the BBC's 'China Week'.

* http://www.livejournal.com/users/bourdieu_boy/15417.html

6. The Internet Galaxy (GN)

Seminar/Essay Topic : Discuss the claim of Manuel Castells that the Internet has the 'ability to distribute the power of information throughout the entire realm of human activity' and that therefore 'we have left the Gutenberg Galaxy and we have 'now entered' a new world of communication: the Internet Galaxy.'

Readings :

*Manuel Castells, The Internet Galaxy, Oxford University Press, 2001, pp. 1-63; 116-187; 275-282

*Terhi Rantanen "The message is the medium: An interview with Manuel Castells," Global Media and Communication, Volume 1(2): 135-147, 2005.

* Manuel Castells, 'The Information Technology Revolution' (pp 29-64) and 'The Culture of Real Virtuality' (pp. 327-375), in The Rise of The Network Society (Blackwell, 1996).

* Manuel Castells, 'Informationalism, Networks, and the Network Society: A Theoretical Blueprint' in Manuel Castells (Ed.) The Network Society: a cross-cultural perspective, Northampton, MA: Edward Elgar, 2004.

* Phil Agre, 'Real-Time Politics: The Internet and the Political Process', in The Information Society, 18: 3111-331, 2002.

Marshall McLuhan, The Gutenberg Galaxy: The Making of Typographic Man.

Michael Margolis and David Resnick, 'The Internet, Mass Media, and Public Opinion' (pp. 99-116) and 'Democracy and Cyberspace: A Peek into the Future' (pp. 205-224) in Politics As Usual – The Cyberspace “Revolution” (Sage Publications Inc. 2000)

Sara Bentivegna, 'Politics and New Media' from Leah A. Lievrouw and Sonia Livingston (Eds.) Handbook of New Media (Sage Publications Inc. 2000) pp. 50-61.

Pippa Norris, 'The Democratic Divide' in Digital Divide. Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide (Cambridge University Press 2001) pp. 193-240. An electronic version is available online at Pippa Norris's official website: <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris/Books/Books.htm>

Katie Hafner and Matthew Lyon, Where Wizards Stay Up Late. The Origins of the Internet.

Christopher D. Hunter. (2000). The Internet and the Public Sphere: Revitalization or Decay? *Virginia Journal of Communication*, 12, 93-127.

7. Government, Media, and Power in the Age of the Internet (GN)

Seminar/Essay Topic: To what extent is the Internet changing the balance of power between governments and their subjects?

Readings:

*Giovanni Navarra, 'The Three Faces of Government in the Age of the Internet and the future of Activism within a condition of shared weakness'. EastBound, Forthcoming.

*Rachel Silcock, 'What is e-Government?', in *Parliament Affairs*, 54, no. 1 (January 2001): 88-101.

Greg Walton, 2001, China's Golden Shield: Corporations and the Development of Surveillance Technology in the People's Republic of China, Report published by Rights & Democracy, International Centre for Human Rights and Democratic Development. Available at: <http://www.ichrdd.ca/english/commdoc/publications/globalization/goldenShieldEng.html>

Jane E. Fountain, Building the Virtual State: Information Technology and Institutional Change (Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press), 2001

Max Weber, 'Bureaucracy', in H. H. Gerth and C. Wright Mills (eds.), From Max Weber: Essays in Sociology, London: Routledge

Michel Foucault, 'Governmentality' in Graham Burchell, Colin Gordon and Peter Miller (eds) The Foucault Effect: Studies in Governmentality, Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991, pp. 87–104

Michel Foucault, 1978, The History of Sexuality – an Introduction Vol. 1,

Michel Foucault, Discipline & Punish: The Birth of the Prison, NY: Vintage Books. Especially the section on Panopticism. An electronic version of this text is available online at the following address: <http://cartome.org/foucault.htm>

Mitchell Dean, 1999, Governmentality: power and rule in modern society,

Pippa Norris, 2001, Digital Divide: Civic Engagement, Information Poverty and the Internet in Democratic Societies, New York: Cambridge University Press. Especially the 6th chapter on e-governance. An electronic version is available online at Pippa Norris's official website: <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris/Books/Books.htm>.

Pippa Norris, 2003, 'Deepening Democracy via E-Governance', contribution to the *UN World Public Sector Report*, the text of this chapter is available at Professor Norris's official website <http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris.shorenstein.ksg/acrobat/e-governance.pdf>

Shanthi Kalathil, 'Dot Com for Dictators', in *Foreign Policy Magazine*, March/April 2003, also available at Carnegie Endowment for International Peace. Web address: <http://www.carnegieendowment.org/publications/index.cfm?fa=view&id=1207> (last time checked: April, 2005)

Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers, Eds. Cyberactivism. Routledge, 2003.

Graham Meikle, Future Active: Media Activism and the Internet (Routledge, 2003),

* John Naughton, 'Contested Space: The Internet and Global Civil Society', in in Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor (eds.), Global Civil Society 2001, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Stephen Coleman, The Network-Empowered Citizen - How people share civic knowledge online. Paper presented at Institute for Public Policy Research (IPPR) Seminar: "From Grass Roots to Networks: the role of social capital in political Participation". Available at IPPR website: www.ippr.org.uk/uploadedFiles/research/projects/digital_Society/the_net_workempowered_citizen_coleman.pdf

*Phil Agre, 'Real-Time Politics: The Internet and the Political Process', in The Information Society, 18: 3111-331, 2002

Wellman B. and Haythornthwaite C. (eds.), 2004, The Internet in Everyday Life, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing. Especially: pp. 1-41.

8. A New Politics? (GN)

Seminar/Essay Topic: Is the Internet really changing the contemporary dynamics of political engagements, or is it just politics as usual?

Readings :

*Michael Margolis and David Resnick, 'The Internet, Mass Media, and Public Opinion' (pp. 99-116) and 'Democracy and Cyberspace: A Peek into the Future' (pp. 205-224) in Politics As Usual – The Cyberspace "Revolution" (Sage Publications Inc. 2000)

Martha McCaughey and Michael Ayers, Eds. Cyberactivism. Routledge, 2003. Especially the Introduction (1-21) and Chapter 3: Sandor Vegh, "Classifying Forms of Online Activism: the Case of Cyberprotests against the World Bank" (71-95)

Graham Meikle, Future Active: Media Activism and the Internet (Routledge, 2003),

Stephen Coleman, The Network-Empowered Citizen - How people share civic knowledge online. Available at IPPR website:
www.ippr.org.uk/uploadedFiles/research/projects/digital_Society/the_networkempowered_citizen_coleman.pdf

Phil Agre, 'Real-Time Politics: The Internet and the Political Process', in The Information Society, 18: 3111-331, 2002

Manuel Castells, 'The Information Technology Revolution' (pp 29-64) and 'The Culture of Real Virtuality' (pp. 327-375), in The Rise of The Network Society (Blackwell, 1996).

John Naughton, 'Contested Space: The Internet and Global Civil Society', in in Helmut Anheier, Marlies Glasius, and Mary Kaldor (eds.), Global Civil Society 2001, Oxford University Press, 2001.

Pippa Norris, 'The Democratic Divide' in Digital Divide. Civic Engagement, Information Poverty, and the Internet Worldwide (Cambridge University Press 2001) pp. 193-240. An electronic version is available online at Pippa Norris's official website:
<http://ksghome.harvard.edu/~pnorris/Books/Books.htm>

Stephen Coleman and John Gotze, Bowling Together: Online Public Engagement in Policy Deliberation, Hansard Society 2001, (the printed version is no longer available, but the report is available online at www.bowlingtogether.net.)

Dorothy E. Denning , Activism, Hacktivism, and Cyberterrorism: The Internet as a Tool for Influencing Foreign Policy, 1999. This text is available at:
<http://www.nautilus.org/gps/info-policy/workshop/papers/denning.html>

David Ronfeldt, John Arguilla, Graham E. Fuller and Melissa Fuller, The Zapatista Social Netwar in Mexico, 1998, Rand Corporation. The full text of this research is available at:
http://www.rand.org/pubs/monograph_reports/MR994/index.html

Michael Cornfield, Politics Moves Online, (The Century Foundation Press) Especially pp. 1-22 and 97-122

Joe Tippi, The Revolution Will Not Be Televised : Democracy, the Internet, and the Overthrow of Everything (Reagan Books, 2004)

9. Threats to Complex Democracy : New Approaches

Seminar/Essay Topic : Assess the claim by Bruno Latour that the struggle for publicity – ‘Dingpolitik’ - is the central political priority of our times.

* Bruno Latour, *Making Things Public*, introduction

* John Keane, Complex Democracy?

* John Keane, Democracy : The Rule of Nobody?

Robert Dahl, On Democracy

* James Curran, What Democracy Requires of the Media

John Durham Peters, ‘A Squeeze of the Hand’, Speaking Into The Air. A History of the Idea of Communication (The University of Chicago Press, 1999), pp. 263-271

Schudson, Michael ‘Why Conversation is Not the Soul of Democracy’, Critical Studies in Mass Communication, 14 (1997), pp1-13

Schudson, Michael The Good Citizen

* Michael Schudson, The Good Citizen, especially final sections (photocopy)

W. Lance Bennet and Robert M Entman (eds.), Mediated Politics – Communication in the Future of Democracy

Bob Franklin, Packaging Politics

Nicholas Garnham, ‘The Media and the Public Sphere’, in Peter Golding et. al. (eds.), Communicating Politics : mass communications and the political process

Cass Sunstein, Republic.com

Linz, Juan and A. Stepan (eds) The Breakdown of Democratic Regimes: Europe. pp 162-215

Huntington, Samuel P 'Will More Countries Become Democratic?'
Political Science Quarterly, 99 (Summer 1984), pp 209-214.

Friedland, Lewis 'Electronic democracy and the new citizenship',
Media, Culture and Society, volume 18
(1996), pp185-212

Dahl, Robert A Dilemmas of Pluralist Democracy.

Held, David Models of Democracy.

Fishkin, James The Voice of the People: Public Opinion and
Democracy

Bobbio, Norberto The Future of Democracy, especially pp 79-97
(on invisible power)

*Keane, John 'Democracy, Risks and Reversals' in The Media
and Democracy. (Part 5).

Lippmann, Walter The Phantom Public

Dahl, Robert Democracy and its Critics.

Macpherson, C B The Life and Times of Liberal Democracy.

McLaughlin, Lisa 'Feminism, the public sphere, media and
democracy', Media, Culture and Society, volume 15, number 4
(October 1993)

Elshtain, Jean Bethke Democracy on Trial

10. Public Accountability and the 'Third Transformation' of Democracy

Seminar/Essay Topic : How have science and technology contributed to the 'third historic transformation' (Dahl) of democracy? What challenges do new forms of governance – those that represent responses to this transformation - pose to public accountability?

Readings :

*Dahl, R. 1994. "A Democratic Dilemma System Effectiveness versus Citizen Participation." in Political Science Quarterly, 10 (1): pp 23-34.

*Joss S. 2004. "Between Policy and Politics. Or: whatever do Weapons of Mass Destruction Have to Do with GM Crops? The UK's GM Nation Public Debate as an Example of Participatory Governance." In Maasen, S. and Weingart P. (eds), The 2003 Yearbook of the Sociology of Science

Grote, J.R. and Gbikp, B (eds). 2002. Participatory Governance, Political and Societal Implications

European Commission. 2001. European Governance – A White paper

European Commission. 2001 Towards a European Research Area

Grove-White, R. Macnaghten, P. and Wynne, B.200. Wising Up. The Public and New Technologies. A research report by the Centre for the Study of Environmental Change

Irwin, A. 1995. Citizen Science. A Study of People, Expertise and Sustainable Development

Sclove, R 1995. Democracy and Technology

11. Freedom of Speech?

Seminar/ Essay Topic: Why is Stanley Fish so hostile to the principle of freedom of speech? Are his objections coherent?

Readings:

* Fish, Stanley 'There's No Such Thing as Free Speech ... and it's a Good Thing Too', introduction

Fish, Stanley 'Boutique Multiculturalism, or why Liberals are Incapable of thinking about Hate and Speech', Critical Inquiry 23 (Winter 1997)

Schauer, Frederick and Mary 'The First Amendment as Ideology' William Law Review, 33, 3 (1992)

Dworkin, Ronald 'The Coming Battles over Free Speech' New York Review of Books, June 11 1992, p56

* Stanley Fish, 'There is No Such Thing as Free Speech : An Interview with Stanley Fish', from the Australian Humanities Review (www.lib.latrobe.edu.au/AHR/copyright.html)

John Keane, UVaclav Havel: A Political Tragedy in Six Acts (Basic Books, 2000), pp. 427 - 436

Kent Greenawalt, Fighting Words: Individuals, Communities, and Liberties of Speech (Princeton University Press 1995), pp. 47-64

12. Course Summary