

## Política e Mídia em Perspectiva Comparada

**Prof.<sup>a</sup>: Elizabeth Stein**

**Horário: quartas-feiras, das 19 às 22 horas**

**Consultas: a combinar com a professora**

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**Course Description** This class surveys the literature on media and politics. My experience with media and politics courses is that they tend to be U.S. centric. A good deal of the scholarly literature that has been written on this subject is from U.S. politics or perhaps from other developed democracies. Only relatively recently have researchers who study other regions or international relations focused on the role that media play. First IR scholars began studying the role of the media in setting policy and influencing public opinion on foreign policy. More recently, scholars in comparative politics have approached media in the developing world and in non-democracies both to explain what factors affect the professionalism and openness of the media and also what role the media may have in affecting public opinion, political transitions, citizens' actions, etc. The course will present an overview of all of these perspectives of the media and politics. It will draw initially from theoretical work primarily focused on U.S. politics but then will turn to more comparative work that uses some of the theories and applies them to other case or adapts theories accordingly to deal with the different circumstances of other world regions. To allow for such breadth, unfortunately we will be leaving out some important topics in the media politics/political communications field.

**Course Requirements** This course is a seminar, not a lecture. I will expect that you come to class having read *and* thought about the material in advance. Your participation in class is essential to positive learning experience for both you **and** your classmates. You should come prepared with questions and critiques relating to the material.

**Course Grading** Since the discussion in class is essential to learning and having read the material is essential for a good discussion, your active participation contributes heavily to your course grade, which will stem from not only how often you participate, but also from the usefulness of your contribution. Please still speak if you are unsure of whether you are right or wrong. Your comments should be on subject, analytical, intelligent, and helpful in building a stimulating class discussion.

Each of you will be responsible for three "research evaluation reports" throughout the semester. I will hand out and explain this assignment during the first class and we will divide them up throughout the rest of the semester. These will be due by Tuesday at 10 p.m. the night before class meets.

During Week 3, no class will meet. You may select a book of your choice (I will have several suggestions). Your assignment is to write a critical book review that might appear in an academic journal. This will be due at the beginning of class during Week 4. It should be 3-4 pages, double spaced, 12-point font.

Additionally you will be asked to work on a coding project that will become part of your final paper. First, drawing from the course material, you will form a hypothesis about some aspect of the media (what influences media coverage under certain conditions or in certain contexts or how media coverage might affect some outcome). You then will develop a coding scheme that will allow you to test your hypothesis (or observable implications of your hypothesis). You will perform a content analysis based on the coding you do. Your final project should include an introduction, a relevant literature review, a methodology section, and a write-up your results using some visual aids to present your data, followed by a review of your analysis explaining whether or not your data support or contradict your hypothesis. (Note the initial proposal and proposed coding sheet will be due during week 7 so that I have time to give you feedback before you proceed with your coding). Your final paper, including the write-up of your conclusions will be due on Friday of the last week of the semester. Late work will be penalized, one half grade per day. Not including the appendix (which should have your coding sheet and data summaries), the final paper should be 17-20 pages, double spaced.

<b>Grading Breakdown</b>	Course participation	20%
	Book Review	10%
	Research Evaluation Reports (RERs), 10 percent each	30%
	Final Paper (Coding Project)	40%

**Required Materials**

Figueiredo, Marcus. 2008. *A Decisão do voto-Democracia e Racionalidade*. Belo Horizonte, M.G.: Editora UFMG.

Hallin, Daniel C. and Paulo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press.

Hallin, Daniel C. and Paulo Mancini (eds.) 2012. *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press

Iyengar, Shanto and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Lawson, Chappell. 2002. *Building the Fourth Estate: Democratization and the Rise of a Free Press in Mexico*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Patterson, Thomas E. 1994. *Out of Order: An Incisive and Boldly Original Critique of the News Media's Domination of America's Political Process*. New York: Vintage Books

Week 1, August 14

**Introduction/Measuring Media Exposure**

Delli Carpini, Michael X. and Scott Keeter. 1993. "Measuring Political Knowledge: Putting First Things First." *American Journal of Political Science* 37(4): 1179-1206.

Price, Vincent, and John Zaller. 1993. "Who Gets the News? Alternative Measures of News Reception and Their Implications for Research." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 57:133-64.

Prior, Markus (2009). The Immensely Inflated News Audience: Assessing Bias in Self-Reported News Exposure. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 73 (1): 130-143.

Week 2, August 21

**Formation of Mass Opinion**

Tell me what book you will be reading for your book review

Converse, Philip. 1964. "The Nature of Belief Systems in Mass Publics." In David Apter (ed.) *Ideology and Discontent*. Glencoe, Ill.: Free Press, pp. 206-260.

Zaller, John. 1991. "Information, Values and Opinion." *The American Political Science Review* 85(4): 1215-1237.

- Zaller, John and Stanley Feldman. 1992. "A Simple Theory of the Survey Response: Answering Questions versus Revealing Preferences." *American Journal of Political Science* 36(3): 579-616.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." *American Political Science Review* 87: 267-85.
- Baum, Matthew. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *The American Political Science Review* 96(1): 91-109.
- Luskin, Robert C. and John G. Bullock. 2011. "Don't Know" Means "Don't Know": DK Responses and the Public's Level of Political Knowledge. *The Journal of Politics* 73(2): 547-557.

Week 3, August 28

**Class Canceled/Attending APSA**

Work on book review.

Week 4, September 4

**Media Influence on Mass Opinion in Theory**

Book Review due at beginning of class.

- Iyengar, Shanto and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.
- Chong, Dennis and James N. Druckman. 2007. "Framing Public Opinion in Competitive Democracies." *American Political Science Review* 101(4): 637-655.
- Scheufele, Dietram and David Tewksbury. 2007. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models." *Journal of Communication* 57(1): 9-20.

Week 5, September 11

**Election Coverage and Vote Preference, Part 1**

- Patterson, Thomas E. 1994. *Out of Order: An Incisive and Boldly Original Critique of the News Media's Domination of America's Political Process*. New York: Vintage Books, Chapters 2, 4, 5.
- Figueiredo, Marcus. 2008. *A Decisão do Voto: Democracia e Racionalidade*. Belo Horizonte, M.G.: Editora UFMG, Chapters 1, 2, 6, 7

Week 6, September 18

**Election Coverage and Vote Preference, Part 2**

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon and Nicholas Valentino. 1994. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *The American Political Science Review* 88(4): 829-838.
- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger. 2003. "Mass Communication, Personal Communication and Vote Choice: The Filter Hypothesis of Media Influence in Comparative Perspective." *British Journal of Political Science* 33(2): 233-259.
- Boas, Taylor. 2005 "Television and Neopopulism in Latin America: Media Effects in Brazil and Peru." *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 40(2): 27-49.
- Porto, Mauro. 2007. "Framing Controversies: Television and the 2002 Presidential Election in Brazil." *Political Communication* 24(1): 19-36.
- Desposato, Scott. 2007. "The Impact of Campaign Messages in New Democracies: Results from an Experiment in Brazil." Working Paper.
- Santos Mundim, Pedro. 2010. "Um Modelo para Medir os Efeitos da Cobertura da Imprensa no Voto: Teste nas Eleições de 2002 e 2006." *Opinião Pública* 16(2): 394-425.

- Week 7, September 25 **Media Portrayals and Public Conceptions: effects on political & policy outcomes**
- Gilens, Martin. 1996. "Race and Poverty in America: Public Misperceptions and the American News Media." *The Public Opinion Quarterly* 60(4): 515-541.
- Gilliam, Franklin, Jr. and Shanto Iyengar. 2000. "Prime Suspects: The Influence of Local Television News on the Viewing Public." *American Journal of Political Science* 44(3): 560-573.
- Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings and Ismail K. White. 2002. "Cues that Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes during Campaigns." *The American Political Science Review* 96(1): 75-90.
- Huhn Sebastian, Anika Oettler and Peter Peetz. 2006. "Exploding Crime? Topic Management in Central American Newspapers." GIGA Working Paper No. 33, Hamburg: German Institute of Global and Area Studies.
- Vaz, Paulo, et al. 2007. "Mídia, formação da opinião Pública e voto popular: As narrativas de crime na TV e o referendo sobre o comércio de armas." *Compos* Abril: 1-22.
- Lyra de Carvalho, Orlando. 2010. "Mídia e criminalidade: acertos e impasses no agenda-setting e no accountability." *Ciências Sociais Unisinos* 46(2): 187-196.
- Week 8, October 2 **Comparative Media Systems**
- Hallin, Daniel C. and Paulo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press. Chapter 2-4
- Hallin, Daniel C. and Paulo Mancini (eds.) 2012. *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*. New York, N.Y.: Cambridge University Press, Chapters 5-8, 11, 12.
- Week 9, October 9 **Media and Accountability/Good governance**
- Waisbord, Silvio. 1996. "Investigative journalism and political accountability in South American democracies." *Critical Studies in Mass Communication* 13(4): 343-363.
- Zaller, John. 2003. "A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen." *Political Communication* 20: 109-130.
- Adserà, Alicia, Carles Boix and Mark Payne. 2003. "Are You Being Served? Political Accountability and Quality of Government."
- Besley, Timothy and Andrea Prat. 2006. "Handcuffs for the Grabbing Hand? Media Capture and Government Accountability." *American Economic Review* 96(3): 720-736.
- Egorov, Georgy, Sergei Guriev and Konstantin Sonin. 2009. "Why Resource-poor Dictators Allow Freer Media: A Theory and Evidence from Panel Data." *American Political Science Review* 103(4): 645-668.
- Stockmann, Daniela and Mary E. Gallagher. 2011. "Remote Control: How the Media Sustain Authoritarian Rule in China."

Week 10, October 16

**Media Coverage of Corruption: Perceptions versus Reality**

- Waisbord, Silvio. 1994. "Knocking on Newsroom Doors: The Press and Political Scandals in Argentina." *Political Communication* 11(1): 19-33.
- Brunetti, Aymo and Beatrice Weder. 2003. "A Free Press is Bad News for Corruption." *Journal of Public Economics* 87(7-8): 1801-1824.
- Freille, Sebastian M., Emranul Haque and Richard Kneller. 2007. "A contribution to the empirics of press freedom and corruption." *European Journal of Political Economy* 23: 838-862.
- Claudio Ferraz and Frederico Finan. 2008. "Exposing Corrupt Politicians: The Effects of Brazil's Publicly Released Audits on Electoral Outcomes." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 123(2): 703-745.
- Balán, Manuel. 2011. "Competition by Denunciation: The Political Dynamics of Corruption Scandals in Argentina and Chile." *Comparative Politics* 43(4): 459-478.
- Stein, Elizabeth A. and Marisa Kellam. *Forthcoming*. "Programming Presidential Agendas: Partisan and Media Environments that Lead Presidents to Fight Crime and Corruption." *Political Communication*.

Week 11, October 23

**Media Censorship: Media in Brazil's Dictatorship**

- Kucinski, Bernardo. 2002. "A primeira vítima: a autocensura durante o regime militar." In Carneiro, Maria Luzia Tucci (eds.) *Minorias Silenciadas: História da Censura no Brasil*. São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo/Imprensa Oficial do Estado, pp. 533-551.
- Smith, Anne-Marie. 1997. *A Forced Agreement: Press Acquiescence to Censorship in Brazil*. Pittsburgh, Penn.: University of Pittsburgh Press, Chapters 1, 5-7,
- Kushnir, Beatriz. 2004. *Caes de Guarda: Jornalistas e Censorses, do AI-5 a Constituicao de 1988*, Chapters 3 & 4

Week 12, October 30

**Media Influence on Mass Opinion in Authoritarian Regimes**

- Geddes, Barbara and John Zaller. 1989. "Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 33(2): 319-347.
- Chu, Yun-han, et al. 2008. "Public Opinion and Democratic Legitimacy." *Journal of Democracy* 19(2): 74-87.
- Kennedy, John James. 2008. "Maintaining Popular Support for the Chinese Communist Party: The Influence of Education and the State-Controlled Media." *Political Studies* 57(3): 517-536.
- Kern, Holger Lutz, and Jens Hainmueller. 2009. "Opium for the Masses: How Foreign Media Can Stabilize Authoritarian Regimes." *Political Analysis* 17: 377-399.
- Enikolopov, Ruben, Maria Petrova, and Ekaterina Zhuravskaya. 2011. "Media and Political Persuasion: Evidence from Russia." *The American Economic Review* 101(7): 3253-3285.
- Stein, Elizabeth A. 2013. "The Unraveling of Support for Authoritarianism: The Dynamic Relationship of Elites, Media and Public Opinion in Brazil." *International Journal of Press/Politics* 18(1): 85-107.

Week 13, November 6 **Information, Media and Mass Action**

- Gamson, William A. and Gadi Wolfsfeld. 1993. "Movements and Media as Interacting Systems." *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Sciences* 528; 114-25.
- Myers, Daniel. J. 2000. "The diffusion of collective violence: Infectiousness, susceptibility, and mass media networks." *American Journal of Sociology* 106(1): 173-208.
- Andrews, Kenneth T. and Michael Biggs. 2006. "The Dynamics of Protest Diffusion: Movement Organizations, Social Networks and News Media in the 1960 Sit-Ins." *American Sociological Review* 71(October): 752-777.
- Kern, Holger Lutz. 2010. "Foreign Media and Protest Diffusion in Authoritarian Regimes: The Case of the 1989 East German Revolution." *Comparative Political Studies* 44(9)1179-1205.
- Lim, Merlyna. 2012. "Clicks, cabs, and coffee houses: Social media and oppositional movements in Egypt, 2004–2011." *Journal of Communication*:
- Valenzuela, Sebastián, Arturo Arriagada, and Andrés Scherman. 2012. "The Social Media Basis of Youth Protest Behavior: The Case of Chile." *Journal of Communication* 1-16.

Week 14, November 13 **Media and Democratization**

- Lawson, Chappell. 2002. *Building the Fourth Estate: Democratization and the Rise of a Free Press in Mexico*. Berkeley, Calif.: University of California Press.

Week 15, November 20 **Media in New Democracies**

- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger. 1996. "Mass Media, The Electorate and The Bandwagon: A Study of Communication Effects on Vote Choice in Germany." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 8(3): 266-291.
- Tironi, Eugenio and Guillermo Sunkel. 2000. "The Modernization of Communications: The Media in the Transition to Democracy in Chile." In Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan (eds.) *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Lawson, Chappell. And James A. McAnn. 2005. "Television News, Mexico's 2000 Elections and Media Effects in Emerging Democracies." *British Journal of Political Science* 35(1): 1-30.
- Porto, Mauro. 2007. "TV News and Political Change in Brazil: The Impact of Democratization on TV Globo's Journalism." *Journalism* 8(4): 381-402.
- Loveless, Matthew. 2010. "Understanding Media Socialization in Democratizing Countries: Mobilization and Malaise in Central and Eastern Europe." *Comparative Politics* 42(4): 457-474.
- Boas, Taylor C. and F. Daniel Hidalgo. 2011. "Controlling the Airwaves: Incumbency Advantage and Community Radio in Brazil" *American Journal of Political Science* 55(4): 869–885,

**Final Papers due Friday, November 22 by 5 p.m.**

*You must submit a hard copy to me and send me a Word document as an email attachment*