

Graduate Programmes

Fall Semester 2017
Course Syllabus



GRAD-E1249: New Media, Democracy, and Stability Daniela Stockmann

1. General Information

Class hours	<i>Monday 2-4pm</i>
Class room	2.30
Instructors	Daniela Stockmann
Email	stockmann@hertie-school.org Please communicate with me via moodle.
Phone	
Office	3.58
Assistant	-
Office Hours	<i>Monday 4.30 – 5.30pm</i>

Instructor Information:

Daniela Stockmann is Professor of Digital Politics and Media at the Hertie School of Governance. She holds degrees from the University of Rochester, the School of Oriental and African Studies at the University of London, and a Ph.D. from the University of Michigan, Ann Arbor (2007). Before joining the Hertie School faculty, she was Associate Professor of Political Science at Leiden University. Her current research focuses on trends towards digitalization of societies and their challenges for policy-makers and citizens. She also maintains an interest in authoritarian forms of governance and challenges to political stability. Her book, *Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China* (Cambridge University Press, 2013), has received the 2015 Goldsmith Book Prize awarded by the Harvard Kennedy School Shorenstein Center on Media, Politics, and Public Policy. Her recent project explores the impact of social media on citizen participation, funded by a Starting Grant of the European Research Council (ERC). She is also a consultant for think tanks, social media startups and NGOs focusing on digitalization and privacy protection.

2. Course Contents and Learning Objectives

Course Contents

The adoption of market mechanisms and new technologies in media around the world have brought about tremendous changes in government, business, research, and many other areas of everyday life. Debates about the consequences of market-based and new media usually center around claiming the revolutionizing effects deepening democracy and destabilizing

existing power structures; others argue that the market or technology may strengthen control and authoritarianism without much capacity for political change. This course examines the consequences of changes in the media landscape within different political systems. We will attempt to go beyond highlighting the utopian and dystopian effects and instead identify which arguments have yielded the strongest evidence.

Following the logic of classifications into democratic and authoritarian political systems the course is divided into two parts: the first part deals with market-based and new media as providers of information, focusing on content that is produced online; here we are particularly interested in whether content is becoming more uniform or diverse as the first dimension differentiating democratic and authoritarian tendencies. The second part focuses on the participatory aspects of new media technology that provides citizens with new opportunities to engage; political engagement constitutes the second dimension defining democratic and authoritarian elements.

The course takes a global perspective, going beyond Europe and the United States to China and the Middle East. Students are welcome to bring up examples from other countries.

Learning objectives

The course offers students an overview of the principal theoretical and policy debates on new media. The course is theoretically grounded in Political Science and Communications, although previous knowledge of the discipline is not a prerequisite. Students will be expected to:

- Understand and differentiate between factors that strengthen democracy and authoritarianism
- Identify major changes and challenges of media in the 21st century
- Critically reflect on whether the Internet serves as an avenue for citizen empowerment and participation or increases government and corporate control over information
- Learn how to build and support arguments
- Learn how to serve as a commentator or moderator of a discussion

3. Course Requirements and Grading

Class assignments build on each other as exercises of critical reflections on the debate about the consequences of new media for democracy and stability. Handouts with specific instructions on individual assignments will be distributed ahead of time in class.

All assignments are due via Moodle.

Grading will be based on the following components

1. Imagine you are an independent advocate either in favor or against the Network Enforcement Act (Netzwerkdurchsetzungsgesetz) in Germany. An advocate is a person who publicly supports a cause or policy. Write a **750 word Op-Ed** outlining how Google should implement the Network Enforcement Act on either Youtube or Google Plus (choose one of the two products). An Op-ed is an opinion piece in answer to a piece of news, sometimes on behalf of a non-profit or business. You should consult the materials from the lecture on censorship and freedom of information. Please indicate whether you are in favor or against the law. The Op-ed will help you to prepare for the guest lecture by the

Google Policy team. For background reading on the law see session 5. The Op-ed is due by **12pm on Monday 9th October on moodle.**

2. A **mid-term take-home exam.** This exam will consist of a (maximum) 2,000 word essay which you will have 8 hours to write. It will be given at 9am **during mid-term exam week on a day tbc** and due at 5pm on the same day. The essay will be based on material and readings covered in the course.

3. Final Research Essay.

Find, research, describe and analyze an example of a politician, political campaign, advocacy group, activist effort or spontaneous networked action that took advantage of or was disrupted by the Internet and related connection technologies. Discuss whether the Internet has strengthened authoritarian or democratic elements in your case.

Write a 3,000 word research essay on your activist(s). The essay should build on and integrate the theoretical material we have covered in class. For instance, you may look at:

- How new media technology has changed political action over time
- How activists are adapting to new technological challenges

You are expected to consult the existing secondary literature on your activist(s). You are not expected to conduct interviews or extensive primary research for this research essay. A recommended starting point is to examine the general readings list in this syllabus.

You will also need to write a brief research proposal (maximum 500 words) outlining your research question and justifying why it's important to study in relation to the topics discussed in class. Your proposal is due on **November 6th** by 12pm. (This proposal will not be graded but will be critical to ensure your choice of a suitable topic. Your final essay will not be graded unless you submit a research proposal). The final essay is due at 9 am on **January 8th** on moodle.

4. Course participation.

Discussion and participation: Each student will serve as a commentator or moderator for one class session, depending on your own choice. Generally speaking we will begin the class with a lecture from the instructor, then move to the commentator, and then finally to an open discussion. During the open discussion, the other students are asked to react to the comments and criticisms of the commentator, the discussion questions submitted on Moodle, or new questions raised by the moderator. Class ends with a wrap-up by the instructor.

Moderator and commentator work together in a team towards a specific goal in consultation with the instructor. As a *commentator* you bring in the readings in a meaningful way to present an argument regarding the topic of the discussion. As a *moderator* you guide the discussion within ground rules towards a meaningful goal of the discussion. Please **reserve some time after class one week before your performance** to discuss the specific topic and goal of the discussion with Danie. Please also **send Danie an email on Mondays before 9 am** briefly outlining your plan for the discussion on the day of your session. **Discussion time will vary somewhat for each week** and is set in consultation with the instructor.

Students are also asked to prepare **one** question about the readings. This question should be posted on the discussion board on Moodle three hours before the class meeting (**11 am on Mondays**).

You will receive constructive feedback on your performance as commentator or moderator, but not a grade. The entire discussion and participation grade will be a composite of your participation in the discussion, your regular submission of discussion questions, and your participation as commentator or moderator.

Composition of Final Grade

Op-Ed	20%
Mid-term exam	30%
Final Essay + research proposal	40%
Participation	10 %

Late submission of assignments For each day the final research essay is turned in late, the grade will be reduced by 10% (e.g. submission two days after the deadline would result in 20% grade deduction). *Please note that the op-ed and the mid-term exam constitute exceptions: late submissions are not accepted and will result in a failing grade.*

Attendance Students are expected to be present and prepared for every class session. Active participation during lectures and seminar discussions is essential. If unavoidable circumstances arise which prevent attendance or preparation, the instructor should be advised by email with as much advance notice as possible. Please note that students cannot miss more than two sessions. For further information please consult the examination rules §4.

Academic Integrity

The Hertie School of Governance is committed to the standards of good academic and ethical conduct. Any violation of these standards shall be subject to disciplinary action. Plagiarism, deceitful actions as well as free-riding in group work are not tolerated. See Exam Rules §11.

Readings Students must do all the core readings. For each core reading, ask yourself: what is the research question? What are the author(s) trying to explain (dependent variable)? What is the answer to the research question? What are the main explanations (independent variable(s)) for what the author is trying to explain? What empirical evidence is provided for the argument? Do you find the empirical evidence convincing? Once you are finished analysing each core reading individually, spend some time thinking about how they relate to each other. What have you learned about the questions to be discussed in class (see syllabus)?

You are also encouraged to read the optional readings and bring in additional insights from beyond the course list.

Background Reading

Barabasi, Albert-Laszlo. 2014. *Linked*. New York: Perseus Books.

(Two print copies available in the Reserved Collection.)

All required electronic readings are available at the Moodle course site; all remaining readings are available in a binder in the reserved collection shelf in the library with the name of the course on it. You can read them in the library or make copies of readings at the library.

Course Overview

Session	Session Date	Session Title	Moderator and/or Commentator
1	04.09.2017	Democracy and Authoritarianism	No commentator or moderator for this week's class
2	11.09.2017	Changes in Media Systems	Emily (C), Jasmine (M)
		<i>Part I: Information</i>	
3	18.09.2017	Censorship and Media Freedom	Stephanie Rogers (M), Ariel (C), Brett (C)
4	25.09.2017	Online Communication and Journalism	Roberto (C), Sonya (M)
5	02.10.2017	Echochambers or Marketplace of Ideas?	Shruti (M), Stephanie Demetry (C)
6	09.10.2017	Google Talk on the German Network Enforcement Act	No commentator or moderator for this week's class <i>Op-Ed due</i>
7	16.10.2017	Media Effects and Campaigning	Kira (C), Sadem (M)
Mid-term Exam Week: 23 -27 October 2017			
		<i>Part II: Participation</i>	
8	30.10.2017	Digital Divide and Inequalities	Vaishali (M), Jash (C)
9	06.11.2017	LiquidFeedback Talk on Internet and Voting	No commentator or moderator for this week's class <i>Research Proposal due</i>
10	13.11.2017	Digital Communication and Participation	Ruslan (M), Jon (C), Sasha (C)
11	20.11.2017	Advocacy, Social Movements, and Revolutions	Jennifer (M), Rosalie (C)
12	27.11.2017	Final Discussion	Lauren (M), Dana (C)
Final Exam Week: 11-15 December 2017			

Course Sessions and Readings

1) Democracy and Authoritarianism

What is democracy?

Are non-democracies more than a residual category?

Is there a bias in our understandings of democracy and authoritarianism?

Readings

Diamond, Larry Jay (2002). "Elections without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes." Journal of Democracy 13(2): 21-35. <http://www.asu.edu/courses/pos350/diamond--Thinking%20about%20Hybrid%20Regimes.pdf>

Geddes, Barbara (1999). "What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?" Annual Review of Political Science 2: 115-144. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=poh&AN=5366763&site=eds-live>

2) Changes in Media Systems

What are the major changes and challenges of media in the 21st century?

Readings

Siebert, Fred S., Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm (1973 [1956]). Four Theories of the Press : The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do. Freeport, New York, Books for Libraries Press. (Introduction, p. 1-7) (Hardcopy available in the course binder at the library).

Park, Myung-Jin and James Curran (2000). De-Westernizing Media Studies. London; New York, Routledge. (Introduction, p. 3-18) (Hardcopy available in the course binder at the library).

Benkler, Yochai (2006). The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom. New Haven: Yale University Press. (Introduction, p. 1-34). http://www.benkler.org/Benkler_Wealth_Of_Networks.pdf

Optional

Select one country and think about how it fits with these three approaches.

Background Reading on Individual Countries:

For information about individual countries in see IREX, media sustainability index: <https://www.irex.org/resource/media-sustainability-index-msi>

Some regions missing in IREX:

China:

Stockmann, Daniela (2015). "Responsive Authoritarianism in Chinese Media." In Avery Goldstein and Jacques deLisle, eds, *Challenges to Regime Stability in China*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press. *(Available on Moodle)*

Latin America:

Manuel Alejandro Guerrero and Mireya Márquez-Ramírez (2014). *Media Systems and Communication Policies in Latin America*. New York: Palgrave.

United States and Europe:

Hallin, Daniel and Paolo Mancini (2004). *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

3) Censorship and Media Freedom

Which factors exert control over online content?

How do governments and corporations work together to control information?

Readings

Lessig, Lawrence (2006). *Code Version 2.0*, (introduction)

<http://codev2.cc/download+remix/Lessig-Codev2.pdf>

Hintz, Arne (2016). Restricting digital sites of dissent: commercial social media and free expression. *Critical Discourse Studies* 13(3): 325-340. (Hardcopy available in the course binder at the library).

Optional

Read these two articles – is there anything surprising in how content is managed?

Gallagher Mary, and Blake Miller (2017). Can the Chinese government really control the Internet? We found cracks in the Great Firewall. *The Washington Post*.

Loos, Ted (2016). Illuminating the Dark Web and Content Monitoring. *The New York Times*.

4) Online Communication and Journalism

How do new media influence political information?

Readings

Chadwick, A. 2011. "Britain's First Live Televised Party Leaders' Debate: From the News Cycle to the Political Information Cycle". *Parliamentary Affairs* 64(1): 24-44. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=poh&AN=69709497&site=eds-live>

Ali, Sadaf R. and Fahmy, Shahira (2013). Gatekeeping and Citizen Journalism: The Use of Social Media during the Recent Uprisings in Iran, Egypt, and Lybia. *Media, War & Conflict* 6(1): 55-69. <http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edb&AN=91916934&site=eds-live>

Optional

The US Presidential elections have sparked a debate about fake news. What is the role of social media in the creation of fake news?

Hunt Allcott and Matthew Gentzkow (2017). Social Media and Fake News in the 2016 Election. *The Journal of Economic Perspectives* 31(2): 211-226.

5) Echochambers or Marketplace of Ideas?

What (political) content do people tend to seek online? Does the internet promote diversity or does it reinforce polarisation and fragmentation?

Wojcieszak, Magdalena and Diana Mutz. (2009). Online groups and political discourse: Do online discussion spaces facilitate exposure to political disagreement? *Journal of Communication*, 59, 40–56. <http://eds-1a-1ebcohost-1com-1ajzy3l58007a.hertie.hh-han.com/eds/pdfviewer/pdfviewer?vid=1&sid=0bd2a67d-f9ab-41d6-b59c-24be6f903f86%40sessionmgr4006>

EITHER

Colleoni, E., Rozza, A. & Arvidsson, A. (2015) 'Echo Chamber or Public Sphere? Predicting Political Orientation and Measuring Political Homophily in Twitter Using Big Data', *Journal of Communication*, 64 (2): 317–332. (Hardcopy available in the course binder at the library).

OR

Bakshy, E., Messing, S. & Adamic, L.A. (2015) 'Exposure to ideologically diverse news and opinion on Facebook', *Science*, 348 (6239): 1130-1132. <http://education.biu.ac.il/files/education/shared/science-2015-bakshy-1130-2.pdf>

6) Invited Speaker: Lutz Mache, Google Policy Team

*As part of the Op-ed you have already developed an opinion in favour or against the Network Enforcement Act. You have also thought about possibilities regarding its implementation. Discuss your ideas with the Google Policy Team. **Please note that the discussion takes place under [Chatham House Rules](#).***

Background Readings for the Op-Ed and Talk

Tworek, Heidi (2017). How Germany is Tackling Hate Speech. Foreign Affairs.

<https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/germany/2017-05-16/how-germany-tackling-hate-speech>

Netzwerkdurchsetzungsgesetz

https://www.bmju.de/SharedDocs/Gesetzgebungsverfahren/Dokumente/NetzDG_engl.pdf;jsessionid=53CB39DCAEA82A061270A9D204D4A59F.1_cid297?blob=publicationFile&v=2

Center for Democracy and Technology

<https://cdt.org/blog/german-social-media-law-creates-strong-incentives-for-censorship/>

Declaration on Freedom of Expression

<http://deklaration-fuer-meinungsfreiheit.de/en/>

----- **No class week of October 23th & mid-term exam** -----

7) Media Effects and Campaigning

What kind of people are most easily affected by media?

Are new media less persuasive?

Geddes, Barbara and John Zaller. 1989. "Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes." *American Journal of Political Science* 33(2): 319-347.

<http://www.jstor.org/stable/2111150>

EITHER

Towner, Terri and David Dulio (2011). "An Experiment of Campaign Effects during the YouTube Election." *New Media and Society* 13(4): 626-644. <http://journals-1sagepub-1com-1ajzy3l58007b.hertie.hh-han.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1461444810377917>

OR

Kramer, Adam, Jamie Guillory and Jeffrey Hancock (2014). Experimental evidence of massive-scale emotional contagion through social networks. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences* 111(24): 8788–8790. <http://dx.doi.org/10.1073/pnas.1320040111>

8) Digital Divide and Inequalities

Has the Internet brought about new inequalities and if so what kind?

Do these inequalities matter?

Readings

Basu, S. (2016). Digital Divide, Digital Ethics, and E-government. In *ICTs in Developing Countries* (pp. 161-169). Palgrave Macmillan UK. (Hardcopy available in the course binder at the library).

Correa, T. (2016). Digital skills and social media use: how Internet skills are related to different types of Facebook use among 'digital natives'. *Information, Communication & Society*, 19(8), 1095-1107. (Hardcopy available in the course binder at the library).

Optional

More recently discussions about inequalities have moved towards biases in computer code. What inequalities may be embedded in code?

Mukerjee, Aditya (2015). "I can text you a pile of poo, but I can't write my name," Model View Culture.

<https://modelviewculture.com/pieces/i-can-text-you-a-pile-of-poo-but-i-cant-write-my-name>

Crawford, Kate (2016). "Artificial Intelligence's White Guy Problem." *New York Times*.

https://www.nytimes.com/2016/06/26/opinion/sunday/artificial-intelligences-white-guy-problem.html?_r=2

9) Internet and Voting: Invited Speaker Andreas Nitsche, LiquidFeedback

LiquidFeedback is an initiative by a group of developers that later developed in an [NGO](#) and business to provide technical support for developed software. Co-founder [Andreas Nitsche](#) will describe the challenge of debates surrounding online voting and describe how they arrived at their approach towards chances and risks combining online deliberation and voting. *LiquidFeedback* aims to protect against the dominance of noisy minorities, hate speech and trolling, but at the same time allows minorities to express their point of view. *LiquidFeedback* determines voting options with the aim to find the unbiased collective preference.

Background Reading for the Talk

Schneider, Steve (2013). "Digital Voting is a Game Changer, but we have to get it right." The Conversation, <http://theconversation.com/digital-voting-is-a-game-changer-but-we-have-to-get-it-right-21198>

Nitsche, Andreas (2014). "Liquid Democracy – What all the Noise is about," *The Liquid Democracy Journal*, Issue 1, http://www.liquid-democracy-journal.org/issue/1/The_Liquid_Democracy_Journal-Issue001-01-Liquid_Democracy.html

Optional

Related discussions focus on the role of the Internet in influencing offline voting:

What are the effects of Voting Advice Applications?

What are the effects of online campaigning on voter turnout?

How can digital voting be manipulated in authoritarian regimes?

Wall, Matthes, Andre Krouwel, and Thomas Vitiello (2014). "So Voters follow the recommendations of Vote Advice Application Websites? A Study of the Effects of Kieskompas.nl on its Users' vote Choices in the 2010 Dutch Legislative Elections." *Party Politics* 20(3): 416-428.

Enos, Ryan and Anthony Fowler (2016). Aggregate Effects of Large-Scale Campaigns on Voter Turnout. *Political Science Research and Methods*, 1-19.

Toepfl, Florian (2016). "Innovating Consultative Authoritarianism: Internet Votes as a Novel Digital Tool to Stabilize Non-democratic Rule in Russia." *New Media and Society* 1-17. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/pdf/10.1177/1461444816675444>

10) Digital Communication and Participation

Is digital communication a form of participation?

How is digital communication related to other forms of participation?

What about new media technologies facilitates or hinders engagement?

Readings

Theocharis, Y. & Quintelier, E. (2015) 'Stimulating Citizenship or Expanding Entertainment? The effect of Facebook on adolescent participation', *New Media & Society*, 18(5): 817-836. <http://journals.sagepub.com/doi/abs/10.1177/1461444814549006>

Bailard, Catie (2012). "Testing the Internet's Effect on Democratic Satisfaction: A Multi-Methodological, Cross-National Approach." *Journal of Information Technology and Politics*. 9: 185-204.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=poh&AN=74217936&site=eds-live>

Optional

Morozov, Evgeny (2009). The Brave New World of Slacktivism. *Foreign Policy*

<http://foreignpolicy.com/2009/05/19/the-brave-new-world-of-slacktivism/>

Bond et al. (2012) 'A 61-million person experiment in social influence and political mobilization', *Nature*, 489: 295-298.

11) Advocacy, Social Movements, and Revolutions

How has the Internet changed Political Advocacy and Social Movements?

Do Social Media have the Power to bring about Revolutions?

Readings

Bennett, Lance and Alexandra Segerberg. 2012. "The Logic of Connective Action: Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics." *Information, Communication & Society* 15(5): 739-768.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=edsswe&AN=edsswe.oai.DiVA.org.su.79730&site=eds-live>

Hussain, Muzammil (2013). "What best explains Successful Protest Cascades? ICTs and the Fuzzy Causes of the Arab Spring" *International Studies Review* 15: 48-66.

<http://search.ebscohost.com/login.aspx?direct=true&db=poh&AN=86881518&site=eds-live>

Optional

Gladwell, Malcolm (2010). Why the Revolution will not be Tweeted. *The New Yorker*

<http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2010/10/04/small-change-malcolm-gladwell>

12) Conclusion:

Does the Internet serve as an avenue for citizen empowerment and participation or does it increase government and corporate control over information?

Please write down your responses to the question, based on the readings for this course and your own independent research.