

**Media, Politics & Public Opinion -- Fall 2009**

**Prof. Sondra M. Rubenstein**

<b>Course Number:</b> 208.2166.B.01	<b>Office Hours:</b> Mondays, 10:30-11:30
<b>Semester:</b> Fall 2009	<b>Location:</b> Room 8044, Rabin Hall
<b>Class Time:</b> Mondays, 12:00 - 16:00	<b>Phone:</b> 052-278-3036; Home 03-933-7162
<b>Class Location:</b>	<b>E-Mail:</b> <a href="mailto:sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com">sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com</a>

**Course description:**

Examines the central role media play in politics and the nature of their impacts on public opinion, political agenda setting and agenda building in democratic politics. Students will learn how to create and manage a campaign, which will have as its aim the achievement of a particular goal (social, political, economic, etc.). **(4 credits)**

**Topics include:** Characteristics of public opinion; theories of communication, propaganda, charisma; blind spots in the news; muckraking/investigative and manipulative journalism; impact of the Internet and Bloggers on campaigns; political symbolism and media literacy; impact of interactive audiences, election campaigns and domestic/global policy making in a technological age; opinion leaders; spin-doctors; and the coverage and impact of extraordinary events on political decision and policy making.

**IMPORTANT:** Please download the following two Packets from the electronic reserve system: **(a) Theory and (b) Propaganda.**

**Note:** Required readings will be available on electronic reserve. From time to time, some current, topical articles may be distributed in class. See the Addendum for recommended readings.

**Course goals:**

- a) To enhance your existing awareness of mediated reality in the political realm
- b) To enhance your research, writing, analytical, and creative presentation skills
- c) To encourage use of these skills in the area of campaign organization/management for a public cause or social good

**The final grade will consist of the following course requirements:**

Five (1-2-pages) double-spaced essays (worth 25% of the grade) based on reading assignments. (Due dates: 2, 16, and 23 November; 7 December, and by 23 December.

- Class participation, attendance, being prompt, overall effort (10%).
- Formal proposal (4-5 pages, double-spaced), outlining a campaign **due by 30 November 2009** (15%).
- PowerPoint presentation (10-15 minutes) of campaign (15%). Possible dates: **7 and 28 December**

- Final research paper 13-15 pages, describing campaign process, etc., **due 20 January 2010** (35%).

**Please see Addendum for important details. It is a “MUST” read!!!**

### **Due dates & content for Assignments**

**Important:** Please see the Addendum for Assignment requirements; and please follow the directions contained therein to avoid loss of credit.

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**12 October 2009** -- Introduction. **The Syllabus:** Overview of course requirements

Review of theories (communication, propaganda, cross-cultural issues, news values, etc.). Roles/responsibilities of the media. Preliminary remarks on creating a campaign.

Please read, review and be prepared to discuss: *Creating a Campaign, Campaign Examples,* and *Creating an Anti-Pollution Campaign.*

**See reading assignment for next class.**

**Please begin to consider an issue or topic for your own campaign.**

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**19 October 2009** -- **Note:** Israeli Communication students will join us.

The *Theory* and *Propaganda* Packets. In the Propaganda packet, please see the section dealing with campaigns. Please select one initial theory or subject of interest (from each packet), which you believe will be useful in designing a campaign.

In class: **PowerPoint presentation of a model campaign.**

Please read:

(a) **Election 08: Obama’s Secret Weapons; Internet, Databases and Psychology** by Sara Lai Stirland (Oct. 29, 2008)

(b) **Obamaspace and the future of online campaigns** by Stephanie Kimball (Nov. 19, 2008)

**Please be prepared to discuss the above articles.**

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**26 October 2009** -- Mass media as a force for political and social change.

Media theories/functions: Lasswell and others. Who do the media serve? Who should the media serve? Understanding adversarial role of the press. Effects of mass media. Who should control news making? Who does control news making? **Blind-Spots in the News.**

Learning effects, orientations, psychological barriers to modernization. . . . Media impact on behavior and attitude; differential effects of print and broadcast media; media role in political socialization; uses and gratification theory. Understanding political symbolism through media literacy; implications of the knowledge-gap hypothesis; and your criticisms of the media. Agenda-setting theories and agenda building by the media. Who decides? Debate: Market forces vs. editorial judgments. Gabriel Almond on the attentive public; V.O. Keys and his characteristics of public opinion (see pp. 6-7, Theory Packet).

Politics, Power, and Perceptions. Critics vs. the supporters. Can the public be participants in Journalism? What are the effects and political consequences of new technologies?

**See reading assignment below:**

**Reading Assignment #1**

1.1. Ch. 1, Doris Graber, "Media Power & Government Control," in *Mass Media and American Politics*, 5th Ed.

1.2. Ch. 7, Graber, "Media Impact on Attitudes and Behavior."

**Video:** *The Best Campaign Money Can Buy* -- VCV-3372

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**2 November 2009**

Media-government relationship. **What is news?** Consider **Galtung & Ruge's news values**. The UNESCO debate: Is it still relevant? Identify the arguments on both sides of the debate. What is your opinion? With which side do you agree? Why? Consider what happened to Larry Agran. Why are these articles relevant to designing a campaign?

**Reading Assignment #2**

2.1. Haiqing Yu, Ch. 6 (pp. 124-149), "Media Campaigns: The war over Falun Gong," in *Media and Cultural Transformation in China* (NY: Routledge, 2009)

2.2. Joshua Meyrowitz, "The Press Rejects a Candidate," *Columbia Journalism Review* (March/April 1992), <http://archives.cjr/year/92/2/opinion.asp>

PLEASE NOTE: Submit written Assignment #1. Please write a 1-2 page (double-spaced) essay.

With reference to Doris Graber (1.1), Ch. 1, and Haiqing Yu (2.1), Ch. 6:

- Identify two major themes (or issues) common to both readings and explain their relevance to your creating a successful campaign.
- How do the authors deal with these issues? Are there points of agreement and disagreement?
- With particular reference to H.Y.'s chapter, what aspect of this chapter did you consider most interesting.
- Please give your opinion on both articles.

**\*\*Before our next class (by Sunday afternoon, 8 Nov.) please email me two topics for your campaign project (see below).**

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**9 November 2009** -- Image and campaign style. Image as transaction; technology/ campaign style; impact of TV on campaign style; incumbency style; symbolic trappings of office; charisma and the office . . . Pragmatic strategies of incumbency. 18 strategies, including: Pseudo-events; manipulating the economy; depending on surrogates for campaign trail; consulting/negotiating with foreign leaders; attacking the record of opponents; calling for a change; appearing to represent party's philosophical center, etc.

**Reading Assignment #3**

- 3.1. "The Internet and Political Campaigns," Nicholas Thompson, *theGlobalist*. (June 16, 2003). See: <http://www.theglobalist.com/DBWeb/printStoryId.aspx?StoryId=3249>
- 3.2. Ch. 3, 63-104, Communicative styles and strategies of political campaigns, J.S. Trent & R.V. Friedenberg, *Political Campaign Communication: Principles & Practices*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed.

**Reminder:** \*Please email me your 2 topics for your campaign project prior to this date.  
\*\*Discussion of student topics submitted for campaigns.

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**16 November 2009** -- **Reminder:** Your **Formal Campaign Proposal** is due on or before **30 November**. See Addendum for directions (pp. 8-9).

Determinants of politicians' prominence in the news. The interactive audience, political socialization. Communicative mass channels of political campaigning. Theories revisited: Hypodermic effect; limited effects or the social influence model. Putting theory and practice together: Spreading the news (diffusion of information); getting people to listen (uses and gratifications); getting them to think about your candidate/cause (agenda-setting). Consider the impact on politics.

\*\*Workshop time to discuss campaigns

**Video:** *Illusions of News*.

**Reading Assignment #4**

- 4.1. "Politicians on TV news: Getting attention in Dutch and German election campaigns" by Klaus Schoenbach, Jan de Ridder & Edmund Lauf, in *European Journal of Political Research* 39:519-531, 2001.
- 4.2. Ch. 10, 146-157, Davis, "The Interactive Audience."
- 4.3. Ch. 4, Trent/Friedenberg, on "Channels of Political Campaigning."

PLEASE NOTE: Submit written Assignment #2: Please write a 1-2 page (double-spaced) essay.

- a. Focusing on the two Trent/Friedenberg chapters 3 (3.2) and 4 (4.3) and the Schoenbach, et al. study (4.1) identify similarities and differences in the issues being discussed.

- b. What if any differences in cultural and societal behavior exist in the societies under discussion by the American and European authors.
- c. What are the implications for electoral campaigns conducted in these societies?
- d. If it is possible, how could this information help you in implementing your campaign for a social good?

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**23 November 2009 -- Remember: Your Proposal is due by email on 30 November 2009.**  
**[sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com](mailto:sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com)**

Be sure to follow the directions in the Addendum section dealing with the Proposal.

Debate and post-debate strategies. Debates in political campaigns. Functions and effects of political debates: Increase audiences, reinforcement, shift some voters, help set voters' agenda, increase voter knowledge, modify candidate's image, etc. Door-to-Door campaigns and products. Growth of press power. Sensationalism of "Yellow journalism"; functionalism of muckraking. **See assignment below.**

**Reading Assignment #5**

5.1. Ch. 8, 250-283, Trent/Friedenberg, on "Debates in Political Campaigns."

5.2. Ch. 3, 35-55, Davis, "Penny Press, Yellow Journalism & Political Independence"

PLEASE NOTE: Submit written Assignment #3: Please write a 1-2 page (double-spaced) essay connecting the two readings 5.1-5.2 above:

- a. With specific reference to the Trent/Friedenberg chapter, explain how this particular chapter can be useful in the construction and implementation of your campaign.
- b. With reference to Davis, Ch. 3: identify one statement or paragraph, which struck you as interesting and in some way relevant to the Trent/ Friedenberg chapter. Explain why.

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**30 November 2009 -- Proposal is due.**

Forms of control; ownership patterns. Regulation of media industry. Advertising pressures. Market size (GE); '96 Telecommunications Act, the FCC. Impact of citizen lobby. Ownership patterns in Israel. **Who owns what?** Do they affect media coverage, politics, policy making?

**Reading Assignment #6**

6. Ch. 2, 33-55, Graber, "Ownership, Regulation, and Guidance of Media"

\*Submit Qs/Cs (#6)

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**7 December 2009 -- How business strategy shapes media content.**

“Fluff and Stuff”; the L.A. Times case; censorship and conflict of interest. Any similarities with ownership patterns of the media in other countries and in Israeli? Freedom of the press and attempts to use, control, or silence it.

**Reading Assignment #7**

7. Ch. 5, Croteau & Hoynes, *The Business of Media* (See written assignment below.)

PLEASE NOTE: Submit written Assignment #4: Please write a 1-2 page (double-spaced) essay connecting Graber, Ch. 2 (6) and Croteau & Hoynes, Ch. 5 (7):

- a. Identify any similar concerns shared by these authors, and differences of opinion, if they exist.
- b. In regard to your campaign, what have you learned that is relevant and useful?
- c. What is your overall evaluation of both chapters?

\* **PowerPoint presentations by International Students.**

\*\* Workshop Time to discuss campaigns.

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**IMPORTANT -- Note: Classes will not be held on 14 and 21 December 2009.**

Students are requested to continue their reading assignments and work on their PowerPoint presentations due for the last class, when we return.

**14 December 2009 --**

**Reading Assignment #8 --** Advertising in political campaigns; developing a master plan for political advertising; six factors to consider; five guidelines for designing direct mail

8. Ch. 10, 319-358, Trent/Friedenberg, *Political Campaign Communication*

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**21 December 2009 --**

**Reading Assignment #9 --** Emergence of corporate-operated press; impact of advertising; new vs. old relationships. How business strategy shapes media content. Media as policy makers. Muckraking models: simple, leaping impact, truncated. Agenda-setting.

Candidate Commercials: Negative ads. Media electoral roles. Increased dependency on the media, which acts as an electoral intermediary; "mentioner"; categorizer; expectation-setter; agenda-setter; winnowing, and chief critic. Media-based policymaking; political campaigns; shaping the image.

9.1. Ch. 6, 156-186, Graber, on "Media as Policy Makers."

9.2. Ch. 10, 201-204, Melinda Henneberger, in Shirley Biagi, *Media Reader, 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition*.

\*Submit Qs/Cs (#9)

PLEASE NOTE: Submit written Assignment #5 **on or before 23 December.**

Please write a 1-2 page (double-spaced) essay considering Trent/Friedenberg's Ch. 10 (from #8), Graber's Ch. 6 (9.1), and the Henneberger article (9.2) dealing with radio.

- a. Discuss the areas in which these three readings agree and differ.
- b. What can we learn about media roles from these articles?
- c. What concerns are raised by Trent/Friedenberg's views on how business strategy shapes media content?
- d. Where (in our class readings) have we encountered views similar to those expressed by these authors?

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**28 December 2009 -- Reading Assignment #10:** Although there is no written assignment required for these last readings, there is much to be learned from them relating to campaigns in general.

- 10.1. Ch. 5, 135-153, Graber, "Reporting Extraordinary Events": Stages and patterns of coverage; positive and negative effects of coverage;
- 10.2. Ch. 12, 171-190, Davis, "Media Electoral Roles"
- 10.3. Ch. 13, 193-215, Davis, "Media-Based Campaigns"

**Last class for International Students -- Presentations**

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**ADDENDUM: The Rules of Engagement -- a "MUST" read!!!**

### MISCELLANEOUS INFORMATION

**1. Weekly reading assignments** to be discussed in class. Participation will be graded.  
**Suggestion:** Read carefully; take notes. Be prepared to discuss the readings.

During class discussions, please feel free to ask questions and voice your opinions. I believe in the importance of hearing diverse perspectives and opinions. They are encouraged and will be respected.

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**2. Five written, short essays based on class readings (25% of your grade):** These essays should be between 1-2 (double-spaced) pages in length. They are due on the following dates: **2, 16, and 23 November; 7 December and the last essay should be submitted by 23 December.** Always submit your work as Word Attachments via email.

Should you miss a class, for whatever reason, the written assignments must be submitted via email, on time. Please email all your work to me at: [sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com](mailto:sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com)

**PLEASE NOTE:** Handwritten work will not be accepted. Assignments are due on the dates indicated in the Syllabus.

**IMPORTANT:** Always include the following at the top of your essays: your name, ID#, email address, written assignment number, date of submission, the authors and titles of the readings you are discussing. Within the context of your essays, when you refer to the readings, please include the page numbers and authors (in parentheses) to which you are responding. This provides me with a sense of context and enables me to better respond to your comments.

Given that there are **no exams**, these assignments are extremely important: Completion of reading assignments will be demonstrated **in two ways:**

(a) By the submission of the five required essays (which must be computer generated, 1-2 pages in length and typed double-spaced in English).

(b) By incorporating the relevant and appropriate readings in your project, final paper, and presentation to help provide a theoretical grounding for your campaign's framing and implementation.

(c) Each essay will be graded on the basis of your ability to respond to the specific requirements of the individual assignment and to identify the **key issues** as requested.

I will return your graded essays with my comments. Please keep copies of your assignments along with my feedback comments.

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**3. The Project:** To create a media campaign to achieve well-defined goals, involving:

- The evolution and development of an issue or problem (in the realm of social welfare, economics, politics, or national security).
- The passage of a piece of legislation to provide for some needed social good.
- A political campaign for either a candidate or a policy.
- An educational campaign to provide important information to the public, etc.

**Note:** The due date for the final project paper (written in prose style) will be **20 January 2010**. Students from the International School should email me their papers (whether they complete them before leaving Israel or after).

If the due date for grades to be filed for International Students precedes my deadline, you are welcome to submit your paper earlier. If you feel you will need the extra time, please let me know and speak to your contact person at the International School for approval for a later submission. Please inform me of their decision.

By Sunday afternoon, **8 November 2009**, please email me two suggested topics (**in order of preference**) for your campaign. At the top of the page, please type your name, ID # and email address.

For each proposed topic, **please include a brief paragraph**, explaining:

- a) The nature of the campaign (for an individual, a party, a policy, a cause, etc.).
- b) The goal(s) of the campaign. [What specifically do you want your target audience to do?].
- c) The rationale: Why you believe this campaign is important and worthy of the effort to mold or change public opinion?
- d) The target audience: Your preliminary assessment of which constituencies will be most interested in this campaign and supportive.
- e) Your opponents and those who may possibly be converted to supporters.

Email your suggested topics to: **[sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com](mailto:sondrarubenstein@yahoo.com)**

On Monday, **9 November**, I will review student choices in class and will discuss the pros and cons of each choice. At that time I hope to approve one of your topics. I will try to approve your first choice.

Once your topic has been approved, you should begin giving serious attention to researching your subject and to working on your Formal Proposal (which will be worth 15% of your final grade). You may use various research sources, including scholarly articles, Internet and Web searches, as well as personal interviews, if possible.

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**4. The Proposal: The Formal Proposal (4-5 pages) is due 30 November 2009.** To prepare to write the Proposal, please reread and review the following two articles from our first meeting: *Creating a Campaign* and *Creating an Anti-Pollution Campaign*. You must:

- a) Identify the key issues in the campaign.
- b) Research and identify **one scholarly article** that addresses your issue (or a similar and relevant issue).

c) Decide which theoretical approach or approaches will best fit your campaign. We will be having major discussions on this in class.

d) Research the events and causes that led to the perceived need that something must be done.

e) Identify those who have staked out an interest in your issue, cause, or candidate. Meaning, you must research and target the appropriate:

- Actors (including individuals in the public eye, government agencies, etc.)
- Institutions and non-governmental organizations
- Audiences
- Relevant channels of communication

f) Map out a strategy to "re-set" the public agenda by attracting media attention (See framing theory in the Theory Packet).

g) Design a plan for information dissemination, including the role of the Internet, "events" and "pseudo-events." (See Diffusion Theory).

h) Submit (via email) a Formal Proposal that explains all of the above. It should include a preliminary bibliography (which should also include relevant class readings and your scholarly article).

Please read through the items below. Although you may have only preliminary information regarding these items, they ought to be mentioned in your Proposal, perhaps appearing as aspects that will be developed further for the Presentation and the Final Paper. If you have any questions about the items below, please ask in class.

1) From an **agenda-building perspective**, explain how the campaign organizers can best move the issue to center stage, where the public and the policy makers will begin to focus their attention on it.

2) Consider how best to "**frame**" the campaign issues to attract campaign contributors and supporters, as well as media attention.

3) **Estimate costs** (based on specific research of media advertising rates and other projected expenses, i.e., campaign products like: buttons, posters, pamphlets, etc.) and personnel (paid as well as volunteer) needs.

4) Map out a **fundraising** campaign.

5) Establish criteria to **assess** the outcome of the effort.

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**5. The Presentation:** Prepare a PowerPoint presentation. Remember: limit the number of items on each slide to 3 or 4 items and use a large (28-32 point) font.

International Students will give their presentations on: **7 December and 28 December.** We will discuss the preparation of the PowerPoint presentation in class during the semester.

The PowerPoint presentation will have been based on the Proposal, and it will indicate the progress made since the Proposal was submitted. It will contain various details to complete the “picture” of how the campaign will be implemented.

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**6. The Final Paper -- Will consist of 13 to 15 pages and it will be due on 20 January 2010.**

Your final paper will include **all the subject matter** you included in your Proposal and in your Presentation. It should be written in prose form. You will describe and evaluate your campaign. Be sure the final paper includes the following:

- a) **Relevant class readings** that provided a theoretical basis for analysis, or were helpful in the planning and framing of the campaign and its issues.
- b) **One scholarly article** (found in journals) that is particularly relevant to your topic. Include this article in the discussion in your paper.
- c) **A description** of the problems encountered, mistakes made, and how they were or were not resolved. Could they have been avoided? How?
- d) **Class comments**, questions and answers that resulted from your presentation or from various class discussions and with which you either agreed or disagreed. Explain why.

Additional details, instructions, and guidance will be provided in class. Please feel free to ask questions.

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**7. Attendance policy:** Since our classes consist of double sessions, more than **two** unexcused absences (outside of a death in the family, or illness) will result in a loss of credit and a lowered final grade. Attendance will be kept. Beginning with the **third** absence, three percentage points will be deducted from the final grade for each unexcused absence.

**IMPORTANT: Do not** sign up for another class that overlaps with this course and meets either during our first or second sessions each Monday. It is dishonest and anyone doing this will automatically fail this course. Regular attendance is expected and demanded.

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**8. Lateness policy:** Lateness is disruptive and cannot be tolerated. Two latenesses will be considered as one unexcused absence, and will result in the same loss of credit.

**IMPORTANT:** If you leave the class during our break and you do not return, you will be considered absent for the entire class.

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**9. Grading system: Please see page one of this Syllabus.**

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**10. Office hours: Mondays, 10:30 to 11:30,** and by appointment on Thursdays. Please email me if you want to set an appointment.

Office: Room 8044, Rabin Hall. To reach me by phone, please call: Cell phone: 052-278-3036, or my home phone: 03-933-7162. Please feel free to call me if you have any course-related problems. I will always try to help. *SMR*

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### **Recommended Reading List**

Students are encouraged to consult the following readings in connection with their project papers.

Altheide, D.L., *Media Power* (Beverly Hills, CA: Sage, 1985).

Altschull, J. Herbert, *Agents of Power* (NY: Longman, 1995), combines practice with theory to explain how the social control function of the news media operates in and impacts on policy making in actual micro-political, economic, and cultural settings.

Alexander, Alison & Jarice Hanson, eds., *Taking Sides* (CT: Brown & Benchmark, 1996), examines the political and social impact of the media.

Bennett, W.L., *News: The Politics of Illusion*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed., (NY: Longman, 1988).

Beell, Thomas, ed., *Messages 4* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1997), includes an important chapter on the media and various political systems, such as Nigeria, Algeria, and Slovakia, thereby introducing a cross-cultural component.

Boorstin, Daniel, *The Image* (Atheneum, 1972), continues to examine America's pragmatic political style, what historian Boorstin earlier called the "genius of American politics."

Cohen, Jeff & Norman Solomon, *Through the Media Looking Glass* (Courage Common Press, 1995), attempts to decode what the authors identify as "bias and blather" in the news.

Crouse, Timothy, *The Boys on the Bus*, (NY: Random House, 1973) provides an analysis of the reporters assigned to cover presidential candidates as they travel around the country during the primary and general election campaigns.

Davis, Richard, *The Press and American Politics: The New Mediator*, 2<sup>nd</sup> ed. (NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1996), examines the impact of the news media on politics. This syllabus includes several chapters from this book. The unassigned chapters are also worth reading.

Dennis, Everett E., *Reshaping the Media* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1989), discusses the politics of media credibility in its coverage of politics and elections.

. . . . . *Media at War* (NY: Gannett Center for Media Studies, 1991), examines the role of the press during the Persian Gulf War.

Dennis, Everett E. & John C. Merrill, *Media Debates* (NY: Longman, 1996), provides the pros and cons in several controversial areas.

Devlin, P.D., "Trends in Political Television Advertising," in J. Trent, ed., *Views from the Helm in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century* (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1997.)

Diamond, Edwin & Stephen Bates, *The Spot: The Rise of Political Advertising on Television*, 3<sup>rd</sup> Ed. (MA: MIT Press, 1992).

Downing, J., *The Media Machine* (London: Pluto Press, 1980).

Graber, Doris A., *Media Power in Politics*, 3rd ed. (Cong. Quarterly, 1993). Contains essays exploring the media's ability to shape political agendas.

. . . . . *Mass Media and American Politics*, 5<sup>th</sup> ed. (Cong. Quarterly, Inc., 1997), examines the major changes in the media and their affect on politics. This syllabus includes several chapters from this book. The unassigned chapters are also worth reading.

Hahn, Dan F., *Political Communication: Rhetoric, Government, and Citizens* (Strata Publishing, Inc. 1997).

Haiqing Yu, Ch. 6 (124-149), "Media Campaigns: The war over Falun Gong," in *Media and Cultural Transformation in China* (NY: Routledge, 2009).

Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, *Packaging the Presidency*, 2nd Ed. (NY: Oxford, 1996), provides a history and criticism of presidential campaign advertising.

Jowett, G.S. & V. O'Donnell, *Propaganda and Persuasion* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1986).

Kerbel, Matt. R., *Remote & Controlled: Media Politics in a Cynical Age* (Boulder, Colorado: Westview Press, 1995).

Kimball, Stephanie, *Obamaspace and the future of online campaigns* (Nov. 19, 2008) <http://europeancourier.org/138.htm>

MacDonald, J. Fred, *One Nation Under Television* (Chicago: Nelson Hall, 1990), contains two relevant chapters on the shaping of a national culture, and on the politics of television.

Mitroff, Ian I. & Warren Bennis, *The Unreality Industry* (NY: Oxford University Press, 1993), analyzes cases of deliberate manufacturing of falsehood by the media, in what the author identifies as a "hero-less, leaderless society."

Nacos, Brigitte L., Robert Y. Shapira, & Pierangelo Isernia, *Decision-making in a Glass House: Mass Media, Public Opinion: American and European Foreign Policy in the 21<sup>st</sup> Century*, (NY: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, Inc. 2000).

Nimmo, Dan & James E. Combs, *Mediated Political Realities* (NY: Longman, 1990), contains relevant chapters on the mediated contests of presidential campaigning and on the mediation of conspiracy theories and the American political tradition.

Norris, Pippa, ed., *Women, Media, and Politics* (NY: Oxford, 1997).

Parenti, Michael, *Inventing Reality: The Politics of the Mass Media* (NY: St. Martin's Press, 1986), focuses on analysis of the news media.

Patterson, Thomas E., *Out of Order* (NY: Vintage, 1994), provides a critique of the news media's domination of America's political process.

Roszak, Theodore, *The Cult of Information* (University of Cal., 1994), contains an interesting chapter on the politics of information and another on government and communication technologies gone astray.

Rubenstein, Sondra M., *Surveying Public Opinion* (CA: Wadsworth, 1995), examines the history of public opinion survey research; describes the survey process and discusses the impact of polling on the political process.

Schoenbach, Klaus, Jan de Ridder & Edmund Lauf, "Politicians on TV news: Getting attention in Dutch and German election campaigns" in *European Journal of Political Research* 39:519-531, 2001.

Shaheen, Jack, *The TV Arab* (Bowling Green St. U., 1984) reviews the biased media presentations of Arabs and its impact on policy making.

Spear, Joseph C., *Presidents and the Press* (MIT, 1986), examines government appeasement and intimidation of the press as it reacts to media coverage of politics and policy-making.

Stempel, G.H., *The Practice of Political Communication* (NJ: Prentice-Hall, 1994).

Stirland, Sara Lai, *Election 08: Obama's Secret Weapons; Internet, Databases and Psychology* (Oct. 29, 2008) <http://blog.wired.com/27bstroke6/2008/10/obamas-secret-w.html>

Stepp, Carl Sessions, *Editing for Today's Newsroom*, 2nd Edition (London, Routledge, 2008).

Trent, Judith S. & Robert V. Friedenberg, *Political Campaign Communication: Principles and Practices*, 4<sup>th</sup> Ed. (CN: Praeger, 2000).

Ward, Hiley H., *Mainstreams of American History*, (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1997).

Woodward G.C., *Perspectives on American Political Media*, (Boston: Allyn & Bacon, 1997).

Zaremba, Alan Jay, *Mass Communication and International Politics* (Sheffield, 1988), presents a case study of press reactions to the 1973 Arab-Israeli War and its impact on public opinion.

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