UNIVERSITY OF OXFORD
Department of Politics and International Relations

Media, Public Opinion, and Politics
Optional subject for the MPhil in Politics
Academic Year 2015-2016

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Course scope
This course covers theories and methods used for understanding the role of media and communication in political processes. It explores the role of mediated communications by political actors, media organizations, and individuals via both traditional and digital media, the development of public opinion, the images and perceptions of public figures and policies, media/communication in elections, and how various kinds of media and forms of communication are involved in foreign policy and movement activism.

Specific course aims
The course is intended to advance students' understanding of the role of media and communication in political processes, including theories and methods used for analyzing the effects of media and communication on public opinion, the practice and processes of political communication, factors influencing news production and dissemination, as well as the roles played by media in various domestic and international policy processes. Finally, the students should be equipped to critically evaluate the role of media and communication in relation to politics and society in a wide range of different settings globally.

Learning outcomes
Students who complete this course should be able to:
- Compare and contrast the role and impact of media and communication in politics and political processes in different settings
- Assess application of a range of theories and methods in the field of political communication research
- Critically evaluate the role of media and communication in different political processes and in different settings
- Apply these theories and methods to analyze new developments as well as countries, political processes, and issues beyond those covered in the course.

Course topics
1. Roles, functions and influences of media and political communications
2. Comparing political communication systems
3. Effects of media/communication on public opinion and political processes
4. Media institutions and news
5. Campaigns and elections
6. Media, political socialization and popular perceptions of media and politics
7. Media, foreign policy, and international conflict
8. Media, social movements and collective action

Course delivery
The course will be taught in eight two-hour sessions including lectures, short presentations, discussions, and group exercises.

Students will be required to produce 2 essays of about 2500 words each. The first essay will be an in-depth critical review of one of the books assigned as essential or further reading for the course. The second will be literature review and research proposal outlining a way to analyse a self-defined problem concerning media, communication, and politics. The first assignment is about an in-depth assessment of a single piece of existing scholarship. The second assignment is an opportunity to develop an idea, position it relative to relevant existing work, and outline the theories and methods useful for pursuing it.

Assessment
Formal assessment will take place with a three-hour examination.

Relevant journals
European Journal of Communication
International Journal of Press/Politics
International Journal of Public Opinion Research
Journal of Communication
Journal of Information Technology and Politics
Journalism Studies
Media, War & Conflict
Political Communication
Public Opinion Quarterly

Recommended background readings for the whole course
Bennett, W. Lance, and Robert M Entman, eds. 2001. *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Chadwick, Andrew, and Philip N. Howard, eds. 2009. *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*. London: Routledge.
Chadwick, Andrew. 2013. *The Hybrid Media System : Politics and Power*. New York: Oxford University Press.
Cook, Timothy. 2005. *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution*. 2nd ed. University of Chicago Press.
Kuhn, Raymond. 2007. *Politics and the Media in Britain*. Palgrave Macmillan.
McNair, Brian. 2007. *An Introduction to Political Communication*. 4th ed. London: Routledge.
Negrine, Ralph M, and James Stanyer, eds. 2007. *The Political Communication Reader*. London: Routledge.
Norris, P. 2000. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
Oates, Sarah 2008. *Introduction to Media and Politics*. Sage Publications.
Semetko, Holli A., and Margaret Scammell, eds. 2012. *The SAGE Handbook of Political Communication*. London: SAGE.
Wolfsfeld, Gadi 2011. *Making Sense of Media and Politics*. Routledge.

Session topics and bibliographies

1. Roles, functions and influences of media and political communications
The first session presents an overview of the main themes of and approaches to political communication research today as well as a range of basic perspectives on the roles, functions, and influences of media in society.

Questions for discussion
- What are the roles and functions of media in society and politics?
- What factors influence media and news production (ideological, societal, individual, organization)?
- How do media act as gatekeepers? How is that role changing?

Essential Readings
Chadwick, Andrew. 2013. *The Hybrid Media System: Politics and Power*. New York: Oxford University Press (Introduction and chapter 2).
Bennett, W.L. & Iyengar, S. 2008. A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication. *Journal of Communication*, 58(4), pp.707-731.
Holbert, R. Lance, R. Kelly Garrett, and Laurel S. Gleason. 2010. "A New Era of Minimal Effects? A Response to Bennett and Iyengar." *Journal of Communication* 60 (1): 15–34. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.2009.01470.x.
Norris, P. 2000. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Postindustrial Societies*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press. (Chapter 2.)
Strömbeck, J. (2005). In Search of a Standard: four models of democracy and their implications for journalism. *Journalism Studies*, Vol. 6, No. 3, pp. 331-345.

Further readings
Davis, Aeron. 2010. *Political Communication and Social Theory*. London: Routledge.
Williams, Bruce Alan, and Michael X. Delli Carpini. 2011. *After Broadcast News*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
Dewey, John. 1991. *The Public and Its Problems*. Athens, Ohio: Swallow Press/Ohio University Press.
Habermas, Jürgen. 1989. *The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere: An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society*. Cambridge, Mass: MIT Press.
Lippmann, Walter. 1997. *Public Opinion*. New Brunswick, N.J., U.S.A: Transaction Publishers.
Schudson, Michael. 2008. *Why Democracies Need an Unlovable Press*. Cambridge, UK: Polity.

2. Comparing political communication systems
This session provides an introduction to how scholars approach comparative, cross-national analysis of media systems in different countries and the roles that media play in different political systems.

Questions for discussion
- How are media similar and different in different systems? How do we best capture these differences conceptually and empirically? What are the consequences of these differences?

- How does institutionalized differences in the relationship between politics and media affect communication?
- What is the role of media policy in shaping media systems? Of market forces? Of technology?

Essential readings

Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*. New York: Cambridge University Press (Chapters 1, 2 and 4.)

Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini (eds.). 2012. *Comparing Media Systems Beyond the Western World*. New York: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1 and 13.)

Pfetsch, Barbara, ed. 2014. *Political Communication Cultures in Europe : Attitudes of Political Actors and Journalists in Nine Countries*. Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire ; New York, NY: Palgrave Macmillan. (Chapters 1 and 2.)

Aalberg, T., P. Aelst and J. Curran, 2010. 'Media System and the Political Information Environment: A Cross-National Comparison', *International Journal of Press/Politics*, 15 (3), 2010, 255-271.

Further readings

Albæk, Erik, Arjen Van Dalen, Nael Jebril, and Claes De Vreese. 2014. *Political Journalism in Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Benson, Rodney. 2013. *Shaping Immigration News : A French-American Comparison*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.

Esser, Frank and Barbara Pfetsch. 2004. *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*. New York: Cambridge University Press

Esser, Frank and Hanitzsch, Thomas (eds.). 2012. *Handbook of comparative communication research*. New York: Routledge.

Hanitzsch, Thomas, and Claudia Mellado. 2011. "What Shapes the News Around the World? How Journalists in Eighteen Countries Perceive Influences on Their Work." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 16 (3) (July 1): 404 –426. doi:10.1177/1940161211407334.

Kuhn, Raymond, and Rasmus Nielsen, eds. 2014. *Political Journalism in Transition: Western Europe in a Comparative Perspective*. London: I.B. Tauris.

Levy, David A. L, and Rasmus Kleis Nielsen, eds. 2010. *The Changing Business of Journalism and Its Implications for Democracy*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, University of Oxford.

Norris, Pippa. 2009. Comparative political communications: common frameworks or Babelian confusion? *Government and opposition, 44*(3): 321-40.

3. Effects of media/communication on public opinion and political processes
This session explores how media/communication affect public opinion about political issues and developments and how choices and portrayals of issues affects the ways they are perceived.

Questions for discussion
- What roles do media play in setting political agendas?
- How do media framing affect public perceptions of issues and developments?

- To what extent do media influence public opinion? Are the media as powerful as perceived?

Essential readings

Entman, R. M. 1993. Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51-58.

Hill, Seth J., James Lo, Lynn Vavreck, and John Zaller. 2013. 'How Quickly We Forget: The Duration of Persuasion Effects From Mass Communication'. *Political Communication* 30 (4): 521–47. doi:10.1080/10584609.2013.828143.

McCombs, Maxwell and Reynolds, Amy. 2009. How the news shapes our civil agenda. In: J. Bryant and M. B. Oliver (eds.). *Media effects. Advances in theory and research* (third edition). London: Routledge. p. 1-16.

Scheufele, D. A & Tewksbury, D. 2007. Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three News Media Effects Models. *Journal of Communication* 57: 9–20.

Walgrave, S. & P. van Aelst. 2006. The Contingency of the Mass Media's Political Agenda Setting Power: Toward a Preliminary Theory. *Journal of Communication,* Vol. 56, pp. 88-109.

Zaller, John R. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Public Opinion*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 2 and 3.)

Zaller, John R. 1993. Elite Leadership of Mass Opinion. In *Taken by Storm*, ed. W. Lance Bennett and David L Paletz, 186-209. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Further readings

Dearing, James W. and Everett M. Rogers. 1996. *Agenda-setting*. London: Sage.

Katz, E. and Paul Felix Lazarsfeld. 1955. *Personal Influence: The Part Played by People in the Flow of Mass Communications*. Free Press 1955

McCombs, Max. 2004. *Setting the Agenda: The Mass Media and Public Opinion*. Malden, MA, Blackwell Publishing.

Scheufele, D. A. 1999. Framing as a Theory of Media Effects. *Journal of Communication,* Vol. 49, No. 1, pp. 103-122.

Stroud, Natalie Jomini and Kate Kenski. 2007. From Agenda Setting to Refusal Setting: Survey Nonresponse as a function of Media Coverage across the 2004 Election Cycle. *Public Opinion Quarterly* 71: 539-559.

Druckman, J. N. 2001. On the limits of framing effects: Who can frame? *Journal of Politics*, 63, 1041-1066.

Mutz, Diana C. 1992. "Impersonal Influence: Effects of Representations of Public Opinion on Political Attitudes." Political Behavior 14 (2): 89–122. doi:10.1007/BF00992237.

Neuman, W. Russell, Lauren Guggenheim, S. Mo Jang, and Soo Young Bae. 2014. 'The Dynamics of Public Attention: Agenda-Setting Theory Meets Big Data.' *Journal of Communication*. doi:10.1111/jcom.12088.

4. Media institutions and news

This session explores the increasing role of news media in politics and policy processes in most developed democracies and the response of other political actors to that development.

Questions for discussion
- What are the characteristics of the relationship between media and politics in contemporary high income democracies and how does this relationship influence news production?
- How has mediatization affected politics? What are its logics?
- How do political image management and spin doctors after media portrayals of politics?

Essential readings

Cook, T. 1998. *Governing with the News*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapters 4 and 5.)

Chadwick, A. 2011. The Political Information Cycle in a Hybrid News System: The British Prime Minister and the "Bullygate" Affair. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 16 (1): 3 –29.

Davis, Aeron. 2009. 'Journalist–source Relations: Mediated Reflexivity and the Politics of Politics'. *Journalism Studies* 10 (2): 204. doi:10.1080/14616700802580540.

Meyrowitz, J. 1985. *No Sense of Place: The Impact of Electronic Media on Social Behavior*. New York: Oxford University Press. Read parts of chapter 14, pp. 268-292.

Strömbäck, Jesper. 2008. "Four Phases of Mediatization: An Analysis of the Mediatization of Politics." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 13 (3) (July 1): 228–246.

Bennett, W. Lance. 1990. "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States." *Journal of Communication* 40 (2): 103–27. doi:10.1111/j.1460-2466.1990.tb02265.x.

Further readings

Aelst, Peter Van, and Stefaan Walgrave. 2011. "Minimal or Massive? The Political Agenda-Setting Power of the Mass Media According to Different Methods." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 16 (3): 295–313.

Anderson, C. W. 2010. "Journalistic Networks and the Diffusion of Local News: The Brief, Happy News Life of the 'Francisville Four.'" *Political Communication* 27 (3): 289–309. doi:10.1080/10584609.2010.496710.

Bennett, W. Lance. 2005. *News: The Politics of Illusion*. 6th ed. New York: Pearson/Longman.

Figenschou, Tine Ustad, and Kjersti Thorbjørnsrud. 2015. "Backstage Media-Political Elite Negotiations: The Failure and Success of Government Pitch." *International Journal of Communication* 9 (0): 19.

Sanders, Karen, María José Canel Crespo, and Christina Holtz-Bacha. 2011. 'Communicating Governments A Three-Country Comparison of How Governments Communicate with Citizens'. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 16 (4): 523–47. doi:10.1177/1940161211418225.

Sellers, Patrick J. 2010. *Cycles of Spin: Strategic Communication in the U.S. Congress*. Cambridge ; New York: Cambridge University Press.

Vesa, Juho, Helena Blomberg, and Christian Kroll. 2015. "Minimal and Massive! Politicians' Views on the Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power Revisited." *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 20 (3): 279–96.

5. Campaigns and elections

This session focuses on the use of media and other forms of communications and their effects on elections, as well as on how campaigns and citizens' approach elections.

Questions for discussion
- What roles do campaign communications play in elections?
- How does media coverage affecting voting behaviour?
- What is the media logic in coverage of campaigns?

Essential readings

Norris, P. 2000. *A virtuous circle. Political Communications in Post-industrial Societies.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 7 and 8.)

Popkin, S.L. 1991. *The reasoning voter: communication and persuasion in presidential campaigns.* Chicago: University of Chicago Press, chapter 1, pp. 7-21.

Nielsen, K. 2012. *Ground Wars: Personalized Communication in Political Campaigns.* Princeton: Princeton University Press. (Chapter 1)

Kenski, Kate, Bruce W. Hardy, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2010. *The Obama Victory : How Media, Money, and Message Shaped the 2008 Election.* New York ; Oxford: Oxford University Press. (Introduction and chapter 1.)

Sides, John, and Lynn Vavreck. 2013. *The Gamble : Choice and Chance in the 2012 Presidential Election.* Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press. (Chapters 1 and 7.)

Further Readings

Aronczyk, Melissa. 2015. "Understanding the Impact of the Transnational Promotional Class on Political Communication." *International Journal of Communication* 9 (0): 20.

Druckman, J. N., & Parkin, M 2005. The impact of media bias: How editorial slant affects voters. *Journal of Politics, 67*, 1030-1049.

Kleinnjenhuis, J., & Fan, D. P. 1999. Media coverage and the flow of voters in multiparty systems: The 1994 national elections in Holland and Germany. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 11 (3), 233-256

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

Miller, J. M. & Kronsnick, J. A. 2000. News media impact on the ingredients of presidential evaluations: Politically knowledgeable citizens are guided by a trusted source. *American Journal of Political Science*, 44(2), 301-315

Norris, Pippa, John Curtice, David Sanders, Margaret Scammell, and Holli Semetko. 1999. *On Message: Communicating the Campaign.* London: Sage.

Plasser, Fritz, and Gunda Plasser. 2002. *Global Political Campaigning : A Worldwide Analysis of Campaign Professionals and Their Practices.* Westport, Conn; London: Praeger.

Scammell, Margaret. 2014. *Consumer Democracy : The Marketing of Politics.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Walker, Edward T. 2014. *Grassroots for Hire : Public Affairs Consultants in American Democracy.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

6. Media, political socialization and popular perceptions of media and politics

This session focuses on how the public experiences and engages with politics, media, and political communication.

Questions for discussion
- How do media socialize the public toward politics and what is the role of media in how people experience and perceive political processes?
- How do media affect knowledge and interpretation of politics?
- To what extent are trust, cynicism, and participation influenced by media?

Essential readings

Coleman, Stephen. 2012. *How Voters Feel*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1 and 2.)

Eliasoph, N. 1998. *Avoiding Politics: How Americans Produce Apathy in Everyday Life*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-22.

Gamson, William A. 1992. *Talking Politics*. Cambridge, U.K: Cambridge University Press. (Chapters 1 and 7.)

Prior, M. 2005. News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout. *American Journal of Political Science* 49, no. 3: 577-592.

Van Zoonen, L. 1998. A day at the zoo: political communication, pigs and popular culture. *Media, Culture & Society* 20, no. 2 (April 1): 183-200

Further readings

Baum, Matthew A. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." American Political Science Review 96: 91–109.

Couldry, Nick et al. 2010. *Media Consumption and Public Engagement*. London: Palgrave MacMillan.

Baum, M. A. & Jamison, A. S. 2006. The Oprah effect. How soft news help inattentive citizens vote consistently. *Journal of Politics, 68*, 946-959.

Brants, Kees. 1998. Who's afraid of infotainment? *European Journal of Communication 13*(3): 315-35.

Delli Carpini, M.X., & Keeter, S. 1996. *What Americans know about politics and why it Matters.* New Haven: Yale University Press.

Iyengar, S., & Hahn K.S. 2009. Red media, blue media: Evidence of ideological selectivity in media use. *Journal of Communication, 57,*19-39.

Prior, Markus. 2003. Any good news in soft news? The impact of soft news preferences on political knowledge. *Political Communication* 20: 149-171.

Walsh, Katherine Cramer. 2004. *Talking About Politics: Informal Groups and Social Identity in American Life*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

7. Media, foreign policy, and international conflict

Questions for discussion
- What roles to media play in foreign policy and public diplomacy?
- How does media and communication influence domestic processes around foreign affairs?
- What are the effects of international broadcasters on foreign policy making, public diplomacy and international conflicts?

Essential readings:

Baum, Matthew A., and Philip B.K. Potter. 2008. 'The Relationships Between Mass Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy: Toward a Theoretical Synthesis.' *Annual Review of Political Science* 11 (1): 39–65. doi:10.1146/annurev.polisci.11.060406.214132.

Cowan, Geoffrey, and Amelia Arsenault. 2008. 'Moving from Monologue to Dialogue to Collaboration: The Three Layers of Public Diplomacy.' *The ANNALS of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 616 (1): 10–30.

Entman, Robert M. 2004. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and U.S. Foreign Policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. (Chapter 1).

Hoskins, Andrew, and Ben O'Loughlin. 2010. *War and media : the emergence of diffused war*. Cambridge: Polity Press. (Introduction.)

Youmans, William Lafi, and Shawn Powers. 2012. 'Remote Negotiations: International Broadcasting as Bargaining in the Information Age.' *International Journal of Communication* 6 (0): 24-.

Zaller, John, and Dennis Chiu. 1996. 'Government's Little Helper: U.S. Press Coverage of Foreign Policy Crises, 1945–1991.' *Political Communication* 13 (4): 385–405. doi:10.1080/10584609.1996.9963127.

Further readings

Baum, Matthew. 2010. *War Stories: The Causes and Consequences of Public Views of War*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Der Derian, James. 2009. *Virtuous War: Mapping the Military-industrial-media-entertainment Network*. 2nd ed. New York: Routledge.

Edwards, George C., and B Dan Wood. 1999. Who influences whom? The President, Congress and the Media. American Political Science review 93 (2):327-344

Hoskins, Andrew, and Ben O'Loughlin. 2009. *Television and terror : conflicting times and the crisis of news discourse*. Basingstoke ; New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Livingstone, S. (1997) "Clarifying the CNN Effect: An Examination of Media Effects According to Type of Military Intervention", The Joan Shorenstein Centre, Harvard University, Research Paper.

Robinson, Piers (1999). The CNN effect: can the news media drive foreign policy? *Review of international studies, 25:* 301-9.

Seib, Philip 2012. *Real Time Diplomacy: Power and Politics in the Social Media Era*. Palgrave Macmillan.

Soroka, Stuart N. 2003. 'Media, Public Opinion, and Foreign Policy.' *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 8 (1): 27–48. doi:10.1177/1081180X02238783.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi (1997). *Media and political conflict; news from the Middle East*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Wood, D, and J Peake. 1998. The dynamics of foreign policy agenda-setting. *American Political Science Review* 92 (1): 173-183.

8. Media, social movements and collective action

This session focus on the roles of media, especially digital media, in collective action, social movements, and popular mobilizations.

Questions for discussion
- What roles do media and communications play as organizing and mobilization tools?
- Does the affordances of digital media alter politics processes fundamentally?
- What does the rise of digital media mean for interest groups and social movements?

Essential readings

Bennett, W. Lance, and Alexandra Segerberg. 2013. *The Logic of Connective Action : Digital Media and the Personalization of Contentious Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. (Introduction plus chapters 1 and 6.)

Karpf, David. 2012. *The MoveOn Effect: The Unexpected Transformation of American Political Advocacy*. New York: Oxford University Press. (Chapters 1 and 7.)

Howard, Philip N., and Muzammil M. Hussain. 2011. "The Role of Digital Media." *Journal of Democracy* 22 (3): 35–48. doi:10.1353/jod.2011.0041.

Wolfsfeld, Gadi, Elad Segev, and Tamir Sheafer. 2013. 'Social Media and the Arab Spring Politics Comes First'. *The International Journal of Press/Politics* 18 (2): 115–37. doi:10.1177/1940161212471716.

Gamson, William A. and Gadi Wolfsfeld. 1993. 'Movements and Media as Interacting Systems.' *Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science* 528 (July): 114–25.

Further readings

Anduiza, Eva, Michael James Jensen, and Laia Jorba, eds. 2012. *Digital Media and Political Engagement Worldwide : A Comparative Study*. New York ; Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bastos, Marco T., and Dan Mercea. 2015. 'Serial Activists: Political Twitter beyond Influentials and the Twittertariat.' *New Media & Society*, May, 1461444815584764. doi:10.1177/1461444815584764.

Benkler, Y. 2006. *The Wealth of Networks: How Social Production Transforms Markets and Freedom*. New Haven: Yale University Press.

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

Bimber, Bruce. 2003. *Information and American Democracy*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.

Bob, Clifford. 2005. *The Marketing of Rebellion : Insurgents, Media and International Activism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Gitlin, Todd. 1980. *The Whole World Is Watching : Mass Media in the Making & Unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley, CA; London: University of California Press.

Hindman, Matthew S. 2008. *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Sobieraj, Sarah. 2011. *Soundbitten : The Perils of Media-Centered Political Activism*. New York ; London: New York University Press.