Department of Political Science Dalhousie University Summer 2022

# POLI 3546 POLITICS AND SOCIAL MEDIA



#### Time and place:

M-T-W-T, 10.05-12.55; Synchronous Sessions (via Collaborate) (May 9 to May 26. NB: no class on May 23)

Instructor: Ruben Zaiotti E-mail: r.zaiotti@dal.ca

#### **Office hours:**

• After synchronous sessions or by appointment

#### **Course Overview**

This course seeks to introduce students to the main debates surrounding the role of social media in politics. Despite their recent emergence, social media platforms such as Facebook and Twitter have become core elements of the political process in numerous countries around the world. Social media have been used by a variety of political actors, from politicians, to public officials, lobbyists, community organizers, voters, protesters and individual citizens, be it at a local, national or international level. These political actors have used social media as a tool to spread (and share) political messages, complementing, and in some cases supplanting, traditional media such as television and radio. They have also used social media to organize political campaigns, protests, and, in some cases, revolutions. In turn, social media have become a rich source of data that academics and political operatives have relied upon to make sense (and, in the case of political operatives, to influence) the political process. The results of these developments have been a profound transformation in the way politics at the local, national and international level is understood and performed, and whose ultimate implications are not yet known.

This course will examine the origins, features and dynamics that characterize the relationship between politics and social media, paying particular attention to the following topics: political communication theories and social media; digital democracy; political campaigns and social media, revolutions and social media; international organization and social media; the ethics of social media in politics. In concluding, this course will cover the debates about the future of social media in politics, and the directions this relationship might develop over time.

#### **Course Objectives**

At the end of this course, students should understand:

- the significance of social media in politics today
- the various social media platform that political operators use to influence the political process
- how social media are used to influence politics
- how social media are used as methodological tools to gather information about politics
- the ethical challenges that the use of social media in politics raise

#### **Course Format**

The course will be delivered online and it will be based on a combination of synchronous sessions (i.e. live online) consisting of lectures, seminar discussions, group work; and multimedia material (videos, podcasts and other documents) available asynchronously (i.e. outside live sessions) on the online platform <u>Brightspace</u>. The course is divided into modules, each one covering a particular topic and a list of assigned readings. Lectures will follow the readings, but they will not overlap completely. Since the course will have *no tutorials*, lectures will presuppose familiarity with the readings. It is *essential* for students to complete the reading assignments before the lecture, in order to fully benefit from class discussions. The course has also two Discussion Boards (available on Brightspace): 1. "Social Media in the news" is an online forum where students share news or commentaries on current events related to politics and social media. 2. "Course Q&A" is a space for student questions about the course material and assignments

#### **Course textbook and readings**

The course textbook is the following: <u>Axel Bruns, Gunn Enli, Eli Skogerbo, Anders Olof</u> Larsson, Christian Christensen (eds.) (2017). *The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics*, Routledge. You can find a electronic copy of the textbook through the Dalhousie Library' Novanet database (click here). Alternatively you can buy or rent a print or e-book copy (click <u>here</u>). Additional readings not included in the textbook will be available either online or on Brightspace.

#### Supplemental Blogs and Resources

Other relevant source of information and commentary about social media and politics are available at the following sites:

- ePolitics. <u>www.epolitics.com</u>
- Social Advocacy and Politics. <u>www.socialmediatoday.com/special-columns/Social-Advocacy-&-Politics</u>
- Pew Institute <u>https://www.pewinternet.org/topics/social-media/</u>
- Statista <u>https://www.statista.com/topics/3723/social-media-and-politics-in-the-united-states/</u>
- Infogagement <u>https://medium.com/infogagement</u>
- Twiplomacy <u>https://twiplomacy.com</u>
- GovLoop <u>https://www.govloop.com</u>
- E-diplomacy <u>https://www.diplomacy.edu/e-diplomacy</u>
- Digiblog <u>https://digdipblog.com</u>
- Digidiplomats <u>http://www.digidiplomats.org</u>

#### **Course on Brightspace**

Lecture slides, syllabus, assignment instructions, bibliographic references, links to videos and podcasts and other relevant material for this course will be available on Brightspace. Brightspace will also function as main means of communication between the instructor and students. You will also be able to see your grades, read announcements and contribute to the discussion board. The course on Brightspace can be accessed at <u>https://dal.brightspace.com/d21/home</u>.

#### **Email Policy**

Please feel free to contact me by email if you have any questions related to the course. I will reply to legitimate email inquiries within 2 days. If you do not receive a reply within this period, please resubmit your question(s).

#### **Course Evaluation**

The final grade for this course will be based on five components:

Type of assignment	% of final grade	Due Date
1) Essay	30%	June 3
2) Social media strategy document (team assignment)	20%	May 24
3) Midterm review	15%	May 18

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4) Final review	15%	May 26
5) Contributions to Discussion Board	10%	Daily
6) Attendance	10%	Daily

#### Format of assignments

1) Political Campaign/Social Movements essay: The main writing assignment for this course is a paper of approximately 2,500 words, or 8 pages in length. The paper should examine two political campaigns or social movements. The main objective of this assignment is to provide a background of these campaigns/social movements, compare and contrast the role that social media played in them, and then draw possible policy lessons learnt. The cases should be chosen from the list provided in the syllabus (see below)

**2)** Social Media Strategy Document (Team assignment) - Each student will be assigned to a team. Relying on the ideas and examples covered in class, each team will develop an online strategy document for a real or hypothetical political campaign. The online strategy document should be 8 to 10 pages long, double spaced. At the end of each class session, some time will be dedicated for work on this assignment. Teams can meet (virtually) outside classroom time to complete the document. Each team will then present their findings in front of the class at the end of the course. More information on this assignment will be provided in class.

**3 and 4) Midterm and final reviews** (on Brightspace). In this online, open book reviews you will be asked a series of questions on the material covered in the course (powerpoint presentations, video, readings, original documents). The midterm review will cover material up to module 6 (May 17), while the final review (May 26) will cover material from module 7 up to the concluding module. You will have 2 hours to complete these assignments.

5) Discussion Board Entries. You are asked to post one (or more) entry for the 'Social Media in the News' Discussion board. Entry in the discussion board should include a link to a relevant article or news item, a brief analysis of the content and the connection with the course, and one or two questions to be shared with the rest of the class (NB: a selection of these entries will be discussed during the live sessions)

The entries are due on midnight the day before the class. They are worth 1 point each. Total **worth is up to 10 points** (1 discussion board entry x 10 modules)

#### 6) Attendance to synchronous ('live') sessions

This component of the course evaluation consists in the participation in weekly synchronous meetings, designed to attend lectures by the instructor and to participate to discussion about the course materials. Lectures will last approximately 30/45 minutes and held during the scheduled class time. The rest of the scheduled class is reserved for group discussions, team work and/or office hours. The sessions will take place on the Collaborate Platform; the link to each session will be available on Brightspace. Participation to each session is **worth 1 point**, for a total of **up to 10 points (10%).** (NB: no points for first and last class).

#### Grading scale

A+: 90-100%	C+: 64-67%
A: 85-90%	C: 60-63%
A-: 80-84%	C-: 56-59%
B+: 76-79%	D: 50-55%
B: 72-75%	F: 0-49%
B-: 68-71%	

#### Late penalty

Assignments will be penalized **2 per cent per day** (including weekends). Extensions will be granted only for documented reasons of illness, or bereavement. The length of the extension will be based on the information in the documentation. In case of illness, students must ask the physician to indicate *explicitly* the length of time during which they were unable to attend to their coursework obligations.

#### Use of sources and referencing style

Written assignments must be properly sourced, and should include both a bibliography and citation within the text. Research papers must be based on *academic sources*, that is, articles published in peer-reviewed journals, as well as books. The recommended referencing style is APA (details about this style can be found at http://www.library.dal.ca/Files/How do I/pdf/apa style6.pdf).

#### Academic integrity

All students in this class are to read and understand the policies on academic integrity and plagiarism referenced in the Policies and Student Resources sections of the academicintegrity.dal.ca website. Ignorance of such policies is no excuse for violations.

Any paper submitted by a student at Dalhousie University may be checked for originality to confirm that the student has not plagiarized from other sources. Plagiarism is considered a serious academic offence which may lead to loss of credit, suspension or expulsion from the University, or even to the revocation of a degree. It is essential that there be correct attribution

of authorities from which facts and opinions have been derived. At Dalhousie there are University Regulations which deal with plagiarism and, prior to submitting any paper in a course, students should read the Policy on Intellectual Honesty contained in the Calendar or on the Online Dalhousie website. The Senate has affirmed the right of any instructor to require that student papers be submitted in both written and computer-readable format, and to submit any paper to be checked electronically for originality.

#### **Accommodation policy**

Students may request accommodation as a result of barriers experienced related to disability, religious obligation, or any characteristic protected under Canadian human rights legislation. Students who require academic accommodation for either classroom participation or the writing of tests and exams should make their request to the Advising and Access Services Center (AASC) prior to or at the outset of the regular academic year. Please visit<u>www.dal.ca/access</u> for more information and to obtain the Request for Accommodation form.

A note taker may be required as part of a student's accommodation. There is an honorarium of \$75/course/term (with some exceptions). If you are interested, please contact AASC at 494-2836 for more information or send an email to <u>notetaking@dal.ca</u>

#### Writing and Studying Resources

#### Writing Centre

Learning to write well contributes to good marks, completion of degrees and, later, success in the workplace. Now is the time to improve your writing skills. You can visit the Writing Centre for assistance with your assignments. Staff and tutors help you to understand writing expectations and disciplinary conventions. The service is available six days a week. (See our website for hours of operation at the various Writing Centre sites.)

To book an appointment call 494-1963; email writingcentre@dal.ca;

#### Studying for Success program

University life can often be challenging. However, with help from the Studying for Success program, you too can become a more effective learner. Attend our workshops or drop in for individual study skills sessions, where we can help you with Time Management, Critical Reading, Note taking, Preparing for Exams, and much more.

For more information or to make appointments, please:

- visit website: <u>www.dal.ca/sfs</u>

- visit main office in the Killam Library, Room G28 (main floor)

- call 494-3077 or email the Coordinator at: sfs@dal.ca

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# **COURSE OUTLINE AND READINGS**

#### Module 1 - Introduction: social media and politics

#### Readings:

- Andrew Chadwick et al. (2016). Politics in the Age of Hybrid Media: Power, Systems, and Media Logics, In Axel Bruns et al. (eds) (2016) The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics (Textbook). Also available at: <a href="https://static1.squarespace.com/static/566d81c8d82d5ed309b2e935/t/568d502f7086d721">https://static1.squarespace.com/static/566d81c8d82d5ed309b2e935/t/568d502f7086d721</a>
  9d20fafa/1452101679072/Chadwick Dennis Smith\_ Politics in Age of Hybrid Media in Bruns et al Routledge+Companion to Social Media and Politics.pdf
- Karine Nahon (2016. *Where There Is Social Media There Is Politics*. In Axel Bruns et al. (eds) The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics (Textbook).

## Suggested Readings:

## History of Social Media

- "Chronology." In Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics. London: Sage.
- "Web 2.0." In Encyclopedia of Social Media and Politics. London: Sage.

# On the Logic of Social Media

- Van Dijck, Jose, and Thomas Poell. 2013. Understanding social media logic. *Media and Communication* 1(1): 2-14.
- Kim, D. H., Jones-Jang, S. M., & Kenski, K. (2021). Why do people share political information on social media?. *Digital Journalism*, *9*(8), 1123-1140.

#### On power and social media

- Clay Shirky (2011). The Political Power of Social Media. Foreign Affairs.
- Gilardi, F., Gessler, T., Kubli, M., & Müller, S. (2022). Social media and political agenda setting. *Political Communication*, *39*(1), 39-60.

• Christian Fuchs (2017). *The power and political economy of social media*, in Fuchs, Social Media: a Critical Introduction, Sage

## Social Media Theory

- Becker Marcano, P. E. (2018). Critical Theory and Social Media: Alternatives and the New Sensibility.
- Carr, Caleb, and Rebecca Hayes. 2015. "Social Media: Defining, Developing, and Divining." Atlantic Journal of Communication, 23(1): 46-65.

#### Social media, political communication and journalism

- M Broersma, T Graham (2016). *Tipping the balance of power: Social media and the transformation of political journalism.* In Axel Bruns et al. (eds) The Routledge Companion to Social Media and Politics (Textbook)
- Casero-Ripollés, A. (2022). The Great Change: Impact of Social Media on the Relationship between Journalism and Politics—Introduction to the Special Issue. *Social Sciences*, *11*(2), 40.

#### Social media and celebrity politics

• Lalancette, M., & Raynauld, V. (2019). The power of political image: Justin Trudeau, Instagram, and celebrity politics. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 63(7), 888-924.

# Module 2 - Social Media, 'Digital democracy' and populism

#### **Readings:**

- Tucker, J. A., Theocharis, Y., Roberts, M. E., & Barberá, P. (2017). From liberation to turmoil: Social media and democracy. *Journal of democracy*, *28*(4), 46-59.
- Engesser, S and Esser, E. (2017). Populism and social media: How politicians spread a fragmented ideology. *Information, Communication & Society*, Vol. 20 No.8 (available on Brightspace)

## Suggested Readings:

• Persily, N. and Tucker, J. eds. (2021). *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform.* Cambridge University Press

Social media and civic engagement

- Kruse, L. M., Norris, D. R., & Flinchum, J. R. (2018). Social media as a public sphere? Politics on social media. *The Sociological Quarterly*, *59*(1), 62-84.
- Marino, V. & Lo, P. (2018) From citizens to partners: the role of social media content in fostering citizen engagement. *Transforming Government: People, Process and Policy* 12(1), 39-60.
- Ceron, D. & Memoli, V. (2016) Flames and Debates: Do Social Media Affect Satisfaction with Democracy? *Social Indicators Research*, 126(1), 225-240. Available at <u>https://link.springer.com/article/10.1007/s11205-015-0893-x</u>
- Piatak, J., & Mikkelsen, I. (2021). Does Social Media Engagement Translate to Civic Engagement Offline?. *Nonprofit and Voluntary Sector Quarterly*, *50*(5), 1079-1101.
- Swart, J. (2021). Tactics of news literacy: How young people access, evaluate, and engage with news on social media. *New media & Society*, May 2021
- Siva Vaidhyanathan (2018). Antisocial Media: How Facebook Disconnects Us and Undermines Democracy. Oxford University Press
- Ostman, Johan. 2012. "Information, expression, participation: How involvement in usergenerated content relates to democratic engagement among young people." *New Media and Society* 14: 1004-1021

Social Media and Populism

• Gerbaudo, P. (2018). Social media and populism: an elective affinity? *Media, Culture & Society*, *40*(5), 745-753.

#### Module 3 - Social Media and Political Communication: Political Campaigns

# Readings:

 Diana Owen (2017) New Media and Political Campaigns, in The Oxford Handbook of Political Communication Edited by Kate Kenski and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. Available at http://www.oxfordhandbooks.com/view/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780199793471.001.0001/oxf

ordhb-9780199793471-e-016

• Andreas Jungherr (2016). Twitter use in election campaigns: A systematic literature review. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*. Vol. 13, No. 1 (available on Brighspace)

# Suggested Readings:

- Scacco, Joshua M. and Coe, Kevin (2021). *The Ubiquitous President: Presidential Communication and Digital Democracy in Tumultuous Times*. Oxford University Press
- Farkas, X., & Bene, M. (2021). Images, politicians, and social media: Patterns and effects of politicians' image-based political communication strategies on social media. *The International Journal of Press/Politics*, *26*(1), 119-142.
- Rosenblatt, Alan. 2016. #HashtagPolitics is Changing How We Engage with Elections. <u>http://www.socialmediatoday.com/special-columns/social-advocacy-and-politics-hashtagpolitics-changing-how-we-engage-elections</u>
- Rosenblatt, Alan. 2016. Social Media is the Primary Point of Contact with Voters. <u>http://www.socialmediatoday.com/special-columns/social-advocacy-and-politics-social-media-primary-point-contact-voters</u>
- Sam Woolley and Phil Howard (2017), Computational Propaganda: Political Parties, Politicians, and Political Manipulation on Social Media, Oxford University Press <u>https://comprop.oii.ox.ac.uk/research/computational-propaganda-the-book/</u>
- Schenck, Brad (2016). *The Digital Plan: A practical guide to creating a strategic digital plan*

Social Media and Political campaigns (case studies)

# **United States**

## 2016 US presidential election

- Kreis, R. (2017). The "tweet politics" of President Trump. *Journal of language and politics*, *16*(4), 607-618.
- Bossetta, M. (2018). The digital architectures of social media: Comparing political campaigning on Facebook, Twitter, Instagram, and Snapchat in the 2016 US election. *Journalism & mass communication quarterly*, *95*(2), 471-496.
- Enli, G. (2017). Twitter as arena for the authentic outsider: Exploring the social media campaigns of Trump and Clinton in the 2016 US presidential election. *European journal of communication*, *32*(1), 50-61.
- Bode, Letitia, Caren Budak, et al. 2018. Words that Matter: How the News and Social Media Shaped the 2016 Presidential Campaign, Brookings Institution Press
- Grassegger, Hannes & Mikael Krogerus. 2017. The Data That Turned the World Upside Down. *Motherboard, Vice.com*. https://motherboard.vice.com/en\_us/article/mg9vvn/how-our-likes-helped-trump-win
- Wall Street Journal. Blue Feed, Red Feed: See Liberal and Conservative Facebook, Side by Side. http://graphics.wsj.com/blue-feed-red-feed/ AND (VIDEO) http://www.wsj.com/video/red-feed-blue-feed-liberal-vs-conservativefacebook/0678AF47-7C53-4CDF-8457-F6A16A46CDAF.html
- Rosenblatt, Alan. 2016. The 2016 Elections and the Facebook Gap. <u>http://www.socialmediatoday.com/special-columns/social-advocacy-and-politics-2016-elections-and-facebook-gap</u>

#### 2020 US presidential election

• Johnson, J. (2021). Political Rhetoric, Social Media, and American Presidential Campaigns. Lexington Books. Available at <u>https://www.researchgate.net/profile/Janet-Johnson-</u>

17/publication/345910564\_Political\_Rhetoric\_Social\_Media\_and\_American\_Presidential \_Campaigns\_Candidates'\_Use\_of\_New\_Media/links/600defa645851553a06af9c9/Politic al-Rhetoric-Social-Media-and-American-Presidential-Campaigns-Candidates-Use-of-New-Media.pdf

- Neely, S. R. (2021). Politically Motivated Avoidance in Social Networks: A Study of Facebook and the 2020 Presidential Election. *Social Media*+ *Society*, 7(4)
- Rossini, P., Stromer-Galley, J., & Korsunska, A. (2021). More than "Fake News"? The media as a malicious gatekeeper and a bully in the discourse of candidates in the 2020 US presidential election. *Journal of Language and Politics*, *20*(5), 676-695.

 McVicker, S. M. (2021). Political Disinformation, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Memes: A Content Analysis of 2020 US Election Political Memes (Doctoral dissertation, Robert Morris University). Available at <u>https://www.proquest.com/openview/aaa45475140c1c7b1033a6bd6a298c66/1.pdf?pq-</u> origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y

#### Canadian Election 2015 and 2019

- Croskill-Killin, Julie, and Tamara Small. 2018. "The National Message, the Local Tour: Candidates' Use of Twitter during the 2015 Canadian Election." In Political Elites in Canada: Power and Influence in Instantaneous Times (edited by Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson and Andrea Lawlor). Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Croskill-Killin, Julie, and Tamara Small. 2015. "All Politics is Not Local: Local Candidate Tweeting in the 2015 Election." In Canadian Election Analysis 2015: Communication, Strategy, and Democracy (edited by Alex Marland and Thierry Giasson). UBC Press/Samara.
- Small, Tamara. 2016. "Two Decades of Digital Party Politics in Canada: An Assessment." Canadian Political Parties in Transition: Recent Evolution and New Agendas for Research, 4th Edition (edited by Alain-G. Gagnon and A. Brian Tanguay). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
- McKelvey, F., Côté, M. & Raynauld, R. (2018) Scandals and Screenshots: Social Media Elites in Canadian Politics. In Alex Marland, Thierry Giasson & Andrea Lawlor (Eds.), Political Elites in Canada: Power and Influence in Instantaneous Times. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Boulianne, S., & Larsson, A. O. (2021). Engagement with candidate posts on Twitter, Instagram, and Facebook during the 2019 election. *New Media & Society*,
- McKelvey, F., DeJong, S., & Frenzel, J. (2021). Memes, scenes and# ELXN2019s: How partisans make memes during elections. *New Media & Society*

#### Europe/European Union

- Lilleker, D. G., Koc-Michalska, K., Negrine, R., Gibson, R., Vedel, T. & Strudel, S. (2017) Social media campaigning in Europe: mapping the terrain. *Journal of Information Technology & Politics*, 14(4), 293-298.
- Barisione, Mauro, Michailidou, Asimina (eds.) (2017). Social Media and European Politics: Rethinking Power and Legitimacy in the Digital Era. Palgrave

UK and Brexit

- Bonacchi, C., Altaweek, M. & Krzyzanska, M. (2018) The heritage of Brexit: Roles of the past in the construction of political identities through social media. *Journal of Social Archeology*, 18(2), 174-192
- Del Vicario, M., Zollo, F., Caldarelli, G., Scala, A. & Quattrociocchi, W. (2017) Mapping social dynamics on Facebook: The Brexit debate. *Social Networks* 50, 6-16.
- Sloam, J. (2018) #Votebecause: Youth mobilization for the referendum on British membership of the European Union. *New Media & Society*, 20(11), 4017-4034.
- Hänska, Max and Stefan Bauchowitz. 2017. "Tweeting for Brexit: How Social Media Influenced the Referendum." LSE Online Research.
- Brändle, V. K., Galpin, C., & Trenz, H. J. (2022). Brexit as 'politics of division': Social media campaigning after the referendum. *Social Movement Studies*, *21*(1-2), 234-253.

# Other political campaigns

(NB: all the articles in this section are available in the course textbook)

Sweden

• Anders Olof Larsson and Hallvard Moe. From Emerging to Established? A Comparison of Twitter Use during Swedish Election Campaigns in 2010 and 2014

UK

• Darren G. Lilleker, Nigel Jackson, and Karolina Koc-Michalska. Social Media in the UK Election Campaigns 2008-14: Experimentation, Innovation and Convergence

Australia

• Tim Highfield and Axel Bruns. Compulsory Voting, Encouraged Tweeting? Australian Elections and Social Media

Denmark

• Jakob Linaa Jensen, Jacob Ørmen, and Stine Lomborg. The Use of Twitter in the Danish EP Elections 2014

France

• Françoise Papa and Jean-Marc Francony. The 2012 French Presidential Campaign: First Steps into the Political Twittersphere

South Korea

• Lars Willnat and Young Min. The Emergence of Social Media Politics in South Korea: The Case of the 2012 Presidential Election

# Taiwan

• Yu-Chung Cheng and Pai-lin Chen. Interactions between Different Language Communities on Twitter during the 2012 Presidential Election in Taiwan

# Germany

• Christian Nuernbergk, Jennifer Wladarsch, Julia Neubarth, and Christoph Neuberger. Social Media Use in the German Election Campaign 2013

Italy

• Luca Rossi and Mario Orefice. Comparing Facebook and Twitter during the 2013 General Election in Italy

# Cameroon

• Teke Ngomba. Social Media and Election Campaigns in Sub-Saharan Africa: Insights from Cameroon

# Kenia

• Martin Nkosi Ndlela. Social Media and Elections in Kenya

# Israel

• Sharon Haleva-Amir and Karine Nahon. Electoral Politics on Social Media: The Israeli Case

# Scotland

• Mark Shephard and Stephen Quinlan. Social Media and the Scottish Independence Referendum 2014: Events and the Generation of Enthusiasm for Yes

# Brazil

• Raquel Recuero, Gabriela Zago, and Marco T. Bastos. Twitter in Political Campaigns: The Brazilian 2014 Presidential Election

# Additional resources on case studies

# UK/US/New Zealand

• Cardo, V. (2021). Gender politics online? Political women and social media at election time in the United Kingdom, the United States and New Zealand. *European Journal of Communication*, *36*(1), 38-52.

Sweden

• Larsson, A. O. (2017) Going viral? Comparing parties on social media during the 2014 Swedish election. *Convergence: The International Journal of Research into New Media Technologies*, 23(2), 117-131.

Spain

- Ramos-Serrano, M., Gomez, F., David, J., & Pineda, A. (2018) 'Follow the closing of the campaign on streaming:' The use of Twitter by Spanish political parties during the 2014 European elections. *New Media & Society*, 20(1), 122-140.
- Suiter, J., Culloty, E., Greene, D. & Siapera, E. (2018) Hybrid media and populist currents in Ireland's 2016 General Election. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(4), 396-412.

India

- Vaccari, C. & Valeriani, A. (2015) Follow the leader! Direct and indirect flows of political communication during the 2013 Italian general election campaign. *New Media & Society*, 17(7), 1025-1042.
- Rao, S. (2020). Narendra Modi's social media election campaign and India's delegative democracy. *The Communication Review*, 23(3), 223-241.

## Russia

- Wijermars, M. (2021). The digitalization of Russian politics and political participation. In *The Palgrave Handbook of Digital Russia Studies* (pp. 15-32). Palgrave Macmillan, Cham.
- Tapsell, R. (2021). Social media and elections in Southeast Asia: The emergence of subversive, underground campaigning. *Asian Studies Review*, *45*(1), 117-134.
- Goyanes, M., & Skoric, M. (2021). Citizen (dis) engagement on social media: How the Catalan referendum crisis fostered a teflonic social media behaviour. *Mediterranean Politics*, 1-22.
- Mallipeddi, R. R., Janakiraman, R., Kumar, S., & Gupta, S. (2021). The effects of social media content created by human brands on engagement: Evidence from Indian general election 2014. *Information Systems Research*, *32*(1), 212-237.

#### Module 4 - Social Media, civil society and political activism

#### Readings

- Monica Anderson et al. (2018). *Activism in the Social Media Age*. Pew Centre Report <u>https://www.pewinternet.org/2018/07/11/activism-in-the-social-media-age/</u>
- Christina Neumayer (2016). Nationalist and Anti-Fascist Movements in Social Media (textbook)

#### **Suggested readings**

- Bastos, M. T., Mercea, D., & Charpentier, A. (2015). Tents, tweets, and events: The interplay between ongoing protests and social media. *Journal of Communication*, 65(2), 320-350.
- Kavada, A., & Poell, T. (2021). From Counterpublics to contentious publicness: Tracing the temporal, spatial, and material articulations of popular protest through social media. *Communication Theory*, *31*(2), 190-208.
- Mina, A. X. (2019). *Memes to movements: How the world's most viral media is changing social protest and power*. Beacon Press.
- Etter, M., & Albu, O. B. (2021). Activists in the dark: Social media algorithms and collective action in two social movement organizations. *Organization*, *28*(1), 68-91.
- Li, M., Turki, N., Izaguirre, C. R., DeMahy, C., Thibodeaux, B. L., & Gage, T. (2021). Twitter as a tool for social movement: An analysis of feminist activism on social media communities. *Journal of community psychology*, *49*(3), 854-868.
- Van Der Graaf, A., Otjes, S. & Rasmussen, A. (2016) Weapon of the weak? The social media landscape of interest groups. *European Journal of Communication*, 31(2).
- Hsiao, Y. (2018) Understanding digital natives in contentious politics: Explaining the effect of social media on protest participation through psychological incentives. *New Media & Society*, 20(9), 3457-3278.

#### Social Media and political activism – case studies

#### #Black Lives Matter

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## # Idle No More

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#### Environmental activism

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## Social Media and Political Activism - Other cases

(NB: the articles in this sections are all available in the course textbook)

#### United States

• Christian Christensen. All Politics Is Local: Anonymous and the Steubenville/Maryville Rape Cases

#### Spain

• Camilo Cristancho and Eva Anduiza. Social Media Accounts of the Spanish Indignados

#### Greece

• Yannis Theocharis. Every Crisis Is a Digital Opportunity: The Aganaktismenoi Movement's Use of Social Media and the Emergence of Networked Solidarity in Greece

#### Egypt

• Zizi Papacharissi and Stacy Blasiola. Structures of Feeling, Storytelling, and Social Media: The Case of #Egypt

Iran

• Gholam Khiabany. The Importance of 'Social' in Social Media: The Lessons from Iran

#### Azerbaijan

• Katy E. Pearce and Farid Guliyev. Digital Knives Are Still Knives: The Affordances of Social Media for a Repressed Opposition against an Entrenched Authoritarian Regime in Azerbaijan

#### Singapore

• Natalie Pang and Debbie Goh. Social Media and Social Movements: Weak Publics, the Online Space, Spatial Relations and Collective Action in Singapore

#### India

• Rajesh Kumar. Social Media and Civil Society Actions in India

#### China

• Rongbin Han. Cyberactivism in China: Empowerment, Control, and Beyond

## South Korea

• Maurice Vergeer and Se Jung Park. Voicing Discontent in South Korea: Origins and Channels of Online Civic Movements

# **Modules 5 - Social Media and Contentious Politics**

# Readings:

- Gladwell, M. (2010). Small Change: Why the revolution will not be tweeted. *The New Yorker*, September 27 2010 (Available on Brightspace)
- Zeitzoff, T. (2017). How social media is changing conflict. *Journal of Conflict Resolution*, *61*(9) (Available on Brightspace)

# Suggested readings

• De Angelis, E., & Badran, Y. (2021). Social Media and Contentious Politics: Revisiting the Debate a Decade after the Beginning of the Arab Uprisings. In *The Oxford Handbook of the Sociology of the Middle East*. Oxford University Press.

- Reilly, P. (2021). Social media, contentious politics and social movements. In *Digital contention in a divided society*. Manchester University Press.
- Boulianne, S. (2019). Revolution in the making? Social media effects across the globe. *Information, Communication & Society*, 22(1), 39-54
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- Wael Ghonim (2012). *Revolution 2.0: The power of the people is stronger than the people in power*, Fourth Estate
- Helen Margetts et al. (2017). *Political Turbulence: How Social Media Shape Collective* Action. Princeton University Press
- Clay Shirky and Malcolm Gladwell 2011: "From Innovation to Revolution: do social media make protest possible" Foreign Affairs. <u>http://a.nicco.org/181Lmb8</u>

# Case studies

## The Arab Spring

- Tufekci, Z. and Wilson, C. (2012) *Social media and the Decision to Participate in Political Protest: Observations from Tahrir Square*. Journal of Communication 62: 363-379 (16s.)
- David Faris (2013). *Dissent and Revolution in a Digital Age: Social Media, Blogging and Activism in Egypt.* IB Tauris
- Haque Khondker, Habibul. 2011. Role of the New Media in the Arab Spring. Globalizations 8(5): 675-679.
- Francesca Comunello and Giuseppe Anzera. 2012. "Will the revolution be tweeted? A conceptual framework for understanding the social media and the Arab Spring." Islam and Christian–Muslim Relations 23(4): 453-470.
- Markham, Tim. 2014. "Social media, protest cultures and political subjectivities of the Arab spring." Media, Culture & Society 36(1): 89–104.
- Bruns, A., Highfield, T., & Burgess, J. 2013. "The Arab Spring and Social Media Audiences: English and Arabic Twitter Users and Their Networks." American Behavioral Scientist 57(7):871–898.

Gezi Park (Turkey)

- Jenzen, O., Erhart, I., Eslen-Ziya, H., Korkut, U., & McGarry, A. (2021). The symbol of social media in contemporary protest: Twitter and the Gezi Park movement. *Convergence*, *27*(2), 414-437.
- Lemi Baruh and Hayley Watson. Social Media Use during Political Crises: The Case of the Gezi Protests in Turkey (in textbook)

## Ukraine and Euromaidan

- Surzhko-Harned, L., & Zahuranec, A. J. (2017). Framing the revolution: the role of social media in Ukraine's Euromaidan movement. *Nationalities Papers*, *45*(5), 758-779.
- Bohdanova, T. (2014). Unexpected revolution: the role of social media in Ukraine's Euromaidan uprising. *European View*, *13*(1), 133-142.

## Europe and the "Migration crisis"

- Michailidou, Asimina (2017). Twitter, Public Engagement and the Eurocrisis: More than an Echo Chamber? In: *Social Media and European Politics* ed. by Mauro Barisione et al., 241–266. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Ekman, M. (2018) Anti-refugee Mobilization in Social Media: The Case of Soldiers of Odin. *Social Media & Society*, 4(1).
- Ademmer, E., Leupold, A., Stöhr, T. (2018). Much ado about nothing? The (non) politicisation of the European Union in social media debates on migration. European Union Politics. Available at: https://journals.sagepub.com/doi/full/10.1177/1465116518802058

#### Module 6 - Social media and everyday politics

- Tim Highfield (2016). *Social Media and Everyday Politics*. Polity, Malden, MA, Chapter 1 (Available on Brightspace)
- Zeng, J., & Abidin, C. (2021). '# OkBoomer, time to meet the Zoomers': studying the memefication of intergenerational politics on TikTok. *Information, Communication & Society*, *24*(16) (Available on Brightspace)

#### Suggested readings

- Joel Penney (2017). *The Citizen Marketer: Promoting Political Opinion in the social Media Age*, Oxford University Press
- Steele, C. K. (2018). Black bloggers and their varied publics: The everyday politics of black discourse online. *Television & New Media*, *19*(2), 112-127.

- Litchfield, C., Kavanagh, E., Osborne, J. & Jones, I. (2018). Social media and the politics of gender, race and identity: the case of Serena Williams. *European Journal for Sport and Society*, 15(2), 154-170.
- Heiss, R., & Matthes, J. (2021). Funny cats and politics: Do humorous context posts impede or foster the elaboration of news posts on social media?. *Communication Research*, 48(1), 100-124.

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- Jakubowski, J. (2021). Political socialization in meme times: Adolescents and the sources of knowledge concerning politics. *Review of Education, Pedagogy, and Cultural Studies*, *43*(3), 254-274.
- Lalancette, Mireille, Tamara Small, and Maxime Pronovost. 2019. "Trolling Stephen Harper: Internet memes as online activism." In What's Trending In Canadian Politics? Understanding Transformations in Power, Media, and the Public Sphere. Vancouver: UBC Press.
- Merrill, S., & Lindgren, S. (2021). Memes, brands and the politics of post-terror togetherness: following the Manchester bee after the 2017 Manchester Arena bombing. *Information, Communication & Society*, *24*(16), 2403-2421.
- Murru, M. F., & Vicari, S. (2021). Memetising the pandemic: memes, covid-19 mundanity and political cultures. *Information, Communication & Society*, *24*(16), 2422-2441.
- MacDonald, S. (2021). What do you (really) meme? Pandemic memes as social political repositories. *Leisure Sciences*, *43*(1-2), 143-151.
- McVicker, S. M. (2021). Political Disinformation, Propaganda, and Persuasion in Memes: A Content Analysis of 2020 US Election Political Memes (Doctoral dissertation, Robert Morris University). Available at <u>https://www.proquest.com/openview/aaa45475140c1c7b1033a6bd6a298c66/1.pdf?pq-origsite=gscholar&cbl=18750&diss=y</u>

# Module 7 - The Dark side of Social Media

• Baccarella, C. V., Wagner, T. F., Kietzmann, J. H., & McCarthy, I. P. (2018). Social media? It's serious! Understanding the dark side of social media. *European Management Journal*, *36*(4), 431-438.

 Bradshaw, S., & Howard, P. N. (2018). Challenging truth and trust: A global inventory of organized social media manipulation. *The Computational Propaganda Project*, *1*. <u>https://demtech.oii.ox.ac.uk/wp-content/uploads/sites/93/2018/07/ct2018.pdf</u>

## Suggested readings

## Political polarization

- Kubin, E., & von Sikorski, C. (2021). The role of (social) media in political polarization: a systematic review. *Annals of the International Communication Association*, *45*(3), 188-206.
- Beauchamp, Z. (2019). "Social Media is Rotting Democracy From Within." Vox Media. https://www.vox.com/policy-and-politics/2019/1/22/18177076/social-media-facebookfar-right-authoritarian-populism
- PW Singer (2017). Like War: The Weaponization of Social Media, ET Brooking

## Election Interference

- Kim, Young Mie, et al. 2018. "The Stealth Media? Groups and Targets behind Divisive Issue Campaigns on Facebook." *Political Communication*.
- Jamieson, K. H. (2020). *Cyberwar: how Russian hackers and trolls helped elect a president: what we don't, can't, and do know*. Oxford University Press.
- Müller, Karsten, and Carlo Schwarz. "Fanning the flames of hate: Social media and hate crime." *Journal of the European Economic Association* 19.4 (2021): 2131-2167.
- Delany, Colin. 2016. Did 'Dark' Facebook Posts Win Trump the White House? http://www.epolitics.com/2016/11/17/trumps-dark-facebook-posts-win-white-house/

# Trolling

• Hannan, J. (2018). Trolling ourselves to death? Social media and post-truth politics. *European Journal of Communication*, 33(2), 214-226. (Available on Brightspace)

# Hate Speech

- Matamoros-Fernández, A., & Farkas, J. (2021). Racism, hate speech, and social media: A systematic review and critique. *Television & New Media*, 22(2), 205-224.
- Ekman, M. (2015) Online Islamophobia and the politics of fear: manufacturing the green scare. *Ethnic and Racial Studies*, 38(11)

• Rheault, Ludvic, EricaRayment, and Andreaa Musulan. (2019). "Politicians in the line of fire: Incivility and the treatment of women on social media." *Research & Politics*.

## Misinformation/Disinformation, Echo Chambers and Bots

- Rhodes, S. C. (2022). Filter bubbles, echo chambers, and fake news: how social media conditions individuals to be less critical of political misinformation. *Political Communication*, *39*(1), 1-22.
- Guess A.M. and Lyons B.A. (2021). Misinformation, Disinformation, and Online Propaganda, in Persily, N. and Tucker, J. eds. (2021). *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform.* Cambridge University Press
- Mukhtar, S. (2021). Psychology and politics of COVID-19 misinfodemics: Why and how do people believe in misinfodemics?. *International Sociology*, *36*(1), 111-123.
- Terren, L., & Borge-Bravo, R. (2021). Echo chambers on social media: a systematic review of the literature. *Review of Communication Research*, *9*, 99-118.
- Igwebuike, E. E., & Chimuanya, L. (2021). Legitimating falsehood in social media: A discourse analysis of political fake news. *Discourse & Communication*, *15*(1), 42-58.
- Spohr, Dominic. 2017. "Fake news and ideological polarization: Filter bubbles and selective exposure on social media." Business Information Review 34(3):150–160.
- Wooley A.C. (2021) Bots and Computational Propaganda: Automation for Communication and Control. In Persily, N. and Tucker, J. eds. (2021). *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform.* Cambridge University Press

#### Social Media and Surveillance

- Trottier, D. (2012). Social Media as Surveillance: Rethinking Visibility in a Converging World. Ashgate.
- Fuchs, C., & Trottier, D. (2015). Towards a theoretical model of social media surveillance in contemporary society. Communications 40 (1). Available at <a href="https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/161109394.pdf">https://core.ac.uk/download/pdf/161109394.pdf</a>

#### Case studies

- Allcott, H., & Gentzkow, M. (2017). Social media and fake news in the 2016 election. *Journal of economic perspectives*, *31*(2), 211-36.
- Gary King, Jennifer Pan, and Margaret E. Roberts. 2017. "How the Chinese Government Fabricates Social Media Posts for Strategic Distraction, not Engaged Argument." American Political Science Review 111(3): 484-501.

- Schaffar, W. (2016) New Social Media and Politics in Thailand: The Emergence of Fascist Vigilante Groups on Facebook. *Austrian Journal of South-East Asian Studies*, 9(2), 215-233.
- Ekman, M. (2018) Anti-refugee Mobilization in Social Media: The Case of Soldiers of Odin. *Social Media & Society*, 4(1).

## Module 8 - Assessing the impact of Social Media in politics: research methods

#### **Readings:**

• Anabel Quan-Haase and Luke Sloan (2017). Introduction to the Handbook of Social Media Research Methods: Goals, Challenges and Innovations, in *The SAGE Handbook of Social Media Research Methods* (Available on Brightspace)

#### **Suggested Readings**

- Bouvier, G., & Way, L. C. (2021). Revealing the politics in "soft", everyday uses of social media: the challenge for critical discourse studies. *Social Semiotics*, *31*(3), 345-364.
- Shearer, E., & Mitchell, A. (2021). News use across social media platforms in 2020 https://apo.org.au/node/311092
- KhosraviNik, M. (2017). Social media critical discourse studies (SM-CDS). *Handbook of critical discourse analysis*, *583*, 596.
- Chareen L. Snelson (2016). Qualitative and Mixed Methods Social Media Research: A Review of the Literature. *International Journal of Qualitative Methods*. January-December 2016:
- Guess, A. Mugner, K. Nagler, J. & Tucker, J. (2018) How Accurate Are Survey Responses on Social Media and Politics? *Political Communication*, 1-18.
- Yang, J., Barnidge, M. & Rojas, H. (2017) The politics of "unfriending:" User filtration in response to political disagreement on social media. *Computers in Human Behavior*, (70), 22-29.
- Paul, N. & Perreault, G. (2018) The first lady of social media: The visual rhetoric of Michelle Obama's Twitter images. *Atlantic Journal of Communication*, 26(3), 164-179.

#### **Modules 9-10 – Group work presentations**

## Module 11 - The future of social media in politics

#### **Readings:**

- Margetts, H. (2018). Rethinking democracy with social media. *Political Quarterly*, 90(1). (Available on Brightspace)
- Rosenblatt, Alan (2016). *Social Advocacy and Politics: Social Media and the Future of Elections*. (Available on Brightspace)

#### **Suggested Readings**

- Gorwa R. and Ash, T.G. (2021). Democratic Transparency in the Platform Society. In Persily, N. and Tucker, J. eds. (2021). *Social Media and Democracy: The State of the Field, Prospects for Reform.* Cambridge University Press
- Helbing, D. (2021). Digital Democracy (Democracy 2.0, 3.0, 4.0). In *Next Civilization* (pp. 249-268). Springer, Cham.
- Himmelreich, Johannes. "Should we automate democracy?." *The Oxford handbook of digital ethics* (2022).

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