



University at Buffalo
The State University of New York

PSC319LEC

Registration #24620

Media in American Politics

Spring 2017

Course Information

Days/Times: TuTh 12:30PM-1:50PM

Location: Talbert 115

Number of credits: 3

Instructor: Professor Jacob Neiheisel

Office Hours: TuTh 9:00AM-12:00PM (and by appointment)

Office: 422 Park Hall

Course Description

Reviews the historical context of the mass media in American politics, legal issues surrounding freedom of speech and press, the production of news, the media's role in campaigns and elections, the media as a political institution that interacts with the three branches of government, citizen response to news coverage of politics, and the cultural impact of daily media fare.

General Education Requirements

This course is designed to deliver learning outcomes that satisfy the SUNY General Education Requirements in the Social Sciences.

Student Learning Outcomes

Course Learning Outcome	Program Outcomes / Competencies	Instructional Method(s)	Assessment Method(s)
1. Be familiar with the broad sweep of American history as it relates to the development of the mass media as a key intermediary in the process of politics	UBGE	Lecture, assigned readings	Exams, Participation, Short Paper #1
2. Understand how the news is constructed along with the motivations and influences that shape how journalists present political information to the public		Lecture, assigned readings	Exams, Participation, Short Paper #2
3. Know how the mass media—as a political institution within the American context—affects the public as a whole and perceptions of particular subgroups within American society	UBGE	Lecture, assigned readings	Exams, Participation, Short Paper #3
4. Understand how media coverage of foreign affairs shapes America's relationship with the rest of the world	UBGE	Lecture, assigned readings	Exams, Participation

5. Engage with different normative takes on how the mass media covers politics in the United States		Lecture, assigned readings	Participation, Short Paper #2
6. Be familiar with how the press covers Congress, the presidency, the courts, and local matters		Lecture, assigned readings	Exams, Participation
7. Recognize the ways in which social networks, selective perception, and other cognitive biases moderate the media's impact on individual attitudes and beliefs		Lecture, assigned readings	Exams, Participation
8. Understand the methods social scientists use to explore social phenomena, including observation, hypothesis development, measurement and data collection, experimentation, evaluation of evidence, and employment of mathematical and interpretive analysis	UBGE	Lecture, assigned readings	Exams, Participation, Short Paper #1 and Short Paper #3

Course Requirements

Attendance and Participation

This course demands your active participation. Note that 10 percent of your grade is at stake here, and perfect attendance is not adequate to earn it all. You must also ask questions, suggest answers, and continue the dialogue of this course. I expect you to come to class prepared to engage in a conversation. People who never say anything in class but attend perfectly will receive about 2/3 of all possible attendance points. Chronic tardiness will also be reflected in your participation grade.

Exams

There will be two exams in this course—a mid-term and a final. The final will not be cumulative, but will only cover material from the second half of the course. These exams will consist of multiple choice, short answer, and essay questions. There will be some degree of choice built in to the exam when it comes to the short answer and essay questions. The mid-term will be offered during class on the 16th of March. The final exam will take place during exam week. More details about the exact time of the exam will be forthcoming.

Short Writing Assignments

1. Partisan Press Paper.

Many newspapers throughout American history were sponsored by political parties. Oftentimes these news organs were used to mobilize the party's supporters and present one particular view of events. For your first short writing assignment I want you to 1) pick a political event. This can be any historical event in New York (the partisan press was more or less dead by the midpoint of the 20th century, so pick

something from an earlier time period), but a particular national or statewide election would be a good place to start. 2) Then, I want you to compare and contrast the ways in which this event was covered in several different newspapers in New York State. The following website will prove to be an invaluable resource as you go about doing this: <http://nyshistoricnewspapers.org/>. Make sure you pick at least one Democratic newspaper and one Republican newspaper. You might also want to look at newspapers that were written for a different audience (e.g., German or Irish immigrants). You can determine whether a particular newspaper was affiliated with a political party or not by referencing different newspaper directories (either Rowell's or Ayer's). PDF copies of these directories can be found here: http://www.loc.gov/rr/news/news_research_tools/ayersdirectory.html.

Do your best to answer the following questions: How does the coverage of the event differ depending on the partisan affiliation of the newspaper? Are "alternative facts" being presented? What do your findings regarding news coverage of the particular event that you chose to study say about the difficulties inherent in understanding the past? Think of the strategy involved. What were the different papers trying to do? Were they attempting to mobilize core supporters? Were they presenting an alternative narrative (such as why the party's candidates may not have performed well in the election)? This paper is to be three to four pages in length. This is due Friday, February 17th at Midnight on UBlerns.

2. Is Civic Journalism the Answer?

Buffalo's own Jay Rosen (now a professor of journalism at New York University) was an early proponent of citizen journalism (also known as civic journalism). Though perhaps motivated, at least in part, by profit following declines in ratings and a backlash against horserace coverage of political news, Rosen's suggestions eventually found their way into newsrooms across the country. Some editors began civic journalism projects to reconnect with local constituencies, become community stakeholders, and reintroduce substance into the news. At such news organizations, the media agenda is set through surveys, forums, and often direct citizen involvement in news decisions. Journalists, in turn, cover heavily news on those topics and analyze events in the public interest.

Is civic journalism the answer? Is civic journalism an abdication of responsibility or a signal of media taking on new responsibility? Should the media take an active role in community life? If civic journalism isn't the way forward, what reforms would you like to see to the way in which the media operates? Ground your answers in course readings.

This is due Friday, March 31st at Midnight on UBlerns. Although we will read some work on civic journalism in class, I would like to see you expand your horizons a bit and read some more about the disparate motivations behind the original movement. I would therefore like to see you cite two or three new sources in this paper in addition to those works that we will read for class.

3. Media Effects Case Study

The academic literature suggests that the media set our agendas, frame how we view policies and politics, and prime us on what information we use to evaluate them. So, test out these ideas! Pick two friends who are not in this class as case studies and interview them to look for these three effects. You might ask them: what is the most important problem facing the nation today (agenda-setting)? What information do they have to suggest it's a problem and how did they acquire this information? What is the nature of the problem (framing)? A way to tap framing is to ask what sort of solution would solve it. Of course, you aren't limited to these questions. Don't use the catchphrases with them; ask them probing questions on an issue they care about – that's what we're concerned about too! Be sure

to indicate if other forces are at work. Names should be changed (or not used) to protect respondents. Provide a list of questions asked each respondent. Root your analysis in the literature that we read in class. This paper is to be three to four pages in length. This is due Friday, April 21st at Midnight on UBLEarns.

Rubrics for all three papers will be handed out in advance.

Grading Policy

Learning assessments will be graded based on rubric criteria and weighted according to the following break-down.

Weighting	Assessment / Assignment
10%	Attendance and Participation
30%	Short Papers (10% each)
60%	Exams (30% each)
100%	

Final Grades:

Grade	Quality Points	Percentage
A	4.0	93.0% - 100.00%
A-	3.67	90.0% - 92.9%
B+	3.33	87.0% - 89.9%
B	3.00	83.0% - 86.9%
B-	2.67	80.0% - 82.9%
C+	2.33	77.0% - 79.9%
C	2.00	73.0% - 76.9%
C-	1.67	70.0% - 72.9%
D+	1.33	67.0% - 69.9%
D	1.00	60.0% - 66.9%
F	0	59.9 or below

However, I do reserve the right to adjust the scale if need be. This can only benefit you. That is to say that I will never institute a curve just for the sake of making the grades correspond to a normal distribution (a bell curve).

Incompletes (I/IU): A grade of incomplete (“I”) indicates that additional course work is required to fulfill the requirements of a given course. Students may only be given an “I” grade if they have a passing average in coursework that has been completed and have well-defined parameters to complete the course requirements that could result in a grade better than the default grade. An “I” grade may not be assigned to a student who did not attend the course.

For more information please see the university Undergraduate (<http://undergrad-catalog.buffalo.edu/policies/grading/explanation.shtml#incomplete>) Incomplete Policy

Academic Integrity

Please review the university's Undergraduate Academic Integrity policy. It is available here: <http://undergrad-catalog.buffalo.edu/policies/course/integrity.html>

I take all forms of academic dishonesty very seriously. I understand that, in a world awash in information, it is sometimes easy to convince ourselves that content pulled from the internet is “open source” or “common knowledge” (*cough* Wikipedia entries *cough*). Even unattributed sources, however, were written by someone. In most cases, that someone is not you. Do not claim anyone else's work as your own. Without proper attribution, drawing upon someone else's work in your own writing is every bit as bad. Recently some universities have made it very difficult to prosecute cases of plagiarism, and many professors have assessed that it isn't worth the time and effort to do so. I am not among this number. I will go to the mat over this. In other words, if I have reason to believe that you have plagiarized, cheated, or otherwise engaged in an act of academic dishonesty, I will take the case as far as it needs to go. If you are uncertain about whether you need to cite something, please see me about it or err on the side of caution and cite it anyways. Here are some excellent sources on plagiarism:
<http://owl.english.purdue.edu/owl/resource/589/01/>
http://www.nytimes.com/2010/08/02/education/02cheat.html?_r=0

Expect severe sanctions if you commit an act of academic dishonesty.

Accessibility Resources

If you have any disability which requires reasonable accommodations to enable you to participate in this course, please contact the Office of Accessibility Resources, 25 Capen Hall, 645-2608, and also the instructor of this course. The office will provide you with information and review appropriate arrangements for reasonable accommodations. <http://www.student-affairs.buffalo.edu/ods/>

Course Fees

Aside from the required textbook, there are no additional costs to this course beyond what you may or may not be paying to be enrolled in school at UB (and opportunity costs, of course).

Week	Topic	Textbook Chapter/Other Readings
1/30	Introduction and Overview	T: No Readings Th: G&D Ch. 1
2/6	The Historical Origins of the Mass Media in the United States Ownership and Regulation of the Press	T: See below Th: G&D Ch. 2
2/13	Press Freedoms and other Legal Considerations The Changing Media Landscape	T: G&D Ch. 3 Th: G&D Ch. 4 and below
2/17	Short Paper #1 Due at Midnight	
2/20	Soft News Selective Exposure	T: See below Th: See below
2/27	Making the News Critiques of News Production	T:G&D Ch. 5 and below Th: See below
3/6	Media as Policy Makers Civic Journalism	T: G&D Ch. 6 Th: See below
3/13	Deliberation and the Press Midterm Exam	T: See below Th: None—Midterm

3/20	Spring Break (Woohoo!)—No Class	T: None Th: None
3/27	Covering Congress and the President Covering the Courts and Local News	T: G&D Ch. 7 Th: G&D Ch. 8
3/31	Short Paper #2 Due at Midnight	
4/3	Foreign Affairs Coverage Media Effects	T: G&D Ch. 9 Th: G&D Ch. 10
4/10	Priming and Agenda Setting Framing	T: See below Th: See below
4/17	Learning from the Press: The Media and Political Knowledge Additional Barriers to Media Influence	T: See below Th: See below
4/21	Short Paper #3 Due at Midnight	
4/24	The Media and Campaigns, Part I The Media and Campaigns, Part II	T: G&D Ch. 11 Th: See below
5/1	Incivility and Negativity Media Bias	T: G&D Ch. 12 (pp. 343-352) and below Th: G&D Ch. 12 (pp. 352-367) and below
5/8	Cognitive Biases The Press and American Democracy	T: See below Th: G&D Ch. 13
TBD	Final Exam	

Course Materials

There is one required text for the course (listed below). Most other readings will be available from online repositories to which the university subscribes. A few book chapters will be made available as PDFs on UBlerns.

An addition, I encourage you to become an active and avid reader of at least one news source featuring politically relevant content each and every day. A large component of this course involves increasing our political awareness and building the skills necessary to become effective consumers of media and political information.

Book: Graber, Doris A., and Johanna Dunaway. 2015. *Mass Media and American Politics*. 9th Ed. Thousand Oaks, CA: SAGE.

It is imperative that you have the latest version of this textbook. As you might imagine, scholarship in this area moves pretty quickly, so please bite the bullet and gain access to the most recent edition.

Readings from the textbook (and elsewhere) are to be completed before class. For instance, if we are talking about the ownership and regulation of the press in class on Thursday the 8th of February at 12:30PM, I expect you to have finished chapter two of the textbook by 12:29PM that same day.

Attendance Policy

I expect you to be here every day. That being said, I understand that you may have to miss class due to illness, religious observances, university-sanctioned events, athletic commitments, and other emergencies that may arise. I also recognize that we live in Buffalo. I've been told that it snows here. Please do not risk life and limb to attend class. During the winter please monitor the following site for information about cancellations and delays due to weather or other unforeseen circumstances (e.g.,

zombie apocalypse): <http://emergency.buffalo.edu/campus-weather-alerts.html>. If you have to miss class for any reason, please get the notes from a friend or neighbor in the course.

Classroom Decorum

Much of the recent research on note-taking and information retention suggests that you will get far more out of class by taking notes on paper using a pen or pencil than you will by recording notes using a laptop. That being said, you will be required to use technology to participate in some classroom activities. I therefore encourage you to make the best of both old (pens, pencils, and paper) and new (smart phones and computers) technology by using whichever is best suited to the task. You may of course have your computer out during lecture. When taking notes, however, please consider moving back into the realm of old-school tech by writing out your notes on paper. There is a lot of science behind the notion that you learn better and retain more information if you write notes in a notebook instead of on a laptop. Even though technology use is permitted, and even encouraged, I want you to stay on track during class. As this course moves at a fairly quick pace, even one day of distraction can put you significantly behind the curve. Please do not spend classroom time texting, checking email, or engaging with the current social media platform du jour—unless, of course, there is a pedagogical purpose behind its use.

Media and Politics Movie Nights

Provided there is enough support for doing so, I'd like to screen a couple of movies that, I believe, help to illustrate important course concepts in an entertaining manner. Some of my favorite films that take place at the intersection of media and politics include: *State of Play* and *Good Night, and Good Luck*. These will be screened outside of class. Attendance will, of course, be optional, but I will bring snacks to incentivize participation.

Extra Credit

There will be different opportunities for students to gain a maximum of 18 points of extra credit (Note: Extra credit cannot exceed 18 points). These points will be added to one of your two exam scores.

One possibility is called Learner's Journals: Students can submit reflective essays on UBLearns to articulate personal learning experiences in this class. Each entry should be 400-500 words (two pages double-spaced) and synthesize your key learning from class discussions, lectures, activities, and/or readings. Each journal entry is worth up to 3 points and each student may submit up to 6 journals. Do understand, however, that quality matters, and that simply turning in a journal entry is not sufficient to earn all possible points.

Another possibility is participating in research studies. Each hour of a study you participate in will gain you 3 points. (Note: Research credit hours are determined by the individual study; a 0-30 minute study = .5 credit hours, 30minute-1hour study = 1, 1hour-1.5hours = 1.5, etc). Opportunities to participate in research will be announced in class, through UB Learns, and through email.

Students can receive the maximum 18 points of extra credit through the completion of any combination of Learner's Journals and Research Credit (e.g., 4 Learner's Journals and 2 research credits or 0 Learner's Journals and 6 research credits, etc.).

University Support Services

Several tutoring centers on campus provide academic success support and resources. If you are having trouble in this course you should avail yourself of these resources in addition to coming to my office hours for help.

Citations

Citations should be in the APSA style of documentation. In this approach footnotes are used not for citations, but to clarify ideas and provide additional information. Even with a style guide it is sometimes difficult to know how to cite a source. Feel free to ask me specific questions about how to cite a particular source. When in doubt, however, provide as much relevant information as you can and mimic the style in which you have cited other sources.

Here is a nice overview of this citation style:

<http://www.psci.unt.edu/~pmcollins/APSA%20Citation%20and%20Reference%20Guidelines.pdf>.

Due Dates and Excuses

"I'm really busy" is not an acceptable excuse in this course. If you see a conflict coming, do plan for it in advance. Extensions are granted at my discretion, and on a case-by-case basis. For an absence to be excused I am going to need some form of documentation. Technology-related excuses are not acceptable either. Disk space is cheap these days, as is space on the university network. Get a back-up hard drive, a USB flash drive (or three), or use your network account and never have a problem again.

Late Assignment Policy

Unless you have a VALID excuse, a five percentage point penalty will be assessed for EACH DAY (yes, even weekends and holidays) that an assignment is late. For instance, if your paper is late three days, the maximum score that you can receive for the assignment is an 85. A perfect paper suddenly becomes a mid-range B if it is late by a few days. After the deadline for an assignment has passed it is a day late, so please don't think that you can convince me to assess a penalty that is less than five percentage points. Except in the most extreme of circumstances, a valid excuse as to why an assignment is late is one that is leveled BEFORE the assignment is due.

A Final Caveat

This is a provisional battle plan for this course. There may be changes in the content or coverage of the material as the course unfolds. I will try to inform you of any such changes as far in advance as I can.

Detailed Course Schedule

Introduction and Overview

1/31 – No Readings

2/2 – Graber and Dunaway Ch. 1

The Historical Origins of the Mass Media in the United States

2/7 – Laracey, Mel. 2008. "The Presidential Newspaper as an Engine of Early American Political Development: The Case of Thomas Jefferson and the Election of 1800." *Rhetoric & Public Affairs* 11(3): 7-16.

Carson, Jaime L, and M.V. Hood III. 2014. "Candidates, Competition, and the Partisan Press: Congressional Elections in the Early Antebellum Era." *American Politics Research* 42(5): 760-783. **Read pages 765-767.**

Neiheisel, Jacob R. 2016. "Reconciling Legal-Institutional and Behavioral Perspectives on Voter Turnout: Theory and Evidence from Pennsylvania, 1876-1948." *State Politics & Policy Quarterly* 16(4): 432-454. **Read pages 435-438.**

Kerbel, Matthew Robert. 1995. *Remote and Controlled: Media Politics in a Cynical Age*. Boulder, CO: Westview Press. **Read pages 29-32.**

de Tocqueville, Alexis. 1834. "On the Connection Between Associations and Newspapers." From *Democracy in America*. Available here: http://xroads.virginia.edu/~HYPER/DETOC/ch2_06.htm

Ownership and Regulation of the Press

2/9—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 2

Press Freedoms and other Legal Considerations

2/14—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 3

The Changing Media Landscape

2/16—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 4

Prior, Markus. 2005. "News vs. Entertainment: How Increasing Media Choice Widens Gaps in Political Knowledge and Turnout." *American Journal of Political Science* 49(3): 577-592.

Soft News

2/21—Prior, Markus. 2003. "Any Good News in Soft News? The Impact of Soft News Preference on Political Knowledge." *Political Communication* 20(2): 149-171

Baum, Matthew. 2003. "Soft News and Political Knowledge: Evidence of Absence or Absence of Evidence?" *Political Communication* 20(2): 173-190.

Baumgartner, Jody, and Jonathan S. Morris. 2006. "The Daily Show Effect: Candidate Evaluations, Efficacy, and American Youth." *American Politics Research* 34(3): 341-367.

Selective Exposure

2/23—Iyengar, Shanto, and Kyu S. Hahn. 2009. "Red Media, Blue Media: Evidence of Ideological Selectivity in Media Use." *Journal of Communication* 59(1): 19-39.

Stroud, Natalie Jomini. 2008. "Media Use and Political Predispositions: Revisiting the Concept of Selective Exposure." *Political Behavior* 30(3): 341-66

Making the News

2/28—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 5

Bennett, W. Lance. 1990. "Toward a Theory of Press-State Relations in the United States." *Journal of Communication* 40(2): 103-125.

Sobierja, Sarah. "Reporting Conventions: Journalists, Activists, and the Thorny Struggle for Political Visibility." *Social Problems* 57(4): 505-528.

Critiques of News Production

3/2—Fallows, James. 1997. *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*. New York: Vintage Books. **Read Ch. 6.**

Media as Policy Makers

3/7—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 6

Civic Journalism

3/9—Meyer, Philip. 1995. "Public Journalism and the Problem of Objectivity." Available here: <http://www.unc.edu/~pmeyer/ire95pj.htm>

Voakes, Paul S. 2004. "A Brief History of Public Journalism." *National Civic Review* 93(3): 25-35.

Nip, Joyce Y.M. 2006. "Exploring the Second Phase of Public Journalism." *Journalism Studies* 7(2): 212-236.

Deliberation and the Press

3/14—Page, Benjamin I. 1996. *Who Deliberates? Mass Media in Modern Democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **Read Ch. 1.**

Mutz, Diana C. 2001. "Facilitating Communication across Lines of Political Difference: The Role of Mass Media." *American Political Science Review* 95(1): 97-114.

Sunstein, Cass R. 2001. *republic.com*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. **Read Chapter 9.**

3/16—Midterm Exam

Spring Break

3/21—None

3/23—None

Covering Congress and the President

3/28— Graber and Dunaway Ch. 7

Covering the Courts and Local News

3/30—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 8

Foreign Affairs Coverage

4/4— Graber and Dunaway Ch. 9

Baum, Matthew. 2002. "Sex, Lies, and War: How Soft News Brings Foreign Policy to the Inattentive Public." *American Political Science Review* 96(1): 91-109.

Media Effects

4/6—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 10

Priming and Agenda-Setting

4/11— McCombs, Maxwell E., and Donald L. Shaw. 1972. "The Agenda-Setting Function of Mass Media." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36(2): 176-187.

Iyengar, Shanto, and Donald R. Kinder. 1987. *News that Matters: Television and American Opinion*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **Read Ch. 7.**

Holbrook, R. Andrew, and Timothy G. Hill. 2005. "Agenda-Setting and Priming in Prime Time Television: Crime Dramas as Political Cues." *Political Communication* 22(3): 277-295.

Framing

4/13—Nelson, Thomas E., Rosalee A. Clawson and Zoe M. Oxley. 1997. "Media Framing of a Civil Liberties Conflict and its Effect on Tolerance." *American Political Science Review* 91(3): 567-583.

Iyengar, Shanto. 1991. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **Read Ch. 2 & Ch. 4.**

Learning from the Press: The Media and Political Knowledge

4/18—Xenos, Michael A., and Amy B. Becker. 2009. "Moments of Zen: Effects of The Daily Show on Information Seeking and Political Learning." *Political Communication* 26(3): 317-332.

Neuman, W. Russell, Marion R. Just, and Ann N. Crigler. 1992. *Common Knowledge: News and the Construction of Political Meaning*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. **Read Ch. 6.**

Barabas, Jason, and Jennifer Jerit. 2009. "Estimating the Causal Effects of Media Coverage on Policy-Specific Knowledge." *American Journal of Political Science* 53 (1): 73-89.

Additional Barriers to Media Influence

4/20—Neiheisel, Jacob R., and Sarah Niebler. 2015. "On the Limits of Persuasion: Campaign Ads and the Structure of Voters' Interpersonal Discussion Networks." *Political Communication* 32(3): 434-452.

Kim, Jungkee, and Alan M. Rubin. 1997. "The Variable Influence of Audience Activity on Media Effects." *Communication Research* 24(2): 107-135.

The Media and Campaigns, Part I

4/25— Graber and Dunaway Ch. 11

The Media and Campaigns, Part II

4/27—Ridout, Travis N., and Glen R. Smith. 2008. "Free Advertising: How the Media Amplify Campaign Messages." *Political Research Quarterly* 61(4): 598-608.

Patterson, Thomas E. 1994. *Out of Order*. New York: Vintage Books. **Read Ch. 6.**

Incivility and Negativity

5/2—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 12. **Read pages 343-352.**

Hanson, Gary, Paul Michael Haridakis, Audrey Wagstaff Cunningham, Rekha Sharma, and J.D. Ponder. 2010. "The 2008 Presidential Campaign: Political Cynicism in the Age of Facebook, MySpace, and YouTube." *Mass Communication & Society* 13(5): 584-607.

Mutz, Diana C. and Byron Reeves. 2005. "The New Videomalaise: Effects of Televised Incivility on Political Trust." *American Political Science Review* 99(1): 1-15.

Media Bias

5/4—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 12. **Read pages 352-367.**

Groseclose, Tim, and Jeffrey Milyo. 2005. "A Measure of Media Bias." *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* 120(4): 1191-1237.

Groeling, Tim. 2008. "Who's the Fairest of them All? An Empirical Test for Partisan Bias on ABC, CBS, NBC, and Fox News." *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 38(4): 631-657.

Cognitive Biases

5/9—Turner, Joel. 2007. "The Messenger Overwhelming the Message: Ideological Cues and Perceptions of Bias in Television News." *Political Behavior* 29(4): 441-64.

Vallone, Robert P., Lee Ross, and Mark R. Lepper. 1985. "The Hostile Media Phenomenon: Biased Perceptions of Media Bias in Coverage of the Beirut Massacre." *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology* 49(3): 577-585.

The Press and American Democracy

5/11—Graber and Dunaway Ch. 13

Zaller, John. 2003. "A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen." *Political Communication* 20(2): 109-30.

Bennett, W. Lance. 2003. "The Burglar Alarm That Just Keeps Ringing: A Response to Zaller." *Political Communication* 20(2): 31-138.