



MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age

M1s1 – 6 last weeks

Ethic of communication

Joanna Nowicki, LT2D, CY Paris Cergy Université

To discuss the ethics of communication, it is first necessary to distinguish communication from information and "com". Ethical problems arise differently in these three areas with different aims and methods.

The classic scheme of the sender, message, receiver is not suitable for communication, the main issue of which is the Other.

To think of communication is to take into consideration the complexity, ambiguities and fragility of the human relationships it reflects.

This course will first focus on inter-personal communication in its ethical dimension: Ethics is what causes disturbance in the subject" (Levinas). It is "the face" of the Other that breaks into my being and breaks my tranquillity.

We will then discuss intercultural communication, at the heart of which is the question of subjectivity and difference (Francis Jacques). Different discursive strategies such as conversation, dialogue or negotiation will be discussed in the light of a relational theory of communication.

The last part will be devoted to political communication and its ethical issues, such as manipulation, the new speech, empowerment by word and violence.

If communication is so interesting today, it is because it is an essential feature of modernity. Communication is what defines a human being because it allows us to express ourselves, to speak and to share with others. To communicate better, we are constantly improving communication techniques by developing technology, but it is the relationship with the Other that is at the heart of the ethical issues it raises.

Littérature

Books :

- Zygmunt Baumann, *Liquid modernity*, Cambridge, Polity, 2000, *Does Ethic a chance in a world of Consumers*, Harvard University Press, 2009
- Philippe Breton, *Utopie de la communication*, La Découverte, 1997
- Philippe Breton, *Parole manipulée*, Edition de la Découverte, Paris 2000
- Francis Jacques, *Différences et subjectivité, Anthropologie d'un point de vue relationnel*, Paris Aubier, 1982. Traduction anglaise par Andrew Rothwell: *Dialogue and Personal Relation*, New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1991.
- Gaspard Koenig, *La fin de l'individu, voyage d'un philosophe au pays de l'intelligence artificielle*, Editions de l'Observatoire, 2019
- Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind*, Penguin Modern Classics, 2009
- J. Nowicki, M. Oustinoff et AM. Chartier, « Les langues de bois », numéro 58 de la revue Hermès, CNRS Editions, Paris, 2010
- Dominique Wolton, *Informé n'est pas communiquer*, CNRS Editions, collection Débat, Paris, 2009.
- JJ. Wunenburger, *L'homme à l'âge de la TV*, PUF, 2000

Academic papers :

- Philippe Breton, « Internet, Communication contre la parole », S.E.R. | « [Études](#) » 2001/6 Tome 394 | pages 775 à 784, ISSN 0014-1941
- Joanna Nowicki, « De la relation à l'Autre vers la relation avec l'Autre, méthode d'analyse des interactions : de l'interpersonnel vers l'interculturel ». In *Les recherches en information et communication et leurs perspectives, histoire, objet, pouvoir, méthode*. Actes du XIII^e Congrès national des sciences de l'information et de la communication, SFSIC, 2002. p. 445.
- Jean-Jacques Wunenburger, « Jeux sur écrans, apothéose ou simulacre du spectacle ? » Presses Universitaires de France | « [Cités](#) » 2001/3 n° 7 | pages 51 à 65

Books to read in the summer if possible:

- Francis Jacques, *Dialogue and Personal Relation* (1982), New Haven and London, Yale University Press, 1991. (Read the Introduction and the chapter on Dialogue)
- Czeslaw Milosz, *The Captive Mind*, Penguin Modern Classics, 2009



MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age

M1S1 – first 6 weeks

M1s1 – Transparency in the Digital Age – Ethics and politics

Dr. Claire Wrobel, Paris-Panthéon-Assas University

Whenever a surveillance scandal breaks out in the public sphere (such as the Snowden leaks in 2013 or Cambridge Analytica in 2018), the media rush to two dominant metaphors to describe the current state of liberal democracies in the global North – namely, Jeremy Bentham’s Panopticon, designed in the last decades of the eighteenth century, and George Orwell’s Big Brother, imagined in the aftermath of the second world war. In fact, it is probably fair to say that where most people get their ideas about surveillance and social control is in fiction, whether literature or film. While the reflex to reference tropes coming from past centuries may seem anachronistic, it may also be read as evidence of the fact that fiction offers much-needed critical distance and that the past helps us understand the present and imagine the future. Speculative fiction, with classic dystopias such as Aldous Huxley’s *Brave New World* but also more recent iterations, is particularly fertile ground in this respect.

Many things have changed since the days of Bentham and Orwell – with the advent of social media and datafication, the increasingly participatory nature of surveillance, and the rise of a surveillance capitalism characterized by a symbiotic relationship between public authorities and private actors. These evolutions raise unprecedented challenges which make it urgent to re-assess our understanding of transparency, privacy and free will. Does it still make sense to talk about privacy? How far is public opinion able to exercise control? Are liberal democracies undermined by ill-defined notions of transparency and publicity?

This course will ensure that students get accurate knowledge about cultural landmarks such as Orwell’s *Nineteen Eighty-Four*, which is often mentioned but very rarely read. It will also examine how classic texts are appropriated by contemporary authors so as to reflect and work through current issues, and look at how concepts such as “dataveillance” or “data selves” are fleshed out in literary texts. By drawing both on theory and fiction, the course will provide students with cultural and conceptual background to reflect on current transformations and on the contradictory values we assign to openness both in the private and in the public spheres. From a methodological point of view, emphasis will be put on developing the students’ skills in academic reading and writing, as well as fostering independent critical thinking.

Assessment

Students' final grade will be based on (i) an oral presentation, which will consist in summarizing and commenting on a research article, (ii) a final oral exam and (iii) in-class participation.

Bibliography

C. Birchhall, *Radical Secrecy: The Ends of Transparency in Datafied America*, University of Minnesota Press, 2021

Lyon, David, *The Culture of Surveillance: Watching as a Way of Life*, Cambridge, Polity, 2018

Monahan, Torin and David Murakami Wood (eds), *Surveillance Studies: A Reader*, Oxford University Press, 2018

Zuboff, Shoshana, *The Age of Surveillance Capitalism. The Fight for the Future at the New Frontier of Power*, London, Profile Books, 2019

To prepare for the course

Read one essay:

Byung-Chul Han, *The Transparency Society*, Stanford, Stanford Briefs, 2015

Read one novel from this list:

- Dave Eggers, *The Circle* (2013)
- Dave Eggers, *The Every* (2021)
- Aldous Huxley, *Brave New World* (1932)
- George Orwell, *Nineteen Eighty-Four* (1949)
- Jonathan Raban, *Surveillance* (2006)



MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age

History of Political Ideas

Prof. Catherine Marshall (Agora) & Prof. Céline Roynier (CPJP), CY Cergy Paris Université

Course description:

The aim of this seminar is an introduction to the history of political ideas as they have emerged in the western intellectual tradition. The main subject will be to focus on the rise of the tension between power and the people and of what later merged into a new tension, the one between liberalism and democracy. We will use the works of a number of political philosophers from the Renaissance to the modern day to study this subject.

The 36h seminar is organised in the following way: the seminar is structured chronologically around several main moments : 'The Renaissance and Humanism' (Céline Roynier), 'The contract theory- parts 1 and 2' (Céline Roynier), 'the Enlightenment' (Catherine Marshall), '19th century Liberalism – parts 1 and 2' (Catherine Marshall), 'The challenges of democracy' (Catherine Marshall), 'The nature of politics and democracy in the digital era – parts 1 and 2' (Catherine Marshall), 'Illiberal democracy' (Catherine Marshall), 'Current Debates on democracy' (Catherine Marshall) and 'Governance and Power at the time of Covid 19' (Catherine Marshall).

The last seminars will discuss how Democracy is currently torn apart by two opposite discourses: *more* participation of the public in political life through digital communication on the one hand (ex.: participatory democracy) and *no* participation at all on the other hand (ex.: the success of anarchism). The course is not limited to Anglo-American thinkers and will also focus on European thinkers.

Sampling of the works of many political philosophers and theorists will be read each week in relation to the central question of the tension between power and the people, their representation and later on, liberalism and democracy, to highlight some of the most important aspects of each thought and how they are being transformed by the digital age. The students will also be expected to acquire both a theoretical and practical understanding of the methodology of the history of ideas through the reading and use of primary sources.

If the seminars will all provide such a critical survey, the last part of the semester will enable students to discuss the major problems that arise relating to power vs. people and liberalism vs. democracy, experimenting their representations in political debate today. In the end, the aim will be to show how the digital age is bringing fundamental transformations for both government and politics and how this is based on a political background which needs to be understood before it is criticised.

Assessment:

Each week, 2 oral presentations on the primary sources will take place (max 10mn, no PPT, a question on the text given in advance to explain) (40% of the final grade).

At the end of the semester, the students will be required to write an essay (max 20 000 signs / no less than 17 000 signs, choice between 2 subjects) (60% of the final grade)- to be given back on Monday 17 January 2022.

+ bonus for weekly participation in the seminars

A reader will be sent before each seminar.

Books for the seminar:

- Gary Browning, *A History of Modern Political Thought. The Question of Interpretation* (OUP, 2016)
- Pierre Rosanvallon, *Counter-Democracy. Politics in an Age of Distrust* (trans. A. Goldhammer, CUP, 2008).

Some useful academic papers:

- Matthew B. Crawford, "Governance and Political Legitimacy", *American Affairs*, 2019, <https://americanaffairsjournal.org/2019/05/algorithmic-governance-and-political-legitimacy/>
- Henry Farrell, "The Consequences of the Internet for Politics", *Annual Review of Political Science*, Vol. 15, pp. 35-52, <https://doi.org/10.1146/annurev-polisci-030810-110815>
- Hanna Fenichel Pitkin, "Representation and Democracy: Uneasy Alliance", *Scandinavian Political Studies*, August 2004, <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9477.2004.00109.x>
- Philippe C. Schmitter, Terry Lynn Karl, "What Democracy Is. . . and Is Not", *Journal of Democracy*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Volume 2, Number 3, Summer 1991, pp. 75-88 10.1353/jod.1991.0033
- Archon Fung, Hollie Russon Gilman, Jennifer Shkabatur, "Six Models for the Internet + Politics", *International Studies Review*, Volume 15, Issue 1, March 2013, pp. 30-47, <https://doi.org/10.1111/misr.12028>
- Roberto Stefan Foa, Yascha Mounk, "The Danger of Deconsolidation: The Democratic Disconnect", *Journal of Democracy*, Johns Hopkins University Press, Volume 27, Number 3, July 2016, pp. 5-17, 10.1353/jod.2016.0049
- Helen Z. Margetts Peter John Scott A. Hale Stéphane Reissfelder, "Leadership without Leaders? Starters and Followers in Online Collective Action", *Political Studies*, Volume 63, Issue 2, June 2015, pp. 278-299, <https://doi.org/10.1111/1467-9248.12075>
- Evgeny Morozov, "Digital Socialism? The Calculation Debate in the Age of Big Data", *New Left Review*, 116/117 March-June 2019, pp. 33-67.
- Tim O'Reilly, "Government as a Platform", *Innovations: Technology, Governance, Globalization*, Volume 6 | Issue 1 | Winter 2011, pp. 13-40, https://doi.org/10.1162/INOV_a_00056

Useful books to consult:

- David Boucher and Paul Kelly, *Political Thinkers from Socrates to the Present* (OUP, 2003)
- R. N. Berki, *History of Political Theory* (Dent, 1976).
- W. T. Bluhm, *Theories of the Political System*, (Prentice Hall, 1965).

- Janet Coleman, *A History of Political Thought*, Vols. I and II (Oxford, 2000).
- Iain Hampsher-Monk, *A History of Modern Political Thought*, (Basil Blackwell, 1992)
- L. J. Macfarlane, *Modern Political Theory*, (Nelson, London, 1970).
- J. S. McClelland, *A History of Western Political Thought*, (London, 1996).
- John Rawls, *Lectures on the History of Political Philosophy* (Harvard, 2007).
- G. H. Sabine, *A History of Political Theory*, (New York, 1961).
- Quentin Skinner, *The Foundations of Modern Political Thought* (vol 1 & 2), (CUP, 1979).
- D. Thomson, *Political Ideas* (Penguin Books, 1970).

Useful links and online courses to consult:

- Introduction to Political Philosophy, Steven B. Smith: <https://oyc.yale.edu/NODE/216>
- The Moral Foundations of Politics, Professor Shapiro, <https://oyc.yale.edu/political-science/plsc-118/lecture-1> (and the other lectures)
- Talking Politics: <https://www.talkingpoliticspodcast.com/>



MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age M1s1

Introduction to Information Theory - Communication and Public Sphere theory

First part : Axel Boursier (LT2D, EA 7518)

Second part: Communication Theory – “International Communication, Public Diplomacy and Global Influence”

Zhao Alexandre Huang (DICEN-Idf, UR 7339)

Public sphere is impacted by a variety of factors and evolutions of our society. The renewal of public sphere theory during the XXI century allows the research in this field to deal more profoundly with new problematics. One of them is its democratization: everybody has the right and the legitimacy to tell and defend opinions inside the numeric public sphere.

Thus, the first part of the seminar will focus on the circulation of information concerning the actuality and the role of media in this circulation. To do so we will choose the angle of controversies studies. This specific domain offers the opportunity to go through public sphere theory, to observe the formation and circulation of controversies in our age: focusing notably on the complex statute of truth and the power of actor in it (expert, journalist, politics,). It will also use the methodological tools offered by discourse analysis to understand the importance of rhetoric strategies.

In the second part of this course, an acquisition of knowledge and skills in the analysis and criticism of the media in society in particular, publicities, cinema and television are highlighted. The question that the second part of this course will answer is the following: to what extent can media space be seen both as a tool of propaganda and also as an attempt to create a space of negotiation where issues of power and issues of artistic freedom interrogate each other? Through an understanding of the history of the press and mass media, the psychology of crowds, the critical theories of the media, the reception and cultural studies and the concept of propaganda, some analytical approaches (linguistic, semiological, pragmatic) and some decoding techniques will be taught.

Initially, emphasis is placed on reading and understanding fundamental texts and then learning and consolidating the various methods of textual and visual analysis. Once the theories are in place, the focus will be on practical cases of cross-cultural media analysis. At the end of the course, the student should be able to make a complete analysis of different media.

I – Public sphere theories (Axel Boursier)

- A- The basis of public sphere studies.
- B- Actor-network theory
- C- Digital public sphere: new possibilities?
- D- Ethos and controversies

- E- Pratical session
- F- Exam session

II – Communication Theory – “International Communication, Public Diplomacy and Global Influence” (Z.A. Huang)

Annual Case study with a public defense by the group during the last lecture:

TOPIC 2023/24: How public diplomacy works for a country in the time of Russia-Ukraine war?

- A. International communication: Public diplomacy as a core
 - Group Case study: Watching the academic interview of Dr. Ilan Manor and defining the term “Digitalization of public diplomacy” through different examples (Aim: initiation of the concept of Digitalization of public diplomacy)
- B. The ontologies of Public Diplomacy: From Propaganda to Social Media Relationship Management
 - Group Case study: What were the tools of public diplomacy or international communication mobilized by the Western countries during the Cold War? And how did these instruments work? Examples? What is France’s Public Diplomacy?
- C. The change of international communication in a globalized and digitalized time
 - Group Case study: What is France’s Public Diplomacy? Searching for a French model of international/intercultural communication.
- D. International communication, public diplomacy, and power issue (soft power)
 - Group Case study: Reading the academic interview of Z.A. Huang with Dr. R.S. Zaharna on a new perspective of public diplomacy, working with colleagues to prepare a short analysis: Does soft power exist?
- E. Information, strategic narratives, and frame competition: towards a global engagement?
 - Guided Case study: China’s case (from Panda to Wolf Warrior)
 - Group Case study: Observing a country’s embassy’s Twitter/Threads communication and try to categorize their narratives
- F. Final Case study

Literature

Books

- Ablali, Driss & Ducard Dominique (dir.) (2009), *Vocabulaire des études sémiotiques et sémiologiques*, Paris, Honoré Champion, Besançon, Presses Universitaires de Franche-Comté.
- Adorno, Theodor W. (1991), *The Culture Industry: Selected Essays on Mass Culture*, London and New York, Routledge
- Akrich, Madeleine, Callon Michel, Bruno Latour, (2006) *Sociologie de la traduction*, Paris, Ecole des Mines.
- Amossy, Ruth (2014), *Apologie de la polémique*, Paris, PUF.
- Balle Francis (2017), *Les médias*. Presses Universitaires de France, « Que sais-je ? », 2017.

- Bjola, C., & Manor, I. (Eds.). (2023). *The Oxford Handbook of Digital Diplomacy*. Oxford University Press.
- Cardon, Dominique (2019), *Culture numérique*, Paris, Science Po Les Presses.
- Cardon, Dominique (2010), *La démocratie internet*, Paris, Seuil.
- Charaudeau Patrick (2011), *Les médias et l'information. L'impossible transparence du discours*, Bruxelles, De Boeck Supérieur, « Médias-Recherches ».
- Cull, N. J. (2008). *The Cold War and the United States Information Agency: American propaganda and public diplomacy, 1945-1989*. Cambridge University Press.
- Cull, N. J. (2019). *Public diplomacy: Foundations for global engagement in the digital age*. Polity Press.
- Dascal, Marcelo, Han-liang Chang (eds.) (2007), *Traditions of Controversy*, Amsterdam, John Benjamins Publishing Company.
- Hare, P. W., Manfredi-Sánchez, J. L., & Weisbrode, K. (Eds.). (2023). *The Palgrave handbook of diplomatic reform and innovation*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jost, François (2007), *Introduction à l'analyse de la Télévision*, Paris, Ellipses.
- Kotras, Baptiste (2018), *La voix du web*, Paris, Seuil.
- Lequesne, C. (2021). *La puissance par l'image: Les États et leur diplomatie publique*. SciencesPo les presses.
- Lippmann Patrick (1922), *Public Opinion*, The Macmillan Company.
- Maigret Éric (2015), *Sociologie de la communication et des médias*, Paris, Armand Colin.
- Manor, I. (2019). *The Digitalization of Public Diplomacy*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Mattelart Armand, Mattelart Michele (1998), *Theories of Communication: A Short Introduction*, London, Thousand Oaks, New Delhi, SAGHE Publications.
- Rouet, G., & Radut-Gaghi, L. (Eds.). (2018). *Hermès, La Revue 2018/2: De la communication en diplomatie*. CNRS Éditions.
- Semati, Mehdi (ed.) (2008), *Media, Culture and Society in Iran, Living with globalization and the Islamic state*, London and New York, Routledge, "Iranian Studies".
- Semprini, Andrea (1996), *Analyser la communication ; Comment analyser les images, les médias, la publicité*, Paris, L'Harmattan.
- Snow, N., & Cull, N. J. (Eds.). (2020). *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy (2nd edition)*. Routledge.
- Snow, N., & Taylor, P. M. (Eds.). (2009). *Routledge handbook of public diplomacy (1st ed.)*. Routledge.
- Surowiec, P., & Manor, I. (2021). *Public Diplomacy and the Politics of Uncertainty*. Palgrave Macmillan.
- Thompson, John B., (2000), *Political Scandal, Power and visibility in the media Age*, Polity.
- Thornham Sue, Bassett Caroline, Marris Paul (eds.) (2019), *Media Studies, A reader*, Edinburgh, Edinburgh University Press.
- Zaharna, R. S. (2022). *Boundary spanners of humanity: Three logics of communications and public diplomacy for global collaboration*. Oxford University Press.
- Zaharna, R. S., Arsenault, A., & Fisher, A. (2014). *Relational, Networked and Collaborative Approaches to Public Diplomacy: The Connective Mindshift*. Routledge.

Academic papers

- Cowan, G., & Arsenault, A. (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. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002716207311863>

- Crick, Nathan and Joseph Gabriel (2010), « The Conduit Between Lifeworld and System: Habermas and the Rhetoric of Public Scientific Controversies », *Rhetoric Society Quarterly*, Vol. 40, No. 3, pp. 201-223.
- D'Almeida, Nicole (2014), « L'opinion publique », *Hermès, La Revue*, 3 (n° 70), p. 88-92. URL: <https://www.cairn.info/revue-hermes-la-revue-2014-3-page-88.htm>
- Golan, G. J. (2013). An Integrated Approach to Public Diplomacy. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 57(9), 1251–1255. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764213487711>
- Golan, G. J., Manor, I., & Arceneaux, P. (2019). Mediated Public Diplomacy Redefined: Foreign Stakeholder Engagement via Paid, Earned, Shared, and Owned Media. *American Behavioral Scientist*, 63(12), 1665–1683. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0002764219835279>
- Huang, Z. A. (2021). La communication façon loup combattant: Une stratégie d'influence de l'ambassade de Chine en France à l'ère de la pandémie de Covid-19. *Communication & Organisation*, 2021(60), 95–111. <https://doi.org/10.4000/communicationorganisation.10507>
- Huang, Z. A., Hardy, M., & Wang, R. (2023). Conversations de pandas sur Twitter: Un instrument « adorable » des médias chinois. *Le Temps des médias*, 40(1), 253–273. <https://doi.org/10.3917/tm.040.0253>
- Huang, Z. A., & Wang, R. (2020). 'Panda engagement' in China's digital public diplomacy. *Asian Journal of Communication*, 30(2), 118–140. <https://doi.org/10.1080/01292986.2020.1725075>
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- Jost, François (1997), "La télévision aux frontières du réel." *Esprit*, no. 238 (12), pp. 122–137.
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- Pamment, J. (2015). Media Influence, Ontological Transformation, and Social Change: Conceptual Overlaps Between Development Communication and Public Diplomacy. *Communication Theory*, 25(2), 188–207. <https://doi.org/10.1111/comt.12064>
- Pamment, J. (2023). How the Kremlin circumvented EU sanctions on Russian state media in the first weeks of the illegal invasion of Ukraine. *Place Branding and Public Diplomacy*, 19(2), 200–205. <https://doi.org/10.1057/s41254-022-00275-1>
- Rennes, Juliette (2016), « Les controverses politiques et leurs frontières », *Études de communication* 47.
- Zaharna, R. S. (2018). Global Engagement: Culture and Communication Insights From Public Diplomacy. In K. A. Johnston & M. Taylor (Eds.), *The Handbook of Communication Engagement* (1st edition, pp. 313–330). Wiley-Blackwell.
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MA Political Ideas in a Digital Age

Political Sociology

Dr David Copello (AGORA), CY Cergy Paris Université

Course description:

The aim of this seminar is to introduce students to the social and political dynamics of Western democratic systems, both from a theoretical and practical perspective. Students will thus acquire a general knowledge of the concepts and tools of political sociology, applied to the analysis and discussion of contemporary political issues – from the consolidation of liberal democracies in the 20th century to the challenges posed by globalization and technological innovation in present-day politics.

The 24h seminar is organized in two parts. Part 1 will examine political systems and democratic institutions, and will discuss the following topics: electoral systems and regime types; political cleavages (left and right, “old” and “new” politics); political parties; populism and the personalization of politics. Part 2 will explore different forms of democratic participation, and bring tools to analyze electoral behavior, collective action (social movements and pressure groups), public opinion (polling and deliberation) as well as the impact of digital innovation on political behavior (new playgrounds, new challenges).

Each session will be organized around the discussion of at least two scientific papers/chapters: students will be encouraged to apply their understanding of (classical) sociological concepts to the discussion of selected case-studies and contemporary examples.

Assessment:

A detailed reading program will be given on session 1, including **mandatory readings**. Each week, 2 **oral presentations** on the mandatory readings will take place (max 10mn, no PPT) (40% of the final grade).

On session 12, a **written exam** will be organized. Students will be asked to answer several questions on the core concepts of the course, using data and examples evoked during the semester (40% of the final grade).

Weekly participation and **course preparation** (preparing/answering questions on mandatory readings before the class) will also be evaluated (20% of the final grade).

Main handbooks for the seminar:

- 1) Rod Hague, Martin Harrop & John McCormick, *Comparative government and politics: an introduction* (Red Globe Press, 2019).

- 2) Russell Dalton, *Citizen politics: public opinion and political parties in advanced industrial democracies* (Sage CQ Press, 2019 [7th edition])

Main readings for the semester:

- 1) Colomer, Josep. "Comparative Constitutions" in Sarah A. Binder, R. A. W. Rhodes & Bert A. Rockman (eds), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions* (Oxford University Press, 2008), pp. 216 – 238.
- 2) Duverger, Maurice. *Political Parties: their Organization and Activity in the Modern State* (Wiley, 1959), pp. 216-228 & 245-255.
- 3) Lukes, Steven. "The Grand Dichotomy of the Twentieth Century" in Terence Ball & Richard Bellamy (eds), *The Cambridge History of Twentieth Century Political Thought* (Cambridge University Press, 2003), pp. 602-626.
- 4) Mouffe, Chantal. *On the political* (Verso, 2005), pp. 35 – 63.
- 5) Ignazi, Piero. "The silent counter-revolution: Hypotheses on the emergence of extreme right-wing parties in Europe", *European Journal of Political Research* 22, n°1, 1992, pp. 3-34. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1475-6765.1992.tb00303.x>
- 6) Kitschelt, Herbert, and Staf Hellemans. "The Left-Right Semantics and the New Politics Cleavage." *Comparative Political Studies* 23, no. 2, 1990), pp. 210–38. <https://doi.org/10.1177/0010414090023002003>.
- 7) Smith, Jennifer. "Campaigning and the Catch-All Party: The Process of Party Transformation in Britain", *Party Politics* 15, n°5, 2009, pp. 555-572. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1354068809336396>
- 8) Van Biezen, Ingrid & Petr Kopecký. "The Cartel Party and the State: Party–State Linkages in European Democracies", *Party Politics* 20, n°2, 2017, pp. 170-182. <https://doi.org/10.1177%2F1354068813519961>
- 9) Mudde, Cas. "The Populist Zeitgeist." *Government and Opposition* 39, no. 4, 2004, pp. 541–63. <https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1477-7053.2004.00135.x>.
- 10) Kriesi, Hanspeter. "Personalization of National Election Campaigns." *Party Politics* 18, no. 6, 2011, pp. 825–44. <https://doi.org/10.1177/1354068810389643>.
- 11) Blais, André. "Political Participation" in Lawrence LeDuc, Richard Niemi and Pippa Norris (eds), *Comparing Democracies : Elections and Voting in the 21st Century* (Sage, 2010), pp. 165-183.
- 12) Mayer, Nonna. "What Remains of Class Voting?" in Pascal Perrineau and Luc Rouban (eds), *Politics in France and Europe*, (Palgrave Macmillan US, 2009), pp. 167–81. https://doi.org/10.1057/9780230101890_11.
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