

DPI-684

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**New Media: Surveillance, Access, Propaganda and
Democracy****Fall 2013****Tuesdays and Thursdays, 1:10 PM-2:30 PM Taubman-301**

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This course will provide a broad survey for public policy students interested in pursuing a career in the policy and regulatory arena concerning information technology, media content, First Amendment and privacy concerns, issues regarding equity, net neutrality and access to information content, technologies and networks. In addition, this course will introduce and familiarize students of public policy and community leaders—present and future—with options and alternative approaches toward structuring and molding a rapidly emerging information and knowledge economy in the digital age. Through in-class conversation and debate on contemporary issues, this course also strives to challenge students to think differently and reexamine their prior assumptions about the allocation of information, knowledge, means of communication and political power the digital 21st century.

The course will attempt to identify and analyze current policies, ideas, proposals, practices and politics that define, support and/or hinder movement towards democratic information societies and institutions. It will examine the experience of countries with strong democracy values such as openness and transparency, accountability, freedom of expression and

association, and due process and fundamental fairness (social and media justice). It also considers anti-democratic societies or those with different values -- those that practice censorship in its various forms, those that not only fail to protect individual personal privacy but increasingly gather more and more personal and behavioral information about individuals for purposes of homeland and/or global security, marketing, and all kinds of efficiency rationales that may even include social control-strategic planning, *i.e.*, as public goods services in the public interest. The course will focus on new media (*i.e.*, digital), and the role it plays in enhancing democracy and/or threatens democracy by determining who has an effective voice and access to the public mind to influence political and market decision-making messages in order to tell only their stories from their perspectives to promote their interests (propaganda/advertising/research/ education). Censorship will also be considered, both private via ownership and public due to grant of exclusive government licenses under legal and quasi-scientific theories and policies developed decades ago (the 'spectrum scarcity rationale'), in the current era of channel and portal abundance.

In the domain of elections and politics, the course will ponder questions regarding government regulation in the U.S. context of digital speech and digital publication in light of the First, Fourth and Fourteenth Amendments, especially in light of the U.S. Supreme Court ruling in *Citizens United v. FEC* (upholding the rights of corporations, as persons, to make independent and anonymous expenditures through broadcast electioneering on behalf of candidates running for public office). What effect might that decision have on the creation or maintenance of a viable marketplace of ideas and/or a healthy public sphere? Is it still possible to have meaningful democratic elections and legislative reform given the rules of the market and of law?

The course will also explore, from a variety of public policy perspectives, the prospects for, and the virtues of, achieving affordable universal and ubiquitous high-speed broadband access to the Internet for all the people of the United States and/or in other countries, including rural residents, low-income households, individuals with physical disabilities and the elderly. It is now technically possible to connect everyone to everyone else via high-speed, interconnected, digital networks. These new technologies can bring instant and cheap communication; they can enable access to lifelong learning opportunities and essential government services.

Yet these same technologies can also be used to unduly influence and persuade non-critical, naive users by spying on individuals' preferences and practices. They can divert and distract citizens toward entertainment and away from self-governing, participatory activity. Such ubiquitous access to all might also mean a total-information-awareness-1984-type panoptic surveillance environment that might suffocate independent thinking, peaceful political protest, critical analysis, and meaningful freedom of choice. While the Internet and its appliances, apps and social networks played a significant role in recent democratic movements' successes in the Middle East and North Africa, those same technologies enabled authoritarian regimes to spy on and track users, to identify leadership of the opposition and to censor content. Within the private sector, behavioral advertising techniques and practices also are tracking our decisions, choices, discussions, and movements in real time, and, may share that information with government without a warrant.

Discussions will not be limited to the U.S. context. The course shall consider a range of

views as to the role of the media, old and new, to inform and explain available public policy choices and tradeoffs as well as their costs and benefits to democratic values. For example, should governments ever filter or censor or otherwise regulate the Internet or information content, and, if so, under what limited conditions, circumstances, time constraints, or legal rationale, if any? In the U.S. context, specific questions of interest include the authority of the Federal Communication Commission to regulate any aspect of the Internet will be considered. Are new laws needed that could be passed by Congress, notwithstanding corporate lobbying efforts? How much candor should any government protect its citizens from all the potential threats of an information society while still delivering beneficial e-goods and services? Where does democracy draw the lines in an era where the threat of catastrophic terrorist attacks demand increased security measures?

What are the costs of inaction? The future belongs to hyper-adaptive individuals, organizations and nations: Those with the best public e-nervous systems will have strategic advantages over their competitors who do not make successful hyper-adaptive changes in our super-heated, ever-changing digital information society. What will it take to get all nations to invest in core infrastructures of public education and literacy/competency? Doing so involves a broad commitment to knowledge creation and development, universal lifelong learning and training opportunity, open access to government officials and digital public records, and the provision of e-government services that empower and serve citizens and consumers and their communities effectively, efficiency and democratically.

These questions are not just technical or legal. They are also moral and ethical. What kind of society do we want to be? What is meant by the terms “media justice,” “fundamental fairness,” and “small ‘d’ democracy” in the post-911 digital age?

Who is participating and who isn't and why? How democratic is the current process of reforming information and communication policy and how might the process be improved and made more democratic?

Course Requirements:

Students must stay abreast of the reading assignments. Regular attendance and active participation in class discussion by each student is expected. Informed discussions and dialogue among the students and between students and the instructor is encouraged. Classes will proceed on the assumption that everyone has opinions and perspectives worth sharing. The instructor will, from time to time, introduce new material via e-mailings or distributions of timely articles that will supplement, complement, and make current the topics under review. An occasional guest lecturer will be invited to discuss her or his experiences and expertise regarding relevant issues. The instructor will also make occasional use of multimedia materials.

Students are required to write 2-3 short papers on assigned topics, and one final original public policy related paper (appropriately researched with citations of authorities contained in footnotes and/or endnotes) of 15-20 pages in length.

Students should plan to meet with the instructor early during the semester to discuss potential research topics. A written outline of the intended research paper will be due in

early November.

NOTE: *If you are sure you will take this course, notify instructor via email at Nolan.Bowie@harvard.edu as soon as possible. Type your email address in the text of the message. This will facilitate information sharing, course planning, and communication with instructor and among all students of the class throughout the semester.*

Required Reading New Media Access Surveillance Propaganda and Democracy DPI-684, Fall Term 2013:

Digital Disconnect: How Capitalism is Turning the Internet Against Democracy, Robert W. McChesney, 2013 (232 pages)

Consent of the Networked: The Worldwide Struggle for Internet Freedom, Rebecca MacKinnon, Basic Books, 2012, (250 pages)

Captive Audience: The Telecom Industry and Monopoly Power in the New Gilded Age, Susan Crawford, 2013, (270 pages)

The New Digital Age: Reshaping the Future of People, Nations and Business, Eric Schmidt and Jared Cohen, 2013, (257 pages)

Big Data: A Revolution That Will Transform How We Live, Work, and Think, Viktor Mayer-Schonberger and Kenneth Cukier, 2013 (256 pages)

"Informing Communities -- Sustaining Democracy in the Digital Age: The Report of The Knight Commission on the Information Needs of Communities in a Democracy," Knight Foundation and The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2009 (63 pages) [free PDF download or read online].

"Updating Rules of the Digital Road: Privacy, Security, Intellectual Property: Report of the 26th Annual Aspen Institute Conference on Communications Policy," Richard Adler, Rapporteur, 2012 (50 pages) [Read online or download free PDF].

Recommended Reading:

The Globalism of Surveillance, Armand Mattelart, Polity Press, 2010 (202 pages)

Living in Surveillance Societies: The State of Surveillance, Proceedings of LiSS Conference, Barcelona, Spain, 2012. (496 pages)

In Our Name: The Ethics of Democracy, Eric Beerbohm, 2012, (368 pages)

The Daily You: How the New Advertising Industry is Defining Your Identity and Your Worth, Joseph Turow, 2012 (256 pages)

Networks and Citizenship: Using Technology for Civic Innovation: A Report of the Aspen Institute Forum on Communications and Society, Jeffery Abramson, Rapporteur, 2012 (32 pages) [Read online or download free PDF]

Deep State: Inside the Government Secrecy Industry, Marc Ambinder (2013)

Drones in Domestic Surveillance Operations: Fourth Amendment Implications and Legislative Responses, Richard M. Thompson, 2013 (Kindle ebook)

Surveillance in America: Critical Analysis of the FBI, 1920 to the Present, Ivan Greenberg (2012).

Taking the Risk Out of Democracy: Corporate Propaganda versus Freedom and Liberty, Alex Carey, University of Illinois Press, 1996 (240 pages)

Assessing Community Information Needs: A Practical Guide, Richard C. Harwood, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2011 (30 pages) [Read online or download free PDF]

Predictive Analytics: The Power to Predict Who Will Click, Buy, Lie, or Die, Eric Siegel, 2013 (320 pages)

The Human Face of Big Data, Rick Smolan and Jennifer Erwit, (224 pages)

Nothing to Hide: The False Tradeoff between Privacy and Security, Daniel J. Solove, Yale University Press, 2011, (210 pages)

Democracy in the Age of New Media: The Politics of the Spectacle, Tael Harper, Peter Lang Publishing, Inc., 2011 (157 pages)

Democracy and New Media, Henry Jenkins and David Thorburn, MIT Press 2003.

The Emergency State: America's Pursuit of Absolute Security at All Costs, David C. Unger, Penguin Books, 2012 (308 pages)

International Journal of Technology Policy and Law, Vol. 1, No. 1, 2012, (114 pages)

Confront and Conceal: Obama's Secret Wars and Surprising Use of American Power, David E. Sanger, Crown, June 2012.

Digital Citizenship: The Internet, Society, and Participation, Karen Mossberger, Caroline J

Tolbert and Ramona S. McNeal, The MIT Press, 2008.

American Media and the Quality of Voter Information, Robert M. Entan, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2004.2+3

The Digital Person: Technology and Privacy in the Information Age, Daniel J. Solove, NYU Press, 2004.

Power over Peoples: Technology, Environments, and Western Imperialism, 1400 to the Present (Princeton Economic History of the Western World), Daniel R. Headrick, Cornell University Press, 2012 (448 pages)

Fighting the War of Ideas Like a Real War: Messages to Defeat the Terrorists, J. Michael Waller, The Institute of World Politics Press, 2007.

Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes, Jacques Ellul, Vintage Books, 1965.

The Net Delusion,: The Dark Side of Internet Freedom, Evgeny Morozov, Public Affairs, 2011.

Digital Destiny: New Media and the Future of Democracy, Jeff Chester, The New Press, 2007.

Civil Rights to Cyber Rights: Broadband & Digital Equality in the Age of Obama, Jabari Simama, Community Technology Publications, 2009.

The Soft Cage: Surveillance in America from Slavery to the War on Terror, Christian Parenti, Basic Books, 2003.

The Myth of Digital Democracy, Matthew Hindman, Princeton University Press, 2009.

WikiLeaks and the Age of Transparency, Micah L. Sifry, Counterpoint, 2011.

Constitution 3.0: Freedom and Technological Change, Jeffrey Rosen and Benjamin Wittes, Brookings Institution Press, 2011 (271 pages)

Technologies of Freedom, Ithiel de Sola Pool, Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1984.

The Problem of the Media: U.S. Communication Politics in the Twenty-First Century, Robert W. McChesney, Monthly Review Press, 2004.

I Know Who You Are and I Saw What You Did: Social Networks and the Death of Privacy, Lori Andrews, Free Press 2012 (272 pages)

The Filter Bubble: What the Internet is Hiding from You, Eli Pariser, Penguin Press HC, 2011(304 pages)

Not a Conspiracy Theory: How Business Propaganda Hijacks Democracy, Donald Gutstein, Key Porter Books, 2009 (321 pages)

Propaganda: The Formation of Men's Attitudes, Jacques Ellul, Vintage Books, 1965.

The Panoptic Sort: A Political Economy of Personal Information, Oscar H. Gandy, Jr., Westview Press, 1993.

Democracy and the Mass Media, Judith Lichtenberg, Cambridge University Press, 1990.

A Passion for Democracy: American Essays, Benjamin R. Barber, Princeton University Press, 1998.

Easily Led: A History of Propaganda, Oliver Thomson, Sutton Publishing, 1999.

Age of Propaganda: The Everyday Use and Abuse of Persuasion, Anthony Pratkanis and Elliot Aronson

The End of Privacy: Personal Rights in the Surveillance Society, Charles J. Sykes, St. Martin's Press, 1999.

Prologue to a Farce: Communication and Democracy in America, Mark Lloyd, University of Illinois Press, 2006.

The Future of Public Broadcasting, Douglass Cater and Michael J. Nyhan, Praeger Publishers, 1976.

Cyber War: The Next Threat to National Security and What to Do About It, Richard A. Clarke and Robert K. Knake, Harper-Collins, 2010.

Total Propaganda: From Mass Culture to Popular Culture, Alex Edelstein, Lawrence Erlbaum Associates, Publishers, 1997.

Cognitive Surplus: How Technology Makes Consumers into Collaborators, Clay Shirky, Penguin Books, 2010.

Free Speech: A Very Short Introduction, Nigel Warburton Oxford University Press, 2009.

Privacy: A Very Short Introduction, Raymond Wacks, Oxford University Press, 2010.

A History of the Internet and the Digital Future, Johnny Ryan, Reaktion Books, 2010

Spectrum for the Next Generation of Wireless, Mark MacCarthy, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2011[Read online or download free PDF].

Rewriting Broadband Regulation, David Bollier, The Aspen Institute Communications and

Society Program, 2011[Read online or download free PDF].

Civic Engagement and Community Information: Five Strategies to Revive Civic Communication, Peter Levine, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2011[Read online or download free PDF].

Rethinking Public Media More Local, More Inclusive, More Interactive, Barbara Cochran, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2010[Read online or download free PDF].

Rethinking Spectrum Policy: A Fiber Intensive Wireless Architecture, Mark MacCarthy, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2010[Read online or download free PDF].

Digital and Media Literacy: A Plan of Action, Renee Hobbs, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2010[Read online or download free PDF].

Civic Engagement On The Move: How Mobile Media Can Serve the PublicGood, The Aspen Institute Communications and Society Program, 2008 [Read online or download free PDF].

Propaganda, Robert Jackall, NYU Press, 1995.

Who Controls the Internet? – Illusions of a Borderless World, Jack Goldsmith and Tim Wu, Oxford University Press, 2008.

Rethinking Democracy: Freedom and Social Cooperation in Politics, Economy, and Society, Carol C. Gould, Cambridge University Press, 1988.