

PS 267: Political Communication
Fall 2012
Prof. Bruce Bimber
University of California, Santa Barbara
Wednesdays 1:00-3:50

Description

This seminar provides a graduate-level overview of research on political communication. It introduces students to a range of topics, from classic issues such as agenda-setting to current debates and emerging topics associated with digital media. The seminar is open to graduate students regardless of discipline or subfield, though the reading chiefly addresses political communication in the U.S.

Requirements

Use of the GauchoSpace course management system is required for this course. Students should be sure to log in before the start of class and familiarize themselves with the course.

1. Regular attendance and participation in discussion is required and contributes 30% of the grade. As part of participation, each student is expected once to provide the class with illustrations relevant to the weekly topic from the real world of political communication. This may involve identifying short video clips, or recommending films, web sites, or other political content of a non-scholarly origin that illuminates or bears in some way on the weekly topic.

2. A short analytic paper is due twice and contributes 20% of the course grade. Several discussion questions for each week's reading will be available in advance. These questions will structure our weekly discussions and provide a focus writing the short analytic statement of about 500 words -- roughly one single-spaced page. These are due by 8pm on the evening before class (except the first week of class), via public post at GauchoSpace. They will be graded Not Pass, Pass, or Pass +. All students should read these posts before class. We will establish a schedule for these papers at the first meeting.

3. The final project is worth 50% of the seminar grade and is due Dec. 11. There are two options.

Traditional Seminar Paper Option: Write a paper pursuing a topic or problem from the seminar in further depth, or developing one or more cross-cutting themes. The paper should advance an original theoretical claim.

Research Preparation Option: Prepare a research design proposing a study in political communication. The design should state a well-formulated question, develop a theoretical position about the question along with testable hypotheses, describe a general methodological approach to obtaining evidence and testing hypotheses, and then discuss specific measures and statistical techniques that would be employed.

Required Book for Purchase

Prior, M. (2007). *Post-Broadcast democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Reader

Required articles are available electronically on GauchoSpace. A printed version of the reader will be available from The Alternative in Isla Vista by special request to the instructor.

Articles and books labeled "Further Reading" are not required, but are intended as a guide for students interested in pursuing a topic in greater depth.

SCHEDULE OF READING

Oct. 3: Week 1 - Political Communication as a Field of Research

- Bennett, W. L., & Iyengar, S. (2008). A new era of minimal effects? The changing foundations of political communication. *Journal of Communication*, 58, 707-731.
- Holbert, R.L., Garrett, R.K., & Gleason (2010). A new era of minimal effects? A response to Bennett and Iyengar. *Journal of Communication*, 60, 15-34.

Oct. 10: Week 2 - Political Discussion and Deliberation

- Habermas, J. (2006). Political communication in media society: Does democracy still enjoy an epistemic dimension? The impact of normative theory on empirical research. *Communication Theory*, 16, 411-426.
- Mutz, D. (2008). Is deliberative democracy a falsifiable theory? *Annual Review of Political Science*, 11, 521-538.
- Sanders, L.M. (1997). Against deliberation. *Political Theory*, 25, 347-76.
- Delli Carpini, M. X., Cook, F. L., & Jacobs, L.R. (2004). Public deliberation, discursive participation, and citizen engagement: A review of the empirical literature. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 7, 315-44.
- Baek, Y. M., Wojcieszak, M., & Delli Carpini, M.X. (2011). Online versus face-to-face deliberation: Who? why? what? with what effects? *New Media & Society*, 14(3), 363-383.

Further Reading

- Elster, J. (1998). *Deliberative democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press
- Fishkin, J. (1991). *Democracy and deliberation*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Habermas, J. (1962 [trans. 1989]). *The structural transformation of the public sphere: An inquiry into a category of bourgeois society*. Cambridge: Polity.
- Ho, S. & McLeod, D. (2008) Social-psychological influences on opinion expression in face-to-face and computer-mediated communication. *Communication Research*, 35(2), 190-207.
- Jacobs, L.R., Cook, F.L., & Delli Carpini, M.X. (2009). *Talking together: Public deliberation and political participation*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Noelle-Neumann, E. (1993). *The spiral of silence: Public opinion - our social skin*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Page, B. (1996). *Who deliberates? Mass media in modern democracy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press. .
- Wojcieszak, M. (2012). On strong attitudes and group deliberation: Relationships, structure, changes, and effects. *Journal of Communication*, 33(2), 225-242.
- Wojcieszak, M. & Price, V. (2012). Facts versus perceptions: Who reports disagreement during deliberation and are the reports accurate? *Political Communication*, 29(3), 299-318.

Oct. 17: Week 3 - Agenda-Setting, Hostile Media Effect, Third-Person Effect

- McCombs, M. & Shaw, D.L. (1972). The agenda-setting function of mass media. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 36, 176-187.
- Maier, S. (2010). All the news fit to post? Comparing news content on the web to newspapers, television, and radio. *Journalism & Mass Communication Quarterly*, 87, 548-562.
- Vallone, R., Ross, L., & Lepper, M. (1985). The hostile media phenomenon: Biased perception and perceptions of media bias in coverage of the Beirut massacre. *Journal of Personality & Social Psychology*, 49(3), 577-585.
- McLeod, D., Detenber, B., & Eveland, W. (2001). Behind the third-person effect: Differentiating perceptual processes for self and other. *Journal of Communication*, 51, 678-695.
- Winslow, M. & Napier, R. (2012). Not *my* marriage: Third-person perception and the effects of legalizing same-sex marriage. *Social Psychology*, 43(2), 92-97

Further Reading

- Entman, R. (2004). *Projections of power: Framing news, public opinion, and US foreign policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Erbring, L., Goldenberg, E., & Miller, A.H. (1980). Front-page news and real-world cues: A new look at agenda-setting by the media. *American Journal of Political Science*, 24, 16-49.
- Huber, Gregory A., & John S. Lapinski. (2006). The 'race card' revisited: Assessing racial priming in policy contexts. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50, 421-440.
- Iyengar, S. (1991). *Is anyone responsible? How television frames political issues*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Iyengar, S. & Kinder, D. (2010[1987]). *News that matters: Television & American opinion*. Updated Edition. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Krosnick, J. A., & Kinder, D. (1990). Altering the foundations of support for the president through priming. *American Political Science Review*, 84, 497-513.
- McCombs, M. (2004). *Setting the agenda: The mass media and public opinion*. Malden, MA: Polity Press.
- Reid, S. (2012). A self-categorization explanation for the hostile media effect. *Journal of Communication*, 62, 381-399.
- Wei, R. Chia, S., & Lo, V-H. (2011). Third-person effect and hostile media perception influences on voter attitudes toward polls in the 2008 U.S. presidential election. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 23(2), 169-190.

Oct. 24: Week 4 - Framing, Media Effects of Time

- Entman, R. M. (1993). Framing: Toward clarification of a fractured paradigm. *Journal of Communication*, 43, 51-58.
- Nelson, T.E., Clawson, R. A., & Oxley, Z. M. (1997). Media framing of a civil liberties conflict and its effect on tolerance. *American Political Science Review*, 91, 567-583.
- Scheufele, D.A., & Tewksbury, D. (2007). Framing, agenda-setting, and priming: the evolution of three media-effects models. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 9-20.

Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 99-118.

Chong, D. & Druckman, J. N. (2010). Dynamic public opinion: Communication effects over time. *American Political Science Review*, 104(4), 663-680.

Further Reading

Borah, P. (2011). Conceptual Issues in framing theory: A systematic examination of a decades' literature. *Journal of Communication*, 61, 246-263.

Chong, D., & Druckman, J. N. (2007). Framing theory. *Annual Review of Political Science*, 10, 103-126.

Drier, P. & Martin, C. (2010). How ACORN was framed: Political controversy and media agenda-setting. *Perspectives on Politics*, 8(3), 761-792.

Druckman, J. N. (2004). Political preference formation: competition, deliberation, and the (ir)relevance of framing effects. *American Political Science Review*, 98, 671-686.

Entman, R. (2003). *Projections of power: Framing news, public opinion, and U.S. foreign policy*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Kahneman, D., & Tversky, A. (1984). Prospect theory: An analysis of decision under risk. *Econometrica*, 47, 263-291.

Lee, N-J. McLeod, D. M., & Shah, D. V. (2008). Framing policy debates: Issue dualism, journalistic frames, and opinions on controversial policy issues. *Communication Research*, 35, 695-718.

Slothuus, R. (2008). More than weighting cognitive importance: A dual-process model of issue framing effects. *Political Psychology*, 29, 1-28.

Stanovich, K. E., & West, R. F. (2008). On the relative independence of thinking biases and cognitive ability. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, 94, 672-695.

Zhou, Y., & Moy, P. (2007). Parsing framing processes: The interplay between online public opinion and media coverage. *Journal of Communication*, 57, 79-98.

Oct. 31: Week 5 - Selective Exposure

Mutz, D.C., & Martin, P.S. (2001). Facilitating communication across lines of political difference: The role of mass media. *American Political Science Review*, 95, 97-114.

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

Slater, M. (2007). Reinforcing spirals: The mutual influence of media selectivity and media effects and their impact on individual behavior and social identity. *Communication Theory*, 17, 281-303.

Stroud, N.J. (2010). Polarization and partisan selective exposure. *Journal of Communication*, 60, 556-576.

Knobloch-Westerwick, S. (2012). Selective exposure and reinforcement of attitudes and partisanship before a presidential election. *Journal of Communication*, 62(4), 628-642.

Further Reading

Garrett, R.K. (2009). Politically motivated reinforcement seeking: Reframing the selective exposure debate. *Journal of Communication*, 59, 676-699.

- Huckfeldt, R., Johnson, P.E., & Sprague, J. (2004). *Political disagreement: The survival of diverse opinions within communication networks*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Messing, S. & Westwood, S. (2012). Selective exposure in the age of social media: Endorsements trump partisan source affiliation when selecting news online. Journal manuscript under review. <http://www.stanford.edu/~messing/Social%20News.pdf>
- Mutz D. C., & Mondak, J. J. (2006). The workplace as a context for cross-cutting political discourse. *Journal of Politics*, 68, 140-155.
- Sears, D. O., & Freedman, J. L. (1965). Selective exposure to information: A critical review. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, 31, 194-213.
- Stroud, N.J. (2007). Media effects, selective exposure, and Fahrenheit 9/11. *Political Communication*, 24, 415-432.
- Stroud, N.J. (2008). Media use and political predispositions: Revisiting the concept of selective exposure. *Political Behavior*, 30(3), 341-366.
- Stroud, N.J. (2011). *Niche news: The politics of news choice*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Taber, C. S., & Lodge, M. (2006). Motivated skepticism in the evaluation of political beliefs. *American Journal of Political Science*, 50, 755-769.

Nov. 7: Week 6 - The State of News & Political Commentary

- Groeling, T., & Baum, M.A. (2008). Crossing the water's edge: Elite rhetoric, media coverage and the rally-around-the-flag phenomenon. *Journal of Politics*, 70, 1065-1085.
- Rowling, C., Jones, T., & Sheets, P. (2011). Some dared call it torture: Cultural resonance, Abu Ghraib, and a selectively echoing press. *Journal of Communication*, 61, 1043-1061.
- Arceneaux, K., Johnson, M., & Murphy, C. (2012). Polarized political communication, oppositional media hostility, and selective exposure. *Journal of Politics*, 74(1), 174-186.
- Mutz, D. C., & Reeves, B. (2005). The new videomalaise: Effects of televised incivility on political trust." *American Political Science Review*, 99, 1-15.
- Cao, X. (2010). Hearing it from Jon Stewart: The impact of The Daily Show on public attentiveness to politics. *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 22 (1), 26-46.

Further Reading

- Bennett, W. L. (1990). Toward a theory of press-state relations in the U.S. *Journal of Communication*, 40: 103-125.
- Bennett, W. L. (2009). *News: The politics of illusion*. 8th ed. New York: Pearson Longman.
- Bennett, W. L., Lawrence, R.G., & Livingston, S. (2007). *When the press fails: Political power and the news media from Iraq to Katrina*. Chicago: University of Chicago.
- Cook, T. (2005). *Governing with the news: The news media as a political institution*, 2nd ed. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.
- Delli Carpini, M.X., & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters*. New Haven: Yale University Press.
- Jamieson, K. & Cappella, J. (2008). *Echo chamber: Rush Limbaugh and the conservative media establishment*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Patterson, T. (1993). *Out of order*. New York: Knopf.
- Williams, B. & Delli Carpini, M. (2011). *After broadcast news: Media regimes, democracy, and the new information environment*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nov. 14: Week 7 - Conceptualizing Digital Media in Public Life: Concepts

Benkler, J. (2006). *The wealth of networks: How social production transforms markets and freedom*. New Haven: Yale University Press. Read just Chapter 1 (pp. 1-28) and then skim the rest of the book as you are interested; the pdf contains the whole volume.

Wellman, B. & Rainie, L. (2012). *Networked: The new social operating system*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press. Chapter 1 only, (pp. 3-20).

Bimber, B. (2007). How information shapes political institutions. In D. Graber (Ed.). *Media Power in Politics*, 5th ed. (pp. 8-18). Washington, DC: CQ Press. Edited reprint of Chapter 1 of Bimber (2003) below.

Dalton, R. (2008). Citizenship norms and the expansion of political participation. *Political Studies*, 56, 76-98.

Jorba, L. & Bimber, B. (2012). The impact of digital media on citizenship from a global perspective. In E. Anduiza, M. Jensen, & L. Jorba (Eds.). *Digital media and political engagement worldwide: A comparative study* (pp. 16-38). New York: Cambridge University Press.

Barabási, A-L. & Albert, R. (1999). Emergence of scaling in random networks. *Science* 286, 509-512.

Further Reading:

Bakker, T. & de Vreese, C. (2011). Good news for the future? Young people, Internet use, and political participation. *Communication Research*, 38(4), 451-470.

Bennett, W.L. (Ed.). (2007). *Civic life online: Learning how digital media can engage youth*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Bimber, B. (2003). *Information and American democracy: technology in the evolution of political power*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Boulianne, S. (2009). Does Internet use affect engagement? A meta-analysis of research. *Political Communication*, 26, 193-211.

Castells, M. (1996, second edition, 2000). *The rise of the network society. Vol. 1 of The information age: Economy, society and culture*. Cambridge, MA: Blackwell.

Castells, M. (2009). *Communication power*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Chadwick, A. (2006) *Internet politics: States, citizens, and new communication technologies*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dalton, R. (2007). *The good citizen: How a younger generation is reshaping American politics*. Washington, DC: CQ Press.

Hindman, M. (2008). *The myth of digital democracy*. Princeton: Princeton University Press.

Negroponte, N. (1999). *Being digital*. New York: Knopf.

Sunstein, C. (2007). *Republic.com 2.0*. Princeton: Princeton University Press

Pariser, E. (2011). *The filter bubble: What the Internet is hiding from you*. New York: Penguin Press.

Date tba: Week 8 - Digital Media and Choice

Prior, M. (2007). *Post-Broadcast democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Nov. 28: Week 9 - Political Communication, Activism, and Collective Action

Valenzuela, S., Arriagada, A., & Scherman, A. (2012). The social media basis of youth protest behavior: The case of Chile. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 299-314.

Chadwick, A. (2007). Digital network repertoires and organizational hybridity. *Political Communication*, 24, 283-301.

Bimber, B., Stohl, C., & Flanagin, A. (2009). Technological change and the shifting nature of political organization. In A. Chadwick & P. Howard (Eds.). *Handbook of Internet politics* (pp. 72-85). New York: Routledge.

Bennett, W. L., Breunig, C., & Givens, T. (2008). Communication and political mobilization: Digital media and the organization of anti-Iraq war demonstrations in the U.S. *Political Communication*, 25(3), 269-289.

Bennett, W. L., & Segerberg, A. (2012). The logic of connective action. *Information, Communication & Society*, 15(5), 739-768.

Further Reading

Bimber, B., Flanagin, A., & Stohl, C. (2012). *Collective action in organizations: Interacting and engaging in an era of technological change*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Castells, M. (2012). *Networks of outrage and hope: Social movements in the Internet age*. Cambridge, MA: Polity Press.

Earl, J. & Kimport, K. (2011). *Digitally enabled social change: Online and offline activism in the age of the Internet*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.

Karpf, D. (2012). *The MoveOn effect: The unexpected transformation of American political advocacy*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Shirky, C. (2008). *Here comes everybody: The power of organizing without organizations*. New York: Penguin.

Dec. 5: Week 10 - Digital Media and Authoritarian Regimes

Tufecki, Z. & Wilson, C. (2012). Social media and the decision to participate in political protest: Observations from Tahrir Square. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 363-379.

Lim, M. (2012). Clicks, cabs, and coffee houses: Social media and oppositional movements in Egypt, 2004-2011. *Journal of Communication*, 62(2), 231-248

Esarey, A. & Qiang, Z. (2011). Digital communication and political change in China. *International Journal of Communication* (5), 298-319.

Lei, Y-W. (2011). The political consequences of the rise of the Internet: Political beliefs and practices of Chinese netizens. *Political Communication*, 28(3), 291-322.

Further Reading

Anduiza, E., Jensen, M., & Jorba, L. (2012). *Comparing digital politics: Digital media and political engagement around the world*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Bellin, E. (2012). Reconsidering the robustness of authoritarianism in the Middle East: Lessons from the Arab Spring. *Comparative Politics*, 44(2), 127-149.

- Diamond, L. & Plattner, M. (2012). *Liberation technology: Social media and the struggle for democracy*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.
- Howard, P. & Hussain, M. (2012). Opening closed regimes: Civil society, information infrastructure and political Islam. In E. Anduiza, M. Jensen, & L. Jorba (Eds.). *Digital media and political engagement worldwide: A comparative study* (pp. 200-220). New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Iskander, E. (2011). Connecting the National and the Virtual: Can Facebook Activism Remain Relevant After Egypt's January 25 Uprising?. *International Journal of Communication*, 5: 1225-1237.
- Ghonim, Wael. (2012). *Revolution 2.0: The power of the people is greater than the people in power*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin.
- Lynch, M. (2011). After Egypt: The limits and promise of online challenges to the authoritarian Arab state. *Perspectives on Politics* 9(2), 301-310.
- Howard, P. (2011). *The digital origins of dictatorship and democracy: Information technology and political Islam*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Yang, G. (2009). *The power of the Internet in China: Citizen activism online*. New York: Columbia University Press.