

POLITICAL COMMUNICATION

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Central European University

Fall Semester, 2009

Wednesday, 13:30-15:10

2 credits, masters level

Course objectives

This MA-level course explores how political communication and mass media (are believed to) shape the political process and political outcomes: do they contribute – positively or negatively – to the quality of democracy, or do they not make a difference at all? We examine how politicians, citizens, and other actors respond to mediated messages; how news, advertising, and entertainment impact citizens' beliefs, information level and political behavior; the empirical dimensions of variations across contemporary media systems; what given political communication environments require from political actors who want to get their messages through; and how niche media, modern mobilization techniques and entertainment media shape campaign strategy and news coverage. In the course of this we shall critically examine key concepts, approaches and methodologies in the field, including experimental, qualitative and quantitative research designs and concepts like the democratic performance of the media, media logic, mediatization, the public sphere, media system characteristics, media effects, agenda setting, priming, framing, momentums, stages in the development of modern political campaigns, bandwagon, and third-person effects. Hence the course provides students with a postgraduate-level understanding of:

- selected concepts and research methods in political communication, political marketing and election campaign studies;
- current techniques used by political and social actors in traditional media as well as online political communication; and
- critical perspectives on and issues in political communication, political marketing and election campaigns.

Learning outcomes

- A basic understanding and critical review of the social science literature in the field of political communication.
- Conceptual frames and qualitative research skills for the analysis political communication in contemporary political systems.
- Skills to identify and analyze media framing and agenda setting during election campaigns as well as campaign effects on public opinion.

Course requirements and grading

Students are required to participate actively in seminar discussion (10%), write position/review papers (45%) and take home essay exams (45%). Students will have an opportunity to make

seminar presentations of review papers that can substitute for some of the position papers as discussed below.

Course format and class participation

Each class begins with an introductory lecture, to be followed up by a seminar discussion. Course participants are expected to contribute actively to the seminar discussion. Active participation involves comments and questions based on the required literature, the lecture, and the seminar presentation(s). Questions and comments on the class website are also welcome.

Position papers, take home exams and presentation

During weeks 2 to 11, every student will submit a short written assignment related to the readings of each week, at least 24 hours before the respective class. These ten assignments will account for 90 percent of your grade. By default, six submissions must be position papers of up to 300 words, and four must be take home essay exams, each up to 600 words. Three position papers may be substituted with an in-class presentation of a review essay of max. 1,500 words on three or more recommended readings of a given week. The schedule of these optional presentations will be arranged during the first week of the semester. Review essays have to answer question (A) below and be submitted by uploading them to the class website, while position papers and take-home exams by email to the instructor. All assignments must follow the departmental style manual and strictly respect the above word budget. One half of your submitted position papers must address question (B), and the other half question (C); and all take home essays must address question (A). The questions are as follows:

- A. Summarize what the central theoretical claim of each reading of this week is, and how each reading tries to provide evidence for that claim. Write down what you think (1) the weakest and (2) the strongest point in the arguments of the readings this week are, i.e. what part of the argument (of any of the readings this week) receives the least and what receives the most convincing support from the evidence presented. Explain why you think so.
- B. Which mandatory reading of the week makes the most relevant proposition for practicing politicians and communication specialists? Explain why you think that the key proposition of one article has more applied relevance than that of the other(s). If there is just one mandatory reading for the week, then answer this question instead: What and how much applied relevance do the propositions of this reading have for practicing politicians and communication specialists?
- C. Which mandatory reading of the week makes the most relevant theoretical proposition about political communication? Explain why you think that the key proposition of one article has a broader theoretical relevance in political communication research – i.e., helps to explain a wider range of interesting phenomena – than that of the other. If there is just one mandatory reading for the week, then answer this question instead: What and how much theoretical relevance do the propositions of this reading have for the study of political communication?

Course-related books on library reserve:

- Esser, Frank and Barbara Pfetsch, eds. 2004. *Comparing Political Communication: Theories, Cases, and Challenges*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gunther, Richard, and Anthony Mughan, eds. 2000. *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hallin, Daniel C. And Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems: Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge, UK; New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Richard Reeves, eds. 1997. *Do the Media Govern? Politicians, Voters, and Reporters in America*. London: Sage.
- Jakubowicz, Karol and Miklós Sükösd, eds. 2008. *Finding the Right Place on the Map: Central and Eastern European Media Change in a Global Perspective*. Bristol, UK: Intellect Books.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee, ed. 2004. *Handbook of Political Communication Research*. Mahwah, N.J.: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.
- Mazzoleni, Gianpietro Julianne Stewart, and Bruce Horsfield, eds. 2003. *The Media and Neopopulism: A Contemporary Comparative Analysis*. Westport, CT: Praeger.
- McQuail, Denis, Doris A. Graber and Pippa Norris. 2007. *The Politics of News: The News of Politics*, 2nd ed. Washington, DC: CQ Press.
- Negrine, Ralph and James Stanyer, eds. 2007. *The Political Communication Reader*. New York, NY: Routledge.
- Norris, Pippa et al. 1999. *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*. London: Sage.
- Norris, Pippa. 2000. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press.
- Voltmer, Katrin, ed. 2006. *Mass Media and Political Communication in New Democracies*. London: Routledge.

WEEK 1: The study of political communication: the key issues

The topics of this week's lecture will look at the mediatization of everyday life and politics; the relationship between media and democracy; media access, media performance, media structure and choice; the fragmentation of the public sphere; the relationship between societal, political and media context characteristics and political communication

Mandatory readings:

- Bennett, W. Lance, and Shanto Iyengar. 2008. "A New Era of Minimal Effects? The Changing Foundations of Political Communication." *Journal of Communication* 58 (4): 707-731.
- Norris, Pippa and Ronald Inglehart. 2008. "Limits on Press Freedom and Regime Support." in *Public Sentinel: News Media and the Governance Agenda*, edited by Pippa Norris. Washington DC: The World Bank.

Recommended readings

- Ball-Rokeach, Sandra J., and M. L. DeFleur. 1976. "A Dependency Model of Mass-Media Effect." *Communication Research* 3: 3-21.
- Currah, Andrew. 2009. *What's Happening to Our News. An Investigation into the Likely Impact of the Digital Revolution on the Economics of News Publishing in the UK*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism.
- Graber, Doris A. 1993. "Political Communication: Scope, Progress, Promise." In *Political Science: The State of the Discipline II*, edited by Ada W. Finifter. Washington DC: American Political Science Association, pp. 305-332.
- Graber, Doris A. 2003. "The Media and Democracy: Beyond Myths and Stereotypes." *Annual Review of Political Science* 6: 139-160.
- Graber, Doris A. 2004. "Mediated Politics and Citizenship in the Twenty-First Century." *Annual Review of Psychology* 55: 545-571.
- Holbert, Lance R. 2005. "Back to Basics: Revisiting, Resolving, and Expanding Some of the Fundamental Issues of Political Communication Research." *Political Communication* 22: 511-514.
- Iyengar, Shanto. 1990. "The Accessibility Bias in Politics: Television News and Public Opinion." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 2: 1-15.
- Kleinnijenhuis, Jan. 1991. "Newspaper Complexity and the Knowledge Gap." *European Journal of Communication* 6: 499-522.
- Newton, Kenneth. 2006. "May the Weak Force Be with You: The Power of the Mass Media in Modern Politics." *European Journal of Political Research* 45 (2): 209-234.
- Norris, Pippa. ed. 2008. *Public Sentinel: News Media and the Governance Agenda*, Washington DC: The World Bank.
- Zaller, John. 1992. *The Nature and Origins of Mass Opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Zaller, John. 1998. "Monica Lewinsky's Contribution to Political Science." *PS: Political Science and Politics* 31 (2): 182-189.
- Zaller, John. 2003. "A New Standard of News Quality: Burglar Alarms for the Monitorial Citizen." *Political Communication* 20 (April-June): 109-130.

WEEK 2: Political communication and public opinion: Learning, persuasion and the conditional nature of media influence

The topics of this week's lecture will briefly discuss the level and origin of citizens' political knowledge and the role of the media in information provision; the interactive relationship between citizens' predispositions, politicians' strategies and the characteristics of the media and information environment; difficulties in conceptualizing and capturing media effects

Mandatory readings:

- Zaller, John. 1996. "The Myth of Massive Media Impact Revived: New Support for a Discredited Idea." In *Political Persuasion and Attitude Change*, edited by Diana C. Mutz, Paul M. Sniderman and Richard A. Brody. Ann Arbor, MI: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 17-78.

Recommended readings

- Aarts, Kees, and Holi A. Semetko. 2003. "The Divided Electorate: Media Use and Political Involvement." *The Journal of Politics* 65 (3): 759-784.
- Denemark, David. 2002. "Television Effects and Voter Decision Making in Australia: A Re-examination of the Converse Model." *British Journal of Political Science* 32: 663-690.
- Graber, Doris A. 1990. "Seeing is Remembering: How Visuals Contribute to Learning from Television News." *Journal of Communication* 40 (3): 134-155.
- Gunther, Richard, and Anthony Mughan. 2000? "The Political Impact of the Media: A Reassessment." In *Democracy and the Media*, edited by Richard Gunther and Anthony Mughan. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Hibbing, John R., and Elizabeth Theiss-Morse. 1998. "The Media's Role in Public Negativity Toward Congress: Distinguishing Emotional Reactions and Cognitive Evaluations." *American Journal of Political Science* 42: 475-498.
- Kuklinski, James H., and Lee Sigelman. 1992. "When Objectivity is Not Objective: Network Television News Coverage of U.S. Senators and the 'Paradox of Objectivity'." *The Journal of Politics* 54: 810-833.
- McCann, James A., and Chappell Lawson. 2006. "Presidential Campaigns and the Knowledge Gap in Three Transitional Democracies." *Political Research Quarterly* 59 (1): 13-22..
- Zaller, John. 2001. "Monica Lewinsky and the Mainsprings of American Politics." In *Mediated Politics: Communication in the Future of Democracy*, edited by W. Lance Bennett and Robert M. Entman. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 252-278.
- Zaller, John. 2002. "The Statistical Power of Election Studies to Detect Media Exposure Effects in Political Campaigns." *Electoral Studies* 21: 297-330.

WEEK 3: The role of media systems in political communication

The topics of this week's lecture will briefly discuss the structural characteristics and regulation of the mediated information environment; public service broadcasting principles and practices in a cross-national perspective; the impact of media structures, markets, genres and formats on political communication; the role of niche media

Mandatory readings:

- Curran, James, Shanto Iyengar, Anker Brink Lund, and Inka Salovaara-Moring. 2009. "Media System, Public Knowledge and Democracy: A Comparative Study." *European Journal of Communication* 24 (1): 5-26.
- Hamilton, James T. 2004. *All the News that's Fit to Sell. How the Market Transforms Information into News*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, chapter 1.

Recommended readings

- Althaus, Scott, Cizmar Anne, and Gimpel James. 2009. "Media Supply, Audience Demand, and the Geography of News Consumption in the United States." *Political Communication* 26 (3): 249-277.

- Bovitz, Gregory L., James N. Druckman, and Arthur Lupia. 2002. "When Can a News Organization Lead Public Opinion? Ideology Versus Market Forces in Decisions to Make News." *Public Choice* 113 (1-2): 127-155.
- Gardam, Tim, and David A.L. Levy. 2008. *The Price of Plurality. Choice, Diversity and Broadcasting Institutions in the Digital Age*. Oxford: Reuters Institute for the Study of Journalism, Department of Politics and International Relations, University of Oxford in cooperation with Ofcom.
- Gilens, Martin, and Craig Hertzman, C. 2000. "Corporate Ownership and News Bias: Newspaper Coverage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act." *Journal of Politics* 62: 369-386.
- Gunther, Richard, and Anthony Mughan, eds. 2000. *Democracy and the Media: A Comparative Perspective*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Gurevitch, Michael, and Jay G. Blumer. 1994. "Political Communication Systems and Democratic Values." In *Media Power in Politics*, edited by Doris A. Graber. Washington, DC: CQ Press
- Hallin, Daniel C., and Paolo Mancini. 2004. *Comparing Media Systems. Three Models of Media and Politics*. Cambridge, UK: Cambridge University Press.
- Holtz-Bacha, Christina, and Pippa Norris. 2001. "'To Entertain, Inform, and Educate': Still the Role of Public Television." *Political Communication* 18: 123-140.
- Iosifidis, Petros. 2007. *Public Television in Digital Era: Technological Challenges and New Strategies for Europe*. London: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Jamieson, Kathleen Hall, and P. Waldman. 2002. *Press Effect: Politicians, Journalists, and the Stories that Shape the Political World*. Cary, NC: Oxford University Press.
- Mullainathan, Sendhil, and Andrei Shleifer. 2005. "The Market for News." *The American Economic Review* 95 (4): 1031-1053.
- Nissen, Christian S. 2006. "Public Service Media in the Information Society." Report prepared for the Council of Europe's Group of Specialists on Public Service Broadcasting in the Information Society (MC - S - PSB); Media Division, Directorate General of Human Rights, Council of Europe.
- Patterson, Thomas E. 2003. "The Search for a Standard: Markets and Media." *Political Communication* 20: 139-143.
- Prior, Markus. 2007. *Post-Broadcast Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Voltmer, Katrin. 2000. "Structures of Diversity of Press and Broadcasting Systems: The Institutional Context of Political Communication in Western Democracies." WZB Discussion Paper FS 00-201. Berlin: Wissenschaftszentrum Berlin für Sozialforschung.
- Zhao, Xinshu, Jian-Hua Zhu, Hairong Li, and Glen L. Bleske. 1994. "Media Effects Under a Monopoly: The Case of Beijing in Economic Reform." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 6: 95-117.

WEEK 4: The blurred boundaries of political information and communication

The topics of this week's lecture will cover the role of political interest and program choice; entertainment media (talk shows, stand-up comedy, etc.) as sources of political information; soft news and tabloid media; strategic political communication; fan audiences

Mandatory readings:

- Jerit, Jennifer, Jason Barabas, and Toby Bolsen. 2006. "Citizens, Knowledge, and the Information Environment." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 266-282.
- Baum, Matthew A., and Angela S. Jamison. 2006. "The Oprah Effect: How Soft News Helps Inattentive Citizens Vote Consistently." *The Journal of Politics* 68 (4): 946-959.
- Baum, Matthew. 2005. "Talking the Vote: Why Presidential Candidates Hit the Talk Show Circuit." *American Journal of Political Science* 49: 213-234.

Recommended readings

- 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: 317-332.
- Baum, Matthew A. 2003. "Soft News and Political Knowledge: Evidence of Absence or Absence of Evidence?" *Political Communication* 20 (2): 173-190.
- Brants, Kees, and Peter Neijens. 1998. "The Infotainment of Politics." *Political Communication* 15 (2): 149 - 164.
- Prior, Markus. 2003. "Any Good News in Soft News? The Impact of Soft News Preference on Political Knowledge." *Political Communication* 20 (2): 149-171.

WEEK 5: Selective exposure and its implications

The topics of this week's lecture will explore selective media exposure and the difficulties in capturing media effects; the role of partisanship in program choice; selectivity mechanisms and processes of opinion reinforcement, mobilization and polarization

Mandatory readings:

- Iyengar, Shanto, Kyu S. Hahn, Jon A. Krosnick, and John Walker. 2008. "Selective Exposure to Campaign Communication: The Role of Anticipated Agreement and Issue Public Membership." *Journal of Politics* 70 (1): 186-200.
- Stroud, Natalie Jomini. 2007. "Media Effects, Selective Exposure, and *Fahrenheit 9/11*." *Political Communication* 24 (4): 415 - 432.

Recommended readings

- Berelson, Bernard R., Paul F. Lazarsfeld, and William N. McPhee. 1954. *Voting: A Study of Public Opinion Formation in a Presidential Campaign*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Mutz, Diana C., and Paul S. Martin. 2001. "Facilitating Communication across Lines of Political Difference: The Role of Mass Media." *American Political Science Review* 95: 97-114.
- Newton, Kenneth, and Malcolm Brynain. 2001. "The National Press and Party Voting in the UK." *Political Studies* 49 (2): 265-285.
- Sears, David O., and J. L. Freedman. 1965. "Selective Exposure to Information: A Critical Review." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 31: 194-213.

Stroud, Natalie J. 2007. "Media Effects, Selective Exposure, and Fahrenheit 9/11." *Political Communication* 24: 415-32.

WEEK 6: Media and public opinion: Agenda-setting and priming

The topics of this week's lecture will discuss interactions between party, public and media agendas; the effects of issue salience, entertainment value, editorial selection process, and politicians on the media agenda

Mandatory readings:

- Walgrave, Stefaan, Stuart Soroka, and Michiel Nuytemans. 2008. "The Mass Media's Political Agenda-Setting Power: A Longitudinal Analysis of Media, Parliament, and Government in Belgium (1993 to 2000)." *Comparative Political Studies* 41 (6): 814-836.
- Druckman, James N., Lawrence R. Jacobs, and Eric Ostermeier. 2004. "Candidate Strategies to Prime Issues and Image." *Journal of Politics* 66: 1180-1202.

Recommended readings

- Erbring, Lutz, Edie N. Goldenberg, and Arthur H. Miller. 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., and John S. Lapinski. 2006. "The "Race Card" Revisited: Assessing Racial Priming in Policy Contests." *American Journal of Political Science* 50 (2): 421-440.
- Iyengar, Shanto, Mark D. Peters, and Donald R. Kinder. 1982. "Experimental Demonstrations of the 'Not-So-Minimal' Consequences of Television Programs." *American Political Science Review* 78: 848-858.
- Krosnick, John, and Donald Kinder. 1990. "Altering the Foundations of Support for the President Through Priming." *American Political Science Review* 84: 499-512.
- McCombs, Maxwell E., and Donald L. Shaw. 1972. "The Agenda-Setting Function of the Press." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 36: 176-187
- McCombs, Maxwell E. 1994. "News Influence on Our Pictures of the World." In *Media Effects: Advances in Theory and Research*, edited by Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum, pp. 1-16.
- Soroka, Stuart N. 2002. "Issue Attributes and Agenda-Setting by Media, the Public, and Policymakers in Canada." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 14 (3): 264-285.

WEEK 7: Framing

The topics of this week's lecture will cover the concept of media framing, the impact of competing and dominant frames, framing by news sources vs. political actors.

Mandatory readings:

Lakoff, George. 2008. *The Political Mind: Why You Can't Understand 21st-Century American Politics with an 18th-Century Brain*. New York: Viking, pp. 22-35, 93-109, 133-143, 170-175.

Druckman, James N. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects." *American Political Science Review* 98 (4): 671-686.

Recommended readings

Iyengar, Shanto. 1991. *Is Anyone Responsible? How Television Frames Political Issues*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Chong, Dennis, and James N. Druckman. 2007. "A Theory of Framing and Opinion Formation in Competitive Elite Environments." *Journal of Communication* 57 (1): 99-118.

Druckman, James N. 2001. "The Implications of Framing Effects for Citizen Competence." *Political Behavior* 23 (3): 225-256.

Druckman, James N. 2004. "Political Preference Formation: Competition, Deliberation, and the (Ir)relevance of Framing Effects." *American Political Science Review* 98 (4): 671-686.

Druckman, James N., and Rose McDermott. 2008. "Emotion and the Framing of Risky Choice." *Political Behavior* 30: 297-321.

Entman, Robert. 2004. *Projections of Power: Framing News, Public Opinion, and US Foreign Policy*. Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Entman, Robert. M. 1993. "Framing: Toward Clarification of a Fractured Paradigm." *Journal of Communication* 43: 51-58.

Lee, Nam-Jin, Douglas M. McLeod, and Dhavan V. Shah. 2008. "Framing Policy Debates: Issue Dualism, Journalistic Frames, and Opinions on Controversial Policy Issues." *Communication Research* 35: 695-718.

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

Scheufele, Dietram A., and David Tewksbury. 2007. "Framing, Agenda Setting, and Priming: The Evolution of Three Media Effects Models." *Journal of Communication* 57 (1): 9-20.

Shah, Dhavan V., Mark Watts, David Domke, and David P. Fan. 2002. "News Framing and Cueing of Issue Regimes: Explaining Clinton's Public Approval in Spite of Scandal." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 66 (3): 339-370.

Slothuus, Rune. 2008. "More than Weighting Cognitive Importance: A Dual-process Model of Issue Framing Effects." *Political Psychology* 29: 1-28.

Van Gorp, Baldwin. 2007. "The Constructionist Approach to Framing: Bringing Culture Back In." *Journal of Communication* 57 (1): 60-78.

WEEK 8: Changing patterns of political communication in election campaigns

The topics of this week's lecture will give a short historical overview of pre-modern, modern and post-modern/post-fordist campaigning; discusses permanent campaigning, direct communication; professionalisation of political campaigns and the rise of strategic consultants and spin doctors.

Mandatory readings:

- Schmitt-Beck, Rüdiger and David M. Farrell. eds. 2002. *Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign Effects in Elections and Referendums*. London: Routledge, pp. 1-21, 183-193.
- Norris, Pippa, John Curtice, David Sanders, Margaret Scammell, and Holli Semetko. 1999. *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*. London: Sage, chapter 2.

Recommended readings

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Shanto Iyengar. 1994. "Riding the Wave and Claiming Ownership over Issues: The Joint Effects of Advertising and News Coverage in Campaigns." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 58: 335-357.
- Denver, David and Gordon Hands. 2002. "Post-Fordism in the Constituencies? The Continuing Development of Constituency Campaigning in Britain." In *Do Political Campaigns Matter? Campaign Effects in Elections and Referendums*, edited by David Farrell and Ruediger Schmitt-Beck. London: Routledge.
- Geer, John, and Richard R. Lau. 2006. "Filling in the Blanks: A New Method for Estimating Campaign Effects." *British Journal of Political Science* 36 (02): 269-290.
- Iyengar, Shanto, and Adam S. Simon. 2000. "New Perspectives and Evidence on Political Communication Campaign Effects." *Annual Review of Psychology* 51: 149-169.
- Janet, M. Box-Steffensmeier, Darmofal David, and A. Farrell Christian. 2009. "The Aggregate Dynamics of Campaigns." *The Journal of Politics* 71 (1): 309-323.
- Johnston, Richard, Michael G. Hagen, and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 2004. *The 2000 Presidential Election and the Foundations of Party Politics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Papathanassopoulos, Stylianos. 2000. "Election Campaigning in the Television Age: The Case of Contemporary Greece." *Political Communication* 17 (1): 47 - 60.

WEEK 9: The controversial role of advertising and negative campaigning

The topics of this week's lecture will focus on political advertising format and context; marketization of politics; engineered sound bites and information provision; substantive political issues and personalization; negativity, information gains and mobilization.

Mandatory readings:

- Gilens, Martin, Lynn Vavreck, and Martin Cohen. 2007. "The Mass Media and the Public's Assessments of Presidential Candidates, 1952–2000." *Journal of Politics* 59 (4): 1160–1175.
- Lau, Richard R., Lee Sigelman, and Ivy Brown Rovner. 2007. "The Effects of Negative Political Campaigns: A Meta-Analytic Reassessment." *Journal of Politics* 69 (4): 1176–1209.

Recommended readings

- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nicholas Valentino. 1994. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *American Political Science Review* 88 (4): 829-838.

- Ansolabehere, Stephen D., Shanto Iyengar, and Adam Simon. 1999. "Replicating Experiments Using Aggregate and Survey Data: The Case of Negative Advertising and Turnout." *American Political Science Review* 93 (4): 901-910.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, and Shanto Iyengar. 1995. *Going Negative: How Attack Ads Shrink and Polarize the Electorate*. New York: Free Press.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Shanto Iyengar, Adam Simon, and Nicholas Valentino. 1994. "Does Attack Advertising Demobilize the Electorate?" *American Political Science Review* 88: 829-838.
- Geer, John G. 2006. *In Defense of Negativity. Attack Ads in Presidential Campaigns*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
- Goldstein, Kenneth, and Travis N. Ridout. 2004. "Measuring the Effects of Televised Political Advertising in the United States." *Annual Review of Political Science* 7 (1): 205-206.
- Kaid, Lynda Lee, and Christina Holtz- Bacha. 1995. *Political Advertising in Western Democracies: Parties and Candidates on Television*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
- Lau, Richard R., and Gerald M. Pomper. 2001. "Negative Campaigning by US Senate Candidates." *Party Politics* 7 (1): 69-87.
- Lau, Richard R., and Gerald M. Pomper. 2002. "Effectiveness of Negative Campaigning in U.S. Senate Elections." *American Journal of Political Science* 46: 47-66.
- Lau, Richard R., and Ivy Brown Rovner. 2009. "Negative Campaigning." *Annual Review of Political Science* 12 (1): 285-306.
- Lau, Richard R., Lee Sigelman, Caroline Heldman, and Paul Babbitt. 1999. "The Effects of Negative Political Advertisements: A Meta-Analytic Assessment." *American Political Science Review* 93: 851-875.

WEEK 10: The role of new media and the internet in political communication

The topics of this week's lecture will cover the diverse political uses of internet and mobile communications in everyday life and politics; online solutions by mainstream political organizations: party websites, newsletters, online donations and mobilization; blogs and political journalism.

Mandatory readings:

- Bimber, Bruce, Cynthia Stohl, and Andrew J. Flanagin. 2009. "Technological Change and the Shifting Nature of Political Organization." In *Routledge Handbook of Internet Politics*, edited by Andrew Chadwick & Philip N. Howard. New York: Routledge, pp. 72-85.
- Boulianne, Shelley. 2009. "Does Internet Use Affect Engagement? A Meta-Analysis of Research." *Political Communication* 26 (2): 193-211.

Recommended readings

- Bennett, W. Lance, Christian Breunig and Terri Givens. 2008. "Communication and Political Mobilization: Digital Media and the Organization of Anti-Iraq War Demonstrations in the U.S." *Political Communication* 25: 269-289.

- Drezner, Daniel W., and Henry Farrell. 2008. "The Power and Politics of Blogs." *Public Choice* 134: 15-30.
- Hargittai, Eszter, Jason Gallo, and Matthew Kane. 2008. "Cross-ideological Discussions among Conservative and Liberal Bloggers." *Public Choice* 134 (1/2): 67-86.
- Munger, Michael C. 2008. "Blogging and Political Information: Truth or Truthiness?" *Public Choice* 134 (1/2): 125-138.
- Bennett, W Lance. 2007. "Changing Citizenship in the Digital Age. In *Civic Life Online: Learning How Digital Media Can Engage Youth*, edited by W. Lance Bennett. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press, pp. 1-24.
- Xenos, Michael, and Patricia Moy. 2007. "Direct and Differential Effects of the Internet on Political and Civic Engagement." *Journal of Communication* 57: 704-718.
- Hindman, Matthew. 2008. *The Myth of Digital Democracy*. Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press.
- Bimber, Bruce. 2003. *Information and American democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press.
- Mossberger, Karen, Caroline J. Tolbert, and Ramona S. McNeal. 2008. *Digital Citizenship: The Internet, Society, and Participation*. Cambridge, MA: MIT Press.
- Semetko, Holli A., and Natalya Krasnoboka. 2003. "The Political Role of the Internet in Societies in Transition: Russia and Ukraine Compared." *Party Politics* 9 (1): 77-104.

WEEK 11: When the voters communicate to the politicians: public opinion polls and deliberative assemblies

The topics of this week's lecture will cover public opinion polling history; different uses of polls; the relationship between public opinion and policy processes; manipulation of polls, push polls and restrictions on publication of public opinion polls.

Mandatory readings:

- Druckman, James N., and Lawrence R. Jacobs. 2006. "Lumpers and Splitters: The Public Opinion Information that Politicians Collect and Use." *Public Opinion Quarterly* 70 (4): 453-476.
- Geer, John G. 1996. *From Tea Leaves To Opinion Polls: A Theory of Democratic Leadership*. New York: Columbia University Press, chapter 7.

Recommended readings

- Vreese, Claes H. de, and Holli A. Semetko. 2002. "Public Perception of Polls and Support for Restrictions on the Publication of Polls: Denmark's 2000 Euro Referendum." *International Journal of Public Opinion Research* 14: 367-390.
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WEEK 12: What have we learnt, where to go on from here, and how we can apply what we learnt.

The topics of this week's discussion will examine the above question, partly with a joint analysis by the students of actual televised advertisements from different election campaigns.