

**Political Psychology:
Comparative Political Communication in the United States and China
Time and Day: Tuesdays 11:15-13:15 and Thursdays 16:30-18:30**

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Political Psychology aims to understand how human nature interacts with political processes. This course introduces some of the central issues in Political Psychology, focusing on the effects of political context on political communication. We concentrate on the United States and the People's Republic of China as examples of liberal democracy and authoritarianism, but students are welcome to bring up examples from other countries. The course does not require any previous knowledge about China or the US.

The course covers two overlapping themes: First, we discuss the effect of the political context of democracy and authoritarianism on communication. What is democracy? Are so-called "non-democracies" more than a residual category? What is the role of communication in democracy? What is the role of communication for democratization? Second, we examine different forms of political communication from the perspective of Political Psychology, including the mass media and citizen deliberation. What is the role of mass media in politics and how do the media affect citizens' political attitudes? How do citizens talk about politics in an existing or emerging public sphere? During the discussion we will critically examine the evidence and methods presented and generate new hypotheses and research topics.

The course has two basic goals. The first is to introduce students to the major themes, debates, and puzzles in the study of political communication from the perspective of Political Psychology. The second is to allow students to grow familiar with some of the methodological challenges of studying political communication (through evaluation and critique of the text) and then to develop a research proposal of their own that sets out a research question and a research plan for answering that question. The course is designed around engaged and lively debate on the issues; therefore, student participation is absolutely necessary. Each student will have an opportunity to lead the discussion during the semester.

Books and Materials:

A coursepack / reader is available in the reading room of the college building; these readings in the syllabus in the coursepack are marked as (CP). The remaining articles are available electronically.

Please purchase the following book:

Hamilton, James (2004). *All the News That's Fit to Sell: How the Market Transforms Information into News*. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press.

The following books are recommended for purchase (but not compulsory):

Lieberthal, Kenneth (2004). *Governing China: From Revolution through Reform*. New York, W.W. Norton.

Brians, Craig Leonard, Lars Willnat, Jarol B. Manheim, and Richard C. Rich (2011). *Empirical Political Analysis: Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches*. New York: Pearson.

Written Assignments: Written assignments include two short literature reviews (each ~2000 words) on the readings in class. Students will have some degree of choice as to which session they want to write on, however, the literature review must be turned in before the class meeting. It is helpful if at least one of the weeks in which a student writes an essay he/she also serves as the discussion leader. (30%)

Each student will also turn in a research proposal (3000 words max.) that should include a research question, some discussion and critical analysis of the existing literature, and finally a research design that will enable the student to answer the question or test various competing hypotheses. It is helpful if the core reading is discussed in a previously submitted literature review.

- A one-page research design paper, which sketches your research question, your tentative answer (or hypotheses), and what kind of evidence you would collect to evaluate your hypotheses, is due before class on February 28. You should also include a working bibliography of sources you will investigate.
- Students will exchange a *full* draft of their research design on March 8. They will give each other comments during the workshop on March 13.
- The entire research proposal is due on March 29th. The research project as a whole will count for 40% of the course grade.

All papers need to be submitted **twice**: as a hardcopy at the Student Information Desk (in room M1.3) and via Safe Assign on Blackboard.

Discussion and participation: Each student will serve as the discussion leader for one class session. Generally speaking we will begin the class with a mini-lecture from the instructor, then move to comments from the discussion leader, and then finally to an open discussion. The discussion leader's remarks should not exceed 10 minutes. During the open discussion, the other students are asked to react to the comments and criticisms of the discussion leader. During this period of the class the instructor will act more as a moderator. Discussion can, of course, focus on general themes of that week, specific critiques of the substantive arguments of the authors, and finally comment and analysis of the research designs employed in different readings.

Students are also asked to prepare **one** question about the readings. This question should be posted on the discussion board on Blackboard by *9 am* on the day of the class meeting.

The entire discussion and participation grade will be a composite of these two requirements (30%).

Attendance: Regular attendance is required. Students are asked to contact the instructor by email or phone if they will miss a class. More than two missed absence will affect the final grade unless an agreement is reached with the instructor.

Meetings:

DATE	TOPIC	DISCUSSANT
Tuesday, February 7	Political Psychology and Political Communication	
Thursday, February 9	The Role of the Media in Democracies and Non-Democracies	
Tuesday, February 14	The Media as Political Institutions in China	
Thursday, February 16	The Media as Political Institutions in the US	
Tuesday, February 21	The Comparative Method and Research Design	
Thursday, February 23	Journalism in China	
Tuesday, February 28	Journalism in the US <i>(Research Design Paper due)</i>	
Thursday, March 1	Media Selection and Polarization	
Tuesday, March 6	Opinion Formation	
Thursday, March 8	Media Effects and Political Campaigns	
Tuesday, March 13	<i>Workshop</i>	
Thursday, March 15	Political Conversation in the US	
Tuesday, March 20	Political Conversation in China	
Thursday, March 22	Final Discussion	
Tuesday, March 27	Reading Week <i>(no class)</i>	
Thursday, March 29	Reading Week <i>(Research Proposals due)</i>	

Session One Readings: Political Psychology and Political Communication

Schildkraut, Deborah J. "All Politics is Psychological: A Review of Political Psychology Syllabi." Perspectives on Politics 2(4): 807-819.

Diamond, Larry Jay (2002). "Elections without Democracy: Thinking About Hybrid Regimes." Journal of Democracy 13(2): 21-35.

Geddes, Barbara (1999). "What Do We Know About Democratization after Twenty Years?" Annual Review of Political Science 2: 115-144.

Session Two Readings: The Role of the Media in Democracies and Non-Democracies

Siebert, Fred S., Theodore Peterson and Wilbur Schramm (1973 [1956]). Four Theories of the Press : The Authoritarian, Libertarian, Social Responsibility, and Soviet Communist Concepts of What the Press Should Be and Do. Freeport, New York, Books for Libraries Press. (Introduction, p. 1-7) (CP)

Graber, Doris (2003). "The Media and Democracy: Beyond Myths and Stereotypes." Annual Review of Political Science 6: 139-160.

Hallin, Daniel C. and Robert Giles (2005). Presses and Democracies. The Press. Geneva Overholser and Kathleen Hall Jamison. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 4-16. (CP)

Park, Myung-Jin and James Curran (2000). De-Westernizing Media Studies. London ; New York, Routledge. (Introduction, p. 3-18) (CP)

Session Three Readings: The Media as Political Institution in China

Houn, Franklin W. [Hou, Fu-wu] (1958-59). "Chinese Communist Control of the Press." Public Opinion Quarterly (22): 435-448.

Huang, Chengju (2000). "The Development of a Semi-Independent Press in Post-Mao China: An Overview and a Case Study of Chengdu Business News." Journalism Studies 1(4): 649-664.

Esarey, Ashley. (2005). "Cornering the Market: State Strategies for Controlling China's Commercial Media." Asian Perspective 29(4): 37-83.

Gang, Qian and David Bandurski (2011). China's Emerging Public Sphere: The Impact of Media Commercialization, Professionalism, and the Internet in an Era of Transition. Changing Media, Changing China. S. Shirk. Oxford, Oxford University Press: 38-76. (CP)

Qiang, Xiao. (2011). The Rise of Online Public Opinion and its Political Impact. Oxford, Oxford University Press.

Recommended:

Lieberthal, Kenneth (1995). Governing China : From Revolution through Reform. New York, W.W. Norton. (chapter 6, p. 157-182)

Wu, Guoguang (2000). One Head, Many Mouths: Diversifying Press Structures in Reformed China. Power, Money, and Media: Communication Patterns and Bureaucratic Control in Cultural China. Chin-chuan Lee. Evanston, Illinois, Northwestern University Press: 45-67.

Session Four Readings: The Media as Political Institution in the United States

Cook, Timothy E. (1998). Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. Part II. (CP)

Bennett, Lance W., Regina G. Lawrence, et al. (2006). "None Dare Call it Torture: Indexing and the Limits of Press Independence in the Abu Ghraib Scandal." Journal of Communication **56**(3): 467-485.

Althaus, Scott L. (2003). "When News Norms Collide, Follow the Lead: New Evidence for Press Independence." Political Communication **20**(4): 381-414.

Bovitz, Gregory, James N. Druckman and Arthur Lupia (2002). "When Can a News Organization Lead Public Opinion?" Public Choice **113**(1-2): 127-155.

Gilens, Martin and Craig Hertzman (2000). "Corporate Ownership and News Bias: Newspaper Coverage of the 1996 Telecommunications Act." Journal of Politics **62**(2): 369-386.

Recommended:

Ranney, Austin (2000). Politics in the United States. Comparative Politics Today. Gabriel A. Almond, Bingham G. Powell, Kaare Strom and Russell J. Dalton. New York, Longman: 733-776.

Graber, Doris. (2002). Mass Media and American Politics. Washington, CQ Press. Chapter 2.

Page, Benjamin I. (1996). "The Mass Media as Political Actors." Political Science and Politics **29**(1): 20-24.

Jacobs, Lawrence R. and Robert Y. Shapiro (2000). Politicians Don't Pander: Political Manipulation and the Loss of Democratic Responsiveness. Chicago, University of Chicago Press.

Graber, Doris (2007). Terrorism, Censorship, and the First Amendment. Media Power in Politics. Doris Graber. Washington, DC, CQ Press: 390-402.

Groeling, Tim and Matthew A. Baum (2008). "Crossing the Water's Edge: Elite Rhetoric, Media Coverage, and the Rally-Round-the-Flag Phenomenon." Journal of Politics 70(4): 1065-1085.

Session Five Readings: The Comparative Method and Research Design

Collier, David (1991). The Comparative Method: Two Decades of Change. Comparative Political Dynamics: Global Research Perspectives. Dankwart A. Rustow and Kenneth Paul Erickson. New York, HarperCollins: 7-31. (CP)

Hallin, Daniel C. and Paolo Mancini (2004). Comparing Media Systems : Three Models of Media and Politics. Cambridge, U.K; New York, Cambridge University Press. (Introduction) (CP)

King, Gary, Robert O. Keohane and Sidney Verba (1994). Designing Social Inquiry: Scientific Inference in Qualitative Research. Princeton, Princeton University Press, pp. 12-18, 128-149. (CP)

Recommended:

Lijphart, Arend (1971). "Comparative Politics and the Comparative Method." American Political Science Review 65(3): 682-693.

Przeworski, Adam and Henry Teune (1970). The Logic of Comparative Social Inquiry. New York, John Wiley & Sons. Chapters 2 and 3.

Session Six Readings: Journalism in China

Wu, Guogang (1994). "Command Communication: The Politics of Editorial Formulation in the People's Daily." China Quarterly 137: 194-211.

Hassid, Jonathan. (2011). "Four Models of the Fourth Estate: A Typology of Contemporary Chinese Journalists." China Quarterly.

Stern, Rachel E. and Jonathan Hassid (In Press). "Amplifying Silence: Uncertainty and Control Parables in Contemporary China." Comparative Political Studies **45**(10).

Recommended:

Stockmann, Daniela. *Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China*, Communication, Society & Politics Series. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, In press, chapter 4.

Lupia, Arthur. 1994. "Shortcuts versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." *American Political Science Review* 88: 63-76.

Scott, James. (1985). Weapons of the Weak. New Haven, Yale University Press.

Lin, Fen. (2010). "A Survey Report on Chinese Journalists in China." China Quarterly **202**: 421-434.

Liebman, Benjamin J. (2011b). "The Media and the Courts: Towards Competitive Supervision?" China Quarterly **208**: 833-850.

Session Seven Readings: Journalism in the US

Tuchman, Gaye. "Objectivity as Strategic Ritual: An Examination of Newsmen's Notions of Objectivity." *American Journal of Sociology* 77, no. 4 (1972): 660-79.

Hamilton, James (2004). All the News That's Fit to Sell : How the Market Transforms Information into News. Princeton, N.J., Princeton University Press. Chapters 1, 2, 3, and 6.

Recommended:

Zaller, John (1999). *A Theory of Media Politics: How Interests of Politicians, Journalists, and Citizens Shape the News*. Chapters 1, 2 (skim), 3, 4, 5 (skim), 6, 7. *Entire book is available online (see blackboard for link)*.

Session Eight: Media Selection and Polarization

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

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

Sun, Tao, Tsan-Kuo Chang, et al. (2001). "Social Structure, Media System, and Audiences in China: Testing the Uses and Dependency Model." Mass Communication and Society **4**(2): 199-217.

Stockmann, Daniela. *Media Commercialization and Authoritarian Rule in China*, Communication, Society & Politics Series. New York, NY: Cambridge University Press, In press, chapter 8

Session Nine: Opinion Formation

Converse, Philip E. (1964). The Nature of Belief in Mass Publics. Ideology and Discontent. David Apter. New York, Free Press: 206-261. (CP)

Geddes, Barbara and John Zaller (1989). "Sources of Popular Support for Authoritarian Regimes." American Journal of Political Science **33**(2): 319-347.

Lodge, Milton and Charles S. Taber (2005). "The Automaticity of Affect for Political Leaders, Groups, and Issues: An Experimental Test of the Hot Cognition Hypothesis." Political Psychology **26**(3): 455-482.

Rosenberg, Shawn. (1988). "The Structure of Political Thinking." American Journal of Political Science **32**(3): 539-566.

Recommended:

Lupia, Arthur (1994). "Shortcuts Versus Encyclopedias: Information and Voting Behavior in California Insurance Reform Elections." American Political Science Review **88**: 63-76.

Lodge, Milton and Marco Steenbergen. 1995. "The Responsive Voter: Campaign Information and the Dynamics of Candidate Evaluation." *APSR* **89**: 309-36.

Session Ten: Media Effects and Political Campaigns

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

Stockmann, Daniela. (2010a). "Who Believes Propaganda? Media Effects during the Anti-Japanese Protests in Beijing." China Quarterly 202: 269-289.

View political ads used in Presidential campaigns between 1952 and 2004 at:
http://livingroomcandidate.movingimage.us/election/index.php?nav_action=election&nav_subaction=overview&campaign_id=177

Brader, Ted. (2005). "Striking a Responsive Chord: How Political Ads Motivate and Persuade Voters by Appealing to Emotions." American Journal of Political Science 49(2): 388-405.

Watch Chinese PSA at: www.cnpad.net/nirbpsa/xueshu/tuandui/

Stockmann, Daniela, Ashley Esarey, et al. (2011). Advertising Chinese Politics: How Public Service Advertising Prime and Alter Political Trust in China. Annual Meeting of the American Political Science Association. Seattle, WA.

Recommended:

Bartels, Larry (1993). "Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure." American Political Science Review 87: 267-285.

Iyengar, Shanto and Donald R. Kinder (1987). News That Matters. Chicago, University of Chicago Press. (Chs. 1-3, 7.)

Chong, Dennis and James Druckman (2007). "A theory of framing and opinion formation in competitive elite environments." Journal of Communication 57(1): 99-118.

Valentino, Nicholas A., Vincent L. Hutchings and Ismail K. White (2002). "Cues That Matter: How Political Ads Prime Racial Attitudes During Campaigns." American Political Science Review 96(1): 75-90.

Mendelberg, Tali (2001). The Race Card. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Gelman, Andrew and Gary King. 1993. "Why are American Presidential Election Campaign Polls so Variable When Votes are so Predictable?" British Journal of Political Science 23(4): 409-51.

Lieberthal, Kenneth (1995). Governing China : From Revolution through Reform. New York, W.W. Norton, pp. 66-70

Gallagher, Mary E. (2006). "Mobilizing the Law in China: "Informed Disenchantment" And the Development of Legal Consciousness." Law and Society Review 40(4): 783-816.

Stockmann, Daniela and Mary E. Gallagher (2011). "Remote Control: How the Media Sustains Authoritarian Rule in China." Comparative Political Studies 44(4): 436-467.

Bennett, Gordon A. (1976). Yundong: Mass Campaigns in Chinese Communist Leadership. Berkeley, Center for Chinese Studies: University of California.

Session Eleven: Workshop on Research Proposals

Students give feedback on each other's research papers during the workshop and can ask the instructor questions about their research design.

Session Twelve: Political Conversation in the United States

Delli Carpini, Michael X., Fay Lomax Cook and Lawrence R. Jacobs (2004). "Public Deliberation, Discursive Participation, and Citizen Engagement: A Review of the Empirical Literature." Annual Review of Political Science 7: 315-344.

Walsh, Katherine C. (2006). "Communities, Race, and Talk: An Analysis of the Occurance of Civic Intergroup Dialogue Programs." Journal of Politics 68(1): 22-33.

Price, Vincent, Lilach Nir, et al. (2006). "Normative and Informational Influences in Online Political Discussions." Communication Theory 16(1): 47-74.

Recommended:

Habermas, Jürgen (1989 [1962]). The Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere : An Inquiry into a Category of Bourgeois Society. Cambridge, Mass., MIT Press.

Sanders, Lynn M. (1997). "Against Deliberation." Political Theory 25(3): 437-376.

Gamson, William A. (1996). Media Discourse as a Framing Resource. The Psychology of Political Communication. Ann Crigler. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press.

Mutz, Diana C. (2008). "Is deliberative democracy a falsifiable theory? ." Annual Review of Political Science 11: 521-538.

Session Thirteen: Political Conversation in China

Shao, Guosong. (2010). "China's Regulations on Internet Cafes." China Media Research 6(3): 26-30.

McKinnon, Rebecca. (2009) China's Censorship 2.0: How Companies Censor Bloggers. First Monday 14, <http://firstmonday.org/htbin/cgiwrap/bin/ojs/index.php/fm/article/view/2378/2089>

Esarey, Ashley and Qiang Xiao (2011). "Digital Communication and Political Change in China." International Journal of Communication 5: 298-319.

Hartford, Kathleen (2005). "Dear Mayor: Online Communications with Local Governments in Hangzhou and Nanjing." China Information 19(2): 217-260.

He, Baogang and Mark E. Warren (2011). "Authoritarian Deliberation: The Deliberative Turn in Chinese Political Development." Perspectives on Politics 9(2): 269-289.

Recommended:

Huang, Edgar (1999). "Flying Freely but in the Cage - an Empirical Study of Using Internet for the Democratic Development in China." Information Technology for Development 8(3): 145-162.

Zhao, Jinqiu (2008). "A Snapshot of Internet Regulation in Contemporary China: Censorship, Profitability, and Responsibility." China Media Research 4(3).

Hu, Henry L. (2011). "The Political Economy of Governing ISPs in China: Perspectives of Net Neutrality and Vertical Integration." China Quarterly 207: 523-540.

Bandursky, David (2008). "China's Guerilla War on the Web." Far Eastern Economic Review, July/August: 41-44. Available at: <http://www.feer.com/essays/2008/august/chinas-guerrilla-war-for-the-web>

He, Baogang (2006). Participatory and Deliberative Institutions in China. The Search for Deliberative Democracy in China. Edward J. Leib and Baogang He. New York, Palgrave: 175-196.

Dong, Xuebing and Jinchuan Shi (2006). The Reconstruction of Local Power: Wenling City's "Democratic Talk in All Sincerity." The Search for Deliberative Democracy in China. Edward J. Leib and Baogang He. New York, Palgrave: 217-228.

Fishkin, James S. Baogang He, and Alice Siu (2006). Public Consultation through Deliberation in China: The First Chinese Deliberative Poll. The Search for Deliberative Democracy in China. Edward J. Leib and Baogang He. New York,

Palgrave: 229-244. See also: <http://cdd.stanford.edu/research/papers/2006/china-unlikely.pdf>

Session Fourteen: Final Discussion

To be announced

Recommended:

Gunther, Richard and Anthony Mughan (2000). Democracy and the Media : A Comparative Perspective. Cambridge, U.K.; New York, Cambridge University Press. (Conclusion)

Lerner, Daniel (1964). The Passing of Traditional Society : Modernizing the Middle East. New York, Free Press of Glencoe.

Bennett, Lance W (1998). The Media and Democratic Development: The Social Basis of Political Communication. Boulder, Lynne Rienner.