

Political Communication Report

Summer 1998 Edition

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Mass Media and Political Socialization

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*The following article is based on ideas being developed in the author's project entitled, *Mass Communications and the Making of Citizens*.*

In the wake of tragedies, such as the recent rash of shooting sprees where young people have killed their classmates and teachers, the mass media's role as educator has come under public scrutiny. Critics claim that the media's voracious and unrealistic portrayal of violence and its consequences compels individuals to act in irresponsible and even deadly ways. The media are able to assume such a powerful socializing role as family and teachers have relinquished control.

The debate over media violence raises the more general issue of the importance of mass media in the

process of socializing citizens to politics. There is strong evidence to suggest that mass media have emerged as a dominant socializing force in the United States, especially as the media's societal pervasiveness has increased and the centrality of other agencies in the process has diminished. Yet, the role of the mass media in the process of political socialization traditionally has been understudied, providing a shaky foundation upon which further research can build. Still, this gap in the research agenda provides great opportunities for reinvigorating studies of political socialization by focusing on mass media, especially in light of the potential problems associated with a media-dominant socialization system.

A Gap in the Socialization Story: Mass Media's Influence

Perhaps more than any other tradition of social scientific research, the study of political socialization has the potential to provide answers to the puzzling questions of why and how people become citizens, as well as, why and how regimes survive, evolve, or falter. Broadly speaking, political socialization encompasses those developmental processes through which individuals acquire a relationship to the political world, including the cultivation of political orientations and patterns of behavior.¹ Socialization helps people to "fit in" to their political system by teaching them the principles and actions that would render them "good citizens."²

Political socialization scholarship had its genesis in the 1930s,³ and became a thriving research enterprise in the postwar period. However, by the 1980s, the field had entered a period of stagnation, if not decline. Socialization research was plagued by problems of theory and method, of questionable findings and misguided interpretations.⁴

Studies of the mass media's role in the socialization process did not escape the theoretical and methodological pitfalls that plagued the field more generally. Mass media were assigned a secondary role in the socialization process in the early stages of the research initiative, a status that influenced their treatment even as media technologies became more sophisticated and mass communications' importance in society increased. Classic works on socialization identified agencies that involve direct, face-to-face contact as most central to the process. As such, the media were not afforded the same degree of systematic study as the family, school, and even the peer group. The mass media's role often was characterized as reinforcing politicization that had been initiated via other agents, a byproduct of the "limited effects" perspective that pervaded communications research during the heyday of socialization scholarship.

Yet, even early studies of socialization mentioned the potential importance of mass media in the process. Merriam observed, "Modern journalism plays an important role in the development of habits favorable to the maintenance of the political group. News is human interest, and the center of news is the political. The amount of space devoted to political events in the modern press is large, and the educational value of the political features of the press is of very great importance. . . The press is beyond question the greatest of adult political educational agencies."⁵ He further considered the implications of radio, and especially, moving pictures for the making of citizens. Regarding movies, Merriam observed, "Millions of persons are reached daily through these agencies, and are profoundly influenced by the material and interpretations presented in impressive form, incessantly, and in moments when they are open to suggestion. Unquestionably, here is an agency of prime importance which will

have very large place in the future development of the educational process.”⁶ Audience research conducted during this era, such as the Payne Fund Studies of Motion Pictures and Youth, adds credence to Merriam’s assertions.

Other scholars followed suit in speculating about the importance of mass media in the socialization process, even as they maintained their focus on personal agencies. Dawson and Prewitt, for example, foreshadowed the situation today. “As a result of technological advancement in communications media and the weakening of traditional social structures like the extended family and the local community, the mass media are becoming important shapers of political orientations.”⁷

Revitalizing Socialization Research: A Primary Role for Mass Media

A variety of factors have worked to create an environment where political socialization through mass communications is more prevalent now than in the past.⁸ The disintegration of the nuclear family marked by the rise in divorce rates, unwed motherhood, single parent homes, and the proliferation of two-career households creates fewer socializing opportunities for parents. Teachers also do not perform especially well as socializing agents in the current era. Many schools lack the resources necessary to provide sufficient individual attention to students. Overcrowding and outright dangerous conditions in educational institutions hinder their ability to teach basic skills, let alone foster citizenship orientations. The school curriculum and the dominant teaching methods which focus on rote memorization as opposed to interactive techniques that encourage direct student involvement do little to foster political development.

As personal contact with family members and teachers has diminished, the amount of time individuals spend with mass media has increased. Significant for preadult socialization, parental roles have been subsumed by the babysitting function of television. Television has been joined by an increasing array of media which accompany citizens throughout their day, providing companionship as well as information, entertainment, and social contact. Both old and new media have become more interactive in their relationships with audience members by incorporating call-ins and e-mail into their formats. Changes in the nature of the communication experience, which has become more solitary and less communal, also have significant implications for socialization. In decades past, radio listening was a family activity. Today, individuals cut themselves off from others while listening to Walkmen.

The mass media also have significant potential as socializing agents because so much of their content is overtly political. Media provide knowledge of institutions, actors, and processes that creates the foundation for citizenship orientations. Individuals form opinions and make affective evaluations of things political based on media messages and images. The media convey ideology, impart rules and conventions, and reinforce the values of the dominant hegemony. In addition, mass media supply blueprints for political engagement. They showcase political role models by depicting leaders, politicians, and average citizens in action. With a greater expanse of content available in more diverse formats, political media messages can be targeted at specific audience segments, conceivably expanding access to the political world for societal subgroups, although the evidence of this occurring at present is limited.⁹

Further, technological devices, such as cell phones and computers, have altered radically the routine dynamics of human connections. Technologies increasingly have become intermediaries in the human

communications process, fostering greater detachment between communicators. Corresponding via e-mail is a far more remote exchange than speaking in person or even conversing over the telephone. As a consequence, citizens' daily interactions with others, their political orientations, perceptions of their roles, and their actions are affected. The increasing depersonalization of human interactions has hastened the shift from personal to mediated political socialization. Even socialization that is initiated through face-to-face agencies increasingly is accomplished through technological intermediaries, lessening its immediacy and emotional force.

The Imperative for Studying Media and Socialization

Socialization that occurs largely through mass media is detached, remote, fragmented, and unspecialized. The mass media are socializers by default, not by design. A media socialization system lacks the formal authority structure that characterizes other agents. The media industry does not have the capacity nor the inclination to oversee or regulate the socialization of individual citizens directly as can face-to-face agents.

A socialization process dominated by mass media may fail to generate meaningful political and moral development because it downplays and even displaces human relations. While not all human relations have positive consequences, and some can be quite harmful, human contact can foster psychological well-being by breeding security, caring, concern, and empathy. Personal associations can help individuals to overcome feelings of dislocation and isolation. Electronic companionship is no substitute for the emotional connections and security afforded by human interactions, even as we see people reaching out to others through mass communication outlets, such as Internet chat rooms. Nor can mass media levy rewards and punishments that register with the force of those conveyed by personal associates.

Socialization via personal agencies grounds an individual in the reality of human experience. Mass media provide a second-hand and even unrealistic view of the world that may influence people's outlooks and perceptions. For example, children who experience violence through the mass media may have difficulty comprehending the real life consequences of shooting, stabbing, and maiming. They can fail to process the bloody illusions as more than cartoon-like images, and can become desensitized to the death and accompanying personal devastation that result when these acts are committed.

Further, the media's portrayal of politics is far from positive. Established conventions for press coverage of political leaders and institutions, especially at the national level, privilege negative news over positive, and provide an exaggerated vision of the problems of government. Stories that showcase drama and conflict, that depict politicians behaving badly, dominate to the exclusion of material presenting a more functional polity. The negative image of the political realm is reinforced in popular media, through sitcoms featuring bickering and incompetent governing executives and dramas exploiting themes of corruption and scandal taken from the day's headlines.

All of these factors can contribute to a society where individuals' regard for other citizens is eclipsed, civil relations are underplayed, and the value placed on human life is diminished. Attitudes toward politics are marked by alienation, cynicism, and discontent. At the same time, there is evidence of more positive trends. Volunteerism may be on the rise, especially among young people. New technologies may help citizens to reach out and reclaim democracy, to reshape society by putting them in closer touch with leaders and institutions.

The United States is in the midst of a technologically-generated societal transformation. Recognizing the ways in which old, new, and emerging communications technologies will shape and be shaped by our culture and the role of political socialization in that process is essential for our understanding of this transition and its implications.

Notes

- ¹ Easton, David, and Jack Dennis. 1969. *Children in the Political System: The Origins of Political Legitimacy*. New York, NY: McGraw-Hill.
- ² Conover, Pamela Johnston. 1991. "Political Socialization: Where's the Politics?" in William Crotty (ed.), *Political Science: Looking to the Future, Volume III, Political Behavior*, Evanston, IL: Northwestern University Press, pp. 125-152.
- ³ The publication of Charles E. Merriam's edited series, *The Making of Citizens: A Comparative Study of Methods of Civic Training in the 1930's* was a landmark.
- ⁴ Cook, Timothy E. 1985. "The Bear Market in Political Socialization and the Costs of Misunderstood Psychological Theories," *American Political Science Review*, vol. 79, pp. 1079-1093; Merelman, Richard M. 1986. "Revitalizing Political Socialization," in Margaret G. Hermann (ed.), *Political Psychology*, San Francisco, CA: Jossey-Bass Publishers, pp. 279-319.
- ⁵ Merriam, Charles Edward. 1931. *The Making of Citizens*. Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press, pp. 160-161.
- ⁶ Merriam, 1931, p. 165.
- ⁷ Dawson, Richard E., and Kenneth Prewitt. 1969. *Political Socialization*. Boston, MA: Little, Brown and Company, p. 194.
- ⁸ Although one can argue that the evidence of the primacy of personal agencies in the socialization process has been mixed, even in earlier eras.
- ⁹ Richard Davis and Diana Owen. 1998. *New Media in American Politics*. New York, NY: Oxford

ICA Panels for the 1998 Conference

The following panels at the upcoming ICA meeting feature papers relevant to political communication. See the conference program for panel schedule.

Political Communication - The Asian Context

Chair: Won Ho Chang, U of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA

Shifting Political Power and News Sources: The Case in Hong Kong's Political Transition

Joyce Nip, Hong Kong Baptist U, Kowloon, HONG KONG

The Emergence of Media Politics in Korea: An Analysis Using a Structural Equation Modeling Approach

Won-Yong Kim, Sung Kyun Kwan U, Seoul, KOREA and Eunsang Yun, U of Wisconsin, Madison, WI, USA

New York Times Coverage of Nuclear Testing in French Polynesia and China: A Comparative Frame Analysis

David P. Winterstein, U of Washington, Seattle, WA, USA

U.S. Media Portrayal of China as Ideologically Incorrect: Changes Since the End of the Cold War

Xueyi Chen, Syracuse U, Syracuse, NY, USA

Media Politics and Democracy in Latin America

Chair: Silvio Waisbord, Rutgers U, New Brunswick, NJ, USA

Globo's Evening News and the Representation of Politics in Brazil (1995-1997)

Mauro Porto, U of California, San Diego, CA, USA

Political Advertising on Television in Brazil: The 'HGPE'

Alfonso de Albuquerque, U of Federal Fluminense, Rio de Janeiro, RJ, BRAZIL

The Effects of Media Coverage on the 1997 Mayoral Elections in Mexico City

Chappell Lawson, Stanford U, Palo Alto, CA, USA

Bad News: Violence Against the Press in Latin America

Silvio Waisbord, Rutgers U, New Brunswick, NJ, USA

Communications at the Crossroads: Media and the Politics of German Reunification

Chair: Sondra M. Rubenstein, Hofstra U, Hempstead, NY, USA

The German Media in the Cold War: The RIAS Experience

H. Sidney Pactor, U of Florida, Gainesville, FL, USA

Communications at the Crossroads: Setting the Reunification Agenda

Sondra Rubenstein, Hofstra U, Hempstead, NY, USA

Media between East and West: Central German Radio (MDR) in Reunified Germany

Craig W. Nickisch, Idaho State U, Pocatello, ID, USA

Politics, Talk, and Community

Chair: Raphael Cohen-Almagor, U of Haifa, ISRAEL

The Individual Agenda-Designing Process: How Interpersonal Communication, Egocentric Networks and Mass Media Shape the Perception of Political Issues by Individuals

Patrick Rössler, Ludwig Maximilians U, München, GERMANY

News Media Consumption and Bias Transfer

Esther Thorson and Michael Antecol, U of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA

The Political Talk Radio Experience: A Community Study

C. Richard Hofstetter, James Smith and Gina Zari, San Diego State U, San Diego, CA, USA

Electronic Democracy and the Diffusion of Municipal Web Pages in California

Juliet Musso, Christopher Weare and Matthew Hale, U of Southern California, Los Angeles, CA, USA

Political Talk and Issue Knowledge in the 1996 Presidential Election

Paul Waldman, U of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA

Political Cynicism, Alienation and Institutional Negativity

Chair: Frank Esser, Johannes Gutenberg U, Mainz, GERMANY

Cynicism and the Public Mood About an Election as Mediators of Actual and Self-Reported Voting

Glenn Leshner and Esther Thorson, U of Missouri, Columbia, MO, USA

Insults in Congress: The Enemy Turned Inward

Erica Falk, U of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA

The Role of Media in Citizens' Political Alienation: A Life Style Analysis Approach

Anthony Y.H. Fung, City U of Hong Kong, HONG KONG, Tien-tsung Lee, U of Oregon, Eugene, OR, USA, and Hsaio-Fang Hwang, Northwestern U, Evanston, IL

Government, Media, and Policy: A Cross-National Perspective

Chair: Gadi Wolfsfeld, Hebrew U, Jerusalem, ISRAEL

The Tri-Polar Kuuki Model: The Case of the United Nations Cooperation Bill

Youichi Ito, Keio U, Shonan Fujisawa, JAPAN

Communicating for Local Government in France: The Rise of Communication Departments

Philippe J. Maarek, U Paris, FRANCE

Netanyahu, the Israeli Media, and the Peace Process

Gadi Wolfsfeld, Hebrew U of Jerusalem, ISRAEL

Government and Human Rights: Images from the Maghrebian Press

Lisa Garon, U Laval, Laval, PQ, CANADA

Public Opinion - Expression and Measurement in Comparative Perspective

Chair: Barbara Pfetsch, Science Center, Berlin, GERMANY

What's in a Question? Survey Questions as Discourse Indicators

Jacob Shamir, The Hebrew U, Jerusalem, ISRAEL

Public Opinion as Personal Cultivation: An Oriental View of Public Opinion

Hyunyi Cho, Michigan State U, East Lansing, MI, USA

Persuasion vs. Framing: Impacts of Interpretation on Political Attitudes

June Woong Rhee, Seoul National U, Seoul, KOREA

Political Ideology and News Selection in Local versus Foreign Press Coverage of a Domestic Political Event

Anthony Olorunnisola, Pennsylvania State U, University Park, PA, USA

German and Cross-National Views of News

Chair: Karen Sanders, U of Sheffield, Sheffield, UNITED KINGDOM

Government News Management: Strategic Communication in Comparative Perspective

Barbara Pfetsch, Science Center, Berlin, GERMANY

The Impact of Editorial Content on the Political Agenda in Germany: Theoretical Assumptions and Open Questions Regarding a Neglected Subject in Mass Communication Research

Christiane Eilders, Science Center, Berlin, GERMANY

Specialists versus All-Rounders: Opposing Principles of Organizing Work in Anglo-Saxon and German Newsrooms

Frank Esser, Johannes Gutenberg U, Mainz, GERMANY

Can a Single Incident Create an Issue: Exemplars in German Television Magazine Shows

Hans-Bernd Brosius, U München, GERMANY Gregor Daschmann, U Mainz, GERMANY

Political Communication - The Israeli Context

Chair: Zhongdang Pan, Chinese U of Hong Kong, HONG KONG

Living with Contradictions: The Taken-for-Granted in Israeli Political Discourse

Hanna Herzog, Tel Aviv U, Ramat Aviv, ISRAEL and Bill Gamson, Boston College, Chestnut Hill, MA, USA

Rabbinic Rhetoric on Jews as a Nation with a Territorial Attachment to the Land of Israel

Carol Conaway, College of the Holy Cross, Worcester, MA, USA

Broadcast Media Functions and the Rabin Assassination

Yoel Cohen, Center for Technological Education, Holon, ISRAEL

War, Media, and Society: The Changed Security Discourse in Israeli Media

Yoram Peri, Hebrew U, Jerusalem, ISRAEL

The Shape of Political News

Chair: Patrick Rössler, Ludwig-Maximilians U, München, GERMANY

Germany's News Value and Its Factors: An Analysis of the Foreign News Coverage of Newspapers and Television in Different Countries

Lutz M Hagen, U of Erlangen, Nürnberg, GERMANY

Nuclear Information During a Foreign Policy Crisis: A Case Study in the Use of Sources

Lianne Fridriksson, Baylor U, Waco, TX, USA

Clinton's Performance in American Public's Eye: Another Study of Media Effects on Presidential Evaluations

Zhongdang Pan, Chinese U of Hong Kong, HONG KONG

Leadership, Candidates, and Elections

Chair: Darin Klein, Georgia State U, Atlanta, GA, USA

Citizen Evaluation of the 1996 U.S. Presidential Debates

Mitchell S. McKinney, U of Oklahoma, Norman, OK, USA

Candidate Preferences and Expectations of Winning in the 1996 Election

Mee-Eun Kang, U of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

Are Men More Rational and Women Emotional in Selecting Political Leaders?

Erica Falk, U of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, PA, USA and Joseph Cappella, U of Pennsylvania,

Philadelphia, PA, USA

Components of Candidate Images: Further Statistical Analysis of the Issue-Persona Dichotomy in the Presidential Campaign of 1996

Kenneth Hacker and Walter R. Zakahi, New Mexico State U, Las Cruces, NM, USA and Maury Giles, Wirthlin Worldwide, McLean, VA, USA

The Multidimensional Perception of Power for Figures in the Public Sphere across Political Party Ideology, and Media Use

John E. Newhagen, U of Maryland at College Park, MD, USA

All Things Considered - The Conundrum of Measuring Opinion Quality

Chair: Robert Wyatt, Middle Tennessee State U, Murfreesboro, TN, USA

The Importance of Considered Opinion in Mass Democracies

Elihu Katz, University of Pennsylvania, PA, USA

Deliberative Polls: Toward Improved Measures of Public Opinion

Vincent Price, U of Michigan, Ann Arbor, MI, USA

The Squishiness of Yankelovich's Mushiness Index

Ken Blake, Middle Tennessee State U, Murfreesboro, TN, USA

Consistency, Opinionation, and Structuration as Measures of Opinion Quality

Joohoan Kim, Boston College, MA, USA

Civic Discourse in a Global Community

The Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics announces a conference on "Civic Discourse in a Global Community: Creating Cross-Cultural Connections" on October 2-3, 1998 in Ames, Iowa. This interdisciplinary conference seeks to bring together scholars, public policy-makers, practitioners and participants to discuss the role of political discourse, processes and policies in creating connections between various groups and cultures in national and international settings. Scholars from political science, public administration, communication, rhetoric, journalism, history, sociology,

women's studies and other disciplines are invited to submit abstracts of theoretical papers, position papers, original data-based studies and developed research proposals for consideration.

Papers should relate to the conference's general theme. Of particular interest will be papers that explore how intersections of gender, race, ethnicity and class affect civic discourse, public policy and political processes in the United States and abroad. We encourage papers addressing such topics as women's impact on national and international order through political parties, interest groups and social movements; the role of communication, including mass media news coverage, in constructing gender, race, class and culture; and national and international public policy issues from a gender, race, ethnicity and class perspective. All of these topical areas are broadly conceived.

To be considered for presentation, authors should submit, postmarked or faxed by July 1, 1998:

--an abstract of 800 words maximum that describes the main focus of the paper and methodology with references;

--a cover page with title of paper, complete names of all authors, and mailing addresses and telephone numbers where they can be reached in August 1998; and

--a current curriculum vitae of all authors.

Authors will be notified regarding the status of their work in early August. Final papers are due September 1, 1998. Papers will be presented in panels at the conference and may be published under the auspices of the Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics.

Send abstracts to: Dr. Dianne Bystrom, Director, Carrie Chapman Catt Center for Women and Politics, 309 Carrie Chapman Catt Hall, Ames Iowa 50011-1305; fax (515) 294-3741.

For more information, contact the Center at (515) 294-3181 or *dbystrom@iastate.edu*.

Campaign Finance Reform Workshop

The APSA Political Organizations and Parties division will sponsor a workshop on "The Politics of Campaign Finance Reform" on September 2, 1998, the day before the APSA meeting. The workshop will focus on various proposals for reforming the system of financing American elections and the most recent developments in campaign finance reform on the national and state levels.

The first panel, 1:00-2:45 PM "How Do We Solve the Campaign Finance Problem?" features guests who will discuss proposed reforms to the campaign finance system. E. Joshua Rosenkranz, Executive Director of the Brennan Center for Justice at the New York University School of Law, will address the implications of recent court decisions on the regulation of politics and money, particularly the impact of the First Amendment. Paul Taylor of the Free TV for Straight Talk Coalition will discuss the proposal to offer free or reduced rate TV time to federal candidates. Representatives from reform groups such as the League of Women Voters will also appear.

In the second panel, 3:15-5:00 PM, "Campaign Finance Reform: Insider Perspectives," Dr. Anthony

J. Corrado, Jr. of Colby College, a leading expert on campaign finance, will be joined by practitioners in campaign finance reform. Amy Rosenbaum, Aide to Rep. Martin T. (Marty) Meehan (D-MA) and Ph. D. candidate at Johns Hopkins University, and D. Victoria A. Farrar-Myers, University of Texas, Arlington, 1998 Congressional Fellow and Aide to Rep. Christopher Shays (R-CN), will discuss recent campaign finance reform efforts in the House of Representatives. Ellen S. Miller, Executive Director of The Public Campaign, will review grassroots efforts to bring public financing to the states.

There is no fee for this workshop.

For more information, contact Bruce Caswell, Political Science Department, Rowan University, 201 Mullica Hill Road, Glassboro, NJ 08028; telephone (609) 256-4866; e-mail caswell@rowan.edu.

Communications Monographs **Call for Manuscripts**

Michael J. Beatty, editor of *Communication Monographs*, is calling for manuscripts featuring original research dealing with processes central to communication. Although the journal is not restricted to particular conceptual perspectives or research paradigms, it is the responsibility of contributors to articulate clear and defensible rationales for the theoretical and methodological approaches employed in their research. Moreover, it is incumbent on contributors to explain precisely how their research findings advance our understanding of communication. According to Beatty, manuscripts dealing with quantitative research should report and discuss implications of obtained effect sizes within the context of theory (predictive power, parsimony, etc.) and the procedures employed in the study (reliability and validity of measures' relative strength of experimental manipulations, etc.). Priority will be given to research reports which have the broadest and most compelling implications for communication theory. Manuscripts that make limited contributions to our understanding of communication, apply only to narrow contexts, or principally voice ideological concerns should be directed to more appropriate, specialized journals. For more information, contact: Michael J. Beatty, Editor, *Communication Monographs*, Department of Communication, Cleveland State University, Cleveland, OH 44115.

Political Science and Communication Journals Online

American Political Science Review

<http://www.library.nwu.edu/journal/aprs>

Political Communication

<http://www.bmpub.com/jnls/pcp.htm>

Harvard Journal of Press/Politics

<http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/journal.htm>

Communications Research

<http://www.sagepub.co.uk/journals/details/j0078.html>

American Politics Quarterly

<http://www.uwm.edu:80/Org/APO/>

Political Research Quarterly

<http://www.u.arizona.edu/~prq/>

American Journal of Political Science

<http://psweb.sbs.ohio-state.edu/ajps/index.htm>

PS: Political Science and Politics

<http://www.dgsys.com/~apsa/ps.html>

Political Science Quarterly

<http://epn.org/psq.html>

1999-2000 Fulbright Awards for U.S. Faculty and Professionals

There are two opportunities for Fulbright scholarships specifically in the field of political communication currently available in Costa Rica and India for the 1999-2000 school year.

Through the Fulbright Scholarship program, opportunities for lecturing or advanced research in over 125 countries are available to college and university faculty and professionals outside academe. U.S. citizenship and the Ph.D. or comparable professional qualifications required. For lecturing awards, university or college teaching experience is expected. Foreign language skills are need for some countries, but most lecturing assignments are in English.

Deadlines: August 12, 1998, for lecturing and research grants in academic year 1999-2000; May 1, 1998, for distinguished Fulbright chairs in Western Europe and Canada; November 1, 1998, for international education and academic administrator seminars.

For more information, contact the USIA Fulbright Senior Scholar Program, Council for International Exchange of Scholars, 3007 Tilden Street, NW, Suite 5L, Box GNEWS, Washington, DC 20008-3009. Telephone: 202-686-7877. Web page (on-line materials): <http://www/cies.org>. E-mail: apprequest@cies.iie.org (request for application materials only).

IPSA Conference on Political Communication Research for the Third Millennium: Call for Papers

The Political Communication Research Section of the International Political Science Association is organizing a workshop to evaluate the limits of Political Communication.

Papers are solicited on one or more of the following topics: Mass-Media and Political Communication, Interpersonal Media and Political Communication, Processes of Political Communication in International Society, Processes of Political Communication within National Frames, and Processes of Political Communication in Local Communities. Paper abstracts of no more than 250 words should be sent to: Mr. Philippe Maarek, 41, Rue du Colisee, 75008 Paris, France; E-mail: maarek@univ-paris12.fr.

The workshop will be held at the end of August 1999 (tentatively on the last few days) at Laval University in Quebec, and a roundtable analyzing the outcome of the workshop will be then organized during the International Political Science Association Congress in Quebec in 2000.

New Books

Alleyne, Mark D. 1997. *News Revolution: Political and Economic Decisions About Global Information*. St. Martins Press.

Bengio, Ofra. 1997. *Saddam's Word: Political Discourse in Iraq (Studies in Middle Eastern History)*. Oxford University Press.

Birkland, Thomas A. 1997. *After Disaster: Agenda Setting, Public Policy and Focusing Events (American Governance and Public Policy)*. Georgetown University Press.

Carey, Alex and Andrew Lohrey, Ed. and Noam Chomsky, Intro. *Taking the Risk Out of Democracy: Corporate Propaganda Versus Freedom and Liberty (History of Communication)*. University of Illinois Press.

- Chomsky, Noam. 1997. *Media Control: The Spectacular Achievements of Propaganda (The Open Media Pamphlet Series, No. 1)*. Seven Stories Press.
- Cook, Timothy E. 1998. *Governing with the News: The News Media as a Political Institution (Studies in Communication, Media and Public Opinion)*. University of Chicago Press.
- Creek, Timothy. 1997. *Propaganda and Culture in Mao's China: Deng Tuo and the Intelligentsia*. Clarendon Press.
- Croteau, David and William Hoynes. 1997. *Media/Society: Industries, Images, and Audiences*. Pine Forge Press.
- Deibert, Ronald J. 1997. *Parchment, Printing and Hypermedia: Communication in World Order Transformation (New Directions in World Politics)*. Columbia University Press.
- Edwards, Janis L. 1997. *Political Cartoons in the 1988 Presidential Campaign: Image, Metaphor, and Narrative*. Garland.
- Fitch, Kristine L. 1997. *Speaking Rationally: Culture, Communication, and Interpersonal Connection*. Guilford.
- Friedenberg, Robert V. 1997. *Communication Consultants in Political Campaigns: Ballot Box Warriors (Praeger Series in Political Communication)*. Praeger.
- Friedenberg, Robert V. 1997. *Rhetorical Studies of National Political Debates—1996 (Praeger Series in Political Communication)*. Praeger.
- Gelderman, Carol. 1997. *All the President's Words: The Bully Pulpit and the Creation of the Virtual Presidency*. Walker & Co.
- Gonzalez, Alberto and Dolores V. Tanno, Eds. 1997. *Politics, Communication and Culture*. Sage Publications.
- Hahn, Dan F. 1998. *Political Communication: Rhetoric, Government, and Citizens*. Strata.
- Jeffres, Leo W. 1997. *Mass Media Effects*. Waveland Press.
- Jensen, Carl. 1997. *Twenty Years of Censored News*. Seven Stories Press.
- Katz, Jon. 1997. *Media Rants: Postpolitics in the Digital Nation*. Hardwired.

- Kerbel, Matthew Robert. 1998. *Edited for Television: CNN, ABC, and American Presidential Elections*. Westview Press.
- Kurtz, Howard. 1998. *Spin Cycle: Inside the Clinton Propaganda Machine*. Free Press.
- Kuypers, Jim A. 1997. *Presidential Crisis Rhetoric and the Press in the Post-Cold War World (Praeger Series in Political Communication)*. Praeger.
- Mann, Thomas E. and Ingrid Hamm. 1998. *Political Communication in the Information Society: The Findings of a German-American Workshop*. Brookings Institute.
- McChesney, Robert Waterman and Edward S. Herman. 1997. *Global Media: The Missionaries of Global Capitalism*. Casswell Academic.
- Mickunas, Algis, Joseph Pilotta, and Algis Mishunas. 1997. *Technology vs. Democracy: Issues in the Politics of Communication (The Hampton Press Communication Series)*. Hampton Press.
- Nimmo, Dan D. and Chevelle Newsome. 1997. *Political Commentators in the United States in the 20th Century: A Bio-Critical Sourcebook*. Greenwood Publishing Group.
- Norris, Pippa, Ed. 1997. *Politics and the Press: The News Media and Their Influences*. Lynne Reinner Press.
- Norris, Pippa, Ed. 1997. *Routes to Power: Legislative Recruitment in Advanced Democracies*. Cambridge University Press.
- O'Neil, Patrick H., Ed. 1998. *Communicating Democracy: The Media and Political Transitions*. Lynne Reinner Press.
- Orme, William A., Jr., Ed. 1997. *A Culture of Collusion: An Inside Look at the Mexican Press*. Lynne Reinner Press.
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