



PPP 412

Political Communications in International Perspective



Fall 1999

Monday/Wednesdays 11.30-1.00 Littauer 332

Pippa Norris

Office: Taubman 262 (Shorenstein Center)

Tel: 617-495 1475 - Fax: 617-495 8696

Email: Pippa_Norris@harvard.edu

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

Course Objectives:

Globalization and new technologies are rapidly transforming the process of political communications around the world. The end of the Television Age and the rise of the Internet Era raises many issues: are newspapers and television as we know them in terminal decline, as some expect, or will the Internet just supplement, not replace, the old media? Are parties and elections being transformed by new forms of campaign communications? What are the effects of newspapers, television, the Net and party campaigns on civic engagement? Are the new communication technologies producing a 'globalization' or 'Americanization' of popular culture, or a more complex localization and fragmentation of media outlets and local identities? And what are the consequences of all these developments for the process of governance in a wired world?

This course will provide new insights and practical analysis to understand these issues focusing on recent developments in the structure, contents and impact of political communications in many countries around the world. A wide range of post-industrial and developing countries are compared, including the United States. Your policy analysis report focuses on one of issues covered in the course in the country(s)/region of your choice.

Much of the material will be drawn from a new book, *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*, (currently in press), as well as from online resources and web sites. Class notes, exercises and online links will be available on the class web site.

Course Outline:

Part I starts by considering key issues and theories about the role of the news media in a democracy, examining two issues: what normative standards can be used to evaluate the news media? And how is the news industry - including newspapers, radio/television and the Internet - being transformed in the late twentieth century by economic and technological pressures?

Part II compares political communications within election campaigns, and how the shift from traditional to modern, and now post-modern, campaigning has altered the relationship between citizens and candidates/parties.

Part III analyzes the impact of political communications on civic engagement, meaning the public's political knowledge, trust and participation. Does the news media produce civic malaise, as many claim, or do they serve to boost civic engagement?

Part IV concludes by considering the process of globalization and the dynamics of international news flows. Are we moving towards a global hegemony dominated by American culture, or a 'localization' and fragmentation of media outlets and cultural identities?

Schedule Fall 1999

Week 1	Part I: The News Media & Democracy	22 nd September
Week 2	The Decline of Newspapers?	27 th and 28 th September
Week 3	The Rise (and Fall?) of Television	4 th and 6 th October
Week 4	The Emerging Internet Age?	13 th October
Week 5	Policy Analysis Research Designs & Methods	18 th and 20 th October
Week 6* #1	Part II: From Traditional to Post-Modern Campaigns?	25 th and 27 th October
Week 7	Campaign Case Studies	1 st and 3 rd October
Week 8 * #2	Part III: The Impact on Civic Engagement	8 th and 10 th November
Week 9	Political Trust	15 th and 17 th November
Week 10	Civic Mobilization	22 nd and 24 th November
Week 11	Part IV: Globalization & International News Flows	29 th Nov and 1 st Dec
Week 12	Does Globalization = Americanization?	6 th and 8 th November
Week 13	Policy Presentations	13 th and 15 th December
Week 14* #3	Conclusions	20 th December

Note Holidays: Columbus Day 11th October, Veteran's Day 11th November, Thanksgiving 25-28th November. * = Report due for completion

Who Should Take this Course?

The course is designed for policy analysts working in the news media, politics and public policymaking. It provides analytical skills and practical knowledge useful in a wide range of careers, including in international organizations like the U.N. and UNESCO, NGOs, interest groups, and community associations, government agencies, ministries, and press offices, political and campaign organizations, as well as for those directly involved with the news media as journalists, broadcasters, pollsters, campaign consultants, media executives, and press officers. There are no prerequisites for this course.



Course Materials:

Course materials are: (*=available from the [Coop](#))

- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and can be downloaded. From <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm>
- Denis McQuail and Karen Siune (eds.) *Media Policy: Convergence, Concentration & Commerce* Sage: 1998 0761959408 * \$24.95
- Doris Graber, Denis McQuail and Pippa Norris. *The Politics of News: The News of Politics* CQ Press: 1998. * \$33.00
- Pippa Norris et al. *On Message: Communicating the Campaign*. Sage. 1999. 0761960740. * \$25.95
- [UNESCO World Communications Report](#). 1998. Online for reading or downloading in PDF format. Note this is a long report and you might want to download chapters or sections. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/WorldCommReport.pdf>

Guest Speakers

Guest speakers will be invited to class, including faculty and visiting fellows from the Joan Shorenstein Center on the Press, Politics and Public Policy. Details will be announced nearer the date.

You are also welcome to attend visiting speakers in the [Research Roundtable](#) series organized by the Center every Monday from 4.00-5.30pm in Taubman 275.

In addition you are welcome to come to the [Shorenstein Center Brown Bag](#) talks every Tuesday 12.00-1.00 where a series of journalists, broadcasters and scholars will present their views.

Course Requirements:

Sessions involve participation through discussing the reading, group exercises, report presentations, and case studies. Online independent research is required for your reports. Familiarity with statistical analysis and working with large-scale datasets will be an *advantage* although not essential.

Course assessment is based on a Content Analysis Exercise (10%), a mid-term Policy Analysis Report (40%), a final Policy Strategy Report (40%), and class participation (10%). The two reports are designed as interrelated and cumulative exercises. The Policy Analysis Report (due in the 7th week) focuses on one of the problems of communications. The Policy Strategy Report (due the end week) builds on this foundation by proposing structural reforms based on your analysis.

#1. Content Analysis Exercise (10%)

The aim is to learn the pros and cons of this method.

"Campaign coverage neglects serious discussion of policy issues and focuses instead on the strategic horse-race, negative news and personalities."

Selecting any two different media outlets (such as television network news, local or cable news, newspapers, magazines, or the internet) you are asked to develop a systematic content analysis to examine how far this is the case, and explain the pattern of coverage which you find.

The content analysis should include three days coverage measuring the amount of campaign news, the headline priority, the sources used as 'authorities', the type of topics covered, the 'positive' or 'negative' direction, and the 'framing' of such news. Your 3-page content analysis paper should present:

- Your hypotheses based on your reading;
- Your methodology including conceptual definitions and operationalization;
- Your findings; and,
- The main methodological problems and issues raised by this exercise.

More details of this exercise will follow. The results will be compared in class. Link to online news media sources from the [AJR](#).



#2. Part I: Policy Analysis Report (40%) In the first part of this exercise you will be asked to produce a Policy Analysis report for your client.

[Full details are available for downloading here.](#) *Examples* of the sort of topics you might want to select are as follows:

(Client: Greenpeace). How is the Internet used most effectively by environmental NGOs in Singapore, Malaysia and Vietnam, and how could Greenpeace fund local initiatives to promote this activity?

(Client: Boston Globe). Why have American newspaper sales declined so heavily in recent decades, and what could be learnt from sales in Germany, Britain and Sweden to expand the Boston market to attract more women, minority and the younger readers?

(Client: Markle Foundation). What are the pros and cons of introducing online voting and how could this be implemented to maximize participation?

(Client: European Parliament Press Office). Voting participation in elections to the European parliament has declined from three-quarters to one half the electorate in the last twenty years. What could the press office of the European Parliament do to change communications to reverse this pattern in the run up to the next European elections in 2004?

(Client: UNESCO Division of Women). UNESCO is concerned that women are not being portrayed as effective political leaders, experts and authorities in the news media. Is this the case and, if so, what could the news industry do to change this situation? Compare news coverage of women in politics in Sweden, the US and France to analyze what could be done about this issue.

(Client: Department of Education, Greece). The Greek government is concerned that their country is falling well behind the information society in the European Union, especially in Internet use. Is this the case and, if so, what training initiatives within the educational system would be most effective to improve access?

(Client: CNN). CNN is concerned about how it should cover the 2000 party conventions. What are the lessons of coverage in 1992 and 1996 that could be used to provide guidelines for CNN producers, editors, reporters and news executives?

(Client: Ford Foundation). Ford is concerned that local TV news in the US fails to cover local politics, thereby discouraging learning about local and state government. Is this the case and, if so, what recommendations and incentives could be developed to improve coverage by local TV stations?

(Client: Mexican Electoral Commission). IFE seeks to provide parties with funding and facilities for political communications during the upcoming Presidential elections. How can these resources be used most effectively to promote free and fair elections among all parties and what are the major problems facing IFE in this regard?

(Client: British Conservative Party). The Conservative party is concerned that party political broadcasts (PPBs) in the 1997 election were ineffective and the party needs a radical rethink to strategic communications in the run up to the 2001/2 general election. In the light of the 1997 PPBs what recommendations would you make?

(Client: Index on Censorship). The Index on Censorship wants to monitor problems of the free flow of information in the press during the last 12 months in Nigeria, Indonesia, Iran or Kosovo. How would you analyze this issue for your client?

(Client: Pew Trust). Pew is concerned that trust in the news media is declining in the US and many countries. Is this the case and what causes trust in the news media?

#3 Final Policy Strategy Report (40%) In the final part of this exercise you will be asked to provide a Policy Strategy report with a set of recommendations for your client.

#4. Class Participation (10%)

Class discussions, exercises, guest lecturers, video and newspaper content analysis, and independent policy analysis papers will all be used in this class. All are expected to participate fully in discussions and exercises.



Weekly Essential Reading

Week 1. Part I: The News Media & Democracy

- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapters 1 and 2.

Week 2. The Decline of Newspapers?

- [UNESCO World Communications Report](#). 1998. Online for downloading. Note this is a long report and you might want to download chapters or sections. Chapter 8.
- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapter 4
- Denis McQuail and Karen Siune (eds.) *Media Policy* Sage: 1998 0761959408 Chapter 2

Week 3. The Rise (and Fall?) of Television

- [UNESCO World Communications Report](#). 1998. Online for downloading. Note this is a long report and you might want to download chapters or sections. Chapter 11.
- Denis McQuail and Karen Siune (eds.) *Media Policy* Sage: 1998 0761959408 Chapter 3
- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapter 5

Week 4. The Emerging Internet Age?

- [UNESCO World Communications Report](#). 1998. Online for downloading. Note this is a long report and you might want to download chapters or sections. Chapter 1 and 13.
- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapter 6
- Denis McQuail and Karen Siune (eds.) *Media Policy* Sage: 1998 0761959408 Chapters 6 & 11.
- [Political Communication Section Papers](#) on the Internet APSA Annual Meeting Atlanta September 1999 available online.

Week 5. Policy Analysis Research Design

- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapter 3
- Pippa Norris et al. *On Message*. Sage. 1999. 0761960740. Chapter 3
- Jonathan Morris and Rosalee Clawson "[Beyond Negativity: Media Coverage of Congress in the 1990s.](#)" APSA Annual Meeting Atlanta September 1999. Online *example* of content analysis.

Week 6. Part II: From Traditional to Post-Modern Campaigns?

- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapter 7.
- Pippa Norris et al. *On Message*. Sage. 1999. 0761960740. Chapter 4.
- Thomas Patterson "Political Roles of the Journalist" Chapter 1 in Graber et al. *The Politics of News*.
- Kathleen Hall Jamieson and Joseph Cappella "The Role of the Press in the Health Care Debate" Ch.6 in Graber et al. *The Politics of News*.

Week 7. Campaign Case Studies

- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapter 8
- Pippa Norris et al. *On Message*. Sage. 1999. 0761960740. Chapter 2 and 4
- Ellen Mickiewicz "Transition and Democratization: The Role of Journalists in Eastern Europe and the Former Soviet Union" Chapter 2 in Graber et al *The Politics of News*.
- Barbara Pfetsch "Government News Management" Chapter 4 in Graber et al. *The Politics of News*.
- Walter Cronkite "Reporting Presidential Campaigns: A Journalist's View" Chapter 3 in Graber et al. *The Politics of News*.
- Roderick Hart "[The Unheralded Functions of Campaign News](#)" APSA Annual Meeting Atlanta September 1999 online.

Week 8. Part III: The Impact on Civic Engagement

- Putnam, Robert D. "[Bowling Alone](#)" Journal of Democracy and "[The Strange Disappearance of Civic America](#)"
- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. Chapter 9 and 10
- Pippa Norris et al. *On Message*. Sage. 1999. 0761960740. Chapter 7

Week 9. Political Trust

- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. <http://www.ksg.harvard.edu/people/pnorris/mediated.htm> Chapter 11 & 14.
- Alan Abramowitz "[Its Monica, Stupid. Voting Behavior in the 1998 Midterm Election.](#)" APSA Annual Meeting Atlanta September 1999. Online.

Week 10. Civic Participation

- Pippa Norris. *A Virtuous Circle: Political Communications in Post-Industrial Democracies*. Manuscript. Bound copies are available from CMDO and available for downloading. Chapters 12 and 13.
- Michael Schudson "The Public Journalism Movement" Chapter 7 in Graber et al. *The Politics of News*.
- Kathleen Frankovik "Public Opinion and Polling" Chapter 8 in Graber et al. *The Politics of News*.
- [IDEA Voter Turnout 1945-1999: A Global Report Online](#).

Week 11. Part IV: Globalization, International News Flows, and Freedom of the Press

- [UNESCO World Communications Report](#). 1998. Online for downloading. Note this is a long report and you might want to download chapters or sections. Chapter 5 and 12.
- [Freedom Review Survey of Press Freedom](#)
- [Amnesty International Online](#)
- [Index of Censorship Online](#)
- [Committee to Protect Journalists Online](#)

Week 12. Does Globalization = Americanization?

- W. Russell Neuman "The Global Impact of New Technologies" in Graber et al. *The Politics of News*.
- Norris, P. "[The Restless Searchlight](#)" online from [Political Communication](#) (1996) Vol 12(4).
- Bennett, S.E. et al. "Citizens' Knowledge of Foreign Affairs" online from [Harvard International Jnl Press/Politics](#) Vol 1(2) pp.10-29 (1996).

Week 13. Policy Strategy Reports Part II Presentations

14. Conclusions



Supplementary Reading

The following is provided as a selected guide to some further reading for research. The aim is to point you towards some of the supplementary literature that is **optional**. You will find many other sources available in the [Kennedy School Library](#) and [Widener/Hollis](#). Most listed books give detailed literature reviews in their bibliographies.

Part I: The News Media & Democracy

- Altschull, J.H. (1995) Agents of Power: The Media and Public Policy (NY: Longman)
- Blumler, J.G. (1992) Television and the Public Interest (London: Sage)
- Brown, D.R. (1989) Comparing Broadcasting Systems (Ames: Iowa State University Press)
- Dahlgren, P. (1995) Television and the Public Sphere (London: Sage)
- Gross, L.S. (1995) The International World of Electronic Media (NY: McGraw Hill)
- Head, S. (1985) World Broadcasting Systems: A Comparative Analysis (Belmont, CA: Wadsworth)
- Howell, W.J. (1986) World Broadcasting in the Age of Satellite (NJ: Ablex)
- Keane, J. (1991) The Media and Democracy (Cambridge: Polity)
- Lichtenberg, J. (1991) Democracy and the Mass Media (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Martin, L.J. and Chaudhary, A. (1983) Comparative Mass Media Systems (NY: Longman)
- McQuail, D. (1992) Mass Communication Theory (London: Sage)
- McQuail, D. (1992) Media Performance (London, Sage)
- McQuail, D. and Siune, K. (1990) New Media Politics: Comparative Perspectives in Western Europe (London: Sage)
- Noam, E. (1991) Television in Europe NY: (Oxford University Press)
- Norris, Pippa (1997) Politics and the Press (Boulder, CO: Lynne Reinner)
- O'Neil, P. 1998. Communicating Democracy: The Media and Political Transition. Boulder, CO:Reinner.
- Quester, G. (1990) The International Politics of Television (Lexington: DC Heath)
- Siebert, F. S. et al (1963) Four Theories of the Press (Urbana: University of Illinois Press)
- Smith, A. (1979) Television and Political Life: Studies in six European countries (London: Macmillan)
- Stubbe B. (ed) for the EuroMedia Research Group (1997) The Media in Western Europe (London: Sage)



Part II: From Traditional to Post-Modern Campaigns

- Bowler, S. and Farrell, D. (1992) Electoral Strategies and Political Marketing (NY: St Martin's Press)
- Butler, D. and Ranney, A. (1992) Electioneering (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Butler, D. and Kavanagh, D. (1997) The British General Election of 1997 (London: Macmillan)
- Clarke, H. et al. (1996) Absent Mandate: Canadian Electoral Politics in the Era of Restructuring (3rd ed. Canada, Gage)
- Crewe, I. , Gosschalk, B. and J. Bartle(1998) Political Communications: The General Election Campaign of 1997 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press)
- Jamieson, K. (1992) Dirty Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Just, M. (1996) Crosstalk (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)
- Kaid, L.L. and Holtz-Bacha, C. (1995) Political Advertising in Western Democracies (Thousand Oaks: Sage)
- Fallows, James. 1996. Breaking the News: How the News Media Undermine American Democracy. New York: Pantheon Press.
- Just, M. et al. Crosstalk. Chicago: U. Chicago Press.
- Katz, R. and Mair, P. (1994) How Parties Organize, London, Sage.
- Kavanagh, D. (1995) Election Campaigning (Oxford: Blackwell)
- Maarek, P.J. (1995) Political Marketing and Communication (London: John Libby)
- Miller, W. L. (1991) Media and Voters: The Audience, Content and Influence of Press and Television at the 1987 General Election Oxford, Clarendon Press.
- Negrine, R. (1994) Politics and the Mass Media (2nd Ed.) London, Routledge.
- Norris, P. (1997) Women, Media and Politics (Oxford: Oxford University Press)
- Norris, P. (1996) Electoral Change Since 1945 (Oxford: Blackwell)
- Norris, P. and N. Gavin (1997) Britain Votes, 1997 (Oxford, OUP)
- Patterson, T. (1980) The Mass Media Election (NY: Praeger)
- Patterson, T. (1994) Out of Order (NY: Vintage)
- Semetko, H. et al. (1991) The Formation of Campaign Agendas (NJ:Lawrence Erlbaum)
- Scammell, M. (1995) Designer Politics (Macmillan, London).
- Semetko, H. (1996) 'Political Balance on Television: Campaigns in the United States, Britain and Germany' The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics 1(1): 51-71.



Part III: The Impact on Civil Engagement

- Ansolabehere, Stephen and Shanto Iyengar. 1995. Going Negative: How Political Advertisements Shrink and Polarise the Electorate. New York: Free Press.
- Ansolabehere, Stephen, Roy Behr and Shanto Iyengar. 1992. The Media Game: American Politics in the Television Age. New York: Macmillan.
- Bartels, Larry M. 1993. 'Messages Received: The Political Impact of Media Exposure.' American Political Science Review. 87(2): 267-85.
- Bennett, Stephen Earl, Staci L. Rhine, Richard S. Flickinger and Linda L.M. Bennett. 1999. 'Videomalaise Revisited: Reconsidering the relation between the public's view of the media and trust in government.' The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics 4(4):XXX-XXX.
- Bennett, W. Lance. 1998. 'The Uncivic Culture: Communication, Identity and the Rise of Lifestyle Politics.' PS: Political Science & Politics. XXXI (4):741-761.
- Blumler, Jay and Michael Gurevitch. 1995. The Crisis of Public Communication. London: Routledge.
- Bryant, Jennings and Dolf Zillmann. 1994. Media Effects. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.
- Cappella, Joseph and Kathleen Hall Jamieson. 1996. 'News Frames, Political Cynicism and Media Cynicism.' Media and Politics Special Edition of *The Annals of the American Academy of Political Science* XX(X):71-84.
- Cappella, Joseph N. and Kathleen H. Jamieson. 1996. 'News Frames, Political Cynicism and Media Cynicism'. In *The Media and Politics*, edited by Kathleen Hall Jamieson. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Volume 546.
- Cappella, Joseph N. and Kathleen H. Jamieson. 1997. *Spiral of Cynicism: The Press and the Public Good*. New York: Oxford University Press.
- Chaffee, Steven H. and Stacey Frank Kanihan. 1997. 'Learning Politics from the Mass Media.' *Political Communication*, 14(4): 421-430.
- Chaffee, Steven and Stacey Frank. 1996. 'How Americans get political information: Print versus broadcast news.' *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. 546: 48-58
- Chan, Sophia. 1997. 'Effects of Attention to Campaign Coverage on Political Trust.' *International Journal of Public Opinion Research*, 9(3): 286-96.
- Davis, Richard and Diane Owens. 1998. *New Media and American Politics*. New York: Oxford University

Press.

Delli Carpini, Michael and Scott Keeter. 1996. *What Americans Know About Politics and Why It Matters*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Fallows, James. 1996. *Breaking the News: How the Media Undermine American Democracy*. New York: Pantheon.

Gabler, Neal. 1998. *Life The Movie: How Entertainment Conquered Reality*. New York: Alfred Knopf.

Gerbner, George, Larry Gross, Michael Morgan and Nancy Signorielli. 1994. 'Growing Up With Television: The Cultivation Perspective'. In Jennings Bryant and Dolf Zillmann. 1994. *Media Effects*. Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum.

Holtz-Bacha, C. 1990. 'Videomalaise Revisited: Media Exposure and Political Alienation in West Germany.' *European Journal of Communication* 5:78-85.

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

Jamieson, Kathleen. 1992. *Dirty Politics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Johnson, Thomas J., Carol E. Hays and Scott P. Hays. 1998. *Engaging the Public: How Government and the Media can Reinvigorate Democracy*. Lanham, MD: Rowman & Littlefield.

Lazarsfeld, Paul F., Bernard Berelson, and Hazel Gaudet. 1944. *The People's Choice: How the Voter Makes Up His Mind in a Presidential Campaign*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Newton, Kenneth. 1997. 'Politics and the News Media: Mobilisation or Videomalaise?' In *British Social Attitudes: the 14th Report, 1997/8*, eds. Roger Jowell, John Curtice, Alison Park, Katarina Thomson and Lindsay Brook. Aldershot: Ashgate.

Norris, Pippa. Ed. 1999. *Critical Citizens: Global Support for Democratic Government*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Patterson, Thomas E. 1996. 'Bad News, Bad Governance'. In *The Media and Politics*, edited by Kathleen Hall Jamieson. *The Annals of the American Academy of Political and Social Science*. Volume 546.

Patterson, Thomas E. 1993. *Out of Order*. New York: A. Knopf.

Putnam, Robert. 1995. 'Tuning In, Tuning Out: The Strange Disappearance of Social Capital in America.' *P.S.: Political Science and Politics* XXVIII(4):664-83.

Sabato, Larry. 1991. *Feeding Frenzy: How Attack Journalism Has Transformed American Politics*. New York: Free Press.

Starker, Steven. 1991. *Evil Empires: Crusading Against the Mass Media*. London: Transaction.



Part IV: Globalization and International News Flows

Adams, William and Schreibman, Fay, eds. 1978. *Television Network News: Issues in Content Research*. Washington, DC: School of Public and International Affairs, George Washington University.

Barker, C. 1997. *Global Television*.

Bennett, W. L. (1994) *Taken by Storm* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press)

Boyd-Barratt, O. 1998. *The Globalization of News*. (London: Sage).

Cohen, A.A. et al. 1996. *Global Newsrooms: Local Audiences*. (NJ: John Libbey).

Dizard, W. (1994) Old Media, New Media (NY:Longman)

Parker, R. (1995) Mixed Signals (NY: 20th C Fund)

Cutlip, Scott M. 1954. "Content and Flow of AP News - from trunk to TTs to reader" Journalism Quarterly 31: 434-446.

Friedland, Lewis A. 1992. Covering the World: International Television News Services New York: Twentieth Century Fund.

Geber, George and George Marvanyi. 1977. "The Many Worlds of the World's Press" Journal of Communication. 27(4): 55-60.

Gonzenbach, William J., David Arant and Robert L. Stevenson 1992. "The World of US Network News: Eighteen Years of International and Foreign News Coverage" Gazette 50(1): 53-72.

Hachen, William. 1996. The World News Prism: Changing Media of International Communication Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press. (4th ed.)

Heinderyckx, Francois. 1993. "Television News Programmes in Western Europe: A Comparative Study" European Journal of Communication 8:425-450.

Kayser, Jacques. 1953. One Week's News: Comparative Study of 17 Major Dailies for a Seven Day Period Paris:UNESCO.

Kishan Thussa, D. 1998. Electronic Empires: Global Media and Local Resistance. Arnold.

Larson, James F. 1984. Television's Window on the Word: International Affairs Coverage on the US Networks (Norwood, NJ: Ablex.

Larson, James and Hardy, Andy. 1977. "International Affairs Coverage on Network Television News" Gazette 234): 241-215.

Lippmann, Walter. 1922. Public Opinion New York: Macmillan.

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Mowlana, Hamid. 1985. International Flow of Information: Global Report and Analysis Paris: UNESCO, 1985.

Mowlana, Hamid. 1993. "Towards a NWICO for the Twenty-First Century". Journal of International Affairs 47(1):59-72.

Negrine, Ralph and S. Papathanassopoulos 1990. The Internationalization of Television London: Pinter Publishers.

Nordenstreng, Kaarle and Tapio Varis Television Traffic: A One Way Street Reports and Papers on Mass Communication, 70 Paris: UNESCO.

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Preston, William, Edward S. Herman and Herbert I. Schiller 1989. Hope and Folly: The United States and UNESCO 1945-1985 Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Schramm, Wilbur. 1960. One Day in the World's Press Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Schramm, Wilbur. 1964. Mass Media and National Development Stanford: Stanford University Press.

Smith, Conrad. 1992. Medias and Apocalypse Westview, Conn.: Greenwood Press.

Smith, Hendrick, ed. 1992. The Media and the Gulf War Washington, DC: Seven Locks Press.

Sreberny-Mohammadi, Annabelle. 1984. Foreign News in the Media: International Reporting in Twenty-Nine Countries Reports and Papers on Mass Communications 93 Paris: UNESCO.

Stevenson, Robert L. and Donald Lewis Shaw, ed. 1984. Foreign News and the New World Information Order. Ames, Iowa: Iowa State University Press.

Varis, Tapio. 1986. "Trends in International News Flows" International Political Science Review 7: 235-249.

Varis, Tapio. 1984. "The International Flow of Television Programs" Journal of Communication 34(1): 143-152.

Walter, Lynne Masel, Lee Wilkins and Tim Wates. 1989. Bad Tidings Hillsdale, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum Associates.

Whittemore, Hank. 1990. CNN: The Inside Story Boston: Little Brown and Company.

Other Sources

In addition you may want to check some of the following journals:

[Political Communication](#)
[Electoral Studies](#)
[The Harvard International Journal of Press/Politics](#)
[Media Studies Journal](#)
[The International Journal of Public Opinion Research](#)
[British Journal of Political Science](#)
[American Political Science Review](#)
[European Journal of Communications](#)
[Gazette](#)
[Journalism Quarterly](#)

Selected Web Reference Sources

[Complete links](#)

[Television News Archive \(Vandebilt\)](#)
[Opinion Polls - Roper Center](#)
[Guides to online newspapers](#)
[BBC News](#)
[News Media Online \(including links to associations, journals, online sources\)](#)
[New York Times](#)
[Washington Post](#)
[CNN](#)
[World Bank Tables of Economic and Social Indicators 1950-93:](#)
[World Bank](#)
[International Labour Organization](#)
[Online Newspapers and Broadcasters: AJR Newslink](#)
[Freedom in the World: Freedom House](#)
[Turnout - IDEA Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance](#)
[Electoral Systems around the World](#)
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