**CONNECTIONS to Gender in Political Communication**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 8:00 AM  - 9:15 AM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Delaware A - Lobby Level**

These four papers address the intersection of gender and political tweets, Hillary Clinton's rhetoric, the reception of political movies, and gaps in public opinion expression.

**Chair**

*Jennifer Brubaker*, University of North Carolina, Wilmington  - Contact Me

**Respondent**

*Mari Boor Tonn*, University of Richmond  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**He Tweets, She Tweets: Examining Gendered Presentations of Self in 2012 Senate Elections**

The 2012 U.S. elections witnessed a rise in national discourse about gender politics, the likes of which had not been seen in years, and the eventual election of more women to the U.S. Congress than ever before in American history. The 2012 election cycle also saw the rise of Twitter as a hothouse of political discourse and action. The momentum of gender politics and Twitter compelled candidates to navigate the campaign environment on this emerging platform to create electable online presentations of self that strategically met and negotiated voters' social and political expectations. Taking heed of this groundswell, this study conducted a content analysis of Senate candidates' Twitter feeds. Specifically, this study analyzed Twitter communication in mixed-gender elections -- those with at least one female and one male candidate -- to examine how men and women candidates positioned themselves across the concepts of interactivity, personalization, political issues, and character traits. The results indicate that Senate candidates strongly aligned with gender-based communication styles and areas of ownership in their Twitter communications, and also deviated from these expectations in notable ways. Ultimately, this study illuminates how candidates effectively capitalized on the dynamic features of Twitter as part of their gendered communication strategies.

**Author**

*Lindsey Meeks*, University of Washington  - Contact Me

**Politically entertained: The effects of movies on the political attitudes of the female audiences**

We advance the argument that exposure to entertainment media, especially biographical political movies showing viable and powerful female political leaders, could significantly increase political knowledge and psychological engagement of female viewers. By first explicating the relationship between entertainment and politics, we review the extant literature dealing with exposure to entertainment media and acquirement of political knowledge, transportation into the narrative, enjoyment of the entertainment media, and subsequent role model effects. We also propose an SEM model delineating causal associations between political knowledge, motives to watch biographical political movies, transportation into the narrative, enjoyment, and role model effects reflecting support for the election of a female president in the United States, and audiences' attitude towards female politicians as viable candidates.

**Author**

*Azmat Rasul*, Florida State University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*Arthur A. Raney*, Florida State University  - Contact Me

**How Institutions Affect Gender Gaps in Public Opinion Expression**

Although research documents consistent gaps between men and women's expressiveness through political discussion, most insights are based on the United States. Absent a comparative perspective, little consideration was given to major differences across countries in men and women's access to various institutions, and whether this access correlates with gender gaps in discursive expression. Institutional access affects opportunities of women and men to encounter politically relevant information and connect with potential discussants. The present article tests whether greater egalitarianism in political representation, education, and workforce participation reduces gender gaps in political discussion. Multilevel analyses of the International Social Survey Program dataset (N = 36,600; 33 countries) show several institutional features affect the contribution of gender to political discussion, but in ways that suggest a tradeoff between gender equality and opinion expressiveness.

**Author**

*Lilach Nir*, Hebrew University/University of Pennsylvania  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*Scott D. McClurg*, Southern Illinois University, Carbondale  - Contact Me

**Four Freedoms of Women’s Rights: Secretary Hillary Clinton’s Rhetoric of Empowerment**

Clinton rhetorically melded her interest in women's rights with her position as the Secretary of State. This research examines Secretary Clinton's 2009 to 2013 speeches on women's rights in order to better understand the influence of her rhetorical style on her message of equality. Clinton argues that equal treatment of women benefits societies. Her message of empowering women is influenced by FDR's 1941 four freedoms which she reinvents to reflect the rights of contemporary women. Finally, Clinton's SOS rhetoric calls for a societal paradigm shift toward gender equality as she redefines women's value in society calling for women and their work to be counted.

**Author**

*Julia A. Spiker*, University of Akron  - Contact Me

**CONNECTIONS: Considering Dan Nimmo’s Legacy and Influence on the Future of Political Communication**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 8:00 AM  - 9:15 AM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Thurgood Marshall Ballroom East - Mezzanine Level**

2013 marks the 80th anniversary of Dan Nimmo's birth. His book (1970) The Political Persuaders "helped a whole generation of political students and scholars understand this new partnership between candidates and media specialists" (Kaid, 2004) and has been called the "ur-text of the field of political communication" (Swanson, 2005). This panel considers Nimmo's contributions to the field of political communication, the relevance of his work today, and how his work should impact the future of political communication.

**Chair**

*Robert E. Denton Jr*, Virginia Tech University  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**Dan Nimmo and Political Communication: Past, Present, and Future**

In this paper we identify the understandings and assumptions about political communication that form the foundations for Dan Nimmo's work. We also examine current trends in the study of political communication such as behavioral studies, the study of news flow, and network analysis. Lastly, we seek to identify a place for Nimmo's work in the contemporary study of political communication, and argue for the importance of his work for the future of the field.

**Author**

*R. Scott Britten*, Tri County Technical College  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*Larry J. King*, Stephen F. Austin State University  - Contact Me

**Dan Nimmo and the Dramaturgical Turn in Political Science**

In the 1960s, some members of American political science became interested in critical-cultural studies of political phenomena. They left behind the rational-decision models and quantitative research frames that centered the field, and looked for ways to conceptualize and analyze the symbolic and performative aspects of political activity. They became a set of founders of "political communication." This paper will examine the early work of four political scientists--Murray Edelman, Richard Merelman, Doris Graber, Dan Nimmo--as contributing to the dramaturgical turn in political science.

**Author**

*Bruce E. Gronbeck*, University of Iowa  - Contact Me

**Unleashing Political Realities: Dan Nimmo's Influence in Expanding the Scope of Political Communication**

The purpose of this paper is to synthesize and summarize Dan Nimmo's work concerning the scope of political communication as a discipline. Nimmo's work continually challenged the parameters of the field and urged political communication scholarship to move beyond the contexts of media and political campaigns. This paper discusses the basic questions Nimmo raised in defining political communication as a discipline and the role of political communication in everyday life. The paper also addresses what these questions have to say to today's scholars.

**Author**

*Kaylene Barbe*, Oklahoma Baptist University  - Contact Me

**Before Brown: The Political Rhetoric of the Long Civil Rights Movement**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 9:30 AM  - 10:45 AM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Thurgood Marshall Ballroom East - Mezzanine Level**

Diverse contributions to the political narrative during the first half of the 20th Century helped frame the successes of the Civil Rights Movement. Examining an array of political messages that includes public letters, vocal concerts, political campaign strategies, and litigation campaigns, the case is made that the period embraced and articulated the essential political elements that made for the eventual success of legislative enactments and judicial decisions that confirmed a political commitment to racial justice.

**Chair**

*Diana B Carlin*, Saint Louis University  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**Constituting the Publics for Early Civil Rights Discourse: DuBois and the Open Letter**

This essay examines the genre of the open letter as a rhetorical form that allowed early civil rights activists like W.E.B. DuBois to enter the political sphere and craft arguments about the role of black Americans in public culture following the failure of Reconstruction. It begins by tracing the rhetorical features of the open letter to understand how the open letter functioned to authorize black public discourse, advance early civil rights arguments, and create and maintain attentive publics. It suggests that the "open letter" was an intrinsically important example of constitutive rhetoric as black activists began to build early political organizations like the NAACP. And it provides close textual analysis of DuBois' early open letters to understand the internal dynamics of the open letter as a rhetorical intervention into discourses about citizenship.

**Author**

*Lisa M. Corrigan*, University of Arkansas  - Contact Me

**Easter Sunday, 1939: Marian Anderson and the 'stunning rebuke' of the DAR**

When the Daughters of the American Revolution, which owned Constitution Hall in Washington DC, enforced its policy banning performances by African-American artists and refused to accommodate a concert by world-renowned singer Marian Anderson, Eleanor Roosevelt made public her letter resigning from the organization in protest. Mrs. Roosevelt and the marian Anderson Committee arranged for Marian to give her concert on the steps of the Lincoln Memorial on Easter Sunday, April 9, 1939. Anderson performed such songs as "Nobody Knows the Trouble I've Seen" and "America" before a crowd of 75,000 people of all races. This paper examines the rhetorical choices made by all involved in the public forum and critiques the impact of those strategies on advancing national awareness of racial discrimination 15 years before Brown v. Board of Education.

**Author**

*John T. Llewellyn*, Wake Forest University  - Contact Me

**On the Road to Brown v. Board: The 14th Amendment and McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents**

George McLaurin, a black student at the University of Oklahoma, was admitted to the Graduate School as a candidate for a doctorate in education but was required to sit in a row specified for black students, to use a special table at the library, and to sit at a different table in the cafeteria. The Supreme Court ruled that these conditions deprived McLaurin from studying and learning his profession, from discussing class material with other students, and, more broadly, from receiving equal protection of the laws. This paper will review the facts of McLaurin v. Oklahoma State Regents, explore the Supreme Court's reasoning in the case, and analyze the decision's impact on Brown v. Board of Education and the larger civil rights movement.

**Author**

*Dan Schill*, James Madison University  - Contact Me

**Prelude to Massive Resistance: Henry Wallace’s Southern Tour and the Assault on Segregation**

Progressive Party presidential candidate Henry A. Wallace brought his campaign to the South in late August and early September of 1948, intentionally defying the legal props of a segregated society by refusing to stay or eat in segregated facilities or speak before segregated audiences. Wallace was egged by angry whites during rallies in North Carolina and was denied speaking venues in other southern states during his brief campaign tour. Drawing on contemporary newspaper accounts, the Henry A. Wallace papers, and the Progressive Party archives, as well as interviews with Wallace supporters who were active in the campaign, this essay frames the rhetorical assault and reaction as a prelude to the massive resistance that would later emerge following the Supreme Court's decision in Brown v. Board of Education, positing that many of the arguments against Wallace in 1948 were echoed a decade later (and often by the same individuals) in resisting integration and laying the blame on a Communist plot to disrupt "the Southern way of life."

**Author**

*Stephen Smith*, University of Arkansas  - Contact Me

**The Case that Doomed Plessy v Ferguson: The color-blind ethic commanded by the court in Sweatt v. Painter**

Denied admission to the University of Texas School of Law based solely on the basis of race, Heman Sweatt sought judicial mandate to force his admission. Scrambling to meet the standards imposed by the "separate but equal" standard, the legislature established a law school and tried to demonstrate that the educations would be substantially equivocal. Making its way to the Supreme Court, Attorneys General from 11 Southern states filed briefs supporting the Texas position. This paper examines the debate that resulted in the Court's color blind standard that cleared the way for the overturn of Plessy v Ferguson.

**Author**

*Rita G. Kirk*, Southern Methodist University  - Contact Me

**The 2012 Presidential Campaign: An Overview and Analysis of the Major Areas of Political Campaign Communication**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 9:30 AM  - 10:45 AM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Park Tower 8226 - Lobby Level**

This paper session reviews the 2012 presidential campaign from a communication perspective. Each paper focuses on a specific and significant area of political campaign communication: the conventions, the debates, the advertising, the use of new media, and an explanation of the vote with constituency appeals.

**Chair**

*Robert E. Denton Jr*, Virginia Tech University  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**Explaining the Vote in 2012**

This paper provides an analysis of the vote to include: political environment, salience of party identification, messenger, messages and strategies, channels of communication and the demographic base of the vote. Obama was more successful as messenger in framing the choice for voters. He also mastered the attack strategy, especially in the battleground states. Traditional media continues to lose influence and new media continues to grow in audience and strategy.

**Author**

*Hank Kenski*, University of Arizona  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*Kate Kenski*, University of Arizona  - Contact Me

**Political Advertising in the 2012 Presidential Election**

This paper provides an overview of advertising to include campaigns and SuperPac ads, types and issues of the ads, types of attack ads, and accuracy in the ads. The impact of the Supreme Court ruling in Citizens United was most significant and the extreme negativity of the campaign ads despite record spending, influence of wealthy contributors and the savvy early advertising and market segmentation of the Obama campaign.

**Author**

*John C. Tedesco*, Virginia Tech University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*Scott Dunn*, Radford University  - Contact Me

**Presidential Debates 2012**

This paper provides an analysis of 2012 presidential debates. The debates were unique in attracting the largest audiences of televised debates, the incumbent overcoming one of the worse performances to win re-election and the total lack of following agreed upon rules of engagement. There was great disparity between the candidates in terms of time speaking, candidate and moderator interruptions. The paper concludes with recommendations to improve future presidential debates.

**Author**

*Ben D. Voth*, Southern Methodist University  - Contact Me

**The 2012 Presidential Nominating Conventions and the American Dream: Narrative Unity and Political Division**

This paper analyzes narratives of the American Dream in the 2012 nominating conventions. Over time, divergent views of the American Dream emerge. Republicans offer a narrative of America's future based on individual ambition and achievement made possible by the opportunity America provides. Democrats offer a promise of the American Dream of a balance between individual and communal responsibilities within a broad conception of citizenship. The paper concludes exploring the implications for convention discourse.

**Author**

*Rachel L. Holloway*, Virginia Tech University  - Contact Me

**The New Media Campaign of 2012**

This paper examines how the campaigns utilized new media, especially social media and the Internet in the 2012 election. Data and outlets allowed more targeting of messages. Social media provided a platform for citizen engagement. Mobil devices, Facebook, Twitter, YouTube, Pinterest and Tumblr became important tools of the campaigns. Both campaigns took advantage of new media, but the Obama campaign was dominate in all areas. New media have become essential elements of campaigns.

**Author**

*John Allen Hendricks*, Stephen F. Austin State University  - Contact Me

# Rethinking foundations of youth engagement: Challenges and possibilities of young citizen engagement in research in practice

**Sponsor: DC Connections**

**Thu, 11/21: 9:30 AM  - 10:45 AM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Delaware A - Lobby Level**

This panel discussion will feature researchers, policy makers, and practitioners in the field of youth political engagement and participation. Participants will consider such topics as youth turnout, the role of media and technology in forming political opinions and mobilizing youth, changing social norms about appropriate spaces for political discussion, and updated understandings of citizenship and participation in younger generations.

#### Chair

*Leticia Bode*, Georgetown University  - Contact Me

#### Presenter(s)

*Leon Andrews*, National League of Cities  - Contact Me
*Leticia Bode*, Georgetown University  - Contact Me
*Joaquin Castro*, United States Congress  - Contact Me
*Stephanie Edgerly*, Northwestern University  - Contact Me
*Matthew Holleque*, Obama for America  - Contact Me
*Peter Levine*, CIRCLE  - Contact Me
*Dhavan Shah*, University of Wisconsin, Madison  - Contact Me
*Kjerstin Thorson*, University of Southern California  - Contact Me
*Emily Vraga*, George Mason University  - Contact Me
*Chris Wells*, University of Wisconsin, Madison  - Contact Me
*JungHwan Yang*, University of Wisconsin, Madison  - Contact Me

#### Sponsor/Co-Sponsors

DC Connections

**CONNECTIONS to Political Policy Issues**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 11:00 AM  - 12:15 PM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Thurgood Marshall Ballroom East - Mezzanine Level**

This session features four papers on political policy issues. The analyses address political messages surrounding health care, oil, fracking and the Occupy movement.

**Chair**

*Kristin Froemling Ball*, George Washington University  - Contact Me

**Respondent**

*Jerry L. Allen*, University of New Haven  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**Health Care Reform: Understanding Individuals’ Attitudes and Information Sources**

Since passage of the Affordable Care Act (ACA), little is known about state-level perceptions of the ACA. This study explored attitudes about the ACA, the types of information sources that individuals rely on when creating those attitudes, and the predictors of these attitudes among Indiana residents. The majority of respondents had an unfavorable view of the ACA, yet they strongly supported individual components of the act. National TV news, websites, family members, and individuals' own reading of the ACA legislation were identified as the most influential information sources. After controlling for potential confounders, such as insurance status and demographic variables, the respondent's political affiliation, age, sex, and obtaining ACA information from watching national television news were the most important predictors of attitudes about the ACA and its components. These results mirror national-level findings. Implications for implementing health care reform at the state-level are discussed.

**Author**

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**Co-Author(s)**

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*Jagdish Khubchandani*, Ball State University  - Contact Me
*Kerry Anne McGeary*, Ball State University  - Contact Me
*Ian Reid*, Ball State University  - Contact Me

**Tar, Ethics and Other Tactical Repertoires: Politics and PR around Oil**

This paper is about the politics of oil; specifically, about the contentious politics between social movements and countermovements when representing opposing claims about oil to the public. The paper focuses on the flows of oil (both physical and symbolic) between Canada and the United States. Canada has a long history of contentious politics surrounding the extraction of resources from seals and fish to timber and minerals. Most recently, ramped up extraction of bitumen deposits-commonly called oil sands or tar sands-used to produce unconventional crude have spurred a series of "information and influence" campaigns in Canada's international markets that seek to disrupt this development path. Two proposed expansion projects, the Keystone XL pipeline and the Northern Gateway pipeline, have been met with evidence of massive ecological and environmental disruption, as environmental scientists and activists chart major disturbances to forest life, water management, and climate. To respond to these charges, a pro-industry lobby group with ties to the Canadian federal government has emerged to modulate the damning image of the tar sands perpetuated by activists and environmentalists. This group is called Ethical Oil, and its mandate is to reframe the debate from a global environmental problem to a national and moral one. Through a microanalysis of the strategies and tactics deployed by the campaign and countermovement, we set out to show that the countermovement's operational theory, alliance structures, messaging techniques, and behaviors must be considered an integral part of the mechanism for the diffusion of political practice. In this regard we take up the call by political scientist Clifford Bob (2012, 233) for "a dynamic and interactive approach to studying political communication, activism, and social movements" that "examine[s] not just one side's efforts to persuade but instead…analyze[s] simultaneous competing efforts, treating political conflicts as wholes."

**Author**

*Melissa Aronczyk*, Rutgers University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*Graeme Auld*, Carleton University  - Contact Me

**You Can't Drink Money: State Regulators Caught in the Middle of the Battle Over Fracking**

This paper presents the Dueling Definitions of Uncertain Risk Model, built on the theories of the Advocacy Coalition Framework in the policy sciences, and examines how we assess and manage risky new technologies. This paper examines the resources and strategies the competing coalitions use to further their policy ends--especially at the state and local regulatory levels of governance.

**Author**

*Patricia Paystrup*, Southern Utah Univ  - Contact Me

**Focus on the tech: Internet centrism in global protest coverage**

Internet centrism, the notion that online tools play some substantial role in social and political processes, is invoked often by journalists, pundits, and academics. Much existing empirical research has addressed this topic directly in the case of protest, attempting to discern the actual magnitude of the Internet's influence on protest organization and mobilization. Taking a different approach, we conduct a content analysis to examine the distribution of Internet centrism in articles about domestic (the Occupy movement) and foreign protests (the Arab Spring) in mainstream US newspapers and technology blogs. We find that although newspapers and tech blogs are equally likely to discuss Internet centrism, articles about the Arab Spring mention it far more often than those on Occupy. These findings lend a theoretical perspective to a newly emergent news frame with the potential to influence how audiences think about the causes and consequences of protests.

**Author**

*Deen Freelon*, American University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author(s)**

*Sarah Ward Merritt*, American University  - Contact Me
*Taylor Jaymes*, American University  - Contact Me

**Automating Political Action: An Analytics Approach to Meaning Making in Political Campaigns**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 12:30 PM  - 1:45 PM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Thurgood Marshall Ballroom East - Mezzanine Level**

For decades, political campaigns have attempted to mine analytics from media and technology to make meaning out of communication patterns. This panel looks at recent efforts to develop analytic approaches to political communication for advocacy groups and election campaigns. The projects on this panel represent critical, qualitative, and theoretical approaches to understanding analytics. Focusing on the analysis aspect of analytics, each project illustrates the role of political perspective in creating the meaning of data.

**Chair**

*Amber Davisson*, Willamette University  - Contact Me

**Respondent**

*Matthew Weber*, Rutgers University  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**Analytics-Based Political Activism**

Advocacy organizations routinely use sentiment analysis to gain passive democratic feedback from members. This paper offers an examination of the role analytics play in present-day political advocacy organizations. Through rigorous A/B testing programs, they attempt to identify the will of the membership on a daily basis. The project draws on field observations of how analytics data is used by organizations in order to understand the conditions where such data analysis proves most and least useful.

**Author**

*David Karpf*, George Washington University  - Contact Me

**Explaining Technical Breakdown: Data, Analytics, and the Mitt Romney Presidential Campaign**

During the 2012 campaign, it was apparent that Obama's re-election effort was far more sophisticated in the use of data and analytics to target voters, allocate resources, and leverage the efforts of its volunteers than its Republican counterpart. Drawing on interviews with senior staff in the Republican Party and the Mitt Romney campaign, this paper explores technical failure and explains why the Romney bid was significantly behind in the use of data and analytics.

**Author**

*Daniel Kreiss*, University of North Carolina  - Contact Me

**Google Analytics for Presidential Elections**

During the 2008 and 2012 presidential elections, Google ran an election center to report on search trends related to the election. Google used these blogs to demonstrate their ability to interpret user-behavior based on the analytic information provided by search patterns. The project reported in this paper is a critical analysis of the Google election blog aimed at understanding how the company develops a narrative of user-behavior based on the signals accumulated from search patterns.

**Author**

*Amber Davisson*, Willamette University  - Contact Me

**The Analytics Obsession: Towards a Working Theory of the Quantification Impulse in the Soft Sciences**

While the other papers in this panel probe the working practices of analytics use in advocacy organizations, this paper takes a step back and elucidates a larger theory about the use of quantification and analytics technologies in the so-called soft sciences. The paper urges a hybrid approach to bridge the gap between Weber’s notions of Verstehen (how practitioners understand technology use) and a more Latourian perspective focusing almost solely on what translations these technologies afford.

**Author**

*C.W. Anderson*, City University of New York, Staten Island  - Contact Me

**Political Deliberation**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 2:00 PM  - 3:15 PM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Thurgood Marshall Ballroom East - Mezzanine Level**

This session features four papers focusing on political deliberation and political opinion expression.

**Chair**

*Herbert W. Simons*, Temple University  - Contact Me

**Respondent**

*Herbert W. Simons*, Temple University  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**Deliberation across Cultural Cognitive Divides: A Study of Cultural Bias in Public Forums**

Advocates of democratic deliberation often tout its ability to foster collaborative decision making across ideological differences through highly structured face-to-face discussion processes. Cultural cognitive theorists, by contrast, have found that individuals have conflicting cultural orientations that shape how they think about and understand political issues. This leads to culturally-constrained issue analysis and judgment, which forestalls the public's ability to find common ground across cultural divides. This essay juxtaposes these theoretical perspectives and uses two studies to see whether deliberative processes can span divergent cultural orientations. The first study asks whether deliberative forums effectively frame solutions in ways that move beyond the one-dimensional left-right political spectrum and span the wider two-dimensional cultural grid. The second study looks at whether deliberative participation can encourage individuals to make decisions that go against their cultural predilections. The results of these two studies show that deliberation has the power to encompass multiple cultural orientations and that it can encourage participants to look beyond their own cultural biases. The cultural cognitive perspective makes clear the challenge for deliberation, but divergent cultural orientations do not present insurmountable obstacles to designing or carrying out deliberative public events.

**Author**

*John Gastil*, Penn State University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author(s)**

*Katherine R. Knobloch*, Colorado State University  - Contact Me
*Dan Kahan*, Yale University  - Contact Me
*Don Braman*, George Washington University  - Contact Me

**The Profile of Deliberation: Inclusion, Equality, and Discourse Quality of Citizen Deliberation**

Proponents of deliberative democracy argue that citizen deliberation, if conducted properly, can lead to important pro-democratic outcomes such as enlightened citizenry and more authentic democracy. To attain these goals, deliberation must demonstrate a set of normative characteristics: inclusion, equality, and communicative rationality. While advocates of deliberation uphold these principles, critics are skeptical if these norms can be met in reality. To date, much of the empirical research has focused on a "deliberative difference" of citizen deliberation, but failed to examine these normative standards. Using survey data and content analysis, this study investigates inclusion, equality, and communication rationality in 23 citizen deliberations on the issue of broadband Internet access. Findings suggest that the normative standards of inclusion and equality are not reflected in real life deliberation and that the demographic attributes of the participants are strongly related to the quality of discourse. The conclusion addresses the merit of "enclave" deliberation in creating a more inclusive public deliberation.

**Author**

*Soo-Hye Han*, Kansas State University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author(s)**

*Donna Schenck-Hamlin*, Kansas State University  - Contact Me
*William J. Schenck-Hamlin*, Kansas State University  - Contact Me

**Legislation by Amateurs: The Role of Legal Details and Knowledge in Initiative Deliberation**

Citizens act as legislators in initiative elections but lack legal training. Voters commonly misunderstand the legal effects of initiatives (Gastil, Reedy, & Wells, 2007) and courts frequently strike down initiatives as unconstitutional (Miller 2009). These factors point to flaws in the communication of legal information about ballot initiatives to citizens. "Plain legal language" research (Barnes, 2006; Tiersma, 1999) suggests that citizens' understanding of legal information increases to the extent that the communication of such information accords with citizens' own legal communicative practices. Yet we know little about such practices. The goal of this study is to increase our understanding of those practices. Citizens' deliberations about the legal nature and effects of ballot measures were examined through a qualitative content analysis of transcripts from the 2010 Oregon Citizens' Initiative Review, the Citizens' Statements produced by that review, and official state explanatory statements describing ballot measures. Deliberations and statements were coded for law-related topics, functions, uses of narrative, and motivations for narration. Citizens' deliberations and Citizens' Statements were found to emphasize the policy objectives and unintended or adverse consequences of ballot measures, as well as the application of legal rules to multiple factual scenarios. By contrast, official state explanatory statements describing ballot measures made no mention of policy objectives or unintentional or adverse consequences. Results suggest that citizens' approach to assessing ballot measures may have both strategic/instrumental and realistic dimensions and that rule-application may play a key role in enabling citizens' understanding of the legal aspects of ballot measures.

**Author**

*Robert C. Richards*, Penn State University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*John Gastil*, Penn State University  - Contact Me

**Online Political Participation, Civic Talk, and Media Multiplexity: How Taiwanese Citizens Express Political Opinions on the Web**

This study seeks to assess the implications of social use of information and communication technologies (ICTs) for online political participation. Past research investigating the link between ICTs and political participation has emphasized their informational use of ICTs overlooking their communication-enabling potentials for facilitating political talk in interpersonal spaces and subsequently political participation in public domains. To understand further how ICTs as a communication means may relate to political participation, we use data from the 2008 Taiwan Social Change Survey (N=1,076) to examine the relationship between the Internet and online political participation by looking at online media use for social interaction and engagement in civic talk online. Our findings suggest that interpersonal factors such as online civic talk and media multiplexity are positively associated with online political participation. Individuals who discuss politics with their friends via the Internet and those who use more types of online media for social interaction are more likely to contact legislators and elected officials directly via the Web and articulate their political thoughts in online public spaces such as forums, blogs, and websites of news media. We further offer an assessment of the implications for political participation, political communication and digital inequality.

**Author**

*Yuli Patrick Hsieh*, Northwestern University  - Contact Me

**Co-Author**

*Meng-Hao Li*, University of Illinois, Chicago  - Contact Me

**Virtue, Trust and Scandal**

**Sponsor: Political Communication Division**

**Thu, 11/21: 3:30 PM  - 4:45 PM**

**Marriott Wardman Park**

**Room: Thurgood Marshall Ballroom East - Mezzanine Level**

This session features four papers at the intersection of virtue, trust and scandal as they connect to political reporting.

**Chair**

*Grant C. Cos*, Rochester Institute of Technology  - Contact Me

**Respondent**

*John Gastil*, Penn State University  - Contact Me

**Sponsor/Co-Sponsors**

Political Communication Division

**Presentations**

**Making Paradoxical Connections: Do News Media Mores Permit Positive Ascriptions of Virtue to Politicians?**

This quantitative and qualitative analysis explores whether media mores, widely perceived as negatively oriented, permit journalists to connect political virtue positively to elected leaders. This matters because a spate of research finds that Americans feel disconnected from their governance, prizing their democracy and yet harboring deep-seated suspicions about the way it functions. Most citizens likely would deride "political virtue" as an oxymoron. Is this because news media paint a relentlessly negative portrait of political leadership, as some scholarship suggests? Or is it because Americans find stories of political corruption more salient than ascriptions of virtuous leadership? To help find out, this study tallied references to eight key political virtues – integrity, decisiveness, idealism, resilience, flexibility, inclusiveness, industriousness and conviviality – that were ascribed positively or negatively by newspapers to governors and senior U.S. senators in four states. Confounding popular perceptions, leading newspapers in each state collectively published 2.4 times more positive than negative ascriptions of these eight virtues among the political leaders. Allegations of integrity lapses in the sample's leaders were most often leveled by non-journalists such as newspaper letter-writers, freed from journalistic constraints of even-handedness or even accuracy. Surprisingly, journalists were more likely to report integrity present than missing in the leaders overall. The study found, too, that political leaders were constrained by the nature of integrity from labeling it in themselves on their official websites. Paradoxically, then, they were left to claim integrity, the paramount virtue, by connecting with the mores of a watchdog media.

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**Is trust really dead? A call to rethink news media, political, and social trust**

Trust has remained a variable of interest in political communication research for decades. Unfortunately for those who champion its value for society, trust remains embarrassing low in news media, political, and social contexts, and only seems to be getting worse. Additionally, trust lacks a cohesive definition in the literature and is measured in a variety of ways, placing a burden on researchers interested in continuing a scholarly conversation about shifts in public sentiment and studying trust's impact on such activities and political participation and attending to public affairs news. This paper invites the academic community to reconsider trust in light of cultural and technological changes by advancing two arguments that question if trust levels are really as low as some research suggestions: 1) Distrust functions as a pervasive meme in US culture, and 2) New communication technologies rely on social influence (and thus, require some level of trust). In the end, the goal is to have a serious conversation about the conceptualization and measurement of a construct that, for many of us, remains important to political and social contexts.

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**Toward a Virtuous Circle: The Role of News Consumption and Media Trust**

　　　Whether media facilitates democracy has been a central issue for decades in the fields of mass communication and political communication. Various variables in the individual/personal level have been proposed and examined in order to address media's impacts on different facets of democracy. Among those literatures, news consumption is probably the most frequently used variable in predicting media's democratic impacts. However, most existing studies merely focused on one or two news media, very few studies compared the political effects across a full range of news media. Thus the current study seeks to address this issue: it reconciles the social capital perspective with virtuous circle/media malaise approach by examining the relationship among news consumption, media trust, and civic engagement. The study confirmed that demographic variables (gender, age and income) are good predictors of civic participation and civic engagement which confirms the influences of demographic variables on media's democratic effectiveness. More importantly, only television news consumption, among other forms of media, was found to have a positive impact on political participation and civic engagement. In addition, the fact that news consumption across different news media failed to predict media trust, and that including media trust moderate the predictive power of TV news consumption on political participation seems lead to the considerable conclusion that media trust might be a pre-existed factor that affects people's civic engagement jointly with news consumption.

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**When the News Gets Personal: An Analysis of Personalization Bias and Military Scandals**

The following essay analyzes two distinct military scandals to illustrate how the personalization bias is problematic in the current news coverage of US Veterans. More specifically the essay argues that personalization bias has fostered a narrative for the civilian public, which frames the US Veterans as a misbehaving war criminal. Personalization bias has also lead to an inability to critique the larger military industrial complex due to the news media's continued coverage of the personal story of Veterans or active duty military members' personal story, foregoing questions of multiple deployments, Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder, or questions of foreign policy.

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