The stock market as a game:

An agent based approach to trading in stocks

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"If ever there were a field in which machine intelligence seemed destined to replace human brainpower, the stock market would have to be it. Investing is the ultimate numbers game, after all, and when it comes to crunching numbers, silicon beats gray matter every time. Nevertheless, the world has yet to see anything like a Wall Street version of Deep Blue, the artificially intelligent machine that defeated chess grand master Gary Kasparov in 1997. Far from it, in fact: When artificial-intelligence-enhanced investment funds made their debut a decade or so ago, they generated plenty of media fanfare but only uneven results. Today those early adopters of AI, like Fidelity Investments and Batterymarch Financial, refuse to even talk about the technology...Data flows in not just from standard databases but from everywhere: CNN, hallway conversations, trips to the drugstore. ‚Unless you can put an emotional value on certain events and actions, you can't get the job done.' Naturally, investors don't process this hodgepodge of inputs according to some set of explicit, easily transcribed rules. Instead, the mind matches the jumble against other jumbles stored in memory and looks for patterns, usually quite unconsciously. ‚Often, great investors can't articulate the nature of their talent. They're like pool players who make incredible trick shots on intuition.' Fine for them, but how do you code that?"[1]

A Taxonomy of Games

A game can be defined as a set of rules (conditionals) with one or more goals (also conditionals) with an outcome of „win" or „loss" depending on whether the conditionals are fulfilled.[2] Games can either be positive sum, zero sum, or negative sum.[3] Positive sum games, such as trading goods, are games in which all parties to the game are, in absolute terms, better off as a result. Trading of goods is generally a positive

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[1]Carla Fried, „Can technology build a better Buffett?", (February 2004)

http://www.cnn.com/2004/TECH/ptech/02/12/bus2.feat.buffett.ai/index.html

[2] Wikipedia, „Game", (2004)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Game

[3] Wikipedia, „Non-Zero Sum", (2004)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-zero-sum

sum game: each party has a good the other good use that it cannot. Both parties are both better off because of the trade. Negative sum games are games in which all parties, in absolute terms, are worse off.[4] War is an example of a negative sum game. All participants in a war suffer dead and maimed persons and waste riches in mutual destruction. War is often erroneously represented as a zero sum game. In a zero sum game any improvement of one participant's position results in a deterioration of the other participants position.

Just as war is sometimes fallaciously represented as a zero sum game – when in fact war is a negative sum game – stock market trading, a positive sum game over time, is often erroneously represented as a zero sum game. This is called the „zero sum fallacy"[5] – the erroneous belief that one trader in a stock market exchange can only improve their position provided some other trader's position deteriorates.[6] However, a positive sum game in absolute terms can be recast as a zero sum game in relative terms. Similarly it appears that negative sum games in absolute terms have been recast as zero sum games in relative terms: otherwise, why would zero sum games be used to represent situations of war? Such recasting may have heuristic or pedagogic interest but recasting must be clearly explicited or risks generating confusion.

Availability of Information

Games can also be classified according to how much information is available to players. In a game with perfect information all states are known to all players at all times. Chess or Go are examples of games with perfect information. In a game with imperfect information in contrast, at least some information is not known to some (possibly all) of the players at least some of the time. Card games generally are examples of games with imperfect information.[7] Information may be further distinguished into private knowledge (information known only to one player); public knowledge (information known to all players; share information (known by two or more players); completely unknown by any player.[8]

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[4] Brad Spangler, „Positive-Sum, Zero-Sum, and Negative-Sum Situations" (2003)

http://www.intractableconflict.org/m/sum.jsp

[5] Wikipedia, „Zero-Sum Fallacy", (2004)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zero-sum_fallacy

[6] Wikipedia, „Non-Zero Sum", (2004)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Non-zero-sum

[7] Brad Spangler, „Positive-Sum, Zero-Sum, and Negative-Sum Situations" (2003)

http://www.intractableconflict.org/m/sum.jsp

[8] Wikipedia, „Zero-Sum Fallacy", (2004)

http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Zero-sum_fallacy

Determinicity

Games can also be classified depending on whether they are subject to random influences. Deterministic games, such as chess or go, have no random elements. Most card games in contrast have random aspects. Interestingly, games with random factors generally also include imperfect information, and deterministic games usually have perfect information. However examples of deterministic games with imperfect information such as Stratego can be found. Similarly games with perfect information and random elements such as backgammon also exist.

Opponent Modeling[9]

Opponent modelling is also very relevant to stock market analysis. It is clear that there are various investment strategies – bears, who are sceptical about market performance, bulls who are enthusiastic about market performance, blue chip investors, who seek steady certain gains, and speculators who are willing to take high risks in the hope of great rewards. Each of these strategies is in fact appropriate to a certain investor. Opponent modelling could be used to tell us how the market will behave – if we know the strategies of our opponents, which is not at all certain.

But even if we do not know what the strategies of individual market participants are we may be able to use oppoenent modelling to help predict how the market moves. Say we know one fourth of all market participants are blue-chip investors, buying only stocks based on their dividends, and we know the remainder of the market is equally divided between three types of investors: bears, bulls, and risk takers. This may be useful to help us to model the movement of the market and to determine whether to buy or sell a given stock at a given price.[10]

Interestingly, opponenet modelling has been shown to be superior to MINIMAX if the opponent

Brian Graney, How Money Is Made in the Market", (2000)

http://www.fool.com/news/foth/2000/foth000912.htm

[9] H. H. L. M. Donkers, J. W. H. M. Uiterwijk, H. J. van den Herik, „Admissibility in opponent-model search" Information Sciences, Volume 154, Issue 3-4 (September 2003) http://else.hebis.de/cgi-bin/sciserv.pl?collection=journals&journal=00200255&issue=v154i3-4&article=119_aios&form=pdf&file=file.pdf

[10] University of Massachussets, Amherst „Glossary of Terminology in Reinforcement Learning" (2004)

http://www-anw.cs.umass.edu/rlr/terms.html

modelling algorithm has enough time to develop an accurate model of the opponent![11]

Agents

An agent is „A system that is embedded in an environment, and takes actions to change the state of the environment."[12]

 Agents have sensors to percieve environment states

 and affectors to influence it. States are a representation of the history of a system which in turn determines the evolution of the system.[13]

Agents can be combined with opponent modelling. For example we could create agents as opponents which implement a trading strategy. These agents could even have learning functions to allow them to change their trading strategy based on how they perform compared to the market, other agents or the human player.[14]

 In an actor critic architecture one agent would execute trades while another determines whether the trade was a good one[15]

 In addition to the „trading" agents, executing „bearish" or „bullish" strategies a „critic" agent could

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[11] Bo Qian „Research",

http://www.arches.uga.edu/~qianbo/Research.htm

[12] For an agent based approach to market analysis which models the market as a set of agents see: Sérgio Luiz de Medeiros Rivero, Bernd Heinrich Storb, Raul Sidnei Wazlawick, „Economic Theory, Anticipatory Systems and Artificial Adaptative Agents", Brazilian Electronic Journal of Economics Vol. 2 No. 2. Their model has numerous agents. Agregate behavior emerges from individual behavior. The agents antipate the future of the system. Thus the diverse agents are adaptive, autonomous and anticipatory.

http://www.beje.decon.ufpe.br/rivero/rivero.htm

[13] Shyam Sunder, "A computer simulation model for portfolio strategy formulation", Proceedings of the 10th conference on Winter simulation - Volume 2 (December 1978)

http://portal.acm.org/ft_gateway.cfm?id=807627&type=pdf&coll=ACM&dl=ACM&CFID=34786322&CFTOKEN=50371462

[14] Id. at p. 945.

 Id. at p. 952.

 Id. at p. 949

[15] Id. at p. 945.

 Id. at p. 952.

 Id. at p. 949

evaluate the results of other agents to try to determine the optimum trading strategy. This agent could then act as the critic to other agents in an actor-critic architecture.

Stock Valuation Strategies

There are roughly speaking three tools for analysing the value of a stock.

Technical analysis (TA) looks not at the company, but at the market. [16]

Technical analysis evaluates the stock based on its sales prices in the past (opening price, closing price, high, low, trading volume). I think this is a good tool for analysing the value of a stock on a given day – unless exogenous factors such as war or other disaster intervene! The other main tool is fundamental analysis. Fundamental analysis (FA) is much more conservative but also more scientifically well founded. In FA we look at the „hard values" of the company. How much has it sold? Were its sales profitable? What is the net value of the company? How much debt does the company have? What is the ration of the share price of the company to the book price of the company? What is the ratio of the price of the company to the earnings of the company? Fundamental analysis is much more exacting. It requires us to understand whether the company is on solid footing and why. Technical analysis alone cannot reveal when a company is undervalued or overvalued. Fundamental analysis can tell us when a company is undervalued (which we would then buy) or when it is overvalued (in which case we must not buy it, rather we should sell). Fundamental analysis is the basis of the investment strategy of Warren Buffett, one of the world's richest men and the world's best stock market trader.[17]

A third approach, which seems very unwise to me, is the „efficient market hypothesis" (EMH). EMH proposes that because stock market information is almost all publically available that the stock market is in a situation of perfect knowledge. Consequently, according to EMH all information is already contained in the current stock price. There are several problems with this. While stock market information is largely public it is not able to be digested by any one actor or even any one company. Thus though information is nearly perfect but there is a vast amount of hidden information. Further, information is not perfectly available.: there is plenty of imperfect information out there – false or misleading analysis, undisclosed large trading and insider trading for examples. Information is not instantaneous nor cost free. Finally, EMH does not provide us any algorithm to determine whether to buy or sell a stock. We would never buy

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[16] For a listing of examples of AI in technical analysis – especially neural networks – see, Galateia corporation "Primers and Bibliographies" (2001)

http://www.voicenet.com/~mitochon/linksource/ai00002.htm

[17] „Intrinsic value is an all-important concept that offers the only logical approach to evaluating the relative attractiveness of investments and businesses." Warren Buffett, "An Owner's Manual" (1996)

http://www.berkshirehathaway.com/2001ar/ownersmanual.html

or sell a stock if we took EMH seriously because the price of the stock could never be overvalued or undervalued. The fact that investors like Buffett and Soros consistently outperform the market refutes the random walk theory of the EMH.

Future Research

The advantage of a neural network is that it is able to be trained. Its algorithms do not have to be hard coded. Further, the neural network can easily learn and adapt to new behaviors. However, a lot of the knowledge base in stock market investing can be hand coded.

Future research in agent based stock market trading should look at the following issues:

*further developing agent trading algorithms such as the reverse strategy, bears, blue chips and convervatives to include:

a) technical analysis, i.e. how the market performance overall influences trading in a specific stock. Most existing research is only concentrating on technical analysis. Fundamentals analysis approaches should not ignore the points made by technical analysis. Fundamental and technical analysis need to complement each other.

b) learning procedures to allo the agents to i) learn about the market ii) learn about the other agents

c) opponent modeling in the stock market. For example, in bear markets the majority of agents may be acting like the bear agent I present. In bull markets the majority of agents may be acting like the fools agent I present. Opponent modeling could take this into account so that the eric agent knows that most other traders are now, say, conservative, and thus it will be a bad time to sell any security.

d) include a critic agent to evaluate the trading strategies of the various agents to try to develop a best trading strategy from the different strategies.

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What is Good Public Discourse? An Annotated Bibliography

David M. Ryfe

Abu-Lughod Lila & Catherine Lutz. (1990). "Introduction: emotion, discourse and the politics of everyday life," in Lutz & Abu-Lughod, eds*., Language and the Politics of Emotion*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-23. Reviews the history of anthropological study of the emotions in terms of four strategies: essentializing, relativizing, historicizing, & contextualizing. Contributions to the present volume consider emotions as part of particular social and cultural discourses. These discourses shape the performance & assessment of emotions & are inevitably entwined with political negotiations among classes, races & genders in the production of everyday life.

Aldrich, John. (1995). *Why Parties?: the origin and transformation of political parties*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Traces the formation & disintegration of three American political parties from the founding to the civil war period drawing on an institutional analysis. It is argued that political actors form parties to solve problems that current institutional arrangements do not solve. Such problems include those of ambition & office seeking, making decisions for the polity and the problem of collective action. This framework is applied to the dramatic transformation of political parties in the post-WWII period to explain the trend toward candidate-centered parties. Rather than a deterioration of party power, it is suggested that this transformation has revitalized parties & made them more effective governance institutions.

Ansolabehere, Stephen & Shanto Iyengar. (1995). *Going Negative: how attack ads shrink and polarize the electorate*. New York: The Free Press. The effect of negative advertisements on American politics is investigated drawing on results of several experimental studies. It is shown that politicians employ negative ads because they work; that is, they work to lower the favorability numbers of political opponents. This is particularly true in the case of Republican voters, who are more predisposed to take a jaundiced view of political institutions and politicians, and less true of independents.

Aristotle. (1958). *The Politics*. edited & translated by Ernest Baker. Oxford: Oxford University Press. A classical theory of politics that has been hugely influential in the Anglo-Saxon world, particularly on 17th & 18th century British political theory. Perhaps its most influential aspect has been in the area of constitutionalism and its relationship to citizenship. According to Aristotle, a good polis was one

explicitly erected by those who would come under its province; it in turn would moralize individuals by providing a space in which to become public (which for Aristotle meant truly human) individuals.

Aronovitch, Hilliard. (1997). "The Political Importance of Analogical Argument," *Political Studies*, 45: pp. 78-92. It is contended that analogical argumentation is especially suited for political life because it provides a basis for rational, non-relativist normative claims. Analogical reasoning is defined as reasoning from case to case, by example or paradigm instance. This form of reasoning puts people in a context without confining them to it, allowing for political imagination to work without sacrificing connections to concrete reality.

Arrow, Kenneth. (1963). *Social Choice and Individual Values*. 2nd ed. New York: Wiley. Examines whether or not a procedure can be put in place whereby the individual preferences can be translated into rational patterns of social decision-making within welfare states. It is shown that aggregating individual utilities into a social choice cannot lead to rational actions at the social level because a rational ordering of preferences is impossible. Instead, ordering of any two proposals must rely upon a value choice which is not contained within the aggregation of individual choices. Thus, the only methods for passing from individual preferences to social preferences are through imposition or dictatorial decision-making. This is not to deny the necessity of making choices for the general welfare, only to stress that such choices are not instrumentally rational, but are the result of ethical judgments made in the context of democratic procedures.

Auletta, Ken. (1991). *Three Blind Mice: how the television networks lost their way*. New York: Random House. Traces the demise of network television news in the late 1980s drawing on ethnographic data. It is shown that this demise began when the networks were bought by larger corporations. These corporations demanded that the news become more profitable just as cable television began to whittle away at the networks' audience share. Between demands for profit and the need to garner a mass audience, the devotion of network news to the public interest was diminished. While in many ways the news has become more visually compelling and attractive, it has also become less useful for large-scale deliberations on pressing public issues.

Avey, Michael. (1989). *The Demobilization of American Voters: a comprehensive theory of voter turnout*. New York: Greenwood Press. Analyzes voter turnout in terms of segments of the voting age population & barriers & stimulants to participation confronted by these segments. Thus, nonvoting is explained less as a consequence of characteristics of nonvoters, such as their socio-economic status, than by the inability or unwillingness of politicians & the political system to reach out to constituencies on the lower half of the socio-economic ladder. The implication of this theory is that voting rates can be increased without changing the socio-economic status of voters. Instead, actions can be taken at the institutional level to ensure that the system reaches out to under-represented constituencies.

Bagdikian, Ben. (1997). *The Media Monopoly*. 5th ed. Boston: Beacon Press. A major statement of the view that control of the mass media by a relatively few corporations ultimately ends in constraining public discourse. The growth of media monopolies is demonstrated. It is then shown in a variety of ways

that public discourse is narrowed by this concentration of media power, so much so that in the end it has produced an enormous gap between ordinary people & their representatives.

Baumgartner, Frank & Jeffrey C. Talbert. (1995). "Interest Groups and Political Change." in Bryan Jones, ed. *The New American Politics: reflections on political change and the Clinton Administration*. Boulder: Westview Press, pp. 93-110. Examines the dynamics of interest group behavior that contribute to political change, focusing particularly on the situation facing President Clinton with that of some of his Democratic predecessors. It is shown that the interest group system has undergone significant changes in recent years. These changes especially have affected two policy areas: the environment & health care. In each of these cases, policy networks that feature a diversity of interests are now well-represented in the Washington corridors of power. No longer confined to lobbying separately, these interests today form alliances which can change the dynamics of the political system in profound ways.

Beck, Ulrich, Anthony Giddens & Scott Lash. (1994). *Reflexive Modernization: politics, tradition and aesthetics in the modern social order*. Stanford: Stanford University Press. An edited volume that investigates the nature of the shift to a post-fordist, global economy and its implications for politics, culture, and society.

Beer, Francis. (1994). "Words of Reason," *Political Communication*, 11: pp. 185-201. Reviews the linguistic meaning of reason. It is argued that a core meaning of reason is attached to context-cues of behavioral & textual dimensions. Thus, the meaning of reason varies continuously. Thus, reason comes to function as an important rhetorical trope in political discourse, as its very plasticity evokes different images & responses in different settings. A notion of pluralistic reason is defended as one most likely to foster deliberative democracy.

Belenky, Mary Field, et. al. (1997). *Women's Ways of Knowing: the development of self, voice and the mind*, New York: Basic Books. Examines women's ways of knowing and describes five different perspectives from which women view reality and draw conclusions about truth, knowledge and authority, drawing on interview data. These five perspectives include silence, received knowledge, subjective knowledge, procedural knowledge, constructed knowledge, & family life.

Bellah, Robert, et. al. (1985). *Habits of the Heart: individualism and commitment in American life*, Berkeley: UC Press. Investigates the consciousness, culture & daily practices of average middle-class Americans in four different communities drawing on extensive interviews. It is found that individualism lies at the core of American culture, but that other traditions compete for space in the American psyche, including Biblical & Republican traditions. It is questioned whether modern individualism can sustain an adequate public or private life. Individuals expressed much ambivalence about the loss of social ties caused by an individualism that they cherish. If overcoming deficiencies in individualism cannot mean going back to discriminatory tradition practices, then traditional institutions must reform themselves to speak to the sense of individualism Americans covet. In this way, individuals might begin to reconnect to the communities of memory from which they have sprung.

Benhabib, Seyla & Drucilla Cornell. (1987). *Feminism as Critique: on the politics of gender*, Minneapolis, MN: University of Minnesota Press. An edited volume containing 8 essays which elaborate feminist critiques of gender & politics. These critiques target theories of production, the differentiation between public & private, theories of the unencumbered self, & the constitution of the female subject & the deconstitution of gender identity. Of these themes, particular attention is given to the relation between the public & the private, especially as it has been described in the work of Jurgen Habermas. A position is sought by the authors which agrees with Habermas' notion of communicative practice, yet avoids the universalizing & gendered aspects of his theory.

Bennett, Lance. (1996). *The Governing Crisis: media, money, and marketing in American elections*. 2nd ed. New York: St. Martin's Press. Traces the current crisis in American governance to several factors: the transformation of electoral campaigns into high-tech communication processes; the increased marketization of politicians & political causes; & the unprecedented flow of money into the political process. Within the dynamic interaction of these factors, citizens have been cut-off from governing institutions, and have developed a deep cynicism toward the political process.

Bennett, W. Lance & John D. Klockner. (1996). "The Psychology of Mass-Mediated Publics," in Ann Crigler, ed., *The Psychology of Political Communication*, Ann Arbor: The University of Michigan Press, pp. 89-110. It is argued that the voicing or silencing of public opinion in the news is constructed through a process based on an ecology of interests. Shared norms among journalists, elites & publics enable these diverse players to judge which voices should be included & excluded from news accounts. In an analysis of a broad spectrum of issues in the news, it is shown that public opinion is either excluded from or discredited in mass media news about foreign policy & macro-economic trends. In contrast, numerous grass-roots voices are included without qualification in news reports of social, moral & pocketbook economic issues. The result is a dual-democracy, with strong mobilization of opinion in some areas & a much weaker civic culture in others.

Benson, Thomas, ed. (1997). *Rhetoric and Political Culture in Nineteenth-Century America*, East Lansing, MI: Michigan State University Press. A series of close textual readings of important 19th century public documents which inquires into the relation of the text to context, rhetorical forms & genres the intentions of the speaker, the response of the audience & the role of the critic.

Berkowitz, Peter. (1996). "The Debating Society." *The New Republic* 215(November 25): pp. 36-42. A critical review of Amy Guttmann and Dennis Thompson, *Democracy and Disagreement* (1996) which questions their political program for fostering better public debate. Guttmann and Thompson suggest that a set of basic moral principles must underlie public discourse, and in so doing prevent fundamental questions from being raised about them. Moreover, Guttmann and Thompson appear to advocate a form of public discourse in which power will naturally flow to elites like themselves who possess better deliberative skills. It is concluded that their vision of deliberative democracy ends in collapsing the virtues of freedom with the virtues of the classroom, and thus ignores many other qualities that are central to democracy deliberation.

Berman, Sheri. (1997). "Civil Society and Political Institutionalization," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40: pp. 562-574. Argues that the tendency of research scholarship to examine societal and cultural variables outside their broader context leaves fundamental questions unanswered and misinterprets important dynamics of political development. To know whether civil society activity will have positive or negative consequences for democratic development, one must marry an analysis of societal & cultural factors to the study of political institutions.

Bessette, Joseph. (1994). *The Mild Voice of Reason: deliberative democracy and American national government,* Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Examines whether or not the modern American Congress over the last fifty years remains the kind of deliberative institution imagined by the framers when they constructed the national governmental framework. The framers believed that Congress ought to be the primary deliberative body in US politics, & would maintain their legitimacy by sharing basic values & goals of their constituents. They defined deliberative democracy as a system of popular government that fosters rule by the informed and reasoned judgments of the citizenry. This implies that aggregated opinions of the kind developed in polls are not conducive to informed judgment. Instead, informed opinions are more likely to be produced by the operation of representative institutions. The modern Congress is found lacking in its obligation to carry out this deliberative duty. It is suggested that legislators ought to make several changes to amend this situation: (1) they should spend their time with the requirements of deliberation in mind; (2) they should not delegate their deliberative duties to aides; & (3) they should minimize artificial publicity & concentrate on holding meetings in public. Recommendations are also made for the bureaucracy & the executive to assist in the resuscitation of deliberation within the Congress.

Best, Stephen & Douglas Kellner. (1997). *The Postmodern Turn*. New York: Guilford Press. Develops a map of the defining moments in the turn toward postmodernity in various fields. The principle concepts, issues and problems associated with this turn are reviewed. The major sources of postmodern theory in 19th century thinkers such as Karl Marx & Frederick Nietzsche are outlined. Then, different trajectories of the postmodern are traced, including that of the French situationists, developments in postmodern literature, arts and science. It is suggested throughout that these various genealogies of the postmodern amount to a fundamental paradigm shift as Western societies move from modern to postmodern worlds.

Billig, Michael. (1991). *Ideology and Opinions: studies in rhetorical psychology*, London: Sage. Presents a series of studies which aim to develop a rhetorical approach to social psychology. According to this rhetorical approach, the holding of opinions and attitudes is essentially rhetorical and argumentative. This means that opinions and attitudes must be studied in a social context as forms of ideology. The expression of opinions is understood as strategic in that it is concerned with arguing and persuading, criticizing and justifying, concealing and exposing. Common sense itself is a form of ideological opinion-formation, in that when speakers appeal to common sense they are making use of social stereotypes resonant in the moment. Several case studies are provided to demonstrate these points. Included in these case studies are analyses of the rhetoric of British Young Conservatives, arguments against Fascist propaganda, the case of the British Monarchy & the nature of strong opinions.

Billig, Michael. (1996). *Arguing and Thinking: a rhetorical approach to social psychology,* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Argues for the importance of argument in social psychology. The modern model of social psychology is taken to be that of persuasion. This model tends to venerate logical thinking to the neglect of the sort of rhetorical thought which composes imaginative styles of thinking. Further, it overlooks the way in which individual thinking itself is modeled on argumentative structures, & so mirrors public debate. The form of argument is taken to be contrastive: categories are developed & oppositional categories arise to contest these originals. This notion of thinking as argument is applied to the notion of attitudes, the concept of commonsense and the rhetorical flexibility by which individuals express their attitudes.

Black, Jay. ed. (1997). *Mixed News: the public/civic/communitarian journalism debate*. Mahwah, NJ: Lawrence Erlbaum. A collection of essays in which the practice of public journalism is debated. The linchpin of these debates centers on the term community, how it is defined, what can be expected from it, and what individuals must do to sustain it. On the side of public journalism, it is generally argued that Americans require a common public space in which pressing issues may be addressed. Journalism has a special responsibility for cultivating that space. Critics of public journalism raise a number of dilemmas involving the first amendment, the traditional role of journalists, and the danger of collective thinking within journalism. It is also argued that while public journalism favors public debate, the industry from which it has spawned remains private, closed and unexamined. Rather than compassionate journalism, the critics argue that journalists would do better to return to their primary mission: informing the public of what it needs to know so that it can participate in self-governance.

Blakely, Edward & Mary G. Snyder. (1997). *Fortress America: gated communities in the United States*. Washington, D.C.: Brookings Institution Press. Traces the rapid increase in gated communities in the United States & locates this increase within broader social, cultural & political changes. Gated communities are a response to a felt need among the middle-classes for greater security & peace of mind. In many ways, such communities are simply the latest manifestation of the longstanding desire to create a suburban utopia in the US. However, these communities also divide neighborhoods, encourage privatization and send signals of exclusion. It is suggested that creating better communities is the appropriate response to the challenge of the gated phenomenon.

Boggs, Carl. (1997). "The Great Retreat: decline of the public sphere in late twentieth-century America," *Theory and Society*, 26: pp. 741-780. Traces the demise of the public sphere in the face of several cultural currents: an anti-political rant against big government; localism, metaphysical politics; the urban revolt of poor inner-city residents; & the deep ecology movement. To reinvigorate the public sphere, there is a need for commonly-possessed information, but this need confronts the global media industries which prevents its satisfaction.

Bohman, James & William Rehg. eds. (1997). *Deliberative Democracy: essays on reason and politics*. Cambridge: MIT Press. An edited volume which brings together several of the most important statements on the theme of deliberative democracy. Writings from Jon Elster, Jurgen Habermas, Joshua Cohen & John Rawls are introduced as seminal statements of the need for deliberative democracy. Nine subsequent

essays tackle various problems associated with the concept, especially those that arise as a consequence of the tension between reason and actual political engagement.

Bohman, James F. (1990). "Communication, Ideology, and Democratic Theory," *American Political Science Review*, 84: pp. 93-109. Draws upon Habermas to outline four necessary but not sufficient conditions for genuine democratic decision-making: that they be: (1) formally & procedurally correct; (2) cognitively adequate; (3) concern issues over which consensus is possible; & (4) free of ideology. Communication that is free from ideology is one that is self-reflective and self-correcting. The result of these normative guidelines is a public sphere that is a space for social learning, criticism & autonomy.

Boorstin, Daniel. (1961). *The Image: a guide to pseudo-events in America*. New York: Atheneum. Argues that Americans have employed their technology and other resources to systematically distort direct experience and confuse clear thinking. This point is demonstrated in a survey of several domains, including the nature of news-making, celebrity in the mass culture, advertising and public relations, and tourism. Americans today prefer their illusions to reality largely because they have outsized expectations of what they can expect from the world. Since these expectations cannot be met in the real world, Americans turn to illusions to satisfy their hopes and dreams. It is suggested that discovering our illusions will not clear our vision, but it is a necessary first step to reclaiming reality.

Brady, Henry, Sidney Verba & Kay Lehman Schlozman. (1995). "Beyond SES: a resource model of political participation," *American Political Science Review*, 89: pp. 271-294. Develops a resource model of political participation. It is shown that time, money and skills are distributed differentially among groups defined by SES. Further, it is demonstrated that these resources have powerful effects on overall political activity, as measured by giving time and/or money to politics, and voting. Each of the modes of participation: giving time, giving money and voting, is a different kind of activity requiring different configurations of resources.

Brooks, Clem & Jeff Manza. (1997). "The Social and Ideological Bases of Middle-Class Political Realignment in the United States, 1972-1992," *American Sociological Review*, 62: pp. 191-208. Investigates changes in voting behavior among managers and professionals in the US. It is found that among professions there has been a decisive shift away from Republican presidential candidates and toward Democratic candidates. It is suggested that increasingly liberal attitudes toward social issues explains this shift. Party identification and partisan affect are shown to substantially mediate the effects of social group membersip, views of the welfare state and attitudes toward social issues.

Brooks, Clem and Jeff Manza. (1997). "Social Cleavages and Political Alignments: US presidential elections, 1960-1992," *American Sociological Review*, 62: pp. 937-946. It is argued that racial & gender social cleavages in the US have widened in recent years, while religious, and class cleavages have declined or remained stable. The net effect has been to create stable overall social cleavage in this period. This finding contradicts other scholarship, which has suggested that political cleavages arising out of social group memberships has declined since 1960.

Brown, Penelope & Stephen Levinson. (1987). *Politeness: some universals in language*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Makes an argument that politeness, construed in terms of E. Goffmann's notion of face, is a universal feature in human language interactions. This argument is pursued in terms of four points: (1) all model persons have positive face & negative face and are rational agents; (2) it is generally in the interest of two model persons to maintain each other's face; (3) some acts intrinsically threaten face; & (4) the more an act threatens a speaker's or addressee's face, the more the speaker will want to choose a higher-numbered strategy (according to the following tree of actions: on record face-threatening action; with/without redressive action; positive/negative politeness. This argument is pursued in the context of P. Grice's theory of maxims for conversational implicature.

Burnheim, John. (1985). *Is Democracy Possible? the alternative to electoral politics,* Cambridge: Polity Press. Argues that democracy as imagined by democratic theorists is impossible. In its place, it is proposed that most decisions that take place within multi-function agencies can be taken by autonomous specialized agencies that are coordinated by negotiations among themselves or by quasi-juridical arbitration. Participation in this process would be limited to those affected by the decisions in question to the degree in which they are affected. This would entail abandoning elections and referendums and replace them by choosing by lot who is to hold office. This form of government, termed demarchy, is defended as a reasonable proposal given the facts of modern democratic practice.

Burns, Nancy, Kay Lehman Schlozman & Sidney Verba. (1997). "The Public Consequences of Private Inequality: family life and citizen participation," *American Political Science Review*, 91(1997): pp. 373-389. Tests the proposition that because women are unequal at home, they cannot be equal in the polity drawing on survey data. It is found that for husbands, control over major financial decisions & autonomy in using small amounts of time enhance their ability to participate in politics beyond what would be expected on the basis of their other characteristics. In short, being boss at home is politically empowering to husbands. No significant relationship was found between presence/absence of free time at home & women's civic participation. Instead, beliefs about equality are most strongly associated with women's participation.

Burtt, Shelley. (1990). "The Good Citizen's Psyche: on the psychology of civic virtue," *Polity*, 23(1990): pp. 23-38. It is suggested that there are three courses of civic virtue in the republican tradition: education of the passions, manipulation of interests and the compulsion to duty. It is suggested that self-interested motives can sustain civic virtue because any threat to the republic will be taken as a threat to private well-being. Thus, individuals will be compelled to take up their public duty through an education of the passions, which allows them to identify threats to their self-interest.

Burtt, Shelley. (1993). "The Politics of Virtue Today: a critique and a proposal," *American Political Science Review*, 87(1993): pp. 360-368. Argues for a distinction between a publicly-oriented and a privately oriented conception of civic virtue. Both liberal and republican notions of civic virtue are taken to be publicly oriented. Problems in their conceptualization are traced to this public orientation. The legitimacy and promise of a privately oriented virtue is shown in a reading of the work of Stephen Elkin and Bruce Ackerman. It is concluded that the challenge of modern politics is to link private virtue to political deliberation.

Calhoun, Craig. ed. (1992). *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press. A major edited book which critically assesses the value of Jurgen Habermas' notion of the public sphere outlined in his *Structural Transformation of the Public Sphere* from a variety of angles. Included among the themes are philosophical discussions involving the appropriateness of Habermas' model of public space, historical discussions which situate Habermas' description of the 18th century French & English public spheres in a broader historical view, and communication discussions which touch upon his analysis of the mass media. Included as an appendix to this volume is an important response by Habermas himself.

Calhoun, Craig. ed. (1994). *Social Theory and the Politics of Identity*. Cambridge: Blackwell. An edited volume which takes seriously the notion that identity politics challenges social theory to put identity at the center of its activity. Contributors explore issues of identity from both macro and micro perspectives. The apparent conflict between collective and personal identities is particularly addressed.

Canary, Daniel, Jeanette Brossmann, Brent Brossmann, & Harry Weger. (1995). "Toward a Theory of Minimally Rational Argument: analyses of episode specific effects of argument structures," *Communication Monographs*, 62: pp. 183-212. Investigates the argumentative structure of interpersonal settings in two experiments. It is found that conversational arguments are expected to change structure in light of issue importance. A scope condition of minimal rationality exists in which parties are expected to elaborate completely on reasons for their positions regarding important issues. Jointly constructed arguments appear to be most effective, leading to consensus & to a positive evaluation of communicators.

Cappella Joseph & Kathleen Hall Jamieson. (1997). *Spiral of Cynicism: the press and the public good*. New York: Oxford University Press. Explores the effects of strategy-driven, conflict-based press coverage on voters and citizens in both campaign and public policy environments. Drawing on analysis of news content frames & the effect of such frames on viewers, it is shown that the overwhelming effect of such coverage is to make the public more cynical about politics & the political process. When politicians, journalists and the public learn to expect less of each other, and of themselves, the result is a spiral of cynicism that ultimately leads to a degraded public discourse.

Cargile, Aaron Castelan & Howard Giles. (1997). "Understanding Language Attitudes: exploring listener affect and identity," *Language & Communication*, 17: pp. 195-217. Investigates the affect of a speaker's non-standard accent, the fluency of his/her speech & the aggressiveness of his/her message on Anglo-American listeners' mood state and American identity. It is found that speakers experience less pleasure hearing any variety of Japanese accent than after hearing a speaker with a standard American accent.

Chaney, David C. (1994). *The Cultural Turn: scene-setting essays on contemporary cultural history*. London: Routledge. A collection of essays which interrogate various cultural forms of modernity in light of the recent cultural turn within the academy generally, & cultural studies specifically. Such forms as suburban enclaves, shopping malls, mass entertainment, & art & literature are included in the discussion. Although the essays are written to stand alone, all are at least broadly concerned with the difficulty of conducting social historical investigations within a postmodern period.

Charity, Arthur. (1995). *Doing Public Journalism*. New York: Guilford Press. A book on public journalism which grew out of Jay Rosen's Project on Public Life and the Press at New York University. It is specifically devoted to the practice rather than the theory of public journalism, and includes descriptions of the best public journalism projects undertaken across the country. Included in this discussion are segments on the Charlotte Observer ; Cape Cod Times; Dayton Daily News; Spokane Spokesman-review; Wisconsin State Journal; Virginian-Pilot & the Huntington Herald-Dispatch.

Chen, Guo-Ming & William J. Starosta. (1996). "Intercultural Communication Competence: a synthesis," Brant R. Burleson, ed., *Communication Yearbook* 19: pp. 353-383. A three perspective model of intercultural competence is presented: (1) an affective perspective focused on positive self-concept, open-mindedness, non-judgmental attitudes, and social relaxation; (2) a cognitive perspective representing cultural awareness; & (3) a behavioral perspective representing inter-cultural adroitness based on message skills, appropriate self disclosure, behavioral flexibility, interaction management and social skills.

Cheney, George. (1991). *Rhetoric in an Organizational Society: managing multiple identities*, Columbia: University of South Carolina Press. Argues that organizational rhetoric is a process of the management of multiple identities drawing on the work of Kenneth Burke. This definition of organizational rhetoric is elaborated in a case study of the development of the US Catholic Bishops' 1983 pastoral letter, The Challenge of Peace. It is shown that organizations are principally involved in negotiating among a number of identities. To be heard within an organization, one must adopt an insider's identity which does not challenge the core identity of the organization as a whole. Organizations face the task of reaching outsiders who may not condone their core identity while not losing authority with insiders. To change their identity, organizations must ground their arguments in the interests of at least some parts of their organization. This can be especially difficult in a multi-national organization with a diversity of cultural ethnic & national identities.

Cherwitz, Richard & James Hikins. (1986). *Communication and Knowledge: an investigation in rhetorical epistemology*, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press. Develops a rhetorical epistemology in which rhetoric is defined s a description of reality through language. The interface between rhetoric and epistemology is language. Meaning in language is a function of a linguistic unit's embodiment of relations among rhetor, tacit audience and extra-linguistic phenomena. A rhetoric which serves to advance epistemology is one in which the relations among rhetors, extralinguistic phenomena and audience is made explicit; valid inferences are drawn between first-person epistemic judgments and derived knowledge; conclusions are derived through dialogue and preserved in a marketplace of ideas to establish their validity; and the perspective of the rhetor is made plain. Truth within this rhetorical epistemology, knowledge is understood in relational terms as a process of discovery between rhetors in which all perspectives are considered.

Chong, Dennis. (1993). "How People Think, Reason, and Feel about Rights and Liberties," *American Journal of Political Science*, 37: pp. 867-899. Investigates how citizens think and reason about political issues drawing on interviews conducted in San Francisco in which citizens were asked to consider such topics as crime, human rights, abortion, freedom of expression & homosexuality. It is found that people experience considerable ambivalence over many civil liberties controversies. Most people revise their

opinions over time as they uncover different dimensions of the issues. A central tension is a belief in democratic values combined with a fear of granting freedom to groups that violate the norms of society.

Chong, Dennis. (1994). "Tolerance and Social Adjustment to New Norms and Practices," *Political Behavior,* 16: pp. 21-53. Argues that tolerance arises not only out of people's willingness to restrain themselves from punishing those who deviate from social norms. It also depends on the ability of people to assuage fears & anxieties and to reconcile themselves to social change. Because people are able to adapt psychologically to changes in norms and practices, increases in tolerance are not necessarily accompanied by increases in self-restraint, social strain or tension. The process by which people adjust to change plays a critical role in the development and expansion of tolerance.

Citrin, Jack, Beth Reingold & Donald Green. (1990). "American Identity and the Politics of Ethnic Change," *Journal of Politics,* 52: pp. 1124-1154. Investigates the way subjective dimensions of national identity influence the mass public's reactions to the changing ethnic composition of American society drawing on survey data. It is found that normative beliefs about Americanism strongly influence general attitudes toward cultural minorities. These beliefs contain strains of liberalism & ethnocentrism.

Cloud, Dana. (1998). *Control and Consolation in American Culture and Politics: rhetoric of therapy*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Examines the rise of therapeutic discourse as a political strategy of contemporary capitalism by which dissent is contained within a discourse of individual or family responsibility. The therapeutic is defined as a set of discourses that have adopted psychotherapy's lexicon: the language of healing, coping, adaptation & restoration of a previously existing order. These discourses work hegemonically to channel social unrest and discontent into individualistic, private-sphere accommodations and adaptations. This thesis is demonstrated in a series of case studies, such as the debate during the Persian Gulf War & contemporary debates on welfare.

Cmiel, Kenneth. (1990). *Democratic Eloquence: the fight over popular speech in nineteenth-century America.* New York: William Morrow & Company. A history of struggles over the American language from the late 17th century to the end of the 19th century. It is argued that the rise of popular democracy in the early 19th century challenged the assumptions of educated public speech. This challenge ultimately produced "middling styles" of speech which privileged informality and common sensical speech patterns. Eventually, these middling styles became patrolled by professional grammarians. However, debates over the proper standard of English continue today, demonstrating a fundamental tension between the refined & the vulgar which lies at the heart of public speech in a democracy.

Coates, Jennifer. (1993). *Women, Men and Language: a sociolinguistic account of gender differences in language*, 2nd ed., London: Longman. Reviews evidence across the social sciences to establish whether men & women talk differently & if so, why they do. It is found that women use more standard forms of language while men use more non-standard forms. These differences are explained in terms of the relative strength of social networks in preserving vernacular modes of language. Women are found to pursue different interactive styles than men: men dominate mixed-gender conversations, interrupt women more; women use linguistic markers of politeness more, & more hedges. These differences are discussed in terms of power differentials between men & women & their different locations in society.

Cohen, Joshua & Joel Rogers. (1992). "Secondary Associations and Democratic Governance," *Politics & Society*, 20: pp. 393-472. Associative democracy is characterized by a broad commitment to the abstract ideal of a democratic society, and agreement that citizens are equals in respect of certain basic capacities. Six other principles underlie these general conditions: popular sovereignty, political equality, distributive equity, civic consciousness, good economic performance & state competence. Associations have the advantage of dispersing information, equalizing representation, providing citizen education and promoting alternative forms of governance. The core idea of associative democracy is to curb the mischiefs of faction through a deliberate politics of association while netting such group contribution to egalitarian-democratic governance.

Cohen, Joshua. (1998). "Democracy and Liberty," in Jon Elster, ed., *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 185-231. Deliberate democracy is described in terms of several features: it must privilege public reasoning; participants must be understood to be free, equal, reasonable & having conflicting philosophies of life. This structure of deliberation is motivated by a principle of deliberative inclusion, which suggests that participants to a discussion must work to find politically acceptable reasons for others to accept their position. The importance of the principle of deliberative inclusion is discussed with reference to three kinds of liberty: religious, moral & expressive.

Cohen, Lizabeth, Thomas W. Hanchett & Kenneth T. Jackson. (1996). "Shopping Malls In America." An American Historical Review Forum. *American Historical Review* 101: pp. 1049-1121. A forum which places the emergence of shopping malls in the United States in historical context. Cohen and Hanchett argue that malls are both sources and products of key elements of post-World War Two American life. Cohen suggests that the "malling of America" has produced a new cultural landscape in which public space is more commercialized, privatized and feminized than it had been in the past. Hanchett demonstrates that this process was directly subsidized by government policies, especially in the form of tax breaks. Jackson comments on the two essays, and situates the growth of malls in the wider context of American culture.

Condit, Celeste Michell. (1993). "Opposites in an Oppositional Practice: rhetorical criticism and feminism," in Sheryl Perlmutter Bowen & Nancy Wyatt, eds., *Transforming Visions: feminist critiques in communication studies*, Cresskill, NJ: Hampton Press, pp. 205-230. Takes issue with the tradition of rhetorical criticism which sharply divides the public from the private. Situationalist & positionalist approaches to rhetoric are shown to depend upon a male-dominated canon, to focus primarily on public speeches given by men, & to use male-gendered language. Recently, feminists have challenged this tradition by focusing on different data & using methods more process-oriented models. It is concluded that rhetoricians ought to view the individual rhetor as gynandrous, to denote the variety of ways individuals may appropriate gender resources to produce themselves in communicative contexts.

Connor, Steve. (1992). *Theory and Cultural Value*, Oxford: Blackwell. Argues that the question of value necessitates recognition of the radical self-contradiction & paradox of value. The imperative of value is to move toward the better & away from the worse, form of life. This goal cannot be achieved by following either resolutely universalist or relativist principles. Instead, a society must tack between these extremes in a process of constant negotiation & argument. By remaining self-reflexive, the forms & registers of

value may multiply in a variety of forms and so fill up a healthy plural conversation. This process will entail both cognitive/ethical & aesthetic/emotional forms of discourse which idealize, reify and displace value forms. It will also require a constant process of translation of value from the terms of one culture to those of another.

Conover, Pamela, Ivor Crewe & Donald Searing. (1991). "The Nature of Citizenship in the United States and Great Britain: empirical comments on theoretical themes," *Journal of Politics*, 53: pp. 800-832. Examines citizens' conceptions of rights, duties, and civic identities in the US & the UK. It is found that in the minds of citizens, citizenship is a complex matter, and that they blend together liberal and communitarian elements. These findings indicate that it is possible to have some of the benefits of communitarianism in a basically liberal polity.

Derrida, Jacques. (1976). *Of Grammatology*. trans. by Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. A foundational text in the field of deconstruction which traces the significance of a singular insight: any sign—linguistic or otherwise—is structured by difference. One sign is distinguished from another by its difference; the traces of that difference therefore remain within the sign, and are analyzable by a careful deconstruction of texts. One ramification of this notion is that constructs of reason always contain the traces of its opposite, irrationality. Thus, reason and irrationality are closely connected.

Dimaggio, Paul, John Evans & Bethany Bryson. (1996). "Have Americans' Social Attitudes Become More Polarized?" *American Journal of Sociology*, 102: pp. 690-755. Little evidence of polarization over the past two decades is found in an analysis of General Social Survey & National Election Survey data. The only exceptions have been in the case of opinions toward abortion & between Republican & Democratic identifiers.

Dryzek, John & Jeffrey Berejikian. (1993). "Reconstructive Democratic Theory," *American Political Science Review*, 87: pp. 48-60. It is observed that democratic theory has become disconnected from the empirical study of actual democratic discourse. To reconnect democratic theory to empirical analysis, a reconstructive democratic theory is proposed drawing on Q methodology. Using this methodology in a study of actually existing discourse among thirty-seven subjects, four discourses are identified: contented Republicanism; deferential Conservatism; disaffected populism; & private liberalism. Each of these discourses carries its own ontology, ascription of agency, motivation & natural relationships.

Dryzek, John. (1990). *Discursive Democracy: politics, policy and political science*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Constructs a political framework for discursive democracy which reconciles the demands of democracy with the fact of expert rationality. This framework is constructed on the basis of two paradigms: critical rationalism & critical theory. Critical rationalism is defined in terms of: (1) an idealized scientific community; open society, piecemeal social engineering; experimenting society; the real-world approximation of liberal polyarchy; & instrumental and objectivist rationality under criticism. Critical theory is defined in terms of: (1) an idealized speech situation; (2) authentic public sphere; (3) discourse experimentation; (4) discursive designs; (5) the real-world approximation of new social movements; & (6) communicative rationality. Bureaucracies of liberal-democratic states are taken to

stand as the major barrier to implementation of these critical programs. The critical policy sciences are posed against the discourse of opinion research as a viable model for democratizing the sciences. It is concluded that expertise need not erode discursive democracy through techniques of rationalization—but may contribute to democratic dialogue through adoption of the principles of communicative rationality & critical rationalism.

Ehrenhalt, Alan. (1991). *The United States of Ambitions: politicians, power, and the pursuit of office*. New York: Times Books. Argues that with the decline of parties, those involved in politics from the local to the national levels must be personally entrepreneurial. That is, people must nominate themselves. This simple fact has had tremendous consequences for the nature of American politics: it means that most politicians will have a positive view of government & that they will put greater emphasis on equality, openness & freedom when holding office. These values of opennesss, equality & freedom are taken to be congruent with wider changes in our political culture, which, while guaranteeing the opportunity to participate, do not always produce good conditions for governance.

Eliasoph, Nina. (1997). "'Close to Home:' the work of avoiding politics," *Theory and Society*, 26: pp. 605-647. Presents examples from a two-year fieldwork & interview study among volunteers, activists, and recreation groups in a West Coast suburb, demonstrates how the language of 'close to home' worked to set boundaries around the political within this network of individuals. Citizens tended to sound more public-minded in casual and intimate contexts and less so in wider contexts. Thus, contrary to communitarians like Wuthnow and Bellah, it is found that individuals did not lack a language of civic obligation, they only lacked it in certain situations. When political language seemed dangerous, or solidarity was threatened, or the power to change things was not at hand, individuals employed a language of political avoidance to demarcate narrow political boundaries. This language protected a faith in the democratic process in the face of citizens' intuited powerlessness.

Fendrich, James Max. (1993). *Ideal Citizens: the legacy of the civil rights movement,* Albany: State University of New York Press. Assesses the long-range consequences of participation in the civil rights movement by tracing the careers of prominent ex-activists in Talahassee, FL since the 1960s. It is found that 1960s activists are ideal citizens, still exercising their citizenship rights & active in communities. This was particularly true for African Americans, less so for white activists. However, both groups demonstrated higher levels of civic engagement than their non-protesting counterparts.

Fischer, Frank & John Forester, eds. (1993). *The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Considers the implications for policy analysis of the post-positivist turn toward argumentation in American public culture. Viewing policy planning as argument means that more attention is paid to the day-to-day work that analysis do & the language by which they justify their proposals. It also means paying greater attention to the socio-political context in which policy planners work.

Fischer, Frank. (1993). "Policy Discourse and the Politics of Washington Think Tanks," in Frank Fischer & John Forester, eds*., The Argumentative Turn in Policy Analysis and Planning*, Durham, NC: Duke University Press, pp. 21-42. Argues that liberal elites in the 1960s adopted a technocratic strategy which

sought to supplant the less sophisticated opinions of the common citizen with technical arguments. The success of this strategy provoked a conservative backlash. However, instead of returning policy discussions to ordinary citizens, conservatives politicized the policy planning process. The result has been the continued marginalization of citizen participation in policy discussions. It is concluded that new political institutions must be built that permit the public to engage in a much wider range of discourse.

Fisher, Walter. (1989). *Human Communication as Narration: toward a philosophy of reason, value and action*, Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1989. It is argued that all forms of human communication must be understood as stories, symbolic interpretations of the world occurring in time and shaped by history, culture and character. On this view, particular forms of discourse should be considered "good reasons," rather than arguments. That is, arguments are merely value-laden warrants for believing and acting in certain ways. This form of narrative rationality is an extension of Chaim Perelman's notion of argumentative competence, adding two new criteria: coherence and fidelity.

Fishkin, James. (1991). *Democracy and Deliberation: new directions in democratic reform*, New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1991. Presents the deliberative opinion poll as a mechanism for reconciling the demands of democracy with those of deliberation. In recent years American politics have become more democratic, but at the sacrifice of careful deliberation. To satisfy an ideal democracy, three conditions must be met: political equality, non-tyranny by the majority & deliberation. Political equality is defined as an institutional arrangement in which every individual's preferences are considered & everyone is allowed to formulate their preferences. By non-tyranny is meant that policies must not end in severe deprivations to anyone when other policies were available. And by deliberation is meant the refinement of ordinary opinion by discussion into enlightened understanding. To fulfill these conditions, new structures of representing public opinion are proposed. Among these is the deliberative opinion poll. This poll is defended as serving the goals of both democratic equality & deliberation in the context of a large-scale mass-mediated society, and as being preferable to direct democratic proposals.

Fletcher, George. (1996). "The Case for Tolerance," *Social Philosophy and Policy*, 13: pp. 229-239. A complex notion of tolerance is defended against its critics. This complex notion of tolerance allows individuals to distance themselves from behavior with which they disapprove while allowing that behavior to continue. Notions of respect or indifference carry moral costs which tolerance does not fall prey to. Tolerance is not perfect, but it enables contrary ways of life to co-exist.

Foss, Sonja & Cindy Griffin. (1995). "Beyond Persuasion: a proposal for an invitational rhetoric," *Communication Monographs*, 62: pp. 2-18. Argues that most theories of rhetoric place a positive value on dominating & changing others. An alternative rhetoric is proposed that is grounded in feminist principles. This rhetoric stresses an invitation to understanding, equality, immanent value & self-determination. Its purpose is to construct a public space of safety, value and freedom.

Foucault, Michel. (1965). *Madness and Civilization: a history of insanity in the Age of Reason*. trans. by Richard Howard. New York: Vintage Books. Traces the history of madness in Western Europe from the end of the 16th century through the 18th century. It is argued that madness could only become a major trope in the consciousness of Europe when rationality was embraced as an ideal. Madness came to serve

as the repressed unconscious of a culture enamored with the notion of pure rationality. Thus, rather than a term described a fixed medical condition, the notion of madness has been variable, dependent on the historical context and the manner in which it has been juxtaposed to other seminal cultural tropes.

Fox, Charles & Hugh Miller. (1995). *Postmodern Public Administration: toward discourse*, Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage. Counterposes a discourse theory of public administration to the orthodox theory & its main rival, communitarianism. According to orthodox theory, public administration ought to work through a representative democratic accountability feedback loop. Failures of this loop engendered a communitarian response that sought to interrupt the loop by directly accessing citizens. Drawing on the work of Jurgen Habermas particularly, a discourse theory is proposed as the only viable way to take account of the postmodern condition. Within this model, policies are debated through argumentation warranted by several conditions: sincerity, situation-regarding intentionality, willing attention, & substantive contribution. Nascent forms of this discourse model are found in public policy networks, interagency consortia, & community task forces.

Fox, Harrison W. Jr. & Susan Webb Hammond. (1975). "The Growth of Congressional Staffs." in Harvey C. Mansfield, ed. *Congress Against the President*. Proceedings of the American Academy of Political Science 32: pp. 112-124. Explores the consequences of the rapid growth in congressional staffs during the post-World War Two period. It is shown that staff sizes have grown exponentially at all levels, from personal to committee offices. In part, this growth has been spurred by the greater demands on the time of Congressional members, & by the greater need for publicity of their initiatives. These staffs are not passive conduits of information, but actively shape the kinds of issues and the manner in which they are addressed.

Frank, Robert. (1988). *Passions Within Reason: the strategic role of the emotions*, New York: W.W. Norton. Argues that emotion may be central to reason, because individuals actions to solve public problems often involve commitments to behave in ways that may later prove contrary to the individual's interests. Emotions such as guilt, anger, envy and love can motivate individuals to act in ways contrary to a narrow construal of self-interest. A commitment model is proposed which suggests that people can make reasonable inferences about character traits in others, & that these inferences may guide action. This model is contrasted to a self-interest model which suggests that individuals are always guided by narrow self-interests. It is shown that in a variety of situations, people proceed on the basis of reasonable emotional inferences. Moreover, these inferences may open paths of action that are closed off within a strict self-interest model.

Fraser, Nancy. (1989). *Unruly Practices: power, discourse, and gender in contemporary social theory*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press. A collection of essays which engage in various political-theoretical debates of the 1980s. Among these debates are the contribution of Michel Foucault, Jacques Derrida, Richard Rorty, and Jurgen Habermas to political theory & political praxis. Of particular importance is the contribution of these authors to the development of a theoretically and politically savvy feminist political theory.

Fraser, Nancy. (1997). *Justice Interruptus: critical reflections on the post-socialist condition*, New York: Routledge. The post-socialist condition is defined as a sense of skepticism & doubt that pervades the Left after the 1989 revolutions. It consists in the lack of a credible alternative to the present order; a shift in the grammar of claims-making to group rights; & a resurgent economic liberalism. Essays in this volume are dedicated to moving beyond this impasse. They embrace a politics of identity that can be wedded to a politics of social equality. And they argue for a revised Habermasian public sphere that eliminates social equality; allows the production of a variety of public spheres; considers private as well as public issues; & allows both for strong & weak publics.

Frohock, Fred. (1997). "The Boundaries of Public Reason," *American Political Science Review*, 91: pp. 833-844. Liberalism assumes that a shared form of merit reasoning separate from historical or political influences may adjudicate between incompatible beliefs & interests of various social groups. It is shown that this view of public reason is unintelligible in conditions of deep pluralism, when social disputes are profound & very divisive. In place of merit reason, a form of non-computational reasoning is proposed that allows collective terms to dominate simple merit adjudication. These terms require a survey of considerations beyond the merits of the case at hand and thereby open public reason to the more general needs of the political society. Thus, the juridical, merit form of reasoning is transcended by a more expansive sense of public reason.

Fullinwider, Robert. (1995). "Citizenship, Individualism, and Democratic Politics," *Ethics*, 105: pp. 497-515. Defends a version of Rawlsian individualism against radical critics such as Iris Marion Young, Bonnie Honig & Chantal Mouffe. It is suggested that it may be possible for individuals to leave behind their particularities on entering the public sphere (to become "citizens") and retain them at another level (but remain Baptists, gay, etc.). Thus, the universal category opens the possibility for particular individuals to enter the public realm and voice their experiences and concerns.

Gallois, Cynthia. (1993). "The Language and Communication of Emotion," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 36: pp. 309-338. Reviews research on the universality and group-based specificity of emotional language and communication. This research is divided into three traditions: the experience of emotion, the social skills involved communicating & reading emotion, & the social rules, codes & styles that structure the communication of emotion.

Ganguly, Keya. (1992). "Accounting for Others: feminism and representation," in Lana F. Rakow, Women *Making Meaning: new feminist directions in communication*, New York: Routledge, pp. 60-82. Discusses feminist contributions to the politics of representation. Efforts to limit representation of women to fixed categories are resisted in favor of a process-oriented understanding. To get at the processes of representation, interpretive constructions of the audience are favored over sociological analyses. Recent feminist post-colonialist writings are discussed as exemplars of efforts to create more nuanced, process-oriented understandings of how representation is produced in practice.

Gargarella Roberto. (1998). "Full Representation, Deliberation and Impartiality," in Jon Elster, ed., *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 260-280. Suggests that to fulfill the criteria of both deliberation & full representation, & to create impartial decision-making processes,

substantial changes are necessary in the present representative system. These changes include: (1) the acknowledgment of radical pluralism & heterogeneity; (2) the abandonment of the notion that politics is restricted to parliamentarian debates; & (3) rejection of the notion that more impartial outcomes will be produced simply by introducing more deliberation. Instead, institutions must be amended to reinforce impartiality.

Gilens, Martin. (1996). "'Race Coding' and White Opposition to Welfare," *American Political Science Review*, 90: pp. 593-604. Assesses the extent to which white Americans' opposition to welfare is rooted in their attitudes toward blacks drawing on survey data. It is found that racial attitudes are the single most important influence on whites' welfare views. While whites hold similar views of black & white welfare mothers, their views of black mothers are more politically potent & generate greater opposition to welfare.

Giles, Howard, Angie Williams, Diane M. Mackie & Francine Rosselli. (1995). "Reactions to Anglo- and Hispanic-American Accented Speakers: affect, identity, persuasion, and the English-Only Controversy," *Language & Communication*, 15: pp. 107-120. An investigation in which subjects listened to pro and con messages in either Anglo or Hispanic-accented English. It is found that speakers were only influential when their message was not congruent with their identity: Anglos speaking against EoM; Hispanics speaking for EoM. In general, it is found that Anglos experienced more happiness and feelings of national identity when ethnically-similar sounding speakers argued against English exclusivity.

Ginsberg, Benjamin. (1986). *The Captive Public: how mass opinion promotes state power*. New York: Basic Books. A critical history of the rise of the public opinion industries which argues that they have essentially led to the domestication of the public and the promotion of state power. By appearing to cater to the opinions of ordinary citizens while in fact narrowing their ability to participate in the political process, the state succeeds in using opinion polling to legitimize itself in the name of democracy.

Gitlin, Todd. (1980). *The Whole World is Watching: mass media in the making and unmaking of the New Left*. Berkeley: University of California Press. A major study of the mass media's role in shaping the influence of the student movement during the 1960s. By analyzing news frames of this movement, Gitlin demonstrates that the news media function as crucial filters and shapers of this social movement's public image, often in ways that are detrimental to the long-term goals of that movement. Further, it is shown that social movement leaders end up participating in this process, most notably by making themselves available as "stars" of the movement.

Gittell, Marilyn. (1980). *Limits to Citizen participation: the decline of community organizations*, Thousand Oaks, CA, Sage. A comparative study of sixteen organizations' leaderships and memberships involved in education policy-making in three cities. It is found that these organizations had little influence on the decision-making process. The agenda of lower-income organizations was defined by professionals, with little input from the citizens they serve. Further, self-initiated middle-class citizen organizations faced the barrier of professionally-run, mandated and service organizations which approach citizens as consumers & clients. Policymakers interested in stimulating citizen participation are urged to take several

steps: encourage organizations to become independent from external funding sources; do not mandate community organizations; & decentralize policymaking.

Glasser, Theodore & Charles Salmon. eds. (1995). *Public Opinion and the Communication of Consent*. New York: Guilford Press. An edited volume which considers the nature of public opinion within systems of mass communication, explores connections between individual & mass opinion, & addresses the missing link between public opinion and social action. Sections are devoted to the nature of public opinion, the institution of public opinion historically, the social & psychological contexts of public opinion, systems of mass communication, & the relation of public opinion to the promise of democracy. The book is intended to represent the state-of-the-art research in this area & to develop an implicit model of the way in which public opinion is produced through a cycle of conversation-opinion-organization-action.

Goldberg, Ellis. (1996). "Thinking About How Democracy Works," *Politics & Society*, 24: pp. 7-19. A review of Robert Putnam's book, Making Democracy Work. It is suggested that Putnam's two variables, civic culture & social capital, do not undergird effective democratic institutions, as he claims. This is shown in a reconsideration of the evidence from his case study of North & South Italy.

Golebiowska, Ewa. (1995). "Individual Value Priorities, Education and Political Tolerance," *Political Behavior*, 17: pp. 23-48. Argues that increases in political tolerance may be tied to the broad-based value shift currently sweeping through advanced industrial societies. Higher education is shown to be strongly associated with greater tolerance. It is suggested that this connection exists because higher education leads to individual value priorities that are conducive to greater openness & political diversity.

Gould Carol. (1988). *Rethinking Democracy: freedom and social cooperation in politics, economy and society*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Makes a philosophical argument for the primacy of freedom and the equal right to the conditions of self-development, not only in politics, but in the economy and other areas of social life as well. Freedom is defined not only as a capacity of free choice, but also as an activity of self-development. Both social cooperation and access to material conditions are necessary for self-development, and so necessary for the exercise of freedom. On this basis, it is argued that individuals must have the equal right to participate in those decisions that concern the common activities which are among the conditions for self-development. These areas of joint decision-making will include not only the political domain, but also the domains of social & economic life. Thus, the value of individual freedom is not only compatible with social cooperation, but the two are largely inter-dependent. To realize this democratic theory, several personal traits are needed in the democratic citizen: initiative, a disposition to social reciprocity which combines the requirements of tolerance and respect; open-mindedness; commitment and responsibility; & communicativeness & sharing.

Granovetter, Mark, (1973). "The Strength of Weak Ties," *American Journal of Sociology*, 78: pp. 1360-1380. It is argued that the degree of overlap of two individuals' friendship networks varies directly with the strength of their tie to one another. This allows relatively weak ties to have tremendous influence on the diffusion of information, mobility opportunity and community organization. It is concluded that relations between groups may be just as important social bonding as relations within groups.

Grice, Paul. (1989). "Logic in Conversation," in Grice, *Studies in the Way of Words*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press, pp. 22-40. Introduces four conversational maxims: a maxim of quantity: make your contribution as informative but no more informative than is required; a maxim of quality: do not say what you believe to be false & do not say that for which you lack adequate evidence; a maxim of relation: be relevant; & a maxim of manner: avoid obscurity, ambiguity, prolixity, and disorderliness. These maxims are taken to support the Cooperative Principle: that a conversational contribution should be made as required, at the stage at which this requirement occurs, according to the accepted purpose or direction of the talk exchange in which one is engaged. It is contended that these maxims are essentially connected with certain general features of discourse & that they not only are followed in ordinary conversation, but should be followed. Moreover, it is shown that they are involved not in the meaning of what is actually said in conversation, but in the implication of what is said. Hence, they are conversational "implicatures."

Guttmann, Amy. (1993). "The Challenge of Multi-culturalism in Political Ethics," *Philosophy and Public Affairs*, 22: pp. 171-206. Assesss three responses to the challenge of multiculturalism to social justice: cultural relativism, political relativism & comprehensive universalism. A form of deliberative universalism is proposed which offers an alternative to the cultural relativist position that social justice is what any particular culture says it is, to the political relativist view that social justice is the outcome of legitimate procedures & to the comprehensive universalist view that social justice is a set of substantive moral prescriptions. Deliberative universalism defends a noncomprehensive set of substantive priciples that provide the necessary conditiosn for deliberation about fundamental moral conflicts, along with a set of procedural principles that support deliberation about such conflicts. Deliberative universalists do not believe in universal morals, but only in the moral equivalent of a universal grammar.

Guttmann, Amy. (1995). "Civic Education and Social Diversity," *Ethics*, 105: pp. 557-579. Argues that political liberalism (as espoused by John Rawls) does not offer a form of civic education that is more amenable to social diversity than comprehensive liberalism (as in John Stuart Mill). Both camps agree that teaching toleration & mutual respect is important. But political liberals deceive themselves in believing that this may be enough. At times, parents may push unliberal ideas on their children which contradict the demands of toleration & self-respect. In this situation, the state has a duty to step in & enforce a comprehensive view of liberalism. By supporting these virtues in the face of parental opposition, the state helps to create a democratic citizenry capable of respecting diverse ways of life.

Habermas, Jurgen. (1975). *Legitimation Crisis*. Boston: Beacon Press. Traces the typical patterns of economic, political & social crisis in advanced capitalist societies to a basic crisis of legitimation. Today, the economic system functions in close relation to the state, which is charged with regulating its excesses and ameliorating its crises. Thus, economic crises are routinely shifted into the political system by the government. Of course, the government is unable to finally solve these crises, but must continually confront them. As this is happening, the political system suffers a crisis of motivation, as the occupational & educational system are unable to maintain the public's motivation to engage in politics, and thus individuals turn more to the consumption of material goods to sustain their psychic selves. The combination of political and cultural crises produces a legitimation crisis for the state. That legitimation is

dependent upon its ability to regulate, or to appear to regulate, the economy well enough that consumable goods appear to be available to all individuals equally.

Huckfeldt, Robert, Paul Allen Beck, Russell J. Dalton & Jeffrey Levine. (1995). "Political Environments, Cohesive Social Groups and the Communication of Public Opinion," *American Journal of Political Science*, 39: pp. 1025-1054. Investigates the extent to which the social communication of political information is structured by the geographic distribution of support for presidential candidates in the 1992 election drawing on survey data. It is found that individuals are differentially exposed to larger environments of opinion depending on micro-environmental patterns of social interaction and political communication. Hence, the construction of a citizen's social network serves as a filter on the macro environmental flow of political information. Thus, the influence of larger environments of opinion depend upon the existence of micro-environments which expose citizens to surrounding opinion distributions.

Hughes, Robert. (1993). *Culture of Complaint: the fraying of America*, New York: Oxford University Press. Argues that the US today is characterized by a culture of complaint in which an authority figure is always to blame & the expansion of rights is demanded without corresponding duties & obligations. The result has been a fragmentation of the polity, as groups large and small demand recompense while the sense of common citizenship dissolves. Calls for a return to common sense, which recognizes that all Americans share a common cultural heritage bequeathed from Europe, and that it is characterized by individual freedom, plurality, & reasoned & civil disagreement.

Johnson, James. (1998). "Arguing for Deliberation: some skeptical considerations," in Jon Elster, ed., *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 161-184. Suggests that arguments in favor of democratic deliberation are misguided in several ways: (1) they misconstrue the difficulties of non-deliberative procedures such as voting; (2) they do not adequately justify the constraints they impose on the range of views admissible to deliberative arenas; & (3) they do not adequately specify the mechanisms at work as parties to deliberation seek to persuade or convince one another. A good argument for deliberation cannot rely on utopian assumptions, must not exclude self-interest or the conflicts deliberation might generate from the range of admissible topics; must specify the mechanisms at work when parties advance arguments to persuade others; must include an account of the institutional forms that deliberative processes might take; & must include an account both of the sort of effects that we might anticipate from deliberation & of how we might justify those effects.

Kautz, Steven. (1993). "Liberalism and the Idea of Toleration," *American Journal of Political Science*, 37: pp. 610-632. It is observed that the notion of toleration is under attack from various sides: conservatives worry that it weakens civic and moral virtue; democrats believe it is a mask for social inequality; postmodernists argue that it does an injustice to diversity. The classical notion of toleration as "settlement" is defended. According to this understanding, toleration simply means that each party must be willing to make concessions to the just claims of other partisans.

Kelley, Stanley, Jr. (1956). *Professional Public Relations and Political Power*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins Press. An early work on the role & consequences of public relations in American politics. The history of public relations is traced from its beginnings in 19th century American politics. Its role in the

political process is then reviewed, with special attention given to presidential politics. It is suggested that public relations has made public opinion a maneuverable element in politics, although individual citizens rarely participate in this process. And, in a prescient forecast, it is suggested that public relations will move beyond the electoral process to become much more influential in the public policy process.

Kelly, Jerry S. (1978). *Arrow Impossibility Theorems*. New York: Academic Press. A volume which elaborates the implications of several of Kenney Arrow's theorems concerning the nature of social choice. According to Arrow, it is impossible to integrate individual preferences with collective preferences in a rational manner because there is no rational method for aggregating individual preferences into a clear notion of the public good. The implication of this insight and ways of amelioriating its worst effects on public policy are investigated.

Kuhn, Deanna. (1991). *The Skills of Argument*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Investigates thinking as a form of argument in a study involving interviews with ordinary people & experts in the area of urban social problems. It is found that people generally embrace three types of causal theories: single cause, multiple parallel & multiple alternative. It is found that whatever causal theories individuals embraced, they displayed a high degree of certainty in offering their causal explanations. This epistemological naiveté is taken to be a key to understanding people's limited argumentative reasoning ability. Two basic ways of knowing are discerned: knowing in comfortable ignorance & knowing through a constant effort of evaluating possibilities. The latter form of arguing is taken to be superior because it entails the ability to reflect upon one's own theory & to consider alternative theories & evidence. Subjects differed vastly in their ability to perform this task. Analysis of experts' ability to argue demonstrated that it is possible to attain expertise in the reasoning process itself. However, expertise in a content area may expand the range of knowledge available, but it also main lead to rigid thinking & an inability to recognize alternative views.

Kuklinski, James, Ellen Riggle, Victor Ottati, Norbert Schwarz & Robert Wyer. (1993). "Thinking about Political Tolerance, More or Less, with More or Less Information," in George Marcus & Russell Hanson, *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 225-247. Investigates the question of whether deliberation produces better political choices than gut reactions drawing on survey data. Thinking is distinguished from the amount of information people have available to think. This distinction implies that thinking can take place with more or less information. It is found that people generally prefer to express knee-jerk opinions on issues, and that these opinions are largely intolerant. Moreover, when asked to think more about issues, subjects expressed even greater intolerance than before. Only when subjects were exposed to a range of arguments, including those concerning long-run freedom, did their level of tolerance achieve that of their gut reactions. It is concluded that political tolerance alone does not equal democracy. Rather, democracy entails the ability to recognize complexity and deal with it in a balanced, flexible and even-handed manner. To achieve this goal, citizens must be invited to think about politics in a relatively informed way.

Kurtz, Howard. (1996). *Hot Air: all talk all the time.* New York: Random House. Examines the explosion of political talk shows in the 1990s in the context of a general growth of political commentary, both within & outside the media. The growth of talk is taken to have put an enormous burden on political

decision-makers because it often forces them to act before they are prepared to do so. Moreover, the talk show culture has opened political debate to different voices, many of which exist on the margins of the political spectrum, and has changed the nature of journalism. The result of this talk saturation is a general impoverishment of the political culture, and a growing difficulty in achieving consensus on difficult political issues.

Langerak, Edward. (1994). "Pluralism, Tolerance and Disagreement," *Rhetorical Society Quarterly*, 24: pp. 95-106. Argues that a notion of tolerance is needed which at once allows individuals to respect the views of others and to judge that these views are diagreeable, and even to take actions against them on occasion. Thus, a notion of toleration is needed which allows individuals to be intolerant. Such a construction is offered which makes a firm distinction toleration and respect.

Lasch, Christopher. (1979). *The Culture of Narcissism: American life in an age of diminishing expectations*. New York: Norton. Traces what is termed a culture of narcissism that has developed in the 20th century. This culture is a direct outgrowth of the crisis of capitalism administered by a bureaucratic state & the liberal political theory associated with this economic mode. Various aspects of its growth can be seen in the development of the therapeutic sensibility, the eclipse of the work ethic, the rise of a politics of spectacle and hero worship, the collapse of authority, the erosion of schooling, and a new kind of bureaucratic paternalism. It is suggested that these processes have carried the logic of individualism to an extreme; they have made individual happiness the sole focus of human action; and, they have turned the pursuit of individual satisfaction into the primary political strategy for escaping repressive conditions.

Lash, Scott & John Urry. (1987). *The End of Organized Capitalism*. Cambridge: Polity. A macro-social theoretical discussion which proposes that the era of organized capitalism—defined as a concentration & centralization of major economic institutions, the growth of large-scale hierarchical bureaucracies, the inter-articulation of states & large monopolies, & the expansion of empires overseas—is currently being replaced by a new form of disorganized capitalism. In the new environment, national markets are becoming less regulated, a new service class is emerging as the working-classes decline, the state & capital increasingly take an antagonistic view toward one another, and a new form of flexible accumulation characterizes the global economy. This new form of economic organization has tended to fragment the cultural and political spheres in the manner that many postmodernist theorists have suggested.

Lazear, Edward P. (1996). *Culture Wars in America*. Stanford: Hoover Institution on War, Revolution and Peace. Examines the extent to which American attitudes toward newcomers & desires by immigrants to become assimilated have changed over time drawing on a variety of empirical data. It is found that these attitudes have changed, and for the worse. New immigrants have clustered in separate communities

to an extent greater than in the past, and incentives to assimilate have changed in response to the welfare state. The result is a situation in which large minority cultures may retain their own cultures and speak their own languages for a very long time. This puts these minority groups at an economic disadvantage, but the government puts a floor on consumption levels so that they never experience the economic hardship necessary for them to embrace the cultural attitudes and skills which will help them to better succeed. To counter this trend, it is suggested that more resources ought to be focused on young children rather than adults because these resources are more likely to have a higher return among that population.

Leighley, Jan. (1991). "Participation as a Stimulus of Political Conceptualization," *Journal of Politics*, 53: pp. 198-211. Tests the proposition that political participation enhances individuals' conceptualization of politics drawing on data from the 1976 American National Election Study. While the hypothesis is generally supported, it is observed that characteristics of the participatory experience (e.g., success of failure) may determine the nature of its effect on conceptualization.

Leighley, Jan. (1995). "Attitudes, Opportunities and Incentives: a field essay on political participation," *Political Research Quarterly*, 48: pp. 181-210. Presents a survey of the literature on political participation. Three broad conclusions are drawn from this analysis: (1) the discipline broadly accepts as a basic model of participation the "standard socio-economic model" which stresses individuals' socio-economic status & civic orientations as predictors of participation; (2) political participation is typically equated with voter turnout; (3) rational choice models have attained a significant theoretical status in the study of political participation.

Levi, Margaret, ed. (1996). "Special Section: Critique of Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work," *Politics & Society*, 24(1). A special journal section which includes 3 essays criticizing various aspects of Putnam's work.

Levi, Margaret. (1996). "Social and Unsocial Capital: a review essay of Robert Putnam's Making Democracy Work," *Politics & Society*, 24: pp. 45-55. According to Putnam, a dense network of civic engagements leads citizens to trust each other & to produce good democratic government. However, these links are not clear, as membership in one kind of society is not easily translated into addressing free rider problems in another. Putnam has neglected the role of government in creating institutions that foster particular kinds of civic culture. The social capital produced in voluntary associations is not enough to translate into a generalized trust. Thus, Putnam ends in a kind of romanticization of associational life to the neglect of a theory of social capital.

Lichterman, Paul. (1995). "Beyond the See-Saw Model: public commitment in a culture of self-fulfillment," *Sociological Theory*, 13: pp. 275-300. Argues against the notion found in much communitarian thought that a culture of self-fulillment & political commitment to the public good are incompatible. A case study of membership in a local chapter of the US Green movement is presented to demonstrate that the personalist culture may inform and motivate political commitment. Through personalism, the community shared a dedication to free debate among individuals and stressed personal expression, discussion & consensual agreement. Thus, personalism created a deep resonance and sense of responsibility within individuals & fostered a culture that defined organization in fluid terms.

Lindblom, Charles. (1965). *The Intelligence of Democracy: decision-making through mutual adjustment*, New York: The Free Press. Compares centrally directed decision making & partisan mutual adjustment as two processes for rational decision making. In partisan mutual adjustment, no central agency directs the relationships of actors with one another. Rather, actors adjust to their antagonists in a number of ways, including adaptively (asking nothing of the other party), or manipulatively (by bargaining, negotiating, discussing, compensating, etc.). Described in this manner, government becomes a process by which political actors engage in partisan mutual adjustment. Common values limit these interactions somewhat, but are also produced in the process of adjustment. Because actors must always adjust to others, partisan mutual adjustment privileges strategic reasoning, which itself produces more reasonable, legitimate, inclusive, consensual outcomes than centralized decision making.

MacIntyre, Alasdair C. (1981). *After Virtue: a study in moral theory*. Notre Dame: University of Notre Dame Press. A major statement in moral philosophy which begins from the premise that morality today is in grave disorder because the prevailing moral idiom is disjointed & conceptually barren. An Aristotelian moral view is outlined in which morality is conceived in terms of shared conceptions of the good. The good is defined in terms of practices relevant to a shared life. As such, individuals can only attain the good, and hence a moral point of view, by entering into relationships with others.

Mackin, James. (1997). *Community Over Chaos: an ecological perspective on communication ethics*, Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press. Presents an ecological ethic grounded in pragmatic realism & Piercean semiotics as solution to the cynicism, skepticism and fragmentation characteristic of postmodern public discourse. According to this framework, while the relation between signs & objects is tenuous, human beings in dialogue may achieve some semblance of truth by identifying patterns of regularity in our social world. An art of communicative ethics is described based on the Aristotelian notion of virtue as habit that lead to happiness for both the community & the individual & the Piercean notion of fuzzy logic. This art stresses the practice of openness & honesty in public deliberations & the possibility of achieving community through diversity.

Maltese, John. (1992). *Spin Control: the White House Office of Communications and the management of presidential news*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. Examines the history of the White House Office of Communications, the primary institution through which presidents attempt to control the public agenda by making presidential news. Richard Nixon created this office in 1969, and it has steadily grown since that time. As it has grown, it has become a more prominent vehicle for staging presidential events, managing administration news, and generally controlling the public agenda. Developments within each administration from Nixon to Clinton in this are carefully parsed and analyzed.

Manin, Bernard. (1997). *The Principles of Representative Government*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Identifies four principles of representative government which have remained constant over two hundred years since their enunciation by the founders: (1) those who govern are appointed by election at regular intervals; (2) the decision-making of those who govern retains a degree of independence from the wishes of the electorate; (3) those who are governed may give expression to their opinions and political wishes without these being subject to the control of people who govern; & (4) public decisions undergo the trial of debate. Three ideal types of representative government are compared

on the basis of these principles: parliamentarianism, party democracy & audience democracy (to denote the growing role of individual personalities in elections). Where in parliaments, discussion is reserved for the parliament, & in party democracy in inter- & intra-party negotiations, audience democracy locates discussion in the negotiations between interest groups & the government, & in debates in the media which seek to attract the attention of the floating voter. It is suggested that recent alarm at a crisis in representative democracy is nothing more than anxiety about the nature of the institutions in audience democracy—they do not reflect the erosion of the four principles of representative government.

Mann, Thomas & Gary Orren. eds. (1992). *Media Polls in American Politics*. Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution. An edited volume which investigates the role of opinion polls in contemporary political reporting. Contributors include leading pollsters, media critics and scholars of the political process. Attention is paid to the evolving technology of polling, typical errors made by pollsters and the media who cover them, and the impact of polls on both the public and reporters. Throughout, it is argued that polls can be a constructive part of American public life, but only if they are used to report rather than create the news.

Mansbridge, Jane. (1980). *Beyond Adversary Democracy*. New York: Basic Books. Draws upon case studies of a small New England town governed by a town meeting & a small democratic workplace to outline a theory of unitary democracy. In the more traditional adversarial theory of democracy, it was assumed that a good politics took place through conflict, the protection of individual interests, majority rule and a secret ballot. This traditional model is rejected in favor of a unitary democracy that favors common interests, equal respect, consensus, and face-to-face deliberation. It is concluded that the task before American citizens is to unify these two different kinds of democracies into a single institutional framework that allows individuals both to advance their interests & to resolve conflicts.

Margolis, Howard. (1982). *Selfishness, Altruism, and Rationality: a theory of social choice.* New York: Cambridge University Press. Develops a model of social choice which is capable of explaining the existence of public goods. Traditional models of social choice, which suggest that individuals make social decisions based on their rational self-interest, are unable to explain why any public good is ever created. It is suggested that individuals respond to three kinds of interest: individual, group and participative. Under normal circumstances, they seek not to achieve self-interest, but to balance these three interests. It is this balance which gives individuals a sense that they have done their fair share. The utility of the model for explaining social behavior is demonstrated in an analysis of several examples.

Massey, Douglas, Andrew Gross & Kumiko Shibuya. (1994). "Migration, Segregation and the Geographic Concentration of Poverty," *American Sociological Review*, 59: pp. 425-445. Analyzes patterns of African-American mobility and white mobility in US cities. drawing on US Census data. It is found that the geographic concentration of black poverty has not been caused by out-migration of non-poor blacks. Rather, it is caused by residential segregation of African-American in urban housing markets.

Matusow, Barbara. (1983). *The Evening Stars: the making of the network news anchor*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin. Traces the emergence of the network news anchor as the singular figure of television

evening news. Included in this history is a description of Edward R. Murrow's legacy for the network news anchor, and the rise of the first television news "stars," such as Walter Cronkite, Dan Rather, Peter Jennings, Harry Reasoner, and Barbara Walters. The production of these individuals as television stars is discussed in the context of a general trend toward making television news more entertainment-oriented.

McCarthy, Thomas. (1992). "Practical Discourse: on the relation of morality to politics." in Craig Calhoun. ed. *Habermas and the Public Sphere*. Cambridge: MIT Press, pp. 51-72. Critically examines Jurgen Habermas' notion of practical discourse. It is suggested that within this notion persists a fundamental tension between situated reasoning & the kind of transcendent reasoning necessary to achieve rational consensus. Ultimately, this tension seriously troubles Habermas' notion of the public sphere, which at once depends upon situated discourse & the possibility of transcendent discourse. Because Habermas has failed to resolve this tension, suspicion is cast on his democratic theory as a whole, which depends upon the ability to achieve rational consensus on deeply conflictual issues.

McGerr, Michael. (1986). *The Decline of Popular Politics: the American North, 1865-1928*. New York: Oxford University Press. Traces the demise of the party system to the activities of a relatively small group of late-19th century northern liberal reformers who were affronted by the excesses and spectacularism of party politics. These reformers eventually succeeded in transforming politics into a matter of education and information rather than of public display. However, this political form soon was challenged by a form of consumer politics advanced by the mass media. The result is a politics much more individualistic than collective, more concerned with knowledge than with commitment, and ironically, unable to attract the attention and participation of even a majority of the electorate.

McLeod, Douglas & Elizabeth Perse. (1994). "Direct and Indirect Effects on Socio-economic Status on Public Affairs Knowledge," *Journalism Quarterly*, 71: pp. 433-442. Draws on survey data in Wisconsin to demonstrate that a strong relationship exists between SES and public affairs knowledge. The evidence suggests that there is a strong relationship between perceived utility of information & news media use & SES.

McManus, John H. (1994). *Market-Driven Journalism: let the citizen beware?* Thousand Oaks: Sage. Examines the process by which market-oriented logic has been applied to news drawing on data from four television stations located in the western United States. It is found that as journalism has become more market oriented, the news has tended to value wealthier audiences more than poorer ones. Moreover, while market-driven news does attract larger audiences, and hence act to integrate audiences, it does so by offering those audiences more entertainment and less information. This was done not by adding entertainment to information to produce "info-tainment," but by displacing or distorting information in favor of whatever producers believed would attract the most attention at the least possible cost.

Mill, John Stuart. (1978). *On Liberty*. edited by Elizabeth Rapaport. Indianopolis: Hackett Publishing Co. A seminal text of liberal political philosophy which advances the principle that individuals in political society ought to be free to exhibit their individuality to the extent that this exhibition does not harm others. The state is therefore prohibited from violating the liberty of individuals except in cases in which that liberty may unduly curtail the liberty of others.

Neustadt, Richard E. (1990). *Presidential Power and the Modern Presidents: the politics of leadership from Roosevelt to Reagan*. New York: The Free Press. The standard textbook of presidential politics which advances the proposition that presidential power is largely contained in the power to bargain. Possessing few explicit political instruments, presidents of necessity must enter into relationships with other political actors in Washington to achieve their goals. Their power within these relationships is largely determined by their reputation among Washington elites & their prestige with the public (as measured by public opinion polls).

Newton, Kenneth. (1997). "Social Capital and Democracy," *American Behavioral Scientist*, 40: pp. 575-586. Identifies three aspects or dimensions of the notion of social capital: norms (especially trust), networks and consequences. Various models of democracy are discussed in relation to social capital, including communal society, Tocqueville's model of voluntary associations, & modern democratic forms based on abstract trust, education and the media.

Nie, Norman, Jane Junn & Kenneth Stehlik-Barry. (1996). *Education and Democratic Citizenship in America*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Considers the extent to which education influences how knowledgeable citizens are, how attentive they are, how regularly they vote, how active in politics they are beyond the vote & how tolerant they are of the free expression of unpopular views drawing on data from the 1990 Citizen Participation Study. A consistent relationship is found between formal educational attainment and seven attributes of enlightened political engagement. Education has a strong positive influence on political knowledge, political participation and voting, attentiveness to politics and tolerance. Political enlightenment is disaggregated from political engagement. It is found that verbal proficiency links education to attributes of democratic citizenship through a cognitive pathway, while social network centrality ties educational attainment to enlightened political engagement through a positional pathway. The two together, verbal acuity and social networks, combine to shape the configuration of democratic citizenship. This implies that those closest to the institutions of political discourse will have a greater ability to express their political views, and that this positioning is largely determined by educational attainment. Formal equality is impossible because of the inherent scarcity of political access. In the future, as equality in access to education becomes greater, so will the weight given to where that education was received. Moreover, the US is experiencing something of an educational inflation, as people are spurred by competition to attain greater formal education than is necessary for the position in the economy. Thus, more education is not likely to create more social capital, but rather to spur more social competition.

Nino, Carlos Santiago. (1996). *The Constitution of Deliberative Democracy*, New Haven: Yale University Press. Proposes a theory of constitutionalism which traces its legitimacy to three elements: a historical constitution, democratic or participatory processes & the protection of individual rights. It is suggested that deliberative democracy best accounts for the challenges of instituting these principles in a constitutional order. This democratic design is preferable to utilitarianism, the economic theory of democracy, elitism, pluralism or consent theory because is sees democracy as inextricably entwined with morality & relies on its power to transform people's preferences into morally acceptable ones. Thus, deliberative democracy contains great epistemic advantages. An institutional arrangement which might

bring deliberative democracy into being includes: (1) mechanisms for direct democracy; (2) a mixed media system; (3) dispersed sovereignty; (4) a mixed presidential/parliamentary system; & (5) the presence of an entrenched constitution interpreted by a judiciary intent on protecting its most treasured aspects.

Norris, Pippa. (1996). "Does Television Erode Social Capital: a reply to Putnam," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 29: pp. 474-449. Rebuts Robert Putnam's (1995) argument that television erodes social capital. Using data from The American Civic Participation Study (1990), it is shown that the amount of television viewing supports Putnam's argument, but other evidence regarding what Americans watch does not. A diversity of news sources are associated with healthy aspects of democratic participation. Further, Americans are a nation of joiners, when compared to other countries, and television has not slowed this tendency.

Nussbaum, Martha. (1986). *The Fragility of Goodness: luck and ethics in Greek tragedy and philosophy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University press. Examines the aspiration to make the goodness of human life safe from luck in Greek ethical thought through the controlling power of reason. Greek thought was consumed by the relation between luck & the good life. Plato tried to insulate humans from the force of luck, but Aristotle returned to the lessons of tragedy to describe a form of practical rationality. This form of practical rationality entails seeking ethical truth through dialogue with one another that is based upon the values & judgments they already hold dear. This rationality aims at both activity & receptivity, a limited control balanced by limited risk, & a good life lived along with friends, loved ones and community. Exposure and risk in this analysis become not things to be guarded against, but as elements that bind people more closely to one another. Within this rationality, purity & simplicity erode the richness & complexity of human life. Practical rationality demands that compassion for the contingency & risk of human life be a principle feature of human relations.

Polsby, Nelson. (1983). *Consequences of Party Reform*. Oxford: Oxford University Press. Explores the impact of party reforms made in the late 1960s and early 1970s on the activities of political actors. These reforms were of two types: reforms of the delegate selection process and reforms of party finance. These reforms have had wide-ranging effects, from the way political actors conduct their business, to the role of interest groups and the news media in the political process. The consequences of these reforms have been mixed: they have opened the political process to many more types of individuals and groups which were once excluded. At the same time, they have made political choices more difficult to make, degraded public deliberation in significant ways, and polarized politics to a great degree.

Popper, Karl. (1945). *The Open Society and Its Enemies*, vols. 1-2, London: Routledge. Contrasts the closed society, defined as a society organized according to tribal or collectivist customs, with an open society, defined as one in which individuals are confronted with personal decisions. Western societies are described as open, a legacy of their Greek ancestors. But they are endangered by impulses to collectivism & to tribalism, which threaten their freedom & their ability to use their reason to produce knowledge of the world & inform their political decisions. These dangers are likened to Plato's ideal society in that they seek to achieve a perfect order by the suppression of individual freedom. It is only when society allows its members to use their faculty of reason that the open society can be maintained.

Portis, Edward. (1986). "Citizenship & Identity," *Polity*, 18: pp. 457-472. Argues that both citizenship and long-term political support must be seen as communal in nature because of the impossibility of a completely instrumental commitment to social affairs. Individuals must define themselves in social terms, and for this reason alone they must value relevant social entities as meaningful in themselves.

Przeworski, Adam. (1998). "Deliberation and Ideological Domination," in Jon Elster, ed., *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 140-160. Argues that deliberation may lead people to hold beliefs that are not in their best interest. In the process of deliberation, people may alter their preferences, either because they now see new causal relationships between decisions & outcomes or they have been persuaded to adopt new values. Through deliberation, people become locked into equlibria & these equilibria have distributional consequences.

Putnam, Hilary. (1990). *Realism with a Human Face*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Defends a version of internal realism in which truth is understood in terms of ideal epistemic situations. Truth, so defined, is a statement which could be verified were epistemic conditions ideal. This view is contrasted to metaphysical realism, which assigns truth to certain statements which can be verified through abstract logical maneuvers. It is defended through appeal to the work of Kant, Wittgenstein, & Cavell. It claims that reason is a grounded activity of interacting with others, establishing the truth of things in a given situation & acting on those truths. It thus melds facts & values, the rational & the emotional, in the pursuit of understanding & explaining human experience.

Putnam, Robert. (1995). "Tuning In, Tuning Out: the strange disappearance of social capital in America," *PS: Political Science & Politics*, 28: pp. 664-683. Defines social capital as features of social life, networks, norms and trust, that enable participants to act together more effectively to pursue shared objectives. This form of social capital is decreasing in the US. Various factors are identified to explain this trend: education, pressures of time & money, mobility and suburbanization, the changing role of women, the breakdown of the family, race and the rights revolution, and the rise of the welfare state. However, controlling for these variables, television turns out to be strongly associated with the erosion of social connections. It is argued that television erodes social capital by taking up time, affecting the outlook of viewers & influencing childhood education.

Putnam, Robert. (1996). "The Strange Disappearance of Civic America," *The American Prospect*, 24: pp. 34-48. Investigates the erosion of civic activity among Americans. A variety of empirical data are presented to demonstrate that Americans born between 1910 and 1940 are much more likely to engage in civic activity than Americans born after this period. Education is found to be most strongly correlated with civic engagement in all its forms. Various forces are identified as causal mechanisms of the decline of civic participation: pressures of time & money, mobility, changes in the marriage structure, the rise of the welfare state & white flight in the face of civil rights laws for blacks. But television is considered the prime suspect in the decline of civic activity.

Rauch, Jonathan. (1994). *Demosclerosis: the silent killer of American government*. New York: Times Books. Argues that the problem of American democracy is not that elites are too far removed from citizens, but they are not removed enough. In the past few decades, a dizzying array of interest groups

have emerged in Washington to campaign for the interests of nearly every kind of group. In the process of this interest group politics, efforts to reach consensus on pressing public problems have been stymied. It is suggested that to improve American politics, it will be necessary to make politicians less responsive to the immediate demands of interest groups, and thus more accountable for promoting the public interest.

Rawls, John. (1971). *A Theory of Justice*. Cambridge: Belknap Press. The seminal text in post-WWII American liberal political theory which argues that political justice is achieved when free and rational persons in pursuit of their own interest accept in an initial position of equality the terms of their political association. This theory of justice is termed, "justice as fairness." The principles outlined in the original position of equality are to regulate all further agreements, and to determine the level of cooperation necessary to achieve those agreements.

Rawls, John. (1993). *Political Liberalism*. New York: Columbia University Press. A volume which updates Rawls' Theory of Justice (1971) by taking into account the comments of critics over the past twenty years. A particular revision of the theory has to do with the normative grounds on which a notion of justice may be legitimized. In the original theory of justice, these grounds were simply assumed as a kind of Kantian a priori. In the present volume, they are instead situated within the Western, and in particular, the American, political and cultural traditions.

Reynolds, Charles & Ralph Norman, eds. (1988). *Community in America: the challenge of Habits of the Heart*, Berkeley: UC Press. An edited volume which offers commentary & critique on Robert Bellah, et. al.'s *Habits of the Heart*. The most trenchant criticism is that Bellah's effort to restore the meaning of citizenship & refocus on the common good ends in a kind of dangerous conservatism that squashes dissent. Pluralism by definition is ambivalent, ambiguous, & conflictual, & any effort to stamp out these elements will by its nature undermine diversity.

Reynolds, Charles & Ralph Norman. eds. (1988). *Community in America: the challenge of Habits of the Heart*. Berkeley: University of California Press. An edited volume which reviews, analyzes and critically appraises Robert Bellah et. al.'s Habits of the Heart. The notions of culture, practical reason, civic practice & religious practice developed in that book are examined in separate sections of essays. Robert Bellah's response to contributors' objections is included.

Rieff, Philip. (1968). *The Triumph of the Therapeutic: uses of faith after Freud*. New York: Harper & Row. Diagnoses the dilemma of modern societies in terms of the rise of a therapeutic sensibility which puts personal well-being above all other qualities of a good life. This sensibility is traced to Freud, and its triumph in our culture is taken to be a result of the creation of new technologies that allow the economy to run relatively free of human supervision. The culture of the therapeutic is taken to have dissolved feelings of cultus, or belonging, which once sustained individuals, and so to have eroded the social bonds which once provided the glue of society.

Riker, William. (1980). "Political Trust as Rational Choice." in Leif Lewin & Evert Vedung. eds. *Politics as Rational Action: essays in public choice and policy analysis*. Boston: D. Reidel, pp. 1-24. Argues that rational calculations underlie trust in political interactions. It is shown that individuals can rationally

calculate their level of trust in political interactions. These calculations can take the form of pure utilitarianism, learning, rules of thumb or introspection. But every method yields a better than random chance of predicting when it is useful to trust. It is concluded that institutions are often arranged so that rational calculations of trust can be made quickly and firmly.

Schrag, Calvin. (1992). *The Resources of Rationality: a response to the postmodern challenge*, Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press. A response to the postmodern argument against modern reason & rationality which suggests that rationality is transversal to the multiplicity of our discursive & nondiscursive practices. In the guise of three moments of communication praxis: discerning & evaluating critique, interactive articulation; & incursive disclosure, reason cuts across the play of discourse & action, word & deed, speaking & writing, hearing and reading. Reason on this view is not universal & transcendent, but a set of techniques created over time for critique, articulation & disclosure. As a transversal phenomenon, reason stands neither above human beings more horizontal to their everyday concerns. Rather, it is between the universal & the particular, a shifting back and forth between the two perspectives. It is in this middle-ground that the resources of rationality afford human beings the possibility of freedom & progress.

Schudson, Michael. (1989). "The Sociology of News Production Revisited." *Media, Culture & Society* 11: 263-282. A review of three basic approaches to explaining the production of news: a political-economy approach which focuses on macro-economic structures; an organizational approach which concentrates on the routines and practices of news organizations; & a culturalogical approach which focuses on the aspects of narrative, voice and image which serve to structure the news. It is suggested that the culturalogical approach is most in need of development.

Schudson, Michael. (1997). "Sending a Political Message: lessons from the American 1790s," *Media, Culture & Society*, 19: pp. 311-330. Reviews the public sphere of the early American state to argue that public spheres do not only differ according to degrees of democracy, deliberation & exclusion, but also on kinds of democracy, deliberation & exclusion. Different political structures will configure these qualities in different ways, and so create different possibilities for political communication.

Schudson, Michael. (1998). *The Good Citizen: a history of American civic life*. New York: The Free Press. Traces the history of citizenship in the United States in terms of three stages: citizenship as deference; citizenship as affiliation; & citizenship as individual rights. These stages roughly correspond to the early Republic, the long 19th century party period, & the 20th century, respectively. Within this history, the assumption that politics is today degraded, and that citizenship is dissolved, is consistently challenged. It is argued that citizenship is not worse, only different from prior manifestations, and that comparisons with prior forms are useless because the conditions which supported them are no longer apparent. Moreover, there is much that is good in a conception of citizenship as individual rights.

Seidman, Steven. ed. (1994). *The Postmodern Turn: new perspectives on social theory*. New York: Cambridge University Press. An edited volume which presents seminal challenges to the Enlightenment paradigm of social knowledge. Together, these writings represent the best expression of postmodern theories of knowledge. Included among these statements are writings of Michel Foucault, Richard Rorty,

Jean-Francois Lyotard, Donna Haraway, Judith Butler, Zygmunt Bauman & Nancy Fraser, among others. Contributions engage with major themes in postmodern theory, such as the crisis of representation, the nature of knowledge as a form of narrative, and the political significance of postmodern critique. The volume also incudes several empirical illustrations of the postmodern sensibility.

Seligman, Adam. (1992). *The Idea of Civil Society*, New York: The Free Press. Traces the development of the idea of civil society from the 18th century to the present. From the 18th century onward, the idea of civil society developed along two lines: post-Hegelian Marxist & Anglo-American. In the Anglo-American edition, animated by the Scottish Enlightenment, civil society was defined as a realm of solidarity held together by the form of moral sentiments and natural affections, particularly by the rule of reason. In this tradition, civil society was separated from ethical society, which was thought to be located in the private sphere. In contrast, the Hegelian tradition understood civil society as an embodiment of an ethical ideal. In Hegel, civil society is historicized, posited to be an arena of conflicting interests, the transcendence of which produces a new ethical unity. Marx jettisons this notion of ethical unity, but keeps the notion of conflict of interests historically negotiated. In the late 19th century, the idea of citizenship came to replace the problem of civil society as the locus of social conflict. Issues of participation & values of membership came to the forefront. Universal reason became embodied in the idea of universal citizenship. This was a paradoxical move which produced a number of contradictions, most notably between collective solidarity & individualism. In the 20th century, these contradictions have been manifested in debates about social trust. Civil society assumes a certain level of social trust, but does not provide the conditions in which such trust can be established. Thus, proposals such as those of Habermas' discourse ethics founder on the shoals of the issue of trust. Civil society is taken to have been an idea rooted in a prior age which has little relevance for contemporary politics—particularly for the situation of Eastern Europe.

Spragens, Thomas. (1990). *Reason and Democracy,* Durham, NC: Duke University Press. Reflects upon the role of reason in democratic deliberation. The notion of rationality has long been a central feature of Western political theories, however, recent accounts of political rationality have been narrow & inadequate. This narrowness has been due to the pre-eminence of a calculative ideal in political theories of rational decision-making. An alternative form of the rational political enterprise is proposed. This rational enterprise is one in which autonomous persons are oriented to the attainment of the common & individual human good. The central institutional feature of this orientation is practical discourse, which both defines the common good & places constraints on the principle of right. This proposal is compared to pluralist, liberal & communitarian conceptions of democracy. It is suggested that citizenship in a society that practices rational discourse will be characterized by participation, tolerance, respect, an effort to improve good political judgment & a focus on the common good. Policy implications of this view are several: education ought to be oriented to producing practical discourse; political institutions ought to be democratized; political journalism ought to be improved; & cross-paradigm forums ought to be developed.

Stanley, Manfred. (1990). "The Rhetoric of the Commons: forum discourse in politics and society," in Herbert Simons, ed., *The Rhetorical Turn: invention and persuasion in the conduct of inquiry*, Chicago:

The University of Chicago Press, pp. 238-257. Suggests that American political society is composed of two regimes: liberalism, which is based on the market economy & democracy, which is based on the principle of popular sovereignty. These regimes create distinctive forums for political conversation. The liberal forum has several characteristics: it is policy-oriented; interested in creating consensus based on evaluating policy decisions; choices are made through a process of working through alternatives to come to a least objectionable decision; & forum participants are conceived as aggregates of individuals who bring their wants to the political marketplace. The democratic forum has different characteristics: it is civic-oriented; aims at a much more comprehensive notion of consensus; operates on the basis of an immigration metaphor of moving between distinctive worlds; participants are conceived of as complex social beings whose consciousness is structured by group & institutional memberships, collective memories, & naturalized ideologies.

Stokes, Susan. (1998). "Pathologies of Deliberation," in Jon Elster, ed., *Deliberative Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, pp. 123-139. Considers instances of democratic deliberation which end in pathological outcomes. These outcomes include those in which deliberation induces preferences that appear to be more in line with the interests of the communicator that with those of message recipients; deliberation creates the public belief that preferences have been transformed; & those in which social inequality produces identities that are politically debilitating. Several rules are suggested by this discussion: (1) if elites shape citizen preferences, then parties are needed that cover a broad spectrum to permit citizens a choice of preferences to cleave to; competitive media structures are necessary to reduce the amount of press mis-interpretation of what people want; resource-source poor citizens' associations must be capacitated; & the public and politicians have to know where information & points of views come from.

Sullivan, Patricia & Steven Goldzwig. (1995). "A Relational Approach to Moral Decision-Making: the majority opinion in Planned Parenthood v. Casey," *Quarterly Journal of Speech,* 81: pp. 167-190. The majority opinion in this Supreme Court case is taken to be an instance in which the court acknowledged the complex web of relationships involved in abortion decision-making. In this sense, it is an example of relational moral reasoning. This relational approach stresses interconnectedness, context & humility in conversations over moral issues. The notion of relational moral reasoning stems from feminist theorizing, & is advocated as a useful revision of traditional approaches to rhetoric that stress individual autonomy & argument.

Sunstein, Cass. (1990) *After the Rights Revolution: reconceiving the regulatory state*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Traces the nature and significance of regulatory measures enacted during the rights revolution that was initiated by the New Deal. This rights revolution is defined as the creation by Congress and the president of a set of legal rights that were not recognized in the Constitution. Among these rights are the right to clean air and water, to safe consumer products and workplaces, and to a social safety net. This revolution has spawned an enormous regulatory framework that in many ways has been successful. However, this regulatory mindset has also jeopardized important constitutional values, given rise to powerful interest groups, ignored the redundancy and inefficiency of many regulatory measures, and downplayed the difficulties associated with treating the management of social risks as conventional

rights. Principles and reforms are proposed that might promote the purposes of regulatory programs while avoiding these problems.

Tannen, Deborah. (1993). "Editor's Introduction," in Tannen, ed., *Gendered and Conversational Interaction*, New York: Oxford University Press. Introduces a set of essays which explore the relationship between gender & language using ethnographically centered discourse analysis.

Tannen, Deborah. (1998). *The Argument Culture: moving from debate to dialogue*, New York: Random House. The argument culture is defined as a set of values/attitudes/beliefs which lead individuals to approach public discourse in terms of war-like interactions. In this culture, aggressive tactics are adopted for their own sake & irrelevant points are seized upon for the sake of rhetorical victory. This culture is traced in the press, politics & the law. It is argued that men are more likely to engaged in this agonistic form of conversation than women, and that technology tends to increase the likelihood of its occurring. Examples from other cultures are reviewed for other ways in which opposition may be negotiated. It is concluded that a greater variety of interactive styles is necessary so that argument can be used in appropriate formats, and not used when it is inappropriate.

Teske, Nathan. (1997). "Beyond Altruism: identity-construction as moral motive in political explanation," *Political Psychology*, 18: pp. 71-91. Draws upon data from long interviews to argue against current self-interest & moral motive models of political actin. In place of these models, it is suggested that individuals are motivated to engage in politics in a complex interweaving of self & moral motives. Activists are primarily concerned with what kind of person they are and what kind of life they are living. These concerns are both moral & self-regarding, and therefore defy the conventional dichotomy in the literature.

Teske, Nathan. (1997). *Political Activists in America: the identity construction model of political participation*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Investigates why people become involved in politics using interviews with environmental, social justice, and pro-life activists. Against the conventional wisdom that engagement in politics is inherently costly and lacking any intrinsic reward, it is argued that active involvement in politics is personally fulfilling, & enables activists to become people whom they would otherwise have been unable to become. Thus, motivations for political activity are both self-interested and altruistic, as individuals seek to realize their personal interest in fashioning moral selves.

Theis-Morse, George Marcus & John Sullivan. (1993). "Passion and Reason in Political Life: the organization of affect and cognition and political tolerance," in George Marcus & Russell Hanson, *Reconsidering the Democratic Public*, University Park, PA: The Pennsylvania State University Press, pp. 249-272. Explores the role of affect & cognition in the construction of perceptions of threat and political tolerance drawing on survey data. It is found that arousing the emotions is an effective way to gain people's attention. When emotions are not aroused & people attend to their thoughts, they are more tolerant. However, it is also found that affective reactions play an important role in enabling people to evaluate their current environment. Further, when people attend to their circumstances, emotions and cognitions often work together. Thus, people who seek to ignore their passions will likely become inattentive and unresponsive to their political environment.

Theiss-Morse, Elizabeth. (1993). "Conceptualizations of Good Citizenship and Political Participation," *Political Behavior,* 15: pp. 355-380. Investigates how individuals view their responsibilities as citizens & the relationship of these views to political participation drawing on a Q method study in the Twin Cities. Four distinct perspectives on participative duties were found: Representative Democracy; Political Enthusiast; Pursued Interests & Indifferent. Most people are engaged in politics to an extent consistent with their citizenship perspective.

Thelen, David. (1996). *Becoming a Citizen in the Age of Television: how Americans challenged the media and seized political initiative during the Iran-Contra debate*. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. Explores how Americans become citizens in the age of television drawing on an examination of the conflict between citizens & political leaders that exploded in 1987 during the Iran-Contra hearings. It is shown that politicians and citizens live in different political worlds. The world of the politician is shaped by technical and expert kinds of knowledge while the ordinary citizen views politics through the prism of his or her informal relationships. The implication is that citizens are not apathetic or unmotivated, but located in a different social sphere than politicians—and that television does not help bring the two together. Therefore, a call is made to draw politics closer to everyday life so that politicians and citizens may once again find one another.

Thernstrom, Stephan & Abigail Thernstrom. (1997). *America in Black and White: one nation, indivisible*. New York: Simon & Schuster. Presents an analysis of the status of African-Americans in the contemporary U.S. drawing on a wide variety of statistical data. It is shown that the conventional wisdom on their status is misguided in a number of ways. Blacks gained the most in the years between World War Two and the 1970s—before the start of the modern affirmative action era. Black gains as measured by a variety of indicators—graduate rates, income, social relationships—have been impressive. While problems in race relations remain, it is argued that they will not be solved by traditional civil rights strategies. Thus, affirmative action programs have threatened, not contributed to, racial progress. Only through a common understanding among Blacks and Whites alike that we are one nation, indivisible, will racial progress continue.

Toulmin, Steven. (1985). *The Uses of Argument*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press. Compares two models of argument, one mathematical and the other prudential. In the first, argument is laid out in logical form in quasi-geometrical shapes; in the second, it is laid out procedurally, in proper form. It is suggested hat examples of mathematical arguments compose a special kind of logic which should not be mistaken as a generalizable model. Instead, idealized logic ought to be combined with the procedural logic applied in concrete fields of interaction to compose a new discipline of applied logic. Validity within any given field is field-specific, not transcendent, and so follows the procedures of validity which are taken to be legitimate within it.

Tulis, Jeffrey. (1987). *The Rhetorical Presidency*. Princeton: Princeton University Press. Traces the emergence of a strong, rhetorically-centered presidency in the 20th century. In the original Constitution, the presidency was imagined as an executor of legislative decisions rather than as a strong political force in its own right. This sense has changed in the 20th century, as presidents began to develop a strong

program of popular leadership. It is concluded that this transformation is dangerous, because it leads to demagoguery, spectacle, & an abuse of presidential power.

Underwood, Doug. (1993). *When MBAs rule the Newsroom: how the marketers and managers are reshaping today's media.* New York: Columbia University Press. Examines the impact of market-driven journalism on the contemporary newsroom, the daily newspaper, and the attitudes of newspaper journalists drawing on interviews & surveys. The transition to marketing-oriented journalism is traced to economic crises within the newspaper economy that began in the 1980s. Today, market-minded managers have displaced most traditional news editors in newspapers across the country, & have steadily implemented mechanisms which are transforming the way in which journalism is done. As this process has taken place, it has threatened the traditional values of autonomy & community service prized by journalists. The result is that reporters are increasingly demoralized, more fearful for their job prospects & the kind of job they will be performing in the near future, and generally gloomy about their profession.

Van Dijk, Teun. (1988). "Social Cognition, Social Power and Social Discourse," *Text*, 8: pp. 129-157. A framework which draws connections between social power & discourse is presented. Within this framework the mediating power of social cognitions is emphasized. Social cognitions involve the interpretation, recognition and legitimation of power through ideological models. These models are adopted by individuals to guide their beliefs, language and actions. One can witness these models in action in discourse, in markers of interaction, linguistic codes, and symbolic dimensions of interactions. It is in the communication of these models that relations of social power are reproduced.

Van Dyke, Vernon. (1982). "Collective Entities and Moral Rights: problems in liberal-democratic thought," *The Journal of Politics*, 44: pp. 21-40. Makes the argument that certain kinds of collective entities have legal & moral rights. To make judgments as to which groups have such rights, several principles are offered: (1) a group has a stronger claim the more it is self-conscious & desires to preserve itself; (2) the more it has a reasonable chance of succeeding; (3) the more its criteria of membership are clear; (4) the more it is significant in the lives of its members; (5) the more important the rights sought are to its members; (6) the more organized it is; (7) the more firmly established in tradition it is; & (8) the more clear it seeks rights that are compatible with an equality principle.

van Dijk, Teun. (1987). *Communicating Racism: ethnic prejudice in thought and talk*. Newbury Park: Sage. The way in which racism is reproduced in everyday talk is analyzed drawing on data from a variety of projects conducted from 1980-1985, including interviews with about 180 individuals in Amsterdam & San Diego. It is shown that the major cognitive structures that form the basis of discrimination & racism are manifested in everyday talk. In such talk, individuals orient themselves to main topics, engage in storytelling, make arguments & semantic moves, & assume particular styles of rhetoric, which are structured by underlying racial structures. Thus, though specific utterances are individually spoken, they are deeply embedded with wider social relationships.

van Eemeren, Frans, Rob Grootendorst, Sally Jackson, and Scott Jacobs. (1993). *Reconstructing Argumentative Discourse*, Tuscaloosa, AL: The University of Alabama Press. Constructs a dialectical model of argument which consists of several stages: identifying disagreements; establishing agreement as

to process by which arguments are to proceed; providing for indefinite exploration of relevant issues; ending in resolution which satisfies all participants. Particular types of speech acts are appropriate to each stage: expressing standpoints to confrontation; challenging or defending standpoints to openings; advancing, accepting or requesting further argumentation in the argumentation stage; & establishing & accepting the result in the concluding phase. An engineering metaphor is suggested to connect this idealized form of argument to concrete argumentative situations.

van Mill, David. (1996). "The Possibility of Rational Outcomes from Democratic Discourse and Procedures," *The Journal of Politics*, 58: pp. 734-52. Compares two traditions in democratic theory: theories of democratic discourse & disequilibrium theories of social choice, according to their conclusions as to what outcomes can be expected from democratic procedures. It is shown that both theories hold identical assumptions concerning the requirements for a fair procedure: equal access, the absence of powerful agenda setters, unrestrained discourse, etc. However, the first argues that this procedure will yield morally legitimate outcomes, while the second argues that more democracy will yield instability & arbitrary results. Theorists of democratic discourse are urged to create models that is open and democratic but also that creates stability by placing limits on freedom.

Verba, Sidney & Gary Orren. (1985). *Equality in America: the view from the top*, Cambridge: Harvard University Press. Observes that a tension exists between economic & political equality. Inequality in the economic sphere does much to shape politics as those with more resources use them for political gain. Political equality, also as ideal & reality, poses a constant challenge to economic inequality as disadvantaged groups petition the state for redress. The history of the US may be described at least in some part as a norm of inequality, both political & economic, spiked by surges of egalitarianism. The limits to the redistributive process are set by the limits of American beliefs about equality, and these beliefs in turn are in large measure defined by the most affluent classes. Members of the highest SES are the most ideological in their perspective on public life. They also hold a set of views toward equality that is fairly uniform & structured by a set of values toward the New Deal, race, quotas, causes of inequality, redistribution & gender. American leaders agree that income equality should not be attained, but they disagree more often on equality of influence in politics. While accepting this value, elites struggle with one another to assure themselves of more political influence than other groups. The result is that political equality is unlikely to be attained, both because elites cannot agree on what it means & because political equality is linked to economic equality. For these reasons, inequality, both economic & political, is likely to continue in the near future.

Viswanath, K. & John R. Finnegan, Jr. (1996). "The Knowledge-Gap Hypothesis: twenty-five years later," Brant R. Burleson, ed., *Communication Yearbook* 19: pp. 187-228. The knowledge-gap hypothesis states that as mass media information increases in society, the gap between segments of the population in terms of the ability to acquire information will become greater. Research has found that knowledge gaps are less likely to be found on issues defined as important to communities. Differences in knowledge have been associated with differences in media attention,processing, and dependency relations between the lower- and higher-SES groups. Little has been done to link situational and structural levels of analysis into a coherent framework.

Walker, Jack. (1983). "The Origins and Maintenance of Interest Groups in America." *The American Political Science Review* 77: 390-406. An influential article which investigates how interest groups attract & hold their member base drawing on survey data collected in 190-81. It is found that the number of interest groups in operation, the mixture of types, and the level & direction of political mobilization in the US at any point in time will be determined by the composition and accessibility of the system's major patrons of political action.

Literature

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