Learning from the News: Towards a Comprehensive Theory of Motivational Effects

by Clarissa C. David

While many research studies on political knowledge investigate how motivation can influence learning, the theoretical process of influence is yet to be mapped out. There are identifiable gaps in the existing literature, such as the conceptualization of motives, relationships between different motives, and their impacts on news seeking and learning outcomes. The author describes a process of learning comprised of distinct steps from exposure to knowledge, with each step viewed as a behavioral decision determined by the individual-level factors opportunity, ability, and motivation. Findings in the literature on knowledge gaps, uses and gratifications, and the information processing approach to learning are all brought to bear in developing an organized theory of motivational effects. A model that traces the influence of motivations on each step of the learning process is proposed. Such a model allows for a systematic examination of the many direct and indirect effects that motivations have on learning of political information from the news. Implications for Philippine communication research in the area of political learning from the news are discussed.

Scholars paint the functioning ideal citizen as one who is civically engaged, participates in the democratic process, and whose participation is based on relevant, abundant, and accurate information (Chambers, 2003; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Habermas, 1984). Information is an essential ingredient of effective participation, and, as such, high levels of political

knowledge in the electorate are viewed as critical to the optimal operation of the democratic process. Political knowledge is intricately connected with political participation and representation (e.g., Zaller, 1992; McDevitt & Chaffee, 2000), bearing important consequences on voter decision-making strategies (Lanoue, 1992). We rely heavily on the news to disseminate information about politics and events that are relevant to the citizen's everyday lives.

The rapidly increasing availability of different news sources, and almost instant reporting of events has, curiously, not been enough of a catalyst to increase levels of political knowledge in the public (Graber, 1988; Neuman, Just, & Crigler, 1992). The current unprecedented availability of news content has not bred a well-informed citizenry; this puzzle has inspired scholars to focus on the role of individual agency in the process of learning from the news – particularly individual differences in ability and motivation. Empirical evidence abounds suggesting that exposure to news media is a weak and at times even statistically negligible factor in predicting political knowledge (e.g., Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; McLeod & McDonald, 1985; Robinson & Davis, 1990). Study after study shows that even as news media become more accessible to all segments of society low levels of political knowledge persist and its distribution in the population remains uneven (Kinder & Sears, 1985; Mindich, 2005; Neuman, 1986).

Knowledge about politics and public affairs is found to be consistently associated with education, prior knowledge, and political involvement (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Nie, et al., 1996; Price & Zaller, 1993). Knowledge tends to be distributed systematically along divisions in opportunities to gain access and abilities of individuals to make use of or process information (see Gaziano, 1983 for review).

In this paper we approach the problem, as have many others, from the perspective of the audience. What are the individual-level determinants of learning from the news? Extant research suggests that the most important factors predicting learning derive from the individual's level of cognitive ability. While

there are clear mechanisms that illustrate how and why educational levels and intelligence are strongly related to political learning from the news, we argue that there is much left to be explained. In particular, we are interested in the role that motivations play in seeking out news and political information. Through a systematic review of the processes and tracing the potential roles that motivations can play in each step of that process, this paper reveals theoretically underdeveloped areas of research.

We attempt to clarify understandings of motivations that underlie learning of political information from mass media. The theoretical model proposed here maps out the potential role that motives can play in seeking out news and its consequences on knowledge. Our practical objective is to better understand how motives can help explain whether or not one learns from the consumption of news and how much learning takes place in the process. We posit that the reasons people consume news and pay attention – along with their propensity to elaborate on the news content that they are exposed to – matter greatly in determining if and what they learn from it.

There are three bodies of literature germane to the study of motives as they relate to media research. First is the long tradition of "Uses and Gratifications" (U&G) in communication, second is research concerned with elaborations on the knowledge gap hypothesis (Donohue, Tichenor, & Olien, 1975; Ettema & Kline, 1977), and, finally, the more recent scholarly works that have adopted information processing approaches in investigating media effects. Some of the main arguments of this paper's review of the literatureare that: motivations are multidimensional, the different types of motives are inter-related, different motives drive different types of media use behaviors, and motives have important implications on effects.

The concepts and relationships described here are broadly applied and defined – that is, motivations, news use behaviors, and learning processes are conceptualized as being culture-independent. Thus, the applicability of theoretical relationships

should be fairly universal across different cultural environments, and and this includes the Philippine.

Defining Motivations

Motivations, or goals as they are sometimes referred to, are cognitive representations of what an individual is trying to achieve in a given situation (Wentzel, 2000). They are reasons for why people do what they do. More specifically, motivations are causes of goal-oriented activity (e.g., Atkinson, 1964; Hull, 1943). They drive or move people to pursue a task in order to achieve an anticipated outcome (Kunda, 2000). Higgins and Kruglanski (2000: 2) describe the concerns of motivational science as "the nature and functions of wanting and their relation to knowing, feeling, and doing." To be motivated means *to be moved* to do something. A person who feels no impetus or inspiration to act is characterized as "umotivated", whereas someone who is energized or activated toward an end is characterized as "motivated" (Ryan & Deci, 2000: 54). How do motivations then relate to learning from the news? What are the motivations that are pertinent to news use and political knowledge? In order to paint a detailed picture we must first define what we mean by "learning from the news".

Learning from the News

Educational psychologists view learning as a behavior or an outcome that occurs when human experience causes changes in an individual's knowledge or behavior (Woolfolk, 2001). Cognitive theories of learning assert that people play an active role in initiating experience, seeking out information for particular purposes, and reorganizing stores of knowledge to accommodate new information. We are not passively influenced by environmental events; instead we choose, pay attention, ignore, and make many other internal decisions as we pursue goals pertaining to the

acquisition of knowledge (Anderson, Reder, & Simon, 1996). These *decisions* make up a process comprised of steps beginning from exposure to a stimulus, sifting through its contents, and finally assimilating new information into one's store of knowledge.

Guided by this principle, we view learning from news as a process that occurs through a series of steps: (1) exposure to news media; (2) paying attention to content; (3) engaging in cognitive elaboration of the information, which increases the likelihood of gains in knowledge. Each of these steps is a decision made by the audience, and these decisions are driven by various reasons to seek out news media, pay attention, and process information.

In order for learning to occur from exposure, one would necessarily have to engage in all three behaviors: exposure, attention, and comprehension, ultimately resulting in learning. Being exposed to news does not lead to learning unless one also pays attention and engages in elaboration. Each preceding step is a necessary condition of the next; ergo, one cannot learn without paying attention and one cannot pay attention without being exposed. However, each subsequent step does not necessarily follow from the other. Some people can be exposed to copious amounts of news but fail to pay close attention and therefore are unable to learn (Graber, 1988). Some may get to the point of paying attention but do not engage in cognitive elaboration – the step that facilitates actual storage of information in memory – and therefore attention does not result in knowledge gains.

Exposure to news media is the most obvious first step. Mere exposure may or may not indicate a conscious information-seeking behavior. In order to result in gains in knowledge, news audiences would have to pay attention to contents of the news. *Attention arousal* was identified by Graber (1988) as a crucial step in acquiring information from the news. It is generally identified as the most important step in any kind of learning as it is thought that humans can only handle one cognitively demanding task at a time (Anderson, 1995). Thus, the presence of distractions which take an audience member's attention away from listening to

National Public Radio (NPR), for example, would be detrimental to the learning process.

Individuals need to be selective in noting information stimuli because absorbing information is a cognitively demanding task. The overwhelming amount of information each person encounters in everyday life is unused because it does not arouse attention. Elaboration has to do with *how* information is learned in the first place. It is defined as "the addition of meaning to new information through its connection with already existing knowledge" (Woolfolk, 2001: 155). Greater elaboration signals deeper processing of information and this affects if and how this information is recalled later. The learning process with regard to news, as conceptualized here, hence begs the question, what determines each step? That is, what type of person is exposed and does not learn, and what type is exposed and learns? Is there a set of conditions that facilitates paying attention and elaboration?

Learning from the News: Conditions

Motivations are part of what governs different behaviors associated with learning political information. Exposure to the news, paying attention, and learning are different behaviors. These behaviors, as any other, are governed by opportunity, ability, and motivation (Luskin, 1990). Having ability means possessing a certain level of cognitive skill that enables a given type of learning. Some of the typical indicators of ability include educational attainment, intelligence, or prior knowledge. Opportunity is the availability of information – determined by factors such as the general information environment or the financial resources necessary to obtain information (e.g., money to pay for cable television). Finally, motivation refers to the desire, or drive, to engage in specific behaviors. Motives determine the extent to which individuals look for information and how much they pay attention to it (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). The interactions among motives, abilities, and opportunities produce learning. Each of the three has to be present

to some degree in order for learning to occur, and greater amounts of one can compensate for shortcomings in another (Luskin, 1990). For instance, those who have little opportunity to come across new information, but are strongly motivated might learn as much as someone who has plenty of opportunity but little motivation.

Figure 1 illustrates the web of relationships between each step of the learning process and the conditions that determine each step. Demographic characteristics are associated with a person's opportunities, abilities, and motives. Those who are highly educated and have high income would have the financial flexibility to purchase different news media sources and well-developed cognitive abilities to comprehend complex new information than those with less education or income. It is reasonable to expect that opportunities are a necessary condition for exposure to occur. Opportunities include owning certain types of media (e.g., Internet

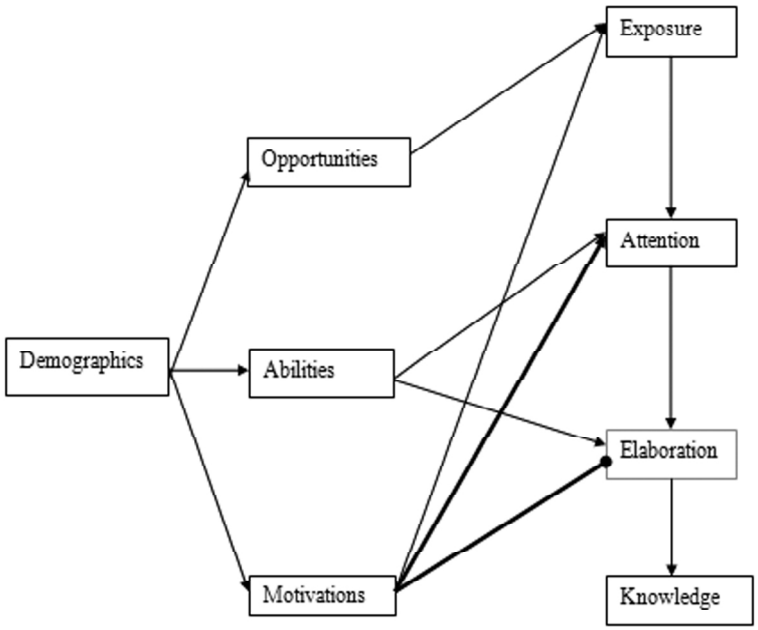

Figure 1. Conditions for learning from the news.

and cable news) and being in a social environment that allows access to information. Ability alone is not likely to cause one to look for any particular information, meaning it does not cause exposure. Abilities may affect both paying attention and elaboration. Only those who have the necessary cognitive skills – many of them learned through formal and informal education – will comprehend and learn from exposure. Some abilities may be associated with some types of motives, and motives in turn drive information-seeking behaviors.

Motivations in this model are theorized to influence all the steps – exposure, attention, and elaboration. The drive to obtain information would bring one to consume more news, and given the exposure they would pay more attention to information that pertains to their particular interest. Further, strong motives to gain information would prompt one to engage in deeper processing that in turn facilitates learning. Motivation's role in stimulating learning is well recognized in educational literature (Brophy, 1988; Deci, Koestner, & Ryan, 1999; Ryan & Deci, 1996) and limitations in learning can at times be attributed to a lack of motivation, or having the wrong kinds of motivation.

As Figure 1 shows, we argue that motives can affect knowledge indirectly through its effects on exposure and its effects on attention. That is, different kinds of motivation can drive news use behaviors toward either more or less exposure. Of those who are exposed, a subset will pay attention and whether or not one pays attention is again potentially influenced by different motives. Further, motives can also conditionally influence the strengths of associations between attention and knowledge, and between exposure and knowledge. This effect is present because of the motives' influence on elaboration, such that those who are more motivated toward learning certain types of information will elaborate more and consequently retain more information in memory.

The following sections describe some of the related supporting literature for the arguments raised, identify areas of

significant gaps in the empirical literature, and point out areas of theory that remain underdeveloped. Majority of the studies on motivation's effects on political learning has treated the concept of motives as a unidimensional construct whereas most conceptualizations of motivations peg it to be multidimensional, one that varies not only in levels but also in orientations or types.

Motives are Multidimensional

Classical (e.g., Heider, 1958; McDougal, 1923; Woodworth, 1918) and contemporary works (e.g., Deci & Ryan, 1987; Kruglanski & Webster, 1996; Tetlock, 1992) in psychology theorize that people can have many different "wants" and "goals" directing a single behavior.

Why is it important to take account of the multidimensionality of motivations? Different orientations or types of motivations may have different consequences on learning of political information. In fact, it has long been recognized in educational psychology literature that the kind of motivation students have matters in if and how well learning takes place. To illustrate, let's take one of the most widely cited theories of motivated learning, the Social Determination Theory (SDT). It identifies two general categories: intrinsic and extrinsic motivation (Ryan & Deci, 2000).

> As an example, a student can be highly motivated to do homework out of curiosity and interest or, alternatively, because he or she wants to procure the approval of a teacher or parent. A student could be motivated to learn a new set of skills because he or she understands their potential utility or value or because the skills will yield a good grade and the privileges a good grade affords. In these examples the amount of motivation does not necessarily vary, but the nature and focus of the motivation being evidenced certainly does. (Ryan & Deci, 2000: 54)

Intrinsic motivation refers to doing something because it is inherently interesting or enjoyable. *Extrinsic motivation*, on the other hand, refers to doing something because it leads to a separable outcome – that is, being driven by some external pressure. In the case of school children, for example, this may take the form of approval from parents. The former type of motivation results in higher quality learning and creativity (Ryan & Stiller, 1991). Doing an activity for its inherent satisfaction rather than for some external goal leads to more desirable learning outcomes. The right kinds of motivation generate more complete learning, and also lead to more frequent engagement in the learning activity. Wigfield and Guthrie (1997) find that intrinsically motivated grade-school children read nearly three times as many minutes per day as non-intrinsically motivated ones. Results of this, as well as other studies of motivational learning in schools, provide evidence that intrinsic motivation and learning goals are important predictors of long-term engagement in different activities (e.g., Dweck & Leggett, 1988; Nicholls, 1990).

What does this mean for our theorizing about the role of motivations in news-seeking behaviors and learning of political information? Are motivations relevant to following news about public affairs and other related multi-dimensional issues, or do they boil down to a single construct, such as interest? While the literature on knowledge gaps and political knowledge all implicitly recognize that motivations to follow news and the motivations to learn political information are multi-dimensional, this is not reflected in the empirical tests.

Kwak's review of knowledge gap studies (1999) that investigate motives reveals that scholars have many different conceptions of motives relevant to news use and political knowledge. Some adopt measures that reflect degree of concern (Chew & Palmer, 1994; Ettema, Brown, & Luepker, 1983; Griffin, 1990; Viwanath et al, 1993), issue interest (Genova & Greenberg, 1979; McLeod & Perse, 1994), and issue-related demographic/

ethnic characteristics (Ettema, Brown, & Luepker, 1983; Gandy & El Waylly, 1985). Most studies in political knowledge use "interest" in politics or in following the news as the single construct representing motives (e.g., Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Luskin, 1990).

While there have clearly been efforts to understand how motives affect learning in the knowledge gap and political knowledge literature, the conceptualization and measurement of motivations do not fully capture the complexity of the construct. Perhaps as a result of shortage in available measures, most, if not all, of the mentioned studies capture only a single dimension of motivation at a time. We also cannot tell whether or not the differences between each study's treatment of motivation is simply in measures (i.e., how they choose to operationalize motives), or in dimensions or kinds of motives. Moreover, most of the existing research do not provide clear explanations for *how* they think motives will affect knowledge. Do they influence the *search* for information? Or do they determine whether the information is *attended* to or processed?

In contrast, uses and gratifications research is based on a fundamental understanding that people have varying reasons for consuming media. Over the years, studies of media gratifications have accumulated an impressive array of motivation typologies. Some examples are escape, surveillance, cultural transmission, diversion, and personal identity (McQuail, Blumler, & Brown, 1972; Lasswell, 1948; Rubin, 1981; Rubin, 1983; Schramm, 1949). Most scholars in this line of study explicitly state that the type of gratification sought would influence media effects. For example, Rubin and colleagues (Rubin, 1984; Rubin & Perse, 1987; Conway & Rubin, 1991) propose two broad media orientations guiding the active audience view. The first is an "instrumental" orientation characterized by audience selectivity, intentionality, and involvement. For instrumental users of media, exposure is a purposive behavior to seek information, entertainment, or para-social interaction, among others. On the other hand, the

"ritualized" or diversionary orientation posits that media use is sometimes habitual and centered on use of the medium for time-consuming objectives rather than deliberate content-seeking behaviors. Both are relevant to the study of news use; audiences may consume news for ritualized or instrumental purposes. Empirical tests (Rubin & Perse, 1987) show that news use based on instrumental gratifications indicates greater involvement with content. Viewing television news for time-consuming and habitual reasons leads to greater self-reported selectivity of content and lesser affinity or preference for news versus other types of programs. However, a limitation of this study and of this whole line of research, is in extending tests to include actual learning effects of instrumental and ritualized media use.

If motives related to news and political knowledge are indeed multi-dimensional as we argue, would these all be consequential to theorizing about effects? Can we expect the outcome effects of exposure to be different along different motivations? Lovrich and Pierce (1984) provided a good example of an issue-specific study that acknowledged and applied the multi-dimensional nature of motives. They investigated the role of people's motivations in increasing knowledge about public policy related to water distribution in a community in Idaho. Multiple measures of motivation were used, and the topic was highly relevant to the population they studied. The authors find that in general, motivational factors not only differentially affect gains in knowledge. These, in fact, also overrode the effects of socio-economic indicators. They conclude this from examination of data from a 1979 mail survey of 718 Idaho residents. Five different motivational variables were used ranging from behavioral factors (volume of water use) to perceptions of importance of the issue. Knowledge measures ranged from familiarity with technical terms to self-assessed knowledge. The authors attributed the greater predictive power of motivational variables in determining knowledge to the nature of the issue. Water policy issues have historically been a mainstay in local Idaho politics, but it also is a

relatively complex issue to understand. However, since all people have an individual stake in water policies the general public have high motivations to understand it. They stress the importance of motives saying, "If poorly informed individuals with an interest at stake in a particular issue are first provided with a rationale for expending the cognitive effort to seek, acquire, process and store policy-relevant knowledge, they can be expected to pursue pertinent information" (430).

Given the many types of motivations that can influence both information-seeking and information-processing steps in learning, the question that follows is this: How are the motives related to each other? We propose that there are different levels or tiers of motives, as well as categories of motives, differing in levels of specificity toward the actual target behavior and outcome envisioned.

Dimensions of Motivations are Organized in Levels

Katz, Blumler, & Gurevitch (1974) stated some 30 years ago that "it is not so much a catalogue of needs that is missing as a clustering of groups of needs, a sorting out of different levels of need, and a specification of hypotheses linking particular needs with particular media gratifications" (24). Much of what has been studied in uses and gratifications are explicit media gratification-seeking factors such as surveillance and entertainment. There is growing interest in the influence of fundamental psychological needs and predispositions on media use and media effects. We posit that fundamental psychological needs influence more specific media use motives that drive people to follow the news. General psychological needs are antecedents to media-related motivations (e.g., gratifications sought or interest). Media use motives in turn influence both news exposure and attention.

Self-Determination Theory (STD) proposes that to understand human motivation one must take into account the role of innate psychological needs (Deci & Ryan, 1999). People have

basic desires or drives to feel competent, autonomous, self-determined, and related to their social environment. Such needs are conceptually similar to motivations, but they reflect a more general personality orientation. The source of these needs is a basic desire for psychological well-being or an experience of psychological health and life satisfaction (Ryan & Fredrick, 1997).

Part of the literature inspired by the uses and gratifications theory investigates individual-level psychological determinants of media use. In 1974, Katz and his colleagues argued for mapping out the "social and psychological origins of gratifications...which lead to differential patterns of media exposure" (20). McGuire (1974) similarly called for an examination of effects of a multitude of personality factors on media use. These spawned research that investigated psychological antecedents and correlates of media use and media use motivations (e.g., Conway & Rubin, 1991; Donohew, Palmgreen, & Rayburn, 1987; Grabe et al., 2000; Henning & Vorderer, 2001; McGuire, 1974; Palmgreen, Wenner, & Rayburn, 1981; Rubin, Perse, & Powell, 1985).

Many studies are general in approach, measuring many needs and positing those to predict different types of non-content-specific media use. For example, Finn (1997) finds that introversion and "closedness to new experiences" predicts television viewing even when controlling for demographic characteristics. Introverts are also more likely to listen to the radio, read, and watch movies. Introverts consume more media because it fulfills their need for social interaction without having to be in real social situations. Henning and Vorderer (2001) tested the relationship between need for cognition (NC), drive toward escapism, and television viewing. NC is the "tendency for an individual to engage in and enjoy thinking (Cacioppo & Petty, 1982: 116)," or a general positive attitude toward thinking (Murphy, 1947). Henning and Vorderer found that high need for cognition as individuals tend to watch less television (with no specification of what types of content they chose). Another study by Conway and Rubin (1991) show that para-social interaction helps explain informational,

entertainment, and pass-time motives while assertiveness helps explain status-enhancement gratifications.

There have also been content-specific examinations into the effects of psychological traits on exposure. For instance, Slater's (2003) study produced evidence that sensation-seeking and aggression contributed strongly to explaining the use of violent media content. Similarly, Krcmar and Greene (1999) found that certain dimensions of sensation-seeking predict exposure to violent television content.

These studies generally show that psychological needs motivate people to use media, but which of these factors predict *news* media use? An unpublished study by Price and Allen (1989) shows an indirect effect of need for cognition on news exposure through increased surveillance gratifications-seeking. They also found residual direct effects of NC on exposure. A similar study by Perse (1992) suggests that psychological traits coupled with types of motivations for consuming news significantly predict selective attention to content. She found attention paid to particular sections of local television news to be influenced by NC and viewing motivations. Need for cognition has both a direct effect on attention paid to the hard news segments, as well as an indirect effect through utilitarian or informational motives. Viewers with low need for cognition are also more likely to say that they watch local news to pass the time; thus, they pay more attention to the sports sections and less attention to the other reports in the broadcast. Perse concluded then that motivation for watching local news is associated with selective attention toward different parts of the newscast.

Following the studies reviewed, we propose that the motivations relevant to news media use are organized into at least two tiers, general psychological needs and media use motivations. People have their reasons for following news, whether or not it is for surveillance or pure interest; and there are fundamental psychological needs and life circumstances (luxury of time, opportunity) which drive those reasons. Basic psychological desires

function fundamentally as motivations since these needs lead to goals that drive behavior. They are, however, more generalized or not specific to the behavior but indicative of personality orientations or predispositions for certain kinds of behaviors.

What is needed then is a comprehensive accounting of the different potential media use motives and psychological needs that would be relevant to news exposure, attention, and learning of political information. In order to systematically consider the motives that might be relevant in this context we must be explicit about the ways in which we think these motives can influence information-seeking behaviors.

Effects on Information Seeking

Before discussing the effects of motives on information-seeking in politics, we will first clearly situate our conceptualization of exposure and attention to news. Many scholars contend that media exposure measures do not adequately predict knowledge, and that attention measures fare better in this respect (e.g., Chaffee & Schleuder, 1986; Drew & Weaver, 1990; McLeod & McDonald, 1985). While some have taken this to mean that media exposure measures are weak in validity, others maintain that they are merely representing two different behaviors. This paper follows the latter conceptualization; that the two measures represent distinct behaviors and that the effects of motivations on exposure will be unique from their effects on attention. Some motives will drive exposure more than attention, and others attention more than exposure. For instance, motives that are directed toward use of the media rather than interest in the actual content will be more strongly related to exposure than attention. Following this logic, motives such as pass-time gratifications will drive exposure but not attention. Conversely, a strong intrinsic interest in Presidential campaign news will drive attention more strongly than it will drive exposure.

Of the many types of gratifications, most scholars regard surveillance, social utility, and pass-time gratifications (Eveland, Shah, & Kwak, 2003; Levy & Windahl, 1984; McLeod & Becker, 1974; Rubin & Perse, 1987) as the most relevant to news use. McLeod and Becker (1974) found information-seeking gratifications to be associated with information acquisition during a political campaign. Much later research (e.g., Price & Allen, 1989; Eveland, Shah, & Kwak, 2003) showed that those who are instrumental users of news media (i.e., high on surveillance motives) tend to be exposed to more news and retain more information from exposure than those who are not.

Some audiences consume news in a ritualized fashion with diffuse motives, focusing more on the medium rather than on its particular contents. This type of news use is operationalized in the literature as pass-time, habit, or relaxation gratifications (Rubin & Perse, 1987). Pass-time motives are marked by a tendency to use a medium regardless of content, with less intentional and nonselective orientations for time-filling purposes (Jeffres, 1978). People who use news for such motives may exhibit high levels of news exposure because of the sheer volume of media they consume. However, they have been found to be less selective, pay less attention, and be less involved (engaging in distracting behavior) in the content they are exposed to (Rubin & Perse, 1987).

While mass media research focused efforts on people's motives for consuming news, much of political research centered instead on people's motives for learning political information. In studies of political learning, the concept frequently used to signify motivations is "political interest" (e.g., Ettema & Kline, 1977; Genova & Greenberg, 1979; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996). Most studies found that interest explains more of the variance in political knowledge than media exposure or attention (e.g., Luskin, 1990; Holmes, 2004). However, these studies often do not explore whether interest drives exposure or attention. Interest in and of itself, will not lead to gains in knowledge. People have to seek out political information, and it is most readily available in the news

media. Those interested in politics will look for information, therefore consuming more news and presumably paying more attention (Luskin, 1990). This construct is most commonly measured with self-reports on how closely people follow politics, how interested they are in politics, or how much they care who wins a political election (e.g., Luskin, 1990; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Kwak, 1999; Prior, 2001; Holmes, 2004).

What now of the effects of psychological needs motivations on information-seeking behaviors? While it has yet to be empirically established, we expect that some psychological predispositions can influence both the type of media people prefer, as well as the content or style of news delivery they prefer. For example, David's (2005) preliminary findings show some influence of need for cognition and need to evaluate measures on the preference for news media style or delivery. Specifically, those who score highly on a need to evaluate scale, that is, those who are chronic evaluators tend to be exposed to more cable television news than network television news. On the other hand, those high on need for cognition tend to be more exposed to network news than cable news. She attributes this to the stark differences in content and presentation style. Cable television news includes CNN and Fox News, two of the most highly-rated cable news networks in the country. Both channels feature many debate shows, talk shows where people from opposing sides of an issue argue their point. In contrast, regular news programming on network television stations such as ABC and NBC tend to be of the "straight news" variety.

In sum, the literature illustrates that motives have important effects on news exposure and attention. Extant research, however, is limited in its treatment of motivations that drive news-seeking behaviors. Studies about general psychological needs are investigated mostly in the limited context of exposure to media, and these do not say much about motivations that drive content-specific media use (such as news). Studies that look at media use motivations on the other hand frequently do not expound on its

potential antecedents. Moreover, there are almost no available studies that examine effects on both exposure and attention.

Effects on Knowledge

Given equal levels of exposure and attention to news, do motives affect how much people learn from the news? The information-processing approach is invaluable to understanding the conditions under which people would learn from the news. It recognizes that in order to retain information, one must engage in cognitive elaboration, and that this activity itself is probably affected by goals. Reeves, Chaffee, and Tims (1982) noted that "one inescapable observation of social cognition research and recent mass communication research is the emphasis placed on individuals as active participants who can to a great extent determine the selection and representation of information *depending on processing goals*" (307). Evidence suggests that goals (Fiske & Taylor, 1991) and levels of expertise (Zaller, 1992) can influence information processing in ways that clearly affect learning. Learning is most likely to be successful when the individual is motivated and attends to the stimulus, and then connects it with prior knowledge and experience to produce deeper understanding (e.g., Simon, 1967).

Significant progress has been made in exploring the information-processing approach to learning from the news, and there have been some recent studies that attempt to empirically test the role of some motives on elaborations of news. Most notably, Eveland (2001) incorporates both motivational and information-processing variables in what he refers to as the Cognitive Mediation Model (CMM). The CMM has three key theoretical statements. First, motives for media use drive information-processing behaviors during *and* after exposure. Second, media information-processing behaviors directly determine learning from the media. And finally, the effects of motives for media use are mediated by information processing behaviors (Eveland, 2001).

Most of the research conducted to test the CMM has largely supported its theoretical model (e.g., Eveland, 1997, 2001, 2002; Beaudoin & Thorson, 2004). One such study conducted by Eveland (2001) with cross-sectional local data found surveillance gratification-seeking to encourage both news attention and elaboration. Both attention and elaboration, in turn, positively impact learning of news content. A follow-up study on panel data (Eveland, Shah, & Kwak, 2003) lends further support for Eveland's earlier findings. By using panel data, Eveland and his colleagues (2003) hoped to generate support for the causal directions stipulated by the Cognitive Mediation Model. However, they were not able to find a unidirectional causal pattern and instead suggested that most of the relationships are mutually causal. Beaudoin and Thorson (2004) added measures of anticipated interpersonal interaction, and guidance gratifications – using media for the sake of decision-making, or seeking help in deciding what to do. With all three gratifications in a prediction model, the direct effects of surveillance and guidance on political knowledge were rendered not significant, and they found an unmediated direct effect from anticipated interaction to knowledge. Their study illustrates the importance of exploring different motivational factors further, because having simultaneous controls for various motives paints a different, more complex picture of the process.

Even more compelling experimental studies find that motives influence depth of processing, which in turn determines gains in knowledge. The idea that motivated information-processing goals affect social information processing has been examined extensively in social psychological research (Neuberg & Fiske, 1987; Wyer & Gordon, 1982). These studies found that motivated information-processing goals influence which information individuals will attend to and elaborate, as well as how it is interpreted.

Recent research tests this relationship on processing of news media messages. In a laboratory experiment, Huang (2000) learned that when subjects are given a memorization goal rather

than an impression-formation goal when exposed to political candidate information, they tend to exert more effort in searching for information from a source. The information-search process itself is strongly influenced by the nature of motives brought by individuals to the search context. News-processing goals are not constants they are variable (Tewksbury, 1999), and they affect the way people generate evaluations of political candidates based on what they see or hear in the news. In an experimental setting with college undergraduates, Tewksbury was able to demonstrate that *at equal levels of exposure* and exactly the same amount of information, those who were assigned to view a television news story with an *evaluation* goal (deciding about a candidate) were more likely to process the story in a systematic manner, recall more information from the story, and form evaluations than those who viewed the story with a *pass-time* goal.

The studies described here reveal that people bring their own desires and expectations to any exposure situation (Neisser, 1976), and these expectations influence what they notice and what they remember (Smith, 1998). Motives and needs not only affect the information-search process, they can also determine the cognitive activities individuals will use to process information (Smith, 1998). The degree, amount, and effectiveness of the information-processing activity affect whether and how much people will understand and remember from news exposure.

Summary of the Model of Influence from Motivation to Political Learning

In light of the literature and the arguments discussed so far, we propose a model of influence from motivation to learning political information illustrated in Figure 2. Motivational factors are multidimensional, and these dimensions can be categorized into two tiers. The first are general psychological needs that indirectly influence behaviors related to following news about politics and general public affairs. Evidence brings to bear that such

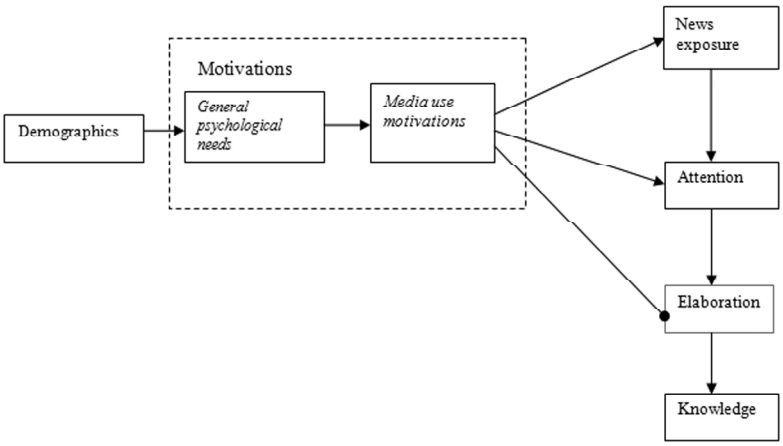

Figure 2. Model of influence for motivations toward following public affairs.

predispositions have effects on both news use (e.g., Perse, 1992; Price & Allen, 1989) and learning (e.g., Lovrich & Pierce, 1984; Viswanath et al., 1993). The more specific tier of media use motivations, we argue, is influenced directly by these generalized desires or goals. One line of research invited by the relationships proposed here is a systematic examination of the multiple dimensions within psychological needs and media use motivations that would be relevant to predicting news exposure and learning. Moreover, in testing for motivational effects, there is a need to recognize the mediating role that media-use motivations play in the relationships between generalized psychological needs and media behaviors as opposed to treating them conceptually and empirically as operating from a single level of motivation.

Further, the model proposes that motivations to follow news and pay attention to certain stories in the news have independent influences on exposure to news and attention. Certain motives, perhaps social utility gratifications seeking, would influence only the frequency of exposure and not the level of attention paid. In contrast, the strongly interested may tend to

follow the news more closely, both by spending more time consuming news, and by paying more attention than those who are not as strongly interested. Therefore, those who enter the exposure situation with the wrong kinds of motives (e.g., extrinsic motivations) will not learn from exposure. Much of the existing relevant research use either exposure or attention as measures of news use, particularly in studies of media effects or outcomes. Unfortunately, this treatment does not allow us to paint a complete picture of the processes that might be taking place in the conditional relationships between abilities, opportunities, motivations, and the behaviors they produce. Moving forward, we propose that researchers take into account both the exposure and attention steps as outcomes of motivations, even as they study them as predictors of learning.

The two tiers of motives then influence knowledge indirectly through either exposure or attention, or both. Learning is enhanced by increased attention paid to stimuli, and the increased likelihood of engaged information processing or cognitive elaboration. Therefore, motivations, such as interest which drives greater attention, would have larger indirect effects on learning new information than extrinsic motivations that would drive only greater exposure and nothing else. The arrow leading from exposure directly to knowledge allows for any "mere exposure" learning effects that may happen.

A Research Agenda for the Philippines

Concerns about culture-specificity in processes of learning and motivational effects, we argue, should not stem efforts to understand its applicability in the Philippine setting. Since the proposed model speaks generally about motivations, learning, and political knowledge, the application to circumstances of any given democratically organized country would move forward by first identifying the types of news-consumption motivations and political knowledge that are relevant to meaningful and high-quality

political engagement. The implication of this theoretical model for scholars of communication effects in this country is an expansion of the research agenda for news effects, in particular through recognizing potential contributions of educational and cognitive psychology.

The research agenda for the Philippines would begin first with exploratory research on the types of motives people have for following the news (through any medium). A set of the most relevant learning and news use motives would emerge that may or may not resemble the motives that have been examined in research done in other countries. Since psychological needs and predispositions that may be relevant to motivations for news use are conceptualized to be non-culture specific there would be little need to undergo exploratory research in this area. However what is needed is to expand the realm of psychological needs variables under investigation, a task that has not been taken up, at least from what can be gleaned from the published communication literature. Indices to measure different psychological predispositions exist; translations and any other adaptations to the local setting must undergo testing for measurement validity. Associations between psychological needs and new use motives would be best conducted through large-sample surveys.

Generating empirical support for the effect of motives on political learning outcomes would entail experimentation through a protocol that includes setting news content constant and manipulating motivational states. Depending on the types of motives that might emerge as relevant to news use in the Philippines, some motives may not be amenable to manipulation. In cases such as these, large-sample surveys would be necessary. All of the steps described so far test only portions of the model, a simultaneous test of the entire model can be done through elaborate multi-level and multi-factor experiments or through surveys.

Attaining high levels of political knowledge among citizens is a desired state for any democratic country. Habermas (1984)

writes that the measure of a working democracy is the extent to which individuals and groups enter the public debate with relatively equal amounts of information. Systematic differences in political knowledge have critical implications for the "ability of some groups to perceive and act on their self-interest or their notion of the public interest" (Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996: 271). Clearly, being knowledgeable and informed about public affairs, public policy, and social issues is important to one's effective participation in a democratic society. This study highlights the importance of individual motivations in spurring political information-seeking behaviors that would result in learning of political information. The model presented here, we hope, offers a more comprehensive understanding of the role of motivations in driving news media use behaviors and learning of political information than was previously available in the literature (e.g., Conway & Rubin, 1991; Delli Carpini & Keeter, 1996; Ettema & Kline, 1977; Eveland, 2001). This paper advances our knowledge about how people decide to use the media by sorting out the cognitive goals that drive them. The picture drawn here is both complex and substantive; how greatly motivations matter to different information-seeking and information-processing activities is determined, in large part, by the nature of the motivation.

Even as news sources continue to multiply, the decline in news use threatens to persist. In an environment of abundant choices and alternatives in media, the role that individual motivations and preferences play in predicting who follows the news and how much increases in importance (Atre & Katz, 2004; Prior, 2003). For as long as research on media use motivations has been around, much still remains unknown. As the news media industry matures and tries to find ways to compete with other content, and for as long as democratic governments listen to the informed opinions of their citizens, an improved understanding of the relationships between news uses and political knowledge will remain an important area of research.

References

Anderson, J.R. (1995). *Learning and memory*. New York: John Wiley & Sons.

Anderson, J.R., Reder, L.M., & Simon, H.A. (1996). Situated learning and education. *Educational Researcher*, *25*, 5-11.

Atkinson, J. (1964). *An introduction to motivation*. New York: D. Van Nostrand Company.

Beaudoin, C. & Thorson, E. (2004). Testing the cognitive mediation model: The roles of news reliance and three gratifications sought. *Communication Research*, *31*, 446-471.

Brophy, J. E. (1988). On motivating students. In Berliner, D. & Rosenshine, B. (Eds). *Talks to teachers* (pp.201-245). New York: Random House.

Cacioppo, J. & Petty, R. (1982). The need for cognition. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 42*, 116-131.

Chaffee, S. & Schleuder, J. (1986). Measurement and effects of attention to media news. *Human Communication Research*, *13*, 76-107.

Chambers, S. (2003). Deliberative democratic theory. *Annual Review of Political Science, 6*, 307-326.

Chew, F., & Palmer, S. (1994). Interest, the knowledge gap, and television programming. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *38*, 271-287.

Conway, J., & Rubin, A. (1991). Psychological predictors of television viewing motivation. *Communication Research, 18*, 443-463.

Deci, E.L., Koestner, R., & Ryan, R. M. (1999). A meta-analytic review of experiments examining the effects of extrinsic rewards on intrinsic motivation. *Psychological Bulletin*, *125*, 627-668.

Deci, E. L., & Ryan, R. M. (1987). The support of autonomy and the control of behavior. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology*, *53*, 1024-1037.

Delli Carpini, M. & Keeter, S. (1996). *What Americans know about politics and why it matters.* New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Donohew, L., Palmgreen, P., & Rayburn, J.D. (1987). Social and psychological origins of media use: A lifestyle analysis. *Journal of Broadcasting and Electronic Media*, *31*, 255-278.

Donohue, G., Tichenor, P., & Olien, C. (1975). Mass media and the knowledge gap: A hypothesis reconsidered. *Communication Research, 2*, 3-23.

Drew, D., & Weaver, D. (1990). Media attention, media exposure, and media effects. *Journalism Quarterly*, *67*, 740-748.

Dweck, C.S., & Leggett, E.L. (1988). A social-cognitive approach to motivation and personality. *Psychological Review, 95*, 256-273.

Ettema, J., Brown, J. & Luepker, R. (1983). Knowledge gap effects in a health information campaign. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 47*, 516-527.

Ettema, J. & Kline, F. (1977). Deficits, differences, and ceilings: Contingent conditions for understanding the knowledge gap. *Communication Research*, *4*, 179-202.

Eveland, W. P., Jr. (1997). The process of political learning from the news: The roles of motivation, attention, and elaboration. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, University of Wisconsin-Madison.

Eveland, W. (2001). The cognitive mediation model of learning from the news: Evidence from non-election, off-year election, and presidential election contexts. *Communication Research*, *28*, 571-601.

Eveland, W. (2002). News information processing as mediator between motivations and public affairs knowledge. *Journalism and Mass Communication Quarterly, 79*, 26-40.

Eveland, W., Shah, D., & Kwak, N. (2003). Assessing causality in the cognitive mediation model: A panel study of motivations, information processing and learning during campaign 2000. *Communication Research*, *30*, 359-386.

Finn, S. (1997). Origins of media exposure: Linking personality traits to TV, radio, print, and film use. *Communication Research*, *24*, 507-529.

Fiske, S. & Taylor, S. (1991). *Social cognition*. New York: McGraw Hill.

Gandy, O. H., & El Waylly, M. (1985). The knowledge gap and foreign affairs: The Palestinian-Israeli conflict. *Journalism Quarterly, 62*, 777-783.

Gaziano, C. (1983). Knowledge gap: An analytical review of media effects. *Communication Research, 10*, 447-486 .

Genova, B. & Greenberg, B. (1979). Interests in news and the knowledge gap. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 43*, 79-91.

Grabe, M., Lang, A., Zhou, S. & Bolls, P. (2000). Cognitive access to negatively arousing news : An experimental investigation of the knowledge gap. *Communication Research, 27*, 3-26.

Graber, D. (1988): *Processing the news: How people tame the information tide*, (2nd ed.). New York: University Press of America.
Griffin, R. (1990). Energy in the eighties: Education, communication and the knowledge gap. *Journalism Quarterly*, *67*, 554-566.
Habermas, J.(1984). *A theory of communicative action.* T. McCarthy (Trans.). Boston: Beacon Press.
Heider, F. (1958). *The psychology of interpersonal relations.* New York: Wiley.
Henning, B. & Vorderer, P. (2001). Psychological escapism: Predicting the amount of television viewing by need for cognition. *Journal of Communication, 51,* 100-120.
Higgins, T. & Kruglanski, A. (2000). *Motivational science: Social and personality perspectives.* Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
Holmes. J. (2004). Motivation, Internet use, and political knowledge. Paper presented at the 2004 Annual Meeting of the Midwest Political Science Association.
Huang, L. (2000). Examining candidate information search processes: The impact of processing goals and sophistication. *Journal of Communication,* 93-114.
Hull, C. (1943). *Principles of behavior.* New York: Appleton-Century-Crofts.
Jeffries, L. (1978). Cable TV and viewer selectivity. *Journal of Broadcasting, 22*, 167-177.
Katz, E., Blumler, J. & Gurevitch, M. (1974). Utilization of mass communication by the individual. In Blumler, J. & Katz, E. (Eds.) *The uses of nass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 19-32). Newbury Park: Sage.
Kinder, D. & Sears, D. (1985). Public opinion and political action. In Lindzey, G. & Arson, E. (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology,* (pp. 659-741). New York: Random House.
Krcmar, M. & Greene, K. (1999). Predicting exposure to and uses of television violence. *Journal of Communication, 49,* 24-45.
Kruglanski, A. W., & Webster, D. M. (1996). Motivated closing of the mind: "seizing" and "freezing." *Psychological Review, 103*, 263-283.
Kunda, Z. (2000). The case for motivated reasoning. In Higgins, T. & Kruglanski, A. *Motivational science: Social and personality perspectives* (Ch.18). Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
Kwak, N. (1999). Revisiting the knowledge gap hypothesis: Education, motivation and media use. *Communication Research, 26*, 385-413.

Lanoue, D. (1992). One that made a difference: Cognitive consistency, political knowledge, and the 1980 presidential debate. *Public Opinion Quarterly*, *56*, 168-184.

Lasswell, H.D. (1948), The structure and function of communication in society. In Bryson, L. (Ed.), *The communication of ideas*. New York: Harper and Brothers.

Levy, M. & Windahl, S. (1984). Audience activity and gratifications: A conceptual clarification and exploration. *Communication Research*, *11*, 51-78.

Lovrich, N. & Pierce, J. (1984). "Knowledge gap" phenomena: Effect of situation-specific and transsituational factors. *Communication Research, 11*, 415-434.

Luskin, R. (1990). Explaining political sophistication. *Political Behavior, 12*, 331-361.

McDevitt, M. & Chaffee, S. (2000). Closing gaps in political communication and knowledge: Effects of a school intervention. *Communication Research, 27*, 259-292.

McDougal, W. (1923). *Outline of psychology.* New York: Scribner.

McGuire, W. (1974). Psychological motives and communication gratification. In Blumler, J. & Katz, E. (Eds.), *The uses of mass communications: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 167-196). Beverly Hills: Sage.

McLeod, J., & Becker, L. (1974). Testing the validity of gratification measures through political effects analysis. In Blumler, J. & Katz, E. (Eds.), *The uses of mass communication: Current perspectives on gratifications research* (pp. 137-162). Beverly Hills, CA: Sage.

McLeod, J. & McDonald, D. (1985). Beyond simple exposure: Media orientations and their impact on political processes. *Communication Research, 12*, 3-33.

McLeod, D. M., & Perse, E. M. (1994). Direct and indirect effects of socioeconomic status on public affairs knowledge. *Journalism Quarterly, 71,* 433-442.

McQuail, D., Blumler, J., Brown, J. (1972). *Sociology of the mass media*. London: Penguin.

Mindich, D. (2005). *Tuned out: Why Americans under 40 don't follow the news.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Murphy, C. (1947). *A bisocial approach to origins and structure.* New York: Harper and Brothers.

Nie, N., Junn, J., & Stehlik-Barry. (1996). *Education and democratic citizenship in America.* Chicago: University of Chicago Pree.

Neisser, U. (1976). *Cognition and reality: Principles and implications of cognitive psychology*. San Francisco, CA: Freeman and Co.

Neuberg, S. L. & Fiske S. T. (1987). Motivational influences on impression formation: Outcome dependency, accuracy-driven attention, and individuating processes. *Journal of Personality and Social Psychology, 53*, 431–444.

Neuman, R. (1986). *The paradox of mass politics: Knowledge and opinion in the American electorate.* Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Neuman, R. Just, M, Crigler, A. (1992). *Common knowledge: News and the construction of political meaning.* Chicago, IL: University of Chicago Press.

Nicholls, J. G. (1990). What is ability and why are we mindful of it? A developmental perspective. In Sternberg, R. & Kolligian, J. (Eds.) *Competence considered* (pp. 11-40). New Haven, CT: Yale University Press.

Palmgreen, P., Wenner, L., & Rayburn, J.D. (1981). Gratification discrepancies and news program choice. *Communication Research, 8*, 451-478.

Perse, E. (1992). Predicting attention to local television news: Need for cognition and motives for viewing. *Communication Reports, 5*, 40-49.

Price, V. & Allen, S. (1989). The need for cognition, political surveillance, and media exposure. Paper presented at the annual conference of the Association for Education in Journalism and Mass Communication, Washington DC.

Price, V. & Zaller, J. (1993). Who gets the news?: Alternative measures of news reception and their implications for research. *Public Opinion Quarterly, 57*, 133-164.

Prior, M. (2001). Avoiding politics: The relation of entertainment preference and partisan feelings. Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Political Science Association, San Fancisco, CA.

Reeves, B., Chaffee, S. H., & Tims, A. (1982). Social cognition and mass communication research. In Roloff, M. & Berger, C. (Eds.), *Social cognition and communication.* Beverly Hills: Sage.

Robinson, J. & Davis, D. (1990). Television news and the informed public: An information-processing approach. *Journal of Communication 40* (3), 106-119.

Rubin, A. (1981). An examination of television viewing motivations. *Communication Research, 8*, 141-165.

Rubin, A. (1983). Television uses and gratifications: The interactions of viewing patterns and motivations. *Journal of Broadcasting, 27*, 37-51.

Rubin, A. (1984). Ritualized and instrumental television viewing. *Journal of Communication, 34*, 67-77.

Rubin, A. & Perse, E. (1987). Audience activity and television news gratifications. *Communication Research, 14*, 58-84.

Rubin, R., Perse E., & Powell, R. (1985). Loneliness, parasocial interaction, and local television news viewing. *Human Communications Research, 12*, 155-180.

Ryan, R. & Deci, E. (1996). When paradigms clash: Comments on Cameron and Pierce's claim that rewards do not undermine intrinsic motivation. *Review of Educational Research, 66*, 33-38.

Ryan, R. & Deci, E. (2000). Intrinsic and extrinsic motivations: Classic definitions and new directions. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 25*, 54-67.

Ryan, R. M. & Fredrick, C. M. (1997). On energy, personality, and health: Subjective vitality as a dynamic reflection of well-being. *Journal of Personality, 65*, 529-565.

Ryan, R. M., & Stiller, J. (1991). The social contexts of internalization: Parent and teacher influences on autonomy, motivation and learning. In Pintrich, P. R. & Maehr, M. L. (Eds.), *Advances in motivation and achievement, 7*, 115–149. Greenwich, CT: JAI Press.

Schramm, W. (Ed.). (1949). *Mass communications.* Urbana: University of Illinois Press.

Simon, H. (1967). Motivational and emotional controls of cognition. *Psychological Review, 74*(1), 29-39.

Slater, M. D. (2003). Alienation, aggression, and sensation-seeking as predictors of adolescent use of violent film, computer, and website content. *Journal of Communication, 53*, 105-121.

Smith, E. R. (1998). Mental representation and memory. In Gilbert, D. Fiske, S. & Lindzey, G. (Eds.), *Handbook of social psychology* (4th ed.), *1*, 391–445. New York: McGraw-Hill.

Tetlock, P. E. (1992). The impact of accountability on judgment and choice: Toward a social contingency model. In Zanna, M. P. (Ed.), *Advances in experimental social psychology, 25*, 331-376. New York: Academic Press.

Tewksbury, D. (1999). Differences in how we watch the news: The impact of processing goals and expertise on evaluations of political actors. *Communication Research, 26*, 4-29.

Viswanath, K., Kahn, E., Finnegan, J., Hertog, J., & Potter, J. (1993). Motivation and the knowledge gap: Effects of a campaign to reduce diet-related cancer risk. *Communication Research, 20*, 546-563.

Wentzel, K. (2000). What is it that I'm trying to achieve? Classroom goals from a content perspective. *Contemporary Educational Psychology, 25*, 105-115.

Wigfield, A., & Guthrie, J. T. (1997). Relations of children's motivation for reading to the amount and breadth of their reading. *Journal of Educational Psychology, 89*, 420-432.

Woodworth, R. S. (1918). *Dynamic psychology*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Woolfolk, A. (2001). *Educational psychology* (8th ed.). Boston: Allyn & Bacon.

Wyer, R. & Gordon, S.(1982). The recall of information about persons and groups. *Journal of Experimental Social Psychology, 18*, 128-164

Zaller, J. (1992). *The nature and origins of mass opinion*. New York: Cambridge University Press.

***Clarissa C. David** is an assistant professor at the Department of Graduate Studies of the University of the Philippines College of Mass Communication.*