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**Agenda-Setting Effects as a Mediator of Media Use and Civic
Engagement:
From What the Public *Thinks About* to What the Public *Does***

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From What the Public *Thinks About* to What the Public *Does***

by

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my parents.

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The older I become, the more aware I am of the debts that I owe other people in daily life. As a result, the more I accomplish, the greater my indebtedness.

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**Agenda-Setting Effects as a Mediator of Media Use and Civic
Engagement:
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This study attempts to explain reasons that underlie the positive correlation between media use and increased levels of engagement by relying upon the agenda-setting theory. The models set forth suggest the following sequence: News attention as influenced by several antecedent variables affects agenda-setting effects on the readers/viewers; in turn, agenda-setting effects trigger strong attitudes among the public and, finally, strong attitudes lead to various types of civic behaviors. The individual level of statistical analysis employed in this research is based on the 2004 ANES data along with a content analysis of stories from the New York Times and NBC's Nightly News. Fit statistics of four models – specifically, first-level newspaper, first-level TV, second-level newspaper and second-level TV – indicated that all of the structural models were retainable, meaning that the hypothesized sequence reflects well the data. Especially, every direct effect along the chain - ranging from media use to agenda-setting, from agenda-setting to attitudes strength, and from attitudes strength to engagement - was

significant. Indirect and total effects of agenda-setting for political and civic participation were all found to be significant. Agenda-setting effects operated as a mediator between media use and civic engagement, as hypothesized. In sum, the effects of agenda-setting may be viewed as related to both the behavioral and the cognitive levels so that: What the public thinks about something can be extended to what the public does about something.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

The maxim of democracy based on citizen participation and an “informed citizenry” is a major premise for participation in the democratic process. In modern democracies, the primary way that citizens learn about public life is necessarily through the media, meaning that in terms of daily life, citizens keep informed by reading newspapers and viewing TV news with regularity. In that sense, the media constitutes one of the centerpieces of participatory democracy.

Much research has shown that a significant positive relationship exists between civic engagement and media use, especially information seeking. At the aggregate level, a reduction in newspaper readership and voter turnout has been observed to occur simultaneously. Putnam (1995) considered TV as the main reason for the decline in various types of civic engagement dating back to the 1960’s or 1970’s. At the level of the individual, other studies have found that the more people read newspapers and watch TV news, the more they participate in election campaigns and become involved in community issues (Kang & Kwak, 2003; Norris, 1996).

Previous studies, however, have failed to explain the reasons that underlie the positive correlation between media use and increased levels of engagement. This dissertation seeks to fill that void by addressing these questions: How does news use contribute to civic engagement and why do some people exhibit higher levels of civic energy than others even though all use the same amount of news?

This study draws upon the theory of agenda-setting that holds that agenda-setting effects function as a mediator between media use and civic engagement. Through attitude strength, agenda-setting generates civic energy for public participation. The news media

set the public agenda through the transfer of salience (McCombs & Shaw, 1972), suggesting what the public thinks about and, sometimes, even how the public should think about certain objects, a process known as second-level agenda-setting.

Discussions that combine topics of agenda-setting and civic engagement begin with keywords such as attention, consensus and problem-solving. Media attention is directed toward public issues. Subsequently, public consensus emerges about the importance of those issues. In turn, the public participates to varying degrees in solving of what is agreed upon as significant problems. When there is a public consensus as to what the most important problems are, people become willing to participate in a dialogue for solutions. In this respect, the effects of agenda-setting may be viewed as related to the behavioral as well as the cognitive levels so that: *What the public thinks about* something can be extended to *what the public does* about something.

The links between agenda-setting effects, attitude strength, and behavior are grounded in previous studies conducted in the fields of communication and psychology that provide empirical and conceptual support for the modeling of this study. The literature shows, simply stated, that people devote more thought to those objects that they regard as important, and the greater the amount of thought, the stronger the attitudes. In turn, strong attitudes operate as strong predictors of behaviors.

While most agenda-setting studies have focused on the transfer of salience of objects and attributes from the media agenda to the public agenda, some have gone farther by explicating the relationship between media effects and behavior. Priming research has found that, as a result of agenda-setting, news influences the standards by which public figures are evaluated (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). Roberts (1992) and Kiousis

and McDevitt (2008) have examined the relationship that occurs between agenda-setting and voting behaviors and found agenda-setting effects work as significant predictor of voting.

This study expands the consequences of agenda-setting to include not only voting but also various other types of civic engagement. While voting is regarded as the critical moment of democracy, there are other kinds of participation that deserve investigation (Verba, Schlozman, & Brady, 1995). As a concept, civic engagement encompasses civic participation and political participation. Along with trust, civic engagement is regarded as the main component of social capital, forming a dense network that generates aggregate energy for the collective attempt at solving of problems faced by communities and nations. All activities undertaken for the public good – from attending a PTA meeting to volunteering and making financial donations to a political party – fall under the rubric of civic engagement.

Generally, civic engagement is divided into two categories, namely, political participation and civic participation. Political participation includes efforts aimed at influencing government action while civic participation relates to activities that address public concerns, outside of elections, through behaviors such as helping others and solving community problems (Delli Carpini, 2004; Zukin, Keeter, Andolina, Jenkins, & Delli Carpini & Keeter, 2006). Both kinds of participation are distinct yet strongly correlated. One of the strengths of this study is its attempt to explicate the overall effects of the media on civic engagement through an analysis of various types of indicators.

Content analysis and survey data analysis are employed. To measure media salience, news stories from the *New York Times* and NBC's Nightly News are analyzed.

For survey data, the American National Election Studies (ANES), conducted during the 2004 presidential election, are relied upon.

This research concentrates on an analysis of data at the individual level, and as such, differs from most other agenda-setting studies that investigate aggregate data. Previous studies of individual-level analysis with multiple issues are rare and not that successful in supporting agenda-setting effects, except in a few experiments (Althaus & Tewksbury, 2002; McCombs, 2004). Aggregate-level analyses tend to ignore individual characteristics such as demographic variables and party identification that have substantial influence on media use and its consequences (Wanta, 1997).

This study looks at both first-level and second-level agenda-setting effects. The reason for testing two levels is to explicate the influence of each level with regard to dimensions of attitude, both cognitive and affective. The first-level model measures opinion as attitude strength, and at the second-level attitude is measured by feelings strength. The first-level model offers an opportunity to explicate the cognitive attitudinal effects of agenda-setting while the second-level model looks at the influence of emotions.

The theoretical contribution of this study is to extend the concept of agenda-setting effects beyond mere salience to encompass attitudes and, even, behaviors. This study perceives people as active information processors rather than as passive stimulation receivers as in the hypodermic needle or bullet hypothesis. This study moreover regards agenda-setting as a learning process.

From a broader perspective, this dissertation considers the role of the news media in a democratic society. Information and engagement are regarded as a single, indivisible concept for the functioning of good citizenry. The normative discourse of “informed

citizenry” gains substantive power through examination of the sequence of events that begin with media use leading toward public engagement. A better understanding of that process may carry potentially important implications for professional journalists as well as for journalism scholars.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Background

This chapter consists of four parts: media and civic engagement, agenda-setting theory, conceptual framework of this study and hypotheses. The theoretical deliberation of this study begins with an overview of discourse about the media and civic engagement with an emphasis on the media's role in participatory democracy and the importance of healthy engagement in the context of social capital. In addition to normative discussions, empirical evidence that shows relationships between media use and various participations will be summarized. The second part, drawing upon the background of agenda-setting, will consider relationships covered in the first part: How and why media use affects civic engagement. The last two parts concentrate on specific matters related to modeling and the mechanisms of each link in the models.

1. MEDIA AND CIVIC ENGAGEMENT

Media and Participatory Democracy

“Informed citizenry” epitomizes discussions about the media's role in democratic societies. Democracy depends on active engagement by its citizens in public affairs, as set forth in classical political theories since Alexis de Tocqueville and John Stuart Mill: The citizens need to be informed. Dahl (1989) summed this concept by noting that effective participation and enlightened understanding are necessary preconditions of a working democracy.

In that sense, citizens have a responsibility to keep informed. Delli Carpini and Keeter (1996) demonstrated the importance of an informed citizenry for a democracy through their findings that uninformed voters are more likely to vote based on their own

private interests and tend to be much less tolerant toward groups whose opinions differ from their own. Moreover, half of those surveyed in that study who claimed to regularly follow politics said they did it not because they like it but because it was their duty.

In modern society, the duty of keeping informed is carried out in one way through citizens' reading of newspapers and watching of TV news on a regular basis (Poindexter & McCombs, 2001) because "the press is supposed to enhance democracy both by stimulating the citizenry's political interest and by providing the specific information they need to hold government accountable" (Entman, 1989, p. 3). The news media encourage civic participation through providing information that leads to discussion and deliberation (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2004). Norris (2000) calls the process the *virtuous circle*: "The most politically knowledgeable, trusting and participatory are most likely to tune in to public affairs coverage. And those most attentive to coverage of public affairs become more engaged in civic life" (p. 317).

Civic Engagement as Social Capital

Civic engagement often is discussed with the broader concept of social capital, considered to be one of the most thought-provoking concepts among scholars from various disciplines in recent decades. Since Putnam's (2000) seminal work about the dramatic decline of social capital over time in the U.S., the term has been widely explored in the fields of sociology, politics, economics, psychology and mass communication. This interest in social capital seems to stem from its implied relationship to democracy.

Two main components of social capital - civic engagement and trust - are regarded as the basis for democracy by many scholars (Brehm and Rahn,

1997; Coleman, 1988; Norris, 2002 ; Putnam, 1995). One of the earliest definitions of social capital, proposed by Bourdieu (1986), is “the aggregate of the actual or potential resources which are linked to the possession of a durable network of more or less institutionalized relationships of mutual acquaintance and recognition.” Putnam (2000) further elaborated:

... social capital refers to connections among individuals - social networks and the norms of reciprocity and trustworthiness that arise from them. In that sense social capital is closely related to what some have called “civic virtue.” The difference is that “social capital” calls attention to the fact that civic virtue is most powerful when embedded in a dense network of reciprocal social relations. A society of many virtuous but isolated individuals is not necessarily rich in social capital (p. 19).

The concept of social capital has been understood through a comparison with human capital and physical capital. Unlike human capital, social capital cannot be created individually because social capital stems from relationships with other people. Unlike physical capital, social capital does not decrease as a result of use but, instead, the more people use social capital, the more social capital is produced (Ostrom, 2000). On the other hand, like other kinds of capital, social capital entails actual benefits that accrue to the community and its members. For example, the facilitated flow of information contributes to reducing trade costs in the marketplace. The flow of information is strongly affected by the size and character of social networks built through engagement. In terms of well-being and mental health, life satisfaction surveys have shown that the strongest predictor of happiness is having a social network (Putnam, 2000). At the level of community, strong networks lead to cooperation among community members for the

purpose of solving problems collectively and helping community members address their common interests (Halpern, 2005; Lin, 2001; Putnam, 2002).

Measurements of Engagement

The core question related to civic engagement in the U.S. is whether the people have become less engaged in public life. Putnam (1995) ignited debates by arguing that civic engagement has drastically declined since the 1960's or 1970's and pointing to TV viewing as the "single most consistent" predictor of decline. As evidence of a weakened civic life, Putnam noted a reduction of membership in organizations as well as lower voter turnout and reduced participation in political campaigns. However, Schudson (1996, 1998) raised questions about measurement problems by contending that Putnam had overlooked several different types of engagement. Schudson (1996) argued that people had left traditional civic organizations to participate in commercial organizations. He also observed that people have been more intermittently involved in public activity because of the growth in issue-oriented politics. Zukin et al. (2006) agreed with Schudson that there has been incremental disengagement in traditional political participation over the past 40 years but that many Americans engage in the civic arena beyond mere politics. According to Zukin et al., this phenomenon is especially obvious among the younger generation; for example, fewer young Americans vote than older people but they are still active participants in volunteering, organizational activity and fund raising (p.72). In sum, Kinder (1998) concluded, "Depending on our assumptions and measures, we can end up describing Americans as engaged in a rich associational life, or as socially isolated, cut off from others" (p. 825).

As the arguments indicate, measurement is one of the key points in engagement research. In general, civic engagement can be divided into two categories: political participation and civic participation (Delli Carpini, 2004; Verba & Nie, 1972). Zukin et al. (2006) defined political participation as an activity “that has the intent or effect of influencing government action-either directly by affecting the making or implementation of public policy or indirectly by influencing the selection of people who make those policies” (p 6). Political participation usually means participation in the electoral process, especially, voting. Civic participation, on the other hand, is defined by Zukin et al. (2006) as an “organized voluntary activity focused on problem solving and helping others” (p 7). One of the important indicators of civic engagement is group membership because organizations consist of independent agents of mobilization and because groups help individuals develop the ability for participant activity (Pollock, 1982). Rosenstone and Hansen (1993) introduced a broader definition for political participation: “action directed explicitly toward influencing the distribution of social goods and values” (p. 4). Their definition of political participation included pressure that is applied to the private as well as the public sectors.

Despite the distinction between political and civic participation, scholars noticed that the line between two categories was unclear (Shah, Schmierbach, Hawkins, Espino, & Donovan, 2002; Wilkins, 2000). According to Zukin et al. (2006), civic participation cannot be replaced with political participation nor vice versa but, instead, the two areas become more porous. They noted, “Civic involvement - even if it is occurring outside the formal mechanisms of elections and government policy - might still be seen as an inherently political activity. At a minimum it is certainly a public activity” (p. 54).

Media that Matters? - Empirical Evidence

Putnam's indictment against TV viewing places media use at the core of the controversy that surrounds civic engagement with his argument based on time displacement and public concerns about a "mean world." Putnam (2000) argues:

...a major commitment to television viewing – such as most of us have come to have – is incompatible with a major commitment to community life...just as television privatizes our leisure time, it also privatizes our civic activity, dampening our interactions with one another even more than it dampens individual political activities. (p. 229)

With regard to the "mean world" hypothesis, Putnam (1995) blames TV for making people less trusting of one another and less involved in collaborative work because of "scary world" images conveyed to viewers by TV programs that emphasize violence and sensational programs. In terms of time displacement, several studies found that if TV use is measured only by the amount of viewing time, then it negatively affects overall engagement (Kang & Kwak, 2003; Norris, 1996; Shah, Kwak, & Holbert, 2001a). Especially, in their individual-level analysis, Brehm and Rahn (1997) linked the time pressure of TV with the concept of opportunity cost:

...each additional hour of per night is equivalent to an additional one thousand dollars of income or a full swing in partisanship in terms of its effect upon participation...Television, as an opportunity cost, is a serious drain upon the civic participation side of social capital." (p. 1015)

However, many communication scholars have contradicted Putnam's assertion that TV is the main culprit for lower social engagement on the basis of accumulated

research about the media and its social and political influences. They do so by pointing out that the relationship between media use and civic engagement varies according to differences in content, genres and usage patterns. When the contents of TV programs are taken into account, scholars arrived at results that are very different.

The common classification of media content - specifically TV, radio and the Internet - is information (news) vs. entertainment (drama, shows). Depending on the type of content that users are looking for, audiences are categorized as either information seekers or recreational users. Generally, information seeking has been found to have a positive impact on civic engagement while entertainment or recreational user viewing is observed to have a negative effect.

Newspaper-Information. Scholars rarely doubt the positive function of newspaper readership, recognizing especially that public affairs news use has a positive relationship with various types of engagement. Almost all studies repeatedly support the contribution of newspaper readership to enhanced participation (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2004; McLeod & Scheufele, 1999; Moy et al., 2005; Norris, 1996; Scheufele & Shah, 2000; Shah, 1998; Shah, McLeod, & Yoon, 2001b; Viswanath, Finnegan, Rooney, & Potter, 1990).

Much research has been conducted based on these classifications, and, in addition to media use, some scholars have introduced other conditional variables, such as community context (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2004; McLeod & Scheufele, 1999), knowledge (McLeod & Scheufele, 1999; Moy, Torres, Tanaka, & McCluskey, 2005) and interpersonal communication (Kang & Kwak, 2003; Paek, Yoon, & Shah, 2005; Shah,

Cho, Eveland, & Kwak, 2005). The three types of traditional media use associated with civic engagement, as directly related to this study, are as follows:

Some research has focused on acts of political participation as evidenced by activities such as voting, contacting public officials and signing petitions (Beaudoin & Thorson, 2004; Moy, Manosevitch, Stamm, & Dunsmore, 2005; Moy et al., 2005). Other studies have found that civic participation is indicated by other activities, such as the frequency of volunteer work, attending club meetings and working on community projects (Scheufele & Shah, 2000; Shah et al., 2002; Shah et al., 2001a; Shah et al., 2001b).

Norris (1996) examined a broad range of civic participation activities ranging from informal community involvement to protesting and found that newspaper readership had a significant correlation with most indicators of participation, especially voting. From the perspective of civic engagement at the community level, local newspaper readership was found to be the strongest predictor of civic participation in an index that included attending club meetings, church attendance, volunteer work and working on community projects (Paek et al., 2005).

TV- Information. Unlike findings with regard to newspaper readership, studies on TV news viewing have presented mixed results.

Norris (1996) included three variables to measure TV use: news attention, current affairs program attention and total hour consumption. Among those variables, viewer attention to news and current affairs programs showed a positive relationship with viewers' informal community participation yet did not have a direct relationship with conventional political participation. In terms of viewers' total hours of TV consumption,

relying upon the same measure employed by Putnam (1995), Norris found a negative relationship with six of the seven participation indicators and a significantly negative correlation relative to voting and informal community activity. While this finding seems to support Putnam's argument, Norris emphasized the positive impact of news and current affairs programs, such as "Nightline" and "60 Minutes," relative to the health of a democratic society.

Kang and Kwak (2003) and Shah et al. (2001b) also demonstrated the need to distinguish the genre content of TV programs. They reported almost the same results as those found by Norris (1996): TV hard news (local and national news programs) or local affairs program viewing were positively associated with civic engagement while the total amount of viewing time resulted in a negative relationship.

The positive relationship between civic engagement and TV news viewing has been supported outside the U.S., as well (Putnam, 2002). Norris (2002) conducted cross national research and concluded that not only newspaper readership but also TV news viewing are positively correlated with social capital although newspaper use creates a stronger relationship. Her survey that included the U.S. and Europe also showed that the greater the availability of electronic communication tools, the higher the level of social capital. Inoguchi (2002) also found a strong relationship between TV news attention and civic participation in Japan.

In contrast, McLeod and Scheufele (1999) reported no direct impact of TV news use on voting and contacting officials. They found a modest indirect effect from TV news viewing that resulted in a greater knowledge about current events but the amount of knowledge was found to be less than that acquired by newspaper readers. Interestingly,

their study included an attitude (intention to attend a local forum) as well a participation variable. TV news also did not indicate a relationship with either attitude. Scheufele and Shah (2000) and Uslaner (1998) found that TV hard news use did not affect engagement.

When community types were taken into account, Beaudoin and Thorson (2004) found that in rural settings, only network news use affected voting directly while local TV viewing did not show any significant relationship with participation.

TV-Entertainment. Beaudoin and Thorson (2004) observed a direct relationship between entertainment TV viewing and voting in an urban setting as well as an indirect effect on volunteering. Shah and his colleagues (1998, 2001b) and Sotirovic and McLeod (2001) presented more detailed portrayals based on different genres of TV entertainment programs. These studies showed that sitcom and reality program viewing have a negative relationship with civic participation while social dramas, for example, “ER” and “Law and Order” are positively related to civic participation. They maintained that sitcom conveyed a life-world that was generally free of social conflicts while social dramas helped audience to understand community problems through presentation of social controversies. Social dramas also suggest a way of involvement because fictional characters worked as models of problem solver. Reality programs full of crimes and various wrong doings were criticized as promoters of mistrust and disengagement.

2. AGENDA-SETTING

Agenda-setting, which refers to the media’s influence on people’s regard that some issues and attributes are truly worthwhile, can be described theoretically as the transfer of salience from the media to the public (McCombs, 2004). In a nutshell, the

media direct our focus to certain objects and, as a result, affect our perception of the importance of those objects.

Traditionally, the term *agenda* has been defined as a set of issues or a list of problems to be concerned about and solved (Cobb & Elder, 1983; Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Kingdon, 1995). Conventional agenda-setting research, therefore, has paid attention to the agenda of public issues mainly by asking “Most Important Problem” (MIP) survey questions. More recently, the objects of research have included also political candidates and other public figures. Greater interest in public figures and their images in the media has grown with the development of second-level (attribute) agenda-setting research that refers to the transmission of attribute salience (Ghanem, 1997; McCombs, Llamas, Lopez-Escobar, & Rey, 1997; McCombs & Lopez-Escobar, 2000).

The term *attribute* refers to the properties and traits that characterize an object, and an object is regarded as that thing toward which our attention and attitudes are directed: “... each of these objects on the agendas has numerous attributes, those characteristics and properties that fill out the picture of each object” (McCombs, 2004, p 70). Much research has described attributes as having two dimensions: cognitive (substantive) and affective. Cognitive attributes include specific substantive traits or characteristics of an object while the affective dimension refers to the tone: positive or negative.

Agenda-Setting as a Democratic Process

Agenda-setting is an integral part of the process of democracy that is associated with the formation of public opinion: “the great engine of democracy” (Page, Shapiro & Dempsey, 1987). Three key words link agenda-setting with democracy and engagement:

attention, consensus and problem solving. Like a spotlight, attention is directed by the media toward certain issues (problems). As a result, consensus forms among readers/viewers about the importance of those issues. In turn, individual members of the public then become motivated to participate in resolving issues. Participation by the public in the problem-solving process, commonly referred to as civic engagement, bolsters democracy. For example, as a result of the local media's salience regarding certain issues, community members recognize that particular problems exist that need to be resolved and together reach an agreement on the order of priority for resolving the problems. Mindich (2005) found that people who followed the news most closely were generally confident in their ability to make a difference. McCombs (2004) noted:

... the news media set the public agenda. Establishing this salience among the public, placing an issue or topic on the public agenda so that it becomes the focus of public attention and thought - and, possibly, action - is the initial stage in the formation of public opinion." (p. 2)

The social implications of agenda-setting are rooted in the media's functions articulated by early communication researcher, Harold Lasswell, as surveillance of the larger environment and correlation of the parts of society in response to the environment. The term "surveillance" refers to the spotlighting of attention by the media while the "correlation of the parts of society" refers to social consensus (Lasswell, 1948). Lasswell believed that the media play a critical role in directing our attention to issues that result in a correlation of attention on certain issues by the media, the public and policymakers at the same time (Dearing & Rogers, 1996).

The term *attention* refers to a set of thoughts and opinions that concern social and political life and the object of attention is considered to be anything belonging to public affairs in the widest possible sense (Inoguchi, 2002; Offe & Fuchs, 2002). Simply put, “attention” means being sensitive to the quality of public life rather than turning a blind eye. Bellah (1991) maintained:

Democracy means paying attention-For paying attention is how we use our psychic energy, and how we use our psychic energy determines the kind of self we are cultivating, the kind of person we are learning to be. When we are giving our full attention to something, when we are really attending, we are calling on all our resources of intelligence, feeling, and moral sensitivity. (p 254)

The media play a critical role in guiding the direction of public attention because individuals cannot give their attention to every public issue. Therefore, attention is the initial step of learning not only about a given issue but also about the *weight* of importance of an issue (Moy et al., 2005).

The term *weight* implies competition among issues, and the nature of issue competition is a basic rationale for the consensus-building function of agenda-setting. Downs (1972) described the rise and fall of an issue on the public agenda as an “issue-attention cycle.” According to Downs, social problems suddenly jump into the range of public attention and remain there for a short time and then fade out. Taking into account the short cycles of public attention that result from our limited capacity to process information, “it is indeed reasonable to think that a society cannot function without appreciable levels of consensus in what agenda setting theory calls the public agenda” (Lopez-Escobar, Llamas, & McCombs, 1998, pp.335-336).

Once the public has started to pay attention to a particular issue and consensus about its importance has started to build, the public then begins to make a decision about where to start: which aspect of the problem needs to be solved first. In general, issues are social problems that involve conflicted interests: problems that need to be fixed. In that respect, agenda-setting is an intrinsically political process within democracy (Dearing & Rogers, 1996). The media launches a process that might lead to policy change through agenda-setting effects. Dearing and Rogers (1996) summarized that agenda-setting presents an explanation of “why information about certain issues, and not other issues, is available to the public in a democracy; how public opinion is shaped; and why certain issues are addressed through policy actions while other issues are not.” (p. 1)

Empirical evidence exists to support the role of consensus building in agenda-setting. Studies that have examined the correlation within groups of demographic categories found that the more people read newspapers, the more they agreed on important public issues within the demographics of gender, age and race (Shaw & Martin, 1992). For example, among infrequent newspaper readers, the rank-order correlation between men’s and women’s issues was .55 while among regular readers there was a perfect correlation of 1.0.

Lopez-Escobar et al., (1998) examined consensus building at both the second-level and the first-level of agenda-setting in Spain’s regional elections and found results similar to those of Shaw and Martin (1992) in terms of gender at the first-level. In addition to gender, there were differences in issue salience between readers and non-readers of newspapers in terms of educational subgroups that was not supported in the previous research, and ideology that was a newly added factor. With regard to the

second-level, there was an increase of consensus depending on media use, as well. Interestingly, affective attributes of the candidates showed a stronger correlation than did their substantive dimensions. One more notable point of this study is that there was a difference of contribution by the media depending on the level of agenda-setting effects: newspaper use showed stronger consensus than did TV at first-level while TV viewing was more effective at the second-level, especially, with regard to the affective dimensions.

Consequences of Agenda-Setting

Since the seminal study by McCombs and Shaw (1972), conducted exactly 40 years ago during the 1968 presidential campaign, the effects of media salience have been supported by hundreds of empirical studies confirming that a strong correlation exists between those issues that are emphasized by the media and the public's perception (Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Scheufele & Tewksbury, 2007; Wanta, 1997; Weaver, Graber, McCombs, & Eyal, 1981).

So far, the primary focus of agenda-setting research has concentrated on the cognitive effects as represented by the term *salience*: specifically, perceived importance. Since 1960 when Klapper (1960) and other scholars studied the weak effects of mass media, researchers have seldom delved into the effects of media on attitudes - much less on behavior.

As Kim and McCombs (2007) observed in a recent study exploring agenda-setting effects and attitudes, it seems ironical to talk about attitudes or behavior that almost disappeared from the field about a half century ago. Agenda-setting effects, however, are not limited to salience. Priming, which is an extension of agenda-setting,

suggests that the perceived salience of issues influences the public's evaluation of public figures (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987). In addition to priming, several researchers have expanded agenda-setting effects to include also opinion, feelings and, even, behavior. As Entman (1989) pointed, "If the media (or anyone) can affect what people think about—the information they process—the media (or anyone) can affect their attitudes" (p. 76).

The realization that agenda-setting research goes beyond salience is rooted in the nature of effects: namely, the "learning process" (Takeshita, 2006; Wanta, 1997; Weaver et al., 1981). The learning process that incorporates the notion of active audiences makes possible the distinction between agenda-setting, on the one hand, and the 1950s "bullet effects," on the other. Through the media, people are able to learn what constitutes the important problems in our society and "really regard it as worthwhile to hold an opinion about that issue" (McCombs, 2004, p. 2). In a similar way, people may hold strong feelings toward public figures based on information presented by the media. The attitudes that readers/viewers form as the result of learning from the media, in turn, prompt their behavior. The psychological mechanism that links learning to attitudes and behavior will be explained in detail in the next part.

Attitudinal Consequences of Agenda-Setting. Iyengar and Kinder (1987) observed that "By calling attention to some matters while ignoring others, television news influences the standards by which governments, presidents, policies, and candidates for public office are judged." (p. 63). Initial priming research was conducted through experimental designs (Iyengar & Kinder, 1987; Iyengar, Kinder, Peters, & Krosnick, 1984) that found TV news served to prime effects for the public's evaluation of the president. Later, Krosnick and his colleagues relied upon public opinion data and found

that strong priming effects influenced the public's approval ratings of the president with regard to particular events, such as the Gulf War and the Iran-Contra scandal. (Krosnick & Brannon, 1993; Krosnick & Kinder, 1990; Miller & Krosnick, 2000). Sheaffer and Weimann (2005) studied priming effects relative to political parties, instead of the president, and found priming effects exert an influence on individuals' voting intentions.

Like agenda-setting, research on priming has expanded in terms of the objects studied as well as research levels. For example, in addition to the public figures, issues have been identified as objects, and attribute-priming has gained attention (Holbert & Hansen, 2006; Kim & McCombs, 2007; Kim, Scheufele, & Shanahan, 2002; Sheaffer, 2007; Sheaffer & Weimann, 2005).

Kim et al. (2002) reported that those attribute-priming effects of the local media that emphasize certain aspects (attributes) of an issue function as clues of issue evaluation among newspaper readers. They concluded, "Priming, based on attribute agenda setting, is therefore a key process for decision making and consensus building in local communities" (p. 21). Kim and McCombs (2007) examined affective dimensions of attribute priming as well as cognitive attribute priming and found that the cognitive and affective attributes highlighted by the media were stronger predictors of attitudinal judgments about Texas gubernatorial candidates among heavy newspaper readers than among light newspaper readers. The affective dimension of attribute priming was more fully explicated in a recent study conducted in the Israeli electoral context by Sheaffer (2007) who, in an examination of the negative tones of priming effects, observed that "In the process of affective priming, people use issue attributes (positive or negative) as

another information shortcut that assists them in making political evaluations and decisions” (p. 35).

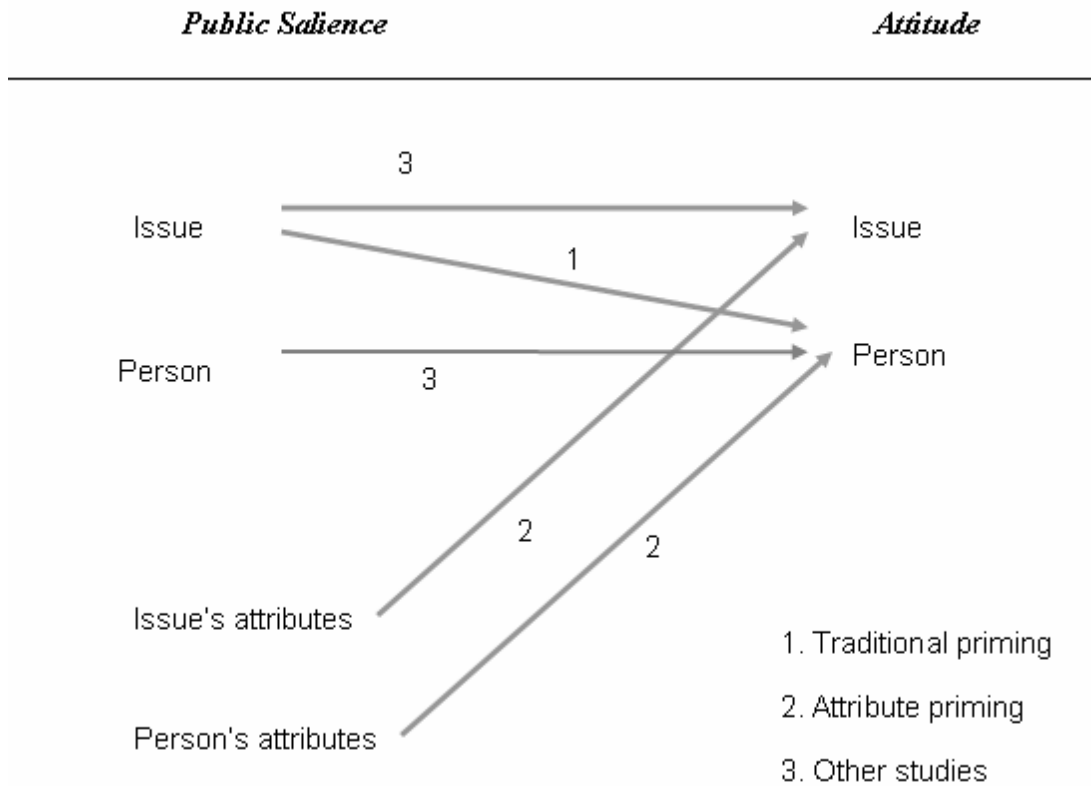
Although priming is the most prominent topic with regard to consequences of agenda-setting, there are several other studies that look at the influence of agenda-setting effects. Kiousis and his colleagues explored the relationship between public salience and opinion strength and found that the public’s issue salience (Kiousis, McDevitt, & Xu, 2005) or political figures salience (Kiousis & McCombs, 2004) had a significant relationship with opinion strength.

Attitude strength was investigated at the second-level, too. Kiousis (2005) looked at the relationship among the media’s trait salience of presidential candidates, the public’s salience about those same traits, and the public’s attitude strength about the candidates. The media’s salience and the public’s attitude strength produced a strong correlation while the media’s salience and the public’s salience showed only a modestly significant relationship.

Several differences exist between priming studies and other agenda-setting consequences research. First, the main interest with regard to priming research is cognitive evaluation while other recent studies have sought to analyze the affective dimension of attributes. Some studies have looked at sentiment and feeling as well as cognitive evaluation. Second, priming studies talk about the direction of evaluation yet Kiousis and his colleagues focused on strength or extent of dispersion of evaluation. Third, as Kiousis and McCombs (2004) pointed out, “One underdeveloped area in priming research has been empirical work investigating how media attention toward political figures themselves influences public attitudes toward those same figures” (p.

37). Figure 2.1 graphically conceptualizes the differences among these various studies depending on the independent and dependent variables. Line 1 indicates traditional priming research begun by Iyenger and Kinder (1987) while Line 2 refers to attribute priming research that focused on effects of public salience about certain attributes of issues or public figures themselves. Studies by Kim et al. (2002) and Kim and McCombs (2007) belong to this second category. Line 3 presents other studies not grouped as “priming,” including studies by Kiouisis, Mc Devitt and Xu (2005) and by Kiouisis and McCombs (2004) that, for example, looked at the relationship between the public’s issue/people salience and opinion strength about issues/people. In addition, other various studies conducted in the field of economic news also belong to the third category.

Figure 2.1: Research about Attitudinal Consequences of Agenda-Setting effects



In addition to the political arena, scholars of agenda-setting research have also looked at issues in the realm of economic news. This area is particularly rich for the study of attitudinal effects because of the availability of various indices that measure people's attitudes over long periods of time, such as the Conference Board's Consumer Confidence Survey and the Michigan Consumer Sentiment Index (MCSI). Much of the agenda-setting research about economic news, thus, relies on those indices for public opinion data.

Hester & Gibson (2003) and Blood and Phillips (1995) examined second-level agenda-setting effects, in particular, the affective dimension, on consumers' attitudes about the economy and found that the negative tone of news stories, for example, articles about a recession, significantly influenced peoples' confidence or sentiment about the nation's economic performance. Their research showed that the more the media wrote or talked about bad news regarding the economy, the more the public expressed deep concerns and negative outlooks about the economy. Hetherington (1996) investigated how negative economic news influenced voters' choices and reported that negative reporting of economic performance during an election year negatively affected voters' perception of the economy; moreover, negative perceptions were significantly related to voter choices.

Although studies of economic news produced empirical evidence to support observations that new stories have an effect on the public's attitudes, strictly speaking, those studies missed a certain key link with regard to agenda-setting in terms of whether the attitudinal effects were because of the media's salience, on one hand, or to the public's salience, on the other. Blood and Phillips (1995), Goidel and Langley (1995) and Hester and Gibson (2003) went directly to *attitudes* of the public without examining the *salience* of the public (recognition by the public that the issue was of importance). That oversight occurred because the economic indices relied upon do not offer items that are appropriate for measuring public salience. Hetherington's (1996) study began with the assumption that general economic news is negative without conducting content analysis that would have allowed measurements of the media's salience.

Behavioral Consequences of Agenda-Setting. The behavioral consequences of agenda-setting have been examined in various contexts, such as elections, economic crises and advertising, but those studies have been few in number. In a study about the impact of issue salience, Becker (1977) found that a significant correlation existed between the issue of the Vietnam War salience and campaign activity among Democrats. In terms of voting, Democrats who thought that political issues of the Vietnam War were important were found to have been more likely to go to the polls but the results of Becker's study were not statistically significant. Kepplinger and Roth (1979) examined the media's influence on the development of an oil crisis during the early 1970's in Germany. During that period, the German media emphasized that the nation's oil supply was in danger in disregard of actual inventory. As a result of the news, people expressed deep concern about the oil supply and, further, purchased remarkably higher amounts of petroleum products. Behavior, however, was not the sole interest of those studies; rather only one of the findings indicated agenda-setting effects. Moreover, the authors did not offer a theoretical explanation about reasons for the behavioral outcome of agenda-setting.

Studies that have concentrated on behaviors associated with agenda-setting have been concentrated mainly in the field of advertising. Sutherland and Galloway (1981) noticed that the concept of salience in agenda-setting operated in parallel with a strategy of advertising so that issue salience could be applied to an advertising strategy based on brand salience. Consumers were asked, for example: "What attribute or product feature is the first one you think of when I say toothpaste?" The questions were similar to survey questions that readers/listeners are asked in second-level agenda-setting studies. In this

conceptual paper, the scholars, who were able to link agenda-setting and marketing, commented:

We know from agenda-setting research that prominence in the media leads to some form of salience in the public mind. On the other hand, from marketing and advertising research we know that salience in the public mind is correlated with behavioral outcomes such as purchase and market share... That is, perceived popularity functions as an intervening variable that is inferred from salience or prominence and thereby links agendas with behavioral outcomes. (pp 27-28)

Based on Sutherland and Galloway's (1981) argument, Ghorpade (1986) proposed a two-stage model: a first stage that refers to the transfer of salience from advertising to the public mind, and a second stage that indicates the transfer of salience from the public mind to a behavioral outcome. Using content analysis and a survey to examine the political campaign of a U.S. Senator, Ghorpade (1986) concluded: "The findings demonstrate that advertising can focus consumers' attention on what attributes of a product to think about, and that this transfer of salience can lead to intended behavioral outcomes" (p 26).

Ghorpade's (1986) two-stage model was empirically supported by Roberts (1992) in a study about the 1990 Texas gubernatorial election. In that study, Roberts' focal point was the predictability of voting choices as the result of agenda-setting. A discriminant analysis, based on a three-wave panel design, showed that 70% of the voters were correctly classified in their reported vote for governor according to the level of issue concern. After controlling for media use, partisanship and other variables, the portion of correct classification increased to 90%. Thus, Roberts concluded that "the mass media

may not only tell us what to think about but they influence what actions we take regarding those thoughts” (p. 878).

Another study by Weaver (1991) looked at diverse political behaviors, for example, signing petitions, attending meetings, writing letters and voting, in which he explored the relationship between the salience of the federal budget deficit issue and public knowledge, opinion and behavior. Weaver found a significant correlation between issue salience and all the dependent variables, concluding that the greater importance people assigned to the deficit problem, the more knowledge they sought about causes and solutions relative to the problem, and the stronger their opinions were about the topic. He also found that the more concerned people were about the deficit issue, the more likely they were to engage politically through various behaviors. Stroud and Kenski (2007) applied agenda-setting effects at unique behavior: participation in survey. They found a negative relationship between 2004 presidential campaign news and refusal rate of survey. In other words, the more the media covered the election, the more the respondents agreed to answer questions of an election survey.

Recently, Kiouisis and McDevitt (2008) have suggested a more elaborate model to explain the influence of agenda-setting on behavior. In their research, they tried to explicate causality beyond correlation through use of panel data. In their study, agenda-setting was conceptualized as an intrinsic process within political socialization that impacts actual political participation through opinion extremity and political ideology. Using an empirically supported model, agenda-setting effects (issue importance) that prompted the first voting of young adults were seen to have been affected by school curricula, interpersonal discussions and habitual media use. This model highlighted the

consequences of agenda-setting as being a sequence of cognitive (Iraq issue importance), affective (feelings about the U.S. government's actions about Iraq) and behavioral outcomes (voting).

3. CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Foundation of Modeling

A combination of the O-S-O-R model and the hierarchy of the effects model serve as the baseline for this current study. The two models together offer a conceptual rationale for the following sequence: media use affects public salience (agenda-setting effects). Next, agenda-setting effects lead to attitude strength. Finally, attitude strength brings about civic engagement.

In the O-S-O-R model, according to Markus and Zajonc (1985), O indicates an *active organism* that “not only mediates between the stimuli of the environment and the responses but what stimuli are attended to and what stimuli are ignored ...” (p. 138). That is, O functions as both the antecedent of S (Stimulus) and the mediating variable between S and R (response). This formula is an alternative to the traditional S-R model that ignored the cognitive process.

McLeod, Kosicki and McLeod (1994) applied this model to political communication research and explained that the first O (O_1) is the “set of structural, cultural, cognitive, and motivational characteristics the audience brings to the reception situation that affect the impact of messages (S).” In other words, O_1 represents a preexisting condition that influences media exposure and attention. The second O (O_2) refers to “what is likely to happen between the reception of message and the subsequent

response (R)’’ (pp. 146–147). In general, response (R) is interpreted as behavior, and O₂ stands for attitude followed by behavior.

This model elevates the importance of the mediator, that is, the cognitive process, because media research no longer claims that the message has a direct effect on political behavior, like a hypodermic needle (Holbert, 2005). For that reason, the O₁-S- O₂-R formula is useful for understanding the process of media effects that begins with media use, moves to attitude and, finally, to behavior (McLeod & Scheufele, 1999; Moy et al., 2005; Paek, 2008). McLeod and Scheufele (1999), for instance, relied on this model to explain the causal relationship between media use and civic engagement. In their study, O₁ signifies demographic variables, community integration and political interest. S means communications, including mass media use and interpersonal communication. O₂ indicates political knowledge and efficacy affected by S. Finally, R represents local political participation.

Another baseline for this study is the hierarchy of the effects model. Specifically, this model explains the mechanism of the second-level model because it regards affective (feeling) strength as an attitude variable. The hierarchy of effects model maintains that a series of stages occurs between the point of unawareness of an issue and/or person and the ultimate behavior related to the issue and/or person (Barry, 1987). McGuire (1989), who was one of the first to regard consumers (audiences) as information processors, suggested the following 12 steps for successful campaign communication:

The public must be exposed to the message and, having been exposed to it, must attend to it, like it, learn what and how, agree, store and retrieve , and decide on the basis

of it, down to behaving on the basis of that decision, getting reinforced for so behaving, and engaging in postcompliance activity. (p. 48)

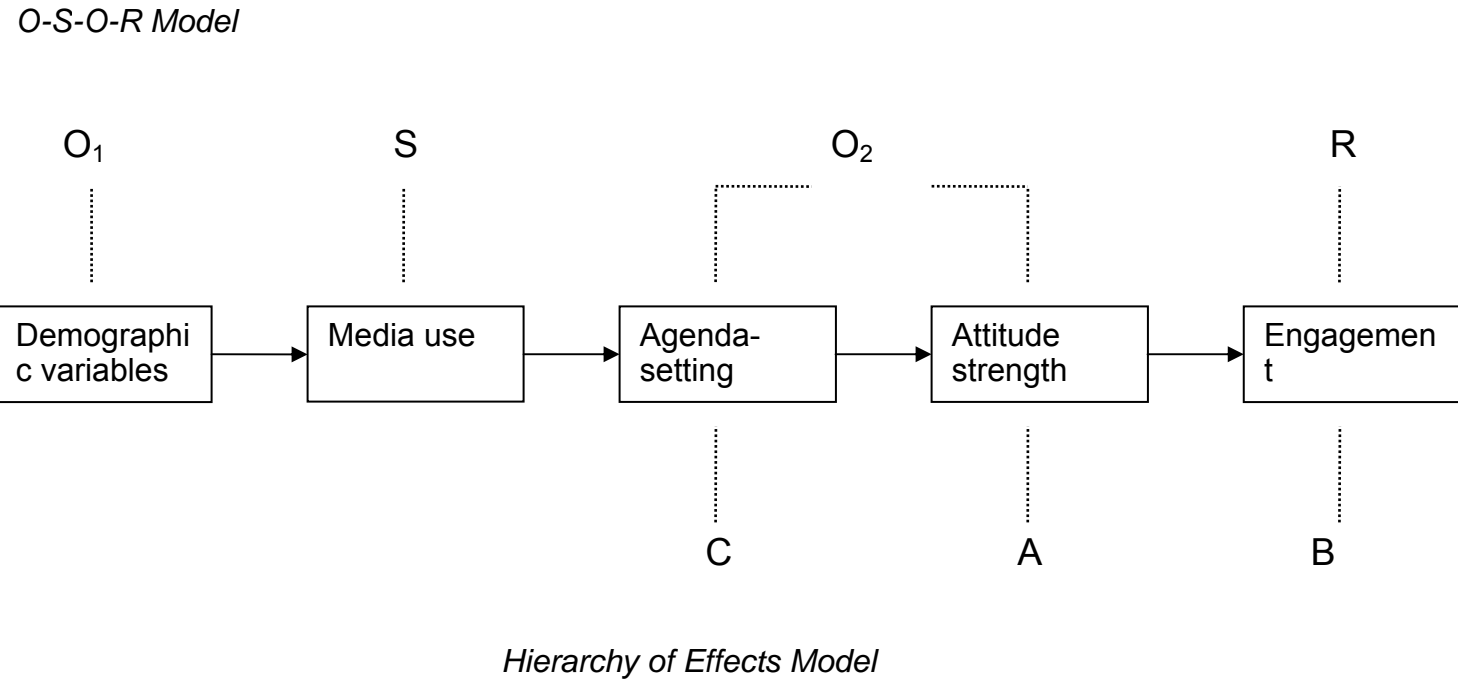
Longman(1971) suggested stages of the hierarchy of the effects model that are simpler than those of McGuire: “audiences were exposed to messages, attended to them, developed perceptions and comprehension, formed beliefs, were motivated as a result of those beliefs, and finally acted according to that motivation and the beliefs.” (cited in Barry, 1987, p.266). The statements by McGuire (1989) as well as Longman (1971) indicate that the traditional hierarchy of the effects model has a sequence of cognition (C), affect (A) and behavior (B) or conation (intention/ability of behavior) (Severin & Tankard, 2000). The CAB model is in line with learning hierarchy that says: audiences think and perceive, then feel or develop attitudes, and then behave (Barry, 1987). The CAB model has several variations that include KAB (knowledge, attitude, behavior) and KAP (knowledge, attitude, practice). Chaffee and Roser (1986) employed the KAB model, based on the learning hierarchy, that maintains knowledge gain directs attitude change and, subsequently, leads to behavior change.

However, there have been debates about the order of stages and, sometimes, the concept of the hierarchy itself (Boyd, Ray, & Strong, 1972; Zajonc, 1980). For example, Kiousis and McCombs (2004) found evidences for an exceptional sequence from attitude strength to public salience (cognitive dimension) rather than a general sequence that from public salience to attitude. Boyd et al. (1972) argued that learning does not necessarily lead to attitudinal change nor does attitudinal change necessarily lead to behavioral change; their model has been widely applied to various arenas such as advertising, marketing communication and health communication. Barry (2002) advocated the

hierarchy of effects model on the logic that “It makes sense to posit that before people consume most goods and services, they have some information about these goods and services and form some attitude, no matter how weak that attitude or how quickly the attitude was formed.” (p. 46). If the words “goods” and “consume” are replaced with “candidates” and “vote,” then Barry’s statements fit well into the process of election campaigns. Barry added, “In most cases, people have to process (carefully or not) that information, value (positively or negatively) that information, and then behave (or not) in some fashion.” (p. 45)

Figure 2.2 offers a conceptual framework for how the O-S-O-R and the hierarchy of the effects model contribute to this current study on media effects.

Figure 2.2: Baseline of Models



Agenda-Setting, Attitude and Behavior

Figure 2.2 shows that two mediating variables operate in the relationship between media use and engagement: the first is agenda-setting effects and the second is attitude strength which includes both opinion strength and affective strength. Several scholars have noted these consequences of agenda-setting (Kiousis, Bantimaroudis, & Ban, 1999; Kiousis & McCombs, 2004; Weaver, 1991). Yet, despite empirical evidence that supports these findings, there has been little deliberation about how and why agenda-setting effects lead to attitudinal and behavioral results.

To understand the links between public salience-attitude strength and attitude strength, the term “attitude” needs to be defined. Despite rare consensus on the precise definition of attitude, scholars agree that evaluation is an essential part of attitude (Ajzen, 1980; Millar & Tesser, 1986; Oskamp, 1991). Eagly and Chaiken (1995) pointed out, “Attitude is a psychological tendency that is expressed by evaluating a particular entity with some degree of favor or disfavor... attitudes are people’s evaluations of attitude objects.” (p.414). Scholars usually measure people’s attitudes about objects using questions that ask if they like or dislike and agree or disagree and the answers are considered to form an evaluation or judgment. For that reason, Oskamp (1991) calls public opinion a “summary of the shared attitudes of the members of a society” (p. 5).

Attitude is a key concept at the center of continuing debates in psychology that differ depending on the scholar, the definition and, ultimately, the relationship between attitude and other concepts such as beliefs, opinions, feelings, and behaviors. Ajzen (1980), for example, noted that an attitude is “simply a person's general feeling of favorableness or unfavorableness for that concept” (p. 54). On the contrary, Eagly and

Chaiken (1995) and Oskamp(1991) regarded attitude as a broad concept that includes cognitive, affective and, even, behavioral components. According to Oskamp (1991), a cognitive component consists of “the ideas and beliefs which the attitude-holder has about the attitude object,” and affective component refers to “the feelings and emotions one has toward the object.” The behavioral component means “one’s action tendencies toward the object” (p 10).

Among various viewpoints about attitudes, this study employs the definition that attitudes are multicomponent entities that encompass cognition and affect (Millar & Tesser, 1986; Sherif, Sherif, & Nebergall, 1965). Millar and Tesser (1989) considered behaviors to be subsequent results driven by the cognitive or affective components rather than as a part of attitudes. This conceptualization fits well with the models of this study. The first-level agenda-setting model, with a focus on the consequences of agenda-setting opinion strength about issues, considers the cognitive components of attitude. The second-level model, with a concentration on the affective components, looks at the feelings of readers/viewers toward the Presidential candidates. As a result, the cognitive or affective components of attitudes are viewed as boosting media users’ participation in politics and in the community.

The models relied upon in this study regard attitude strength rather than attitude change as a consequence of agenda-setting rather. Previous research has demonstrated that attitudes can be “very stable and very difficult to change” (Krosnick & Petty, 1995, p.1). The failure of early media studies to identify the powerful effects of mass media resulted from a focus on attitude change (McQuail, 2000; Severin & Tankard, 2000). According to Krosnick and Petty (1995), attitude strength is defined as “the extent to

which attitudes manifest the qualities of durability and impactfulness” (p. 3) and attitude strength is measured in terms of extremity, intensity, magnitude or polarity (Prislin, 1996). In a comprehensive study, Krosnick, Boninger, Chuang, Berent, and Carnot (1993) found that attitude strength is a latent variable with multiple and distinct indicators. Abelson (1995) regarded the concept of attitude extremity as the same as that of attitude polarization. Attitude extremity is usually operationalized as a deviation from a neutral point on an evaluative scale (Prislin, 1996).

The link between agenda-setting effects and attitude strength can be understood in terms of a simple logic: “ Since the mass media (from an agenda-setting perspective) tend to stimulate more thinking and learning about objects and attributes in people’s minds, one might consequently expect that this increased thinking would lead to strengthened attitudes “ (Kiousis, 2005, p 7). Tesser, Martin and Mendolia (1995) pointed out that thinking operates as an antecedent of attitude strength with this conclusion: “thought, then, tends to make evaluations more extreme, more accessible and more enduring” (p.75). Tesser and his colleagues repeatedly demonstrated that during experiments participants showed more extreme evaluations about the object when they were directed to take some time to think about the same objects (Tesser & Conlee, 1975; Tesser & Cowan, 1977). Set-size effects have also been shown to create a positive relationship between the amount of information given about an object and more extreme evaluative judgments about the object (Davidson, 1995).

Another theoretical connection between agenda-setting and attitude can be found in the cognitive growth theory, specifically, the utilitarian approach. According to the cognitive growth theory, people struggle to develop a higher level of cognitive

complexity rather than to stay at the existing level. The utilitarian approach emphasizes a person's *problem solving* (McGuire, 1985): "coping with challenges so as to maximize expected gain at minimum cost" (p. 299). According to the agenda-setting theory, news readers/viewers also function as problem-solvers: "Individuals are problem solvers, approaching each situation as an opportunity to gain useful information for coping with life's challenges" (Wanta, 1997, p. 105). In that respect, agenda-setting theory perceives media users as active participants rather than as passive reactors, which strengthens the rationale underlying the relationship between agenda-setting effects and media users' attitudes. Media users learn, comprehend and evaluate. Wanta (1997) empirically demonstrated that the most attentive and the most active individuals are the ones most likely to be influenced by the news media and concluded: "Individuals decide how and why they use the news media. Thus, individuals determine, to a large degree, the magnitude of agenda-setting effects that they will display based on their backgrounds, attitudes, and actions" (p. 7).

With regard to the next link between attitude and behavior, there have been numerous studies that have explicated the A (attitude) to B (behavior) relationship and the A-B consistency (Ajzen & Fishbein, 1977; Bentler & Speckart, 1979; Petty & Krosnick, 1995). Behavior refers to any act, verbal or nonverbal, that individuals generally assume to require real commitment (Schuman & Johnson, 1976). The interests in attitudes of scholars results partially from the consistency that has been found to exist between attitude and behavior. In other words, attitude is a predictor of behavior and, consequently, attitude change produces behavioral change (McGuire, 1985). Pioneer psychologist Gordon W. Allport perceived attitude as a "readiness for response." (cited in

Oskamp, 1991, p.8). Oskamp (1991) summarized the relationship as follows: “an attitude is a theoretical construct which is not observable in itself, but which mediates or helps to explain the relationship between certain observable stimulus events and certain behavioral responses” (p. 14). Therefore, “the stronger an attitude the more likely it will drive behavior” (Tesser et al., 1995, p. 75). Extreme attitudes have been shown to be more consistent with behaviors than are less extreme attitudes (Fazio & Zanna, 1978; Judd & Brauer, 1995). Kallgren and Wood (1985) reported that college students who expressed more favorable attitudes about environmental preservation participated more actively in pro-environmental works, such as signing petitions and recycling projects.

4. HYPOTHESES

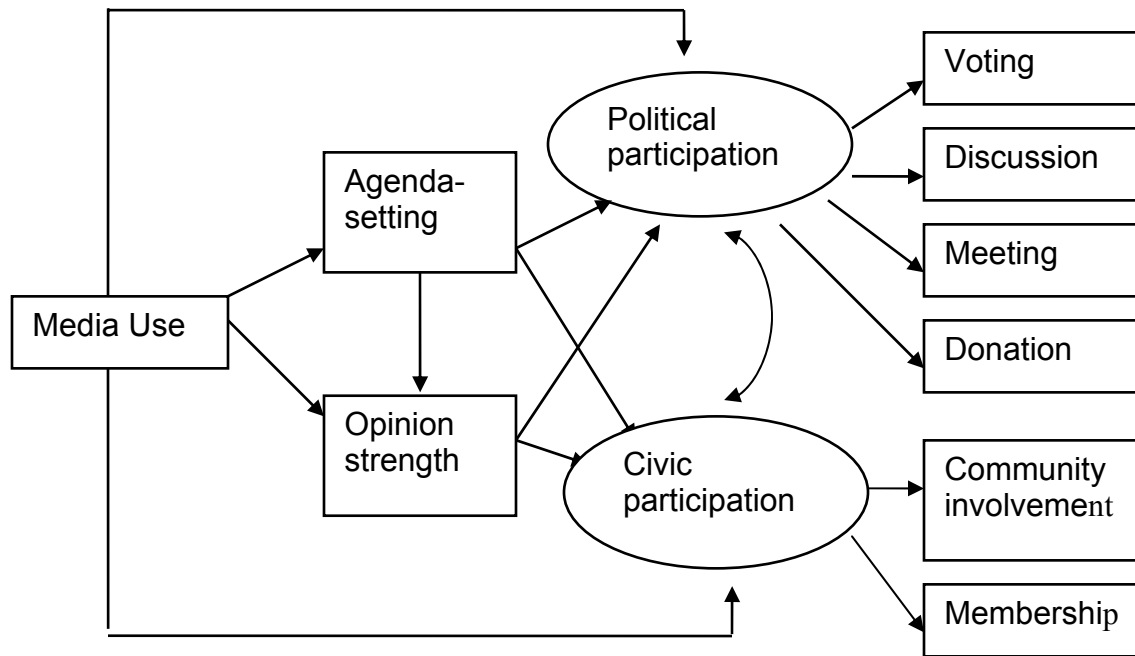
This study proposes two models of agenda-setting effects on engagement: the first-level and the second-level. Testing both agenda-setting effects of the first and the second levels offers an opportunity to examine different dimensions with regard to both cognitive attitudes and affective attitudes. The first-level model measures *opinion strength* about issues in terms of attitude strength while the second-level measures *feelings/emotions* toward candidates, also in terms of attitude strength.

These models are examined with regard to both newspaper and TV use. The distinction between the newspaper and the TV models is based on previous studies in the areas of both agenda-setting and engagement. Scholars have been interested in determining which medium - newspaper or TV - is more powerful in terms of generating agenda-setting effects. While results have varied, according to McCombs (2004), about half the research has found no difference while the other half has noted that newspapers,

rather than TV, exert a stronger agenda-setting role. In the relationship with civic engagement, the role of each medium also has been a prominent topic, as summarized in the previous section. In both models, demographic variables and party identification are controlled yet are not presented in the following figures.

First-level agenda-setting model. Figure 2.3 represents a diagram of the first-level agenda-setting model.

Figure 2.3: First-Level Agenda-Setting Model



According to this model, agenda-setting and opinion strength work as mediators between media use and civic engagement with civic engagement being represented by

two constructs: political participation and civic participation (Delli Carpini, 2004; Zukin et al., 2006).

The objects of the first-level agenda-setting model are issues. For that reason, the attitude strength caused by agenda-setting effects is measured by opinion strength about those issues. As Petty, Haugtvedt and Smith (1995) pointed out, people think about important issues more than they think about unimportant ones. Thus, more thought leads to stronger opinions, as discussed above. In the electoral context, Crano (1995) noted, "... people are more likely to vote in accord with their attitudes as perceived issue importance increases." (p. 135). Kiouisis and McDevitt (2008) recently found that agenda-setting effects predict voter turnout in ways that go beyond attitude strength. If agenda-setting influences voter turnout, then it is logical to assume that it may also affect other types of campaign participation such as attending campaign meetings and making financial contributions to parties or candidates.

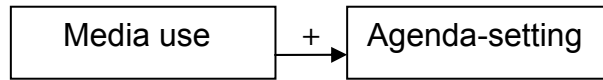
The model indicates that there is a direct influence of news attention on opinion strength although the direct affect is not included in a specific hypothesis because it is not the main interest of this study. The arrow from news attention to opinion strength presents the portion that is not mediated by agenda-setting effects. The arrow is based on previous studies that found significant relationships between media use and opinion polarization (Jones, 2002; Mendelsohn and Nadeau, 1996; Wanta, Craft and Geana, 2004). These studies found, on the one hand, "mainstreamed" effects of newspaper use or broadcast use and, on the other hand, the "polarized" effects of radio, narrowcast, partisan media.

The model assumes a direct as well as an indirect relationship between media use and engagement. Several studies suggest that news media use contributes to increased participation in various activities. This study argues that agenda-setting and attitude strength can explain *some part* of the link but not the entire mechanism. Thus, the model hypothesizes that a significant direct relationship exists between media use and engagement. Likewise, the media influence attitudes and opinions directly but not necessarily through the agenda-setting process (Domke et al., 1997; Sapiro & Soss, 1999; Zaller, 1992). For example, Page et al. (1987) found that TV news variables alone accounted for nearly half of the variance in public opinion change. The direct relationship between agenda-setting and engagement occurs in a similar manner. The model shows that the influence of agenda-setting on engagement is partially yet significantly explained by the mediation of attitude strength.

The important aspect of this model is that agenda-setting is the “general” learning process of individuals rather than being limited to specific issues or specific electoral contexts. That is the rationale for including civic participation in the model. In addition, empirical studies about social capital argue that political and civic participation are distinct yet strongly correlated concepts. Wilkins (2000) found civic participation to be a significant positive predictor of political participation.

Based on the aforementioned theoretical explication regarding the overall model, this study posits the following specific hypotheses.

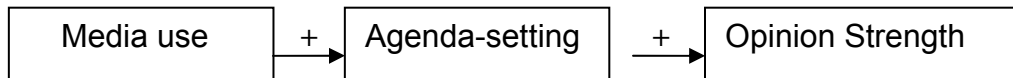
H1. Media use predicts first- level agenda-setting effects.



H1-1. Newspaper use predicts first- level agenda-setting effects.

H1-2. Television news use predicts first-level agenda-setting effects.

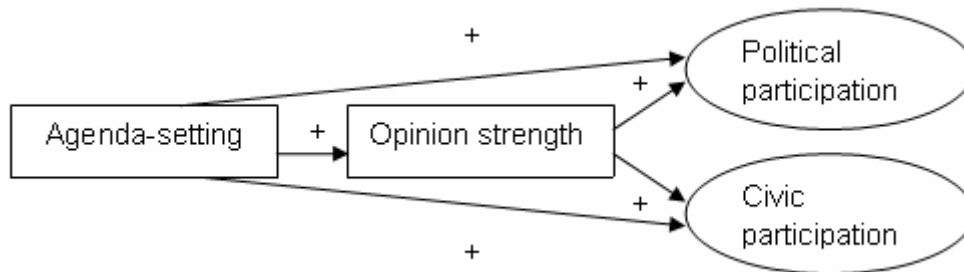
H2. First-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and opinion strength.



H2-1. First-level agenda-setting effects of newspapers serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and opinion strength.

H2-2. First-level agenda-setting effects of television serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and opinion strength.

H3. First-level agenda-setting effects influence civic engagement directly or through opinion strength.



H3-1. First-level agenda-setting effects of newspapers influence political participation.

H3-2. First- level agenda-setting effects of newspapers influence civic participation.

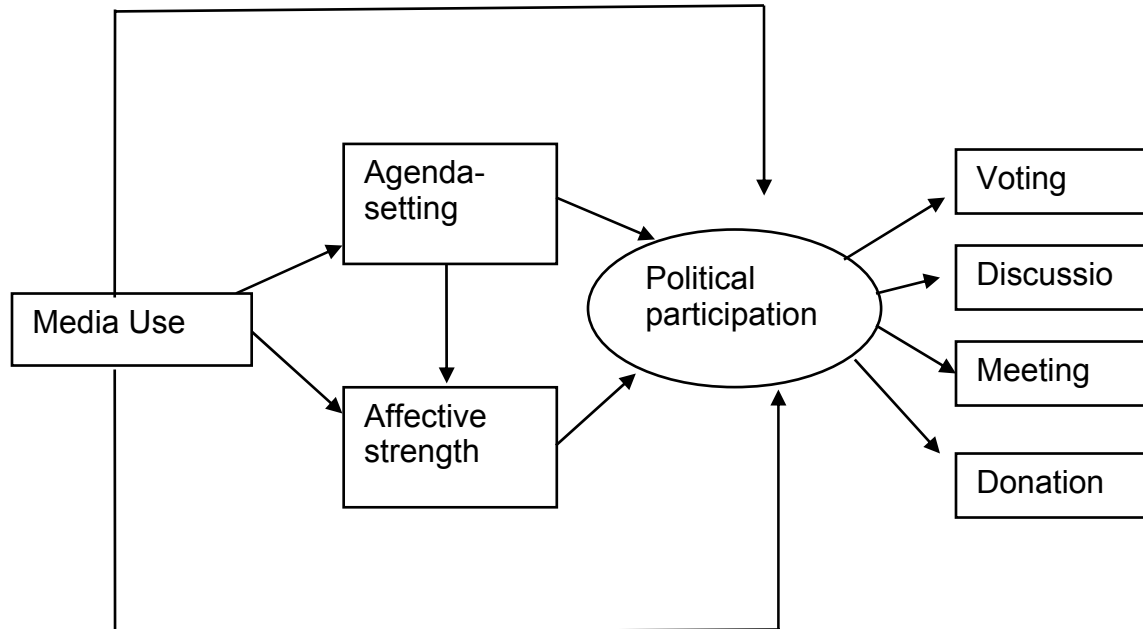
H3-3. First-level agenda-setting effects of television influence political participation.

H3-4. First- level agenda-setting effects of television influence on civic participation.

Second-level agenda-setting model

Figure 2.4 presents the second-level agenda-setting model. This model does not include civic participation as engagement because the objects are the 2004 presidential candidates, President Bush and Senator Kerry. Unlike issues in the objects of the first-level model, candidates are extremely election-oriented objects. Thus, the consequences of agenda-setting effects are limited to campaign-related behaviors.

Figure 2.4: The Second-Level Agenda-Setting Model



In this model, as with other previous studies, agenda-setting effects are examined on two dimensions: substantive and affective. Through the agenda-setting process, audiences learn not only which traits of the candidates are talked about but also how (positively or negatively) the traits are described. As McCombs (2004) pointed out, second-level agenda-setting is about comprehension as well as attention. Due to the affective dimension, second-level agenda-setting in itself entails attitudinal consequences. If media users pay attention to the same personal traits of a candidate as those mentioned by the media and, further, comprehend or agree with the tone about these traits, then users are assumed to have made a judgment or evaluation about the candidates. In other words, evaluation is an essential part of attitude. The information that users learn from

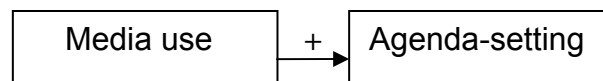
the agenda-setting process relates to the candidates' images (Coleman & Banning, 2007). Weaver (1981) commented that "The media may be even more important for setting image agendas than for setting issue agendas... we conclude that image agenda-setting [constitutes] major effects of newspaper and television coverage of a presidential election, perhaps more pervasive and important than issues are" (p. 166).

Cognitive evaluation, which constitutes part of the agenda-setting effect, is followed by an affective evaluation that is related to media users' feelings and emotions. Coleman and Banning (2007) found that a significant correlation exists between a candidate's visual image on network TV news and audiences' feelings toward the candidates. In the 2000 presidential election, Governor Bush, who expressed more negative nonverbal behaviors, caused readers/viewers to feel angry and afraid while Vice President Gore, who showed more a positive image, created positive feeling such as hope and pride.

The link between affective strength and political participation is a challenging topic in politics as well as in psychology where research has been dominated by cognitive primacy theories (Kinder, 1998; Lazarus, 1982). Much of the scholarship about affect concerns the role of various emotions, such as anger, hope and anxiety, in political thinking and behavior (Brader, 2006; Marcus & MacKuen, 1993; Neuman, Marcus, MacKuen, & Crigler, 2007). Neuman et al. (2007) concluded, "there is indeed an *affect effect*, actually, numerous, diverse, and significant effects" (p.1). The affect effect occurs with reference to cognition, sometimes, and at other times, it works independently. Delli Carpini (2004) claimed that "it is possible that emotional responses alone are enough for citizens to develop political attitudes, even in the absence of the conscious use of factual

information or rational thought” (p. 414). Marcus (2002) suggests that emotion is not a block for rational thinking but a core of good citizenship to enhance rational thinking. He even argued, “people are able to be rational because they are emotional; emotions enable rationality” (p. 7). According to Marcus, the effort to remove passion results in damage to our capacity to reason. Therefore, this study sets forth the following hypotheses.

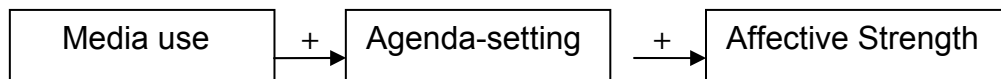
H4. Media use predicts second-level agenda-setting effects.



H4-1. Newspaper use predicts second-level agenda-setting effects.

H4-2. Television news use predicts second-level agenda-setting effects.

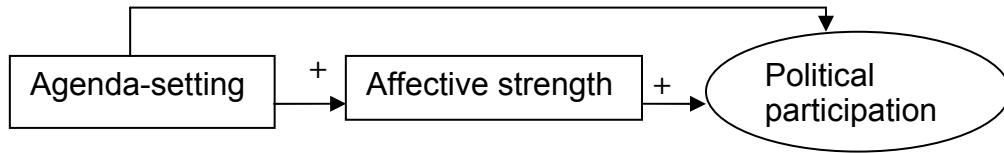
H5. Second-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and affective strength.



H5-1. Second-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between newspaper use and affective strength.

H5-2. Second-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between television news use and affective strength.

H6. Second-level agenda-setting effects influence affective strength, which, in turn, influences political participation.



H6-1. First-level agenda-setting effects of newspaper influence political participation through affective strength.

H6-2. Second-level agenda-setting effects of television influence political participation through affective strength.

Chapter 3: Methodology

Media content analysis and survey data analysis were conducted to test the hypotheses of this study. These two methods, frequently used in agenda-setting research since the seminal study by McCombs and Shaw (1972), examine the basic concept of agenda-setting as the transfer of salience from the media to the public. In this study, media salience was investigated through content analysis of news stories in the *New York Times* and *NBC's Nightly News*. Despite the proliferation of Internet news in recent years, newspaper and TV continued to provide the main sources for news for Americans in 2004 (Pew, 2004).

To measure public salience, data collected as part of the American National Election Studies (ANES) survey during the 2004 presidential campaign was analyzed. The 2004 NES survey, which offers the most recent data available for purposes of gauging the individual level of agenda-setting effects at both the first and second levels, asked respondents questions about the importance of various issues of society as well as traits of political candidates. The participant's responses furnish information regarded as indispensable for creation of an individual-level agenda-setting index, one of the goals of this study. (Specific survey questions are described in the Measurement section). Of particular interest, the NES dataset contains a significant number of questions related to respondents' civic engagement, ranging from campaign participation to community involvement.

Another reason for selection of the ANES data for analysis in this study, in addition to availability, is that ANES data, recognized as a valuable resource for

academic research, represents national samples of adults (Leshner, Benoit, & Hansen, 2007). The continuity of the questionnaire allows for replication (Miller, 1990), a quality that Babbie (2004) notes, “can be a general solution to problems of validity in social research” (p. 327). Despite these advantages, the selection of a secondary database carries limitations of secondary analysis, for the reason that, as Becker (1981) explained, archived data may not offer exact information because the researcher was not involved in the original data gathering process.

For the data analysis, structural equation modeling (SEM) was used. SEM is useful not only to show specific relationships between variables presented by each arrow but also to examine whether the overall model is retainable using model fit statistics.

1. MEDIA AND PUBLIC OPINION DATA

Media

In 2004, the media sources that Americans most frequently turned to for campaign news, when respondents were asked to compare TV and newspapers, were TV (76%) and newspapers (46%). By comparison, radio and the Internet ranked only 20 percent (Pew 2004). Based on those observations, stories in the *New York Times* and news scripts of *NBC's Nightly News* were chosen for analysis, using keyword searches in LexisNexis Academic (<http://www.lexisnexis.com>). All stories longer than 100 words including editorials, columns and letters from readers were collected.

In the U.S., the *New York Times*, regarded as one of the representative prestige newspapers, is commonly used for media research (Kioussis, 2004; Tedesco, 2005). Especially, intermedia agenda-setting studies have found that the *New York Times* is one

of the representative agenda-setters among media outlets in the U.S.(McCombs, 2004; Reese and Danielian, 1989). During the 2004 campaign season, *NBC* was reported to have more viewers than its competitors, according to an *Associated Press* article entitled, “*NBC’s Nightly News Dominates Ratings.*” (Associated Press, Oct. 21, 2004). In addition, Nielsen ratings indicated that *NBC* drew more than 43 million viewers during the three presidential candidates’ debates (Associated Press, Oct. 1, 2004; Oct.11, 2004; Oct.14, 2004). In this study, the nightly network news was selected because it was reported to have greater viewership than any other news program at the national level. In 2002, 35% of Americans regularly watched the national nightly network news as compared to 25% who relied on network TV magazines and 20% who watched network morning news (Pew 2004).

With regard to sampling, although analysis of more different media outlets would have offered greater credence for generalization of results of this study, the selection of methodology was made with regard to available resources, relative to a range of theoretical justifications. The sampling of this study relies upon the concept of intermedia agenda-setting based on findings of previous studies that a high level of homogeneity exists among various media outlets in terms of news agendas and that the elite news media function as agenda setters, a phenomenon that results from standard routines and shared norms of journalists (McCombs, 2004; Dearing & Rogers, 1996; Reese & Danielian, 1989).

The factor of a timeframe is an issue of significance in the field of agenda-setting with regard to the lag that occurs between media salience, on the one hand, and public salience, on the other: specifically, at what point audiences recognize the importance of

an agenda that has been highlighted by the media and, at the other extreme, at what point the audiences fail to recall the importance of an agenda highlighted earlier. Unlike the hypodermic theory, popular in the 1920s, agenda-setting theory does not expect the media to have an instant effect on the public, yet agenda-setting theory recognizes that media effects on the public are relatively short-term rather than long-term. While scholars have observed that the time lag ranges from one week (Roberts, Wanta, & Dzwo, 2002) to nine months (Sohn, 1978), the optimal time-lag is generally observed to last from four to eight weeks (McCombs, 2004).

Based on these findings, this study includes two timeframes based on the dates of the ANES interviews. In those situations when questions were asked in September 2004, the content analysis focused on news stories that were reported during the period of August and September 2004 (referred to in this study as “Time 1”). When interviews were conducted from October 1 to November 1, news stories that had been reported in September and October were analyzed (referred to in this study as “Time 2”). According to these two timeframes, the time lag for agenda-setting effects relative to the ANES interviews fell within a range of four to eight weeks.

Public Opinion Data

The ANES 2004 dataset is available from the website of ANES (<http://www.electionstudies.org/>). The surveys are conducted every two years, with a sample of voting age Americans, and consistently include items essential for political communication research, such as media exposure, electoral participation, voting behavior and public opinion.

This study relied only upon responses to ANES interviews that were conducted in both pre-election and post-election interviews; therefore, those respondents who had only pre-interviews were deleted from the sample, thus resulting in a final sample size of 1,066. Pre-election interviews were administered September 7 through November 1, 2004, with post-election interviews being conducted from the day after the election (November 3) through December 20.

2. MEASUREMENT OF FIRST-LEVEL AGENDA-SETTING EFFECTS

Content Analysis- Issue Salience

The objects of first-level agenda-setting selected for this study are issues, a conventional indicator of salience in agenda-setting research. Most previous research has used the “Most Important Problem” (MIP) question to measure the bivariate relationship between media salience and public salience. However, this study instead employed multiple issues to measure the relationship, constituting what is considered to be a methodological strength of this research, based on the assumption that multiple items, as opposed to a single item, are likely offer a more exact indicator.

Agenda-setting index in this study referred to each respondent’s susceptibility toward agenda-setting effects created by the comparison between media content and people’s thoughts. The issues selected for creating a first-level agenda-setting index were drawn from the ANES survey questions that asked respondents about the importance of the following nine issues: diplomacy, government spending, defense spending, government health insurance, jobs, aid to Blacks, environment, gun access and women’s equal role. The wording of the ANES questions was: “How important is this issue to you

personally?” While the question wording is different from traditional agenda-setting studies’ MIP questions, a recent study found little difference between responses to MIP and personal context questionnaires (Min, Ghanem, & Evatt, 2007).

The first step of content analysis began with retrieval of news stories that contained keywords related to issues covered by the ANES surveys, as indicated in the full body of the news stories, including the headlines. The list of keywords was comprehensive in order to avoid omitting relevant stories from analysis. For example, although the ANES survey asked about “defense spending,” the keyword was not limited to defense *spending* because general discussions about defense could be a clue about defense spending. The composition of the list of keywords was based on the ANES codebook plus a study by Tedesco (2005). In addition to keywords listed in the ANES codebook, the names of the 2004 Presidential candidates -- “Bush” and “Kerry” -- were also included in the list (see Appendix A for a full list of keywords for sampling).

After the data gathering, the pilot coding was conducted with an initial codebook. The pilot coding found that because of the characteristics of campaign news, many different issues were mentioned briefly in the same sentence. As a result of this finding, news stories were deleted if at least one paragraph did not address one of the issues. This filtering process resulted in a final sample of 2,718 articles from the *New York Times* and 431 stories on NBC.

The unit of analysis for this study was the news story, meaning that only one main issue per story was coded as “1” and other issues were coded as “0.” When an article contained multiple issues, the main issue was determined by 1) headlines, 2) lead, and 3)

number of sentences. The unit of analysis referred to is “the units that are analyzed statistically to test hypotheses or answer research questions” (Riffe, Lacy, & Fico, 2005).

Analyzing message for first-level agenda-setting effects is a relatively straightforward process; however, it was almost impossible to draw clear boundaries between the nine issues. For instance, terrorism, the Iraqi war and 9/11 could be read as both diplomacy and defense issues, therefore, the coders were asked to take into account the context.

News stories about the Iraqi war were usually coded as “diplomacy” following ANES’s codebook that classifies “Iraq war” as “foreign affairs” for MIP question. However, when stories focused mainly on the financial cost of the conflict to the U.S. government or the war’s effects on national safety, the Iraqi war issue was coded as “defense.”

Terrorism and 9/11 were generally coded as “defense” but when the articles talked about those issues in the context of foreign policy, such as causes of tragedy or the importance of international relationships for purposes of national safety, those issues were coded as “diplomacy.” This categorization is based not only on common sense but also correlation between terrorism, defense and diplomacy. The respondents who pointed to terrorism as MIP tended to consider the defense issue to be important. The correlation between terrorism and defense was .06 ($p < .05$). On the contrary, terrorism and the importance of diplomacy were not correlated significantly.

The issue of health insurance also required special attention because health insurance was not only an independent issue but was also often incorporated in stories about government spending. When health insurance or healthcare was the sole issue in an

article, it was coded as “health insurance.” But when health insurance or healthcare was mentioned with other issues, such as education and social welfare, the health issue was coded as “government spending” (see Appendix B for more details).

Inter-coder reliability was determined by two coders using a random sub-sample of 10 days’ stories. The overall agreement was 96%. All the values of Scott’s pi for each issue were acceptable with higher than .7 (Riffe, Lacy & Fico, 2005). Following are the values of Scott’s pi: diplomacy (.82), defense spending (.73), government spending (.88), health insurance (.88), environment (.96), aid to Blacks (.72), gun control (.80) and women’s role (.73).

How to Create an Individual First-level Agenda-setting Index

This study employed Wanta (1997) and Wanta and Hu’s (1994) method to create an individual agenda-setting index. A weakness of conventional agenda-setting research, which has focused mostly on aggregate level analysis rather than analysis at the individual level, is that individual characteristics, such as demographic variables and political affiliation, are not taken into account. Wanta (1997) pointed out that the method he proposed, by contrast, addresses not just one but multiple issues, thus allowing researchers to gauge agenda-setting effects across several important issues. He pointed out also that the method directs attention to concerns at the level of individuals relative to issues that are not emphasized in the news, in that his method subtracts concerns for minor issues from concerns about major issues.

The process that guides an individual first-level agenda-setting index is accomplished through a series of steps. First, through content analysis, a researcher identifies issues in the media that are highlighted more than other issues and then divides

the issues into two groups: namely, major issues and minor issues. In order to establish a weighted measurement system, the percentage of frequency for each issue in the media is calculated. This weighting system is determined within a single group, not across two groups, for purposes of assuring that a minor issue group has equal weight as a major issue group. Next, the weight is multiplied by the survey respondents' answers measured on a 5-point scale, that include choices such as "extremely important" (5 points), "very important" (4 points), "somewhat important" (3 points), "not too important" (2 points), and "not at all important" (1 point). Finally, the sum of the minor issues is subtracted from the sum of the major issues so that the weights of minor issues are inversed (percentage of 1/frequency). In other words, an issue that is mentioned most frequently in one of the minor groups will have the smallest weight.

For example, assuming there are four major issues (A, B, C, D) and four minor issues (e, f, g, h), the frequencies of issues are A (400), B (300), C (200) D (100), e (40), f (30), g (20), and h (10). Table 3.1 shows the weight of each issue and the value of agenda-setting index for each individual respondent who answered the question about the importance of issues with 5 being the most important and 1, the least important.

This study, however, modified Wanta's (1997) method of calculating weight for minor issues. Wanta used inversed order of major issues' weights for minor issues. If his method was used, as in the example, issue h's weight is .4 and g's is .3. However, current study used original proportions of minor issues as weights: each percentage was inversed (1/percentage) and standardized into summing 1. Table 3.1 presents each sum of major and minor issues which is 1 ($.4+.3+.2+.1=1$ and $.12+.16+.24+.48=1$).

The next step is multiplication by weight and subtraction of the sum of the minor issues from the sum of the major issues. The final index for Case 1 is 0 determined by the following calculation: $[(5 \cdot 4) + (5 \cdot 3) + (5 \cdot 2) + (5 \cdot 1)] - [(5 \cdot 12) + (5 \cdot 16) + (5 \cdot 24) + (5 \cdot 48)] = 0$

As the table indicates, the respondents who answered that every issue was important or that all of the issues were not important received an equal agenda-setting index of 0.

Table 3.1: Example of First-level Agenda-setting Index

Issue	A	B	C	D	e	f	g	h	Agenda-Setting Index
Weight	0.4	0.3	0.2	0.1	0.12	0.16	0.24	0.48	
Case 1	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	5	0
2	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	1	0
4	5	4	3	2	5	4	3	2	1.08
5	5	4	3	2	1	1	1	1	3

Opinion Strength of Voters

Opinion strength index is defined as the sum of extremity points regarding major issues. An example question asked by the ANES is:

Some people believe the United States should solve international problems by using diplomacy and other forms of international pressure and use military force only if absolutely necessary. Suppose we put such people at “1” on this scale. Others believe diplomacy and pressure often fail and the US must be ready to use military force. Suppose we put them at number 7. And of course others fall in positions in-between, at points 2, 3, 4, 5, and 6. Where would you place yourself on this scale, or haven’t you thought much about this?

This study investigated not the direction, but the extent of dispersal so that the 7-point scale was recoded as follows: 1 and 7 into 4, 2 and 6 into 3, 3 and 5 into 2, 4 into 1. If the respondent answered, “Haven’t thought much about this,” his or her strength point was 0. This study has four issues that are major issues, thus the highest possible point of opinion strength is 16 points (4 points x 4 issues).

3. MEASUREMENT OF SECOND-LEVEL AGENDA-SETTING EFFECTS

Content Analysis-Attribute Salience

In this study, the objects of second-level agenda-setting were the two candidates of the 2004 U.S. presidential election: President George W. Bush and Senator John Kerry. The keywords for Lexis/Nexis search were “Bush” and “Kerry” in the headlines as well as in the full body of news stories. The attributes were analyzed from two dimensions: substantive and affective (McCombs et al., 1997; McCombs & Lopez-Escobar, 2000). Substantive attributes refer to personal traits of the two candidates and affective attributes refer to a sign, either negative or positive. In other words, the second-level content analysis of this study examined how many times a particular trait was mentioned and whether the trait appeared in a positive or negative context.

Substantive attributes were also divided into two groups: candidate qualifications and personality (Graber, 1972; Kinder, 1986; Kioussis, 2005; McCombs et al., 1997). Candidate qualifications included leadership, intellectual ability (knowledgeable, intelligent), and decisiveness (makes up mind). Personality included integrity (moral or dishonest) and compassion (cares about people).

Using factor analysis, Kinder (1986) explicated leadership and intellectual ability, on the one hand, and moral and compassion traits, on the other hand, explaining that:

...citizens distinguish between two forms of competence, one represented by managerial technical skills and the other by heroic, mythical leadership...Americans also distinguish between a President's integrity and his empathy, that is, the degree to which he is regarded, on the one hand, as setting a good moral example for the country and, on the other, as compassionate and understanding..... (p. 236)

The initial coding scheme was developed based on terms employed in previous studies. Kinder (1986), for example, suggested the following keywords to indicate personal traits of presidential candidates:

Competence: hard-working, intelligent, knowledgeable, little experience, lots of mistakes, not qualified

Leadership: commands respect, inspiring, strong, weak, no direction

Integrity: decent, moral, good example, dishonest, lies to public, power-hungry

Empathy: compassionate, kind, really cares, can't understand us, out of touch, unfair.

After a pilot coding with the initial coding scheme was completed, more words and expressions were added. For instance, the category of leadership traits was expanded to include "control, manage, confident and reliable." Stories that mentioned "swift boat," a term that referred to the controversy over the military experiences of Senator Kerry,

were coded as “integrity” traits. Traits for the category of “compassion” included “sensitive, down-to-earth and helpful.” The terms “Hamlet-like” and “vacillating” were included under the category of “decisiveness.” The “decisiveness” trait was particularly meaningful in the 2004 election because one of the terms frequently used by President Bush to attack Senator Kerry was “flip-flop.” The “flip-flop” description was coded as “decisiveness” if it implied that a candidate was vulnerable to influence. When “flip-flop” was used to describe an insincere attitude for political success, it was coded as “integrity” (see *Appendix B* for detail). The total number of times that each keyword was mentioned were tallied and added into each relevant category of traits.

In addition to counting each trait, the affective direction of the trait, either “positive” or “negative,” was also analyzed. The category of “neutral” was deleted after pilot coding because most of the words that described the traits themselves contained affective directions, therefore making it difficult to identify value-free contexts.

The principle of analysis for affective dimension is based on the decision of whether words or expressions strengthen a certain trait. For instance, with regard to the word “stubborn,” that carries a negative meaning in daily life, it was coded as “positive” direction for “decisiveness” trait. The unit of analysis for this study was a mention (McCombs & Lopez-Escobar, 2000), but if an attribute was mentioned repeatedly in the same paragraph, it was counted as one.

The sample over 10 days was coded by two coders to examine inter-coder reliability. Overall agreement was as high as 96.4%. The values of Scott’s pi for all the items were at the acceptable level except for the compassion traits of Kerry (.61). Following are Scott’s pi of each trait and its tone: Bush’s leadership (.79, .95), integrity

(.88, .92), intelligence (.82, .83), decisiveness (.90, .94) and compassion (.81, .93), Kerry's leadership (.82, .77), integrity (.94, .90), intelligence (.77, .79), decisiveness (.85, .89) and compassion (.61, .74).

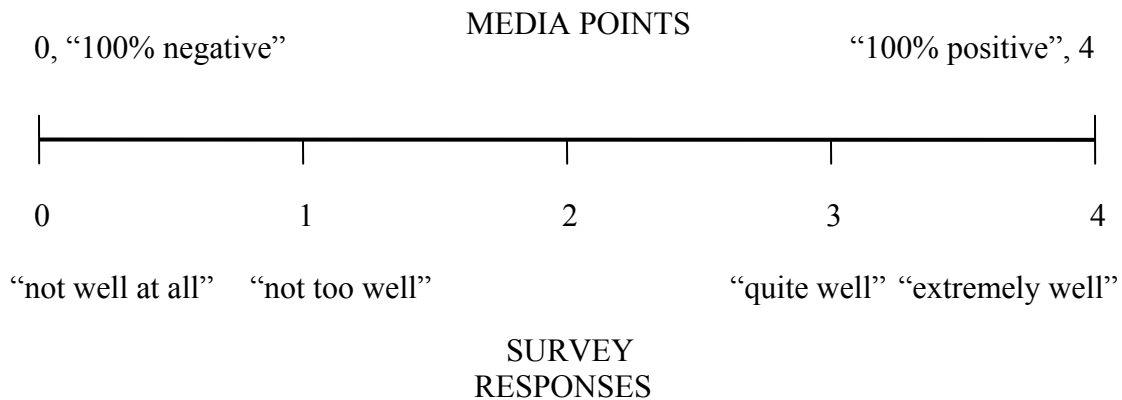
How to Create an Individual Second-Level Agenda-Setting Index

The basic concept of a second-level agenda-setting index is the *distance* between the attribute's salience for the media and the audiences. The index used in this study examined whether the media's tone about candidates' substantive attributes was related to the public's evaluation. This alternative measure was utilized because the ANES does not provide a typical question for second-level agenda setting, such as: "Suppose that one of your friends has been away a long time and knows nothing about the candidates for president of the U.S. What would you tell your friend about (Bush/Kerry)?" (McCombs & Lopez-Escobar, 2000).

The ANES asked about voters' thoughts with a 1-to-4 scale that measured the candidates' attributes in terms such as moral, dishonest, can't make up mind, provide leadership, knowledgeable, intelligent and care about people. Among the seven items, dishonest and moral were grouped as one item, integrity, based on the significant inter-item correlation (Bush, .57; Kerry, .44). Knowledgeable and intelligent was also united based on significant correlations (Bush, .79; Kerry, .65). Specific wording of the ANES questions about the traits is: "Think about George W. Bush. In your opinion, does the phrase 'he is MORAL' describe George W. Bush extremely well, quite well, not too well, or not well at all?" Items were recoded as "0," the most negative ("not well at all"), "1," ("not too well"), "3" ("quite well") and "4," the most positive ("extremely well").

The distance was measured by subtracting “media points” from the survey responses. The “media points” were calculated based on the percentage of positive mentions relative to total mentions about a certain attribute. To match with the ANES survey data, the highest possible point for the media was 4. The “media points” and answers of respondents can be presented by following (Figure 3.1). Unlike survey responses, media points are ratio scale from 0 to possible point 4. If 15% of news stories contain positive tone, then the media point is 0.6 (15/25). As there was not neutral choice in the questionnaire, “2” was not given for the survey responses. The longer the distance between the media point and the survey response point indicates weaker second-level agenda-setting effects.

Figure 3.1: Scale of Media Points and Survey Responses



Following are the steps for a creating second-level agenda-setting index. First, for example, there are a total 300 mentions about President Bush's traits and 100 mentions of those belong to the leadership category. Thus the trait of leadership's weight is .33 ($100/300$). Assuming there are 50 positive mentions among the total of 100 mentions, i.e., 50% positive mentions, about President Bush's leadership, then the NBC media point is "2" ($50/25$). If a respondent thinks that President Bush's leadership ranks "3" ("quite well"), then the absolute distance from the media point is "1" ($3-2$ or $2-3$). Second, before taking into account the weights, it needs to be recalled that the lower value of distance means stronger agenda-setting effects. Thus, the absolute value of distance is subtracted from 4. In this case, the respondent gets "3" ($4-1$). The third step is to multiply the point by the weight that is the percentage of the trait in the total number of samples. According to the agenda-setting theory, the traits that are frequently mentioned in news stories should have more weight (salience) than the traits that are rarely stated. Therefore, in this example, the respondent's final point for President Bush's leadership will be .999 (3 by $.333$). The sum of each point constitutes the individual second-level agenda-setting index. Although this process is complicated, the process makes it possible for the index to incorporate the salience of traits as well as the salience of affective tone of those traits.

Affective Strength of Voters

The variables regarding affective strength of voters are an additive index of four kinds of feelings, ranked on a 5-point scale. The feelings included angry, hopeful, afraid and proud. The ANES survey asked "How often would you say you've felt angry (about Bush/ Kerry) - very often, fairly often, occasionally, or rarely?"

The factor analysis divided the eight items into two components: first, positive feelings (hopeful and proud) about Senator Kerry and negative feelings about President Bush (afraid and angry) and, second, positive feelings (hopeful and proud) about President Bush and negative feelings about Senator Kerry (afraid and angry). In this study, the first group is referred to as “affective strength 1” ($\alpha=.85$) and the second one is referred to as “affective strength 2” ($\alpha=.81$).

4. MEASURE OF OTHER VARIABLES

The common variables of the first-level agenda-setting and the second-level agenda-setting model in this study were demographic variables, party identification, media attention and participation. The participation variables were collected as part of the 2004 ANES during post-election interviews while other variables were gathered from pre-election interviews.

Media Attention

Previous studies have revealed that news use positively influences civic engagement (Shah, 1998; Beaudoin and Thorson, 2004; Brehm and Rahn 1997; Moy and Holbert, 1999). In this study, the variable of media use was measured in terms of attention, a measurement commonly used in media effects studies with exposure. Drew and Weaver (1990) found that attention and exposure are separate dimensions. A two-year longitudinal study by Chaffee and Schleuder (1986) showed a positive relationship between television attention and knowledge, even after controlling for media exposure. McLeod and McDonald (1985) added empirical evidence to support the importance of attention by finding a positive correlation between attention to TV public affairs and

knowledge of economic news, yet a null or negative relationship was found with regard to other aspects of TV exposure.

Media attention for national TV news and newspapers was measured using a single item on a 5-point scale: “How much attention do you pay to news on national news shows (or in newspapers) about the campaign for President -- a great deal, quite a bit, some, very little, or none?” Respondents who answered that they did not read or view news in the previous filtering questions received “1” (for “none”).

Political Participation

To construct the latent variable, various political behaviors of respondents were considered, including voting, campaign support, political discussion, and campaign donation. Latent variable refers to “theoretical constructs about characteristics of persons.” (Kline, 2005).

For the voting index that produced an additive score with a possible range of 0 to 3, respondents were asked if they voted for candidates for the President, the U.S. House Representatives and the U.S. Senate. The questions were a dummy variable composed of “1” (“voted”) and “0” (“did not vote”). If respondents voted in all three elections, they received “3,” and if there was no senatorial election, those cases were omitted from analysis. Because only one-third of the Senators were newly elected, there were many missing cases for voting variables. To avoid losing data, this study used *pairwise* deletion rather than *casewise* deletion.

Campaign support included attending a meeting and putting up campaign signs for a particular party or candidates. Political discussion was measured by the number of

days in a week respondents reported discussing politics with family or friends. The possible responses were from 0 to 7 days.

With regard to the campaign donation index, respondents were asked if they gave money to an individual candidate, political party or any other group that supported or opposed the candidates. Those items were dummy-coded as “1” (“Yes”) or “0” (“No”) and the possible response range was 0 to 3.

Civic Participation

The latent variable of civic participation included two measured variables: the community involvement index and membership. Community involvement was a two-item measure with a possible sum of response ranging from 0 to 2. The questions, which asked if respondents did something to deal with some issue in their community, read as follows: “During the past 12 months, have you worked with other people to deal with some issue facing your community?” and “During the past twelve months, did you attend a meeting about an issue facing your community or schools?” The inter-item correlation was .53. Membership was indicated by the number of organizations the respondents participated in.

Exogenous Variables

Four demographic variables from the 2004 ANES data were employed in this study: age, education, income and gender. With regard to engagement, previous studies have shown the significant influence of age in that older Americans are more engaged in social life (Norris, 1996; Putnam, 1995; Uslaner, 1998). Education also has been found positively associated with social capital, offering more skills and knowledge for active citizens (Norris, 1996; Rosenstone and Hansen, 1993; Verba and Nie, 1972). In addition,

agenda-setting studies have noted the effect of education relative to issue diversity (McCombs & Zhu, 1995).

Age was measured in years. Education was measured on a 7-point scale, including possible responses ranging from “8 grades or less and no diploma or equivalency” to “post BA degree, including LLB.” Income was measured by the salaries, wages, pensions, dividends and interest that respondents received in 2003, not including income received by other members of their families. Income was measured on a 23-point scale, with possible responses ranging from “none or less than \$2,999” to “\$120,000 or over.”

In addition to the four demographic variables, party identification also was included in this study as an exogenous variable. Partisanship, regarded as major factor of influence on the American electorate, has been found to impact voters’ choices and attitudes about issues and candidates (Campbell, Converse, Miller, & Stokes, 1960; Pomper, 1972; Popkin, 1991; RePass, 1971; Schulman & Pomper, 1975). Miller (1991) found a constant correlation between party identification and voters’ choices for president.

For the first-level analysis, party identification was folded depending on its strength: “1” Independent-Independent, “2” Independent- Democrat or Independent-Republican, “3” weak Democrat or weak Republican and “4” strong Democrat or strong Republican. Second-level analysis focused on party identification itself because partisanship may directly influence the evaluation and feeling about the candidates. Republican and Democrats were entered as dummy variables, respectively, for the second-level analysis.

Chapter 4: Results

1. PRELIMINARY ANALYSIS

Media Agenda

Issues Agenda. The content analysis for this study that examined sample news stories in the *New York Times* and *NBC* during the 2004 presidential campaign included altogether nine issues: diplomacy, government spending, defense spending, government health insurance, jobs, aid to Blacks, environment, gun access and women's equal role. In both the newspaper and TV news, the topic of diplomacy was dominant followed by defense. The *New York Times* published 1,094 articles on diplomacy, including the Iraqi war, from August to October, representing 40% of the total 2,718 sample news stories while *NBC's Nightly News* covered the issue in 244 stories, accounting 57% of total sample size, 432 stories. The next most frequently mentioned issue of defense, including terror and references to the 9/11 attack, was talked about half as many times as diplomacy in both the newspaper and TV news: *the New York Times'* articles totaled 580 and *NBC's* stories, 121. Together, both diplomacy and defense were more prominent on the *NBC* news, representing 85% of the sampled *NBC* news stories whereas articles in the *New York Times* represented 62% of the sampled stories. Table 4.1 shows the total number of news stories relevant to the nine issues, sampled in the newspaper and on *NBC* news.

Table 4.1: Media's Issues Agenda

	<i>New York Times</i>				<i>NBC</i>			
	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Total	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Total
Diplomacy	264	386	444	1094 (40.3%)	73	77	94	244(56.5%)
Defense	255	161	164	580(21.3%)	50	46	25	121(28.0%)
Govt spending	33	43	45	121(4.5%)	6	2	7	15(3.5%)
Jobs	106	120	119	345(12.7%)	4	6	2	12(2.8%)
Health Insurance	53	73	101	227(8.4%)	5	8	13	26(6.0%)
Environment	76	58	69	203(7.5%)	4	2	2	8(1.9%)
Aid to Blacks	31	9	14	54(2.0%)	0	1	0	1(0.2%)
Gun Access	4	10	5	19(0.7%)	0	3	0	3(0.7%)
Women's Roles	28	27	20	75(2.8%)	1	0	1	2(0.5%)
	N= 2718				N=432			

The next most prominent set of issues concerned jobs (345 stories) and health insurance (227 stories) in the newspaper. In the TV news, health insurance (26 stories) representing the third most prominent issue. By contrast, the three least described issues in both the newspaper and TV news were aid to Blacks, gun access and women's equality, representing around 5% of the stories in the newspaper and 1% on the TV news.

As mentioned in the Methods section of this study, news stories from two different time periods were selected to compare the media and public agenda, depending on the interview dates. "Time 1" was the period of August and September, 2004, and "Time 2" was September through October 2004 so that the news stories in September were counted two times. Interestingly, based on these two time periods, the same media outlet changed its own list of major (salient) issue groups relevant to the dates of the time

frames so that the fourth most important issue of the *New York Times* in Time 1 was the environment, replaced by health insurance in Time 2.

As prior observations about intermedia agenda-setting in previous studies would predict, the newspaper and TV stories showed high correlations with regard to issue importance. All the values of Spearman's rho that represent rank order correlation were statistically significant at .01 levels in the comparison of total number as well as monthly counting: .82 for August, .85 for September, .90 for October and .87 for the total number.

These strong correlations, however, did not indicate that the interests expressed in the newspaper and TV news stories were exactly the same but rather that the newspaper and NBC each expressed its own voice, as exemplified by news stories on government spending and environment. In the *New York Times*, government spending was found to be a minor (non-salient) group issue whereas government spending was a major issue during the Time 2 for NBC's *Nightly News*. By contrast, the environment was a minor issue of TV news while the newspaper showed greater concern about environment than about government spending.

Table 4.2 and 4.3 shows the categorization of the two groups of issues in the newspaper and TV news. The percentage of certain issues within each group was used as a weight for the issue for calculating the agenda-setting index. With regard to minor issues, the percentage of reversed percentage (1/percentage) was a weight.

Table 4.2: The Issue Grouping: New York Times

T1	% /Weight	T2	% / Weight
Major Issues		Major Issues	
Diplomacy	45.6/ .456	Diplomacy	52.9 / .529
Defense	29.2/ .292	Defense	20.7/ .207
Jobs	15.8/ .158	Jobs	15.2/ .152
Environment	9.4/ .094	Health insurance	11.1/ .111
Minor Issues		Minor Issues	
Government spending	41.1/ .103	Government spending	50.9/ .08
Aid to blacks	21.6/ .196	Aid to blacks	13.3/ .305
Gun access	7.6/ .559	Gun access	8.7/ .467
Women's role	29.7/ .142	Women's role	27.2/ .149

Table 4.3: The Issue Grouping: NBC

T1	/Weight	T2	% / Weight
Major Issues		Major Issues	
Diplomacy	55.8/ .558	Diplomacy	62.9 / .629
Defense	35.7/ .357	Defense	26.1/ .261
Health insurance	4.8/ .048	Health insurance	7.7/ .077
Jobs	3.7/ .037	Government spending	3.3/ .033
Minor Issues		Minor Issues	
Environment	60 / .067	Environment	44.4/ .097
Aid to blacks	30 / .133	Aid to blacks	33.3/ .129
Gun access	10 / .4	Gun access	11.1/ .387
Women's role	10 / .4	Women's role	11.1/ .387

Attributes Agenda. Table 4.4 presents the traits of the candidates - President Bush and the Kerry - that were mentioned in the campaign news. The *New York Times* referred to the traits of President Bush 1,330 times during the three months prior to the 2004 presidential election whereas the traits of Senator Kerry appeared 796 times in the same newspaper, representing 60% of the references to the incumbent. An examination of traits talked about on NBC's *Nightly News* revealed 160 mentions of President Bush and 131 of Kerry. The gap between the number of total mentions supports the findings of previous studies that incumbents are in a more favorable position to attract media attention due to the incumbents' visibility and newsworthiness (Fico, Zeldes, & Diddi, 2004; Prior, 2006).

The most frequently talked about trait of President Bush was his leadership in both the newspaper and TV news stories, with 43% (580 mentions) of the sampled articles in the *New York Times* referring to the incumbent's leadership compared to 38% (61 mentions) on the *Nightly News*. The next most frequently noted trait of President Bush had to do with integrity, representing about 30% of the articles sampled in both outlets. Together, the newspaper and TV news concentration on President Bush's traits of leadership and integrity came to 70%.

In contrast to the traits regarding President Bush, the traits of leadership and integrity mentioned with regard to Kerry differed significantly in rank, depending on the medium. Leadership and integrity ranked in the top tier of the agenda in the newspaper. By comparison, the TV news devoted only a little more than one-third of its agenda to Kerry's traits of leadership and integrity. "Make up mind" (46 mentions) topped leadership (33 mentions) and his integrity (31 mentions). With regard to President Bush,

the issue of his decisiveness was the least mentioned trait. Tables 4.4 and 4.5 indicate the number of mentions relative to the traits of each candidate.

Table 4.4: Media's Attributes Agenda for President Bush

	<i>New York Times</i>				<i>NBC</i>			
	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Total	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Total
Leadership	161	201	218	580 (43.6%)	12	24	25	61(38.1%)
Integrity	117	153	113	383(28.8%)	8	33	10	51(31.9%)
Intelligent	53	54	86	193(14.5%)	6	14	7	27(16.9%)
Make up mind	14	26	32	72(5.4%)	1	0	1	2(1.3%)
Compassion	23	39	40	102(7.7%)	3	8	8	19(11.9%)
	N= 1,330				N=160			

Table 4.5: Media's Attributes Agenda for Senator Kerry

	<i>New York Times</i>				<i>NBC</i>			
	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Total	Aug.	Sep.	Oct.	Total
Leadership	48	61	111	220(28.6%)	5	19	9	33(25.2%)
Integrity	104	40	60	204(26.5%)	11	5	15	31(23.7%)
Intelligent	7	16	49	72(9.4%)	2	2	5	9(6.9%)
Make up mind	49	79	69	197(25.6%)	5	32	9	46(35.1%)
Compassion	16	22	38	76(9.9%)	0	1	11	12(9.2%)
	N= 769				N=131			

In addition to counting of mentions, this study also analyzed the affective dimension of the traits. Findings with regard to the percentage of positive mentions of each trait for the two candidates are shown in Tables 4.6 and 4.7. The time frame used in the issue agenda for first-level analysis also was applied to second-level analysis. Overall, there were more negative descriptions for both candidates than positive states. Among 40 items (2 candidates X 2 media outlets X 5 categories), only 14 items included 50% or more positive stories, with most of those stories being related to less salient attributes such as the qualities of “Make Up Mind” (Bush) and Intelligent (Kerry). These findings are in line with previous studies relative to mentions about candidates’ attributes in the electoral context (McCombs & Lopez-Escobar, 2000) and to the general observation regarding journalists’ preference for negative news, namely, “bad news is good news” (Shoemaker, Danielian & Brendlinger, 1991).

How the media portrayed each of the traits of the two candidates was analyzed on a scale of 0 to 4 with the results shown as “Media Point” in Tables 4.6 and Table 4.7. If both positive and negative aspects were mentioned equally, the point was 2 so that, for example, *NBC*’s mentions of President Bush in terms of the trait of decisiveness received 4 points because the news story mentioned only one positive aspect. By contrast, *NBC*’s point for Kerry in the same category during Time 1 was 0 because all the mentions were negative. The media points were used for calculation of the second-level agenda-setting index with the weight given in percentages in the tables below.

Table 4.6: Tone and Weights of Bush's Traits

	<i>New York Times</i>		<i>NBC</i>	
	T1	T2	T1	T2
Leadership	362 (43%)	419 (44%)	36 (33%)	49 (38%)
% Positive Stories	46	34	47	51
Media Point	1.82	1.37	1.89	2.04
Integrity	270 (32%)	266 (28%)	41 (38%)	43 (33%)
% Positive Stories	16	16	29	26
Media Point	.65	.63	1.17	1.02
Intelligent	107 (13%)	140 (15%)	20 (18%)	21 (16%)
% Positive Stories	10	8	5	14
Media Point	.41	.31	.2	.57
“Make Up Mind”	40 (5%)	58 (6%)	1 (1%)	1 (1%)
% Positive Stories	50	57	100	100
Media Point	2	2.28	4	4
Compassion	62 (7%)	79 (8%)	11 (10%)	16 (12%)
% Positive Stories	76	65	64	31
Media Point	3.03	2.58	2.55	1.25
N	841	962	109	130
Number of positive stories (%)	288(34%)	280 (29%)	38(35%)	45(35%)
Number of negative stories (%)	553 (66%)	682 (71%)	71(65%)	85(65%)

Table 4.7: Tone and Weights of Kerry’s Traits

	<i>New York Times</i>		<i>NBC</i>	
	T1	T2	T1	T2
Leadership	109 (25%)	172 (32%)	24 (29%)	28 (26%)
% Positive Stories	42	42	42	46
Media Point	1.69	1.7	1.67	1.86
Integrity	144 (33%)	100 (18%)	16 (19%)	20 (19%)
% Positive Stories	40	22	58	20
Media Point	1.61	0.88	2.31	0.8
Intelligent	23 (5%)	65 (12%)	4 (5%)	7 (6%)
% Positive Stories	70	68	100	57
Media Point	2.78	2.71	4	2.29
“Make Up Mind”	128 (29%)	148 (27%)	38 (46%)	41 (38%)
% Positive Stories	28	23	0	5
Media Point	1.11	0.92	0	0.2
Compassion	38 (9%)	60 (11%)	1 (1%)	12 (11%)
% Positive Stories	61	38	100	67
Media Point	2.42	1.53	4	2.67
N	442	545	83	108
Number of positive stories (%)	179 (40%)	195 (36%)	24(29%)	31(29%)
Number of negative stories (%)	263 (60%)	350(64%)	59(71%)	77(71%)

Description of Observed Variables

The statistical analysis of the current research relied upon weighted data to adjust the difference between the sample and national demographic characteristics. In case of gender, for example, while the sample showed a slight bias in favor of females (52.4%) before being weight, the weighted data was almost balanced between the genders.

Demographic Variables. Four demographic variables in the study covered the age, gender, education and income of respondents. The mean of age was 46.43

(SD=17.40) and because the data was collected from voters, the youngest respondents were 18 years of age, as of 2004. The oldest one was 87 years old. Gender showed a balance between females (50.6%) and males (49.4%); the median category for education (M=4.05, SD=1.65) was “4” (“more than 12 years of education but no higher degree”) and the median category of income (M=10.61, SD=6.49) was “\$25,000~ \$29,999.”

Party Identification. Of the total number of respondents who answered the questionnaire, 33% identified themselves as “Strong Democrat” or “Strong Republican” while “Weak Democrat” or “Weak Republican” accounted for 28% and “Independent-Democrat” or “Independent-Republican” (29%) were each less than a third of the respondents. The smallest category with only 9.5% was that of Independent-Independent. In other words, a total 90% of respondents identified themselves as Democrats (48%) or Republicans (42%).

Media Attention. Of the respondents, 55% indicated they did not give attention to articles about the political campaign while they read newspapers or they did not read newspapers at all. “Some” attention was given to news by 19% of the respondents and 14% gave newspapers “quite a bit” of attention. Only 7.6% of the interviewees paid “a great deal” attention to newspaper articles while 17% gave “a great deal” of attention to TV news stories. In general, respondents gave more attention to TV news stories than to newspaper articles. The median category for TV news attention (M=3.02, SD=1.31) was higher than for newspaper with a score of “3” (some). Those who did not give attention to news stories while they watch the TV news show or did not watch the TV news program at all accounted for 24% of the respondents, less than half the respondents (55%) who said they did not give attention to articles in the newspaper.

Opinion and Affective Strength. For foreign policy, 14% said the U.S. should solve problems with diplomacy, while 8% maintained the U.S. must be ready to use military force. 22% of respondents put themselves in the neutral position.

With regard to government services, such as education and health, people generally wanted more services. Only 4% answered that the government should provide fewer services compared to 12% who for asked more services and spending. This trend became more obvious with regard to defense spending. About half of the respondents said the government should increase defense spending. The ratio of people who favored a decrease in defense spending was 17% and 24% were neutral. In terms of health insurance, respondents wanted government insurance (42%) rather than private insurance plans (29%). However, people showed a less-favorable attitude toward government intervention for jobs and the standard of living. The response rate was 12% who strongly supported the statement that the government should let each person get ahead on his/her own and a total of 42% agreed with the statement in varying strengths; 18% showed a neutral opinion. In response to the question about either the environment or jobs, 9% strongly favored environmental protection even at the cost of jobs. Only 4% strongly agreed with the statement that jobs and the standard of living are more important than the environment; 23% maintained a neutral position.

With regard to feelings toward President Bush, respondents said they were angry (18%) and afraid (10%) very often. The people who felt pride and said they were hopeful very often were 15% and 11%, respectively. In comparison to President Bush, the feelings toward Senator Kerry were less strong. People very often felt angry (7%), afraid (6%), proud (6%) and hopeful (10%).

Civic Engagement. The hypothesized model for this study selected four observed variables that define the latent variable of political participation: namely, voting, campaign donation, campaign meeting attendance and political discussion. Another latent variable of civic participation was hypothesized to encompass community problem involvement and organization membership.

The results of the survey indicated that 78% of the respondents voted for a Presidential candidate and 69% voted for House Representatives candidates. For the Senate races, 54% of the respondents in the states that had races voted. The correlation between the sum of three voting and presidential voting, that has been a conventional variable of voting, was .92.

Compared to those voting figures, other political participation occurred only rarely: 86% of the interviewees never gave money to any campaign and only 13% of the respondents made financial contributions to the presidential candidates, the party or other organizations related to the presidential candidates. Donations accounted for the rarest behavior as an indicator of campaign participation.

By comparison, 3 out of every 10 respondents showed their support for a particular party or candidate by, for example, attending a meeting, putting up campaign signs or in some other way showing their support during the 2004 campaign period. Among respondents who indicated that level of support, 7% did so “frequently” and 12% did so “occasionally.”

At least once a week, 70% of respondents reported discussing politics with their family or friends, with the period of discussions estimated to be an average of 2.6 days a week (SD=2.55). Those who discussed politics every day were 17%, and 36% answered

that they talked about politics 3 days a week or less. When it comes to persuasion, 56% never talked to others about how to vote yet 14% spoke to others frequently.

With regard to civic participation, seven out of 10 respondents indicated they had not worked with other people to solve communities' problem, and only 27% attended a meeting on a topic of community concern. Organization membership ($M=.89$, $SD=1.45$) was another variable selected in this study to measure the level of civic participation. Six out of 10 people reported that they do not belong to any organization, except a local church or synagogue while 30% of respondents said they had membership in one or two organizations and about 10% belonged to three or more organizations.

Summary. Diplomacy and defense, dominant issues in the *New York Times* and NBC's Nightly News, respectively, during the 2004 presidential campaign, accounted for about 60% of the newspaper articles and 85% of the TV news stories. While jobs and health insurance were the next most salient news, the ranking of these two topics fluctuated depending on the outlet and the time frame. Interestingly, the environment emerged as a major issue of the newspaper. The least mentioned issues in both outlets were aid to Blacks and women's roles.

With regard to the attributes, leadership and integrity were the most frequently mentioned traits with regard to President Bush in both outlets, but the descriptions about Senator Kerry's traits were not as consistent as those about President Bush because of the "flip-flop" controversy whereby President Bush questioned Kerry's consistency in votes as a U.S. Senator. For both President Bush and Kerry, there were more negative portrayals than positive ones.

2. MODEL OVERVIEW

The primary value of Structural Equation Modeling (SEM) is not a significance test of specific paths but rather an overall evaluation about the model using various model fit statistics: “The emphasis SEM places on testing a whole model may be a kind of antidote to overreliance on statistical tests of *individual* hypotheses.” (Kline, 2005, p. 9) For that reason, an analysis for validating the models was undertaken before a hypothesis testing. Whether the hypothesized relationship between media use, agenda-setting, cognitive or affective strength and civic participation fits the data was the major focus.

Because SEM is a synthesis of the path and measurement models, the SEM process requires two steps: first, the testing of the measurement model that represents observed variables as indicators of underlying factors using confirmatory factor analysis (CFA) and second, the evaluation of a structural model that includes latent variables through path analysis (Kline, 2005). Appendix C describes the correlation matrix used for the analysis that included the means and standard deviations of the observed variables. This matrix is important for allowing other researchers to replicate the original analysis or estimate alternative models not considered in this study.

Assessing Model Fit. The basic fit statistic is model chi-square (χ^2) where the model χ^2 is a “badness-of-fit” index because the higher the value, the worse the model’s likeness is to the data. A non-statistically significant χ^2 value indicates that the sample covariance matrix corresponds to the model-implied covariance matrix (Kline, 2005; Schumacker & Lomax, 2004). However, χ^2 is sensitive to sample size, thus requiring caution in the interpretation because χ^2 usually indicates a “bad fit” with a large sample. To reduce the sensitivity of sample size, some researchers use the value of χ^2 divided by

degree of freedom, namely, normed chi-square. However, there is no cutoff criteria for the acceptable level for normed χ^2 ; researchers' suggestions range from 2.0 to 5.0 depending on strictness (Bollen, 1989).

Other fit statistics that were used in this study include the Goodness of Fit Index (GFI), the Comparative Fit Index (CFI), the Root Mean Square Error of Approximation (RMSEA), and the Standardized Root Mean Square Residual (SRMR). Unlike model χ^2 , those indices do not indicate the significance by statistical tests. The GFI and CFI models with values above .90 have traditionally been regarded acceptable (Hu & Bentler, 1999) and .95 is accepted as a desirable level. In terms of RMSEA, values equal to or less than .05 indicate close approximate fit, values between .05 to .08 indicate reasonable error of approximate fit and values more than .10 indicate a "poor fit" (Browne & Cudeck, 1993). Values of SRMR less than .10 are generally considered favorable (Bollen & Long, 1993; Kline, 2005).

The availability of so many different fit indices produces difficulty for researchers in determining which particular index should be used. Hu and Bentler (1999) recommended combined criteria to retain a model, such as: 1) $CFI \geq .96$ and $SRMR \leq .10$, 2) $RMSEA \leq .06$ and $SRMR \leq .10$.

Measurement Model

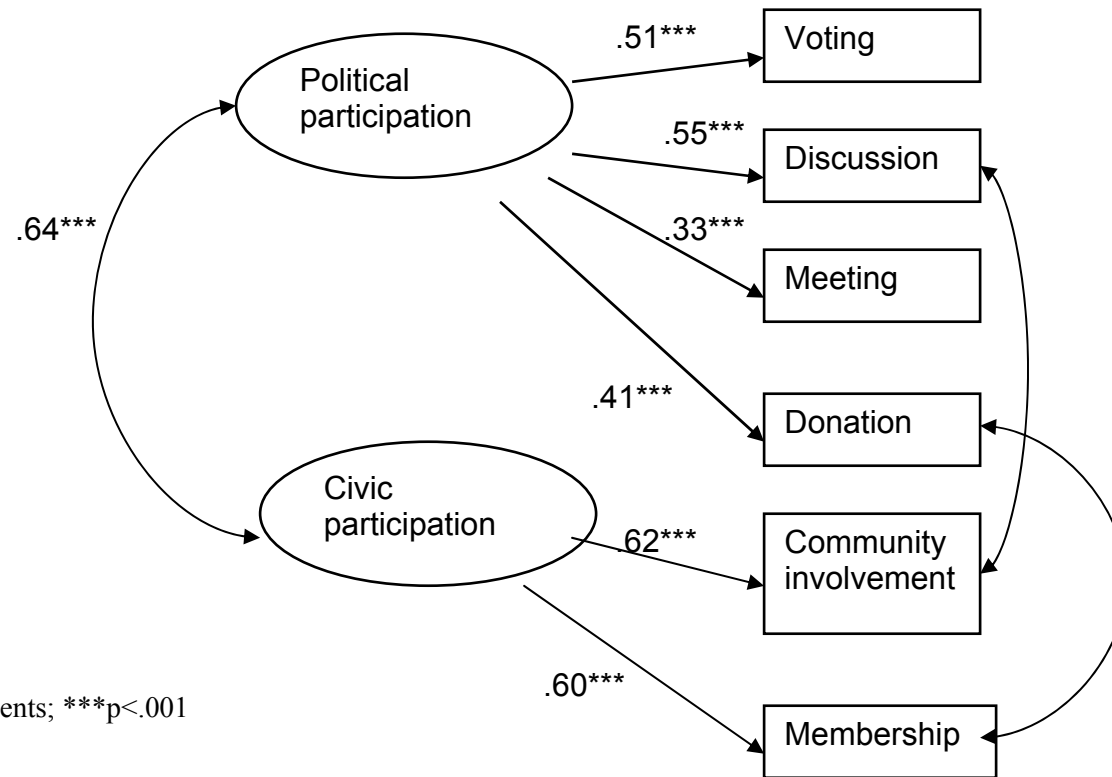
By following the Confirmatory Factor Analysis (CFA) approach, a researcher can statistically test a theoretically hypothesized factor model. Figure 4.1 presents the modified measurement model for this study where the CFA was used to validate whether the two constructs (latent variables), political participation and civic participation were

measured appropriately by a set of items (observed variables). The circles in Figure 4.1 represent the latent variables while the rectangles show the observed variables. A curved, double-headed line between political participation and civic participation indicates that the two variables are correlated. The lines directed from a circle to an observed variable are interpreted as factor loading that indicate a relationship between the two variables. Scales for latent variables and errors were set as 1.

Figure 4.1: Result of Measurement Model

Model Fit:
 $\chi^2(6) = 8.37, p = .21$;
GFI = .99;
CFI = .99;
RMSEA = .00;
SRMR = .01

Note. Standardized coefficients; *** $p < .001$



The initial model did not show any correlation between errors but the modified model added two correlations between errors of donation and organization membership, and political discussion and community issue involvement, respectively. Model specification should be based not only on empirical criteria but also theoretical consideration. The rationale that underlies the correlations between variables is considered to be, first, that community problems are usually public issues that need to be solved at the political level so that discussions about community issues are likely to be linked to political discussions (Zukin et.al., 2006). Second, it is assumed that some donations to political campaigns might be conducted through organizations, including political parties. Based on these two correlations, the measurement model shows “good model” fits even in terms of model χ^2 , despite the relatively large sample size of 1,066 (Table 4.8) used in this study.

Table 4.8: Fit Statistics of the Measurement Model

Fit statistics	Values	Interpretation
χ^2 (df, p)	8.37 (df=6, p=.21)	Good fit
χ^2 /df	1.39	Good fit
GFI	.99	Good fit
CFI	.99	Good fit
RMSEA	.00	Good fit
SRMR	.02	Good fit

The model χ^2 of the modified model was 8.37 (df=6, p=.21), indicating that the model fits well with the data. The resulting change in χ^2 ($\Delta\chi^2$) from the initial model that

did not have two correlations between indicators ($\chi^2=33.08$, $df=8$, $p < .001$) was 24.71, with a Δdf of 2 ($p < .001$). In other words, the additional paths resulted in a statistically significant decrease in χ^2 . Other fit statistics were found to be as follows: normed χ^2 of 1.39, GFI of .99, CFI of .99, RMSEA of .00 and SRMR of .02. All the goodness of fit indices support this model.

Standardized and unstandardized factor loadings, presented in Table 4.9, show that the relationship between latent variables and their indicators are significant at the .001 level. Political participation and civic participation was also positively correlated with a factor correlation of .64. For the second-level agenda-setting models, only political participation was included as a latent variable.

Table 4.9: Factor Loadings for Measurement Model

Paths	Standardized Coefficient	Unstandardized Coefficient
Political Participation		
→ Voting	.51	1.00 ^{nt}
→ Donation	.41	.34***
→ Meeting attendance	.33	.56***
→ Discussion	.55	2.23***
Civic Participation		
→ Community involvement	.62	1.00 ^{nt}
→ Membership	.60	1.76***

Note: *** $p < .001$

nt (for unstandardized coefficients): not tested for statistical significance because they are fixed to scale a factor.

First-Level Agenda-Setting

Before discussing findings relative to the testing of the hypothesized model, correlations between agenda-setting effects and other key variables need to be noted. As Table 4.10 shows, both newspaper and TV's first-level agenda-setting effects demonstrated a significant relationship with media attention and opinion strength. All were significant at the .01 level except TV agenda- agenda setting and TV news attention ($p < .05$). Among the various participation indicators selected, only two variables - donations and organization membership - did not show a significant correlation with agenda-setting effects. The correlation between newspaper agenda-setting and TV agenda-setting effects was .82 ($p < .001$).

Table 4.10: Correlation between First-Level Agenda-Setting Effects and Key Variables

	Agenda-Setting Effects	
	Newspaper	TV
Media Attention	.10**	.08*
Opinion Strength	.24***	.19***
Voting	.20***	.16***
Donation	.01 ^{ns}	.03 ^{ns}
Campaign meeting	.10**	.09**
Discussion	.13***	.14***
Persuasion	.13***	.18***
Community involvement	.13***	.14***
Membership	.06 ^{ns}	.06 ^{ns}

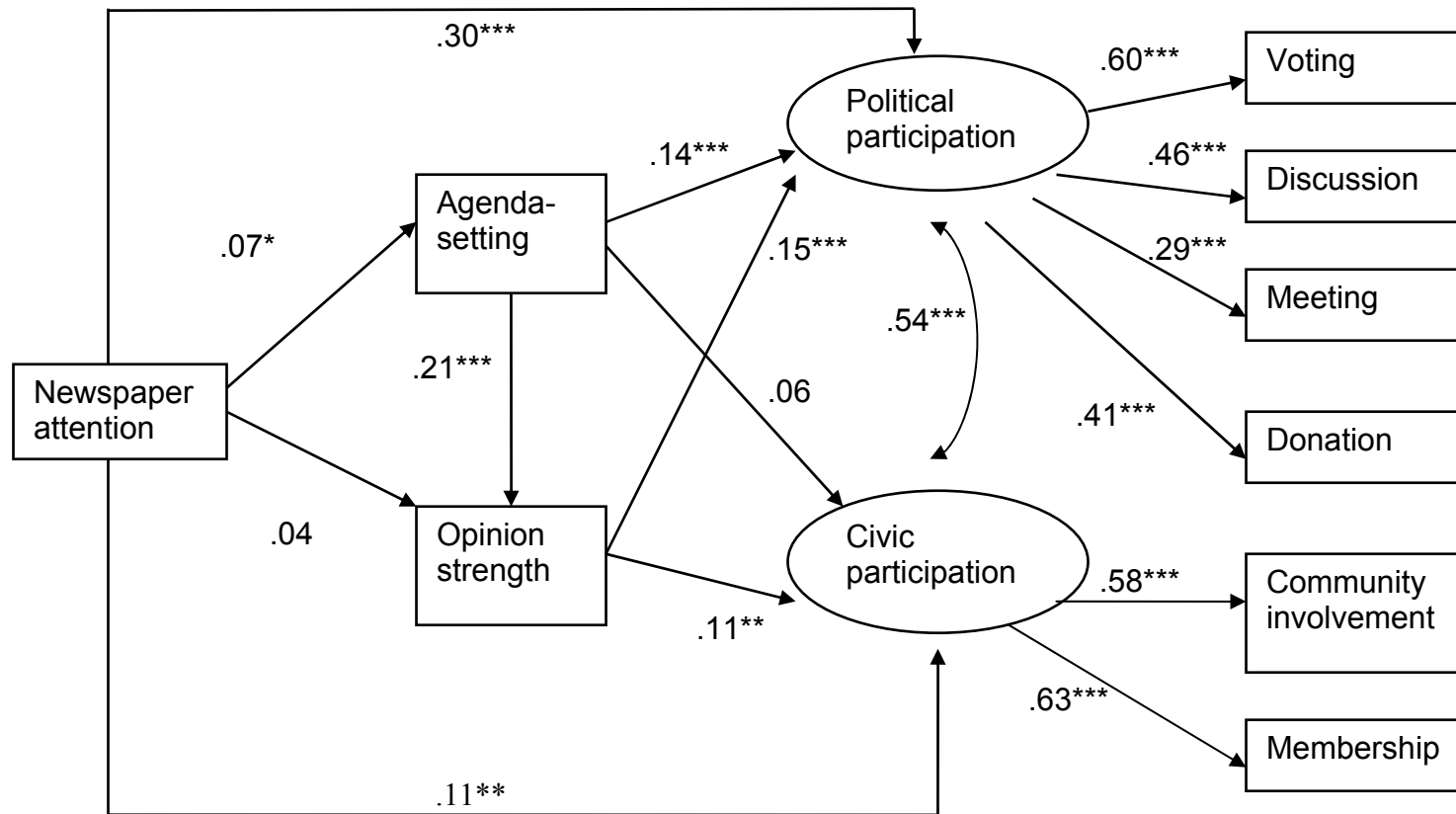
Note: ** $p < .01$, * $p < .05$, *** $p < .001$, ns not significant

First-Level's Newspaper. Model Figure 4.2 shows the results of the hypothesized SEM model of the newspaper's agenda-setting effects. Based on previous studies, this model asserts that media attention, agenda-setting effects and opinion strength affect engagement directly or indirectly. Media attention, influenced by various exogenous variables, influenced agenda-setting and, in turn, agenda-setting led to different levels of opinion strength. With regard to demographic variables, the paths were added or removed according to the modification index. As the influences of demographic variables are not the primary research interests of this study, the specification was statistics-driven. By

contrast, the model specification for the relationship between endogenous variables, which is the main focus of this paper, was theory-driven. For that reason, even if a coefficient was not found to be significant between two variables, the path was not constrained to zero.

Exogenous variables were omitted from the Figure 4.2 in order to highlight the presentation of primary interest in this study. The influence of four demographic variables and party identification will be examined in detail below.

Figure 4.2: Result of Hypothesized SEM on First-Level's Newspaper Model



Model Fit: $\chi^2(45) = 135.19, p < .001$; GFI = .98; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .04; SRMR = .03

Note. Standardized coefficients; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Exogenous variables were entered as covariates

The model yielded a significant model χ^2 (135.19, $p < .001$) with 45 degrees of freedom. The strong significance of model χ^2 indicates this model does not reflect the data. However, other model fit statistics offer a different evaluation about the model. The normed χ^2 (χ^2/df) was 3.0, which is a reasonable value although it is still greater than the conservative criteria of 2.0. The other fit statistics revealed the following results: GFI of .98, CFI of .95, RMSEA of .04 and SRMR of .03 (Table 4.11).

Table 4.11: Fit Statistics of the First-level's Newspaper Model

Fit Statistics	Values	Interpretation
χ^2 (df, p)	135.19 (df=46, $p < .001$)	Not adequate fit
X ² /df	3.0	Reasonable fit
GFI	.98	Good fit
CFI	.95	Good fit
RMSEA	.04	Good fit
SRMR	.03	Good fit

While the model fit values produced mixed interpretations, the overall statistics indicate this model is retainable. As mentioned above, Hu and Bentler (1999) suggested two kinds of combined criteria to retain a model, and this model meets one of them:

$$\text{RMSEA} \leq .06 \text{ and } \text{SRMR} \leq .10.^1$$

¹ When this structural model was transformed into a path model without latent variables, all model statistics were very good: model χ^2 of 16.6 (df=19, $p = .615$), normed χ^2 of .88, GFI of 1.0, CFI of 1.0, RMSEA of .00 and SRMR of .01. In comparison with the structural model, $\Delta \chi^2$ (109.88, $\Delta df = 27$) was statistically significant at .001 level which means that the added paths improved model χ^2 significantly despite the decrease in degrees of freedom. This finding also supports the structural model that with the same logic as the path model is retainable. While the path model produced better model fits, the structural model is still valuable for this study in terms

Table 4.12 displays direct path coefficients, standard errors and critical ratio of the structural model. The effect sizes indicate that newspaper attention had a significant relationship with agenda-setting, political participation and civic participation but not with opinion strength. The significance of the binary correlation between newspaper attention and opinion strength disappeared when other variables were controlled. The newspaper's agenda-setting effects had a strong relationship with opinion strength and political participation at the .001 level but did not affect civic participation. Opinion strength showed a stronger relationship with political participation than with civic participation.

of the level of analysis. In this study, civic engagement (concept) has two dimensions (political and civic participation) and the two dimensions were measured by various indicators, such as voting, donation and membership (McLeod, Pan, Rucinski, & Sun, 1988). Current research is interested in the influence of agenda-setting effects on the dimensions of engagement as well as on particular behaviors.

Table 4.12: Coefficients of the First-Level's Newspaper Model

Paths	Standardized coefficient	Unstandardized		
		coefficient	S.E.	C.R.
News attention				
→ Agenda-setting	.07	.04*	.02	2.11
→ Opinion strength	.04	.09 ^{ns}	.07	1.24
→ Political participation	.30	.16***	.02	7.83
→ Civic participation	.11	.03**	.01	2.67
Agenda-setting				
→ Opinion strength	.21	.86***	.12	6.95
→ Political participation	.14	.14***	.04	3.62
→ Civic participation	.06	.04 ^{ns}	.03	1.49
Opinion strength				
→ Political participation	.15	.04***	.01	3.95
→ Civic participation	.11	.02**	.01	2.71

Note: * p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ns not significant

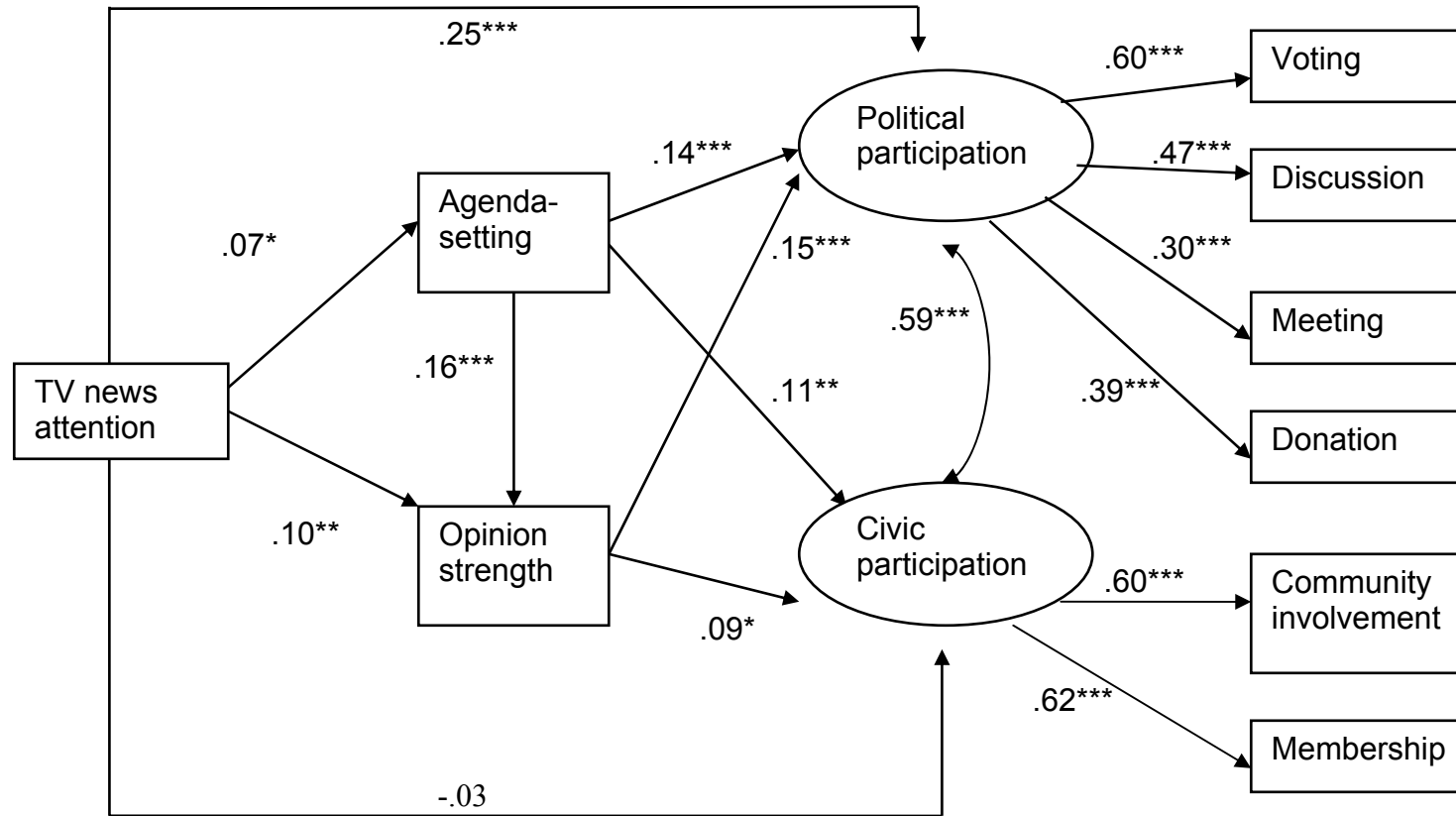
To examine the relative strength of the effect sizes, standardized coefficients can be used. The significance of standardized coefficients was tested using the approximate standard errors by bootstrapping. The standardized coefficients showed that newspaper attention had the strongest direct affect on political participation. For civic participation, opinion strength was the most significant predictor.

For the interpretation of standardized path coefficients, Kline (2005) suggests following criteria: less than .1 indicates a “small” effect; around .3 “typical” or “medium”; more than .5 “large.” According to this guideline, all effect sizes except the relationship between newspaper attention and political participation were found to be “small.”

The square multiple correlations (R^2) of political participation was .58 and civic participation was .27 in this model. R^2 indicates the proportion of variance of the latent variable that is explained by its predictors. For example, the variance of political participation was explained as 58% by other predictors in this model, including demographic variables.

First-Level's TV Model. Figure 4.3 represents the hypothesized model of TV's agenda-setting effects.

Figure 4.3: Result of Hypothesized SEM on First-Level's TV Model



Model Fit: $\chi^2(48) = 136.64, p < .001$; GFI = .98; CFI = .95; RMSEA = .04; SRMR = .03

Note. Standardized coefficients; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Exogenous variables were entered as covariates

The model produced significant model χ^2 (136.64, df=48, p<.001). However, other model fits point to positive evaluation about the model: The normed χ^2 (χ^2/df) was 2.85, GFI of .98, CFI of .95, RMSEA of .04 and SRMR of .03 (Table 4.13). Again, based on Hu and Bentler's (1999) suggestion, the model fit statistics indicate this model is retainable.²

Table 4.13: Fit Statistics of the First-level's TV Model

Fit statistics	Values	Interpretation
X ² (df, p)	136.64 (df=48, p<.001)	Not adequate fit
χ^2/df	2.85	Reasonable fit
GFI	.98	Good fit
CFI	.95	Good fit
RMSEA	.04	Good fit
SRMR	.03	Good fit

The path coefficient values in Table 4.14 show results that are slightly different from those of the newspaper model. Although newspaper agenda-setting did not show a significant relationship with civic participation, TV agenda-setting was found to be significantly related. This finding suggests that, in terms of direct effects, the influence of TV's agenda-setting on civic participation is larger than that of TV attention.

² The path model without latent variables showed good model fits like the case of newspaper: model χ^2 of 17.4 (df=19, p=.56), normed χ^2 of .916, GFI of .998, CFI of 1.0, RMSEA of .00 and SRMR of .01.

Table 4.14: Coefficients of the First-Level's TV Model

Paths	Standardized	Unstandardized		
	coefficient	coefficient	S.E.	C.R.
News attention				
→ Agenda-setting	.07	.04*	.02	2.11
→ Opinion strength	.04	.09 ^{ns}	.07	1.24
→ Political participation	.30	.16***	.02	7.83
→ Civic participation	.11	.03**	.01	2.67
Agenda-setting				
→ Opinion strength	.21	.86***	.12	6.95
→ Political participation	.14	.14***	.04	3.62
→ Civic participation	.06	.04 ^{ns}	.03	1.49
Opinion strength				
→ Political participation	.15	.04***	.01	3.95
→ Civic participation	.11	.02**	.01	2.71

Note: * p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ns not significant

Influence of Exogenous Variables. Table 4.15 demonstrates the influence of the four demographic variables examined in this study along with party identification strength. Although the income variable was relatively weak, other variables showed influence generally on endogenous variables. The strongest demographic variable in terms of direct effect was education, significant across all the endogenous variables with the exception of opinion strength in the TV model. In general, the better educated respondents gave more attention to news and revealed more agenda-setting effects. These

respondents also had stronger opinions about important issues and, in turn, were more actively engaged in politics and in their communities. The standardized total effect size of education on participation was more than .3, thus indicating greater than medium strength.

Age and gender effects were also relatively widespread. In general, older male respondents paid more attention to the media and showed stronger agenda-setting effects. However, female respondents were more engaged in their communities. In terms of opinion, the younger respondents showed greater opinion strength than did the older respondents.

Party identification significantly ($p < .001$) affected political participation, as expected. If respondents indicated that they were Strong Republican or Strong Democrat, they reported being more actively engaged in the political process. Party identification had a significant relationship with media attention and opinion strength, as well.

Table 4.15: Influence of Exogenous Variables in the First-Level

Paths	Newspaper Model		TV Model	
	Direct	Total	Direct	Total
Age				
→ News attention	.19***	.19***	.21***	.21***
→ Agenda-setting	—	.01 [†]	—	.01*
→ Opinion strength	-.07*	-.06*	-.08**	-.06 [†]
→ Political participation	.09**	.14***	.09*	.13***
→ Civic participation	—	.02 ^{ns}	—	-.01 ^{ns}
Gender^a				
→ News attention	-.07*	-.07*	—	—
→ Agenda-setting	-.14***	-.15***	-.15***	-.15***
→ Opinion strength	-.16**	-.19***	-.11***	-.14***
→ Political participation	.09*	.01 ^{ns}	—	-.04***
→ Civic participation	.12**	.08*	.09*	.07 ^{ns}
Education				
→ News attention	.22***	.22***	.10**	.10***
→ Agenda-setting	.14***	.16***	.10**	.11***
→ Opinion strength	.06*	.10***	—	.03***
→ Political participation	.26***	.36***	.32***	.37***
→ Civic participation	.35***	.40***	.39***	.40***
Income				
→ News attention	—	—	—	—
→ Agenda-setting	—	—	—	—
→ Opinion strength	—	—	—	—
→ Political participation	.15**	.15**	.13**	.13**
→ Civic participation	.15**	.15**	.15**	.15**
Party identification				
→ News attention	.13***	.13***	.11***	.11***
→ Agenda-setting	—	.01*	—	.01 [†]
→ Opinion strength	.10***	.11***	.09**	.10***
→ Political participation	.36***	.42***	.37***	.42***
→ Civic participation	—	.03**	—	.01 ^{ns}

[†] p < .1, * p < .05, ** p < .01, *** p < .001, ns not significant

^a male = 1; female = 2; - paths were constrained to zero

Bootstrapping was used to test the significance of the standardized coefficients.

Second-Level Agenda-Setting

Prior to structural modeling, the correlations between agenda-setting effects and other key variables were examined. As Table 4.16 shows, second-level agenda-setting effects of the newspaper and the TV news were found to have a significant relationship with media attention and affective strength at the .01 level. However, only two variables, namely, voting and persuasion, were found to have a significant relationship linking agenda-setting and political participation. The correlation between newspaper agenda-setting and TV agenda-setting effects was as high as .92 ($p < .001$).

Table 4.16: Correlation between Second-Level Agenda-Setting Effects and Key Variables

	Agenda-Setting Effects	
	Newspaper	TV
Media Attention	.15***	.08**
Affective Strength 1 (Kerry-positive, Bush-negative)	.39***	.37***
Affective Strength 2 (Bush-positive, Kerry-negative)	-.35***	-.32***
Voting	.16***	.15***
Donation	.01 ^{ns}	.01 ^{ns}
Campaign Meeting	.03 ^{ns}	.04 ^{ns}
Discussion	.03 ^{ns}	.02 ^{ns}
Persuasion	.1**	.11***

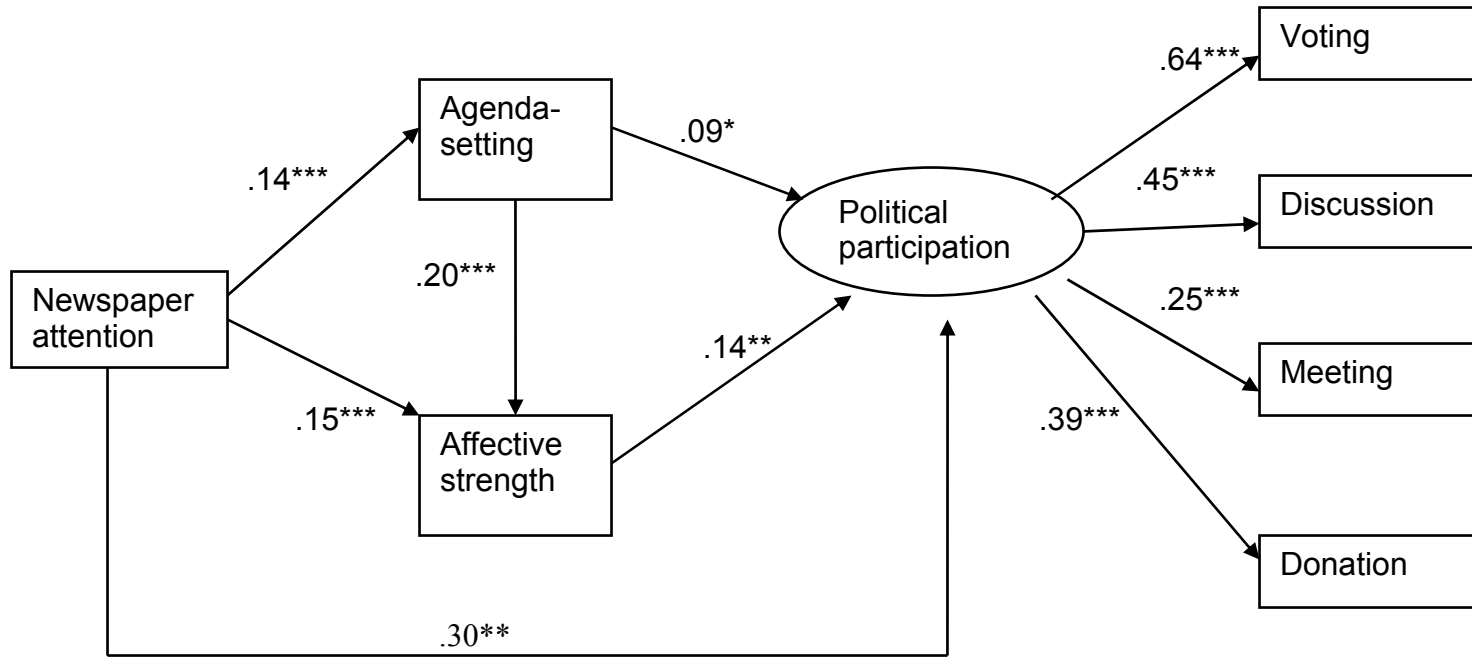
Note: ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ns not significant

Another notable finding is with regard to the direction of correlations between agenda-setting and affective strength. The strength of feelings - positive for Kerry and negative for Bush (Affective Strength 1) - were found to have a positive correlation with agenda-setting effects. By contrast, the opposite feelings - positive for Bush and negative for Kerry (Affective Strength 2) – were found to have a negative correlation with agenda-setting effects of both news outlets ($p < .01$). As explained in previous chapters, one of the hypotheses underlying these models is the positive relationship that exists between agenda-setting effects and affective strength. For that reason, Affective Strength 2 is not included in further analysis of structural modeling yet the implication of the variable's negative relationship with second-level agenda-setting effects will be discussed in the final chapter. Therefore, only two structural models, namely, the newspaper and TV model, will be examined in this part.

Second-Level's Newspaper Model. Figure 4.5 is the result of the hypothesized SEM model in the newspaper. The model states that news attention affects agenda-setting that in turn, exerts an influence on the affective strength of opinions about the candidates. Demographic and party identification variables were controlled. The paths from the four demographic variables were added or removed according to the modification index as was done relative to the first-level model. While party identifications are exogenous variables, their paths to endogenous variables as related to the candidates were not constrained to zero, regardless of their significance. In this model, partisanship was measured not by “party identification strength” but instead by “party identification” itself. While the first-level model incorporated the strength of identification, the second-level models took into account whether respondents self-identified themselves as Republican

or Democrat. Because the objects of the second-level analysis are the candidates, the partisanship might contain more implications than it did in the first-level analyses where the objects were public issues.

Figure 4.4: Result of Hypothesized SEM on Second-Level's Newspaper Model



Model fit Model Fit: $\chi^2(36) = 137.36, p < .001$; GFI = .98; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .05; SRMR = .03
 Note. Note. Standardized coefficients; * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$
 Exogenous variables were entered as covariates

The model χ^2 (109.66, df=37) was significant at the .001 level, yet other statistics presented good fits: GFI of .98, CFI of .98, RMSEA of .04 and SRMR of .03 (Table 4.17). Therefore, the overall statistics indicate this model is retainable.³ The values met the criteria of Hu and Bentler's (1999) cutoff.

Table 4.17: Fit Statistics of the Second-Level's Newspaper Model

Fit Statistics	Values	Interpretation
χ^2 (df, p)	137.36 (df=36, p<.001)	Not adequate fit
X2 /df	3.82	Reasonable fit
GFI	.98	Good fit
CFI	.97	Good fit
RMSEA	.04	Good fit
SRMR	.03	Good fit

The direct path coefficients, displayed in Table 4.18, show that newspaper attention had a significant relationship with all other endogenous variables, such as agenda-setting effects, affective strength and political participation at the .001 level. The standard coefficient of newspaper attention (.33, p<.001) showed it to be the largest effect, directly on political participation. Newspaper's second-level agenda-setting affected political participation at the .05 level. Participation was influenced by affective strength, too. There was a significant positive relationship (.14, p<.01) between second-level agenda-setting effects and the strength of positive feelings toward Kerry and

³ The path model of Newspaper without a latent variable (political participation) revealed good fit statistics including model χ^2 : model χ^2 of 13.35 (df=15, p=.576), normed χ^2 of .89, GFI of .998, CFI of 1.0, RMSEA of .00 and SRMR of .01.

negative feelings against President Bush. In other words, the more the respondents had an evaluation of the candidates' traits that was similar to the evaluation of the news content, the more frequently respondents felt hopeful and proud about Senator Kerry, and angry and afraid about President Bush. The strong feelings led more campaign participation significantly at the .01 level.

Table 4.18: Coefficients of the Second-Level's Newspaper Model

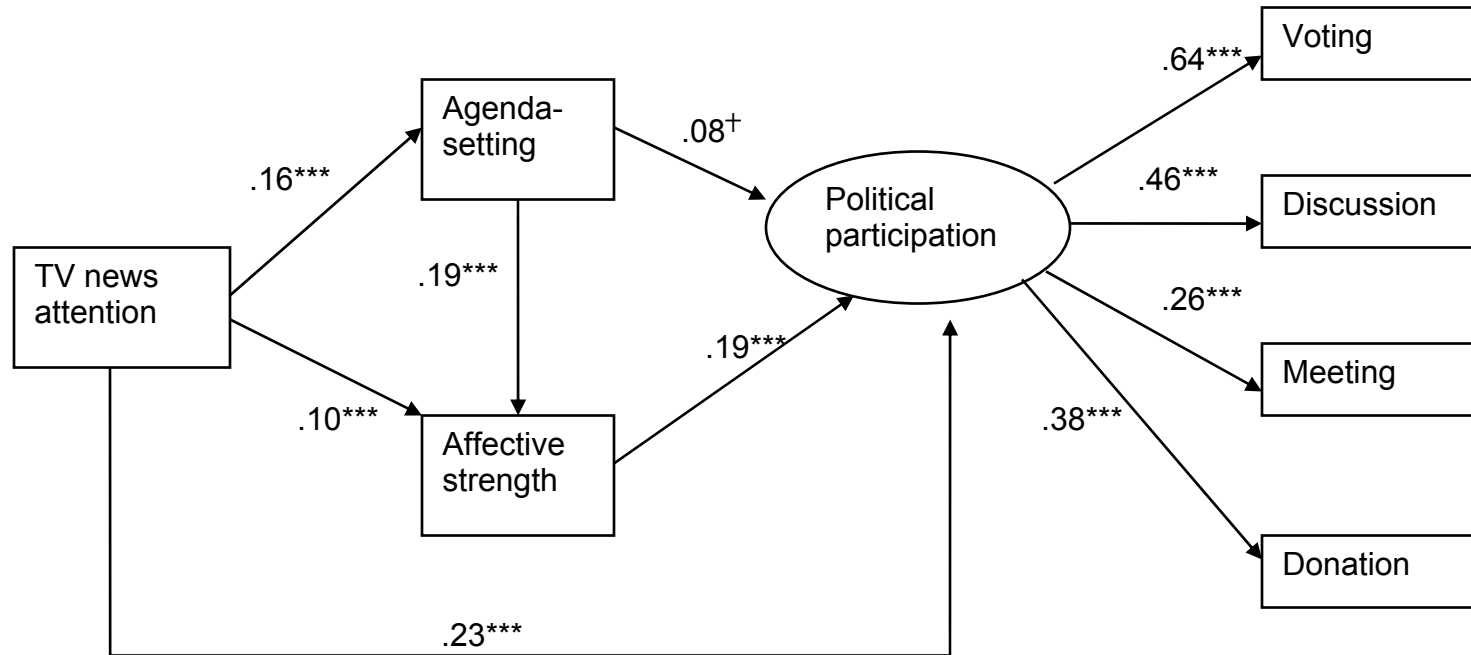
Paths	Standardized Coefficient	Unstandardized		
		coefficient	S.E.	C.R
News Attention				
→ Agenda-setting	.14	.10***	.02	4.63
→ Affective strength 1 (Kerry-positive, Bush-negative)	.15	.52***	.08	6.54
→ Political participation	.30	.18***	.02	7.72
Agenda-Setting				
→ Affective strength 1	.20	.90***	.11	8.12
→ Political participation	.09	.07*	.03	2.35
Affective Strength 1				
→ Political participation	.14	.02**	.01	2.99

Note: * p<.05, **p<.01, *** p < .001, ns not significant

The squared multiple correlation (R^2) of political participation was .51 which means that 51% of the variance in the latent variable political participation was explained by all predictors, including exogenous variables used in this model.

Second-Level's TV Model. Figure 4.5 shows the results of the second-level agenda-setting effects model of TV.

Figure 4.5: Result of Hypothesized SEM on Second-Level's TV Model



Model Fit: $\chi^2(37) = 140.69$; $p < .001$; GFI = .98; CFI = .97; RMSEA = .04; SRMR = .03

Note. Standardized coefficients; [†] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Exogenous variables were entered as covariates

The model fits were very good except for the statistics related to chi-square. Model χ^2 was significant at the .001 level ($\chi^2=1140.69$, $df=37$) and the value of normed χ^2 was 3.80. The other model fits in Table 4.19 indicate that the model is retainable.⁴

Table 4.19: Fit Statistics of the Second-Level's TV Model

Fit Statistics	Values	Interpretation
χ^2 (df, p)	140.69 (df=37, p<.001)	Not adequate fit
χ^2 /df	3.80	Reasonable fit
GFI	.98	Good fit
CFI	.97	Good fit
RMSEA	.04	Good fit
SRMR	.03	Good fit

The direct effect sizes in Table 4.20 present a pattern similar to that of the newspaper model. Second-level agenda-setting effects on political participation were found to be significant in both the newspaper and TV. In addition, the relationship between agenda-setting and affective strength - positive for Senator Kerry and negative for President Bush - was significant at the .001 level, too. The standardized coefficients pointed out that TV news attention (.23, $p<.001$) had biggest direct effect political participation. The squared multiple correlation (R^2) of political participation was .47.

⁴ The path analysis model without latent variable political participation showed very good fits across the various statistics: χ^2 of 19.14 ($df=16, p=.262$), normed χ^2 of 1.2, GFI of .997, CFI of .999, RMSEA of .014 and SRMR of .013

Table 4.20: Coefficients of the Second-Level's TV Model

Paths	Standardized Coefficient	Unstandardized		
		Coefficient	S.E.	C.R.
TV News Attention				
→ Agenda-setting	.16	.12***	.02	5.39
→ Affective strength 1 (Kerry-positive, Bush-negative)	.10	.34***	.08	4.19
→ Political participation	.23	.13***	.02	6.00
Agenda-Setting				
→ Affective strength 1	.19	.82***	.11	7.62
→ Political participation	.08	.06*	.03	2.05
Affective Strength 1				
→ Political participation	.19	.03***	.01	4.00

Note: * p<.05, ***p<.001

Influence of Exogenous Variables. Table 4.21 shows the influence of four demographic variables and party identification. Among the exogenous variables, the factors of respondents' age, education and party demonstrated relative significance. The younger people were found to show stronger second-level agenda-setting effects than older people whereas there was no difference between the two age groups with regard to affective strength. Once more, the education effects were significant on all the endogenous variables. The more highly educated people showed stronger agenda-setting effects as well as stronger feelings toward the candidates. The most notable effects came from party identification. The variable of Republican party affiliation did not show agenda-setting effects as opposed to Democratic party affiliation at the .001 level. As expected, the respondents who self-identified themselves as Republicans had a negative relationship (p<.001) with the affective strength of positive feelings about Kerry and

negative feelings about Bush. Those respondents who self-identified themselves as Democrats indicated a positive relationship with the same feeling at the .001 level.

Table 4.21: Influence of Exogenous Variables in the Second-Level

Paths	Newspaper Model		TV Model	
	Direct	Total	Direct	Total
Age				
→ News attention	.21***	.21***	.23***	.23***
→ Agenda-setting	-.13***	-.10***	-.11***	-.08**
→ Affective strength	–	.01 ^{ns}	–	.01 ^{ns}
→ Political participation	.14***	.20***	.15***	.20***
Gender a				
→ News attention	-.06*	-.06*	–	–
→ Agenda-setting	–	-.01 ^{ns}	–	–
→ Affective strength	.07**	.06*	.06**	.06**
→ Political participation	.09*	.08 [†]	–	.01*
Education				
→ News attention	.24***	.24***	.10**	.10**
→ Agenda-setting	.08**	.11***	.09**	.11***
→ Affective strength	–	.06***	–	.03***
→ Political participation	.28***	.37***	.33***	.37***
Income				
→ News attention	–	–	–	–
→ Agenda-setting	–	–	–	–
→ Affective strength	–	–	–	–
→ Political participation	.17**	.17**	.14**	.14**
Republican				
→ News attention	–	–	.19***	.19***
→ Agenda-setting	-.03 ^{ns}	-.03 ^{ns}	-.06 ^{ns}	-.03 ^{ns}
→ Affective strength	-.27***	-.28***	-.27***	-.26***
→ Political participation	.53***	.49***	.51***	.51***
Democrat				
→ News attention	.07*	.07*	.18***	.18***
→ Agenda-setting	.29***	.30***	.26***	.29***
→ Affective strength	.30***	.37***	.31***	.38***
→ Political participation	.28***	.39***	.27**	.40***

[†] p <.1, * p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001 , ns not significant

a. male = 1; female=2

- paths were constrained to zero

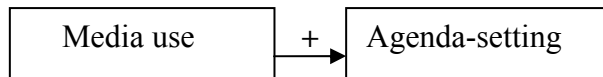
Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

Summary The measurement model related to the two latent variables, political participation and civic participation, showed good model fits. For the structural model, two (first-level and second-level) by two (newspaper and TV) combination produced a total of four models. The common characteristic of the four models was that all the model fits were good except model χ^2 . The value of χ^2 was significant across the models while GFI, CFI, RMSEA and SRMR presented good fits. As those good model fits met the criteria developed by Hu and Bentler (1999), those models are regarded as retainable. When the structural models were transformed into the path analysis without latent variables, all the fits including χ^2 were very good. In addition to the investigation of endogenous variables, this part of the study also examined the influence of demographic variables and party identification. The exogenous variables, especially, education and gender, and party identification, generally demonstrated significant effects on endogenous variables.

3. HYPOTHESES TESTING

First -level Agenda-setting: Hypotheses 1,2 and 3

H1. Media use predicts first- level agenda-setting effects.



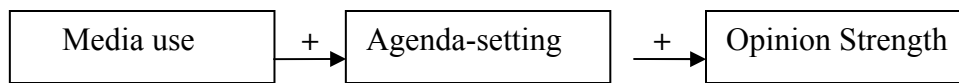
H1-1. Newspaper use predicts first- level agenda-setting effects.

H1-2. Television news use predicts first-level agenda-setting effects.

As the newspaper model and TV model indicated, media use was found to have a significant relationship with first-level agenda-setting effects controlling for demographic

variables and party identification strength. The standardized coefficient of the path from newspaper attention to the agenda-setting effect was .07 ($p < .05$), and the TV news attention showed the same effects size and the significance level as newspaper attention on agenda-setting effects. H1 was, therefore, supported.

H2. First-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and opinion strength.



H2-1. First-level agenda-setting effects of newspapers serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and opinion strength.

H2-2. First-level agenda-setting effects of television serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and opinion strength.

In SEM, the mediator refers to a variable that has a dual role as both a predictor and a criterion. “The dual role is described in path analysis as an indirect effect or mediator effect... intervening variables presumed to ‘transmit’ some of the causal effects of prior variables onto subsequent variables” (Kline, 2005, p 68). According to these models, if agenda-setting operates as a mediating variable, then the indirect effect of media use on opinion strength must be significant. To test the significance of indirect effects, this study used two methods. First, Sobel’s test (1986) was employed to produce

a critical ratio of statistical significance.⁵ In addition to the Sobel test, the critical ratio of standardized indirect effect using approximate standard error, produced by bootstrapping, was examined.

Next, Baron and Kenny's (Baron & Kenny, 1986) discussion that is the conventional approach about mediating effects was used. They suggested necessary conditions for the mediator and a method to test the effects using regressions.⁶

First, the statistical test using Sobel's model produced the mixed results summarized in the Table 4.22. The indirect effect (.03) of newspaper attention on opinion

⁵ The formula for standard error of indirect effect:

$$SE_{ab} = \text{square root } (b^2 SE_a^2 + a^2 SE_b^2)$$

In this formula, a and b represent the unstandardized path coefficients, and SE_a and SE_b represent standard errors of the path a and b, respectively. For example, the path coefficient from newspaper attention to agenda-setting (a) was .04 and its standard error (SE_a) was .017. Coefficient of path from agenda-setting to opinion strength (b) was .86 and SE_b was .123. Table 4.5). Therefore, SE_{ab} = square root (.862 * 0172 + .042 * 1232) = .015. The critical ratio of the indirect effect (ab) is 2.23 (.03/.015) can be interpreted as z test. Thus, it is significant at .05 level.

⁶ Baron and Kenny (1986) suggested following conditions for function as a mediator : "(a) variations in levels of the independent variable significantly account for variations in the presumed mediator (i.e., Path a), (b) variations in the mediator significantly account for variations in the dependent variable (i.e., Path b), and (c) when Paths a and b are controlled, a previously significant relation between the independent and dependent variables is no longer significant, with the strongest demonstration of mediation occurring when Path c is zero (p. 1176).

To test whether the variable meets the conditions following method is created by the two scholars:

"First, regressing the mediator on the independent variable; second, regressing the dependent variable on the independent variable; and third, regressing the dependent variable on both the independent variable and on the mediator... To establish mediation, the following conditions must hold: First, the independent variable must affect the mediator in the first equation; second, the independent variable must be shown to affect the dependent variable in the second equation; and third, the mediator must affect the dependent variable in the third equation. If these conditions all hold in the predicted direction, then the effect of the independent variable on the dependent variable must be less in the third equation than in the second." (p.1177)

strength through agenda-setting was significant at the .05 level while the TV news model presented a significance at the .1 level.

Table 4.22: Testing Mediator of the First-Level: Indirect Effects

	Newspaper	TV
Effect size	.03*	.02 [†]
(Critical Ratio)	(2.0)	(1.85)

Note: Sobel's method was used to test significance of unstandardized coefficients.

[†] p<.1, * p<.05

Second, in accordance with Baron and Kenny's (1986) suggestion, three times' regression analyses were conducted for each media controlling for demographic variables and party identification strength. The independent variable of the first regression was media attention, and the dependent variable was agenda-setting. The second regression's independent variable was media attention, and the dependent variable was opinion strength. The last regression included both media attention and agenda-setting as independent variables with a dependent variable of opinion strength. Table 4.23 is the summary of the coefficients yielded by repeated OLS regression.

Table 4.23: Testing Mediator of the First-Level: Regression

	Predictor	Dependent Variable	
		Agenda-Setting	Opinion Strength
Newspaper	1) Media attention	.04*(.02)	
	2) Media attention		.12 [†] (.07)
	3) Media attention		.09 ^{ns} (.07)
	Agenda-setting		.93***(.13)
TV	1) Media attention	.04 [†] (.02)	
	2) Media attention		.24** (.02)
	3) Media attention		.21** (.07)
	Agenda-setting		.57***(.12)

Note. All entries are unstandardized regression coefficients.

Standard errors appear in parentheses.

Demographic variables and party identification strength are controlled.

[†] p <.1, * p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ns not significant

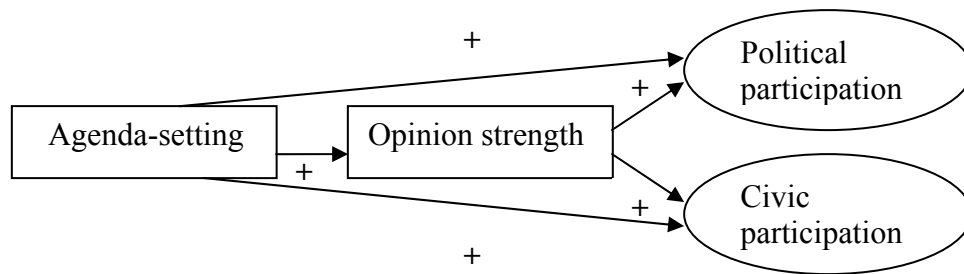
In the newspaper model, the independent variable, media attention, had significant effects on agenda–setting ($p<.05$) and on opinion strength ($p<.1$). In the third regression, the coefficient of media attention was reduced to .088 from .124 while agenda-setting was a significant independent variable ($p<.001$).

The TV model found similar results. Media attention was a significant variable ($p<.1$) with regard to agenda-setting in the first regression. It was also significant ($p<.01$) on opinion strength in the second regression. The last regression produced less effect of media attention yet a significant effect of agenda-setting ($p<.001$).

The results of Sobel’s test and Barron and Kenny’s (1986) method yielded mixed interpretations. While the general direction was consistent, as predicted, some of the

effects were significant at only the .1 level in both media. As the probability of chance was not low enough, it would be a conservative interpretation to conclude that H 2-1 and H 2-2 about the mediating role of agenda-setting were partially supported.⁷

H3. First-level agenda-setting effects influence civic engagement directly or through opinion strength.



H3-1. First-level agenda-setting effects of newspapers influence political participation.

H3-2. First- level agenda-setting effects of newspapers influence civic participation.

⁷ Another way to test a mediating variable is through partial correlation. The three variables of media attention, agenda-setting and opinion strength showed a significant correlation with each other: Newspaper attention and agenda-setting (.10, p<.01), newspaper agenda-setting and opinion strength (.24, p<.001) and newspaper attention and opinion strength (.08, p<.01). After controlling for agenda-setting, the correlation between newspaper attention and opinion strength was reduced to .06 (p< .05). Therefore, partial correlation supported the mediating role of agenda-setting.

In the case of the TV model, the three correlations between TV attention and agenda-setting (.08, p<.05), agenda-setting and opinion strength (.19, p<.001) and TV attention and opinion strength (.11, p<.001) were all significant. After controlling for agenda-setting, the correlation between newspaper attention and opinion strength was reduced to .10 yet it was still significant at the .01 level.

Table 4.24 is the summary of the effects of key variables on civic engagement. As hypothesized, agenda-setting effects influenced engagement, directly and indirectly. The coefficient of newspaper agenda-setting's direct effects on political participation was .14 ($p < .001$) and the total effect was .17 ($p < .001$). With regard to civic participation, the total effect of agenda-setting (.09, $p < .05$) resulted mainly from indirect effects (.02, $p < .05$) through opinion strength. Opinion strength was a significant causal variable for both political and civic participation.

Table 4.24: Effects Decomposition of the First-Level's Newspaper Model

Causal Variables	Effects	Endogenous Variables			
		Agenda-setting	Opinion strength	Political participation	Civic participation
Media Attention	<i>Direct</i>	.07*	.04 ^{ns}	.30***	.11*
	<i>Indirect</i>		.01 [†]	.02*	.01 [†]
	<i>Total</i>	.07*	.05 [†]	.32***	.12**
Agenda-Setting	<i>Direct</i>		.21***	.14***	.06 ^{ns}
	<i>Indirect</i>			.03***	.02*
	<i>Total</i>		.21***	.17***	.09*
Opinion Strength	<i>Direct</i>			.15***	.11**
	<i>Indirect</i>				
	<i>Total</i>			.15***	.11**

Note. [†] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ns not significant
 Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

In addition to latent variables, the influence of agenda-setting on specific indicators was examined (Table 4.25). It was found to affect significantly all measurement variables, including voting (.10, $p < .001$), campaign donation (.07, $p < .001$), campaign meeting attendance (.05, $p < .01$) and political discussion (.08, $p < .001$). The influence was stronger on voting and discussion than on donation and meeting attendance. Agenda-setting's influence on organizational membership and community involvement also was significant (.05, $p < .05$). Newspaper attention and opinion strength affected all the variables at least at the .05 level.

Table 4.25: Total Effects on Indicators in the First-Level's Newspaper Model

<i>Causal Variables</i>	Indicators					
	Voting	Donation	Meeting	Discussion	Community	Membership
Media Attention	.19***	.13***	.09***	.15***	.07**	.07**
Agenda-Setting	.10***	.07***	.05***	.08***	.05*	.05*
Opinion Strength	.09***	.06***	.04***	.07***	.07**	.07**

Note. All entries are standardized coefficients of total (indirect) effects.

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$

Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

H3-3. First-level agenda-setting effects of television influence political participation.

H3-4. First- level agenda-setting effects of television influence civic participation.

Agenda-setting effects of TV were found to affect engagement in both direct and indirect ways as Table 4.26 demonstrates. Its total effect size on political participation was .16 ($p < .001$) and on civic participation was .12 ($p < .01$). Direct and indirect effects also were significant with respect to engagement variables. Opinion strength affected both types of engagement variables whereas TV news stories' direct and total influence on civic participation was not significant at all, suggesting that TV attention worked indirectly (.02, $p < .05$) for civic participation only through agenda-setting effects and opinion strength.

Table 4.26: Effects Decomposition of the First-Level's TV Model

Causal Variables	<i>Effects</i>	Endogenous variables			
		Agenda -setting	Opinion strength	Political participation	Civic participation
Media Attention	<i>Direct</i>	.07*	.10**	.25***	-.03 ^{ns}
	<i>Indirect</i>		.01 [†]	.03**	.02*
	<i>Total</i>	.07*	.11***	.28***	-.02 ^{ns}
Agenda-Setting	<i>Direct</i>		.16***	.14***	.11**
	<i>Indirect</i>			.02**	.01*
	<i>Total</i>		.16***	.16***	.12**
Opinion Strength	<i>Direct</i>			.15***	.09*
	<i>Indirect</i>				
	<i>Total</i>			.15***	.09*

Note. [†] $p < .1$, * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ns not significant
 Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

Agenda-setting effects of TV news were significant across all the engagement variables (Table 4.27). Especially, its effects were significant at the .001 level for all indicators of political participation. Similar to the newspaper model, the standardized value showed that the effects of TV’s agenda-setting were stronger on voting and discussion. The agenda-setting of TV news stories influenced two indicators of civic engagement that were also significant at the .01 level. Therefore, H3 was supported for both the newspaper and TV.

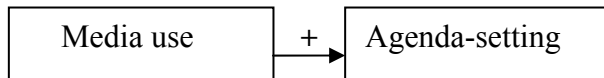
Table 4.27: Effects on Indicators in the First-Level’s TV Model

<i>Causal Variables</i>	<i>Indicators</i>					
	Voting	Donation	Meeting	Discussion	Community	Membership
Media Attention	.17***	.11***	.08***	.13***	-.01 ^{ns}	-.01 ^{ns}
Agenda-Setting	.10***	.06***	.05***	.08***	.07**	.08**
Opinion Strength	.09***	.06***	.05***	.07***	.05*	.06*

Note. All entries are standardized coefficients of total (indirect) effects.
 Note. * p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001, ns not significant
 Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

Second-level Agenda-setting: Hypotheses 4, 5 and 6

H4. Media use predicts second-level agenda-setting effects.

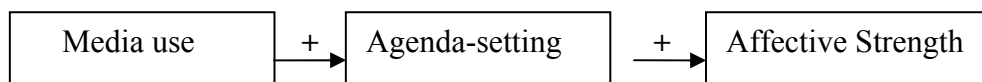


H4-1. Newspaper use predicts second-level agenda-setting effects.

H4-2. Television news use predicts second-level agenda-setting effects.

In the second-level analysis, newspaper attention and TV attention were both significant predictors of agenda-setting effects at the .001 level. Controlling for demographic variables and party identification, the standardized coefficient of the path from newspaper attention to second-level agenda-setting effect was .14 and that of TV news attention was .16. Therefore, H4 was supported.

H5. Second-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between media use and affective strength.



H5-1. Second-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between newspaper use and affective strength.

H5-2. Second-level agenda-setting effects serve as a mediator in the relationship between television news use and affective strength.

The statistical test using Sobel's revealed the role of agenda-setting as a mediator. Indirect effects of media attention on affective strength were significant at .001 in both the newspaper and the TV models (Table 4.28).

Table 4.28: Testing Mediator of the Second-Level: Indirect Effects

	Newspaper	TV
Effect size	.09***	.10***
(Critical Ratio)	(3.72)	(4.08)

Note: Sobel's method was used to test significance of unstandardized coefficients.
 ***p<.001

Another method to test the significance of the mediating effect is Baron and Kenny (1986)'s regression analysis. Table 4.29 demonstrates that agenda-setting of the newspaper and TV met all the conditions of mediator in the three regressions. In the first regression, media attention significantly affected ($p<.001$) agenda-setting in the newspaper (coefficient was .07) and on the TV news (.08). When affective strength was entered as a dependent variable in the second regression, the independent variable, the newspaper (.61) and TV (.39) attention were significant at the .001 level. In the last regression that had both media attention and agenda-setting as independent variables, the agenda-setting effects of the newspaper (.84) and TV (.78) were significant. In addition, the effect size of media attention was less than that of the second regression. Therefore, H5 was supported by Sobel's test as well as Barron and Kenny's (1986) regression.⁸

⁸ The three variables showed significant correlations each other: Newspaper attention and agenda-setting (.15, $p<.001$), newspaper agenda-setting and affective strength (.39, $p<.001$) and newspaper attention and affective strength (.20, $p<.001$). After controlling for agenda-setting, the correlation between newspaper attention and affective strength was reduced to .09 yet it was still significant at the .01 level.

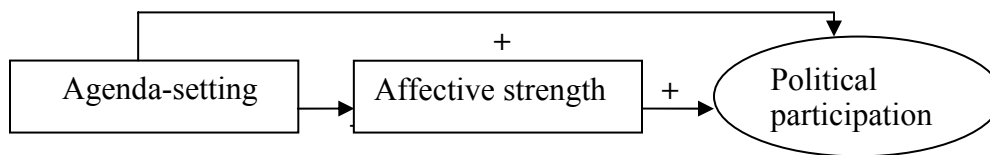
With regard to TV, the three correlations between TV attention and agenda-setting (.14, $p<.05$), agenda-setting and affective strength (.37, $p<.001$) and TV attention and affective strength (.11, $p<.001$) were all significant. After controlling for agenda-setting, the correlation between newspaper attention and opinion strength was reduced to .08 ($p<.01$).

Table 4.29: Testing Mediator of the Second-Level: Regression

	Predictor	Dependent Variable	
		Agenda-setting	Affective strength
Newspaper	1) Media attention	.07***(.02)	
	2) Media attention		.61***(.09)
	3) Media attention		.57***(.09)
	Agenda-setting		.84***(.15)
TV	1) Media attention	.08***(.02)	
	2) Media attention		.39***(.09)
	3) Media attention		.35***(.09)
	Agenda-setting		.78***(.14)

Note. All entries are unstandardized regression coefficients. Standard errors appear in parentheses. Demographic variables and party identification strength are controlled. ***p<.001

H6. Second-level agenda-setting effects influence affective strength, which, in turn, influences political participation.



H6-1. First-level agenda-setting effects of newspaper influence political participation through affective strength.

H6-2. Second-level agenda-setting effects of television influence political participation through affective strength.

Table 4.30 provides a summary of the effects of key variables on political participation in the newspaper model. Agenda-setting had a significant influence on affective strength (.2, p<.001). Its direct (.09, p<.05), indirect (.03, p<.05) and total effects (.12, p<.01) on political participation were significant, too. Table 4.31 shows

agenda-setting effects had influence on the campaign behaviors through latent variable of political participation. All of the indicators of the latent variable from voting to political discussion were influenced significantly by the agenda-setting effects of the newspaper. Thus, H 6-1 was supported. Newspaper attention and affective strength significantly affected political participation and its indicators.

Table 4.30: Effects Decomposition: Second-Level's Newspaper Model

Causal Variables	Endogenous Variables			
	<i>Effects</i>	Agenda-setting	Affective strength	Political participation
Media Attention	<i>Direct</i>	.14***	.15***	.30***
	<i>Indirect</i>		.03***	.04***
	<i>Total</i>	.14***	.18***	.34***
Agenda-Setting	<i>Direct</i>		.20***	.09*
	<i>Indirect</i>			.03*
	<i>Total</i>		.20***	.12**
Affective Strength	<i>Direct</i>			.14**
	<i>Indirect</i>			
	<i>Total</i>			.14**

Note. * p<.05, **p<.01, ***p<.001

Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

Table 4.31: Total Effects on Indicators in the Second-Level's Newspaper Model

<i>Causal Variables</i>	Indicators			
	Voting	Donation	Meeting	Discussion
Media Attention	.22***	.14***	.08***	.15***
Agenda-Setting	.08**	.05**	.03**	.05**
Affective Strength	.09**	.06*	.04*	.06**

Note. All entries are standardized coefficients of total (indirect) effects.

Note. * $p < .05$, ** $p < .01$, *** $p < .001$, ns not significant

Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

The results of the TV model were in line with the newspaper model. As Table 4.32 indicates, agenda-setting's total effects on political participation were significant (.12, $p < .01$). However, the direct effect was marginally significant at the .1 level. All of the indicators of political participation were significantly influenced by agenda-setting effects. Again, TV attention and affective strength were significant causal variables of the latent variable and all of its indicators were at least at the .01 level (Table 4.33). H6-2 was also supported.

Table 4.32: Effects Decomposition: Second-Level's TV Model

Causal Variables	Endogenous variables			
	<i>Effects</i>	Agenda-setting	Affective strength	Political participation
Media Attention	<i>Direct</i>	.16***	.10***	.23***
	<i>Indirect</i>		.03***	.04***
	<i>Total</i>	.16***	.13***	.27***
Agenda-Setting	<i>Direct</i>		.19***	.08 [†]
	<i>Indirect</i>			.04**
	<i>Total</i>		.19***	.12**
Affective Strength	<i>Direct</i>			.19***
	<i>Indirect</i>			
	<i>Total</i>			.19***

Note. [†] p < .1, **p < .01, ***p < .001, ns not significant
 Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

Table 4.33: Effects on Indicators in the Second-Levels' TV Model

<i>Causal Variables</i>	Indicators			
	Voting	Donation	Meeting	Discussion
Media Attention	.17***	.10***	.07***	.12***
Agenda-Setting	.08*	.05**	.03*	.05**
Affective Strength	.12***	.07**	.05**	.09***

Note. All entries are standardized coefficients of total (indirect) effects.
 Note. * p < .05, **p < .01, ***p < .001
 Bootstrapping was used to test significance of the standardized coefficients.

Summary. This study posited six hypotheses that came from the structural models. In other words, the decomposition of the structural models produced each hypothesis. As discussed in the above section, the model fits of all four structural models indicated that the models were retainable. However, a good model, in general, did not always guarantee the significance of specific paths. In the first-level models, H1 about the predictive role of media attention on agenda-setting effects was supported. H2 about the mediator role of agenda-setting was partially supported because of the matter related to the significance level. While newspaper's agenda-setting effects worked as mediator at the .01 level, TV's significance stayed at the .1 level. The overall influence of agenda-setting on political participation and civic participation, H3, was supported for both the newspaper and TV news.

In the second-level models, media attention also was positively related to agenda-setting, and agenda-setting functioned as a mediator in both the newspaper and TV news. Therefore, H4 and H5 were supported. Finally, H6, the overall influence of second-level agenda-setting on political participation also was supported in both newspaper and TV models.

Alternative Model

This study suggested four models and examined their validity using various model fits. While the fit statistics indicate the models were "retainable," it did not mean there was no need to consider alternative models.

One of the representative alternative models is the equivalent model (Steiger, 2001). Equivalent models have the same goodness-of-fit indices across all fit statistics as

the original model yet the configuration of paths are different among observed variables (Kline, 2005). For instance, assuming media attention and agenda-setting effects are influenced by the same variables, the directions of the two variables do not affect model fit statistics. In other words, even if we hypothesize that agenda-setting influences media attention, the model fits are not changed. Equivalent models demonstrate pitfalls related to the reliance on model fits.

Another example of an alternative model is the nested or hierarchical model. In nested models, the model specification is conducted through trimming (removing paths) or building (adding paths). Scholars warn about statistic-driven model specification (Keith, 2005; Kline, 2005, Steiger, 2001), such as dependency on modification indices.

Actually, this study used a trimming method that is based on path coefficients of demographic variables for obtaining better model fits. However, there was a rationale: namely, a combination of empirical and theory-driven modeling. As mentioned in the above, this study hypothesized that there were relationships between endogenous variables based on theory and the literature review. For that reason, the paths between the endogenous variables were not deleted from the final models even though the coefficients were not significant. As Schumacker and Lomax (2004) suggested, “If a parameter is not significant but is of sufficient substantive interest, then the parameter should probably remain in the model” (p.71) Contrary to endogenous variables, the paths from demographic variables were removed from the model, i.e., constrained to zero, if they were not significant because the influence of demographic variables were not the main interest of this research. In other words, the specification search of the modeling was conducted only for demographic variables. That is the justification for the modeling.

Chapter 5: Discussion

1. SUMMARY

The underlying question for this study is: Why does media use motivate individual members of the public to participate in political and community-based activities? Previous studies have found that positive relationships exist between news use and civic engagement but this is the first that examines the formation of that relationship. Based on agenda-setting theory, the model set forth suggests the following sequence: News attention, influenced by several antecedent variables, affects agenda-setting effects on the readers/viewers; agenda-setting effects, in turn, trigger strong attitudes among the public and, finally, strong attitudes lead to various types of civic behaviors.

Statistical analysis for this research is based on 2004 ANES data along with content analysis of stories from the *New York Times* and *NBC's Nightly News*. Fit statistics of four models – specifically, first-level newspaper, first-level TV, second-level newspaper and second-level TV – indicated that all of the SEM models were retainable, meaning that the hypothesized sequence reflects the data well. Especially, every direct effect on the chain - ranging from media use to agenda-setting, from agenda-setting to attitudes strength, and from attitudes strength to engagement - was significant. Indirect and total effects of agenda-setting for political and civic participation were found to be significant. Thus, the answer to the question of this study “How does news use contribute to civic engagement and why do some people exhibit higher levels of civic energy than others even though all use the same amount of news?” is agenda-setting effects. Agenda-setting effects are part of an intrinsic process of civic engagement that is driven by news

media use. If some audiences show stronger agenda- setting effects than others, then users with the stronger effects are likely to be more willing to participate in political and community activities.

In terms of direct effects, first-level's TV agenda-setting effects demonstrated stronger influence on civic participation than did newspaper effects. In the second-level, direct effects of newspaper's agenda-setting on political participation were stronger than that of TV. The statistical test for agenda-setting as a mediator supported the hypothesis that agenda-setting effects work as mediating variables between media use and attitude strength.

This study relied upon an individual agenda-setting index to measure the effects on each of the individual survey respondents. The first-level index was created based on the recommendations of Wanta (1997). For the second-level, an index was designed that takes into account the tone of news stories as well as the number of mentions about the candidates' traits. Both indices were developed by rigorous methods that employed several steps to prevent inflation of effects. The individual level of analysis provided the opportunity to examine the influence of demographic variables. Education, along with party identification, was found to be one of the strongest variables that affected all other endogenous variables.

2. IMPLICATION OF FINDINGS

Effects of Media Use

The basic concept of agenda-setting – namely, transfer of salience - was verified repeatedly. All models demonstrated that the more attention people paid to the media, the stronger they related to the media's message in terms of both objects and attributes.

It is important to point out that some issues included in the first-level agenda-setting index have not traditionally been considered important/unimportant issues: for example, the environment and government spending. While the government spending/federal budget deficit issue is one of the typical major political topics for Americans (Weaver, 1991; Zhao & Chaffee, 1995), that issue, in this study, was classified as minor in the newspaper model. By contrast, the environment- which has not been considered an important issue- emerged as a major concern. This unusual grouping of issues contributed to the capture of *real* agenda-setting effects. For example, if a respondent answered that government spending was important because the issue had been important in the past and said that the environment was not important because it had not been important previously, he/she is assumed to have not given attention to news over a certain period of time. To paraphrase Druckman (2005): to avoid a bias requires studying issues that are available in the given medium, but that are not too conventional (p. 466).

The findings of this study support the positive influence of information-seeking media use on engagement. Newspaper attention significantly affected all participations in both the first-level and second-level models but TV news attention demonstrated significant relationships only with political participation. These findings are in line with the results of previous studies that demonstrated newspaper use is usually positively

related to engagement while TV news use shows mixed findings (McLeod & Scheufele, 1999; Norris, 2002).

An interesting yet unexpected finding relative to media use is its relationship to opinion strength. Newspaper attention presented marginally significant ($p < .1$) total effects as well as non-significant direct effects with regard to opinion strength. However, TV attention demonstrated strong relationships for both measures. The finding can be explained by the different polarization effects depending on the medium (Mendelsohn and Nadeau, 1996). Wanta, Craft and Geana (2004) found that newspaper readers were the least polarized compared to radio, TV and Internet users. Because radio listeners showed the most extreme opinions, it has been assumed that conservative radio talk shows might reinforce some respondents' already conservative tendencies. Along that same line, this study assumes that different effects of newspaper and TV on opinion strength may result from specific content of the two types of media. For example, when the *New York Times* talked about the issues from a more neutral position than did *NBC's Nightly News*, then newspaper readers may have formed less extreme opinions about the issues.

Consequences of Agenda-Setting

Agenda-setting significantly affects attitude strength, in terms of opinions and feelings, in all four models. However, direct effects on engagement demonstrated mixed results. At the first-level of agenda-setting, the effects of newspaper agenda-setting effects were limited to political participation while agenda-setting effects of TV influenced civic participation as well as political participation. At the second-level of

agenda-setting, the agenda-setting effects of newspapers were stronger with regard to political participation than television agenda-setting effects. In other words, in terms of “political” participation, newspaper agenda-setting consistently showed significant effects. This finding is partially explained by differences in information processing that depend on the medium used. In general, newspaper reading has been known to require more active information processing than TV viewing. However, no relevant literature was found to account for the finding related to the stronger effects of television on civic participation at the first-level of the agenda-setting model. Although several previous studies commented on how agenda-setting effects depend on the medium, scholars have rarely compared TV viewing with newspaper readership in terms of consequences of agenda-setting (Mendelsohn, 1994). Based on the explorative nature of this study that seeks to extend the agenda-setting theory to the level of behavior, it may be too early to expect a full understanding of the entire process. More empirical studies are needed to explicate the full process.

Worthy of note is the observation that while TV news agenda-setting affects civic participation, TV attention does not. In other words, even if people watch TV news with attention, that particular type of media use, in itself, does not encourage viewers to become involved in community activities. Instead, only those viewers who, themselves, recognize the importance of issues highlighted on TV news are willing to join community meetings and other organizations. This finding appears to underscore the importance of agenda-setting with reference to civic participation.

Influence of Partisanship

From the outset, this study has looked at two kinds of feeling strength variables. “Affective Strength 1” refers to respondents’ feelings that were positive for Senator Kerry and negative for President Bush, and “Affective Strength 2” reflects feelings that were positive for President Bush and negative for Senator Kerry. Correlation between the two variables and second-level agenda-setting effects showed that while “Affective Strength 1” was positively correlated with agenda-setting (newspaper = .39, $p < .01$, TV = .37, $p < .01$), “Affective Strength 2” was negatively correlated (newspaper = -.35, $p < .01$, TV = -.32, $p < .01$). This finding raises an intriguing point: Why did agenda-setting effects lead to stronger pro-Kerry feelings and weaker pro-Bush feelings?

An initial response to that question relates to media content. If the media covered Senator Kerry from a more positive viewpoint, then agenda-setting effects might have promoted pro-Kerry sentiments. To test that assumption, a comparison was made between the frequency of positive and negative mentions about the two presidential candidates. During the survey period of Time 1, the *New York Times* talked about President Bush’s traits 841 times, with 34% of those mentions being positive in tone. By comparison, among 442 mentions of Senator Kerry’s traits, 40% were positive in tone, for that same period. The difference was marginally significant ($X^2 = 3.62$, $p < .1$). During the survey period of Time 2, the portion of positive mentions about President Bush was 29% (total 962) and those about Senator Kerry were 36% (total 545). The gap was significant at the level of .001 with X^2 of 7.18.

Contrary to contradictions in newspaper mentions of the two candidates, TV coverage did not show any significant difference. During the survey period of Time 1,

NBC's news stories about Bush (35% of 109 mentions) were more positive than those about Kerry (29% of 83 mentions). During the time period of Time 2, Kerry received less favorable attention with 29% of 108 mentions than Bush did (35% of 130 mentions).

Although the newspaper published more positive assertions when it talked about Senator Kerry's traits, those findings do not fully explain the negative relationship between agenda-setting and pro-Bush feelings based entirely on TV news. Despite the indifference on tone in TV news about the candidates, TV agenda-setting also showed a negative relationship with regard to pro-Bush feelings.

There may be a fundamental reason that goes beyond the particular outlet: namely, media skepticism. Tsfati (2003) found that audiences' skepticism about the media, in general, has a significant relationship with regard to agenda-setting effects. Specifically, agenda-setting effects are weaker among skeptics compared to non-skeptics at the aggregate level, and the negative association is significant even after controlling for demographic variables at the level of individual analysis. It may be impossible to expect strong agenda-setting effects, especially second-level agenda-setting, among people who do not trust the media and who think that the media is biased. Regardless of the facts, perceived liberal bias claimed by conservative groups may have served to block the occurrence of agenda-setting effects. This logic appears to be more plausible when it comes to the influence of party identification. Republicans did not show significant second-level agenda-setting effects in either the newspaper or TV model while Democrats, on the other hand, presented strong significance in both models. Media skepticism is deeply related to people's trust or credibility about the media. Eagley (1978) pointed out that credibility exerts major effects on attitudes. According to

affective growth theories, the message from a “liked” source is more persuasive and, as a result, increases the changeability of affect (McGuire, 1985).

3. LIMITATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The main drawback of this study is that it is a one-time cross sectional analysis. This study posits structural equation modeling, regarded as a useful tool for demonstrating causal relationships (Kline, 2005) but the findings must be interpreted cautiously. As explained in the results section, the good model fit statistics do not guarantee that the directions of arrows are all correct. This problem can be overcome only by a panel study.

There is another reason to be conservative with regard to interpretations of findings. It is excused that the large sample size accounted for inadequate chi-square model fits. However, it is also true that other fit statistics were in good shape, due to the sample size. Further, significant tests of each coefficient were affected by sample size which leads to the issue of statistical significance and substantive significance.

The most critical limitation of this study is theoretical paucity. There are no theoretical explanations available regarding several findings as explained above. Theoretical limitations, however, also serve as motivation for future studies. In addition, this study raises questions about antecedents of agenda-setting effects. The variables of party identification and feelings about the presidential candidates indicate that agenda-setting works under certain conditions. Weaver (1980) introduced the concept of need for orientation that explains how agenda-setting occurs, based on individual differences for

orienting information. The need for orientation contributes toward building a rationale that agenda-setting is a learning process. This perspective does not view an audience as submissive to the media's lead but relies, instead, on each person's information processing (Takeshita, 2005). The addition of more psychological and societal contingent variables also would help to elucidate the consequences of agenda-setting since understanding about effects begins with finding causes.

As the result of hundreds of studies, we know that the media set the agenda. A compelling question that remains unanswered is: What can the media do through these effects? From a journalistic view point, agenda-setting is able to function as a stimulator for engagement. The mission statement is followed by traditional debates about news: Do journalists try to reflect the factual world or actively interpret the perceived facts? So far, agenda-setting effects have been considered an unintentional by-product of journalism. However, for the purpose of stimulating citizens to take certain actions, the media sometime undertake intentional acts, and, in that case, agenda-setting's nature needs to be re-clarified. The interpretive characteristic of journalism relative to agenda-setting became more obvious with the appearance of second-level agenda-setting effects that convey not only facts but also perspective and tone.

Social request for change in journalism is oftentimes connected to concern about young people's indifference to news and politics (Mindich, 2005). From a perspective of agenda-setting, media can invite young people through setting an agenda that appeals to the *dot net* generation. In that respect, generational effects on agenda-setting and subsequent engagement are worthy of future research.

The discussion of this study began with the role of the media in a democratic society. The main reason for concern about declining newspaper readership revolves not around industry revenues but, instead, around the greater topic of democracy (Sylvie & Witherspoon, 2001). Citizens who are informed are more willing to participate. The primary goal of this study has been to explicate the process of media effects on engagement, thus extending beyond mere agenda-setting. As McCombs (2004) asserted, “Taking the larger view, the agenda-setting influence of the media on these broad civic attitudes is far more important than any agenda-setting effects on specific issues and opinions” (p. 137).

Appendix A. Keywords for News Gathering

Keywords for Sampling (First-level)

Issue	Keywords
Diplomacy and Defense	foreign policy/ foreign relations/ foreign affairs/ foreign involvement / foreign commitment /diplomacy/ interventionism/ middle east / defense spending/ disarmament/ defense budget/ nuclear power /nuclear proliferation/ nuclear war /space program / space race/ Homeland security /national security/ national defense /Patriot Act 9/11/ September 11 Terror Iraq/ troops
Government spending	government spending/ welfare /social security/ federal budget / tax
Jobs	jobs/ employment /unemployment/lay off
Government health insurance	health care /prescription drugs / Medicare /Medicaid/medical insurance
Aid to blacks	blacks /affirmative action
Environment	environment / pollution / global warming /climate change /conservation /ecology/endangered species/radioactive waste /toxic waste/ alternative energy
Gun access	gun control /gun access
Women's equal role	women and right/ women and role /feminism / feminist
Bush	
Kerry	

Appendix B. Codebook

First –level agenda-setting

- V1. Coder ID
- V2. Article ID
- V3. Publication 1.New York Times 2. NBC
- V4. Published Date

V5. Foreign Affairs
Relations with other countries or international organizations.
Foreign involvement (except War in Iraq)
Aid to Israel/Arab states.
Firmness in foreign policy; Maintenance of position of military/diplomatic strength
Prevention of war ;Establishment of peace
Obligation to take care of problems at home before helping foreign countries

V6. Defense
Defense budget; level of spending on defense
Disarmament; Arms race
Space race; space program
Weapons development; missile program; bomb testing
General or specific references to functioning and performance of defense; waste,
inefficiency
Nuclear war; the threat of nuclear war; nuclear proliferation

V7. Terrorism; War on Terror - Foreign Affairs

V8. Terrorism; War on Terror - Defense

V9. War in Iraq - Foreign Affairs

V10. War in Iraq - Defense

V11. 9/11- Foreign Affairs

V12. 9/11- Defense

Note. V7-12.Terrorism, War in Iraq and 9/11 will be coded differently depends on the context. These three issues should be included as keywords for sampling because they were most common terms in the 2004 election (Tedesco, 2004). The problem is that the issues contain multiple dimensions.

News stories about Iraq war, for example, is usually coded as “foreign affairs” but if the story focuses on financial cost of the U.S. government, then it would be coded as “defense” or “defense spending.”

Terrorism and 9/11 are usually coded as “defense” but if the articles talk about the issue in the context of foreign policy such as cause of the events related to international relationship and establishment of national safety through military involvement, it would be coded as “foreign affairs.”

V13. Government spending

Balancing of the budget

Tax cut

Against government stimulation of the economy

The size of the budget deficit

Mention of "twin deficit."

Government spending on education, health care and other social welfare systems.

The size of federal government.

Note. I included education, health care and social welfare because the NES asked that “Some people think the government should provide fewer services even in areas such as health and education in order to reduce spending...”

To prevent overlap of V13 and V15, we need criteria: if health care is talked solely in the article (paragraph), then it will be coded as V18. If it was mentioned with other issues, it belongs to V16.

V14. Jobs

The number of people with jobs

Unemployment rate

Create jobs

Recruiting

V15. Medical Insurance

Medial cost and hospital cost

Medicare; prescription drug program

Health insurance program

Medicaid

V16. Environment

Conservation of natural resources

Protecting the environment/endangered species

Regulating growth or land development

Pollution, global warming, climate change

Development of natural resources /energy sources

V17. Aid to blacks

Civil rights/racial problems
Programs to enable Blacks to gain social/economic/educational/political equality
Relations between Blacks and whites

V18. Gun control
Unregistered ownership of guns
legislative control of guns;
Right to have guns

V19. Women's right
Women's rights
References to women's issues
Economic equality for women

Second –level agenda-setting

V1. Coder ID
V2. Article ID
V3. Publication 1.New York Times 2. NBC
V4. Published Date

- Leadership

lead, guide, direct, pilot, in front, ahead, head, conduct, in charge of, run, control,
command, manage, reliable, strong, power, in the lead, the forerunner, winning, trail,
control, advance, start, head start, vanguard, headship, direction, steer, point, negotiate,
confident, initiate, propose, courage, fight, protect

behind, chase, follow, underdog, weak

Hero

- Integrity

moral, ethical, good, right, honest, decent, proper, honorable, just, principled, fair, decent,
truthful, sincere, frank, candid, straightforward, open, trustworthy, virtue, genuine, truly,
responsible

wicked, depraved, corrupt, dissipated, decadent, deceitful, corrupt, liar, immoral,
manipulate, blackmailing, fear mongering, exploit

Swift-boat

Flip-flop*

*Note: Flip-flop is coded as “integrity” if the term is used to describe an insincere attitude for political success. However, if it implied that a candidate was vulnerable to influence, flip-flop is coded as “decisiveness.”

- Knowledgeable ; Intelligent

informed, familiar, educated, erudite, expert, experienced, aware, understand, clever, bright, smart, gifted, intellectual, sharp, quick, able, shrewd, strategic, better debater

bad judgment, poor judgment, stupid, slow, ignorant, mistake, dumb, unintelligent, miscalculation, shortsighted, absurd

- Make up own mind; Decisive

resolute, certain, determined, sure, judgment, stubborn, solid

hesitant, doubtful, vague, ambiguous, unclear, undefined, Hamlet-like, vacillating, reluctance

Flip-flop* (See Note in the above.)

- Compassion

caring people , empathy, warm, sensitive, man of people , down-to earth ,listens, responsive, concern, likeability

in touch/ out of touch

Traits of the President Bush

V5. Leadership

V5-1. 1. Positive 2. Negative

V6. Integrity

V6-1. 1. Positive 2. Negative

V7. Knowledgeable

V7-1. 1. Positive 2. Negative

V8. Make up own mind

V8-1. 1. Positive 2. Negative

V9. Compassion

V9-1. 1. Positive 2. Negative

Traits of the Senator Kerry

V10. Leadership

V10-1. 1. Positive 2. Negative

V11. Integrity

V11-1.	1. Positive	2. Negative
V12. Knowledgeable		
V12-1.	1. Positive	2. Negative
V13. Make up own mind		
V13-1.	1. Positive	2. Negative
V14. Compassion		
V14-1.	1. Positive	2. Negative

Appendix C. Correlation Matrix of the Observed Variables

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12
1.Gender	1.000											
2.Age	0.055	1.000										
3.Education	0.012	-0.087	1.000									
4.Income	-0.310	0.109	0.421	1.000								
5.Party strength	0.121	0.121	0.128	0.013	1.000							
6.Republican	-0.060	0.039	0.094	0.088	0.237	1.000						
7.Democrat	0.069	-0.045	0.009	-0.049	0.124	-0.800	1.000					
8.NP attention	-0.041	0.187	0.216	0.156	0.173	-0.003	0.057	1.000				
9.TV attention	-0.017	0.216	0.097	0.089	0.146	0.067	0.016	0.290	1.000			
10.NP_AS_1st	-0.145	0.018	0.156	0.151	0.016	0.213	-0.151	0.102	0.083	1.000		
11.TV_AS_1st	-0.147	0.030	0.104	0.127	0.040	0.228	-0.164	0.103	0.077	0.817	1.000	
12.Opinion_NP	-0.179	-0.063	0.121	0.123	0.092	0.142	-0.096	0.083	0.113	0.244	0.183	1.000
13.Opinion_TV	-0.131	-0.049	0.089	0.109	0.089	0.106	-0.060	0.090	0.108	0.195	0.188	0.863
14.NP_AS_2nd	-0.020	-0.124	0.121	0.005	-0.056	-0.261	0.330	0.148	0.140	-0.021	-0.018	-0.037
15.TV_AS_2nd	-0.026	-0.102	0.113	0.007	-0.033	-0.256	0.320	0.125	0.143	-0.029	-0.021	0.000
16.Affective	0.095	-0.040	0.041	-0.068	0.036	-0.566	0.595	0.196	0.112	-0.103	-0.119	-0.008
17.Voting	0.040	0.144	0.313	0.256	0.307	0.195	-0.034	0.262	0.214	0.196	0.163	0.110
18.Discuss	-0.007	0.021	0.183	0.109	0.185	0.068	0.019	0.229	0.213	0.130	0.139	0.212
19.Persuade	-0.069	-0.113	0.136	0.104	0.174	0.013	0.073	0.220	0.168	0.132	0.177	0.210
20.Meeting	0.001	-0.026	0.078	0.008	0.189	0.084	-0.021	0.118	0.131	0.099	0.088	0.071
21.Donation	-0.004	0.130	0.211	0.146	0.175	0.029	0.030	0.250	0.150	0.014	0.032	0.108
22.Community	0.027	-0.002	0.266	0.146	0.027	-0.062	0.069	0.123	0.035	0.132	0.140	0.133
23.Membership	0.022	0.015	0.296	0.215	0.058	0.064	-0.037	0.149	0.012	0.057	0.057	0.095
Mean	1.506	46.430	4.053	10.605	2.849	0.416	0.473	2.143	3.019	0.151	0.240	8.474
Standard	0.500	17.398	1.648	6.488	0.993	0.493	0.500	1.398	1.407	0.762	0.869	3.151
N	1,066	1,063	1,066	963	1,049	1,066	1,066	1,066	1,065	1,066	1,066	1,066

(continued) Correlation Matrix of the Observed Variables

	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	22	23
1.Gender											
2.Age											
3.Education											
4.Income											
5.Party strength											
6.Republican											
7.Democrat											
8.NP attention											
9.TV attention											
10.NP_AS_1st											
11.TV_AS_1st											
12.Opinion_NP											
13.Opinion_TV	1.000										
14.NP_AS_2nd	0.002	1.000									
15.TV_AS_2nd	0.016	0.917	1.000								
16.Affective	0.031	0.389	0.371	1.000							
17.Voting	0.124	0.155	0.150	0.008	1.000						
18.Discuss	0.212	0.027	0.022	0.127	0.301	1.000					
19.Persuade	0.208	0.104	0.109	0.197	0.258	0.336	1.000				
20.Meeting	0.073	0.026	0.039	0.036	0.133	0.182	0.216	1.000			
21.Donation	0.084	0.008	0.015	0.089	0.195	0.211	0.262	0.176	1.000		
22.Community	0.136	0.041	0.061	0.135	0.193	0.277	0.185	0.153	0.164	1.000	
23.Membership	0.049	0.025	0.030	0.056	0.214	0.193	0.148	0.130	0.280	0.371	1.000
Mean	8.600	5.113	4.979	8.686	2.162	2.622	0.956	0.594	0.181	0.539	0.824
Standard deviation	3.196	1.055	1.099	4.781	1.249	2.553	1.165	1.064	0.527	0.769	1.397
N	1,066	1,066	1,066	1,028	722	1,060	1,064	1,066	1,066	1,066	1,065

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